BELIEF AND THE LANDSCAPE OF RELIGION: THE CASE OF THE DOUKHOBORS

by

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ABSTRACT

Though published indications do exist that beliefs have an impact on landscape, there is evidence to suggest that the nature of this relationship is not simple and straightforward. While the prevailing shared philosophical dogmas which provide a rationale for the existence of a religious belief system tend to endure and change only slowly, the order of personal beliefs, those relating to the implementation of dogma, may fluctuate and vary. The religious sect provides an environment in which the impact of personal beliefs can be identified and assessed.

The impact of Doukhobor religion and the role of personal beliefs on the landscape are assessed from three standpoints: the descriptive, the comparative, and the historical. Through the examination of documents, field trips and published literature, the development of Doukhobor landscapes has been traced from the sect's early years in Russia, and a number of events external to the sect but bearing on their beliefs, creeds, and policies, have been investigated in order to identify "causal interdependence".

Doukhobor landscapes are shown to display some elements of commonality but at the same time there exists inordinate diversity. Much of this diversity relates to differences in personal beliefs associated with the implementation of the more static core beliefs.

The application of "guidance by the spirit within" creates both a commonality and diversity in Doukhobor landscapes. While the internalization of worship leads to landscapes devoid of standard symbols of Christianity, this negativism is carried over into everyday life

leading to the adoption amongst some extremist elements of peculiar worship practices. In daily life some choose to apply inner guidance individually while others associate it with leadership, resulting in schisms and the splintering of the sect. A multiplicity of consciences lead to variation in settlement patterns, house styles, economic practices, and methods of subsistence.

Believing that salvation is achieved through the perfection of character the Doukhobors in varying degrees and various manners strive for perfection through the rejection of worldly influence. One way to perfection is the adoption of a simple life. Simplicity can be achieved by rejecting progressive methods and materialism, or by the establishment of a utopia. The fluctuation in the degree of compromise with the world is evident in Doukhobor landscapes.

The belief in the holiness of life contributes to change and variance in Doukhobor landscapes. Some Doukhobors apply this theme to man alone while others extend it to include animal life and even to the insect world. The result is a variety of landscapes, from an emphasis on pastoralism to vegetarianism and eventually orchard cultivation, which also show decline in some cases.

It is concluded that there is no single type of Doukhobor landscape, but rather a complex of landscapes which reflect the complexity of Doukhobor personal beliefs associated with the basic principles of Doukhobor religion. It can be said that the diversity and form of Doukhobor landscapes are better understood in the context of the group's personal beliefs, relating to its core beliefs, than in the context of its core beliefs alone. Finally, Doukhobor landscapes are often a result

(of a compromise between doctrine, present conditions, and external pressure.)

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study is an attempt to identify and assess the impact on the landscape of a religious sect, the Doukhobors. The Doukhobors have been defined as follows:

> "Doukhobor is not an empty word, nor a national word, nor a caste, nor a race, nor a political organization, but a worldwide spiritual movement concerning both the soul of man and the spirit of God."[1]

However, on the basis of their clash with the existing social order and their attempts to move in the direction of a predetermined goal, they have been referred to as a "social movement".[2] An attempt will be made to investigate this religious movement in a holistic manner, not confining the study to one particular group or location.[3]

The history of Doukhoborism has been one of conflict. This conflict has been both external, primarily with the governments involved, and internal. The Doukhobors have scarcely known a time in which there has not been internal tensions and factional disputes.[4] Those sectarians who migrated to Canada seventy years ago were members of one of three groups which arose from a split during the late 1890's. While, as a whole, the Doukhobors in Canada have maintained a degree of solidarity based on a common doctrinal definition, the degree of assimilation into Canadian society has varied.

Doukhobors at present living in Canada reflect this pattern of internal disputes and splits. Three general groupings have emerged:

the Independents; the Svobodniki; and the Community, or Orthodox, Doukhobors. For the purpose of this study, the Independents are those who continue to subscribe to the Doukhobor religion but have broken away from the more conservative body, rejecting aspects such as divine or hereditary leadership, communal living, and communistic economic practices. The Svobodniki are the more zealous members of the sect.[5] The Svobodniki tend to be ultra-conservative in their views and have emerged mainly as a protest against what they regard as a tendency towards the practise of 'worldliness' by the original body, that is the Community, or Orthodox, Doukhobors and the Independents. It is important to recognize that these groupings are in no way static and are based at best on broad generalizations. For example, within the Svobodniki there have been many factional disputes and splits.[6]

It is well to keep in mind these distinctions and remember that the Doukhobors, historically, have never been a single monolithic group, but rather a number of groups and individuals, not necessarily in accord, but characterized by a common doctrine. Thus the Doukhobor's society is a complex structure that has developed over a period in excess of 250 years. Because of this, statements concerning the Doukhobors are very contradictory. Data varies immensely from source to source and the accounts of an event written by different writers are quite often inconsistent, and needless to say, interpretations of such events vary. Trevor suggests "On this account, if for no other, one should draw conclusions with care."[7]

Data for this study has in some instances had to be synthesized, for often contrasting accounts of the same events are available from more than one independant source.

Previous Studies

The literature relating to the Doukhobors concerns mostly historical or religious matters. Within this literature there is a small number of studies directed at the analysis of specific kinds of behavioral processes, and viewed from a limited number of disciplinary viewpoints.

Only two of these studies are geographical.[8] Robinson emphasizes the sect as a major ethnic group in the West Kootenay area of British Columbia, rather than a religious based enclave. The study includes detailed descriptions of several West Kootenay colonies. He did conclude that the groups 'ideology' was one influencing factor. Bockemuehl undertook four cross-sectional studies of the Doukhobor cultural landscapes for the years 1912, 1922, 1938 and 1968. Again confining the study to the West Kootenays, it was concluded that certain religious teachings influenced the landscape. It is important to note that both studies were centred upon the Orthodox, or Community, Doukhobors.[9] The other studies, largely sociological, focus primarily on problems of conflict, integration, and social adjustment.[10]

The Problem

The focus of interest in this study is twofold. The first focus arises from an interest in the impact of the Doukhobor religious motive on their landscapes. The second focus stems from a concern for investigating the impact of one specific component of the religious motive, that of 'beliefs'.

What is the nature of the Doukhobor landscape? Does there exist a single type of Doukhobor landscape? Studies have tended to focus on one segment of Doukhoborism and have at times presented conclusions in

a manner which implies their common application.[11] The identification and measurement of the impact of Doukhoborism, as a religious phenomenon, on the landscape must of necessity consider the landscapes of all manner of Doukhobor, seeking out and providing an analysis of variation as well as congruent patterns.

What insights into the nature of Doukhobor belief systems are provided by the shape, form and development of their landscapes? It is a basic assumption of this study that if the ideology of a closed religious community as expressed by its statements of basic shared belief, provides the dominant framework for its social and economic life, then the patterns of social and economic activity which appear in the landscape will reflect this relationship.

This study is concerned with patterns of land use and settlement of the Doukhobors over a time period in excess of two hundred years and an area which extends over halfway around the globe. Spatial patterns in response to worship, leadership, external society, utopian ideals, and settlement will be reviewed.

The Approach

Three main approaches were used to investigate the general problem in this study:

1. The Descriptive Approach

Man's 'sense of place' can be viewed as a major overriding problem within geography.[12] Focusing upon the content as well as human response to space, geographers have developed within this view varying perspectives for its analysis.[13] Hartshorne, a proponent of one such perspective, generally referred to as the 'area studies' or 'regional' tradition,

defined geography as the provision of "accurate, orderly, and rational description and interpretation of the variable character of the earth surface."[14] This definition is comprised of two parts. The first part relates to a method and implies a cognitive description and interpretation produced in a manner which will provide a form of logical and rational explanation. The second part relates to the subject matter of study, singling out 'areal differentiation' as the realm for geographical analysis.

2. Comparative Approach

The careful comparison of observational data is one of the basic techniques of many subfields of cultural geography.[15] In making comparisons these subfields attempt to identify conditions necessary to produce specific types of landscapes phenomena or regular correspondences of pattern.[16] The existence over time of a great number of internal disputes and factions in Doukhobor society provides a situation in which the comparative approach is invaluable to the analysis of their landscapes.

3. The Historical Approach

Hugh Prince states:

> ...there is very little in the present-day landscape that cannot be explained by reference to the past. The geography of the present is almost all history.[17]

The discipline of history, with its focus on time, has had a significant influence upon explanation in cultural geography. It is from the perspective of landscape as space in time, that is, genetic explanation, that the problem of Doukhobor landscapes will be analyzed.

