A COMPARISON OF THE MENNONITE AND DOUKHOBOR EMIGRATIONS FROM RUSSIA TO CANADA, 1870-1920

by

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DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this thesis to my grandparents, Gerhard & Katharina Sawatzky and Peter & Hilda Mierau, who emigrated from the Soviet Union to Canada in the aftermath of the Second World War. Your sacrifices have not been forgotten.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines two emigrations from Russia to Canada by members of the Mennonite and Doukhobor religious sects in the late nineteenth century. The first took place between 1874 and 1880, when roughly 17,000 Mennonites left their homes in southern Ukraine to establish new settlements in the western frontiers of North America. Included in this number was a contingent of about 7,000 who formed colonies in the southern regions of Manitoba, Canada, instead of settling with the majority of their fellow emigrants in the U. S. Midwest. The Doukhobor emigration involved approximately 7,400 sectarians from Transcaucasia who migrated to the Western Canadian territories of Assiniboia and Saskatchewan in the years 1898-99.

This thesis recognizes an underlying cause for the two migrations which is rooted in the internal struggles of the two sects. During the nineteenth century rifts developed between progressive sectarians--who favoured a more open relationship with non-sectarians and worked with the Russian government to promote secular reform--and conservative members who clung to traditional ways. Most of the Mennonites and Doukhobors who emigrated from Russia in late nineteenth century (approximately one-third of the population of each sect) held conservative views. They emigrated with a common desire to escape the secularization of their colonies and to preserve their religious and cultural traditions.

The emigrants chose to settle in Canada on the basis of favourable terms granted to them by the Canadian government, which included a military service exemption, the right to settle in villages and colonies, full religious freedom, and (for the Mennonites) the right to educate their own children. Having received these promises, the Mennonites and Doukhobors modelled their new prairie communities on their former Russian colonies, and attempted to incorporate traditional sectarian practices and principles into their new lifestyle.

Yet in Canada, the sectarians proved to be no more successful at preserving the purity of their culture and traditions than they had been in Russia. Not long after settlement, a new group of progressive sectarians emerged, who began to adopt Canadian farming practices and incorporate certain aspects of Canadian culture into Doukhobor and Mennonite life. Canadian officials had not fully understood the original intentions of the Mennonites and Doukhobors upon their arrival, and considered the pace of sectarian integration into Western Canadian society to be too leisurely. Western Canadians, meanwhile, resented the special privileges granted to Mennonites and Doukhobors and pressured democratically-elected governments to revoke some of their earlier promises.

Consequently, Ottawa reversed its decision to permit the Doukhobors to live and farm together in villages, causing five thousand of them to relocate in British Columbia. By the end of World War I, Mennonites were denied the right to educate their own children, precipitating the migration of eight thousand Mennonite conservatives to Mexico and Paraguay. Those who participated in these latter migrations carried with them the same concerns which had initially brought them to Canada. The objectives of the sectarians upon settling in Canada were never sustained. On the contrary, history had repeated itself.

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INTRODUCTION

The fourty-five year period which preceded the First World War represents an unprecedented era in the history of world migrations, and more specifically, in the emigration of Europeans to the New World. Remarkable advances in communication technologies and the phenomenal growth of railroad and steamship lines meant that populations could travel longer distances in less time, in greater numbers, and more comfortably.[1] Moreover, this period was relatively free of the travel restrictions and immigration quotas which were measurably tightened in the decades following World War One.[2] Between 1870 and 1914, receiving countries in North and South America encouraged and promoted the settlement of over 42 million immigrants, the vast majority of whom were Europeans whose destination was the United States and Canada.[3]

Why did so many Europeans decide to migrate during this period? Although many historians and sociologists recognize the complexity surrounding this question,[4] most have ultimately agreed that this preeminent migration period was fueled primarily by economic social forces. As one social scientist wrote:

> It transferred needed labour from surplus areas to deficit areas, accompanied by capital flows of great magnitude, which financed industrial growth throughout the world Also the international flow of persons and capital before the First World War, opened, at least for parts of the poor surplus population; the possibility to migrate to countries which might offer better economic opportunities.[5]

Most nineteenth century European emigrants were agricultural labourers who were lured to America often by the promise of cheap land. Yet during the 1870-1914 period, as the North American frontier filled up with settlers, increasing numbers of European immigrants sought wage labour in large industrial centers. Such positions were largely filled by immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, who had begun to surpass the numbers of Northern and Western European immigrants already by the early 1880s.

In some respects, emigration from Russia fits similar patterns to those from other European countries. It was only by the 1870s, and especially during

the 1880s that substantial numbers of emigrants began to leave the Russian Empire.[6] The great majority of Russian emigrants went overseas, primarily to U.S. cities, but also in lesser numbers to Canada, Argentina, and Brazil, just as other European emigrants did.[7]

Yet Russian emigration was unique in many ways. Most remarkable is the fact that only a small percentage of those who left the Russian Empire at this time were ethnically Russian. The largest groups of emigrants were Jewish (40-45%), and Polish (20-25%), while Germans, Finns, Baltic peoples, and Russians (a category which includes Ukrainians and Belorussians) each contributed 5-10% of the total number of emigrants.[8] Most Russian peasants lived too far away from the few railroads or ports to be cheaply transported out of the country, and also earned far less than the average English labourer who needed to save up a month's wages in order to purchase a trans-Atlantic ticket to America.[9] Moreover, as Arthur Ruhl explains, Russians "had no need to go abroad when they had their own frontier and their own 'wild west' at home. The vast stretches of Siberia were always waiting, with cheap land and horses and plenty of space, and to trek eastward there was no need of steamship tickets."[10]

While most Europeans moved to America primarily for economic reasons, political and religious persecution was an equally significant factor in the Russian migration experience of the late nineteenth century. For instance, many Poles and Finns left Russia in protest of discriminatory Russification policies which were intensified by Tsar Alexander III (1881-1894) and renewed by Tsar Nicholas II (1894-1917). Considerable numbers of young men of Polish, Russian, and other ethnicities did seek employment in North America, but many were later repatriated. Those whose motivations were political and religious, however, tended to emigrate in families and were often permanent migrations.[11] Perhaps the best example of this was the mass exodus of Russian Jews after 1881, due largely to a combination of anti-Semitic legislation and waves of pogroms under Alexander III and Nicholas II.

Russia also maintained greater restrictions on emigration than did other countries during the late nineteenth century. In fact, Russian emigration statistics were skewed by the fact that those who left illegally were officially banished from the Empire and had their Russian property confiscated.[12] Emigration restrictions also account for the low proportion of ethnic Russians

among emigrants, since special permission from the government was required by law in order to emigrate, and this was most often granted to ethnic minorities. During the pogroms of the1880s, the reactionary regime of Alexander III permitted Jewish citizens to leave the Empire, although the degree to which the regime actively encouraged Jewish emigration is still a matter of debate.[13] The Tsarist government loosened some legal restrictions on emigration in 1892 by permitting the Jewish Colonization Society to operate in Russia, which led to the widespread acceptance of emigration agencies in Russia by the turn of the century.[14] Following the Revolution of 1905, a proposal for Rules on Emigration was drafted by the government, but was never implemented. Russia continued to maintain tighter restrictions on those leaving the Empire until the First World War, and was one of only two countries which required passports for foreign travel before 1914.[15]

In contrast to Russia's policy of restricting movement to and from the Empire, Canada's very future depended on attracting a steady stream of immigrants to its territory. Throughout the nineteenth century, British and Canadian officials believed that sparsely populated Canadian territory was in ever constant danger of being taken over by the United States, which was developing its infrastructure and population base at a much faster rate than Canada. In 1827, Britain established an immigration service in Canada in an attempt to redirect emigration flows from Europe to British territories instead of to America.[16] Yet even many of those who decided to settle in Canada soon changed their minds and relocated south of the American border where transportation links were in place, where greater markets existed, and where the climate was more moderate. Lord Durham noted in his 1839 report on British North America that so many recent immigrants were moving on to the United States that Canada's emigration rate for the previous decade was at sixty percent.[17]

After Confederation in 1867, Prime Minister John A. MacDonald pursued a "National Policy" which involved the settlement of Canada's western regions in order to avoid "the fate of Oregon" (i.e. American takeover through settlement). The American purchase of Alaska in 1867 and the recent flood of immigration to Minnesota and the Dakotas lent urgency to the plan to settle Western Canada and led Ottawa to take several important measures. Firstly, in

1870, the province of Manitoba was created in order to keep the Red River Valley under Ottawa's control. Secondly, the Dominion Lands Act was enacted in 1872, which distributed free 160 acre plots to all immigrant-settlers of Western Canada. Finally, the building of the national Canadian Pacific Railroad in the early 1880s was designed to unite the entire country and facilitate the quick transfer of European immigrants to the western provinces and territories.

Yet it was not until the 1890s that Canada experienced a dramatic increase in immigration numbers. In 1896, a Manitoba resident named Clifford Sifton became the new Minister of the Interior, who embarked on a renewed Western settlement drive which opened Canada's doors to East European emigrants. British, American, German, and Scandinavian immigrant numbers were quickly surpassed by Ukrainian, Polish, Hungarian, and Romanian immigrants. Immigration to Canada continued to rise following the formation of the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905, where land sales peaked in 1906 and in 1910-12.[18] In total, more than three million immigrants were settled in Canada during the years 1896-1914.[19]

The emigrations of the Mennonites and Doukhobors from Russia to Canada were a small part of a much larger picture when placed in the context of North Atlantic migration patterns prior to World War One. Like most European emigrants at this time, both groups were composed largely of agricultural labourers who hoped to prosper in the New World where there was plenty of cheap land to farm. The fact that the Mennonites (who were of Dutch and Prussian ancestry) emigrated in the early 1870s, a quarter century before the Russian Doukhobors left Russia in the late 1890s, is consistent with the shift in European emigration which occurred during these years, whereby the number of emigrants from northern and western Europe were quickly surpassed by those from southern and eastern Europe.

However, the two migrations were also quite exceptional in other respects. As previously mentioned, it was rare for Tsarist authorities to grant permission to leave the Russian Empire before the turn of the century. The timing of the Mennonite and Doukhobor arrivals in Canada is also noteworthy. The Russian Mennonites of the 1870s were very much trailblazers, since they formed the earliest mass migration of Europeans to the Canadian West. The

Doukhobors were also somewhat ahead of their time, for they were one of the earliest Slavic immigrant groups to arrive in Canada.

Yet there are two central characteristics which distinguished the Doukhobor and Mennonite emigrations from other trans-Atlantic movements during the same period: group migration and settlement, and the religious and cultural motivations behind the two emigrations. Unlike most European emigrants who arrived in Canada in individual families, both the Mennonites and Doukhobors migrated *en masse*. More than six thousand Russian Mennonites made their way to Manitoba between the years 1874 and 1876, and roughly seven thousand had arrived in total by 1880.[20] The Doukhobors then gave the term 'mass migration' new meaning in 1898, when they chartered two vessels to transport themselves directly to Canada in four boatloads, totalling approximately 7,400 immigrants.[21] Moreover, instead of settling in isolated family homesteads across the prairies as did other European populations did, the Mennonites and Doukhobors were given special permission by Canadian authorities to settle in villages on large reservations of land set aside for these two groups.

Group migration and settlement was rooted in the cultural traditions and religious convictions of the Mennonites and Doukhobors. As pacifist religious sects with legacies of persecution, both groups harboured a strong suspicion of the world around them, and, consequently, had an innate desire to live together in isolated close-knit communities. In fact, I believe that the Mennonites and Doukhobors left Russia because they felt that in Canada they would find greater isolation and religious freedom than was afforded by Tsarist officials and prevailing conditions in Russia. In particular, both pacifist sects strongly objected to obligatory military service requirements. Although I argue that the significance of the military service requirements has sometimes been overemphasized by others, and that economic opportunity entered into the decision to emigrate (at least in part among the Mennonites) there is little disagreement among scholars that both emigrations were undertaken largely for reasons of conscience. By the late nineteenth century, these religiously motivated migrations were becoming increasingly uncommon.[22] In fact, historians and sociologists studying migration have made special reference to the Mennonite, Doukhobor, and Jewish emigrations from Russia as rare

exceptions to the predominance of economically motivated trans-Atlantic migrations during this time.[23]

The movement of the Mennonites and Doukhobors from Russia to Canada is especially interesting to compare and contrast, not only because mass sectarian emigrations were a rare occurrence, but also because these two sects with different ethnic origins shared so much in common. The Mennonites and Doukhobors, for instance, espoused many common religious beliefs and values, such as their emphasis on the 'inner spirit' and adhering to one's conscience, the rejection of external rites and ceremonies, simplicity in worship, the equality of brethren, pacifism, the refusal of oaths, and the importance of morality. Both religions have often been compared to the Quaker religion, and some even believe that the Mennonite and Doukhobor faiths share a common origin.[24] There are also cultural similarities. Mennonites and Doukhobors each had a reputation for being superior agriculturalists. Both sects adhered to a strong work ethic and were known for their remarkably high standards of cleanliness. Simplicity in everyday life was a shared virtue, which meant that village planning and architecture lacked embellishment. Choral singing became a favourite cultural pastime of both sects.

Given the number of cultural and religious similarities, it is not surprising that the two groups held limited interaction with one another, both in Russia and in Canada. In fact, for nearly fourty years the Mennonites and Doukhobors lived in neighbouring settlements in a region of New Russia north of the Sea of Azov known as the *Molochnaia Vody*, or 'Milky Waters'. The Doukhobors even adopted some Mennonite institutions, such as the Mennonites' 'street village' settlement model and the idea of keeping a collective welfare and trust office. Relations were tenuous, however, for the Mennonites' ignorance of Doukhobor culture led the former to suspect the latter of immoral behaviour.[25]

In Canada, the two sects settled next to one another in Saskatchewan. In fact, the Mennonites had an indirect role in bringing the Doukhobors to Canada, for it was an article published on the Russian Mennonite emigrants in Manitoba that led the Doukhobors to consider Canada as a suitable destination. As will be pointed out in this thesis, Canadian officials occasionally alluded to the Mennonite experience when dealing with the Doukhobors. Finally, another connection between the two sects was made during the First World War and its

aftermath, when pacifist groups fell victim to a popular backlash in Canada. A public outcry led both Mennonites and Doukhobors to be named in an Order-in-Council in 1919 which prohibited the further immigration of members of either sect to Canada.

Despite the number of similarities and connections between Doukhobors and Mennonites, relatively few scholarly comparative works have been written. Many of the historical pieces pertaining to either sect have been produced by sectarians themselves, whose efforts are commendable, but are nonetheless often written in order to vindicate their particular sect or faction, or else give greater recognition to its historical contributions.[26] As one Mennonite historian admitted: "With regard to our Mennonite history, the following was the fundamental principle of historical integrity: to say as much good as was possible and as much of the bad as we had to in order to remain truthful."[27] Naturally, there have been exceptions. The scholarly works of Mennonite historian David G. Rempel remain as some of the most solid material written on the Russian Mennonites.[28] Frank H. Epp's two-volume survey, *Mennonites in Canada*, is also an excellent reference source in both fact and analysis, as is Adolf Ens' book, *Subjects or Citizens?*.[29] Likewise, Doukhobor Koozma J. Tarasoff has written balanced accounts of Doukhobor history in *Plakun Trava* and *A Pictorial History*.[30] Valuable contributions by non-sectarians on Mennonite history include James Urry, *None But Saints* (on the Russian Mennonites), Emerick K. Francis' *In Search of Utopia* (on the Mennonites in Manitoba), and C. Henry Smith's *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites* (which focuses on the Mennonite emigration from Russia to North America).[31] Undoubtedly, the most scholarly and literary analysis of Doukhobor history is *The Doukhobors*, written by George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, while Aylmer Maude's, *The Doukhobors: A Peculiar People*, remains valuable for its candid insights into the sect and their immigration to Canada.[32] More recently, Carl J. Tracie has published a very detailed and comprehensive study of Doukhobor settlement in Saskatchewan which is unoriginally titled *Toil and Peaceful Life*.[33]

The first semblance of comparative study between Mennonites and Doukhobors emerged in 1936, when Carl A. Dawson wrote a volume for the Macmillan 'Canadian Frontiers of Settlement' series, which began with sections

on the Doukhobors and Mennonites respectively.[34] Dawson's important study examined Western immigrant populations which settled together in groups and their ability to adapt to the Canadian way of life. It did not, however, examine the immigration and prior history of the Mennonites and Doukhobors in any detail. Fourty years later, academics undertook limited study of sectarian settlement patterns in Canada. In 1976, Carl Tracie published a geographical comparison of Saskatchewan Doukhobor and Manitoba Old Colony Mennonite villages.[35] The following year, Canadian *Ethnic Studies* featured simultaneous articles on Doukhobor settlements in British Columbia and Mennonite settlements in Saskatchewan which were not directly comparative, yet shared a common theme.[36] Probably the best comparative work to date is William Janzen's *Limits on Liberty* (1990), which analyzes the restrictions which Canadian governments have placed on the religious freedoms of Mennonites, Doukhobors, and Hutterites since their respective arrivals in Canada.[37]

Yet to this day, a comprehensive comparative analysis of the Mennonite and Doukhobor emigration from Russia and settlement in Canada has not been written. It is my view that in order to truly explain the similarities and differences between Mennonites and Doukhobors in Canada, and in order to determine why each sect responded differently to assimilatory pressures, one must also look at the respective histories of both sects in Russia and their emigration experiences more closely. This thesis will identify a pattern of development within the Mennonite and Doukhobor experiences in Russia which was later repeated in Canada and is imperative to the understanding of either group.

Both sects founded colonies in the frontier regions of the Russian Empire in order to secure an isolated location where they could live according to their beliefs and perpetuate their culture and traditions. Over time, other non-sectarian groups settled nearby, and sectarians became familiar with the institutions of government and greater Russian society, resulting in greater interaction between the colonies and the outside world. Some Mennonites and Doukhobors embraced this new openness, while others feared that it jeopardized the sanctity of their religious culture.

Although it should be acknowledged that internal disputes among sectarians were highly fractious and complex developments, this thesis (for the sake of simplicity) often uses more general terminology to identify different

factions among Mennonites and Doukhobors. Frequent mention is made to the **'conservative'** faction, referring to those sectarians who were reluctant to change their traditional sectarian views and practices. The term **'traditionalist'** is used to describe conservative members of either sect who attempted to live their lives in accordance with past traditions. **'Orthodox'** sectarians were also conservatives who held firm to old religious doctrine and traditional practices. At times, the term 'orthodox' is used instead of 'conservative' in order to emphasize the sense of religious vocation which motivated these Mennonite and Doukhobors. The term **'zealot'** refers to a specific Doukhobor faction which emerged in Canada. The zealots based their actions and beliefs on traditional Doukhobor teachings, but their strong convictions led them to hold extreme positions and commit fanatical acts. In contrast were the **'liberal'** sectarians who were more receptive to new influences on Mennonite and Doukhobor life and were able to part with rigid traditional views. More often, the term **'progressive'** is used to describe these sectarians who held an appreciation for change, and favoured reform. The progressive faction of Doukhobors in Canada became known as the **Independents** because they separated themselves from the sectarian majority and decided to establish individual farms.

It was the largely the conservative and orthodox sectarians who left Russia for Canada. They did so because they resented the encroachment of the outside world into sectarian life, and the sinful acceptance of this encroachment by their more liberal coreligionists. Yet it was only when the Russian government interfered in sectarian affairs that the conservatives decided to leave their homeland in protest. Shortly before the Doukhobor and Mennonite emigrations, St. Petersburg extended military service requirements throughout Russia as the Tsarist government moved towards democratic reform. It is my view, however, that the significance of the military service requirement ought not be overemphasized.[38] The emigrations took place not because a tyrannical Russian government forced conscription on the pacifist sects and persecuted them, but because Doukhobor and Mennonite conservatives wanted to preserve their culture and traditions. The Tsarist authorities had also interfered in other sectarian matters prior to the emigrations by denying the right of the Doukhobor majority to choose their own leader, and

by imposing state educational reforms on the Mennonites. The orthodox were not only frustrated with governmental interference in their affairs, but by the fact that their progressive coreligionists welcomed many of the government's initiatives. The conservative Mennonites therefore decided to leave Russia and their worldly brethren behind, having received promises of religious freedom and autonomy from the Canadian government. Thus, the central argument of this thesis may be summarized by stating that the Doukhobors and Mennonites who emigrated from Russia to Canada in the late nineteenth century did so with a purpose, and failed to achieve that purpose in Canada. They left Russia on the assumption that they would better be able to preserve their culture and traditions in Canada, only to discover after settlement that this would not be the case.

The sectarians' failure to achieve their objective in Canada was due in part to misunderstandings between themselves and the Canadian government. Specific mistakes were made during the immigration negotiations which led to further misunderstandings, which will be pointed out in chapters two and three. Yet most important, when Ottawa entered into negotiations with the Mennonite and Doukhobor emigrants, Canadian officials remained largely unaware of the sectarian splintering which had occurred in Russia between progressives and conservatives. Ottawa overlooked the fact that it was the orthodox members from each sect who wanted to settle in Canada in order to find isolation in which to retain the purity of their religion and traditional culture. Instead, the Canadian government considered both groups of immigrants first and foremost to be persecuted pacifist farmers, who only needed promises of land, religious tolerance, and a military service exemption in order to become content and productive members of Canadian society. Yet the Mennonites and Doukhobors who left Russia failed to see Ottawa's intentions to integrate them into Western Canadian society.

Another significant reason why the Mennonites and Doukhobors had difficulty preserving their unique identity and cultural practices in Canada was because they settled in a democratic country. Throughout Russian history, Tsarist regimes had persecuted religious sects at will, but they also had the authority to grant special privileges to minority groups whose services were beneficial to the Empire. Because Mennonites and Doukhobors were superior

agriculturalists who facilitated rural development in the frontier regions, each sect experienced a minimal amount of governmental interference in its respective colonies for much of the nineteenth century. The government of Canada initially granted special privileges to the sectarians, such as a military service exemption and the right to settle in villages and colonies. It was able to do so because it had convinced the Canadian public that the immigration of thousands of excellent farmers was in the best interests of the country. Yet when the public later became jealous and resentful of some of these privileges, the Canadian government was forced to renege on some of its earlier promises. The Doukhobor and Mennonite experiences therefore provide a unique opportunity to compare the welfare of sectarian peasant minorities under two different forms of government and illustrate the difficulties of transition from one to another.

CHAPTER ONE

A Short History of the Mennonites and Doukhobors in Russia

> It is generally said, that ...attempts at the realisation of the Christian life have been made more than once already; there have been the Quakers, the Menonites [sic.], and others, all of whom have weakened and degenerated into ordinary people, living the general life under the State. And, therefore, it is said such attempts at the realisation of the Christian life are not of importance.
>
> To say so is like saying that the pains of labour which have not yet ended in birth, that the warm rains and the sun-rays which have not as yet brought spring, are of no importance.[1]
>
> -Count Leo Tolstoy

There are few Canadian scholars who see the great irony of both the Mennonite and Doukhobor emigrations from Russia to Canada in the late nineteenth century. There is a Western tendency to view Russian emigration as a much desired, but rarely obtained privilege, bestowed by the Tsar on a few of his lucky subjects. This tendency often prevents one from looking beyond the simplistic causes given for such emigrations. It is widely accepted that the Mennonites were stripped of their former privileges and were forced to perform military service against their consciences. Yet few people recognize the exceptional generosity of these very freedoms and privileges, which the Mennonites enjoyed for nearly a century. The Doukhobors fled Russia, we are told, because they were persecuted for refusing to enlist in the army. Thus, it is often simply assumed that the Doukhobors had ceaselessly endured the crack of the Cossack whip from their earliest existence in Russia until their flight to freedom in 1898-99.

A look at the histories of both the Mennonites and the Doukhobors in Imperial Russia from the late eighteenth century until the latter half of the nineteenth century reveals that life in Russia was not as oppressive as many believe. This is especially true of the Mennonites, who in return for their role as pioneers in New Russia received not only such settlement incentives as land and temporary tax exemptions, but also an unprecedented guarantee of local

autonomy, which allowed them to preserve their language, religion, and traditions.

The Doukhobors were also used as pioneers, both alongside the Mennonites in New Russia, and in the Caucasus. They too were allowed to live as free peasants, though under a system of local organization which more closely resembled the Russian *mir*,[2] and were free to practice their religion among themselves. Yet because the Doukhobors were Russians, they were perceived to be a greater threat to Russian Orthodoxy and national stability than were the Mennonites, and thus were treated more harshly by the government. Doukhobor leaders, therefore, often made a personal choice to avoid conflict with the Russian government, sometimes at the expense of their own religious consciences. Russian officials reciprocated, permitting a dynasty of Doukhobor leaders to 'rule' over their followers largely unmolested until 1886, when some Doukhobors requested government intervention in a leadership succession crisis.

The Mennonites and the Doukhobors were involved a constant struggle to separate themselves from the 'world' around them. Both sects feared losing their religious principles and sought to maintain their distinct cultures and traditions. The slightest attempt at minor reform by any government often led to profound distrust and suspicion on the part of these two minorities. Thus the Mennonites and the Doukhobors jealously guarded their isolation, independence, and autonomy from outside influences, which were most often symbolized by greater government. Historically, this continuous attempt at cultural, religious, and social preservation has lead to a series of migrations by both groups - a point which should always be kept in mind when analyzing their migrations to Canada.

However successful the Mennonites and Doukhobors were at defending their cultures against outside forces, they were far less adept at guarding against worldliness from within. Mennonite history, wherever the setting, leaves behind it a legacy of bitter feuding between progressives and conservatives and the Russian experience was no exception. A man named Johann Cornies was not only able to bring the Mennonite colonies economic growth and prosperity through agricultural reforms, but also sponsored the advancement of modern education in the colonies. The government actively encouraged Cornies'

progressive reforms. In opposition lurked a quiet group of religious conservatives and splinter congregations, who opposed the growth of worldliness among fellow Mennonites.

In contrast, most Doukhobors were illiterate, and despite their migrations, their peasant lives were even more localized than those of the Mennonites. Only the Doukhobor leader and a select circle of elders and prominent families educated themselves, and they alone conducted business and trade deals with outsiders and government authorities. The Doukhobor leadership was most sorely seduced by worldly temptations. The need to preserve power and wealth led some Doukhobor leaders not only to make compromises with district officials, but also to sanction the rise of an aristocracy among the important families. The 'reign' of Lukeria Kalmykova (1864-1886) was marked by the steep growth of materialism among this aristocracy and ended in a struggle for control of the Doukhobors' communal resources. The struggle represented the crossroads of two diverging perspectives: one which favoured government support to maintain current levels of prosperity, and one which stressed the need to return to follow one's conscience at all costs.

The Mennonites were by no means immune to economic disputes either. Because Mennonite farms were bequeathed to a single son, a growing disparity emerged between the landed and the landless which undermined their egalitarian principles. It created bitter feuds between the two groups which here too required government mediation. Thus, it was not the Russian government so much as the Mennonites and Doukhobors themselves who created many of their own difficulties, and contaminated their own pristine cultures and social institutions. Nonetheless, many Mennonites by the 1870s, and many Doukhobors by the 1890s felt that the only way to preserve their unique ways of life was to leave the country which had fostered these lifestyles. This, then, is the great irony of the Mennonite and Doukhobor emigrations.

The Mennonites are a Protestant religious sect, whose origins date back to the Swiss Anabaptist movement of the early sixteenth century. The early Anabaptists might be described as the vanguard of the Protestant Reformation, believing that only a close-knit community of completely dedicated Christians could truly create a heavenly kingdom on earth. Baptism was not to be an

unconscious ritual performed on uncomprehending infants, but a conscious decision made by a dedicated adult to lead a Christian life.[3] Such a life consisted of living frugally among fellow believers and respecting the equality ('priesthood') of one's brethren. It also meant abstaining from violent behavior toward a fellow human being and the refusal of civil oaths, in recognition of God as the ultimate authority and judge. Despite the brutal persecution of the early Anabaptists, as recorded in the *Martyr's Mirror*,[4] the movement spread rapidly in its infancy across Europe.

In 1536 a Dutch priest named Menno Simons adopted the Anabaptist faith and soon created an organized, though clandestine, following in the Netherlands. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, these Dutch 'Mennonites', as they came to call themselves, spread across Europe in search of religious tolerance. The greatest portion of them went eastward, finding refuge on the estates of both Protestant and Catholic landowners in the Polish-Prussian lowlands.[5] By the seventeenth century, many Mennonites owned their own farms in the Vistula Delta, near Danzig.[6]

In Polish Prussia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Mennonites were granted a series of charters and guarantees by Polish kings which secured their right to free worship, control over their education, exemption from military service, the right to affirm rather than take an oath, and the right to trade and do business.[7] Here, they replaced their native Dutch with a unique blend of local Low-German dialects which came to be known as *Platt-Deutsch*.[8] The Mennonites in Polish-Prussia considered themselves to be the true upholders of the Anabaptist faith, and they denounced the worldliness of their brethren who had remained in the Netherlands.

Despite their religiosity, the Polish-Prussian Mennonites were no longer the Anabaptist martyrs that their forefathers had been. By the late eighteenth century many of the 13,000 Mennonites living in the Delta region had become financially well-to-do. Most were farmers, following the words of Menno Simons, who considered tilling the land to be the best occupation for true Christians. Over the years, Mennonites had developed superior agricultural skills which would continue to attract the attention of governments worldwide. Smaller numbers of Mennonites were permitted to engage in business in the city of Danzig, particularly in the silk, dye, and wine and brandy industries. Yet

Mennonite prosperity in Polish Prussia was continually limited by land restrictions and heavy taxes imposed by rulers and religious leaders in exchange for toleration.[9]

After the first partition of Poland in 1772, the Mennonites in the Vistula Delta became Prussian subjects under Frederick II (the Great). The more militaristic Prussian state viewed the growth of such pacifist sects as a threat to future military potential, and imposed a variety of restrictions designed to paralyze the spread of the Mennonite religion. In 1774, for instance, all Mennonites were prohibited from purchasing additional land, except from a fellow Mennonite. This measure exacerbated the difficulties of growing numbers of landless Mennonites as the cost of land soared and wage rates plummeted.[10] Mennonite congregations were also required to pay an annual fee of 5,000 *thalers* to support a military academy at Culm, or else render military service.[11] A third restriction decreed that children of mixed marriages would adhere to the non-Mennonite faith. Thus many Mennonites, especially the poorer elements, felt that their only option short of renouncing their religion was to emigrate. When the Mennonites were approached in 1786 by immigration agent Georg von Trappe about the possibility of settling the fertile frontiers of New Russia, some felt that this was an act of God.

In all certainty, however, Trappe's visit was a design of the Russian court. Catherine II (the Great) had been trying to populate her expanding southern frontiers with loyal and industrious pioneers ever since coming to power in 1762. In that year, an Imperial *ukaz* was issued (and further clarified in 1763) which provided incentives for prospective colonists, such as land grants, temporary tax exemptions, an exemption from military duty, freedom of religion, and other privileges. Catherine even adopted the Western practice of hiring crown agents and recruiting companies (*vyzevateli*) in her attempt to lure settlers.[12] By 1766, approximately 26,000 German farmers took up Catherine's offer, with all but 3,000 of them settling in Saratov, along the Volga.[13] The Volga colonies, however, required more assistance than anticipated. Ultimately, high costs, administrative mismanagement, and the disapproval of foreign governments caused the Empress to abandon the project after only a few years.[14]

Nevertheless, Russia's Imperial armies continued to conquer more territory. The First Turkish War (1768-1774) ended with the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji, giving Russia vast territories along the Black Sea coast, from the Bug River, to the Caucasian foothills. These territories continued to be roamed by the nomadic Nogai Tartars to the south, and scattered groups of Zaporozhian Cossacks towards the north. Fleeing religious and political dissidents from central Russia also made their way to this hinterland in order to avoid detection. Catherine presented these newly acquired lands of New Russia *(Novorossia)* to one of her court favourites, Grigorii Potemkin, who was made viceroy. Potemkin immediately set about extending control over the region through a series of measures. In 1775 he sent an army to destroy the strongholds of hostile Cossacks, and then distributed large estates to his friends in St. Petersburg.[15]

Potemkin also resurrected the colonization program. In 1785 a second manifesto was issued, listing similar incentives as the *ukaz* of 1763.[16] This second attempt succeeded in bringing not only Germans and Mennonites to Russia, but also hundreds of Greeks, Swedes, Italians, and Bulgarians,[17] as immigration agents were once again hired to bring foreign settlers to Russia. Thus, although many Mennonites later assumed that their invitation was a unique phenomenon based on their reputation, this simply was not so.

The Mennonites also later believed that they were invited to Russia by the Empress herself, yet it was actually Potemkin, through Georg Trappe, his agent, who was informed of the Mennonites' agricultural successes in the Danzig region. Potemkin was also told of their strife with the Prussian state, and thus he sent Trappe to Prussia to negotiate with them in the summer of 1786.

The Mennonites responded cautiously to Trappe's proposals, but approximately three hundred families agreed to sponsor a small delegation to view the Russian lands. Jakob Hoeppner and Johann Bartsch were chosen to undertake this scouting mission during the winter of 1786-87. These two Mennonite delegates were favourably impressed by the fertile soil, good pastures and transportation routes in their wide survey of the Kherson region. They selected a site for Mennonite settlement at Berislav, not far from the city of Kherson on the lower Dnieper.

Hoeppner and Bartsch exercised typically Mennonite meticulousness in their diplomacy with Russian officials. In April of 1787, they put together a

"Twenty Point Petition", outlining the terms by which the Mennonites would agree to settle in Russia. Potemkin approved most of these points, many of which were already covered by the two manifestos. Yet the two delegates insisted on taking the agreement to St. Petersburg to be ratified by the Empress.[18] The Mennonites were granted local self-government, freedom of religion,[19] the right to affirm allegiance rather than swear by oath, a ten year tax exemption, 65 *desiatin*[20] of arable land per family, access to a reserve of woodland, loans of 500 rubles per family on request, transportation subsidies, lumber for building houses, and other privileges. The Mennonites also received an exemption from military duties "for all time" (*v vechn'ia vremiana*), but Potemkin refused to grant a permanent exemption from such services as quartering soldiers and transporting military provisions in times of need.[21]

Nonetheless, the agreement was quite an accomplishment for the Mennonites. As Mennonite historian David G. Rempel notes, the Petition was not the hastily construed work of "desperate supplicants for a haven or refuge and short-range assistance or selfish favors, but the carefully weighed and prepared statement ...of the deputies of a people who were fully conscious of [their economic] worth."[22] Nearly a century later, the Mennonites would enter negotiations with North American governments with the same sense of self-appreciation and caution.

The delegates brought Trappe back to Prussia with them to publicize their achievements. Despite the growing enthusiasm of many Mennonites, the local Prussian authorities did their best to discredit the emigration movement, and in some cases granted exit visas to only the poorest of applicants.[23] The first groups of emigrants left Prussia in the spring of 1788, yet by the winter of 1789, 228 Mennonite families had gathered at Potemkin's estate at Dubrovna, near Smolensk, unable to reach their settlement sites.

The new immigrants were informed that the Berislav area was currently unsafe for settlement, owing to its close proximity to the Russian-Turkish war zone. Potemkin finally insisted that the Mennonites settle on the lands of his former private estate along the Dnieper, at the island of Khortitsa.[24] Thus in the summer of 1789, the colony of 'Chortitza' was founded by approximately 1,050 Mennonites.[25]

The colony's foundations were shaky. The Mennonite settlers complained about the location: the soil seemed poor and the deep ravines which cut through the land would only make agricultural endeavours that much more difficult. Furthermore, there was no town nearby to market produce or buy supplies. The promised lumber and transportation money was slow to arrive, and a good portion of the Mennonites' belongings sent by barge were discovered to be damaged or stolen. But the settlers eventually obtained food supplies from government stores and built temporary earth homes. Suitable farm land was found further back from the river. By the following year, eight villages had been formed.

More Mennonites came to Chortitza from Prussia between 1793 and 1796, as new groups of Mennonites were placed under Prussian rule during the second and third Polish partitions. This second group of 623 immigrants was wealthier than the first, and helped to stimulate the economic growth of the colony.[26] Two new villages were established to the north and to the east of the Chortitza villages.

A third wave arrived before long. At the close of 1801, Frederick III of Prussia imposed additional land restrictions on the Mennonites in his domain. Emigration to Russia began again in 1803 only to be interrupted in 1806 by the Napoleonic wars, but was resumed in 1809. These latter immigrants chose to settle a larger area of land about 100 kilometers to the southwest of Chortitza along the Molochnaia River, in the *guberniia* of Taurida. Here the land was flat, and contained rich dark soil. These latter settlers received similar settlement incentives as the first colonists, but were also able to spend their first winter at Chortitza, before founding the Molotschna colony in 1804. By 1806, this colony was already home to 360 families in eighteen different villages.[27] For over a century, Molotschna would remain larger, slightly more prosperous, and more progressive than the 'Old' colony of Chortitza.

The reason for this partly lies in the ability of the Molotschna Mennonites to avoid the early administrative troubles that the Chortitza brethren had faced. From 1789 onwards, the Mennonite colonies were governed by an appointed official known as the Director and Curator of the Mennonite Colonies. Potemkin himself was the first Director, but died in 1791. He was succeeded by Jean von Essen, followed by Baron von Brackel in 1793. These latter two, in the words of

David Rempel, were "incompetent and grasping rascals of the first order, bent primarily upon fleecing the colonists to line their own pockets."[28] Besides withholding a percentage of the money set aside to assist the colony, Essen and Brackel frequently resorted to corporal punishment when meting discipline. Yet they also preferred to pass many disputes to church leaders, which led to endless wrangling among Mennonites, as Chortitza's religious elders sought mainly to increase their control over secular matters.[29]

The short reign of Paul I (1796-1801) was of great importance to all foreign colonists in Russia.[30] By the late 1790s the Mennonites' tax exemptions were nearly over and Chortitza was still floundering economically, as were other foreign colonies. Thus, a new Senate department was created in 1797 to oversee the economic development of these colonies. Its first task was to send a commission to tour the colonies to discover the reasons for their backwardness. Investigators such as Samuel Contenius, who later became closely connected with the Mennonites, reported on a wide range of abuses by both Russian and Mennonite administrators alike.

Paul responded to the findings in a variety of ways. New Bureaus were set up in Ekaterinoslav and Saratov to provide further assistance to the colonies. In 1818 the Ekaterinoslav Bureau was moved to Odessa where it was reorganized into the Guardian Committee of the Foreign Colonists in the Southern Region of Russia, referred to by most Mennonites as the *Fuersorge Komitee*. The Guardian Committee were far less corrupt, and lacked the dictatorial powers of the earlier directors. This was largely due to Paul's greater policy of decentralization among the colonies.

In 1800 and 1801, the Tsar issued a series of *Instructions* to the colonies which provided them with economic subsidies, but more important, created a uniform system of internal government which closely resembled that of the state peasants.[31] Each village became a separate self-governing unit, and was run by an assembly (*mirskoi skhod* -Rus.) composed of every adult farm owner in the village. The executive of each village assembly consisted of a mayor (*Schulze* -Ger.), two assistants referred to as *Beisitzer*, and a clerk, all elected for two year terms. Ten deputies were chosen every month to act as local constables, and thus became known as the 'tenmen' (*desiatski* -Rus., *Zehnmaenner* -Ger.). The village assembly and its executive regulated nearly

every facet of village life: tax collection, the maintenance of roads, buildings, and bridges, the distribution of surplus lands, granting travel passports, and overseeing local elections and appointments.

Usually four or five villages made up a district (*Gebiet* -Ger.) which was similarly structured. A district assembly (*okruzhnoi skhod* -Rus.) was made up of one or more representatives from each village (usually their executives), and was lead by a district mayor (*okruzhnoi golova* -Rus., *Ober-Schulze* -Ger.), several assistants, and a secretary. The assistants and the district mayor were also elected by the landowners, for two and three year terms, respectively. Most judicial functions were served by the district officials, including policing, and the passing of sentences. Because the Mennonites gave German titles to these local and district officials, it was assumed by some members of future generations, including many of those who emigrated in the 1870s, that the Mennonites had created this system of self-government themselves while in Russia, or perhaps back in their former Prussian homelands. But "[n]othing could be further from the truth," according to James Urry (British anthropologist and Russian Mennonite historian).[32]

Not only was this system set up by the Russian authorities, but it was also subject to them. The district assembly served as an intermediary between the Mennonites and the Guardian Committee by both representing Mennonite grievances and implementing Committee directives in their district. Moreover, all district decisions required the Guardian Committee's approval.

This should come as no surprise. All peoples ultimately fall subject to the state in which they live. In fact, Russian officials were far less restrictive than their Prussian counterparts. David Rempel stresses that Mennonite success in Russia was largely due to their liberation from the infamous foot-dragging and corruption of the Russian bureaucracy.[33] Even the Guardian Committee was not an attempt to increase government influence within the colonies, but rather an attempt to mediate between the colonies and St. Petersburg.

Certain practical measures seemed to dictate that the colonies should function on their own, or at least be treated differently. Paul, for example, had decreed that all correspondence and interaction between the German colonists and government agencies was to be done in High German. While this was largely a practical measure, designed to prevent the Mennonites from pleading

ignorance to government directives,[34] it would further distinguish the colonists from the surrounding peasantry and allow them to create their own little German world in Russia. Only the tiniest minority of Mennonites would be required to speak Russian, never mind interact with Russian officials.[35] Indeed, Urry notes that because the Mennonites' concerns rarely strayed beyond the boundaries of their own colonies, few of them were even aware of the extent of Russian government involvement in their lives.[36] All this is not to say that Mennonite autonomy was more imagined than real. Rather, it suggests that Mennonite independence evolved largely out of practical concerns by the government. As the years passed, however, many Mennonites came to believe that they had fought for and won these rights as a result of their skillful diplomacy with benevolent Tsars.

A prime example of this is the Privilegium of 1800 granted by Emperor Paul. When the 1787 Potemkin-Hoeppner-Bartsch agreement had been reached, the two Mennonite deputies had attempted to have Catherine II not only endorse it, but also draw up an official Charter of Privileges which would be respected by future monarchs. Yet by the time of Catherine's death, no such charter had been obtained. The Mennonites were much relieved when Tsar Paul respected his mother's agreements with them, but they vowed to procure their much-desired document while still in favour with the Romanovs. Two members of the Mennonite clergy, Gerhard Willems and David Epp spent two years negotiating with the Russian court before obtaining their Privilegium in September of 1800.

By and large, the Privilegium was a reformulation of the Manifesto of 1763 and the agreement of 1787. Nonetheless, it sealed the good working relationship between the Mennonites and the Russian government. The Mennonites cherished this document as a guarantor of self-government and freedom of religion.[37] For a people who wished to retain a separate identity while safeguarding their special privileges, the conclusion to the Privilegium, had special resonance:

> We order all our military and civil authorities and government offices not only to leave these Mennonites and their descendants in unmolested enjoyment of their houses, lands, and other possessions, not

> to hinder them in the enjoyment of the privileges granted to them, but also to show them in all cases every assistance and protection.[38]

The charter added an extra bonus to help the Mennonites establish financial autonomy. It gave them a monopoly on the production and sale of beer and liquor in the colonies, and allowed them to retain their old methods of inheritance, and traditional system of caring for widows and orphans. This latter privilege would soon have significance for the Doukhobors, whose history had been very different.

While early Mennonite relations with the Russian government had largely been characterized by benevolence, the emergence of the Doukhobor sect in Russia had been met with immediate hostility. Whereas the Mennonites felt that they had been able to negotiate favourable terms from the Russians, the Doukhobors were under no such impression. Everything was dictated to them, including their name. It was in 1785 when Orthodox Archbishop Ambrosius of Ekaterinoslav first coined the term *Dukhobortsi*, from the words *dukh*, meaning 'spirit' or 'light', and *bor*, meaning 'struggle' or 'fight', in order to identify the local heretics who "wrestled against the spirit" or "struggled against the light."[39] These Doukhobors then accepted their name, claiming to wrestle with the Holy Spirit in the struggle for greater truth. Earlier, members of the Doukhobor sect had been lumped together with the Freemasons or else were referred to as *Iconobors*, a label given to a variety of dissenting sects who had rejected the use of icons.

Historians and theologians have many different theories about the Doukhobors' origins, but most will admit that they are still a mystery. The Doukhobors themselves used to claim that they were the spiritual descendants of such Biblical victims as Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-Nego from the Book of Daniel, or Abel from the Book of Genesis.[40] Many scholars will point out the obvious parallels between the Doukhobors and the German Anabaptists and English Quakers, such as their rejection of infant baptism, and their insistence on being guided by their consciences or 'inner light'.[41] More credible, however, are speculations that the Doukhobors are the descendants of early Eastern dissenting sects, such as Paulicians, Bogomils, Judaizers, or Flagellants.[42]

The Flagellants were the radical descendants of a seventeenth century sectarian named Danilo Filippov, whose doctrine closely resembled aspects of the Doukhobors'.[43] Filippov had left the army to devote his life to the study and teaching of the Scriptures, but ended up rejecting the Bible altogether. Real truth was to be found in the 'Living Book', a term meant to signify the Holy Spirit inside every human being. The Doukhobors similarly rejected the Bible, and believed in being guided by the spirit or light which existed in everyone. The Doukhobors also used the term 'Living Book' to describe a memorized collection of hymns and sayings which they used in worship services, instead of the Bible. The Doukhobors would also inherit Filippov's views on Jesus Christ. Christ was said to have lived as an ordinary man, but his spirit was forever resurrected after his death in the lives of special human beings, called Living Christs, such as Filippov himself. Later Doukhobor leaders would consider themselves to be Living Christs, and would be acknowledged as such by their followers.

The Spirit Wrestlers' emphasis on one's inner spirituality was the core from which most other aspects of their culture seemed to evolve.[44] Because God was worshipped in spirit, the external Church, with its hierarchy, liturgy, sacraments, icons, and scriptures, were all deemed to be superfluous. Like the Mennonites, the Doukhobors stressed simplicity in worship. This was symbolized by three items placed on a plain table during their services: a loaf of bread, a jug of water, and a full salt shaker. They refused to build churches, but worshipped in bare multi-purpose buildings known as 'meeting houses', 'prayer halls', or 'community centres'.[45] Just as God dwelt inside of man, so the scriptures were to come from within a person, and not from a book. Thus, the services involved memorized recitations from the 'Living Book', which was not written down until the twentieth century.

Furthermore, the notion of guidance by an inner light had greater social and economic implications for the Doukhobors. Because God existed inside everyone, all people were considered to be equal. This encouraged the creation of a communal social structure which will be discussed later. The Doukhobors' belief in the equality of all people, along with their resolve to be guided by their consciences, manifested itself in extreme irreverance for not only the Russian Orthodox Church, but towards nearly all forms of

governmental authority as well.[46] Little wonder, then, that the Russian government decided to persecute the Doukhobors so vehemently in the eighteenth century, especially since these notions of equality had enormous appeal for the Russian peasantry.[47]

The persecution of Doukhobors dates back to their very inception. In 1721, the Holy Synod was formed under Peter the Great, allowing church and state to promote the mutually beneficial ideologies of nationalism and orthodoxy.[48] Part of the Synod's program involved the free persecution of religious dissenters. Thus, a popular member of the disbanded *streltsy* named Prokop Loupkin, rumoured by some to be the first Doukhobor, was promptly jailed with twenty of his followers for preaching divine revelation in the 1720s.[49] However, most scholars and Doukhobors alike will refer to an unidentified non-commissioned officer who surfaced in the Kharkov village of Okhochem in the early part of the eighteenth century, as the first teacher of Doukhobor doctrine.[50] Disillusioned with his military past this nonconformist officer now became an avowed pacifist who preached against all traditional forms of authority. He argued that everyone was equal before God, and therefore the Church was superfluous and serfdom ought to be rejected.

The criminal teachings of this man soon spread beyond Kharkov. His heretical followers first appear in Imperial police files in the 1750s "as a numerous and fully-organized body," operating in four provinces.[51] It was about this time that the mysterious officer died. The task of propagating this new faith throughout Ukraine and southern Russia had passed into the hands of an educated and effective teacher named Silvan Kolesnikov. It was Kolesnikov who was familiar with the teachings of Filippov, and borrowed the idea of the 'Living Book'. Kolesnikov sought to protect his followers from persecution, by answering questions carefully, and by encouraging the attendance of Orthodox services to avoid suspicion.[52]

By the time of Kolesnikov's death in 1775, the sect had spread to Greater Russia, where a more militant preacher less disposed to compromise had gained wide influence in the Tambov region. This preacher, Ilarion Pobirokhin, became the new Doukhobor leader, and was the first to actually declare himself to be a 'Living Christ'. Insisting that his authority be respected, this 'Living Christ' gathered twelve loyal disciples around him, as well as twelve "angels of

death" who were instructed to punish those who failed to comply with his directives.[53]

Pobirokhin's militancy extended to his religious views. While Kolesnikov had used the Bible on occasion for justification of his teachings, Pobirokhin rejected it entirely. Instead, the new Doukhobor leader encouraged the development of a separate oral catechism for Spirit Wrestlers, one which included a strong social message. One of the most important hymns which was developed at this time described the Doukhobors' enemies as "those in authority, those who live at the expense of the toil of others, those who as thieves and robbers withhold from the people the divine truth that should be freely available...."[54].

The phenomenal popularity of Pobirokhin's message, in addition to its aggressive tone, raised the ire of government officials. By the 1780s, the Doukhobor faith was not only preached in Tambov and the Ukraine, but also in Moscow, the Transcaucasus, and was spreading rapidly among the Don Cossacks. Doukhobor members of Cossack and other military regiments began to refuse military service. This was cause for government concern and led to the arrest, trial, and exile of not only Pobirokhin, but many other Doukhobors in the last two decades of the eighteenth century.[55] George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic note that in the 1790s, mass trials of Doukhobors were a common phenomenon.[56] A number of Doukhobors were knouted and had their properties taken away. Pobirokhin himself was exiled to Siberia and never returned. Others were sent north, to Finland, Arkhangelsk, and the Solovetski Islands in the White Sea, or to a life of hard labour in the mines of the Ural mountains. In 1799, at the same time that Tsar Paul was granting the Mennonites their Privilegium in a spirit of generosity, he had issued an *ukaz* concerning the Doukhobors which had a far more sinister tone:

> ...all the adherents and members of this pernicious sect, unworthy of any clemency, should be banished to the Siberian mines for life, and set to do the hardest work, and that they should never have the chains removed from their hands and feet; in order that they who deny the supreme authority of earthly potentates, enthroned by the will of God, should feel sharply on their own bodies that there are authorities on earth established by God for the defence of the good, and for the terror and chastisement of villains like themselves.[57]

This decree gave local governors a free hand in persecuting the Spirit Wrestlers. Hundreds of fellow Doukhobors joined their exiled brethren along the peripheries of the empire in search of refuge among more tolerant populations. Thus, quite fitting was the description of the Doukhobors in Pobirokhin's celebrated psalm "What Manner of Person Art Thou?" The Spirit Wrestlers are described "as perpetual wanderers, on pilgrimage from a 'land of oppression' and 'a state of confusion' towards the land of enlightenment and truth."[58]

Release from the land of oppression was not far away. In 1790, shortly after the leader's exile, another figure had arrived in Pobirokhin's home town of Goreloye, in Tambov, to lay claim to the Doukhobor leadership. Once again it was a former military officer, Savelii Kapoustin, who was accepted as the next Living Christ, possibly because he was rumoured to have been Pobirokhin's son.[59] As the leader of a persecuted sect, Kapoustin decided not to adopt his predecessor's militancy, but tried to save the Doukhobors from total destruction by emphasizing to his followers the virtues of evasion and compromise.

This is not to say that strife between the Doukhobors and the state was a foregone conclusion. The Governor of Ekaterinoslav, for example, had described his Doukhobor subjects in 1792 as virtually model citizens (aside from their heresy) – sober, industrious, punctual in paying taxes, well behaved, etc.[60] Much of the tension between the sectarians and government may be attributed to misinformed officials in St. Petersburg, who continually overreacted to the Doukhobor threat, even under Kapoustin. Change would only come under the more liberal regime of Alexander I.

Immediately following his accession to the throne, the new Tsar, who had pacifist leanings, called for an end to torture in government interrogations. Alexander soon discovered the atrocities committed against the Spirit Wrestlers when, in 1801, he sent a commission to investigate and report on the frontier regions of southern Russia. The report, written by Senator Lopukhin, took note of the Doukhobors' situation, stating that the Spirit Wrestlers appeared to be quite harmless, yet continued to be the most persecuted of sects. Lopukhin further acknowledged a request by the Doukhobors of Ekaterinoslav to be able to live together as a religious community.[61]

At the time of this request, there were two major factors in support of the Doukhobors plea. Firstly, as has been shown with the Mennonites, the government approved of isolating foreign and dissenting sects, since it not only reduced the amount of religious squabbling, but also impeded further proselytization among Orthodox Russians.[62] Secondly, Lopukhin's investigation had been carried out as part of Alexander's intention to further develop New Russia for the economic and strategic advantage of greater Russia. This involved the creation of more frontier colonies. Thus, in 1802 Alexander personally encouraged the Chortitza Mennonites to entice their Prussian brethren to Russia, which led to the creation of the Molotschna colony.[63]

Alexander decided that the same could be done for the Doukhobors. In the same year, Alexander granted the Ekaterinoslav Doukhobors permission to settle beside the Mennonites along the Molochnaia River in Taurida. The 1802 decree even provided 15 *desiatin* of land for each settler, as well as an interest free loan of 100 rubles to cover transportation costs, and a five year exemption from taxes.[64] The initial success of the first village of Bogdanovka (Gift of God) led Alexander to allow a larger second emigration of Doukhobors from Tambov and Voronezh to the Molochnaia area in 1804. Kapoustin was among this second group, who assumed leadership of the entire Molochnaia colony from the new village of Terpenie (Patience). Over the next twenty years, hundreds of Spirit Wrestlers made their way to the Molochnaia region (or the 'Milky Waters', as it is known in English) from as far away as Finland and the Caucasus.[65] Already by 1816, there were approximately three thousand Doukhobors settled in nine separate villages at the Milky Waters. The number of Spirit Wrestlers in these villages rose to nearly four thousand by 1827.[66]

A good proportion of those who petitioned to settle in the Milky Waters area were not even genuine Doukhobors, but fugitive soldiers, criminals, exiles, and other ethnic groups such as Cossacks, gypsies, and Tartars.[67] Nearly all of these non-Doukhobor migrants were free peasants who were attracted to the favourable terms offered to Doukhobor settlers, and so pretended to join their long-lost brethren. Kapoustin is believed to have instructed the Spirit Wrestlers to accept these refugees into their fold, and even gave them new names to conceal them from the growing suspicions of the authorities.[68] In any event,

this mixed group of peoples not only became Doukhobors, but under Alexander's protection, they proceeded to build the first socioeconomic community based on Doukhobor principles. The Milky Waters colony appears to have preserved the Doukhobor religion from extinction, since the fate of Doukhobor refugees in other parts of the Russian Empire is largely unknown. It is assumed by historians that the groups of Doukhobors which were scattered throughout the Empire succumbed, in most cases, to the powers of Orthodoxy and assimilation, and thus quickly disappeared from historical records.[69]

In their New Russian colonies, however, the Mennonites and Doukhobors were left relatively undisturbed. This is a good point at which to compare the internal structure of the Doukhobor and the Mennonite colonies because at the Milky Waters, under the benevolence of Alexander I, the Doukhobors were finally able to join the Mennonites in establishing an autonomous community which accomodated their religious beliefs. Within each of these communities a unique culture emerged, based partly on collective institutions and sectarian solidarity. Both groups jealously guarded this culture and felt the need to isolate themselves in order to preserve their distinct way of life.

The Milky Waters colony did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Guardian Committee. As free Russian peasants, the Doukhobors were directly responsible to regional governments, but were allowed a considerable degree of autonomy within their villages. Under the traditional *mir* system of government, each Russian village commune collected its own taxes, redistributed its land, had its own forms of social assistance, and made its decisions through the *sobranie*, or village meeting. The Doukhobors generally followed the *mir* model, but were also allowed to maintain and create their own social structure and forms of governance.

Kapoustin, for instance, was able to continue as supreme leader of the Doukhobors, which in effect gave him complete control over the entire colony. The position of Living Christ itself became a hereditary one upon Kapoustin's death, creating a dynasty of Doukhobor leaders. This dynasty was recognized, respected, and left alone by all future Tsarist regimes until 1886, when certain Doukhobors asked the government to intervene in a succession crisis. It is not

clear, however, how much the Russian government knew about Kapoustin's position of authority. The Doukhobor leader was very careful not to offend the authorities and tried to minimize the apparent strength of his leadership. He instructed his followers to be polite and courteous towards all tsarist officials who visited the colony. The Doukhobors were told to raise their hats and bow submissively to an approaching official, and to memorize standard responses in the event of being questioned.[70] When asked about their leader, the Spirit Wrestlers were told to reply: "Among us, no one is greater than another."[71]

The Doukhobors might have considered one another to be spiritual equals, but it is clear that some had more authority than others. Each family was headed by a patriarch, who served as a provider, arbitrator, and religious instructor. Children were strictly disciplined and taught to respect their parents, who in turn listened to the elders. Because the Doukhobors were illiterate and strongly suspicious of secular education, it was the elders who were "the real carriers of culture, the teachers who kept the secrets of the Doukhobor movement."[72] Kapoustin appointed a council of 24 of these elders to assist him in the day to day governance of the colony, and to represent the Doukhobors before the Russian authorities. If anyone chose to disobey the orders of either Kapoustin or the council, he could be liable to banishment from the colony.[73] Thus, despite Doukhobor claims to the contrary, an established hierarchy did exist.

This hierarchy ruled from a building referred to as either 'Zion' or the 'Orphan's Home' (*Sirotskii Dom* -Rus.), a large, elaborate two-storeyed wooden house, situated among the orchards of Terpenie. Kapoustin lived here, along with a choir of virgins whom he trained to preserve the hymns from the 'Living Book' for future generations.[74] The small numbers of guests who visited the Doukhobors would also stay at 'Zion'. More important, the Home became the center of government for the commune. Elders would meet with Kapoustin at Zion to discuss colony matters and take care of the finances. The treasury was kept in the Home, and taxes were paid by the Orphan's Home directly to the Russian government. Kapoustin's official title was 'Manager of the Orphan's Home', one which well suited his desire to conceal the extent of his leadership, just as the title 'Orphan's Home' was in itself a convenient disguise for the center of Doukhobor authority.[75]

An administrative hierarchy may have existed, but the Doukhobors also maintained egalitarian institutions aimed at the creation of a society based on democracy, equality, and brotherly love. The original purpose of the Orphan's Home, for instance, had been to care for the less fortunate within the sect. The Spirit Wrestlers had borrowed the idea of the Home from their neighbours, the Mennonites.[76] The Privilegium of 1800 permitted the Mennonites to restore their former Prussian practice of creating a special trust fund for the support of orphaned children until they reached maturity. This practice was administrated by an 'Orphan's Office' (*Waisenamt* -Ger.), which soon came to provide credit to Mennonites for a variety of needs, and thus eventually resembled a colony bank.[77] The Doukhobors' *Sirotskii Dom* soon functioned similarly; it served as a welfare agency for orphans, widows, invalids, and all underprivileged Doukhobors, as well as a credit and loan office. When disaster struck, or if crops failed, the Orphan's Home readily provided whatever assistance was necessary to all who required it out of funds from the colony treasury.

However, in the earlier years at the Milky Waters, these insurance schemes were somewhat redundant since Kapoustin made the Milky Waters colony into a full-fledged commune, where Doukhobors shared practically everything with one another. The communal practices of the Doukhobors at the Milky Waters are considered by Doukhobor historian Koozma J. Tarasoff to be "a direct adaption [sic] of the almost universal Slavic institution of the village commune *(obschchina or mir)*.[78] Like the Russian *mir*, land was indeed held in common and periodically redistributed. But as Woodcock and Avakumovic point out, the Milky Waters commune went well beyond this, representing "a serious attempt...to create a Christian Utopia."[79] Not only were there communal mills, ovens, and granaries, but even garden produce, flocks, and herds of animals were cared for and shared by all. Nearly all Spirit Wrestlers were involved in agricultural work, because like the Mennonites, the Doukhobors felt that working the land was an occupation most pleasing to God. Everyone was expected to perform his or her duties in a spirit of solidarity, for the benefit of the entire community. Trade seemed to be considered as a necessary evil, and was thus left in the hands of the experienced elders. All profits from the sale of agricultural products were kept in the communal treasury

at the Orphan's Home. The Home, in turn, distributed food, land, and other goods strictly according to need.

The Doukhobors did not believe in taking each other to court. Differences of opinion could be taken up at the *sobranie*, a democratic practice taken from the *mir* system, but also applied to suit Doukhobor religious principles. At the meeting, any Spirit Wrestler was free to express his or her opinion on any aspect of colony life, including the women in attendance, for as the Doukhobors reasoned, "women also have understanding, and light is in understanding."[80] Through the *sobranie*, Kapoustin and the elders were given an opportunity to keep close and intimate contact with their followers and to receive feedback from them.[81] The absence of written regulations made the *sobranie* especially important for resolving community disputes.[82] Decisions would ideally be made once consensus (if not unanimity) was reached, often after long and intense discussions. But the recitation of hymns and psalms at the meeting made the *sobranie* a religious gathering as well as a political one. This created an atmosphere befitting compromise, for it reminded the Spirit Wrestlers of their spiritual solidarity.

Future generations of Doukhobors looked back to their early years in Taurida with longing. Their admiration for Alexander I's kindness and compassion reached such proportions that a popular legend evolved after the Tsar's death. It held that Alexander staged his death in 1825 in renunciation of his earthly throne and secretly came to live his final days as a simple peasant among the Spirit Wrestlers of the Molochnaia.[83] But more important than the gratitude the Doukhobors felt, was the pride that they continued to have in themselves. It seemed as though they had succeeded in creating their own Christian Utopia, a heaven on earth by the Milky Waters. Co-operation was said to have been the order of the day, and there were few major disputes or upheavals which divided the sect. Tarasoff well describes Doukhobor life in the early nineteenth century when he writes:

> ...the Doukhobors shared a rich fund of common experiences...their interaction was close, intimate and personal. Theirs was a small-scale society in which a group of people grew up together, worked together, and in many respects resembled the closeness of one large family. They felt secure as long as everyone continued to play his role as a member of one family.[84]

Materially, the Milky Waters colony appeared to be just as healthy. The Spirit Wrestlers were quick to copy the architectual styles and successful agricultural practices of the Molotschna Mennonites.[85] Local officials praised the Doukhobors for the exceptional cleanliness of their villages and for their promptness in paying taxes.[86] Robert Pinkerton's description of the Doukhobors during his 1816 visit to the Milky Waters supports this image, noting that "their neat and clean dress, comfortable-looking huts, and industrious habits, their numerous flocks, and extensive and well-cultivated fields, widely distinguish them from the common Russian peasantry."[87]

One would think that the Spirit Wrestlers would have been ideal neighbours for the Mennonites and other colonists nearby, but such was not the case. The Molokans, a sect which had splintered from the Doukhobors in the eighteenth century over the use of the Bible, insisted from the start on keeping separate communes at the Milky Waters, and relations between the two groups remained somewhat hostile.[88] Although the Molotschna Mennonites shared their agricultural techniques with the Spirit Wrestlers and approved of their industrious work ethic, the curious Mennonites were bothered by the fact that the Doukhobors were so secretive about their religious beliefs. Pinkerton also noted this during his 1816 travels:

> [The Doukhobors'] neighbours the Mennonites, and other German colonists, speak well of their morals; but all complain of the reserve and shyness of their character....Their neighbours seem to know but little of their religious tenets. The Mennonites say they are a peaceable and industrious people, but accuse them of hypocrisy: hence, say they, when some of their members were convicted of drunkenness, they denied the fact, and maintained that their members were all holy.[89]

The Mennonites also spread rumours of incestuous relationships among the Doukhobors and accused Kapoustin and his successors of carrying on wild orgies with the choir of so-called 'virgins' in the Orphan's Home.[90] There is little evidence to support these claims, however, which seem to have been borne out of a misunderstanding of Doukhobor customs. The Mennonites mistakenly concluded that the Doukhobors' were unwilling to discuss their faith because it involved immoral and unlawful practices.In reality, the Doukhobors kept silent in

order to protect themselves against accusations of proselytization and other charges, such as harbouring fugitives.[91]

One must remember that the tolerance granted to religious sects by Alexander I was only a recent deviation from centuries of persecution. The Doukhobors' guarantees had not been as extensive as the Mennonites; so in order to preserve their way of life, the former had to take extra precautions against offending the government. Nonetheless, plans were constantly being made to destroy them. L. A. Langeron, the governor of Kherson, with help from the archbishop of Ekaterinoslav, made several adamant appeals to have the Spirit Wrestlers expelled from New Russia.[92] The Doukhobors responded by turning even further inwards. As Maude writes,

> their clannishness even went to such an undesirable length that they used all possible means to conceal the misdeeds of their co-religionists. They were, however, exceedingly suspicious; had no confidence in, or frankness with, outsiders, and even feared and watched one another. Instances had occurred among them of one man killing another for a single rash word uttered in a state of intoxication.[93]

At the end of 1817, soon after Kapoustin was vindicated of recent heresy charges, the elders of Goreloye took a radical step. They announced the death and burial of Kapoustin, but secretly hid him in a nearby cave until his actual death in 1820.[94] The death of Kapoustin marked an end to the Christian Utopia, which appeared to have collapsed under the stress of outside pressure. However, because the Utopia buckled relatively easily, and because future leaders were reluctant to ressurect the commune to its original state, it is safe to say that the experiment failed not because of government interference, but due to internal weaknesses among the Doukhobors themselves.

Because the Mennonites remained free from persecution throughout their stay in Imperial Russia, it is perhaps more difficult to specify a particular 'golden age' of Russian-Mennonite history. As the years went by, the Mennonites became more prosperous and instituted increasingly progressive reforms. But those Mennonites who would later leave Russia saw the schisms and worldliness which accompanied this prosperity and progress. These Mennonites would look back to their earlier years in Russia as a period of unity,

simplicity, and godliness. By the first few years of Alexander I's reign, the Chortitza colony had already become adjusted to their new lives in Russia, the Molotschna Mennonites were in the process of building a stable new colony, and religious freedom and local autonomy had recently been guaranteed in writing. This meant that it was not long before the colonies were allowed to function similarly to the way they had been run in Prussia.

Most villages were arranged according to the 'street-village' (*Strassendoerfer* -Ger.) model whereby household plots were aligned in two rows along a wide central street. Usually the sides of Mennonite homes faced the street, while a barn was directly attached to the opposite side at the back of each plot. Villages contained approximately twenty to thirty families, each of which owned a separate plot with its home, barn, and surrounding gardens. Thus, despite the communal practices of the early Anabaptists, the Mennonites shared far less with one another than many Russian sects, such as the Doukhobors. True, the Mennonites built communal wells, tended some communal fields and gardens, shared pastureland, and had their herds supervised collectively, but their main agricultural endeavours were largely individual. Moreover, each farmer kept most of his own profits. Economic equality seemed to rest largely on the fact that all Mennonites were farmers with similar resources, a fact which was noted by Baron Augustus von Haxthausen during his visit to New Russia in the 1840s:

> Nowhere is the complete equality of men, based on a principle (in this case a religious principle) more evident than among the Mennonites. Since farming is a religious duty for them, no one can be more or less than a farmer. Every trade, craft, and business is included in this term and is related to farming. Their governing and administrative officials and even their preachers are not only of peasant background, they are themselves peasants.[95]

As a close-knit religious community, the Mennonites inevitably sought to support one another. Mennonites preferred to trade amongst themselves in order to reduce their dependency on the 'outside world.'[96] Certain social welfare institutions were brought from Prussia, such as the Orphan's Office and a mutual fire insurance scheme, which helped towards balancing any glaring inequalities. Perhaps more important in this regard was the role of the church,

which would try to help the less fortunate members of its congregations. Yet this would not always remain the case as will be noted later on.

With freedom of religion guaranteed by the Privilegium, the Russian Mennonites were allowed to continue their religious practices unmolested. In their religious life, the Mennonites stressed simplicity to the same degree as the Doukhobors. Mennonite churches in Russia rarely stood out in appearance from surrounding buildings and usually contained the simplest of furnishings.[97] The act of coming together to worship as a unified community of believers was valued more highly than the practicing of a small number of religious rituals. Services consisted merely of a sermon, prayer, and the singing of hymns. The sermons were delivered by a *Lehrer*, a German word for teacher, who usually was a regular farmer like other Mennonites, but one who had been chosen to serve as a minister and/or schoolteacher. Mennonite congregations also elected bishops (*Aelteste* - elders) who presided over several churches in a district as well as deacons who assisted them on local matters. Those who continually refused to follow the instructions of the elders could be excommunicated from the church, for as Urry writes, "a congregation not only had to be well organized, but also had to be kept pure and separate from the 'world'. Members who fell from grace threatened the entire community and had to be disciplined."[98] Because religion and community life were so intertwined among the Mennonites, expulsion from the church essentially meant social and economic ostracism as well.

The church, however, was not the only source of discipline. Like the Doukhobors, the wives and children of each Mennonite family were subject to a male head who held ultimate authority within his household. Although Mennonites, like the Doukhobors, were a primarily an agricultural society whose culture was based more on oral tradition than on literature,[99] the Mennonites nonetheless made a point of sending their children to school. Until the educational reforms of the 1820s and 1830s, the Mennonites used the classroom as much to instill discipline as to provide the basics of reading, writing, and religion.[100] It should be remembered that all reading and writing was allowed by the Russian authorities to be taught in German.

Thus, the Mennonites were able to transplant their unique way of life from the Prussian lowlands to the steppes of South Russia. It is not surprising, then,

that Baron von Haxthausen's initial reaction when viewing the Mennonite colonies in the 1840s was to believe that he had returned to the Holy Roman Empire:

> ...we soon reached the colony of Rosenthal, which belongs to the large German Mennonite settlement in the district of Khortitsa. So very German were all the surroundings that at once we felt that we were back on the West Prussian lowlands along the Vistula. Not only were the people, their character, their language, their dress, their dwellings and household furnishings German, but every dish and container, and even the domestic animals, the Pomeranian and the poodle, the cow and the goat as well. The colonists even know how to give nature itself a German appearance. The artist who paints local landscapes here would easily be able to pass them off as German. The fields are laid out and cultivated in the German manner; the farmlands and meadows are enclosed with German fences. Everything is German: the villages with all their individual farmsteads, the gardens and their arrangement, the plants, the vegetables, and above all the potatoes. This was not at all the case in the German colony on the Volga, where the people had remained German only in language, dress, and customs. Everything about them had a much more Russian character, but with the addition of German comforts.[101]

The above quotation reveals just how important the maintenance of old customs and traditions was to the Mennonites. The German appearance of the colonies stemmed partly from the Mennonites' belief that their German culture was far superior to that of the surrounding Russians. Thus the Mennonites might occasionally offer a benevolent hand to their neighbours, such as the Doukhobors, by demonstrating farming techniques and architectural skills, yet would rarely acknowledge the help of Russians in running their colonies. In the 1870s, D. Mackenzie Wallace noticed this self-righteousness among all the German colonists in Russia:

> Among the German colonists in Russia I have never seen anything of this kind. Though their fathers and grandfathers may have been born in the new country, they would consider it an insult to be called Russians. They look down upon the Russian peasantry as poor, ignorant, lazy, and dishonest, fear the officials on account of their tyranny and extortion, preserve jealously their own language and customs, rarely speak Russian well - sometimes not at all - and never intermarry with those from whom they are separated by nationality and religion.[102]

But as Haxthausen suggests, it was the Mennonites who were especially unwilling to adopt Russian ways. The Mennonites considered themselves to be a unique ethnic and religious community and had always been self-absorbed. The Mennonites were rarely influenced by other German colonists either, and the fact that the Russian government officially differentiated between the 'Mennonites' and 'German colonists' reinforced their separate identity.[103] It is ironic that the Mennonites would criticize the Doukhobors for being too secretive and clannish, when the Mennonites themselves had a reputation for being overly exclusive. An 1820 study of the Mennonites, for example, pointed out that:

> ...the [earlier hostile] treatment on the part of their neighbors and government officials must have had a decisive influence on the formation of certain characteristics....Thus some have asserted that Mennonites are sly, slow, uncommunicative and distrustful. In the earlier period the Mennonites were hated more by all religious groups, avoided more by them and thus forced to rely more upon themselves. The constant fear in which they lived forced them to be cautious and deliberate.[104]

By the nineteenth century, however, the Mennonites did not fear persecution as their Anabaptist ancestors once had, nor as the Doukhobors currently did. But the Mennonites continued to separate themselves from the outside world, as they had done throughout their history, for fear of contaminating their traditions. The Mennonites came to Russia because they would not be required to be a part of the world, but could maintain their purity by practicing traditional customs within closed communities. The Mennonites' insistence on keeping a separate culture, along with the generous amount of local autonomy granted to them, has led Mennonite scholars to refer to the colonies as a "Mennonite Commonwealth" in Russia, or a "state within a state".[105] After years of searching, the Mennonites and the Doukhobors were both finally able to create the types of closed religious communities they had longed for, under the benevolence of Alexander I, with minimal governmental interference.

However, from the 1820s to the 1870s, both the Mennonite and Doukhobor colonies in New Russia underwent significant changes which would break down the closed Christian communes created in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Although these two communities remained careful to guard themselves against the reactionary regime of Tsar Nicholas I and subsequent administrations, history reveals that they were more vulnerable to changes originating within each sect. More specifically, personalities emerged from each group who would lead their communities in new directions. A man named Johann Cornies instituted a series of reforms which set the Mennonite landowners on a course of economic growth and prosperity, but created resentment among the landless and the religious conservatives. Poor leadership among the Doukhobors contributed to their exile to the Caucasus, where progressive leaders, such as Lukeria Kalmykova, brought increased affluence to the community. In either case, the government was able to become increasingly more involved in the colonies' affairs by supporting the progressive reformers and their efforts. By the second half of the nineteenth century, both groups were beginning to interact with other peoples outside of their sect, and to resemble greater Russian society.

The Spirit Wrestlers clearly remained more vulnerable to the mood swings of each Tsarist regime. In his later years, Alexander I became increasingly more conservative and approved a number of restrictions on the Milky Waters colony concerning migration, land ownership and state service.[106] These decrees, however, were rarely enforced until the liberal Tsar's death in 1825. But when Nicholas I ascended to the throne, a policy of Official Nationality was endorsed, which defended the virtues of autocracy and orthodoxy. His reactionary administration was characterised by the repression of all dissidents, political and religious alike, which meant that the Doukhobors would be treated like heretics once again. Moreover, Nicholas was a military enthusiast who equated non-resistant doctrines with treason. Thus, when Nicholas heard that Doukhoborism was being spread among the Cossacks, he viewed it as a serious threat to national stability.[107] On February 6, 1826, a decree was passed which prohibited public worship by Doukhobors, and punished new Doukhobor converts by exile to Siberia and the Caucasus. This

decree, however, was largely aimed at the uncontained groups of Doukhobors outside of the Milky Waters.[108] But the colony Doukhobors, who kept to themselves, were allowed to continue their private practices.

Perhaps more unfortunate for the Spirit Wrestlers was the succession of incompetent leaders following Kapoustin's death in 1820. At age twenty-eight, Kapoustin's son, Vasilii Kalmykov, became the next Living Christ, followed by his son, Ilarion, in 1832.[109] What little has been recorded about the Kalmykovs' leadership at the Milky Waters is entirely negative and remains a particularly sore spot in Doukhobor history. It is said that both leaders were feeble-minded drunkards who became so consumed with personal pleasure-seeking and "evil practices" that they allowed control of the colony to pass over to the Council of Elders.[110] Unfortunately, what has been written about the rule of the Elders, the supposedly wise "carriers of Doukhobor culture", is even less complimentary. The religious commune seemed to fall into a state of anarchy as elders ruthlessly suppressed those who questioned their authority. Baron von Haxthausen's infamous depiction of a reign of terror by the Elders has made its way into many critical works on the Spirit Wrestlers:

> The Council of Elders constituted itself a terrible inquisitional tribunal. The principle, 'Whoso denies his God shall perish by the sword,' was interpreted according to [the Elders'] caprice; the house of justice was called *Rai i muka*, paradise and torture; the place of torture and death. Within a few years about two hundred people disappeared, leaving scarcely a trace behind; an investigation by the authorities, too late to prevent the mischief, revealed a frightful state of things: bodies were found buried alive, and many mutilated.[111]

It is important to remember that when Haxthausen recorded this lurid (and surely exaggerated) account of Doukhobor activities, he had befriended the Mennonites and was strongly influenced by tales of orgies in the Orphan's Home and other Mennonite suspicions of their neighbours. Haxthausen's depiction of hundreds of murders is especially questionable in proportion to the mere four thousand Doukhobors who made up the colony.[112] Nonetheless, the Russian government did feel compelled to launch a judicial inquiry into foul play at the Milky Waters. The investigation took place between 1834 and 1839, during which time twenty-one[113] murdered bodies were recovered, although it

is suspected that some of the missing corpses were carried down the Molochnaia River to the Sea of Azov.[114] In any case, whether twenty or two hundred were killed, it is clear that with a lack of guidance, the Doukhobors' Christian Utopia had quickly degenerated into a more sinister society. While these twisted events at the Milky Waters during the 1830s certainly remain unparalleled in Doukhobor history, the Spirit Wrestlers nonetheless developed a habit of committing sudden sensational acts which marred their popular perception in Russia and in Canada.[115] In the future, as Doukhobor society became more receptive to outside influences, some bizarre events were deliberately staged by the sectarians in order to attract public attention. On the other hand, because the Doukhobors often chose to remain secretive about their activies, the greater public tended to be overly suspicious of the sect, and many unsavoury tales were spread about the Spirit Wrestlers without foundation in fact.[116] One can only conclude that there are many missing pieces to the puzzle of what exactly happened to the Doukhobors in the 1830s.

The aftermath of the strange events of the 1830s is better documented. After completing the investigation in 1839, the Russian government decided to punish the Spirit Wrestlers collectively by banishing the entire sect to the Caucasus Mountains. In January of 1841, the Governor-General of New Russia, Prince M. S. Vorontsov, released a statement which explained the reasoning behind the move. Vorontsov did not mention specific incidents, but referred to the gross atrocities and bloodshed of the 'reign of terror'. In general terms, he labelled the Doukhobors as "stubborn law-breakers" and insubordinate "rebels" who presented a danger to their fellow citizens of New Russia.[117]

Yet Woodcock and Avakumovic make the shrewd observation that because the authorities condemned the Doukhobors as a whole, rather than convicting and punishing the guilty individuals, one must suspect the government's motives for expelling the sect. When the Doukhobors had been granted an amnesty at the Milky Waters at the turn of the century, New Russia was largely wilderness, and the government needed hard working pioneers to make the region agriculturally productive. By 1840, large numbers of Orthodox peasants had been moving into the fertile regions in search of productive farmland. These peasants envied the wealthy Doukhobors and the privileges

which they had been granted. It should also be remembered that Nicholas' regime had been fiercely opposed to Doukhoborism from the outset. In 1842, a government list still ranked the Spirit Wrestlers as the third most harmful religious sect in Russia.[118] Thus, the events at the Milky Waters in the 1830s provided a timely excuse to vacate the cultivated lands for the Orthodox peasantry and to simultaneously provide the new frontier regions with Doukhobor pioneers. It was further hoped that by sending the Doukhobors to the remote Caucasus, the sect would be forced to betray its pacifist convictions. The sectarians would encounter roving bandits and fierce hillsmen, and surely would have to defend both themselves and their property.[119]

Who then bears responsibility for the expulsion of the Doukhobors from their communal haven at the Milky Waters? Clearly the Russian government was not justified in punishing all the Doukhobors for the crimes that were committed. On the other hand, the Spirit Wrestlers gave the government ample pretext to take decisive action, for the sect had obviously degenerated into a state of anarchy and disarray. Few Doukhobors in past and present have failed to admit that serious indiscretions were committed at this time. Aylmer Maude has pointed out that "whereas the Doukhobors have at other times stood up to the Russian Government with great courage and tenacity, they, on this occasion, submitted in a way suggesting that they had lost confidence in themselves and in their Leader."[120]

But the Doukhobors continued to follow their hereditary leaders, nonetheless. Emigration to Transcaucasia began in the spring of 1841, when Ilarion Kalmykov led the first group of 800 Doukhobors to the Wet Mountains *(Mokriye Gorii)* of the Tiflis region. Groups of similar size followed each subsequent year until 1845, when more than four thousand Doukhobors had been resettled in nine different villages in these mountains. The Tsarist government had declared that those who were willing to convert to Orthodoxy would be allowed to stay at the Milky Waters. Initially only a small number of wealthier Doukhobor families decided to take up this offer in order to keep their property. These families soon discovered that they could profit even more by cheaply buying up the land of their exiled brethren.[121] Later, more families returned from the Caucasus, unable to withstand the hardships of pioneer life,

so that the number of those who stayed behind eventually reached one thousand.[122]

The great majority of Doukhobors, however, were forced to adjust to a new topography and climate. At five to six thousand feet above sea level, the Wet Mountains offered the Doukhobors a very short growing season, heavy frosts, and poor soil for growing crops. Ilarion Kalmykov died shortly after his arrival in the Caucasus in 1841, and control over the colonies once again rested with the Council of Elders. But the Caucasus offered the Spirit Wrestlers a new start; this time the Elders provided their people with sound governance until 1856, when Ilarion's second son, Peter, became old enough to take over the leadership duties.[123] Peter, like his father and his grandfather, was also fond of drink and personal pleasures, such as hunting. But like a good Russian autocrat, he maintained a tight grasp on his authority, and was complemented by an exceptionally intelligent and able wife, Lukeria Gubanova. When Peter fell deathly ill from an intestinal disease in 1864, it was to Lukeria that he bequeathed his leadership. Because the Spirit Wrestlers believed that all people were equal, there is no recorded protest over the fact that their new Living Christ was now a woman.

Despite early hardships, the Doukhobors soon prospered as they had along the Molochnaia. The Doukhobors took up animal raising, which was better suited to the Wet Mountains climate, and soon were carrying on a profitable trade with neighbouring communities and military outposts.[124] Four villages were founded near Elizavetpol, where grains and vegetables were discovered to grow much better. The Orphan's Home was reestablished in the Wet Mountains village of Goreloye, but it no longer held a monopoly on land and wealth. Instead, the new colonies were organized on a semi-individual/semi-communal basis. Like the Mennonites, land was basically owned individually, with pastures held in common.[125] Yet each village reserved a healthy portion of its crops and herds to support the Orphan's Home, which once again became a wealthy institution.[126]

A rich Orphan's Home, however, did not necessarily lead to greater equality among the Spirit Wrestlers. In the Caucasus, a veritable aristocracy was formed by those with connections to the Home, especially among the families of prominent elders and those with familial ties to the Kalmykov

lineage.[127] These families were distinguishable from their poorer brethren by their larger wooden homes, finer clothes, and bigger herds. Some of these families even hired fellow Doukhobors as labourers on what might be considered to be their 'estates'.[128]

The Doukhobor aristocracy reached the peak of its prominence under Lukeria Kalmykova, whose reign of more than twenty years ushered in a new golden age of economic prosperity and stability. Lukeria appeased the average Doukhobor peasant by frequently travelling to each village, listening to grievances, and ensuring that the peasants' needs were met. On the other hand, Lukeria allowed the rich families to get even richer. Although the Spirit Wrestlers had earlier shunned nearly all forms of ceremony, weddings now became grand and elaborate celebrations involving feasting and drinking.[129] Simplicity and godliness had become replaced with materialism and worldliness.

Increased worldliness necessitated a new relationship with the outside world. First of all, property had to be protected against thieving Caucasians. The wealthier the Doukhobors became, the more they compromised their non-resistant principles in defence of their wealth. The Spirit Wrestlers chased plunderers away by gunfire, and even shot them down on occasion.[130] Heavily armed bodyguards were employed to protect Doukhobor leaders on their travels throughout the Transcaucasus.[131] Yet the Spirit Wrestlers, through their industry and trade, made more friends than enemies among the Caucasian tribes. The 'aristocracy' in particular, formed close social alliances with the nobility of moslem tribes, such as the Tartars.[132]

The Doukhobors also forged a more open relationship with government. The more liberal regime of Alexander II appreciated the productiveness of the Spirit Wrestlers in the Caucasus, who supplied provisions for Imperial troops stationed in the region.[133] Lukeria prided herself on her gracious treatment of visiting Russian officials, including Grand Duke Michael and General Loris-Melikov, who came to the Caucasus to lead the campaigns against the Turks in the 1870s. In return for the Doukhobors' cooperation, the Tsarist government implicitly refrained from interfering in colony affairs.

A major exception to this implicit understanding came during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, when the Russian government insisted that the

Doukhobors support the war effort by providing a transport column for a crucial Russian offensive. The Spirit Wrestlers were blackmailed, for not only did the government threaten to conscript young Doukhobors into the regular army should they refuse, but refusal might also mean defeat by the Turks, who would surely plunder their villages.[134] On the other hand, participation in war would clearly violate one of their most fundamental principles. After receiving guarantees that they would not have to bear arms, the Doukhobors gave in to the demand, and provided four hundred wagons plus men and horses for the task. The Spirit Wrestlers were paid approximately one and a half million rubles for their services, and in addition were granted permission to establish several new villages in the newly conquered territories of the Tiflis and Kars regions.[135] Yet Woodcock and Avakumovic suggest that despite saving their prosperous colonies and avoiding persecution, the Doukhobors as a whole, and Lukeria in particular, had a guilt-ridden conscience after having strayed so far from the simplistic tenets of early Doukhoborism.[136]

Perhaps to atone for the sins during her reign, Lukeria sought to groom a new leader who might elevate the spiritual level of the Doukhobors to a similar height as that of their material standards. Shortly after the end of the Russo-Turkish war, Lukeria brought a young man of twenty, named Peter Verigin, to live with her at the Orphan's Home. Peter was an exceptionally bright boy from a prominent family which descended from Kapoustin.[137] After learning to read with help from a family tutor, Verigin is said to have educated himself, although he mostly studied the non-literate Doukhobor teachings, such as the Living Book. Nonetheless, Lukeria took note of his intelligence, and proceeded to break up his marriage in order to tutor him at the Orphan's Home for future leadership.[138] Most rank and file Doukhobors soon recognized Verigin as the impending heir. This aroused resentment among Lukeria's advisers and potential candidates for the leadership, such as her brother, Michael Gubanov.

When Lukeria died in 1886, a formal split occurred along lines which had already been drawn.[139] Verigin, who refused to be bullied by the managers of the Orphan's Home, spoke largely in abstract religious terms to fellow Doukhobors. He seemed to represent a return to the stubborn spiritualism of the early Doukhobor martyrs. This had enormous appeal after years of spiritual doldrums, especially among the less wealthy, who had privately censured the

material excesses of their richer brethren all along.[140] Verigin was received as the next Living Christ by approximately two-thirds of the sect, which came to be known as the Large Party.

The other third formed the Small Party, which was composed of wealthier and more progressive elements who supported Gubanov. Gubanov stood for the status quo. He and his fellow administrators wanted to maintain the material well-being of the colony through a continuous cooperative relationship with the Russian government. The Small Party felt that Verigin might jeopardize this relationship, since he appeared more committed to the calling of God within him than to the dictates of government statutes.[141] Furthermore, the new Imperial administration under Alexander III would not be a good choice of governments against which to test religious freedoms. After coming to the throne in 1881, the new autocrat combined forces with the Ober-Procurator of the Holy Synod, Constantine Pobedonostsev, to enforce a program which was similar in spirit to Tsar Nicholas' Official Nationality and reintroduced the systematic persecution of religious minorities. The Small Party proceeded to use the government's religious intolerance to their advantage.

As evidence of how far the Doukhobors had strayed from their original beliefs, the Small Party took the unprecedented step of enlisting the support of the Russian authorities in order to put down the Large Party. Gubanov's close ally, Zubkov, is said to have informed the Caucasian Governor-General that Verigin was a troublemaker who would discourage the Spirit Wrestlers from recognizing governmental authority. Verigin's supporters also insisted that Zubkov, the colony treasurer, gave Russian officials healthy bribes to involve themselves in the dispute.[142] In any event, it was no secret which side the Imperial government favoured. Shortly after the majority of Doukhobors had chosen Peter Verigin as the next Living Christ, their new leader was arrested and exiled to Siberia. The Small Party then took another un-Doukhobor-like step, by taking the Large Party to court over the control of the Orphan's Home and its assets.[143] The district court awarded control of the Orphan's Home to Gubanov personally, since it had been owned in Lukeria's name. Thus, the Large Party lost all that they had put into the communal fund, while Gubanov used the Orphan's Home to exclusively support his own followers.[144]

The split of 1886-1887 became a permanent one, despite the fact that members of both parties continued to live beside one another in some villages. The Small Party remained more concerned with their material well-being than with their spiritual welfare, and gave up the practice of acknowledging a Christ on Earth. The Large Party continued to recognize the exiled Verigin as a Living Christ until his death in 1924. After years of compromise with Russian society to avoid persection, and after opening the doors of their sect to worldliness and extravagant living, the split of 1886-1887 represented a crossroads in the Doukhobors' life journey. The Spirit Wrestlers now had to choose between a number of things: between further opening themselves up to the world or returning to their former closed communities, between accepting the values of Russian society or returning to the early teachings of the sect, between an individual or a communal lifestyle, between progressivism and conservatism, between renewed prosperity or renewed spirituality. But most important for this study, this split differentiated between those who stayed in Russia, and those who later emigrated to Canada.

The Mennonites reached a similar crossroads by the 1870s although their experience in Russia in the nineteenth century was far less dramatic than the Doukhobors. While the fate of the Doukhobors as a whole was closely linked to the personality and the decisions of their leader, the Mennonites rarely rallied around outstanding individuals. One exception to this trend was Johann Cornies, whom some have referred to as 'the Mennonite Tsar' because of the enormous influence he assumed in the wake of his agricultural and cultural reforms.[145]

But Cornies was only able to influence the Mennonites because he received the full and active support of the Russian government. Generally, it was difficult for a single Mennonite to hold wide spread authority, for the highest position of power one could aspire to was a district official, and much of the decision-making was done at the congregational and village level. This was one reason why the Mennonites' relations with the Russian government remained more stable than the Doukhobors', and why changes to their relationship evolved more gradually. Another reason was that the Privilegium of 1800 clearly outlined the rights and duties of both the government and the

colonists, and the Mennonites were quite content with these terms, since they had drawn up the agreement themselves.

Thus, there are few dramatic political events or conflicts between the Mennonites and the Russian government in Russian-Mennonite history. Instead, Mennonite historiography is dominated by the analyses of economic and religious changes within the colonies. These latter changes, however, were extremely important, for they led the Mennonites to the crossroads of the 1870s.

Central to these changes was the figure of Johann Cornies (1789-1848). Cornies came to Russia with his parents during the 1804 emigration from Prussia. They settled in the village of Ohrloff, in the Molotschna colony, where Johann was able to purchase a farm in 1811. His successful experiments at breeding sheep and other farm animals not only rewarded him financially, but also earned the attention of Russian officials. Cornies was selected to lead a number of agricultural assignments between 1817 and 1830, which made him a respected advisor to the government on agricultural matters.[146] Cornies became most influential among the Mennonites after 1830, when the Guardian's Committee appointed him president of the Agricultural Union of the Molotschna colony, a position which he kept until his death in 1848. The purpose of the new organization was explained by its official title, the Commission for the Effective Propagation of Afforestation, Horticulture, Silk Culture and Viticulture. The phenomenal successes of the Molotschna Commission (often simply called the 'Union') led to creation of another one in Chortitza in 1832.[147] There were many agricultural reforms made under the Unions: experimental farms and agricultural training schools were established, the four-field crop rotation system was employed, new fertilization techniques were used, modern farm equipment was obtained, more lands were placed under cultivation, grain exports reached new heights, potato and fruit production was encouraged, millions of trees were planted, and the silk industry grew dramatically.[148]

Cornies began exporting the Mennonites' agricultural skills to neighbouring Doukhobor and Tartar colonies. In the 1840s, Cornies took the visiting Haxthausen to a nearby Tartar settlement which looked nearly identical to a Mennonite village. Apparently, Cornies had planned these communities

and instructed the Tartars on how to run them himself.[149] Haxthausen was so impressed by Cornies' achievements that he felt the Mennonites should serve as models for all of Russia:

> In all of Russia there is no region where, on the whole, there exists such a uniformly high level of agricultural and social development as here. These Mennonite colonies can serve as a standard for the government and as a model for all the Russian peoples as to what one can achieve through diligence, integrity, and order. Above all, they provide the government with the certain measure of how much could be accomplished in the area of cultivating and particularly of converting the steppes and all of southern Russia into forests....If all of southern Russia were as advanced agriculturally and socially as this region, Moscow and Petersburg would no longer be the focal points and hubs of the empire; rather, these functions would pass to Kharkov or Ekaterinoslav and Odessa.[150]

The Russian government had, in fact, taken interest in the Mennonites' achievements. In 1837, the Mennonites and other foreign colonists were placed with state peasants under the jurisdiction of the new Ministry of State Domains, led by Count P. D. Kiselev. In a sense, the new Ministry wanted to do for Russia what the Agricultural Unions had done for the Mennonites. It is not surprising that the Ministry sent experts to Molotschna to study the Mennonites' improvements and were favourably impressed.[151] Kiselev instructed the more backward German settlements to learn from the Molotschna colony, and threatened to replace their local officials with Mennonites.[152] He even lamented the fact that there were not enough men like Cornies to supervise the entire state peasantry.[153]

Cornies himself was made a member of the Ministry's Academic Committee, and was given full support for his reforms in the Molotschna and surrounding colonies. According to Rempel, Kiselev gave Cornies "a free hand and endowed him with unlimited powers to enforce the desires and policies issuing from higher authority and to compel, in most instances, unquestioned obedience to his own conceptions as to what was good for the economic well-being and cultural advancement of the Mennonite colonies."[154]

It was this government support which enabled Cornies to push through his progressive reforms upon a sect which sought to preserve old traditions and

practices. Although Mennonite farmers surely recognized agricultural progress under Cornies, they resented being told how they should run their farms. The Union, though run by Mennonites, had simply been imposed on the colonists and seldom requested their advice on reforms.[155] Mennonite farmers began to curse Cornies and his assistants as "forest devils" and on one occassion planted young trees upside-down in defiance of the Union's orders.[156]

Cornies encountered resistance because he challenged the closed and tradition-bound mentality of the Mennonites. He wanted them to be a progressive community open to change. As Urry writes,

> The obdurate nature of many Mennonites...was matched by Cornies' own intolerance and seeming disregard for Mennonite traditions. "It is time," he is reputed to have stated, "that the Mennonites put aside their old-fashioned ways." The old was to give way to the new and the end justified his means.[157]

Cornies felt that educational reform was crucial for the success of wider reforms. He needed to replace the Mennonites' narrow educational focus on basic elementary skills and religion with a modern program of technical instruction and secular learning. Kiselev and the Ministry of State Domains encouraged the growth of technical schools, and sent directives to the foreign colonies on educational reform.[158] School administration in Molotschna was placed under the control of the Agricultural Union. By the 1840s, separate school districts were formed, teacher training facilities were established, more qualified teachers were hired who had knowledge of the Russian language, new schools were built, and a standard curriculum was imposed which included new subjects, such as geography.[159] School attendance was strictly enforced when Cornies' son-in-law, Philipp Wiebe, was made school inspector following Cornies' death in 1848.[160]

The 'Mennonite Tsar' was able to implement these changes with the help of the Ministry of State Domains, the Guardian's Committee, and the district officials of the colonies. Most Mennonite district mayors also supported Cornies because he favoured the expansion of civil powers in the colonies. Yet the growth of secular authority was resented by conservative colonists and numerous religious leaders. Thus, in 1841 a conservative elder named Jacob Warkentin attempted to have his own candidate (Peter Toews) elected district

mayor and succeeded. Cornies and his supporters, however, refused to recognize the vote. When Warkentin protested to the Guardian's Committee, his church congregation, (which had been recognized as a center of opposition to Cornies) was promptly divided into several smaller congregations by Committee head Evgenii von Hahn, who also removed Warkentin from his position of elder.[161] The episode symbolized what many Mennonites felt was the erosion of their democratic and religious freedoms under Cornies. It also contributed to a growing sense of crisis among religious conservatives who felt that the Mennonites had become too worldly.

The Mennonites always had pious prophets among them who charged that the greater community was straying from the path of humility and righteousness. Warkentin wanted to have Toews elected district mayor because the post was held by Johann Regier, who not only supported Cornies, but was also a heavy drinker who had been banned from his church congregation.[162] Yet perhaps the most notorious religious watchdog had been Klaas Reimer (1770-1837), who in 1803 fled from the 'worldly' Prussian congregations to lead a life of piety among the new Russian colonies. Reimer felt that the Mennonite civil authorities held too much power in proportion to the church. He further condemned worldly practices among the Mennonites, such as smoking, drinking, swearing, card playing, and the use of musical instruments. Mennonite monetary contributions to help wounded Russian soldiers during the Napoleonic wars was considered by Reimer to be a contribution towards the war effort. Thus, during the second decade of the nineteenth century, Reimer started his own congregation, later known as the *Kleine Gemeinde* (Little Congregation). This group considered themselves to be the true followers of the Mennonite faith and would continually keep the greater community on their guard against further charges of worldliness.

The objections of the Kleine Gemeinde had particular poignancy during the Cornies years. In 1833, a more liberal-minded Molotschna preacher named Heinrich Balzer, decided to join the Kleine Gemeinde in protest against the growing materialism and worldly living among the colonies. His justification included a list of vices to which the Mennonites had succumbed:

> Pride, ostentation, vanity, greed for money and lust for wealth, avarice, drunkenness, luxury, vicious life, masquerades, obscene songs,

> gambling, and above all the miserable smoking of tobacco - they all have become passionate habits of the Mennonites to such an extent that in their denial they would not even recognize any praiseworthy advantage over the pitiable Nogaians who know no greater bliss in this world or in the here-after than the gratification of their lusts.[163]

Balzer felt that through their material growth, the Mennonites had become "[i]nfatuated by reason and the riches of good things of this world" which only encouraged "worldy learning" among them.[164] Unless the Mennonites once again became simple farmers, he argued, the Mennonites would lose their religious principles and become a part of mainstream secular society. Many of those who later emigrated to Canada would feel the same way.

The Mennonites' involvement in the Crimean War of 1853-56 created further tension between progressives and conservatives. Because the Mennonite colonies were located directly between greater Russia and the Crimean war theatre, the Russian government called on the Mennonites to transport supplies for Imperial troops. The situation seemed analagous to the Doukhobors' dilemma of 1877, but the Mennonites were less rigid in their pacifism and had fewer qualms about providing this service. In fact, not only were thousands of transport trips *(podvods)* made with the Mennonites own wagons and horses, but "spontaneous love offering[s]" of foodstuffs and money were donated, and thousands of sick and wounded soldiers were brought back to the colonies to be nursed back to health.[165] Many Mennonites were undoubtedly inspired by humanitarian and Christian motives, while others recognized the more practical need to secure Russia's southern boundaries for the protection of their own villages. There were others who considered the Crimean War to be an excellent opportunity for the Mennonites to prove their loyalty to the Tsar. It was hoped that the Imperial government would reward the Mennonites through continued recognition of the Privilegium. Both Nicholas I and Alexander II did officially acknowledge the Mennonites' efforts after the war, but it is doubtful whether the War significantly improved the governments relations with the Mennonites.[166]

However, there were also many colonists who were deeply disturbed by Mennonite involvement in the war. Elderly Mennonites were especially

resentful of some of the worldly habits picked up by younger men through their contacts with Russian soldiers.[167] Similar concerns are reflected in the genealogical narrative of one Jacob Unruh:

> These boys [who took part in the *Podvod*] were told to smoke and also drink brandy to ward off contagious diseases. Father said this did very little good but rather caused them to form disagreeable habits. They also acquired the use of profane language from their rough companions When they returned home they felt quite out of place with the other boys of the village. Father said war did not tend to improve mankind.[168]

James Urry also notes how Heinrich Richert of the Alexanderwohl congregation spoke out against Mennonite participation in the war, and that "it appears his views were shared by members of that *Gemeinde*." [169] The Kleine Gemeinde were also strongly critical of the events of 1854-1856. This is important because the Kleine Gemeinde and the Alexanderwohl congregations would later become two of the largest supporters of the emigration movement. Not surprisingly, emigration spokesman Cornelius Jansen later recalled the events of the Crimean War when seeking to convince fellow Mennonites to leave Russia in the 1870s.[170]

An important distinction has been made up to this point between Mennonite progressives and conservatives. This split became important during the emigration debates of the 1870s. Nonetheless, this overview of Mennonite history oversimplifies the many intertwined religious, social, and economic issues which divided the Mennonites and later influenced the debates.

Perhaps the most divisive struggle among the Mennonites was fought between the landed and the landless. The Land Laws formulated under Catherine the Great dictated that colony landowners could not sell or mortgage their homesteads in parts, nor could they be divided upon the death of the owner.[171] Land was to be inherited and kept only by a single sibling (usually the youngest son), which meant that the others would be unable to own a full farm. Approximately one-sixth of farm and pasturelands was set aside as 'surplus' land for the use of future communities, and other 'reserve' lands were designated for the same purpose.[172] Yet no laws specified who was to receive the surplus and reserve lands, nor what the rights of the landless were.

The landless were eligible to receive cottage plots on which to build homes, which were located in a 'ghetto' adjoining every village. Those who lived in these 'ghettos' were called *Anwohner*. The *Anwohner* who wished to farm were sometimes able to rent the surplus lands, but had to compete with the landowners who wanted to rent these lands themselves. The landless were at a distinct disadvantage, however, since they were not enfranchised; only the landowners could elect the officials who distributed the land. Notoriously corrupt officials, such as Molotschna district mayor David Friesen, depended on the landowners for support, and therefore vowed not to give the *Anwohner* even a half *desiatina* of land.[173] Instead, Friesen and others cheaply rented the surplus lands to the landowners for use as pastures. Yet some landowners proceeded to sublet these areas to the poorer farmers and landless at a higher cost for personal profit.[174] Church ministers were reluctant to condemn the exploitation of the *Anwohner*, since they too wanted the support of the wealthy, and often were landowners themselves.[175]

The landless were further required to shoulder much of the colony tax burden, since a poll tax scheme was approved by civil officials as the principal means of collecting revenue. The *Anwohner* were also expected to contribute equally to other shared obligations, such as stocking communal granaries, and providing equipment and labour for reparations to roads, bridges, and public buildings.[176] Thus, even when surplus lands were redistributed, the landless were often ineligible to receive a share due to their lack of funds. In the Molotschna colony, Johann Cornies had passed strict guidelines which required potential farmers to have a certain amount of money before starting a farm.[177]

The Russian government had periodically attempted to alleviate the plight of the landless by offering the Mennonites new lands. In 1833, the Chortitza colonists were given 9,000 *desiatini* of land in the Mariupol District. Five villages were created here between 1836 and 1852, creating what became known as the Bergthal colony. Between 1843 and 1874, eleven more daughter colonies were created with the help of the Guardian's Committee.[178] Yet this was only a temporary solution to the problem, for land became more difficult to obtain. By the 1860s, the Bergthal colony was overpopulated and more than half of the total number of Mennonites in the two original colonies remained

landless.[179] Many large families were crowded into small cottages, which were often rented rather than owned. The Mennonites' egalitarian and democratic institutions had failed a large portion of their population.

Yet not all of the landless were destitute. A good number of them owned businesses or became professionals. By the 1860s, some landless Russian Mennonite families had sent their children abroad to receive an education. In any event, the *Anwohner* became quite capable of campaigning for their rights, and in 1863, one hundred and fifty Molotschna landless sent a petition to the Guardian's Committee outlining their greivances. The petition called for an extension of the vote to the *Anwohner*, the distribution of surplus lands to them, as well as an impartial investigation into the question of land ownership among the Mennonites.[180] The petition was followed by a deputation to Odessa. The landowners responded by warning the government that it was necessary to suppress the landless troublemakers, just as it had been necessary to put down the revolutionary uprisings in Hungary in 1848.[181] Soon, the Russian government became bombarded with appeals and counter-appeals from Mennonites on either side of the debate.

The flavour of the times, however, benefitted the landless. The Tsarist administration under Alexander II was in the midst of pursuing its reformist agenda, and had recently emancipated the Russian serfs. A team of investigators was sent to Molotschna in 1865, and recommended that the *Anwohner* receive most of their demands. An agreement was reached through mediation in 1866, whereby farms were permitted to be divided, most surplus land was awarded to the *Anwohner*, and the vote was extended to the landless.[182]

The landless question was largely resolved by the 1866 agreement, but its legacy lived on. Tensions and hostilities persisted into the following decade, adding fuel to the emigration debates of the 1870s. Like the split among the Doukhobors in 1886, the Mennonite quarrels over land ownership reflected how far they had strayed from their egalitarian pretensions, religious principles, and original intentions upon first settling in New Russia. No longer were the Mennonites a closed religious community seeking to preserve their traditions from the world around them. The local autonomy which the Mennonites secured through the Privilegium was intended to protect them from outside

interference, yet by the 1860s, it had become more important to secure individual land and property, than to protect their collective autonomy. 'The enemy' was not to be found outside the colonies, but within, and like the Doukhobors, the Mennonites had resorted to seeking government intervention to alienate opponents among their fellow brethren.

When the emigration debates took place in the 1870s, the Russian Mennonites were no longer a homogenous society, nor a united one. The Doukhobors had split in two in 1886, but the Mennonites were much more deeply fragmented. They numbered approximately 40,000 and lived on a number of separate colonies. New branches of the Mennonite religion had been formed, such as the Kleine Gemeinde and the Mennonite Brethren Church. There were land owners and Anwohners, and varying levels of wealth among households. These differences created personal jealousies and rivalries which would complicate future debates on emigration. Nonetheless, an important distinction can be made between those who approved of the changes to the colonies in the nineteenth century, and those who disapproved of them. Naturally, it was the latter who emigrated from Russia in greater numbers.

A good knowledge of the histories of the Doukhobors and the Mennonites is crucial to understanding their respective emigrations. The two sects shared a number of common experiences which influenced their decision to emigrate and the way they established themselves in Canada later on. Both were religious minorities who sought to protect their particular beliefs and traditions from the established religions and greater societies around them. Therefore, both sects wished to establish closed communities with as little external interference as possible. Moreover, varying levels of discrimination and persecution in their earlier years created suspiciousness and hostility between these sects and government, and reinforced the sectarians' need to separate themselves from a hostile outer world. The conservatives within each group continued to harbour a stubborn suspicion of any government attempt to limit their independence in the future.