A religious group tends to live by its traditions. Old ideas tend

to become sacred, they endure; and change, when it occurs, is usually slow. The development and maintenance of the sect is primary, while the major source of its rationale for existence is embedded in its history.

Cultural history is a central theme of cultural geography, which focuses upon the reconstruction of areal successions of cultures and cultural phenomena. The theoretical emphasis may be developmental wherein change and transformation in landscape elements are retraced within the context of the total milieu. Gibson points out two general assumptions relating to this approach: all events form part of the principal ongoing processes; and those processes are a result of current beliefs, creeds, and policies.[18] The importance of this approach is that it meets the needs of this research in recognizing ongoing events as well as incorporating the phenomena of beliefs, creeds and policy.

Watson provides a more specific analysis of the nature of developmental studies as related to theoretical interest.[19] He applied the term developmental to those studies concerned with discovering cyclic or linear regularities. The name "causal-correlational" was applied to those studies attempting to establish causal interdependence. In order to accomplish this, facts "outside" of the routine data related to the phenomena are examined. The latter interest is that of this study.

Yi Fu Tuan used the developmental approach to demonstrate the role of religious beliefs in the formation of Chinese landscapes.[20] Others have used this approach to examine geographical change in French Canada,[21] and the influence of a past cultural artifact, the streetcar, in deter-

mining present spatial disorder in Boston.[22]

Procedures For This Study

Information required for this study was gathered from various sources:

a) Government documents, files, letters, and microfilms, housed in the British Columbia Provincial Government Archives were thoroughly researched.

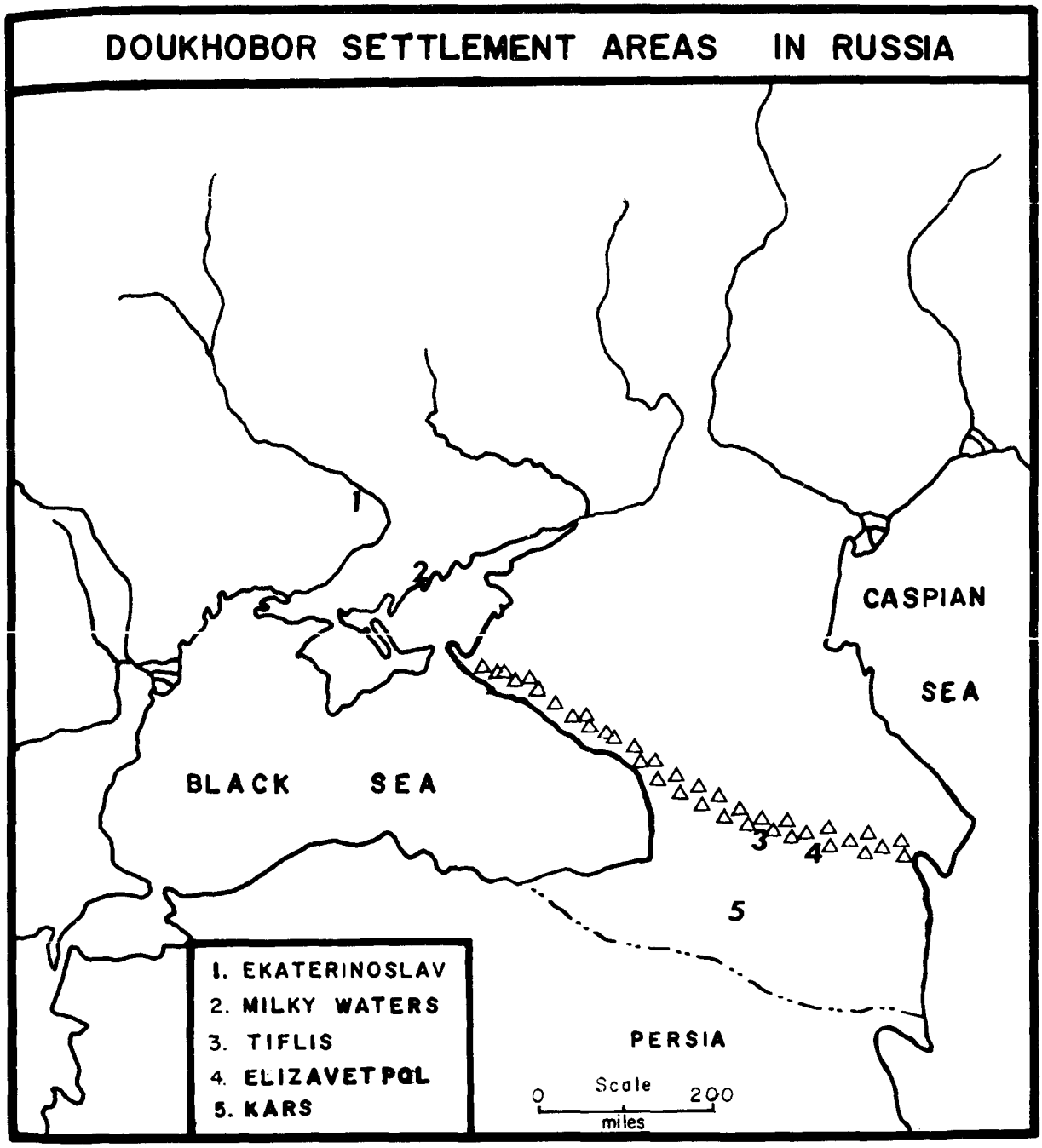
b) Field trips were made to the three main areas of Doukhobor settlement in Canada: the Boundary and West Kootenay districts of British Columbia and the major settlements in Saskatchewan.

c) An extensive review of the literature was undertaken. This literature was secured from various libraries all over North America. Considerable time was spent researching the extensive "Doukhobor Collection" housed in the Special Collections Division of the University of British Columbia.[23]

Description Of The Population

The Doukhobors are located mainly in two countries, the Soviet Union (their place of origin) and Canada. Prior to 1802 the Doukhobors were dispersed throughout Russia and their numbers were unknown. They were, however, numerous enough to cause official reaction. After much persecution they were allowed in 1802, with the exception of serfs, to settle as a colony and by 1816 some 3,000 had gathered in nine villages in the Milky Waters area in Taurida Province on the Sea of Azov.[24] (Map 1) By 1839 they multiplied to a population of some 16,617, housed in thirteen villages.[25] Just prior to the migration of one faction to Canada in 1899 the "colony"[26] Doukhobors numbered in excess of 20,000.[2] With the migration of the most centralized groups of Doukhobors to Canada

MAP 1



Source: after Robinson & others

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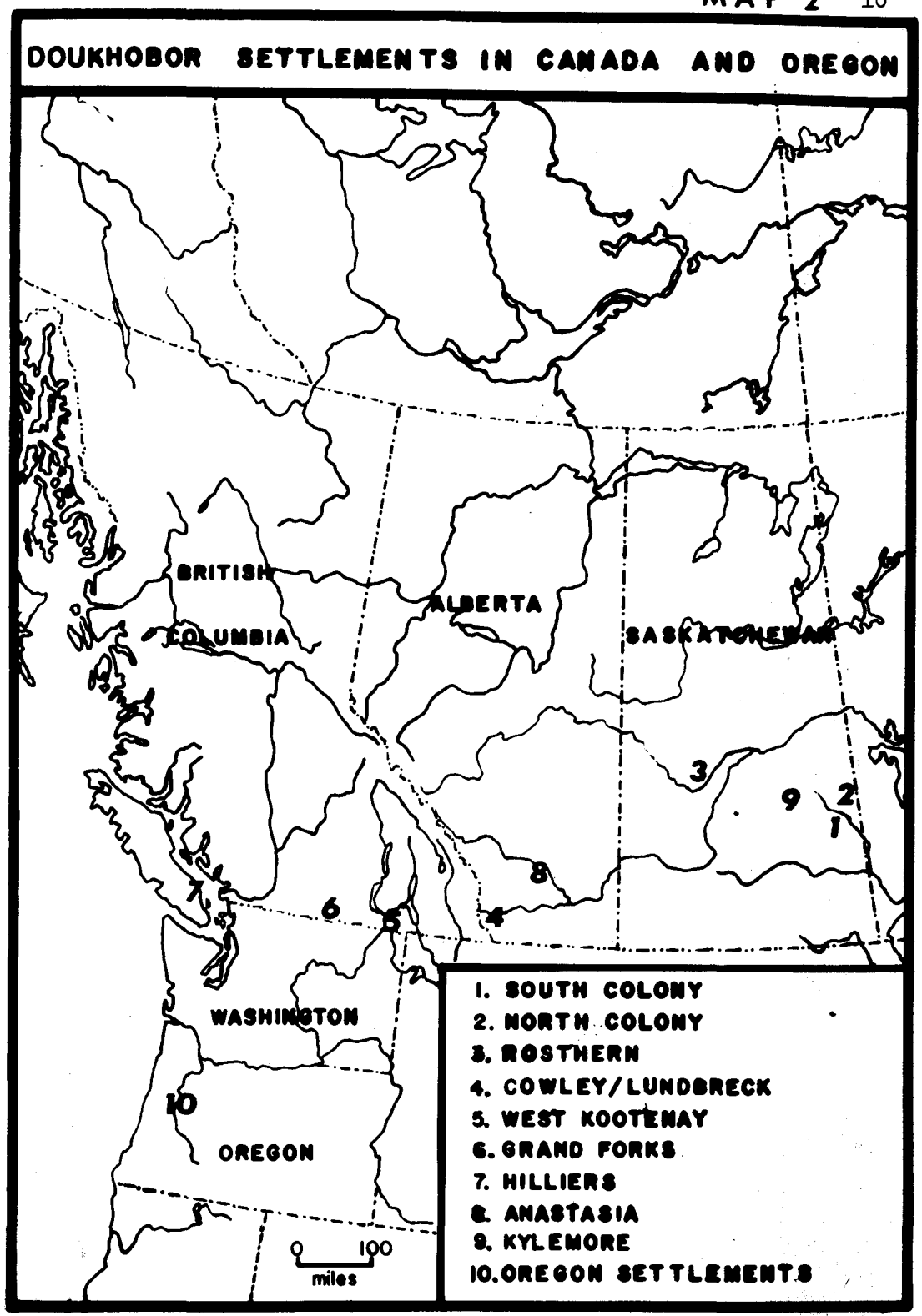
TABLE I

DOUKHOBOR POPULATION BY PROVINCE, 1891 - 1961

PROVINCE	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Newfoundland								1
Prince Edward Island								1
Nova Scotia						3	1	1
New Brunswick						9	1	
Quebec				1		16	15	58
Ontario				17	7	224	61	109
Manitoba		75	47	84	131	168	68	56
Saskatchewan		8,773	8,580	7,175	7,965	7,662	4,536	3,202
Alberta		10	46	307	787	824	323	800
British Columbia			1,943	5,090	6,088	7,972	8,170	9,006
TOTAL		8,858	10,616	12,674	14,978	16,878	13,175	13,238

SOURCE - CANADA CENSUS, 1891 - 1961


DOUKHOBOR SETTLEMENTS IN CANADA AND OREGON
BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
WASHINGTON
OREGON
0 100 miles
1. SOUTH COLONY
2. NORTH COLONY
3. ROSTHERN
4. COWLEY/LUNDBRECK
5. WEST KOOTENAY
6. GRAND FORKS
7. HILLIERS
8. ANASTASIA
9. KYLEMORE
10. OREGON SETTLEMENTS
donald gale

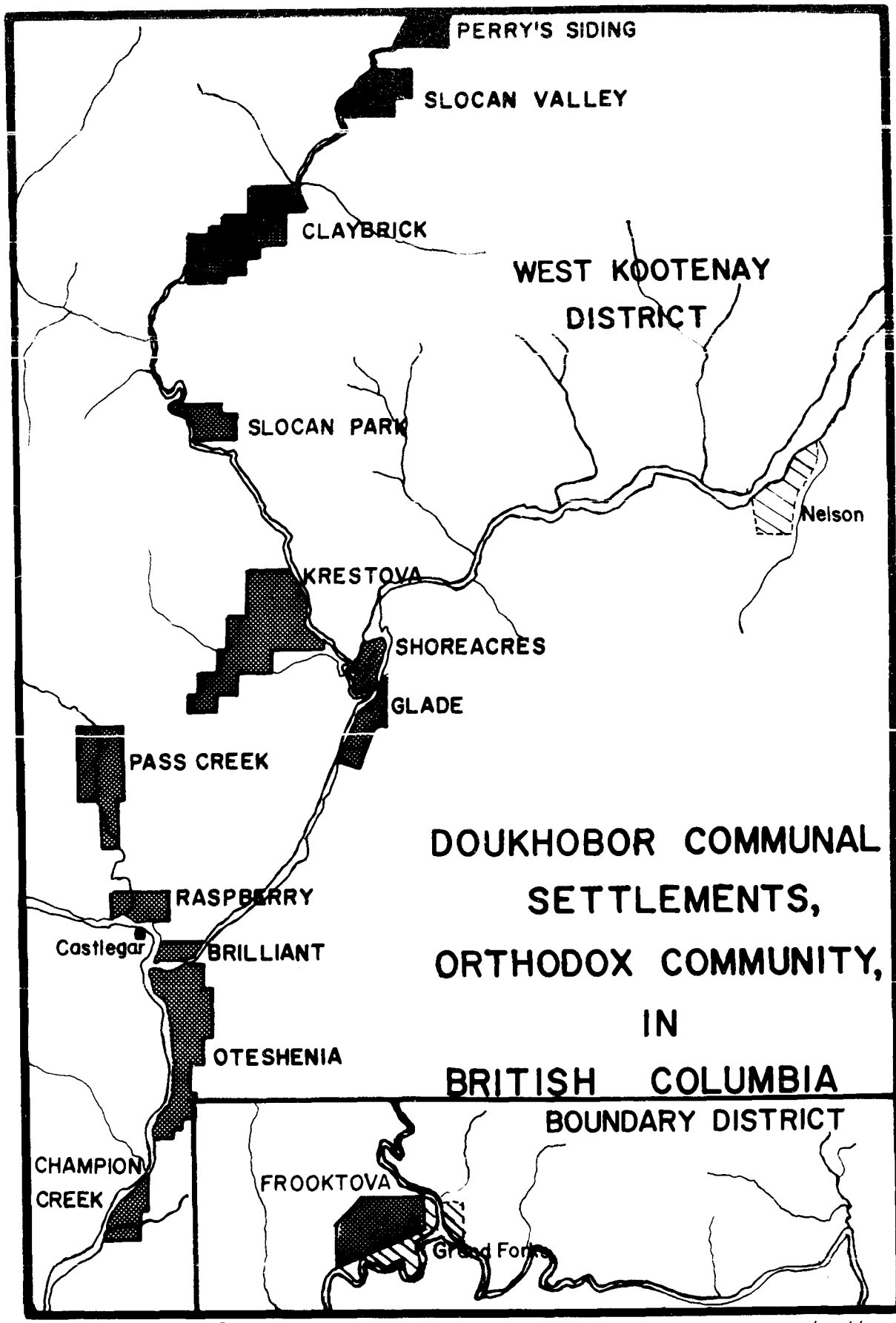
in 1899 an accounting of the migrants can be traced through the Canada Census. (Table I) The Doukhobors left in Russia are difficult to trace, for the remaining two colonies were more in accord with Russian government policy and the remainder were still well dispersed.

Canadian Doukhobors settled first in the three prairie colonies: Rosthern, North Colony and South Colony. (Map 2) As a result of a dispute over the failure of the Doukhobors to meet the requirements of the Homestead Act, which came to a head in 1907, about 5,000 Doukhobors left the prairies to settle in two areas in British Columbia: the West Kootenay district where they settled in the converging Kootenay, Columbia, and Slocan Valleys, and the Grand Forks district, about seventy-five miles to the southwest. British Columbia has gradually become the principal area of Doukhobor settlement in Canada. Since the initial move to British Columbia there have been a number of smaller migrations: to Cowley-Lumbreck and Arrowwood, Alberta; to Hilliers and Agassiz, British Columbia; to Kylmore, Saskatchewan; and one to the valley of the Willamette River in Oregon.[28] (Map 2)

Census data shows a steady increase in the number of Doukhobors from the time of migration to 1951. A large decline in the number of professing Doukhobors is evident in the statistics provided by the 1951 Census. While at some time all provinces have shown at least one resident Doukhobor the western provinces and especially British Columbia are the major settlement areas.

The Communal Lands[29] of both the West Kootenays and Grand Forks area are the centre of Doukhobor settlement in British Columbia. The West Kootenay settlements are made up of some twelve separate tracts of

MAP 3



Source: after Robinson & others

donald gale

land (Map 3), while the Grand Forks district is more centralized on the western fringes of Grand Forks, in a community called Frooktova (Map 3), with the exception of the village of Gilpin. Numerous Independents live in the area with many of them having bought communal land from the government, which had taken them over in 1941 when the "Orthodox Community" went bankrupt. An estimate of the Doukhobor population in the individual settlements is provided in TABLE II.