The search for a suitable environment and/or flight from persecution led to a series of migrations by both Doukhobors and Mennonites. The Mennonite

emigrated from Holland to Polish-Prussia, to New Russia. The Doukhobors originated in the Ukraine, but had been dispersed throughout the Russian Empire before returning to the Milky Waters. Later, they were exiled once again to the Caucasus and beyond. The future emigrations of both sects to Canada, then, may be viewed as yet another step of an endless journey in search of religious freedom. In fact, those who later left Russia did indeed justify their emigration as such, and referred to the endless wanderings in their histories as evidence.

Yet the Russian government had in fact allowed both groups to preserve their religion and traditions in their isolated New Russian colonies. In exchange for pioneering the wild steppes, both the Mennonites and the Doukhobors were granted land, religious freedom and an unprecedented amount of local autonomy. Although the Doukhobors were unjustly exiled to the Caucasian frontier in 1841, they themselves will admit that their unexemplary conduct during the leadership of Vasilii and Ilarion Kalmykov provided the government with an excuse to do so. The conduct and direction of the Doukhobors' leaders greatly determined how the community was treated by the Russsian authorities. Once in the Caucasus, the Doukhobors enjoyed similar freedoms to the ones they had received at the Milky Waters. All things considered, the Russian government exercised a good deal of patience and tolerance with both Mennonites and Doukhobors, but especially the former.

The Spirit Wrestlers and the Mennonites were not only able to run their own villages in Russia, but also to prosper materially. Under Johann Cornies, the Mennonites' agricultural outputs reached new heights. Lead by Lukeria Kalmykova, the Doukhobors enjoyed a 'golden age' of wealth and stability. These leaders and their supporters were supported in turn by the Russian government, and thus the sectarians' relationship to the government changed. Many progressive sectarians began to identify with government aims, and called on Russian officials to suppress those who protested against the new progressive agenda. When the Tsarist authorities called on the Doukhobors and the Mennonites to help the Imperial troops during wartime, both sects complied, thus compromising one of their most distinctive and fundamental beliefs -- their pacifist stance.

The two sects remained closed communities, but were becoming increasingly more open to greater interaction with the outside world. The Mennonites began to export their agricultural know-how throughout New Russia, and Mennonite schools introduced modern subjects alongside religious teachings. The Doukhobors formed close trading alliances with their Caucasian neighbours and lavishly hosted visiting Russian officials. The social structures of each sect also came to resemble those of neighbouring societies. In the Caucasus, an aristocratic elite distinguished itself from the common Doukhobor peasantry, and in the Mennonite colonies a wide split developed between landowners and the *Anwohner*. These developments compromised the initial egalitarianism of the sects and contributed to greater disunity.

The immediate events surrounding the emigrations will be discussed in the second chapter, but by the decades before their respective emigrations, most of the Mennonites and Doukhobors who would later leave Russia had become disillusioned with the lives their communities were leading. Earlier, the sectarians had prided themselves on their communal farming practices and on their egalitarian institutions, such as the Orphan's Home. There were many Mennonites and Doukhobors who resented the fact that cooperation in their communities had been replaced by internal struggles over the control of colony resources. These members felt that the purity of their religion was being perverted by increased contact with outsiders and the adoption of worldly attitudes and practices. However, it was difficult for these critics to blame themselves for the degeneration of their own communities. Thus when the Russian government later attempted to bring the two sects under military conscription, those who were already upset with the direction in which their communities were headed used this opportunity to leave both Russia and their worldly brethren behind. The emigrants would claim that the Tsarist authorities had compromised their beliefs, but as this chapter has illustrated, both communities had done a good job of this themselves.

CHAPTER TWO

The Mennonite Emigration From Russia in the 1870s

> I understand the Icelander who exchanges his polar island for a settlement in Manitoba,...But what has driven the Mennonite from the South Russian Steppe to the Manitoba Steppe, where he sighs after the blossom and the fruit of his apple and cherry trees?[1]
>
> -Prince Peter Kropotkin

On July 29, 1874, the *Toronto Globe* printed an interview with members of a group of six hundred Mennonite immigrants en route to the Canadian praries. These Mennonites were reportedly from Simferopol, Crimea, and explained their reasons for leaving their homeland as follows: "Our forefathers have lived in the Crimea for upwards of one hundred years, and we are leaving Russia because they want to make us Greek Catholics, and liable to military service....We are flying [sic] from [Russia] because they want to rob us of our religion."[2] In actuality, the Mennonites had not yet lived a century in southern Russia, never mind the Crimean peninsula, where some Mennonites from the Molotschna colony in eastern Taurida and others from the Kleine Gemeinde sub-sect (a conservative Mennonite faction formed in the 1810s) had settled only in the 1860s. Furthermore, no one was actively trying to destroy the Mennonite religion, nor convert the colonists to Orthodoxy, least of all the Russian government. On the contrary, Tsarist officials were at that time negotiating an alternative service scheme with the Mennonites whereby young Mennonite men could serve the state through forestry work instead of military duty, and thus avoid compromising their religious beliefs.

The reasons for emigration recognized by the Canadian government were slightly more detailed. In his 1873 report on the pending Mennonite immigration, the secretary of the Department of Agriculture, John Lowe, stated:

> The cause of the new projected exodus is again the question of military service from which the Czar refuses now to exempt them. It is also coupled with a question of schools, a new ukase requiring that their children should be instructed in the Russian language, and made to

> submit to regulations respecting tuition to which they cannot in conscience consent.[3]

This statement is more accurate, yet it obviously simplifies the Mennonites' desire to emigrate to a few specific grievances. It is true that an 1871 military reform bill required the Mennonites to perform military duty or an alternative form of state service from which the Mennonites had previously been exempt. Simultaneously, another reform put the administration of Mennonite schools into the hands of Russian officials who placed a new emphasis on learning the Russian language. The Mennonites rightly protested that this was a clear violation of the Privilegium of 1800 which guaranteed the Mennonites a military service exemption and self-governing rights "for all time."[4]

However, many of the 12,000 to 15,000 Mennonites[5] who emigrated hastily interpreted these reforms as a premeditated attempt to destroy Mennonite traditions "for all time". Although Russification had always remained an Imperial objective, the changes which affected the Mennonites in the 1870s were not specifically designed to assimilate the Mennonites. Rather, they were implemented as part of Alexander II's sweeping reform policy, known as the Great Reforms, which affected the entire populace of the Russian Empire during the 1860s and 1870s. These reforms were an attempt to bring Russia in line with the democratic trends of the West, and in the process, segments of society who had previously held special privileges over the rest of Russian society were forced to sacrifice some of these privileges. The real losers of the reforms were not the Mennonites, but the *dvorianstvo*, or landed nobility, who were forced to free their serfs, lose many judicial rights, and share some of their educational and political privileges with the middle class. The petitions of the *dvorianstvo* for their renewed exemption from military service were ignored, yet the Russian government carefully considered the Mennonites' protests over the same bill, and took the unprecedented step of negotiating a separate form of state service.[6] Yet because the world of the average Mennonite rarely extended beyond the boundaries of his or her colony, relatively few Mennonites were able to place the new requirements in the context of wider national changes.

This is not to say that the entire Mennonite emigration was a misunderstanding. Perhaps what was most true about the *Globe*'s statement

was the spirit in which the comments were made. The Mennonites who emigrated from Russia to Canada did indeed believe that they could no longer remain true to their religion in Russia. The great majority of Mennonite emigrants blamed the Russian government for this, and cited the new military service law as evidence. But this chapter will reveal that the basis for the emigration was much more complex. What the *Globe* interview neglected to mention were the Mennonites' attitudes towards their fellow brethren in Russia. I believe that these same emigrants were motivated by a greater desire to preserve traditional Mennonite values and practices at a time when progressive Mennonites encouraged closer links to mainstream Russian society. A large percentage of the emigrants were the poor and landless who continued to quarrel with the Mennonite landowners, even after the 1866 settlement mediated by the Russian government. They sought not only land in North America, but a return to a system of greater equality among Mennonites. Entire congregations of Mennonite conservatives emigrated en masse, in opposition to the growth of "pride" and "worldliness" among the Russian Mennonites. They too, desired a chance to return to the way the Mennonites lived upon first settling in Russia, before the progressive reforms of Johann Cornies, before the problems of landlessness, before compulsory state service, and before religious splintering.

Quite wisely, the Mennonite emigrants kept their internal squabbles to themselves when negotiating with non-Mennonites. Instead, they promoted themselves as superior agriculturalists and a valuable asset to any civilized nation that would be liberal enough to tolerate their religious views rather than persecute them. The nations of Canada and the United States both considered themselves to be lands of freedom and opportunity, and were in need of good pioneers to settle their western frontiers. Perhaps this is why both Canadians and Americans so readily accepted the notion that an unbendable Tsar was attempting to destroy a helpless religious minority, which now sought liberty and prosperity in the New World. This sort of Western chauvinism worked well for the Mennonites, for neither Ottawa nor Washington seriously questioned the reasons behind the Mennonite emigration. On the contrary, the two countries both attempted to lure as many Mennonites as they possibly could to their western frontiers in as short a time as possible. The Mennonites were therefore

able to capitalze on the competition which developed between Canada and the United States by negotiating favourable terms of settlement.

When the Mennonites began negotiating with Canadian authorities in 1871, the great Transatlantic migrations were just beginning. The Dominion of Canada was not yet five years old, and was still developing a clear immigration strategy. The United States was the preferred destination of most European emigrants, for it had a more temperate climate, better land quality, a developed railroad network, and large marketing centers. In order to compensate for the economic disadvantages of living in Canada, the Canadian government extended exceptional privileges to the Mennonite emigrants. Not only were the Mennonites guaranteed a military service exemption, but they were also permitted to arrange their farms according to their traditional *Strassendoerfer* (street village) model , rather than take up individual homesteads. The government further promised the Mennonites control over their own education.

The United States was unable to match any of these liberal terms, yet still managed to secure a greater percentage of the Mennonite emigration than Canada. Approximately 10,000 Mennonite emigrants settled in the U.S.A. in the 1870s, while only 7,000 chose to settle in Canada.[7] This statistic is very revealing. Clearly, contrary to the claims of the Mennonite emigrants, the loss of their military service exemption and control over schooling was not the only reason for leaving Russia, since the majority of emigrants moved to the United States, where the federal government offered them no special guarantees in these areas. Indeed, when Mennonite delegates were sent from Russia to North America in 1873 to determine the suitability of emigration, many of these delegates appeared to be more concerned with the quality of land than with the question of schooling or military duty.

On the other hand, the Mennonites who chose to accept the swampy and mosquito-ridden fields of Manitoba, did so because matters of conscience were paramount in their new North American communities. In other words, by granting the Mennonites more freedom with which to safeguard their religious traditions, the Canadian government attracted a greater number of conservative die-hards. The Mennonites who most staunchly defended their traditional practices, the Mennonites who most fiercely opposed government intervention in their affairs, the Mennonites who most earnestly desired a return to

Mennonite life as it had existed in the old Russian colonies, were more inclined to settle in Canada where their religious freedoms would be protected by law. In contrast, the more desirable segment of the Mennonite emigration by government standards, the agriculturalists who were most intent on developing their own pioneer homesteads and improving their economic well-being, had by and large been lured to the superior farmlands of the U.S. Midwest.

Clearly these are generalizations, for both Canada and United States received Mennonites from a variety of congregations with a variety of motives. But how well was the Canadian government acquainted with the Mennonite emigrants when it offered them such generous settlement terms? The Canadians clearly knew that the Mennonites would be good agricultural workers, and that the United States was interested in them as well. But were they aware of the disputes among the Mennonites in Russia? In their rush to bring the Mennonites over to Canada, did the Dominion government pause to consider why these emigrants had not accepted the compromise reached between the Russian government and two-thirds of the Russian Mennonite population who elected to stay in their homeland? Did the Canadian government ever suspect that the friction between Mennonite conservatives and the Russian state could reoccur in Canada? These questions are very important, for there would be friction, as will be explained in Chapter Four. Moreover, a similar scenario developed a quarter-century later when Canada welcomed the Doukhobors from Russia on the basis of their agricultural reputation with the same limited knowledge of their religion and recent history. Once again, conflict between the immigrants and the state would be the result, but with even graver conseqences.

There are a sufficient number of differences between the Mennonite and Doukhobor emigration experiences, however, to warrant a separate chapter for the treatment of each. For instance, the Mennonite emigration was a long, drawn-out process which involved agitation, debate, the creation of a popular movement, and an inevitable rift between those who stayed and those who left. The split among the Doukhobors had already been created in 1886 when the Large Party and the Small Party had been formed. Thus, the Doukhobor emigration was largely a spontaneous response to an immediate crisis facing the Large Party. Leaving Russia was simply one more twist in the history of a

people who had unswervingly committed themselves to the prophetic doctrine and provocative actions of a religious leader, regardless of where he might lead them. In short, it is extremely difficult to separate the Doukhobor emigration from the continuous string of events which built on one another to warrant the exodus. In any event, more detailed and specific comparisons between the two emigrations will be made once the finer details of each experience have been documented. This second chapter, however, analyzes the Mennonite emigration of the 1870s.

Ever since the reign of Peter I (the Great) in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, Russia had become increasingly involved in European affairs. The policies of eighteenth century Russian rulers, such as Empress Anne (1730-1740) and Catherine II (the Great) 1762-1796 were highly influenced by German and French advisors. Alexander I's participation in the Napoleonic wars and the creation of the Holy Alliance in 1815 had made Russia a major player in European diplomacy. Yet as the nineteenth century progressed, it became clear that Russia remained out of step with the West. Nicholas I viewed the growth of democratic trends and the rise of parliaments in Western Europe with alarm, and had responded by quelling liberal and nationalist uprisings in 1825, 1830, and 1848. But frequent peasant rebellions and constant pressure from liberal circles provided a continued impetus for democratic reform in Russia. The poor condition of the Russian peasantry and popular dissatisfaction with the government further affected the performance of Russian troops during the Crimean War. The war revealed the backwardness and disorganization within the Russian military establishment in comparison to the well-trained and modern forces of Britain and France, which had been allied with Turkey against Russia. The need for sweeping changes in Russia was evident to Tsar Alexander II as he rose to the throne in 1856, leading him to enact a national reform program known as the Great Reforms.

Although the Great Reforms stopped short of creating a national parliament, they did respond to democratic pressures by granting the Russian populace a greater role in national life[8] and by passing laws aimed at the creation of a more equal society. With the passing of the emancipation law in 1861, Russian serfs were no longer the property of their masters and were

given basic human rights. The zemstvo (1864) and municipal (1870) reforms allowed greater popular participation in managing regional affairs through the creation of local assemblies and institutions with limited governing rights. In another reform of 1864, the Russian judicial system became an independent branch of government. All Russian citizens were given the right to legal representation and trial, and were to be treated equally before the law.

The democratic and egalitarian emphasis of the Great Reforms dictated that the Mennonites, as Russian subjects, be given a similar social status as the surrounding Russian peasantry. Indeed, popular pressure demanded this. The peasantry of southern Russia had been especially envious of the benefits granted to the colonists like the Mennonites, who had received 65 *desiatini* of land upon settlement, in comparison to the 10 *desiatini* granted to Russian farmers.[9] German settlers had also received longer tax exemptions and broader self-governing rights than the Russians. In 1872, British Consul James Zohrab noted to British Foreign Secretary Earl Granville from the Black Sea port of Berdiansk, that among Russians there was widespread support for ending the special privileges for Germans, and that the new Russian Judiciary sympathized with popular opinion on this issue. "Thus," wrote Zohrab, "I am led to suppose that however anxious the Government may be to maintain their contract with the German Immigrants, they will be obliged to fall in with the national wish and place every one in the country on a perfect footing of equality."[10]

According to Mennonite historian C. Henry Smith, the loss of preferential treatment for the Mennonites was inevitable as Russia slowly began to accept Western democratic principles. Smith writes that the favourable status enjoyed by the Mennonite colonies in Russia was

> an anomalous situation, and could not last forever. Under the dominion of a Czar, discrimination might be possible. Under an autocracy favored groups might be granted privileges above those of the other subjects of the realm; but democracy being a great leveller would ultimately demand the abolition of all such group distinctions. And so the decision of the Czar in 1870 to put an end to the highly privileged status of his German colonists was both inevitable and logical, thoroughly in keeping with the growing democracy of the times. But it came sooner than the colonists had expected.[11]

In 1870 an imperial edict began the process of dismantling the Guardian's Committee, which would finally be abolished in 1877. The *ukaz* decreed that all communication with the Russian government was to be made in the Russian language. German colonists were to answer directly to local and provincial Russian officials, and colony districts were soon transformed into *volosti*, or cantons, as in the rest of the country. In 1869, all foreign colonists had been required to consolidate their individual school boards into one, which became subject to inspections by officials from the Ministry of Education. Mennonites continued to have their own schools, but an order in 1868 made the instruction of the Russian language compulsory in all classrooms.12 Following the judicial reforms, the courts, too, had been brought into the Mennonite colonies.

Many Mennonite spiritual leaders resented these changes since they involved greater contact between themselves and the 'outside world'. For example, the elder of the Bergthal congregation, Gerhard Wiebe, strongly resented an attempt by a local school board official to introduce secular children's primers into the Bergthal elementary school curriculum.[13] The local school boards, however, both in this instance and in general, remained respectful of most objections by the Mennonite churches. Some congregations also objected to Mennonite participation in the legal system because, as they saw it, the courts empowered earthly authorities to judge, whereas they believed that judgement should be the prerogative of God alone. The Kleine Gemeinde, for instance, who had historically opposed all forms of punishment besides excommunication, requested an exemption from jury duty.[14]

In these reforms the Mennonites feared not only government intrusion from outside the colonies, but also the inner erosion of their distinct Mennonite identity and the loss of Mennonite institutions. As James Urry explains,

> ...[the] Mennonites complained bitterly of these reforms. Many did not like change in any form and they believed that old titles and ways of administration were 'Mennonite' and somehow essential for the continuation of their faith. Why they believed this is a little mysterious. Most of the things they considered distinctly Mennonite, including street villages *(Strassendoerfer)*, village mayors *(Schulzen)*, colony mayors *(Oberschulzen)*, and the teaching of German in schools had been introduced by the Russian state and had not been brought from Prussia...[nor had they been guaranteed by the Privilegium].[15]

Urry points out that the Russian government had regularly interfered in colony affairs yet had seldom faced an organized opposition. The creation of the Ministry of State Domains and its sponsorship of Johann Cornies' reforms is a prime example of this.[16] Urry argues that the Mennonites responded differently to the administrative reforms under Alexander II because they had been intended for the greater Russian populace. Although the reforms were widely and publicly debated in Russian circles, few Mennonites understood the reasons behind the reforms because they were now unable to mediate and negotiate the proposals as they had been able to do with colonial administrative changes in the past.[17]

The reform which raised the most Mennonite objections, however, was the new military service law which extended conscription to all classes and ethnic groups in Russia. The military reforms had been necessitated by Russia's poor performance in the Crimean War, and by the growth of Prussian militarism. Bismarck's armies had been on the move since 1864; Prussia's defeat of France and the subsequent Treaty of Frankfurt in 1871 had created a united and powerful German state with perhaps the most disciplined army in the world, and was well-worthy of emulation. By the late 1860s, most minority privileges had been terminated in Prussia, including the military service exemption for Mennonites. Alexander II decided that it was time for Russia to make changes of its own. The new military law was passed in 1874 as Alexander II's final 'great reform', and involved an overall reorganization of the Russian military. Once again, the democratic and egalitarian emphasis of the measure was evident not only in universal conscription, but also by efforts made to promote greater upward mobility through military ranks and the provision of elementary education for all soldiers.

As the military bill was debated in the early 1870s, the Russian press wrote largely in favour of conscripting foreign colonists, citing the need for consistency in enforcing the new bill. Reporting in March, 1872, the paper *Ruskii Mir (Russian World)* emphasized that if Mennonites were to be exempted from service, than so should the upper classes be exempted, in which case the new military commission ought to be disbanded.[18] Although the paper recognized the Mennonites as valuable agriculturalists, it saw no choice but to

let them emigrate if they so desired. *Russkii Mir* considered it "a great pity that tens of thousands of Mennonites cannot reconcile themselves to the new order of things which now exists throughout the whole of Europe....[But] [i]t is better to lose the Mennonites than to introduce into the State the inequality of rights and that too in favor of the foreigners and not of the native population."[19] Even the German language newspaper, *St. Petersburg Zeitung,* criticized the unwillingness of stubborn Mennonite conservatives to face the *"Zeitgeist".*[20]

But the average Mennonite was more concerned with preserving continuity than moving with the times. Before the 1870s, the Mennonites had felt secure in the knowledge that their privileges were protected by the Privilegium of 1800. The new military service law, however, was the most blatant violation of the early contracts between the Mennonites and the Russian government. If the military service exemption–guaranteed by a legal document signed by the Tsar--was no longer safeguarded, then how well could Mennonite education, self-government, or the German language be protected?[21] This is why the Mennonites so persistently appealed the new military law and why the issue of military service became the 'last straw' for thousands of Mennonites who emigrated.

As historian Harry Loewen has argued, most Mennonites by the 1870s "were not all that serious in their expressed avowals of nonresistance" and only a minority considered pacifism to be a heartfelt principle.[22] During the Napoleonic wars, the Russian Mennonites had donated money to help Russian soldiers. In 1848, when Tsar Nicholas I had mobilized his army in response to revolutionary disturbances in Europe, the Mennonites had provided him with 130 horses as a show of support.[23] The Tsar proceeded to send troops into the Austrian Empire to quell the Hungarian uprisings that same year. Mennonite activities during the Crimean War have already been noted in the first chapter, and provide overwhelming evidence that Mennonites were not strict pacifists. Surely the Russian government was aware of past Mennonite contributions and undoubtedly expected the Mennonites to conform to their latest request with a minimal amount of opposition. The Mennonites in turn, argued that past contributions had been made voluntarily, but that compulsory conscription violated their faith.[24] As during the Crimean War, Mennonites again grew concerned that their young men would pick up worldly habits by associating

with Russian soldiers. But as Loewen agrees, the question of military service was merely the focus of a much wider attempt by the Russian Mennonites "to retain control over such things as education, language and their way of life generally."[25] In any case, Tsarist officials did not anticipate the sort of united resistance with which the Mennonites greeted the new bill.

The Mennonites first learned of the impending conscription bill in late 1870. It was then that Isbrand Friesen, a Berdiansk civil councillor and renegade Mennonite, was informed by the Governor-General of New Russia, Pavel Estav von Kotzebue, that the proposed legislation regarding military service would affect the Mennonites.[26] Friesen was invited to a meeting of Mennonite elders on December 18, 1870 where the matter was discussed. Shortly afterwards, a request for advice was telegraphed to Senator Evgenii von Hahn in St. Petersburg, who had formerly headed the Guardian's Committee and was considered to be a friend of the Mennonites. Hahn suggested that the Mennonites send a deputation of Mennonite representatives to the capital to state their objections and concerns. After a series of civic and church meetings in both Chortitza and Molotschna in early 1871, a delegation was selected with representatives from both colonies.

The first deputation to St. Petersburg was somewhat disorganized, but the Mennonites would make several more attempts to sharpen their organizational and diplomatic skills. On February 1st, the Molotschna delegates first left for Odessa to meet with the Governor-General and the president of the Guardian's Committee but both had recently left for the capital. In Odessa, the Molotschna delegates had been told that their mission to St. Petersburg was unnecessary, but the group proceeded to the capital anyway where they finally met up with the Chortitiza delegates in late February.[27]

In St. Petersburg, the deputation was introduced to numerous officials, including the Minister of State Domains, Count Zelenoi, and his subordinates, Count O. L. Hayden and Baron Meden. Some delegates, such as elders Gerhard Dyck and Leonhard Sudermann, only spoke German, and Minister Zelenoi strongly condemned the Mennonites for their inability to learn the Russian language after more than seventy years of living in Russia.[28] Hayden and Meden appeared to be more sympathetic. They listened to a presentation made by the delegates which explained that the Mennonite principle of

nonresistance was an essential part of their faith. Hayden, who presided over the commission which would draw up the conscription legislation, told the Mennonites that their beliefs would be taken into consideration when military services were meted out. The Mennonites would not be forced to carry arms, but were told to expect a form of medical service. In any case, said Hayden, the military bill would not become law until 1874, and would not likely be enforced in the foreign colonies until about 25 years time.[29]

The following day, Leonhard Sudermann returned to Hayden to explain that even sanitary services ran contrary to Mennonite consciences, if performed in affiliation with military duty. At this point, Count Hayden became disturbed, and an interesting exchange took place which resembled those between Russian officials and the Doukhobors some twenty-five years later. The reluctance of a religious minority to recognize governmental authority had become a point of contention, as it would be later. First, Hayden suggested that the Mennonites emigrate to a country where no state services would be required. Peter M. Friesen continues the dialogue:

> [Count Hayden] asked, furthermore, "whether the Mennonites recognized any state organization at all?" Elder Sudermann who did not understand him, answered: "No." This would no doubt have caused another misunderstanding on the Count's part had Sudermann not added immediately that the Mennonites acknowledge the authorities over them, obey them and pray for them.[30]

In the 1890s, the Doukhobors, proved to be less willing to recognize and obey the Russian authorities and suffered serious consequences. The Mennonites, however, had always maintained good relations with Russian officials, and had especially admired the Romanovs. Along with much of the Russian peasantry, the Mennonites shared a naive belief that the Tsars continually had their interests at heart, but were at times compelled by their self-serving advisors to pass legislation which conflicted with Mennonite interests. An anecdote of two Mennonite delegates who remained in St. Petersburg a few extra days in an attempt to speak with Alexander II reflects both the Mennonites' respect for the Tsar as well as their naiveté. On the advice of Senator von Hahn, the two sat waiting for the 'Tsar-Liberator' at his summer garden.

> Soon the Tsar passed by in his carriage. On his return he stopped in front of them and asked if they were from the district of Tauridia [sic.], and whether they were Mennonites, and what they had come for. When they said they had come because of the new military law, he said simply, "Ah," and departed. The two men felt they had achieved their purpose, however, and were elated that the Czar had deigned to ask them some questions.[31]

The Mennonites returned to their colonies and waited for a response from the government. Nearly a year later, in early 1872, a conference was held in the Molotschna town of Alexanderwohl, in which the possibility of emigration was debated, and a second deputation to St. Petersburg was commissioned. The vast majority of Mennonites, it seemed, wanted to reach an agreement with Russian officials as soon as possible. As Jacob Sudermann points out, the instructions to the new delegates had a more conciliatory tone: "May your pleading, searching, and knocking result in showing us a way in which we can do our duty to the State, outside the jurisdiction of the military service law, and without embarrassing our conscience prove our love toward throne and fatherland."[32]

Unfortunately for the Mennonites, their pleading, searching, and knocking did not get them very far. In the capital, the Mennonites were simply told to return home and wait until the Imperial Council could review the bill. The first delegation had befriended a pastor of the Moravian Brethren Church in St. Petersburg, Theodor Hans, who now promised to inform the Mennonites of further developments. The impatient Mennonites sent more deputations in 1872 and 1873, resulting in several fruitless meetings with Peter A. Valuev, the new Minister of Imperial Domains.[33] Russian officials appeared to be tired of receiving Mennonites, and most often sent them home, promising to consider Mennonite concerns but offering them no new guarantees. One such typical meeting was held in March, 1873, with the chair of the Imperial Council, Grand Duke Konstantin.[34] The Grand Duke, who had fond memories of past trips to the Mennonite colonies, began by asking each delegate which village he was from, and how life was generally. He then explained that after living in Russia for seventy or eighty years, Mennonites should be willing to accept state service in either hospitals or work camps. When the Mennonites continued to protest, Konstantin became visibly unimpressed, according to one of the delegates:

> When we tried to explain to him that such service rendered under military command was different from voluntary service, his countenance darkened. He discontinued, took the petition from us, and dismissed us. The general appearance of his highness was cordial, as was his bearing, but at the same time, firm and determined.[35]

The Mennonites too, were frustrated, for the real purpose of many of these trips to St. Petersburg had been to secure a proper appointment with Alexander II himself. Instead, the delegates were forced to leave their petitions with Valuev, or the Tsar's secretary, in the hope that the Tsar would read them. A deputation had even gone to Yalta in the fall of 1872, while Alexander II was visiting the Crimea. Elder Gerhard Wiebe of the Bergthal colony was actually summoned to a meeting with the Tsar, but instead spoke with the Governor-General of New Russia, Pavel Kotzebue, when the Tsar fell ill.[36]

One must give the Mennonites credit for not only their persistency, but also for the initial unity of their efforts. Pastor Hans in St. Petersburg advised the Mennonites that the success of their petitions depended on the united support of **all** Mennonites in Russia, rather than the sentiments of individual elders or certain congregations.[37] It should not be forgotten, however, that the Russian Mennonites of the 1870s were deeply divided on many social, economic, and religious issues, and cooperation did not come easily. The struggles between the landless and the landowners remained a particularly sensitive issue, even among the delegates themselves. On their numerous missions, supporters of the landowners party, such as Elder Bernhard Peters and minister Peter Goertz, were accompanied by defenders of the landless, such as legal consultant Franz Isaac.[38] Peter M. Friesen describes the tenuous situation:

> The picture of harmonius unity (!) between the two parties was not a wholesome one. It was the picture of a painful diplomacy between the representatives of two antagonistic armies during a temporary cease fire where neither side considers an unconditional peace treaty until such a time as the dead on both sides have been buried.[39]

It was not the split between the landlowners and the landless, however, which led to the first official split among the lobbyists. At a conference in Alexanderwohl in early 1873 it was the conservative Bergthal group who

refused to sign a statement which begged the government for greater leniency on the state service matter.[40] Bergthal Elder Gerhard Wiebe seemed to disagree with the defeatist tone of the plea, and suggested that the Mennonites wait to hear from the government first. The Bergthalers proceeded to write their own petition to Alexander II, which angered Mennonites from the other colonies who feared that the Bergthal group might offend the Tsar by printing something "obnoxious and disturbing."[41] Shortly afterwards, writes Wiebe, the Bergthalers severed their ties with the Alexanderwohl petitioners and proceeded with their plans to emigrate from Russia.[42]

Interestingly enough, in his account of the negotiations with the Russians, Wiebe accepted no blame for creating disunity among the Mennonites. Instead, he claimed that the Russian government had played a clever waiting game aimed at destroying Mennonite solidarity by the time the bill was to become law in 1874. Wiebe writes, "for four years the government had led us around with a fine thread, never quite letting on what it was we were to undertake, except for the occasional hint. Now they knew that the enemy had already succeeded in dividing us, and that the majority were by now willing to accept some duty."[43]

It is unlikely, however, that the Russian government purposefully withheld information about the new bill in order to divide the Mennonites. All the Great Reform laws had been preceeded by three or four years of commissions and legal wrangling before being presented to the public. On the contrary, the government was consistently frank with the colonists, and ceaselessly reiterated that the Mennonites would have to perform some sort of service other than military duty which would be more acceptable to their consciences. This was an exceptional concession, for the government knew full well that the Mennonites were not the peace-loving sectarians which their petitions depicted.

The delegates appeared to have been unaware that St. Petersburg kept huge shelves full of records pertaining to the Mennonites and their internal feuds. The government showed these records to the Mennonites on several occassions to remind them that they did not always practice the Christian principles which they professed.[44] Peter M. Friesen records one such incident in the 1870s. It seems that the president of the Molotschna school board, Andreas Voth, had come to St. Petersburg at the colony's expense, but was secretly lobbying on behalf of certain wealthy Mennonites. But instead of

collaboration, the Mennonite received a morality lesson from Valuev, the Minister of Imperial Domains as described by P. M. Friesen:

> The minister... became highly incensed. He showed these shelves with their mass of records to Voth and asked him if he thought that no one in St. Petersburg knew of the unchristian partisanship, enmity and injustice among the Mennonites? - if enough of their shame had not already been brought int the captial city? - if this is the way those practice Christianity who claim to live precisely by the gospel? Then the minister went into his chamber, brought out a German Bible (!) (apparently kept in readiness for such a situation...) and proceeded to read before the stunned Mr. Voth from the first part of the sixth chapter of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians.[45]

Tsarist officials had good grounds to believe that the Mennonites were using half-hearted religious principles in order to avoid serving the state. When the Mennonites began to consider emigration from Russia, the government must have wondered whether this, too, was simply part of an elaborate bluff.

A few Russian Mennonites, like Cornelius Jansen, had thought about emigration even before news of the conscription bill reached the colonies. Jansen was a wealthy grain merchant who also worked for the Prussian Consulate in the port of Berdiansk. He later became the most ardent advocate of emigration among the Mennonites, and eventually was expelled from Russia for his efforts. As a diplomatic representative, Jansen was introduced to many visitors who travelled through New Russia. In 1867, the Jansen family hosted two English Quakers named Isaac Robson and Thomas Harvey, who had come to Russia to observe the plight of the Molokans, a nonconformist sect which had separated from the Doukhobors in the eighteenth century. The Friends found that they had much in common with the Mennonites, and a friendship was maintained through correspondence between them and the Jansens.[46] From the Quakers, Jansen received much favourable information about America and the Mennonites who were living there.[47]

Thus, Jansen began to consider the possibility of emigration as early as 1870, while corresponding with American Mennonite leaders. The Berdiansk merchant had long been fond of missionary activites but had been continually frustrated by Russian censors who refused to print some of his materials. It was

also in 1870 that Jansen encountered a large group of prospective Mennonite emigrants from Prussia, who had recently had their military service exemption revoked by Bismarck in the late 1860s. Hundreds of these Mennonites had decided to emigrate to Russia where the Privilegium still exempted Mennonites from military service. When Prussian Mennonite delegates Wilhelm Ewert and Peter Dyck arrived in Berdiansk in 1870, Jansen advised them to look to America instead, showing them the literature which the Quakers had sent him.[48] When rumours of an impending Russian conscription bill were confirmed, more Prussians gravitated toward the Berdiansk missionary, who became determined to leave for America.

Jansen now set about contacting the Russian Mennonites leaders who might be persuaded to emigrate. Some prominent Mennonites, such as Dietrich Gaeddert and Elder Leonhard Sudermann from Molotschna, had strongly condemned the new conscription legislation and were in favour of emigration should the bill not be rescinded. The Bergthal community were also early supporters of emigration, having already expressed their desire to leave Russia at the Alexanderwohl conference of January 1871.[49]

North America, however, was not the immediate destination of choice for Russian Mennonites. Most initially shared the doubts expressed by Leonhard Sudermann: "America was a country interesting for the adventurer, an asylum for convicts. How could one live in peace under his vine and fig tree amid such people, to say nothing of the native savages."[50] American life was possible, said Sudermann, "for those who had their pockets full of revolvers; but for a non-resistant people it would be impossible to found homes amid such surroundings."[51] Cornelius Jansen set about changing such stereotypes by printing literature on America in Prussia, and then distributing it to the Russian Mennonites. In April, 1872, Jansen's *Collection of Notes on America* was published in Danzig; 300 copies were sent to Russia. Similar quantities of other pamphlets regarding America, military service, and religious issues, were also sent to Russia in August, at Jansen's personal expense.[52] The tracts were persuasive, and set the Mennonite emigration movement in motion.[53]

The leaders of the emigration movement suspected that few Mennonites would consent to leave Russia without sufficient assurances from the American and Canadian governments that their religious freedom would be maintained.

The issue of land grants and settlement incentives would also have to be negotiated. With this in mind, Cornelius Jansen visited Timothy Smith, the U.S. Consul in Odessa in the summer of 1871, and explained the Mennonites' predicament to him. Jansen anticipated that the Russian government would not exempt the Mennonites from military service and estimated that one-tenth of all Russian Mennonites would immediately be ready to emigrate to the United States in protest, should the Americans guarantee them what the Russians would not.[54] It was only in the spring of 1872, however, when greater numbers of Mennonites had begun to consider emigration, that the Mennonites directly petitioned U.S. officials for information regarding immigration. Three main questions were put to the American government: 1) Would a "direct" or "indirect" military service exemption be granted to the Russian Mennonites? 2) Was cheap land available, and would loans be granted to new Mennonite settlers? 3) Should a delegation be sent to America to negotiate land deals and settlement terms?[55]

The American reply was sent to Smith by Eugene Schulyer of U.S. Legation in St. Petersburg. Schuyler and Smith both felt that the Mennonites would make fine U.S. citizens, and the latter was instructed to cautiously pass Schulyer's reply to the colonists, while remaining sensitive to Russian protocol.[56] According to U.S. homestead laws, stated Schulyer, any settler intending to become an American citizen would be given 160 acres of land. Additional land could be cheaply purchased from the Government at $1.25 per acre or from railroad companies. Loans might be granted by individual states or might be considered by the U.S. Congress. The idea of sending a delegation to America was recommended for the purposes of settling specific inquiries regarding land and loans.[57] Schulyer's response to Smith on the matter of military service, however, was more ambiguous:

> Compulsory military service does not exist in the United States. Only once in the History of the United States was conscription resorted to, and the results of the measure were such as to render it highly improbable that recourse will again be had to enforced enlistment. Even then it was always possible to avoid service by furnishing a substitute.[58]

Most Mennonites were unimpressed with this answer, but a few wealthier families decided to send their sons to America in the summer of 1872 to spy out

the country for themselves and to report on conditions in the new land.[59] These four Mennonite 'scouts' were highly impressed by what they saw, especially in regards to the economic opportunities available in United States. Three of these men returned to the Russian colonies with favourable reports, while the fourth, Bernhard Warkentin, remained in North America and travelled to the new Canadian province of Manitoba in the fall of 1872. Warkentin wrote to the Russian Mennonite supporters of emigration to the U.S., that the Canadian government had entered into competition with the United States, and had offered the Mennonites uncomparable guarantees and settlement incentives.[60] The young and inexperienced Government of Canada was looking for new citizens.

One Mennonite historian has compared the situation which Canada faced in the 1870s to the one facing Russia in the 1770s. Both the Canadian and Russian governments sought to replace the 'uncivilized' and 'hostile' peoples which inhabited their frontier regions with industrious agriculturalists. In both cases this measure was not only designed to promote economic growth, but was also a strategic move, which would stave off the intrusions of powerful neighbours to the south.[61] The Dominion of Canada had only been formed in 1867, the same year in which the United States had purchased Alaska from the Tsarist government. This deal, along with the marked growth of settlements in the American West, caused the Canadians considerable unease over the security of their western borders.

The Canadian prairies, however, would first have to be prepared for European settlement. The Northwest Rebellion of 1870 lead to the creation of the new province of Manitoba, but more important, reminded the Canadian government that the current inhabitants of the West would have to be dealt with, and that law and order would have to be kept. Thus, in 1871, a series of treaties with the Cree and Ojibway nations confined the aboriginal population of the prairies to a number of reservations, while the Northwest Mounted Police were created in 1873 to provide security for incoming settlers.

Only in 1872 did Canada develop a clear strategy to entice European farmers to the country. In that year, the Dominion Lands Act was created, which would provide each immigrant family with 160 acres of land for a $10 entry fee, providing that they would cultivate the land, and reside on their homesteads.

The Canadian government then spent approximately $700,000 on a publicity campaign in 1872 to attract European emigration to Canada, and agreed to subsidize the cost of railroad transportation (through the U.S.) for prospective immigrants.[62]

This was the same year in which the Russian Mennonites had contacted Canadian officials about immigration. In the early months of 1872, the Mennonites sent a message to the Canadians which posed the same three questions asked of the American government. Yet because the Canadian government did not have any consulates in Europe, sending information to Canada from New Russia was rather difficult. The Mennonites had to first contact James Zohrab, British Consul in Berdiansk, who relayed the inquiry to the British Foreign Secretary, Earl Granville, or sometimes first to the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, Lord Augustus Loftus. In any case, the Foreign Office in London then contacted the Secretary of the Colonial Office, Lord Kimberley, who sent the message to Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General of Canada in Ottawa. Dufferin, in turn, passed the inquiry on to the appropriate ministry, which in this case was the Ministry of Agriculture.[63] Thus, the petition, which had been drawn up by Leonhard Sudermann on January 3 [O.S.], reached the Canadian government in a despatch from Kimberley dated March 7.[64] British officials knew that Canada was in search of good agriculturalists and Zohrab was enthusiastic that a large Mennonite emigration might trigger an even larger emigration of Germans from Russia. In a despatch to Granville dated February 3, 1872, Zohrab estimated that

> ...during 1873 two or three thousand Mennonite families will quit this Country and they will be speedily followed by thousands of others, and from what I have been able to learn, I doubt not the departure of the Mennonites would be rapidly followed by that of Germans of other denominations who are now, I am informed, watching the course pursued by the Mennonites with the object of following it if successful.[65]

Zohrab claimed that this emigration could be a "valuable acquisition" for Canada, noting:

> The departure of the Germans will, undoubtedly, be a serious loss to the [Russian Empire] for they are not only much greater proficients in agriculture than the native population, and consequently produce

> heavier crops and finer qualities but they are very hard working and, therefore, in proportion to each man, they bring a much larger quantitiy of land under cultivation and thus increase the produce of the country. They employ large numbers of Russian peasants or farm laborers and their villages are patterns of cleanliness and good order.[66]

It is not surprising, then, that the Canadian government issued a prompt and positive response to the Mennonite inquiry by the end of April. Canadian officials outlined the provisions of the new Dominion Lands Act, and offered to pay the expenses of a Mennonite delegation to Canada. German-language information on both Ontario and the Northwest Territory was forwarded to the Mennonites from the Ministry of Agriculture at the end of May.

The question of military service, to the surprise of Russian Mennonites, was a non-issue in Canada. Mennonites had been living in Canada since 1786, when approximately two thousand of them left Pennsylvania for Upper Canada in the aftermath of the American Revolution. These 'late loyalists' were joined by members of other pacifist sects such as the Quakers and Tunkers, who resented the harrassment they had received from patriotic Americans.[67] These pacifist groups had successfully lobbied the British government for a conditional exemption from military service, as outlined in the Military Act of 1793. Under the Act, the Quakers, Mennonites, and Tunkers were required to pay an annual fine for their exemptions until 1849, when the fines were abolished after a half-century of petitions and protests. After Confederation, the Military Service Act of 1868 confirmed the right to an exemption on religious grounds:

> Any person bearing a certificate from the Society of Quakers, Menonists [sic] or Tunkers, or any inhabitant of Canada, of any Religious denomination, otherwise subject to Military duty, but who, from the doctrines of his Religion, is averse to bearing arms and refuses personal Military Service, shall be exempt from such service when balloted in time of peace, or war, upon such conditions and under such regulations as the Governor in Council may, from time to time, prescribe.[68]

The Russian Mennonites received the Canadian reply favourably, but remained suspicious of the final clause. Cornelius Jansen and Leonhard Sudermann were among those who wondered which "conditions" and what

"regulations" might be prescribed by the Governor-General. Over the summer of 1872, the Canadian government attempted to reassure the Mennonites that the clause simply meant that during wartime members of pacifist sects might have to be registered in order to prevent others from falsely claiming a exemption.[69]

In June of 1872, the Canadian government sent immigration agent William Hespeler to the Russian Mennonite colonies from Germany, where he had been visiting relatives. Hespeler was a German immigrant who had settled near Waterloo, Ontario, but moved to Winnipeg in 1870 to manage the Manitoba Land Company. This German-Canadian also accepted periodic work from the Canadian government as an immigration agent for German-speaking emigrants.[70] Known for his persuasiveness, Hespeler was instructed to use "all the information within [his] power, respecting the advantages offered by Canada as a field for settlement" in his mission to the Mennonites.[71]

The agent reached the Russian colonies in late July, and met with district representatives before travelling to each village, promoting Manitoba as the most suitable place for Mennonites to settle. Yet wherever he travelled, the Mennonites persistently pressed Hespeler on the issue of the final clause of the Military Service Act. Hespeler was not sure himself what this clause referred to, but told the Mennonites that in wartime they might be asked "to assist in a pecuniary measure."[72] Nonetheless, Hespeler was confident that he had convinced a large number of Mennonites to consider Canada as a most desirable destination for emigrants, and claimed that his mission had been an overall success.

But the immigration agent had been forced to leave the colonies in late August when the Russian authorities heard of Hespeler's activities and began to close in on him. According to Russian law, it was legal to make emigration arrangements for those who had decided to leave the country, but it was illegal to promote the cause of emigration among Russian subjects. Because relatively few Mennonites had chosen to emigrate by the summer of 1872, it is safe to say that Hespeler's activities crossed the fine line between promoting a destination and promoting the cause of emigration.

The Russian government had been monitoring the emigration movement earlier that year. The second delegation to St. Petersburg was astonished to

discover how well informed Russian officials had been of the debates at a recent Alexanderwohl conference. Delegates were even questioned about the existence of "foreigners" spreading emigration propaganda among them.[73] Most likely, the Russian government had been referring to the Prussian Consul, Cornelius Jansen, who had allowed many of his pamphlets to slip into the hands of Russian authorities. Confiscating suspicious parcels addressed to the Mennonite colonies had become a regular pastime for the Imperial security forces. Like Jansen, Hespeler also admitted that a shipment of his German-language literature on Canada had likely been seized at the border.[74] Even confidential papers regarding the emigration, which Ottawa had intended for Zohrab, were redirected by the Russian Post Office to St. Petersburg, resulting in a diplomatic embarrassment for Canada.[75]

Russia's objections to foreign meddling in the German colonies has not yet been analyzed by historians, for the documents are either non-existant, or heretofore unavailable. In April of 1872, Foreign Minister Prince Alexander Gorchakov informed the British Ambassador to Russia, Lord Augustus Loftus, that the Russian government would respect a Mennonite emigration "in accordance with the agreements entered into on their first arrival, subject to their fulfilling all obligations in accordance with the laws."[76] Loftus, however, became visibly concerned that Canada's dealings with the Mennonites operated outside of the law, and would subsequently harm Anglo-Russian relations. The ambassador proceeded to warn the Foreign Minister in London of the strict penalties imposed on those who promote emigration in Russia without government consent.[77] A year later, Loftus would issue the same stern warning to Zohrab at the insistence of Grachakov, who did not want the British Consul in Berdiansk to be "mixed up in any way in these attempts to induce the German Mennonite colonists to leave Russia."[78]

Loftus became particularly anxious over Hespeler's presence in New Russia and his activities among the Mennonites in the summer and fall of 1872. The Foreign Office received repeated letters from Loftus, who argued that both Hespeler and the Canadian government had gone too far in attempting to lure the Mennonites out of Russia, especially since the sectarians had not yet made a firm commitment to leave. Loftus warned Granville that the Mennonites, who "had a keen eye for their own interests," might simply be using their contacts

with the Canadian government as a bargaining tool in their negotiations with St. Petersburg over military service:

> I may observe to your Lordship that the leaders of the German Mennonites are on the one hand endeavouring to exercise a pressure on the Imperial Government by a threat of Emigration in order to obtain the fulfilment of their wishes whilst, on the other hand, they are simultaneously in communication with the Governments of Canada and of the United States with a view in case of failure with the Imperial Government to secure the best conditions for their future emigration.
>
> Under these circumstances it would be advisable in my opinion for the Canadian government as well as Mr. Zohrab to maintain an entirely passive attitude [towards the Mennonites].[79]

This was a clear warning to Ottawa to look closely at the Mennonites' motivations before rushing through negotiations, and in retrospect the Candian government should have heeded this advice. If Canadian officials had carefully observed the obstinate appeal launched by the Mennonites against the Russian state, Ottawa might have had a better understanding of the emigrants' grievances, and would likely have been better prepared to deal with future conflicts with the Mennonite immigrants in Canada. The Canadian government, however, chose not to maintain the passive attitude which Loftus suggested, but continued to plan a strategy for bringing the Mennonites to Canada in order to stay one step ahead of the United States. Although Hespeler returned to Germany in August of 1872 (when Loftus stated his objections), within a month the Canadian agent was instructed to appoint a Canadian emigration agent among the Mennonites who would receive a $2 per capita commission for every Mennonite who would settle in Canada. Hespeler was also ordered to offer free transportation from Berdiansk to Quebec for one thousand or more Mennonites who would emigrate the following year.[80] If St. Petersburg should officially reject the Mennonites' demands for a military service exemption, stated Secretary of Agriculture John Lowe to William Hespeler, "you will be expected to exert yourself to the utmost to secure to Canada the [Mennonite] emigration."[81]

Hespeler remained in contact with the Mennonites through correspondence until November, when he returned to Russia. In Odessa, Hespeler met with Mennonite representatives from the Molotschna and Bergthal

colonies, and was able to make preliminary arrangements for a Russian Mennonite delegation to tour parts of Canada at the government's expense. On December 10, Ottawa called Hespeler back to Canada after Loftus issued a renewed series of protests against Hespeler's activities.[82] The persistent Canadian agent then exited Russia not via the Black Sea, but by an overland route which first took him to some of the German Lutheran colonies. Hespeler discussed emigration with these colonists too, who like the Mennonites, strongly opposed the new requirements of foreign colonists under the Great Reforms. But as Hespeler told the Canadian Minister of Agriculture, J.H. Pope, "[t]here my movements were harassed, by the watchfulness of the Police, and so much so, that I had to restrict my intercourse to a very limited number."[83]

The United States Government appeared to be far less wreckless than its Canadian counterpart in dealing with the prospective emigrants. Like the British, American officials feared offending St. Petersburg, and therefore safely waited until the Mennonites had made a firm commitment to emigrate before allowing American emigration agents into New Russia. It should also be stated that these agents who eventually did go to Russia were the employees of private railroad and land companies, and not representatives of the U.S. government.[84]

The most direct contact which the American government had with the Mennonites prior to the emigration was made through U.S. Consul Timothy Smith in Odessa. The extent of Smith's involvement in the emigration is not entirely clear. British Consul James Zohrab, frustrated by Loftus' repeated warnings to avoid negotiations with the Mennonites, and by Ottawa's reluctance to place him in charge of the emigration, bitterly protested that while he was instructed to do nothing, Smith was using his influence "unchecked" among the Germans of New Russia to direct the flow of emigration to the United States.[85] Ottawa, too, was certain that the Americans were making inroads among the Mennonites, and when Hespeler complained of the cold reception he had received from Zohrab in Berdiansk, the Canadian Government feared that Zohrab was a double-agent of sorts. In a confidential despatch to Germany in September of 1872, the Canadian Department of Agriculture warned Hespeler about American activities:

> [We have] information that active exertions are being made on behalf of the United States to attract the flow of Mennonite emigration to the country; and that it appears a Mennonite deputation has already been induced to visit Nebraska. In view of this state of things the Minister desires me to indicate to you, confidentially, the possibility of Mr. Zohrab acting in the interest of the United States, and in any future dealings you may have with him you will bear in mind this possibility.[86]

Most of the negotiations between the Mennonites and the United States, however, had been initiated by the Mennonites themselves. Cornelius Jansen, Leonhard Sudermann, Dietrich Gaeddert, David Goertz, and other emigration advocates, had made their own contacts in America. John Funk, the editor of an American Mennonite newspaper called *Herald of Truth*, had been in correspondence with Jansen since 1870, and began to publish regular articles on the plight of the Russian colonies. American Mennonites then provided their Russian brethren with information, and with the addresses of U.S. land and travel agents. Thus, by the beginning of 1873, the Russian Mennonites were in regular contact with the likes of William Seeger of the Minnesota Land Department, Michigan's emigration-commissioner H. Allardt, and others.[87]

Cornelius Jansen's continued promotion of emigration to North America resulted in his expulsion from Russia in the spring of 1873. This could hardly be considered to be punishment for Jansen, who relished the idea of finally being able to freely plan a Mennonite exodus.[88] Although Jansen eventually settled in Nebraska and became a strong booster of Mennonite settlement in the United States, on their arrival in North America the Jansens first visited the Shantz family of Berlin, Ontario.[89]

As American Mennonites became enthusiastic about receiving a new influx of Mennonite settlers, Canadian Mennonites, too, began to encourage the emigration movement among their Russian brethren. A Swiss Mennonite businessman named Jacob Shantz from Berlin, Ontario, became one of the most ardent promoters of Mennonite emigration to Canada. In the fall of 1872, Shantz was asked by the Canadian government to locate the four Russian Mennonite scouts who had been sent to spy out America, and to bring them to Ottawa for an official presentation. Shantz was only able to contact Bernhard Warkentin, the lone delegate who had not returned to Russia. Instead of the planned presentation, the two agreed to travel to the new province of Manitoba

in November with the aim of determining its suitability for Mennonite settlement. Hespeler had already promoted Manitoba as a suitable region for the Russian Mennonites to settle, since it was flat, like Russia, and required a minimal amount of clearing.[90] It was clear to Canadian officials, however, that a second opinion by fellow Mennonites would be necessary to lure Mennonite emigrants to Manitoba.

Despite the cold temperatures, both Shantz and Warkentin appeared to be highly impressed with what they saw and heard from settlers in the region.[91] Shantz even offered to write a report of his survey for the benefit of prospective settlers, which resulted in a short piece entitled *Narrative of a Journey to Manitoba*. The booklet, which may have been translated into German and distributed among the Mennonites,[92] contained detailed descriptions of the soil, climate, and bountiful grain and vegetable crops which local farmers had recently harvested.[93] It depicted the town of Winnipeg as a burgeoning municipality which had fine river transport routes, with good prospects for rail connection to eastern centers. The booklet further explained that the native and Metis populations were not the savages that Europeans often imagined, but were peaceful and good-natured folk, who got along amicably with the Canadian Government.[94] Knowing how the Mennonites liked to settle in compact villages, Shantz ended his "Narrative" by stressing a very important point addressed to German emigrants: land in Manitoba was available in large blocs which could facilitate group settlements whereby communities "could preserve their language and customs."[95] In fact, the Canadian Government proceeded to reserve an portion of land consisting of eight townships which totalled over 180,000 acres, in an area approximately thirty miles southeast of Winnipeg for the exclusive use of Mennonites alone.[96] This area came to be known later as the East Reserve.

Back in Russia, the Mennonites became increasingly divided, and also more serious about their intentions to emigrate. Now, not only was emigration being debated, but the most suitable destination as well. Some Mennonites gravitated towards the greater guarantees of religious freedom offered by Canada, while others trusted the glowing reports of the United States given by American Mennonites, and by the four 'scouts' from the Russian colonies who visited the country. At a series of meetings throughout the spring of 1873, an

official delegation of twelve members was chosen to visit North America to select suitable locations for settlement and to secure guarantees of religious freedom from the Canadian and American governments. Actually, it is somewhat misleading to describe a single delegation representing the Mennonites, since the delegation left Russia in three separate groups and consisted of representatives from not only the Molotschna, Bergthal, and Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites of New Russia, but also from the Hutterites, and from the Mennonites of Volhynia-Poland and West Prussia.[97]

Nonetheless, both Canadian and American emigration agents recognized that these delegates were the official representatives of a large body of prospective European emigrants, which resulted in an intense competition for the delegates' attention. The Canadian Government had an immigration agent stationed in Hamburg to meet each group of delegates as they arrived, whose "official duty it was to take care that the Mennonites were not swindled" in a harbour buzzing with immigration and steamship representatives.[98] Hespeler, too, was instructed to meet the delegates as they arrived in North America in order to prevent American railroad company agents from leading the Mennonites away. The first party of delegates arrived in Montreal in April, but the second and third groups landed in New York harbour. Thus, when Hespeler rushed to New York in May to meet the third party, he found the delegates surrounded by agents of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, such as Michael Hiller, urging the Mennonites on to Philadelphia to meet the Company executive. As one might expect, Hespeler won the ensuing tug-of-war, since he managed to persuade three of the five delegates to celebrate Pentecost with Mennonites in Ontario instead.[99]

After visiting southern Ontario, Shantz and Hespeler accompanied these three delegates on their journey through the United States, to Fargo, North Dakota, where all twelve delegates met together in early June. The delegates who had arrived earlier had also travelled through the United States and had visited many Mennonite communities. Some delegates had little interest in viewing Manitoba, but Hespeler's stubborn persuasiveness again prevailed, and the entire group of delegates consented to make the trip north to Winnipeg along the Red River by the steamship *International*.[100] Even John Funk, the

American Mennonite publisher, and Michael Hiller, the American land agent, accompanied the party on this trip.

Manitobans were not only warned in advance of the coming Mennonite delegation, but were instructed to be on their best behaviour when the sectarians arrived. An article in the Winnipeg newspaper *The Manitoban*, stated: "It is needless to expatiate upon the great advantage to the prosperity of our country it would be to secure the settlement of so valuable a population here, and nothing in the way of kindness and courtesy should be omitted by any of the inhabitants who are loyal to Manitoba's interests."[101] The irony of this comment is obvious in retrospect, for the journey through Manitoba was plagued by a long series of mishaps. First, some delegates complained "of being treated with great incivility" by some members of the crew aboard the *International*.[102] Then, after meeting the Premier of the province and most of his executive, the delegates set off on a tour to inspect the the reserve lands set aside for the Mennonites.

The inspection team first headed east along the Dawson Trail, which connected Winnipeg with Lake of the Woods and the Great Lakes. At some point along the road, the wagons which contained the baggage, food, and supplies for the trip took a wrong turn and failed to meet up with the delegates. As night grew near, the Provincial Minister of Agriculture attempted to secure food, supplies, and lodging at a nearby government shelter for immigrants, but was flatly refused by the manager of the shelter for not having the correct papers.[103] The deputation was therefore forced to travel to the nearest Hudson's Bay Company store where the delegates were allowed to sleep on the floor. Reaching the reserve lands was no easy task either, for the weather was rainy, and the deputation again took a wrong turn and was forced to plod through acres of swampland and fields of water before reaching the reserve lands. Because the horses became continually stuck in the wet mud, the delegates were forced to walk a good distance through these swamps on foot.[104] Even upon reaching the reserve, the party continued to be enveloped by thick clouds of mosquitoes, and could only defend themselves by throwing wet grass onto the campfire to create smoke.[105] After two days of crossing through the "watery waste" along the periphery of only four of the eight townships, "fighting mosquitoes every minute of the time," the Volhynian, West

Prussian, and Hutterite delegates felt that they had seen quite enough of Manitoba and promptly returned to North Dakota with Funk and Hiller.[106]

Now, only the Mennonite delegates from New Russia remained, who agreed to make a second excursion. This time, the delegates travelled west of Winnipeg along the Assiniboine river, where the land appeared drier and more fertile.[107] Yet on the third day of this trip the two Molotschna delegates, Leonhard Sudermann and Jacob Buller, decided that the Canadian prairie would not suit the needs of their congregations and requested to be escorted back to Winnipeg by Shantz.

Hespeler continued to tour western Manitoba with the Bergthal and Kleine Gemeinde representatives. The tour itself went well, although yet another mishap occurred on their return at an outpost called White Horse Plains, thirty miles west of Winnipeg, which threatened to scare away these remaining delegates It seems that on July 1st, a local Metis man named McKay, somewhat inebriated from Dominion Day celebrations, struck one of the horses belonging to the delegation's driver. A skirmish ensued, during which time the delegates took shelter in the White Plains Hotel, guarded by the proprietor and by Hespeler, both armed with guns. Approximately thirty Metis men then surrounded the hotel and cordoned off all roads leading to the hotel. A messenger with a quick horse, however, was able to reach the authorities in Winnipeg, who sent troops to break up the mob and arrest the instigators the following day.[108] The Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, Alexander Morris, later attempted to assure Ottawa that the incident was not premeditated and that Louis Riel was not behind it as rumoured in the *Manitoba Gazette*. Nonetheless, Morris did admit "that expressions of strong hostility were used towards the Canadians, who are crowding into the province in large numbers, by the parties concerned in the affray."[109]

Despite the rude reception, the rain, and the mosquitoes, both the Bergthal and Kleine Gemeinde representatives decided to recommend settlement in Manitoba to their coreligionists in Russia. These delegates had been impressed by the lands west of Winnipeg but were disappointed that the Assiniboine river was unnavigable and therefore unable to bring them supplies.[110] In a letter to the Minister of Agriculture, J. H. Pope, the four delegates stated that they would accept the southeastern reserve originally set

aside for Mennonites, but requested the right to resettle elsewhere in the province if these lands proved uninhabitable.

This request was granted in a fifteen-point letter addressed to the delegates from Ministry of Agriculture Secretary John Lowe, dated July 23, 1873, which the Russian Mennonite settlers of Manitoba came to adopt as their new Canadian Privilegium.[111] The letter guaranteed most of what Hespeler had already promised the Mennonites earlier. It summarized some of the provisions of the Dominion Lands Act, such as the granting of 160 acre homesteads (quarter-sections) to men of at least 21 years or older, and the possibility of buying up to 480 more acres at a price of one dollar per acre. Travel subsidies ($30 per adult) and provisions for the journey to Canada were also specified by Lowe. Undoubtedly, the subsidies, land grants, and the availability of cheap land had great appeal for the Bergthal and Kleine Gemeinde representatives, whose constituents were generally poorer than the Mennonites from Molotschna and elsewhere.

But what especially appealed to the conservative-minded Bergthal and Kleine Gemeinde delegates were the provisions which confirmed that the Mennonites were able to reproduce the same types of closed religious communities as had originally existed in Russia. Ottawa guaranteed the Mennonites the unique privilege of 'block settlement', which would allow them to live and work on lands reserved exclusively for Mennonites. Shortly after the Mennonites arrived, parliament officially passed what became known as the Hamlet Clause, which permitted the Mennonites to form village communities instead of residing on isolated homesteads as dictated by the Dominion Lands Act.[112] Lowe's letter also confirmed the Mennonites' "entire exemption from military service," and granted them the privilege of "affirming", rather than the objectionable legal practice of swearing by oath.[113] Moreover, the tenth point of Lowe's letter stated that "[t]he fullest privileges of exercising their religious principles is by law afforded the Mennonites, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever; and the same privilege extends to the education of the children in schools."[114]

Thus, the Canadian Government essentially told the Mennonites that they would not interfere with the traditional Mennonite way of life. Perhaps Ottawa did not fully appreciate the importance of this message for the

Mennonite emigrants, for further misunderstandings later occurred over the issue of government interference on Mennonite reserves. But in 1873, Canada was chiefly concerned with securing the largest portion of the Mennonite emigration that it could. Knowing that lands in Manitoba were inferior to those of the U.S. Midwest, the Canadian government compensated by granting the Mennonites the freedom to practice their religion, to preserve their culture, and to live largely as they pleased. The Canadian Government did so because it viewed the Mennonite migration as an exodus of good farmers who were fleeing an intrusive and repressive Russian regime, and not as the emigration of a conservative sect which refused to assimilate. The Canadians accepted the Mennonites' reasons for emigrating at face value, and believed that most emigrants would settle where their religious freedoms could best be safeguarded.

Apparently, this was not so, for if religious freedom and the preservation of Mennonite traditions were the primary reasons for leaving Russia, then why did a majority of delegates and future emigrants reject the generous offer made by the Canadian government? Approximately 10,000 Mennonites emigrated to the United States between 1874 and 1880, whereas only 7,000 emigrated to Canada. Yet before coming to North America, the instructions given to the delegates were basically the same. The Molotschna delegates, for instance, were specifically told to secure the following concessions from either the Canadian or American governments:

> 1. Religious freedom, and exemption from military service.
> 2. Land of good quality, and in quantity sufficient to meet their needs; at a moderate price, and on easy terms.
> 3. The right to live in closed communities with their own form of local government; and the use of the German language as they had been permitted to practice it in Russia.
> 4. To be desired, but not insisted upon, advance of sufficient money to cover transportation expenses from Russia to America, as it had already been offered in Canada.[115]

Although the Canadian Government met all of these conditions, the Molotschna delegates knowingly chose to settle in Nebraska and Kansas instead, where the first and third points were not fully guaranteed.

Perhaps the Mennonites felt that a persistent lobbying effort would eventually pressure the American government into granting them the same privileges as those guaranteed to Mennonites in Canada. The Hutterite delegates, Paul and Lorenz Tschetter, after selecting land in North Dakota, went on to Washington to petition the President for a fifty year military service exemption and also "to know whether we may be permitted to form our colony in one community; and have our own German schools; whether we may control our own schools; whether we may establish our own form of local government in our colonies as it fits us,...".[116] In his response to the petition, U.S. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish replied that it was unlikely that America would be involved in a war in the next fifty years, but in the event that one should break out, "there is little likelihood that Congress would find justification in freeing [Mennonites or Hutterites] from duties which are asked of other citizens."[117]

Fish was right about the mood of Congress. When a petition sponsored by Cornelius Jansen and some American Mennonite supporters was put before both the Congress and Senate during the winter of 1873 - 1874, it failed to pass either House. The petition's chief request was not for a military service exemption, however, but for permission to allow the Mennonites to settle in closed communities. A contract reached between the seven delegates and the Northern Pacific Railroad Company proposed combining alternate sections of land owned by the the U.S. government and railroad companies into a single Mennonite reserve along the Red River in North Dakota.[118] Had Congress approved this deal, it is likely that a substantial number of Mennonites would have settled in the reserve.

But the petition was stalled by prolonged debate, especially in the Senate, and was never voted on. Although many politicians spoke positively of the Mennonites, there were enough protests against the petition to scuttle the bill. Senator Ferry of Connecticut questioned whether the Mennonites were desirable immigrants at all, since they only emigrated from Russia in order to shirk their responsibilities to the state.[119] Moreover, argued Senator Edmunds of Vermont, the proposal violated the free and democratic ideals of America, since it would provide special terms to a community which sought only to isolate themselves from the rest of the nation. Edmunds declared: "Let us have no exclusions; let us know no boundaries; let us be a nation and a people where

every man stands on an equality with his fellow man, where there are no boundaries like Chinese walls to separate one sect or one opinion of politics, or one calling from another; but an equal citizenship and an equal freedom."[120]

These were the same sort of arguments which Russia had used to justify ending, or at least limiting, the number of special privileges given to groups like the Mennonites. This was the same sort of reasoning which caused the Mennonites to leave Russia and to come to America, supposedly in protest. Yet even when Mennonite petitions and protests failed to guarantee them the same special rights in America which had been offered in Canada, the United States still attracted the majority of immigrants.

The advantages to settling in the United States instead of Canada, then, did not concern religion or morals, but economics and topography. As P. Albert Koop has pointed out, the Mennonite delegation to North America appeared to have beeen less interested in matters of conscience than with the necessities of economic growth, such as soil fertility, water supply, climate and temperature, distance to markets and processing centers, transportation links, labour costs, etc.[121] Most of the midwestern states in America were superior to Manitoba in every one of these areas. Manitoba had no railroad links, no major centers nearby, a shortage of labour, and very short growing seasons. The other shortcomings were summarized by West Prussian delegate Wilhelm Ewert, who ruled out settlement in Manitoba on the basis of the following headings: "too many half-breeds, grasshoppers, mosquitoes, wet land, and cold winters."[122] The intense cold of Manitoba winters provided an especially strong deterrant for the new immigrants. While staying with American Mennonites during the winter of 1873, Bernhard Warkentin wrote to Russia that "[t]he brethren here and other good friends are emphatic in dissuading from Canada for the simple reason that it is too cold in Manitoba for easy success....From the newspaper I learned that the minimum temperature there has been -42 or -33 [degrees]. When I think of it, I shudder, hu!"[123] Even Kleine Gemeinde emigrant Abram Klassen, though not wishing to blame the delegates who selected Manitoba, questioned "why such a group of people could want to settle in an area, where even the Americans do not dare to go, and settle in such a wasteland."[124]

The question is a valid one. Who **would** want to live in the "wasteland" called Manitoba, where pioneers would be bitten by frosts in the winter and by mosquitoes in the summer? Certainly not the Mennonites who were most determined to succeed in agriculture and prosper economically. It could only be those who placed religious considerations ahead of economic ones, such as the conservative Bergthal and Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites. An excerpt from the diary of Hutterite delegate Paul Tschetter while in Minnesota, illustrates that while the other candidates were preoccupied with selecting land, Bergthal representative Heinrich Wiebe remained intently focussed on the issue of religious freedom:

> We talked about nonresistance and how he [Wiebe] liked the country here. He said the country did not appeal much to him and that after all the question of military service is the most important. He thought that it would not be possible to secure total exemption from military service in the United States, but that the English government would be more liberal and grant a charter guaranteeing exemption from military service which was better than what this country could offer.... He said that one should not only consider the land question but also not forget the matter of freedom, for that is the reason why we came to this country and are making this long journey.[125]

The fact that groups like the Bergthalers would have to live under the harsh climactic conditions of Manitoba in order to receive a military service exemption testifies to the strength of their religious convictions. However, the isolated prarie wilderness of Manitoba was not entirely unappealing to the most conservative-minded, who relished the thought of finally being able to separate themselves completely from the 'outer world' (including the more worldly of their brethren) and to reconstruct the old forms of closed communities in which the Mennonites had once lived. It should be remembered that the Mennonite emigration from Prussia to Russia less than a century earlier had achieved a similar purpose. But as the first chapter has illustrated, the Mennonite colonies in Russia had become increasingly more open and 'worldly' as progressive Mennonites such as Johann Cornies teamed up with the Russian Government to promote secular reforms.

In an attempt to leave their progressive brethren and governmental authority far behind, these clannish Mennonite emigrants preferred to settle in a

province 'overrun by mosquitoes and half-breeds', than in one overrun by officials and reformers. There was little in the Manitoba wilderness which could disturb them. The most worldly Mennonites would remain in Russia, while the less principled among the emigrants would likely be tempted by the fine lands available in America. But in Canada, the most pious would be allowed to have full control over their own language, education, religion, and destiny.

Bergthal elder Gerhard Wiebe wrote that his congregation chose to settle in Canada "because it was under the protection of the Queen of England; and we believed that our freedom from military service would survive longer there and also that church and school would remain under our jurisdiction."[126] Wiebe's reference to the Queen of England is revealing, for it is true that the Russian Mennonites had become accustomed to living under a monarchy, and had remained suspicious of republican forms of government ever since the Napoleonic wars.[127] The Mennonites believed, and history would prove them correct, that it was easier to negotiate with, and be granted special privileges from a single monarch rather than a parliament, for democratic assemblies most often sided with the popular majority. Promoters of emigration to the United States, such as *Herald of Truth* editor John Funk, pointed out that if monarchs could arbitrarily grant special privileges, they could be just as arbitrary in taking them away, as evidenced by the measures of Alexander II.[128] Nonetheless, some descendants of the Russian Mennonites in Canada would later credit Queen Victoria for opening up her lands to the Mennonites in the 1870s, just as Empress Catherine the Great had done in the 1780s.[129]

When the delegates returned to Russia from North America, boasting at first hand of the wonderful lands and favourable terms available, they found a receptive audience among the colonists. The Imperial Government had remained ambiguous on the question of military service, allowing the emigration movement to grow stronger with each passing month. Each of the twelve delegates recommended emigration to their respective colonies and congregations, where the subject was now intensely debated, and would continue to be debated for the next six years.

Some congregations which had been strongly in support of leaving Russia throughout the early 1870s, such as the Alexanderwohl congregation of

the Molotschna colony, made a unanimous decision, and emigrated en masse. This was especially true of the Mennonites who would settle in Canada, such as the Bergthal and *Krimmer* (Crimean Kleine Gemeinde) Mennonites. Another conservative colony of Mennonites, known as the *Fuerstenland*, or Old Colony Mennonites, paid close attention to the reports of the Bergthal delegates and decided to follow them to Canada.

When hundreds of Mennonites made preparations to leave for North America in the spring of 1874, the Tsarist Government became alarmed and made several attempts to dissuade the prospective emigrants from leaving Russia. According to George Leibbrandt, the Mennonites were offered a full restoration of their former privileges if they would accept land in the Amur River Valley of the Siberian Far East. But although three Mennonite delegates were actually sent to survey the region at government expense, few Mennonites seriously considered the offer. It seemed that those who wished to emigrate were the ones who were most suspicious of the Imperial Government, and therefore wanted to leave Russia altogether.[130]

In January 1874, the new military service law was finally made public, which confirmed that Mennonites would have to perform an alternate form of service. Knowing that this would only encourage would-be emigrants to immediately carry out their intentions, the government issued a decree in an attempt to postpone the emigration. Mennonites were granted a military service exemption until the year 1880, and their full right to emigrate without the loss of property was guaranteed until that time.[131] The Mennonites were thus given a six year period in which to make up their minds, and the Russian government was given six years in which to convince the Mennonites to stay. Some families, however, had already sold their properties and had bought tickets to America. The grace period had come too late for the Mennonites who began to leave Russia in the spring of 1874.

Because it was abundantly clear that the Mennonites were not bluffing, it was St. Petersburg's turn to send a delegation. In April, Adjutant General Edward von Todtleben was sent to the Mennonite colonies to persuade the Mennonites to stay put. Todtleben was best known for having engineered the heroic, but ultimately doomed Russian defense of Sevastopol during the Crimean War. Ironically, the Mennonites had held the General in high esteem

ever since that war, when the supposedly pacifist sect had cooperated with Russian forces. Twenty years later, the Mennonites had other reasons to respect Todtleben, for not only was he able to negotiate with the Mennonites in the German language, but he had been sent as a representative of the Tsar himself. This latter point had been emphasized in a letter from Pastor Theodor Hans from the capital, who did not wish to see the sectarians leave, and was well aware of how the Mennonites had revered the Tsar in the past.

> I have just heard that his Majesty the Czar has decided to acquaint himself with your problem personally in the person of General von Todleben [sic.], with the hope that he can head off the projected emigration and keep you in his land. You know, dear brethren, that I have told you in writing that His Majesty is kindly disposed toward you. Now you have the proof of action in your hands.
>
> Beloved brethren, you will receive him with the proper respect as emissary of His Majesty and approach him with the full trust that his mission deserves. He will call you together and visit you. His word to you is the word of the Czar; his interest in you is that of His Majesty's himself.[132]

Todtleben travelled to both the Chortitza and the Molotschna colonies, where he spoke at a number of open assemblies. In his speeches, Todtleben first reminded the Mennonites of all their achievements in Russia, and emphasized the tradition of good will between the Tsar and his German-speaking subjects. Secondly, the General warned the Mennonites of the uncertain future which awaited those who would emigrate to America. In particular, he pointed to the recent Civil War in which Mennonites were called on to serve the state.[133]

But thirdly, and most important, Todtleben specified the types of civilian duties which the Mennonites could perform as an alternative to military service. He offered young Mennonite men a choice of work in hospitals, factories, fire brigades, forestry units, or on railways. A year later, an *ukaz* passed by the Senate limited the choices to the fire brigades, forestry units, or work in the navy shipyards. Nonetheless, it also legalized alternate service for Mennonites, both in times of peace and war, as of January 1, 1880.[134] Naturally, the Mennonites considered work in the shipyards to be too closely affiliated with militarism, while work in fire brigades required a certain extent of interaction between

Mennonite youths and Russian civilians, which some elders feared would be unhealthy. The option of forestry service, however, could only raise limited objections, for it would take a large stretch of the imagination for one to believe that planting trees ran contrary to the Mennonite conscience. The work, moreover, could be performed in relative isolation, especially if the Mennonites were permitted to form their own units. On the whole, the majority of Mennonites were pleased with the offer, and thanked Todtleben for the concessions.

At the end of the month, the Mennonites responded by once again sending a delegation to St. Petersburg. A petition was presented with three requests: 1) the right to emigrate after 1880, should the Mennonites lose their military service exemption; 2) the continued right to administer their own schools, with a new emphasis on teaching the Russian language; 3) that the men performing state service might be stationed in closed groups in a limited number of locations under Mennonite supervision, with access to religious instruction.[135] Todtleben expressed some surprise at the amount of caution with which the Mennonites approached the government proposals, but he reassured the Mennonites that a settlement could soon be reached.[136]

An agreement was indeed reached by the end of the decade. Despite repeated petitioning, the Mennonites were denied the first two requests. The Government capitulated on the third issue, however, and gave the Mennonites full control over the administration of the forestry units. A pact with the Russian Ministry of State Domains in 1880 established six forestry detachments, each supervised by an elected *Mennonit-Starschina*, or Director. A Forestry President would also be elected by the Mennonites, who would be in charge of administration and would report to the above-mentioned Ministry.[137] The Russian Government would supply tools and medical care, and provide a standard wage for each forestry conscript, while the Mennonites were expected to cover all administrative costs. The issue of religious instruction in the forestry camps and the hiring of chaplains was placed in the hands of the Mennonite churches.

As James Urry reminds his readers, this deal reflected great generosity on the part of the Russian government. The new military service legislation extended military service obligations to the *dvorianstvo*, who were now

expected serve in the army along with the ranks of peasants and workers. Yet when the nobility lobbied to exempt themselves from these changes, their petitions were dismissed outright. The Mennonites, on the other hand, received a non-military form of state service placed directly under their own control.[138] The sectarians were therefore exceptionally fortunate, for in the midst of a reform campaign aimed at ending special privileges for minorities altogther, they managed to retain a form of privileged status on the basis of religion.

But a great number of prospective emigrants were unmoved by Todtleben's message, and antagonism from the opponents of emigration further hardened the resolve of the emigration leaders to leave. This is evident in the writings of Bergthal elder Gerhard Wiebe, who continued to view Russian officials as manipulative crooks. He skeptically viewed the Todtleben mission as an attempt to divide the Mennonites, so that the smaller group of emigrants might give in to the pressures of the larger group who wanted to stay. As anecdotal evidence, Wiebe recorded that General Todtleben placed a handkerchief in front of his mouth (presumably hiding a smile), when Wiebe began to openly quarrel with a fellow Mennonite in his midst.[139] Wiebe also describes being offered a bribe by a Tsarist representive in October 1874, who wanted Wiebe to abandon plans by the Bergthal Mennonites to emigrate. The Bergthal elder claims that he was offered a personal military service exemption for his family if they would stay, but he refused, comparing the situation to the Biblical account of Satan's temptation of Christ in the desert.[140] When some government officials and Mennonite enemies alike then began to accuse Wiebe of being "the sole agitator of the emigration movement," the elder was defended by other local officials who came forward and vouched for his innocence.[141]

Whereas staunch supporters of the emigration movement, such as Wiebe, viewed the Russian offers as a profane attempt to prevent the emigrants from fulfilling their sacrosanct destiny, the Mennonites who wanted to stay now became convinced that their destiny could only be fulfilled on Russian soil. Most Mennonites, in fact, had wanted to remain in Russia, and Todtleben's offer came as a great relief to them. No longer could it be said that the Russian government was hostile, or even indifferent towards the Mennonites. The central issue of military service had been resolved--Mennonites would not have to perform military duty. Moreover, the future status of Mennonites in Russia

was much more certain than the dubious fate which awaited Mennonite emigrants in America. Now the anti-emigration campaign picked up momentum, as civic officials and lay Mennonites began to challenge the emigrants on these points.

Many Mennonite religious leaders became particularly adamant in their opposition to the emigration movement, for they resented the 'false piety' espoused by emigrants as a justification for their actions. Elder Jakob Wiebe, for example, was one of few emigration opponents among the *Krimmer* Mennonites. He claimed that many of the emigrants from his congregation had been the very same people who had wanted permission to shoot bandits and were in favour of establishing armed guards.[142] These emigrants cared little about nonresistance and military service, said Wiebe, but were leaving out of selfish pride:

> Mostly the people leaving are those who have no understanding of non-resistance or Christianity. Then pride also plays a part, and that particularly with the more prominent ones: 'Now the Russians are serving us; later, however, we are to serve them!' they say- and, that they cannot accept. These are all ignoble and unjustified motives which consequently allow nothing good to be hoped for. In a word, the migration was poisoned right at its roots and continues to poison itself even further.[143]

Minister Johann Epp of the Samara settlement also accused the emigrants of leaving for selfish reasons rather than religious ones. The Russian Mennonites' refusal to perform state service reflected both hypocricy and ingratitude, claimed Epp, for the Mennonites had served the Russian government in the past with their model farms, yet despite all the privileges which the Mennonites had received, they now refused to participate in services which were for the "common good" of Russia.[144] Serving in hospitals, fighting fires, or planting trees, said Epp, would surely please God more than hiring a conscript substitute, or paying a fee to escape military duty, as had been done during the American Civil War.[145]

By attacking the practices of American Mennonites, Epp was retaliating against articles in the American Mennonite newspaper, *Herald of Truth*. Some of the articles in the paper insinuated that Mennonites in Russia were denied

the full religious freedom which American Mennonites enjoyed.[146] Epp reminded the Mennonites that no legal exemption from military service existed in the United States and added that special privileges could not be guaranteed by a republican government, "for the majority, which makes the laws, is on one side today and on the other tomorrow."[147] America was characterized by Epp as a false "Eldorado" which according to reports from Russian Mennonite emigrants, had only brought great disappointment and sadness to those who emigrated with unrealistic expectations.[148]

Although emigration leaders such as Gerhard Wiebe and Cornelius Jansen felt very strongly that their migrations were ordained by God (Wiebe later made the inevitable depiction of his followers as the new Israelites, accompanied to Canada by a pillar of fire),[149] religious leaders in Russia were just as certain that God wanted the Mennonites to stay put. Theodor Hans, the Moravian minister in St. Petersburg, for instance, insisted that the Mennonites had not yet fulfilled their purpose in Russia:

> By God's grace you have chosen to be a widespread blessed example to our country. You have been exemplary in the physical affairs of life such as your thriving, well-supplied homes and farms, your successful agriculture, animal husbandry, etc., your orderly communal and congregational life. Not only that but much more! God has placed you into your environment in order to be a real and living testimony to the blessings of God which come to a community which sincerely promotes moral values and the fear of God, disciplined restraint from all manifest sins and vices, concerned training of young people in the fear of God and the traditions of the fathers, prevention of all that might harm the common good or loosen the bonds of orderliness.
>
> Brethren! that...makes you responsible to God, responsible to the calling which He has given you as it concerns this country. You cannot leave this country just like that – not without having God sever you inwardly and incontrovertibly from that calling.[150]

Elder Jakob Wiebe of the Krimmer Mennonites felt that Todtleben's recent offers to the Mennonites were reasonable ones, which would have God's own approval. The present emigration, said Wiebe, was not God-willed, for the emigrants' current grievances paled in comparison to the dire circumstances which once faced the early Anabaptist migrants.

> I can not agree at all with those who suspect something unwholesome for us everywhere....Russia has done everything it could for us – at least much more and in a wiser manner than one could ever have hoped. It has readily gone along with our concerns about non-resistance and our Confession of Faith as a whole. Naturally, in the interest of governmental justice, it could not take every desired convenience...into account no matter what our wishes might have been....As long as we are so near to the heart of our Tsar and Tsarina that their gracious effusion over our people brings tears to our eyes – then things will go well with us in this land which has been so singularly blessed by God. To leave this country (at the very moment when God, through our gracious ruler, has provided a way of escape from our difficulty) would mean grieving our conscience ...and would be ...unjustifiable before God. What would Menno Simons not have given for such an asylum in his years as a fugitive? Oh, we Mennonites ought to be better acquainted with history.[151]

What arises from these criticisms is a portrait of the emigrants which naturally does not correspond with the portrait imagined by Canadian immigration officials. According to many Russian Mennonites, the emigrants were not helpless religious refugees, but were insatiable complainers and selfish hypocrites, who did not wish to serve any government. Because emigrants could now only dubiously claim that they were fleeing from compulsory military service, Russian Mennonite contemporaries began to further question the motives behind the emigration, and accused the emigrants of economic opportunism. One Yekaterinoslav minister put the matter bluntly:

> What motivates most of the emigrants? Aside from the true-hearted but somehow narrow and biased members, they are simply seeking to improve their economic status, and hope to find in a foreign land the good things of this earth that they lack here; they are letting themselves be driven away through discontent and external circumstances for which everyone else bears the blame except they themselves.[152]

Another minister from Taurida noticed,

> In general they pretend to be emigrating for reasons of conscience, but they give us innumerable occasions to say, 'Your speech betrays you!' They do not speak of the freedom from military duty awaiting

them there but rather of the beautiful, fertile and abundant lands and the excellent ownership rights and other good institutions in America...."[153]

The Mennonite delegation's preoccupation with material matters certainly lended credence to this view. It should also be remembered that some of the emigration leaders such as Cornelius Jansen and Leonhard Sudermann were prosperous businessmen, who had begun to be affected by a decline in trade through the port of Berdiansk at the time of their emigration.[154]

A much larger percentage of the emigration, however, was composed of the poor and landless who could have also had economic motivations. Mennonite historians such as Peter M. Friesen, and David Epp have long characterized the 1870s emigrants as mostly poor, landless, and simple folk, a stereotype which has most liberally been applied to the congregations who settled on the cheaper Canadian lands. But the *Herald of Truth* also contained numerous descriptions of poverty-stricken Russian Mennonite emigrants who settled in the United States.[155] The magnitude of financial aid desperately needed by the emigrants in both Canada and the United States further indicates that these Mennonites were not the wealthy and successful farmers of Russia which Baron von Haxthausen and others have traditiionally depicted.[156] West Prussian delegate Wilhelm Ewert admitted to the *Herald of Truth* that among his congregation, "the smaller portion only of those who are wealthy are in favor of emigration," and therefore little assistance could be expected from them.[157] Even Elder Gerhard Wiebe, who insisted that the emigration was motivated entirely by religious reasons, admitted that the ill-will between his Bergthal congregation and the opponents of emigration originated in the disputes between the landed and the landless in the 1860s.[158] The Bergthal colony had been established in the 1830s in order to relieve problems of overpopulation and landlessness in the Chortitza colony, yet by the 1870s, Wiebe reported that 71% of the Bergthal emigrants were landless, that the church was "poor" and that the Orphan's Office was in debt.[159] Keeping this information in mind, it must be acknowledged that the magnitude of the Russian Mennonite emigration would have been considerably reduced had there not been a substantial degree of economic discontentment in the colonies.

On the other hand, Kleine Gemeinde historian Delbert Plett argues that the entire stereotype of the Russian Mennonite emigrants – and of those who

settled in Manitoba in particular – as poor and landless, has little factual foundation. Plett cites statistics which reveal that the Bergthal, Fuerstenland, and Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites, who emigrated en masse to Canada, did not have higher rates of landlessness and poverty than the Chortitza and Molotschna colonies, but operated in a comparable economic climate.[160] Quite rightly, Plett argues that the Mennonites required such great amounts of financial assistance in North America because the value of their property in Russia plummeted as thousands of farms were put up for sale at once.[161]

But even if the emigrants faced a truly dire economic situation in Russia to begin with, why were they so reluctant to admit the role of economic motivations behind the emigration? Perhaps they feared that the North American governments would reject them, or offer them poor settlement terms. But these governments had long traditions of accepting the miserable and impoverished refugees cast out of Europe, and had enacted homestead laws which would guarantee a standard-sized piece of land to any willing settler. The type of immigrant who came to North America with the intention of improving his economic status through hard work was the type of immigrant which the Canadian and American governments were seeking.

Perhaps it was simply the fact that Mennonites had always preferred to believe that their migrations were involuntary and religiously motivated. This might explain why even the poorest of Mennonites feared accusations of selfishness from their brethren should they admit to leaving in search of better economic prospects. This certainly appears to be the reason why Elder Jakob Wiebe remained in Russia, while nearly all of his *Krimmer* Mennonite congregation left. The elder acknowledged that he too, like many of the emigrants, was a poor man with a large family, a heavy workload, and a hard life. Yet he insisted that emigration on the basis of human need was unjustifiable, and went on to attack the dishonest sense of piety with which the emigrants clothed themselves:

> No, if I had wanted to pay attention to the flesh I would have left Russia long ago....If I had wanted to think in human terms I would have taken advantage of the migration in order to escape these difficult circumstances since I was promised free transportation and support over there. What's more, I would have been able to show an aura of holiness

> and martyrdom before the world, whereas in contrast (since I decided to follow truth), I have fallen prey to many a slandermonger.[162]

But was the "aura of holiness" displayed by the emigrants a complete fabrication? Certainly, their objections to state service were weak from a religious standpoint, and they could not have helped but notice this themselves. But this is precisely why it seems unimaginable that the majority of emigrants could have insisted on dressing a primarily economic-based migration in religious clothing, knowing full-well that their weak objection to state service would only bring accusations of hypocrisy. I would argue that most of the emigrants did leave Russia for religious reasons, but that by 1874, the question of military service was no longer the central issue. What the military service question did do, was to create a division between religious moderates on the one side, and religious zealots and conservatives on the other, at a time when the future direction of the Mennonite colonies in Russia was being reevaluated.

It is important to recognize that the opponents of emigration did not only accuse the emigration leaders of being greedy and selfish, but also labelled them as religious fanatics, zealots, and narrow-minded conservatives. Remember that Cornelius Jansen was not only a businessman, but also an active missionary, who had long believed in the worldwide promotion of Mennonite values. His biographers, Gustav Reimer and G. R. Gaeddert suggest that "[f]or Jansen the revocation of the privileges gave to the Mennonites the opportunity to demonstrate their faith. It was his belief that Christians should witness to their faith wherever possible and as widely as possible. History now offered the Mennonites a unique occasion to bear witness."[163] Elder Johann Epp wrote that the only emigrants from surrounding congregations in the Volga and Saratov regions were the ultra-religious members of a sect which adopted a new form of baptism and persistently proselytized others.[164]

As emigration fever struck the colonies, it seemed to have been accompanied by an outburst of religious zealousness. D. Mackenzie Wallace, who visited the Russian colonies in the 1870s noted how the emigration movement among the Mennonites "has naturally re-awakened their religious enthusiasm, which was gradually going to sleep under the influence of continued prosperity."[165] This is understandable, for the prospect of migration

evokes a desire for a fresh start, and a desire to create a new, better, and purer life. The act of emigration itself may be considered to be an act of atonement for past wrongs by the very religious.

Among the very religious who wanted to atone for the past and to start anew, were not only the fanatical and missionary-minded Mennonites, but a much larger collection of conservative groups. These Mennonites were not concerned about preaching to others, but rather, were focussed on maintaining Mennonite faith and traditions by limiting the amount of contact between the colonies and the greater world around them. These were the same brand of Mennonites who had earlier opposed the progressive and secular reforms of Johann Cornies, and it was these Mennonites who opposed nearly all forms of governmental interference. The conservatives cherished their 'Eternal' Privilegium which supposedly guaranteed Mennonite self-government and religious freedom "for all time," but felt profoundly betrayed when the Privilegium was broken. Forcing the Mennonites into compulsory military service would have been the most blatant violation of the Privilegium, and therefore the conservatives centered their campaign around the issue of nonresistance in the 1870s.

The Great Reforms of Alexander II did not only challenge the nonresistant doctrine of the Mennonites; in the eyes of the conservatives, the entire Mennonite way of life was at stake. Ever since Cornies' reforms, school curriculums in the Mennonite colonies were becoming increasingly secularized. Now, education in the foreign colonies was being placed in the administrative hands of the Russian government, and Mennonite children were being required to learn the Russian language. The new Russian courts were being placed in the colonies and hiring Mennonite justices of the peace. In the 1870s, the conservatives responded to growing government encroachment with fear and alarm. This is perhaps best revealed in Gerhard Wiebe's explanation of the causes of the Bergthal emigration. Wiebe includes a number of anecdotes describing the Bergthalers' staunch opposition to such worldly practices as serving in civic courts and sending Mennonite students to Moscow and abroad. When a local school board official tried to introduce secular primers into a classroom of young Bergthal children, Wiebe felt that this was only the

beginning of much greater changes to come. Thus, he justified his objection by pointing to a spider on a beam:

> ...I said to them, "Come and watch this spider....She has spun her threads everywhere, and now she spins her web. The threads are spun so finely that when a fly comes and doesn't see the threads, she gets caught and hangs in the web. Then the spider runs and kills the fly. This man operates similarly. First he spins the fine threads for catching and then he will settle in the web and capture us. It is still time to tear the threads before he has finished and established the web." "That is exactly the case," said the *Oberschultze*, "and it is time that you all got together." Thereupon all the faithful ministers came together [to oppose the reform].[166]

But as the first chapter suggests, the faithful ministers from other colonies did not always come together to oppose reforms to traditional Mennonite practices. In fact many Mennonites appreciated government efforts to encourage secular changes and criticized groups like the Bergthalers for their stubborn opposition. It should be remembered that the Russian government had only been able to create changes in the Mennonite colonies with the support of progressive Mennonites such as Johann Cornies, who wanted freer interaction between Mennonites and greater Russian society. Mennonite progressives accused the conservative emigrants of being ungrateful, narrow-minded, uncultured, stubbornly pro-German, and rigidly anti-Russian. P.M. Friesen describes the view of an emigration opponent in 1874 which is worth quoting at length:

> the most extreme element, incapable of a God-willed and God-permitted closer association with Russian society, using the pretense of the inviolablity of the religious conscience which the Russian law guaranteed to the Mennonites ...and which also hinders its fellow Mennonites in this association, moves away. The Mennonite sheepstall, which is far too low, too narrow, and too confined, is set in motion and ventilated. Those who have left for America have the greatest aversion to culture, but there they come under the influence of culture before they really know or want it.... These men: [Leonhard] Sudermann, [Bernhard] Peters, etc., understood and desired nothing of Russia except its abundantly fertile soil and its Tsar as an eminent abstraction who was real for them only in the sense of being the author and protector of the "Great Charter of Privileges." Naturally, they were prepared to give the required legal "tribute, tax and toll" and perhaps, in case of an

> emergency, a "charitable donation" for their altogether strange and distant fellow countrymen. They do not, nor were they capable of appreciating the Tsar's enormous efforts on behalf of his people – particularly also, in the creation of the new military law.... Nor did they even think of meeting the needs or sympathizing with the trials of this people. They were not only extreme Mennonites; they were also "Germans" ...[who] were convinced that the gospel could [not] be preached and the Christian life nurtured equally well in the Russian, as in the German language!...Of the Russian language they understood only a very tiny little piece and that only of the profane market dialect. Of the Russian literature or indeed its ethical value or theological treasures they know about as much as we do about the literature of the Armenians or Georgians. Concerning the history of Russia they knew pitifully little from German history books. Until that time, these books contained little except...that Cossacks, priests and Siberia were to be found in Russia, as well as some dreadful things called "Panslavism" and "Nihilism." ...[T]hat was all there was to the Russia of those dear brothers and bishops.[167]

Friesen does not name his source, but his point is certainly clear and valid. It should come as no suprise, however, that voluntary emigrants had the fewest attachments to the nation they left behind. The early Russian Mennonite emigrant Bernhard Warkentin admitted in a letter from America in 1873, that although he missed his Russian home, Russia itself held little sentimental value for him: "I am tied to Russia only by my beloved home, otherwise it may remain where pepper grows."[168]

However, the vast majority of Mennonites, even those who chose to stay in Russia, undoubtedly thought likewise. After nearly a century of living in Russia, less than one percent of Mennonites considered the Russian language to be their mother tongue, and remarkably few Mennonite children were given Russian names.[169] Most Mennonites had long judged Russian culture to be inferior to their own 'German' culture, based on the habits of the surrounding peasantry and the hired Russian labourers who were considered to be lazy, ignorant, and disorganized.[170] According to Mennonite historian Frank H. Epp, the word *Russe* (Russian) had a negative connotation among Mennonites, and was even used to frighten children, while the phrase, *'Die dummen Russen'* ('the stupid Russians') became popularly used.[171] Furthermore, only a small number of Mennonite intellectuals would have been well versed in Russian language and history by the 1870s. But by singling out the emigrants as

uncultured 'Germans', the opponents of emigration were likely attempting to placate the Slavophiles who had renewed their attacks on the German colonies in Russia in the 1870s. Still, the emigration opponents were expressing what surely was a very real and profound frustration with a group of ultra-religious and traditionalist Mennonites who had continually impeded the spread of progressive reforms, had hindered the establishment of better relations with the Russian government, and therefore had continually jeopardized the opportunity for Mennonites to benefit not only culturally, but also economically, from wider participation in Russian society.

Likewise, the orthodox Mennonites were tired of fighting a losing campaign against what seemed to be a triple alliance among worldly Mennonites, the Russian government, and the Devil. In the minds of the religious conservatives, the Mennonite colonies had been in a state of decline for decades as the closed, communal, theocratic colonies of old were continually becoming more open, worldly, and materialistic. Bergthal Elder Gerhard Wiebe's writings about the emigration contain many telling images depicting the moral decline of the colonies, such as a "battle" being waged against "the powers of the world," the acceptance of "worldly wisdom" by those with "pride", and the decline of the church when "false prophets sided with the state, although they still had the appearance of being true followers of Jesus."[172] The rise of materialism within the colonies particularly disturbed Wiebe:

> ...presumptiousness comes first, then pride, ostentation and arrogance, and this was already happening to us, because we already drove in large, magnificent buggies and coaches, and when we passed the native Russians, they hardly knew whether we were aristocrats or only German farmers. That is how the farmers had already changed, and this led to our downfall, for God grants grace only to the humble, but He resists the arrogant. It is true, the spirit of the time had captivated us so much,...yet we thought ourselves to be the same humble and lowly people who had emigrated to Russia eighty years earlier. Yes, we were of the same stock, but our hearts and minds had been transformed into arrogance.[173]

It is clear that the conservatives wanted to escape from not only government encroachment, but also from the worldly practices of fellow

Mennonites. Emigrants expressed their grievances, which ranged from such trivial matters as the recent introduction of a new musical notation system into Mennonite hymnals, to a renewed condemnation of Mennonite participation in the Crimean War.[174] By the 1870s, the emigrants believed that it was time to take a stand, to correct the wrongs of the past, and to put an end to the current erosion of Mennonite traditions. The emigrants were shocked that their fellow brethren now seemed willing to swallow a set of laws which appeared to surrender the Mennonites' right to run their own colonies as they chose, and in accordance with their religious principles. It seemed to be only a matter of time before Mennonite society became absorbed by the greater Russian world. The issue of conscription was merely the last straw -- a central symbol of the loss of religious freedom, and of the imminent disappearance of a distinct Mennonite identity in Russia. It seemed that the primary motivation of the Russian Mennonite emigrants was a strong desire to preserve a separate identity. D. Mackenzie Wallace, a contemporary foreign observer, was able to recognize the difference between what was asked in the Mennonite petitions and what the emigrants really objected to:

> The Mennonites consider themselves specially aggrieved by the so-called reforms. They came to Russia in order to escape military service and with the distinct understanding that they should be exempted from it, and now they are to be forced to act contrary to the religious tenets of their sect. This is the ground of complaint as put forward in the petition addressed to the Government, but they have at the same time another, and perhaps more important, objection to the proposed changes. They feel, as several of them admitted to me, that if the barrier which separates them from the rest of the population were in any way broken down, they could no longer preserve that stern Puritanical discipline which at present constitutes their force. Hence, though the Government was disposed to make important concessions, hundreds of families have already sold their property and emigrated to [North] America, and the exodus still continues.[175]

In North America, the pious could maintain strict discipline by recreating the traditional Mennonite colonies of old in a new wilderness, where they could maintain a separate existence and live according to their religious principles. The most conservative groups recognized that this could best be achieved in Canada, where they could remain more isolated and had received assurances

that they would encounter minimal government interference in their affairs. American sociologist Emerick K. Francis accurately describes the objectives of the Mennonites who settled in Canada:

> ...when some [Mennonites] turned to the inhospitable backwoods and praries of the new Canadian West, they were driven by one desire, and one desire only; to find a piece of land for themselves and their children and children's children where they could continue to live in self-sufficient communities, follow their own sacred traditions, and preserve their religious folkways without any interference on the part of the "world".[176]

The Mennonite migration to Canada was unique, for unlike the wider migration to the United States, it was nearly exclusively composed of three main congregations, all of which were known for their religious orthodoxy. According to P. Albert Koop, group emigrations are. most common when religious motivations are strongest.[177] Yet in order to be accepted as emigrants into Canada, these Mennonites did not talk about their firm belief in cultural independence, or of how their traditional lifestyle was closely tied to their religion, or of how they differed from the brethren they left behind. Instead, they expressed their religious motivations for emigrating by insisting on a new Privilegium, which led Canadian authorities to believe that the emigrants' grievances were purely legalistic, and could simply be resolved by an appropriately worded Order-in-Council.

It was under these circumstances that Canada welcomed the Mennonite protesters, and Russia allowed them to leave. Between 1874 and 1880, twelve to fifteen thousand, or approximately one-third of the Russian Mennonite population emigrated to North America. Although the loss of so many valuable agricultural workers has often been viewed as a bad thing for the both the Russian government and the Mennonite colonies, this was not necessarily the case. Writing shortly after the turn of the century, Russian Mennonite historian Peter M. Friesen claimed that the emigration had been beneficial to all parties involved:

Thank God that [the emigrants] left! It was good for them, for their children and for America. Their conscience was eased.... English Canada is

also most glad for our orthodox Mennonites because they are good land purchasers and farming people. For us [Mennonites who stayed in Russia] it was also good...and it was good for Russia which was now free of these unmanageable pious foster children whom it was impossible to satisfy no matter how hard this modern European state attempted to make every possible concession. At the same time, the state retained the greatest part of the Mennonite settlers. They allowed themselves to benefit from the wholesome and useful Russian societal and educational circumstances... permitted by [Alexander II].[178]

This is obviously somewhat of a simplification, though not without substance. Not every Mennonite who remained in Russia kept good relations with the Imperial government, nor did they all want cultural assimilation or greater interaction with Russian society. Nonetheless, to a certain extent, the emigration process did weed out a sizeable percentage of the malcontents, who had hindered the reformist agenda of the government and Mennonite progressives.

The migration of one third of the Mennonite population also had its economic benefits, for it helped to alleviate the problem of land shortages in the colonies. Not only would a number of landless Mennonites be leaving Russia, but a large number of farms were suddenly placed for sale, often at such low prices that even some of the poorer Mennonites could afford them.[179] Indeed, General Todtleben became disturbed by the fact that some Mennonites who had no intention of emigrating purposefully encouraged others to leave for the single-minded purpose of buying up their property for a bargain.[180]

Such actions only increased tensions between those who were emigrating and those who stayed. As one might imagine, the entire process of selling farms and counting pennies was laden with frustration and difficulty. The dilemma of the Bergthal colony was a case in point. Nearly the entire community of 500 families wanted to leave Russia, but according to Gerhard Wiebe, less than 150 of these families had farms to sell, and the Orphan's Office, despite having 50,000 rubles in its treasury, owed 100,000 rubles to its contributors, in addition to the outstanding credit balances still owed to local storekeepers.[181] Nonetheless, the administrators of the Orphan's Office attempted to use the colony treasury to finance the emigration, and discouraged

private loans between colonists in order to avoid quarrels and disunity.[182] Their plan was as follows: 1) Those who donated to the fund but needed their money back in order to emigrate were refunded their payments on the condition that they would later return these funds to the treasury in Canada. 2) The very poor who owed the treasury money could carry over their debts to America and receive further loans if necessary. 3) Wealthier families were asked to give 25% of their capital and surplus to help the poor. 4) Money which the church had set aside for land purchases was added to the treasury.[183]

The Bergthal emigrants left their colony in three main migrations which took place in 1874, 1875, and 1876. Several months ahead of the departure date, items such as farm equipment, animals, furniture, and other personal possessions were auctioned off. Buyers mostly came from the surrounding German, Greek, and Russian villages, who would negotiate purchases at one-third of their value, in the knowledge that this property could not be taken along to Canada.[184] The farms themselves were also put up for sale, but often received such low offers that many of the migrants left their farms in the hands of fellow colonists, or else hired agents, who would later sell the farms and send the money to America.

Other Mennonite emigrant groups fared just as poorly as the Bergthalers, for Mennonite purchasers proved to be just as shrewd as all the other buyers. Throughout the colonies, farms were being sold at one-third, one-fourth, or as low as one-fifth of their worth.[185] This meant that a prosperous farming family, whose property was worth the equivalent of $6000, and whose debts totalled $1000, might sell their farm for only $2000 which would them leave little more than enough to pay for their trip to North America.[186] Elder Peter Toews of the *Krimmer* settlement, reported that he received approximately 38 rubles per desiatin for his farmstead, which was roughly the same price which Mennonites had paid for the undeveloped and uncultivated land back in 1865 when the settlement was founded.[187]

Prospective Mennonite emigrants from Bergthal soon found themselves embroiled in numerous conflicts with government officials, other Mennonites, and fellow emigrants alike. For example, some of the lands originally granted to the Mennonite colonists was legally considered to be crown land, and thus could not be sold as such. It was reported that district mayor Jakob Peters had

to bribe a local Russian official with 500 silver rubles in order to get the necessary paperwork done to approve the land sales.[188] Then, in the spring of 1875, a fire destroyed the buildings on twenty lots of a Bergthal village. Although the Bergthal colony shared a fire insurance scheme with its mother colony, Chortitza, the insurance managers initially refused to pay, for they quite understandably suspected the Bergthal emigrants of commiting arson. Eventually, a deal was worked out whereby the Bergthalers were compensated for two-thirds of the damage costs, but were required to pay the remaining 7000 rubles out of their own treasury.[189] The Bergthal elders were then caused additional headache when some colonists demanded more money from the treasury for the value of their farms, and threatened district mayor Peters with a court challenge. According to Peters' biographer, John Dyck, the Bergthal leadership ended up lending money to the dissatisfied parties, so as not to hold up the emigration process.[190]

It is not surprising that monetary matters created many conflicts among emigrants. It was a time when entire communities were involved in selling property, loaning money, buying passes and tickets, requiring deposits and downpayments, and so forth. Under the pressure of time constraints and the emotional stress of leaving, one could quite easily feel swindled or betrayed by former friends. Kornelius Kornelson of the Kleine Gemeinde wrote to elder Peter Toews as the first emigrant groups were leaving. He wrote that these were "evil times" for the Mennonites, and quoted from a poem which he deemed to be appropriate: "Everything has fallen into confuson / the one does not understand the other / and unnecessarily hurts the brother."[191]

Yet the migrants were not only dealing with fellow Mennonites, but also with emigration agents hired by American railroad companies. Once the Mennonite emigrants had stated their clear intention to leave, the United States allowed such persuasive private agents as C. B. Schmidt of the Santa Fe Railroad Company and Michael Hiller of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, to enter New Russia with the purpose of wooing the Mennonites and other German emigrants to America. German language advertisements by such companies as the Burlington, Quincy, and Union Pacific Railroads were common in all the German speaking colonies.[192] George Leibbrandt suggests that it was the active work of the railroad companies and their agents which

induced the majority of Mennonites to settle in the United States.[193] The per capita commission given by land companies for Mennonite emigrants made the trip to Russia a lucrative venture for agents. Michael Hiller, for instance, according to a contract with the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad company, received $1.50 for every Mennonite emigrant who would settle on company lands in Nebraska, as well as a percentage of every additional acre purchased. In his first year with the company, Hiller earned nearly eight thousand dollars.[194] Some Mennonite emigrants, however, felt betrayed when they discovered that agents were not serving them out of religious sympathy, but merely for personal profit.[195] A messy court case lateer ensued between Hiller and West Prussian Elder Wilhelm Ewert on this issue, which received publicity in the *New York Times*.[196] It was also Canadian government policy to give a bonus of $2 per immigrant, but it is unclear who received this. It appears that Shantz and Hespeler received land in Manitoba for their services, but plans to appoint a Mennonite agent were cancelled.[197]

The Mennonites, however, were fortunate enough to have a large network of sympathizers in Canada and the United States who helped to assist their emigration. Between 1873 and 1874, American Mennonite fundraising organizations such as the Mennonite Board of Guardians (MBG) and the Pennsylvania Aid Committee, as well as a Canadian committee led by Jacob Shantz, were formed to help subsidize the costs of transportation and early settlement for the Russian emigrants. With the help of steady publicity in the *Herald of Truth*, members of all three of these organizations managed to raise approximately $40,000 for the cause.[198]

These committees also helped to plan the logistics of the migration. Shantz cooperated with the MBG in reaching a special agreement with Inman Lines steamship company (Hamburg - New York) and the Erie Railroad Company to transport the Mennonite emigrants from Hamburg, Germany, to select destinations in the U.S. midwest. Part of the agreement specified that Inman would pay MBG agents to meet large groups of Russian Mennonite emigrants in Hamburg and New York, and to accompany the emigrants across the United States by train.[199] The Pennsylvania Aid Committee, however, disagreed with the contract made between Inman and the MBG. The Pennsylvania Mennonites preferred to deal with the Red Star Line (Antwerp -

Philadelphia), for not only were its fares cheaper, but the company was owned by Quakers, who had long been 'friends' of the Mennonites in North America.[200] The Canadian government also disapproved of Shantz's deal with the MBG and Inman. Fearful of American agents and immigrant defections, Canadian officials wanted its Mennonites to arrive on Canadian soil, and therefore arranged a deal with the Allan Line, which ran between Liverpool and Quebec.[201]

For the benefit of the poorer emigrants, who would have difficulty in financing the expensive train ride to the western European ports, William Hespeler and Cornelius Jansen had earlier suggested (on separate occasions) chartering a ship to carry the Mennonites directly from Berdiansk to North America, via the Black Sea.[202] The Tsarist government, however, forbade steamship companies from taking Russian emigrants out of its ports and refused to open an emigration office in Berdiansk for the purposes of emigration.[203]

With some reluctance, Russian officials gave the Mennonites and other German emigrants final permission to leave. In the spring of 1874, the earliest emigrants bitterly complained that the Russian government had purposefully withheld their passports for months. From the United States, Cornelius Jansen wrote to the British and American governments in an attempt to place diplomatic pressure on Russia to speed up the emigration process, while Mennonite friends and relatives in Germany did the same.[204] However, because the emigrants were dealing with a notoriously tardy Russian bureaucracy, one cannot immediately assume that these delays were intentional. Elder Gerhard Wiebe reported that the first Bergthal emigrants received their passports within days of refusing Todtleben's final offer. Wiebe favourably compared the current emigration to the earliest Mennonite migrations, when Anabaptists had to flee from persecution under the cover of night. Of the current exodus, Wiebe wrote, "we had a government with a Christian outlook in Russia, which even helped us with our emigration, and we were treated kindly and as children."[205]

The first group of Canadian-bound Mennonite emigrants was composed of about one-hundred Kleine Gemeinde families, who left their colony in the middle of June, 1874.[206] The first Bergthal group of approximately eight hundred departed about a week later, followed by another hundred in

September. Those destined for Manitoba generally followed the same route. From the nearest railroad station, the Mennonites travelled overland, first northwest, to the Baltic regions, then east, through Polish lands, and on to the German ports of Bremen or Hamburg. Here, Canadian immigration agent, Jacob Klotz, met the emigrants, and directed them to the ships destined for Quebec via England. From either Quebec City or Montreal, the emigrants were taken by train to Toronto, where they were usually received by representatives from Canadian Mennonite congregations throughout southern Ontario. Some Mennonites who arrived in the fall stayed in Ontario for the winter. Another short train ride carried the emigrants to the Georgian Bay port of Collingwood, where a steamer was boarded for the trip across Lakes Huron and Superior.