TABLE II

DOUKHOBOR POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1951 (ESTIMATE)

PLACE	COMMUNITY & INDEPENDENT	SVOBODNIKI	TOTAL
Brilliant	190	45	235
Castlegar	500	25	525*
Ooteshanie	700	75	775
Pass Creek	600	25	625
Champion Creek	150	---	150
Thrums and Tarrys	350	100	450
Shoreacres	300	150	450
Glade	500	275	775
Krestova	---	1600	1600
Slocan Valley**	1000	350	1350
Blewett	300	25	325
Salmo and Ymir	250	10	260
Burnaby	---	5	5
Creston	150	---	150
Hilliers	---	200	200
Grand Forks***	3500	---	3500
Gilpin***	---	384	384
Total	8490	3269	12759

*The settlement of Raspberry is not mentioned but could be included in either the numbers for Brilliant or Castlegar.
**Includes Slocan Park, Claybrick, Slocan Valley, Perry's Siding.
***Hawthorn does not divide Gilpin and Grand Forks, while Hirabayashi shows the Svobodniki centred entirely at Gilpin.
SOURCE: Hirabayashi and Hawthorn

NOTES ON CHAPTER I

[1]Bach, Marcus; "The Douks Are At It Again"; Christian Century; Chicago; Volume 70; December, 1953; p. 1453.

[2]Tarasoff, Koozma; "Zealots and Doukhobors"; Canadian Dimensions: June, 1965; p. 23.

[3]Due to a lack of documentary evidence it is not possible to give more than a cursory view of the settlements of Doukhobors who remained in Russia after 1899.

[4]Frantz, Charles; "Historical Continuities in an Immigrant Russian Sect: Doukhobor Ideology and Political Organization"; Canadian Slavonic Papers; Volume 5; 1962; p. 44.

[5]The term Svobodniki is plural for people who love freedom or liberty. The use of the term in this case is merely an attempt to reduce the negative connotations which are associated with this group and have become symbolized in the more common titles applied to this group, such as "Sons of Freedom". There are no hidden meanings implied by the use of the term 'Svobodniki'. The use of the term 'Svobodniki' has also been challenged, see Tarasoff, Koozma; In Search of A Brotherhood; Vancouver, B. C., 1963; (3 Volumes Mimeographed); p. 582.

[6]Some of these splits are outlined later in the text.

[7]Snesarev has pointed out a number of such inconsistencies in the reporting of the Doukhobor background in the first twelve pages of his study. See Snesarev, Vladimir, (Harry Trevor); Doukhobors In British Columbia; Vancouver, University of British Columbia; 1931.

[8]Robinson, Malcolm E.; Russian Doukhobors In West Kootenays, British Columbia; Unpublished M.A. Thesis; Syracuse University; 1948, and Bockemuehl, Harold W.; Doukhobor Impact On The British Columbia Landscape; An Historical Geographical Study; Unpublished M.A. Thesis; Western Washington State College; 1968.

[9]For example, Bockemuehl stated, "Those who became Independents, or outside the community are disregarded in this study, as their impact upon the land as Doukhobors is negligible": See Bockemuehl; op. cit.; p. 53.

[10]Atemanenko, G.T.; The Russian Community of Vancouver; Unpublished Paper In Sociology; Vancouver; University of British Columbia; 1961; Pasquallotto, Albert; Doukhobors - Those Who Fight By Means of The Spirit; Unpublished B.A. Thesis; Spokane; Washington; Gonzaga University; 1962; Frantz, Charles; The Doukhobor Political System. Social Structure and Social Organization in a Sectarian Society; Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation,

University of Chicago; 1958; Hirabayashi, Gordon K.; Russian Doukhobors of British Columbia; a Study in Social Adjustment and Conflict; Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington; 1951; Commerce, David L.; Migration of the Sons of Freedom to the Lower Mainland of British Columbia; the Movement to the Gates of Mountain Prison, Agassiz, B.C. 1961-1963; Unpublished M.S.W. thesis, University of British Columbia; 1964; Mundy, William B.; Sons of Freedom at Hope; a Study of the Interaction of a Settled Community and a Migrant Community; Unpublished M.S.W. thesis; University of British Columbia; 1964; Ross, Phyliss M.; "Sociological Survey of the Doukhobors; Unpublished B.A. thesis, University of British Columbia; 1925; Seebarab, Roopchand B.; Migration of the Sons of Freedom into the Lower Mainland of British Columbia; the Vancouver Experience; 1963; Unpublished M.S.W. thesis; University of British Columbia; 1965; Snesarev, Vladimir, (Harry Trevor); Doukhobors in British Columbia; Unpublished M.S.A. thesis, University of British Columbia; 1931; and Hawthorn, Harry B., (ed.); The Doukhobors of British Columbia: Report of the Doukhobor Research Committee; Vancouver; University of British Columbia; 1952.

[11]Holt's analysis of zealotry is possibly the best example of this kind of study. See Holt, Simma; Terror In The Name Of God; Toronto; McClelland and Stewart Limited; 1964; Also Bockemuel and Robinson give no consideration to the Independent groups in their geographical studies: see Bockemuel; op. cit.; and Robinson; op. cit.

[12]Ad Hoc Committee on Geography, Earth Science Division; National Academy of Sciences; National Research Council; The Science of Geography; Washington; 1965; p. 7.

[13]Patterson, William D.; "The Four Basic Traditions of Geography"; Journal of Geography; Vol. 63; 1964; pp. 211-216.

[14]Hartshorne, Richard; Perspective On The Nature of Geography; Chicago; Rand McNally and Company; 1962; p. 21.

[15]Wagner, Philip L. and Mikesell, Marvin W.; Readings In Cultural Geography; Chicago; University of Chicago Press; 1962; p. 20.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Prince, H.C.; "The Geographical Imagination"; Landscape; Volume 11; 1961-62; p. 25.

[18]Gibson, E.; The Impact of Social Belief on Landscape Change, A Geographical Study of Vancouver; Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation; University of British Columbia; 1971; p. 4.

[19]Watson, James B.; "Four Approaches to Cultural Change: A Systematic Assessment"; Social Forces; Volume 32, No. 2; December, 1964; pp. 477-489.

[20]Tuan, Yi Fu; China; Chicago; Aldine Publishing Company; 1969.

[21]Harris, Richard C.; The Seigneurial System In Canada; Madison; University of Wisconsin Press; 1966.

[22]Warner, Sam B.; Streetcar Suburbs; Cambridge; Harvard University Press; 1962.

[23]Three "Bibliographies" have been published by Maria Horvath based on this collection - published by University of British Columbia.

[24]Oliver, Edmund H.; "Peter Verigan"; Transactions Of The Royal Society of Canada; Volume 26; Series 2; 1932; p. 99.

[25]Buhr, John; The Origins of The Doukhobor Faith; Vancouver, B. C.; 1972; Mimeographed; p. 49.

[26]Many Doukhobors still lived independently.

[27]Thorsteinson, Elina; "The Doukhobors in Canada"; Mississippi Valley Historical Review; Abilene, Kansas; Volume 4; 1917-18; p. 14; and Snesarev; op. cit.; p. 18.

[28]These migrations are discussed later in the text.

[29]Land owned by the sect and originally settled communally.

CHAPTER II

DOUKHOBOR BACKGROUND

For over two centuries agricultural settlement has been viewed as a means of increasing a country's economic production and peopling unsettled national territory. The Canadian government considered these needs serious enough that land and financial subsidies were offered even to those who, within limits, wished to set up autonomous settlements within Canada. The basic hope of such colonization on the part of the migrating group is to carry on, without external interference, a specific and usually distinctive way of life stemming from one or a variety of reasons and causes which bind them together. Religious liberty has been the motive behind many such migrations and was the primary motivation behind the Russian Doukhobor attempt to form a closed agricultural settlement[1] in the Canadian West with their migration to the Canadian Prairies at the turn of the century.

Origins

The exact origin of the Doukhobor sect is obscure and little is known of them before the middle of the eighteenth century. The history of the Russian Church has been one of dissent, fluctuating in intensity and form.[2] The problem of sorting out from this dissent exactly how Doukhoborism was born and the full truth of its development "can be answered, at best, by enlightened conjecture".[3] Various dates have been used going back to the many "pre-Reformational heretical sects" which emerged as early as the 13th century.[4] Doukhobor legend places their origin with the three Hebrew Children who were thrown into the fiery furnace in the name of their beliefs.[5] Evidence to support this legend is

not available, but it is possible they symbolize three early Russian religious reactionaries who were burned at the stake: Kuhlman and Nordman, burned alive in Moscow in 1689, and Tveritnov who perished at the stake in 1713.[6] However, it appears possible to trace them back to a period just following the Raskol, the mid-seventeenth century schism in the Russian Orthodox Church, which was brought to a head with the introduction of ceremonial reforms in the Russian Orthodox Church.

This schism has been viewed as a reaction against an over emphasis on ceremony. It has been argued that at this point in time Russian Christianity was

> ...above all else, a ritual Christianity. It rarely penetrates to the hearts of its members, the recesses of the moral life of the individual. Its task, its mission, is social rather than individual, and above all, is external: the pomp of the rites, the splendor of the ceremonies, the richness of the sacred vestments and ornaments, constitute the essential element in the religious life of the Russian people.[7]

While such charges may be disputed, several sects did arise during this period drawing their adherents from the membership of the Orthodox Church, thus providing some credence to such charges.

A number of sectarian groups emerged during and shortly after this controversy, some of which were strikingly similar to Doukhoborism. Doukhobor tradition claims one such group, the Ikonobers, as spiritual ancestors, but Stepaniuk, a nineteenth century Russian revolutionary claimed that the Doukhobors "were one of two groups which were born independent of the Raskol."[8] Novitski and other nineteenth century historians claim that they began in southern Russia around a nameless literate teacher, who, while acting as an advisor to the Doukhobors, taught them that the church was perverting the real teachings of Christ.[9]

Throughout their history the Doukhobors have claimed that their lives are governed by the leading of the "spirit within". This claim, resulted in the sect being named Doukhobors, (Russian, Doukhoborsty), which is derived from two Russian words, dukh, "spirit", and borets, "champion, contestant, wrestler."[10] It is commonly believed that this name was applied by an Archbishop of the Orthodox Church and was meant to suggest that they struggled against the Holy Spirit.[11] The Doukhobors, who had referred to themselves as "Christians" to this point,[12] accepted the name but twisted the intended meaning by claiming they were guided by the spirit and were fighters against the evil in the world. Specific groups within the Doukhobors have adopted differing names to distinguish themselves but the original name is still used to refer to their body of beliefs and traditions from both within and without.

According to a Doukhobor confession of faith of 1791 the cradle of the sect was in the village of Nikolskoe, or Nikolaevka, in the district of Paulograd, government of Ekaterisoslav, under Sylvan Kolesnikov (1750-75)[13] (Map 1). Other sources suggest it began as early as 1740.[14] The area of the Ukraine is regarded by some historians to be the real cradle of the sect,[15] but by the end of the 18th century they were scattered all over Russia.

Religious Comparisons

Orest Novitsky, in his 1832 study of the Doukhobors, compared the Doukhobors with five other religious groups.[16] He saw a connection with the Gnostics, in their opinion of the Holy Spirit. They compare with Manicheans, in their beliefs about Christ and the pre-existence, fall, and future state of man's soul. In many beliefs, they can be

compared to the Paulicians especially in terms of the rejection of the priesthood and church hierarchy. The Doukhobor's rejection of infant baptism, their theocratic aspirations, and the strong distaste for secular government is quite comparable to Anabaptist beliefs.

The Doukhobors have often been referred to as 'Russian Quakers'. Palmiere wrote "...it is a fact that there is a close kinship between the doctrines of the English Quakers and those of the Doukhobors."[17] Maude concurs with this view and states:

> By early Quakers and Doukhobors alike, Christ was identified with the "inward voice" and with the capacity to see a moral issue clearly and feel sure of what is right.[18]

Besides their attention to the "inner spirit" similarity exists in regards to a rejection of church ceremony and instrumental music, the holding of strong pacifistic leanings, disapproval of formal oaths, and a rather independent attitude towards secular authority as exemplified by their refusal to uncover their heads before magistrates. At the same time, however, very basic differences in doctrine do exist:

> ...among most modern Quakers the Bible, Atonement, and the "Scheme of Redemption" occupy a prominent place, while the Doukhobors attach but slight importance to the Bible as a book, and for the most part, never heard of the "Scheme of Redemption", which they would consider immoral were it narrated to them.[19]

Beliefs

The basic beliefs of the Doukhobors have been handed down orally with little more than minor changes for over two centuries.[20] Support for this is seen in a limited number of statements of Doukhobor belief:[21]

a) The Confession of Faith of the Doukhobors of the Province

of Ekaterinoslav, sent to the governor Kakhovsky in 1791.

b) A colloquy between two Doukhobors, Matthew and Ermolaus Kuzmin, and the archimandrite Eugene Bolkhovitinov in 1837.

c) An outline of the teachings of the Doukhobors, composed in 1805, which has sometimes been credited to the senator Lopukhin.

d) Two different versions of the Catechism of the Doukhobors.[22]

e) The Living Book or oral traditions which is composed of "psalms woven together of verses and phrases from the Psalter, entracts from the Old and New Testaments, prayers and fragments of the Orthodox liturgical books, ideas and doctrines peculiar to the sect."[23]

f) Orest Novitsky's study of the Doukhobor creed.

The stability of these doctrines is seen in that one of these documents while written in the late 18th century or early 19th century is still held to be a correct statement of the beliefs of Doukhoborism in the 20th century.[24] This stability is perpetuated by the manner in which doctrine is taught.

The Living Book is the principle source of doctrine. The Living Book as a whole is preserved in the memory of the whole community, for no single person could learn it in its entirety, and in this way it has endured virtually unchanged.

The Doukhobors believe that God exists from eternity, but before God wisdom exists. Only God is wise, therefore, we must be guided by the spirit of God, which is recognized in us as our "conscience". The Doukhobors attribute no special divinity to Jesus Christ. The divinity characteristic of Christ is seen only as "Wisdom revealed in nature," hence he was man in which divine intelligence has been revealed to a maximum. However, since Christ is born, preaches, suffers, dies, and

rises again spiritually in the heart of each believer, every man is capable of obtaining a similar divine level. The condition of the "spirit within" makes the priesthood internal and the church invisible, thus negating the value of external sacraments.

The Doukhobors believe that salvation is accessible only through God and his Christ. Salvation does not require an external knowledge but requires an explicit faith. At the same time faith without works is dead as also are works without faith. A spiritual second birth is the putting away of one's own sin. Desires reaching man through the senses, as well as sexual desires, will bring on future torments. Luxury is seen as indulging in the flesh since it tends to "stifle the inward light coming from above."[25]

Novitsky's statement, unlike the others enumerated above, includes a separate article in reference to the Doukhobor belief in the equality of man. Since men are equal, and the children of God do good willingly, and without force, there is no need for an earthly government. Government, if required, is for the wicked only.

The Doukhobor beliefs have internalized many of the accepted Christian religious practices and rites. Baptism takes place upon repentance and is the same as the new birth. Sins are confessed to God in prayer but in the case of sins against the brethren, the brethren must be asked for forgiveness. They take part in an internal Communion through the inward acceptance of the Word of God, while fasting is not related to abstinence from food but from gluttony and other vices.

Marriage is not regarded as a holy act, but abstinence from marriage for the sake of purity is regarded as a high virtue. Cleanliness

is also a very high virtue but care must be taken not to take pride in this kind of observance.

Four basic or "core" beliefs stand out in all statements of Doukhobor belief:

a) the guidance of the "inner spirit" (other world citizenship).

b) salvation is the practice of faith.

c) simplicity of life through rejecting externalities.

d) the equality of life.

The priority of the above four "core" beliefs is exemplified in a set of rules devised for the followers of Peter V. Verigin in the late 1890's:

> "Our brethren are called 'Christians of the Universal Brotherhood' because all men are equal, children of one Father, God; and those who love in deeds and not only in word may belong to it and be members of this universal body. To belong to this Community one has to prove in practice one's love for one's fellow-man, and so a man is able to adopt the essence of Christ's teaching without any external forms or rites. Our brethren having recently adopted this name, try to justify it in practice, and thus to help the human race to adopt the teaching of the Saviour who was, and is still persecuted. Sometimes weakness overcomes us, but this is only the result of habitual evil tendence which shuts out heaven, and there is no more dangerous thing can happen than that. But with God's help there will be men who will conquer their passions and carnal desires, and will serve the living and true God.
>
> "The rules of life of the 'Christians of the Universal Brotherhood' and its general views (at least some of them) are as follows:-
>
> "1. The members of the community revere and love God as the Source of all being.
>
> "2. They respect the dignity of man both in themselves and in their fellow-men.
>
> "3. The members of the Community regard everything that exists with love and admiration, and they try to bring up their children in the same tendency.
>
> "4. By the word 'God' they understand,-the power of love, the power of life which is the Source of all that exists.

"5. Life is progress and everything tends towards perfection, in order that the seed received should be returned to the Source of life in the form of ripe fruit.

"6. In everything that exists in our world we see consecutive stages towards perfection,- thus, beginning with a stone and passing over to plants, we come to animals, the fullest development of which is man, regarding him from the point of view of life and of a conscious being.