The Canadian government remained fearful of desertions to the United States, and had originally proposed that the trip to Manitoba be made entirely through Canadian territory. This was strongly discouraged by Jacob Shantz, however, because the recently opened Dawson Trail, which primitively connected Winnipeg to the Great Lakes waterways, was considered to be both dangerous and time consuming. The Trail had been the brunt of jokes by American railroad agents who suggested that tired immigrants would likely starve or be attacked by Indians before reaching Manitoba.[207] Shantz's adamant protests eventually persuaded Ottawa to allow the Mennonite emigrants to travel through Minnesota by train, from the Lake Superior port of Duluth, to the town of Moorehead, where the Red River steamer to Winnipeg could be boarded. According to the *St. Paul Daily Express*, the large groups of Mennonite emigrants headed for Manitoba were responsible for creating the longest trains to ever pass through Minnesota.[208]

If one must characterize the trek of the Russian Mennonite emigrants as a whole, one may say that the entire migration ran remarkably smoothly. Expectedly, deaths occurred along the journey among the young, the sick, and the elderly Mennonites, and some families had to be left temporarily in Hamburg or Liverpool due to illness. But the most popular affliction was seasickness; relatively few Mennonites were detained by quarantine officials in Quebec. On board passenger steamships, the Mennonites did not suffer from the same vices of overcrowding and deprivation which earlier European

refugees had endured in the holds of primitive cargo ships. Each group of Mennonite emigrants, however, inevitably encountered some inconveniences or small adventures. Bergthal district mayor Jakob Peters, for instance, risked losing the deposits of his followers when he insisted that a cargo of horses be removed from their ship because it was not a freighter.[209] Gerhard Wiebe described a harrowing night at sea in 1875 when the ship had lost its way in the fog and had rubbed against a rock, fortunately without serious damage.[210] Although Wiebe wrote that other Mennonite groups had lived through similar experiences, he also noted an observation made by the captain of his ship, *The Moravian:* "[i]t is remarkable that since 1874 twenty-five ships have stranded and wrecked, but not a single one with emigrants or your Mennonites."[211]

The duration and degree of comfort on the journeys depended on the emigrants' destination, and the amount of money they had. Those who emigrated to Canada travelled in large groups under similar conditions, but those headed for the United States often travelled in individual families and could choose between shipping lines. The contract between the MBG and Inman Lines provides a glimpse into what the sea voyage might ideally have been like. According to the contract terms, "sufficient room" was reserved for the passengers so as to avoid overcrowding, and a German steward would be aboard each ship to answer any questions. "Good and wholesome food" was to be served three times daily, with milk provided for women and children, and hot water available for coffee and tea. Any Mennonite who wanted to purchase a cabin or intermediate ticket could receive a one-third discount.[212] From America, Bernhard Warkentin wrote to his friend, David Goerz, that a cabin was well-worth the extra money, for not only it was more comfortable, but each cabin had its own bedding and kitchen utensils which would reduce the amount of necessary luggage.213 The Mennonites who arrived in American harbours also received quicker links to their prairie destinations. According to the MBG contract with the Erie Railroad Company, the Mennonites were to ride "emigrant express trains" with "no unnecessary changes of cars on the road." Every railroad car was to be "roomy, well lighted and ventilated, supplied with ice water, stoves in winter, cushioned seats, and water closets."[214]

All the Russian Mennonite emigrants, however, benefitted from the advice, guidance, and monetary support of their contacts outside Russia. The

Canadian government, American agents, and the North American Mennonites had all placed German-speaking agents on ships, on trains, and in harbours, to provide Mennonites with directions and information. Having arrived on the new continent, the emigrants were frequently met by members of North American Mennonite congregations who supplied them with provisions for the remainder of their journey.[215] Moreover, the financial support received from their co-religionists and from communal institutions such as the Orphan's Office, put even the poorest Mennonites in better stead than many European immigrant families who were forced to pay for their migration entirely on their own.

By the end of 1874, the Canadian government seemed to have been impressed with the quality of the Mennonite settlers, and even regretted that it was unable to bring in more of them. In his 1874 report, the Minister of Agriculture, J. H. Pope, noted that despite the arrival of 1,532 Mennonites, and the fact that this year's immigrants were "remarkably healthy, and well adapted to the country," an outstanding demand for farm labourers remained.[216] What prevented Ottawa from approving the arrival of more immigrants was the lack of aid, shelters, and facilities for them in Manitoba. Nonetheless, in January 1875, when American agents began to entice prospective Canadian Mennonite immigrants with offers of free provisions for their entire journey, William Hespeler pressed the Canadian government to allow the immigration of four hundred to five hundred more Mennonite families for the next year.[217] To facilitate such an influx of immigrants, the government granted a request by Ontario Mennonites for a loan of $100,000 in order to bring a greater number of the poorer Mennonites who wished to emigrate, and provided another $70,000 to further subsidize transportation costs.[218]

The Canadians knew that emigration fever would not last forever in the Russian colonies, yet they wanted to bring as many Mennonites to Canada as possible. Thus, the summer of 1875 became the most intense period of migration to Manitoba with over three thousand Mennonite emigrants arriving in Canada. Included among these was a second group of Bergthal colonists, a large contingent of Fuerstenland Mennonites, and a number of families from Chortitza, who according to Delbert Plett had "allied themselves" with the *Fuerstenlaenders*.[219] The third year of emigration, 1876, brought the remaining members of the Bergthal and Fuerstenland congregations to

Manitoba, but emigrant numbers had already dwindled to half that of the previous year. According to Canadian passenger lists, only about eight hundred more Mennonite emigrants arrived in Canada between the years 1877 and 1880. Frank H. Epp provides the following statistics using Quebec passenger lists and C. Henry Smith's figures on the emigration to America:[220]

Year	Emigrants To Canada	Emigrants To The U.S.A.
1874	1,533	5,225
1875	3,261	1,400
1876	1,352	1,241
1877	184	800
1878	324	530
1879	208	726
1880	69	--
Approximate Totals:	7,000	10,000

After 1880, the emigration of Mennonites from Russia had practically ceased. All young Mennonite men were now required to serve in the forestry units and could not leave Russia until their terms were complete. According to Jacob Shantz in 1886, a drop in the ruble's exchange rate also prevented emigration, for it would cost the Russian Mennonites "a little fortune" to reach North America.[221] But the simple truth was that there were few remaining Russian Mennonites who still wanted to emigrate. Todtleben had instructed the Mennonites that those wishing to leave Russia should do so during the six year period from 1874 until 1880, and so nearly all prospective emigrants made their decisions during these years. After the emigrants had left, more land became available and the government had kept its promises regarding the forestry program. In short, there were fewer reasons for the hesitant supporters of emigration to leave Russia after 1880.

Meanwhile, in Canada, the emigrants were starting new lives and building their settlements all over again. A brief excerpt from the diary of minister David M. Stoesz reveals the grey and sombre greeting which a group of Mennonite pioneers received on their arrival in Manitoba on August 3, 1874: "It was raining and windy. Everything got wet. Several times the ship had to stop so that it would not bump against the shore. Finally at eight in the evening we arrived at the point adjacent to our land where we could disembark. Our

weary journey had been completed!"[222] William Schroeder then describes the first night of these travellers:

> When the pasengers had disembarked and the luggage was unloaded the riverboat continued on its way to Winnipeg, leaving the weary immigrants to spend their first dismal night in Manitoba on the banks of the Red River. They slept in tents or any makeshift shelters they could find. The next day the women and children were loaded on ox carts and taken to the immigration sheds about five miles away. The men walked.[224]

As the women rode on the hard planks of the cart, and as the men walked across the deserted prarie wilderness, some of them must have questioned, perhaps even for the first time, their own strong convictions which had led them to leave their former homeland.

Why did one-third of the Mennonite population leave Russia in the 1870s? Besides decribing the events and details surrounding the the Mennonite emigration, this chapter has attempted to tackle the great question of motivation. In the process, some justifications provided by both contemporaries and historians have been accepted, while other suggestions have been challenged. For instance, it would be true to say that the Russian government eventually wished to assimilate the Mennonites, and that the reforms enacted in the 1870s began to accomplish this. But one must reject the popular notion among Mennonite emigrants which held that the reforms were an attempt to compromise Mennonite traditions and religious values. The legislative changes affecting the Mennonites in the 1870s were part of a nation-wide restructuring program designed by Tsar Alexander II to promote the greater modernization and democratization of Russia. Through this attempt to provide greater equality for all Russians, groups with special status, such as the landed nobility and foreign colonists, were forced to surrender some of their special privileges. When the Russian Mennonites complained that privileges such as their exemption from military conscription were fundamental to the maintenance of their religion, the Imperial government patiently listened to their chief grievances and worked to reach an alternative on the military service issue.

Like most contemporaries and historians, I do agree that the military service issue played a central role in encouraging the emigration, but at the same time, I have also argued in this chapter that the conscription issue was only a relatively minor part of a greater protest by the emigrants. Military conscription would have been the most blatant violation of the both the Privilegium of 1800 and the Mennonite religious conscience. It therefore symbolized the erosion of Mennonite values in Russia and became the central focus of a campaign to prevent such an erosion. But when the Mennonites received an exemption from military service and were given full control over an alternative form of service which was acceptable to most of the Russian Mennonite population, the critics continued their protest march onwards to North America, where only a minority of them were immediately guaranteed an exemption from military duty.

The Mennonites who remained in Russia now appeared to be quite justified in questioning the greater motivations of the emigrants, who insisted that their reasons for emigrating were purely religious. While I do not deny the primacy of religious motivations, this chapter has pointed out that the reasons behind the migration were actually much more complex. Some Mennonite emigrants were economic opportunists who sought to better themselves in North America, or at least wanted to secure enough land on which to farm. Many of the emigrants were poor and landless, yet on the other hand, prominent champions of the exodus, such as Cornelius Jansen and Leonhard Sudermann were among the wealthiest Mennonites in the colonies. Some church congregations left Russia as a group, such as the Bergthal and Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites, while other churches were divided on the issue. The emigration may be said to be the culmination of years of struggle and strife between such groups as the landowners and the landless, different religious branches or congregations, and progressives and conservatives. These conflicts had severely fractured the Mennonites, and in some cases created family feuds and personal vendettas which placed opponents on either side of the emigration debate.

Not every emigrant left Russia for the same reasons, but most of those who left had a common protest. Many emigrants, I have argued, felt that the Mennonite colonies were undergoing a process of worldly degeneration,

whereby German Mennonite traditions were slowly being replaced by Russian secular institutions, and average Mennonite families were losing control over their colonies to civil officials and the wealthy. Although the emigrants found it convenient to focus their protests against the new Russian reforms, they were equally critical of their complacent fellow Mennonites who not only accepted such reforms, but at times encouraged them. Moreover, the emigration was not only a protest against the loss of Mennonite traditions in Russia, but also became an attempt to restore the old forms of traditional colony life in Canada.

In this chapter I have also argued that these motivations were most prevalent among the emigrants who settled in Canada, for they were willing to accept a poor climate and location for their agricultural pursuits in exchange for greater guarantees of religious freedom. The 7,000 Mennonite settlers of Manitoba consisted of about 3,000 Bergthal Mennonites, 3,250 Fuerstenland (Old Colony) Mennonites from both the Fuerstenland and Chortitza colonies, and approximately 750 Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites.[224] Not only did these three groups share a stubborn brand of religious conservatism, but they also shared a common vision. American sociologist Emerick K. Francis writes,

> [T]hey were all bent to preserve their German speech; to build houses as their ... ancestors had built them; to revive the old village habitat; to continue the old solidariststic system of farm economy; and to have the same institutions for the administration of estates, fire protection and mutual aid which they had adopted in Russia and partly in Prussia.[225]

Was the Canadian government aware of this vision? I have suggested that Ottawa was too preoccupied with its own agenda to fully recognize the emigrants' intentions. Facing American competition, the Canadians rushed to bring as many Mennonite farmers to the West as possible, but did not fully recognize what the Mennonites really wanted. Nor did the emigrants fully grasp what would ultimately be expected of them. The Mennonites basically wanted to be left alone on their colonies, whereas the Canadian government eventually wanted these new settlers to become full participants in the process of Canadian nation-building. The fallout from this will be discussed in future chapters, but what is most interesting to note, is that history would repeat itself twenty-five years later, when the Doukhobors also sought to restore their

traditional forms of village life on the Canadian prairies. But as the next chapter will reveal, the Doukhobors decided to emigrate partly out of necessity.

CHAPTER THREE

The Doukhobor Emigration from Russia in the 1890s

> A terrible cruelty is now being perpetrated in the Caucasus. More than four thousand people are suffering and dying from hunger, disease, exhaustion, blows, tortures, and other persecutions at the hands of the Russian authorities.
>
> These suffering people are the Doukhobortsi (or "Spirit-Wrestlers") of the Caucasus. They are enduring persecution because their religious convictions do not allow them to fulfil those demands of the State which are connected, directly or indirectly, with the killing of, or violence to, their fellow-men....
>
> The Spirit-Wrestlers themselves do not ask for help--neither those who are in exile with their families, famished, and with starving and sick children, or those who are being slowly but surely tortured to death in the prisons. They die without uttering a single cry for help, knowing why and for what they suffer. But we, who see these sufferings, and know about them cannot remain unmoved.
>
> But how to help them?
>
> -From an Appeal to the Russian public, issued on December 12, 1896 by Pavel Biriukov, Ivan Tregubov, and Vladimir Chertkov.[1]

Like the Mennonites, the Doukhobors were a people used to migrations. In the eighteenth century these sectarians had repeatedly scattered themselves throughout Russia to escape persecution, while in the nineteenth century they had been sent further and further away from central Russia, deep into the remote frontier regions of the Tsarist Empire. In this respect, the Doukhobors were treated much like any other group of 'troublemakers' whom the Russian government tried to physically isolate. The Doukhobors, however, not only became accustomed to frontier life, but genuinely appreciated the distance placed between them and the Russian authorities. But towards the end of the nineteenth century, government directives reached the Empire's periphery before the mass settlement and development of these outlying regions. The Spirit Wrestlers could no longer avoid Russian law by moving elsewhere in Russia. The Doukhobors were faced with the same dilemma which had plagued them throughout their history, but now had fewer options: they had to decide whether to resist government dictates in the name of preserving their

religious integrity, or else to swallow hard and cooperate with government in the name of preserving their existence.

Historically, this decision had been made by Doukhobor leaders. In the 1870s and 1880s, Lukeria Kalmykova considered good relations between the Doukhobors and the Russian authorities to be most essential for the preservation of Doukhobor life in Russia. But this third chapter will describe how Peter Verigin, who became the leader of the majority of Doukhobors, led his followers into organized resistance against Russian law, which ultimately lead to their emigration from Russia in 1898-1899. In contrast to the Mennonite emigration, the dictates of a single leader played a much greater role in precipitating the Doukhobor emigration, although it is highly unlikely that Verigin himself envisioned a mass exodus from Russia until one became absolutely necessary. Verigin, in fact, remained in exile throughout the entire emigration ordeal, and had little to gain from emigration which would only place more distance between himself and his people.

The decision to emigrate was not an easy one for the Spirit Wrestlers either. The Doukhobors were not only religious dissenters, but also Russian peasants, and no matter how accustomed they had been to migrating within the Russian empire, emigration out of Russia was something which was simply not considered by the peasantry, especially those who cherished communal institutions based on the *mir* system of peasant land holding and village life. Unlike the Mennonite emigrants of the 1870s, the Spirit Wrestlers of the 1890s were leaving behind a homeland in which they had lived for countless generations. The Doukhobors were more closely attached to the Russian soil and should have been more hesitant to leave than the Mennonites. The fact that the Doukhobors **did** leave is indicative of two things. Firstly, the Doukhobor emigrants faced a more desperate crisis than the Mennonite emigrants did. Secondly, the Spirit Wrestlers who left Russia were just as committed, if not moreso, to their religious principles.

The key similarities between the Doukhobor and Mennonite emigrations lie in the religious scruples which brought each of these sects into conflict with the Russian government. When Peter Verigin began a religious revival among his followers in the 1890s, the issue which created the most tension between the Spirit Wrestlers and the Russian government was the same one which had

fueled the emigration debates among Mennonites two decades earlier – the question of military service. This is interesting, for like the Mennonites, the Doukhobors' adherence to pacifist principles in the past had also been markedly inconsistent. When a formal conscription law reached the Caucasus in 1887, the Spirit Wrestlers initially complied with the regulations and only breached them in 1895, when Peter Verigin commanded his followers to burn their weapons and refuse military duty. The Doukhobors' open defiance of conscription was a radically different form of protest in contrast to the Mennonites' polite petitions to St. Petersburg before the implementation of the 1874 military bill. As a result, local authorities overreacted to the actions of the Spirit Wrestlers in a brutal and inexcusable fashion, sending hundreds of them into exile in Georgia without land or work, leaving them to suffer from disease and hunger. It was only under this persecution that the Doukhobors began to consider emigration as a solution to their difficulties.

This begs the question whether the emigration was chiefly a response to repression, as most Doukhobors and historians have traditionally argued, or whether it evolved out of an greater desire to achieve what Verigin seemingly advocated: the restoration of traditional Doukhobor life and practices. Certainly, the emigration was not a well-prepared tactical decision. Neither Verigin nor any of the Spirit Wrestlers could have predicted that they would receive permission to emigrate from the Tsarist government, much less predict the course of events which unfolded. Clearly, the Doukhobors, in order to physically survive, had to escape the conditions of their exile which the Russian authorities were unwilling to change. Yet this does not preclude all elements of choice. The emigrants did choose to resist the Russian government, and to wholeheartedly follow Peter Verigin, regardless of the consequences. When their protests failed, they did not succumb to the authorities, but sought an alternative, and petitioned for the right to emigrate. The emigrants could have joined the ranks of Lukeria's brother, Michael Gubanov, who was willing to accept a degree of Russian assimilation in order to live a more peaceful and prosperous life. In the end, however, the most conservative elements of the Doukhobor sect resolved to leave Russia for Canada, much like the orthodox Mennonites had in the 1870s.

The Doukhobors were also accepted into Canada for nearly the same reasons as the Mennonites had been. The Canadian prairies still needed farmers, and, like the Mennonites, the Spirit Wrestlers were known for their strong work ethic and superior agricultural skills. Although the United States did not compete with Canada for the Doukhobor immigrants as they had for the Mennonites in the 1870s, the Canadian government negotiated with the Doukhobors with a similar sense of urgency. After expressing interest in the Spirit Wrestlers, and having invited a delegation to Canada, Ottawa faced intense international pressure to relieve the plight of these persecuted sectarians who were suffering in Georgia. Once again, negotiations were rushed, but not necessarily to the advantage of either party. The Mennonites had been able to carefully market themselves as a valuable asset during the course of their immigration negotiations. The Doukhobors did not have this privilege, but placed full trust and authority in the hands of exiled Tolstoyans and English Quakers to negotiate and organize the emigration. This worked well for the Spirit Wrestlers, because not only could the British best communicate with the Canadian government, but the Quakers and Tolstoyans brought their naive fascination and understanding of the Doukhobor cause into the immigration negotiations. Just as Ottawa had a superficial understanding of the Mennonite causes for migration, so they received an one-sided portrait of the Doukhobors in the 1890s. This is not to say that the Doukhobor sympathizers did more harm than good, for the Tolstoyans and Quakers not only financed the Doukhobors' voyage to Canada, but they continued to provide a financial support network during the early stages of Canadian settlement, just as the Russian Mennonites received similar support from their Canadian and American brethren. Nonetheless, the fact that the Doukhobors were unable to negotiate their own terms of entry into Canada with the government led to misunderstandings between both parties, and contributed to future conflict.

There was great tension in the Doukhobor colonies following Lukeria Kalmykova's death in December of 1886. As one will recall from chapter one, Peter Verigin was proclaimed to be the next Living Christ by the majority of Spirit Wrestlers but was arrested immediately by local officials upon accepting leadership. Control of the Orphan's Home and the communal treasury was

instead granted by the Russian courts to Michael Gubanov and the minority which supported him. What resulted was a permanent split between the followers of Verigin (the 'Large Party') and the followers of Gubanov (the 'Small Party').[2] In many villages where members of both Doukhobor factions lived as neighbours, an uncomfortable silence gave way to bitter feuding and name-calling. The Veriginites, for instance, refused to bow before the Small Party members or even acknowledge them as Doukhobors, but instead referred to them as "No-Doukhobors"[3] for having betrayed their brethren and for becoming too worldly. The Large Party members began to hold separate religious meetings and even removed their cattle from pastures where the Small Party grazed their animals.[4] Soon whole villages became divided along factional lines.

While Peter Verigin was held in the Transcaucasian town of Elizavetpol awaiting charges, Gubanov's followers refused to testify against him. The Small Party feared reprisals from the Large Party, but nonetheless continued to resent this man who had split the Doukhobor sect and held such a great influence over the majority. When Verigin was permitted to return to his native village of Slavyanka in August, the Small Party renewed its attacks, claiming that this false Living Christ was secretly plotting to destroy them. The Governor of Tiflis, Nakashidze, finally decided that the easiest solution would be to send away the source of current unrest to a distant place. Thus, by the fall, Verigin was sentenced to five years in exile in the far northern province of Archangel for disturbing the peace, a sentence which was later extended by another ten years.

Matters only worsened for the Large Party. In 1887, the same military conscription bill which the Mennonites had petitioned against earlier went into effect in Transcaucasia. Having served in the Turkish campaigns of the 1870s, and with their spiritual leader in exile, most members of the Large Party felt they were in no position to challenge the law. Instead, they instructed new Doukhobor conscripts to follow to the prescribed regulations, but never to actually fire their weapons at an enemy in battle.[5] But some young Doukhobors were imprisoned for refusing service, and it was rumoured that Verigin had secretly encouraged them to do so.[6]

Although the exiled Verigin was far removed from his Caucasian flock, the Living Christ was not completely isolated. Some of Verigin's close followers and family members accompanied him on his journey north to the town of Shenkursk, where he lived, and even more Doukhobors were sent to join him after 1890, when he was transferred further north to Kola, in the province of Murmansk.[7] Limited contact was kept between the Doukhobor leader and his Caucasian followers by these arrivals, as well as by occasional messengers who carried false passports and managed to avoid the police on their long trip north. Verigin also came into contact with other religious and political exiles in both Shenkursk and Kola, with whom he shared his money and his thoughts. Although his followers believed that Verigin's exile was a cruel and unjust form of persecution,[8] the Living Christ did not necessarily live poorly during during his years away from the sect. Because Doukhobor messengers continued to furnish their leader with coins, Verigin was able to frequently host and entertain exiles of other faiths and ideologies, such as Marxists, Tolstoyans, Stundists and others.

Of all the ideas which Verigin encountered, the teachings of Leo Tolstoy appealed to him the most. It is difficult to ascertain exactly when the Doukhobor leader first heard about or read Tolstoy, largely because Verigin continued to deny his familiarity with the writer's works at the same time that he was sending excerpts from Tolstoy's essays to his followers.[9] Verigin had also spontaneously begun to follow certain Tolstoyan precepts in his northern outposts, such as switching to a strictly vegetarian diet, and sharing his feasts with all the poor children of his town. Some of the political exiles and fellow prisoners who met Verigin later commented that he was "remarkably fond of hearing about Tolstoy", and that "he began diligently to acquaint himself with Leo Tolstoy's view of existence, which he assimilated very quickly, very correctly, very fully, and which he began to carry out very systematically."[10] Tolstoy's impact on Verigin and the Doukhobor movement was duly noted by the Russian authorities, and the correspondence between Verigin and Tolstoy, which began in 1895, came to be closely monitored by the Tsarist police.[11]

It was while Verigin was absorbed in Tolstoyan thought that he sent a series of instructions to his followers in Transcaucasia on how they should properly live. Verigin's first directive reached the Large Party in the fall of 1893;

it called for a complete return to the traditional Doukhobor practice of communal sharing. Debts among Spirit Wrestlers were to be forgiven, and all property within the Doukhobor communities was to be redistributed according to need, and held in common ownership. Although different villages interpreted and applied Peter's instruction in different ways, most of the Large Party welcomed the chance to finally act on their religious convictions and prove their moral superiority over the Small Party. Some villages merely forgave debts and redistributed their surplus cash, whereas others underwent a much more rigorous transformation. In Bogdanovka and Orlovka,[12] for instance, clothes, cattle and implements were shared, land holdings were combined, fields were ploughed and mowed by the villagers together, profits from surplus grain were placed in the communal treasury, and communal workshops were established which provided work for the young and the elderly. Some communities reportedly shared food and goods with surrounding Tartar and Armenian populations.[13] Although disparities continued to exist between communes, the wealthier villages continued to assist the less fortunate ones in times of need.[14]

Verigin's message seemed to open the floodgates of goodwill and Christian brotherhood among neighbours and fellow Doukhobors. Seoma Chernenkov witnessed these events as a young boy, and later in Canada recalled the excitement and genuine happiness felt by those who participated in the redistribution:

> ...[T]hey started sharing their possessions [which] [t]hey brought, I remember like it was today, and [said]: "Friends, maybe someone doesn't have enough cows, we have extra." Another [said]: "Perhaps someone needs horses, we have extra horses." They brought horses, brought cows, brought sheep on wagons. My goodness. Everyone started sharing. [Someone else said]: "Ladies, I have extra clothes." How warm and friendly everyone was with each other. I personally know, I saw with my own eyes.[15]

Some of the more prosperous farmers willingly gave up their small fortunes, such as one Chernenko who parted with 25,000 roubles,[16] while others required more coaxing. Yet there were also families who were unwilling to part with their hard-earned property, but whose religious inclinations did not

permit them to join the Small Party either. Together, they formed a third, middle party, poised between the two larger rival factions.[17]

This middle party grew substantially when Verigin sent his next set of directives. Although Lukeria Kalmykova had begun to condemn public drunkenness in her declining years, she left the task of reinstating the traditional Doukhobor ban on alcohol to her puritanical protégé. As of November 4, 1894, Spirit Wrestlers were strongly encouraged by Verigin to abstain from not only alcohol, but also tobacco and meat. Lukeria had also discouraged smoking, but vegetarianism was something completely new to the Doukhobors. The Living Christ argued that just as Doukhobors refused to spill the blood of fellow human beings, so should they refrain from killing any of God's living creatures. Yet high in the Caucasus mountains, where grain was difficult to grow, animal breeding had become one of the Doukhobors' most profitable activities, and most Spirit Wrestlers were accustomed to eating meat in great quantities.[18] Verigin's instruction, however, did not forbid animal husbandry, and the sale and keeping of animals continued even through beef and mutton was removed from most dinner tables.[19] Nonetheless, hundreds more Doukhobors now joined the middle party, whose members were now called the "Butchers" because they continued to eat meat. In turn, the slim majority who still followed Verigin became known as the "Fasters".

Soon, another messenger arrived with another instruction from the Living Christ: the Doukhobors were undergoing a "time of tribulation" and should therefore refrain from sexual intercourse. If the Spirit Wrestlers had not yet reached a time of tribulation, they certainly would enter one after following this directive. Not only did even more Fasters defect to join the Butchers or the Small Party, but many couples who still wished to follow Verigin found that they could not refrain their sexual urges. Conception and pregnancy was no longer celebrated, but was accompanied with guilt and public chastisement, unless an abortion could be secretly performed.[20]

As J. F. C. Wright suggests, Verigin seemed to be projecting the semi-monastic 'tribulations' of exile onto his followers, as well as his own personal lifestyle, which by now had largely become governed by Tolstoyan philosophy.[21] But was Verigin so far removed from his followers and so consumed in religious and political thought that he failed to realize how

unpopular his instructions might be? Or was the Doukhobor leader testing the loyalty of his followers? Whether consciously designed or not, Verigin's declarations had the effect of weeding out his qualified supporters from his most ardent disciples. It was as if Verigin wished to prepare his followers for the same type of persecution which their Doukhobor ancestors had previously endured when they had tried to live according to their consciences. Before challenging the government on the issue of conscription, Verigin perhaps wanted to be sure that his followers were fully committed to godly living and his own divine guidance. Satisfied that his flock would continue to obey him, Verigin issued his final set of directives at the end of 1894, before being sent to Siberia for refusing to pledge allegiance to the new Russian Tsar, Nicholas II. Oath-taking had long been forbidden for Spirit Wrestlers in theory, and Verigin now instructed the Doukhobors to abide by tradition and follow his example in refusing to swear oaths. Moreover, if the Spirit Wrestlers were to be consistent with their original tenets, Verigin maintained, they could not in conscience comply with any form of military service, whether direct or indirect. Conscription notices were to be ignored, and those Doukhobors already in service were to hand in their uniforms and inform their superiors of their inability to serve any longer.[22]

Like the Russian Mennonites, the Doukhobors had been historically inconsistent pacifists. Most references to the Doukhobors' rejection of military service do not involve a refusal to join the army but a refusal to fire or carry weapons: during Catherine II's Turkish campaigns of the 1770s a number of Spirit Wrestlers threw away their weapons in the heat of battle; in the first decade of the nineteenth century Doukhobors in the garrison at Kiev refused to handle ammunition;[23] in the Caucasus certain Doukhobor soldiers joined the campaigns against the Circassian tribes, but severely hurt troop morale by placing down their weapons in the midst of fighting.[24] Yet in order to protect their own lives and property in the Caucasus, the Doukhobors had hired armed bodyguards, bought guns, and retaliated against roving bandits who attempted to plunder their villages.[25] Verigin was aware of these inconsistencies and made no apologies for past Doukhobor conduct. Instead, just as Cornelius Jansen had later criticized the Mennonites' participation in the Crimean War, Verigin now accused Lukeria Kalmykova of hypocrisy for providing a

Doukhobor transport column in the Turkish War of 1877-78.[26] The new Living Christ wanted a new Doukhobor order that was not based on compromise, but on strict adherence to tradition and conscience. "We at this moment," declared Verigin, believe that "as far as possible one must live his life in accord with what he thinks and says."[27]

It was this philosophy which led corporal Matvei Lebedev and his ten Doukhobor reservist companions to hand in their weapons to the Elizavetpol military battalion on Easter Day, 1895, and refuse to perform any further military service. The Fasters know the story of these men well, for they were the first to suffer cruel punishments for following Verigin's instructions. All eleven were jailed in the Ekaterinograd prison battalion, where they were given dreadful beatings with bundles of thorny acacia branches, called *rosgiis*. Doukhobor witnesses at the scene described these victims to be "so wasted in body that one can hardly recognise them....The blood splattered in all directions; the prickles entered into the flesh, and when they were pulled out, bits of flesh fell down."[28] Three of these men ended their own torture by consenting to eat meat and hold guns, but punishment continued for the others who remained obstinate, resulting in the death of one of these prisoners.[29] Elsewhere in the Caucasus, Doukhobor conscripts from Kars, Akhalkalaki, and other districts also began to refuse further military service, and were given similar treatment. Even some Orthodox Russian soldiers quit the army after becoming influenced by the examples of the Doukhobor soldiers, or else at the insistence of parents who had been converted to Doukhoborism.[30] Undoubtedly, Tsarist officials suspected that an even greater number of Orthodox peasants would join the Doukhobors should an exemption from military service be granted. Thus, the authorities decided to enforce compliance with the laws and to punish the lawbreakers, resulting in the eventual imprisonment of approximately three hundred Fasters. Eventually, about one hundred and fifty of these conscientious objectors were exiled to the Yakutsk region of Siberia, where a new Doukhobor community was formed once wives and families came to join the exiles.

The most celebrated event of protest in Doukhobor history took place on June 29, 1895, a day which later became celebrated by Fasters as an annual holiday. At Verigin's instruction, the Large Party in the districts of Kars,

Elizavetpol, and Tiflis, gathered together all remaining guns and weaponry in their homes, and prepared to burn these arms simultaneously in a public demonstration of their nonresistant principles. Many wagon loads of wood, and hundreds of gallons of kerosene were placed at the top of a hill in each of the three districts, where the weapons were to be burned.[31] Chosen elders lit the fires at midnight, at which time Spirit Wrestlers from all the surrounding villages came to gather around the fire in the traditional "V" formation, to chant and sing old Doukhobor psalms and hymns throughout the entire night. The burnings created much commotion, for as George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic describe, "the piles of richly ornamented muskets and pistols rose remarkably high, and were set off with thunderous salvoes from many barrels of gunpowder,"[32] which quickly caught the attention of Caucasians from miles away. In all, some seven thousand Veriginites participated in the protests.[33]

The severity of the local government's response to these demonstrations seemed to vary in proportion to the number of Small Party Doukhobors in the region. The Kars Doukhobors consisted almost entirely of Verigin's supporters, and thus encountered minimal harassment from police. In fact, the lack of interest by local authorities seemed to disappoint these demonstrators, who sent their conscripts to a district official the following day to hand in their military papers. The Tartar official who received them, however, was sympathetic to the Doukhobors' cause, and refused to punish them. Later, the governor of Kars decided to arrest fifteen of the Doukhobors who had organized the disturbance.[34] In the Elizavetpol region, the Small Party had informed the authorities earlier that something was afoot, and when the fire was lit, a regiment of Cossack troops led by Colonel Seratov was sent to prevent Verigin's followers from reaching it. Eighty of these Doukhobors were arrested and taken back to Elizavetpol for ignoring both the Cossacks' whips and Seratov's orders.[35]

The Small Party was most apprehensive in the Tiflis region, for Gubanov and his supporters feared that the Large Party was mobilizing guns and ammunition for an armed takeover of the Orphan's Home. This, in any case, is what they told Governor Nakashidze, who also sent a regiment of Cossacks to guard the village of Goreloye. But when Nakashidze discovered that Verigin's followers were burning their weapons, he summoned their elders to a meeting

to explain the reasons behind this elaborate display of fireworks. The elders, however, were still standing by the fire with the rest of the Large Party Doukhobors when they received their summons the following morning. Instead of meeting with the governor to explain their actions, the elders twice sent Nakashidze's messengers away, responding patronizingly: "If the governor wishes to speak to us, let him come here. He is only one man, and there are many of us."[36] Enraged, Nakashidze ordered a Cossack regiment, led by one Captain Praga, to bring the Doukhobors to him by force, which was done once the protesters had been mercilessly whipped into submission. But the Spirit Wrestlers remained obstinate, refusing to take off their hats before the governor, and tossing their military reservist papers at his feet. Again on Nakashidze's orders, the Cossacks charged at the Doukhobors, whipping and trampling them, causing one death and countless injuries.

The real atrocity stories, however, began once the Spirit Wrestlers returned home, for the Cossack troops were quartered in the Large Party villages for approximately two weeks. During this time, Praga gave his men a free hand to rape, pillage, and strike the Doukhobors at will. The experience of Aksina Strelaeva describes the plight of only one among hundreds of Doukhobor victims, male and female alike:

> "Four of us--women--were going from Spaskii to Bogdanovka. On the road we were overtaken by a hundred Cossacks, who brought us into Bogdanovka. There they placed us in a coach-house, and then led us out one by one into the yard. Then they stripped us in the yard (throwing our skirts over our shoulders), and flogged our bare bodies.... They flogged us so, you could not count the strokes; two of them held us and four flogged! Three of us stood through it, but one they dragged about so that she could not stand. We received many insults."[37]

It is difficult to understand why the authorities reacted so violently and brutally towards the Doukhobors in Tiflis. Agitation by the Small Party seemed to encourage government action initially, and some of Verigin's followers later claimed that Small Party members also collaborated in the ensuing persecution, by singling out their own personal enemies for the Cossacks to punish.[38] The difference between the Kars and Tiflis experiences suggests that local issues might have caused undue tension, or else the temperamental personalities of

Praga and Nakashidze were primarily at fault. St. Petersburg certainly appeared to be alarmed upon hearing reports of the atrocities and sent an official commission to Tiflis to investigate. Yet although the commission (composed of military officials) listened to the stories of the Large Party Doukhobors sympathetically, it failed to take action against Nakashidze or Praga, but instead chastised the Doukhobors for refusing to serve the Tsar. Soon after, Imperial officials ordered that the Large Party members of the Tiflis region be exiled to Georgia, to be billeted among the native villages, and refused the right to own land.

It is doubtful that the Russian government persecuted these Fasters for merely withdrawing their conscripts, or lighting a few bonfires. Rather, the punishment given to the Tiflis Doukhobors was more than likely a measure designed to hinder the movement of the Large Party towards a more traditional form of lifestyle which increasingly brought Verigin's followers into conflict with the government. For instance, at the same time that the Large Party members redistributed their property and began to follow their old communal practices, they also renewed their demands for the return of their traditional self-governing institution, the Orphan's Home. In protest, Verigin's followers began to withhold taxes, and strongly resisted a Village Prudential Reserve Fund scheme tabled by the government, which would serve some of the same mutual aid purposes that the Orphan's Home had once served.[39] In addition, as the Spirit Wrestlers began to follow a more puritanical moral code, they no longer followed the customary Russian practice of offering bribes to local officials. Several Doukhobors claimed that this was what led the Russian government to turn against them.[40]

The decision to end bribery reflected a change in attitude among Verigin's followers towards government and worldly authority. When the Doukhobors burned their weapons and handed back their reservist papers, they acknowledged that from that point on they would only adhere to the highest forms of authority: God, their leader, and their consciences. All others, it seemed, were to be treated as equals. This was disturbing news for local officials who knew the importance of keeping the peasant classes submissive, and who had previously kept good relations with the Doukhobors during the

reign of Lukeria. One observer in Tiflis described this very important point of contention:

> One of the Spirit Wrestlers jokingly remarked that some of their well-wishers are probably not pleased because they (the Spirit Wrestlers) do not clean the boots of the officials. In this was expressed the fact that the Spirit Wrestlers of the 'Great Party' behave themselves towards any authority with marked independence, which naturally does not give satisfaction. Holding all men to be brethren, they do not recognise any difference in the social position of men. The Spirit Wrestler will not, like the orthodox peasant, stand at the door of a so-called gentleman, bowing low, but will freely shake hands and sit down, side by side, unconcerned with any surroundings, or the title, rank, or position of his companion, which behaviour naturally grates upon the officials.[41]

This behaviour was clearly evident in the elders response to Nakashidze following the burning, and continued to play itself out in detention centers throughout the Caucasus, where Large Party prisoners often ignored the orders of their guards and continued to be severely punished.[42] It appeared as though the Large Party had indeed returned to their Doukhobor roots as stubborn dissenters, who once again faced persecution for their beliefs.

But whereas the earliest Doukhobors were stubbornly resolute, the Fasters proved themselves defiant, and in some respects, even provocative. Verigin's resentment against the Tsarist government for his exile could only have been intensified by the populist, Marxist, social democratic, and even Tolstoyan exiles whom Verigin encountered, all of whom sought to lead the popular masses of Russia into confrontation with the authoritarian regimes of Alexander III and Nicholas II. Verigin's refusal to swear allegiance to the latter in 1894, and his simultaneous decision to call on his followers to refuse military service was undoubtedly politically, as well as religiously, motivated. The Fasters did not quietly destroy their weapons as conscientious objectors might have done in the past, but rather, Verigin's followers attempted to create a grand spectacle out of their beliefs, by building enormous fires on top of the highest hills, accompanied by chanting and singing through the night. Aylmer Maude claims that in the days before the burnings, the Fasters of Tiflis "systematically and with deliberate intent, [appeared] to have insulted the Governor and his subordinates" by refusing to meet with Nakashidze or recognize his authority.[43]

Verigin's followers also, according to Maude, began to taunt the Small Party Doukhobors, saying: "Do not count on the soldiers...we are not afraid of them; we are going to show what we are made of and shall astonish you all."[44] Even earlier, after the collapse of the Village Prudential Funds scheme, the Fasters had begun to boast to the neighboring Caucasian tribes: "Do as we do...then you also will make yourselves feared. At first the Governor resisted our demands tooth and nail, but afterwards he had to climb down. He sees he can do nothing with us, and why? Because we all stand together like one man."[45]

Comments like these reflect a shift in the Doukhobors' behaviour and attitude, for although the Fasters were returning to their religious roots, they were also departing from the humble and secretive character of their ancestors. Yet this shift cannot be entirely attributed to Verigin himself, for it was his tutor, Lukeria Kalmykova, who first opened the Doukhobors up to Russian society in a fundamental way. She did so by showing the Doukhobors that through cooperation with the Russian authorities, they could become a great and successful people. Verigin, it seems, used this restored sense of pride to create a messianic form of Doukhobor nationalism which not only held the Doukhobors to be economically superior to other Russian peasant societies, but further suggested that the Spirit Wrestlers were a great spiritual people, who could become politically active as well. In other words, Verigin felt it was time for the Spirit Wrestlers to return to their traditional roots, to wrestle with the government for the sake of the Spirit, and to fulfill their historical mission as crusaders of conscience. Yet this was a recipe for disaster, for the Russian government was already intolerant of sectarian resistance to assimilation, never mind a sect which publicly challenged governmental authority.

Russian officials knew that punishing individual lawbreakers would not solve the 'Doukhobor problem' for the entire Doukhobor population remained supportive of the objectors and would continue to disobey government directives. Thus, the government decided on another response, one which was dreadfully unfair, for it punished those who had committed no crime: the entire community of Fasters in Tiflis, numbering more than four thousand, were all to be exiled to Georgia and dispersed in valleys of the Batum region. As early as July 8, 1895, groups of families began to move out of the Akhalkalaki district with wagons filled with whatever could not be left behind or sold. On such short

notice, animals, farm equipment, houses, and other property could only be sold for a fraction of its worth, and planted crops were left unharvested for others to reap.[46] The main beneficiaries of the cheap land and property were the Small Party members, which leads one to wonder whether they did not influence the government's decision to send the Large Party away. Here, there are obvious parallels to the Mennonite experience in the 1870s, for the Mennonites who stayed behind also shrewdly profited from the migration of their brethren. One must remember that neither the Mennonites nor the Doukhobors were unified when the emigrants left their Russian homes.

Although the Mennonites suffered financially when they emigrated, they did not have to endure the horrendous persecution which many of the Doukhobor emigrants lived through. After having their villages pillaged by Praga's Cossacks, the earliest groups of exiles were then escorted all the way from their homes in the Tiflis region to the Batum region of Georgia by some of these same Imperial troops. One man was beaten to death during the journey, while others perished from exhaustion and illness.[47] Having reached their destination, the Fasters were billeted among the native Georgians of five separate districts, whom the Spirit Wrestlers paid for food and lodging. No more than five Doukhobor families were allowed to live in the same village, and contact between the exiles and their brethren in Kars and Elizavetpol was prohibited.[48] By isolating the Doukhobor protesters, and billeting them among the Georgian population, one might argue that St. Peterburg's objective was similar to that of 1840, when officials exiled the Spirit Wrestlers to the Caucasus partly in the hopes that wild Caucasian hillsmen would lead the sectarians to abandon their pacifist principles. Peter Verigin, for one, charged that the authorities deliberately selected regions with "cruder morals" in which to place the Tiflis protesters.[49] The Doukhobors themselves believed that government intentions did not stop short of extermination, for the exiles were provided with no land to farm, and were forbidden from leaving their villages to look for work. Fortunately, some Georgian landowners gave the sectarians garden plots on which to grow food, or else employed them on their estates.[50] Other Fasters managed to find railroad work nearby, along the line which led to the Black Sea port of Batum. Nonetheless, few exiles earned enough to live on, and most suffered from malnutrition, which, coupled with the hot malarial ecosystem,

produced massive outbreaks of fever, dysentery, hen-blindness, scurvy, and other diseases.[51] Over 350 Fasters died in the first year alone, contributing to annual mortality rates which reached eight to ten percent.[52] In April of 1897, Doukhobor John Sherstobetiev wrote of the remaining 3500 exiles, "I cannot tell how many are sick, but...not above one in a hundred is quite well."[53] By the time these Fasters were allowed to emigrate, approximately one thousand of the original four thousand exiles had died in Georgia, according to Aylmer Maude.[54]

Although some of the Mennonite emigrants had exhibited a 'holy aura of martyrdom' upon leaving Russia in 1870s, there can be no real comparison between their hardships and the brutal persecution of the Doukhobor exiles, as the above figures will attest. Both sects had objected to the military service laws but had received quite different treatment from two different Tsarist regimes. This discrepancy was later noted by Leo Tolstoy in a letter sent to foreign newspapers in 1898:

> Up to now, governments have found a way out of [the dilemma posed by conscientious objectors] either by forcing those who object to military service because of religious convictions to undertake heavier obligations than military service, but ones which would not be contrary to their religious convictions, as has hitherto been done and still is done with the Mennonites in Russia (they are made to spend their period of military service on government work).... But the present Russian government has used yet [another] solution...with the Doukhobors, which one thought had been abandoned in our time. Apart from subjecting the objectors themselves to the most severe sufferings, it makes even the fathers, mothers and children of the objectors systematically suffer, probably in order that the torture of these innocent families might shake the determination of their nonconformist members....[55]

This inconsistency may be in part explained by the differences between the more enlightened regime of Alexander II, to which the Mennonites protested, and the more authoritarian regime of Nicholas II, which the Doukhobors confronted. One should also remember that whereas the Mennonites petitioned the government and sent delegations to St. Petersburg to negotiate, the Doukhobors challenged local authorities by spontaneously mounting open demonstrations. Although it is doubtful whether Tsarist officials under Nicholas II would have granted the Spirit Wrestlers a similar compromise

to the one given to the Mennonites under any circumstances, it is just as doubtful that the Doukhobors would have been so mistreated had they been less confrontational in their protests.

Yet the Veriginites were prepared and willing to suffer the consequences of practicing their religion. Even in exile, the Fasters continued to resist government dictates in keeping with the latest instructions from Peter Verigin, who instructed his followers to remain steadfast in their beliefs. Few of the exiles chose to alleviate their own suffering by pledging allegiance to the Tsar and joining the Small Party, while the vast majority of young conscripts languishing in prisons continued to refuse military service.[56] By suffering for their beliefs, these Doukhobors believed that they were becoming a better people, and were atoning for past wrongs, which further justified their recent ordeals under Verigin's directions.[57] A letter written by the imprisoned Doukhobor conscripts at Elizavetpol on June 8, 1896, reflects these very sentiments:

> When we lived in the flesh according to our lusts, we conformed to the ways of the world, we were the slaves of sin, we pleased the carnal man which leads into pride and perdition of pride, through the love of money and lust, through fornication, intoxication, superstition, murder, and the shedding of the blood of one's brothers; when we broke the law of God..., when we lived according to the world,–then we were loved and called good men; but when we turned away from the ways of the world, when we began to fulfil the law of God,...and ...our conscience,– then we became hated, slandered, and put into prison on the pretext that we do not accept the power of the Emperor.[58]

Although this letter is critical of government, it also recognizes that the Spirit Wrestlers themselves had strayed from their doctrine in the past, but were now returning to live by their true religious principles. Just like the Mennonite conservatives, these orthodox Doukhobors believed that they had to reject the growth of 'pride' and 'worldly ways' which had crept into their communities with the encouragement of the Russian government. It was this common rejection of worldliness in their Russian colonies which ultimately led both of these sectarian groups to Canada.

It was also the Doukhobors' objections to worldly authority which attracted the attention of such important sympathizers as Prince Dmitrii A. Khilkov and Leo Tolstoy who came to the rescue of the suffering Spirit Wrestlers. The former was a repentant Russian officer who first come into contact with the sectarians while quartered in their villages during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. Khilkov's own remorse over killing a Turkish soldier led him to accept the pacifist arguments of the Spirit Wrestlers and to embrace many of their beliefs.[59] After dividing his estate among his peasants, Khilkov came to live in the Caucasus, where he kept close contacts with the Doukhobors. The repentant Prince had also corresponded with Tolstoy since the war, and knowing Tolstoy's own peculiar views of Christian-anarchism, as well as his interest in peasant movements and pacifist sects, Khilkov excitedly informed Tolstoy about the Doukhobors and their beliefs.

Eager to see these sectarians for himself, Tolstoy arranged a meeting with three Doukhobors in Moscow at the end of 1894, who were accompanying Peter Verigin along the first stages of his journey to Siberia.[60] As several Doukhobor researchers have pointed out, this meeting mislead Tolstoy into forming premature and idealistic assumptions about the Spirit Wrestlers, which in turn became accepted by much of the Tolstoyan community in the following years. Pavel Biriukov, who witnessed this encounter, later explained,

> We, Tolstoy in particular, began asking them questions about their life and their views. Because of the brief time we had for the meeting and our limited knowledge of their background we were not able to delve into all the details, managing only to share our general positions with each other. Their replies to the good part of Tolstoy's questions on violence, property, the church, vegetarianism [etc.] co-incided with his own views....[61]

Yet some of these replies were somewhat misleading. To Tolstoy's inquiries about their form of religion and self-government, for instance, the three Doukhobors gave the standard forms of answers taught by Verigin and earlier Living Christs, such as "we obey God, for we live on his earth," and "there is no one greater among us." Tolstoy was thus led to believe that all Sprit Wrestlers were equal, and remained unaware that the Doukhobor prisoner on his way to Siberia was in fact the leader of the sect who held near autocratic authority over

his followers. Neither did Tolstoy know that this leader was well versed in Tolstoyan teachings, and had recently been incorporating direct passages from Tolstoy's works in his instructions to the Large Party. Tolstoy's friend and biographer, Aylmer Maude, who had initially received an idyllic depiction of the Doukhobors from his mentor, later wrote about the false impression Tolstoy received from this 1894 meeting:

> Tolstoy did not know...of the fact that Verigin was now imposing on the ignorant mass of his sect those externalities which, to Tolstoy's mind, correspond to the spiritual enthusiasm which has animated him for years. Knowing nothing of all this, and meeting men who externally appeared to meet the requirements of his teaching, he could hardly avoid falling into the error of regarding them as examples of true Christianity in practical life.
>
> They worked with their hands, yet were dignified and full of confidence in themselves and their group. They produced more than they consumed; rejected the Church and the State; acknowledged (apparently) no human authority, yet lived together and co-operated in a closely knit community. They professed the very principles of Christian anarchy dear to Tolstoy; and (apparently) put these into actual practice *without that disintegrating result* so painfully evident in the failure of the Tolstoy Colonies, and which, through all history, has accompanied attempts to carry on work collectively without recognizing ourselves as part of a social organism we cannot suddenly reshape when and how we will.[62]

For years, Tolstoy had struggled to educate the Russian peasantry and to create a sustainable model peasant society based on his own religious and moral precepts. Now, he seemed to have found the very peasants he sought to create, living an independent and obscure existence in the Caucasus. In an act of premature enthusiasm, Tolstoy heralded the emergence of the Doukhobor sect as "the germinating of that seed which was sown by Christ eighteen hundred years ago, the resurrection of Christ himself."[63] If everyone led the Christ-like existence of the Doukhobors, proclaimed Tolstoy in 1895, "soon not only will those horrible persecutions... practically in their lives disappear, but there will remain no more prisons or gallows, no wars, corruption, idleness, or toil-crushed poverty, under which Christian humanity now groans."[64] Tolstoy even suggested in 1897 that the Spirit Wrestlers be given the Nobel Peace Prize.[65] The very existence and success of the Doukhobor sect was so

important to Tolstoy, for it proved him correct, and modern Europe wrong: spiritual progress and the salvation of mankind would not be achieved through increased legislation, but through a return to a simple existence. As Tolstoy wrote in December of 1896:

> For all our State institutions, our Parliaments, societies, sciences, arts,--all this only exists and operates in order to realise that life which all of us thinking men, see before us as the highest ideal of perfection. And here we have people who have realised this ideal, probably in part, not wholly, but have realised it in a way we did not dream of doing with our complex State institutions. How then, can we avoid acknowledging the importance of this phenomenon?[66]

In the summer of 1895, when Tolstoy heard from Khilkov and others that these remarkable Russian peasants were being beaten, exiled, and placed on the verge of extermination in Georgia, he decided to launch a publicity campaign to bring an end to their persecution. First, three of his close followers, Paul Biriukov, Ivan Tregubov, and Alexander Bodianskii, went to the Caucasus to ascertain the few reports of starvation and suffering among the Large Party Doukhobors which had escaped the Russian censors. Second, Tolstoy enlisted the help of John Kenworthy of The Brotherhood Church in England[67] to translate two articles which Tolstoy published in *The Times* of London, and the *Contemporary Review* in the fall of 1895. The articles not only contained Tolstoy's laudatory sermons on the Doukhobors, but also a surprisingly candid summary of the Spirit Wrestlers' beliefs and history,[68] as well as documentation of the persecution and suffering in the Caucasus based on the reports of the Tolstoyan envoys.

Although the articles were widely read and rekindled the Quakers' interest in the Doukhobors, there was little that the English could do for the sectarians at this time. The exiles were watched so closely by the Russian police that only a limited amount of correspondence and financial aid was able to reach them.[69] The Tolstoyans therefore focused their efforts on creating popular sympathy for the Spirit Wrestlers in Russia. In November of 1896, for example, Leo Tolstoy and his closest friend, Vladimir Chertkov, wrote letters to Lieutenant-Colonel Morgunov, who was in charge of the Ekaterinograd penal battalion, requesting that the Doukhobor prisoners be treated humanely.[70] A

month later, Chertkov signed a public 'Appeal for Help' along with Biriukov and Tregubov, which was prefaced by Tolstoy and was similar in content to the *Times* article of the year previous.[71] Government and Church officials in Russia did not appreciate this breach of censorship, and thus in January 1897, when the three authors of the Appeal attempted to petition Nicholas II on behalf of the Doukhobor exiles, the petitioners were all promptly arrested and exiled themselves.

Chertkov, however, was permitted to go to England, where he soon founded a Tolstoyan colony in Purleigh, Essex. It was from Purleigh, in 1897, that Chertkov published *Christian Martyrdom in Russia*, a compilation of essays, reports, and letters pertaining to the Spirit Wrestlers and their plight, with a concluding chapter by Tolstoy. The twofold purpose of the book was to create greater public awareness of the Doukhobor situation, and to raise money and donations to help alleviate the suffering of the Large Party exiles. Chertkov was successful in achieving both objectives, for it sold widely and attracted many new sympathizers who were willing to open their pocketbooks for a needy cause. The Tolstoyans' vivid reports of the Doukhobor crisis in the Caucasus, and the inclusion of the desperate 1896 'Appeal for Help' along with many atrocity stories ensured the book's popularity with the English reading public.

Christian Martyrdom emphasized all the positive Tolstoyan qualities of the sect, such as its commitment to communal sharing, its nonresistant doctrine, and its belief in the equality of all peoples. The 'Appeal', which served as an introduction to the book, contained a brief summary of Doukhobor beliefs:

> The foundation of the Spirit-Wrestlers' teaching consists in the belief that the Spirit of God is present in the soul of man, and directs him by its word within him....
>
> The Spirit-Wrestlers found alike their mutual relations and their relations to other people...exclusively on love; and, therefore, they hold all people equal, brethren.[sic.] ...in all that does not infringe what they regard as the will of God, they willingly fulfil the desire of the authorities.
>
> They consider murder, violence, and in general all relations to living beings not based on love, as opposed to their conscience, and to the will of God.
>
> The Spirit-Wrestlers are industrious and abstemious in their lives, and always truthful in their speech, accounting all lying a great sin.
>
> Such, in their most general character, are the beliefs for which the Spirit-Wrestlers have long endured cruel persecution.[72]

In short, the Doukhobors were depicted as the humblest of sects, whose only crime was to live a life of mutual love and brotherhood. Little was mentioned of Gubanov's followers and the feuding between Doukhobor factions. The Small Party was identified only briefly as the allies of corrupt local administrators, who warned the government about the arms burning demonstrations. The elaborate planning and choreography of the June 29 protests were also not described in the book, allowing no possible explanation for the brutal persecutions which followed the demonstrations--persecutions which the book did recount in meticulous detail. The Russian government, predictably, was made the villain of the piece for its senseless attacks on such innocent and defenseless sectarians.

At the time, however, Tolstoy's followers were not concerned with giving an objective account of Doukhobor history, nor had they themselves been accurately informed about the sect. The reports which formed the basis for the 'Appeal' and *Christian Martyrdom* were those of Paul Biriukov and other Tolstoyan envoys, who shared Tolstoy's enthusiasm for the sect. Eager to confirm their own hopes, these men were content to receive their information solely from the Large Party members, who followed a doctrine most similar to their own. Yet by failing to consult the Small Party, Biriukov and others remained ignorant of Verigin's personal influence over the practices of the Fasters, and passed this ignorance on to the English reading public.[73] The book was never substantially revised. In 1899, *Christian Martyrdom* was simply reprinted in Toronto with an introduction by James Mavor for North American audiences. A second English edition came out in 1900 which gave an account of the emigration, but also included all the original material with few revisions. *Chertkov merely apologized for the hastiness with which the original book was* compiled, noting that a complete history of the Doukhobors in the English language was still needed.[74] It was not until 1903, however, that the American Quaker Joseph Elkinton published a lengthier work on the sect *(The Doukhobors)*, and it was only in 1904 when Aylmer Maude completed a more balanced survey of Doukhobor history entitled *A Peculiar People: The Doukhobors*. This meant that *Christian Martyrdom*, with all of its biases, remained the chief--if not the only--source from which the English-speaking

public received their information about the Spirit Wrestlers throughout the entire period when their emigration was discussed and negotiated.

The 1897 edition of Christian Martyrdom mentioned little about any desire on the part of the Doukhobors to emigrate. Yet by the end of the following year, the Spirit Wrestlers were on their way to Canada. The idea of emigration only became seriously considered at a very late juncture, largely as a last-ditch solution to the worsening humanitarian crisis among the exiles in Georgia. Emigration was first suggested in passing by Peter Verigin in a letter to the Empress Alexandra in November of 1896.[75] At this point, Verigin was concerned about the physical welfare of his people, but he also had reason to be concerned about their unity and loyalty. After undergoing a common spiritual revival and mounting a collective protest which ended in disaster, it would be important for the exiles to reassure one another of the righteousness of their cause and of their commitment to it. The exiles, however, were kept separated from one another and forbidden to contact their brethren in Kars and Elizavetpol. Verigin thus wrote a most conciliatory letter to the Empress, pleading for an end to the persecution, and requesting the relocation of the exiles: "The most convenient manner of dealing with us would be to establish us in one place where we might live and labour in peace. All state obligations in the form of taxes we would pay, only we cannot be soldiers."[76]

Verigin's letter was something of a watershed, for it marked a change in the Fasters' political strategy from confrontation to diplomacy. After initially encouraging the exiles to continue to disobey the authorities, the exiled leader now pleaded with St. Petersburg for leniency and compromise. Verigin requested a military service exemption and an end to the persecution, promising general compliance with the law in return. In addition, the letter asked for permission to emigrate, should the first two requests be denied, which was the first time that emigration had been suggested as a solution to the 'Doukhobor problem' in Russia. Although it is uncertain whether Verigin's letter ever reached the Empress, the Spirit Wrestlers would soon discover that petitioning the Russian government brought about change more effectively than open revolt.

It is unlikely, however, that Verigin made his latter request in earnest. The Doukhobor leader was already concerned about the distance placed between himself and his people, and he had little desire to see them move even further away. Verigin later wrote to Tolstoy in 1898, expressing his opposition to the migration, suggesting that the Doukhobors would encounter similar problems with governments elsewhere.[77] On the contrary, by writing that his followers "would willingly go to England or (which is most convenient) to America, where we have a great number of brothers in the Lord Jesus Christ,"[78] Verigin was undoubtedly reminding the Romanovs that his followers were now receiving international attention. The current discrimination against the Doukhobors, Verigin insinuated, was being duly noted by the Western world and hurting the image of the Russian monarchy. It would be best for the Tsar to let the sectarians live in peace.

This was a similar tactic to the one employed by the Mennonites during their campaign to receive a military service exemption. The Mennonites had also reminded St. Petersburg of foreign interest in their plight, and of their desirability as North American settlers. By marketing themselves as a valuable acquisition, the Anabaptist sectarians had been able to receive a compromise on the issue of military service. The Doukhobors, however, were unable to reach a deal with St. Petersburg over conscription, which warrants some analysis and explanation. Like the Mennonites, the Doukhobors were superior agriculturalists (Tolstoy even boasted that they were the best farmers in all of Russia),[79] who had attracted international interest. However, the "friends in America and England" to whom Verigin referred in his letter were less impressed by the Doukhobors agricultural skills than with their doctrine. Moreover, the fact that Tolstoyans and Quakers abroad applauded the conscientious protests of the Fasters did not cause the Russian government to change its opinion of what it considered to be a troublesome sect. If anything, the embarrassment which international attention brought only caused Tsarist officials to further detest the Veriginites and want them expelled. The Mennonites, in comparison, had enjoyed better relations with St. Petersburg prior to the military reforms. Another key difference was the united effort made by the Mennonites to lobby for an alternative, even though one-third of the sect later refused to accept forestry service. The split between Doukhobor factions,

however, was too wide and too bitter to allow for cooperation. Furthermore, the Small Party apparently accepted conscription, whereas Verigin's followers seemed interested only in a total exemption without compromise.

Another reason why the Veriginites were unable to reach an agreement with the Russian authorities was one of the same reasons why the Mennonite emigrants refused to compromise--emigration fever spread quickly and ran high among the Orthodox. The exiles heard about their leader's suggestion to emigrate, and they became enthusiastic out of impatience with their present situation. The Fasters in Georgia became receptive to the idea of emigration not only because of the hunger and disease which plagued them, but also because of the uncertainty of their future in Russia. Although the Spirit Wrestlers had been persecuted and exiled in Russia many times before and had willingly endured their punishment, in Georgia the exiles were prohibited from purchasing land or living with one another, much less create new communes. As the Fasters explained to Leopold Sulerzhitskii on several occasions,

> "Had they told us...that we were to remain here permanently, or had they set a time limit, we would know what to do. We wanted to buy land here, to build and to plough; but we cannot do any of this as no one knows what will happen to us. Perhaps tomorrow we shall have to prepare to go to another place--or possibly home. We know nothing!"[80]

When the Dowager Empress Maria visited the Caucasus at the end of 1897, a prominent Doukhobor presented her with a petition which made the same three requests as Verigin had made one year before. The Tsar's mother then passed the petition on to the Senate, which conditionally granted the request to emigrate. The Fasters received notification of the Senate decision in February of 1898, which stipulated that those called up for military duty and those who were imprisoned had to first fulfill their terms before emigrating. All eligible emigrants were to leave the country at their own expense, and each emigrant would have to sign a contract, agreeing never to return to Russia again, or face exile to remote regions of the Empire.[81] This final stipulation reflects the degree of government frustration with the Veriginites.

Despite all that the Fasters had been through in recent years, the actual decision to leave Russia was not an easy one to make. However antipathetic

the Spirit-Wrestlers were to Tsarist authority, they still spoke the Russian language wherever they went, and they still respected familiar institutions of the Russian peasantry, such as the *mir*. The Doukhobors identified with other Russians probably more than they realized, a point which later became clearer to the Veriginites once they had left Russia and were prohibited from returning.

There were also more practical concerns to be considered. The Georgian exiles, who most desperately needed to emigrate were without the financial means to do so. Meanwhile, the Russian authorities seemed to be restricting the amount of contact between the Doukhobors and their sympathizers. After the exile of Chertkov, Tregubov, and Bodianskii, the Tolstoyans had sent an Englishman, Arthur St. John, to the Caucasus in December 1897 to deliver assistance monies, extend greetings, and to report on the condition of the Fasters in Georgia.[82] Although St. John was able to reach the Doukhobors, he was soon expelled from Russia to Turkey by the Tsarist police for doing so. Even when the Governor of the Caucasus, Prince G. S. Golitsyn, was notified of the Fasters' permission to emigrate, he continued to prevent any communication and aid from reaching the Doukhobors, largely out of personal contempt for the sect.[83]

Tolstoy bitterly complained about the restricted amount of contact allowed between the Doukhobors and outsiders, even though he was reluctant at first to help organize their emigration. Tolstoy's initial opposition to the proposed exodus was understandable. He had finally discovered the Christian anarchists he had been so desperately seeking, whom he could hold up as an example for all Russian people to follow, and now they were preparing to leave the country! Tolstoy, in fact, wrote several letters to the Spirit Wrestlers, urging them to reconsider, but to no avail. The Fasters replied that their decision to leave Russia was firm, and they requested Tolstoy's help in order to emigrate to another country.[84] Tolstoy thus reluctantly agreed to assist them, but later shared his true sentiments with Verigin, just weeks before the first shipload of Doukhobors left for Canada:

> You write that you are almost against re-settlement, and I am too, but living in hardship and exile, you are in a position to tell the suffering people that they should keep on suffering and hold out to the end, whereas I who live in freedom and under all the best conditions find it awkward to tell people who are suffering: keep on suffering, keep holding

> on. And it is sad that we (Russians) are parting with those who are close to us in spirit...and it is sad too that people have not held on to the end and thereby helped other people know the truth....[85]

Given the indifference of both Tolstoy and Verigin, the decision to emigrate has to be seen as one of the few important choices made independently by the lay members of the Large Party during that most momentous decade of their history. Most decisions of consequence during this period were made by Verigin, the Tolstoyans, the Quakers, and the Russian and Canadian governments.

Certainly the Tolstoyans and Quakers took the lead in organizing and funding the entire emigration. In March 1898, Chertkov's colony in England was informed by the Doukhobors that they had received permission to emigrate and was asked to provide practical assistance. Within days, an ad hoc Committee was set up in Purleigh to help render organizational and financial aid to the Spirit Wrestlers. During the past couple of years, the Quakers' Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings had also been actively following the Doukhobor situation in the Caucasus, and had petitioned several Russian officials, including the Tsar, on behalf of the Fasters. In the spring of 1898, the Society of Friends now also established a special four-member committee to work in conjunction with fellow sympathizers at Purleigh. Aylmer Maude, an English carpet merchant living in Russia, and a close friend of Tolstoy, had returned to England in the fall of 1897, and now offered to help the Purleigh Committee.[86] He later described the improvisational nature of the planning:

> There was no Moses to lead [the Doukhobors] to a promised land, and though volunteer workers sprang up in different places, they had no central organisation, no common language, no business manager, and no plan of action. Each helper gave his services voluntarily, paid his own expenses if he could,–if not, the money was scraped together as best might be. Co-operation established itself somehow, not without blunders, mistakes, friction, and even quarrels.[87]

The organizational and fundraising tasks were enormous. Although it was the more than four thousand Georgian exiles who most desperately needed to emigrate, the Fasters in Kars and Elizavetpol had decided that they, too, wanted to be with their brethren. Thus, in the spring of 1898, organizers

expected the entire exodus to involve over 8000 Veriginites, many of whom had little or no money to pay for transportation costs.[88] Moreover, there was intense pressure placed on the committees to carry out the emigration as quickly as possible, for starvation and disease continued to claim victims among the Georgian exiles with each passing month. The Fasters further feared that the Russian government might change its mind and rescind its permission to leave the country.

Not the least of the planning committees' concerns was where to settle the Doukhobors. Unlike most voluntary emigrants, the Veriginites had little idea of their destination before they decided to leave their country. Ideally, the resettlement of the Doukhobors required a region with enough arable land to accommodate the sectarians' communes, and a government which was more tolerant of religious minorities. The exiles, however, were even willing to emigrate to a country where they could work for wages, at least temporarily. A global search for a new home began. Tolstoy suggested four regions to the Fasters in March of 1898: Chinese Turkestan, Chinese Manchuria, Texas, and Cyprus. Tolstoy hoped that the Russian government would hire the Doukhobors to complete the Manchurian railroad and thus avoid the international embarrassment of overseas emigration.[89] Yet when St. Petersburg proved unresponsive to the plan, Tolstoy and the Purleigh Committee focused on American territories: Texas, California, and later the newly annexed Hawaiian islands. Negotiations with the Americans, however, became complicated by the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in the spring of 1898, which conflicted with the renewed pacifist stance of the Veriginites. The Committee also considered settlement offers from Brazil and the Argentine, but ultimately rejected them because of "the state of chronic disturbance in which the South American Republics were known to be involved."[90]

Perhaps it was due to the publicity of the Doukhobor cause in England that the British government responded favourably to the idea of resettling the Veriginites in some part of the British Empire. The British Consul in the Georgian port of Batum also informed the Foreign Office of the Fasters' desire to emigrate, and vouched for the "good behaviour, diligence, sobriety and hard-working qualities" of the Doukhobors, who "brought nothing but prosperity to the

barren localities in which they were originally settled."[91] In May, 1898, the Purleigh Committee picked up on Tolstoy's earlier suggestion to send the Doukhobors to the Mediterranean island of Cyprus, which had been under the 'enlightened' rule of Britain since the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. The availability of land on Cyprus and its relative proximity to the Georgian port of Batum lended legitimacy to the proposal.

After writing to the Chief Secretary of Cyprus on May 17, Arthur St. John traveled to Lanarka on behalf of the Committee to begin settlement negotiations. Although St. John had suggested that as many as 3,200 Doukhobors might be resettled on the island, he took with him a letter from Chertkov, whose proposal for Cyprus was more modest:

> What we want now is to find in Cyprus a kind of *pied a terre* where we could bring over without further delay as many as our means will at present allow which will not at all events be a great number...The number of emigrants in the first instance will at best be counted by the hundreds, not by the thousands...If sufficient land were ultimately not available in Cyprus, why we should then turn our eyes to another country and establish them in parties of a few hundreds or thousands in different places.[92]

The High Commissioner of Cyprus, Sir W. F. Haynes, and Joseph Chamberlain of the Colonial Office responded favourably, but cautiously. Their greatest concern was that the Spirit Wrestlers not become a burden to the colonial treasury. The British government, therefore, imposed strict financial guarantees on the sponsors of the emigration. Enough money was to be raised to cover the costs of transportation, land, and supplies. An additional fee of £15 per immigrant was required to create a special reserve fund which could be used to transport the immigrants off the island if the settlement scheme failed.

Both the British government and the Purleigh Committee also wanted personal assurances from the Fasters themselves that emigration to Cyprus was desirable. In the Caucasus, Prince Dmitrii Khilkov therefore agreed to accompany a small Doukhobor delegation to London. The delegates selected to be the first permanent Doukhobor emigrants from Russia were two families, the Ivins and the Makhortovs, who arrived in England on July 2, 1898. Ivan Ivin and Peter Makhortov told the Purleigh Committee that the exiles were extremely

impatient to leave Russia immediately for "no matter where."[93] The two delegates were promptly sent to Cyprus with Khilkov to nonetheless determine the suitability of the island for settlement. Although these three considered the island to be unbearably hot, and too sandy to farm, they returned to England too late to halt the emigration. Hundreds of exiles had already sold their meager possessions, and had made their way to Batum. By August, over one thousand Fasters were waiting in the Black Sea port for the aging French freighter, *Durau*, which had already been chartered.

The Quakers had been far more confident in the Cyprus proposal than the delegates, the British government, or even the Purleigh Committee, for that matter. It was the Society of Friends who spearheaded the fundraising campaign and made emigration to Cyprus possible. In May, John Bellows of the Committee for the Meeting of Sufferings had written an appeal for funds to assist the Doukhobors, and distributed it to thousands of Friends.[94] Thanks to generous pledges from leading Quaker manufacturers, such as George Cadbury, the Society of Friends was able to raise over £11,500 by August. This money, combined with £5000 from Tolstoyan efforts and £4700 from the Doukhobors' communal fund was enough to send 1,126 of the neediest exiles to Cyprus.[95]

The *Durau* arrived in the Cyprian port of Lanarka on August 26, 1898. Settlements were soon established on land purchased from the Cyprus Company at Pergamo and Athalassa. These early Doukhobor emigrants had been the ones who suffered the most from heat and disease in the malarial valleys of Georgia, yet their migration to Cyprus proved to be a bitter escape. The problems which plagued them were numerous. Scorching temperatures slowed work efforts, while the sandy island soil hindered crop development.[96] Consequently, the Fasters' vegetarian diet was jeopardized not only by the absence of dairy foods, but also by late vegetable harvests. Tainted water brought sickness, and disease was spread by mosquitoes and unsanitary living conditions. Furthermore, disorganization and distrust led to frequent quarrels among and between Doukhobors and Tolstoyan sympathizers, while low morale contributed to such vices as drunkenness.[97] Within a month, the Cyprus Doukhobors had written a letter to the Society of Friends, thanking them for their patronage, yet pleading to be taken off the island and transported to a

more suitable climate.[98] In April 1899, these Spirit Wrestlers were able to leave Cyprus to join their brethren in Canada, but not before more than one hundred of them had perished. As Woodcock and Avakumovic tellingly point out, the death rate on Cyprus was nearly twice that of extreme estimates of deaths among the Georgian exiles.[99]

The idea of emigration to Canada was suggested during the summer of 1898, when preparations for the Doukhobor emigration to Cyprus had already commenced. As some skeptical Tolstoyans continued to seek alternatives to Cyprus, a member of the Purleigh Committee happened to read an article in the *Nineteenth Century* written by the well-known Russian 'Anarchist-Prince', Peter Kropotkin.[100] The article described Kropotkin's recent travels through the Canadian Northwest, including a visit to the Mennonite reserves in Southern Manitoba. The Russian Anarchist had been impressed by the Mennonites' ability to maintain certain forms of communal institutions and religious principles in Canada; his article described how the emigrants were able to receive land en bloc, settle in compact villages, and avoid performing military service.[101] The Doukhobors, meanwhile, sought to obtain some of these very same guarantees and therefore turned their eyes toward Canada. Thus, one could argue that the Mennonite emigration from Southern Russia to Manitoba in the 1870s helped precipitate the eventual migration of the Veriginites to the Canadian prairies. One should also add, however, that the prospect of free land and transportation subsidies from the Canadian government was probably just as appealing to the Tolstoyan and Quaker organizers, who had been complaining about the high costs of land and financial guarantees involved in the emigration to Cyprus.

After reading the article, the Committee contacted Kropotkin for more information in early July, 1898. The Russian Prince responded by immediately visiting Purleigh and enthusiastically endorsing the proposed Doukhobor emigration to Canada. Having long been familiar with the plight of the Spirit Wrestlers in Russia, Kropotkin wrote to James Mavor, Professor of Political Economy and Constitutional History at the University of Toronto, on July 10, describing the Doukhobors as a people whose pacifist leanings and objections to state interference resembled the Mennonites.[102] When Mavor, a friend of Kropotkin and Tolstoy, agreed to take the proposal to the Canadian

government, he received a second letter from Kropotkin in August.[103] The Prince suggested to Mavor that there were three prerequisites for Doukhobor settlement in Canada: i) exemption from military service, ii) a form of local autonomy or self-organization, iii) block land for group settlement. Kropotkin especially emphasized the latter point to Mavor, for he was aware of Canadian homestead regulations and of the rare exception which had been made for the Mennonites: "They [the Doukhobors] cannot live in isolated farms. They are Russians, for whom it is more indispensable than for the Mennonites."[104]

Aside from these qualifications, however, Kropotkin sought to reassure Mavor that the Doukhobors would be good immigrants. The Anarchist-Prince could not hide his pride and confidence in the Doukhobors, and he showed unbridled enthusiasm at the fascinating prospect of exporting the Russian *mir* to North America. "Remember," he wrote Mavor, "you deal with a...Russian mir (moral and self-respecting in this case) and all experience is that such a mir is the safest client in the world. Only give them land that would not be stone [sic]."[105]

Mavor also received reassurances from Chertkov and Tolstoy. Having read Haxthausen's lurid portrait of the Doukhobors during the 1830s, Mavor questioned Tolstoy as to whether these Doukhobors were inclined to fanaticism, whether they would abide by Canadian laws, and if they would consent to Canadian schooling. Tolstoy replied that the Spirit Wrestlers were not fanatics, but would be respectful citizens who might merely object to the religious indoctrination of their young.[106] From Chertkov, Mavor received a lengthy appraisal of the Russian sectarians which could have been straight out of the laudatory accounts of *Christian Martyrdom in Russia:*

> ...These people are very cleanly in their habits, and most courteous and dignified in their behaviour, grateful for every kindness, tender and sympathetic. In their own villages they are always ready to welcome strangers, and ask no payment. Their honesty in the markets is unquestioned by all who know them and the government even bears witness to their good character.[107]

Chertkov did not, however, try to explain why the Russian authorities would react so violently to such honest, diligent, and courteous Russian peasants, and give them rare permission to leave the country. Mavor was also

informed that these Doukhobors became impoverished when "false brethren" robbed them of their communal savings with full government assistance.[108] Chertkov also did not disclose the fact that by 1898, the majority of the Doukhobor population in Russia was no longer composed of Veriginites, but by members of the Small and Middle parties, who had no desire to emigrate. These so-called "false brethren" in fact considered themselves to be the true Doukhobors, who wished to co-operate with the Russian authorities, just as Lukeria Kalmykova had done under Alexander II.

Mavor, however, had no time to do his own research. He later admitted that he would have preferred to travel to the Caucasus to see for himself how the Doukhobors lived and behaved, but a sense of urgency prevented this, forcing him to accept the recommendations of Tolstoy and friends.[109] It was under these circumstances that Mavor approached Clifford Sifton, the new Canadian Minister of the Interior, with the proposal to bring several thousand Doukhobors to Canada. Mavor informed the Ministry of what he knew about the Spirit Wrestlers: that they were an industrious pacifist, communistic, religious sect which would require a military service exemption, land in block reserves for settlement, and consultation on the matter of primary education.[110]

The professor's timing could not have been better, for the Minister was embarking on a vigorous immigration drive to settle the Canadian West. Immigration to Canada had been in steady decline throughout the 1890s. Despite launching an expensive 1897 European advertising campaign to attract settlers, Canada received a mere 21, 716 arrivals in that year, compared with roughly 82,000 immigrants in 1891.[111] Sifton recognized that Canada's current immigration needs could not be met by British Isles alone, and thus he sought to encourage the settlement of good farmers from Continental and Eastern Europe to Canada. In particular, the Minister defended his encouragement of Slavic principally 'Galician' (Ukrainian) immigration, stating, "I think a stalwart peasant in a sheep-skin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generation, with a stout wife and a half dozen children, is good quality."[112] Sifton quickly became interested in the Fasters, for the Tolstoyans had publicized the great agricultural exploits of the Doukhobors, as well as their impressive physical stature.[113]

Sifton was soon able to see some of these Spirit Wrestlers for himself, for his negotiations with Mavor were followed by the immediate arrival of an official delegation on September 10. It had been sent by the Purleigh Committee and was composed of the Ivin and Makhortov families, and two Tolstoyans, Dmitrii Khilkov and Aylmer Maude. Having received complete authority from the Doukhobors to negotiate on their behalf, the Committee gave the delegation an enormous mandate, which involved determining the country's suitability, favourably impressing Canadian officials, selecting locations for settlement, and formally concluding the terms of immigration, all of which was to be done within a matter of weeks. Maude was chosen as a delegate largely for his ability to serve as a Russian-English translator, and because Chertkov distrusted Khilkov. One Doukhobor historian has referred to Maude as a "Johnny-comelately" in Doukhobor matters because as Maude himself admitted, only recently familiarized himself with the Doukhobor plight and had no previous contact with Spirit Wrestlers themselves.[114] Yet as a representative of the Purleigh Committee and as the only English-speaking member of the delegation, the terms of the Doukhobors' entrance into Canada were placed entirely in his hands. To strengthen his credentials, he carried a letter with him from Chertkov stating that he was "a personal friend of Leo Tolstoy's" and had full authority to represent the Spirit Wrestlers.[115] Khilkov was selected because he had lived among the Spirit Wrestlers in the Caucasus and was somewhat familiar to the Ivins and Makhortovs. The two Doukhobor families, meanwhile, lended legitimacy to the delegation, but played a relatively small role in negotiating the terms of settlement, unlike the Mennonite delegates of the 1870s. Indeed, aside from approving the selection of land, perhaps their greatest accomplishment was the fine impression they made on Canadian authorities with their good manners and polite behaviour, leading one official to remark: "If the bulk of your goods are up to sample--send them along."[116]

If the Canadians were impressed by the delegates, so too was the delegation impressed by Canadian officials. Maude was delighted to learn on arrival that the Ministry of the Interior sought to attract immigrants, and was visibly impressed by the extent to which government and railway officials offered their assistance and accomodation.[117] After negotiating the cost of transporting Doukhobor immigrants across Canada by rail with executives of

the Canadian Pacific Railway in Montreal, the delegates were granted free rail passes to travel anywhere in Canada. The group then proceeded to Ottawa, where Maude was briefed by Mavor, and meetings were held with Sifton and his Deputy Minister, James Smart.

Because the Doukhobors' requests were similar to those made by the Russian Mennonites more than two decades earlier, the Canadian government offered to invoke the very same legislation which had been used to satisfy the Mennonites. First, the Doukhobors would be absolved from military service by Order-in-Council under the same Military Service Act (of 1868) which exempted the Quakers, Mennonites, Tunkers, and anyone else in Canada whose religion made military service unconscionable.[118] Second, if a suitable location could be found, the Canadian government would facilitate the creation of one or more Doukhobor reserves, and would allow the sectarians to settle in villages rather than on individual homesteads by re-enacting the Hamlet Clause of the Dominion Lands Act.[119] The Fasters' system of land holding, however, was less amenable to the Canadian homesteading system which granted land to individual settlers in 160-acre 'quarter-sections'. Whereas Russian Mennonite farmers owned and tilled individual plots, the Fasters held and worked the land in common. Fortunately, a recent amendment to the Hamlet Clause permitted cooperative farming ventures to cultivate a proportion of the reserve rather than a proportion of each individual homestead. Thus, all that would be required of the Doukhobor immigrants by Canadian law, would be the formal registration of each quarter-section within the reserve to a separate Doukhobor family at the standard fee of $10 (£2) per homestead. After this formality, the Spirit Wrestlers would be free to pool their land, settle in villages anywhere on the reserve, and communally cultivate a required portion of the reserve.[120]

The Canadian offer further included measures which would help facilitate the early settlement of the Doukhobors on the prairies. Newly arrived Doukhobors would be sheltered temporarily in Immigration Halls and provided with interpreters. It was also decided that the regular 'bonus' money of £1 per immigrant usually paid to immigration agents would instead be placed in a special Doukhobor assistance fund to cover the expenses of establishing settlements. Maude was informed that vegetarian food was very cheap and that immediate employment was available along railroad lines and in forestry work.

This information was transmitted to the Purleigh Committee from Maude in a letter dated September 17. In this letter, he optimistically described Canada to be "as free as any country in the world."[121] Maude's optimism over the entire venture would gradually fade, however, as the difficulties of effectively arranging the emigration mounted.

Trouble began with the selection of reserve land. In the twenty-five years since the Russian Mennonite immigrants had settled in southern Manitoba, the number of homesteads on the Canadian prairies had slowly risen, especially along the newly constructed railroad lines. In order to find a suitable area large enough to create a single reserve, the delegates had to travel as far northwest as Edmonton. After many hours of soil and climate analysis by the knowledgeable agriculturalist, Khilkov, a single site composed of twelve townships was selected near Beaver Lake, in the Territory of Alberta. However, upon returning to Ottawa to conclude arrangements, the delegates discovered that they had been denied this location, due to intense opposition from the local press in Alberta, and from the Conservative Party in Ottawa. The Conservatives had been staunch opponents of Sifton's policy of encouraging Ukrainian immigration, for they considered the settlement of large numbers of 'Galicians' to be an impediment to the creation of a uniform British-Canadian culture across the nation. Thus, although the immigration of Slavic peoples to Canada was officially encouraged, it remained a controversial policy.[122] The immigration of the Doukhobors was viewed with no less skepticism by Sifton's opponents, and when the Conservatives discovered some articles in certain English reference books which described the Spirit Wrestlers as fanatical and iconoclastic, this information was used to attack Sifton and his immigration programme. According to Maude, these references were quickly picked up by the Edmonton press, which in turn lead to immediate public pressure on Ottawa to deny the Doukhobors this land.[123] Woodcock and Avakumovic further suggest, somewhat paradoxically, that the Doukhobors' "record of resistance to governments made them appear...undesirable to the [Canadian] anti-government newspapers."[124]

Although the Canadian government gave in to public pressure in this instance, Sifton did not abandon his plans to bring the Doukhobors to Canada. In fact, Ottawa appeared undaunted by mention of the Fasters' past record of

resistance to the Russian government, and there are at least a couple of reasons why. Firstly, Maude worked very hard to discredit the validity of these reports. He even stayed behind in Ottawa for several days, trying to restore the good reputation of the Spirit Wrestlers while Khilkov and the Doukhobor delegates traveled West again in search of a new location. Maude's work was necessary, because the Conservatives could continue to cite exaggerated, flawed, or outdated depictions of the Spirit Wrestlers in such books as Haxthausen's *Studies*, the *Century Dictionary*, and others.[125] Secondly, the Liberal government was already used to Conservative criticism of Galician immigrants and likely anticipated further objections to the Doukhobor immigration. As Maude described it, the Opposition simply saw another opportunity to attack Liberal government policy with new "ammunition" in what he describes as an on-going "game" between "ins" and "outs".[126]

Nearly all Doukhobor researchers and historians have accepted Maude's assertion that Conservatives were simply engaged in political fear mongering based on a superficial reading of deeply biased sources. Although this was likely the case, it does not necessarily mean that the Conservatives' concerns were without substance. One should remember that the Canadian government received practically all of its information about the Spirit Wrestlers through Tolstoyan channels, and merely accepted these assessments in good faith. As Maude later stated, "We, all of us, when arranging for their Migration, assured the Canadians, and the Canadian Government, that the Doukhobors were a reasonable and amenable people; and **it was on the basis of those assurances** that facilities were given which enabled...them to settle in Canada."[127] Yet as we have seen, the Tolstoyans did not know the Doukhobors as well as they thought they did. Tolstoyan writings, in fact, exhibited a similar amount of bias as the negative articles cited by the Conservatives. Tolstoy's aggrandizement of Doukhobor life as the long-awaited germination of Christ's teaching on earth, for instance, is one example.

Furthermore, with hindsight, it is hard not to see the legitimacy of the Conservatives' concerns about the Doukhobors' resistance to authority. The Spirit Wrestlers had challenged Tsarist laws and had rejected the path of greater assimilation into Russian society. Upon arrival in Canada, the Doukhobor immigrants soon became one of the most difficult groups to

assimilate into Canadian society, and mounted numerous protests and challenges to Canadian laws. There is obvious continuity here. Given the Doukhobors' history in Russia, Ottawa should have prepared for the possibility of encountering a similar amount of resistance from these sectarians, before attempting to bring them into Canadian society. Instead, Canadian officials accepted the Tolstoyans' explanation that the Doukhobors disobeyed the Russian government only because they were forced to perform military service against their religious consciences. The Canadian government thus naively believed, as they did during the Mennonite negotiations, that they could easily satisfy the pacifist sectarians by simply granting them a military service exemption and land *en bloc*. Sifton, Smart, and other Canadian officials chauvinistically believed as Maude did, that Canada was the freest country in the world and that Russia in comparison was governed by a cruel regime. It seemed unimaginable that a religious minority fleeing persecution and discrimination at the hands of autocracy might dare to object to the few formalities required of Canadian settlers. This oversight had a cost, however, which will be analyzed in detail in the next chapter.

After the Beaver Lake debacle, Khilkov and the Doukhobor delegates were unable to find a single area large enough to settle the entire population of Fasters. Instead, three locations totaling more than seven hundred square miles[128] were selected in the Territories of Assiniboia and Saskatchewan, which later formed three major Doukhobor colonies. Thirty miles north of Yorkton lay the fifteen townships which later formed the South Colony, which included an annexed piece of land around the northwestern shore of Devil's Lake. Another fourty miles further north were six townships along the Manitoba border which became the North, or Thunder Hill Colony. The third area was located twenty miles north of Saskatoon and was later called the 'Prince Albert', or 'Rosthern' Colony, containing the 'Duck Lake' and 'Saskatoon' settlements. Here the government was unable to exchange alternate sections of land owned by the C.P.R. and Hudson's Bay Company in order to create a complete reserve. Instead, this third colony was composed of only the even numbered sections within an area of twenty townships.

Such compromises made Ivin and Makhortov, the two Doukhobor delegates, distrustful of the negotiations which were taking place. Although the

Fasters lived in three separate colonies in the Caucasus, the delegates had been instructed to find a location large enough in which to settle all the Doukhobor immigrants. After being denied the area near Beaver Lake, they now suspected the Canadian Government of attempting to physically divide their sect before it had even arrived.[129] They even began to suspect Maude and Khilkov of trying to make money out of the Doukhobors. In Winnipeg, the Doukhobor delegates were told by some Russian-speaking Polish immigrants that Maude and Khilkov would probably keep the immigration 'bonus' monies for themselves.[130] Lingering doubts eventually culminated into outright accusations and strained relations between the Doukhobor and Tolstoyan members of the delegation. Maude, meanwhile, had actually paid his own fare to Canada and was personally losing money on the trip. Upset by the Doukhobors' distrust, he wrote a letter to Tolstoy complaining that Ivin and Makhortov were unfit for their tasks. One of Maude's chief grievances was that the two Doukhobors refused to make decisions or take any responsibility for such decisions, thereby impeding negotiations:

> Their usual reply, when a prompt decision on any point was urgently necessary, was to say: "We cannot decide; we are not empowered. Wait until all the brothers...are here, and then the matter can be discussed." They did not appear at all to see the impossibility of bringing some 7,000 people to Canada without any settled plans, and then beginning a discussion as to where they were to go and how they should be provided for.[131]

As a result, the Canadian negotiations contained very little input from the Doukhobors themselves. With Peter Verigin in exile, the Fasters in the Caucasus had to make collective decisions through meetings held among village representatives.[132] Yet police vigilance and the distance between villages made such practices difficult for the Kars and Elizavetpol Doukhobors, never mind the Georgian exiles. Even when meetings did take place, it took another great effort to relay this message to England, and then on to Canada. Maude therefore claimed that his desire to involve the Doukhobors in the negotiations was ultimately superseded by the need for immediate action:

> To communicate with the Doukhobors in the Caucasus was a matter of difficulty, delay, and expense. There was no time for

> interchange of letters. Cablegrams were expensive, and we were never sure that the Russian authorities would allow letters and telegrams to reach them....
>
> What messages we did receive from the Doukhobors were urgent entreaties to make arrangements as quickly as possible to enable them to come to America.[133]

Now that the poorest of the exiles had been settled in Cyprus, the remaining Veriginites became increasingly impatient to leave Russia. As one observer noted: "More than once, when information from Canada was, for some reason delayed, they asked that a cable be sent so as to hasten the final decision since winter was coming on and it was very difficult to wait; 'or we will go to Turkey on foot!' they said."[134] Thousands of Fasters remained destitute in exile, unable to buy land or farm. Meanwhile, money which was still kept in communal trust was being steadily depleted by fines and extractions demanded by the Russian government as compensation for refusing military service, and in order to provide relief to the suffering exiles. Many parents desperately wanted to leave the country before a new army draft, scheduled for January 1, 1899, could conscript their sons. Others still feared that their permission to emigrate might be revoked at any moment.[135] By September, the Cyprus Doukhobors had also sent a plaintive letter to the Quakers which described their hardships and requested deliverance to Canada. Thus, a sense of urgency prevailed over the Doukhobor negotiations, just as it had over the Mennonite negotiations.

In both cases, this pressing imperativeness resulted in misjudgements, oversights, and immigration contracts which were less than perfect. In fact, there was no formal contract made between the Canadian Government and the Doukhobors, but rather, a written agreement between Ottawa and the Purleigh Committee which merely outlined the responsibilities of each for the coverage of transportation and settlement costs.[136] The agreement was basically a letter from Smart to Maude, written after a meeting in Ottawa on October 5. Excluded in this letter were any references to a military service exemption, to the Hamlet Clause amendment which would allow the Doukhobors to live and farm communally, or even to a claim to the reserve lands which Khilkov and the Doukhobor delegates reluctantly selected.[137] Official mention of the reserve lands only appeared in a letter dated December 1, in which Smart notified

Maude that applications had been made for the transfer of C.P.R. owned-sections to Government.[138] This meant that the Doukhobor reserves had not yet been established by December. The military service exemption, meanwhile, was officially granted by an Order-in-Council only on December 6, after Sifton had submitted a report to Privy Council on November 30, stating that negotiations with the Doukhobors had been completed.[139] Yet after the October 5th agreement, Maude nad confidently telegraphed Purleigh, stating: "Let exiles come. Land ready. Arrangements progressing favourably."[140]

It is difficult to say why Maude gave these instructions so early, without first receiving a written guarantee of the promises made by the Dominion Government. It is possible that Maude was so impressed by Canadian officials, and felt so comfortable around Sifton and Smart that he simply did not insist on a comprehensive accord. Perhaps Maude felt that drafting a detailed document would take precious time which the Doukhobors could ill afford. More than likely, Maude himself was becoming tired of the entire affair and simply wanted to return to England. While Khilkov and the delegates had been selecting land for the second time, Maude had taken a publicity tour through northeastern U.S.A. During this trip, his patience had been continually tested by factual inaccuracies and misquotations regarding the Doukhobors which kept appearing in American newspapers.[141] Frustrated, Maude returned to Ottawa to find his intentions under scrutiny by the Ivins and Makhortovs, which was perhaps more than he was willing to handle. After quickly reaching an agreement with Sifton and Smart, Maude left for England on October 21, placing Khilkov in full charge of Doukhobor affairs in Canada. Whatever Maude's excuses might have been, one must agree with Koozma J. Tarasoff's assertion that Maude's failure to insist on a formal contract "was inexcusable, and what seems to have been a slip-shod approach [by Maude] undoubtedly contributed to future misunderstandings and problems."[142]

Although Ottawa did not immediately renege on its promises to the delegation, the lack of written clarification over the terms of settlement and the absence of Doukhobor negotiators did, in fact, lead to confusion and controversy in later years. For instance, in order for the Doukhobors to register for their homesteads, they would be required, according to Canadian law, to swear an oath of allegiance to the British crown. As Woodcock and

Avakumovic correctly point out, the Veriginites' refusal to pledge allegiance to the Tsar in Russia had been a central point of contention between the Fasters and St. Petersburg, yet at no time during the delegation's visit to Canada was the issue of oath-taking raised by anyone involved.[143] The tragic consequence of this was that the majority of Veriginites later refused to register their lands and were subsequently expelled from their 'reserve' lands.[144] In contrast, the Mennonite delegates of the 1870s had insisted on a written exemption from oath-taking as part of their immigration agreement. As a result, all Mennonites were able to *affirm* their loyalty to Canada, rather than take an oath.

In the years since the Doukhobor immigration, Maude has been roundly criticized for omitting other Canadian requirements to which the Spirit Wrestlers later objected, such as the registration of vital statistics and compulsory primary education.[145] It seems, however, that some of these criticisms against Maude are somewhat misplaced. Maude did inquire about compulsory primary education and the mandatory registration of vital statistics during his meetings with Sifton in September. He learned that the registration of marriages, births, and deaths, was obligatory of all Canadian citizens. Education remained a provincial matter, Maude was told, but schooling was not compulsory in rural regions and there would be no religious indoctrination of young Doukhobors.[146] This information he then shared with not only the Purleigh Committee, but also the Ivins, Makhortovs, and two other Doukhobor delegates, Nikolai Zibarov and Ivan Abrosimov, who had recently arrived in England with Tolstoy's eldest son, Sergei. According to Maude, "[n]one of them made any objection, but, on the contrary, all were anxious to hasten the migration as much as possible."[147] Even James Mavor, who was no apologist for Maude, stated that apart from their two requests for group settlement and a military service exemption, the Spirit Wrestlers "made no other stipulations."[148] Thus if Maude is to be blamed for not clearly specifying the terms of settlement, the Doukhobors themselves did not provide their Tolstoyan intermediaries with specific instructions or qualifications.

Tolstoy also criticized Maude for his handling of the negotiations, but for different reasons. In a letter to Chertkov dated October 15, the Russian novelist

complained that Maude was too practical-minded and too impatient with the Doukhobor delegates:

> What stands out so unpleasantly from all [of Maude's] discussions with the Canadian government is this terrible, heartless practical *John Bull* who needs *hands* for his colony and who is trying to get all he can out of the bargain, demanding that he should be provided with people who are fit, and if they die anywhere over there, it's all the same to him. Of course it's bound to be like that, but still one feels sorry for these dear people, and can't help thinking was it worth so much trouble and so many departures from the demands of Christianity in order to be transferred from one cruel and heartless master to another, no less, if not actually more, heartless one? One feels that even in Canada there cannot be harmony between the Dukhobors and the government there so long as the Dukhobors continue to put into effect, as they do now, the demands of a Christian life.[149]

This passage is interesting, for it not only foreshadows future difficulties between Doukhobors and the Canadian government, but it suggests that the business of planning the emigration was somehow a degenerative process, involving a betrayal of Christian principles. To be sure, the need to raise large sums of money, the pressure to negotiate quickly, and the enormous stakes involved for the Doukhobors had added to existing tensions among Tolstoyans and Fasters alike, and soon brought imperfections to the surface. Idealism and brotherhood was soon replaced by apprehension and distrust. Numerous disputes could be added to the ones already mentioned: the Quakers blamed Arthur St. John for the disorganization on Cyprus; St. John accused the Cyprus Doukhobors of immoral behaviour; Tolstoy told Chertkov that he was an untrustworthy and inefficient administrator; Chertkov quarreled with nearly everyone at Purleigh, and with Khilkov in particular; cool relations between Maude and Mavor hindered effective cooperation in Ottawa, etc. After sifting through the papers and correspondence of James Mavor, Francis Mavor Moore has described the Canadian negotiations to have been a process raked by disorder, conflict, and feuding. Moore, Mavor's grandson, writes,

> [D]ue to the crisis nature of the operation--the ever increasing numbers of immigrants who wanted to come; the short time available; the problem of language; the conflicting personalities of the participants, and the wide divergence in motivations--the whole business took on a comic

> opera aspect.... The only one to come out of it without a fight or hurt to anyone was gentle Kropotkin, the Russian Anarchist![150]

Despite the obstacles which faced the organizers of the emigration--the distrust within the delegation, the in-fighting among Doukhobor sympathizers, the ill-informed publicity about the sect, the impatience of the Fasters in the Caucasus, and the need to raise large sums of money--the Spirit Wrestlers were brought to Canada in a fairly short period of time. During the summer of 1898, while the Quakers were raising money for the Cyprus migration, the Tolstoyans had also been soliciting funds to facilitate a larger emigration of Veriginites from the Caucasus. Approximately 2,100 Fasters remained in exile in Georgia. They had few remaining resources, and were living largely off of communal savings and whatever assistance the 4,000 other Kars and Elizavetpol Fasters could secretly render them. All of these Veriginites requested to emigrate to Canada, along with the 1,100 Cyprus settlers and some 300-400 conscientious objectors and their families in Siberian exile. This meant that preparations would eventually have to be made for approximately 7,500 Doukhobor immigrants to Canada, about half of whom had little or no money to finance their transportation, and required substantial assistance.

The remaining Georgian exiles were considered to be the first priority by the organizers, for it was they who now faced the most difficult circumstances. Although they managed to contribute approximately $16,500 towards their own emigration by selling their possessions and utilizing their communal savings, it was estimated that their emigration would cost approximately $40,000 in total.[151] The remainder came from the Doukhobor sympathizers. Tolstoy himself raised $17,000 after sending a number of appeals to wealthy Russian industrialists in August, and by selling a few of his short stories to a Russian publisher.[153] The famed writer later generated a similar amount of money from the profits of his novel, *Resurrection* (1899), which he donated to the Fasters to assist their early settlement efforts in Canada. Smaller amounts were also collected by the Quakers and by the Purleigh Committee.

On October 27, 1898, the Governor General of Canada gave official approval to the immigration. But the Canadian government had stipulated that it would receive no more than 4,000 Doukhobors during the winter of 1898-1899 because of the limited amount of space in government immigration halls. The

Kars Doukhobors were the wealthiest of all the Fasters, and were therefore informed that a large number would be required to wait until spring to emigrate. Upon receiving this news, the Kars population impatiently sent a telegram to Ottawa, stating: "3,000 healthy Doukhobors wish early emigration for which they will need no help from the government as they have sufficient means."[153] Whether intentional or not, this message effectively distinguished the healthy and wealthy Kars Doukhobors from the sick and poor exiles in Georgia. Officials in Ottawa now began to fear the arrival of thousands of ill and poverty-stricken immigrants arriving on their shores, and on several occasions they warned Purleigh that such immigrants were not desirable.[154] In the Caucasus, a conference was quickly convened among Veriginites which chastised the Kars Doukhobors for independently sending the telegram, and then proceeded to determine the order of the migration. It was decided that the 2,140 Georgian exiles would indeed emigrate first, followed by a second ship composed of the 1,600 Fasters in Elizavetpol and another 700 from Kars. A third ship would leave in the spring, bringing the remaining 2,300 Veriginites from Kars to Canada.[156]

The Purleigh Committee now began looking for a ship to transport the Fasters. It had first been proposed that the Doukhobors travel overland by train to Riga, and then by ocean liner to Canada via Liverpool.[156] This, however, would have been too costly and required a greater amount of coordination than a direct charter from Batum to Canada. Yet it was soon discovered that in order to transport all 7,500 Fasters to Canada within a year, even the cheapest passenger ships would be too expensive to charter. Leopold Sulerzhitskii, a close friend of Tolstoy's and his daughter, Tatiana, had some experience at sea, and was therefore placed in charge of transporting the first groups of Spirit Wrestler emigrants to Canada, along with Tolstoy's eldest son, Sergei.[157] Instead of chartering passenger ships, Sulerzhitskii decided to lease the *Lake Huron* and *Lake Superior*, two freight ships owned by the Beaver Line Company, and hire only a few crew members in order to reduce costs. Sulerzhitskii and Sergei Tolstoy chose to train their own crews among Doukhobors, and have Doukhobor carpenters fit the cargo holds with bunks to accommodate passengers. For this unorthodox means of transportation, Sulerzhitskii and Sergei Tolstoy were required to assume all liability for

overloading the ships, and for the safe passage of the Doukhobors to Canada.[158]

The Georgian exiles began to arrive in Batum on December 9 [n.s.], and were sheltered under the roof of an unused shed at a kerosene factory, until the arrival of the *Lake Huron* on December 17. Poor weather conditions, such as wind, cold, and fog, led to multiple illnesses and the death of three children during this time. One child, however, was born to a guilt-ridden couple who had ashamedly broken Verigin's ban on sexual intercourse. It took three days to build the passenger bunks with lumber purchased in Batum, and another two days to load the ship. As Sulerzhitskii has noted, there were many difficulties associated with loading: women insisted on keeping luggage with them in the bunks, elders complained of having to constantly move to accommodate more passengers, and a scheme which divided sections of the ship according to villages led to quarrels and was eventually abandoned.[159] In the end, however, the Doukhobors co-operated in order to create the space necessary to bring all of their brethren on board. Finally, on December 21, the first shipload of emigrants left Batum for Canada. Tamara Burlakova's translation of Sulerzhitskii's journal fittingly evokes the emotional impact of the departure for the Spirit Wrestlers:

> ...the gang-planks were removed - and the last links connecting us with the mainland were taken away along with them...The Doukhobors began to sing a psalm. Melancholy, long, drawn-out sounds filled with inconsolable nostalgia flew off all the way back to the quickly receding shoreline. Thousands of voices merged now to produce a single outcry of despair, bitterness and resentment. Not only the people, but even, it seemed, nature grew still, shattered by the soul-searing sobbing of this group of a thousand people lamenting over their separation from their Motherland. With their heads bared and with tears and grief in their eyes, the Doukhobors stood sad and solemn, facing the land on which they had grown up, and on which their grandparents and great-grandparents had lived and died, and in which their leaders were buried, a land where they had had to undergo so much suffering and bear so many precious losses... Meanwhile the shoreline kept on receding further and further, just as life itself recedes, and there was nothing one could do to bring it back... One could sense that something unheard of in its cruelty, something irrevocable was taking place...[160]

The Lake Huron reached Constantinople on December 24, where the Doukhobors were joined by two doctors and a nurse. The nurse was a sympathizer, Masha Satz, who later spent many months working in the Doukhobor colonies in Canada. The two doctors were Alexei Bakunin, nephew to the famous Russian Anarchist-Philosopher Michael Bakunin, and Nikolai Zibarov, a Doukhobor delegate who had earlier been sent to Purleigh. Together with an English doctor on board named Mercer, they formed a medical staff which became indispensable once the ship entered the rougher waters of the Atlantic on January 5.

Despite the fine work of the 94 crew members whom Sulerzhitskii had trained to keep the ship clean and functional, there was little that could be done about the sea-sickness which plagued these tillers of the soil. Even less could be done about the hurricane-type winds which the *Lake Huron* encountered in the middle of the ocean. For eight days, the ship miraculously rode through one of the worst mid-Atlantic storms in the captain's memory. Polya Kanigan survived the storm as a child, and later recalled that "a wave struck the side and broke through. The water rushed in and everyone started screaming. A lot of water poured into the bottom of the ship. There, people were crying and here we were clutching on to posts and the water [was] on us and running down the stairs. They stretched a canvas then and nailed it on, or it would have been the end of us."[161] As the ship violently pitched and rolled, passengers were injured by flying articles and objects, and the crew became unable to effectively perform their duties. Disease and fever spread in the poorly ventilated hold, claiming ten lives during the crossing, seven of them children. Finally, thirty-two days after leaving Batum, the *Lake Huron* reached Halifax harbour on January 23, 1899. Despite the poverty of the exiles, the number of passengers on board, the rough journey across the ocean, and the ten deaths which had occurred, Captain Evans and Canadian quarantine officials on Lawlor's Island praised the Doukhobors for their exceptional cleanliness and good health.[162] Within a couple of days, the ship proceeded to the port of St. John where a train waited to transport the immigrants to the prairies.

Sergei Tolstoy supervised the second crossing of Doukhobors on the *Lake Superior*, consisting of Fasters from the Elizavetpol and Kars regions. Because of more favourable weather, the freighter arrived in the port of St. John

on January 27, twenty-nine days after leaving Batum. Although this trip resulted in fewer deaths (six in total), the presence of smallpox necessitated that the ship remain quarantined for another month before allowing the immigrants to proceed inland. The *Lake Superior* eventually returned to the Mediterranean by the end of April, at which time Sulerzhitskii oversaw the transportation of the Cyprus Fasters to Canada. More than one hundred of the original settlers had died during their eight months on Cyprus, leaving only 1,010 to be taken to Canada.[163] This group was joined by Arthur St. John, Quaker organizer William Bellows, and two Tolstoyan nurses. Besides running into an ice flow off Newfoundland, the ship encountered excellent weather, which combined with the extra space for the passengers on board likely accounted for the fact that there was only a single fatality (and one birth) during the voyage. Although Sulerzhitskii himself became seriously ill with fever, Canadian health officials were satisfied with the condition of the passengers and allowed the immigrants to land in Quebec on May 21, where once again, a train was boarded. The final shipload of more than 2,300 Fasters from Kars arrived in Quebec on the Lake Huron on June 5. Multiple cases of smallpox, however, required the ship to remain in quarantine for another four weeks before sending the immigrants westward.[164] Along on this journey were another doctor and nurse who stayed in Canada to temporarily help the Fasters, as well as a future Bolshevik and associate of Lenin, Vladimir Bonch-Bruevich, who came to study the Doukhobors' communal organization and culture.

Estimates of the total number of Doukhobors who arrived in Canada in 1899 have ranged between 7,160 and 8,000, with Aylmer Maude's figure of 7,363 and Woodcock and Avakumovic's estimate of 7,400 being the most widely accepted.[165] The Canadian settlers were later joined by several hundred more Fasters in 1905, who received permission to emigrate from Russia only when religious liberty in Russia was proclaimed during the Revolution. This was the community which was formed around the approximately 150 conscientious objectors who had been exiled to Ust Notora, in the Siberian province of Yakutsk in the 1890s.[166] Although the 'Butchers', or 'Middle Party' had expressed interest in emigration, they decided not to follow the Fasters, but remain with Gubanov's 'Small Party' in Russia. Some likely stayed behind in order to cheaply purchase the property and farms of the

Veriginite emigrants, while others simply could not reconcile themselves to the new brand of strict orthodoxy which Verigin and his followers espoused. Verigin had lost a considerable amount of support in the early 1890s when he issued his series of strict moral precepts to his followers, and by the time of the emigration in 1898, his 'Large Party' was no longer supported by the majority of the Doukhobor population in the Caucasus.[167] Approximately 12,000 to 13,000 Doukhobors decided to stay in Russia,[168] despite their opposition to the military service requirement, a statistic which was overlooked by Canadian officials during the migration, and continues to be marginalized by the majority of historical accounts written in Canada today. Yet for a proper understanding of the emigrations of the Russian Mennonites in the 1870s and the Doukhobors in the 1890s, it is crucial that both be acknowledged as minority movements, involving roughly one-third of their respective populations, who were the most religiously orthodox members of either sect. It is important because the ultimate goal of these minorities was to escape the growing pressures towards assimilation which came from outside their sects, but also from within. In Canada, both minority movements failed to achieve their common goal, even though each sect responded to assimilatory pressures in different ways.

The difference in their responses to assimilation was partly due to the circumstances which surrounded their arrival in Canada. Although the Mennonite emigration from Russia is considered to be a mass migration, the Mennonite immigrants came to Canada the way most others did, in smaller familial groups on large ocean liners. They had purchased their own tickets, without the help of Quakers, Tolstoyans, or notable Russians taking interest in their cause or accompanying them. Along their journey, they were met by Canadian agents, who ensured that they boarded the correct ship along with hundreds of other travelers to Canada. Some, like many other immigrants before them, were enticed by American agents to settle in the United States. On arrival, the Mennonites were usually met by small groups of North American Mennonites, some of whom were relatives, who provided a slight, but immediate, sense of familiarity with the New World.

The Doukhobors, on the other hand, arrived in a unique way, and under unique circumstances. The Spirit Wrestlers gave new meaning to the term 'mass migration'. They crammed their hundreds into the holds of two small

freighters designed to carry livestock and supplies, in what was truly a collective experience. The Fasters did not buy tickets individually, and among the emigrants there was not a wide variety of motives for leaving Russia. There had been no William Hespelers traveling through the Caucasus, telling the Doukhobors about Canada, or any other Canadian agents stationed along their journey. The Doukhobor delegates to Canada, the Ivins and the Makhortovs, were not even able to return to Russia to tell their brethren what they had seen and heard. Moreover, unlike the Russian Mennonites, emigration to Canada had not even been the idea of the Doukhobors in the first place! The Doukhobors simply wanted to emigrate, and gave the Tolstoyans and Quakers a free hand in choosing a location and negotiating the necessary terms of settlement. As a result, these immigrants had absolutely no idea what to expect in Canada, nor what was expected of them, yet they arrived on Canadian shores by the thousands within a period of mere months. Their bewilderment on arriving in Canada, as we shall see, was like that of actors appearing on stage before an audience without knowing their lines or their role.

The arrival of the Doukhobors was also feted like no other reception of immigrants to Canada had ever been. The 2,133 passengers aboard the Lake Huron formed the largest number of immigrants to ever arrive in North America on a single ship.[169] It was an historic moment for Canada, a chance for the young country to prove to the world that it was a kind, tolerant, and progressive nation, which would answer the international call of distress which emanated from the Caucasus. Newspapers attempted to capture the momentousness of the occasion:

> There was enacted in the far-famed harbor of Halifax yesterday afternoon a scene in the world's drama which will live long in the memory of those who witnessed it as one of the most impressive events in the history of this great country.
>
> The dropping of the anchor of the Lake Huron...marked the passing from tyranny to liberty, from persecution to cordial welcome, from cruelty to kindness, from despotic Russia to the free air of Canada...
>
> The coming of the Doukhobors is an event of no ordinary interest. Never before has so large a band of pilgrims crossed the seas to found a home in the New World. Never before in modern times has the migration of a foreign people excited so much interest on the North American continent....[170]

Like Hollywood celebrities, the first immigrants were greeted in St. John harbour by thousands of well-wishers and curious onlookers:

> When the steamship approached the C.P.R. pier the sight was one that will never be forgotten by the thousands of sight seers [sic.] who were at Sand Point. The city pier, next to the C.P.R. pier, was crowded with citizens. The roof of the warehouse was also thronged. The after portion of the Dominion liner Scotsman was full, as was a portion of the C.P.R. pier near Protection Street. Besides all these places of view a few hundred people were down on the harbour bar among the sea weed and mud, all anxious to see what was to be seen.... About two dozen citizens, each armed with a camera, were busily engaged in taking snap shots of the vessel and her passengers.
>
> The Doukhobors were received with cheers....[171]

Leopold Sulerzhitskii records a description of the first contacts between Canadians and Doukhobor immigrants, which is worth quoting at length:

> Canadians were standing in crowds on both sides of the train. When the first Doukhobor appeared on the gangplank, a marked enthusiasm seized the crowd. All the way to the train they waved to him with their hands and their caps, and roared and exclaimed at the top of their voices. Obviously they were well satisfied with his strong figure, clean clothes, the lightness with which he carried all his baggage,...
>
> "Oh what a man," could be heard.
>
> "An excellent figure!"
>
> "You can't say he's good for nothing."
>
> "If they are all like that, then we have never seen such immigrants in Canada."
>
> "And he bows too. Good fellow. Best wishes! Best wishes!"
>
> "How are you?"
>
> "Good fellow! Hip-hip-hurraa!"
>
> And the crowd roared again.
>
> Embarrassed, not expecting anything of the kind, the Doukhobor bowed in all directions with a serious face adding, "Thank you." He must have been glad when at last he got away from the crowd and got into a fine passenger car with leather seats and bronze handles, where an officer of the railway thoughtfully seated him.
>
> "Of course," he thought, "that's how joyfully they are meeting us. For this, God save them! But why shout so much?"
>
> After the first Doukhobor came the second, the third--the appearance of each was met with a fresh burst of welcoming.
>
> But now, a Doukhobor woman came down the gangplank with a pack on her back and two children. The latter looked straight at the crowd from under their caps. The excitement of the crowd reached a kind

> of frenzy. There was a steady roar in which nothing could be understood.... For the greater satisfaction of the crowd, the youngsters began to bow; but as they could not do this while walking, their mother hurried them along. At the entrance to the warehouse stood several open barrels filled with little bags of candy; these had been prepared by Montreal women for the Doukhobor boys and girls. Well-dressed women stood nearby, invited the children to the barrels, and gave them these gifts, smiling pleasantly.
>
> Without expressing the least joy, the children took the tidbits and bowing sedately, moved on without looking to see exactly what was in the packages. They did not acknowledge the pleasant surprises and accepted the gifts as if it were an old established custom, long known to them, that everyone coming to Canada was met with candy. The Canadian women were non-plussed and apparently uncertain how to take such indifferent and restrained gratitude. "What is this? Ingratitude? or simply wild people unable to appreciate how pleasant these surprises were?"[172]

What is most interesting about Sulerzhitskii's description of this event is the telling metaphor it provides for the future history of the Doukhobors in Canada. Here was a small sect which seemingly emigrated in order that it might practice its traditions in peace and isolation, but immediately found itself attracting an undesirable amount of attention from its new neighbours. While in the Caucasus, the Fasters did not have the chance to fully recognize the publicity drummed up by the Tolstoyans. Suddenly, the Doukhobors were placed under a spotlight and immediately became objects of fascination, which had no small effect on a sect which for most of its history had been acutely introverted. The above passage describes how the Spirit Wrestlers were at first unsure how to react, but soon produced a significant reaction from the crowds by bowing. As shall be seen in Chapter Four, some of the more zealous Fasters realized that they could once again attract the attention of the Canadian public through showmanship and the staging of sensational spectacles. Also of interest is the episode with the candy and the children, whereby the latter responded to their gifts with customary Doukhobor reverence and politeness. Later, as the Spirit Wrestlers attempted to retain their traditional modes of living and practices in the Canadian West, this too would be interpreted by many Canadians as ingratitude.

Because the Doukhobors had not negotiated with the Canadian government directly, an even greater misunderstanding existed between

Doukhobors and Canadians, than between Mennonites and Canadians. In both cases, however, Canadians remained ignorant to the fact that neither sect initially wanted to become 'Canadian', but had in fact come to Canada in order to be more 'Doukhobor' or 'Mennonite' than they were able to be in their former homeland. The Canadian 'audience' which greeted the Doukhobors, however, had a very different view of the immigration. In early 1899, *Christian Martyrdom in Russia* was printed in Toronto in order to educate Canadians about who the Spirit Wrestlers were and why they were coming to Canada. It contained an introduction by James Mavor, who assured Canadian readers that the Doukhobors did not leave Russia because of economic failure, but because of persecution and their conscientious objections to military service. So much assistance for their emigration had been necessary, Mavor continued, because they had to leave so much behind in Russia, and because their movement was so big and so sudden.[173] Mavor also emphasized the Doukhobors' hard work-ethic, which would ensure their success on the prairie frontier. A second edition of *Christian Martyrdom*, published in 1900, noted the same, stating: "The Doukhobors are the finest agriculturalists in Russia: wherever they have been left alone for a short time they have prospered, making the wilderness smile with cultivation."[174] The Privy Council expressed a similar view in its report of December 6, 1898, which granted the Doukhobors a military service exemption:

> It is evident...that from the time of the transfer of the said Doukhobors to the Caucasus region, due to their good morals, hard work, abstemious habits and exemplary industry, they enriched the wild territory inhabited by them. However, due to their religious beliefs they refuse to bear arms, a state of affairs which can not be permitted by the Russian Government, and therefore they are permitted to leave Russia.
>
> The Minister [of the Interior] has taken into consideration that according to the evidence, the Doukhobors appear to be most suitable for the colonization of wild Government land in Manitoba and North West Territories...."[175]

Based on what little public information was given about the Spirit Wrestlers, Canadians formed three main assumptions about these immigrants, as reflected by local Maritime newspapers upon their arrival. Firstly, it was understood that Doukhobors were immigrants who had come to Canada in order to escape a cruel and repressive authoritarian regime in Russia. The

front page article of the Halifax Morning Chronicle on January 21, 1899, began as follows:

> Singing psalms of thanksgiving to Almighty God, over two thousand souls freed from Russian tyranny and oppression sailed into Halifax harbor and under the folds of the British flag yesterday afternoon....They were thankful...because they were far removed from the land in which civil and religious freedom are unknown and because they were in a land where tyranny is unknown, where they are at liberty to practice the tenets of their religion in perfect freedom.[176]

The *Halifax Daily Echo* made a similar pronouncement: "The oppressed Doukhobors have turned their backs forever on cruel and despotic Russia. Under the meteor flag of old England they will find liberty and protection."[177] Secondly, Canadians were informed that the Spirit Wrestlers were good farmers who would serve their new country well as pioneer-farmers. As the *Halifax Daily Echo* exclaimed: "Prince Krapotkin [sic.] says the Doukhobors can make a garden out of stone plains. Just the men we have been looking for. Send them to Windsor Junction."[178] Thirdly, it was inferred that the Spirit Wrestlers would take advantage of their new-found liberty and freedom in Canada by becoming full Canadian citizens, by receiving an English education, and even by taking part in the political process. In the days following the Doukhobors' arrival, the *Daily Echo* continued to record miscellaneous comments made about the new immigrants. One comment read: "Who knows but that among the people who sailed into Halifax harbor yesterday afternoon may not be some of the statesmen of the future?"[179] Another stated: "Already they are figuring on how the Doukhobors are going to vote in Manitoba."[180] More direct, were the comments of a municipal spokesperson who addressed new immigrants in Winnipeg:

> Meeting you here today on the threshold of your future motherland, we welcome you as settlers prepared to work our fertile lands, accepting our laws and promoting the development of the natural wealth of the land. We have a good system of upbringing and education the advantages of which will become clear to you, and we may be confident that soon you will acquire knowledge of the English language and will be in a position to use all the benefits which are available here to all British subjects and will promote the prosperity of the Canadian nationality under the British flag.[181]

The expectation was clear--the Spirit Wrestlers were to become fully assimilated into Canadian society.

The fascination with the Doukhobors had diminished somewhat by the time the second shipload of immigrants arrived. Nonetheless, Atlantic newspapers continued to carry stories about the Spirit Wrestlers until the end of January. The presence of smallpox, in particular, caused some concern, prompting one daily paper to comment: "There is not quite so much interest in this batch of Doukhobors--at least not at close range."[182] Prince Khilkov and two American Quaker representatives, Joseph S. Elkinton and Job Gidley, who had welcomed the Fasters on the *Lake Huron*, remained in the Maritimes in order to greet the second ship. Sulerzhitskii meanwhile, decided to accompany the first group by train to Manitoba, where they would spend the winter in immigration halls. Despite a minor derailment and bitterly cold weather, the Spirit Wrestlers arrived in Winnipeg at the beginning of February in safety and relative comfort.[183] As Sulerzhitskii notes, the Doukhobors were highly impressed by the spacious and well-heated railway cars, as well as the excellent bread, cheese, vegetables, and other foods provided for them out of their immigration 'bonus' monies.[184] In Winnipeg, there was not enough room to shelter all of the Fasters, which meant that groups of several hundred were sent to other halls in towns such as Brandon, Dauphin, and Yorkton. Western Canadians inspected the Spirit Wrestlers more critically than the Maritimers, for these strangers in sheepskin coats were not merely passing through, but were to become their new neighbours. These inspections, Sulerzhitskii writes, were as offensive to the Doukhobors as they would be to anyone else:

> The curiosity and rudeness with which the English[-Canadians] examined the Doukhobors was really astonishing...Often one could see an Englishman fix his eyes on one of the Doukhobors with such naive, uncivilized amazement, that it was disgusting. The Doukhobor under observation usually stood grandly, with one foot forward, and looked steadily in a haughty manner at his observer. After standing silently for several minutes opposite one another, the Doukhobor would sigh, turn and walk away...[185]

The puritanical Spirit Wrestlers were also unimpressed by the boisterousness of Canadians, and their filthy habit of chewing tobacco and leaving brown stains of spittle in the snow. Having arrived during the coldest spell of winter, most Doukhobors were kept indoors and idle for weeks, just as they had been on the ship. It was as though these Fasters had simply entered yet another phase of their exile in a strange, cold, and distant land. Despite government efforts to attend the basic needs of their new immigrants, some of these former exiles must have nonetheless wondered why they had endured so much in order to arrive at such a harsh and inhospitable place.

A century later, this question remains pertinent. Why **did** more than seven thousand Doukhobors come to Canada in 1898-1899? Most Doukhobors and scholars alike would accept, as Lally Bernard did at the turn of the century, that "[t]he reasons which brought the Doukhobortsi to Canada are very simple and easy to relate..., it was to prevent their extermination in the hands of the Russian authorities."[186] Often added to this straightforward answer is a brief elaboration, detailing that this persecution was due to the Doukhobors' conscientious refusal to perform military service, which in turn led them to seek religious liberty in Canada. It is a familiar explanation, especially to those who have read the second chapter of this thesis, for it was also used to explain the Russian Mennonite emigration of the 1870s. One might at the same time recall that a closer investigation of the Mennonite emigration revealed a variety of motivations among emigrants, and the absence of forced military service or any real persecution by the Russian authorities. The Doukhobors, however, **were** compelled to perform military service against their consciences and were severely punished for refusing this duty. The severe persecution of many Spirit Wrestlers by Russian officials is also undeniable, and their extermination was a distinct possibility. In this respect, the Doukhobors might easily be considered to have been religious refugees, rather than voluntary emigrants. Under the circumstances faced by the Tiflis Fasters in Georgia, it is difficult to see any other motive for emigration besides basic survival and the search for religious freedom. Why else would these peasants wish to leave the familiarity and nostalgia of their Russian homeland for a strange country whose institutions and way of life was so very different from their own? Why else

would these sectarians wish to distance themselves even more from their beloved spiritual leader in exile, for whom so many sacrifices had been made?

Although one may easily accept these simplistic and readily-accepted causes of the Doukhobor exodus, it is my contention that more complex motivations lurked behind them. Many circumstances were not straightforward, but warrant further explanation. Why, for instance, did the Doukhobor emigrants so adamantly defend their religious objections to military service, when like the Mennonites, they had adhered to this principle only halfheartedly throughout their history? The Spirit Wrestlers who emigrated had in fact put aside their religious scruples and acquiesced to military duty as recently as the early 1890s. Most Doukhobors in Russia ultimately tolerated conscription, just as forestry service became palatable to the consciences of two-thirds of Mennonites in Russia. As for the Doukhobors who opposed conscription, why did they not petition the Russian government in hopes of receiving an exemption, or some form of compromise, as the Mennonites did? Instead, they executed Verigin's strategy of spontaneous protest by publicly burning their weapons, refusing military duty, and treating local officials who wished to negotiate with indifference. It was the way in which the Fasters had responded which raised the ire of local officials and resulted in cruel and brutal repression. Not all the emigrants left Russia as dying refugees, either. Most Spirit Wrestlers who emigrated lived in the Kars and Elizavetpol regions, where some local officials had refused to mete out punishment, or reluctantly imposed fines. These Fasters emigrated not out of dire necessity, but out of a desire to live with their fellow Veriginites.

Conscription and persecution may have been the immediate causes of the Doukhobor emigration, just as the Tsarist reforms of the 1870s spurred the Mennonite exodus. However, I would argue that the underlying causes may be found in the ongoing struggles within each sect, between those who wanted greater assimilation and cooperation with the outside world, and those who sought to isolate themselves in the name of preserving the religious and cultural purity of their sect. Each emigration was preceded by schism in face of external pressures, and an outburst of religious enthusiasm among the future emigrants. The Mennonite split was formed as they debated how best to respond to the national reforms of the 1860s and 1870s which would more effectively bring

their sect under the jurisdiction of centralized government institutions and Russian law. The Doukhobor division occurred during the succession crisis of 1886, when the Russian government attempted to secure a leader more in tune with government objectives than Verigin was. In each case, the more orthodox members of the sect not only opposed government intrusion, but also opposed their fellow brethren who had cooperated with government in the past, and who were now willing to accept some degree of assimilation with greater Russian society.

Among the orthodox of both sects, it was the ultra-orthodox core who took the radical step of leaving Russia. They did so in order to re-establish sectarian life along traditional lines in the isolation of the Canadian prairies. Although most Mennonite emigrants settled in the United States, where the land and climate was superior to Canada's, the most religiously-minded were lured to Manitoba by Canadian assurances of religious and cultural autonomy. Quite similarly, it was only the staunchest Veriginites who arrived in Canada in 1899. Throughout the 1890s, Verigin demanded strict obedience from his followers to a growing number of religious rules, resulting in frequent desertions from the Large Party. Some of Verigin's instructions, such as vegetarianism and sexual abstinence, demanded an unprecedented level of religious sacrifice and zealousness from the Doukhobors. Either consciously or unconsciously, Verigin was thus able to create a hard core of devout followers. Despite the fact that many of these rules were being introduced into Doukhobor religious practice for the first time, most Large Party members continued to support Verigin and his new brand of religious orthodoxy. Why? Because the average Doukhobor did not recognize the new Tolstoyan influences, but felt that their Living Christ stood for a return to original Doukhobor traditions and practices. Verigin once again extolled the virtues of communal sharing, pacifism, honest toil, and Christian brotherhood. Like the Mennonite conservatives, the Large Party Doukhobors had resented the growing encroachment of worldly ideas and secular practices into colony life, especially during the 'reign' of Lukeria Kalmykova, and Verigin's uncompromising rejection of wealth and worldly authority had real appeal. Yet in their attempt to resurrect old Doukhobor principles, the Large Party continued to face the same formidable opposition from Church and State in the 1890s which had suppressed them throughout

their history. Moreover, members of their own sect, the Small Party, were now conspiring against them, and there were fewer places to escape the Russian government. The emigration of the 'Large Party' might therefore be considered to be part of an ongoing struggle by a Doukhobor minority to remain true to its religion and to preserve traditional practices.

The Canadian government, however, did not recognize the true objectives of Mennonite and Doukhobor immigrants when it accepted them into the country in the late nineteenth century. It welcomed both groups as victims of autocratic oppression, as progressive opportunists who sought liberty and prosperity in a free and democratic land, and as innovative farmers who would join the frontier economy and tame the Canadian West. Yet this was hardly the case, for the Fasters and the Mennonites who came to Canada had gone to great lengths to turn their backs on the temptation of economic prosperity in Russia, and had staunchly resisted participation with the outside world in favor of segregated sectarian life.

What caused this crucial misunderstanding which would so greatly affect Mennonite and Doukhobor life in Canada? In both cases, rushed negotiations with the Canadian government certainly resulted in a lack of clarification of the expectations of immigrants and government. In the 1870s, the young Dominion government desperately needed a mass migration of farmers to settle the Western frontier for not only economic reasons, but also to deter potential American expansion into the North West Territories. Because the Mennonites marketed themselves well as reputable agriculturalists, they were quickly courted by both the Canadian and American governments, resulting in competition between the Canadian government and American land agents to secure a greater number of Mennonites. This competition further reinforced the desirability of the Mennonites, leading Ottawa to act quickly and offer concessions without properly examining the emigrants' motives. Negotiations with the Doukhobors in the 1890s were also hurried and incomplete due to the crisis faced by Fasters in Georgia, and later, in Cyprus. Both the Fasters themselves, and the Tolstoyans who negotiated for them, pressed for a quick settlement with the Canadian authorities in order to prevent further suffering overseas. Ottawa's desire to secure the Doukhobor immigration was also a factor, for Clifford Sifton had embarked on a vigorous Western settlement

campaign, and the British consul in Batum had vouched for the Doukhobors' superior agricultural talents.[187] Yet by the 1890s, the need for settlers was not quite as acute as it had been in the 1870s. Both the Mennonites and the Doukhobors knew that they were a recognized and valuable asset to Canada on entering the country, yet Canadians also knew that the Doukhobors were accepted partly for reasons of public sympathy and humanitarian charity. Perhaps this is why Canadians later became more easily offended by Doukhobor objections to Canadian law, were quick to interpret these actions as ingratitude, and exercised less patience with the Spirit Wrestlers than with the Mennonites. This will be examined in the next chapter.

The Mennonites were also able to work out an agreement with Ottawa which was slightly more definitive than that of the Doukhobors because they negotiated the terms of settlement on their own. The Fasters, however, were basically excluded from negotiations, largely for practical reasons, but with grave consequences. It was the Tolstoyans from England and Russia who did the negotiating for the Doukhobors, and it was from the Tolstoyans that the Canadian government received a one-dimensional assessment of the sect, leaving them ill-prepared to deal with future Doukhobor protests. In essence, the Tolstoyans portrayed the Fasters to be nothing less than Christian martyrs, and downplayed all aspects of radical behaviour and protest in the past. It is fair to say that the Tolstoyans did this partly intentionally, for they desperately wanted to find the Doukhobors a home. But in part it was also done unintentionally, for the Tolstoyans were inherently idealistic, and could not help but be moved by the proverbial doctrine of the Spirit Wrestlers and the simplicity of their life. Thus, a superficial image of the sect was formed, and readily accepted by many sympathizers as the truth.

The good intentions of Leo Tolstoy and his followers, I believe, had a profound effect on the Veriginite sect. Firstly, Tolstoyan philosophy clearly shaped Verigin's own religious views, leading him to espouse a new brand of Christian anarchism to his followers. Influenced by early Doukhobor tenets and Tolstoyan thought, Verigin either consciously or unconsciously attempted to change what had previously been a closed and inward-looking into an outward-looking sect with a missionary purpose. In 1896, Verigin even decided to change the name of his sect to 'The Christian Community of Universal

Brotherhood' after corresponding with Tolstoyan members of the Brotherhood Church in England. The sectarian leader explained to his followers that

> [t]he name 'Doukhobor' is not understood by outsiders; and though we shall in future still invoke the Spirit of the Lord, to strive against the weakness of the flesh and against sin, yet the name 'Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood' will tell more clearly that we look on all men as our brothers, according to the command of the Lord Jesus Christ...Inform all the brothers and sisters.... [188]

Like Tolstoy, Verigin believed that traditional Doukhobor life had the potential to serve as a model for future peasant life in Russia. Both Tolstoy and Verigin were reluctant to support the emigration, for the most zealous Fasters could be useful instruments for reform. Verigin's radical directives to his followers, however, led to direct and intentional confrontation with government authorities. When the government renewed its persecution of the sect and placed them into exile, the immediate impulse of the suffering Spirit Wrestlers was to re-establish themselves in a new and isolated location, where no government would interfere with their religious practices. Ironically, during their search for seclusion and self-autonomy, the Veriginites attracted international attention and inherited a new group of outsiders who made decisions for them.

Although the help of Tolstoyans and Quakers was crucial for the coordination and financing of the emigration, it also had an impact on the future of the sect in Canada. The Fasters, for instance, became more reliant on the help of others from outside of their sect, which in turn led to greater contact with the outside world. One also wonders whether the sudden publicity and attention which the organizers generated on behalf of the Doukhobors did not influence some radical members of the sect, who later staged dramatic demonstrations in order to draw public attention to their cause.

On the other hand, by negotiating for the Doukhobors and raising money for the emigration, the Quakers and Tolstoyans sheltered the Fasters from worldly temptations. In contrast, by negotiating and organizing their own exodus, the Mennonite emigrants increased their exposure to government officials, immigration and land agents, and ticket salesmen. In the process, they were forced to think carefully about money matters and scrutinize settlement locations, causing some to forget about the religious motivations behind the

migration. Undoubtedly, the selectivity with which the Mennonite delegates chose farmland gave Canadian officials the false impression that these immigrants had come to North America primarily in order to find economic prosperity.

Indeed, neither the immigrants, nor the negotiators, nor the Canadian government may be singled out for blame in creating confusion and misunderstandings. In fact, at the time of the negotiations in the 1870s and in the 1890s, all parties favoured a quick immigration into Canada and wanted to avoid ruining 'the deal'. Ambiguity thus appeared to work in favour of everyone. The Mennonites and Doukhobors did not want to hurt their own image by describing the disputes which had occurred within their sects in Russia. Nor did they want Canadians to know that they had no interest in becoming full participants in Canadian society, but rather intended to resist assimilation if necessary. The Canadian government, meanwhile, did not want to clearly stipulate rules regarding education or the limitations of religious freedom for fear of scaring these good farmers away. Instead, Ottawa calculated that the Mennonites and Doukhobors would soon come to see the advantages of Canadian education and cultural assimilation on their own. Yet as the following chapter will reveal, the Canadian government was only partly correct.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Mennonites and Doukhobors on the Canadian Prairie

> ...I have to say that over the past ten years the people of our community have been severely shaken in their basic view of the world; they are like a flock of partridges into which several shots are fired, and after some of them fall down dead on the spot, the frightened remainder instinctively fly off, mostly in different directions. It is possible to collect them together again, but to get back to a normal state the flock requires a certain period of time.[1]
>
> -Peter Verigin to Leo Tolstoy, February 1, 1899

> Those [Mennonites] who have left for America have the greatest aversion to culture, but there they have come under the influence of culture before they really know or want it....[2]
>
> -A Russian Mennonite opponent of emigration, 1874

The early experiences of the Doukhobors and the Russian Mennonites in Canada are in some respects easier to compare and contrast than their respective histories in Russia. Although both sects lived as highly autonomous peasant sectarian minorities under Tsarist rule, the Mennonites had been given unique privileges by the Russian authorities owing to their status as 'foreign colonists'. As Russian subjects, the Doukhobors were distinguished from other peasant groups primarily by their religious views, and thus like other heretical sects within the empire, they received varied degrees of tolerance and persecution according to their own conduct and the inclinations of any particular ruling regime.

In Canada, however, both groups were now alien settlers in a foreign land with a similar status (at least initially) in the eyes of government. Each group was given a comparable set of privileges by Ottawa, such as a military service exemption and block settlement, in exchange for the fulfillment of common expectations held by the government and citizens of Canada. The expectation that these immigrants were to perform valuable agricultural work on the virgin prairies of western Canada was implicitly understood by both

Mennonites and Doukhobors. Less understood was the expectation that each group would soon willingly surrender most of their traditional customs, practices, and institutions to 'Canadian/British' equivalents in order to advantageously receive the same rights and privileges enjoyed by other Canadian citizens.

The central challenges and objectives of Mennonites and Doukhobors were also similar upon settlement in Canada. Each wanted complete freedom of religion and freedom from military service, which Ottawa readily granted. But these sects also wanted as much isolation and organizational autonomy as possible in order to preserve a traditional way of life which was considered by many Mennonites and Doukhobor to be inseparable from the dictates of their religion. Canadian officials, meanwhile, were slow to recognize and comprehend this latter point.

Misunderstandings between Ottawa and the sectarians from Russia were indicative of the difficulties which the immigrants faced in their transition from an autocratic to a democratic state. Canadian officials attributed the ill treatment of these sectarian groups in Russia to the arbitrariness of autocratic rule, and therefore felt confident that both Mennonites and Doukhobors would discover the type of liberty they were looking for in the free and democratic nation of Canada. Yet it was the precisely the arbitrariness of Tsarist rule which had enabled the Mennonites and Doukhobors to live largely unto themselves in Russia for nearly a century. It was only when democratic-style reforms were implemented in Russia that orthodox Mennonites and Doukhobors took a stand against the compromise of religious tenets and traditional practices. The Russian emigrants under study did not seek equality with the rest of Canadian society, but rather, sought special self-governing rights and the privilege of being left undisturbed. Yet the Mennonites and Doukhobors soon discovered that such special freedoms for minorities could not be sustained in a rapidly expanding democratic nation such as Canada.

Initially, the immigrants benefited from Ottawa's lethargic supervision of the early settlements and from the remoteness of their respective land reserves. The high costs of emigration, however, necessitated a certain degree of dependency on non-sectarians and cooperation with government. It was not long--especially for the Spirit Wrestlers--before increasing numbers of settlers

arrived from Europe and Ontario to take up homesteads on lands adjacent to the Mennonite and Doukhobor reserves. At this point, the sectarians not only began to lose their isolation, but more important, their value as settler-agriculturalists began to depreciate considerably. Mennonite and Doukhobor immigrants now became pressured to justify the maintenance of their communal institutions instead of adopting the capitalist-competitive based homestead system encouraged by the Canadian government. The sectarian settlers were now required to show visible signs of economic progress to the Canadian government without attracting the curiosity and envy of local Canadian settlers.

Yet the people of Canada did take notice, especially land-hungry neighbours and the Anglo-Saxon majority which favoured the predominance of British institutions and values throughout the Canadian West. They questioned why such peculiar foreigners as Mennonites and Doukhobors were being allowed to hold lands in reserve which was not being cultivated, why these people were allowed to isolate themselves on reserves and educate their own children with little regard for Canadian customs and little desire to learn the English language. After Canada declared war on Germany in 1914, few Canadians deemed it fair that Doukhobors and German-speaking Mennonites, should be allowed to carry on their activities undisturbed, while other young Canadian men were required to fight in the name of their country.

One may recall that the Ukrainian peasantry of the southern Russian steppe had also envied the Mennonites, but had little hope of influencing the Tsar, while local hillsmen in the Caucasus were often deterred from raiding the Doukhobors out of fear of Tsarist authority. In Canada, however, an elected government was forced to listen to the majority of male settlers on the prairies, who were strongly opposed to the granting of special rights to minorities. Thus, although the Canadian government desired for the sake of integrity to keep its promises to the immigrants, it also began to place assimilatory pressures on the Mennonites and Doukhobors when and where it could, resulting in renewed tensions between orthodox sectarians and governmental authority. Whereas conflict with the Russian government had centered largely around the issue of military service, disputes with the Canadian government now became focused on such issues as land tenure, oath-taking, and education.

Disputes with governmental authority in Canada, however, was often preceded by internal sectarian strife, just as it had previously been in Russia. As the Canadian authorities had hoped, some Mennonites and Doukhobors soon began to see the advantages of Canadian ways and practices, such as farming on independent homesteads, or sending children to public schools. Members who participated in Canadian public life were chastised and often expelled by traditional-minded congregations, facilitating the creation of progressive and conservative factions among both Mennonites and Doukhobors in Canada. These cleavages within each sect were soon exploited by government. Just as the Tsarist government had supported the progressive reforms of Johann Cornies and the secular platform of Michael Gubanov, so too, did Canadian officials intervene in sectarian affairs, ostensibly to protect the rights of individuals who favoured greater interaction with Canadian society.

History was repeating itself. Members and descendants of a migratory movement fueled by religious orthodoxy and the ardent desire for self-preservation soon began yielding to economic incentive and the lure of 'worldly' Canadian cultural practices. Those attempting to preserve traditional sectarian practices and institutions once again found themselves opposed by both government and fellow brethren. Sectarian conservatives and zealots once again faced the dilemma of how to respond to government assimilatory pressures. Should they emigrate once again, or stay and resist?

The earliest Mennonite and Doukhobor immigrants from Russia, however, were less concerned with larger issues, and more concerned with surviving the cold continental climate and harsh landscape of the uncultivated prairie. With scant resources, both groups managed to endure the hardships of pioneer life on the prairies through cooperation with one another, by accepting some assistance from others, and by working extremely hard. The first group of Russian Mennonites who arrived in Manitoba in August, 1874 wasted no time in equipping themselves for not only the coming winter, but also for agricultural work in the following year. As one contemporary recalled: "I remember the Mininites [sic.] when they came in 1874. They looked strange to me, Men and Women both with their goat-skin coats, and they carried their money, which was all in gold--in shot-sacks. They bought everything that they would need to farm-

-oxen, wagons, ploughs--and so forth, and went out ...to farm."[3] The *Manitoba Free Press* also recorded the initial spending spree by the first Mennonite immigrants upon their arrival in Winnipeg:

> THE SCENE IN THE CITY during the greater part of the day was lively in the extreme, shops, particularly hardware stores, places where agricultural tools and implements are sold, and those of dealers in provision were besieged by crowds of the new comers. PLENTY OF MONEY seems to be one of the characteristics of Mennonites; but notwithstanding this they have fallen...into a habit of BEATING DOWN PRICES and a stand would be made for a reduction of five cents on a article worth fifty dollars. Large sales were made, one hardware establishment selling close on to four thousand dollars worth of goods today, and the purchasers might have been seen all day long wending their way back to headquarters with HEAVY LOADS of hay forks, scythes, stones, coffee mills, frying pans, groceries, provisions, tin-ware, potatoes, and sundry odds and ends useful and pleasant to have by the Manitoba pioneer.[4]

The first contingent of sixty-five Kleine Gemeinde Mennonite families spent approximately $20,000 within three days, on such substantial purchases as stoves, wagons, horses, and livestock.[5]

The Mennonites wished to become as self-sufficient as possible, and therefore brought their purchases back to the eight townships of land which had been reserved for the Mennonites, thirty miles southeast of Winnipeg. Despite the close proximity to the Manitoba capital, the Mennonite reserve was located off main transportation routes and remained fairly isolated, flanked only to the west by a few French Canadian settlements along the Red River. The new immigrants were temporarily housed in shelters on the reserve, which had been built by Ontario Mennonite, Jacob Y. Shantz, and his team of workers who had been hired by the Canadian government. These shelters however, were unable to hold all of the 1500 immigrants who arrived in 1874, never mind the 4600 Mennonites who arrived in Manitoba in the next two years.[6] The settlers therefore immediately organized themselves into villages and constructed homes out of whatever material they could find. Logs, saplings, prairie sod, and manure was used to form primitive dwellings and dugouts which provided little insulation from the bitter cold of winter. In the springtime, the reserve became swampy, and ploughing was further hindered by the large amount of brush and

timber which needed to be cleared. The soil was soon discovered to be especially poor for farming, containing large amounts of stone, gravel, and roots. One Mennonite settler, Peter Dueck, dismally wrote: "On this land we drown; this land we cannot cultivate because it must first be cleared; this is no place to build...."[7]

Dueck's sentiments were shared by many of the other immigrants. Already in 1874, Mennonites began to move onto unclaimed land west of the Red River. Approximately thirty families from the Kleine Gemeinde congregation established a permanent colony along the Scratching River near the present town of Morris, while others settled on the open plains to the south, next to the Canada-U.S.A. border. When more than three thousand Mennonites arrived in Manitoba in 1875, even greater numbers of Mennonites moved across the river to the southernmost region of the province. At the time, government authorities made few objections to this resettlement, for the few streams and lack of timber on the bare prairie had made this land undesirable to pioneers and therefore remained devoid of settlement. The handful of English settlers who had scouted the region had established homes in the wooded Pembina Mountains to the west. The Russian Mennonites, however, had been accustomed to farming on the dry south Russian steppe. They were willing to temporarily live in sod homes in exchange for an isolated settlement, located on what soon became the most fertile land in the province. In 1874 the Mennonites applied for block settlement in this area, and on April 25, 1876 the federal government passed an Order-in-Council which granted the Mennonites their request. This second Mennonite reserve of seventeen townships west of the Red River became known as the West Reserve, while the original eight townships was henceforth referred to as the East Reserve.

The Bergthal and Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites who were first to arrive in Manitoba settled in the East Reserve, while the Old Colony (aka *Fuerstenland* or *Reinland*) Mennonites who largely arrived in 1875, located themselves in the West Reserve, along with a later contingent of Bergthalers. The first Bergthal Mennonites who arrived in 1874 were especially aggrieved, for unlike the first Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites who arrived with small sacks of money, many of the Bergthalers had not yet sold their farms in Russia.[8] In the fall of 1874, in the face of a depleted communal fund, Elder Gerhard Wiebe

requested a $20,000 loan from the Ontario Aid Committee in order to cover future emigration and settlement costs. At this time, the Committee had only $6,000 worth of funds, but after several appeals for aid appeared in Mennonite church papers, the Ontario brethren managed to raise $22,264 by November of that same year.[9]

But the Bergthalers were not the only Mennonites requiring assistance. Jacob Shantz later testified to a Parliamentary Committee that although the Mennonite immigrants had brought roughly $320,000 with them from Russia, approximately one-half of these immigrants had no funds left at all.[10] In anticipation of future hardships, Shantz's Aid Committee requested a $100,000 loan from the Federal Government in 1875 to be guaranteed by the Ontario Mennonite congregations. This request was eventually approved by the House of Commons and the Senate in the spring of 1875, after considerable parliamentary debate.[11] Earlier immigrant settlement schemes in Manitoba proved largely to be failures,[12] and some members of parliament felt that such a substantial investment in the Mennonites was a risky venture. It was feared that this loan would set a dangerous precedent for future immigrants, who would make similar requests and become fully dependent on government for assistance. Others felt that Canada ought to concentrate on bringing back Canadian emigrants who had settled in the United States.[13] The majority of MPs however, based their approval of the loan on the financial guarantees made by the Ontario Mennonites, who enjoyed the reputation of being upstanding Canadian citizens. In fact, many positive remarks were made in the House about Mennonites in general, especially in regards to their industrious work ethic and fiscal prudence.[14] The loan in full became law on April 7, 1875.

The government monies were managed by the Ontario Committee, which now called itself the Committee of Management of Mennonites in Ontario, with Shantz serving as Secretary/Treasurer. Ottawa was reluctant to directly involve itself in the Mennonite experiment any more than it had to, while the immigrants themselves were more comfortable in dealing with fellow Mennonites, rather than government agents. In May, 1875, Shantz travelled to Minnesota to purchase cattle and supplies for the poorest immigrants. Samuel Steiner writes that the Committee attempted to equip every two poor families with a stove, a plough, one cow, and a yoke of oxen so that farm work might

effectively begin.[15] Fuel, timber, and other building supplies were also imported from the United States. Soon, Shantz transformed the temporary immigration halls into a warehouse and general store, where goods and supplies could be secured and distributed. Unfortunately, a plague of grasshoppers consumed the few crops which had been planted in the summer of 1875, while bitter frosts ruined much of what of what was sown in the East Reserve in 1876. Thus, the Mennonites were required to purchase greater amounts of foodstuffs and seed grain than first predicted, and subsist on a meager winter diet of low grade potatoes and bread. By the end of 1876, most of the government aid had been distributed. In total, Mennonites from both reserves used about $90,000 of the federal loan and borrowed an additional $50,000 from the Ontario Mennonites directly.[16]

Much of this money went to the Bergthal Mennonites, who never forgot the charity which was offered to them. In 1894, after the loan had been repaid, Bergthal minister Heinrich Wiebe wrote to the American Mennonite newspaper, *Herald of Truth*, expressing his appreciation to his co-religionists in Ontario: "What would have come of us, if you had not helped us? Surely, we would not be here..."[17] Bergthal elder Gerhard Wiebe also did not fail to record in his memoirs that "the dear government did everything possible to alleviate our distress."[18] William Hespeler had also greatly assisted the Mennonites, serving as an intermediary between the government and the new immigrants, and by providing lumber from his newly acquired timber rights just east of the original reserve.[19] Despite the fact that Mennonites had long fostered a pride in their self-sufficiency, they understood at the same time that the acceptance of this early charity was necessary for future growth and independence in Canada.

Indeed, with the financial help of others, and through cooperation amongst themselves, the Mennonites were able to reestablish themselves within a short period of time. Harvests improved significantly from 1877 onwards, with spring wheat, oats, barley, and flax being the principal crops. Farmers soon became accustomed to using oxen instead of horses, and reapers and threshing machines were introduced by the late 1870s. But as the immigrants began a new life in Canada, their concerns were not wholly economic. One must remember that the Mennonites who settled in Manitoba instead of the United States were less concerned with their future prosperity as

they were with restoring the simple and godly life they had once led in Russia before becoming tainted by 'worldly' influences. The immigrant-settlers therefore made a systematic effort to recreate the old Russian Mennonite colonies anew on the Manitoba prairies, hoping that the isolation of the reserves would protect the purity of the sect.

As much as possible, the Manitoba settlers attempted to emulate the Mennonite village pattern of the Russian colonies. Once building materials became available, the Mennonites again erected *Strassendoerfer*, the familiar 'street villages' of the Russian colonies, in which straight rows of houses lined a broad central street to form a rectangular settlement. In keeping with tradition, the Mennonites built homes which faced sideways to the street, with large living rooms, central kitchens, and barns attached at the back. These farm houses were once again placed on spacious village plots, which often contained a garden and were eventually lined with trees, as had been popular among Mennonites in Russia since the days of Johann Cornies. One may recall how the German traveller, Baron von Haxthausen, felt as if he had reentered Germany upon visiting the Mennonite colonies in Russia in the 1840s.[20] It is not without irony, then, that one later finds Prince Peter Kropotkin, the Russian Anarchist ,appreciating the distinctly 'Russian' appearance of the Mennonite settlements while travelling across Canada in the 1890s, stating: "On approaching a Mennonite village, one is at once transported to Russia. After some stay in Russia, the Mennonites adopted the institutions of the Russian village community, slightly modified, and they have transported them to Canada."[21] Taken together, the statements of Kropotkin and Haxthausen are interesting, for they reflect the Mennonites' tendency to adopt aspects of local cultures and practices as their own, and to reproduce them elsewhere as distinctly Mennonite attributes. The Russian Mennonite emigrants not only modelled their new villages on the old Russian colonies, but also transferred the names of their former Russian villages to their new Canadian settlements. Such unimaginative German epithets as *Hochfeld* (High Field),*Rosenthal* (Valley of Roses)and *Blumengart* (Flower Garden), as well as the occasional Russian title, such as *Chortitz*, soon dotted local maps.

As had been the case in Russia, there were naturally some irregularities to the Mennonite village pattern in Manitoba. The uneven terrain and many

creeks within the East Reserve, for instance, dictated that some house plots within the village be placed at odd angles, or else that homes only line one side of the street in order to ensure equal access to water.[22] Yet as Richard J. Friesen notes, the new Mennonite villages in Manitoba tended to be more uniform than the villages in Russia, for the immigrant-settlers were able to use Canadian survey lines as guides when measuring and dividing their land into village plots.[23] It was as though the immigrants wished to create an environment which was even more distinctly Mennonite than their previous Russian settlements.

The old Mennonite virtues of uniformity and equality were also applied to land tenure in the new Canadian villages. As explained in the first chapter, growing inequality between landed and landless Mennonites had become a serious problem in the Russian colonies by the mid-nineteenth century. Emigration leaders, such as Bergthal elder Gerhard Wiebe, had regularly criticized the 'pride' and vanity of rich landed Mennonites, and favoured a return to a more equitable distribution of wealth, as had existed among the first Mennonite settlers in Russia. In Canada, it was hoped that the fair distribution of reserve land and that the overall abundance of prairie land would prevent future disharmony among sectarians. After registering individually for homesteads, each nominal owner turned his quarter-section over to the village to form a pool of land, which was then divided and re divided into narrow strips to ensure that each family was allotted several pieces of land of equal quality. Yet because the Mennonites farmed individually, the potential for future social stratification still existed. Village families received quantities of land in proportion to their size and working capacity, enabling larger families to expand their cultivation more rapidly than others.

Nonetheless, the scarcity of labour and equipment in the early years necessitated a high degree of cooperation among all Mennonites. Seed, implements, and animals were frequently loaned and bartered. Woodlands and pastures were again held in common, while haying and pasturing were once again made communal village tasks. Similarly, barns, mills, churches, and schools were built by cooperative community efforts.[24] The traditional Mennonite mutual fire insurance system was restored, and villagers were

expected to contribute what they could to social welfare schemes, such as the Orphan's Office *(Waisenamt)*.

The proper functioning of Mennonite self-governing institutions in Manitoba also required cooperation. Having reestablished Russian colony villages in Canada, it was only natural that the Mennonites would apply their former system of village administration to them. Not only were the positions of mayor *(Schulze)* and district mayor *(Oberschulze)* restored, but in many instances, the individuals who formerly held these posts in Russia simply assumed control of civil positions in Canada without any sort of re-election. For example, Isaak Mueller, district mayor of the Old Colony settlement in Russia, continued his term as district mayor in the West Reserve where the Old Colony Mennonites had settled, while Franz Peters, who headed the district office of the Bergthal colony, assumed the same title in the Bergthal-dominated East Reserve.[25] Civil officials in the Manitoba reserves, however, could only exercise a limited amount of authority, for their decisions were no longer upheld and enforced by Russian law. Thus, Mennonite self-governance in Canada relied largely on the voluntary recognition of administrative institutions by sectarian members.[26] What transpired when a member chose not to abide by civil decisions is described by a member of the Old Colony settlement in 1877:

> So long as everything goes on in peace, and all are obedient, the [district mayor] and the village [mayors] have only to give the needful instructions, but if any become disobedient and refuse to obey the instructions...they are...given over to the bishop [elder] of the church. If, however, they refuse to hear him, the bishop and [district mayor] together visit them...[with] some of the ministers...If...they refuse to hear them, they are called into the church before the whole congregation where the bishop is director of the meeting. The bishop presents the matter to the congregation and makes the necessary inquiries of them, and if the whole congregation agrees,... then these disobedient persons are excommunicated from the church until they become obedient,....[27]

It was the church which filled the void left by the absence of Russian authorities. District officials were no longer appointed by the Russian government following public nominations, but were now selected by a board of preachers and ministers, and approved by the church assembly.[28] In effect, the Manitoba Mennonites became governed by a theocracy, where the threat of

excommunication held drastic social and economic consequences for sectarians who had not the resources, contacts, or language-skills to survive on their own. Schooling was once again placed firmly under the control of the church, and chiefly became a means of imbuing children with religious and Biblical knowledge, as well as German language skills.

It is important to note that this theocratic system of governance received wide support from the Mennonite settlers, who, after all, were more religiously-minded than their fellow brethren in Russia, U.S.A., and elsewhere. It was these same Mennonites who had greatly resented the interference of government in their schools back in Russia. Now, it seemed, the Mennonites were able to reconstitute what James Mavor termed an *imperium in imperio* --a state within a state, complete with its own distinct religion, system of governance, school system, and language.[29] Moreover, they had been able to attain this with the full blessing and assistance of the Canadian government.

Ottawa and the Mennonites seemed to have reached an understanding; the Mennonites were to develop the prairie wilds, and the government was to interfere as little as possible. Each side appeared to be living up to this informal agreement. By 1877, the Mennonites already comprised approximately one-fifth of Manitoba's population.[30] They had established 32 villages in the East Reserve alone, and would eventually have about 100 villages in existence in the province.[31] In honour of the Mennonites' achievement, the Governor-General of Canada and his wife, Lord and Lady Dufferin, paid a visit to the East Reserve during a tour of Manitoba, in August of 1877. The Governor General applauded the pioneering efforts of the new immigrants, and embraced them as full citizens of the country. Later, in front of a Winnipeg audience, Dufferin referred to his Mennonite visit as the highlight of his tour:

> Although I have witnessed many sights to cause me pleasure during my various progresses through the Dominion, seldom have I beheld any spectacle more pregnant with prophecy, more fraught with promise of a successful future than the Mennonite Settlement [Applause]. When I visited these interesting people, they had been only two years in the province, and yet in a long ride I took across many miles of prairie, which but yesterday was absolutely bare, desolate, untenanted,...I passed village after village, homestead after homestead, furnished with all the conveniences and incidents of European comfort, and of a scientific agriculture; while on either side of the road, cornfields ripe for

> harvest, and pastures populous with herds of cattle stretched away to the horizon [Great Applause]. Even on this continent--the peculiar theatre of rapid change and progress--there has nowhere, I imagine, taken place so marvellous a transformation.[32]

In their return address to the Governor-General, the Mennonites thanked the government for its assistance, stating that they were fully satisfied with their lands and with the degree of assistance offered by government..[33]

The Mennonites were content. Their farms were growing, their language and culture was not under threat, the correct forms of education were being taught, and they received few disturbances from officials. An elderly Mennonite summed up the simplicity of sectarian life which awaited a new generation of Mennonites in Canada: "They learn German and religion, they are baptized into the church, they marry at twenty and settle on the farm--all goes as smoothly as a mill."[34]

It was in light of what the Mennonites had achieved in Manitoba, that the Doukhobors decided to rejoin their old neighbours from south Russia on the Canadian prairies. On their arrival, the Doukhobors' goals were ostensibly similar to the Mennonites': to live peacefully in isolation on reserved lands where they could replicate their traditional villages and practice a communal lifestyle as dictated by their consciences, free from government harassment. But despite their loyalty to Verigin and their arrival to Canada *en masse*, the Doukhobor immigrants were not entirely sure how to proceed, for a completely communal system had not yet been fully implemented in Russia, and the directives espoused by Verigin remained an ideal for which to strive. It soon became evident that the separate contingents of Spirit Wrestlers had experienced varying degrees of persecution in Russia for their beliefs and held different expectations of how to live in Canada. The task of recreating their former landscape was thus fraught with greater difficulty, despite their hard work and great determination to succeed.

During the winter of 1899, the falling mercury ominously foreshadowed the hardships which awaited the Doukhobor immigrants on the open prairie. Winnipeg Immigration Commissioner W. F. McCreary had hoped to move the first group of Doukhobors onto their reserves as early as possible, but record

frosts during the months of February hindered the early construction of temporary shelters.[35] Nonetheless, five hundred of the earliest Doukhobor immigrants were housed on the North Reserve[36] in the Territory of Assiniboia by early April, and were soon joined by the rest of the *Lake Huron* contingent. All of these new settlers originated from the Tiflis region in the Caucasus, and had been among the Doukhobors who were sentenced to exile in Georgia following the arms burning demonstrations of 1895. The second group of arrivals were Veriginites from Elizavetpol and Kars who travelled on the *Lake Superior*. They settled on the South Reserve, near the town of Yorkton, also in the spring. Within months, the poor and weary Cyprus settlers reached the prairies, making their home on what now became a regionally diverse South Reserve. The final summer arrivals were all Doukhobors from Kars, who were considerably wealthier than the other Veriginites. This contingent settled some 200 miles further northwest, on the Prince Albert (or Rosthern) Reserve, in the Territory of Saskatchewan.

Neighbours were few and far between. Only a few ranchers lived in the vicinity of the South Colony and Annex, while the Prince Albert Reserve bordered on a third Mennonite reserve which had been formed in the 1890s. Most Doukhobors appreciated the isolation of all three localities, but the rough terrain and poor transportation routes in the area also created many difficulties. Those who visited the Spirit Wrestlers often had trouble reaching them, and many Doukhobors and non-Doukhobors alike easily became lost, including those who carried crucial food and supply loads.[37] The absence of clearly designated survey lines was troublesome for the new immigrants, particularly for the Prince Albert settlers, whose reserve was composed of only even-numbered sections within an area of twenty townships. Numerous Doukhobor homes were mistakenly placed on land which was actually owned by the C.P.R. Railroad or Hudson's Bay Company. Some were able to purchase these lands, while others were forced to relocate.[38]

Like the earliest Mennonite homes, the Doukhobors first built themselves temporary shelters and dugouts, made largely out of sod, clay, earth, and logs. But within the year, larger homes were being erected with thatched roofs and log and plaster walls. Other early structures included communal steam bath houses and large traditional brick ovens for baking bread. As formal villages

took shape, so did the familiar *strassendorf* village pattern, which the Spirit Wrestlers had adopted many decades ago from the South Russian Mennonites. According to W. F. McCreary's annual report for 1899, the 7,354 Doukhobors in Canada had established 795 houses in 57 villages (13 in the North Reserve, 34 in the South Reserve, and 10 in the Prince Albert Colony).[39] Like the Mennonites, the Spirit Wrestlers retained the names of their former villages in Russia, such as *Bogdanovka* (Gift of God),*Terpenie* (Patience), etc. The architectural style of Doukhobor villages also preserved its Russian flavour, for contemporary observers, such as A. G. Bradley in 1905, described the settlements to be "absolutely insensitive to Western influences."[40] Although Doukhobor villages were remarkably straight, uniform, and compact, greater differentiation existed in terms of roof-lines, facades, ornamentation and in the sizes of houses and lots than in Mennonite villages.[41]

Some of these differences reflected the diversity of wealth among the Doukhobors, and their varied levels of commitment to Verigin and his directives on communal living. Perhaps the most significant variant was the presence of Mennonite-style house-barns in the Prince Albert Colony, and their replacement in most of the North and South Reserve villages by communal barns.[42] The Veriginites from Elizavetpol, and especially those from Tiflis who had been exiled in Georgia, had been the poorest Doukhobors in Russia, but also the most loyal to their leader. They had implemented Verigin's instructions to hold all property in common to a greater extent than the wealthier Kars Doukhobors, who were naturally more reluctant to share their property with others. The individualistic tendencies of the former Kars Doukhobors thus became evident in the Prince Albert Colony villages, where each household usually retained its own barn, and often its own granary, as had been the practice in Russia.

Such individualism ran contrary to Verigin's specific instructions to his followers on how to live in their new Canadian settlements. According to one account, Verigin stated in a letter : "Your life in Canada should..., be on communal foundation; that is, the absolute necessities like cattle, plows, and other implements as well as granaries and storehouses, grist mills,...in the first years must be built by communal effort."[43] Another Doukhobor emigrant had been told by Verigin:

> I want the Doukhobors to live in communities but they ought to be based on a free principle. Each family should have a separate house, a pair of horses, and a cow at their disposal. The increase of the cattle should join the common herd and be common. All the work in the fields should be done together. Each family should get its allowance in corn for itself and the forage for the cattle. The remaining revenue should be common and be kept in the cash office of the community.[44]

Yet despite Verigin's pronouncements, even the North and South Colony Doukhobors engaged in lengthy debates throughout the summer of 1899 as to how to organize themselves, with the poorer members calling for complete collectivization and the wealthier members seeking a greater degree of private ownership. Leopold Sulerzhitskii witnessed a council of elders which took place to debate this issue. In his journal he describes how Vasilii Popov, an elder from the Tiflis (Wet Mountain) Doukhobors, attempted to bring all of the Veriginites under the fold of communism:

> He proposed to all Wet mountain, Elizabetpol and Kars people, to all Doukhobors living in Canada, that they unite into one community, with one treasurer for all its members. Every earned cent would be brought to this official and an elected committee of elders would look after this money for the needs of the whole community. Provisions purchased from earned money, crops taken off their own fields--all this would be divided evenly among all.
>
> [Popov then asked,] "...if a hungry brother is in Spassovka and you are from Michailovka, do you have no concern for him? Are you concerned only about the Michailovka people? Are the others foreign or what?...There is no place for further division--enough of jealousy, quarrelling, discord of all kinds. We have forgotten about our precepts, and now, like sheep we struggle vainly... Let us live in one Christian community...as befits genuine Christians."...
>
> The Elizabetpol and Kars elders could be seen to squirm uncomfortably in their tight jackets...
>
> Some of the elders rose, some remained on the benches. All spoke at once, divided into several groups. Really only a few were deciding the question on its merits. With the majority, the matter had been decide long ago at the time of Potapoff's speech. They were occupied only with a search for a decent form of refusal.[45]

In the end, only the North (Thunder Hill) Colony decided to live as a single community, with muted opposition from the wealthier among them, such as former delegate Ivan Ivin.[46] Elders from the Prince Albert colony were able

to postpone their decision indefinitely, while the regionally diverse South Colony was also unable to reach an agreement.

Most of the poorer villages of the South Colony, however, did establish local communes. Some, it seemed, had little choice. After visiting the Doukhobors in 1899, and listening to their *sobraniia,* James Mavor became convinced that most of the Doukhobors who practiced communism in the early years did so more out of necessity and practical considerations, than out of adherence to religious beliefs.[47] Jeremy Adelman attributes some significance to Verigin's instructions, but like Mavor, emphasizes that a scarcity of resources largely held the Doukhobor communes together.[48] Financial and material aid, moreover, was not distributed directly to individual immigrants, but to the villages as a whole, and thus the only way in which poor farmers could have access to farm animals and implements was by sharing them with other villagers. It was the elders who had the difficult task of dividing the scarce goods among the villages, which rarely went undisputed. Sulerzhitskii writes,

> For the hundred thousandth time the endless argument that livestock and wagons bought from the bonus had been divided unfairly among the villages began again...
>
> The argument was endless. Figures were mentioned to the last cent. The amount was divided by the number of persons in the village. Then all this was applied to animals, wagons and finally there was not a village satisfied with what had come to it by the division of the elders.[49]

Under desperate circumstances, distrust was easily fostered, but there was nonetheless a high level of cooperation among the Spirit Wrestlers, which no group of settlers, including the Mennonites, could have matched. Indeed there were some immigrants, including some elders, who attempted to keep some of their savings for themselves. But there were also those such as Vasilii Popov, who willingly contributed his last cent to the village communal fund.[50] And while some of the poorer settlers accused the richer farmers of exploiting their poorer brethren hired as workers,[51] and abandoning the Doukhobor principle of sharing, there were an equal number of Doukhobors from Kars and Elizavetpol who loaned their animals and implements to the poorer villages.[52] The communistic North Colony, meanwhile, was able to establish a cooperative store by the end of the year and several shared barns and stables at the

Manitoba railroad town of Swan River. With the help of government business subsidies, the North Colonists were able cheaply to transport wholesale goods from Winnipeg for community use.

Yet during the first year, and even to a lesser degree afterwards, food, medicine, and supplies were scarce. The lack of fresh vegetables and dairy products was detrimental to the vegetarian diet of the Spirit Wrestlers, causing some to catch and eat fish from local streams to supplement staples of bread, weak soup, and potatoes. Contemporary observers found many Doukhobor villages suffering from the effects of under nourishment and overcrowding, keeping volunteer medics Sasha Satz, Vera Velichkina, and Marie Robitz busy during rounds throughout the colonies.[53] Important help was rendered to the suffering immigrants by the American Quakers led by Joseph Elkinton, who graciously donated some $30,000 worth of cattle, bulk foodstuffs, medical supplies, and other items, after issuing an appeal in the fall of 1899.[54] The Canadian Council of Women also gave generously, providing the Spirit Wrestlers with stoves, spinning wheels, looms, cloth, and other items.[55]

In Winnipeg, a Doukhobor Committee had been established to distribute the $36,000 in government 'bonus' monies to the immigrants. Unlike the Committee of Ontario Mennonites which distributed money to fellow brethren, the Doukhobor Committee was largely under the control of the Immigration Department, and was composed of Quaker, Tolstoyan, and Canadian financial representatives.[56] Notably absent from the Committee were the Doukhobors themselves, which surely had negative consequences. As Sulerzhitskii writes,

> There was some misunderstanding [among the immigrants] about the 'bonus', the loan, the idea that the government was concerned, that friends had sent gifts, and so on. Few knew about the real extent of the 'bonus'. To them it appeared endless. That the government itself disbursed the bonus and did not sufficiently inform the Doukhobors about how much of it was left was Canada's serious mistake. Had it turned this money over to the Doukhobors, I am convinced they would have become established twice as quickly and they would not have had that difficult period...when the people hungered, ate only bread and at the same time by-passed excellent earnings, confident that today , or tomorrow, a loan or donation would come, or that friends would not let them down; and so on.[57]

In July 1899, the Doukhobor elders requested a direct loan from the government, but because the Doukhobor settlers had not registered their quarter-sections individually as required by Dominion land laws, they could provide no security for the loan. A federal loan of $20,000 was offered to the immigrants, but only on the condition that each household file for homestead entry. Yet the poorer Doukhobors who required a loan believed that individual land claims ran contrary to their principles of sharing and therefore declined the offer.[58] Instead, they contented themselves with accepting the aid provided by others, to the point where they became too reliant on sympathizers. There is an anecdote which illustrates this point well. Leopold Sulerzhitskii claims that he was once confronted in Yorkton by a Doukhobor youth who had been sent from a South Colony village without any means whatsoever with the expectation of securing a wagon for hauling flour. When Sulerzhitskii was unable to produce a wagon gratuitously, the boy appeared hurt and bewildered. Yet by stroke of luck a Quaker appeared with money to spend, and actually purchased a new wagon for the lad.[59] This sort of excessive dependency was a new phenomenon among what had traditionally been a proud, self-sufficient, and introverted Russian sect. Undoubtedly, the effects of the emigration experience had begun to show. In the last three years, these illiterate Russian peasants had placed control of their affairs--and indeed their future--in the hands of the Tolstoyans and Quakers. After being told they would find freedom and prosperity in Canada, they were transported to a land entirely foreign to them, with basically no knowledge of the Canadian frontier economy, or of Canada's legal and political institutions. Unlike the Mennonites, the Doukhobors did not have brethren already living in the country to answer their questions, lend practical assistance, or guarantee them a large loan. Little wonder then, that many Doukhobors felt helpless, or were guided by a naive faith that they would somehow be cared for.

Fortunately, many of the Doukhobors' sympathizers from England, Russia, and North America stayed with or visited the Spirit Wrestlers in Canada during the first year or two to help the immigrants to reestablish themselves. Leopold Sulerzhitskii and the three Russian medical women have already been mentioned. Familiar figures such as Prince Khilkov, Arthur St. John, Sergei Tolstoy, and James Mavor, also lent assistance on the colonies. Other

sympathizers from Europe who assisted the Doukhobors in Canada during these years included: an English doctor called Mercer, who had made the sea voyage with the first contingent of immigrants, English Tolstoyan educator Herbert Archer, the Quaker John Ashworth from Manchester, a repentant Russian nobleman named Maevskii, a French Tolstoyan artist named Sinet, and an eccentric Russian disciple of Tolstoy named Alexander Bodianskii. The Quakers of North America also sent various representatives to the colonies, often to oversee the transfer of material and financial aid. These included Joseph Elkinton Sr. & Jr. from Philadelphia, William Harvey, Job Gidley from Massachusetts, Eliza Varney from Ontario, Alma T. Dale from Manitoba, and Cornelius & Peter Jansen, two prominent Russian Mennonites from Nebraska.[60] Other visitors were mostly interested in documenting the Doukhobor settlement experience, such as Mary Fitz Gibbon from Ontario, and the future Bolshevik and close associate of Lenin, Vladimir Bonch-Bruevich. Although this list is by no means complete and does not include the work of local immigration officials, such as William McCreary of Winnipeg, James Crerar of Yorkton, and others, it nonetheless illustrates that the Doukhobors were not left entirely alone, but were provided with the skills and assistance of many caring individuals.

Without detracting from the genuine sympathies of these visitors and the necessary work they performed, it might also be said that their presence among the Doukhobors prolonged the period of flux and change among the sectarians, and so delayed the return to normalcy. Many Veriginite immigrants grew concerned over how the increased contacts with outsiders and the introduction of foreign articles and practices into daily Doukhobor life would affect the impressionable Doukhobor youths. Sulerzhitskii, for instance, records that some elders became apprehensive about how quickly the young Doukhobor men took to wearing foreign clothing, such as Native Indian moccasins and English sweaters.[61] The Doukhobors felt endebted to the Quakers and therefore gave in to persistent efforts made by the latter to educate some Veriginite children and teach them the English language. But despite several attempts to promote elementary education among the Spirit Wrestlers during these years, the continued hesitation of parents ensured that the Quaker schools would remain limited in both size and curriculum.[62]

It was the Doukhobor men who had the most contacts with outsiders in the earliest years, for they were required to work for wages in order to purchase goods for the community. Sulerzhitskii worked with immigration officials to grant the North Colony a contract with the C.P.R. railroad, laying the grade near Cowan, Manitoba, for a new Northern line through the region. Other Doukhobor men found jobs in sawmills, construction companies, or in threshing gangs on the nearest farms, including the Mennonite farms near Rosthern where Doukhobors from the Prince Albert colony were "eagerly hired."[63] Yet because the colonies were so isolated, many Doukhobor labourers had to travel great distances to find work. One settler from the South Colony, Alexei Zhmiev, recalled walking over one hundred miles in search of railroad, farm, and construction jobs.[64] Performing wage labour was not only physically exhausting for the male Doukhobors, but taxed them morally as well. English Canadian co-workers were found to be intolerably crude, and their teasing and taunting led the occasional Spirit Wrestler to wrestle with his co-workers rather than the spirit, and so betray his pacifist principles.[65] After experiencing a certain amount of freedom on the railway lines, some young men returned to the colonies only to challenge the elders' authority, stating "We are not in Russia here; we are all free."[66] More important, wages were paid out individually, which presented the strongest workers with the temptation to keep the money for themselves and their families, rather than place it in the communal fund to be shared by everyone. Carl Dawson claims that some of the Doukhobor workers did indeed keep a share of their wages, and that "appreciable numbers" of men neglected to permanently return to their reserves.[67] In response, the village communes began to institute quota systems in order to ensure compliance and loyalty to communal requirements.[68]

Undoubtedly, it was the dedication of the Doukhobor women which kept the village communes intact at this time. In fact, because hundreds of male remained in exile or imprisoned in Russia, the Canadian Doukhobor colonies experienced a surplus of women in these years, which was extremely rare among frontier settlements. While the men were working for wages, it was the women who maintained the village farmsteads with help from the children and the elderly. With a shortage of animals needed to haul supplies, some women decided after holding a women's council to hitch themselves to ploughs in order

to begin cultivation—an act which drew the attention of the Canadian press, and shock and consternation from the Canadian public.[69] In their villages, the women actually had the least contact with outsiders, which made them the real keepers of tradition. Whereas the Doukhobor men soon bought new Canadian work clothes after wearing out their garments, the Doukhobor women preserved their traditional forms of dress for years.[70] But most important, as Maude points out, the women were most committed to the principles of communal sharing, for it minimized their vulnerability as settlers in a strange and desolate land;

> ...the men who have been away at work on the railways, or elsewhere, would many of them be inclined to break from the enchanted circle, were it not that the women hold them back. The women are the chief repositories of the "Living Book" that enshrines the traditions of the sect, and they are exceedingly conservative...Besides this, they feel (and are they not right?) that life in a community, with its vivid and varied interests, its ceaseless human intercourse, its co-operation and zeal for the common good, is incomparably preferable to the dull, lonely, isolated existence of the ordinary Canadian settler's family, squatted in the midst of a hundred and sixty acres all by themselves.[71]

However, as the village settlements progressed, the need for collectivity became less acute. The summer of 1900 brought in a fair harvest, while the crops of 1901 were excellent. Between 1899 and 1900, Bonch-Bruevich recorded 100% - 400% increases in the numbers of cows, oxen, horses, sheep, chickens, wagons, and ploughs, along with the introduction of more expensive farm equipment, such as mowing machines, horse-drawn hay-rakes, and disc harrows.[72] Federal immigration agent Hugh Harley toured the North Colony in the summer of 1900, reporting the establishment of 165 houses, 22 stables, 8 granaries, as well as the planting of 560 acres of grain, and nearly 100 acres of potatoes and other produce.[73] Many of the European helpers began to return home during this year, and by January of 1901, the South Colony was able to notify the Quaker Committee of Sufferings that no further assistance was required of them. Coupled with these positive economic figures were statistics which Bruevich recorded on the colonists' land holding practices, which revealed a striking trend. By January 1900, Bruevich noted that 2,215 Spirit Wrestlers or roughly one third of the Doukhobor population (almost all of them from Kars or Elizavetpol) had abandoned communal practices entirely.[74]

Another 1,600 (mostly from the North Colony) lived in communes which were complete and permanent, while another 3,500 Doukhobors lived in what he called 'temporary communes' where the level of commitment to cooperative practices was modest enough to suggest their eventual dissolution.[75] A survey of the communal North and South Colonies by John Ashworth in May of 1901 confirmed the predicted trend: 25 out of 47 villages had remained fully communistic, the other 22 villages had already become partly or wholly individualistic.[76] Disappointed by the reports sent by his disciples, Leo Tolstoy wrote a letter to the Canadian Doukhobors dated February 27, 1900, in which he chastised them for succumbing to temptation and recognizing the individual ownership of property. "The Christian teaching cannot be taken piecemeal; it is all or nothing," he said.[77] But the Canadian settlers were not necessarily breaching tradition, for although the Doukhobors had long maintained the principles of cooperation and sharing, their commitment to complete communism had been less than consistent in the past. It was only after the rise of such theocratic despots as Pirobikhin and Verigin that attempts were made to become fully communistic. For most Doukhobors, Verigin's espousal of total communism remained largely an ideal to strive towards. Only the most zealous Veriginites held the unrealistic expectation of instantly attaining complete equality.

The proponents of communal living among Doukhobors in Canada were forced to confront yet another impediment: Dominion homestead regulations and the Canadian government. During the immigration negotiations and immediately upon settlement, the Canadian government had been lenient about enforcing homestead laws on the Doukhobor reserves. Ottawa understood the Doukhobors' request for block lands and village settlement because the Mennonites had made the same requests some twenty five years earlier. Undoubtedly, the success of the Mennonite experiment influenced the government's decision to accommodate the Doukhobors by creating reserves, reenacting the Hamlet Clause permitting village settlement, and by postponing payment of the $10 homestead entry fee for each individual. Whether or not the Canadian government understood the difference between the Veriginites' commitment to communal land holding, and the Mennonites' system of cooperative redistribution seemed irrelevant to both Ottawa and negotiators like

Aylmer Maude. This was because a 1898 amendment to the Hamlet Clause permitted any group to pool their individual homesteads for purposes of redistribution or sharing, so long as the total amount of land cultivated on the reserve remained proportionate to the minimum requirements for the total number of individual homesteads contained in the reserve.[78] But another formality, to which the Doukhobors took offense remained: the Homestead Act still required all immigrant settlers to **register** (**enter**) land individually in order to qualify for a three-year trial period in which to cultivate their lands. If the minimum cultivation requirements were met, then settlers would be able to file for a **patent**, or clear **title** of their land. The Mennonites had willingly met these conditions in the 1870s, and directly proceeded to redistribute their lands as they wished. Perhaps this is why the Purleigh Committee did not anticipate any problems when Maude informed them of this stipulation in September of 1898.

Initially, it appeared as though the Doukhobors would comply with registration, despite their objections. Shortly before Sulerzhitskii left Canada in January 1900, the government commissioned a survey of the Doukhobor lands which would detail each separate quarter-section and the names of property owners who would take up these lands. Approximately 1,800 quarter sections of land had been granted to eligible Doukhobor men.79 At this time, Sulerzhitskii was approached by several Doukhobor elders who explained that the designation of specific homesteads for individual owners was the near equivalent of private ownership of property, to which the sectarians could not submit in conscience. At their request, Sulerzhitskii asked the government whether the Spirit Wrestlers could avoid individual registration and simply be given designated village allotments, according to the number of eligible landholders in each village. When the government curtly replied that this would contravene homestead laws, Sulerzhitskii reports that "the Doukhobors were saddened and expressed regret but at that time, there was no talk of any kind of protest to the government or of pressing demands to give them land by villages. The Doukhobors agreed to take the land on the basis of Canadian laws."[80]

Both Maude and Sulerzhitskii contend that registration could have proceeded and much conflict could have been avoided had the government not delayed. But the surveyors only arrived in spring, and by this time the immigrants had changed their minds and became uncooperative.[81] One can

imagine that the Veriginites were suspicious of the presence of uniformed government officers in their villages collecting names and vital statistics. Many feared that this information would be used to register Doukhobor men for military service. Having been imprisoned and exiled in Russia, the haunting legacy of past persecution should not be forgotten when discussing relations between the Doukhobors and the Canadian government. Consider the words of Aylmer Maude, written in 1901:

> ...the Doukhobors have been so much persecuted that a rooted distrust of Governments dwells in their minds. They admit that they have received benefits from the Canadian Government, but they suspect that this was only because the Government sees its way to make something out of them. Every proposal or demand made by the Government is first of all considered by them with an eye to the possibility of it being the thin end of a Conscription-wedge.[82]

The Spirit Wrestlers' natural suspicion of state authority was only exacerbated by the activities of Alexander Bodianskii, an eccentric Tolstoyan who had visited the Veriginites in the Caucasus in 1896. After leaving Russia, Bodianskii lived among fellow Tolstoyans at their Colony in Purleigh, but his radical behaviour led to his expulsion, which in turn led him to seek a new destination in early 1900–the Canadian Doukhobor colonies. Perhaps in reflection of his own frustrations, Bodianskii became the mouthpiece for Doukhobor discontentment, writing many petitions to both governments and newspapers in Canada and abroad. These pleas were always signed by the names of Doukhobor representatives, but those involved with the Doukhobor resettlement, and even the Spirit Wrestlers themselves, recognized that Bodianskii had penned these works, often adding his own interpretations of the immigrants' concerns.[83] The pleas which reached foreign governments, such as Russia and Turkey, caused Ottawa considerable embarrassment, for they claimed that the Canadian authorities had become the new persecutors of these simple peasant sectarians.[84] Many of the petitions, however, were addressed to Ottawa and were directed at three main issues: the necessity of registering vital statistics, the government's failure to recognize the Doukhobors' non-legal marriages, and, most important, the need to register individually for

homesteads. The Doukhobors wanted land granted to them in the same manner that reserves had been granted to the Indians, stated one plea.[85]

Bodianskii's anarchistic protests most greatly influenced the Doukhobor immigrants themselves. In the absence of Verigin, their leader, and after having been scolded by Tolstoy for recognizing private property, the Doukhobor elders posted notices in June of 1900 throughout the colonies stating their opposition to the homestead regulations. At the end of this same year, two elders wrote to Tolstoy, asking for his advice on the matter. Tolstoy replied that a compromise should be reached on the issue of vital statistics, but that it was important for the Doukhobors to maintain their principles on the issue of land ownership.[86]

In the meantime, the Canadian government stood firm, ceaselessly reiterating that the Doukhobors would not be prevented from holding their land in common once registration had been made. As Bodianskii's petitions became more vitriolic throughout 1901, Ottawa hardened its position. Several meetings were held between government officials and the Doukhobors in an attempt to resolve the dispute, but neither was willing to compromise. The Doukhobors were told that registration was a security measure, that entering their lands would prevent others from taking it away from them. Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior, wrote the immigrants personally, emphasizing that only those who filed for entry would be able to live in villages and cultivate their land in common:

> I have decided that those who will take their homesteads and accept of free lands from the government may live together in one or more villages, and instead of being compelled to cultivate each quarter-section held by each Doukhobor, that the land around the village itself may be cultivated and the work which otherwise would be required on each individual homestead may be done altogether around the village.[87]

There was little new being said here and the Doukhobors knew it. They agreed to pay the $10 entry fees required, but failed to understand why the land could not be entered in the name of the community. Ottawa, however, would not compromise. Knowing that the Doukhobors had responded well to the Quakers in the past, the government enlisted the help of John Bellows from England, and Joseph Elkinton from America to explain the homestead

regulations to the immigrants.[88] Yet even Elkinton, after offering his services, was of the opinion that "no great harm could result from granting to the Doukhobors the privilege of possessing their lands in common...."[89]

Why indeed would the Canadian government make numerous concessions regarding village settlement and communal cultivation, yet rigidly insist on the formality of individual land entry? Two main reasons come to mind. Firstly, Sifton wanted to avoid further criticism of his Slavic immigration policy from politicians, the media, and the Canadian public. Anglo-Saxon settlers continued to accuse the Minister of favoritism, for having granted extraordinary rights and privileges to non-British immigrants. The Doukhobors became the focus of some of this criticism, as evidenced by the following editorial excerpt from the *Neepawa Register*:

> What ordinary immigrant can secure the special favors that are being lavished on Mr. Sifton's Doukhobor pets?...[British immigrants] would jump at the chance of assisted passages, free provisions on their journey, free dwelling accommodation on their arrival and a guarantee that they will be provided for until their farming operations assure them a livelihood. The whole staff of the Interior flocks to Halifax to welcome the Doukhobors, as though they were distinguished royal visitors. But the ordinary English, Irish or Scotch immigrant has to shift for himself. All along the line every attention is shown these favored fanatics...Under the Sifton regime, it is a distinct disadvantage to be a Britisher or a Canadian. The only way now-a-days for an English speaking settler to secure 'equal rights' is to disguise himself as a high-smelling Slav serf, or masquerade as a sheepskin-coated freeloader [sic.] from the Caucasus persecuted for conscience sake..."[90]

Other critics pointed out that the establishment of separate reserves for Doukhobors discouraged greater interaction between Canadians and sectarians, and effectively prevented their adoption of Canadian customs and institutions. One Canadian Senator declared, "...that we should go to enormous expense to bring foreigners in and place them on the soil, leaving the odd numbered sections of land between them, so that our own people cannot settle in among them or perhaps will not be made comfortable to settle among them...is a mistake."[91] Although Sifton repeatedly defended the Doukhobors inside and outside of the House of Commons, he knew that capitulation on the issue of registration would only bring yet another volley of criticism, especially at

a time when Bodianskii's petitions were drawing indignation from the Canadian public.[92]

Yet there was a second, more important reason for enforcing individual registration, which the Senator had alluded to in his comment. Ottawa had not invited the Doukhobors to settle on the prairies simply so that they might isolate themselves and farm in self-sufficient communal villages. On the contrary, the Doukhobors were expected to become full participants in the Canadian frontier farm economy. This meant that they would eventually have to adapt to Canada's individualistic and capitalistic system of agricultural production and marketing. The easiest way to do this would be to enable those who wished to conform to the Dominion's homesteading system to do so, by legally guaranteeing their ownership of a specified 160 acre quarter-section. Each Doukhobor who entered his name for land registration would be allotted a specific piece of land and would have the legal rights to separate from the commune and farm that land if he so chose. The Canadian government was well aware that the Doukhobors were divided on this issue, and in a calculated move it sought to exploit this division by encouraging the independent-minded sectarians to take land for themselves. Thus, in his letter of February 15, 1902, Sifton informed the Doukhobors:

> it would not be fair that those who take up their homesteads and live in their village should be troubled with those who will not do so, and as those who do not take up a homestead will not be protected by the government after the first of May of this year, they will simply have to leave the villages to those who take up the homesteads and buy land elsewhere from some other person.[93]

Notices of the May 1st ultimatum had already been posted by the Commissioner of Crown Lands throughout the colonies. The reaction of the Spirit Wrestlers, as one might guess, was divided. Most of the Prince Albert colonists complied with land entry by the set deadline, but only a few dozen Doukhobors from the North and South colonies were brave enough to register their homesteads, despite harsh criticism from fellow colonists. By May 1, 1902, more than four thousand Doukhobors had failed to enter their lands, which left Ottawa in an awkward position, for it had no means of supporting these immigrants should they be expelled from their villages. Because the communes

had been making progress in recent years, the government did not carry out its threat, but rather, opted for a game of 'wait and see'.

Although little had changed, the government's actions affected the sectarians greatly. Firstly, a permanent and formal split occurred between the individualistic settlers who registered (mostly from Prince Albert) and the communistic settlers of the two Assiniboia reserves who did not. The former eventually became known as the Independent Doukhobors while the latter were referred to as the Community Doukhobors. When attempting to explain the emergence of the Independents in Canada, many analysts point to the fact that the Prince Albert colony was only made up of even numbered sections, which allowed non-Doukhobors to settle among the sectarians.[94] Yet there is little evidence to suggest that the Prince Albert Doukhobors interacted with foreign groups more than the Community Doukhobors did in these early years. The Kars Doukhobors, as already mentioned, were more individualistic from the start. A statement released by the Prince Albert colonists themselves in 1900 listed an odd mixture of religious and economic reasons to justify their compliance with Canadian regulations:

> In the first place, Canada allows full liberty, and we have been granted freedom from military service. Secondly, freedom of religious belief is allowed... and in Canada there are many different nationalities, and all have full liberty. Thirdly, in Canada things are...based on God's law; for instance, the freehold of land is sold for about seven cents an acre.
>
> In the fourth place, the inhabitants of Canada live very peacefully; they do not rob or murder. Fifthly, in Canada a plain workman for ten hours' work may earn as much as $1.50, or $2, and there is much else that might be said.[95]

But most Doukhobors had not come to Canada in order to purchase land at seven cents per acre, but rather to live as an isolated community, according to the dictates of their leader and their consciences without outside interference. Instead, their emigration had made them more dependent on the outside world than ever before, and growing numbers of sectarians were abandoning their leader's directives. This contradiction was especially frustrating for Verigin's most assiduous followers, the zealots (later known as the Sons of Freedom) who emerged at this time as "the defenders of true, pristine Doukhoborism."[96]

According to J. Colin Yerbury and John Whitworth, the zealots' aims were "first to demonstrate their contempt for worldly morality and materialism and second, to challenge and resist governmental intrusion and to punish those of their co-religionists who they felt had betrayed the Doukhobor faith."[97]

The zealot movement was further crystallized by the activities of Bodianskii and the arrival of a collection of letters from their leader, Verigin. Not surprisingly, the earliest zealots in Canada were among those who had been attracted to Bodianskii and signed his petitions. In 1900, the eccentric Tolstoyan managed to convince over one hundred of the most dissatisfied immigrants to relocate to the warmer climate of California where they could raise fruit and become true vegetarians. Although most of these deserters returned to the colonies within the year, the registration crisis of 1902 evoked renewed talk of wandering to a new land where God would take care of them.[98] Then, a new development occurred. In 1901 a collection of letters written by Verigin to his Tolstoyan friends was published by Vladimir Chertkov, who liked the Christian-anarchist tone of the writings. Verigin, however, did not intend for these letters to reach his followers in Canada. This correspondence contained some of Verigin's most speculative, mystical, and prolix sermons and diatribes which at times reached rather fanciful conclusions.[99] In these letters Verigin espoused the rejection of all metal and leather objects, for ore was procured through the exploitation of miners, while the enslavement and killing of animals was cruel and sinful. Even the act of tilling of soil was to be avoided if possible, Verigin reasoned, for people did not have to spoil God's earth, but could live in a warmer climate and eat fruits. In fact, the expenditure of labour was itself unnecessary, wrote Verigin, for God provided for those who truly wished to live as Christ did.

> ...Take the cross and follow me--but to follow Christ we must live as he did, and we see that Christ did no physical work, nor did the Apostles...That the Apostles and Christ wore clothes and ate bread was natural, because there were plenty of clothes and bread, and...even Christ and the Apostles were not able, all at once, to go naked.
>
> It is important that in order to be true followers of Christ, is chiefly necessary to go and preach the Evangel of truth, and one may beg bread for the body. Remember that the Apostles, passing through the field, plucked the ears of corn and ate. If any wish to labour, let them do so; but our duty is to labour only in Christ's service.[100]

Although Verigin himself failed to live by these words, his statements reflected just how far he was able to stray from such fundamental Doukhobor values as honest toil and self-sufficiency. Many of these letters were written in 1895 and 1896, at a time when Verigin still had visions of transforming the Spirit Wrestlers from a closed sect into a messianic protest movement. Yet it was during the summer of 1902 that these words reached the Canadian prairies, at a time when many sectarians felt lost and uncertain as to how they should live their lives. The simplest sectarians interpreted the arrival of Verigin's letters as a sign from God, and those who could read passed his words on to others, who quickly transmitted them orally from village to village. By the end of summer, groups of zealots calling themselves 'Sons of God' began to set free their animals and burn their leather items. In October, the zealots began travelling throughout the colonies, preaching their new religion and gaining converts. Doukhobor Vasilii Potapov incredulously wrote to the Tolstoyan Paul Biriukov about the new movement:

> As they understand it, Christ now is coming to this new world and they felt they must go out and meet Christ.... [I]t all happened in a twinkle of the eye. I cannot understand yet what compelled them to go out... At first from their village started eight families in the direction to other villages. They asked others to join the wedding banquet. If they wanted to join, the people would stay through the night in the village. If nobody wanted they went farther. Thus they gathered all who wanted to join.[101]

Spirit Wrestlers joined the 'wedding banquet' by the hundreds. What began as a local missionary movement quickly coalesced into a mass pilgrimage. Eleven hundred marchers were seen passing through Fort Pelly, Assiniboia on October 26, while the *Manitoba Free Press* reported thirteen hundred Doukhobors moving on to Yorkton on October 29.[102] The village of Poterpevshee was one of the last to be visited by the marchers. Here, Peter Verigin's brother, Grigorii, was met by seventeen hundred marchers, whom he was unable to reason with:

> Greeting us, they wished us peace. Then they invited any of us who might wish to, to 'come with us to the wedding feast'...Another said:

> 'We go to preach the Gospel'; and [another] said; 'Let us go to the Promised Land.'
>
> I asked them to be silent, and to let some one man explain where all these people were going. The replies were the same as before, and one could make nothing of them; and if I am to write you truly whither these folk are going--it's more than I know myself![103]

Indeed, few of these pilgrims knew their itinerary. When questioned by reporters, their replies remained as ambiguous as those given by Doukhobors in the days of Kapoustin. Some spoke of seeking a "new light," "looking for freedom," or of "meeting Jesus" in a warmer land.[104] The Canadian authorities were puzzled, and after monitoring the progress of the zealots for several days became gravely concerned for the safety of those most vulnerable. Winter was fast approaching, yet despite freezing temperatures, many trekkers did not bring extra clothes for what might be a long journey, and some had already discarded their leather belongings, including shoes and hats.

In Yorkton, the pilgrims were met by a contingent of the North West Mounted Police, which used "arguments and inducements" to convince the Doukhobors into sheltering the women, children, and the sick, although according to police reports, "some of the women resisted to the utmost."[105] When approximately seven hundred men continued their pilgrimage eastward, an agitated Rodmund Roblin, Premier of Manitoba, telegraphed Sifton demanding that the marchers "be dealt with either as lunatics or criminals" and that "immediate steps...be taken...to prevent their entering Manitoba."[106] Yet the protesters were allowed to proceed for another 150 miles along the railway track towards Winnipeg, before being stopped by police at the Manitoba town of Minnedosa on November 6. Along their journey, the marchers often slept outside along the railroad tracks, wrapped in blankets. They begged for food at farmhouses and railroad towns, but refused gifts of money. But with snow on the ground and many of the zealots suffering from cold and hunger, the government intervened. At Minnedosa, the pilgrims were herded into a skating rink and forced into special railway cars supplied with bread and fruits, which transported them back to the colonies.

This episode is significant for many reasons. While there would be many more zealot demonstrations in the future, none would be of the same magnitude as this 1902 pilgrimage, which involved one-quarter of the Doukhobor

population. Although the participants had couched their explanations in the same sort of vague religious terms that had puzzled nineteenth century observers of the sect, the trek was not merely a religious phenomenon, but was initiated by a variety of motivations. Clearly, many were influenced by Verigin's letters and the Christian-anarchist protests of Bodianskii. But by releasing their cattle, discarding their hats and shoes, begging for food, and refusing monetary assistance, a protest was implicitly being waged against the growth of materialism among fellow brethren in the colonies. At the same time, the pilgrims' desire to reach a warmer fruit-growing climate was in part an expression of disillusionment after having failed to create a communal utopia in a bleak and desolate prairie landscape. In accounting for the 1902 trek, a 1913 Royal Commission Report emphasized the great expectations of the Doukhobors upon their arrival in Canada, and their subsequent disappointment throughout their early years of hardship in the harsh climate of the prairies.[107] Newspapers even reported that just prior to the pilgrimage, the Doukhobors had not only petitioned Ottawa to be transferred to fruit-growing regions of Ontario or British-Columbia, but that letters had also been sent to all the states of South America, requesting permission to relocate the colonies.[108] Decades later, a number of Doukhobors also explained the pilgrimage as an attempt to pressure the Canadian government to permit their re-emigration in the absence of a land registration agreement.[109] It is very likely that the trek evolved out of frustration with the current land registration disputes with the Canadian Government,[110] for even Peter Verigin identified the land crisis as a motivation for the pilgrimage in a letter to Tolstoy shortly after the incident: "[the] delayed...acceptance of land,...has led to one opinion among the Doukhobors that the government's conditions are too strict, and so some Doukhobors have decided they should leave the land that was offered to them, saying *'Let us go and search of truth'*, i.e., in search of a more humane attitude toward the settlers on the Government's part."[111]

What strikes this author are the similarities and differences between the 1902 pilgrimage and the protests which Verigin initiated in the 1890s. Once again, Verigin's words had reawakened his followers, instructing them how true Doukhobors should live. Yet once again, government laws prevented the Veriginites from living as they were told to. Just as in Russia, in Canada too, a

recent split had taken place within the sect and the government had sided with their 'worldly' brethren. Thus, the Veriginites again brought their frustrations and protests to public attention by means of a spectacular mass demonstration, undertaken for the sake of their religious consciences. As in 1895, the Doukhobors had reason to feel persecuted, and were once again ready to prove themselves to be martyrs for God. Once again, there was talk of emigration.

But the 1902 trek did not immediately develop into a mass migration. The pilgrimage was a truly spontaneous act which lacked a clear focus for protest, unlike the carefully planned burning of arms in 1895. The absence of Verigin's direct involvement is significant in itself, for it indicates that the Veriginite population was transforming into a more outgoing and missionary-minded sect on its own initiative, albeit heavily influenced by the ordeal of emigration and Tolstoyan intrusions into their affairs. Yet the majority of Community Doukhobors (never mind the Independents) not only refused to participate in the pilgrimage, but were frankly critical of those who did. According to the *Manitoba Free Press*, the "religiously sane" among the Doukhobors observers of the march called it a "crazy act in which they would take no part."[112]

Another reason why the march did not escalate into a larger crisis was due to the patience of Canadian officials. Some zealots would later claim that the North West Mounted Police were "no better than Cossacks," yet newspaper and police reports both clearly reveal that the Canadian authorities--unlike local Caucasian officials in 1895--did not wish to clash with the Veriginite demonstrators, but rather, sought in every instance to use "arguments and inducements" to prevent the marchers from harming themselves.[113] The police not only helped to shelter the pilgrims where possible, but even rounded up the hundreds of farm animals which the zealots had set free, auctioned them off, and placed the $15,024 worth of proceeds in a trust fund for the immigrant-settlers.[114]

Regardless, the trek caused great embarrassment for Clifford Sifton, and an unsympathetic public renewed its criticism of the Liberals' immigration policy. Few could comprehend why the government now had to sell off livestock which had only recently been purchased for the immigrants: "If it could give these

animals to the Doukhobors, why cannot it now give them to some 'white' settlers, instead of trying to sell them? Has it gone out of the 'giving away' business into that of public auctioneer, or is there some reason why 'white' settlers should be made to pay for the presents the Doukhobors have discarded. Will somebody please answer?"[115] The Conservative press was no longer apathetic, but openly hostile, declaring that "['Sifton's pets,']...on whose behalf a great deal of money and sympathy was expended by the Canadian people,...are proving to be what the Conservatives all along predicted, a curse to our fair land."[116] As public pressure mounted on the government to take a hard line against the Spirit Wrestlers, a confrontation seemed inevitable.

At this point, a new development occurred. News reached the colonies that the Doukhobor leader, the Living Christ, Peter Verigin, was being permitted to emigrate to Canada now that his third term in exile was nearly complete. With hindsight, some academics have ventured to say that the Doukhobor pilgrimage was undertaken in an attempt by the sectarians to hasten their leader's release.[117] There may indeed have been a connection between Doukhobor protests and Verigin's sudden release, for it has further been speculated that the Canadian government played a role in negotiating an end to Verigin's Siberian exile.[118] In fact, Verigin himself later suggested this in an article published in 1913.[119] What is more certain, however, is the fact that both the Canadian government and the Spirit Wrestlers placed all of their future hopes on Verigin's arrival. The government hoped that Verigin would be a voice of reason for his people, while at the same time the Doukhobors sought new reassurance and guidance from their leader. Thus, when Peter Verigin arrived in Canada in late November, 1902, he was received with great expectations, but was confronted by a sect which was demoralized and deeply divided.

Three years after arriving in Canada, the Doukhobor community had reached a state of crisis. The Russian Mennonites, in contrast, had successfully re-established themselves in Manitoba after the same period of time. After having recreated their old Russian village system of settlement, and having extended church authority over matters of justice and education, the Mennonites enjoyed the type of autonomy and religious life which they had

wanted upon leaving Russia. The Mennonite immigrants lived in relative isolation, and government interference in colony affairs was minimal, which seemed to bode well for the sectarians' relations with state authorities and local Manitobans. Even when conflicts did arise, both the immigrant-settlers and the government were willing and able to eventually reach a variety of compromises.

The discrepancies which surrounded the creation and use of Mennonite reserve lands may serve as a case in point, especially when contrasted to the impasse on land registration between the government and the Doukhobors. In the 1870s, the Mennonites' religious beliefs and land holding practices were also in conflict with Dominion homestead laws, but at a time when pioneers were a precious commodity, Ottawa had been more conciliatory. Upon arrival, the Mennonites had already obtained the privilege of block settlement (i.e.. land reservations), but were still legally required to farm individual homesteads for the first three years of settlement before being granted their land patents. Unknowingly, the Mennonites immediately settled in villages as they had done in Russia. Instead of rigidly insisting on the requirements of the Homestead Act, Parliament passed the Hamlet Clause in April of 1876 which permitted the Minister of the Interior to "waive, in his discretion, the foregoing requirements as to residence and cultivation on each separate quarter-section entered as a homestead."[120] The following year, in 1877, the earliest Mennonite immigrants were eligible to file for their land patents (i.e.. legal title to their quarter-sections) but they faced a dilemma, for in order to obtain a patent, each settler was required to become a British citizen and swear the oath of allegiance to the Crown. Although the Mennonites had already been granted the privilege of 'affirming' rather than 'swearing' oaths, some settlers nonetheless feared that naturalization would signify a commitment to defend the British Crown through military service. These suspicions were unfounded, but in order to allay Mennonite fears, the government hastened to pass yet another Order-in-Council in August 1877, clearly stating that "[t]aking the Oath of Allegiance...will not be construed as interfering with the immunity from Military service secured to them[the Mennonites]."[121] Although some Mennonites decided to avoid naturalization altogether by purchasing their lands, most of them affirmed the oath and gained their land patents.

Yet the Mennonites did not always get their way. Land disputes concerning the Manitoba reserves created some unwarranted frustrations and costs for the new immigrants. One will recall that Ottawa willingly created a second reserve for the Mennonites in 1876, after a large number of them decided to relocate to the largely uninhabited plain on the western side of the Red River. The seventeen townships included in the new 'West Reserve', however, encompassed the properties of a handful of English Canadian settlers, who naturally disapproved. Within months, these disgruntled settlers were joined in protest by other British arrivals who simply squatted on the reserve lands and proceeded to develop homesteads. Conflicts and hostilities broke out when British settlers confronted Mennonites who were cutting wood on what each believed to be their lands.[122] As the situation grew serious, officials from the Department of the Interior intervened, proposing an adjustment to the borders of the reserve to accommodate the legitimate Canadian settlers, and recommending the expulsion of the squatters. Although the former recommendation was immediately acted on, the latter was not. In fact, as the immigration of Mennonites dwindled in the late 1870s, land agents seeking to develop the unoccupied portions of the Mennonite reserves began to sympathize with the squatters, and successfully pressured Ottawa to auction off small portions of the reserve in 1881.[123] Other areas of the West Reserve were lost when the Canadian Pacific Railway included Mennonite lands in its sale of odd-numbered sections across the province in 1879 and 1883. However, the Federal Government later ruled that these sales were unlawful, and refunded those Mennonites who had purchased these sections of land in order to keep their reserve contiguous.[124] Thus, although Ottawa was sensitive to public opposition to the Mennonite reserves, government officials generally sought to accommodate the Mennonites and most of their concerns.

The government could afford to appease the Mennonites, for popular criticism of the Mennonite settlements had largely remained a local phenomenon, especially during the early years. Local tensions did not develop into widespread public hostility as it had with the Doukhobors. Because the Mennonites kept to themselves, made a conscious effort to avoid publicity, and seldom strayed outside the boundaries of their reserves, few Manitobans even had the chance to form an opinion about the Anabaptist settlers. Those who

lived nearby the reserves often held little more than petty biases against the strange and foreign appearances and practices of the Mennonites. One observer commented:

> [The] deliberate isolation of the [Mennonites] together with their foreign tongue and manners, their communal system, and their practice of building their barns abutting the rear end of their houses, so that one stepped through a door from the dwelling to the odorous stable, did not favourably impress the people of the adjoining settlement, now rapidly filling up. There was for a long time a disposition on the part of the latter to unjustly estimate the Mennonite in his unpretentious Russian clothing and sheepskin overcoat with the wooly [sic.] side in.[125]

Such minor prejudices, however, were largely overshadowed by favourable impressions of the immigrants. Most of the early articles about Mennonites in the *Manitoba Free Press* referred to the rapid development of the Mennonite colonies. As early as 1876, one journalist reported:

> The Mennonites no doubt are the best settlers that have thus far come into the Province. No man could believe what these people have done in so short a time. From 10 to 20 miles away from the timber, they are already putting up substantial homes. Many of them already speak a good English. They seem contented and happy. In my three weeks' travel over the Province I have seen nothing as regards industry equal to the Mennonites.[126]

Jacob Shantz also wrote to the *Free Press*, informing its readers of the "Mennonite Progress" taking place in Southern Manitoba. In 1879, for instance, Shantz noted that thousands of bushels of grain was being stored in the large barns of the wealthier Mennonites, and that fruits such as apples and watermelons were successfully being grown on the two reserves.[127]

Shantz also reported Mennonite achievements to Ottawa. Although Mennonite church leaders did not wish to attract attention to themselves, they hoped at least that their success at farming would elicit admiration for their sectarian institutions and lead state officials to respect Mennonite autonomy, as Tsarist regimes had done for many years in Russia. Yet although the Canadian authorities also wished to honour the Mennonites' wishes, they could not help but take interest in the nation's first great experiment in collective settlement.

Ottawa, too, had expectations of the Mennonites, and wanted to work together with the immigrants to ensure that their pioneering efforts could be effectively integrated with those of other Canadian settlers. The Governor General, Lord Dufferin, made this quite clear during his 1877 visit to the East Reserve:

> You have come to a land where you will find the people **with whom you are to associate** engaged...in a great struggle, and contending with foes whom it requires their best energies to encounter...The war to which we invite you **as recruits and comrades** is a war waged against the brute forces of nature; but those forces will welcome **our** domination, and reward **our** attack by placing their treasures at **our** disposal. It is a war of ambition,—for **we** intend to annex territory after territory,... **our** battalions will march across the illimitable plains...; the rolling prairie will blossom in **our** wake, and corn and peace and plenty will spring where **we** have trod.[128]

Dufferin, however, did not stop here, but further invited the Mennonites to become full participants in Canadian society:

> But it is not merely to the material blessings of our land that I bid you welcome. We desire to share with you on equal terms our constitutional liberties, our municipal privileges, and our domestic freedom; we invite you to assist us in choosing the members of our Parliament, in shaping our laws, and in moulding our future destinies. There is no right or function which we exercise as free citizens in which we do not desire you to participate, and with this civil freedom we equally gladly offer you absolute religious liberty.[129]

Yet to the Mennonites, "absolute religious liberty" involved the right to run their colonies as dictated by their consciences, without outside interference. Thus, in their reply to the Governor General, the Mennonites thanked the government for its assistance, but at the same time reminded Ottawa that it, too, had obligations to keep:

> We are pleased to be able to state that we are satisfied in the highest degree with the country and the soil, and also the manner which the Government have kept their promises to us...
>
> We have full confidence in the continuance of the good faith you have kept with us and with thankfulness we acknowledge the fatherly care which is being bestowed upon us,....[130]

Although the Canadian government wished to assimilate the Mennonites as soon as possible, it did not want to make any overt moves which might sour relations with the fickle sectarians and jeopardize the progress being made on the reserves. Instead, the Canadian government took an approach similar to the one employed by the Russian government: it passed subtle reforms which enabled the Mennonites to participate in Canadian society if they so chose. Even though the Manitoba Mennonites were comprised of the most orthodox denominations, there inevitably were individualistic and reform-minded sectarians among them. When these members broke from tradition, or expressed their desire to do so, legal support was afforded to them by government. Quite often, as was the case in Russia, government legislation was not even directed at the Mennonites per se, yet nonetheless brought them under the same jurisdiction as other groups in society.

Manitoba municipal laws provide a good illustration of this. In 1879 the Municipal Act divided the southern part of the province into municipalities, run by elected councils responsible for local infrastructure and taxation. The Mennonites were naturally apprehensive, but were assured by their intermediary, William Hespeler, that compliance with the new law would give them greater control over local affairs with minimal disruption to their established civil administration.[131] Indeed, there was very little change in the East Reserve, because its boundaries were used to form the new Municipality of Hanover. A Mennonite municipal official, known as a reeve, now ran a municipality as the Mennonite district mayor *(Oberschulze)* had previously headed the district*(Gebiet)*.[132] Although the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites boycotted the new municipal elections in the East Reserve, this congregation had always tended to avoided administrative duties, and had allowed the Bergthalers to run the reserve since their arrival.