"7. The members of the Community hold that to destroy or hurt any living thing is blameworthy. In every separate being there is life and hence God, especially in a human being. To deprive a man of life is in no way permissible.

"8. The members accord full freedom to the life of man, and therefore all organization founded on violence they regard as unlawful.

"9. The basis of man's existence is the power of thought-reason.

"10. It is recognized that the communal life of man is based on the moral law, which has for its rule, 'What I do not wish for myself, that I must not wish for anyone else.'

"These ten clauses we hold to be the fundamental rules of Christian life, or the ten commandments of the 'New Testament.'

"December 12th, 1896."[26]

NOTES ON CHAPTER II

[1]The significance of "foreign agricultural settlement" as problem in cultural geography is pointed to by Stewart, Norman; "Foreign Agricultural Colonization As a Study in Cultural Geography"; Professional Geographer; Vol. 15; No. 5; 1963; pp. 1-5.

[2]Maude, Aylmer; A Peculiar People; New York; Funk and Wagnals; 1904; p. 79.

[3]Woodcock, George and Avakumovic, Ivan; The Doukhobors; Toronto; Oxford University Press; 1968; p. 23.

[4]Popove, William H.; The Doukhobor Saga; Brief Submitted to Ethnic Organization Sub-committee of B.C. Centennial Committee '71; p. 6.

[5]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 23.

[6]Palmieri, Aurielo; "The Russian Doukhobors and Their Religious Teachings"; Harvard Theological Review; Volume 8, 1915; p. 64.

[7]Ibid.; p. 62.

[8]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 25.

[9]Ibid.

[10]See Palmieri; op. cit.; p. 63 and Thorsteinson; op. cit., p. 3.

[11]See Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 19: Maude; op. cit.; pp. 6-7; and Evalenko, Alexander; The Message of the Doukhobors; New York; International Library Publishing Co.; 1913; p. 101.

[12] Evalenko; op. cit.; p. 101.

[13]Palmieri; op. cit.; p. 64

[14]Ibid.

[15]Ibid.; p. 65.

[16]Maude; op. cit.; p. 7.

[17]Palmieri; op. cit.; p. 66

[18]Maude; op. cit.; p. 102.

[19]Ibid.; p. 103.

[20]Elkington, Joseph; The Doukhobors; Philadelphia; Ferris and Leach; 1903; p. 265; - points out that very little change in belief occurred in the hundred year period 1800-1900.

[21]Sources for a number of these are listed in Palmieri; op. cit.; pp. 71-72.

[22]Palmieri, op. cit.; p. 72, makes references to two specific Catechisms. There are, however, in the literature a number of references to the existence of a catechism as well as many examples of specific questions and answers which were to be memorized by the Doukhobors. See, for example, Maude; op. cit.; pp. 314-315, and Maloff, Cecil; Whose Man Art Thou; Thrums, B.C. n.d. 2p. Typescript, Xerox.

[23]Palmieri; op. cit.; p. 72.

[24]The 1805 statement is quoted in Evalenko's work of 1913 and Stoochnoff's work of 1961. In the latter work it is quoted as "early" teachings, but there is no declaration of change made about the statement. See Evalenko; op. cit.; p. 101, and Stoochnoff, John P.; Doukhobors As They Are; Toronto; Ryerson Press; 1961; p. 27.

[25]Maude; op. cit.; p. 16.

[26]Tchertkoff, Vladimir; Christian Martyrdom In Russia; London; The Brotherhood Publishing Co.; 1897; pp. 37-38.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Since this study is concerned with the explanation of the role of 'religious belief' in the quality of Doukhobor landscapes as well as the description of such landscapes a review of some relevant literature is appropriate. The geographic literature relating to the impact of belief on the landscape is quite limited, therefore, a related study from the field of architecture is reviewed. Because of the nature of the study, literature concerned with the study of 'religion' as well as 'belief structure' is reviewed.

The Study in Relation to a Geography of Religion

A review of current geographical literature yields a paucity of statements relating to the awareness on the part of geographers of a relationship between landscape and religion.[1] Partial evidence of this "awareness" is provided by the small but growing body of literature concerned directly with the impact of religious motivation on spatial organization and meaning. Led in part by the French School, from which we have a general treatise by Pierre Deffontaines,[2] the "geography of religion" as a separate field of interest has recently taken form. Interest in America has grown to the point that demand has brought about a translation into English of part of Deffontaines's work, as well as other related French studies.[3] North American literature on the geography of religions is limited but growing, and includes at least one general survey,[4] and a number of specific studies.[5]

Though much of the research which has been published to date has

focused on a classification of types of effects that religion has had on the landscape, a number of significant questions have recently been put forth.[6] Rather than asking what effect does religion have, they ask what features of religion bring about this impact. In keeping with this theme, Isaac argues that:

> The task of a geography of religion...is to separate out the specifically religious from the social, economic and ethnic matrix in which it is embedded and to determine its relative weight in relation to other forces in transforming the landscape.[7]

The difficulty of this task has made the geography of religion "the least developed of all geographic specializations.[8]

The separation of that which is specifically religious is faced with problems. There exists no clear consensus amongst geographers as to what element of religion will provide a key to the relationship between religion and landscape. The literature review which follows elaborates the extent of this problem.

In geography, as in other fields,[10] considerable research has been undertaken centered upon the Mormon religion. Many of these studies devote more interest to the Mormons as a sub-cultural unit than to their religious base. Meinig endeavours to map the boundary of a Mormon "cultural region" in terms of the concepts of core, domain and sphere.[11] Other than stipulating that religious motivation makes their landscapes distinctive, and motivated much of their movement, its role in the development of landscape is not considered. Francaviglia, meanwhile, attempts to define the Mormon landscape in more concrete terms.[12] He selects a set of ten "visual clues" which he states can usually be found in any Mormon settlement. These "visual clues" form the criteria for

establishing a Mormon area, made up of several zones "based on the quantity and quality of elements present".[13] Here again there is no attempt to relate these "visual clues" to Mormon dogma. Lehr is more specific and tries to distinguish the Mormon "religious landscape" from the Mormon "cultural landscape."[14] Using Francaviglia's ten key elements he compares the hearth landscape of the United States Intermontaine West with that of an enclave in Southern Alberta. He concludes that the five elements found in both are the key elements forming the Mormon religious landscape and are thus related to religious need.

Sopher concluded that geography, while it cannot focus on the personal religious experience itself, can study organized religion as represented in institutionalized religious behavior.[15] He follows this general theme by dividing religions into a few very general religious systems and views these in terms of the role of environmental setting in their evolution, their modification of environment, variation in their forms of occupance, and finally, their distribution and interaction.

Fickler[16] notes that religion has two sides, one dealing with personal conduct and the other with worship. He argues that a "geography of religions" is therefore "concerned above all with ceremonial religion."[17] In this work Fickler considers what he proposed to be some of the basic questions in the geography of religions, as well as a few of its problems. Essentially, he attempts to define and subdivide phenomena through

> ...the reformation of underlying assumptions and synthetic concepts, as for instance those connected with consecration, ceremonialism, toleration, and so forth.[18]

However, he does not attempt to present a working methodology for the

study of "ceremonial religion".

Isaac has published a number of short papers concerned with the religious motive and the landscape. The first of these demonstrates how the practice of the Jewish religion helped to bring about the introduction of citrus to various Mediterranian lands.[19] He concludes that this is one example of the influence of religion upon the development of the cultural landscape. In a 1960 paper Isaac argues the primacy of religious experience and contends that this necessitates the examination of the religious motive as a means of "dealing with uncomprehended environmental factors."[20] The interaction of culture and religious experience creates a multiplicity of responses. These responses may vary from the filling of space with symbols to the transformation of landscape in an attempt to meet divine plans. Finally, it is suggested that there is no uniformity in "man's" religious reaction to landscape features."[21] Isaac reinforces the priority of religious motive in a 1961 paper.[22] Writing in terms of methodology, he states:

> It is my conviction that the key to a methodology for a geography of religion lies in the study of religion itself and the mere classification of types of effects does not touch the heart of the problem.[23]

In an attempt to move in this direction he suggests that the religious "rite" is the key to understand religion as an agent of landscape change. Though he attempts no direct methodological formulation, he tries to minimize the historical differentiations by outlining a polarity based on ritual myth, thus separating out that which is specifically religious in origin.

Beliefs As A Variant In Behavior

In keeping with the theme, presented by Isaac, that the key

to a methodology for a Geography of Religion is the study of the religious motive, an examination of the role of belief is appropriate. A number of scholars have singled out beliefs as a primary determinent of behavior. T.S. Eliot argues:

> The reflection that what we believe is not mainly what we formulate and subscribe to, but that behavior is also belief, and that even the most conscious and developed of us live also at the level on which belief and behavior cannot be distinguished, is one that may, once we allow our imagination to play upon it, be very disconcerting. It gives an importance to our most trivial pursuits, to the occupation of our every minute...[24]

Mary Douglas, an anthropologist, observes that it becomes impossible to explain the ritual values and practices of the Lele of the Belgium Congo in terms of social and economic values or environmental factors but concludes that

> These problems find some solution, however, when they are seen in the content of their metaphysical assumptions and religious practice.[25]

Furthermore, it is argued that the theory of cultural relativity, upon which a number of anthropologists base their research, regards as indispensable a knowledge of a peoples basic assumptions in interpreting their behavior.[26] At the same time, published research in the fields of history[27] and sociology[28] provide related conclusions.

Some research has been undertaken aimed at demonstrating a relationship between underlying beliefs and landscape change. A review of three such studies follows.

In a study of the Dogan of West Africa[29] Aldo Van Eyck concludes that:

> The Dogans rely on an all prevading framework which embraces every facet of their existence, material, emotional, and trancendental.[30]

Prompted by an early 1930's study by Marcel Griaule,[31] Van Eyck centres upon a more detailed study of Dogan building activities, which had previously been considered in a very general manner.[32] The findings of this study are significant. For example, the building of a village or a simple house involves the inaugurating of a microcosm in which life is perpetuated.[33] Each stage has its rituals and each material object is laden with extra meaning which binds the physical and spiritual into one. All objects from the largest to the smallest which play any part in the function of daily life are identified with the Dogan conception of creation. For example, the house is built in the form of a man, and its proportions are symbolically based on the male number three and the female number four. These numbers prevail even in clothing and dimensional differences in buildings such as granaries depending on ownership. The field are laid out in a form that represents their conception of the world in miniature. The village, similar to the house "...is a projection of the universe in the form of a man lying on his back in a north-south direction."[34] The artificial landscape then truly reflects and is representative of the primary beliefs the Dogan holds about himself and his existence. "They see even the most commonplace object as part of an all-embracing system."[35] For example, to use a granary for any other purpose, would be to disturb the relationship between sun and heaven, thus disturbing patterns of nature and dislocating a continuity between creation and the past.[36]

Centred upon the hypothesis that "ideology, as one of the major parts of culture, contains the basis for the organization of areas," Bjorklund examines the Dutch Reformed landscapes of southwestern Michigan.

She argues that every group constantly evaluates the circumstances it faces through the application of an "ideological framework". The concept of ideology is defined by Bjorklund as "the set of ideas, concepts, values, attitudes, and goals accepted by a group of people."[37] Such a definition lacks many of the original connotations ascribed to the term. For example, there is no reference to the obscuring of reality as a result of what Mannheim sees as being "intensively interest bound to a situation."[38] Nor does it make reference to the Marxist notion of ideology, the phenomenon of collective thinking arising from not only interests but very much a product of the social milieu.[39] Bjorklund's concept of ideology is restricted in that it centres on a set three basic principles which she sees as "...moralistic beliefs in accordance with which all judgements concerning the conduct of daily affairs are made."[40] Through interviews and personal observation, Bjorklund examined the geographic impact of activities governed by fourteen specific ideas which she proposed as being expressions of these three "basic principles" or beliefs: literal obedience to particular rules, performance of both physical and spiritual work, and intolerance of conflicting rules. A number of conclusions are reached relating to the group's basic principles. It is observed that the Dutch Reformed "consistently established forms and systems of area organization compatible with their principles...".[41] Further, in keeping with the hypothesis she concludes that ideology is the intellectual framework for area organization and "...is reflected in the patterns of human occupance." Of significance are a number of additional observations and conclusions made by Bjorklund: (a) there are a variety of ways that basic principles may express themselves,[42]

(b) basic principles does not determine a given set of responses,[43]
(c) most of the identified geographic expressions were innovations and unknown in their previous European landscapes.[44]

Complementary observations are made by Gibson in his study of the impact of social beliefs on the urban landscape.[45] His study argues that shared social beliefs play a significant part in introducing change in urban landscapes of industrial societies. Using both a theoretical model and the developmental approach, Gibson attempts to demonstrate a correlation between the basic beliefs of a number of the social and interest groups in Vancouver, and the development of landscape over a period of nearly a century. He relates that in early Vancouver history four distinctively geographically segregated groups lived in the area, each of whom displayed deep hostility toward the other three.[46] After 1930 conditions for landscape change were present in areas where there seemed to be commonly shared beliefs, while change appeared quite difficult in areas where group interests contradicted proposals put forth by technical experts. In later years conflict amongst various voluntary groups is shown to impede change because of disagreements over landscape norms.[47] Once again, however, despite the demonstration of certain regularities between shared social beliefs and landscape change, it is pointed out that deviations from the basic hypothesized relationship are important.[48]

Therefore, though published evidence does exist to support the thesis that beliefs have an impact on landscape, there is evidence to suggest that the nature of the relationship is not simple and straightforward. In some manner, and for some apparently unexplained reason the

transposition of belief into a landscape is inconsistent or under the influence of still other factors.

The Structure of Belief

To this point we have said that beliefs are statements about the true nature of things. A second criterion of a belief is expressed in Sorokin's definition when he states:

> By "beliefs" I understand the totality of judgements which are either beyond the competance of science, or are inaccurate in a scientific sense, or are not proved scientifically.[49]

Therefore, they are basically ideas held to be true because of inward conviction but "more or less integrated by reason."[50] Supportive evidence, then, is not a necessary condition for belief though partial evidence may be used to provide a rationale for the belief.

Lund[51] in his study of beliefs, draws four conclusions: (a) belief has a high emotional content; (b) though when the non-rational or assumptional factors outweigh the rationale behind the belief, there is a tendency to hold the rational principle as the most valued of belief determinants;[52] (c) once formed, beliefs are not easily shaken or discontinued; and finally (d) belief is the scale from opinion to knowledge, thus, it is always present but the degree of intensity varies.[53] From this it can be inferred that because of the intermingling of rationale and emotion coupled with a broad range in both the numbers of beliefs held and the variance in intensity to which they are held it is therefore possible for contradictory beliefs to be held. Beliefs which have been strongly held may not be immediately discarded in the light of differing facts, they may merely become less intensely held or held in contradiction to a new belief and a rationale created which will in some manner account

for the contradiction.

Various studies focused on beliefs conclude that single beliefs do not exist in isolation but rather form part of a complex to which the term belief system is often applied. Rokeach gives the following definition:

> A belief system represents the total universe of a person's beliefs about the physical world, the social world, and the self.[54]

Young uses a comparable definition and argues that belief systems are a "social product" and at the same time there is a range of belief system types from the logical and scientific to the religious and mystical.[55]

Firth, in a discussion of religious beliefs, argues that beliefs are structured in what he calls a "configuration of religious beliefs".[56] This structure contains three orders of belief; a core or nucleus of simply stated and firmly held beliefs which may in part be the dogma or doctrines of the religion; a set of personal beliefs which may vary and fluctuate; and finally, a periphery, which is vague because of lack of conviction or because they are difficult to formulate.[57] The literature provides other structures that can be used for analysis, as well. Kluckholm and Strodbeck, in their study of values puts forward a five order structure of value orientation for the study of "basic systems of meanings".[58] Feibleman spoke of belief levels such as physiological, neurological, and cognitive.[59] Finally, Young chose to look at the context of belief system in terms of cognitive, affective and evalutive.[60]

The literature relating to the structure of beliefs suggests

that the following characteristics may be inferred as belonging to the nature of any belief system and thus applicable to that of the Doukhobor religious sect:

1) Belief systems with high emotional content and based essentially on irrational absolute principles can be expected to contain contradictory beliefs.

2) While the prevailing shared philosophical dogmas which provide a rationale for the existence of a belief system tend to endure and change only slowly the order of personal beliefs, those relating to the implementation of dogmas, may fluctuate and vary.

3) Peripheral beliefs may be held but not necessarily applied.

Purpose of The Study

The purpose of the study is through the analysis of the development of Doukhobor landscapes, to identify essential forms of the Doukhobor landscapes as these forms may be related to the religious beliefs held by the sect. At the same time the variety of belief orders will be considered and their role evaluated. In order to evaluate these roles three hypotheses will be tested.

Statement of Working Hypotheses

(1) The essential forms of Doukhobor landscapes are not consistent over time and space.

This hypothesis is basic to this study in that the hypotheses which follow are an attempt to provide an explanation for diversity within Doukhobor landscapes. Diversity within Doukhobor landscape is thought to exist since the literature which has been reviewed reveal inconsistencies in landscape response to the religious motive.

(2) Fluctation and contradiction in the order of personal beliefs have resulted in diversity and change in Doukhobor landscapes.