The larger West Reserve was divided into two municipalities in 1883, Rhineland (western region) and Douglas (eastern region), both of which incorporated outlying non-Mennonite settlements. The conservative elders of the Old Colony church were quick to condemn the municipalities, because they were secular administrations, and they divided the reserve which had thus far been under the elders' strict control. Consequently, an English settler named Jarvis Mott temporarily became the first reeve of Rhineland after the Old Colony

elders forbade their members from participating in local elections.[133] However, the West Reserve also contained a considerable number of Bergthal Mennonites, who used the new municipal system to their distinct advantage. These Bergthalers were the most progressive and entrepreneurial of the Mennonites in Manitoba, who had not settled with fellow Bergthalers on the East Reserve, but were lured to the finer lands on the eastern section of the West Reserve. Here, these progressives gained a certain amount of freedom from the Bergthal elders across the river, but strongly resented the ultra-conservative dictates of the Old Colonists. The new municipal administrations were thus welcomed as a way for the Bergthal minority to break Old Colony hegemony in the West Reserve, for the Bergthalers formed a majority in the new municipality of Douglas and were able to elect their own officials. Later, these West Reserve Bergthalers conspired with a group of dissenting Old Colony Mennonites to elect progressive-minded officials in Rhineland as well, placing municipal control of the West Reserve firmly in the hands of the progressive Mennonites.[134]

Thus, after enjoying a brief period of unity, it was not long before the first inevitable rift between progressives and conservatives made its appearance among the Mennonites in Canada. The Old Colonists completely withdrew their association with the Bergthalers of the West Reserve, ignored the new municipal administration, and continued to govern themselves according to the traditional Mennonite system of district and village mayors. In effect, the West Reserve was henceforth governed by two local administrations which coexisted until the 1920s.[135] More important, these two administrations symbolized the parallel existence of two different Mennonite cultures on the West Reserve.

The Old Colony Mennonites now considered themselves to be the true guardians of Mennonite tradition, punishing the smallest infractions of economic, social, and religious practices with excommunication or the mere threat of it. The progressive Bergthalers became their "mortal enemies," and participation in their civil government, fire insurance schemes, or any other institution was strictly forbidden.[136] Selling land to non-Mennonites, or gaining employment among outsiders, especially Anglo-Saxons, was also prohibited and punishable by the church ban. The adoption of Canadian dress was likewise condemned, as were buggies, bicycles, musical instruments, and many

other articlesof worldly culture.[137] The Old Colonists' orthodoxy, their emphasis on simplicity, their rejection of materialism, and their condemnation of worldly co-religionists, bears resemblance to the religiosity of the Doukhobor zealots. The strategy used by the Old Colonists to preserve their traditions, however, was radically different than that of the zealots. Instead of challenging the Canadian authorities and protesting against their fellow brethren, the Old Colony Mennonites withdrew from society and focused inwardly on maintaining their own cultural purity. Yet although this tactic created far less upheaval and strife than the antics of the Doukhobor zealots, it eventually proved to be no more effective in preventing the assimilation of their sect as a whole.

If the Old Colonists in some ways resembled the Doukhobor zealots, then the West Reserve Bergthal Mennonites were in many ways similar to the Independent Doukhobors. Although both of these factions settled on sectarian reserves, they nonetheless separated themselves geographically from the more traditional-minded sectarians. Both the progressive Bergthalers and the Independents exhibited individualistic tendencies from the first years of settlement, and were prepared to cooperate with the Canadian government to ensure the legal protection of their individual freedoms as Canadian citizens. These progressive sectarians further recognized the potential for individual economic success in a capitalist nation such as Canada. They therefore wavered in their commitment to communal sectarian institutions, all the while seeking to break down the barriers between sectarians and Canadian society at large.

The cause of the progressive Mennonites was aided and abetted by the extension of railroads into southern Manitoba. In 1879, the first railroad line in Manitoba was completed, connecting Winnipeg with St. Paul, Minnesota. It passed along the northwestern border of the East Reserve. where William Hespeler constructed the present town of Niverville. Between 1882 and 1883, branch lines were extended through the eastern and northern townships of the West Reserve, giving rise to the establishment of railroad towns within the Reserve, such as Rosenfeld (1883), Gretna (1883), Morden (1883), Plum Coulee (1884), Winkler (1895), and Altona (1896).[138] The coming of the railroads coincided with the production of surplus wheat in the West Reserve from 1883 onwards.

Now that the Mennonites were able to send their grain to wider markets, increased competition developed between farmers. In order to improve efficiency, a number of Mennonite farmers decided to take up individual quarter-sections instead of farming small strips of land. With an increase in competition among villagers, there also came a need for independent financial institutions, leading the most progressive Mennonites to the new commercial centers to deposit their savings in banks. In this way, services once provided by village institutions became replaced by commercial services in railroad towns. The village system of settlement had benefited the Mennonites in the early years of settlement, when resources were scarce, and a great deal of cooperation and borrowing had been necessary to develop the new colonies. Yet by the 1880s, as Mennonite farms began to prosper, the practical reasons for group settlement had lost much validity. In fact, those who wished to introduce new machinery or farming methods to their property were often prevented from doing so because of resistance from fellow villagers, or because strip-farming made such innovations impracticable.[139]

It is no wonder, then, that the most individualistic Mennonites began to abandon the village settlement system whenever and wherever it became possible. Some of the Bergthalers from the East Reserve, for instance, became frustrated with the poor quality of their land, and began to move to the West Reserve after 1880. Yet instead of settling in villages, some decided to take up individual homesteads,[140] perhaps influenced by unfavorable experiences in their former East Reserve villages. Younger generations of Mennonites also began moving to the fringes of their reserves in search of their own land, which could most easily be secured by registering for a separate quarter-section, rather than organizing a village with other Mennonites. By 1886, the Ontario Mennonite businessman, Jacob Shantz, was pleased to testify before a parliamentary committee that the Mennonites were beginning to see the disadvantages to group settlement and that "quite a number of villages are breaking up."[141] When Shantz had been hired by the government to help the Mennonites settle in Manitoba, the Ontarian had initially encouraged the Mennonites to settle individually but had failed to persuade them. Now that growing numbers of Mennonites began signing up for homesteads in the 1880s, the government acted quickly to reinforce this trend. On May 6, 1885, an

Order-in-Council was passed which prohibited the further establishment of village settlements in the West Reserve.[142] Surprisingly, this legislation encountered a minimal amount of resistance from Mennonites.

In fact, instead of preserving their existing settlements, the West Reserve Mennonites dismantled their villages at a greater pace in the late 1880s and early 1890s than ever before. Common pastures and hayfields were divided, strip-farming was abandoned, and houses and barns were removed from hamlets established only a decade or two earlier. Although Prince Peter Kropotkin had been impressed by the extent of the Mennonites' communal institutions during his 1897 visit to the Manitoba colonies, he nonetheless reported that approximately one-third of all Mennonites were farming independently.[143] According to a map by Carl Dawson, 63 villages remained in existence in the West Reserve in 1890, but 32 of these disappeared before 1922.[144] J. F. Galbraith and Frank Epp claim that only 18 villages remained fully functional in the West Reserve by 1900.[145]

Conservative Mennonites condemned every step of these changes, but they could do little to prevent other sectarians from taking up homesteads and leaving their villages. East Reserve elder Gerhard Wiebe regretted the spread of competition among what had been a Mennonite **brotherhood**, but recognized that capitalist values were safeguarded in a country such as Canada. Near the turn of the century, Wiebe lamented, "many [Mennonites] deal with their brethren more according to legal prescriptions than to God's Word..., through usury, lies and deceit they take advantage of each other so that little neighborly love is to be found any more. But the law protects all their usury and politics."[146] Mennonite conservatives now found themselves virtually helpless to slow the pace of modern reforms and acculturation, just as the opponents of Johann Cornies had been in Russia during the 1830s and 1840s.[147] At that time the emergence of reform-minded Mennonites had given the Russian state the opportunity to intervene in Mennonite affairs, ensuring the success of progressive and assimilatory reforms. This was precisely what the orthodox Mennonites hoped to avoid when they emigrated to Canada, yet within a decade or two, the old split between progressive and traditionalist sectarians had re-emerged with dire consequences. As sociologist E. K. Francis concludes,

> It was this rift in the Mennonite society itself which destroyed the original isolation of their colonies. It made it possible for the authorities and Canadians at large to impose upon them new forms of social economic, and political organization. It brought about the gradual acceptance of Canadian ideas and ways of life by ever more Mennonites and ultimately broke the ancient traditions altogether.[148]

Most abhorrent to the Mennonite traditionalists were the signs of Canadian culture creeping into the reserves. As progressive Mennonites began to trade, do business, and eventually, live in commercial centers, they became interested in local political and business developments. Through their dealings with town professionals, the Mennonites adopted English phrases. The Mennonites began purchasing English language newspapers, which introduced Canadian fashions and customs into Mennonite homes. In 1900, J. F. Galbraith described what he felt to be a fairly typical Mennonite home in Schanzenfeld which was "as well and tastily [sic.] furnished as any of the better class of farm houses in the Province,...."[149] Galbraith added, "Intercourse with the town resident is doubtless responsible to the Mennonites for a mild indulgence in luxury in home furnishings, including the occasional introduction of expensive musical instruments."[150] In Russia, Kleine Gemeinde ministers had claimed that through their 'worldly practices', the Mennonites had degenerated to the lowly moral standards of their neighbours, the Nogai Tartars.[151] Now in Canada, conservative elders such as Gerhard Wiebe bemoaned the fact that Mennonites had willfully made themselves indistinguishable from the sinners surrounding them:

> The government has given us freedom to retain our school and church as we had been accustomed to do. Yet only twenty-three years have passed, as foam on a wild brook, and we are similar to them in almost all things. Arrogance ad ostentatious display in dress increases so much that one cannot distinguish between so-called Mennonites and other citizens of the country, which is entirely against the Lord's and apostles' teaching.[152]

Wiebe did not even belong to the most conservative of Mennonite factions, but was a Bergthal elder from the East Reserve. His congregation may be placed in-between the strict orthodoxy of the Old Colonists and the

Bergthalers of the West Reserve. The East Reserve appeared to be less vulnerable to individualistic influences, partly because those who farmed its poorer soil still required some social assistance and close cooperation with other Mennonite farmers, and partly because the railroad did not directly pass through the Reserve. Nonetheless, continuous desertions to the West Reserve crippled the original East Reserve settlements, leaving gaps in village land holdings which led to their dissolution. Frank Epp claims that by 1891 the East Reserve contained no more than 25 complete villages, which were disbanding at a rate of one per year.[153] However, the most entrepreneurial-minded villages developed into important trade and commercial centers, such as Steinbach and Grunthal, where the successes of early mills and creameries attracted general stores, lumber yards, tanneries, machine shops, and other businesses.[154] Fewer villages could afford to retain the simplicity of sectarian peasant life, for those who participated in the faster paced world of Canadian consumer culture were gaining more influence.

Despite the changes in their own reserve, the East Reserve Bergthalers nonetheless formally distinguished themselves from the worldly West Reserve Bergthalers in the 1880s by calling themselves the 'Chortitz' church, named after their mother colony in Russia. It was only one of a series of church schisms which plagued the Manitoba Mennonites. The West Reserve Bergthalers, meanwhile, had formed their own progressive church, led by a liberal-minded elder. Yet the more conservative members of this church evidently found it to be excessively liberal and disagreed with its support of public education. They therefore appointed their own elder, Abraham Doerksen, from the village of Sommerfeld, thus creating the 'Sommerfeld' church. The Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites on the East Reserve also became divided in 1882, when one-third of their congregation followed the emotional and evangelical teachings of an American Mennonite missionary from Ohio named Johannes Holdemann. Hence, the 'Holdemann' church was formed. Holdemann was just one of many Mennonite denominations from the United States who sent missionaries to Canada. In the midst of their own disunity, the Manitoba Mennonites became influenced by the such expanding American Mennonite organizations as the progressive 'General Conference' which sought the unity of all Mennonite groups, and the evangelically oriented 'Mennonite

Brethren', who originated from Russia.[155] The General Conference had a particularly great influence on the West Reserve Bergthalers, providing strong support for the creation of teacher training schools and the expansion of Mennonite education on the reserves in the late 1880s and early 1890s.[156] The Mennonite Brethren were able to establish their first church in Manitoba among former Old Colonists in 1888.

These new religious divisions signified that the Mennonite commonwealth in Canada had quickly become more fractious than it had even been in Russia. Elder Gerhard Wiebe recognized this, which is why his book about the Russian emigration to Canada became a book of lamentations. Recalling his old Bergthal colony in Russia, Wiebe pined,

> Our immediate neighbours were Russians to the west, Catholics to the north, Greeks to the east and Cossacks to the south We were enclosed by three or four different confessions, and...on the whole we lived together in peace and tranquility [sic.]. Oh, if we could only live like this now, with the *Kleine Gemeinde* and the *Holdemans*, [sic.] that we could work together with them in spiritual matters; then we would not be so easily wounded by the evil one...as is the case now.[157]

Wiebe had remembered that shortly after his arrival in Canada in 1876, "the best and most beautiful thing was that we were all together in affection and harmony."[158] Yet by the turn of the century, the Bergthal elder found himself bemoaning: "Oh, how sad it is that we have not remained in this unity."[159] Life in Canada was not what the emigration leaders had envisioned it to be upon leaving Russia.

Yet perhaps the true status of the Mennonites in Canada was in eye of the beholder. From the perspective of the orthodox, one might think that most Mennonites had been completely assimilated into Canadian society by 1900. This, of course, was not the case. Nearly all Mennonites continued to exhibit sectarian traits well into the twentieth century. Despite accepting individual homesteads, Mennonites still preferred to live near other Mennonites. The Mennonites' neighbours criticized the fact that they lived "all to themselves" and considered them to be "a morbid and melancholy people [who] live for nothing but work and religion."[160] There was truth to this stereotype, for the church played a central role among all Mennonite groups and desertions from the

Mennonite churches to other faiths were few and far between. The German language continued to be the first language of Mennonite young people and intermarriages with non-Mennonites rarely occurred, even among the progressives. In 1898, the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba summarized the popular perception of Mennonites in the province when he stated that "[t]hey have been an industrious class, but less valuable as settlers on account of their unwillingness to learn English and their refusal to mix much or intermarry with others."[161] Members of a parliamentary committee who interviewed Jacob Shantz in 1886 were especially disappointed that the sectarians did not intermarry and that Mennonite parents remained reluctant to hire out their children to non-Mennonite employers. The Committee urged Shantz to promote change among the sectarians in this regard, but the Ontario Mennonite businessman was forced to admit that the Manitoba Mennonites would remain a distinct society for time to come:

> [Committee Member]: You seem to have had the special superintendence of this...community...Advise them...to get their girls out in winter, for five or six months in the year, among the other communities. If the Mennonites mingled with the other communities and intermarried, they would become better subjects and adapt themselves more to the country[.]
>
> [Shantz]: I think all that will come about gradually.
>
> [Committee Member]: Well, they have been there [in Manitoba] a long time now. It is about time to start out[.]
>
> [Shantz]: Their mode of living is so different that in many cases it would not be so agreeable.[162]

Although the above passage suggests a clear intention by government to assimilate the Mennonites, Canadian authorities did not directly force the Mennonites to integrate into Canadian society. The orthodox were allowed to maintain their village institutions and continued to lead simple lives as they had for generations. Outside observers, such as Prince Kropotkin in 1897, marvelled at the "remarkable fact that amidst...capitalist civilisation [sic.] some twenty thousand men should continue to live, and to thrive, under a system of partial communism and passive resistance to the State which they have maintained for more than three hundred years against all persecutions."[163] The government did not feel the need to further inhibit the practices of the

stubborn traditionalists by the 1890s. Villages were being voluntarily disbanded, the Mennonites were participating in local politics, and were buying into Canadian culture. One could not help but believe that groups such as the Kleine Gemeinde and the Old Colonists would soon modernize as well.

More important, the government was well satisfied with the economic progress made by the Mennonites, and did not wish to jeopardize this progress by inflaming relations with the sectarians. By the turn of the century, the West Reserve had become one of the most productive rural regions in the Canadian West, which was due in large part to the exceptional fertility of the land. Yet it was the Mennonites who had dared to settle on this open prairie when no other settlers would, thereby setting an example for later settlers to follow. In 1900, the municipality of Rhineland (which after 1891 became coterminous with the West Reserve) ranked 14th in size out of 73 rural municipalities in Manitoba. Yet of the 73, Rhineland was the most populous, contained the highest number of horses and pigs, ranked second in acreage under cultivation, and was deemed the most prosperous overall.[164] To appreciate the Mennonites' economic successes, one might look to the accomplishments of two West Reserve farmers, Gerhard Braun and Peter Peters. Braun had a mere $75 to his name when he first settled in Manitoba, but by 1900 was the owner of 1600 acres of farmland, 24 horses (including purebreds) and 20 bulls.[165] After twenty years in Canada, Peter Peters accumulated assets worth approximately $50,000, including two sections of land (1280 acres) and a $3000 steam-threshing outfit which he purchased in cash.[166] News of the Mennonites' success spread well beyond local boundaries. In his 1898 article on the Canadian Northwest in the British periodical, *The Nineteenth Century*, Kropotkin announced: "Mennonites prosper everywhere. They were prosperous in Russia, and they prosper in Canada...The unanimous testimony of all Canadians is that the Mennonites are the wealthiest settlers on the neighbourhood....there are no signs of poverty, although the Mennonite population has multiplied in twenty years out of every reasonable proportion."[167]

One should remember, however, that the Manitoba Mennonites received substantial loans from the government and their co-religionists in Ontario in order to get their farms started. Within a few years, the Mennonite immigrants

had used $90,000 of the $100,000 borrowed from the Dominion government in 1875. Yet by 1892, the full amount of the loan plus interest was paid in full, although $24,000 worth of interest had been rebated by government to support the poorest settlers.[168] In his annual report, the Minister of the Interior marvelled at the conscientious manner in which the Mennonites had worked to repay the government, adding: "The history of any country does not afford, I undertake to say, a case in which an obligation to the government on the part of any society, company, or individual, has been fulfilled with greater faithfulness than this."[169] Thus, even the Mennonite loan, which was initially politically controversial, eventually improved Ottawa's estimation of the Mennonites.

By the mid 1890s, the Canadian government was obviously well pleased with the Mennonite experiment. Therefore, when the Old Colony Mennonites (who populated most of the prosperous West Reserve) initiated negotiations with the government to create a third Mennonite reserve in the Territory of Saskatchewan, the Federal government responded favourably. Already by the late 1880s, land had become scarce on the Manitoba reserves, forcing younger Mennonites to take up homesteads elsewhere. At this time, the Northwest Territories of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan and Alberta were being opened up for settlement, and small groups of Mennonites began to make their way westward, beginning in 1891. Mennonite traditionalists, however, wanted to establish new settlements on the same basis as those granted to them in Manitoba. Thus, in 1894, a delegation of Mennonite leaders headed by the Old Colonists toured the Northwest, selecting four townships for potential settlement, near the present Saskatchewan towns of Rosthern and Hague. Ottawa quickly responded to the Mennonites' request by Order-in-Council on January 23, 1895, which not only created the Hague Reserve, but justified its necessity to Canadians:

> These people had prospered to a remarkable degree since their arrival in Manitoba, and have fulfilled with singular good faith all the obligations undertaken by them in that relation, repaying the advance of money made to them, with interest, to the last cent, and fully colonizing their reservations with the choicest settlers...it is important, in the public interest, that the efforts of the Mennonites to induce the immigration of their friends in Europe and elsewhere to the Northwest should be encouraged, and to do this it is necessary to give the intending settlers an assurance that they will be enabled to carry out the principles of their

> social system, and to settle together in hamlets...by obtaining entries for contiguous lands.[170]

By 1897, more than 1,200 Mennonites had relocated to the new reserve, inducing the government to add a fifth township in 1898. In Saskatchewan, the Mennonites were permitted to re-establish their *Strassendoerfer* village system, and most who settled on the new reserve retained the essential elements of this system.[171] However, there were difficulties associated with recreating early Manitoba reserve life in Saskatchewan. Firstly, an 1883 amendment to the Hamlet Clause required the Hague Reserve residents to cultivate individual homesteads, and it was not until March 1900, after many Mennonite protests, that the Federal government agreed to once again waive cultivation requirements as it had in Manitoba in the 1870s.[172] Secondly, in 1898, the government mistakenly registered the homesteads of a number of 'Galician' immigrants on the fifth township of the Hague reserve. It took three years of Mennonite protests and petitions, and a government investigation before a compromise was reached in 1901. The Mennonites had hired the Morden law firm of McLaren, McLeod, and Black to argue their case. Neither side clearly won the dispute; the individual claims of Mennonites and Galicians were in some cases confirmed, but cancelled in others.[173] Thirdly, there was a limited amount of public opposition to the idea of once again creating separate reserves for the Mennonites. One editorial in the *Edmonton Bulletin* in 1898, written by future Minister of the Interior, Frank Oliver, was decidedly critical of the Mennonites and their sectarian habits:

> [The creation of reservations] is a favor that is not extended to ordinary Canadian or British settlers, and the question naturally arises, is a Mennonite so much more desirable a settler than any other man that he should be accorded privileges not accorded to others? If Canadian-born Mennonites are so prejudiced against their fellow citizens that to induce them to remain in the country it is necessary to give them a reservation by themselves, it is evidence that there are disadvantages as well as advantages connected with a Mennonite population.[174]

Popular disaffection with the Mennonites, however, never became as widespread as antipathy towards the Doukhobors had been, and any objections to the new Mennonite reserves therefore were overruled by the

Canadian government. This became evident in 1904 when the government granted the Mennonites a fourth reserve near Swift Current, in the Territory of Assiniboia, despite past difficulties associated with creating reservations. According to William Janzen and Carl Tracie, the Mennonites this time purposefully selected lands which were poor in quality in order to maintain their isolation and avoid conflicts with non-Mennonites.[175] The Order-in-Council which created the new six township reserve noted that the lands "are reported as not being of a class which would make them suitable for farming by ordinary settlers...but...guided...by the results which have attended the efforts of the Mennonite community in other parts of Manitoba and the North West Territories in founding colonies...they will be able to work the lands applied for with success."[176] Even so, the government was reluctant to grant the Mennonites permission to settle in villages. It took more petitions by Mennonite lawyers before permission was granted in 1905 to establish villages with a minimum of twenty families, while smaller villages already established prior to the ruling were allowed to remain.[177]

Although the hamlet privilege was finally abolished under Frank Oliver in 1907, Mennonite migration to the new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta proceeded apace. Whereas the Mennonite population remained stagnant in Manitoba and Ontario between 1901 and 1911, Saskatchewan's Mennonites increased nearly fourfold, from close to four thousand in 1901 to nearly fifteen thousand by 1911.[178] During this time, Canada received moderate influxes of new Mennonite immigrants from Europe, but mostly from the United States, who came to the Canadian West in search of cheap land and military service exemptions. Most of these Mennonites arrived in small groups and took up individual homesteads next to other Mennonite settlers in Saskatchewan. The new westward migration was thus characterized by varied motivations, reflecting a dichotomy among Mennonites in Canada. Some Mennonites sought economic prosperity, while others attempted to further isolate themselves from the world by establishing reservations in less populated regions of the country. This dichotomy between progressives and traditionalists in some ways served the Mennonites well in Canada. The traditionalists fought to retain special privileges and rights for the Mennonites, while the activities of

the progressives elicited tolerance from Canadian authorities, for they proved that Mennonites could fit in with the rest of Canadian society.

The Doukhobors, however, had also split into conservative and progressive factions, yet were not given the same sort of general tolerance from government. One of the main reasons for this lies in the different styles of protest of the Mennonites and Doukhobors. Whereas the Community Doukhobors and the zealots had been led by Verigin and certain Tolstoyans to directly challenge government law and use mass demonstrations, the Mennonites kept their protests quiet, and did not reject Canadian law, but worked through the Canadian legal system to challenge government decisions. As a result, the Mennonites did not elicit the same sort of popular indignation from Canadians which the Doukhobors did. The Doukhobors soon discovered that sectarian minorities could ill afford popular antipathy in a democratic nation such as Canada. Naturally, there were other reasons for the greater tolerance shown to Mennonites. For one, the Mennonites were more visible and familiar to Canadians; by 1901 there were over 30,000 Mennonites living in the Canadian West, and nearly 45,000 by 1911.[179] One should not forget the obvious fact that the Russian Mennonites had arrived twenty-five years earlier, at a time when even greater value had been placed on settlers, and a time when the government was only beginning to extend its authority throughout the Northwest. Thus, Mennonites were given a longer period in which to adjust to Canadian social and economic systems, establish themselves, and prove their worth to society. The Mennonites were thus able to gain a reputation based on their economic achievements which in turn led the government to tolerate many of their sectarian habits and practices.

As Peter Verigin travelled from Siberia to the Canadian Northwest in late 1902, the Doukhobor leader recognized that the future of his sect in Canada was more uncertain than the Mennonite future. Along his journey, Verigin gave only vague answers to his interviewers regarding his leadership role among the Doukhobors in Canada, yet emphasized that he would not simply capitulate to the government's wishes. To an assembled crowd at Essex Hall in London, Verigin stated that the Doukhobors wished to live freely according to their consciences, adding that "under no circumstances" could one serve both God

and Government, quoting Christ, Verigin stated: "You cannot serve two masters."[180] After being welcomed to Canada in December by three Federal Government representatives in Saint John, the Doukhobor leader agreed to meet with the Minister of the Interior in Ottawa, but declined to discuss matters relating to his people on account of his unfamiliarity with the country.[181] A few days later in Winnipeg, the Acting-Commissioner of Immigration commented to Verigin on the difference between Russia and a country such as Canada, where religious and individual freedoms were recognized. The Doukhobor leader, however, was not yet prepared to concede that Canada was a more tolerant nation. In front of *Manitoba Free Press* reporters, Verigin cautiously responded: "I haven't looked round yet...so I cannot tell whether this is a free country or not."[182]

Yet shortly after being reunited with his followers, the Doukhobor leader became more diplomatic in his relations to Canadians. Verigin soon realized what the Mennonites had learned in Canada, that economic growth and conciliation with government was necessary for the survival of sectarian minorities in Canada. In January and February, Verigin met with government officials where he learned the fundamental stipulations of the Dominion Lands Act. The Doukhobor leader learned that filing for entry would give the Spirit Wrestlers a grace period of three years in which to prove their agricultural talents before the receipt of individual land patents. Undoubtedly, Verigin recognized that he would need three years of relative stability in order to consolidate his followers and to bring the Independents back under his authority. The Doukhobor leader therefore managed to convince the Spirit Wrestlers that entering their land (ie. registering for each homestead under the Dominion Lands Act) was a mere formality, which did not necessarily violate their consciences, so long as they remained committed to pooling their property, and living and working as a community.[183] Within weeks, Verigin established an administrative Committee, consisting of his interpreter Simeon Reibin, the zealot leader Nicholas Zibarov, the wealthy conservative Paul Planidin, and himself as chairman. Once this Committee had been given power of attorney, it was permitted by Ottawa to register quarter-sections by proxy. Thus, by April 16, 1903, the Committee filed 1,738 homestead entries, with only 6 abstentions from zealot families.[184]

Verigin's next task was solidify his followers' commitment to a communal lifestyle, and to enlist the energies of his people into building up the assets of the community. The Doukhobor leader immediately instituted a head office to which all villages were to be responsible, in the village of Otradnoe. He then ordered the establishment of communes at the village level, whereby each village was to hold all property in common, equally share all common goods, set up a common treasury, and perform agricultural work together as a unit.[185] Doukhobor Vasya Chernov recalled the changes which took place:

> [Before Peter Verigin arrived] We had our own cows, but the horses were kept together. When Peter Lordly came then "the horses are to be together. The cows are also to be milked together." Nothing was to be owned individually. Then they started milking and distributing the milk. Each person was given a cupful...when Peter Lordly came the community would get so many pounds of butter and bring it and get everyone together and distribute it. And sugar also in this manner. Flour was brought in too. It was during Peter Lordly's time that our own flour mills started being built. And so at the time of Peter Lordly we settled and lived and it was a good, happy time.[186]

By all accounts, Verigin was successful in establishing his new administration and experienced few desertions to the Independents in the early years of his 'reign' in Canada. After visiting the colonies, James Mavor noted that the Doukhobor women were largely responsible for this, for they were especially loyal to Verigin and the security of his communistic system.[187] In fact, many Independents rejoined the ranks of Community Doukhobors whose numbers swelled to a peak of 8,400 by 1905.[188] Yet as evidenced by James Mavor's 1904 report to the Board of Trade, Verigin's initiatives did not only provide security for the Doukhobors, but also greatly improved their self-sufficiency:

> ...It is doubtful where at any time there has been in place quite so complete a system of community of goods on so large a scale as he has succeeded in establishing....they are absolutely self contained. They grind wheat grown by themselves in their own mills; they grind their flax also in their own mills, and press linseed oil. They grow flax for yarn and

> spin and weave it into linen. They spin and weave wool into woolen cloth, and, as a rule, they make their own garments,...[189]

The Doukhobors were even able to provide themselves with basic health services after the departure of the Russian nurses, for the Doukhobors had their own midwives, bone-setters, dentists, and other lay specialists.[190] With minimal interference from outsiders, and under the direct guidance of their leader for the first time in their history, the Veriginites were finally able to establish the type of communal, self-sufficient communities they had long intended to create.

Under Verigin's leadership a new spirit of optimism, enthusiasm, and progress swept through the Doukhobor reserves. Without delay, Verigin set about making improvements to the colonies, using the wages of Doukhobor railroad workers to buy thousands of dollars worth of new agricultural equipment. A statement of expenses for the Doukhobor community in 1903, totalling over $200,000, included four portable steam engines with threshing machines, two self-propelled steam engines with threshing machines, 32 mowers, 45 disc harrows, 234 triple harrows, 20 seeders, 12 fanning-mills, 109 ploughs, 50 scythes, 16 wagons, 152 sleighs, 20,000 pounds of twine, among many other supplies and provisions.[191] Also included in the statement were the first two Doukhobor sawmills which were put into operation that year, and 365 horses, some of which were described as "the best horses in the country."[192] As the colonies continued to make rapid progress, the extent of the transformation was summarized by a Canadian university student who visited the Doukhobors in 1904:

> It is not yet two years since Mr. Verigin came to Canada from the prisons of Siberia; but in that time he has wrought wonders among the Doukhobors. Two years ago the Doukhobors lived in low cabins of logs and mud; today...they have a brickyard and are building houses of brick. Two years ago [women hitched themselves]...to plows; now they are using 25-horse-power, double cylinder Reeves engines that plow 25 acres a day. Two years ago they ground their flour by windmill; now they are running four grist-mills and four saw-mills. Three years ago they did not have one threshing machine outfit to bless themselves with; today they have four portable engines and three traction engines, all run by Doukhobor engineers. Two years ago they were...disorganized

> ...restless and malcontent; now they are perhaps the most hopeful and ambitious people in America.[193]

Government officials were also noting with satisfaction the changes on the reserve. Colonization agent C. W. Speers was pleased to report that the Spirit Wrestlers were beginning to conform to Canadian ways, wearing English-style clothing and observing Dominion holidays. He confidently concluded that the "Doukhobors will yet be considered among our most progressive settlers....They are making excellent progress."[194] The coming of the railroad to the Doukhobor reserves played a large role in disseminating Canadian culture, just as it had among the Mennonites in Manitoba. Between 1903 and 1905, the main line of the Canadian Northern Railway was constructed, passing through the South Reserve and Annex and the Prince Albert Reserve, giving rise to the nearby railroad towns such as Kamsack and Canora, as well as new towns within the reserves, such as Buchanan and Langham. Once the southern section of the railroad had been completed in 1903, Verigin decided to purchase an additional thirteen square miles of land along the railway, where he established a new commercial railroad town named after himself.

In this new town of 'Verigin' a grand new 'Orphan's Home' was built, which became the new administrative capital of the colonies, and Verigin's personal residence. Also living with the Doukhobor leader was his mother, his mistress, and a choir of young Doukhobor women who often accompanied the leader as he toured each colony. In winter, Verigin travelled by sleigh, pulled by a team of pure-bred horses. The extravagances of Verigin's new lifestyle in many ways resembled those of past Living Christs in Russia, but dressed in flamboyant silk top-hats and English suits, the Doukhobor leader had nonetheless deviated from his own earliest espousals of simplicity and godly living. Verigin now fancied himself in a new role as a Canadian businessman, a role for which he appeared to be well suited. In his memoirs, James Mavor commented on Verigin's shrewdness when it came to business dealings, noting how the leader had once forced a railroad contractor to pay unprofitably high wages to Doukhobor workers when there was no other labour source nearby.[195] Even in his correspondence with Tolstoy, Verigin could not help but give regular progress reports on the colonies (on letterheads which became increasingly more businesslike) including detailed figures on costs and

expenditures, as well as numbers on agricultural production, etc.[196] Tolstoy, it seems, became mildly irritated by this, for in response he intimated that Verigin perhaps had something to learn from the Doukhobor zealots who rejected materialism altogether:

> Don't get carried away, dear friend, by the material success of the community...no matter how absurd the movement for animal liberation and Heavenly Life might seem, it is more important than all the steam threshers, scythes, harvesters, etc.,.... [The zealots] have the vital element that brings genuine good to one's self and others, while those who despise their motives and set up marvellous useful machines and see in them the meaning of life have nothing to offer themselves or others but certain destruction.[197]

Despite Verigin's arrival in Canada, the zealots had remained active in the colonies, and had resumed preaching against worldliness in the spring of 1903. As small bands of them roved from village to village they now referred to themselves as *'Svobodniki'* (Freedomites') which led to them to be called 'Sons of Freedom' in English. Tolstoy had sympathy for the Freedomites, and instructed Verigin to work towards creating unity between them and the larger community.[198] Yet as the zealots continued to cause public embarrassment for the Doukhobors and the government, Verigin very clearly distanced his Community Doukhobors from the sub-sectarian 'troublemakers'. The government, meanwhile, monitored Freedomite activities closely. Fearing a second imminent pilgrimage in May of 1903, Deputy Minister of the Interior, James Smart, ordered the North West Mounted Police (NWMP) to begin patrolling the colonies regularly, hoping this measure would "give the people the impression that we do not intend to allow anything more of this kind, and...give them respect for the authority of the police."[199] Smart was obviously unfamiliar with the fact that demonstrations of authority by the Tsarist police in Russia had merely caused the most zealous sectarians to pursue their cause more vigorously. Thus, when twenty-six men were arrested by the NWMP for planning a demonstration two weeks later, one man expressed his defiance by stripping off his clothes in public, an act for which he received four months in prison.[200]

It was at this time that nudism first entered the Freedomite repertoire. Approximately fifty zealots staged their first nudist march in May of 1903 in protest against the growth of materialism among their brethren. Calling on their fellow Doukhobors to return to nature as God made them, the nudists ate leaves and grass as they passed through sixteen villages, receiving scorn and condemnation from village residents. Before the nude marchers reached Verigin's headquarters at Otradnoe, where they declared they would "destroy the throne of Satan," they were prevented from proceeding at the village of Nadezhda. According to George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, Verigin himself had ordered the Nadezhda villagers to halt the march after the nudists had encountered his carriage on the road and set free his horses.[201] But according to J. F. C. Wright, the demonstrators were not merely halted, but beaten by Nadezhda residents with willow branches until they were "covered with blood."[202] After a bitterly cold night during which the demonstrators kept warm by huddling in a pile, the women and children were taken into the village and clothed. Twenty-eight men, however, proceeded to the outskirts of Yorkton where a band of local townspeople surrounded the demonstrators and forcibly dressed them. All twenty-eight were promptly arrested for indecent exposure and sentenced to three months in the Regina Gaol.

The Sons of Freedom were amazed by the shock and consternation which their nudity had caused among government officials, the Canadian press, and the greater public. Jeremy Adelman aptly points out that the initial arrests

> changed the nature of the rite from one of worship to one of defiance of authority. Thereafter, Doukhobors stripped regularly. Upon the sight of an approaching police patrol whole groups would undress. Displays of nudity, sometimes on the streets of Yorkton or smaller towns, terrified authorities. Pilgrimages were bad enough, but naked processions created a sensation in the Victorian press. What ever charity was left in the government quickly vanished and the arrests were stepped up.[203]

The number of nude demonstrations and 'pilgrimages' staged by the Sons of Freedom following this incident were almost countless, and stretched over a period of decades. A few of these incidents in Saskatchewan are described in Table One:

Table One: Major Zealot Demonstrations in Saskatchewan, 1903-1910[204]

Fall 1904:	approximately 40 members march to find 'warmer lands', forcibly turned back at Sasktatoon.
August 1905:	32 Freedomites march through Yorkton nude.
August 1907:	approximately 70 zealots dress in blue gowns and straw hats begin trek to find Christ in a warmer climate. Reach Fort William (Thunder Bay), Ontario, by winter where nude demonstrations are held into the spring of 1908 before being forcibly sent back. 19 members given 6 month jail sentences
May 1908:	76 Freedomites begin another pilgrimage, strip upon arrest, all sent to Insane Asylum in Brandon, Manitoba.
July 1908:	village hunger strike results in 12 arrests; village elders sent to Brandon Asylum.
July 1910:	32 members burn their money, followed by a 42 day hunger strike; children taken from parents; 11 adults sent to Brandon Asylum.

Both Freedomite and Community Doukhobors would later claim that those arrested for zealot activities were cruelly mistreated at the hands of police and Canadian prison officials. Long lists of unconfirmed beatings and torture were later compiled but never proven. These atrocity stories described even crueller punishments than those alleged in *Christian Martyrdom in Russia.*[205] A lurid document issued by the Community Doukhobors in 1912, for instance, referred back to the earliest arrests:

> In 1903 over forty men were put into the prison at Regina, men and women... The 'fasting' Doukhobors were beaten and tormented a great deal for abstaining from meat...The doctors were forcibly injecting medical mixtures through their mouths, which led to excruciating stomach-pains and diarrhea,...All were forcibly fed by meat soups, scalding hot, whereby tongues and lips were burned black. All this bodily torture was mostly carried on during the night. As to beating, this was done in broad daylight as well as at night time, using rolling pins, lashes; trampling underfoot both men and women. The men Alexei Makasaev and Nicholas Antifaev were starved and had their arms

> twisted backwards. They were suspended by their feet with the head stuck in a barrel of water until rendered unconscious and then thrown on the ground as good as dead.
>
> In the same year, 1903, Prokov Pogojev was tortured to death in the Brandon Insane Asylum,...
>
> In 1904 Alexei Ponomarev was tortured to death in the prison of Prince-Alberta [sic.] by having hot meat soups injected into his stomach through rubber tubing...
>
> Out of six men put into the cold room at the prison of Winnepeg [sic.], Koozma Novokshonov and Vasil Makasaev were tortured to death by being chained to the walls, hands and feet stretched stiff...for three days in the midst of winter....[206]

Although it is difficult to imagine such events taking place, the allegations are important, for their purpose was to tarnish Canada's reputation as a land of liberty and a nation of tolerance. The Doukhobors wished to publicize the fact that their status as victims had remained unchanged by their emigration from Russia to Canada.

Although Verigin himself used these allegations to embarrass the Canadian government in later years,[207] he had not been sympathetic to the zealots when the events were taking place. In fact, during his first years in Canada, Verigin was concerned about the image which his sect presented to the Canadian public. As Verigin wrote Tolstoy, Canadians "were beginning to be quite amazed" at the fact that "on the one hand there are Doukhobors walking around stark naked, wanting to abandon physical labour altogether, while on the other hand they [the Spirit Wrestlers] are acquiring the most up-to-date agricultural equipment and are starting to work in a very business-like fashion...."[208] Verigin also knew that the coexistence of entrepreneurial and zealot mentalities among the Doukhobors was more than a harmless paradox, but was in fact a serious rift which threatened the moral, social, and economic stability of his sect. Verigin's apprehensions were confirmed in 1904, when the Freedomites turned against the new technology used by their brethren by setting their leader's cherished threshing and reaping machines on fire. Just as the Veriginites had burned their guns in 1895 to reaffirm their commitment to traditional pacifist principles, the zealots now symbolically used fire to purge themselves of 'satanic machinery' in a newly avowed war against science. Furthermore, the outbreak of arson in 1904, like the 1895 burning of arms, was

meant to attract the attention of others, and they generated as the same sort of resentment and reprisals from within the sect as the 1895 demonstrations in Russia had attracted from non-sectarians. In Canada, Verigin now assumed the role of Captain Praga, the Cossack commander of 1895, by repressing the Freedomites in merciless fashion. According to James Mavor, Verigin vehemently insisted--despite the more lenient attitudes of police and judicial officials--that the fire-starters be arrested for arson, led to Regina in chains, and be given full three year prison sentences.[209] Before this incident, the zealots had believed that Verigin secretly approved of their deeds and had been keeping his distance from them merely in order to test them. After all, it was Verigin who had rejected the materialism of the Gubanov faction in Russia, and had chose instead to espouse a brand of spiritual mysticism. Yet now that their leader had overtly condemned them in defence of his private property, the Freedomites denounced Verigin as a 'machinery man' and carried on their activities independently.

By attempting to build up the prosperity of the Doukhobor community and quell the zealot demonstrations, Verigin had attempted to improve the image of the Doukhobors. Yet despite the significant progress made, he was unable to make their peculiar lifestyle as palatable to Canadians as that of the Mennonites, for there were too many too many misinterpretations, too many stumbling blocks, and too many eccentricities to Doukhobor life. The Canadian public, for instance, rarely differentiated between Freedomite activities and those of the Doukhobors in general, an oversight which has continued to plague the sect to this very day. Verigin's leadership was another matter of contention, for his penchant for extravagance appeared to be a clear contradiction of the Doukhobors belief in the equality of all peoples. Rumours surfaced which depicted Verigin as a self-gratifying despot, conducting immoral activities in the Orphan's Home with his "harem of maidens."[210]

More disturbing to the Canadian government were reports indicating that Verigin's authoritarian influence was preventing some of the more progressive Doukhobors from farming independently. The prosperous Independents were a constant threat to Verigin, for they tempted the most productive Doukhobors to desert the Community and farm on their own. In a 1903 letter to Deputy Minister of the Interior, a Mennonite preacher named Hermann Fast criticized Verigin for

his use of "refined severity" in ensuring his followers' compliance with his communistic agenda. Fast wrote that a contingent of independent-minded Doukhobors "groans under the leadership of Peter Verigin" but were "too oppressed and too shy" to decisively break away from the Community.[211] More bold were the Doukhobors from Yakutsk, who arrived in Canada in the fall of 1905, after being released from their Siberian exile by the besieged Russian monarchy. After living by themselves for ten years, these Spirit Wrestlers had acquired an independent spirit, and were no longer convinced of Verigin's divine right to rule. Instead, they openly challenged Verigin's decisions, and supported the right of the Independents to farm their own homesteads.[212] Although most of these former exiles would eventually join the Independents, the latter group was still a minority, numbering merely 850 sectarians in 1906, in comparison to the 7,850 Community Doukhobors.[213] Under Verigin, the rift between the two factions grew deeper. Independents were labelled as outcasts by the greater community, children of either faction were not allowed to mingle with one another, herds owned by each group were kept separate, and occasional fights and skirmishes broke out between members of the two groups when Community members attempted to take up homesteads.[214] Like the rift between the Large and Small parties in Russia, members began to live in separate villages or colonies, although most Independents were already located in the Prince Albert colony. The remaining Community Doukhobors in the Prince Albert settlement were encouraged by Verigin to relocate to the South Colony, which they did between 1906 and 1907.

Government authorities soon concluded that Verigin was an impediment to the integration of Doukhobors with the rest of western Canadian society. During the summer of 1905, a special investigation of the Doukhobor colonies was ordered "to see that no member of the community was intimidated or suffering in any way from any hardship from the fact that he may have decided to secede from the community and establish himself along independent lines."[215] Although the inspectors recognized that economic progress had been made on all of the Doukhobor colonies, they concluded that it was the Independents who were "...the very best material out of which to make citizens superior to most of the foreigners finding homes in our land in intelligence, industry, aspirations and work accomplished," who furthermore were "...rapidly

absorbing Canadian sentiments and dropping notions peculiar to them."[216] According to the report of Colonization Agent C. W. Speers, the Community Doukhobors had similar potential, but had become too dependent on Verigin and his communistic system:

> The individual homesteader has never been impressed with his rights as a settler [or] his independence as an individual. Peter Verigin and the Community have controlled all earnings, all revenues, all incomes from all sources and this ruling has been considered absolute. I would recommend that the individual homesteader be impressed with his own independence and also his individual rights, and that...the interim homestead receipt be given to him personally.[217]

Yet Verigin continued to inhibit those farmers who desired to become independent, leading the Comptroller of the North West Mounted Police to declare to the Minister of the Interior that "at one time we were anxious to have Peter Verigin arrive from Russia. It now looks as if we shall be compelled to take drastic measures to repress him."[218]

In 1905, relations between Canadian authorities and Community Doukhobors took a turn for the worse. Clifford Sifton, who had sympathized with the Doukhobors and publicly defended the sect, resigned from his post as Minister of the Interior. Sifton was replaced by Frank Oliver, a politician who had been strongly opposed to the creation of reserves and the awarding of special privileges to minorities. Oliver's appointment, meanwhile, coincided with a new influx of settlement to the west following the creation of the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta in that same year. In fact, Canada had been receiving growing numbers immigrants since the turn of the century. When the Doukhobors arrived in Canada in 1899, they had comprised nearly one-quarter of Canada's annual immigration total, yet by the year 1906, some 189,000 new immigrants were arriving annually, which made Doukhobor population on the prairies appear relatively insignificant.[219] Moreover, the agenda of the Canadian government was also changing during this decade. Ottawa was becoming less concerned with finding settlers to fill the land, and more concerned with finding land to accommodate the steady flow of settlers. As Carl Tracie writes, national concern began focussing more on integration, rather than immigration.[220]

Popular opinion thus became more critical of the Doukhobors because they were difficult to integrate, and because they occupied valuable land. As zealot demonstrations continued to be publicized, and as the Spirit Wrestlers obstinately maintained their communal institutions while expressing no desire to establish schools or participate in Canadian political life, newspaper articles openly questioned the value of the Doukhobors immigrant to Canadian society. Accordingly, one Winnipeg correspondent wrote,

> The main question in settling up the vast west is not so much to run in a horde of people as it is to get the right class of people. Settlers are to a large extent born and not made, if I may use the term, and the Doukhobor as he is today in the neighbourhood of Yorkton does not come up to the lowest qualification of a settler.[221]

The Doukhobors were also criticized for keeping not making improvements to much of their reserve land, for they had been exempted from cultivating a required portion of each quarter-section, and had therefore only cultivated the land immediately surrounding their villages. Once again, charges of favoritism were levelled at the government by envious neighbours, spurring one local columnist to write that "there is a pecuniary value attached to a 'koff' or a little 'off' to one's name today. Such attachments make it easy to get in 'on the groundfloor [sic.]' in the land scramble, since even yet it is only Russians who need apply." [222] In response to these sorts of sentiments, the government abolished the Doukhobor reserves in December 1904, enabling the public to register for the few Doukhobor homesteads which had not been entered. Yet naturally, this failed to appease those interested in the vast sections of unimproved land which had been entered by proxy in 1903.

What came to be known as the Doukhobor 'issue' soon became the Doukhobor 'crisis' when Canadian settlers began to move onto uncultivated Doukhobor land. As early as April of 1905, Peter Verigin wrote Tolstoy that envious 'English' farmers had begun to select land on the outskirts of the Doukhobor reserves, arguing that unploughed land should be opened up to all for entry after three years of neglect.[223] According to the provisions of the Homestead Act, these settlers were correct. The Doukhobor lands had largely been entered in 1903, and thus, in the spring of 1906, squatters had begun to settle on lands for which the Doukhobors had entered, but had not obtained

patents. Violence threatened when the Spirit Wrestlers attempted to evict the squatters who were armed with guns.[224] The government meanwhile, was not about to expel the squatters, for it sympathized with them and had actually helped to create this tenuous situation. The special investigations of the reserves during the summer of 1905 had concluded that Verigin's centralized communistic system was an impediment to growth. With this in mind, the new unsympathetic Ministry under Frank Oliver had set about reinterpreting the original agreements made between Clifford Sifton and the Spirit Wrestlers. In March of 1906, Oliver announced that Sifton had never specifically exempted the Doukhobors from the standard requirements for obtaining land **patents**. Therefore, according to Oliver, in order to receive patents, or titles, to their land, the Doukhobors would have to become naturalized like all other applicants, and were required to cultivate individual homesteads after all. Since the Doukhobors had not made improvements to individual quarter-sections, the land-hungry settlers were given the impression that the land would soon be opened to the public, and proceeded to squat on the lands in question.

The new Minister's reasoning, however, had been dubious at best. Oliver claimed that the government had formerly relaxed homestead requirements for the Spirit Wrestlers "in the belief that their failure to comply with the provisions of the Act arose chiefly from poverty; and with the expectation that as their means increased they would comply with the requirements of the Act."[225] Oliver further explained that "[a]s a result of developments during the season of 1905, it became apparent that something must be done to satisfy public opinion on the one hand, and the legitimate interests of the Doukhobors, on the other."[226] Yet Oliver's new terms clearly contradicted a letter written by Sifton to the Doukhobors on February 15, 1902, in which Sifton had unequivocally stated:

> I have decided that those who will take their homesteads and accept of free lands from the government may live together in one or more villages, and instead of being compelled to cultivate each quarter-section held by each Doukhobor that the land around the village itself may be cultivated and the work which otherwise would be required on each individual homestead may be done altogether around the village...This would enable all those in the village to live together and to work together in and around the village without being compelled to go a long way out to their individual homesteads.[227]

Yet although the Doukhobors confronted Oliver with this evidence on several occasions, Oliver remained obstinate, at one time replying,

> If your people had acted according to the tenor of that letter, you would have been all right. You took it to mean that you could do as you liked in that area, and when you saw fit you could get your patent. The whole intent of that letter was to get you to take the land individually, as the law required,...What you have not made use of someone else must go on and use.[228]

The Doukhobor representatives, meanwhile, felt that this was "a great disappointment to the Doukhobors who have taken this letter as a law."[229] The Spirit Wrestlers had learned the painful lesson which the Mennonites were about to learn, that a government letter was like a passage of scripture: it lent faith to its readership, yet could be conveniently reinterpreted.

In order to reach a solution to the crisis, Oliver ordered a Government Commission of the former Doukhobor reserves to be led by the Methodist minister, Rev. John McDougall in the summer of 1906. After three months of gathering statistics and information on the Doukhobors' material assets, their acreage under cultivation, their numbers and whereabouts, and their attitudes towards government and life in Canada, the Commission filed its report on November 25, 1906. In what one analyst called "one of the most scandalous reports submitted to a responsible government,"[230] the McDougall Commission reached the very conclusions which Oliver needed to hear. Like the findings of the 1905 investigations, the Commission reported that the Independent Doukhobors had cultivated twice as much land and held far more assets than the average Community Doukhobor. It suggested that every assistance be given by government to ensure that the Independents receive title to their homesteads.[231] Verigin's followers, on the other hand, despite producing hundreds of thousands of bushels of grain, were said to have only haphazardly cultivated the lands which were easiest to clear, providing an example of the "extreme passivity and lethargy" which was rooted in their leader's dictatorial system of "abject communism."[232] Although the Doukhobor lands had great potential, local settlers and businessmen agreed that their underdevelopment constituted "a most serious block impediment to the natural

and righteous growth of the country."[233] During interviews, the Community Doukhobors informed the commissioners that they merely wished to make a living off the land, but were adamantly opposed to naturalization and had no desire to gain legal title to their personal property. McDougall therefore advised Oliver to exempt the Doukhobors from citizenship requirements by cancelling all of the entries to Doukhobor homesteads.[234] Another member of the Commission wrote the Prime Minister of Canada, Wilfred Laurier, stating,

> I would suggest...that these people should be given a fair chance to become Canadian Citizens, and cultivate their individual 1/4 sections. If it were an American Settler, and he refused to do this, his land would be cancelled without further consideration; then why should the Doukhobor be placed on a higher level than the American, who certainly would make more desirable citizens than the Russians...? If they refuse the offer made to them by the Government, they should receive only such an allowance of land as will be necessary for their subsistence.[235]

This was exactly what Oliver proceeded to do. In February 1907, the Minister ordered that circulars be posted and distributed throughout the colonies, notifying the Doukhobors that unless within three months they stated their intention to become citizens of Canada, to live within three miles of the quarter-section in their name, to cultivate these homesteads individually, and to re-enter their lands, their entries would be cancelled. When cancelled, villages would be permitted to retain the cultivated land immediately surrounding their villages, but no more than a total of fifteen acres per resident.[236] In other words, the Doukhobors stood to lose up to 145 acres of each 160 acre homestead that had been entered by proxy in 1903. This was nothing less than an ultimatum. What was interesting about the circular was its clear bias against communal organization: "The government is glad to see that some of the Doukhobors are cultivating their own land,.... But it is very sorry to see that after having been in Canada for seven years, the large majority of the Doukhobors still cultivate their land in common...."[237] Ottawa had expected the Doukhobors to abandon their communal practices as most of the Mennonites settlers had in the 1880s and 1890s. Only seven years after the Doukhobors arrived in Canada, the government had become impatient. Oliver even admitted as much during a 1907 interview with Doukhobor representatives:

> **It was supposed by the people of Canada who heard anything about the Doukhobors that their ideas were the same as those of the Mennonites, who also came from Russia, and who also lived in villages,...I am certain that the people of Canada never supposed that the Doukhobors intended to cultivate in common, or to hold property in common any more than the Mennonites.**[238]

As a further justification for the ultimatum, the government claimed that it was necessary for a democratic country to uphold the views and considerations of the majority over minorities. The February circular stated that: "The government of Canada is the majority of the people of Canada, and when the majority of the people say that the Doukhobors must not be allowed to hold land without cultivation any longer, the government must obey and must cancel the entries on lands that are not properly held, so that they may be properly held by other people."[239] Later that month, the Doukhobors pleaded with Oliver for greater tolerance of their sectarian practices, to which the Minister replied,

> The Canadian government has no desire to interfere with any good, religious people, whatever their religion may be, but the giving of public land is not a matter of religion but of law and fair-play. When you come and say you have to have a different law because you are different, I must say that I have to deal with all the people in the same way, and if I were to say, 'I am going to give land to the Doukhobors on certain terms, and to others on different term,' it would not be right. **This government is not the government of Russia. The government of Russia can give favours to one man, but this government cannot do that....**
>
> We have to get the approval of the people to support what we do. If the people see that we are giving your people more privileges than we are giving them, what will they say to us? They will say: 'Your own people are not as good in your eyes and you are not good enough to be our government.'[240]

These passages underline the ironies of the Mennonite and Doukhobor emigrations, for both sects left Russia because the Tsarist monarchies were becoming less able to extend special rights to certain minorities. Popular pressure demanded that the Mennonites learn Russian and perform government service, and that the Doukhobors be conscripted under oath like other citizens of the empire. However, in an attempt to retain their special exemptions, they migrated to a nation administered by a democratic

government which was even more susceptible to majority opinion and less inclined to bestow distinctive rights to peasant sectarians.

Yet in response to Oliver's statements, the Doukhobors argued a valid point. They reminded the Minister that the Canadian government had not been afraid to extend special incentives to the Doukhobors when negotiating the terms of their immigration. But what specific privileges had actually been agreed upon during the negotiations? The following discussion of the land issue on February 25, 1907, reveals that Frank Oliver and the Doukhobors had very different understandings of what had been promised in 1898:

> OLIVER: ...what am I to do with the people who have squatted on the land in your reserves...?
>
> DOUKHOBORS: You are able to tell them that the Doukhobors made entries in accordance with the agreement which the government made before they came from Russia.
>
> OLIVER: I cannot tell them that the Doukhobors are holding land in accordance with an agreement made before they came from Russia because that is not true
>
> DOUKHOBORS: We think it would be true because if the Doukhobors had not had such a promise they would not have come to the country. If the government of Canada had suggested before the Doukhobors left Russia that this would not be carried out, they are sure they would not have come at all.
>
> OLIVER: If the Doukhobors had suggested the same terms which you suggest now the government would have said they could not come on those terms.
>
> DOUKHOBORS: The Doukhobors think that the Canadian government knew because it was for the sake of this that the Doukhobors left Russia. This information was given to the Doukhobors before they left Russia. They left Russia because they could not live there and do what they thought was right by their religion. They cannot take an oath for the Czar of Russia, they cannot bear arms, and...the Canadian government were kind enough to take the Doukhobors out of the military service.
>
> OLIVER: No special law was made for the Doukhobors. The laws of Canada allow those who do not wish to bear arms exemption from doing so, such as Quakers and others.
>
> DOUKHOBORS: The government were kind enough to allow us to break the land and cultivate it in one block, and not in blocks separately.
>
> OLIVER: They made no agreement to allow you to cultivate in that way before you came from Russia.
>
> DOUKHOBORS: ...Our villages are very sure that the government promised and Mr. Sifton wrote...that in three years the land would be

> ours....Your government promised the Doukhobors before they left Russia that they would do anything in this letter....
>
> OLIVER: ...You ask us to make a different law for you from that of other people, in regard to ownership of land. We have never promised to do that....When you came over first the Canadian government expected that you would accept the free grant that we are giving you, but on the conditions given to other people, not on other conditions.[241]

In fact, both sides were partially correct. An 1898 amendment to the Hamlet Clause did exempt groups like the Doukhobors from cultivating individual quarter-sections, but this amendment had been made before the government even learned of the Spirit Wrestlers and was never specifically promised to them in writing. As noted in Chapter Three, negotiator Aylmer Maude had received many promises from Canadian officials, including the facilitation of communal arrangements, but had neglected to draft a specific privilegium of guarantees to the sect. Now, in 1907, the lack of clear documentation had come back to haunt the Doukhobors.

Maude had also failed to raise the question of naturalization and the oath of allegiance. It was only after the Spirit Wrestlers had settled in Canada that they learned of these requirements for land title, which soon became the focus of their apprehension. Like the issue of communal cultivation, the Veriginites could not believe that the matter of swearing oaths had not been resolved during the 1898 negotiations, for it had been a central reason for their persecution in Russia and subsequent emigration. According to the Veriginites, Ottawa's insistence that the Doukhobors now pledge allegiance to the British crown only proved that the Canadian Government was just as underhanded as the Tsarist regimes in Russia:

> ...if they [the government] take the land from us because we do not take an oath, we say that we consider this question resolved since the time we left Russia and we migrated hither to Canada...Is it possible that you did not know why the incident has taken place between us and the Russian government and why we left our country and migrated to your country; Canada? This happened only because we did not choose to take the oath of allegiance to Nicholas Alexandrovitch...The Russian government did not take Christ's teachings [forbidding oaths] into consideration and

> acted most cruelly towards us....And if, at the present moment, the Canadian government and people should intend to bring this question forward again and to persecute us by the forfeiture of the lands it would be as if for instance, after an ox had been flayed by somebody, one would have it skinned again by another.[242]

Yet there is little evidence to suggest that Ottawa was informed about the Doukhobors' objections to the oath in Russia. The sympathizers who negotiated the terms of immigration wished to downplay the Veriginites' record of insubordination to governmental authority. The Doukhobors, meanwhile, simply assumed that the matter had been settled for them. Some Spirit Wrestlers later claimed that Sifton had personally exempted them from naturalization, but this had not been the case. Certainly by the spring of 1903, when Verigin and his administrative Committee filed the homestead entries, were they made fully aware of the patent requirements to be fulfilled in three years time. Although Verigin knew that there would be future difficulties over naturalization, he decided to enter the lands nonetheless. The Doukhobor leader wished to use the three year grace period to gather together his followers and experiment with communal organization. This would give the government a chance to soften its position, and give Verigin the chance to determine whether Canada was indeed a suitable place for the Doukhobors to live. As the following 1904 letter to Tolstoy illustrates, Verigin believed that a confrontation on the issue of citizenship might not be necessary.

> As it happens, at the moment the Doukhobors are involved in discussions regarding becoming subjects of the English king. The majority do not want to hear about taking out citizenship;...Taking out citizenship would mean observing a formal order: everyone receiving a 160-acre plot of land would have to sign a form pledging an oath of full allegiance to 'Edward', to defend his honour and so forth and to live in Canada for ever. If I may express an opinion,...I cannot guarantee that I will stay living in Canada for a long period of time, as the climate...is rather cold and we have to struggle to sow our grain and to make sure it is not killed by the frost...If we fulfil, more or less, all the requirements for dividing the land and sowing the grain and still don't come up with a good yield, then it stands to reason we can't keep on living here forever, and so the question of citizenship I would say is rather premature. We don't know what explanations the English [sic] government will accept; that is something only time will tell.

> This experiment will take at least three to four years, over which time the Doukhobors,...will manage to save up at least some money, and if the government should decide to make life miserable for the Doukhobors over some question of citizenship, we shall be willing to agree to it.[243]

As Oliver's ultimatum attested, the Canadian government did decide to make things difficult for the Doukhobors. Now that government had once again intervened in Doukhobor affairs, Verigin did not humbly submit to the will of the authorities, but unlike the Russian experience, he did not lead his followers into public protest either. In fact, Verigin's leadership at this point became rather weak and his actions somewhat inexplicable. In October 1906, after meeting Oliver in Winnipeg and failing to convince him to change his policy, Verigin decided to avoid the crisis altogether by travelling to Russia, only to return four months later, after the release of the McDougall Commission report and Oliver's ultimatum. Yet even after returning to Canada in March, Verigin refused to take any course of action. Perhaps Verigin hoped for a better compromise and did not wish to antagonize the government by a further display of his dictatorial tendencies. Yet even when Verigin informed Tolstoy of the new crisis in a letter dated March 9, Verigin wrote as if he was merely a third party observer who wielded no influence over the Doukhobors at all:

> Quite a touchy question, isn't it? I wonder what 'devices' the Government will resort to, and how the Doukhobors will react: will they accept Citizenship or prefer to live in an indeterminate situation?...The Government has cast the die, so to speak; whether it can win or not, only time will tell. I'm quite satisfied that the Doukhobors have accepted this proposal with quiet equanimity, probably because the majority of them already decided the question of Citizenship about three or four years back–in the negative.[244]

As Verigin predicted, the large majority of Doukhobors did refuse citizenship, opting instead to accept the harsh government terms. Of the 384 Doukhobor families who received individual land titles (or stated their intentions to do so) during the summer of 1907, only a small number were Community Doukhobors.[245] In order to receive their patents, many of the Independents were later given the same privilege obtained by the Mennonites in the 1870s,

the ability to "affirm to say the truth" rather than "swear" the oath of allegiance.[246] Yet this gesture of compromise was unable to satisfy the 8,715 Community Doukhobors who refused to become naturalized. Reduced to fifteen acres per resident, the new Doukhobor reserve consisted of 768 quarter-sections, or 122,880 acres of land, whereas 258,880 acres of former reserve land was taken back by the government.[247] In June 1907, over 1,600 homesteads became available to the Canadian public, resulting in a near riot at the land office in Yorkton, where extra wooden railings, police reinforcements and fire hoses were used in an effort to maintain order among prospective settlers. Apparently, the government believed that members of this unruly mob (which proceeded to smash the windows of the land office as they brawled for land) would become the law-abiding residents which the Doukhobors were not.[248]

The Spirit Wrestlers were never compensated for the 1907 land seizure. Although discrepancies still exist as to the total amount of assets lost, few would disagree that the cost to the Doukhobors was severe. Carl Tracie has pointed out that the vast percentage of lands which were taken away had been unimproved, contrary to the future claims of Community Doukhobors.[249] Nonetheless, the Doukhobors suffered a critical blow, for they were neither compensated for the land they surrendered, including the roughly 25,000 acres of improved lands, nor for the $23,700 paid in entry fees.[250] More important, their future in Canada was uncertain, for the reduced size of their 'reserve' left little room for expansion, and even this land was only held for the Doukhobors 'during the pleasure of the government'--a government which had proven to be rigid and unbending. Yet perhaps the greatest consequence of the land seizure was the irreparable damage done to Doukhobor-government relations in Canada. One can only imagine the extreme frustration of the sectarians and their resentment towards a nation which had made a special invitation to them and had promised free land and religious liberty, only to take back this land and qualify the extent of religious freedoms less than a decade later. A futile appeal to Ottawa for compensation in 1913 reflects the sense of betrayal which Community Doukhobors felt for decades to come:

> We entreat you to revert your benevolent attention to the fact that the Doukhobors are not like the ordinary settlers who have come to Canada from Russia, but the reason of the Doukhobors' emigration to Canada is well known by the Canadian Government; it was through the mediation of Prince [Khilkov]...and others who accompanied the party of Doukhobors to Canada. Those highly educated men explained personally, re the Doukhobors, to the Minister of the Interior and other government officials, regarding the Doukhobor religion, beliefs, etc. for which they (the Doukhobors) were subjected, in Russia, to severe persecution by the government...
>
> The Doukhobors, at the commencement of life in Canada, were shown cordiality, hospitality and a warm expression of feeling by the Canadian Government and all Canadian people, but after seven years had passed they (the Doukhobors) received unexpected, severe notification from the Canadian Government, and they met this disappointment in every case....
>
> The Government of Canada, in our opinion, must sincerely acknowledge their imprudent mistake in this case (just as it is impossible to play "Blindman's buff" [sic.] without covering the eyes) to allure the Doukhobors to accept free land, and then after seven years had passed, to offer for their acception [sic.] naturalization papers, for the purpose of taking the oath of allegiance to King Edward, and conforming strictly to the laws of Canada.[251]

Perhaps no other Canadian empathized with the Doukhobors to the extent that James Mavor, the first Canadian to encourage their immigration, did. Mavor had received personal assurances from Clifford Sifton that the Doukhobors could farm in villages, and that their religious scruples would be respected, and thus he shared the Doukhobors' sense of betrayal. Throughout the land ordeal, Mavor furiously wrote both Interior Minister Oliver and Prime Minister Laurier, adamantly denouncing government policy and desperately pleading for reconsideration. Yet it was to no avail. The Canadian public favored the assimilation of the troublesome Slavs and the confiscation of land went ahead. Despondent, Mavor wrote to fellow sympathizers such as Joseph Elkinton, Vladimir Chertkov, and Prince Peter Kropotkin, informing them that Canada could no longer be considered a suitable destination for Russian emigrants. "Why not try the Argentine?" he now suggested.[252]

Mavor's vigorous protests provide an interesting contrast to Verigin's passive condemnation of the land seizure. As the confiscation was carried out, Verigin concentrated mainly on making arrangements for his followers in the

Prince Albert colony to move to what had become a truncated South Reserve. The government's drastic action had heightened sectarian zeal among Spirit Wrestlers and Verigin wished to capitalize on it. Ever since his arrival in Canada, the Doukhobor leader had feared the erosion of his authority and the gradual drift towards the *laissez-faire* lifestyle of the Independents. Although it would be presumptuous to argue that Verigin welcomed the confiscation of two-thirds of Doukhobor land holdings, the government's action nonetheless provided Verigin with the opportunity to test and consolidate his followers.[253] Now, in 1907, just as in Russia in 1887, a formal distinction could be made between the 'true' Doukhobors represented by Verigin and his Community, and the 'false brethren' embodied by the Small Party in Russia and the Independents in Canada, who had succumbed to the worldly dictates of government and the lure of individual wealth. Once again, Verigin was able to surround himself with a devout core of followers, hardened by government persecution. These disciples would be willing to make a fresh start, to once again follow their leader wherever he might go, and to once again make sacrifices for the good of the sect. Another attempt could be made to create the type of communal self-sufficient communities based on Doukhobor precepts that had eluded the sect in the Ukraine, the Caucasus, and now the Canadian prairies.

Verigin indeed had new plans for his followers, for there is plenty of evidence to show that the Doukhobor leader had been looking to migrate in the years prior to the land seizure. As Kathlyn Szalasznyj points out, Verigin had given the Spirit Wrestlers few instructions from Siberia regarding property-holding in Canada, but advised them not to construct large buildings or keep large herds, which suggested that their prairie settlement might only be temporary.[254] After arriving in Canada, Verigin often complained that Saskatchewan was too cold, and expressed a renewed desire to relocate to a warm, fruit-growing region. By 1905, he informed Tolstoy that the Doukhobors were actively considering a migration to either British Columbia, California, or even Austrailia.[255] In fact, during Verigin's 1906 trip to Europe, the Doukhobor set about busily searching for a suitable place for resettlement. First, in the United States, Verigin stopped in Chicago to make further inquires regarding California, and later took note of the fruit-growing regions of New York.

Secondly, in Russia, Verigin met with Prime Minister Peter Stolypin and other officials, testing the political climate of the new quasi-constitutional monarchy for the possible return migration of the Doukhobors to their homeland. Thirdly, after visiting Tolstoy, Verigin travelled through southern Europe, taking notes on the types of land and ethnic groups encountered, "in case we should acquire some land in a warm climate for the brethren of the Doukhobor community."[256]

Yet it was the actual confiscation of the Doukhobor reserve lands which provided the real impetus for relocation. Despite purchasing an additional ten acres of land near Yorkton in the summer of 1907, Verigin knew that his vision of creating isolated communities would be difficult to achieve in Saskatchewan. Land prices were steadily rising on the prairies and prospective settlers kept a jealous watch on the government lands reserved for the Doukhobors. Thus, in April of 1908, Verigin headed a small delegation to the Kootenay region in the British Columbia Interior, where he discovered favourable conditions for the creation of a new settlement. Nestled in the river valleys of the Columbia Mountains, the Doukhobors could live in semi-isolation, while utilizing nearby railroad links to market their produce. The milder climate and fine soils of the Interior valleys would enable the Doukhobors to raise orchards and produce the fruit which Verigin had spoken of in his letters. Most important, the Doukhobors would own the land themselves and would be spared the requirements and obligations associated with land entry and patent receipts. The Doukhobor leader decided to immediately purchase 4,500 acres of land on credit in two locations, the first at the junction of the Kootenay and Columbia rivers, soon named 'Brilliant', and the second near the town of Grand Forks, close to the United States border. In December of that same year, another 3,300 acres were purchased north of Brilliant at Pass Creek and Slocan Junction. Following the advance parties of 1908, the first major contingent of 800 Doukhobors left Saskatchewan in 1909. Four years later, approximately 5,000 Community Doukhobors had moved to British Columbia, leaving a village population of 3,100 in Saskatchewan by 1913, and less than 1,700 by 1917.[257] By the 1920s, the vast majority of Doukhobors living in Saskatchewan were Independents who had moved onto their individual homesteads.

The downfall of the Doukhobor communal settlements in Saskatchewan remains a bitter and contentious issue in the field of Canadian history and

among Doukhobors today. The questions of responsibility for the demise and the necessity of the land confiscation continue to be debated. Did Ottawa enforce its laws out of a need to maintain fairness and equality among Canadian citizens, or did it single out the Doukhobors for punishment because they wished to remain distinct from other Canadians? As Kathlyn Szalasznyj has fairly pointed out, homestead laws were strictly enforced across the prairies after 1905, when the province of Saskatchewan was formed and Frank Oliver became Minister of the Interior. Full-time inspectors closely monitored regulation breaches and cancelled thousands of homesteads during these years.[258]

On the other hand, the government had made assurances to the Doukhobors before and after their arrival regarding land tenure and it had an obligation to live up to these assurances. Although Ottawa had been informed by Mavor and Maude that the Spirit Wrestlers worked their land communally, the government simply assumed (and admitted to this assumption in 1907) that the extent of these communal practices would be similar to those employed by the Mennonites.[259] Undoubtedly, the government initially permitted the Doukhobors to cultivate their land communally in the expectation that they, like the Mennonites, would quickly abandon their communal practices and adopt the individualistic practices of Canadians. Yet when this did not occur to a desired extent within the first decade, Ottawa took advantage of the lack of early documentation and denied its early promises to the sectarians. Verigin's attempts to quell fanaticism and turn the Doukhobor community into an economically viable and productive corporation were overlooked by the Canadian , which disapprovingly chose to focus on the communal activities of the Community Doukhobors.

Aware of a division among Spirit Wrestlers, the government moved quickly to protect the rights of the Independents who had begun to adopt Canadian farming methods. Going one step further, Ottawa upheld the achievements of the Independents, ignoring the fact that these sectarians had been wealthier to begin with, and conveniently labelled the Community Doukhobors as an impediment to national growth. Partly in response to public pressure and disappointment, the Doukhobors were served an ultimatum. Yet if the majority of sectarians did not live up to Canada's expectations, Canada had

obviously not fulfilled the expectations of most Doukhobors. Regardless of whether the Community Doukhobors had prior intentions to relocate, their migration to British Columbia clearly reflected their objections to Dominion land laws, their dissatisfaction with the Canadian Government, and their disappointment with life on the Canadian prairies.

Although the Mennonites had considerably less difficulty in adjusting to Canada's land laws, a crisis similar to that of the Doukhobors developed between Mennonites and provincial governments over education, which may be outlined as follows. When some progressive Mennonites wished to incorporate Canadian educational practices into their curriculum, the government quickly intervened in sectarian affairs to support the efforts of these Mennonites, just as it had supported the attempts of Independent Doukhobors to farm individually. The Mennonites who opposed public education became labelled as 'stubborn' and 'backward', much like the Community Doukhobors were. Popular pressure soon mounted for the conformation of the Mennonites to provincial education laws, just as the public had demanded an end to the Doukhobors' ability to hold uncultivated land. In response to this pressure, provincial governments also served the Mennonites an ultimatum, forcing them to choose between the preservation of sectarian traditions or the continuation of life in Canada.

The maintenance of their own separate school system was very important to the Mennonite immigrants in Canada. One will recall from the second chapter that education had played a large role in the Mennonite emigration from Russia in the 1870s. The emigrants had been strongly opposed to new laws enacted under Alexander II which placed Mennonite schools under governmental jurisdiction and required broader instruction in the Russian language. Therefore, a key condition to their settlement in Manitoba was the guarantee given to the Mennonite delegates by the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, John Lowe, in 1873: "The fullest privileges of exercising their religious principles is by law afforded the Mennonites, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever; and the same privilege extends to the education of the children in schools."[260] Lowe's promise, however, was not a unique privilege bestowed on the Mennonites, but corresponded with the

rights of other denominations to operate schools in Manitoba. Section 93 of the British North America Act placed education under provincial jurisdiction, yet confirmed the rights of religious denominations to run schools under previously existing agreements.[261] In Manitoba, the Provincial school board was divided into Protestant and Catholic sections, each of which received funding to develop its own curricula, with no restrictions on language or religious instruction. Attendance at these denominational schools, however, was not compulsory, and no law prohibited the establishment of self-funded, private institutions. The Mennonites, however, proceeded to form their own schools on the basis of Lowe's letter, believing that their right to administer their own education came directly from Ottawa.

Although Mennonite education had undergone considerable reform in Russia, including an expansion of curricula, the conservative congregations which settled in Canada generally favoured a simpler, more traditional form of learning. Most Manitoba Mennonites believed that the purpose of schooling was to provide young sectarians with the basic skills to function in village and church life, and also to perpetuate the German language and religious teachings among young people. Higher education was widely considered corruptive, and led to ostentatious and worldly aspirations which lay beyond the realm of simple farm life.[262] Thus, schooling was limited to children aged six to fourteen (girls' education usually ended at twelve or thirteen), and generally took place between the months of October and April so as not to interfere with seeding and harvesting.[263] Basic arithmetic and writing were taught, but much of the day was spent reading, memorizing, and interpreting Biblical passages. Mennonite schools were administered by the church leadership, which ensured that these institutions would remain "nurseries of Christianity."[264] The General Decree of the Sommerfelder Private Schools, for instance, stated that every teacher was to be in good moral standing with the church and "shall make it his main objective to instruct religion."[265] Teachers were poorly paid and often poorly qualified, some of whom were regular farmers who had received little more than a primary education themselves.[266] Classrooms were kept simple, consisting of rows of wide wooden desks with benches, and few teaching aids besides a blackboard.

Despite the meager furnishings and the low teachers' salaries, it was nonetheless difficult for the Mennonites to pay for the upkeep of their own schools, and it thus it was financial incentives which first led the Mennonites to cooperate with government on education. Thus, when William Hespeler informed the Mennonites that the Protestant section of the Provincial school board would provide an annual grant of between $80 and $100 for each school that was registered into an official school district, some Mennonite groups responded favourably, albeit cautiously. Having been assured that they would retain full control over the hiring of teachers, the development of curriculum, and the language of instruction, the Chortitz (Bergthal) and Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites created 36 district schools in the East Reserve in November of 1878.

Yet by the following year the East Reserve Mennonites began to rethink their decision when the Protestant Board began to set education guidelines for the sectarians. In 1879, the Board required Mennonite teachers to undertake standard examinations, recommending at the same time that the Mennonites adopt a three tier teacher classification system. Alarmed by the prospect of state intervention in Mennonite education, the elder of the Chortitz church, Gerhard Wiebe, (who had been most critical of government school inspectors in Russia) questioned William Hespeler over the necessity of such classifications. Hespeler's response, however, was less than reassuring: "Well,...you don't think that the government would pay money to those who are cowherds in summer and schoolteachers in winter?"[267] The apprehensive and easily offended Elder Wiebe eventually led the Chortitz church to withdraw its support for funded schools, leaving only seven districts in the East Reserve by 1882, six of which belonged to the Kleine Gemeinde.[268] By this time, Wiebe believed that even six public schools were too many for the East Reserve. He rebuked the Kleine Gemeinde for not likewise abandoning their school districts, claiming that Mennonite disunity on this issue would eventually lead to the secularization of Mennonite education:

> Oh, how much we would have liked to see the Kleine Gemeinde do likewise and support us in this matter. How much stronger the churches would have been! But this writer thinks that the danger is already great enough that one can see very clearly where things are heading. But the money has so dazzled their eyes, that they no longer

> see the false teaching in the schools, and the old people die off, while the young move from one stage to another until the gospel is eliminated from the schools entirely.[269]

Although Wiebe was well known for his Jeremiah blues, his words appear prophetic in light of the divisions and struggles which plagued the Mennonites in following decades over the issue of education. From this point forward, Mennonites remained divided on the issue of maintaining private versus publicly funded schools. Public schools remained especially tempting for larger and poorer families, who had to pay for each child sent to a private school, while the richer, and more traditionally-minded Mennonite families wished to keep education private at all costs.

When the new municipalities were created in the Manitoba reserves in the early 1880s, these local administrations became responsible for the formation of public school districts at the request of local taxpayers. The new laws enabled Mennonite villagers to challenge Mennonite church hegemony over education, which naturally sparked controversy in Mennonite villages which could not reach a consensus on the issue. In the Old Colony village of Schanzenfeld, for example, four taxpayers successfully petitioned for a district school in 1885. But when thirteen other villagers rallied against it, the municipality reversed its decision and denied the petitioners their promised district.[270] In many other villages, however, Mennonite petitioners were successful. By 1884, under the popular inspectorship of Wilhelm Rempel, the total number of school districts in the two reserves had risen to twenty-two.[271]

In the public districts, residents who persisted to send their children to private schools were required to pay public school taxes in addition to private school levies, causing even greater resentment towards the public school supporters. In 1885, the Old Colony district mayor Isaak Mueller protested to the Provincial Secretary that the government had breached its promise not to interfere in Mennonite educational affairs. Yet after Mueller's complaint was passed on to the Deputy Minister of Justice in Ottawa, the district mayor was informed that "no condition laid down in Mr. Lowe's letter of July 23, 1873,...contradicts the jurisdiction of the local [i.e., Manitoba] legislature with regard to educational affairs."[272]

Not only did the government require many orthodox Mennonites to pay for the public schools against their will, but it also actively encouraged attempts by progressive Mennonites to create a more advanced and competitive school system. By the late 1880s, a progressive minority of Bergthalers from the West Reserve complained that their children were being inadequately educated, and lacked the English language skills needed to effectively do business with other Canadians in future. Encouraged by the Protestant school board and progressive Mennonites from the United States, a reform-minded School Society was formed in 1889, which established a teacher training school in the West Reserve town of Gretna that same year.

In 1890, however, the entire denominational school system in Manitoba was abolished, after an influx of British Protestant settlers from Ontario in the 1870s and 1880s successfully lobbied the provincial government to end its subsidies to French Catholic education. The new Manitoba School Act of 1890 created a secular school system administered by a Provincial Department of Education, supported by provincial taxpayers. A standard provincial curriculum was developed and English became the sole language of instruction in the new public schools. Yet the provincial authorities struck a deal with the Mennonite School Society by recruiting Heinrich Ewert, an American Mennonite educator from Kansas, to serve as the new principal of the Gretna school and as the new inspector of Mennonite public schools in Manitoba. Ewert accepted this dual position after meeting with none other than Clifford Sifton (then the new Provincial Education Minister), who assured Ewert of "the government's goodwill toward the Mennonites and of its broad tolerance toward the use of the German language."[273] Mennonites were officially allowed to operate bilingual public schools after 1896, when six years of French Catholic protests culminated in the famed Laurier-Greenway compromise. According to the new legislation, partial instruction could be given in a non-English language in rural schools where more than ten pupils spoke a primary language other than English. Of course, all of the new provincial legislation initially affected the Mennonites only to a minimal extent, for most sectarians continued to educate their children privately, for which there were no restrictions.

It was not long, however, before the new public schools gained considerable acceptance in the Mennonite colonies. When Heinrich Ewert first

took office in 1891, the number of Mennonite public school districts had dwindled to eight, whereas approximately 150 private schools were still in operation in the reserves.[274] Yet under Ewert's enthusiastic leadership, he succeeded in converting roughly one-third of Mennonite private schools into public schools, forming 41 districts by the end of his inspectorship in 1903.[275] Between 1903 and 1916, the popularity of German bilingual schools continued to rise and fall according to the efforts of successive inspectors and the effects of subsequent legislation. The progressive march of Mennonite public education first slowed, then stagnated under inspectors Henry Graff (1904-1905) and J. M. Friesen (1906-1909). A serious setback developed in 1907, when the Conservative government in Manitoba under Rodmund P. Roblin declared that the Union Jack was to be flown over every public school. The Conservatives had just been returned to power, and during the recent election campaign had stressed their intent to inculcate feelings of patriotism among Manitoba's diverse population. In the Legislature, Premier Roblin further explained: "While we welcome all, our duty to British subjects is to see that the children are taught the principles of the British Constitution.... What we need is to get the youth filled with the traditions of the British flag and then, when they are men..., they will be able to defend it...."[276] Many Mennonites had long viewed national flags as military symbols, and it was now feared that flying the Union Jack would be the first step in the erosion of pacifist precepts among Mennonite youth. In December of 1907, a delegation of Bergthal, Kleine Gemeinde, and Holdemann Mennonites met with provincial officials in Winnipeg. The delegation requested an exemption from flying the flag, based once again on the Mennonite 'Privilegium' received from John Lowe on July 23, 1873, but was denied. Later, the Mennonites even asked if they could pay a fine equal to twice the cost of maintaining a flag, but the government stood firm.[277] All public schools receiving money from the government were to fly the Union Jack. Although some Mennonites, such as the Bergthalers, modified their position, the Kleine Gemeinde and the Holdemann churches reverted their eleven public schools back to private status. Yet between 1910 and 1916, bilingual schools enjoyed a resurgence in the Mennonite municipalities following the appointment of a German from Ontario, A. A. Weidenhammer [aka. Andrew Willows], to the position of inspector. Weidenhammer managed to increase the

number of school districts from 37 to 63 in the first three years of his term,[278] and proceeded to double the number of public school students and teachers by 1916.[279] Thus, by the First World War, only about one-third of Mennonites continued to send their children to private schools.

The significant progress made by the proponents of bilingual schools was not without a cost to Mennonite unity. Opposition to public schooling remained constant and emphatic, making the period 1891-1916 one of turmoil and bitter division. Much of the early criticism was directed at Heinrich Ewert and his normal school at Gretna. According to Frank H. Epp, the mere fact that Ewert was 'American' made his religious views suspect, since "the Manitoba immigrants believed that those going to America had made a fundamental compromise in their faith and thus they did not look kindly upon American efforts to teach them a better way."[280] Ewert believed that the best way to preserve Mennonite heritage was to placate the government by placing qualified Mennonite teachers in public schools, thus ensuring the inculcation of Mennonite values for years to come. Instead, the conservative elders pointed to the corruptive compromises required by government, such as the incorporation of secular subjects into the curriculum. Peter Kropotkin observed the elders' mistrust of public education during his visit to the Mennonites in 1897:

> All teachings of modern civilisation being a glorification of unbridled egotism, the 'elders' cling only the more to the Bible as the sole foundation of all education,.... They look with suspicion upon all scientific education. Thus, I visited at Gretna a school for teachers which is conducted by Mr. Ewart [sic.]. Its teachings are not opposed to the religious feelings of the Mennonites--far from that. And yet the school is bitterly opposed by the 'elders,' and is supported by a minority only of the young ones. Altogether, the authority of the 'elders' is nearly absolute, and, as always happens in religious communities, it is less directed towards the maintenance of the economical and social bases of life...than to the maintenance of...traditional beliefs....[281]

Yet is was not merely the elders, but also lay Mennonites who opposed educational reforms. Elder Johann Funk supported the Gretna School, but was opposed by the vast majority of his Bergthal congregation in the West Reserve. Nearly 90% of Funk's congregation abandoned their elder over the school issue to form the Sommerfeld church with their own elder in 1893.[282] The dispute

between these congregations remained bitter, because some of the Sommerfelder lived among Bergthaler minorities which not only collaborated with government to create local school districts, but forced the local Sommerfelders to pay taxes to support these districts.

Particularly contentious was the debate over the learning of the English language. The younger generation tended to favour learning English, while the older generation feared it would lead to assimilation. Inspector Weidenhammer [Willows] was told by an Old Colony elder that "a knowledge of the English language would make it all the easier for them to lapse into the great world of sin outside of the Mennonites communities."[283] The older, orthodox sectarians further argued that they had undertaken their emigration to Canada precisely in order to keep their schools German, while the younger, progressive Mennonites wished to adapt to the new reality faced by the sect in Canada. The following minutes of a Mennonite village meeting in Rhineland in the 1890s, recording anonymously, is reflective of the type of debates which occurred throughout the Mennonite colonies:

> AN OLDER NEIGHBOUR: Our schools are good enough.
>
> A YOUNGER NEIGHBOUR: I believe it would be well if we could have some English in our schools.
>
> SEVERAL VOICES: What! English?
>
> OTHER YOUNGER NEIGHBOURS: Why not? We should know how to read and write English. That is necessary. Who can now decipher the Government letter that has been sent to us?
>
> AN OLDER PERSON: That is entirely unnecessary. Our schools are private schools and the Government has nothing to say to them. (To the Superintendent) You can write that to the authorities.
>
> A VOICE FROM THE REAR: No,...We must treat the Government with respect.
>
> A NEIGHBOUR: Have they not promised religious freedom to us?
>
> ANOTHER NEIGHBOUR: Is the Government attacking our religion?
>
> THE PREVIOUS SPEAKER: It amounts to that. If they first gain control of our schools, then it won't be long before they tell us what to believe.
>
> ANOTHER: But we are in Canada and not in Russia. For twenty years we have had no reason to complain. Should we now become suspicious?...
>
> AN OLDER PERSON: We also got along well in Russia for a long time until the Government interfered. Then everything was at an end.

A YOUNGER PERSON: Have things then turned out so badly in Russia? It seems that the Mennonites there are not sorry that they have remained. They are getting along very well according to what they write.

THE OLDER PERSON: Do you know that there they are already teaching Russian in their schools?

THE YOUNGER NEIGHBOUR: Yes, but the Mennonites themselves regard it as necessary. They say: In Russia one must know how to speak Russian.

A VOICE FROM THE REAR: And in Canada one must know how to speak Canadian, that is English.

AN OLDER PERSON: That shows the new spirit. Beware of such suggestions. That is the beginning of the end. For twenty years we have not learned English and were happy without it. But today many are getting along too well. They are becoming proud. The younger men know better than their elders, the things that ought to be done.

ANOTHER OLDER PERSON: The Bible has been written in German, why then should we have to learn English. My children at least shall not do so.

A THIRD ELDERLY PERSON: Neither shall mine.[284]

In Saskatchewan, a similar division over schools developed, although a greater number of Mennonite settlers, many of whom arrived straight from Europe and the United States, were more willing to accept private schools.[285] Twenty-two Mennonite school districts had been formed in Saskatchewan by 1907,[286] in addition to a bilingual Mennonite teacher-training Academy in the town of Rosthern (est. 1905). The Academy was led by another progressive teacher from Kansas, David Toews, who had been a former pupil of Heinrich Ewert. The chief opponents of Toews and his Academy were the Old Colony Mennonites from the nearby Hague reserve, who had begun to regularly excommunicate families whose children attended private schools. The Saskatchewan government received growing numbers of complaints from excommunicated public school supporters to warrant a Commission of Inquiry into the matter in 1908. The case of Mennonite plaintiff, J. J. Friesen, was typical:

I lived in Warman until last spring and my business connections were principally with the members of the so-called Old Colony Church; and as I had two boys of school age I was sending them to the public school in Warman, which the leaders of the aforesaid church, as soon as they found out about it, forbade me to do....As soon as the leaders of the Old Colony Church got notice of my steps they excommunicated me and

> forbade all the members to have any more dealings with me. The consequence was that I had to give up my home, my business, and everything for the sake of giving my children a better education; and this in the land of the free. Now...don't you think that the existing conditions are an insult to our liberal constitution?[287]

Friesen's comments reflected a growing trend among Mennonites in Canada who preferred to accept the individual rights guaranteed by the British constitution instead of the collective rights given to the Mennonite sect. When sectarian rights conflicted with individual liberties, the more assimilated Mennonites called on the government to intervene in order to protect their rights as Canadian citizens. Yet in this instance, excommunication was clearly a church matter, and there was little that the government could do to prevent it. Negotiations with the Old Colonists over the excommunication issue continued until 1910, and although the Saskatchewan government threatened to remove the right of Old Colony ministers to solemnize marriages, little significant action was taken. However, the number of church bans issued by Old Colony elders in Saskatchewan did begin to decline at this time.[288]

While the provincial governments of both Manitoba and Saskatchewan had strongly promoted the spread of public schools among Mennonites in the years before the First World War, they had refrained from interfering in the classrooms of private schools. Provincial inspectors, however, had visited some of private schools and were highly critical of what they saw. The vice-president of the Saskatchewan Public Education League, E. H. Oliver, toured 32 Mennonite private schools before making the following dismal assessment in 1915:

> Not a single teacher knows English well enough to teach it if he would. Not a single teacher of the thirty -two investigated, possesses any professional qualifications whatever....All of these schools had the same type of backless [sic.] seats,...the same absence of maps, pictures, charts, etc. and very few have a blackboard. In the forenoon they sing and say their prayers, then study Bible history and practise reading....For three hours in the afternoon they work at arithmetic and writing. It is simple fare, but it is all the teacher himself has ever received....So through seven years they go, ...ignorant of the facts of Canadian history....[289]

In his 1924 Masters thesis on the Mennonites, A. A. Weidenhammer noted that the above assessment could readily be applied to the many Mennonite private schools he had visited in Manitoba during his 1910-1916 inspectorship.[290] Not only did Weidenhammer complain that many private schools completely neglected the English language, but he also cited other "pathetic" incidents, such as faulty arithmetic lessons being taught at some of the 'best' private schools.[291]

Reports such as these were disturbing to the provincial governments, which had come under increasing pressure by the English-speaking majorities to create uniform province-wide public schools, where attendance would be mandatory, and English would be the sole language of instruction. According to Manitoba historian W. L. Morton, British settlers had already been pushing for a such a 'national' school system since the 1880s in order to unify and assimilate a diverse provincial population.[292] As growing numbers of immigrants from Eastern Europe arrived on the prairies under the Sifton settlement drive, the Manitoba government, supported by the British public majority, feared that the province would succumb to multinationalism.[293] As one *Manitoba Free Press* editorialist later explained, "This is a land of freedom...But we do not want a perverted sense of that principle to lead to isolated sections and divisions of the population. We want to be one people with a sense of national unity...."[294]

In Manitoba, bilingual public schools were placed under serious scrutiny between 1913 and 1916 by both government and media. Although some sympathies existed for the maintenance of French bilingual schools, the English-speaking majority overwhelmingly condemned the current system whereby Mennonites, Ukrainians, Poles, and other nationalities could request government subsidies in order to perpetuate their native languages in Canada. The *Manitoba Free Press* called the current bilingual clause "a monstrosity," stating, "[i]t is all but universally accepted that in every school in the Province English must be, in the future, the language of instruction."[295] Bilingualism was not only costly for the provinces, but it caused greater administrative difficulty, and created conflicts in school districts with mixed populations over the second language of instruction. Moreover, a *Free Press* enquiry into Manitoba's bilingual schools found that English instruction requirements were not being met and that pupils in bilingual districts generally exhibited a fair to

poor level of English language skills.[296] The Mennonite public schools were actually applauded for their conscientious teaching of English in comparison to French, Ukrainian, and other bilingual schools.[297] In fact, according to Charles B. Sissons, the Mennonites were running "some of the best schools of the Province" by 1914.[298]

Yet as Canada joined Britain in declaring war on the Kaiser that same year, few could justify the perpetuation of the German language in public or private schools in Canada. The Manitoba Liberal Party had responded to popular sentiment in the 1910s and promised to implement a national school policy if elected. Following the declaration of war in 1914, an outpouring of British patriotic sentiment helped to bring the Liberal Party to power in 1915 and continued to shape their subsequent policies. More than ever, the government emphasized the need for a united, and staunchly British, Canada. Speaking in the Manitoba Legislature on January 12, 1916, the new Liberal Education Minister, R. S. Thornton, stated

> There should be one common school....There should be one standard of teacher eligible to teach in all the schools of the province....There should be a school inspector, eligible to inspect every school under the government....We are building for the Canada of tomorrow, and our common school is one of the most important factors in the work. In this Dominion we are building up, under the British flag, a new nationality. We come from many lands and cast in our lot, and from these various factors there must evolve a new nationality which shall be simply Canadian and British.[298]

A couple of months later, on March 10, 1916, the Manitoba Government passed the School Attendance Act. Under the new legislation, all children between the ages of seven and fourteen years were required to attend school. English was to be the only language taught in all Manitoba public schools. Private schools were still permitted but were now subject to the criteria and inspection of the public school administration, and were expected to meet public school standards.[300]

The Mennonites, meanwhile, attentively followed the developments regarding education. In 1913, the Sommerfelder church organized an multidenominational Mennonite School Commission whose mandate it was to promote the German language and religious study in both public and private

Mennonite schools and relay Mennonite concerns over education to the Provincial Government. As the new Liberal Government began formulating its national schools policy in the autumn of 1915, the School Committee and several other church leaders met with their local M.L.A., the Minister of Agriculture, Valentine Winkler, at a farmhouse somewhere in the former West Reserve. According to an embittered Inspector Weidenhammer, Winkler told the Mennonites "that their schools would not be affected by the new legislation, if they operated them privately."[301] Consequently, the Mennonite churches once again began reverting their public schools to privately run schools. In a futile effort to dissuade Education Minister Thornton from enacting legislation destructive to Mennonite bilingual schools, H. H. Ewert invited Thornton, via Winkler, to visit the Gretna school in order to show him how far Mennonite education had advanced under the provincial bilingual system.[302]

When the Mennonites learned the true details of the Liberals' education reforms in 1916, their fears were confirmed. The sectarians had emigrated from Russia because their 'Privilegium' had been broken, because limitations were placed on the amount of German language instruction, and because Mennonite schools were placed under the control of the Russian school authorities. Now, the very same scenario had developed in Canada. In response, the Mennonites quickly coordinated the same sort of persistent diplomatic efforts which they had used in their past conflicts with state authorities. On January 7, 1916, the Mennonite School Commission sent a petition to Valentine Winkler which emphasized the centrality of the German language to Mennonite culture. All Mennonite literature had been written in German, wrote the Commission, and it was important that sectarian youth understand these writings and be able to relate to their elders.[303] The Commission further explained that Mennonites would continue to faithfully teach English if bilingual schools were maintained, but warned that 'national' schools would merely set back the public school movement among the Mennonites. A compromise was even suggested, whereby bilingual schools could be maintained only in districts where a majority of taxpayers requested them, instead of merely at the request of the parents of ten pupils per school division as was formerly the case.[304] The petition also reflected some political savvy on the part of the Mennonites, who were relatively inexperienced in negotiating with democratic governments and had only

recently begun to participate in elections. The Commission reminded the Liberal Minister that his party had not promised to completely abolish bilingual schools in their election platform and therefore had no mandate to do so. Minister Winkler was further informed that the Mennonites would not re-elect him if 'betrayed' on this issue.[305]

Prompted to action, Winkler arranged a meeting between the Mennonites, Education Minister Thornton, and Premier T. C. Norris on February 15, 1916. For this meeting, the Mennonites put together a so-called 'emergency delegation' consisting of representatives from all Mennonite denominations except the Old Colonists. This remarkable act of cooperation among the quarrelsome Mennonite factions might best be compared to the united Mennonite opposition to the reforms of Alexander II in Russia. Once again, the Mennonites stated how important it was for them to educate their own children according to the will of God, and for the German language to be perpetuated among them. Thus, despite the absence of the Old Colonists among the delegates, Frank H. Epp aptly points out that "[i]n all these ways they were really expressing Old Colony sentiments, differing only in degree and in the basic acceptance of district schools."[306] The delegates referred to the promises made to them in 1873, and warned that if these promises were breached, the Mennonites would emigrate from Canada just as they had from Russia. When provincial officials pointed out that Ottawa had no authority to give the Mennonites control over their own education, the Mennonites retorted that Federal officials in 1873 certainly felt empowered to do so. As Heinrich Ewert further stated, "We would not want to believe for a moment that [Ottawa] was trying to be deceptive. It would be a grave disappointment to the Mennonites if the provincial government would now choose to ignore this promise and consider it 'a mere scrap of paper'."[307]

This dialogue did cause the Manitoba government to inquire into the 1873 agreement made between the Dominion Government and the Mennonite immigrants. In the spring of 1916, Winkler wrote to several officials in Ottawa requesting to see the exact terms promised to the Mennonites. The Federal Minister of Agriculture, L. Letellier, replied that the Mennonites had indeed been given "the privilege of religious schools of their own."[308] Winkler received a copy of Secretary John Lowe's letter of July 23, 1873, yet was further informed

by a federal civil servant that a crucial discrepancy existed between this letter, and the official Ministerial report of J. H. Pope dated July 28, 1873. Pope's report, marked "SECRET", contained the following provision regarding education: "...the Mennonites will have the fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles, and educating their children in schools, **as provided by law**, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever."[309] Either Pope himself or parliamentary clerks had recognized that Ottawa had no jurisdiction over education and had made the necessary legal refinements to Lowe's letter, inserting the phrase "as provided by law" into the agreement. Consequently, the Order-in-Council of August 13, 1873 which guaranteed Mennonite privileges was based on this revised wording. This, however, was unknown to the Mennonites themselves, who for more than fourty years believed that the letter they held from John Lowe was their Canadian Privilegium.[310] Yet before testing the matter in the Manitoba Court of Appeal in 1920, the Mennonites first wished to see how the Manitoba government would enforce the School Attendance Act.

In order to maintain their traditional forms of education, the Mennonites proceeded to revert most of their public schools to private schools. The Sommerfeld Mennonites, who had initially opposed public schools, now returned to their roots and passed a series of resolutions which typified Mennonite sentiment in 1916. Their list began as follows: "Since the Manitoba Government has decreed that the english language only, and no religion, shall be permitted in all public schools, and since we are apprehensive of losing our german language and religion, we have come to the following [conclusion]...we [will] maintain private schools only."[311] The document went on to state that German and religion would be taught for at least three school days, while two days of English instruction was optional, using "only Christian books that contain no falsehoods."[312] According to the Sommerfelder, church members were entitled to send their children to public schools, but if they refused to pay for private schools they would be excommunicated. Support for private schools now became widespread among all Manitoba Mennonites, even among the progressives, including Heinrich Ewert, which in turn led conservatives, such as the Old Colonists, to feel vindicated in their early hard-line stance on education.

Provincial authorities were dismayed by this consequent demise of Mennonite public schools. Provincial inspectors continued to report low standards of English instruction in the private schools, which indicated that the level of English competency was actually declining among Mennonites since the passage of the 1916 School Act. During the summer of 1918, when another ten district schools in the West Reserve announced they would revert to private status, the government decided to take action against what Education Minister Thornton referred to as "a campaign...to destroy our public school system."[313] Insisting that the public schools remain open, he appointed a government trustee to continue to run the ten schools. New legislation was passed requiring mandatory attendance for all children in these districts. Although the Mennonites greatly resented these *Zwangsschulen* ('forced schools'), groups such as the Bergthalers reluctantly complied and kept their public schools open. Other Mennonites, however, defied the law and refused to send their children to the schools. Carl Dawson records the experience of a public school teacher, 'Mr. N.', in the former West Reserve village of Altbergthal:

> When I hoisted the flag on the first of September, there wasn't a child in school. The old people got together, fixed up a log cabin and hired a private teacher for the 45 children of the district. They paid him the same salary I was getting --$80 a month. But I stuck to it and hoisted that flag every one of the 202 days but I did not have one pupil.[314]

Parents who refused to send their children to school were charged in violation of the School Attendance Act. For instance, in the Wakeham School District, eleven parents were brought to court and fined for withholding their children from school attendance in September 1918.[315] Seven of these Mennonites refused to pay a fine and were thus duly imprisoned for three days in Morden before agreeing to pay their fines.[316]

Meanwhile, the government continued to extend the *Zwangsschulen* throughout the Mennonite reserves. Between October 1918 and May 1919 the provincial authorities forced nineteen other private schools to revert back to public schools.[317] In the spring of 1919, the Manitoba Legislature approved new legislation which empowered the Department of Education to create public school districts without the consent of local taxpayers. Thus, through Order-in-Council, on April 8, 1919, eleven new school districts were created in the East

Reserve, mostly among the Chortitzer Mennonites who had opposed public districts since 1879.[318] Again, the legislation was met with resistance by some Mennonite parents who withheld their children from the 'forced schools'. There were more court appearances and more fines. The case of Mennonite John Hildebrandt, who was charged with failing to send his daughter to public school, reached the Manitoba Court of Appeal in August 1919. Hildebrandt's lawyers argued that forced secular education was an infringement of the promises made to the Mennonite delegates in 1873. Once again, Lowe's letter of July 23, 1873 was produced, but the government prosecutors now possessed the Order-in-Council of August 13, 1873 which gave the Mennonites the privilege of educating their own children "as provided by law." One of the Court Justices interpreted the insertion of the latter clause as follows:

> What it means is that the Mennonites are to have the unhampered and unrestricted privilege of educating their children in the schools provided by the laws of the country in which they proposed to settle. In my judgement this undertaking is in no wise interfered with by the compulsory provisions of the [School Attendance] Act in question, and we are left to conjecture what the real motive may be that underlies the opposition to that beneficial legislation.[319]

The Court, moreover, ruled that the Dominion Government could not have passed legislation regarding education in the province, because only the Manitoba Legislature was empowered to do so. "Nothing can be plainer," stated the unanimous decision which dismissed the case.[320]

The Mennonites now discovered that the cherished tenth clause of their 'Privilegium' was in fact worthless. For nearly a century, the Russian government had respected its guarantees to the Mennonites, yet the Canadian government waited less than fifty years before breaking a central promise to the sect. The Mennonites were now placed in a situation strikingly similar to that of the Doukhobors in 1907. Having received no list of privileges, the Doukhobors had brandished the 1902 letter they had received from Clifford Sifton which clearly promised them the right to live and work the land communally. Yet a mixture of popular pressure and government will enabled Frank Oliver to ignore specific promises in the letter and completely reinterpret its meaning. In the case of the Mennonites, the Federal government had been less devious. In his

book *Subjects or Citizens?,* Adolf Ens takes great pains to downplay any suggestions of a government conspiracy to deny the Mennonites the tenth clause of their guarantee. Undoubtedly, Federal officials in 1873 believed that the Mennonites were entitled to their own schools according to Manitoba law, and thus the phrase "as provided by law" was inserted simply as a harmless legal clarification.[321] But this did not change the fact that the sectarian immigrants had placed their complete faith in the Dominion Government to guarantee them autonomy over education. How difficult, moreover, would it have been for Ottawa to inform the Mennonites that education lay beyond federal jurisdiction? It is well known that the Canadian Government was competing with the United States to secure the Mennonite immigration, and Ottawa did not wish to cause the Mennonites unnecessary anxieties. It would therefore not be too cynical to suggest that the Federal Government conveniently neglected to adequately inform the Mennonites on the matter of education. Nearly fifty years later, the Mennonites felt betrayed. A 1921 petition to the Manitoba Legislature by the Sommerfeld and Bergthal reflects this sense of betrayal:

> Those [Mennonite] delegates [of 1873], not knowing that the Dominion Government had no authority any more in Manitoba as to educational matters at the time they received that assurance, returned home [to Russia] in the just and full belief and implicitly trusting that the word of honor of the Dominion Government was good enough for them to act upon, THAT IS THE POINT.
>
> While there may be no doubt that the Manitoba Government is not "legally" bound by the agreement, it certainly has a moral obligation to carry out according to all British traditions of tolerance and fair play. **The Mennonites would not have come to Canada if there had remained any doubts in the minds of their elders that the promise they had received from the Dominion Government had any flaw in it and was not absolutely bona fide.** The sense of the promise, not the wording and the interpretation given to it afterwards, should really count for honorable men and for an honorable Government.[322]

The Mennonites were now in the same unenviable position which the Doukhobors had recently been in, arguing that their delegates had been mislead during the immigration negotiations and therefore recommended migration only under the false pretences of the Canadian Government. The

Mennonites' concerns were valid. The sectarians had emigrated from Russia partly because of limitations on the amount of German instruction in Russian Mennonite schools, yet now in Canada, Mennonite children were being forced into public schools from which German language instruction was prohibited. Yet having lived in the country since the 1870s, and having accepted Canadian customs to a greater degree than the Doukhobors, most Mennonites in Manitoba reluctantly submitted to the court decision of 1919 which made public school attendance compulsory for most Mennonites.

The only remaining group of Mennonites left untouched by the 'forced schools' in 1919 had been the staunchest opponents of secular education, the Old Colonists. This quickly changed on February 21, 1920, when the Manitoba government proceeded to impose ten school districts on the Old Colony villages. In a strong show of solidarity, the conservative Mennonites worked together to resist the establishment of public schools in their villages. First, the Old Colonists refused to sell property on which to build a school, leading the government to expropriate land from these Mennonites. Secondly, the local lumber supplier refused to sell building materials to the Education Department under the threat of boycott from the Old Colonists. In response, the government brought in a contractor and building materials from Winnipeg, charging the extra costs to the community.[323] Once the schools were built, the government had to appoint an agent as trustee, for like most other 'forced' school districts, no Mennonite came forward for the position. Predictably, the new school openings were again followed by absentee children, court dates, fines for parents, and more petitions to the government.

A similar pattern of conflict developed between Mennonites and provincial authorities in Saskatchewan. In fact, parents who refused to enroll their children in Saskatchewan public schools had received fines as early as the fall of 1915. Education officials in Saskatchewan had espoused similar rhetoric in favour of a single, homogenous, British school system, and on May 1, 1917 a School Attendance Act very similar to Manitoba's was passed. The Saskatchewan Department of Education also became empowered to create school districts without the permission of local rate payers. Once again, land belonging to the Old Colony Mennonites was expropriated to build public schools, and some 50 prosecutions were made against parents of absent

children between April and May, 1918, when the School Attendance Act was enforced.[324] Eleven Mennonites were jailed for a period of ten days before the government released them out of concern that their spurious martyrdom would be an encouragement to others.[325] Yet the protests continued. Between 1920 and 1921, Mennonites in eleven Saskatchewan school districts paid more than $26,000 worth of fines and legal fees, while no fewer than 2,935 school attendance prosecutions were made against Mennonites throughout the province during these years.[326] Throughout this period, the Mennonites in Saskatchewan petitioned provincial authorities in vain. Addressing the 'Mennonite issue' in the Legislature in 1918, Saskatchewan Premier W. M. Martin stated that the current situation was regrettable, but indicated that strict enforcement of the school reforms was the government's inevitable course of action:

> The Mennonite question is one by itself....While the situation is very unfortunate I have never been able to see how we could allow them to continue to have schools where they learn nothing but their own language, the Bible and the Catechism. It was unfortunate that these people came here deceived by some document that they had from the Dominion government...whoever comes here must be given to understand that they must adopt our public school system and see to it that their children are given a proper appreciation of Canadian institutions. (Cheers.) Some months ago the government determined that the only course we could pursue with respect to the Mennonite problem was to establish schools among them.[327]

The inflexibility and relentlessness with which the government pursued the Mennonite public school issue must be seen in the context of the First World War and its aftermath. It was the tide of patriotic sentiment and the need for unity during the war years which pressed forward the concept of 'national' schools, whereby Canadian children would be raised under the British flag, would be instructed in a common language, and would be instilled with a uniform set of values. At this time of crisis, the state centralized its powers to coordinate the war effort, and assumed a greater role in the economic and social institutions of the nation. From this arose the popular perception that the education of Canada's youth was primarily the responsibility of government, not

parents, individuals, or private bodies. In reviewing the Mennonite school crisis in 1920, one *Manitoba Free Press* editorialist drew the following conclusion:

> The Old Coloniers [sic.]...appeal...that it is a fundamental natural right of any sect, group or nationality to set up a state within a state and arrogate to itself one of the state's prime functions, that of seeing that children are suitably educated to discharge the duties of citizenship. This is a point upon which the modern democratic state cannot compromise. It cannot agree that the parents have the sole right of determining what kind of education their children shall receive...the children are the children of the state of which they are destined to be citizens; and it is the duty of the state to see that they are properly educated.[328]

As the state looked out for the interests of its children, it had to ensure that none were deprived of the chance to participate fully in Canadian society. According to the *Free Press*, Mennonite children were being denied a proper education and were forced to "enter life under a serious handicap."[329] Education Minister Thornton had in fact used similar words to justify the new national schools policy to the Manitoba Legislature in 1916:

> A grave injustice is being done to the children who do not receive a satisfactory education in English. Without that knowledge they grow up under a continuous handicap. We wish to give them the same consideration that is accorded to our own children, to fit them to earn their way through life and to take their places as citizens of our Canadian nationality.[330]

It is difficult to ascertain, however, whether the government primarily wanted an educated, or a homogenous citizenry. According to the state, Mennonite church authorities were hindering the development of its citizens, and the state was required to intervene in order to protect the right of each Mennonite child to receive a balanced education. This matter might well be viewed as a conflict between individual and collective rights, not unlike the Doukhobor land crisis, where the government ensured that the individual right of each Doukhobor to receive a homestead prevailed over the collective request to receive land in common. Yet during wartime, it is less likely that the government was motivated by a concern for individual rights or even educational standards than by a desire to assimilate an obstinate sect which

had shown an insulting level of indifference to nation and government. As the war progressed, comments such as the following statement from the *Swift Current Sun* in 1918 had become fairly typical: "The loyal Canadian feels that Mennonites are slackers; they will not learn English, they have a distinctive religion, and they will not assimilate with Canadians."[331] The provincial governments proved responsive to the assimilatory rhetoric of the British-Canadian majority and decided to eliminate Mennonite private schools altogether, despite the attempts of some Mennonite groups to compromise. The Chortitzer Mennonites, for instance, promised to bring their private schools up to public school standards in 1920, but the Manitoba Legislature did not consent to the plan.[332]

Thus, perhaps the greatest contributing factor to the government's uncompromising stand on Mennonite schools was the popular antipathy directed at the sect during wartime. There were plenty of reasons why the word 'Mennonite' became a term of derision during the war, not the least of which was the fact that the Mennonites spoke the language of the enemy. As war fever hit the nation, press groups and military organizations petitioned for the suppression of all things German, especially the German language. Yet instead of anglicizing their family names and those of their towns like the German-Canadians of Southern Ontario,[333] the Manitoba Mennonites strictly insisted that their German schools be maintained. Another reason why the Mennonites fell out of favour with Canadians was due to their pacifist beliefs. The Mennonites had deplored, not celebrated, the outbreak of war, and at a time when many Canadians offered their services and even their lives for their country, the sectarians appeared to be preoccupied with securing their own immunity from military service. As the Federal Government first pondered, and then enacted a conscription bill, the Mennonites sent numerous petitions and delegations to Ottawa, taking up valuable government time in order to continually verify their exemption from the new legislation.[334] The Federal authorities kept their early promise not to conscript the Mennonites, but in doing so faced criticism from the rest of the Canadian public, whose sons were compelled to sacrifice their lives while German sectarians comfortably stayed at home and worked on their farms.[335]

Mennonites in the United States also evoked popular resentment from Americans, for they, too, had condemned the war and America's entry into it (albeit later than Canada). More important, the Mennonites strongly objected to U.S. conscription laws which required conscientious objectors to perform noncombatant military service. Several hundred Mennonites and more than one thousand Hutterites emigrated from the United States to Canada between 1917 and 1919 in order to avoid American state service requirements.[336] The following quotation from an American newspaper reflects the degree of animosity directed towards these emigrants and Mennonites in general at this time.

> The Mennonites, who refused to fight for the country in which they lived, protected and prosperous, are going to emigrate to Canada. There they hope to live in safety, garnering such dollars as they may and letting their neighbors do their fighting for them when the foe attacks their liberty. Mennonites not only refused to fight, but their leaders were rabid anti-war propagandists, thus helping the Kaiser. They did, however, grow food on their fertile farms, selling it at war prices, for the Mennonite is fond of the dollar in war or peace. The United States loses nothing by the emigration of these people. It gains in patriotism by their going. We are sorry though that our neighbor and ally in this war is to be inflicted with this tribe of dirty shirkers.[337]

Alarmed by the prospect of receiving an influx of "dirty shirkers" from the United States, the above quotation was published in a *Manitoba Free Press* editorial on September 4, 1918. The editorialist not only stated that American Mennonite draft dodgers were unwelcome in Canada, but further suggested that the Russian Mennonites currently living on the prairies were also an undesirable bunch. While Ottawa should honour the privileges it granted in the past, the article stated, it ought to be more selective of immigrants in the future:

> No immigrant ought to be allowed to come to Canada in the future unless he is prepared to become a Canadian; and to see his children Canadianized.
>
> The man who thinks his language a too-precious possession to be placed in a secondary position to English and who proposes to retain and transmit to his descendants his racial customs and habits of thought should be told that Canada does not want him and will not have him.
>
> People of peculiar religions living in colonies and clinging to an alien tongue and to racial habits are from every point of view--except that

> of production, perhaps, --undesirable settlers. In place of being encouraged to come to Canada the door should be shut upon them and double-locked.
>
> If this country is not good enough to fight for it is not good enough to live in.[338]

This view was shared by many of the returning soldiers who expected to be compensated with land in return for their services, but instead arrived in Western Canada only to find pacifists and enemy-aliens inhabiting the most prosperous farms. Veterans' groups kept up anti-German sentiment in Canada after the war, which led most Mennonites in Manitoba and Saskatchewan to list their nationality in the 1921 census as 'Dutch', and in some instances as 'Russian'.[339] In Western Canada, pacifist sects such as the Mennonites, Hutterites, and Doukhobors became the special target of criticism by groups such as The Great War Veterans Association, The Great War Next-of-Kin Association, The Orangemen, and other citizens' groups. Parliamentarians were petitioned to conscript, anglicize, and prevent the further immigration of "undesirable" Mennonites into the country.[340] The House of Commons ultimately responded to these request through Order-in-Council on June 9, 1919:

> WHEREAS owing to conditions prevailing as the result of war, a widespread feeling exists throughout Canada, and more particularly in Western Canada, that steps should be taken to prohibit the landing in Canada of immigrants deemed undesirable owing to their peculiar customs, habits, modes of living and methods of holding property and because of their probable inability to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after their entry;
>
> AND WHEREAS it appears that persons commonly known as Doukhobors, Hutterites and Mennonites are of the class described;
>
> THEREFORE His Excellency the Governor General in Council is pleased,...to make the following regulation,...
>
> From after the date hereof and until otherwise ordered, the landing in Canada shall be...hereby prohibited of any immigrant of the Doukhobor, Hutterite or Mennonite class.[341]

When considering this legislation, it should be pointed out that enemy-aliens, such as Germans, Hungarians, Turks, and others, were also prevented

from entering Canada at this time. It should also be noted that the ban on Mennonite immigration lasted only three years. Mennonite lobbyists received the support of former Waterloo M.P., Mackenzie King, who rescinded the Order in the spring of 1922, shortly after becoming Prime Minister. Nonetheless, the Canadian government had made a significant statement in 1919, for the Mennonites had once been considered to be Canada's model farmers, yet Ottawa proceeded to place them atop Canada's list of most undesirable immigrants. The exclusion of Doukhobor immigrants, meanwhile, was also significant, for the Russian peasants were not even 'enemy-aliens'. The Order-in-Council of June 9, 1919 was unique, for it justified its prohibition of Mennonite, and Doukhobor immigration partly in response to popular pressure, but also in reference to the fact that these sectarian groups had not assimilated to the degree which the government had desired or anticipated. Ottawa had not expected the sectarians to stubbornly cling to their customs and traditions for as long as they did and was now essentially admitting that the mass settlement of Mennonites and Doukhobors had been a disappointment. The June 1919 legislation appeared to represent a sour end to the fanciful expectations in Ottawa when the two sectarian groups were first invited to Canada.

Yet if Canada was not pleased with the sectarians, the reverse was also true. The Doukhobors had not followed through with any of their emigration inquiries following the loss of their Saskatchewan reserves in 1907, but a majority did remove themselves onto private land in the semi-remote Interior of British Columbia where they expected to find more solitude. The Russian Mennonites, one might think, would be more reluctant to emigrate than the Doukhobors, for the former had lived in Canada for nearly fifty years and had built up prosperous farms. Yet as early as 1910, a *Manitoba Free Press* editorialist, having briefly reviewed the course of Mennonite history, had predicted that the Mennonites were scrupulous enough to leave the country if they continued to be pressed on the sensitive subject of education:

> That the Mennonites are a people who will not be coerced is quite clear to all who have studied them. It is asserted quite positively that the conservative people who constitute the large majority of the people are to this day so tenacious of their principals [sic.] that if any attempt should be made on the part

of the government to force public schools upon them or even to teach English in their private schools--not that they have any conscientious scruples against learning English, but because they resent all outside, that is government, interference--they would leave the country in spite of the large material interests which they have here.[342]

As the school crisis reached a climax, Mennonite petitions to both the Manitoba and Saskatchewan governments on the matter of public schools included regular warnings of a renewed emigration. Beginning in 1919, conservative congregations from across the two provinces began sending representatives across North and South America in search of a new home. The Old Colony Mennonites pursued the emigration option most actively, sponsoring no less than twelve delegations to Quebec, Mississippi, Mexico, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina between August 1919 and September 1921. A loose alliance of conservatives from the Sommerfelder, Chortitzer, and Bergthaler congregations also sent five delegations to Mexico and South America during this time.[343]

These delegations shared a mandate very similar to that of the delegations sent by the Russian Mennonites to North America in the 1870s. Once again, an isolated location with plenty of available land was to be found, a task which had become more difficult by the 1920s. In spite of the fact that both the Russian and Canadian governments had broken their early promises to the Mennonites, the new delegations again resolved to obtain permanent and specific guarantees of autonomy and religious freedom which were nearly identical to the privilegiums granted to them in the past. During negotiations with the province of Quebec in 1920, for instance, the Old Colony Mennonites demanded guarantees on five main points: 1) an exemption from military service; 2) the right to affirm rather than swear oaths; 3) "The fullest privilege of exercising our religious principles and rules of our church without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever;" 4) the right to maintain private schools and teach a separate curriculum in the German language; 5) the right to maintain the traditional Mennonite institution of the 'Orphan's Office'.[344] Although local interests in Quebec and Mississippi remained favourable to the idea of resettling the Old Colonists, the American and Canadian governments were

reluctant to guarantee any special privileges to orthodox Mennonites in the immediate post-war years.

Governments in Central and South America, however, were more receptive to the Mennonites' requests. Delegations to Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay in 1919 proved unfruitful, but in the fall of 1920, the Old Colonists from the Hague Reserve in Saskatchewan sponsored two scouting missions to Mexico and Paraguay. A favourable reception by the Mexican government led to two more delegations and a meeting with President Alvaro Obregon and his Agriculture Minister, A. I. Villereal, in February of 1921. Hoping that the Mennonites would bring their agricultural success with them to Mexico, Obregon and Villereal signed a privilegium which guaranteed the five main points requested by the Old Colonists. In September, approximately 230,000 acres of land was purchased by Old Colonists from Manitoba and Swift Current in the State of Chihuahua.[345] Encouraged by this example, some interested Sommerfelder Mennonites also sent a delegation to Mexico in October 1921. A privilegium was obtained on October 30, which not only satisfied the five main requests listed earlier, but also granted the Sommerfelder the right to emigrate at will, and retain their mutual fire insurance system. Although no specific mention of the 'Orphan's Office' was made, the Mexican signatories noted that "our laws are so liberal that you can regulate your estates in the way and manner you consider right."[346] By the following summer, the Sommerfelder Mennonites purchased land next to the Old Colonists in Chihuahua. Owing to a financial dispute and difficulties in selling land in Canada, Old Colony representatives from the Hague Reserve did not join these Mennonites, but subsequently concluded separate negotiations with the Mexican government and bought 35,000 acres in the State of Durango.[347] Meanwhile, a joint delegation to Paraguay by Chortitzer, Sommerfelder, and Saskatchewan Bergthaler representatives took place during the spring and summer of 1921 which was also favourably received. After meeting with Paraguayan president Manuel Gondra in April, the delegates received their desired privilegium, which was not only signed by the President, but also ratified by the Paraguayan Senate and Congress.[348] Before returning home, the delegates toured the Gran Chaco, a vast territory consisting of uninhabited jungle and grasslands where the Mennonites later purchased land.

As emigration plans proceeded, many of the Russian Mennonites hoped that the provincial governments would become more conciliatory on the schools issue, but this was not the case. Whereas the Russian government had sent a high-ranking emissary in the person of General Todtleben to negotiate with the Mennonites in the 1870s and prevent their emigration, Canadian officials continued to decline Mennonite pleas and petitions. The Manitoba Government, for example, ignored Mennonite promises to improve their private schools and disregarded a request by the Old Colonists to be resettled in a more isolated region of Manitoba.[349] Saskatchewan Premier W. M. Martin stalwartly refused to compromise on the education issue and downplayed the impact of emigration on his province, stating in 1922, "I am fairly sure personally that it will only be a short time until people who have gone to Mexico will be coming back and telling the Saskatchewan people the truth about conditions there. If this occurs, I have no fears that any considerable number of Saskatchewan people will go to Mexico."[350] Public opinion, meanwhile, remained just as apathetic. When a *Manitoba Free Press* article reported in 1920 that eight thousand Old Colony Mennonites were negotiating to emigrate to the State of Mississippi over the school question, it stated further that

> Public opinion in Western Canada will be pretty nearly unanimous in holding that if it is the fixed determination of the Old Colony Bishops to ignore the law as they have been doing for the last year or so, both in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, it is desirable that they and their followers should remove themselves from the jurisdiction of the authorities whom they defy.[351]

Facing only hostility and indifference from Canadians, the most conservative Mennonites felt that they were afforded little choice but to emigrate. It was not an easy decision, for aside from the school issue, the Mennonites were generally satisfied with the freedom and prosperity they had enjoyed in Canada. By the 1920s, the Mennonites owned prosperous farms, situated on some of the most fertile land on the prairies. Having heard the realistic reports from their delegates, the emigrants realized that they would likely never achieve such material successes in the 'green hell' of the Paraguayan Chaco, or on the infertile Chihuahuan plains, where local Mexicans lived in poverty. The older Mennonites still remembered the

difficulties involved in resettling on the desolate, mosquito-ridden Manitoba prairies in the 1870s and knew that the current migration south would be no easier. Yet the migration from Russia to Canada had taken place because the orthodox refused to compromise on matters of conscience, and this migration was taking place for the same reason. The Sommerfelder and Chortitzer Mennonites stated this in a 1921 petition to the Manitoba government:

> A number of our people are preparing to leave the country. They do so reluctantly, as they are prosperous and because they have no complaints to make in other respects....We would not willingly leave a country where we have prospered, where our children were born, and to which we are bound by many ties. But we have sacrificed all that to our conscience before and are prepared to do so again.[352]

Those who prepared to emigrate considered themselves to be martyrs like their ancestors, and once again drew inspiration from the "beautiful" *Martyr's Mirror* of the seventeenth century which had chronicled the persecution of the earliest Mennonites. In the introduction to his account of the emigration to Mexico, Old Colony elder Isaak Dyck recalled that according to the Holy Scriptures, "all people who wished to live a godly life in Jesus Christ had to endure persecution."[353] Moreover, stated Dyck, the only difference between the Canadian Mennonite emigrants and their persecuted ancestors was that the former did not shed their blood in their "battle against sin."[354]

This "battle" had most recently been waged against secular schools, but in fact was multifaceted. Throughout their fifty year history in Canada, the Old Colonists had struggled very hard to remain pure and true to their religion and all of their traditions, whereas other Mennonites had gradually relaxed their guard against the acceptance of Canadian customs and practices. The Old Colonists continued to govern themselves according to their traditional system of mayors and ecclesiastical authorities, whereas the other Mennonite groups participated in the state-run municipal system of government. By the 1920s, the Old Colonists were virtually the only Mennonites who had not abandoned their Strassendorf villages to live on individual farmsteads. The most conservative Mennonite groups in Canada had been further appalled by the rise of materialism among their brethren, and their acceptance of Canadian culture. Elder Isaak Dyck explained the reasons behind the migration:

> It was not only because we were forced to accept public schools and that we had to make payments, but more important because of the ever-present worldliness, i.e. because of the automobiles, the indescribable display of fine clothing. And the only way that we could be saved and kept equal in Christ's name, was if we would move once again.[355]

In this way, the motivations behind the emigration to Mexico were remarkably similar to those which spurned the Russian exodus in the 1870s, for in each case, the emigrants sought to distance themselves from the worldly and corrupt practices of their fellow brethren. The emigrants again regarded themselves as the true keepers of the faith and true followers of a tradition of martyrdom for conscience sake. That the acculturated Mennonites were now ready to accept, even reluctantly, a completely secular and English public school system, was too much for the orthodox sectarians to tolerate. The school issue was thus the final straw, just as conscription had been the focal point for Mennonite grievances in Russia. Yet whereas the Russian government had compromised on the issue of state service, the Canadians offered the orthodox no alternatives besides compliance or emigration. It may be therefore be argued that the Mennonites had a greater justification for leaving Canada in the 1920s than they had for leaving Russia in the 1870s.

Emigration from Canada, however, was fraught with equal hardship and difficulty as the Russian exodus. Property values in Canada had fallen during the first post-war recession, and the Old Colonists encountered difficulty in selling their land in blocks at a fair price.[356] The emigrants did not wish to sell to fellow Mennonites, lest it merely encourage a greater number to stay in Canada. This, in turn, drew protest from Mennonites with nearby farms who did not want a large influx of non-Mennonites to settle among them, which only heightened tensions between emigrants and non-emigrants.[357] Meanwhile, the Old Colonists soon discovered that they had been swindled into paying a price for their land in Mexico which was fifty five times its actual value.[358] Those emigrating to Paraguay, meanwhile, paid nearly a half million dollars to a company set up to sell their Canadian property and purchase land in the Chaco.[359] Their sense of persecution only deepened as they continued to accumulate fines for not enrolling their children in public school, despite pleas

for a temporary amnesty. On February 12, 1923, Old Colony minister John Wall informed the Saskatchewan Ministry of Education that the relentless string of prosecutions against his people greatly impaired their ability to farm and had brought much 'misery' and deprivation to the Hague Reserve. "Would you not be inclined to show sympathy as well as the Russian Government did, who granted sufficient time in which [the Mennonites] were free to carry out their move?," Wall asked.[360] Yet the provincial governments continued to prosecute Mennonites under the School Attendance Acts up until their actual emigration from the country.

The first to leave Canada were Old Colony Mennonites from the West Reserve in Manitoba, who departed at the beginning of March, 1922. Roughly two-thirds of the Old Colonists from Manitoba emigrated to Mexico between the peak years of 1922-1926, approximately 3,200 in total.[361] In Chihuahua, these Mennonites were joined by roughly 1,200 Old Colonists from the Swift Current Reserve, and another 600 Sommerfelder Mennonites from Manitoba and Saskatchewan, who emigrated during the same period. The migration movement among the Old Colony Mennonites from the Hague Reserve had lost momentum after a split occurred between the Manitoba and Swift Current Old Colonists, and after prolonged difficulties in selling their land had lead to widespread discouragement. Only 950 Old Colonists from Hague proceeded to emigrate to Durango in the years 1924-1925. Thus in total, approximately 6,000 Mennonites had left Canada for Mexico by 1926. The emigration to Paraguay took place in the latter half of the decade, between 1926 and 1930. It involved some 1,200 Chortitzer and 350 Sommerfelder Mennonites from Manitoba, as well as roughly 250 Bergthal Mennonites from Saskatchewan, for a total of roughly 1,800 emigrants. Thus, from a total of 42,000 Mennonites living in Manitoba and Saskatchewan in the 1920s, roughly 7,800 emigrated between 1922 and 1930.[362] The province of Manitoba, however, lost approximately one quarter of its Mennonite population to the emigration, roughly 5,000 sectarians, which matched the number of Doukhobor majority which migrated to British Columbia between 1908 and 1913.

The real significance of these Mennonite and Doukhobor migrations, however, is not to be found in the numbers of sectarian migrants, for by the early twentieth century they formed only a negligible minority. The Canadian

Plains had experienced remarkable growth and expansion since the 1890s; the prairie population had exploded from a mere 250,000 in 1891 to 2,000,000 by 1921.[363] The prairie provinces had become a most desirable destination for immigrant groups, and therefore what is most significant about the Mennonite emigrations was simply the fact that established farmers would choose to leave at all.

But the Mennonites and Doukhobors who left the prairies were an exceptional group of settlers. They had not come to the Canadian West in search of prosperity and the chance to establish independent homesteads, nor had they come to take advantage of individual freedoms guaranteed by the British Constitution. Rather, the sectarians settled on the prairies because they believed they would be able to live amongst themselves in isolation and re-establish the traditional autonomous village settlements which they had previously known in Russia. Moreover, the Canadian government promised them what the Russian government had not: a military service exemption and the freedom to live according to their religion 'unmolested'. Yet as their sense of isolation disappeared, as their traditional village settlements became endangered, and as the Canadian government placed limits on what the sectarians considered to be religious freedoms, the Doukhobors discovered within ten years what the Mennonites learned after a half century: that the Canadian prairies were not as conducive to sectarian life as first imagined.

That the Russian Mennonites were able to live in Canada for nearly fifty years before a substantial re-migration occurred is explainable, for their experience was different from that of the Doukhobors. The Mennonites arrived in Manitoba in the 1870s, when the plains were virtually uninhabited. The goal of the provincial and federal governments was simply to settle the land with good farmers, not to concern themselves with how the settlers organized themselves. The Mennonites were therefore given contiguous land *en bloc*, were allowed to build villages and set up local governments, and remained relatively unmolested for the first few decades. When the Doukhobors arrived in Canada near the turn of the century, they too were viewed as valuable settlers, yet formed only one of a number of immigrant groups settling on the prairies. It was only a short time before government policy on western settlement underwent a transition from its initial emphasis on attracting

settlement and accommodating immigrant groups, to a new policy aimed at the integration and assimilation of a diverse western populace. Thus, although the Doukhobors, like the Mennonites, were given reserved sections of land on which to live communally in 'street villages,' it was only a few years before pressure was placed on the Doukhobors to conform to homestead laws.

When the Mennonites first arrived, they were able to receive a substantial loan from the government with the help of fellow Mennonites in Ontario. Cooperation with the Ontario brethren not only enabled the Mennonites to expand their farms in a relatively short period of time, but also facilitated the interpretation and acceptance of Canadian laws and practices. Most Mennonites not only accepted the imposition of municipalities on their reserves, but a number of them began to form school districts and break away from village settlements in favour of farming individual homesteads. Government authorities and the greater public were naturally pleased with these developments, and further admired the economic successes achieved by Mennonite farmers. Because the Mennonites had made considerable progress while avoiding popular antipathy, the government felt no need to place undue assimilatory pressures on the more conservative sectarians. True, the Manitoba government prohibited the creation of new Strassendorf villages after 1885, and those who wished to maintain traditional private schools were double taxed. Yet Ottawa proceeded to open up new reserves for the Old Colony Mennonites in the Northwest Territories up until 1904, and permitted the existence of German private schools until 1916.

Quite a different picture emerged among the Spirit Wrestlers, who had no coreligionists in Canada to help them adapt to their new country or secure a large loan for them. As a result, the Doukhobors had little choice but to accept charity from groups like the Quakers, and send their men to perform wage labour, rather than develop their farms. Thus, the Spirit Wrestlers never felt fully isolated and their traditional way of life became immediately susceptible to many different influences. Quakers began to set up English schools. Doukhobor men on railroads and in mills were exposed to the habits of Canadian workers. Christian-Anarchists advised the Spirit Wrestlers on how to deal with the Canadian government. State officials impatiently scrutinized the progress of Doukhobor farms. Meanwhile, the Doukhobors were expected to

implement an idealistic form of communistic organization which the sect was largely familiar with in theory, but less in actual practice. This new form of organization was the bidding of their leader, Peter Verigin, who remained distant from his followers, still exiled in Siberia. It is not surprising, then, that the Doukhobors suffered more from disunity and disorientation in their earliest years in Canada than the Mennonites did. Out of this confusion emerged the Doukhobor zealots, whose radical form of protest led to consternation and outrage from the Canadian public. When Peter Verigin arrived, it was hoped that he would provide direction for the Doukhobors. Yet despite his (unsuccessful) efforts to quell the zealots and advance the economic development of the Doukhobor colonies, the Federal Government nonetheless felt that Verigin's direction was not the right one. As Frank Oliver later admitted, the Canadian government assumed that the Doukhobors would abandon their communal institutions and take up individual homesteads as the Mennonites had done. Yet it was easier for the Mennonites to make this step than it was for the Doukhobors, for the Mennonites already owned their property individually, whereas in the last decade, Verigin had pressed his followers to resurrect the communal practices of their Doukhobor ancestors. Ottawa had overlooked this fact when it invited the Doukhobors to Canada, and it had also overlooked the Spirit Wrestlers' past record of resistance to government authority in Russia. Faced with a group of settlers who were staunchly communistic and unpopular with the Western public, Canadian officials broke their promise to permit communal cultivation and instead demanded that the Doukhobors strictly conform to Canadian homestead regulations.

Although the Mennonites were able to maintain a better relationship with government and with the public for many years, their day of confrontation would also come, for the expectation remained that the Mennonites would be eventually assimilated into Canadian society. Yet although a number of progressive Mennonites had accepted individual farms, public schools, and were beginning to adopt Canadian dress and habits, Mennonites as a whole still avoided mixing with other Canadians. During the First World War, the Mennonites fell out of favour with Canadians because of their German nationality and pacifist stance. The fact that a large number of Mennonite conservatives refused to fly the Union Jack in their villages, send their children

to public schools, or learn English, suddenly became unacceptable. The government therefore implemented a national schools policy aimed as much at assimilating a diverse population as improving education standards.

Knowing that the Mennonites remained disunited on the schools issue, it was expected that the progressives would cooperate with the government and bring the conservatives on side. Yet the orthodox Mennonites had long felt betrayed by the progressive Mennonites for abandoning the principles for which they had emigrated to Canada. Thus, conservative groups such as the Old Colonists decided to take a stand not only against the government, but also against the Mennonites who had collaborated with government, and exposed a weakness in the Mennonites' sectarian armour in the process. The Community Doukhobors had felt similarly betrayed, for they had come to Canada in order that they might be able to live according to the will of their leader. Verigin had instructed his followers not to recognize private property, yet once the Independents had demonstrated a willingness to own their own quarter-sections, the government intervened in Doukhobor affairs to ensure that every Doukhobor had the possibility to do so. In protest, the Community Doukhobors broke all ties with the Independents and removed themselves from government land to form a new settlement in British Columbia. The Independent Doukhobors and the Mennonites who did not leave their Canadian farms dismissed the migrants as insatiable religious fanatics. Yet it should be remembered that the Doukhobors who followed Verigin to British Columbia and the Mennonites who left for Paraguay and Mexico had really remained the most true to the reasons for which they came to Canada.

CHAPTER FIVE

Epilogue

The emigration of the conservative Mennonites to Paraguay and Mexico, and the Veriginite migration from Saskatchewan to British Columbia reflected a clear sense of disappointment in the prairie experiences of the orthodox sectarians. Upon their arrival in Canada, the two groups of immigrants had not been especially impressed with the land they received, especially in comparison to their former Russian homelands, yet they settled the Canadian prairies anyway. The two sectarian groups had hoped that they would be better able to preserve their distinct cultural practices in their new Canadian settlements than in their former colonies in Russia. Yet when the Canadian government prevented the Veriginites from farming their lands communally, and prohibited the Mennonites from running their own private religious schools, the most conservative sectarians realized that in their present settlements they would never be able to create the type of communities they had sought to create upon emigrating from Russia.

If the expectations of the Mennonite and Doukhobor immigrants were not fulfilled in Canada, would the sectarians have been better off to simply stay in Russia? This is a difficult question to answer, for Doukhobors and Mennonites who did remain behind developed their own distinctive cultures based on values which were significantly different from those of their coreligionists in Canada, and evidently more acceptable to the Tsarist government. It is extremely difficult to attempt to transplant the conservative emigrants back into a Russian setting which had changed significantly since they left. This setting itself changed drastically after the 1917 Revolutions, which had grave implications for sectarian life in Russia, and resulted in unprecedented hardship for the Russian Mennonites. It is also hard to speculate as to just how long the persecution of the Veriginites in Georgia in the 1890s might have lasted. Judging by the obstinacy of the Doukhobor immigrants in Canada, and the stubborn pride with which Nicholas II ruled Russia, the oppression of the orthodox sectarians would likely have continued for some time.

Yet despite the persecution of the late 1890s, there is evidence to suggest that the Veriginites might have actually been able to live in Russia, and that they themselves even considered moving back. Evidently, Peter Verigin's long exile did not prevent him from seriously considering an offer by E. E. Ukhtomskii, one of Tsar Nicholas' close confidants, to resettle Verigin's followers in the Minusinsk region of Siberia after his release in 1904. Apparently, the Minister of the Interior was favourably disposed towards resettling the Canadian Doukhobors in Russia, and St. Petersburg had even agreed to pay the expenses for the return trip.[1] Although Verigin declined the offer he returned to Russia two years later, in 1906, when the Doukhobors were still embroiled in disputes with Canadian officials over the land use issue. In St. Petersburg, he met with "several ministers and generals...all of [whom] expressed regret that the Doukhobors had left Russia."[2] It is even said that during Verigin's meeting with the new Minister of the Interior, Peter Stolypin, Tsar Nicholas himself had telephoned and stated his personal regret that the Doukhobors had emigrated from Russia.[3] With Stolypin Verigin again discussed the prospect of returning with his followers to settle on free land in the Altai and Amur regions of Siberia. According to Verigin, Stolypin promised that military conscription would not be enforced on his followers in the event of their return.[4] Although Verigin chose to relocate his followers to British Columbia instead, these negotiations nonetheless suggest that it might well have been possible for the Veriginites to live peacefully under Tsar Nicholas II in Russia.

Certainly the majority of Spirit Wrestlers who remained in the Caucasus had little desire to leave their homeland. A few representatives from the Middle Party, the 'Butchers',[5] travelled to Canada in 1905 to investigate the possibility of joining the Veriginites, but it was subsequently decided that emigration was not an appropriate move. The reason for this is perhaps revealed by the Bolshevik, Vladimir Bonch-Bruevich, who visited the Caucasian settlements of the Middle Party in 1909 only to find enormous growth and prosperity. As Woodcock and Avakumovic write,

> The Doukhobor farms were prospering, granaries were full and enormous haystacks stood in the yards. Experimentation in seed strains had enabled wheat to grow in mountain areas where formerly only barley and oats had ripened. Horse-breeding had developed so far that for several years the Doukhobors had won the first prizes in the agricultural

> fair at Tiflis.... In comparison with other Russian peasants, and with the average members of the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood in Canada, these Doukhobor farmers in the Caucasus were financially well off and relatively unmolested by the authorities.[6]

Admittedly, along with the wealth and enterprising spirit of the Doukhobors who remained in Russia, there continued to be a certain amount of laxity in maintaining Doukhobor customs and traditions. Although the Russian Doukhobors maintained good relations with the Tsarist authorities and stayed free from persecution and hardship, the number of practicing Doukhobors remained fairly static in Russia following the emigration. This is due to the fact that steady numbers of sectarians were converted to Russian Orthodoxy and to other Christian denominations during these years.[7]

Like the Russian Doukhobors, the experience of the Russian Mennonites had also been markedly different from that of their coreligionists living in Canada. After one-third of the most conservative Mennonites had left in the 1870s, the remaining majority had pressed on with their educational reforms, technological advancements, and economic developments. Many who continued to farm amassed thousands of acres of land, hired dozens of labourers and built up prosperous estates for themselves.[8] Other Mennonites became influential industrialists, producing farm machinery, building materials, textiles, and other products. Frank Epp describes their activities:

> Those...Mennonites who in the 1870s had chosen to remain in Russia had enjoyed a half-century of unprecedented prosperity and expansion of their communities and institutions....Their population had tripled to 120,00 and the number of settlements,...had increased to over 50, with a total of approximately 440 villages and some 2,300,000 acres of land....
>
> A gold medal won for his flour by a Mennonite miller at the world fair in Paris symbolized the high achievements resulting from over a century of hard work devoted to agricultural excellence on the part of all the Mennonite people.
>
> They had introduced improved strains of dairy cattle.... [T]hey had developed new techniques of tilling the soil, including the use of the black and green fallow, use of better seed grains, rotation of crops, some use of manure as fertilizer, and extensive practices of tree planting for both fruit and shelter....

> Their industrial endeavours, almost as impressive as agriculture, provided Russia with six per cent of its farm implements and large quantities of brick and tile....
>
> Among both agriculturalists and industrialists there were some very wealthy people. Millionaires were not uncommon. This wealth and a strong economy supported a network of educational and other institutions, contributing to the culture and welfare of the total Mennonite community....
>
> Thus, driven by a concept of progress and a spirit of industry that were foreign to much of the indigenous Russian population, the Mennonites had established an economic and cultural "commonwealth" unmatched by other minorities around them or by the Russian population at large.[9]

The Mennonites also got along well with the Russian authorities, partly because the emigration of the conservative Mennonites in the 1870s had enabled the remaining Mennonites to push ahead with their progressive reforms and integrate themselves more closely with surrounding populations in Southern Russia. Sizable numbers of Mennonites had drifted to urban centres and hundreds of Mennonite students had enrolled in colleges and universities both in Russia and abroad.

Naturally, the Mennonites who had emigrated to Canada were very critical of their Russian coreligionists for giving in to these degenerative trends, and predicted the imminent disintegration of Mennonite religion and culture in Russia. One Canadian Mennonite, Gerhard Ens, after a return trip to Russia around the turn of century, predicted that the Mennonites would be assimilated to such a degree that "the finest microscope will not be able to spot them."[10]

Yet some have argued that Mennonite acculturation in Russia following the 1870s emigration was not necessarily leading toward assimilation. John Toews, for instance, writes:

> Compared with earlier decades, an unprecedented vitality in religious, intellectual and cultural affairs emerged. Ironically, Russification pressures produced a less self-contained but fundamentally stronger Mennonite community than existed earlier. It allowed a less regimented ethnicity and minimized the need to control the relationship of group members with Russian society. The new setting easily responded to the changes taking place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, yet produced an individual and collective sense of solidarity rarely duplicated in Mennonite history.[11]

Yet I believe that what was occurring among the Mennonites of Russia was, in fact, being duplicated on a smaller scale in Canada. In fact, analysts of the Western Canadian Mennonites have used an argument very similar to Toews' to argue that prairie settlers were adopting Canadian practices and also becoming acculturated, but were not necessarily becoming assimilated into Canadian society.[12] It is actually difficult to tell whether the Canadian settlers or the Russian colonists were losing their Mennonite identity quicker than the other. Contemporary Russian Mennonites actually felt that the emigrants overseas were surrendering their faith more quickly than themselves. Peter M. Friesen claimed that

> [North] American Mennonite brothers admit that it is far more difficult to keep their young men within the brotherhood in America than it was in Russia. At least this has been personally expressed to [me] by several American Mennonite ministers and elders who have returned to Russia as visitors and by a number of Russian Mennonite ministers and elders who travelled over there and have returned.[13]

Like their Canadian coreligionists, the Russian Mennonites were affected to some degree by external events. The outbreak of the First World War created certain dilemmas for the Mennonite settlements in Russia, but no greater hardship than that endured by their Canadian brethren. When war broke out, the Russian Mennonites consented to allowing their conscripts to serve in the army as medics and nurses. Yet this in itself was no greater indiscretion than when the Mennonites compromised their pacifist teachings during the Crimean War by transporting supplies for the Russian army for pay. A second problem was the German ethnicity of the Mennonites which made them unpopular among Russians for the duration of the War and afterwards. Between 1915 and 1916, Russian legislation was passed by popular demand which enabled the government to confiscate Mennonite land.[14] Yet, again, it may be argued that this type of discrimination was no more severe that the imposition of national schools and the ban on immigration which occurred shortly following the War in Canada. In any case, following the February Revolution in 1917, the confiscation laws were revoked by the Provisional Government, which was very sympathetic to the Mennonites during its brief

period of rule led by Alexander Kerensky. The Kerensky regime officially recognized a political body formed by Mennonites known as the All-Russian Mennonite Congress, which basically served as a parliament with the authority to make decisions on internal problems relating to the Mennonite colonies. Thus, perhaps at this time, more than at any other, the Mennonites truly had formed their very own commonwealth in Russia.

All this changed, of course, after the Bolsheviks took power. Following the October Revolution, Mennonite settlements in the Ukraine found themselves in the midst of anarchy and civil war, caught between the fluctuating fronts of Red, White, and foreign armies. The Mennonites welcomed German occupation of their lands in 1918 following the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, but as successive armies vied for control of the region in the following months, the Mennonites were forced to pay retribution. Roving bands of Ukrainian peasants, some loyal to Nestor Makhno, raided Mennonite villages, looting homes, burning buildings, raping women, and killing indiscriminately.[15] Under these circumstances, some Mennonite villages decided to depart from their nonresistant principles and form armed self-defence *(Selbstschutz)* battalions, which often elicited even greater destruction of their settlements. The decimation of the Mennonite villages precipitated widespread poverty, famine, and disease among sectarians, at a time when the entire Ukraine suffered from the same afflictions. When the Bolsheviks had finally secured control of the Mennonite settlements, a new political body known as the Union of Citizens of Dutch Ancestry was formed to represent the Mennonites in their negotiations with the Soviet government. Although the earliest Mennonites had indeed originated in Holland, the name of the new organization was more of an attempt by the Mennonites to distance themselves from their German nationality than to promote their ancestra heritage. The leader of the Union, B. B. Janz, managed to convince the Soviets that the dislocated Mennonite populace represented an "unproductive element" in society whose emigration would help to relieve the famine crisis in the Ukraine.[16] Between 1922 and 1929, permission was given for the emigration of some 20,000 Mennonites to Canada, representing approximately one-sixth of their total number in Russia.[17]

Many more Mennonites were denied permission to leave the U. S. S. R. after the commencement of the First Five Year Plan (1928-1932), when the

sectarians were forced to collectivize their farms. Not only did the Mennonites lose their large farms under collectivization, but their former prosperity led to their classification as part of the detested 'kulak' class. Throughout the 1930s, hundreds of leading Mennonites were arrested and exiled as 'counter-revolutionaries' and never returned.

Mennonite cultural and religious life was also suppressed under the Soviet regime. A 1922 decree forbade religious instruction in schools, and prohibited ministers from becoming teachers in the colonies.[18] Eventually, Ukrainian and Russian became the official languages of Mennonite schools, and the curriculum became standardized and imbued with Soviet propaganda. By the late 1920s, German religious periodicals were prohibited, and Mennonite ministers had become frequent victims of arrest and exile. The last Mennonite churches continuing to function were closed by 1935. In 1931, one Mennonite minister, B. H. Unruh, lamented: "...because no counteraction is possible, our youth is rapidly inclining towards unbelief...."[19] In short, the Russian Mennonite communities of old were no more.

Unsurprisingly, the Russian Mennonites welcomed the invasion and occupation of the Ukraine by German Nazi forces under 'Operation Barbarossa' in 1941. The Germans permitted churches to reopen, allowed religious teaching in schools, and naturally encouraged the official usage of the German language.[20] Yet aside from this brief initial respite, the German invasion eventually led to the complete dissolution of the Mennonite settlements in the Southern Ukraine. Mennonites living east of the Dnieper river had been evacuated to Asiatic Russia in advance of the German troops.[21] The majority of Mennonites under occupation, approximately 35,000 altogether,[22] decided to retreat westward with the German forces, rather than be tried in the Soviet Union as Nazi collaborators. The Mennonites became even further divided when the War caught up with them in Central Europe. Although exact numbers are unknown, hundreds, perhaps thousands, died in refugee and prison camps. Approximately 12,000 Mennonites ended up in the western zones, many of whom joined relatives in Canada or Paraguay between 1946 and 1950.[23] Another group of Mennonite refugees was captured by Soviet forces and taken back to the U.S.S.R. where they were prohibited from returning to their former

Ukrainian settlements, but instead were sent to Siberia and the Central Asian republics.[24]

The Doukhobors fared slightly better under the Soviet regime in comparison to the Mennonites. Peter Verigin and the Canadian Doukhobors, in fact, took an active interest in the events of 1917 and despite concerns over an unnecessary amount of bloodshed, considered returning to their homeland after the abdication of the Tsar. Verigin initially identified with the revolutionaries, believing that the demise of the established order would create a more humane society that would be tolerant of sectarian life. Immediately following the February Revolution, Peter Verigin excitedly sent a telegram the prime minister of the Provisional Government, Prince George Lvov, advising him that ten thousand Canadian Doukhobors were ready and anxious to be resettled in Russia. Verigin further urged Lvov to spare the lives of the Tsar, his family, his ministers, and the Russian Orthodox clergy, so long as they recognized 'the truth.'[25] After the Bolsheviks had taken control of St. Petersburg, Verigin drafted his own manifesto on November 9, dictating how Russia ought to be run under the new regime. Verigin called on the Soviets to tear down Russia's fortifications, become a neutral country, eliminate conscription, form armies and militia on a volunteer basis, and use the militia only to guard criminals instead of repressing the people.[26] Taxes were to be reduced, and manufacturing was to be increased in nationalized factories. Rural development was to be promoted as much as possible through locating schools and factories in the countryside instead of in towns.[27] In other words, Verigin wanted Russia to be governed largely by Doukhobor precepts, and modelled after his own centralized, rural-based company in British Columbia, the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood (CCUB) Ltd., which will be described later. Just as Verigin imposed his own personal mores on his followers in the 1890s, now Verigin wished to impose sectarian tenets and the Doukhobors' organizational structure on all of Russia.

The Bolsheviks, of course, led Russia down a different path. Verigin's proposals for rural development were ridiculed by Soviet theorists as a delusional example of "pastoral capitalism" grounded in sectarian prejudice.[28] Instead of reducing the army and militia, the Soviets relied heavily on both to enforce compliance with Soviet orders by violent means. As stories of the brutal

suppression of Soviet opposition reached Canada, along with details of the bloody Civil War and starvation in the countryside, the Veriginites became increasingly critical of the Bolshevik regime. An undated document of Verigin's containing advice given to a group of American Molokans[29] urged them not to migrate to Russia because of widespread hunger and the fact that Trotsky was organizing an "eight million man army."[30] One could not be a Doukhobor and support the Soviets, Verigin advised, and one could not return to Russia until such a time as a new government burned all of its weapons.[31] In fact, as a clear sign of their protest against the violence occurring in Russia, the Canadian Doukhobors re-enacted their momentous arms-burning demonstration of 1895 by holding two ceremonial demonstrations in Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1921.

Yet despite Verigin's condemnation of Soviet brutality, the Canadian Doukhobors did, in fact, enter into negotiations with the Soviet government over the possibility of a return migration to Russia. In August of 1921, after a particularly poor year for crops in Canada, a group of Canadian Doukhobors, possibly belonging to the Independents, wrote a letter which was published in *Leninskii sbornik (Lenin Collection)*. One part of the letter stated, "we believe that Russia has entered on a path of liberation of an oppressed people, and we want to unite with her and help.... We have elected delegates to go to Russia for conversations with you, and we gave them our goals and intentions."[32] It is likely that the "oppressed people" mentioned in the letter was a reference to the Doukhobors themselves, liberated by a relatively sympathetic policy on sectarian policy initiated by the Bolsheviks. In January 1919, despite the desperate need for soldiers, Lenin had legalized an exemption from Red Army service for sectarians. In fact, throughout the Civil War the Soviet authorities permitted Doukhobors to perform alternate service in labour battalions.[33] Moreover, the Bolsheviks were even interested in bringing the Canadian Doukhobors to Russia. An article in *Pravda* on July 20, 1919, suggested that Soviet communes might benefit from experimenting with the communal practices of the Doukhobors, and that it might be worthwhile to encourage the sectarians to return from Canada.[34] According to Ethel Dunn and Koozma Tarasoff, Lenin himself took "a very lively practical interest" in the Doukhobors

and in response to the August 1921 letter from Canada had written the following memorandum:

> *Urgent. Very urgent.*
> To the Assistant Executive Secretary of the Council on Labour and Defence:
> I am completely for. My opinion is to give permission immediately, and to respond with extreme courtesy. Query the Politburo (through Molotov) and the Council of People's Commissars, and telephone me.[35]

Shortly afterwards, the Bolshevik authorities publicly invited all sectarian groups formerly persecuted under the Tsarist regime to return to Russia. Between 1923 and 1926, approximately fourty Canadian Doukhobor families from Saskatchewan were sponsored by the New York-based Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia to settle among coreligionists in the Southern Ukraine near their old Milky Waters settlements. These fourty families appear to have been Independents, for a 1927 letter by one of these Canadian migrants was written under the letterhead 'Society of Independent Doukhobors' Agricultural Aid to Soviet Russia.' The letter itself indicates that the Soviet authorities had planned for an even larger return migration of Doukhobors to Russia:

> There are 8 [Doukhobor] settlements in the Ukraine and one village of Canadian Dukhobors, but we will occupy our village separately; they set aside land for two settlements or 100 families, and the remaining land form the supply which had been set aside for 600 Canadian families has been parceled out to the local inhabitants, on account of the slow migration of the Dukhobors from Canada and because we could not master all the land set aside for us in the required time.[36]

The Soviet authorities appear to have had trouble in distinguishing the Independent Canadian Doukhobors from Verigin's followers, and they certainly had problems in convincing the latter to come. In February 1922, the Veriginites sent their own response to the Soviet invitation, noting that this was their first letter, and asking not to be confused with others who call themselves Doukhobors but who did not live up to the Doukhobor name. The letter was written by two CCUB representatives to the People's Commissariat of

Agriculture, who--not wanting to be outdone by their Independent coreligionists--requested permission to settle in Russia but with a list of conditions. Included among the stipulations were a military service exemption, an exemption from taxes for twenty years, an exemption from general schooling, permission to keep the profits from their own factories, and land in both fruit and grain growing regions.[37] Undoubtedly, this list of demands was considered exorbitant, for the Soviet government failed to send an immediate response. The Soviets did send a representative, P. Antoniuk, to negotiate resettlement with Verigin in 1924, but the conditions of Doukhobor resettlement were not yet resolved by the time of Verigin's death.

The Soviet resettlement schemes were eventually abandoned at the end of the 1920s. All but three of the fourty Canadian Doukhobor families settled in Russia returned to Canada in 1928 when they once again became subject to military conscription.[38] The Doukhobors had been simply one of a number of other sectarian groups, including Molokans, who participated in a Soviet scheme to create sectarian collective farms. As Koozma Tarasoff explains, these communes created enormous difficulties for Soviet officials and were therefore disbanded in short order:

> For the Soviets, most sectarians were, above everything else, uncontrollable--their numbers were unknown and their goals uncertain...as a whole they represented an alien, backward outlook, often dominated by religious conservatives who were more interested in creeds than in agricultural technology and production. More seriously, sects sheltered the young from the Soviet lifestyle and political influence.
>
> Communes of older sectarians were antigovernment and operated as private units. For the Soviets who were committed to a political theory of economic equality, there was no place for backward communes....Consequently most of the religious communes were brought to an end by 1929 or 1930.[39]

Some of the Doukhobors living in the Caucasus took up the Soviet invitation to form sectarian colonies in the Ukraine. A larger group, some four thousand in total, migrated to the fertile Salsk Steppes in the Don region in 1921 after being offered this choice land by Soviet officials. Those who settled in the Salsk region first attempted to establish communes as encouraged by the Soviets, but quickly lost interest and took up individual farming. The Russian

Doukhobors in general had responded unenthusiastically to the Bolshevik takeover. The wealthy Doukhobors in the Caucasus had little desire to establish communes, and few participated in local Soviets. No Doukhobors joined the Communist Party until at least 1927, when the Soviets established firm control of the Caucasus regions.[40]

Eventually, the Doukhobors suffered the same fate as all other distinct societies in Russia who wished to pursue their own agenda. Between 1930 and 1931, with the help of the Tolstoyan sympathizers Ivan Tregubov and Vladimir Chertkov, the Doukhobors lobbied Soviet officials to either exempt them from collectivization or else be transferred to another part of the Empire where they could live as they pleased.[41] The Soviet government, however, was not amused by these requests and proceeded to arrest Tregubov and the members of the Doukhobor Resettlement Committee. Meanwhile, Doukhobor obstinacy in fulfilling collectivization requirements resulted in the arrest and exile of hundreds of Doukhobors from both the Caucasus and the Salsk regions to labour camps in Siberia. Most sectarians, however, consented to government dictates and gradually became more closely integrated with the rest of Soviet society. Anna Markova, daughter-in-law of Peter Verigin, who in 1935 was sent into exile for fifteen years, eventually emigrated to Canada to join her remaining family in 1960. Shortly afterward, she described the state of affairs among the Doukhobors in Russia, later summarized by Koozma Tarasoff:

> Doukhobors in the Soviet Union are scattered by choice of occupation, intermarriage and higher education. Many leave their former *Kolkhoz* (collective farm) for greater opportunities in urban centres. The older Gorelovka Doukhobors in the Akhalkalaki area still maintain their traditional costumes, while the youth have adopted modern European dress. Among the villages of the Salsk region, funeral services continue to be held in the traditional way with prayers and hymns; some families, however, have opted for "citizen's funerals" and in cases where the individual has served in the army, *Komsomol* (Young Pioneer) members are invited to precede the bier with flags and music. Religious training, if given, is done by the parents. There is no organization or formal instruction in religion. Doukhobors in all regions have no separate dwellings for religious *sobranies*, nor do they seek to establish such buildings.... Many young people are members of the Communist Party—and the head of one large city is a former Doukhobor. There are a number of Doukhobor secretaries and representatives in the regional government councils.[42]

The tragic dissolution of the Mennonite and Doukhobor settlements and the suppression of their sectarian religion and culture in the Soviet Union makes the decision by nineteenth century conservatives to emigrate from Russia appear to have been a wise one. Yet this type of thinking enables one to avoid dealing with the serious crises, and even comparable hardships which occurred during the emigrations and throughout the entire sectarian experiences in Canada. While it is true that the future history of the Mennonites and Doukhobors who remained in Russia in the late nineteenth century did not turn out as planned, neither did the future of the sectarians in Canada turn out the way the orthodox immigrants had planned. The fact that the most conservative Mennonites and Doukhobors had to undertake yet another migration from their prairie settlements bears testimony to this.

What about the Mennonites and Doukhobors who left the Canadian prairies? How do their experiences compare to those who stayed behind? Were their migrations successful beyond simply removing themselves from their worldly prairie coreligionists? Following the migratory legacy of their ancestors, the transient sectarians viewed themselves once again as martyrs for their conscience, and the bearers of their true religious principles. In the isolation of their new surroundings, the migrants re-established familiar institutions and organized themselves in accordance with past tradition. The sectarians remained ever vigilant against government encroachment into their internal affairs, although it was the policies and attitudes of the new governments themselves which played a crucial role in determining the stability of the new colonies.

In Paraguay, the Mennonites became the darlings of President Manuel Gondra and subsequent leaders, who watched over their prized settlers like benevolent Russian Tsars. Paraguayan rulers admired the development of the Mennonite colonies in the Chaco, yet generally resisted the temptation to interfere in Mennonite affairs, and chose instead to honour the autonomy of the sect. In the late 1920s, Paraguay became a safe haven for 1,500 of the Russian Mennonites fleeing the upheaval in Soviet Russia. The Paraguayan government promised to guarantee their personal security by maintaining law

and order, while at the same time pledging to respect Mennonite culture and tradition. As President Guggiari told the new Russian Mennonite immigrants in 1928,

> The first Mennonites who arrived in this Republic were preceded by the just fame of honourable traditions. I hope that the colonists will show themselves worthy of such traditions, maintaining in all their purity their customs, their religion, and their culture.[43]

Quite a different scenario developed in Mexico, where a lack of understanding between Mennonites and government officials harmed relations between the two parties from the start. Already by 1924, the President of Mexico became disappointed in the Mennonites' "clannish spirit" and in their refusal to become citizens of his country. To the Governor of Chihuahua he stated:

> It was thought at first that [the Mennonites] would be an educational asset to the nation, as there is no doubt they are good farmers and up-to-date in their methods, but they give no employment to and avoid intercourse with Mexicans, and choose for colonization purposes land far from centers of population, thus maintaining a state of almost complete isolation and comparative independence of the federal and state governments, which is resented. In short, it is presumed that the same qualities which make the Mennonites unpopular in Canada and the United States are responsible for the objection to colonization by them in Mexico.[44]

Meanwhile, the Mennonites became equally disappointed with life in Mexico. Not only was farming found to be exceedingly difficult in Chihuahua, but safety also became a major concern when local bands of marauding thieves discovered that the nonresistant Mennonites were easy targets for robbery. In addition to the Mennonites' material hardships, their sacred right to maintain their own schools was jeopardized in the 1930s when popular sentiment in Mexico called for the establishment of a national system of socialistic schools.[45] "Scores of families" returned to Canada from Mexico in the 1930s, stating, "we find ourselves deceived in our expectations."[46] In the 1950s, another several hundred of the most conservative Mennonites left Mexico for British Honduras. Although this emigration was partly in protest against being

forced to pay social security insurance, the comments of British Honduras' Labour Minister, Carl Rogers, indicate that orthodox Mennonites continued to emigrate for the very same reasons that their ancestors had in the nineteenth century:

> ...there was never any indication the Mennonites wanted to be anything more than highly independent settlers in British Honduras. It was obvious they expected to be left alone. During early talks with leaders of the group, the Government had agreed the immigrants would be exempted from military service and from participation in compulsory insurance and social welfare schemes. They would not be pestered to vote or asked to accept public office. They were allowed to build and staff their own schools.[47]

One of these emigrants, John Friesen, was asked by a journalist if his people would always remain in Honduras. He cautiously responded: "You never know with Mennonites."[48] Indeed, as Friesen's comment suggests, the more recent migrations of the orthodox Mennonites are not simply spontaneous wanderings undertaken by a disgruntled few, but are the continuation of a centuries-old pattern of Mennonite emigration. Although Mennonite orthodoxy has stagnated in the twentieth century, a few sectarians have evidently continued their search for a homeland where worldly authorities will not interfere with their religiously-inspired way of life.

The Mennonites who remained in Canada had a far less tumultuous experience than their coreligionists in Russia and Mexico. Toward the Russian Mennonites, they extended sympathy, whereas the migrations to Paraguay, Mexico, and elsewhere were considered to be an embarrassment to their sect. By and large, they considered the Old Colonists and the other emigrants to be the stubborn and ungrateful keepers of old and antiquated traditions. Few believed anymore that the key to the future of the sect was to isolate themselves from the world. Only one last group of Mennonites from Manitoba made a futile attempt in the late 1920s to once again separate themselves from the rest of Canadian society. They asked the government to create another Mennonite reservation for them in the Peace River valley in Alberta, but their request was denied.[49] The Canadian authorities were tired of making exceptions for

Mennonites, and there was to be no more talk of separate reservations. In truth, most Mennonites were tired of living aloof from their Canadian neighbours as well. After years of being viewed by Canadians as objects of derision and agents of controversy, most Mennonites in Canada wanted peace with their fellow citizens. Now that the most conservative core of sectarians had left Canada, progressive Mennonites were able to proceed apace in fostering closer relationships with secular government and other segments of Canadian society. Mennonite churches, for instance, increased their contacts with other Christian denominations and became more tolerant of new theological ideas and teaching methods. Local branches of Canadian women's organizations, youth clubs, and agricultural societies began to emerge in Mennonite regions with strong participation by the sectarians themselves. Commercial transactions between Mennonites and other Canadians became accepted practice and the common use of the English language continued to spread from prairie towns into rural Mennonite areas.

Mennonite integration into mainstream Canadian society was not only assisted by the exodus of nearly eight thousand conservative Mennonites to Mexico and Latin America in the 1920s, but also by the simultaneous immigration of Mennonites to Canada from Soviet Russia. Responding to the plight of their coreligionists, North American Mennonites organized a central aid committee which the Soviet government permitted to perform relief work in Russia in the fall of 1921. At the same time, Canadian Mennonites began lobbying their government to lift the 1919 Order-in-Council which prohibited Mennonite immigration in order to create a safe haven for Russian Mennonite refugees. During the negotiations, Canadian authorities reminded a Mennonite delegation to Ottawa in 1921 that it did not wish to repeat the problems it encountered with the Old Colonists over public schooling.[50] Unlike their negotiations with Ottawa in the 1870s, the Mennonites now made a special effort to emphasize to government officials the fact that the Russian Mennonites had cooperated well with the Tsarist administration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Ottawa was informed that the Mennonites had fully conformed to Russian language and education laws and therefore were certain to become loyal and obedient Canadian citizens.[51] In the spring of 1922, the

ban on Mennonite immigration was lifted and approval for the immigration of some twenty thousand Russian Mennonites was given later that year.

In fact, slightly more than twenty thousand of these acculturated Russian Mennonites *(Russlaender)* joined their fifty thousand Canadian coreligionists*(Kanadier)* between 1923 and 1930. Although some of the new Russian immigrants purchased farms left behind by those who had emigrated to Paraguay and Mexico, many others were middle-class professionals who were attracted to towns and cities, such as Waterloo, Ontario, or Winnipeg, Manitoba. Canadian Mennonites at first frowned upon the notion of urban settlement, and as sociologist E. K. Francis, notes, there were other differences which created friction between the two groups: "In the eyes of the native Mennonites the newcomers appeared worldly, overbearing and unwilling to do manual labor. The *Russlaender* people, on the other hand, found their benefactors...uncouth, backward, miserly and, above all, ignorant and uneducated."[52] The Russian immigrants were nonetheless indebted to the *Kanadier* for arranging and financing their migration, and therefore instead of completely withdrawing into their own communities the progressive newcomers participated in existing Mennonite organizations, while working to accelerating the pace of liberal reforms among the Canadian Mennonites. E. K. Francis writes,

> The many former teachers and intellectuals included in the immigrant group saw a welcome outlet for their frustrated energies in a crusade for the improvement of schooling among their brethren in Western Canada, particularly in Manitoba. Also in other fields, such as scientific farming and business, church organization and pastoral practices, charities and public welfare, the immigrants were more progressive and tended to take the lead, not always with the necessary tact and patience.... In the present case,...circumstances favored the combination of a solid group of Europeans, filled with a sense of mission, and a related indigenous group which, at the time, was in the throes of a crisis. The refugees, because they were essentially better adjusted to life in a high civilization, often took the initiative in preparing the ground for a reorganization of the whole group in Western Canada.[53]

In the early 1930s, Professor Carl A. Dawson of McGill University undertook a research study of the Mennonites, Doukhobors, and other group settlements in Western Canada. Dawson's findings detailed a new interest in Canadian culture among Mennonites and the impact of the new immigrants on

greater Canadian Mennonite society, particularly in the realm of educational reforms. Dawson noted that Mennonite schools had begun to form parent-teacher associations and present school concerts. Students were able to join literary organizations, drama clubs, debating teams and sports programs. Moreover, by the 1930s, the first groups of Mennonite post secondary students had begun to attend universities in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.[54] Although the majority of Mennonite young people were expected to work rather than study, a large number of them nonetheless came into contact with Canadian culture in the workplace. Increasing numbers of young Mennonite men were expected to work as wage labourers on non-Mennonite farms. The *Russlaender*, meanwhile, had begun to send their young women into cities such as Winnipeg and Saskatoon to work as domestic servants, a practice which the *Kanadier* had denounced in the past. These women became familiar with the etiquette, tastes, fashions, decor, cooking and amusements of upper-class English-Canadians, some of which was then introduced into Mennonite homes. Yet even the older Mennonites had begun to take interest in the world around them, particularly in the areas of business and politics. Although subscriptions to the English dailies were not especially popular among Mennonites, local Canadian farm journals enjoyed a wide circulation in Mennonite districts. The Mennonites had also begun to participate more closely in political debates, electing their first Mennonite member to the Manitoba Legislature in 1932.[55]

In short, Dawson concluded that the sectarians had failed in their attempts to shut worldly influences out of their settlements. "[T]he Mennonite community of today," Dawson declared, "is no longer the community of fifty years ago."[56] By the 1930s, argued Dawson, the Mennonites were no longer a theocratic community, but were essentially a secular community "in which the church takes its place beside many new secular institutions."[57] In the final paragraph of his report, Dawson had good news to share with his Canadian readers: the Mennonite sect would soon be fully assimilated into Canadian society.

> The Mennonite group as a whole has ceased to struggle against the world, and has to large extent even forgotten its own distinctive group character. The process of absorption proceeds almost unconsciously.... Through many channels, the world is insinuating itself into the community

> life and breaking down the distinguishing characteristics of a "peculiar people." Whether this assimilation will be complete 50 years hence, 100 years, or more, it is impossible at present to predict. Nor does it greatly matter, for in the interim the group will have become an integral part of the larger Canadian community and there will be no more talk of "the Mennonite problem."[58]

There can be little doubt that the Mennonites of the 1930s were a very different breed from the pious generation which landed in Canada from Russia in the 1870s. Dawson's assertions on the secularization of the Mennonites, however, have been open to dispute. E. K. Francis, for instance, argued in the 1950s that the acculturation of the Mennonites had not led to their assimilation, but rather, had helped the Mennonites to make their own institutions and traditions compatible with modern Canadian society, just as John B. Toews later argued the same on behalf of the Russian Mennonites.[59] According Francis' argument, Mennonites were able to preserve their own identity while still participating in Canadian cultural life, thereby preventing their complete assimilation. The Mennonites did indeed manage to retain some of their sectarian cultural traits. Attendance at Mennonite churches, for instance, remained high for many years, and few Mennonites converted to other Christian denominations. Decades passed before intermarriage with non-Mennonites became a common phenomenon.

Yet in the opinion of this author, Dawson's conclusions withstand scrutiny. As predicted, there was no more talk of a 'Mennonite problem' in Canada following the conflict over schools in the early twentieth century. Aside from the issue of pacifism which arose once again during the Second World War, the Canadian government has not had any serious conflicts with Mennonites since the 1920s. Secondly, merely sixty years have passed since Dawson's findings and, to the casual observer, the Mennonites of Western Canada have become virtually indistinguishable from those around them. Mennonites actively participate in local and provincial politics by voting and running for political office. Many hold important government positions. Mennonite students are widely encouraged to attend public universities. The majority of Mennonites have given up farming, and a large percentage live in urban centers. Intermarriage with non-Mennonites has become common practice. Many ethnic Mennonites, perhaps even the majority, have abandoned

the Mennonite religion. In essence, the entire Mennonite population of Canada has drastically changed, becoming increasingly secularized and cosmopolitan.

In many respects, the Mennonite experience in Canada since the 1920s is similar to the experience of the Independent Doukhobors, whose integration into Canadian society was augmented by the removal of the orthodox from the Canadian prairies, beginning in 1908. When the migration of the Community Doukhobors from Saskatchewan to British Columbia began, the Independent Doukhobors numbered just over one thousand, composed largely of settlers from the former Prince Albert colony. As details of the hardships of pioneer life in British Columbia became known to Community members, growing numbers of Verigin's followers deserted their leader, so that by 1913, when the migration had all but ended, the number of Independents in Saskatchewan had doubled.[60] Joining the Independents was a significant step, for it meant abandoning a leader for whose sake the sectarians had come to Canada, and abandoning a communal way of life for which so much sacrifice had been made in attempting to achieve. In fact, the majority of Independents did not even maintain the same sort of village life known to Doukhobors in Russia for a century, but rather, decided to moved onto individual homesteads.[61]

Because the Independents were becoming increasingly receptive to Canadian commercial culture, their religious status as Doukhobors was called into question by the Community Doukhobors. The Independents continued to hold traditional Doukhobor worship services, yet they no longer believed in the divinity of Peter Verigin and past Living Christs. In turn, Verigin refused to recognize the Independents as members of the Doukhobor sect, for their very existence undermined his authority. In fact, during the First World War, Verigin actually urged the Canadian government to refuse the exemption of Independents from military service during the First World War on the grounds that they no longer adhered to true Doukhobor religious traditions.[62] Ottawa paid little heed to Verigin's petitions, but the Independents nonetheless decided to form an official body called the Society of Independent Doukhobors in 1916 in order to gain official recognition for themselves as a distinct Doukhobor faction.

Many other Doukhobor societies, unions, and corporations followed. Just as sectarian splintering among the Mennonites in Canada led to the formation of a number of different congregations, so too did the Doukhobors disagree over matters of authority, individual wealth, and the degree of acceptable participation with Canadian society. In 1917, the Community Doukhobors formed themselves into a company known as the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood Ltd. (CCUB), which was the same title Verigin had re-named his followers in 1896. Peter Verigin now became a company president and his close friends and family members were given managerial positions. For some time, the corporation operated fairly successfully, although the rapid accumulation of assets, such as saw mills, orchards, a jam factory at Brilliant, a brick yard at Grand Forks, and new prairie settlements in Alberta and Saskatchewan, had created a heavy debt load for the CCUB. Moreover, the new corporate structure failed to improve the lives of average Community members, who lived in large communal houses and worked long hours in return for basic necessities, such as food (mostly potatoes, salt, flour, water), clothing, and shelter.

After Peter Verigin's death in 1924, he was succeeded by his son, Peter P. Verigin, also known as Peter *Chistiakov* (the Purger), as leader of the Community Doukhobors. When Peter Chistiakov arrived in Canada in 1927, he became alarmed by the large number of Community Doukhobors who were deserting the CCUB to join the ranks of the Independents, especially in Saskatchewan. In 1928, he therefore held a conference in Kamsack, Saskatchewan in an attempt to forge closer links between Community Doukhobors and Independents. What emerged was the Society of Named Doukhobors, an organization which united roughly five thousand CCUB members and as many Independents under the leadership of Peter Chistiakov. The conference resolutions were framed in a defining document which committed members of the Society to practice non-violence, to base marriages on love, to settle disputes internally, and as a concession to the Independents, to comply with government requirements on education and the registration of vital statistics if one so chose.[63]

Yet the tenuous union between the CCUB and the Independents fell apart in the 1930s as the gap between progressives and conservatives

widened, and as growing numbers of Community Doukhobors chose to desert the CCUB in order to more fully participate in Canadian society. By 1932, there were nearly twice as many Independents as Community Doukhobors.[64] The rise of commercial railroad towns, such as Langham (1905) and Blaine Lake (1912) in the former Prince Albert colony, had played a central role in accelerating the Doukhobors' transition from a communal-sectarian lifestyle to a capitalistic-Canadian one. Like the Mennonites, the Doukhobors were drawn to the railroad towns to conduct private business transactions, and in these towns came into frequent contact with other Canadians. Eventually, as the Doukhobors learned more English, sharpened their business skills, and enrolled in public education, a class of Doukhobor businessmen and professionals emerged, many of whom established their own private premises in these railroad towns by the 1930s.

The Independents were also becoming increasingly active in local politics. During the 1934 Saskatchewan election, the secretary of the Society of Independent Doukhobors, lawyer Peter Makarov, ran as a candidate for the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation(CCF). Days after the election, a politically active group of Named Doukhobors called the Progressive Society of Doukhobors was formed in Saskatchewan, which pursued a leftist agenda of anti-militarist and socialist policies for roughly a decade. The Progressive Society was highly critical of Peter Chistiakov's leadership of the CCUB, for although Peter Chistiakov had initially granted more individual freedoms to CCUB members upon his arrival to Canada, he had since become more oppressive. Large numbers of Doukhobors had been expelled from the CCUB in 1931 and 1932 by Peter the Purger for failing to pay their dues. Moreover, Peter Chistiakov's widely-known reputation as a troublemaker only further tarnished the poor public image of the Doukhobors in Canada, and made the Independents all the more eager to distance themselves from Community members. Not only was the CCUB director well-known for gambling and drunkenness, but he was convicted on numerous occasions for assault, perjury, and other offences, and was nearly deported by federal authorities in 1933.[65] When Peter Chistiakov attempted to silence his opposition by denouncing participation in elections and party politics at the second conference of Named Doukhobors in 1934, he merely exacerbated existing tensions between the

Independents and the CCUB.[66] Independents abandoned the Society of Named Doukhobors in large numbers, and instead revived the anti-Veriginite Society of Independent Doukhobors. The final conference of the Named Doukhobors took place in 1938. The CCUB went bankrupt in 1937, and the Community Doukhobors took on a new name: the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ (USCC). Peter Chistiakov died in 1939.

Another attempt at Doukhobor unity was made in 1945, when eight thousand sectarians, including Independents, USCC members, and zealots formed the Union of Doukhobors of Canada (UDC). Once again, harmony was short lived, for the zealots were expelled in 1948 for violent behaviour. The conservative USCC evidently objected to the progressive UDC programme, for they withdrew their support in 1954, the same year that the UDC began its monthly publication of an English youth journal for young Doukhobors *(The Inquirer)*. By the 1960s, UDC membership consisted of roughly 800 Independents, whose activities included participation in several peace demonstrations with other pacifist sects, such as Mennonites and Quakers.[67]

In many respects, the Independents, i.e. the great majority of Doukhobors in Canada, had become acculturated like the Western Canadian Mennonites. The first editor of *The Inquirer* was a university student named Koozma Tarasoff, who later became a Doukhobor scholar. In the 1960s he wrote that "In spite of their apparent differences with Canadian society (their pacifistic philosophy and their dual Russian-English language) the vast majority of the Independents have successfully integrated into the wider society."[68] Even the orthodox Community Doukhobors eagerly participated in Canadian cultural events during the latter half of the twentieth century, such as the Canadian Centennial of 1967 and the Montreal World Exposition of the same year. Peter Chistiakov's grandson and successor, John J. Verigin, received membership in the Order of Canada in 1976. In 1980, a National Doukhobor Heritage Village was established at Verigin, Saskatchewan, later visited by Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Phillip in 1987.[69] Unlike the Mennonites, however, there were few Canadians who recognized the Doukhobors' accomplishments and the extent of their integration into Canadian society. Most non-sectarians had only heard of the problems caused by the zealots, and therefore assumed that all Doukhobors were nudists and troublemakers. Indeed, academic Charles

Frantz noted that by the 1950s, Independents were hesitant to even refer to themselves as 'Doukhobors', since a negative connotation had attached itself to the name of their sect.[70]

This leads us to the central difference between the subsequent histories of the Doukhobors and Mennonites in Canada: the fact that the orthodox Doukhobors did not emigrate from the country like the Mennonite traditionalists did. The progressive Mennonites were able to foster a good relationship with the Canadian government after the 1920s, largely because there were few remaining conservative die-hards to protest government encroachment into sectarian affairs. In contrast, the Doukhobors faced a very different situation. Despite the high degree of acculturation among the Independent majority, and despite the many efforts by Community Doukhobors to gain the government's respect and acceptance, the course of Doukhobor history in Canada was determined by a small minority of sectarians who had dedicated themselves to an agenda of protest, and also by inflexible government officials who resolved to enforce conformity and assimilation.

Despite incessant talk of emigration,[71] the Community Doukhobors never left the Interior of British Columbia. The semi-isolated location of the new settlement was in fact very well-suited for the formation of the communal society long-envisioned by Peter Verigin. Initially, the Veriginites had few neighbours who might interfere in their affairs, yet there were good transportation links nearby to export agricultural produce. The mild climate and fine soils of the interior valleys were also favourable, for they enabled Verigin to fulfil his dream of growing fruit. The migration helped to unite Verigin's followers, for they once again felt persecuted by government, and were now able to dedicate themselves to a new cause, just as they had in the Caucasus in the 1840s and on the Canadian prairies in 1899. Yet unlike the early Saskatchewan settlements, which were constructed amid considerable confusion, Verigin was present to provide leadership, direction, and discipline in building the new colonies.

In many respects, Verigin's new community in British Columbia was shaped and structured according to traditional Doukhobor ideals. It seemed as though the Spirit Wrestlers had been taken back in time to their days at the Milky Waters in southern Russia. In fact, Susan Wiley Hardwick notes that "the

fertile land near the confluence of the Columbia and Kootenay rivers reminded the settlers of the rich Milky Waters area of their Russian past."[72] Yet Verigin even took the Doukhobors' nineteenth century communal institutions one step further. The Doukhobor principle of equality among members, for instance, was conscientiously applied to communal living arrangements and daily routines. Men, women, and children were all expected to work long hours in order to build up community assets. Men were most often instructed to clear land or work on railroad or construction jobs for wages in the early years, while women and children usually worked in orchards or performed chores around homes. Community members lived communally in newly constructed 'double houses' (two large connected houses with a courtyard) which sheltered up to one hundred Doukhobors, and were equipped with communal kitchens.[73] Each double house was given one hundred acres on which to grow food, but basic foodstuffs were distributed to the homes from a central warehouse. A central office received all wage incomes and conducted all trades and financial transactions. Peter Verigin's puritanical dictates were also carefully followed. As one Spirit Wrestler later recalled, "We were very religious during Peter Lordly Verigin's time. We never ate meat, we never smoked, we never drank, how he told us. Our clothes were very plain, just cotton."[74] To a great extent, the Doukhobors had achieved their motto of 'toil and peaceful life'.

On the other hand, the Doukhobors' religious ideal of being guided by one's inner spirit was apparently contradicted by the lack of individuality granted to members of the Community. Verigin's followers were not financially independent, but were required to hand over their wages and the products of their labour to the central office by levy. These direct forms of extortion quickly became unpopular, especially since allegations and hostilities emerged when some members claimed they could not meet the required levies. More than one-quarter of Community members abandoned Verigin's commune between 1912 and 1917, and more continued to leave after Verigin incorporated the CCUB.[75] The zealots, in particular, considered the business-like practices of Verigin's managerial staff to be an aberration from the traditional Doukhobor characteristic of simplicity.

As this thesis has demonstrated earlier on several occasions, internal sectarian disputes often become externalized when governments decide to

intervene in sectarian affairs. By moving onto private land in British Columbia, Verigin eluded the conflict over land use which had crippled relations between the sectarians and the Federal Government, yet the Doukhobors were not aware of other state obligations from which they were not exempt, such as compulsory schooling and the registration of vital statistics. Whereas Saskatchewan's School Attendance Act was only passed in 1916, compulsory education was already required of all children between the ages of seven and fourteen in British Columbia. As early as 1911, the province had constructed a school for Doukhobor pupils near the Grand Forks settlement. Initially, the Doukhobors responded favourably by sending a modest, yet growing, number of students to the school and by building a public school of their own at Brilliant in 1912. However, when militaristic drills and teachings, such as rifle training, were introduced into British Columbia schools later that year, the Doukhobors, especially mothers, feared that their children were being corrupted, and withdrew their children from the schools just as the Old Colony Mennonites had. As Verigin later explained to provincial officials in 1914,

> The Doukhobors agreed to have a school here at my suggestion. I thought it would be very useful for the children to receive education. But the parents noticed a great change in the character of their children. It appeared that the school altered their inclinations in a direction contrary to the customs and way of life of the Doukhobors. So the Doukhobors closed the school.[76]

The school boycott was also prompted by the arrests of several Veriginites for failing to register deaths in June, 1912. According to the Doukhobors, registering vital statistics ran contrary to their religion:

> This question [of] registration intimately had tied the Doukhobors with religious faith....[W]e wish to be citizens of all the world, and do not wish to register our children in the Royal Crown Government books, and to register dead-body it is insipidity....
>
> We are not refusing to give knowledge of increase or decrease of our Doukhobor Community people in ten or five years once. But to enter in your register books we will never do it. Because we calculate we are already registered in the Book of Life before Him the Founder, which is called Eternity.[77]

Although Ottawa had raised the issue with the Doukhobors on the prairies, it had decided not to prosecute the sectarians for failing to register marriages, births, and deaths. It is difficult to say why the provincial officials decided to prosecute the Doukhobors for this legal transgression, although it is believed that the authorities responded in part to anti-Doukhobor sentiment originating in the staunchly Anglo-Protestant towns of the British Columbia interior.[78] In any case, the inevitable result was that the Doukhobors once again felt persecuted by the Canadian government, and refused to cooperate with British Columbia authorities. Local officials were obviously not familiar with the Veriginites' past record of resistance, for their initial provocations eventually culminated in decades of hostilities. Alexander Evalenko explains that when a local police officer returned to the house where the first arrests were made, he was

> received by women, who threw him out bodily. The infuriated minion of the law raved and threatened dire reprisals. The women faced him time and again with grim resolution. Finally the officer flung the royal warrant into the house. The women tore the paper into two little pieces and threw them after him.
>
> Thus a regular war was started between the Doukhobors and the rural police. Policemen would come day after day prying among the graves of the Doukhobors on the lookout for any fresh interments. The Doukhobors of the Grand Forkes [sic.] settlement got together one day and ploughed up the whole graveyard and then harrowed the land level. Following their line of passive resistance the settlers refused to talk to the police or answer any questions at all; the children were kept away from the English school.[79]

As a result of continued conflict that same year, the British Columbia government appointed a newspaper editor from Nelson B. C., William Blakemore, to undertake a Royal Commission of the Doukhobor issue. After studying Doukhobor religion and history, and interviewing many sectarians, Blakemore released his report in 1913. The tone of Blakemore's report was generally sympathetic towards the sectarians, considering them to be "desirable settlers from the standpoint of their personal character, farming skill, devotion to agriculture, and general industry."[80] Regarding the current conflicts over schooling and vital statistics, Blakemore found that the Doukhobors had never been fully aware of their state obligations, and that imprisoning the sectarians

only heightened their sense of persecution. Blakemore advised that state schooling could become more culturally sensitive and incorporate Doukhobor values into the curriculum, but stopped short of exempting the sectarians from attending school or registering statistics. Instead, the report recommended that fines, rather than imprisonments be meted out as punishment, and that meetings be held between Peter Verigin and provincial officials.[81]

After the release of the report, Verigin participated in extensive negotiations with British Columbia Attorney General William Bowser, and together they worked out a compromise on schooling in 1915. Once Bowser agreed to rid the Doukhobor public schools of all traces of militarism and religious teaching, Verigin consented to once again give Doukhobor children an elementary education and even agreed to build several new schools. Although the Veriginite schools never reached full attendance, as many as two-thirds of Community Doukhobor children attended public school on a part-time basis by 1922. Classes were held at eleven separate schools, nine of which were built by the Doukhobors themselves.[82] Thus, like the Mennonites, the Doukhobors became divided over the issue of public education. The British Columbia government, however, failed to take advantage of this division in the same manner that the Russian and Manitoba government had exploited Mennonite schisms. Instead, British Columbia officials deemed the level of Doukhobor participation to be unsatisfactory, and in 1923 began imposing fines and seizing Community goods, such as a truck, and other valuable assets. In retaliation to these seizures, Doukhobor zealots returned to their earlier habits, burning nine of the schools to the ground within a year, apparently without Verigin's consent. By the second month of 1925, the last school was destroyed.

Discontentment among the orthodox in British Columbia had been rife since the time of the Blakemore Commission. In 1913, the Veriginites petitioned Ottawa for compensation for the 1907 loss of their Saskatchewan land holdings, but were unsuccessful.[83] The following year, a contentious piece of legislation, the Community Regulation Act, was passed by the British Columbia government. The new Act made the entire Doukhobor sect responsible for the actions of each individual sectarian, and enabled enforcement officials to levy additional fines on the Doukhobors for failing to submit vital statistics or attend schools.[84] In response to recent developments, a frustrated group of elders

issued a letter addressed to Attorney General Bowser in the *Grand Forks Gazette*, threatening:

> There are 6,000 people in the Doukhobor Community, who will take off their clothes--these being all that is left after the robbery committed by the Government in Saskatchewan--and will deliver them up to your officials in Nelson and Grand Forks, and will themselves remain naked in the streets....Do you want people to wander about naked?[85]

A similar warning was issued days later by the general manager of the CCUB to the Minister of the Interior in Ottawa, which as Woodcock and Avakumovic have pointed out, meant that Verigin surely approved of these threats.[86] These letters signified the emergence of a new militancy among the Community Doukhobors, for never before had the Veriginites threatened to disrobe en masse in protest of government decisions. Only small numbers of zealots had previously walked naked, most often as a criticism of their materialistic coreligionists. In the end, six thousand Veriginites did not walk naked through the streets of Nelson and Grand Forks, but the publicity stunt nonetheless attracted attention from the greater public, further contributing to a vicious circle of hostilities. Doukhobor protests drew popular indignation from local British Columbians, who pressured authorities to crack down on sectarian legal infractions, which in turn caused the Doukhobors to renew their protests more vigorously or invent new ways of shocking the public.

The outbreak of war in 1914 only antagonized existing tensions between Doukhobors and locals. Like the Mennonites, the Veriginites condemned Canada's declaration of war,[87] and sent delegations to Ottawa to ensure that their military service exemption would be respected. Although the Blakemore Commission had in fact recommended that the Doukhobors' military exemption be cancelled, no such steps were taken. Doukhobor men were allowed to peacefully work on their farms along with the Mennonites, while other Canadians were required to go to war. Despite goodwill donations of money and goods for war victims, local British Columbians were incensed that the 'Douks' could get 'rich' while their sons risked their lives in Europe.

Returning army veterans kept up the anti-Doukhobor sentiment after the war, blaming a shortage of land on the Doukhobors, who had expanded their enterprise during the war years. A meeting of veterans assembled in Nelson on

February 13, 1919, passed a resolution calling on Ottawa "to deport the Doukhobors from Canada, back to the country from whence they came, because they do not obey the laws of Canada."[88] In the spring of that same year, local newspapers such as the *Nelson Daily News* and *Grand Forks Gazette* printed articles under such headlines as "DOUKHOBORS MUST GO! CITIZENS PROMPTED TO ACTION!," which condemned the admission of both Mennonites and Doukhobors into Canada, and called for the expulsion of Doukhobors from their new lands in British Columbia.[89] The British Columbia Government responded by prohibiting Doukhobors and Mennonites from voting in the province, while the Federal Government passed the 1919 law which prohibited the further immigration of Mennonites, Hutterites and Doukhobors into Canada.[90] Yet whereas the ban on Mennonite and Hutterite immigration was repealed by 1922, the Doukhobors had to wait until 1926 before their coreligionists could once again be admitted into the country. Ottawa also appeared to be giving the veterans' demands due consideration, for the earliest proponent of the Doukhobor immigration, James Mavor, was prompted to petition the acting prime minister, Sir Thomas White, not to rashly expel the Doukhobors from their lands for the second time. In a letter dated May 1, 1919, Mavor reminded the government why the Doukhobors were brought to Canada twenty years previous and then went on to criticize the current treatment of the sectarians:

> When [the Doukhobors] arrived the people accepted them with open arms, and this was the biggest migration, as the honour of Canada, as a haven to the unhappy, was widely advertised throughout the world. The Doukhobor migration, represented in itself, the beginning of a great movement from Europe, which was looked upon as the most important contribution to this country....
>
> Now a capital crime is being contemplated....
>
> The life of these unhappy people is again, here as in Russia, being destroyed to its foundation by the government. It is not surprising that they trust not the good intentions of the governmental organizations, because facts confirm their opinions, that governments are the weapons of persecution.[91]

Although Community lands in British Columbia were not confiscated in 1919, Verigin was not out of trouble yet. The CCUB remained heavily in debt, causing management to further reduce the amount of goods distributed to its

members. After a particularly poor crop year in 1921, Verigin vented his frustration by humouring the media, darkly suggesting that the Doukhobors ought to give up their settlement, sell their lands, kill the elderly and infant members, dump their bodies in the Columbia river, and become wandering preachers in search of the truth. What resulted was the following headline in the *Vancouver Daily Province* on February 21, 1922:

> HAS VERIGIN GONE CRAZY?
> Horrible Scheme of Doukhobor Leader is Frankly Admitted to Slaughter Women and Aged so Men May Roam About[92]

Having attracted public attention, Verigin proceeded to inform the newspapers of the Community's financial difficulties, and appealed to the government to issue a both a tax break to the CCUB, and reimbursement for infrastructure works undertaken by the Community, such as the construction of roads and bridges.[93] The fact that the provincial government dismissed Verigin's appeals is not in itself as significant as the manner in which the issue was raised. Like the burning of arms' demonstrations of 1896, like the prairie pilgrimage of 1902, like the nude demonstrations of 1903 and afterwards, the Veriginites were increasingly showing signs of becoming an outward-focused sect, seeking to impress the greater public with their views and concerns, rather than be manipulated and moulded by the outside world.

The Doukhobor zealots also did not remain idle in British Columbia during these eventful years. On June 4, 1919 a provincial police inspector reported instances of nudism and civil disobedience among "a small colony of fanatic Doukhobors a few miles from Grand Forks," adding, "[t]hese seem to be the same kind of fanatics, perhaps some of the same people, who were giving trouble in Saskatchewan several years ago."[94] A key similarity between the zealots' activities in Saskatchewan and their antics in British Columbia was the resurgence of crimes against the property of Community Doukhobors. Freedomites in British Columbia had once again begun to question Verigin's motive in accumulating such a large number of expensive assets, especially when ordinary sectarians were expected to work so hard in order to pay for them. By 1923, the zealots had again become militant arsonists, burning down

not only several schools, but also a pole yard, a sawmill, and even Verigin's residence in Brilliant.[95]

Then, on October 29, 1924, the world came to an end for many Community Doukhobors. Their leader, Peter Verigin, was assassinated when a bomb exploded in his train carriage as he travelled between settlements.[96] Evidence uncovered at the bomb site failed to reveal the identity of Verigin's killer(s), and remains a mystery to this very day. The Freedomites have become natural suspects, given their attack on Verigin's home, and because of they later used explosives as a means of protest.[97] The zealots, meanwhile, claimed that the government bombed the train because Verigin refused to rebuild the Community schools in 1924.[98] Jealous lovers, Soviet agents, and assassins hired by Verigin's son, Peter Chistiakov, have also been suggested as possible killers, yet a tangible case has never been put forward against any party.[99] Yet perhaps it is fitting that Verigin is suspected to have been murdered by a number of figures, each of whom symbolized problems which plagued the Doukhobor sect in general. Throughout their history, the Spirit Wrestlers had struggled to subdue overzealous members of their sect, had been frustrated by poor relations with the Canadian government, had been unable to avoid rumours of moral impropriety, had been haunted by the spectre of persecution in Russia, and had fallen victim to the overambitions of Doukhobor leadership.

Sadly, the troubles of the orthodox sectarians only worsened under Peter Chistiakov and subsequent leaders. Not only did Peter Chistiakov fail to live up to the moral standards of the Doukhobors, but he also proved himself to be a poor money manager. In 1937, the CCUB went bankrupt, and instead of immediately negotiating with CCUB creditors, the provincial government waited until most Community assets had been stripped away and auctioned off before purchasing the Doukhobors' lands. Thirty years after being dispossessed from their Saskatchewan settlements, the Community Doukhobors had once again lost their land to the government. Peter Chistiakov's death in 1939 created a power vacuum, since Peter Verigin III lived in the U.S.S.R. and had been sent to a Stalinist prison camp where he later died in 1942. Thus, in 1940, the Doukhobor leadership was passed on to Peter Chistiakov's eighteen year-old grandson, John Voiken (aka. John J. Verigin). Although John J. Verigin's leadership has been one of the longest in Doukhobor history, he never held an

amount of influence over the Community which could be compared to previous leaders. After Peter Chistiakov's death, most remaining members of the Community purchased land from the CCUB creditors and became Independents.

The zealots, meanwhile, followed their own leaders, such as Michael 'The Archangel' Verigin, John Lebedov, Stefan Sorokin, Florence 'Big Fanny' Storgeov, and others, about whom much has been written.[100] The frequency and scope of Freedomite activities increased so dramatically after Peter Verigin's death in 1924 that it would be pointless and futile to record them all in any detail. Yet in order to appreciate the extent of zealot activities in Canada since 1925, the major protests have been outlined in Table Two:

TABLE TWO: MAJOR ZEALOT PROTESTS IN CANADA SINCE THE 1920s[101]

YEAR	DESCRIPTION
1922-1939	Approximately 250 cases of arson among Doukhobors reported
1929 (March)	Freedomites write letters to heads of state across the globe, explaining their rejection of schools and their determination to "obey the dictates of conscience."
1929 (July)	150 zealots strip naked in streets of Kamsack, Sask.; another 30 demonstrate nude in Canora, Sask., two weeks later.
1929 (August)	Arson arrest sparks large nude march near Nelson, B.C.; 104 marchers jailed for six months; 250 zealots settle on unoccupied land at Porto Rico, B.C.
1929-1931	25 schools set ablaze in Doukhobor regions of Sask., along with other Community property
1930	Government school at Glade B.C. destroyed by dynamite (first dynamite attack following assassination of Peter Verigin)
1931	Tomb of Peter Verigin dynamited for the first of many times

1931-1932	Zealot numbers grow as Peter Chistiakov expels large numbers of Doukhobors for failing to pay dues to CCUB.
1931-1935	Criminal Code amended, increases prison term for public nudity from six months to three years; defiant Freedomites increase the number and scale of nude demonstrations between 1932-1935, involving 745 zealots in May 1932 alone. Mass arrests lead to the creation of a special Doukhobor detention camp on Piers Island in the Haro Strait.
1943-1944	Burning of Community jam factory at Brilliant begins new wave of zealot demonstrations and arson attacks, including the destruction of John J. Verigin's home at Brilliant.
Early 1940s	Former Independent from Saskatchewan, Michael Orekov, assumes name of Michael 'the Archangel' Verigin, gains a loyal following among zealots in British Columbia in the early 1940s. Opposed by zealots loyal to another leader, John Lebedov, and others. Ensuing feuds involve more arson attacks on the property of Michael Verigin.
1946-1951	Michael Verigin withdraws with his followers to a settlement on Vancouver Island to await the second coming of Christ. Members return to early Doukhobor principles by abolishing marriage ceremonies and by living according to communistic principles. Archangel dies in 1951.
1947-1948	Another one-man Royal Commission begins to investigate continued bombings and acts of arson in British Columbia but is called off in exasperation after Community Doukhobors become hesitant to prosecute their zealous coreligionists, and zealots give conflicting statements in attempt to blame Michael Verigin for all bombings and nude parades.
1950-1952	Zealot leader John Lebedov imprisoned; sparks another wave of arson and nudity among zealots in Krestova, B.C. Some 400 zealots arrested and sent to New Westminster penitentiary. Leadership vacuum enables a Russian traveller, Stefan Sorokin, pretending to be Peter Verigin III, to gain popularity

	among Freedomites. After receiving monetary gifts from followers, Sorokin 'retires' in Uruguay in 1952.
1953	More homes are burnt down than any year previous, roughly 400 buildings, mostly among Freedomites in Krestova region. Followed by mass arrest of 148 adults; many homeless zealots pitch tent camps in the Slocan Valley.
1953-1959	170 zealot children whose parents are imprisoned or refuse permission to go to school are forcibly removed by police and taken to a fenced-in educational compound at New Denver, B.C. under the Children's Protection Act. New Denver school closes in 1959, when mothers appearing in a Nelson courthouse promise to send children to school.
1961-1962	Perhaps the most notorious campaign of 'black work' among zealots in Doukhobor history, involving roughly 400 bombings and burnings, followed by more mass trials and the fire-bombing of the Nelson courthouse. In 1962, nine zealots topple a power transmission tower servicing East Kootenay and its mines. Twelve hundred workers left temporarily unemployed as the tower is replaced at a cost of one million dollars.
1962- 1963	Zealot pilgrimage lead by Florence 'Big Fanny' Storgeov from Interior settlements to the coast. Roughly 800 zealots arrive in Vancouver in January 1963 before establishing a camp outside of the prison camp at Agassiz, B.C., where arsonists and bombers are held in jail. Only in 1972 does the camp completely disband and do the zealots return to the Interior.
1975-1977	USCC headquarters, co-op store, library, community centre, and landmark in Grand Forks, B.C., is destroyed by arson.

CONCLUSION

> Doukhobors, Molokans, Mennonites, Baptists, Quakers and others who sprung from the same root, i.e. the teachings of Christ and who were forced because of their faith, to leave their respective countries and immigrate to Canada and the U.S., succumbed to the temptation of education and material progress in these countries, and began to stray away from their high ideals, returning to that against which their ancestors struggled.[1]
>
> -Peter P. Verigin, son and successor of Peter V. Verigin

This thesis has largely emphasized the similar patterns of behaviour among Mennonites and Doukhobors during the nineteenth century in Russia, during their respective emigrations, and during their earlier years in Canada up until the First World War and its aftermath. Yet the table at the end of the last chapter reveals a profound difference between the histories of the Mennonites and Doukhobors in Canada since the 1920s. Whereas friction between the Mennonites and governmental authorities remained minimal since the Mennonite schooling conflict of the 1910s and 1920s, the so-called 'Doukhobor problem' in Canada had only begun when the Doukhobors lost their land holdings in Saskatchewan and moved to British Columbia, beginning in 1908. Consequently, the Mennonites have become well integrated into Canadian society and have largely enjoyed a positive reputation as an admirable and hard working segment of Canadian citizenry. Already in the 1930s, Carl Dawson described the history of the Mennonites in Canada as one of "peaceful penetration" by the "world," in which integration into the larger society had only momentarily been set back by the crisis "precipitated by Canadian education authorities...."[2] The Doukhobors have been no less industrious than the Mennonites in Canada, and the majority has attempted to integrate themselves into Canadian society, yet the Spirit Wrestlers have nonetheless been saddled with a reputation for being eccentric trouble-makers.

Why did two sects with similar histories in Russia, similar emigration experiences, and similar initial problems upon settlement on the prairies, end up with such divergent subsequent histories in Canada? The difference may in part be attributed to later events. The immigration of acculturated Mennonites

from Russia in the 1920s, for instance, helped to steer the Mennonites onto a progressive path. Sectarian behaviour was also affected by local circumstances. In British Columbia, the Doukhobors encountered a rooted population with strong British values who had little tolerance for a minority demanding special privileges. Officials in British Columbia have subsequently been criticized by many writers for overreacting to sectarian offences, and thereby provoking and prolonging Doukhobor protests.[3]

Yet too often, contemporary observers tend to forget the unique experiences and characteristics of sectarians in the past which may explain current differences. For instance, it is not coincidental that the Mennonites and Doukhobors related to the Canadian government in a manner similar to the way in which they related to Russian authorities, as demonstrated in the first three chapters. The Mennonites, who were foreigners in Russia, generally maintained a positive relationship and worked to reach a reasonably clear understanding of rights and responsibilities between themselves and Tsarist officials. Doukhobor-government relations in Russia, on the other hand, were much more volatile, for they depended largely on the disposition of each individual Doukhobor leader. Whenever a leader felt that the Doukhobors ought to challenge the worldly authorities for the sake of conscience, persecution and exile inevitably followed.

These same patterns of sectarian behaviour were then repeated in Canada. In his article on the early prairie settlements, Carl Tracie also describes how Mennonites and Doukhobors related to Canadian society and government in different ways:

> Society in general appears to have accepted the Mennonites at face value; different, but valuable as agriculturalists and settlers. There was not too much about them to raise resentment except possibly their pacifism and their desire to maintain their own educational system, but... [t]he government had no cause for concern. The Mennonites were law abiding, responsible citizens and were positively regarded as successful and innovative farmers, models to be set up before intending settlers, in much the same way as they had been in Russia....
>
> The Mennonites were quite contented with the government. The concessions granted to them were honored and they reciprocated by abiding by the policies of the government, a course of action made easier by the fact that there was no direct conflict between government policy and their beliefs. They had always maintained good relations with the

> Russian government, and they were dedicated to cooperation with the Canadian government as much as possible.[4]

In regards to the Spirit Wrestlers, Tracie writes:

> Earthly authority was seen to have no hold on the actions of the group, and, where it contradicted the religious principles of the group, it was to be vigorously resisted. It is quite likely that even with the generous terms offered by the Canadian government they were suspicious of it, and when the government began demanding commitments in matters of registration and land tenure, which they argued were contrary to the spirit of the negotiated terms, they began to view the government as a tyrannical oppressor.[5]

In fact, despite its emphasis on the similarities between the Mennonite and Doukhobor migration experiences, this thesis has identified a number of historical differences between the two sects which, I believe, led to other differences in the future, and help to explain why the Mennonites were more quickly and peacefully integrated into Canadian society.

(1) Migration patterns. Firstly, one should remember that the Mennonites, historically, had not only been perpetual migrants, but perpetual **emigrants**, who had been forced to live amid a variety of European cultures that spoke different languages and held different values. After fleeing the Netherlands, the Mennonites had managed to create a home for themselves for extended periods in Poland, Prussia, and Russia, before emigrating to North America. They had negotiated with many different European regimes and rulers in order to create Mennonite enclaves which at least temporarily protected their own culture and identity. The Mennonites knew how to market themselves as a valuable asset to any country, and knew the art of lobbying and petitioning better than the Doukhobors did. The Doukhobors, on the other hand, had never lived beyond the realm of the Tsar until 1898, and were confronted in Canada for the first time with a foreign culture and a new form of government. Diplomacy had never been the strength of the Spirit Wrestlers in Russia, and their problems with negotiation and compromise became an even greater liability for the sect in Canada.

2)Literacy and Education. The Mennonites were one of the most highly literate peasant societies in the Western world. The importance which

Mennonites placed on schooling greatly improved their ability to understand and adapt to the workings of the world around them, even though their education was primarily religious, and a healthy suspicion of the outside world was always maintained. The Doukhobors, in contrast, transmitted religion and culture orally, which led to many future misunderstandings and difficulties when the interpretation of important written documents came into dispute. In 1902, for instance, when the Veriginites were confronted with written letters from their leader in exile, they became confused. Literal interpretations of Peter's words led some sectarians to set free their animals and begin a pilgrimage in search of Christ, acts which shocked both government and the Canadian public. Likewise in 1908, the Spirit Wrestlers' illiteracy limited their ability to negotiate a compromise in the dispute over land holding. Although it is true that more Spirit Wrestlers had learned to read and write by the mid-twentieth century, at which point the 'Doukhobor problem' reached its peak, it is also fair to say that much damage to government-Doukhobor relations had already been done in the early years, which in turn took on a new momentum of its own into the future.

3) Outside Influence. Another consequence of illiteracy was that Veriginites were required to rely on outsiders in order to help translate and negotiate for them. These included Christian-Anarchists, such as Alexander Bodianskii, who clearly was a poor choice as an advisor on government relations. The influence of Tolstoy, Bodianskii, and others, further encouraged the Doukhobors to take a hard-line and challenge Canadian legality, which made for bad public relations on the prairies and across the nation. The destitute state in which the Doukhobors arrived in Canada made the Doukhobors even more vulnerable and susceptible to outsiders. Suddenly, the Doukhobors, who had traditionally prided themselves on their self-sufficiency became dependent on sympathizers, such as the Quakers, Tolstoyans, and Mennonites, and also on the Canadian government. The Doukhobors were forced to work for wages alongside other Canadians who poked fun at their cultural peculiarities, while the government pressured the sectarians to give up their communal system of land holding. Consequently, the Doukhobor zealots emerged in reaction to these pressures. The Mennonites, on the other hand, were better protected against direct assimilatory pressures. When they arrived in Canada they were greeted by fellow Mennonites, who not only facilitated the

necessary arrangements which needed to be made with the Canadian government, but also secured a substantial loan from Parliament Hill. This loan gave the Mennonites considerable freedom to build their new settlements according to their traditions, without feeling pressured by--or indebted to--the Canadian government.

4) Date of Arrival. It also ought not be forgotten that the Mennonites immigrated to Canada in the 1870s, when Ottawa desperately needed pioneers to settle the prairies. Not only did the Canadian government welcome the arrival of the Mennonites at this time, but it was also quite willing to grant the Mennonites a large degree of cultural and organizational autonomy in order to satisfy them. Moreover, the government's presence in the Canadian West was minimal at a time when homesteaders on the Canadian plains were few and far between. Much had changed by time the Doukhobors arrived, a quarter-century later. Under Sifton's settlement programme, the Spirit Wrestlers were also welcomed to Canada as valuable pioneers, yet they were only one group (albeit the largest immigration *en masse*) among many other inhabitants. More important, it was not long before the Canadian government shifted its desired objective from populating the prairies to integrating the diverse populations of the West into a single Canadian nationality based on British culture and tradition. By this time, the Mennonites had been able to establish themselves and prove that they were a valuable economic asset to the country. The government reciprocated by avoiding direct confrontations with the Mennonites, but had nonetheless influenced them through subtler changes to municipal laws and other reforms. Hence, by the early twentieth century when assimilatory pressures were being placed on the sectarians, the majority of Mennonites maintained good relations with the Canadian government and were willing to compromise, while most Doukhobors had no prior history with the government, and naturally remained suspicious and unbending.

5) ImmigrationExperiences. This thesis has described the respective emigrations of the Mennonites and Doukhobors from Russia to Canada in some detail in the second and third chapters. While there are many similarities between the two experiences, there were also certain differences which I believe had a long-term impact on the futures of the two sects in Canada. First and foremost was the fact that the Mennonites were in a better position to plan

their emigration. The Russian government gave them ample time to decide whether or not to emigrate, and that allowed them to send a large delegation to North America before deciding. The Mennonites indeed had several options, for the Canadians, Americans, and Russians, all sent agents to convince them to emigrate to, or stay in, their respective countries. With ample time and bargaining power, the Mennonites who left for Canada were able to secure an extensive list of special privileges, and had a better idea of what their terms of entry were. Thus, it was only when an item on this list (i.e. right to self-education) appeared to have been rescinded that the Mennonites were drawn into serious conflict with Canadian authorities.

The Doukhobor picture was somewhat different. When the Russian government granted the Spirit Wrestlers their request to leave the empire, the sectarians believed that this permission to emigrate might be revoked at a moment's notice. Moreover, thousands of Veriginites were suffering from hunger and disease while exiled in Georgia. The destitute state of the Doukhobors, combined with the need for a quick exodus, necessitated that sympathizers of the sect organize, finance, and even negotiate the terms of their immigration, which meant that the Doukhobors were uncertain of their obligations to the Canadian government from the outset.

Ottawa, it should be added, believed that by bringing the Doukhobors to Canada, it had done the sectarians a great favour, for it had responded to international pressure and provided a home for the persecuted sect. Therefore, the Doukhobors' failure to immediately adopt 'enlightened' Canadian practices was quickly interpreted by the public to be ingratitude. On their arrival, the Doukhobors had received much more attention and fanfare than the Mennonites had. In fact, the entire emigration ordeal had given the Doukhobors worldwide attention. The Doukhobors recognized this, and later used this publicity to their advantage by staging sensational events such as the 1902 pilgrimage and nudity parades in order to present their grievances to the public and to government. As the twentieth century progressed, these types of publicity stunts got out of hand, when zealots began to use them as a common means of protest.

6) Conflict Management. It would be misleading to say that the Mennonites were better skilled at diffusing or avoiding conflict than the

Doukhobors were, since the two sects did not always share the same objectives. Rather, it should be stated that the Mennonites placed a greater emphasis on maintaining positive relations with government. Not only did the Mennonites work hard to negotiate a clear charter of rights and obligations before immigrating to Russia or Canada, but whenever a crisis arose in either country, the Mennonites generally worked towards compromise. William Janzen, for instance, largely attributes the lack of land holding disputes between Mennonites and the Canadian government to the Mennonites' ability to bargain and make concessions:

> the 'political process' with the Mennonites seems to have been open, direct, and marked by good faith. The Mennonites, despite their separatism, were not anarchists. Their theology had a definite place for government. They did not hesitate to approach government with what they felt were legitimate concerns. They sent numerous communications to officials, both directly and indirectly through solicitors and other intermediaries. They made complaints and proposed ways of resolving difficulties. The Mennonites were also willing to make some compromises. This willingness to compromise and to communicate in a forthright manner...may help to explain why, despite numerous difficulties, the arrangements for the Mennonite reserves were moderately successful.[6]

Even when more serious rifts developed, such as when the government breached the Mennonites' cherished Privilegium during the Russian reforms of the 1870s, and again during the schooling crisis in Canada, Mennonite conservatives first responded with the usual mixture of petitioning and passive resistance. Later, instead of permitting the crises to further escalate, the orthodox chose instead to emigrate.

The Doukhobors were also quite adept at diplomacy and compromise. Lukeria Kalmykova worked hard to establish good relations between Doukhobors and Tsarist officials in the 1860s and 1870s, and even consented to provide transportation services to the Russian military. When the Spirit Wrestlers wished to emigrate, they did not simply march into Turkey (though some threatened to do this) but sent a humble petition to the Empress Alexandra which was favourably received. Nonetheless, the Spirit Wrestlers also had a record of stubborn resistance to compromising any aspect of their beliefs. The earliest Doukhobors, for instance, resisted all forms of military

service in Russia, as did the Veriginites in the 1890s. Doukhobor relations with government in Russia were chiefly affected by the calibre of sectarian leadership. The Spirit Wrestlers tended to engage in radical behaviour and spontaneous protest in the absence of strong leadership, or else under leaders who were particularly principled, aggressive, or self-serving. In the 1830s, for example, the Russian authorities expelled the sect from the Milky Waters in response to the lewd conduct of Vasilii and Ilarion Kalmykov and the degenerative activities of the council of elders. Later, in the 1890s, the Veriginites were again exiled when they deliberately staged provocative demonstrations against Russian conscription laws at the bidding of their leader. Meanwhile, Verigin's incorporation of Christian-anarchist teachings into Doukhobor religious precepts made it even more difficult for the sectarians to establish good relations with governments in the future.

Thus, when the Doukhobors arrived in Canada, they believed it was their duty to protest against any law which might in any way contradict their religious principles. By refusing to swear the oath of allegiance, by abstaining from land entry, by withholding vital statistics from the Canadian government, and by refusing to send their children to school, the Spirit Wrestlers acted consistently with their past record of resistance to worldly authority. In other words, whereas the Mennonites attempted to adhere to their principles by working to avoid conflicts with government, the Doukhobors often attempted to adhere to their principles through confronting the government.

7) Persecution Legacy. One must also remember thathe Doukhobors, unlike the Mennonites, had recently been persecuted by Tsarist officials. Despite the claims of recently arrived Mennonite immigrants in Canada in the 1870s, they were not persecuted by the Russian authorities, but had been treated very well. For decades the Tsarist authorities had protected the rights and privileges of the Mennonites and other German-speaking peoples in the Empire from the Russian peasantry (who resented the wealthy foreigners). The Doukhobors, however, had indeed been persecuted whenever they challenged the patience of the Tsars throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Veriginites might even best be considered refugees, for their emigration to Canada was precipitated by the government's violent reaction to the arms demonstrations in 1896, which has been so well documented in

Christian Martyrdom in Russia. After the suffering and punishment endured in exile in Georgia, it was only natural that the Doukhobors would arrive in Canada with a greater suspicion than the Mennonites of governmental authority. The Mennonite immigrants of the 1920s were perhaps the most persecuted of all, yet their suffering was largely the result of anarchy which ensued during the Russian Civil War. Thus, instead of distrusting government, the *Russlaender* welcomed the stability provided by the Canadian state.

8) Sectarian Values. The final reason why theDoukhobors continued to engage in conflict with the Canadian authorities is perhaps the most important of all: the Doukhobors did not want to compromise their sectarian values and principles. One might even go so far as to say that the Veriginites proved themselves to be better sectarians in Canada than the Mennonites. The Mennonites left Russia largely because St. Petersburg was attempting to assimilate them into Russian society, and the orthodox refused to compromise their Mennonite culture and traditions. Yet in Canada, the majority of Mennonites succumbed to the forces of assimilation rather easily. Within a decade or two, the Mennonites had allowed municipal governments to replace their traditional forms of village government, and then allowed their traditional *Strassendoerfer* village system and their cooperative forms of land distribution to disappear. By the twentieth century, these Mennonite immigrants, who had refused to associate with neighbouring Russians apart from trade, now found their children adopting Canadian forms of clothing, amusement, and participating in Canadian institutions. The predictions of Russian Mennonites opposed to the emigration in the 1870s had become a reality: "Those [Mennonites] who have left for America have the greatest aversion to culture, but there they have come under the influence of culture before they really know or want it."[7] The emigrants had been unable to escape the forces of assimilation, for just like in Russia, the Canadian government was able to use a minority of liberal-minded Mennonites to impose progressive reforms on a silent majority of sectarians. Eventually, with government support, the progressive minority formed a majority to whom acculturation became acceptable. Only when the government proceeded to take away private Mennonite schooling did the sectarians mount a united protest, and yet even in this instance, the vast majority of Mennonites capitulated to government demands.

The Doukhobors fought much harder in order to live according to their consciences than the Mennonites did. The Veriginites left Russia because they wanted to be able to fulfil the divine dictates of their leader. The sectarians expected to be able to do so in Canada, even though they themselves were not certain of how to implement some of Verigin's directives. Verigin's instruction to create a fully communal village organization, for instance, was met with some resistance by sectarians, and much resistance from Canadian officials, who resented Verigin's communistic village system far more than they objected to the semi-communal practices of the Mennonites. Nonetheless, the Veriginites fought to achieve their leader's plans by firmly opposing any government measure which might possibly compromise Verigin's intentions. Hence, the Doukhobors' initial refusal to register their homesteads individually.

The Doukhobors' opposition to Canadian regulations proved, in fact, to be justified. After all, the Canadian government had begun to assimilate the Mennonites by first enforcing compliance with minor legal reforms, and they attempted to use the same tactic on the Doukhobors. After Verigin agreed to the 'mere formality' of entering homesteads individually in 1903, for example, Ottawa further demanded that each Doukhobor family move onto a separate homestead. The Community Doukhobors refused, even though it meant the expropriation of their land. Later, in British Columbia, the provincial and federal governments resumed their assimilatory programmes by enforcing strict compliance to registration and education laws. Yet instead of succumbing, or emigrating like the orthodox Mennonites did, the zealots chose to stay and uphold the tenets for which they had immigrated into the country. The so-called 'Doukhobor problem' in Canada, then, might simply be viewed as a stubborn and militant attempt by the most conservative Doukhobors to live in Canada according to their consciences, at a time when the Canadian government fully expected to integrate the Doukhobors into Canadian society as it had successfully done with the Mennonites.

Given the degree of zealot protest in Canada, and the fact that the Doukhobors endured more hardships as a result of their conflicts with the Canadian authorities, the temptation exists to deem the Doukhobor immigration a failure and the Mennonite immigration a success. One may be further

tempted to think this way because of the economic prosperity attained by the Russian Mennonite immigrants in Canada. Within a matter of years, the Mennonites became the envy of Western farmers, and their achievements were heralded in Canadian prairie newspapers. Yet judging the two groups of immigrants according to their economic successes is deceptive and may easily lead to oversights. Firstly, one tends to forget that the Independent Doukhobors build up prosperous farms and had a comparable--if not superior--standard of living to Mennonite farmers.[8] Secondly, many of the very same reasons which led to conflict between the government and the Spirit Wrestlers, and even the conflict itself, led in turn to economic instability and hardship for the sectarians. For instance, it was difficult for the Doukhobors to develop their farms in the early years because, as already mentioned, the government opposed the formation of communal settlements, and because the Doukhobors could not rely on coreligionists to guarantee a loan for them as the Mennonites did. The third reason why economic comparisons are misleading is because the accumulation of wealth was not the ultimate objective of the Veriginites upon immigrating to Canada, and was certainly not considered desirable by the zealots. Although Verigin did grow fond of running and expanding his little economic empire, it had initially been founded on principle. The Community Doukhobors remained loyal to Verigin's system not because it would ever make them rich, but because it enabled them to live according to the desirable principles of equality and cooperation.

A proper assessment of the success of the Mennonite and Doukhobor emigrations hinges on the question of motivation. A comparison of economic standards in Canada might be appropriate if the emigration of either sect from Russia to Canada was primarily motivated by monetary matters. As noted in Chapter Two, some Mennonites did emigrate from Russia for economic reasons. There were many sectarians among the Mennonite emigrants who had been unable to secure land in the Russian Mennonite colonies and therefore in a state of deprivation left for North America where land was in abundance. Certainly those who stayed in Russia chastised their coreligionists for leaving their homeland in order to get rich overseas. Yet the Mennonite emigrants who were motivated by material concerns largely settled in the United States, where the land quality, climate, and transportation links were

superior to Canada and promised a greater chance of success. Likewise, it cannot be denied that the Veriginites emigrated in large part to escape physical hardship in the Caucuses. Yet as the settlement experiment on Cyprus attests, the Doukhobors were not judicious in selecting a new homeland. It is important to keep in mind that both Mennonites and Doukhobors preferred the land they had previously owned in Russia to the reserve lands set aside for them on the Canadian prairie. Emigration to Canada, was in fact an economically risky decision for Mennonites and Doukhobors to make in comparison with the safe choice made by their coreligionists to stay in Russia and accept a form of military service.

If the Mennonites and Doukhobors did not emigrate for economic reasons then why **did** they emigrate? Both groups of emigrants later professed that they left Russia because they were forced to perform military service to which they could not in conscience consent. Yet although conscription was a focal issue at the time of the emigrations, the threat of military service in itself was not what caused the Doukhobors--and certainly not the Mennonites--to leave Russia. In fact, both sects had acted inconsistently on the issue of military service in Russia. The Mennonites had provided transportation services to the Russian army during the Crimean War of 1853-1856, just as the Doukhobors had done the same during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. In the 1870s, the Mennonites were not subjected to the military conscription law, but were permitted to provide an alternative form of service in forestry units which the sectarians themselves controlled. All eligible Doukhobors, including the followers of Peter Verigin, consented to perform military service after 1887 when conscription was extended to Russian subjects in Transcaucasia. It was only in 1895, after Verigin had become influenced by Tolstoy, that he revived the pacifist teachings of the Doukhobor religion in the past and directed his followers to tear up their draft papers and burn their guns. It is true that a military service exemption was one of the first conditions placed on the Mennonite and Doukhobor immigrations into Canada. Yet clearly the honoring of these exemptions alone failed to satisfy the Old Colonists, who left the country in protest over education, or the Community Doukhobors, who moved onto private land in British Columbia to avoid their subjection to homestead laws, or the Freedomites, who turned to nudity, bombing, and arson, to

challenge every Canadian law used against them. Obviously, there were greater motivations behind the emigrations.

This thesis has identified similar patterns in the histories of the Mennonites and Doukhobors which, I believe, are central to understanding the cause of the emigrations from Russia. One cannot ignore the migratory histories of either sect. From their respective inceptions, both groups were subject to religious persecution and were therefore forced to migrate frequently. Eventually, European rulers found a place for the sectarians in frontier regions where there was less potential for heretical religions to spread quickly, and where good agriculturalists were needed. The sectarians themselves favoured life in the hinterlands, for they were able to isolate themselves from a world considered to be contaminated and sinful, and develop their own culture and their own institutions. However, as frontier regions were developed and populated, governments increasingly demanded that the sectarians conform to the rules and institutions of the society which surrounded them. Usually by this point, sectarian rifts had developed between progressive and conservative members of each sect. The progressives were often a wealthier faction who felt comfortable enough to stay and comply with the new requirements. Such were the Mennonites who remained in the Vistula Delta in the late eighteenth century despite the discriminatory legislation which was passed against them by the Prussian state,[9] and the Doukhobors who opted to convert to Orthodoxy (at least in name) in order to keep their farms at the Milky Waters in the 1840s.[10] The conservatives were generally poorer sectarians who refused to compromise their religious principles in order to satisfy temporal authorities. The alternative for the latter group, of course, was migration, for it enabled the orthodox to regain their lost isolation and to purify their sect by leaving worldly coreligionists behind. By migrating, devout sectarians were also able to preserve their distinct culture and traditional way of life which had become indelibly intertwined with their religion.

The pattern of events leading up to the emigrations of the Mennonites and Doukhobors from Russia to Canada was no different. Upon first settling in the Milky Waters region of South Russia, both groups were given a large degree of organizational autonomy and religious freedom by the Russian government in exchange for the sectarians' valuable agricultural work. Living in

relative isolation, both groups lived according to their religious precepts, re-established their old institutions, and established new ones. As firm believers in the virtues of simplicity and charity, Mennonites built their simple homes and villages using the *Strassendorf* (street village) model, and continued to support one another by using common granaries and pasture land, and by re-establishing mutual aid institutions known to them in Prussia, such as the Orphan's Office. The Mennonites also formed new institutions in Russia which they later brought with them to Canada, such as their system of governance by village and district. Like the Mennonites, the Doukhobors believed in simplicity and cooperation, and therefore adopted the *Strassendorf* village plan and the idea of the Orphan's Office from their neighbours. The Doukhobors further combined their staunch religious belief in the equality of all people together with Russian peasant institutions to form utopian village communes in which nearly all property was shared.

However, as Southern Russia became more populated, St. Petersburg sought to stabilize this diverse region of the Empire. When the behaviour of the Doukhobors became unpredictable, the sect was banished to the new frontier, the Caucasus. As for the Mennonites, the Russian government began to place its full support behind the most progressive members of the sect, such as Johann Cornies, who favoured greater interaction between the Mennonite colonies and their neighbours, and the integration of secular subjects into Mennonite education. In the Caucasus, Russian officials also forged links with wealthy Doukhobor families under the leadership of Lukeria Kalmykova. Naturally, there were many sectarians who quietly observed recent changes with suspicion and scorn. Mennonites such as Gerhard Wiebe cursed the ostentation and vanity exhibited by his fellow sectarians, and considered the secularization of education to be the thin end of an assimilatory wedge. Devout Doukhobors also felt the lavish lifestyles of prominent Doukhobor families were a glaring betrayal of traditional Doukhobor virtues, such as simplicity and equality.

Direct government intervention in sectarian affairs gave the conservatives the opportunity to take a stand and split from their brethren. For the Mennonites this occurred in the early 1870s when Alexander II instituted reform legislation requiring foreign colonists, including the Mennonites, to be

taught the Russian language and to serve in the military. Even though the Mennonites were offered a form of alternate service, the orthodox Mennonites decided nonetheless to take a stand against the Tsarist government which broke their charter of privileges, and against their worldly coreligionists who had poisoned their sectarian culture. Partly in protest, and partly out of a desire for a fresh start, the Mennonites immigrated to Canada. The Mennonite emigrants wanted to find an isolated location where they could again restore traditional colony life without having to compromise their consciences.

A comparable sequence of events took place among the Doukhobors prior to their emigration from Russia. First, the Tsarist government directly intervened in sectarian affairs following the death of Lukeria Kalmykova in 1886 by granting control over the Orphan's Home to Michael Gubanov and the progressive faction, and by arresting Peter Verigin who had just been proclaimed leader by the majority of the sect. To his supporters, Verigin symbolized a return to earlier traditions and simpler times, for he was well versed in the old Doukhobor hymns, and in his teachings he evoked the spirit of early Doukhobor ideals, such as peace, sharing, and brotherhood. The Doukhobor traditionalists continued to recognize Verigin as their leader in exile, and separated themselves from Gubanov and his followers, who in their minds had conspired with the government out of greed and had betrayed early Doukhobor precepts.

It was Verigin's followers who protested against Russian conscription laws in an attempt to revive earlier pacifist principles, and who eventually emigrated to Canada. While it is true that the immediate cause of the Veriginite emigration was the plight of the protesters who were banished to Georgia and there suffered from malnutrition and disease, even those who were not exiled and were not suffering decided to emigrate in order to be with their brethren and get away from their worldly coreligionists. Thus, the Doukhobor emigration to Canada, I have argued, was undertaken for similar reasons as the Mennonite emigration. In Canada, the Veriginites hoped to build their own isolated settlements and live according to the bidding of their leader. In Canada, the Doukhobors worked to re-establish a completely communal village system, similar to the one known to their ancestors who lived at the Milky Waters. In

Canada, the Veriginites were able to recognize the divinity of Peter Verigin without ridicule and hoped to be able to follow his instructions as well.

It is important to keep in mind that it was the most orthodox members from both sects who immigrated to Canada. Of roughly fifty thousand Mennonites living in Russia in the 1870s, only one-third, or approximately 17,000 emigrated. Less than half of these emigrants, roughly 7,000, settled in Canada. These seven thousand were the ultra-conservatives, who refused the very reasonable alternate service proposal by the Russian government, and refused the enticing sales pitches of aggressive American land agents who offered them property with good potential for economic success. Instead, these Mennonites settled in the self-described frigid "wasteland" of the Canadian prairie, because the Canadian government guaranteed them "[t]he fullest privileges of exercising their religious principles...without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever."[11]

Similarly, the Doukhobor emigrants had their religious dedication repeatedly tested in the years preceding the 1898 exodus, so that only the most loyal and zealous followers of Verigin ended up emigrating. Between 1893 and 1895, Verigin issued his series of directives to his followers. First, he directed them to pool their property and resources and share virtually everything they owned with one another, just as the Doukhobors had done in the early part of the nineteenth century at the Milky Waters. Next, Verigin asked his disciples not to engage in the worldly practices of smoking tobacco and consuming alcohol. Influenced by Tolstoy's vegetarianism, Verigin further demanded that his Caucasian followers--whose livelihoods depended largely on animal husbandry--refrain from killing animals and eating meat. Many Doukhobors broke away from Verigin's 'Large Party' at this point and formed a 'Middle Party' known as the 'Butchers'. Others had already joined Michael Gubanov and the 'Small Party' after the first directive. Verigin next demanded that his followers abstain from sexual intercourse for an indefinite period of time which resulted in more desertions. Consistent with Verigin's attempt to revive early Doukhobor precepts, the Living Christ called on his followers not swear allegiance to the Tsar, to burn their firearms, and to refuse military service, the consequences of which have been described in Chapter Three. In the end, only a minority of Doukhobors in Russia, roughly 7,400 out of a total of some 20,000, were

committed enough to carry out all Verigin's directives and then leave their homeland. There can be little doubt, then, that the Doukhobor emigration to Canada was largely a religious crusade. During the land holding crisis in 1907, the Veriginites explained at an interview with Canadian officials why in fact they had emigrated: "it was for the sake of this that the Doukhobors left Russia.... They left Russia because they could not live there and do what they thought was right by their religion."[12] Surely in stating this, the Doukhobors were referring to much more than their recent refusal to perform military service, but to a more general desire to live the simply and godly life which Doukhobors had once lived, in accordance with the teachings of their leader.

Having argued that the Mennonite and Doukhobor emigrations from Russia to Canada were both undertaken in an attempt to find a place where each sect could live according to its religious tenets and preserve its cultural traditions without interference, the question must be asked whether these emigrations succeeded on this basis. Although Mennonites and Doukhobors living in Canada today would be hesitant to admit it, the answer, I believe, is clearly negative. It is true that Canada has been a good home for the Mennonites and Doukhobors, especially in light of the repression suffered by their coreligionists in Soviet Russia. Yet at the heart of this thesis lies a discrepancy between the expectations of Mennonites and Doukhobors upon arriving in Canada, and the reality which most immigrants eventually accepted. The Old Colony Mennonites did not come to Canadian prairies only to have to emigrate again for the sake of conscience, yet they did. The other Mennonite groups, such as the Bergthaler and Kleine Gemeinde did not come to Canada to become acculturated and integrated into Canadian society--in fact, this was their worst fear--yet it is exactly what transpired. The Doukhobors, also, did not come to Canada to build up individual farmsteads and compete with one another for profit, yet the Independent Doukhobors did just this, and eventually became the largest Doukhobor faction in Canada. Neither did the Community Doukhobors settle on the Canadian prairies only to be forced to choose between their land and their communal practices, yet within a decade they had to. Nor did the Doukhobor immigrants by any stretch of their imagination

envision that their most zealous members would burn down the houses of other Doukhobors, begin planting bombs, and publicly shame themselves by walking about naked, all out of frustration with what their sect had become. Yet this, too, occurred in Canada.

It is true that some aspects of sectarian life did indeed improve when the emigrants reached Canada, yet other aspects actually became worse. Perhaps a brief comparison of the circumstances and conditions surrounding the sectarians' previous history in Russia and their later existence in Canada will provide more perspective on this discussion.

1)Physical Isolation. Upon first settling the New Russian steppe in the late eighteenth century, the Mennonites were the pioneers of the Milky Waters region. Southern Russia had traditionally been home to transients, such as the nomadic Nogai Tartars and political dissidents. Yet as decades passed, growing numbers of neighbouring farmers established themselves next to the Mennonite colonies. The Doukhobors were one of the earliest groups to establish settlements next to the Mennonites. The regime of Alexander I permitted the Spirit Wrestlers to live in the area for the same reason that the Mennonites had been invited under Catherine II, in order to utilize their valuable agricultural talents. Yet as South Russia became more populated, the reactionary government of Nicholas I was less tolerant of the Doukhobors' eccentric behaviour and therefore expelled them from their lands, forcing the Spirit Wrestlers to start over again as new pioneers in the mountainous region of Transcaucasia. Although the Doukhobors resented their expulsion, they nonetheless appreciated the isolation of the mountains where they were able to live their unique lifestyle with minimal government interference. Yet by the 1870s and 1880s, St. Petersburg had strengthened its control over this region as well, and had begun to involve itself in sectarian affairs.

The isolation of the sparsely settled prairie was a key attraction for the Russian Mennonite immigrants when they arrived in Canada in the 1870s. Yet Mennonite isolation was no more sustainable in Canada than it was in Russia. In a matter of decades, railroad branches were extended throughout southern Manitoba, spurring the growth of commercial towns next to the Mennonite settlements. Continued immigration to the Canadian prairies throughout the

late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought hundreds of thousands of settlers to Canada. The Doukhobors, for instance, arrived on the prairies as part of a gigantic settlement drive, orchestrated by Interior Minister Clifford Sifton. Despite the fact that the Doukhobors, like the Mennonites, were permitted to settle in groups on a large section of reserved land, the Spirit Wrestlers' sense of isolation in Canada was minimal, for they required constant help from sympathizers, translators and government officials in order to build their communities. Immediately, upon their arrival, Doukhobor men were required to work with non-Doukhobors for wages, which they had seldom been forced to do in Russia. Moreover, although the Canadian government, like its Russian counterpart, appreciated the pioneering work which the two sects performed, Ottawa, like St. Petersburg, became less tolerant of the sectarians eccentricities as the prairies became more populated. Consequently, the Veriginites had lived less than a decade in Canada before having to relive their ancestors' experiences of 1840, by again being expelled from their land and being forced to relocate to the mountains where their isolation was again short-lived. By the 1920s, the Old Colony Mennonites petitioned the Canadian government to be relocated in a more isolated region, yet after Ottawa declined this request, one quarter of Manitoba's Mennonite population left the country for more isolated settlements on the Mexican plains and in the Paraguayan jungle.

2) Government Interference. The Mennonites and Doukhobors were given virtual autonomy over their own affairs in Russia for years. The Doukhobors were exiled to the Caucasus, but once they had resettled, they were generally allowed to live as they pleased, just as they had at the Milky Waters. There can be little doubt that the Russian government eventually hoped to assimilate both sectarian groups, yet for most of the nineteenth century, St. Petersburg made few overt demands of either sect, but rather attempted to influence each sect by encouraging change from within. Those sectarians who favoured progressive reforms and greater cooperation with non-sectarians, such as Johann Cornies and Michael Gubanov, were supported fully in their actions by the Russian government. Therefore, when the government subjected foreign colonists to Russian courts, Russian school

boards, and state service in the 1870s, the majority of Mennonites were willing to accept these measures. Likewise, in 1887, a considerable number of Doukhobors were not only willing to accept the military service requirement, but appreciated government intervention into their leadership succession crisis in order to ensure the stability and future prosperity of their farms.

Those who could not tolerate government interference into sectarian affairs emigrated to Canada, upon receiving assurances that the Canadian government would not interfere with sectarian religious practices. Yet in Canada, the government managed to influence the sectarians in much the same way that the Russian government had, and in shorter order. Ottawa also worked to affect change from within each sect. Within a decade, the Mennonites were subjected to municipal laws which effectively took local authority away from conservative church officials, and gave it to secular offices. In time, municipal officials were given greater control over areas such as education, providing progressive Mennonites with an avenue through which to carry out reform. Thus, by the time when national schools were imposed on the Mennonites in 1916, most of their schools had already adopted a Canadian curriculum and were giving English instruction. The Canadian government also nurtured the development of a progressive faction among the Doukhobors by continually encouraging the Spirit Wrestlers to farm on individual homesteads. The sect had therefore already become divided during the land holding crisis of 1906-1907.

3)Form of Government. A key reason why the Mennonites and Doukhobors were given so much autonomy over their own affairs in Russia is because it was a monarchy. The regime had considerable latitude to deal with minority groups as it wished. While many Westerners have traditionally viewed Tsarist governments to be cruel and repressive toward minorities, the history of the Doukhobors, and especially the Mennonites in Russia, provide a different picture. The Tsars granted the Mennonites a charter of privileges which was the envy of the nation. Despite popular resentment towards the Mennonites in Russia, the Tsars honoured the promises made to the sectarians for nearly a century. At the Milky Waters and in the Caucasus, the Doukhobors were basically allowed to live as they wished, so long as they did not undermine

government authority or foment instability in their locale. The Tsars generally respected the leadership chosen by the Doukhobors until 1887, when the government intervened to support one candidate over another. It was only in the late nineteenth century, when popular pressure demanded the implementation of widespread democratic reform that the sectarians became subject to universal requirements such as state service. The Mennonite and Doukhobor emigrants resented being treated on a basis more consistent with other Russian subjects, and decided to emigrate to a country which would restore their privileged status.

The selection of Canada as their preferred destination, however, is highly ironic. Canada was ruled by a democratic government which was accountable to the majority of its electorate, and therefore less inclined to bestow special rights on minorities. It was because the Mennonites and Doukhobors were desperately needed to settle the prairies that the Canadian government granted them special privileges, such as village settlement and an exemption from military service. Yet in Canada, the government remained far more vulnerable to public opinion, and some of these privileges which proved to be unpopular with Canadians were quickly revoked. Land hungry settlers successfully lobbied the government not to except the Doukhobors from Dominion homestead laws. Prairie editorialists successfully argued that Mennonite children were children of the state, and therefore were to be educated in 'national schools'. It should be kept in mind that the Mennonite Privilegium was broken in Canada in half the time that it was honoured in Russia.

4) Persecution. Mennonite persecution in Russia occurred after the October Revolution of 1917, but was nonexistent under the Tsars. Some Mennonite immigrants in Canada claimed that the Great Reforms amounted to religious persecution, but the majority of Mennonites believed otherwise. However, there can be no denying that the Doukhobors were soundly persecuted in Russia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A minority of Veriginites were also persecuted in the Caucasus in the late 1890s after the Veriginites as a whole decided to burn their weapons and refuse military service. Conscientious objectors were placed in jails, beaten, and

exiled with their families to Siberia. The Doukhobor settlements in the Wet Mountains region were looted by Cossack troops, women were raped, and whole villages were forced to relocate to the valleys of Georgia, where they suffered from hunger and disease. The brutality of the government's response to the arms demonstrations was utterly inexcusable. Yet it would also be fair to say that the Veriginites exercised poor judgement when reverting back to their pacifist principles. Instead of petitioning St. Petersburg for some form of military service exemption, they instead mounted spontaneous public demonstrations and responded haughtily to the inquiries of local officials. This behaviour only lent further support to the Small Party's base contentions that the Veriginites were trouble making insurrectionists out to challenge all governmental authority.

In Canada, the Mennonites managed to avoid religious persecution, just as they had in Russia, with one exception. During the school crisis, some conservative Mennonites were jailed and had their land expropriated as a result of their objections to public education. The Doukhobors, however, did not find freedom from persecution in Canada. Their repression began with the expropriation of their reserve land in 1907. Canada's Mounted Police force generally dealt with Doukhobor demonstrators in a more humane fashion than was the practice of Cossack troops, although zealot protesters spread unconfirmed accounts of physical torture in prairie prisons more horrific than the depictions of punishment in Caucasian penal battalions found in *Christian Martyrdom in Russia.* In British Columbia, of course, the exhumation of Doukhobor graves for the taking of vital statistics, the mass arrests and imprisonments of zealot protesters, and the placement of zealot children in fenced-in school compounds, has generated painful memories, and a legacy no less bitter than the one in Russia.

5) Military Service. For most of the nineteenth century, the Mennonites and the Doukhobors were not required to perform any form of military or state service in Russia. As already mentioned, both sects consented to--and were paid well for--the provision of transportation services for the Russian military when neighbouring regions were turned into theatres of war. In the early 1870s, when the military reform legislation first proposed extending universal

conscription to most regions of Russia's empire, the regime of Alexander II listened to Mennonite protests on the basis of their religion, and sent a high-ranking military official, General Edward von Todtleben, to negotiate with them. The Mennonites were given a rare alternative--service in forestry units which would be administered solely by Mennonites for Mennonite conscripts. Most Mennonites raised few objections, for they could hardly contend that their consciences forbade them from planting trees. Nonetheless, the Russian Mennonite emigrants opposed all forms of conscription and looked elsewhere for a complete exemption from state service. Conscription was extended to the Doukhobors only in 1887, at which time they consented to the law. Given this precedent, along with the fact that the Large Party in 1895 launched spontaneous protests against conscription instead of carefully lobbying St. Petersburg, it is not surprising that the reactionary regime of Alexander III did not grant the Veriginites a military service exemption. They too, like the Mennonites, looked to Canada for an exemption on the basis of religion.

Unlike the United States and most other countries, including Russia, Canada was prepared to grant both the Mennonites and Doukhobors an unconditional military service exemption in order that they might settle and farm in the Canadian West. To the credit of the Canadian government, these exemptions were honoured during the First and Second World War, despite their unpopularity with most Canadians. However, since Ottawa sympathized with popular protests against these exemptions, it responded to public calls for discriminatory legislation against Mennonites and Doukhobors. In 1919, the government prohibited the further immigration of these sectarians to Canada, and even came close to expelling the Doukhobors from their lands in British Columbia as demanded by local veterans' groups.

6) Oaths & Vital Statistics. In their 'Twenty Point Petition' of 1787, Mennonite negotiators were able to secure the right to 'affirm' rather than 'swear' oaths in Russia prior to their immigration. The Canadian government also extended the privilege of 'affirming' rather than 'swearing' oaths to the Mennonite delegation of 1873. The Doukhobors were even more adamant in their religious opposition to taking oaths, for they failed to distinguish between 'affirming' and 'swearing', yet they did not receive an exemption in either country

like the Mennonites did. An 1820 decree under Alexander I committed the Imperial Government "to abstain from compelling [the Doukhobors] to take the oath in any form or manner whatever...for ever."[13] Yet, it seems that this decree did not last "for ever", for Peter Verigin infuriated Tsarist officials when he refused to swear the oath of allegiance to the new Tsar Nicholas II in 1894 and instructed his followers to do the same. The Doukhobors' refusal to pledge allegiance contributed to their harsh term in exile. Four years later, the delegation to Canada, led by Aylmer Maude, neglected to mention an exemption from swearing oaths as a condition of Doukhobor settlement. This became a problem later, for in 1907 the Canadian government demanded that the Doukhobors pledge allegiance to the King of England as stipulated by Dominion land laws before receiving title to their land. Again, the Doukhobors' refusal had drastic consequences, for their reserve lands were consequently taken from them, forcing them to relocate.

The registration of vital statistics was another 'formality' to which the Spirit Wrestlers were religiously opposed. They explained their objections to Royal Commissioner William Blakemore in 1912:

> For all this time at Russia russian spiritual priests and the government authority command not once had aroused question about our Doukhobor religious doctrine,[sic.]...
>
> Our generations refused to worship the things made with hands all the substantial churches divine service,.... And the Doukhobors at Russia had been excluded from all the churches ceremony, and never had been entered in register books. This question the registration intimately had tied the Doukhobors with religious faith[sic.]. And now just the same at the present time we wish to be citizens of all the world, and do not wish to register our children in the Royal Crown Government books, and to register dead-body it is insipidity.[14]

Yet although the Russian government had not required the Doukhobors to register vital statistics, and despite Blakemore's opinion that their religious objections were sincere, the provincial authorities in British Columbia proceeded to exhume dead bodies and make arrests for failing to register births, deaths, and marriages.

7) Education. In Russia, the Mennonites were permitted to run theirown school system with minimal interference from government. Naturally, the Russian State supported the educational reforms of Johann Cornies, and by the 1840s had placed school administration in the Molotschna Colony under the control of the progressive Agricultural Union. However, the more conservative Mennonites in colonies such as Bergthal were permitted to continue running their schools as they wished. As part of the educational reforms occurring across Russia in the 1860s, all foreign colonists were placed under common school boards in 1869 and became subject to state inspectors. In 1868 new requirements had also been passed which introduced Russian language instruction into their curriculum. Although the local Russian school boards remained respectful of Mennonites' need for religious instruction, conservatives such as Bergthal elder Gerhard Wiebe feared that Mennonite schools would soon be secularized under Russian administration. Likewise, the Mennonites also considered the perpetuation of their German language to be essential to the preservation of their culture. Although they were still permitted to teach in German, the Mennonites who emigrated feared that the initial introduction of Russian into their schools would eventually lead to the total demise of their German education.

In Canada, these Mennonites were allowed to again restore their German, religiously-based private school system. An 1873 letter from Agricultural Secretary John Lowe to the Mennonite delegates stated that, the "[t]he fullest privileges of exercising their religious principles is by law afforded the Mennonites, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever; and the same privilege extends to the education of the children in schools."[15] Secure in the knowledge that they held full control over their own education, orthodox Mennonites once again failed to prevent their reform-minded coreligionists from instituting progressive changes to Mennonite schooling with government support. As early as 1878, several congregations agreed to establish public school districts in order to receive provincial subsidies. By the 1880s, these districts were placed in the hands of local municipalities, and were therefore being run by the most progressive Mennonite immigrants who agreed to serve as civil officials. By the 1890s, the Manitoba government required that English become the main language of instruction in all public schools, with allowances

for districts wishing to also teach in other languages. By this time, Canadian public schooling had moved well beyond the Russian school requirements of the 1870s, permitting less German instruction and requiring a far more secularized curriculum. Yet ironically, by the First World War, two-thirds of Mennonites in Manitoba agreed to send their children to these public schools, despite opposition from the older immigrant generation.

Those who wished to maintain private, German-instructed, religious schools as promised by Lowe were not only required to run them at their own expense, but were also forced to pay for local public schools as well through municipal taxation. Yet many Mennonites attempted to revert back to private schools after 1916, when Manitoba and Saskatchewan instituted a 'national' school system requiring all public school children to receive solely English instruction. The provincial governments, however, denied the Mennonites the right to do so, citing a different wording of Lowe's 1873 letter. Not only did the provinces force the new national schools on the Mennonite school districts by fining and jailing parents of absentee children, but they proceeded to close all Mennonite private schools. In several instances, land belonging to orthodox Mennonites was expropriated to build new English-only public schools which their children were forced to attend. Fueled by their opposition to these coercive measures, nearly eight thousand Mennonite conservatives left Canada in protest in the 1920s. The extreme measures taken by provincial governments in Canada to prevent the Mennonites from educating their own children were exceedingly harsh in comparison to the relatively minor educational reforms proposed by the Russian government in the 1870s. The latter did not prohibit Mennonites from teaching German in their schools, or from developing their own curriculum. Certainly the Tsarist government never imposed anything close to a national school system on the Mennonites, nor did the Russian state place sectarians in jail for failing to educate their children according to its wishes.

It was also in Canada that the Spirit Wrestlers also encountered coercive education laws for the first time in their history. Doukhobors transmitted their culture orally, and therefore found little need for schools. Certainly, the Russian state felt no obligation to educate a peasant religious sect in the Caucasian hills, and therefore very few Doukhobor children learned to read and write, and

those who did, were usually from wealthier families who learned at home. On the Canadian prairie, compulsory schooling was not in place until the First World War when the provinces passed school attendance acts. Thus, the Doukhobors were not forced by government to attend school either, although the sectarians for a brief period were pressured to send their children to temporary English schools run by the Quakers. Yet shortly after migrating to British Columbia, the Veriginites were informed that sending their children to elementary school was a legal necessity. Undoubtedly, the provincial government meant well when it built schools for the Doukhobors and endeavoured to teach them English. Yet by requiring the children to perform military drills, and by strictly enforcing attendance through fines, arrests, and seizures of Community goods, the British Columbia government only contributed to the escalation of hostilities between government and Doukhobors to a level perhaps unprecedented in their history as a sect.

8) Land holding and Village Settlement. Nineteenth century Russia, home to the peasant village commune *(mir)*, was well suited to the communal village institutions of the Mennonites and Doukhobors. The Russian government had no objections to the Mennonites' construction of communal wells and granaries, to their sharing of common pasture land, nor to the maintenance of Prussian Mennonite welfare institutions such as the Orphan's Office. It was in Russia that the Mennonites developed Strassendoerfer, or 'street villages' which both they and the Doukhobors grew so fond of. St. Petersburg did not mind that the Mennonite families owned and farmed their land individually, although it did grow tired of disputes between landed and landless Mennonites, and attempted to alleviate their land shortage problem by opening up new lands for settlement. Tsarist authorities also did not seem to care whether the Doukhobors shared all their property as they did at the Milky Waters, or whether they recognized private property, as became the norm in the Caucasus, so long as they remained respectful of governmental authority and paid their taxes.

Upon emigrating from Russia, both groups of sectarians not only looked forward to the wealth of cheap land which awaited them in Canada, but also expected the Canadian government to have an accommodating attitude

towards land holding. The sectarians had good reason for this belief, since the Canadian government made an exception to its homestead laws by reserving large blocks of prairie land in order to allow them to settle in villages rather than on isolated homesteads. However, there were definite limits to the government's willingness to accommodate the sectarians, for it fully expected the sectarian immigrants to move onto their farms after they had a chance to accustom themselves to Canadian methods of farming. The Dominion government proved correct about the Mennonites, for the younger farmers began to take up their own homesteads by the 1880s, and the Manitoba government did not encounter serious resistance when it prohibited the further formation of Mennonite street villages after 1885. Although Mennonite traditionalists were able to secure two more reserves in the North West Territories of Saskatchewan and Assiniboia in 1895 and 1904, respectively, all subsequent requests were denied. Russia proved to be far more amenable to traditional Mennonite village life than Canada.

By the time the Doukhobors had arrived in Canada, a large percentage of Mennonites had already moved onto their own individual homesteads, and the Dominion government expected that the Veriginites would shortly follow the Mennonites' example. Yet the Veriginites held a radically different view of land holding from the Mennonites, for they insisted on creating the completely communal settlements which their divine leader directed them to establish. Recognizing private property as the Mennonites did was therefore considered to be a violation of their religion, and for this reason they refused to even register their lands individually. The ensuing stalemate irritated the Dominion government not only because it violated Canadian law, but also because Verigin's communistic settlements were viewed as an obstacle to Western economic growth and an impediment to the integration of the Doukhobors with the rest of Canadian society. The Veriginites' standoff also proved to be contentious with increasing numbers of land-hungry settlers, some of whom felt legally justified in squatting on uninhabited, unregistered quarter-sections of reserve land. Ottawa realized that if the Doukhobors would not farm their lands as it wished them to, there were thousands of other immigrant-settlers who would. With this in mind, Ottawa reneged on its earlier promise to permit village settlement and demanded in 1907 that the Veriginites either take up individual

quarter-sections or lose their land. The sectarians chose the latter. It was only once they had emigrated to Canada that the Veriginites realized just how 'Russian' they were, and how much they had taken their communal rights for granted in their former homeland where the *obshchina* prevailed, after all.

9) Loss of Sectarian Values. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Russia, the Mennonite and Doukhobor settlements exhibited what might be called typically sectarian characteristics. Sectarian members maintained a financial status which was relatively equal for other members. The sects remained relatively closed to outside influences, in an attempt to preserve the purity of their religion, culture, and lifestyle. The average sectarian had little contact with outsiders and little knowledge of the world beyond the boundaries of his or her settlement. What she or he generally did know was that the outside world was sinful, corrupt, and degenerate. Gradually these notions gave way to a greater recognition of culture beyond the Mennonite and Doukhobor colonies and increased acceptance of worldly practices.

The Mennonites, for instance, began to adopt Russian words and introduced secular and technical subjects into their schools. As greater trade contacts developed with non-Mennonites, large farms and businesses emerged within the Mennonite colonies, creating new social classes among Mennonites. Conservative-minded congregations protested against the growing acceptance of worldly ways. Leaders of the Kleine Gemeinde protested against the emergence of drunkenness and gambling in Mennonite villages. Leaders of the Bergthal and Old Colony Mennonites commiserated over the rise of pride and ostentation in place of such traditional Mennonite virtues as simplicity and humility. It was these conservative congregations who emigrated from Russia, seeking to escape the epidemic of worldliness which pervaded the Russian colonies. In Canada they expected to start fresh, and make a return to earlier, more virtuous times.

Like the conservative Mennonite congregations, the Veriginites emerged in opposition to the growth of worldly practices among the Doukhobors in Russia. In the Caucasus, communal sharing of wealth had been replaced by an economic gap between average sectarians and prominent families who not

only had connections to the Orphan's Office, but who also associated with government officials. Contrary to Doukhobor religion and custom, these families held elaborate wedding ceremonies which involved lavish dinners and public drunkenness. The Veriginites distinguished themselves from these worldly Doukhobors by moving to separate villages, by following Verigin's instructions (i.e., to share all property, to abstain from smoking and alcohol, etc.), by enduring the persecution of 'earthly government', and finally, by emigrating. In Canada they too expected to make a fresh start and live as Doukhobors did in earlier times.

Initially, both sets of immigrants appeared to have successfully reverted back to their sectarian roots upon settling in Canada. They rebuilt their street villages and lived in relative isolation once again. Wealth was more evenly spread among the immigrants than in the larger Russian community, for the Mennonites redistributed their reserve land as equally as possible and most Doukhobors agreed to share their resources, although the Kars Doukhobors were more individualistic from the start. Yet it was not long before the Mennonites and Doukhobors once again lost many of their sectarian characteristics, as they had in Russia. Individualistic Mennonites and Doukhobors alike abandoned their villages, the growth of prairie railroad towns led to the rapid acceptance of Canadian culture and institutions among Mennonites and Independent Doukhobors, English usage became common. Conservative Mennonites who wished to escape acculturation once again were forced to emigrate. Meanwhile, the Veriginites, as previously mentioned, deserve a certain amount of credit for staying in Canada and fighting to preserve their traditional values. Yet they too, during this very struggle, lost much of their earlier humility by flirting with the media and attracting attention to themselves through publicity stunts. It is ironic that throughout their entire emigration experience, the Doukhobors attracted so much international attention and publicity through continual attempts to maintain their separateness. I believe that this publicity changed the very nature of the Doukhobors themselves, for certainly few Canadians would readily describe the Community Doukhobors and Freedomites as a shy, or closed, society.

Clearly, the high hopes of the Mennonites and Doukhobors upon emigrating from Russia were never fulfilled in Canada. In fact, considering their expectations, the sectarians appeared in many respects to have fared worse in Canada than in their Russian homeland. As proof, one only needs to recall the bitter words of the Mennonites in 1921 who vainly petitioned the government not to break its original promise on education: "The Mennonites would not have come to Canada if there had remained any doubts in the minds of their elders that the promise they had received from the Dominion Government had any flaw in it and was not absolutely bona fide."[16] Or perhaps one should remember the angry disappointment of the Doukhobors in 1907 upon hearing that the Canadian government had reneged on its earlier promise to facilitate Doukhobor village arrangements: "...if the Doukhobors had not had such a promise they would not have come to the country. If the government of Canada had suggested before the Doukhobors left Russia that this would not be carried out, they are sure they would not have come at all."[17] Even the response by the Minister of the Interior to the last statement is a telling one: "Had the Doukhobors suggested the same terms which you suggest now [i.e. permission to be exempted from receiving individual patents] the government would have said they could not come on those terms."[18] These quotations reveal the sense of disappointment, misunderstanding, frustration, and regret felt by members of all parties involved. Yet responsibility for the misunderstandings and disappointments of the emigration experiences, I believe, should be **shared** by the following groups for the following reasons :

1) The Emigrants. Both the Mennonite and Doukhobor emigrants had unrealistic expectations upon leaving Russia for Canada. It was unrealistic to expect that they could receive a long list of special privileges and freedoms from the government, and still live unto themselves in isolation without any form of government interference. It was also naive for the emigrants to feel that they could escape the growth of worldly practices among their members by emigrating. As one Russian Mennonite missionary, Heinrich Dirks, advised his fellow members during the emigration debates in 1874:

> Should there, finally, by the new order of things, much that we highly prize, be lost;...it will no doubt even then yet be possible to

> worship God in spirit and in truth. Hence, whatever the result may be, I decidedly advise not to emigrate.... Those who advise too much to emigrate, positively do not know the world, neither the character of this present time, otherwise they must know that that from which they propose to escape will overtake them wherever in this wide world they choose to settle.[19]

The emigrants believed that they were fleeing from the sinful practices of their coreligionists in Russia, and from a corrupt outside world. Yet the emigrants were never overtaken by the outside world so much as they were 'corrupted' by progressive and liberal-minded members within their own sect who introduced 'worldly' practices into sectarian life. The sectarian emigrants, therefore, did not manage to retain a united purpose. Solidarity was absolutely crucial for these minorities seeking to preserve their traditions, yet the progressive, liberal, and enterprising segments in both sects lost sight of the initial vision and began to push for acculturation and reform. This, in turn, gave the government the authority to intervene in sectarian affairs in order to protect the rights of those seeking greater integration into Canadian society. Mennonites were already attending public schools when the government forced national schools on the sect, and the Independent Doukhobors had already taken their oaths and accepted individual land patents when Ottawa forced the same measures on Verigin's Community.

The Doukhobors must also bear a certain amount of responsibility for the confrontational and sensationalist style of their protests, which sometimes led government authorities overreact against what they considered to be provocation. The burning of arms, the tearing of draft notices, the pilgrimages, the sensational statements of Verigin, the zealot activities (nudity parades, arson, and later, bombings), were set in stark contrast to the polite petitions and passive resistance of the Mennonites, and were often less effective than the latter as well. After a sympathetic review of Doukhobor protests against education, William Janzen admits,

> It must be conceded that there were some unusual and difficult elements among the Doukhobors. The actions by some Doukhobors to destroy the property of others, as a way of protesting against materialism and alleged departure from a true Doukhobor way of life, were a serious

and persistent problem. It was probably necessary for the government to use some coercive measures in dealing with these developments... .[20]

2)Poor Leadership. There was no central leadership among the Mennonite congregations to unite them in resistance to government agendas, both in Russia and in Canada. As a result, the sect quarreled often and continued to splinter into many different subsects, each with its own vendetta against the others.

The Veriginites, in contrast, had a single leader to provide them with direction, yet Peter Verigin was in exile during years that he shaped and moulded his sect according to his wishes. Although Verigin was able to use messengers to send instructions to his followers, he was unable to see how his dictates actually affected his people. It was easier for Verigin to live according to Tolstoyan principles by himself in exile than it was for the Doukhobors to suddenly change their lifestyle and implement them on a large scale. Furthermore, because their leader was absent during the time that the Spirit Wrestlers were building their Canadian communities, the sectarians remained hesitant to make decisions, which hindered their early development.

It was largely Verigin's influence which changed the Sprit Wrestlers from an isolationist sect into a protest movement based on early Doukhobor tenets. Yet in Canada, Verigin was unable to retain control of his most zealous disciples, and instead they become a burden to him. Part of the reason why Verigin lost control of the zealots was because Verigin's own actions seemed to contradict his teachings. After arriving in Canada, Verigin appeared more business-oriented, and seemed driven by prospects of expanding his enterprise, which contradicted his earlier warnings against the evils of materialism. Verigin's return to the extravagances of earlier Living Christs, also isolated him from Canadians, who considered him to be a despot. Canadians also found Verigin to be unpredictable, for at times he acted spontaneously, and at other times proved to be quite calculated. Verigin appeared to be moved by a variety of motivations, which were sometimes religious, sometimes socio-economic, and at other times egoistic. As a result, Verigin was never fully trusted by the Russian and Canadian governments.

3) Negotiators. Many of the immigrants' later problems and misunderstandings may be attributed to the original negotiations with the Canadian government. Firstly, it should be noted that the emigrants were never fully honest with the Canadian government about themselves and their intentions. Both groups tended to emphasize the fact that they had been persecuted in Russia for their religious beliefs and that they were excellent farmers, but neglected (for obvious reasons) to mention that they did not intend to become full participants in Canadian society, but desired to be left alone. The Tolstoyans were particularly guilty of vilifying the Tsarist government, spreading laudatory descriptions of the Spirit Wrestlers and glossing over some of the more controversial aspects of Doukhobor history.

As far as clarifying their specific stipulations, the Mennonite delegates did fairly well, considering that the negotiation process was rushed because of Ottawa's concern over U. S. competition for immigrants. An important oversight occurred in the issue of education, however, largely to the fault of the government, which later cost the Mennonites their private schools.

The Doukhobor negotiations were even more rushed, because the poorest Veriginites were suffering from disease and hunger in Georgia and in Cyprus, and the negotiating delegation was instructed to try to strike a deal as quickly as possible. The 1898 negotiations also resulted in greater misunderstandings because the Doukhobors did not even negotiate for themselves. Consequently, as the Royal Commission of 1912 concluded, the Doukhobors continued to be "kept in the dark as to their obligations under certain Canadian laws."[21] The two Doukhobor families who were part of the delegation were reluctant to take responsibility for making important decisions, yet at the same time they distrusted Prince Khilkov and Aylmer Maude, who served as translators and spokesmen.

It was principally Maude who negotiated on behalf of the Veriginites with only a superficial understanding of their history and culture at the time. Although Maude reached agreements on matters of importance to the Doukhobors, such as communal land tenure and a military service exemption, he failed to have a list of special privileges drawn up and signed, as the Mennonites did. This lack of documentation enabled the government to withdraw its promise to allow the Doukhobors to farm communally. Yet the

Doukhobors themselves are to some extent responsible for not providing Maude with any specific stipulations or objections, and therefore Maude neglected to inquire about the obligation to swear the oath. Maude did, however, learn about education requirements and the obligation to register vital statistics, yet failed to receive any objections from either the Doukhobor delegates or from the Tolstoyans in London after informing them.

4) Government. Naturally, the Canadian government also bears responsibility for the problems associated with the immigrations. Having heard that the Mennonites and Doukhobors were good agriculturalists, Ottawa concerned itself largely with securing the immigrations, and failed to take a closer look at the circumstances surrounding the sectarian emigrations from Russia. The Canadian government accepted at face value the complaints of religious persecution by the sectarian emigrants without questioning why the majority of their coreligionists remained satisfied with their treatment by Russian officials. It was undoubtedly with a certain amount of Western chauvinism that Canadian officials readily accepted that the autocratic, Tsarist government of Russia persecuted religious minorities indiscriminately, and that these helpless victims merely needed refuge in such a free and liberated democratic country such as Canada in order to be satisfied. Ottawa failed to recognize that the Mennonites and Doukhobors who desired to enter Canada were the sectarians who had gone to the greatest lengths to resist government attempts to assimilate them and who had fought to preserve their own traditions and culture at all costs. Instead, the Canadian government expected that the sectarians would take full advantage of Canadian rights and freedoms, and willingly join other Canadians in a united attempt to farm the West and build up Canada's national economy. In actuality, the Mennonites and Doukhobors wanted to be left largely unto themselves, and this crucial misunderstanding created many future difficulties.

Because the Canadian government had different expectations of the immigration than the immigrants themselves, it agreed to promises it did not keep. Ottawa was not terribly concerned about granting special privileges which might in future hinder the development of a uniform British culture across

Western Canada, because it fully expected the Mennonites and Doukhobors to embrace Canadian institutions and a Canadian way of life. Thus, the Mennonites were granted the right to educate their own children as they wished, and the Doukhobors were promised that they would be able to farm their reserve lands collectively. Yet when the state eventually realized that neither of these two sects intended to give up these privileges for some time to come, it weakly argued that the sectarians no longer acted in accordance with the original intentions of the early promises. Then the government retracted these privileges.

The government, however, had been generally correct in its prediction of Mennonite behaviour. Before the school crisis around the turn of the century, it was moderately pleased with the fact that the Mennonites were generally adopting Canadian practices, albeit at a pace considered still too slow by some officials. Thus, when it heard of the Doukhobors, another ill-treated group of pacifist farmers from Russia, Ottawa accepted them into the country with the false expectation that they were basically the same as the Mennonites, and would adapt to Canadian laws and institutions in a similar way. In fact, it was hoped that the Doukhobors would be able to adjust even more quickly than the Mennonites. On September 8, 1898, just days before the Doukhobor delegation arrived in Canada, James Mavor wrote to the Deputy Minister of the Interior, James Smart and informed him that the Doukhobors essentially wanted no more than what the Mennonites had received in the 1870s:

> What the people want are briefly;-
> 1. Land in a block or reserve **similar to the Mennonite Reserve.**
> 2. Some reasonable aid in establishing themselves in the country.
> 3. Some concessions to their prejudices as regards education. They wish their children educated; but wish to be consulted as to the mode. **Some arrangement like that with the Mennonites might be made** in the first instance. I do not think this will turn out to be a practical difficulty.
> 4. Assurance that they will not be called upon to render military service. **In fact generally an arrangement similar to that entered into with the Mennonites.** Those who know the Doukhobortsi say that they are in many ways superior to the Mennonites. They are not so obstinately non-adaptive. On the contrary they readily adapt themselves to new conditions.[22]

At the time, government officials such as Smart accepted these predictions, which have become highly ironic in retrospect. In 1907, after the Doukhobor land debacle, the Minister of the Interior also frankly admitted to yet another earlier assumption: that the Doukhobors would abandon their traditional villages as quickly as the Mennonites had.

> It was supposed by the people of Canada who heard anything about the Doukhobors that their ideas were the same as those of the Mennonites, who also came from Russia, and who also lived in villages,...I am certain that the people of Canada never supposed that the Doukhobors intended to cultivate in common, or to hold property in common any more than the Mennonites.[23]

Both the federal and provincial governments also bear responsibility for not being as conciliatory in resolving their conflicts with sectarians as they could have been. During the school crisis, the Manitoba government did not listen to Mennonite proposal to keep bilingual schools only in areas where a high percentage of taxpayers wanted them. Instead, it proceeded with forced public schooling, fines, and arrests. The Federal government could have been more sensitive to the Doukhobors' religious scruples against taking oaths, and the British Columbia government could have acted in accordance with the spirit of Blakemore's Royal Commission recommendations instead of confiscating Doukhobor property and making arrests. Likewise, having known about the persecution of the Veriginites in Russia, Canadian officials could have been more understanding of the Doukhobors' suspicion of governmental authority.

Although each of the above-mentioned parties bear some responsibility for the disappointments of the immigration experience, there were also many other circumstances working against the realization of sectarian expectations which the Mennonites and Doukhobors had little control over. Rapid global modernization in the late nineteenth century, for instance, involved constant growth and improvements to communication and transport technologies which severely limited the sectarians' ability to isolate themselves from the world around them. For instance, the laying of the trans-Atlantic cable in 1866 finally established quick and efficient communication links between the two continents by telegraph. Alexander Graham Bell's first successful transmission of speech

through wire in 1876 led to the installation of hundreds of thousands of telephones in North America alone by the 1890s.[24] By the twentieth century, these advances made it easier for sectarian members to conduct business transactions with non-sectarians, and also enabled them to maintain close contact with government officials and departments.

Travel also became easier and more popular during this period. As mentioned in the introduction, steamships continued to become larger, faster, and safer, which facilitated a manifold increase of European immigration to the North American frontiers where the sectarians had attempted to isolate themselves.[25] The late nineteenth century was also the preeminent era of railroad construction in both Europe and North America. Railroad branch lines spread across Manitoba in the 1870s and 1880s, and across Saskatchewan in the 1890s and the following decade. The coming of the railroad not only facilitated the quick transfer of immigrants, but also led to the formation of railroad towns, through which sectarians came in frequent contact with Canadian culture and institutions. The introduction of the automobile to the Mennonite and Doukhobor settlements in the 1920s only reinforced this trend.

The rise of democratic reform in Europe and North America during this period was another significant change which the sectarians could not control. As an increasingly wider proportion of the public was given a voice in political decision-making, governments became less willing and less able to grant special privileges to minority groups. The role of public opinion in revoking the original terms to the Mennonites and Doukhobors has already been discussed. Canada had operated under a parliamentary government since Confederation, yet it should be mentioned further that public participation in Canadian politics continued to grow into the twentieth century. Women's suffrage, for example, was finally granted in 1916. Yet even if the Mennonites and Doukhobors had remained in autocratic Russia, they still would have encountered growing democratic reform. After all, it was St. Petersburg's popular attempts to extend state obligations which caused the Mennonite and Doukhobor emigrants such grievance. Following the emigrations, Russia emerged from the 1905 Revolution with a consultative elected assembly *(Duma)*, and as Jacob Walkin writes, democratic trends continued in the following years:

> The period from 1907 until 1914 was a period of counterrevolution, but it was a period also of the consolidation of the gains made during 1905-6. It would be a grave misreading of the significance of this phase of Russian history to disregard the relative freedom of press and organization then being enjoyed by Russian society.... Inside and outside the zemstvos, relative freedom of press and organization continued to be enjoyed, and there can be no doubt that it was undermining the power of the autocracy and the Czar's own freedom of action in ways he could only partially understand....
>
> With or without a revolution, there can be no question that Russia was following the other major European powers in moving from absolute monarchy to constitutional democracy. The social foundations of autocracy were crumbling, and, with each day, the strains and stresses created by autocratic rule, the resistance it encountered, were becoming greater and greater.[26]

The growth of democracy brought with it the spread of education, for more citizens were becoming involved in national life, and with modernization came the need for advanced educational standards. Modern governments recognized that national growth depended on having a well-educated populace. Education historian Mehdi Nakosteen emphasizes that the Russian Duma paid considerable attention to public education and teacher training after 1905 which produced significant results.[27] The percentage of Russians over ten years of age who were able to read and write increased dramatically from 24% in 1897 to 45% in 1914.[28] In late nineteenth century North America, public education continued to expand across the western and northern regions of the continent at the primary and secondary levels, as did college enrollment.[29] Technical and agricultural colleges grew in number across western United States and Canada in response to technological growth. On the Canadian prairies, provincial School Attendance Acts were passed during the First World War, which made public schooling mandatory. In light of the expansion of public education worldwide, it became increasingly difficult for the orthodox Mennonites to retain their exclusively German, Bible-based schooling, and especially difficult for the Doukhobors to avoid schooling altogether.

Yet another force working against the sectarians was the rise of individual rights and freedoms, as pointed out by William Janzen in his book, *Limits on Liberty*. The sectarian immigrants had lobbied for group liberties which the government quickly realized could potentially restrict the rights and

freedoms of individuals within each sect.[30] The Canadian government was therefore able to intervene in Mennonite and Doukhobor affairs and renege on certain promises in the name of protecting individual sectarians. The Manitoba government, for instance, justified forced national schools on the Mennonites by arguing that each Canadian child was entitled to receive a decent education. Similarly, Ottawa wanted to ensure that each eligible Doukhobor had the legal right to take up a homestead and farm it individually if he wanted to, and therefore insisted that each Doukhobor obtain an individual patent.

Also beyond the sectarians' control were larger historical events, such as the influx of British Protestant settlers from Ontario to Manitoba in the 1870s and 1880s who lobbied for changes to the denominational school system, or the marked increase in immigration to the Canadian West after the Doukhobor immigration under the Sifton plan. World War I was another event which affected the histories of the Mennonites and Doukhobors in Canada. The War mobilized popular opinion against the sectarians and their special privileges because of their pacifist beliefs and conscription exemptions. The Mennonites' German ethnicity continued to rest uneasily with Canadians in the postwar years, as did the Doukhobors' Russian nationality after the rise of the Soviet regime in Russia. It was during the aftermath of the War years that Mennonite children were forced into 'national' public schools, that a ban was placed on further Mennonite and Doukhobor immigration to Canada, and that the Veriginites very nearly had their land confiscated for a second time.

Clearly, the Mennonites and Doukhobor immigrants faced enormous challenges upon attempting to establish themselves in Canada in accordance with their sectarian principles. Subsequent generations of Mennonites and Doukhobors in Canada have admired not only the determination of their immigrant-ancestors, but also their great foresight in founding a home in a free and secure land in which future generations could live and prosper. This thesis, however, has demonstrated that these two emigrations were not particularly well-thought out courses of action, but were fraught with misunderstandings and difficulties, which future generations of Mennonites and Doukhobors also ought not forget. The fact that Mennonites and Doukhobors have since become economically successful and have fit into mainstream Canadian society is a fact

that is currently celebrated by Mennonites, Doukhobors, and the government alike. Yet ironically, had the conservative Russian Mennonite and Doukhobor immigrants seen the increasingly secularized future of their descendants in Canada, it is very unlikely that they would have ever come at all.

ENDNOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 Walter Nugent, Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992),1; Maurice Davie, World Immigration (New York: Macmillan, 1939), 8. See Nugent's discussion of changes to the size, speed, safety, and number of passenger ships during this period, pp.31-36.

2 Ibid., 5, 42-43. Some restrictions on immigration were put in place prior to the First World War. The United States, for instance, required a literacy standard in 1896, and enacted a new Immigration Law in 1903 which imposed a head tax and categories of prohibited immigrants. Sarah Collinson, Europe and International Migration (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1994), 35. Nonetheless, these laws paled in comparison to the U. S. immigration restrictions of the 1920s, which drastically the number of immigrants to North America, especially from Central, Southern, and Eastern Europe. Charles Price, "The Study of Assimilation," in J. A. Jackson, ed., Migration (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 184.

3 Nugent, Crossings, 14,30. There are many studies of world and Trans-Atlantic migrations in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with varying sets of statistics for different time periods. Of these, International Migrations, 2 vols., (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1929 and 1931), edited by Imre Ferenczi and Walter F. Willcox, is the earliest, and perhaps the most authoritative. Maurice Davie's World Immigration includes much information about emigration from the Russian Empire to the U.S. in his survey, but at times blatantly plagiarizes the work of V.V. Obolensky-Ossinsky in the above mentioned volumes. More recently, Dudley Baines, Emigration From Europe 1815-1930 (London: Macmillan, 1991), and Sarah Collinson, Europe and International Migration, have also contributed to the statistical and survey literature.

Nonetheless, all of these works present a similar picture for 1870-1914: growing numbers of Southern and Eastern Europeans and declining numbers of Northern and Western emigrants migrating primarily to the United States, and to a lesser extent to Canada, Argentina, Brazil, and other European states and colonies.

4 On this question of motivation, see Baines, Emigration From Europe, 13-15; Davie, World Immigration, 4-5; Clifford Jansen, "Some Sociological Aspects of Migration," in Jackson, ed., Migration, 63-65.

5 G. Beijer, "Modern Patterns of International Migratory Movements," in Jackson, ed., Migration,14.

6 William J. Bromwell's 1856 statistical compilation of immigration lists the arrrival of only 938 Russian-born passengers between 1819 and 1855, compared to 4,212,624 foreign arrivals in total! History of Immigration to the United States 1819-1855 (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969),16-18. According to the figures of the President of the Central Statistical Board of the USSR, Russia's net emigration between 1871 and 1915 was 4,068,000 people, 2,718,000 of whom settled in the U.S.A. V. V. Obolensky-Ossinsky, "Emigration from and Immigration into Russia," in Walter F. Willcox, ed., International Migrations Volume II: Interpretations, (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1931), 528.

7 From 1891-1910, 71.9% of permanent Russian emigrants settled in the United States, 4% in Canada, 2.8% in Argentina, and 0.9% in Brazil. In other words, approximately 4/5 of Russian emigration was to the Americas, of which 9/10 was to the United States. Obolensky-Ossinsky, in Willcox, ed., International Migrations, 527.

8 Obolensky-Ossinsky, in Willcox, ed., International Migrations., 529-530; Davie, World Immigration, 135.

9 Norman Stone and Michael Glenny, The Other Russia: The Experience of Exile (London: Faber and Faber, 1990), xvi.

10 Arthur Ruhl, quoted in Davie, World Immigration, 136.

11 Obolensky-Ossinsky, in Willcox, ed., International Migrations, 530-531; Davie, World Immigration 165-166.

12 Obolensky-Ossinsky, in Willcox, ed., International Migrations, 521.

13 S. M. Dubnow, in *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland* (1918), stresses that the Imperial Government looked favourably on a plan by Interior Minister Nicholas Ignatiev in 1882 to promote Jewish emigration. I. Michael Aronson, however, argues that Russian officials preferred to assimilate the Jews, since they played too valuable a role in Russian industry. See his article, "The Attitudes of Russian Officials in the 1880's Toward Jewish Assimilation and Emigration", Slavic Review 34 (March 1975), 1, 1-18.

14 Obolensky-Ossinsky, in Willcox, ed., International Migrations, 521. The acceptance of emigration agencies, however, was owing to a favourable "interpretation" of the law, instead of new legislation.

15 Stone and Glenny, The Other Russia, xvi.

16 Collinson, Europe and International Migration, 31.

17 "Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV, The Contributions of the Other Ethnic Groups," (1970) reproduced in Howard Palmer, ed., Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism, (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1975), 5.

18 Nugent, Crossings, 145.

19 "Report of Royal Commission" in Palmer, ed., Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism, 7.

20 For a yearly breakdown of immigrant numbers, see Chapter Two, page 119.

21 For a more detailed list of estimates, see Chapter Three, endnote 165.

22 Religiously-based emigrations from Russia, however, were more common than from other countries. It has been claimed that minor religious sects formed a great portion, if not a majority of Russian emigration prior to 1905. See Obolensky-Ossinsky, in Willcox, ed., International Migrations, 547; Davie, World Immigration, 136.

23 For example, see Nugent, Crossings, 34,91; Obolensky-Ossinsky, in Willcox, ed., International Migrations, 521.

24 On common religious origins, see Chapter One, endnote 41.

25 On Mennonite suspiciousness of Doukhobors see Chapter One, pages 33-34.

26 John P. Stoochnoff's Toil and Peaceful Life: Doukhobors As They Are (Vancouver: Liberty Press, 1971), for instance, was directly written in response to the recent adverse publicity the Doukhobors had received. Examples of works written in support of particular sectarian factions include Gerhard Wiebe, Causes and History of the Emigration of the Mennonites from Russia to America (Winnipeg: Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, 1981) which gives the Bergthal Mennonite perspective; Delbert F. Plett, ed., Pioneers and Pilgrims: The Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde in Manitoba, Nebraska and Kansas, 1874 to 1882 (Steinbach MB: D.F.P. Publications, 1990), written in defense of the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites; and Peter M. Friesen, The Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia (1789-1910) (Fresno CA: Board of Christian Literature, 1980), who strongly defends the actions of the Mennonite Brethren faction.

27 Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia, xxxi.

28 David G. Rempel, "The Mennonite Colonies in New Russia: A Study of their Settlement and Economic Development from 1789 to 1914," (Ph. D.

diss., Stanford University, 1933); "The Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia: A Sketch of its Founding and Endurance, 1789-1919," reprinted from Mennonite Quarterly Review 47, no. 4 (October 1973) and vol. 48, no. 1 (January 1974).

29 Frank H. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974); Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival, (Toronto: Macmillan, 1982); Adolf Ens, Subjects or Citizens?: The Mennonite Experience in Canada 1870-1925, (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1994).

30 Koozma J. Tarasoff, A Pictorial History of the Doukhobors, (Saskatoon: Modern Press, 1969); Plakun Trava: The Doukhobors, (Grand Forks BC: Mir Publication Society, 1982).

31 JamesUrry, None But Saints: The Transformation of Mennonite Life in Russia 1789-1889, (Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1989); Emerick K. Francis, In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites In Manitoba, (Altona MB: D. W. Friesen & Sons), 1955; C. HenrySmith, The Coming of the Russian Mennonites, (Berne, IN: Mennonite Book Concern, 1927).

32 George Woodcock, and Ivan Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968); Aylmer Maude, A Peculiar People: The Doukhobors, (New York: AMS Press, 1970) [Orig. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1904].

33 Carl J.Tracie, "Toil and Peaceful Life": Doukhobor Village Settlement in Saskatchewan 1899-1918 (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1996). 'Toil and Peaceful Life' is a well-known Doukhobor motto which has been used in several titles for books and articles on the Doukhobors.

34 Carl A. Dawson, Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, vol. 7, Canadian Frontiers of Settlement Series, Eds., W. A. Mackintosh and W. L. G. Joerg, (Toronto: Macmillan, 1936).

35 Carl J. Tracie, "Ethnicity and the Prairie Environment: Patterns of Old Colony Mennonite and Doukhbor Setllement," In Richard Allen, ed. Man and Nature on the Praries, (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1976), 46-65.

36 Richard J. Friesen, "Saskatchewan Mennonite Settlements: The Modification of an Old World Settlement Pattern," Canadian Ethnic Studies 9, no. 2 (1977), 72-89; Donald T. Gale and Paul M. Koroscil, "Doukhobor Settlements: Experiments in Idealism," Canadian Ethnic Studies 9, no. 2 (1977), 53-71.

37 William Janzen, Limits on Liberty: The Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite, and Doukhobor Communities in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

38 The issue of pacifism and military service is still cited as the primary motive behind the Mennonite and Doukhobor emigrations. Walter Nugent, in his 1992 book on migrations, summarizes the Mennonite migration from Russia to North America in the following way:

"In 1874 the czar's war minister Dmitri Miliutin revoked the draft exemption.... Almost simultaneously,...an agent of the Atchison aTopeka and Santa Fe Railroad , arrived among [the Mennonites] and persuaded them to buy much of the railroad's grant lands in Kansas. The Mennonite...Germans emigrated en masse. They were a rare case of emigrants who left for essentially religious reasons." Crossings, 91.

A recent article in the *Globe & Mail* explains the reasons behind the Doukhobor emigration:

"The Doukhobor migration to Canada was inspired by events in 1895, when several communities in the Transcaucsus bruned stacks of guns to demonstrate teheripacifist beliegs. The authoirities took it as an act of defiance and unleashed the zealous brutality of the Cossacks, who destroyed Doukhobor homes, beat the men and raped the women....By December, 1898, the first group had set sail from the Black Sea en route to Saskatchewan." (March 9,1998), A2.

CHAPTER ONE

1 Leo Tolstoy, "Conclusion" to Vladimir Chertkov, ed. Christian Martyrdom in Russia (London: Brotherhood Publishing Co., 1897), 97.

2 The *mir* was a peasant village commune which had become popular across the Russian countryside by the mid-nineteenth century. Central to its functioning was the periodic redistribution of land among villagers, and the sharing of common resources, such as pastures, streams, and woodlands.

3 Frank H. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974), 28.

4 Written by the Dutchman T. J. van Braught, published in 1661. It records the executions of some 1,500 Anabaptists who refused to renounce their beliefs. Ibid., 35.

5 The Dutch Mennonites were valuable to these landowners for their abilities at turning low-lying swamps into suitable farmland through the contruction of dikes and canals. C. Henry Smith, The Coming of the Russian Mennonites (Berne, Indiana: Mennonite Book Concern, 1927), 11.

6 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 36. This dialect was pronounced by Mennonites as *'plaut-dietsch'*.

7 Smith, Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 13-16.

8 See David G. Rempel, : A Sketch of its Founding and Endurance, 1789-1919," reprinted from The Mennonite Quarterly Review v. 47, no. 4 (October 1973); vol. 48, no. 1 (January 1974), 3-4, on the adoption of low-German as the everyday language of the Mennonites. High German was also used as an official language in church services and writings, and both German forms would continue to serve their respective functions in Russia.

9 See Lawrence Klippenstein, "The Mennonite Migration to Russia, 1786-1806," in Mennonites in Russia: Essays in Honour of Gerhard Lohrenz, ed. John Friesen (Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1989), 14-15, on restrictions facing the Mennonites in the Vistula Delta.

10 P. Albert Koop, "Some Economic Aspects of Mennonite Migration: With Special Emphasis on the 1870s Migration from Russia to North America," The Mennonite Quarterly Review, v. 55, no. 2 (April 1981), 147.

11 Smith, Coming of the Russian Mennonites,16. Smith, writing in 1927, notes that 5,000 thalers was worth approximately $3500 - a substantial annual sum.

12 Rempel, "Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia," 9.

13 Ibid., 13. One hundred and four villages were erected by 1767. These Germans, as well as others who eventually joined them, became known as the Volga Deutsch.

14 James Urry, None But Saints: The Transformation of Mennonite Life in Russia, 1789-1889 (Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1989), 51.

15 Rempel, "Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia,"15.

16 The most significant difference was a reduction in the duration of the tax exemption. It should also be noted that Catherine's Manifesto and Potemkin's program were initially aimed at settling the northern Caucasus. Ibid., 18.

17 Ibid., 16-17. There was also an attempt to settle 6,000 French emigres along the Sea of Azov.

18 Bartsch and Hoeppner had already met Catherine in summer of 1787, during her tour of New Russia. She invited them to join her entourage on their journey to the Crimea and they reluctantly accepted. In St. Petersburg, however, they were unable to meet the Empress.

19 It was forbidden, however, for the Mennonites to proselytize among the Russian Orthodox. See Rempel, "Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia," 24-28; Klippenstein, "Mennonite Migration to Russia," 19-20, for a summary and evaluation of the Potemkin-Hoeppner-Bartsch agreement.

20 One *desiatina* = 2.7 acres; thus 65 *desiatin* would be approximately 175 acres.

21 Klippenstein, "Mennonite Migration to Russia," 19.

22 Rempel, "Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia," 28.

23 Klippenstein, "Mennonite Migration to Russia," 23-24.

24 The island of Khortitsa lay across the river from the modern-day town of Zaporozh'ye, in the *guberniia* of Ekaterinoslav.

25 "Estimates range between 1,030 to 1,073." Rempel, "Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia," 35. Most Mennonites spelled this colony 'Chortitza'

and therefore this spelling will be used to denote this Mennonite colony in Russia. Later, in Canada, the term 'Chortitza Mennonites' came to denote a particular Mennonite religious congregation.

26 Klippenstein, "Mennonite Migration to Russia," 29-30.

27 Ibid., 34.

28 Rempel, "Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia," 57.

29 Ibid.

30 Bartsch and Hoeppner had met Paul in St. Petersburg in 1787, and presented him and his wife with a copy of the Mennonite Confession of Faith.

31 Urry, None But Saints, 71.

32 Ibid.

33 Rempel, "Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia," 56.

34 Ibid., 4. Rempel notes that much to the chagrin and annoyance of Russian officials, this language policy persisted into the late 1860s.

35 Mennonite reluctance to adopt the Russian language persisted throughout the nineteenth century. The 1879 census revealed that less than 1% of all Mennonites in the colonies spoke primarily in Russian. Frank H. Epp, Mennonite Exodus (Altona: D.W. Friesen & Sons, 1962), 25.

36 James Urry, "The Russian State, the Mennonite World and the Migration from Russia to North America in the 1870s," Mennonite Life, v. 46, no.1 (March 1991), 14.

37 Mennonites would most regularly refer to the Privilegium on matters concerning these two issues. See Urry, None But Saints, 129, 133. Actually, the Privilegium was only made legal under Nicholas I, who codified all of Russia's Imperial decrees in the 1830s. Urry, "The Russian State," 12. Urry reproduces the Privilegium in None But Saints, 282-284.

38 Urry, None But Saints, 284.

39 Koozma J. Tarasoff, A Pictorial History of the Doukhobors (Saskatoon: Modern Press, 1969), 13.

40 Stepniak [S.M. Kravchinskii], The Russian Peasantry: Their Agrarian Condition, Social Life and Religion (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1905), 513.

41 Many even claim that the Doukhobors originated from the Quakers or the Anabaptists. Ivan Avakumovic, "Dukhobory," in The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History, ed. Joseph L. Wieczynski (Gulf Breeze FL: Academic International Press, 1979), v. 10, 30. Such was the opinion of Gabriel, Metropolitan of Novgorod and St. Petersburg in a 1792 letter to the Governor-General of Kharkov, reproduced in Robert Pinkerton, Russia: Miscellaneous Observations on the Past and Present State of That Country and Its Inhabitants Compiled from Notes Made on the Spot (London: Hatchard & Son, 1833), 174-175.

42 The Paulicians of the seventh to eleventh centuries criticized the authority of the Church hierarchy, rejecting Bishops, Priests, Deacons, etc. The Bogomils originated in the Balkans in the twelfth century, but were influential in Russia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while the Judaizers were prominent in central Russia in the late fifteenth century. The Judaizers refused to accept the teachings of the Trinity or the use of icons. The best known Flagellant groups were the Khlysty and the Skoptsy. Aylmer Maude, A Peculiar People: The Doukhobors (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 7-8; George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, The Doukhobors (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968), 25-26; Frederick S. Starr, "Introduction" to Baron von Haxthausen, Studies on the Interior of Russia (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), 151n.

43 The similarities in this paragraph are based on Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 26-27; Maude, A Peculiar People, 99-100. Danilo is even celebrated in an old Doukhobor hymn: 'In his youth he walked much'.

44 Donald T. Gale and Paul M. Korscil describe the "core" of Doukhobor beliefs in four statements: "simplicity of life through rejecting externalities; salvation is the practice of faith; the guidance of the 'inner spirit'; the equality of life", in "Doukhobor Settlements: Experiments in Idealism," Canadian Ethnic Studies, v. 9 (1977) no. 2, 55.

45 Tarasoff, Pictorial History of the Doukhobors, 17. Compare Haxthausen's descriptions of the simplicity of both Mennonite and Doukhobor services, 159, 164.

46 A similar argument is presented by Vladimir Chertkov in Christian Martyrdom in Russia, 4.

47 Gabriel, Metropolitan of Novgorod and St. Petersburg feared an epidemic of Doukhoborism among the Russian peasantry for precisely this reason, and because he considered the Spirit-Wrestlers to be zealous proselytizers.

48 Koozma J. Tarasoff, Plakun Trava: The Doukhobors (Grand Forks BC: Mir Publication Society, 1982), 2.

49 Maude, A Peculiar People, 8, 52.

50 Woodcock and Avakumovic claim that this officer surfaced in 1717 or 1718, The Doukhobors, 24; Tarasoff lists the date as 1730 in Plakun Trava, 2. While questioning members of the Doukhobors in the 1750's, the Imperial Police were told that a wandering foreigner had taught their creed to them. Thus, there has been much speculation that the officer was a Prussian or a Quaker. Stepniak, The Russian Peasantry,507; Haxthausen, Studies on the Interior of Russia, 152. But it is more likely that the officer was a recently converted Russian pacifist, who wandered south to the land of dissidents after his expulsion from the army. Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 24.

51 Stepniak, The Russian Peasantry, 506.

52 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 27. Kolesnikov felt that because external rituals and ceremonies had no value, there was no harm (nor good) in attending Orthodox services, an act which would satisfy the authorities. Gale and Koroscil, "Doukhobor Settlements," 55

53 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 30; Stepniak, The Russian Peasantry, 516.

54 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 29. The hymn is entitled "What Manner of Person Art Thou?"

55 The first official government investigation into the Doukhobor sect had taken place in 1779.

56 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 32.

57 Quoted in Stepniak, The Russian Peasantry, 520-521.

58 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 28.

59 Ibid., 33.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid., 33, 36.

62 Rempel, "Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia," 51-52.

63 See Alexander's letter to Contenius about this in Rempel, "Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia," 47-48. Bishop Warkentin was given a gold medal in 1804 for his efforts to bring Prussian Mennonites to Molotschna.

64 Ethel Dunn, "Canadian and Soviet Dukhobors: An Examination of the Mechanisms of Culture Change," Canadian Slavic Studies, v. 4 (1970), no. 2, 303. Dunn notes that over the next twenty years the Doukhobors were not forced to pay more than five rubles each.

65 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 37-38.

66 Maude, A Peculiar People, 127; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 38.

67 Susan Wiley Hardwick, Russian Refuge: Religion, Migration, and Settlement on the North American Pacific Rim (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 26.

68 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 39-40.

69 Ibid, 38-39; Maude, A Peculiar People,127. There is some information on the Doukhobor communities of far eastern Siberia near the Manchurian border. They continued to be persecuted for converting Russian exiles, but maintained their faith throughout the nineteenth century. Kropotkin visited these communities in 1868. James Mavor, "Introduction" to Christian Martyrdom in Russia: An Account of the Members of the Universal Brotherhood or Doukhobortsi now migrating from the Caucasus to Canada (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1899), 3. See Stepniak on Doukhobor miners in Siberia in the 1830s, 523.

70 Maude, A Peculiar People,132.

71 Pinkerton, Russia, 166.

72 Tarasoff, Pictorial History, 23. Pobirokhin might be responsible for the Doukhobors' antipathy for the written word, by stressing the use of oral tradition, stating: "Write it in your hearts, and make it known by word of mouth." Peter P. Legebokoff, "Introduction" to "Toil and Peaceful Life: Portraits of the Doukhobors," Marjorie Malloff and Peter Ogloff eds., Sound Heritage, v.6 (1977) no. 4, 13.

73 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 43.

74 Maude, A Peculiar People,133; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 45.

75 Maude, A Peculiar People, 133; Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 7.

76 Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 7; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 44. Ethel Dunn is wary of attributing too many aspects of Doukhobor self-government to the Mennonites, because it is "too easy a capitulation to Slavophile chauvinism to say that the sectarians borrowed their sociopolitical structure from foreigners". Ethel Dunn, "American Molokans and Canadian Doukhobors: Economic Position and Ethnic Identity," in Ethnicity in the Americas, ed. Frances Henry (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1976), 100n. This thesis is perhaps more worried about Mennonite chauvinism; while the Mennonites may have introduced some of their social and agricultural practices to the Doukhobors, there is little evidence to suggest that they had a great influence over how Milky Waters was run.

77 Urry, None But Saints, 61-62.

78 Tarasoff, Pictorial History, 39.

79 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 44.

80 Chertkov, Christian Martyrdom (1897), 23.

81 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 44.

82 Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 8.

83 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 51.

84 Tarasoff, Pictorial History, 21.

85 Maude, A Peculiar People, 133; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 41. Both of these sources also note that the Doukhobors also borrowed Mennonite styles of dress. Architecturally, it was the Mennonite design of their wooden homes which Woodcock refers to. Yet the Doukhobors also structured their villages in a similar manner as the Mennonite *Strassendoerfer*, with two rows of houses built along a wide central road.

86 Cleanliness is listed by Chertkov as one of eighteen articles of Doukhobor teachings. The Doukhobors believed that "for a Christian it is proper to keep a neat home". Chertkov, Christian Martyrdom, (1897), 32.

87 Pinkerton, Russia, 168.

88 Stepniak, The Russian Peasantry, 526; Maude, A Peculiar People,119. It is assumed that religious differences played a key role in the animosity between the two groups.

89 Pinkerton, Russia, 168.

90 Ibid, 168-169; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 56. According to Pinkerton, the Mennonites' suspicion of incest among the Doukhobors stemmed from the Doukhobors' practice of addressing fellow sectarians as "my sister," "our child," etc.

91 Pinkerton, Russia, 169.

92 See Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 49-51, on Langeron's protests and appeals.

93 Maude, A Peculiar People, 134.

94 See Maude, A Peculiar People, 137-138; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 52, on the mysterious circumstances surrounding Kapoustin's disappearance.

95 Haxthausen, Studies on the Interior of Russia,167.

96 Urry, None But Saints, 39.

97 See Haxthausen's description of a typical Russian Mennonite worship service, Studies on the Interior of Russia,164.

98 Urry, None But Saints, 39.

99 As Urry notes, the Mennonite oral tradition is reflected by their free use of *Plattdietsch*, a language which is rarely written down, yet is filled with popular nuances discernable to only the native speaker. Ibid., 154.

100 Smith notes how Mennonite schoolchildren were given the rod, or else forced to kneel on peas as a form of punishment, Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 39. Even the 'enlightened' Tobias Voth, who was considered to be a soft-hearted, educator, believed that insolent children "need to receive corporal punishment, according to the teaching of the Holy Scripture where we read, 'Bow down his neck, while he is still young; beat him soundly, while he is still a child, or he may grow up stubborn and disobey you.' Sirach 30:12." Peter M. Friesen, The Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia (1789-1910) (Fresno, CA: Board of Christian Literature, 1980), 696.

101 Haxthausen, Studies on the Interior of Russia,160.

102 D. Mackenzie Wallace, Russia, vol. II (London: Cassell Petter & Galpin, 1877), 106.

103 Rempel, "Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia," 37.

104 Reiswitz and Wadzeck, cited in Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia, 75.

105 Emerick K. Francis, "Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia, 1789-1914: A Sociological Interpretation," Mennonite Quarterly Review, v.25 (1951), 173ff.; Urry, None But Saints, 24; Rempel, "Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia," 55; Smith, Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 43.

106 See Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 53, on the four decrees passed between 1820 and 1824. The 1820 decree, however, exempted the Doukhobors from taking the oath, and according to Orest Novitsky, "was Imperially confirmed for ever." Maude, A Peculiar People,18-19.

107 Nicholas also resented the Doukhobors refusal to acknowledge the authority of earthly governments. Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 54.

108 Ibid.

109 Kapoustin had purposely let his son be brought up as an illegitimate child under the name of his in-laws, in order that he might not be automatically conscripted for being the son of an officer. Ibid., 33-34.

110 Ibid, 52-53; Maude, A Peculiar People,145-146.

111 Baron von Haxthausen, The Russian Empire: Its People, Institutions, and Resources, Vol. I (New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), 293. The French translation lists the number of murdered at 400. Maude, 146; Woodcock and Avakumovic, 57.

112 Maude, A Peculiar People, 146n; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 57.

113 Ibid. Maude quotes Novitsky who lists 21 bodies, while Woodcock and Avakumovic claim that 22 were recovered.

114 Simma Holt, Terror in the Name of God: The Story of the Sons of Freedom Doukhobors (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), 13.

115 The Doukhobor pilgrimage of 1902 is perhaps the best example of this tendency. (See Chapter Four).

116 Haxthausen, for instance, claims that the Doukhobors had religious reasons for murdering all weak or deformed babies. See Haxthausen, The Russian Empire, 298n. According to Maude, even Prince Dmitrii Khilkov, a longtime friend of the Doukhobors, told a sensational tale which most likely originated as a joke, whereby an Orthodox priest was buried alive when

servicing a Doukhobor funeral because a decree had been issued that Doukhobors were "not to be buried without a priest." Maude, A Peculiar People, 64.

117 Excerpts from this proclamation are quoted in Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 58-59; Maude, A Peculiar People,147.

118 Dunn, "Canadian and Soviet Dukhobors," 302n.

119 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 60. This purpose had already been mentioned by Nicholas' advisors in 1826 when enacting measures against Cossacks who converted to Doukhobors. See Chertkov (1897), 5.

120 Maude, A Peculiar People,149.

121 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 61. Haxthausen surmised that these families converted to Orthodoxy only in name, and continued their Doukhobor practices in private. Haxthausen, The Russian Empire, 297.

122 This according to Soviet historian N. M. Nikolskii, mentioned in Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 61.

123 Ilarion's other son, Vasilii, was a transvestite and was deemed unfit to be the next leader. Ibid, 63; Dunn, "American Molokans," 101.

124 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 64.

125 Gale and Koroscil, "Doukhobor Settlements," 58.

126 Two points made by Tarasoff illustrate the growing prosperity of the Doukhobors. Firstly, the village of Troitskoe in the Wet Mountains came to set aside 1,100 acres of hay fields and 2,300 animals as communal property. Secondly, the Orphan's Home later began to bank some of its capital in Tiflis as its treasury mounted to one half million rubles. Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 12.

127 Ibid.; Woodcock and Avakumovic,The Doukhobors, 64. Among these prominent families were the Podovinikovs, Vereschagins, Kotelnikovs, Kolesnikovs, Verigins, and Gubanovs.

128 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 64.

129 Ibid., 72; Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 14.

130 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 68.

131 Ibid.; Tarasoff includes a picture of Lukeria Kalmykova's five bodyguards, fully armed with daggers, swords, and pistols. Plakun Trava, 18.

132 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 67-68; Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 12.

133 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 66, 73; Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 12.

134 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 74-75.

135 Ibid., 75; J. F. C. Wright, Slava Bohu: The Story of the Dukhobors (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1940), 36.

136 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 75.

137 Kapoustin was Verigin's great grandfather. Ibid., 77.

138 Because Lukeria forced the handsome Peter Verigin to end his recent marriage in order to spend most of his days alone with her in the Orphan's Home, it was widely rumoured that the two were lovers. Others believed that Peter was actually Lukeria's son, which accounted for their special relationship. To further complicate matters, Peter's birth mother, Anastasia Verigina, claimed that he was the son of Lukeria's former husband, the late Peter Kalmykov. These rumours did not seem to discredit Verigin, but on the contrary, strenghthened his claims to be the next Living Christ. For more on the relationship between Lukeria and Peter, see Maude, A Peculiar People, 152-153; Holt, Terror in the Name of God, 15-16; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 77-78.

139 Lukeria did not publicly name her successor. The Large Party maintained that Lukeria did indeed choose Peter in private on her deathbed. Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 79. Another account claims that Lukeria died from a fit of rage after discovering that Peter had resumed relations with his former wife while on a trip to Tiflis. See Maude, A Peculiar People, 153-154.

140 Woodcock and Avakumovic describe the reasons for Peter's support in a similar way. See The Doukhobors, 78-80.

141 Maude, A Peculiar People, 155.

142 Ibid., 155-156; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 81-82.

143 According to Maude, this was the first time in fifty years that the Doukhobors had taken one another to court and thus reflected the Doukhobors' loss of their principles (24-25). Yet Woodcock and Avakumovic note that only a

few years before this case, Peter's former wife had gone to court with Lukeria over the pressured divorce. The Doukhobors, 77.

144 The Orphan's Home continued to served the same functions as it had before, but only for the benefit of the Small Party. Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 84.

145 Rempel, "Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia," 62; Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 166.

146 Among those who commissioned Cornies for these posts were Governor-General of New Russia, Count M. S. Vorontsov, and the head of the Guardian Committee, Samuel Contenius. Most assignments dealt with sheep raising. See Urry, None But Saints, 111.

147 The Chortitza colony would benefit from their Union which imitated Cornies', but their achievements would never reach the same heights as Molotschna's under Cornies' close guidance.

148 For a detailed discussion of agricultural improvements under the Union, see David G. Rempel, "The Mennonite Colonies in New Russia: A Study of their Settlement and Economic Development from 1789 to 1914," (Ph. D. diss. Stanford University, 1933),157-158,164-166; Urry, None But Saints, 112-117. Haxthausen also includes his own statistical information on the impressive agricultural achievements of the Mennonites, Studies on the Interior of Russia, 170-172.

149 Haxthausen, Studies on the Interior of Russia, 165-66.

150 Ibid., 173.

151 Urry, None But Saints, 119.

152 Ibid., 120. Actually, a Hutterite colony was placed under Cornies' care and Mennonite managers were appointed to assist Jewish agricultural colonies in their work.

153 Ibid.

154 Rempel, "Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia," 62.

155 Urry, None But Saints, 125-126.

156 Ibid, 126.

157 Ibid.

158 Ibid., 162.

159 Ibid, 161-162; Rempel, "The Mennonite Colonies in New Russia," 301-302; Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia, 796.

160 Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia, 796-797.

161 Urry, None But Saints, 127-129. This was a blatant violation of the Mennonite Privilegium which promised the Mennonites local autonomy and freedom of religion.

162 Ibid, 127.

163 Heinrich Balzer, "Faith and reason: the principles of Mennonitism reconsidered, in a treatise of 1833," ed. Robert Friedmann, Mennonite Quarterly Review, v.22 (1948), 90.

164 Ibid., 91.

165 See the testimony of Crimean war veteran P. Alabin regarding the services provided by the Mennonites during the war in Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia, 576-578. In the spring of 1854 the Mennonites raised more than 12,000 silver rubles in support of the Russian war effort, but it is unclear whether this was given voluntarily or on request. James Urry and Lawrence Klippenstein, "Mennonites and the Crimean War, 1854-1856" Journal of Mennonite Studies v.7 (1989), 12.

166 The Mennonites have a document issued by consent of Nicholas I which praises Mennonite activities during the war. Alexander II gave out six gold watches to individuals who were especially brave during their transport mission. Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia, 579-580.

167 James Urry, "The Closed and the Open: Social and Religious Change Amongst the Mennonites in Russia (1789-1889)" (Oxford: Ph. D. Thesis, 1978) Vol. II, 422.

168 Quoted in Urry, "The Closed and the Open," 422-423.

169 Urry, "The Closed and the Open," 426.

170 Urry and Klippenstein, "Mennonites and the Crimean War," 25.

171 This was to ensure that the colonies remained homogenous. Rempel, "Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia," 51.

172 See Rempel on the land reservation requirements, "Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia," 52.

173 Urry, None But Saints, 201.

174 Ibid., 198. For example, in the 1860s, 3,000 *desiatini* of reserve land was rented to a cloth factory owner named Klassen. According to Urry, "the area he leased for just a few kopecks was sublet by him for 2 to 3 rubles a *desiatina*...".

175 Ibid, 199. In the 1860s, many ministers also resented the rise of a new branch of Mennonite religion which was initially most popular among the landless. Rempel, 71-72. Friesen documents the rise of the Mennonite Brethren in Mennonite Brotherhood, 201-572.

176 Urry, None But Saints, 198.

177 Ibid., 151.

178 William Schroeder, The Bergthal Colony (Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1986), 59. Haxthausen records that in addition to government land grants, the Mennonites purchased a total of 48,446 desiatini from the Doukhobors, Molokans, Tartars, and the German colonies. It is not known what percentage of these lands were purchased by the landless. Haxthausen, Studies, 168-169.

179 Schroeder, The Bergthal Colony, 59; Rempel, "Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia," 70. Rempel claims that nearly two-thirds of the population in some districts were landless in "The Mennonite Colonies in New Russia," 184.

180 Urry, None But Saints, 200.

181 Rempel, "Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia," 72.

182 See Rempel's summary of this agreement in "Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia," 72-73.

CHAPTER TWO

1 Prince Peter Kropotkin, "Some of the Resources of Canada." The Nineteenth Century 43, no. 253 (March 1898), 514.

2 As quoted in "The Mennonites," The Manitoban (Winnipeg), August 15, 1874, 2. The same quotation appeared in the Manitoba Free Press on August 6, 1874.

3 Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM): Valentine Winkler Papers, MG 14/B 45/1742. Also reproduced in Ernst Correll, ed., "Sources on the Mennonite Immigration from Russia in the 1870's," The Mennonite Quarterly Review, v. 24, no. 4 (October 1950), 334.

4 See Chapter One, pages 22-23.

5 James Urry, None But Saints: The Transformation of Mennonite Life in Russia 1789-1889 (Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1989), 215. The Mennonites of New Russia were accompanied by Mennonites from Russian Volhynia, West Prussia, and by Hutterites from New Russia. Estimates of the entire emigration range from 15,000 to 18,000.

6 James Urry, "The Russian State, the Mennonite World and the Migration from Russia to North America in the 1870s," Mennonite Life v. 46, no. 1 (March 1991), 14.

7 Frank H. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974), 200. Epp's figures include the Hutterites and the Volhynian and Prussian Mennonites. See endnote 5.

8 Richard Pipes describes the Great Reforms as "the most ambitious effort undertaken in the history of Russia to bring society into active participation in national life short of allowing it to share in the political process." Richard Pipes, Russia Under the Old Regime (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974), 269.

9 Ernst Correll, ed., "Mennonite Immigration Into Manitoba: Sources and Documents, 1872, 1873," The Mennonite Quarterly Review, v. 2, no. 3 (July 1937), 219.

10 Ibid.

11 C. Henry Smith, The Coming of the Russian Mennonites (Berne, Indiana: Mennonite Book Concern, 1927), 43-44.

12 James Urry, "The Closed and the Open: Social and Religious Change Amongst the Mennonites in Russia (1789-1889)," (Ph. D. diss. Oxford

University, 1978), 651-653. Already in 1866, the Mennonites had been told by the Guardian's Committee to incorporate more Russian language teaching into their curriculum.

13 Gerhard Wiebe, Causes and History of the Emigration of the Mennonites from Russia to America (Winnipeg: Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, 1981), 21-22.

14 Urry, None But Saints, 209-210.

15 Urry, "The Russian State," 14.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid., 14-15.

18 Georg Leibbrandt, "The Emigration of the German Mennonites from Russia to the United States and Canada in 1873-1880," The Mennonite Quarterly Review, v. 7, no. 1 (January 1933), 23-24. Leibbrandt refers to a *Russki Mir* article of March 24, 1872.

19 Gustav E. Reimer and G. R. Gaeddert, Exiled by the Czar: Cornelius Jansen and the Great Mennonite Migration, 1874 (Newton KS: Mennonite Publication Office, 1956), 56. From a *Russkii Mir* article of March 4, 1872.

20 Leibbrandt, "The Emigration," 26.

21 Harry Loewen, "A House Divided: Russian Mennonite Nonresistance and Emigration in the 1870s," in Mennonites in Russia 1788-1988: Essays in Honour of Gerhard Lorenz, John Friesen, ed. (Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1989), 128.

22 Ibid., 127, 131.

23 Urry, None But Saints, 147. See Kiselev's letter thanking the Molotschna Mennonites for their generous offer of horses in Peter M. Friesen, The Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia (1789-1910) (Fresno CA: Board of Christian Literature, 1980), 200.

24 Loewen,"House Divided," 130.

25 Ibid., 129.

26 According to Jacob Sudermann, Kotzebue (Governor-General of New Russia, 1862-1874) had written a letter to Friesen regarding the military question. Jacob Sudermann, "The Origin of Mennonite State Service in Russia, 1870-1880," The Mennonite Quarterly Review, v. 17, no. 1 (January 1943), 24.

Reimer and Gaeddert, on the other hand, claim that Friesen had been in conversation with the Governor-General. They note that many Mennonites were unwilling to believe Friesen, since they felt he might be attempting to "show off against his former coreligionists." Exiled by the Czar, 44.

27 Sudermann, "Origin of State Service," 26. Friesen claims that the Chortitza delegates arrived in St. Petersburg on February 16, and found the Molotschna delegates already there. Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood, 586. Sudermann, however, claims that the Molotschna delegates entered the city on February 20, with the Chortitza group arriving on the 25th. "Origins of State Service," 26, 28.

28 James Urry, "The Closed and the Open," 660-661.

29 Ibid.; Sudermann, "Origins of State Service," 28.

30 Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood, 587.

31 Sudermann, "Origins of State Service," 30. The two men were Franz Isaac and Heinrich Epp.

32 Ibid.

33 Different sources refer to different delegations, sometimes with conflicting dates. Therefore it is difficult to determine the exact number of delegations. Jacob Sudermann's article on the origins of Mennonite state service in Russia appears to be the most accurate account, and mentions 6 separate missions to see the Tsar and his officials. Reimer and Gaeddert, also record a good many of these trips, but inevitably succumb to the general statement, "Delegation after delegation desperately tried to see the Tsar." Exiled by the Czar, 63.

34 On this occasion, however, the Mennonites were joined by representatives from the Hutterites and Volhynian Brethren from Polish Russia who objected to the military bill on similar grounds. Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood, 588.

35 Ibid., 589.

36 See Wiebe's account of the mission to Yalta, in Causes and History, 26-29.

37 See Hans' 1873 letter to the Mennonites in Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood, 602.

38 Ibid., 1025n.

39 Ibid.

40 Wiebe reproduces the statement in Causes and History: "We are grateful for all the bounteous benefactions which we enjoy in the Russian Empire, and hope to be able to continue to live under the sceptre of His Majesty in peace and contentment; but we beg His Majesty to shield us as much as possible from military service, according to our conscience, that is, that we will not need to take the sword. And so we depend upon His Majesty's mercy and care, and are confident in our most gracious Czar and Father of our nation, that he will take his distressed children under his protection, and do everything possible for us" (30).

41 Ibid., 31.

42 Ibid., 32.

43 Ibid., 38.

44 Loewen writes that these records were shown to the Mennonite delegations. "House Divided," 129.

45 Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood, 1025-1026n. The sixth chapter of the first book of Corinthians refers to the ungodliness of making civil lawsuits among fellow believers in Christ.

46 The Quakers found that the Mennonites' simplicity resembled their own. Baptism and communion practices were among the issues compared. See the Quakers' report of September, 1867, in Reimer and Gaeddert, Exiled by the Czar, 34-35.

47 Mennonites first emigrated to North America in the seventeeth century along with early Dutch traders and established permanent settlements in the tolerant Quaker state of Pennsylvania. In the early eighteenth century they were joined by thousands of Swiss Anabaptists who adopted the 'Pennsylvania Dutch' culture. See Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 42-43 for more information.

48 Reimer and Gaeddert, Exiled by the Czar, 41.

49 Sudermann, "Origins of State Service," 25.

50 Smith, Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 48.

51 Ibid.

52 Exiled by the Czar, 66-68.

53 Gerhard Wiebe refers to the effect of Jansen's pamphlets in Causes and History: "...when we took one home and handed it around to read, in one or two weeks there was a sizable group which wanted to emigrate. Soon some drove to Berdiansk and soon it could be sensed everywhere." (25).

54 Correll, ed., "Sources," 337. Timothy Smith reports this in a despatch to the U.S. Department of State dated July 22, 1871. This document reports that Jansen estimated the number of Russian Mennonite souls to be 150,000, which is roughly three times the number of historians' estimates.

55 Ibid., 338-340.

56 Ibid., 341.

57 Ibid., 340.

58 Ibid.

59 The three young Russian Mennonites (Peter Dyck, Bernhard Warkentin, and Philip Wiebe) were accompanied by an older Prussian Mennonite, Jacob Boehr. Smith, Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 50.

60 See Bernhard Warkentin's letter of January 8, 1873 to David Goerz, in Cornelius Krahn, ed., "Some Letters of Bernhard Warkentin Pertaining to the Migration of 1873-1875," The Mennonite Quarterly Review, v. 24, no. 3 (July 1950), 251-252.

61 The historian is Frank H. Epp. See Mennonites in Canada, 305.

62 Samuel J. Steiner, Vicarious Pioneer: The Life of Jacob Y. Shantz (Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1988), 66-67.

63 Adolf Ens, Subjects or Citizens?: The Mennonite Experience in Canada 1870-1925 (Ottawa: The University of Ottawa Press, 1994), 13; Corell, ed., "Mennonite Immigration Into Manitoba," 196-227; Correll, ed., "Sources," 329-352.

64 Correll, ed., "Mennonite Immigration Into Manitoba," 210-213; Correll, ed.,"Sources," 334.

64 Correll, ed.,"Mennonite Immigration Into Manitoba," 212. Zohrab more reasonably estimated the Mennonite population of New Russia to be approximately 60,000 to 80,000 souls. (213)

65 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 186.

67 Ibid., 50-56.

68 "An Act respecting the Militia and Defence of the Dominion of Canada," Statutes of Canada, c.40, s.17, pgh. 2.

69 See the letters sent by Jansen regarding the clause in Correll, ed.,"Mennonite Immigration into Manitoba," (July 1937) 221-223, and the Canadian Minister of Agriculture's comments on the clause in Correll, ed., "Mennonite Immigration into Manitoba: Sources and Doucments, 1872, 1873," The Mennonite Quarterly Review v. 2, no. 4 (October 1937), 268.

70 Steiner, Vicarious Pioneer, 69.

71 Secretary of Department of Agriculture, John Lowe, to William Hespeler, June 1, 1872, in Correll, ed., "Mennonite Immigration Into Manitoba," (July 1937), 220.

72 William Hespeler to J.H. Pope, Minister of Agriculture, August 28, 1872, in Correll, ed., "Mennonite Immigration Into Manitoba," (October 1937), 267.

73 Sudermann, "Origins of State Service," 31.

74 Hespeler to Pope, August 28, 1872, in Correll, ed., "Mennonite Immigration Into Manitoba," (July 1937), 227.

75 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 193-194.

76 Loftus to Granville, April 3, 1872, in Correll, ed., "Mennonite Immigration Into Manitoba," (July 1937), 216.

77 Ens, Subjects, 14.

78 Ibid., 17-18; Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 193.

79 Loftus to Granville, August 18, 1872, in Correll, ed., "Mennonite Immigration Into Manitoba," (July 1937), 225.

80 Lowe to Hespeler, September 17, 1872, in Correll, ed., "Mennonite Immigration Into Manitoba," (October 1937), 269. Hespeler dissuaded Lowe from appointing such an agent among the Mennonites, claiming that the Russian congregations were "more conscientious than their confessionalists in Canada or the United States – it would in their eyes look too much like dealing in human beings." Hespeler to Pope, October 21, 1872, in Ibid., 271.

81 Lowe to Hespeler, September 17, 1872, in Ibid., 269.

82See Loftus' protests in Ibid., 273; Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, 14-16. Also see Lowe's Dec. 10 instructions to Hespeler to return, in Correll, ed., "Mennonite Immigration Into Manitoba," (October 1937), 277.

83 Steiner, Vicarious Pioneer, 76.

84 It appears as though these private agents were allowed to go to Russia at their own risk. Michael J. Hiller of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company later made the self-contradictory statement that during his trips to the Mennonite colonies "he was not aware that any Russian laws punished emigration agents, but he feared he might be sent to Siberia." The New York Times, February 19, 1879, 8.

85 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 194.

86 Lowe to Hespeler, September 17, 1872, in Correll, ed., "Mennonite Immigration Into Manitoba," (October 1937), 268.

87 Just before leaving Russia, Shantz wrote to a Canadian shipping agent in Hamburg: "The only good it will have, being that this banishment will give me material with my hands to operate from a foreign country, the more energetically for my people." Correll, ed.,"Sources," 331.

88 Reimer and Gaeddert, Exiled by the Czar, 72; Krahn, ed., "Some Letters," 251.

89 Reimer and Gaeddert provide a detailed account of Jansen's expulsion and activities in the United States in Exiled by the Czar. Before visiting the Shantz's it is interesting to note that Jansen stopped in England to see his old Quaker friends Robson and Harvey. Jansen solicited funds from the Quakers to support poorer Mennonite families who wished to emigrate.

90 Hespeler to Pope, August 28, 1872, in Correll, ed., "Mennonite Immigration Into Manitoba," (July 1937) 227.

91 Steiner, Vicarious Pioneer, 71. It seems as though the two preferred the cold air to the snowstorms they had encountered in Minnesota and North Dakota. Warkentin wrote to the Canadian Minister of Agriculture, J. H. Pope, that although winters in Manitoba were slightly longer and harder than in Russia, they would not be a real hindrance to Russian emigrants. Yet perhaps Warkentin was merely being polite to Pope, for in his private correspondence a few months later he would complain bitterly of the Manitoba winter and express disappointment that the official Mennonite delegation was spending too much time in Manitoba and the northern states. See Warkentin's correspondence in Krahn, ed., "Some Letters," 260-263. Warkentin eventually settled in Kansas.

92 Adolf Ens claims that the work was indeed translated into German and "distributed widely among the Mennonites in Russia." Subjects or Citizens?, 14. Samuel J. Steiner, however, writes that this is an unlikely assumption by historians, since only French and English copies of the *Narrative* have ever been found. Vicarious Pioneer, 163.

93 Steiner reproduces the *Narrative* in Vicarious Pioneer, 163-181. One of Shantz's most dubious claims was that the winters were less cold in Manitoba than in North Dakota and Minnesota (174).

94 Jacob Y. Shantz, "Narrative of a Journey to Manitoba," in Steiner, Vicarious Pioneer, 175-176. Shantz reassured his readers that the Metis were content with the land they had received following the Rebellion of 1870. As for the Indians, Shantz wrote that they had always maintained much better relations with the British Government in Canada than with the American Government in the United States, which broke many of its promises to the Indians. However, because Shantz cooperated with the Canadian government on a regular basis, his opinion can hardly be considered to be objective on this matter.

95 Ibid., 181.

96 A township consisted of 36 sections, with 640 acres per section. (Thus, the 160 acres which each adult male settler was entitled to according to the Dominion Lands Act was often called a 'quarter-section').

97 The members were: Heinrich Wiebe, Jacob Peters, and Cornelius Buhr, from the Bergthal Colony who left in February; Cornelius Toews and David Klassen from the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites as well as brothers Paul and Laurence Tschetter from the Hutterites who left in early April; Jacob Buller and Leonhard Sudermann from the Molotschna Colony, Tobias Unruh and Andreas Schrag from the Volhynian-Polish Mennonites, and Wilhelm Ewert of West Prussia who left Russia in late April. Buhr was a landowner from Bergthal who accompanied the delegation but did not officially represent a particular congregation.

98 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 190. Yet Epp records that the delegates still fell prey to "downright swindle" by having their money exchanged at 20% commission. A spokesman for the German Society in Montreal called on Ottawa to reimburse the delegates in order to win their trust.

99 Steiner, Vicarious Pioneer, 80.

100 C. Henry Smith provides a detailed account of the journey to Winnipeg and through Manitoba in Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 53-67.

101 "The Mennonites," The Manitoban, June 21, 1873, 2.

102 "International," The Manitoba Gazette, June 17, 1873, 2.

103 "Mennonite Deputation," The Manitoba Gazette, June 25, 1873, 2.

104 Steiner, Vicarious Pioneer, 83.

105 Smith, Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 59.

106 Ibid.

107 Smith records information on the soil and types of crops encountered at isolated farmsteads along this journey in 60-61. Both Shantz and Hespeler used this opportunity to inspect sections of land given to them by the Canadian Government, which Smith presumes was given to them for their work with the Russian Mennonites.

108 This account is based on two newspaper reports: "The Mennonites," The Manitoban, July 5, 1873, 1; "Half-Breed Attack on the Mennonite Deputation at White Horse Plains," The Manitoba Gazette, July 2, 1873, 3.

109 Alexander Morris to the Department of Agriculture, July 7, 1873, as quoted by Epp in Mennonites in Canada, 192.

110 "The Mennonites: Trip to Riding Mountains," The Manitoban, July 5, 1873, 2.

111 PAM: Mennonites: John Lowe, Department of Agriculture to Mennonite Delegates from Southern Russia re Conditions of Settlement, MG A 18/3. Although the Mennonites considered this letter to be their new Privilegium, the legal status of the Mennonite guarantees remained uncertain for decades, as will be described in Chapter Four. For more information see Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, 18-19.

112 For two critically different wordings of the Hamlet Clause, see "An Act to Amend the Dominion Lands Acts," Statutes of Canada, c.19, s.9; George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, The Doukhobors (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968), 133.

113 PAM, Mennonites: John Lowe, Department of Agriculture to Mennonite Delegates from Southern Russia re Conditions of Settlement, MG A 18/3.

114 Ibid.

115 Smith, Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 58.

116 Paul and Lorenz Tschetter to the President of the United States, July 26, 1873, quoted in Ibid., 72.

117 Hamilton Fish to Paul and Lorenz Tschetter, September 5, 1873, quoted in Ibid., 73.

118 According to the contract, the Mennonites would be required to purchase 10% of the reserve lands per year for a five year term, at an average price of $5 per acre. After five years, all remaining land in the reserve could be sold back to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. See the other provisions of the contract in Correll, ed., "Sources," 344-347.

119 See the accounts of U.S. Senate debates in Leibbrandt, "The Emigration," 16-22; Smith, Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 77-91.

120 Smith, Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 84.

121 P. Albert Koop, "Some Economic Aspectsof Mennonite Migration: With Special Emphasis on the 1870s Migration from Russia to North America," The Mennonite Quarterly Review, v. 55, no. 2 (April 1981), 149.

122 Smith, Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 109.

123 Krahn, ed., "Some Letters of Bernhard Warkentin," 252.

124 Abram Klassen to Elder Peter Toews, January 11, 1874 in "Pioneer Epistles, 1874-1875," in Delbert F. Plett, ed., Pioneers and Pilgrims: The Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde in Manitoba, Nebraska and Kansas, 1874 to 1882 (Steinbach MB: D.F.P. Publications, 1990), 6.

125 From the diary of Hutterite delegate Paul Tschetter, May 25, 1873, quoted in Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, 20.

126 Wiebe, Causes and History, 34.

127 See, for example, the poetry of Heinrich Heese inspired by the Napoleonic wars in Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood, 702-703. According to P. M. Friesen, 99% of the Russian Mennonites considered such words as 'democrat' or 'democratic' with suspicion and "foreboding ill" (627). This partly stems from the Mennonites' widespread belief in the divine right of kings to rule with authority granted to them as special servants of God, according to the Bible in Romans 13:4.

128 See Funk's comments in Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 190-191.

129 See the comments of Bergthal descendant J.H. Doerksen in 1923 in Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, 20.

130 Leibbrandt, "The Emigration," 25.

131 Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood, 596, 1028n.

132 Sudermann, "Origins of State Service," 35.

133 Leibbrandt, "The Emigration," 27n.

134 Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood, 596-597.

135 Ibid., 595-596.

136 Sudermann, "Origins of State Service," 37.

137 Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood, 597, 609.

138 Urry, "The Russian State," 14.

139 Wiebe, Causes and History, 38-39.

140 Ibid., 46-47. The Biblical reference may be found in Matthew 4:1-11; Luke 4: 1-13.

141 Ibid., 42, 47-48. Wiebe naturally credited God for bringing his defenders forward.

142 Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood, 608.

143 Letter from Elder Jakob Wiebe (Karassan) to Elder Johann Wiebe (Samara), February 27, 1876, in Ibid., 607-608.

144 Leonard Gross, ed., "The Coming of the Russian Mennonites to America: An Analysis by Johann Epp, Mennonite Minister in Russia, 1875," The Mennonite Quarterly Review, v. 48, no. 4 (October 1974), 471-72.

145 Ibid., 466.

146 For example, one article in the *Herald of Truth* had claimed that the Russian government would force the Mennonites to convert to Orthodoxy should they not leave Russia within a week of stating their intention to emigrate. Ibid., 465-466.

147 Ibid., 469-470.

148 Epp received a letter from his brother, a minister, who led his congregation to America, but now "laments that his eyes are red with much

weeping and his cheeks grow pale for the unhappiness among his members who under his leadership emigrated...." Ibid., 468.

149 See Wiebe, Causes and History, 1-7.

150 Theodor Hans, (St. Petersburg) "to the elders and assemblies of the Mennonite communiteies in the provinces of Taurida and Samara," January 15, 1873, in Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood, 600.

151 Elder Jakob Wiebe (Crimea) to Elder Johann Wiebe (Samara), February 27, 1876, in Ibid., 605-606.

152 Gross, ed., "Analysis by Johann Epp," 467.

153 Ibid., 468.

154 Urry, "The Russian State," 15.

155 Koop, "Some Economic Aspects," 153.

156 See Chapter Four on financial assistance to the new settlers.

157 Koop, "Some Economic Aspects," 154.

158 Wiebe, Causes and History, 15-16.

159 bid., 35. Practically the entire Bergthal congregation emigrated, consisting of 500 families. Wiebe cites the number of farm owners at 145 or 146.

160 See Delbert F. Plett, "Emigration for Principle or Profit: Socio-Economic Background fo the 1870s Emigration to Manitoba," in Delbert F. Plett, ed., Pioneers and Pilgrims: The Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde in Manitoba, Nebraska and Kansa, 1874 to 1882 (Steinbach MB: D.F.P. Publications, 1990), 261-268.

161 Ibid., 264.

162 Jakob Wiebe to Johann Wiebe, February 27, 1876, in Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood, 606.

163 Reimer and Gaeddert, Exiled by the Czar, 68.

164 Gross, ed., "Analysis by Johann Epp," 469.

165 D. Mackenzie Wallace, Russia, vol. II, 5th ed., (London: Cassell Petter & Galpin, 1877), 108.

166 Wiebe, Causes and History, 21.

167 Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood, 592-594.

168 Bernhard Warkentin (America) to David Goerz (Russia), March 28, 1873, in Krahn, ed., "Some Letters of Bernhard Warkentin," 260.

169 Epp, Mennonite Exodus, 25; Harry Loewen, "The German-Russian Tensions Among the Mennonites in Russia (1789-1917)," in P. M. Friesen and his History: Understanding Mennonite Brethren Beginnings (Fresno: Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1979), 138.

170 Epp, Mennonite Exodus, 24.

171 Ibid.

172 See Wiebe, Causes and History; Cornelius Krahn points out some of these examples, and interprets Wiebe in the same way that I do. See Cornelius Krahn, "Views of the 1870s Migrations by Contemporaries," The Mennonite Quarterly Review, v. 48, no. 4 (October 1974), 449-450.

173 Wiebe, Causes and History, 23.

174 Urry, None But Saints, 216; Reimer and Gaeddert, Exiled by the Czar, 52.

175 Wallace, Russia, 107-108.

176 Emerick K. Francis, "Tradition and Progress Among the Mennonites in Manitoba," The Mennonite Quarterly Review, v. 24, no. 4 (October 1950), 314.

177 Koop, "Some Economic Aspects," 149-150.

178 Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood, 594.

179 Saratov minister Johann Epp noted this as well, although he still disapproved of the migration. See Gross, ed., "Analysis by Johann Epp," 469.

180 Plett, "Emigration for Principle or Profit?," 264.

181 Wiebe, Causes and History, 35.

182 Ibid., 36-37. Wiebe admits that some emigrants did lend money personally to their poorer neighbours, or simply paid their expenses for the journey without repayment.

183 Ibid., 35-36. Wiebe writes that although some of the wealthier families were reluctant to give away their money, the majority complied with the terms with less resistance than anticipated.

184 William Schroeder, The Bergthal Colony, (Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1986), 73.

185 Reimer and Gaeddert, Exiled by the Czar, 100.

186 Plett, "Emigration for Principle or Profit?," 264.

187 Ibid.

188 John Dyck, Oberschulze Jakob Peters (1813-1884): Manitoba Pioneer Leader (Steinbach MB: Hanover Steinbach Histocial Society, 1990); 61-62; Wiebe, Causes and History, 49. The Russian government had also been concerned that farms would be bought up by various ethnic and religious groups, and therefore stipulated that villages could only be sold to people of a single religious denomination. This only increased the difficulty of selling Mennonite farms.

189 Dyck, Oberschulze Jakob Peters, 68; Wiebe, Causes and History, 50-51.

190 Dyck, Oberschulze Jakob Peters, 66.

191 The letter is dated May 5, 1874 and is reproduced in Plett, ed., "Pioneer Epistles, 1874-1875,"14.

192 Carl Wittke, We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant (The Press of Western Reserve University, 1939), 311.

193 Leibbrandt, "The Emigration," 11-12.

194 The New York Times, February 19, 1879, 8.

195 This led Cornelius Jansen to clearly state that he wanted no bonuses from shipping companies for his efforts to bring Mennonites to North America. Correll, ed., "Sources," 332.

196 The New York Times, February 19, 1879, 8. Hiller denied telling Ewert that he was "not to get a cent for his servces," and sued the the elder for breaching a contract when only 600 of the 3000 Mennonites settled in Nebraska as promised. Hiller also sued the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Company for $114,000 for refusing to pay Hiller for his services.

197 See endnote 77 on the idea of a Mennonite emigration agent.

198 Leibbrandt, "The Emigration," 32. Also see Steiner, Vicarious Pioneer, 90-92, on Mennonite fundraising efforts. More will be written about the assistance provided to the Mennonite immigrants in the early years of settlement in Chapter Four.

199 Correll, ed., "Sources on the Mennonite Immigration," 347.

200 Leibbrandt, "The Emigration," 31.

201 Steiner, Vicarious Pioneer, 92.

202 Hespeler to Pope, August 28, 1872, in Correll, ed., "Mennonite Immigration Into Manitoba," (July 1937), 227; Jansen had asked his English Quaker friends Robson and Harvey not only to charter a ship, but also hinted that the poorer Mennonites were in need of financial assistance. See the letter reproduced in Reimer and Gaeddert, Exiled by the Czar, 62. Twenty-five years later, the Quakers would again be called on by the Doukhobors to send chartered steamships to the Black Sea and to provide financial assistance.

203 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 198; See Hespeler's letters to Pope regarding transportation in Correll, ed. "Mennonite Immigration Into Manitoba," (October 1937), 274-275, 281.

204 Reimer and Gaeddert, Exiled by the Czar, 101-102; Leibbrandt, "The Emigration," 24-25.

205 Wiebe, Causes and History, 40.

206 Smith, Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 103. In Canada, the number of families in this first group of Kleine Gemeinde emigrants is commonly listed at sixty-five, leading to Smith's claim that Cornelius Jansen persuaded a number of them to first view land in the United States, instead. See Steiner, Vicarious Pioneer, 94n.

207 Steiner, Vicarious Pioneer, 92-93.

208 St. Paul Daily Express, August 6, 1874, quoted by Smith in Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 106.

209 Dyck, Oberschulze Jakob Peters, 72.

210 Wiebe, Causes and History, 40-41.

211 Ibid., 40.

212 Correll, ed., "Sources on the Mennonite Immigration," 348.

213 Berhard Warkentin to David Goerz, March 3, 1873, in Krahn, ed., "Some Letters of Bernhard Warkentin," 255.

214 Correll, ed., "Sources on the Mennonite Immigration," 348.

215 The Canadian government did not supply immigrants with provisions past Collingwood. The first group of Kleine Gemeinde emigrants were given "substantial provisions, including twenty hams" by the Ontario Mennonites. Steiner, Vicarious Pioneer, 95.

216 Correll, ed., "Sources on the Mennonite Immigration," 337.

217 Steiner, Vicarious Pioneer, 99.

218 Ibid., 99-100. Further details on this loan will be provided in Chapter Four.

219 Plett, "Emigration for Principle or Profit?", 265.

220 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 200. Some of Smith's numbers represent approximations. Smith's figures for the emigration to Manitoba are similar to Epp's, yet he concludes that the emigration in total consisted of approximately 18,000 emigrants in the decade following the year 1874 with about 10,000 settling in the United States and approximately 8,000 settling in Canada. See Smith, Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 127-129. A figure of 7,500 Mennonite immigrants to Manitoba was listed by George Woodcock in A Social History of Canada (Markham ON: Penguin Books, 1989), 278.

221 Steiner, Vicarious Pioneer, 183.

222 Schroeder, The Bergthal Colony, 82.

223 Ibid., 83

224 Plett, "Emigration for Principle or Profit?", 265.

225 Francis, "Tradition and Progress," 314.

CHAPTER THREE

1 From Vladimir Chertkov, ed. Christian Martyrdom in Russia (London: The Brotherhood Publishing Co., 1897), 1-13.

2 Some Doukhobor researchers, such as J. F. C. Wright, refer to the Large Party Doukhobors as the "Mad Doukhobors," and the Small Party as the "Bad Doukhobors". See Slava Bohu: The Story of the Dukhobors (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1940), 54-56. However, Simma Holt, describes the middle party which later emerged to be the "Bad Doukhobors"in Terror in the Name of God: The Story of the Sons of Freedom Doukhobors (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), 17.

3 Wright, Slava Bohu, 56.

4 Wright, Slava Bohu, 56; Aylmer Maude, A Peculiar People: The Doukhobors (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 166. Woodcock and Avakumovic note that the driving of each other's cattle away with "sticks and stones" was the only expression of violence between the Large and Small parties. George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, The Doukhobors (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968), 88.

5 Vladimir Chertkov, ed., Christian Martyrdom, 6-7; Aylmer Maude, Tolstoy and His Problems (London: Grant Richards, 1901), 297.

6 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 85. Semon Osachoff, who went with his father to visit Verigin in prison in Elizavetpol, was one of those who was imprisoned. He claimed that Verigin prophesied to him "the time is coming when all true believers will refuse to be soldiers. Always we must obey Christ." Wright, Slava Bohu, 57.

7 Verigin was ordered to return to Shenkursk in 1892.

8 One Doukhobor later wrote, "the Russian government...held up our leader in cold Siberia, he, with the help of the Holy Spirit withstood the terrible persecutions from the Russian government...." Peter N. Malov, *Dukhobortsi: ikh Istoriia. Zhisn i Bor'ba.*, (Thrums BC: Self-published, 1948), 258.

9 Maude, A Peculiar People, 159. It was in 1896 that Verigin denied any knowledge of Tolstoy, yet during the same year Verigin had included excerpts copied verbatim from *The Kingdom of God is Within You* without any acknowledgement of his source. The Doukhobors later created a popular psalm using these very passages as verses.

10 Ibid.

11 Lidia Gromova-Opulskaya, "Two Teachers of Life: A Dialogue," in Andrew Donskov, ed., Leo Tolstoy - Peter Verigin: Correspondence (from the Russian State Archives), (Ottawa: LEGAS, 1995), 3.

12 Woodcock and Avakumovic claim that Bogdanovka, for instance, underwent a more thorough redistribution, whereas Orlovka was one of the villages which applied Verigin's instructions less rigorously. See The Doukhobors, 90. Vladimir Chertkov, however, quotes a Spirit Wrestler who describes a complete shift to communal practices in Orlovka. See Vladimir Chertkov, ed., Christian Martyrdom in Russia: Persecution of the Doukhobors, 2nd ed. (London: The Free Age Press, 1900), 47-48.

13 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 90. The Veriginites released many of the hired Tartar and Armenian labourers at this time.

14 James Mavor, "Introduction" to Vladimir Chertkov, ed., Christian Martyrdom in Russia: An Account of the Members of the Universal Brotherhood or Doukhobortsi Now Migrating from the Caucasus to Canada (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1899), 16.

15 Marjorie Malloff and Peter Ogloff, eds., "Toil and Peaceful Life: Portraits of Doukhobors," Sound Heritage, v. 6, no. 4 (1977), 26-27.

16 Chertkov, Christian Martyrdom (1900), 47.

17 Ibid., 47n. Chertkov claims that these families numbered three thousand people in total, yet Doukhobor historians have most commonly recognized the emergence of a third party only after Peter instructed the Doukhobors to become vegetarians. Woodcock and Avakumovic, for instance, state that three hundred families formed a middle party because of their refusal to become vegetarians. The Doukhobors, 91.

18 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 91.

18 Wright, Slava Bohu, 69.

20 Woodcock and Avakumovic report that "women healers carried on a brisk trade in abortions" at this time, and one Doukhobor, Vasilii Pozdniakov, even admitted that there were instances of infanticide. The Doukhobors, 92.

21 Wright, Slava Bohu, 69.

22 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 94.

23 Maude, A Peculiar People, 167-168.

24 Stepniak [S.M. Kravchinskii], The Russian Peasantry: Their Agrarian Condition, Social Life and Religion (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1905), 522.

25 James Mavor relates an incident told by a Transcaucasian magistrate who claimed that as late as 1893 a group of Doukhobors from the Tiflis region descended on a Kurdish village "armed to the teeth" and attacked its inhabitants who had repeatedly stolen their cattle. (Mavor does not indicate to which faction these Doukhobors belonged). My Windows on the Street of the World, vol. 2 (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1923), 16.

26 Wright, Slava Bohu, 134. As Wright points out, Verigin failed to mention the fact that during the Turkish War he had told Lukeria Kalmykova to do what she thought best.

27 Ibid.

28 Chertkov, Christian Martyrdom (1897), 51-52.

29 The martyr's name was Sherbinin, who died after breaking his chest from being thrown against a gymnasium horse. Koozma J. Tarasoff, A Pictorial History of the Doukhobors (Saskatoon: Modern Press, 1969), 50.

30 "A Russian Religious Sect," The Times (London), October 23, 1895, 4.

31 The Large Party cleared planned this event to be a grand spectacle. In the Kars district, 15 wagons full of wood were used, while 20 wagons of wood and 700 pounds of kerosene were used in the Tiflis (Akhalkalaki) district. Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 100; Tarasoff, Pictorial History, 51.

32 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 68. The amount of weaponry collected for these fires further illustrates the degree to which Doukhobors had abandoned nonresistant principles.

33 Koozma J. Tarasoff, "The Doukhobor Weapons Burning of 1895," Ploughshares Monitor, v.16, no. 1 (March 1995), 17.

34 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 100.

35 Koozma J. Tarasoff, Plakun Trava: The Doukhobors (Grand Forks BC: Mir Publication Society, 1982), 22.

36 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 101.

37 Chertkov, Christian Martyrdom (1897), 58-59.

38 One Nikolai Slepor claims he and his friend were given 100 lashes each by the Cossack troops for helping his mother and siblings leave the Small Party to join Verigin's followers. "A Russian Religious Sect," The Times, 4.

39 Maude, A Peculiar People, 170-171; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 90; Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 28.

40 See Chertkov, Christian Martyrdom (1897), 65-66.

41 Ibid., 70-71.

42 One example of Doukhobor obstinacy at this time comes from the Elizavetpol prison, where the Spirit Wrestlers refused to strip as ordered, "declaring that as they found their clothes convenient they did not think it necessary to take them off." After being stripped by force, they then declined to put on prison garb, claiming "they had no need of it, as they had their own clothes, and they thought the prison dress derogatory." "A Russian Religious Sect," The Times, 4.

43 Maude, A Peculiar People, 172.

44 Ibid., 173.

45 Ibid., 171.

46 See Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 104, on what was sold and left behind by the exiles.

47 The man's name was Kiril Konkin. Besides these deaths, there are few details available about the journey to Batoum.

48 The Kars and Elizavetpol Doukhobors still managed to secretly send aid to their exiled co-religionists, without which, many more exiles would have undoubtedly perished. Maude, Tolstoy and His Problems, 306; Wright, Slava Bohu, 93.

49 P. V. Verigin to L. N. Tolstoy, September 2, 1897, in Andrew Donskov, ed., Leo Tolstoy - Peter Verigin: Correspondence (from the Russian State Archives) (Ottawa: LEGAS, 1995), 27.

50 Georgian nobles reportedly held the Doukhobor workers in high esteem, though some exploited the hungry sectarians for their cheap labour. Nonetheless, arrangements were made whereby the Spirit Wrestlers could keep one-third of their produce, which alleviated complete starvation. Chertkov, Christian Martyrdom (1900), 61-62.

51 There are many detailed descriptions of the suffering caused by these diseases, written by Doukhobors, Russians, and Georgians alike in Chertkov's Christian Martyrdom in Russia (1897), 79-86. Survivors Aleksei Jmieff and Polya Kanigan also recall their experiences as exiles in Georgia in Malloff and Ogloff, "Toil and Peaceful Life," 23-24, 35. Hen-blindness was a disease related to malnutrition which spread a milky film over one's eyes, severly limiting a person's vision, especially at sundown.

52 Woodcock and Avakumovic provide the figure of 350+ deaths during the first year and list a mortality rate of 8%. The Doukhobors, 105. Maude gives a figure of 10% in Tolstoy and His Problems, 306-307. Chertkov lists the death rates among districts in 1897, as well as figures describing the numbers of people diagnosed with certain diseases. Christian Martyrdom (1897), 11-12, 79.

53 Chertkov, Christian Martyrdom, (1897), 86.

54 Maude, Tolstoy and His Problems, 305.

55 Leo Tolstoy to Foreign Newspapers, March 19, 1898, in R. F. Christian, ed., Tolstoy's Letters Volume II: 1880-1910 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978), 568. The letter was printed in *The Daily Chronicle* on April 29, 1898.

56 John P. Zubek and Patricia A. Solberg write that approximately one hundred Fasters could not withstand the persecution, and thus left the Large Party. Doukhobors at War (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1952), 15. Chertkov claims that the Large Party Doukhobors took pity on its members who were broken by persecution and consented to military service or joined the Small Party. Christian Martyrdom (1900), 65. Yet before the Fasters were exiled, the Russian government offered them the option of avoiding exile through compliance with government directives, but none accepted the offer. Thus, Verigin's recent letter instructing his followers to continue to resist government dictates was unnecessary. Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 105. The sectarians' rejection of the government's offer is what gave the Tsarist officials the justification to exile the entire population of Fasters in Tiflis on the grounds of disobedience to the government.

57 According to the Fasters and their supporters, the righteousness of their cause was confirmed by stories of sympathetic persecutors who quietly admired the Doukhobors for their commitment to nonresistant principles. Tolstoyan sympathizers printed a story about some of Praga's Cossacks who refused to strike the defenceless Doukhobors out of pity. See "A Russian Religious Sect," The Times (October 23, 1895), 4. Chertkov includes stories of a military official and a Russian judge who were swayed by the pacifist arguments of the Doukhobors who refused to serve. See Christian Martyrdom (1897), 43-48, 76-78. Interestingly enough, Peter M. Friesen records a similar

story whereby the Mennonite delegates to St. Petersburg managed to convince Count Heyden's assistant that there would never be war if everyone believed in the Mennonites' nonresitant doctrine. The Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia (1789-1910) (Fresno: Board of Christian Literature, 1980), 587-588.

58 Chertkov, Christian Martyrdom (1897), 74.

59 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 108; Maude, Tolstoy and His Problems, 312. The Prince's last name is often transliterated as 'Hilkoff' or 'Hilkov' in Western sources.

60 The three Doukhobors who accompanied Verigin were Vasilii G. Vereshchagin, Vasilii I. Obedkov, and Verigin's brother, Vasilii. Tolstoy originally requested to meet with Verigin, but was not allowed to see the prisoner. According to J. F. C. Wright, Tolstoy later waited for three hours at the Moscow train station to catch a glimpse of Verigin before he was sent to Siberia. The novelist was "outwitted" by the authorities, claims Wright, who rushed the Doukhobor prisoner aboard the train when Tolstoy had left to make an inquiry. Slava Bohu, 73. Tolstoy was not aware of Verigin's influence among the Doukhobors but was presumably intrigued by the charges of disturbing the peace laid against the sectarian.

61 Quoted by Gromova-Opulskaya in "Two Teachers," 1.

62 Maude, A Peculiar People, 164.

63 Leo Tolstoy, "Conclusion" to Chertkov, ed., Christian Martyrdom in Russia (1897), 96. The early Christian disciples, the Quakers, the Moravian Brethren, and the Mennonites, said Tolstoy, all attempted to realize "the kingdom on earth of truth and good," but the Doukhobors had now actually realized this in part, if not fully. "Conclusion," 97-98.

64 Leo Tolstoy, "The Persecutions of Christians in Russia," Contemporary Review, v. 68 (November 1895), 650.

65 Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 31.

66 Tolstoy, "Conclusion," 96-97.

67 John C. Kenworthy was an English businessman who gave up his career after becoming influenced by Tolstoy's teachings. At Croyden, Kenworthy founded a Tolstoyan colony which contained a church and publishing company. For more information on Kenworthy and his contributions to the Tolstoyan community, see the brief biography provided by Christian in Tolstoy's Letters II, 533-534.

68 *The Times* article, for instance, explained that to the Doukhobors, the Church was useless and Jesus Christ was just a man. It also told of how the Doukhobors strayed from their beliefs while in the Caucasus, and had begun to smoke, drink, serve in the army, etc. See "A Russian Religious Sect," The Times, (October 23, 1895), 4.

69 The Doukhobors were aware of the attention they were beginning to receive. In November of 1895, Paul Biriukov, whose report was published in *The Times*, visited the Spirit Wrestlers and showed them the article, which pleased them very much, according to Chertkov. In May, 1896, the Doukhobor prisoners of Elizavetpol wrote a letter to the English Society of Friends thanking them for their letters and greetings. See Chertkov, Christian Martyrdom (1897), 39, 75-76.

70 See Chertkov's letter reproduced in John P. Stoochnoff, Toil and Peaceful Life: Doukhobors As They Are (Vancouver: Liberty Press, 1971), 60-61, and both letters in the appendices to Chertkov's Christian Martyrdom, 104-110; Tolstoy's letter is credited by some for effecting greater leniency towards Doukhobor prisoners. Shortly after the letters were sent, a new law decreed that those who refused military service on religious grounds would no longer be jailed in penal battalions and some of the Ekaterinograd prisoners were exiled to Siberia early. Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 111.

71 The 'Appeal' is also reproduced in Chertkov, Christian Martyrdom, 1-15. See the quotation at the beginning of this chapter.

72 Chertkov, Christian Martyrdom, 2-4.

73 Aylmer Maude later criticized Biriukov for not consulting the Small Party and stated that the 'Appeal' of 1896 "did very grave injustice to those Doukhobors who had been sufficiently enlightened to throw off [Verigin's] yoke—often at the cost of severe persecution at the hands of his followers." The Life of Tolstoy: Later Years (London: Constable and Co. Ltd., 1910), 508-509.

74 Chertkov, Christian Martyrdom (1900), v. In 1901, Aylmer Maude, who later wrote the first detailed account of Doukhobor history in the English language, lamented the fact that most English-speaking readers were informed of the Doukhobors by Chertkov's work, which clearly was "an ex parte statement...hastily compiled, inviting subscriptions for the cause." Tolstoy and His Problems, 268.

75 This letter is reproduced in Chertkov, Christian Martyrdom (1897), 101-103; Elkinton, The Doukhobors, 166-169; Wright, Slava Bohu, 104-105; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 115-116; Stoochnoff, Toil and Peaceful Life, 63-65. Wright deletes the final paragraph of the letter. Verigin deliberately appealed to the Empress, for he felt that her compassionate

instincts as a Christian woman, would make her more sympathetic to the plight of his people.

76 Chertkov, Christian Martyrdom (1897), 103; Elkinton, The Doukhobors, 169; Wright, Slava Bohu, 105; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 116.

77 P. V. Verigin to L. N. Tolstoy, August 16, 1898, in Donskov, ed., Tolstoy - Verigin: Correspondence, 31.

78 Chertkov, Christian Martyrdom (1897), 103; Elkinton, The Doukhobors, 169; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 116.

79 Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 34.

80 Leopold A. Sulerzhitsky, To America with the Doukhobors (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1982), 30.

81 The official notification allowing the Doukhobors to emigrate is reprinted in Mavor's "Introduction" to Christian Martyrdom (1899), 6-7n.

82 St. John was yet another repentant former miliary officer who quit the military under the influence of Tolstoy's writings and then befriended his mentor through correspondence. For a short biography of St. John see Christian, Tolstoy's Letters II, 579.

83 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 117-118.

84 Sulerzhitsky emphasizes the adamance of Tolstoy's initial opposition in To America with the Doukhobors, 31.

85 Tolstoy to Verigin, November 1, 1898, in Donskov, ed., Tolstoy - Verigin: Correspondence, 38.

86 For more information on Maude and his involvement with the Tolstoyans, see Christian, ed., Tolstoy's Letters II, 577-578.

87 Maude, Tolstoy and His Problems, 311.

88 According to James Mavor, there were approximately 3500 Fasters who could afford to emigrate, and about 3000 who were poor, but not destitute. Another two thousand were very poor, with half of this number desperately requiring urgent assistance. "Introduction," 8-9. Mavor's estimates suggest that the Large Party had not completely redistributed their wealth, although government actions towards the Tiflis Fasters created much of the inequality.

89 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 119.

90 Mavor, "Introduction," 9.

91 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 121.

92 Vladimir Chertkov to Arthur St. John, May 17, 1898. Quoted in Ibid.

93 Ibid., 122.

94 The appeal is printed in Elkinton, The Doukhobors, 178-181; Stoochnoff, Toil and Peaceful Life, 74-76. Bellows encouraged people of similar religious faiths who held "the same conscientious conviction of the unlawfulness of war to the followers of Christ" to also contribute. It is not known whether any Mennonites donated any monies. For more information on John Bellows, see Christian, Tolstoy's Letters II, 606.

95 Chertkov, Christian Martyrdom (1900), 67; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 123-125; Maude, A Peculiar People, 46. Tolstoyan fundraising efforts had begun in earnest in April, when Tolstoy wrote a letter to foreign newspapers asking for donations. The letter appeared in *The Daily Chronicle* on April 29, 1898, and is included in Christian, Tolstoy's Letters II, 567-570.

96 As one Spirit Wrestler, Alexei Zhmiev, later recalled: "In Cyprus it was so hot...that an egg would bake outside in three hours, that's how hot it was." Malloff and Ogloff, "Portraits," 25.

97 Christian, Tolstoy's Letters II, 580n. St. John wrote Tolstoy about the shortcomings of the Cyprus Doukhobors. The Russian novelist guessed that "illness has lowered their spirit."

98 This letter is reproduced in Chertkov, Christian Martyrdom (1900), 70; Alexander M. Evalenko, ed., The Message of the Doukhobors (New York: The International Library Publishing Co., 1913), 128-129.

99 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 129.

100 Prince Peter Kropotkin, "Some of the Resources of Canada," The Nineteenth Century, vol. 43, no. 253 (March 1898), 494-514.

101 Ibid., 503-504.

102 Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 34. In the 1860s, Kropotkin came across some Doukhobor colonies in eastern Siberia and took interest in their communal organization. He met Mavor in Scotland in 1886 and had maintained a correspondence and friendship with him since that time. Now,

Kropotkin's interest in the sectarians and his friendship with Mavor were brought together. George Woodcock, "James Mavor, Peter Kropotkin, Lev Tolstoy and the Doukhobors," in Koozma J. Tarasoff and Robert B. Klymasz eds., Spirit Wrestlers: Centennial Papers in Honour of Canada's Doukhobor Heritage (Hull PQ: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1995), 95-97.

103 George Woodcock claims that Mavor had already heard of the Doukhobors' misfortunes through Tolstoy and had independently approached Sifton about settling the Doukhobors in Canada before receiving a letter from Kropotkin. Woodcock, "Mavor, Kropotkin, Tolstoy" 97; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 131.

104 Kropotkin to Mavor, August 31, 1898, quoted in Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 34.

105 Ibid.

106 James Mavor, My Windows on the Street of the World, Vol. II (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1923), 2; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 131.

107 Chertkov's letter to Mavor, was, in fact, later included in Mavor's "Introduction" to the 1899 edition of Christian Martyrdom, 14-15.

108 Ibid., 15n.

109 Mavor, My Windows II, 2.

110 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 132.

111 Zubek and Solberg, Doukhobors at War, 19. The year previous, 1896, saw a record low of 16, 895 immigrants. Alvin Finkel et. al., History of the Canadian Peoples: Volume II, 1867 to the Present (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1993), 214.

112 Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 34. For a short discussion of Sifton's new immigration policy, see Woodcock, A Social History, 280-281.

113 For an example, see the London *Times* article of October 23, 1895, 4.

114 Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 36n. Tarasoff feels that Khilkov could have better represented Doukhobor interests in dealing with the Canadian government than Maude did.

115 Maude, A Peculiar People, 55-56; Wright, Slava Bohu, 112.

116 Maude, Tolstoy and His Problems, 314; A Peculiar People, 64-65.

117 Maude, Tolstoy and His Problems, 314; A Peculiar People, 55.

118 "Orders-in-Council Respecting Conditions of Settlement re: Mennonites, Hutterites, Doukhobors, 1873-1941," Provincial Archives of Manitoba [PAM]. The exemption clause is reproduced in Frank H. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974), 193.

119 On the Hamlet Clause, see Chapter Two, endnote 110.

120 Maude, A Peculiar People, 61; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 133.

121 Chertkov, Christian Martyrdom (1900), 71.

122 The Canadian government had recently excepted Galician immigrants from qualifying for the standard £1 'bonus' per adult male immigrant.

123 Maude, A Peculiar People, 52.

124 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 135.

125 See the excerpt from the *Century Dictionary* listed by Maude in A Peculiar People, 52n.

126 Maude, A Peculiar People, 51-52. See the acceptance of this view in Wright, Slava Bohu, 113; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 135.

127 Maude, Life of Tolstoy, 550.

128 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 136; Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 35.

129 Wright, Slava Bohu, 115-116; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 136.

130 Maude, A Peculiar People, 48-49; Wright, Slava Bohu, 115. False allegations persisted that Khilkov, and even Winnipeg Immigration Commissioner W. F. Mc Creary took money from the Doukhobor fund created from the bonus monies. See Maude's quotation from Tverskoy's *New Chapters of the Doukhobor Epic* in A Peculiar People, 75.

131 Maude, A Peculiar People, 48-49.

132 Ibid., 49-50.

133 Ibid.

134 Sulerzhitsky, To America with the Doukhobors, 34.

135 This paragraph is based largely on Mavor's "Introduction," 11.

136 Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 36n.

137 Ibid., Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 137.

138 This letter is reproduced in Appendix I of Maude, A Peculiar People, 325-326.

139 Copies of the Privy Council's report which approved the Doukhobor exemption from military service may be found in PAM, "Orders-in-Council Respecting Conditions of Settlement re: Mennonites, Hutterites, Doukhobors, 1873-1941," ; University of Manitoba LibraryArchives [UMLA], Simma Holt Papers, *Terror in the Name of God:* Correspondence/Government re: Doukhobors, MSS 103/6/7.

140 Tarasoff, Pictorial History, 57; Wright, Slava Bohu, 116.

141 For examples of these inaccuracies see Maude, A Peculiar People, 70-72; Wright, Slava Bohu, 114-115.

142 Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 36n.

143 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 134.

144 See Chapter Four.

145 Maude's critics include 'V. Olhovsky', a pseudonym for the Russian Bolshevik Vladimir Bonch-Bruevich (see Maude, A Peculiar People, 61-62n), the Doukhobor scholar Koozma J. Tarasoff, and Francis Mavor Moore, grandson of James Mavor (see Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 36n).

146 Evalenko, The Message, 131; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 132-133; Wright, Slava Bohu, 111.

147 Maude, A Peculiar People, 61.

148 Mavor, My Windows II, 2.

149 Christian, ed., Tolstoy's Letters II, 574-575. Letters in italics were English in the original letter.

150 Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 36n.

151 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 138. These figures were undoubtedly taken from Sulerzhitsky's estimate in roubles (2 roubles: 1 U.S. dollar); see To America with the Doukhobors, 38. Other estimates also vary in currency or include the contributions and costs of other Faster groups. Chertkov writes that the 2,100 exiles needed £11,000 to emigrate but raised £4,500 among themselves. Christian Martyrdom (1900), 72. Joseph Elkinton claims that this group and the Cyprus emigrants were able to use a special emigration fund of $23,000 which had been saved over three years. The Doukhobors, 188. Tolstoy estimated the total cost of transporting all 7,500 to Canada to be as high as 750,000 roubles, 400,000 of which could be supplied by the Fasters themselves. Christian, ed., Tolstoy's Letters II, 567.

152 Christian gives a figure of 17,000 roubles in donations from prominent Russian businessmen in Tolstoy's Letters II, 567. James Mavor claims that the Purleigh Committee received $5,000 from the sale of three of Tolstoy's short stories in 1898. "Introduction," 11. One of these stories was *Father Sergei*. Woodcock and Avakumovic record a lump donation from Tolstoy of $17,000 in 1898. The Doukhobors, 138.

153 Sulerzhitsky, To America with the Doukhobors, 34-35.

154 Ibid., 35.

155 Ibid.; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 146-147. Among the 700 Kars Doukhobors on the second ship leaving in December would be those eligible for the new conscription draft in January.

156 Sulerzhitsky, To America with the Doukhobors, 35.

157 For more information on the fascinating life of Sulerzhitskii, who went on to become an actor and stage-producer for Stanislavsky at the Moscow Art Theatre, see Tamara T. Burlakova, "Leopold Sulerzhitsky and the Voyage of the Doukhobors to Canada," in Tarasoff and Klymasz, eds., Centennial Papers, 101-107. Sulerzhitskii had written a letter to Tolstoy as early as July 4, 1898, stating that he felt so dear to the Doukhors and could not ignore their departure. He begged Tolstoy for permission to help accompany the Doukhobors out of Russia, and received Tolstoy's approval on July 13. Undoubtedly, Sulerzhitskii was referring to the emigrants headed for Cyprus, but his assistance was evidently postponed until November, when preparations were made for emigration to Canada.

158 S. Tolstoy and L. Sulerzhitskii, in fact, became nominal owners of the ships in order to exonerate the Beaver Line from any responsibility for the lives of the Doukhobors. See the contract in Sulerzhitsky, To America with the Doukhobors, 36. This measure also ensured that the steamship company could

not claim a share of the Doukhobors' immigration bonus money from the Canadian government.

159 Ibid., 48-51.

160 Quoted in Tamara Burlakova, "Leopold Sulerzhitsky," 105-106. Michael Kalmakoff translates this passage somewhat differently in To America with the Doukhobors, 52-53.

161 Malloff and Ogloff, "Portraits of Doukhobors," 36.

162 As quarantine officer Dr. Montizambert told the Halifax press, "I expected to find a very different condition of things. From what I had read of the persecutions and misery these people had suffered and what I had heard of the conditions under which they had been driven from Russia, I had expected to find their physical powers reduced by misery and semi-starvation... But on the contrary, I found a set of robust, well nourished rosy cheeked, helathy looking people, with a much more than the average appearnce of healthfulness and cleanliness. The organization during the voyage had evidently been admirable...." "Arrangements Perfected to Receive the Doukhobors," The Morning Chronicle (Halifax), vol. 37, no. 19 (January 23, 1899), 1. See similar comments in the *St. John Daily Star* and the *Montreal Daily Star* in Chertkov, ed., Christian Martyrdom (1900), 76-77.

163 Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 33,45.

164 The organizers were required to pay the Beaver line for each day the Lake Huron remained in quarantine. The Quakers contributed to help pay for this additional cost of some £600 to £800. "From the Committee for assisting the Emigration of the Dukhobortsi, to Friends in Great Britain," in Joseph S. Elkinton, "Arrivals of Dukhobors in Canada from Cyprus," [Pamphlet] (London: 1899), 1.

165 Maude, Tolstoy and His Problems, 311; A Peculiar People, 38. Koozma J. Tarasoff gives a rougher estimate of 7,500 in Pictorial History, 57, while V. G. Bogoraz gives an even more generous estimate of 8,000 in *Dukhobory V Kanade: Ocherki*, (Moscow: E. D. Miakhova,1906), 9. Woodcock and Avakumovic list Maude's number of 7,363, Bonch-Bruevich's tally of 7,160, a figure of 7,427 given by the Canadian Department of the Interior, and then make their own estimate of 7,400 in The Doukhobors, 148; the same estimate was given by John Ashworth in his April 1900 lecture, "The Doukhobortsi and Religious Persecution in Russia," given at the Friends' Meeting House in Manchester [printed as a pamphlet], 9.

166 For more information about this community see Tarasoff, Pictorial History, 63-64; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 149-151.

167 Soviet scholar V. A. Sukhorev has estimated the total number of Doukhobors in the Caucasus region in the 1890s to be approximately 20,000, which is similar to the number given in a report by Verigin in 1896. Susan Wiley Hardwick, Russian Refuge: Religion, Migration, and Settlement on the North American Pacific Rim (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 27.

168 Estimates of "at least" 12,000 are listed by Woodcock and Avakumovic in The Doukhobors, 149; Maude, A Peculiar Peculiar People, 74; Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 46. V. G. Bogoraz gives a rough figure of 10,000 in *Dukhobory V Kanade*, 9.

169 The second and fourth shiploads of Doukhobors were even larger, and thus set new records.

170 "Five Marriages on the *Lake Huron*," Halifax Daily Echo, vol. 12, no. 18 (January 21, 1899), 1.

171 "Doukhobors at St. John," The Morning Chronicle, vol. 37, no. 20 (January 24, 1899), 1.

172 Sulerzhitsky, To America with the Doukhobors, 87-88.

173 Mavor, "Introduction," 16.

174 Chertkov, ed., Christian Martyrdom (1900), 78.

175 Simma Holt Papers, Box 6, Folder 3, "Report of Privy Council, December 6, 1898," 5.

176 "Doukhobors Arrive Singing Psalms," The Morning Chronicle, vol. 37, no. 18 (January 21, 1899), 1.

177 Halifax Daily Echo, vol. 12, no. 18 (January 21, 1899), 4.

178 Ibid., no. 25 (January 30, 1899), 4.

179 Ibid.

180 Ibid.

181 Sulerzhitsky, To America with the Doukhobors, 102.

182 Halifax Daily Echo, vol. 12, no. 24 (January 28, 1899), 4.

183 See the lengthy description of the supplies and amenities of the colonist cars in "Doukhobors at St. John," The Morning Chronicle, vol. 37, no. 20 (January 24, 1899), 1. The article concluded: "Nothing has been left undone by

the government and C.P.R. officials for the comfort of the new settlers..." Also see the list of provisions supplied for the train journey in *The Montreal Daily Star* (January 21, 1899) in Sam George Stupnikoff, Historical Saga of the Doukhobor Faith, 1750-1990s (Self-published, 1992), 20-21.

184 Sulerzhitsky, To America with the Doukhobors, 92-93.

185 Ibid., 95.

186 Lally Bernard, The Canadian Doukhobor Settlements: A Series of Letters (Toronto: William Briggs, 1899), 6.

187 Simma Holt Papers, Box 6, Folder 3, "Report of Privy Council, December 6, 1898," 5.

188 Maude, A Peculiar People, 162. As Maude correctly points outs, this name change was no small matter "to the sect athat had told Alexander I that they would shed their blood rather than part with the name Doukhobor." (p.163) One indication that the Fasters were not fully in tune with Verigin's missionary mind-set was that they continued to publicly call themselves 'Doukhobors' until Verigin arrived in Canada in 1902 and enforced the acceptance of the new name. Also of interest in this quotation is Verigin's emphasis on the Christian nature of his sect, which would generate more popular appeal than a sect which traditionally considered Jesus Christ to be 'just a man.'

CHAPTER FOUR

1 Peter Verigin to Leo Tolstoy, February 1, 1899, in Andrew Donskov, ed., Leo Tolstoy - Peter Verigin: Correspondence from the Russian State Archives (Ottawa: LEGAS, 1995), 42.

2 Quoted in Peter M. Friesen, The Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia (1789-1910) (Fresno: Board of Christian Literature, 1980), 592.

3 Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM), Winnipeg: Recollections by G. E. Longbottom, 1874, MG 8/A 20, p. 7.

4 "The Mennonites: Arrival of the Advance Guard. Who they are and what they are, " Manitoba Free Press, August 8, 1874, in PAM, Howard W. Winkler, Historical extracts from the *Manitoba Free Press* relating to Mennonite settlement, 1873-1875, MG 14/ B 44/17/2, p. 9183.

5 C. Henry Smith, The Coming of the Russian Mennonites (Berne IN: Mennonite Book Concern, 1927), 177.

6 Frank H. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974), 200.

7 Letter of Peter Dueck, August 12, 1874, quoted in Ibid., 210.

8 Gerhard Wiebe, Causes and History of the Emigration of the Mennonites from Russia to America (Winnipeg: Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, 1981), 52 ; Smith, Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 179.

9 Samuel J. Steiner, Vicarious Pioneer: The Life of Jacob Y. Shantz (Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1988), 95, 98.

10 "Mr. Shantz' Evidence: Ottawa, 8th April, 1886,"Journals of the House of Commons of Canada 20, (Session 1886), Appendix (No.6), 33.

11 These debates are reproduced verbatim in Ernst Correll, ed., "The Mennonite Loan in the Canadian Parliament, 1875," Mennonite Quarterly Review 20, no. 4 (October 1946), 255-275.

12 One settlement scheme was the Emerson Colony project which marketed Manitoba land at prices too high to lure American immigrants northward. The German Aid Society of Montreal was given two Manitoba townships in which to settle European immigrants, but it, too, failed after two attempts. Emerick K. Francis, In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba (Altona MB: D.W. Friesen & Sons, 1955), 56; Ibid., 264.

13 Correll, "Mennonite Loan", 260.

14 Ibid., 257-264.

15 Steiner, Vicarious Pioneer, 104.

16 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 226. In 1880, the Ontario brethren cancelled the balance of interest and reduced the principal by 60%.

17 Correll, ed., "Sources on the Mennonite Immigration from Russia in the 1870s" Mennonite Quarterly Review 24, no. 4 (October 1950), 350-352. My translation.

18 Wiebe, Causes, 52.

19 Francis, In Search of Utopia, 113. G.E. Longbottom recalled Hespeler's personal generosity to the Mennonites during their first Manitoba Christmas in 1874. Hespeler purchased about $125 worth of toys, candies, and nuts, and took them to the East Reserve. PAM, Longbottom, MG 8/A 20, p.7.

20 See Chapter One, page 37.

21 Prince Peter Kropotkin. "Some of the Resources of Canada," The Nineteenth Century 43, no. 253 (March 1898), 503.

22 Carl J. Tracie, "Ethnicity and the Prairie Environment: Pattern of Old Colony Mennonite and Doukhobor Settlement," in Richard Allen, ed., Man and Nature on the Prairies (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1976), 48; Richard J. Friesen, "Saskatchewan Mennonite Settlements: The Modification of an Old World Settlement Pattern." Canadian Ethnic Studies 9, no. 2 (1977), 73.

23 Richard Friesen, "Saskatchewan Settlements," 73.

24 Carl Addington Dawson, Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada (Toronto: Macmillan, 1936), 111.

25 Francis, In Search of Utopia, 84.

26 Ibid., 85. Richard Friesen stresses that this requirement for voluntary cooperation was a "very weak cementing agent" and contributed to the eventual breakdown of the Mennonite village system in Manitoba. "Saskatchewan Settlements," 74-75.

27 Smith, Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 202.

28 Francis, In Search of Utopia, 85.

29 James Mavor, My Windows on the Street of the World, Vol. I (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1923) 339.

30 "The Viceregal Visit: The trip to the Mennonites," Manitoba Free Press (August 23, 1877), 1.

31 Ibid.; Smith, Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 195-196.

32 Quoted in Francis, In Search of Utopia, 79.

33 "The Viceregal Visit," Manitoba Free Press, (August 23, 1877) 2.

34 Quoted in Dawson, Group Settlement, 114.

35 See McCreary's letter of February 9, 1899 to Deputy Minister of the Interior, James Smart, in Betty Ward, "Trek of the Doukhobors," Saskatchewan History 34, no. 1 (Winter 1981), 18.

36 See Chapter Three, page 162. For an excellent geographical description of each of the reserves, see Carl J. Tracie, "Toil and Peaceful Life": Doukhobor Village Settlement in Saskatchewan, 1899-1918 (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1996), 8-17.

37 For a sample of some of the incidents described by contemporaries, see PAM, "Johnson, Eben W. (1869-1943)," MG 7/ C 17, p.23;; Lally Bernard, The Canadian Doukhobor Settlements: A Series of Letters (Toronto: William Briggs, 1899), 18; Marjorie Malloff and Peter Ogloff, eds., "Toil and Peaceful Life: Portraits of Doukhobors," Sound Heritage 6, no. 4 (1977), 46; Leopold Sulerzhitsky, To America with the Doukhobors (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1982), 163-164; Joseph S. Elkinton, "Arrivals of Dukhobors in Canada from Cyprus" (London: Unpublished pamphlet, 1899), 5.

38 Kathlyn Szalasznyj, "The Doukhobor Homestead Crisis, 1898-1907," in Koozma J. Tarasoff and Robert B. Klymasz, eds., Spirit Wrestlers: Centennial Papers in Honour of Canada's Doukhobor Heritage (Hull PQ: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1995), 157; Tracie, Doukhobor Village Settlement, 20-21.

39 Listed in Ward, "Trek of the Doukhobors," 24; Dawson, Group Settlement, 12. By 1901, the number had reached 66 (19 in the North Reserve, 35 in the South Reserve, and 12 in the Prince Albert Colony). For a complete list of village names, see Sam George Stupnikoff, Historical Saga of the Doukhobor Faith, 1750-1990s (Self-published, 1992), 28-30; Tracie, "Toil", 25.

40 A.G. Bradley, Canada in the Twentieth Century (London, Constable & Co., 1903), 298.

41 Donald T. Gale and Paul M. Koroscil, "Doukhobor Settlements: Experiments in Idealism, Canadian Ethnic Studies 9, no. 2 (1977), 63; Tracie, "Ethnicity," 50.

42 Koozma J. Tarasoff, A Pictorial History of the Doukhobors (Saskatoon: Modern Press, 1969), 29, 75; Tracie, "Ethnicity and the Prairie Environment," 58; Tracie, Doukhobor Village Settlement, 37-40.

43 J. F. C. Wright, Slava Bohu: The Story of the Dukhobors (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1940), 132.

44 George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, The Doukhobors (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968), 139-140.

45 Sulerzhitsky, To America with the Doukhobors, 173-174.

46 Mary Fitz Gibbon describes a *sobranie* where Ivin, the lone individualist of the North Colony is very reluctantly persuaded to share his animals and farm implements with fellow villagers. See Bernard, Canadian Doukhobor Settlements, 26-27; Aylmer Maude reports the same in A Peculiar People: The Doukhobors (New York: AMS Press,1970), 64. Ivin was one of the Doukhobor delegates who arrived in Canada early to select land.

47 Mavor, My Windows on the Street of the World, Vol. II (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1923), 12.

48 Jeremy Adelman, "Early Doukhobor Experience on the Canadian Prairies," Journal of Canadian Studies 25, no. 4 (Winter 1990-91), 116-117.

49 Sulerzhitsky, To America with the Doukhobors, 171-172.

50 Ibid., 107.

51 See, for instance, the accusations of Peter Malov in Gale and Koroscil, "Doukhobor Settlements," 60.

52 Sulerzhitsky, To America with the Doukhobors, 150.

53 Ibid., 154-155; Bernard, The Canadian Doukhobor Settlements, 18-22; Koozma J. Tarasoff, Plakun Trava (Grand Forks: Mir Publication Society, 1982), 67.

54 Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings to aid the Doukhobortsi, "The Cause of the Doukhobortsi should be the Cause of Christendom, and an Appeal for Their Relief, is Manifestly a Righteous One." (Philadelphia: unpublished pamphlet, 1899). The figure of $30,000 is listed by Dawson in Group Settlement, 12n.

55 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 164.

56 For a brief analysis of the Committee and its members, see Ewart Reid, "The Doukhobors in Canada," (M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1932), 42-43.

57 Sulerzhitsky, To America with the Doukhobors, 178-179.

58 Adelman, "Early Doukhobor Experience," 115. According to Maude and Dawson, Ottawa eventually granted an additional $20,000 to the 'bonus' fund, which the Doukhobors eventually repaid in part. A Peculiar People, 76; Group Settlement, 12n.

59 Sulerzhitsky, To America with the Doukhobors, 180-181.

60 Peter Jansen was a Nebraska senator, and son to Cornelius Jansen, who figures in Chapter Two as a leader of the Russian Mennonite emigration. Mary Fitz Gibbon met Jansen in Winnipeg, and claimed that he had been entrusted by the Philadelphia Quakers with a large amount of money to purchase farm animals for the Doukhobors. Bernard, The Canadian Doukhobor Settlements, 11. Joseph Elkinton Jr. wrote that Peter Jansen visited the South Colony "out of his consciencious objection to the Russian Church." Joseph Elkinton, The Doukhobors: Their History in Russia, Their Migration to Canada (Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach, 1903), 208.

61 Sulerzhitsky, To America with the Doukhobors, 113-114.

62 On the early schooling attempts by Quakers, see Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 212-214; Elkinton, The Doukhobors, 82-85; John Friesen, "Schooling and the Doukhobor Experience," in Tarasoff and Klymasz, Spirit Wrestlers, 139.

63 Adelman, "Early Doukhobor Experience," 116; Sulerzhitsky, To America with the Doukhobors, 147.

64 Malloff and Ogloff, "Portraits," 25.

65 See the story of how one Elizavetpol boy retaliated in Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 58-59. On relations between Doukhobor and Canadian workers in these years, see Sulerzhitsky, To America with the Doukhobors, 104-105, 200-203; Bernard, Canadian Doukhobor Settlements, 36-37. Some Canadian labourers resented the fact that the Doukhobors (unknowingly) accepted wages which were lower than average.

66 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 174.

67 Dawson, Group Settlement, 22-23.

68 Ibid., 23.

69 See analysis and photographs of this activity in Elkinton, The Doukhobors, 215-217; Tarasoff, Pictorial History, 78; Elkinton, "Arrivals of Doukhobors," 2; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 162, photo insert #2. The men also hitched themselves to supply carts, see photo in Elkinton, The Doukhobors, 49.

70 Dawson, Group Settlement, 24.

71 Maude, A Peculiar People, 312.

72 The figures are listed in Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 173.

73 Tracie, Doukhobor Village Settlement, 120-121.

74 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 159.

75 Ibid.

76 Dawson, Group Settlement, 13; Gale and Koroscil, "Doukhobor Settlements," 60.

77 Tolstoy's letter is reproduced in John P. Stoochnoff, Doukhobors As They Are (Vancouver: Liberty Press, 1971), 79-84.

78 See Chapter Three, page 159.

79 V. G. Bogoraz, *Dukhobory V Kanade: Ocherki*, (Moscow: E. D. Miakhova,1906), 11.

80 Sulerzhitskii, To America with the Doukhobors, 214.

81 Ibid., Maude, A Peculiar People, 200-201; Tracie, Doukhobor Village Settlement, 99; Adelman, "Early Doukhobor Experience," 117.

82 Maude, Tolstoy and His Problems (London: Grant Richards, 1901), 322-323.

83 For more on Bodianskii and these petitions, see Maude, A Peculiar People, 211-215; Elkinton, The Doukhobors, 115.

84 Quoted in Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 170.

85 Wright, Slava Bohu, 180-181.

86 Donskov, ed., Tolstoy-Verigin: Correspondence, 46-47n.

87 Department of the Interior, Canada, Papers Relating to the Holding of Homestead Entries by Members of the Doukhobor Community (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1907), 7. Sifton's letter was dated February 15, 1902.

88 See John Bellows' letter to the Canadian Doukhobors in William Janzen, Limits on Liberty: The Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite, and Doukhobor Communities in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 41.

89 Elkinton, The Doukhobors, 113.

90 "Equal Rights," Neepawa Register (February 1, 1899), 4. For an original letter complaining of favoured treatment of Doukhobors over British subjects, see A. J. Cotton's letter to Immigration Commissioner W. F. McCreary (January 30, 1899) in PAM, Cotton, A. J. Letterbooks, Vol. I, MG 8/ B 99, Vol. I.

91 Senator Boulton, April 26, 1899. Quoted in Tracie, "Ethnicity and the Prairie Environment," 62. The *Neepawa Register* editorial also criticized the creation of reserves which "tends to keep these people foreigners instead of transforming them into British citizens as quickly as possible." (February 1, 1899), 4.

92 On the popular reaction to Bodianskii's works, see Reid, "Doukhobors in Canada," 62.

93 Dept. of the Interior, Papers, 7.

94 Dawson, Group Settlement, 10; Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 36; Adelman, "Early Doukhobor Experience," 115.

95 Report of Vasilii Vereshagin, quoted in Maude, A Peculiar People, 206.

96 J. Colin Yerbury and John Whitworth, "The Canadian Genesis of the Sons of Freedom," in Tarasoff and Klymasz, Spirit Wrestlers, 125.

97 Ibid.

98 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 173.

99 For excerpts of Verigin's letters, see Maude, A Peculiar People, 224-226; Wright, Slava Bohu, 187-191; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The

Doukhobors, 176-177, Simma Holt, Terror in the Name of God: The Story of the Sons of Freedom Doukhobors (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), 30.

100 Quoted in Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 69.

101 Quoted in Holt, Terror in the Name of God, 31.

102 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 178; "Doukhobors on the March," Manitoba Free Press (October 29, 1902), 1.

103 Quoted in Maude, A Peculiar People, 234.

104 See the interviews between the pilgrims and the Yorkton correspondent for the *Manitoba Free Press* (October 31-November 4, 1902).

105 "Doukhobors Cross the Line into Manitoba," Manitoba Free Press (November 3, 1902), 7; "The Doukhobor Craze," Neepawa Register (November 5, 1902), 1.

106 Holt, Terror in the Name of God, 33.

107 William Blakemore, Report of Royal Commission on Matters Relating to the Sect of Doukhobors in the Province of British Columbia, 1912 (Victoria: The Government of the Province of British Columbia, 1913), 21.

108 "Long for Freedom," *Colonist*, (October 23, 1902), 1, cited in Yerbury and Whitworth, "The Canadian Genesis," 129; "Along the Trail to Saltcoats," Manitoba Free Press, (October 31, 1902), 3.

109 University of Manitoba Library Archives [UMLA], Simma Holt Papers, *Terror in the Name of God:* Correspondence: Christian Community of Reformed Doukhobors, "An Open Letter Appeal to the Society of Friends," (Krestova BC: May 24, 1954), MSS 103/6/6, pp. 18-19.

110 Jeremy Adelman and Koozma J. Tarasoff both emphasize the role of the registration disputes when accounting for the 1902 trek. "Early Doukhobor Experience," 119; Pictorial History, 26, 111.

111 Vergin to Tolstoy (January 12, 1903), in Donskov, ed., Tolstoy-Verigin: Correspondence, 53.

112 "Doukhobors on the March," Manitoba Free Press, (October 29, 1902), 8.

113 Holt integrates North West Mounted Police records into her analysis of the 1902 pilgrimage in Terror in the Name of God, 30-36.

114 Ibid., 30.

115 "Doukhobor Delusions," *Colonist*, (September 28, 1902), 3, cited in Yerbury and Whitworth, "The Canadian Genesis," 129.

116 "The Doukhobor Craze," Neepawa Register, (November 5, 1902), 1.

117 W. Garland Foster, "Canadian Communists: The Doukhobor Experiment," American Journal of Sociology 41, no. 3 (November 1935), 334. Tarasoff also suspects this to be a motive for the trek in Pictorial History, 26.

118 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 182-183.

119 Peter Verigin, "The Truth About the Doukhobors," The Independent 75, no. 3370 (July 3, 1913), 21.

120 "An Act to Amend the Dominion Lands Acts," Statutes of Canada, c.19, sec.19.

121 Order-in-Council, August 27,1877, cited in Ibid., 26.

122 One such incident resulted in 20 day jail terms for five Mennonite men. See "The Menno-Canuck Difficulty," Manitoba Free Press, (January 9-10, 1878), 1. Also found in PAM, Winkler, Howard W., Historical Extracts, MG 14/B 44/17/2, p.9175.

123 Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 23-24.

124 Ibid., 24-25.

125 J. F. Galbraith, The Mennonites in Manitoba 1875-1900: A Review of their Coming, their Progress, and their present Prosperity (Morden MB: Chronicle Presses, 1900), 13.

126 Quoted in Smith, Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 189.

127 "Mennonite Progress," Manitoba Free Press (October 31, 1879), 1. Also found in PAM, Winkler, Howard W., Historical Extracts, MG 14/B 44/17/2, p.9185.

128 "The Viceregal Visit," Manitoba Free Press (August 23,1877), 2. (Author's emphases).

129 Ibid.

130 Ibid.

131 Francis, In Search of Utopia, 93.

132 Ibid., 92.

133 Galbraith, Mennonites in Manitoba, 16.

134 Francis, In Search of Utopia, 94. The Bergthal minority and a group of Old Colony renegades elected Jakob Giesbrecht, a liberal mayor who had been excommunicated by the Old Colony church, as reeve of Rhineland in the early 1880s.

135 Ibid., 95.

136 Emerick K. Francis, "Tradition and Progress Among the Mennonites in Manitoba," Mennonite Quarterly Review 24, no. 4 (October 1950), 316; In Search of Utopia, 89.

137 Francis, In Search of Utopia, 89.

138 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 222; Dawson, Group Settlement, 115-117. Dawson claims Plum Coulee was founded in 1888, and Altona in 1896.

139 Francis, In Search of Utopia, 102.

140 Dawson, Group Settlement, 117.

141 "Mr. Shantz' Evidence," Journals of the House of Commons 20, 33-34.

142 Friesen, "Saskatchewan Mennonite Settlements," 86; "The Bilingual Schools of Manitoba XXX: The Mennonites," Manitoba Free Press (February 4, 1913), 3.

143 Kropotkin, "Some of the Resources," 504.

144 Dawson, Group Settlement, 116.

145 Galbraith, Mennonites in Manitoba, 18; Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 227.

146 Wiebe, Causes and History, 66.

147 See Chapter One, pages 50-52.

148 Francis, "Tradition and Progress," 316.

149 Galbraith, Mennonites in Manitoba, 26-27.

150 Ibid., 27.

151 See the words of Kleine Gemeinde minister Heinrich Balzer in the 1830s, Chapter One, pages 51-52.

152 Wiebe, Causes and History, 65-66.

153 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 227.

154 Ibid., 222.

155 Ibid., 294-297. Manitoba Mennonites were also influenced by American Mennonite periodicals, such as *Herold der Wahrheit (Herald of Truth)* or *Mennonitische Rundschau (Mennonite Observer)* , both of which carried regular articles on the Russian emigrants.

156 Ibid., 294-295.

157 Wiebe, Causes and History, 25.

158 Ibid., 54.

159 Ibid., 73.

160 "Mr. Shantz' Evidence," Journals of the House of Commons 20, 41.

161 PAM, John C. Schultz, Lt. Governor of Manitoba, Correspondence & Papers, MG 12/E 1/2544.

162 Dawson, Group Settlement, 171.

163 Kropotkin, "Some of the Resources," 504-505.

164 Galbraith, Mennonites in Manitoba, 33-35. The West Reserve continued to prosper into the twentieth century. Based on fieldwork done in 1932, Carl Dawson remarked that Rhineland remained "very wealthy in proportion to its size and population." He further concluded that "The sectarian pattern of group settlement adopted by the Mennonites appears to have been a help to their material advancement." Group Settlement, 129-130.

165 Galbraith, Mennonites in Manitoba, 26-27.

166 Ibid.

167 Kropotkin, "Some of the Resources," 503-504. A year later, Leopold Sulerzhitskii echoed Kropotkin's sentiments, stating the Mennonites were "among the wealthies settlers of Canada,...." To America with the Doukhobors,

168 Galbraith, Mennonites in Manitoba, 30; Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 226.

169 Francis 57; Sessional Papers, 1893, no. 13?

170 Order-in-Council (January 23, 1895), cited in Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 312-313.

171 On the re-establishment of the village system in the Saskatchewan Reserves, see Richard Friesen, "Saskatchewan Settlements," 76-84.

172 Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 30-31.

173 Ibid., 28-30.

174 *Edmonton Bulletin* (October 24, 1898), cited in Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 306.

175 Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 32; Tracie, "Ethnicity and the Prairie," 54-57.

176 Order-in-Council no. 1605 (August 13, 1904), citied in Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 31.

177 Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 33-34.

178 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 304; Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, 7. In the latter volume Epp's census figures differ slightly from the first, and note the inclusion of non-baptized Mennonite youth.

179 Ibid.

180 UMLA, Simma Holt Papers, MSS 103/6/3, p.7.

181 Donskov, ed., Tolstoy-Verigin: Correspondence, 52.

182 "Doukhobor Leader Has Arrived." Manitoba Free Press, December 23, 1902, 1.

183 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 187.

184 The report of General Coloniation Agent C.W. Speers, cited in Dawson, Group Settlement, 27n; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 187.

185 Gale and Koroscil, "Doukhobor Settlements," 63.

186 Malloff and Ogloff, eds., "Portraits of Doukhobors," 45.

187 Mavor, My Windows II, 30-31. Dawson emphasizes the same point in Group Settlement, 17.

188 Tracie, Doukhobor Village Settlement, 125.

189 Mavor, Report to the Board of Trade on the North West of Canada 1904, quoted in Tracie, Doukhobor Village Settlement, 113.

190 Dawson, Group Settlement, 17.

191 Donskov, ed., Tolstoy-Verigin: Correspondence, 65-66. Verigin sent this statement to Tolstoy along with a letter dated February 20, 1904, and to Immigration Commissioner J. Obed Smith on Feb. 19, 1904. The latter is summarized in Tracie, Doukhobor Village Settlement, 121, and in Dawson, Group Settlement, 16.

192 Donskov, ed., Tolstoy-Verigin: Correspondence, 65-66; Tracie, Doukhobor Village Settlement, 121.

193 Quoted in Tarasoff, Pictorial History, 87.

194 Quoted in Tracie, Doukhobor Village Settlement, 121.

195 Mavor, My Windows II, 29.

196 Donskov, ed. Tolstoy-Verigin: Correspondence, 75-100. Lidia Gromova-Opulskaya also comments on this in her introductory essay, stating how Verigin's "peasant hour had come" in Canada. "Two Teachers of Life: A Dialogue," 6-7.

197 Tolstoy to Verigin, January 2, 1904, in Ibid., 61-62.

198 Tolstoy to Verigin, February 9-13, 1903 in Ibid., 55-56.

199 James Smart to Fred White, May 11, 1903, cited in Adelman, "Early Doukhobor Experience," 120.

200 Adelman, "Early Doukhobor Experience," 120.

201 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 194.

202 Wright, Slava Bohu, 214. This punishment was remarkably similar to that given by Russian military officials to the imprisoned Doukhbor soldiers at the Ekaterinograd penal battalion in 1895. See Chapter Three, page 133.

203 Adelman, "Early Doukhobor Experience," 120.

204 Holt, Terror in the Name of God, 44-51; UMLA, Simma Holt Papers, 1944 Government Memorandum, MSS 103/6/7, p. 3; Yerbury and Whitworth, "The Canadian Genesis," 133; Adelman, "Early Doukhobor Experience," 125.

205 See Chapter Three, pages 133 (endnote 28), 135 (endnote 37), 163-165.

206 Letter issued September 20, 1912, by the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood (CCUB) in Brilliant BC, reproduced in Alexander M. Evalenko, ed., Message of the Doukhobors (New York: International Library, 1913), 13-15. Also see the "Open Letter" written by the Sons of Freedom in UMLA, Simma Holt Papers, *Terror in the Name of God:* Correspondence: Doukhobors to Doukhobors, 1924-1959, MSS 103/6/2.

207 Verigin used parts of the 1912 document verbatim in his 1913 article in The Independent. "The Truth About the Doukhobors," 23.

208 Verigin to Tolstoy, December 1, 1903, in Donskov, ed., Tolstoy-Verigin: Correspondence, 59.

209 Mavor, My Windows II, 27.

210 Journalist Simma Holt attempted to legitimize some of these rumours in her controversial 1964 book, Terror in the Name of God. See pp. 38-39.

211 Hermann Fast to James Smart, August 24, 1903, cited in Tracie, Doukhobor Village Settlement, 113. Fast taught in one of the Spirit Wrestler's early schools.

212 Tarasoff, Pictorial History, 65; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 206.

213 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors,198. Tracie lists the number of Community Doukhobors in 1906 at 7700 in Doukhobor Village Settlement, 125.

214 Adelman, "Early Doukhobor Experience," 122; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 198; Holt, Terror in the Name of God, 40, 46.

215 C.W. Speers to Frank Oliver, September 7, 1905, cited in Szalasznyj, "The Doukhobor Homestead Crisis," 160

216 Report of Inspector D. C. McNab to Frank Oliver, February 24, 1906, cited in Ibid., 160-161.

217 C.W. Speers to Frank Oliver, September 7, 1905, cited in Ibid., 160.

218 Fred White to Frank Oliver, August 2, 1905, cited in Adelman, "Early Doukhobor Experience," 121.

219 "Doukhobor Claims for Compensation (Documents from the papers of J. E. Mavor)," Canadian Slavonic Papers 1 (1956), 2; Tarasoff, Pictorial History, 31.

220 Tracie, Doukhobor Village Settlement, xii.

221 Quoted in *The Citizen* [Ottawa], cited in Adelman, "Early Doukhobor Experience," 120-121.

222 "How Doukhobors Are Agitating Country," Winnipeg Telegram, (March 25, 1907), 10.

223 Verigin to Tolstoy, April 1, 1905 in Donskov, ed., Tolstoy-Verigin: Correspondence, 71.

224 Adelman, "Early Doukhobor Experience," 124.

225 Frank Oliver, Memorandum to Council, December 1, 1906 in Department of the Interior, Canada, Papers, 6.

226 Ibid.

227 Clifford Sifton to Doukhobors, February 15, 1902, quoted in Ibid., 7.

228 Report of interview between Oliver and Doukhobor representatives, February 25, 1907, in Department of the Interior, Canada, Papers, 18.

229 Ibid., 17

230 Adelman, "Early Doukhobor Experience," 123.

231 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 220.

232 Quoted in Szalasznyj, "The Doukhobor Homestead Crisis," 161.

233 Quoted in Adelman, "Early Doukhobor Experience," 123.

234 Quoted in Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 220.

235 Dr. E. L. Cash to Wilfred Laurier, December 13, 1906, cited in Adelman, "Early Doukhobor Experience," 124.

236 Government circular addressed to the Elders and People of each of the 61 Doukhobor villages during the month of February, 1907, in Department of the Interior, Canada, Papers, 11-12.

237 Ibid., 11.

238 Interview between Frank Oliver and Doukhobor representatives in Ottawa, April 11, 1907, in Ibid., 25.

239 Government circular addressed to the Elders and People of each of the 61 Doukhobor villages during the month of February, 1907, in Ibid., 11.

240 Report of Interview between Oliver and Doukhobor representatives, February 25, 1907, in Ibid., 19.

241 Ibid., 15-16.

242 Petition to the Minister of the Interior from the Christian Community of the Universal Brotherhood of Doukhobors in Canada, February 10, 1907 in Ibid., 14-15.

243 Verigin to Tolstoy, February 20, 1904, in Donskov, ed., Tolstoy-Verigin: Correspondence, 64.

244 Verigin to Tolstoy, March 9, 1907, in Ibid., 83.

245 Federal Memorandum (August 1, 1907), reproduced in Stupnikoff, Historical Saga , 43; Dawson, Group Settlement, 28.

246 Tarasoff, Pictorial History, 30; Plakun Trava, 37.

247 Commissioner John McDougall's Final Report (May 14, 1907), in Department of the Interior, Canada, Papers, 29; Dawson Group Settlement, 28.

248 Szalasznyj, "The Doukhobor Homestead Crisis," 163; Wright, Slava Bohu, 240-241.

249 Tracie, Doukhobor Village Settlement, 209-210. See the claims of Community Doukhobor Michael Kazakov in his letter of March 23, 1914 to Minister of the Interior, W. J. Roche in "Doukhobor Claims," 13.

250 Tracie, Doukhobor Village Settlement., 210; Michael Kazakov and John Konkin to Minister of the Interior, W. J. Roche, November 10, 1913, in "Doukhobor Claims," 13.

251 Michael Kazakov and John Konkin to Minister of the Interior, W. J. Roche, November 10, 1913, in "Doukhobor Claims," 10-11.

252Adelman, "Early Doukhobor Experience," 125.

253 A similar argument is made by Carl Dawson in Group Settlement, 36.

254 Szalasznyj, "The Doukhobor Homestead Crisis," 157.

255 Verigin to Tolstoy, April 1, 1905, in Donskov, ed., Tolstoy-Verigin: Correspondence, 72. Verigin admitted: "Of course all of this is not a search for Spiritual Truth but only for a comfortable place to live."

256 Verigin to Tolstoy, March 9, 1907, in Donskov, ed., Tolstoy-Verigin: Correspondence, 82.

257 Tarasoff, Pictorial History, 117-118, Tracie, Doukhobor Village Settlement, 200.

258 Szalasznyj, "The Doukhobor Homestead Crisis," 164.

259 See endnote 238.

260 PAM, Mennonites: John Lowe, Department of Agriculture to Mennonite Delegates from Southern Russia re Conditions of Settlement, MG A18/3.

261 The British North America Act, Section 93, Statutes of Canada, 1867 (Ottawa: Malcolm Cameron), 23.

262 See Bergthal elder Gerhard Wiebe's lengthy diatribes, stressing the perversion of God's true teachings through the influence of human wisdom in advanced schools in Causes and History, 8-11, 59-63.

263 Jake Peters, Mennonite Private Schools in Manitoba and Saskatchewan 1874-1925 (Steinbach MB: Mennonite Village Museum Historical Series, 1985), 8. Peters notes that some schools briefly reopened between seeding and harvesting.

264 The Chortitz Church *Schulverordnung* (School Regulations) described school as this. Francis, In Search of Utopia, 163.

265 PAM, Gerhard Kehler Papers, General Decree for the Private Schools of the Sommerfelder Mennonite Congreation in Southern Manitoba, Canada [Translated from 1903 original, *Allgemeine Schulverordngung fuer den Privatschulen der Sommerfelder Mennoniten Gemeinde in Sued-Manitoba, Kanada*], MG 8/D 31.

266 Peters, Mennonite Private Schools, 9, 25-28. See Tables II and III listing prominent Mennonite teachers in Manitoba, their qualifications, and teachers' salaries.

267 Wiebe, Causes and History, 54,

268 Adolf Ens, Subjects or Citizens?: The Mennonite Experience in Canada 1870-1925 (University of Ottawa Press, 1994), 64.

269 Wiebe, Causes and History, 55.

270 Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, 66.

271 Ibid., 64.

272 Provincial Secretary D. H. Wilson to Isaak Mueller, September 9, 1885. Quoted in Francis, In Search of Utopia, 167.

273 Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, 108.

274 I. I. Friesen, "The Mennonites of Western Canada with Special Reference to Education," (M.Ed. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1934), 102.

275 Dawson, Group Settlement, 155; Friesen, "Mennonites of Western Canada," 103; Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, 111;.

276 Cited in Francis, In Search of Utopia, 174.

277 "The Mennonites of Manitoba." (November 26, 1910), 44. This same article criticized the "pigheadedness" of the Roblin government on the flag issue which set back the public school movement among the sectarians, when "a wiser course would be to excuse the Mennonite."

278 Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, 113. The *Manitoba Free Press* article "The Bilingual Schools of Manitoba XXXV: The Work of Inspector Weidenhammer amongst the Mennonites" claims Weidenhammer already created 64 school districts. (February 10, 1913), 3.

279 Andrew A. Willows [A. A. Weidenhammer], "The History of the Mennonites Particularly in Manitoba," (M. A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1924), 67. "The Work of Inspector Weidenhammer amongst the

Mennonites"Manitoba Free Press, (February 10, 1913), 3. I. I. Friesen qualifies Weidenhammer's achievements, noting that many of the district schools established in the early 1910s had been formed at the request of mixed populations of Mennonites and non-Mennonites who lived along the periphery of the former West Reserve. "Mennonites of Western Canada," 112.

280 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 341.

281 Kropotkin, "Some of the Resources," 504.

282 According to Francis, 415 of 476 Bergthalers in the West Reserve joined the new Sommerfeld church "at the height of the controversy." In Search of Utopia, 171.

283 Willows, "History of the Mennonites," 70.

284 "A Description of the First Reaction of the Conservative Mennonites to the Appointment of a Mennonite School Inspector as Given by Novokampus," in *Kanadische Mennoniten–Zum Jubilaeums-jahr*, reproduced in the appendix to Friesen, "Mennonites of Western Canada."

285 Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, 114.

286 Ibid.

287 J. J. Friesen to Saskatchewan Education Minister J. A. Calder, October 1, 1908. Quoted in Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 100.

288 Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 103.

289 From two similar quotations cited in Charles B. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education: An Historical Study, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1959), 203, and A. A. Willows, "History of the Mennonites," 69-70.

290 Willows, "History of the Mennonites," 70.

291 Ibid., 72.

292 William L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 245, 311.

293 Francis, In Search of Utopia, 181.

294 "The Mennonite Issue Settled," Manitoba Free Press, (August 3, 1920), 11.

295 "The Legislature and Bilingualism," Manitoba Free Press, (January 24, 1916), 7.

296 "Startling Lack of English Shown by Enquiry into Bilingual Schools," Manitoba Free Press, (January 21, 1916), 1, 9.

297 Ibid. In a brief article entitled "Some Flowers of Biligualism," the *Free Press* wrote that "...all evidence goes to show that the Mennonite public schools...have, with the exception of the last hour of the day, been honorably conducted in the English language." (January 25, 1916), 9. Also see the eight *Free Press* articles written on the Mennonites and public schools, which were relatively sympathetic to Mennonite progress. "The Bilingual Schools of Manitoba,"(February 4-12, 1913), 3. Inspector Weidenhammer naturally agreed that the public schools under his supervision had maintained higher standards of English teaching. Willows, "History of the Mennonites," 67.

298 Charles B. Sissons, Church and State, 203.

299 "Startling Expose of Evils of Bilingualism in School System." Manitoba Free Press (January 13, 1916).

300 Francis, "Tradition and Progress," 322, Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 356.

301 Willows, "History of the Mennonites," 75.

302 PAM: Valentine Winkler Papers, H. H. Ewert to Hon. Valentine Winkler, December 6, 1915, MG 14/B 45/1208-1210.

303 PAM: Valentine Winkler Papers, Mennonite School Commission of Southern Manitoba to Hon. Valentine Winkler, January 7, 1916, MG 14/B 45/1359-1360.

304 PAM: Valentine Winkler Papers, Mennonite School Commission of Southern Manitoba to Hon. Valentine Winkler, January 7, 1916; H. H. Ewert to Hon. Valentine Winkler, January 10, 1916, MG 14/B 45/1359, 1369-70.

305 PAM: Valentine Winkler Papers, Mennonite School Commission of Southern Manitoba to Hon. Valentine Winkler, January 7, 1916, MG 14/B 45/1358.

306 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 355-356.

307 Quoted in Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, 120.

308 PAM: Valentine Winkler Papers, MG 14/B 45/1741-1746.

309 PAM: Valentine Winkler Papers, J. H. Pope, Minister of Agriculture, July 28, 1873, Ottawa, MG 14/B 45/1739-40.

310 Adolf Ens explains that the legal status of the Mennonite Privilegium was rather uncertain. On August 22, 1873, the Governor-General had temporarily suspended the Order-in-Council in order to relieve the anxieties of the British Foreign Office over the proposed Mennonite exodus from Russia, yet had never lifted the suspension once the emigration was approved by the Russian government and British concerns subsided. Subjects or Citizens?, 18-19.

311 PAM: Gerhard Kehler Papers, Resolutions of the Congregational Assemblies held May 22-26, 1916 at Sommerfeld, Rudnerweide, Grosweide and Kronsweide, MG 8/D 31.

312 Ibid.

313 R.S. Thornton, quoted in Friesen, 116.

314 Dawson, Group Settlement, 105.

315 "Mennonites and the Schools," Manitoba Free Press, (September 25, 1918), 11; Manitoba Free Press, (September 28, 1918), 2.

316 "Mennonite Bishop Advises Against the Public Schools" Manitoba Free Press, (May 14, 1919), 7.

317 Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, 126.

318 Ibid., 129.

319 Quoted in Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, 141; Friesen, "Mennonites of Western Canada," 124.

320 Quoted in Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 96; Friesen, "Mennonites of Western Canada," 124.

321 Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, 141-143.

322 Memorandum to the Members of the Manitoba Legislature by Rev. Heinrich Doerksen for the Chortitz Community and Rev. Heinrich Friesen for the Sommerfeld Community, March 1921. From the photocopied original in Peters, Mennonite Private Schools, 35. (Capitalized emphasis in orginal, bold emphasis is my own).

323 Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 96; Friesen, "Mennonites of Western Canada," 117.

324 Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, 139.

325Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 107.

326 Ibid; Frank H. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival (Toronto: Macmillan, 1982), 103.

327 Premier W. M. Martin, notes from a speech in the Saskatchewan Legislature, cited in Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 105.

328 "The Plea of the Mennonites," Manitoba Free Press (May 18, 1920), 15.

329 "The Mennonite Issue Settled,"Manitoba Free Press (August 3, 1920), 11.

330 "Startling Expose of Evils of Bilingualism in School System," Manitoba Free Press (January 13, 1916).

331 Quoted in Friesen,"Mennonites of Western Canada," 119.

332 The Petition of the Chortitz Church to the Government of the Province of Manitoba, reproduced in Appendix 17, Friesen,"Mennonites of Western Canada."

333 The Ontario-German Inspector of Mennonite schools, A. A.Weidenhammer, for example, anglicized his name to Andrew Willows during the war. The southern Ontario city of Berlin changed its name to Kitchener during the war in a show of loyalty to the British crown.

334 Mennonite delegations from Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Ontario were sent to Ottawa in November 1916, January 1917, the Fall 1917, and April 1918.

335 Old Colony elder Isaak Dyck reports encountering such sentiments from British Canadians living in southern Manitoba. He claims such attitudes prevented the Mennonites from obtaining private financial assistance to maintain their schools. *Auswanderung von Canada nach Mexiko ano 1922*, Vol. I, (Cuauhtemoc, Mexico: Imprenta Colonial, 1995), 42-43.

336 As noted by Frank Epp, the number of Mennonites who emigrated to Canada from the United States has not been accurately determined. The Minister of Immigration reported 500-600 American Mennonite immigrants during the peak year of 1918. Exaggerated reports in the press and in Parliament ranged between 30,000 and 60,000. Mennonites in Canada, 395.

337 From the *Niagara Falls Gazette* (NY), quoted in "A Matter of Moment," Manitoba Free Press (September 4, 1918), 9.

338 "A Matter of Moment," Manitoba Free Press (September 4, 1918), 9.

339 Dawson, Group Settlement, 140.

340 For more on the agitation of veterans' and citizens' groups, see Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 405-407.

341 PAM, Mennonites: Orders-in-Council Respecting Conditions of Settlement re: Mennonites, Hutterites, Doukhobors, 1873-1941, MG 8/A 18/1.

342 "The Mennonites of Manitoba," Manitoba Free Press (November 26, 1910), 44.

343 For more information on these delegations see Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, 110-122; Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, 203-212.

344 Manitoba Free Press (August 20, 1920), 2.

345 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, 118.

346 The Sommerfelder Mexican Privilegium of October 30, 1921, reproduced in Appendix 9 in Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, 250-251.

347 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, 119. The July 8, 1921 letter from Vicente Guerrere, State of Durango, to the Hague representatives is reproduced in Appendix 19 in Friesen, "Mennonites of Western Canada."

348 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, 121. Some of those who later emigrated to Paraguay had been suspicious of the Mexican privilegiums which were not entrenched by congressional law (123). Excerpts from the Paraguayan Privilegium are reproduced in in Appendix 8 in Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, 248-249.

349 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, 112.

350 Quoted in Ibid., 125.

351 "The Threatened Mennonite Exodus," Manitoba Free Press (May 11, 1920), 15.

352 Memorandum to the Members of the Manitoba Legislature by Rev. Heinrich Doerksen for the Chortitz Community and Rev. Heinrich Friesen for the Sommerfeld Community, March 1921. From the photocopied original in Peters, Mennonite Private Schools, 35.

353 Dyck, *Auswanderung von Canada*, 3. (Author's translation).

354 Ibid., 5.

355 Ibid., 46. (Author's translation).

356 Poor land prices are said to have diminished the migration movement among Old Colonists from Hague. The Mennonites from the Swift Current Reserve lost over ten thousand acres of land after a deal with purchasers from Florida fell through and became tied up in the courts. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, 118-119.

357 Ibid., 124-125, 137n. Eventually, the emigrants' farms were purchased largely by new Mennonite emigrants from Russia through middlemen.

358 The Old Colonists paid $8.25/acre for land which was said to be merely worth 15¢/acre. Ibid., 118.

359 Ibid., 123.

360 Rev. John Wall to the minister of Education, Regina, February 12, 1923, quoted in Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 111.

361 All figures in this paragraph are taken from two tables with identical figures in Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, 214; Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, 122.

362 Manitoba's Mennonite population in 1921 was 21, 295, Saskatchewan's was 20, 544 (Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, 7) and approximately five thousand of the 7,800 Mennonites were from Manitoba.

363 Woodcock, A Social History of Canada, 281-282.

CHAPTER FIVE

1 George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, The Doukhobors (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968), 266.

2 Simeon F. Reibin, Toil and Peaceful Life: History of the Doukhobors Unmasked, (San Francisco: Delo, 1952), 85.

3 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 268.

4 Ibid., 269.

5 On the 'Butchers' see Chapter Three, pages 130-131.

6 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 272

7 Ivan Avakumovic, "Dukhobory," in The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History 10, (Joseph L. Wieczynski, ed. Gulf Breeze FL: Academic International Press, 1979), 33.

8 This is acknowledged by Soviet historian Alexei N. Ipatov, who writes: "At the threshhold of the revolution the Mennonites owned around 1 billion rubles worth in gold, 1 million desiatin land, half of which was in the hands of the kulaks, the rest in the hands of 80,000 "brothers" in faith. Besides that they owned hundreds of flourmills, dairies, brick factories and other businesses." [My translation]. *Mennonity*, (Moscow: Muisly, 1978),131.

9 Frank H. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival, (Toronto: Macmillan, 1982),, 140-142.

10 Frank H. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974), 311.

11 John B. Toews, "The Russian Mennonites: Some Introductory Comments," Mennonite Quarterly Review 48, no. 4 (October 1974), 405.

12 For example, see Emerick K. Francis, In Search of Utopia (Altona MB: D. W. Friesen & Sons, 1955), 217.

13 Peter M. Friesen, The Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia (1789-1910). (Fresno: Board of Christian Literature, 1980), 593.

14 Jacob Sudermann, "The Origin of Mennonite State Service in Russia, 1870-1880," Mennonite Quarterly Review 17, no. 1 (January 1943), 45n.

15 The figure of Nestor Makhno (1889-1934) has been viewed quite differently in Mennonite historiography than in traditional accounts by Russian, Ukrainian, and other historians. The Mennonite view is perhaps best summarized by the account of Cornelius Dyck:

"For a time the struggle between the Red and White Russian armies centered in the Ukraine, the battle front having moved back and forth as many as twenty-three times in some Mennonite areas. With this devastation came pillageing by ruthless bands of robbers and opportunists, one of the most dangerous being Nestor Machno, [sic.] a political prisoner whom the revolution had released from Siberian exile and who was out to take his revenge on society. Machno knew the Mennonites well, having worked for them as a young man; he even spoke the Low German language. In his opinion he had ben underpaid by them and was now collecting his wages with the help of thousands of peasants. As a result of this reign of terror hundreds of Mennonites were killed (240 alone in Zagradovka in Novermber, 1919) and countless villages completely destroyed." Cornelius J. Dyck, ed., An Introduction to Mennonite History, (Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1967), 140.

For similar depictions also see Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, 145; John B. Toews, "Early Communism and Russian Mennonite Peoplehood," in Mennonites in Russia: Essays in Honour of Gerhard Lohrenz, ed. John Friesen (Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1989), 269.

A more balanced view of Makhno is provided by Mennonite Victor Peters in his book, Nestor Makhno: The Life of an Anarchist (Winnipeg: Echo Books, 1970), which recognizes that Makhno was more than merely a plunderer with a grudge against the Mennonites. Many non-Mennonite accounts have been quite sympathetic to Makhno, describing him as an important populist revolutionary figure. Michael Malet claims that Makhno discouraged private looting and instilled discipline among his troops. Nestor Makhno in the Russian Civil War (London: Macmillan, 1982),17-18. The account given by Makhno's friend and mentor, Peter Arshinov, is also sympathetic to Makhno and his aims. History of the Makhnovist Movement,1918-1921, (Chicago: Solidarity, 1974) translated from the original, *Istoriia Makhnovskaga Dvizheniia* (Berlin: *Gruppa Russkikh Anarkhistov v Germanii*, 1923).

16 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, 150.

17 Ibid., 139.

18 Toews, "Early Communism," 275.

19 Quoted in Ibid., 281.

20 Cornelius J. Dyck, ed., An Introduction to Mennonite History, (Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1967), 143.

21 Walter Sawatsky, "From Russian to Soviet Mennonites 1941-1988," in Friesen, Mennonites in Russia, 300.

22 Dyck, Introduction to Mennonite History, 143.

23 Ibid.

24 For more information on the Mennonites in Siberia and Central Asia, see Sawatsky, "From Russian to Soviet Mennonites," 301-337.

25 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 274-275.

26 Reibin, Toil and Peaceful Life,129.

27 Ibid.

28 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 275.

29 The Molokans were a sect which had splintered from the Doukhobors in the eighteenth century over the use of the Bible during worship.

30 UMLA, Simma Holt Papers, *Terror in the Name of God:* Correspondence: "Collection of the Conversations, Speeches and Letters of Peter the Lordly and Peter Chistiakoff," MSS 103/6/4, 38-39.

31 Ibid., 39-41

32 Ethel Dunn, "Canadian and Soviet Dukhobors: An Examination of the Mechanisms of Culture Change," Canadian Slavic Studies 4, no. 2 (Summer 1970), 311.

33 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 276.

34 Koozma J. Tarasoff, Plakun Trava (Grand Forks: Mir Publication Society, 1982), 192.

35 Dunn, "Canadian and Soviet Dukhobors," 310-311.

36 Taken from two translations in Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 192; Dunn, "Canadian and Soviet Dukhobors," 316.

37 Dunn, "Canadian and Soviet Dukhobors," 315.

38 Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 196; Dunn, "Canadian and Soviet Dukhobors," 317-318.

39 Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 197.

40 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 276-277.

41 Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 197.

42 Ibid., 199-200.

43 Paraguayan President Jose P. Guggiari, September 29, 1929, quoted in Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, 127.

44 Ibid., 128.

45 Frank H. Epp, "Introduction" to Hildegard M. Martens, "Mennonites from Mexico: Their Immigration and Settlement in Canada," Research Report submitted to Canada Manpower & Immigration and Mennonite Central Committee, 1975, 9.

46 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, 355-357.

47 Carl Rogers, quoted in "A New Home for Canada's Mennonites," The Globe Magazine (February 2,1963), 8-9. Included in PAM: Winkler, Howard W. Mennonite Community-Miscellaneous. MG 14/B 44/8/1.

48 "A New Home for Canada's Mennonites," The Globe Magazine (February 2,1963), 9. Included in PAM: Winkler, Howard W. Mennonite Community-Miscellaneous. MG 14/B 44/8/1.

49 William Janzen, Limits on Liberty: The Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite, and Doukhobor Communities in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 18.

50 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, 155.

51 Ibid.

52 Francis, In Search of Utopia, 212.

53 Ibid.

54 Carl A. Dawson, Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, (Toronto: Macmillan, 1936), 144-146.

55 Ibid., 147.

56 Ibid., 137.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid., 171.

59 Francis, In Search of Utopia, 217. Note the similarity of Francis' argument with Toews' analysis of the acculturated Russian Mennonites in "The Russian Mennonites: Some Introductory Comments," Mennonite Quarterly Review 48, no. 4 (October 1974), 405.

60 Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, The Doukhobors , 240.

61 Ibid.

62 William Janzen, "The Doukhobor Challenge to Canadian Liberties," in Tarasoff, Koozma J. and Klymasz, Robert B., eds., Spirit Wrestlers: Centennial Papers in Honour of Canada's Doukhobor Heritage (Hull PQ: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1995), 174; J. F. C. Wright, Slava Bohu: The Story of the Dukhobors (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1940), 268.

63 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 291.

64 Dawson, Group Settlement, 84.

65 PVV's deportation & convictions. Wright, Slava Bohu, 335-336; 343-350; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 298-301.

66 Verigin's anti-political stance in 1934 was partly a response to measures by government which prohibited the British Columbia Doukhobors from voting provincially in 1931, and federally in 1934. Tarasoff, Plakun Trava , 151; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 302.

67 Koozma J. Tarasoff, A Pictorial History of the Doukhobors (Saskatoon: Modern Press, 1969), 25.

68 Ibid., 25-26. Academic Charles Frantz noted in the 1950s that most Independents "now pursue the vices and virtues of the general Canadian society, and perhaps retain the ideal of pacifism more than any of the other core beliefs and feelings traditionally characterizing Doukhoborism." Charles E. Frantz, "The Doukhobor Political System: Social Structure and Social Organization in a Sectarian Society," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1958), 42.

69 Sam George Stupnikoff, Historical Saga of the Doukhobor Faith, 1750-1990s (Self-published, 1992), 59.

70 Frantz, "Doukhobor Political System," 42.

71 See Tarasoff on Peter Verigin's discussions of resettlement schemes with Soviet authorities in the early 1920s and Peter Chistiakov's visits to Mexico in the late1920s and early 1930s, in Plakun Trava , 148-150,192-196.

72 Susan W. Hardwick, Russian Refuge: Religion, Migration, and Settlement on the North American Pacific Rim (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 85.

73 For a more detailed description of the double houses see Donald T. Gale and Paul M. Koroscil, "Doukhobor Settlements: Experiments in Idealism, Canadian Ethnic Studies 9, no. 2 (1977), 65-68.

74 Robert Minden, Separate from the World: Meetings with Doukhobor-Canadians in British Columbia (Vancouver: The National Film Board of Canada, 1979), 32.

75 Harry Trevor (Snesarov), cited in Tarasoff, Pictorial History, 32; Dawson, Group Settlement, 41-42.

76 UMLA, Simma Holt Papers, *Terror in the Name of God:* Record of Conversation between Peter Verigin and British Columbia Attorney-General William Bowser, December 17, 1914, MSS 103/6/3, 15.

77 William Blakemore, Report of Royal Commission on Matters Relating to the Sect of Doukhobors in the Province of British Columbia, 1912 (Victoria: The Government of the Province of British Columbia, 1913), 51.

78 For a list of objections by British Columbia locals to Doukhobor settlement, see the Blakemore Report, 64-65.

79 Alexander M. Evalenko, ed., Message of the Doukhobors (New York: International Library, 1913), 71.

80 Blakemore, Report of Royal Commission, 65.

81 Ibid., 65-66.

82 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 251; John Friesen, "Schooling and the Doukhobor Experience," in Tarasoff and Klymasz, Spirit Wrestlers, 141.

83 For more information, see "Doukhobor Claims for Compensation (Documents from the papers of J. E. Mavor)." Canadian Slavonic Papers 1, (1956), 1-15.

84 "An Act to make Provision for the Welfare and Protection of Women and Children living under Communal Conditions." Statutes of the Province of British Columbia,1914, c.11. [Short Title: 'Community Regulation Act.]

85 Letter signed by K. Reiben, T. Salikin, and S. Vereshchagin in the Grand Forks Gazette, March 4, 1914, cited in Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 250.

86 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 250.

87 Peter Verigin even called for all empires to be disbanded. See UMLA, Simma Holt Papers, *Terror in the Name of God:* Correspondence: "Collection of the Conversations, Speeches and Letters of Peter the Lordly and Peter Chistiakoff," MSS 103/6/4, 19-23.

88 UMLA, Simma Holt Papers, *Terror in the Name of God:* Correspondence, MSS 103/6/6, 19.

89 Ibid., 23-25; William Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 183-184.

90 See Chapter Four, endnote 341.

91 James Mavor to Sir Thomas White, May 1, 1919, reproduced in John P. Stoochnoff, Toil and Peaceful Life: Doukhobors As They Are (Vancouver: Liberty Press, 1971), 90-94. An article in the *Manitoba Free Press* also defended the rights of the Doukhobors versus the attempt by veterans and locals to confiscate Doukhobor lands. See "Justice for the Doukhobors," May 14, 1919.

92 Quoted in Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 254.

93 See, for instance, the Vancouver Daily World of February 27, 1922, cited in Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 255.

94 Simma Holt, Terror in the Name of God: The Story of the Sons of Freedom Doukhobors (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), 52.

95 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 256.

96 For a detailed description of events surrounding the assasination, see Simma Holt, Terror in the Name of God, 54-60.

97 Paul Avrich is one who suspects that the Freedomites were responsible for the assasination. See "The Sons of Freedom and the Promised Land." Russian Review 21, no. 1 (January 1962), 267-268.

98 UMLA, Simma Holt Papers, *Terror in the Name of God:* Correspondence, MSS 103/6/6.

99 Simeon Reibin lists ten different possible scenarios in Toil and Peaceful Life, 131-132.

100 Unfortunately, Simma Holt's prejudicial and inflammatory work, *Terror in the Name of God: The Story of the Sons of Freedom Doukhobors* , remains one of the most detailed accounts of the Freedomites' activities during the mid-twentieth century.

101 Compiled from Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 262-264; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 284-355; Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 132-142; Holt, Terror in the Name of God, 61-287; Dawson, Group Settlement, 74.

CONCLUSION

1 Peter P. Verigin, quoted in University of Manitoba Library Archives [UMLA], Simma Holt Papers, *Terror in the Name of God:* Correspondence: Christian Community of Reformed Doukhobors, "An Open Letter Appeal to the Society of Friends," (Krestova BC: May 24, 1954), MSS 103/6/6, 49.

2 Dawson, Group Settlement, 103.

3 See Tarasoff, Plakun Trava, 117ff.; Evalenko, Message of the Doukhobors , 9-12; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 244-245; Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 128-141.

4 Carl J. Tracie, "Ethnicity and the Prairie Environment: Patterns of Old Colony Mennonite and Doukhbor Setllement." In Richard Allen, ed. Man and Nature on the Praries (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1976), 61-63.

5 Ibid., 63.

6 Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 35.

7 Quoted in Peter M. Friesen, The Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia (1789-1910) (Fresno: Board of Christian Literature, 1980), 592.

8 See Dawson's 1932 comparison of seven Independent Doukhobor families in Saskatchewan and seven West Reserve Mennonite families in Manitoba in Group Settlement, 61-63.

9 See Chapter One, page 16 on the discriminatory legislation against Mennonites passed in Prussia.

10 See Chapter One, pages 42-43, on the Doukhobors who remained at the Milky Waters.

11 PAM, Mennonites: John Lowe, Department of Agriculture to Mennonite Delegates from Southern Russia re Conditions of Settlement, MG A 18/3.

12 Department of the Interior, Canada, Papers Relating to the Holding of Homestead Entries by Members of the Doukhobor Community (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1907), 16.

13 Orest Novitskii, quoted in Aylmer Maude, A Peculiar People: The Doukhobors (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 19.

14 Blakemore, Report of Royal Commission, 51.

15 PAM, Mennonites: John Lowe, Department of Agriculture to Mennonite Delegates from Southern Russia re Conditions of Settlement, MG A 18/3.

16 Memorandum to the Members of the Manitoba Legislature by Rev. Heinrich Doerksen for the Chortitz Community and Rev. Heinrich Friesen for the Sommerfeld Community, March 1921. From the photocopied original in Jake Peters, Mennonite Private Schools in Manitoba and Saskatchewan 1874-1925, (Steinbach MB: Mennonite Village Museum Historical Series, 1985), 35.

17 Report of Interview between Oliver and Doukhobor representatives, February 25, 1907, in Department of the Interior, Canada, Papers, 16.

18 Ibid.

19 Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920, 197.

20 Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 141.

21 Blakemore, Report of Royal Commission, 65.

22 Ewart Reid, "The Doukhobors in Canada," (M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1932), 31.

23 Interview between Frank Oliver and Doukhobor representatives in Ottawa, April 11, 1907, in Department of the Interior, Canada, Papers, 25.

24 Thomas M. Smith, "Late Nineteenth Century Communication: Techniques and Machines," in Melvin Kranzberg and Carroll W. Pursell, eds., Technology in Western Civilization Volume I: The Emergence of Modern Industrial Society (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967), 644-645.

25 On the advances in steamship travel see Walter Nugent, Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 31-36.

26 Jacob Walkin, The Rise of Democracy in Pre-Revolutionary Russia: Political and Social Institiutions Under the Last Three Czars (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), 178-179.

27 Mehdi Nakosteen, The History and Philosophy of Education (New York: Ronald Press, 1965), 410.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid., 478.

30 Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 294.

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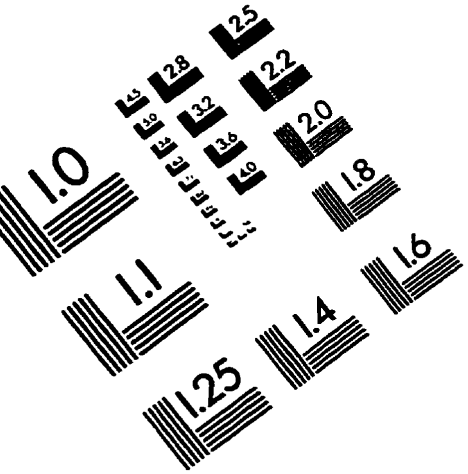
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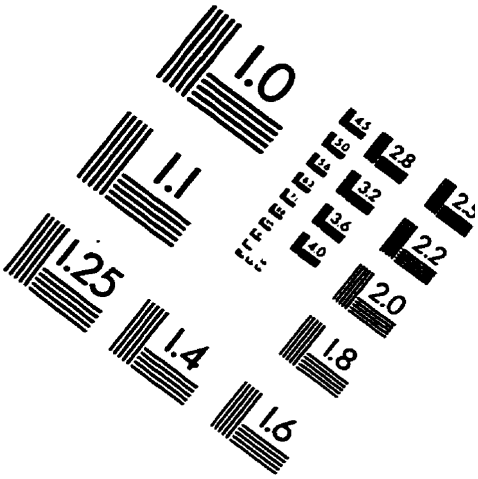
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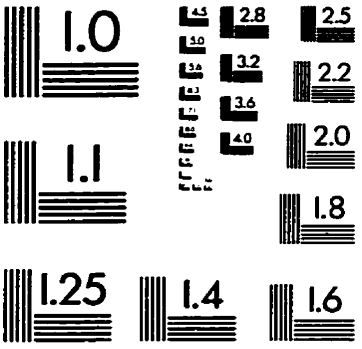
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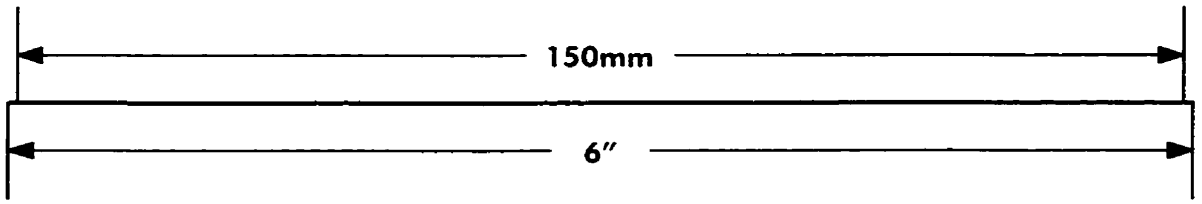
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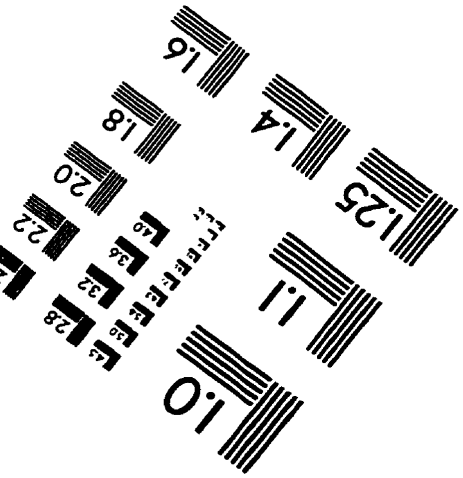
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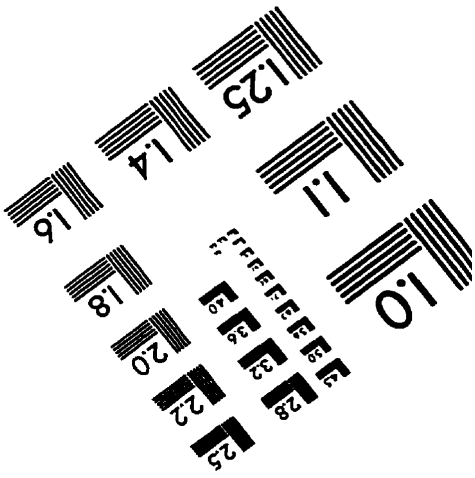












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