Since the literature suggests that in the order of personal beliefs there may exist fluctation and contradiction amongst the beliefs held, it is expected that this diversity will be reflected in the landscape. It is proposed here that the reflection of such diversity will be shown by a correlation between landscape irregularity and the dissimilarity in personal beliefs.

(3) External pressure and influence have partially determined Doukhobor landscapes.

Despite a wish to form an isolated society within other societies, the pressure and influence of individuals and other groups in the society in which they reside have been agents of change in the Doukhobor landscapes.

NOTES ON CHAPTER III

[1]See for example: Sopher, David E.; Geography of Religions; Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall Inc.; 1967, p. viii.; and Isaac, Erich; "The Act and The Covenant; Landscape; Winter 1961-62; p. 12.

[2]Deffontaines, Pierre; Geographie et Religion; Paris; Gallmaed; 1948.

[3]Deffontaines, Pierre; "The Place of Believing"; Landscape; Volume 2, No. 3; Spring, 1953; pp. 22-28.

[4]Sopher, David E.; op. cit.

[5]See for example: Isaac, Erich; "God's Acre"; Landscape; Vol. 14, Winter, 1964-65, pp. 28-32.; and Isaac, Erich; "Religion, Landscape and Space"; Landscape; Vol. 9, Winter, 1960, pp. 14-18; and Isaac, Erich; "The Act and the Covenant"; Landscape; Winter; 1961-62; pp. 12-17; and Isaac, Erich; "Influence of Religion on the Spread of Citrus"; Science; Vol. 129; 1959; pp. 179-186; Meinig, D.W.; "The Mormon Cultural Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West"; Association of American Geographers, Annals; Volume 55; 1965; pp. 191-220; and Bjorklund, Elaine; "Ideology and Culture Exemplified in Southwestern Michigan"; Association of American Geographers, Annals; Volume 64, June 1964, pp. 227-241; and Gehman, Richard; "Amish Folk"; National Geographic; Vol. 128, No. 2; August 1965; pp. 227-253.

[6]Isaac; "Religion, Landscape, and Space"; op. cit.; p. 16.

[7]Isaac; The Act and The Covenant"; op. cit.; p. 12.

[8]Isaac; Influence of Religion on The Spread of Citrus"; op. cit.; p. 185.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Mormon settlement patterns and landscapes have been the focus of interest by other fields, for example, planners; see Sellers, Charles L; "Early Mormon Community Planning"; Journal of The American Institute of Planners; Vol. 28, No. 1; February, 1962; pp. 24-30.

[11]Meinig, D.W.; op. cit.

[12]Francaviglia, Richard; "The Mormon Landscape: Definition of an Image In The American West"; Proceedings of The Association of American Geographers; 1970; pp. 59-62.

[13]Ibid.; p. 60.

[14]Lehr, John; "The Mormon Cultural Landscape of Alberta"; in Leigh, R. (ed); Malaspina Papers: Studies in Human and Physical Geography; B.C. Geographical Series #17 (Tantalus Research) Occasional Papers In Geography; 1973; pp. 25-33.

[15]Sopher; op. cit.; p. 14.

[16]Fickler, Paul: "Fundamental Questions in The Geography of Religions"; in Wagner, Philip and Mikesell, Marvin (eds.); Reading In Cultural Geography; Chicago; University of Chicago Press; 1962; pp. 94-117.

[17]Ibid.; p. 95.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Isaac; "Influence of Religion on the Spread of Citrus"; op. cit.

[20]Isaac; "Religion Landscape and Space"; op. cit.; p. 14.

[21]Ibid.; p. 16.

[22]Isaac; "The Act and The Covenant"; op. cit..

[23]Ibid.; p. 17.

[24]Eliot, T.S.; Notes Toward The Definition of Culture; London; Faber and Faber, Ltd.; 1948; p. 32.

[25]Isaac; "Religion, Landscape and Space"; op. cit.; p. 15.

[26]Kluckholm, Florence and Fred Strodbeck; Variations In Value Orientations; Evanston, Row, Peterson and Company; 1961; p. 1: These include: Kroeber, Sapir, Redfield, Benedict, Mead, Kluckholm and Bateson.

[27]DeCoulanges, Fustel; The Ancient City; Doubleday; 1864.

[28]Glock, Charles Y., and Stark, Rodney; "Is There An American Protestantism" in Knudten, Richard (ed.); The Sociology of Religion; New York; Appleton-Century-Crafts; 1967; pp. 542-555.

[29]VanEyck, Aldo; "Design Only Grace; Open Norm; Disturb Order Gracefully; Outmatch Need"; in Jencks, Charles and Baird, George (eds.); Meaning in Architecture; New York; George Braziller; 1969; pp. 183-193.

[30]Ibid. p. 188.

[31]Griaule, Marcel; "Mission Dakar-Djeboute 1931-1933"; Minotaure; Revue Artistique et Litteraire; Volume 2; June, 1933.

[32]Jencks and Baird; op. cit.; p. 173.

[33]Van Eyck; op. cit.; p. 190.

[34]Ibid.; p. 190.

[35]Parin, Paul; "The Dogan People"; in Jencks, Charles and Baird, George (eds.); Meaning In Architecture; New York; George Braziller; 1969; pp. 176-182.

[36]Ibid.; p. 179.

[37]Bjorklund, Elaine; op. cit.; p. 227.

[38]Mannheim, Karl; Ideology and Utopia; New York; A Harvest Book; Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc.; 1936; p. 40.

[39]Ibid.; p. 124.

[40]Bjorklund; op. cit.; p. 254.

[41]Ibid.; p. 265.

[42]Ibid.; p. 272.

[43]Ibid.; p. 265.

[44]Ibid.; p. 271.

[45]Gibson; op. cit.

[46]Ibid.; p. 177.

[47]Ibid.; p. 179

[48]Ibid.; p. 176.

[49]Sorokin, Peterim; Contemporary Sociological Theories; New York; Harper and Row; 1928; p. 661.

[50]Firth, Raymond; "Religious Belief and Personal Adjustment"; Royal Anthropological Institute Journal; Volume 78, 1951; p. 25.

[51]Lund, Fredrick, Hansen; "The Psychology of Belief"; Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology; Volume 20, 1925-26; pp. 63-81 and 174-176.

[52]The existence of both emotion and intellectual content in belief is supported by Firth, op. cit.; p. 33, and Harvey, Van A.; "Is There An Ethics of Belief"; The Journal of Religion; Volume 49, 1969; pp. 41-58, and Otto, Rudolph; The Idea of the Holy; London; Oxford University Press; p. 1.

[53]The theme of varying intensity of belief can be further supported from the literature. See: Young, Kimball; Social Psychology;

New York; Appleton-Century-Crafts; 1956; p. 187, and Rokeach, Milton; Beliefs, Attitudes and Values; San Francisco; Jossey-Bass Inc.; 1965; p. 3.

[54]Rokeach; op. cit.; pp. 2-4.

[55]Young; op. cit.; pp. 186-189.

[56]Firth; op. cit.; p. 26.

[57]Ibid.; p. 27.

[58]Kluckholm and Strodtbeck; op. cit.; pp. 4-11.

[59]Feibleman, James; "A Theory of Social Belief"; The Journal of Psychology; Volume 16; 1943; pp. 219-237.

[60]Young, Kimball; Social Psychology; New York; Appleton-Century-Crafts, Inc.; 1956.

CHAPTER IV

CONFLICT AND THE INSTITUTIONAL LANDSCAPE

It has been said that institutions are "the most stable, uniform, formal and general of the group behavior patterns".[1] Examination of Doukhobor institutions and their reaction to other institutions operating within the society in which they reside should be indicative of the landscape influence of the Doukhobor religious motive.

Worship And The Doukhobor Landscape

Of the many groups which separated themselves from the Russian Orthodox Church no other splinter group went as far away from its former liturgical formalities as the Doukhobors.[2] The break was so complete that it can be said to have been a total rejection of all accepted forms of Christian ritual.

Believing that the externalities of religion serve no useful purpose in bringing about the salvation of the soul[3] has resulted in the rejection by the Doukhobors of the major portion of their formerly followed Orthodox worship. However, the rejection of their usefulness did not necessarily bring about the rejection of their practice. In the late 18th century Sylvan Kolisnikoff taught his followers that since these externalities of religion have no significance whatever, Doukhobors might conform to any ceremonial worship they may wish, for example, conforming to the standard practices of the country or province in which they resided.[4] As a result many very early adherents of Doukhoborism still attended 'Russian Orthodox' churches. Later, in the early part of the 19th century, Kapustin taught against such conduct, through an emphasis

on the open rejection of the externalities of life, leading to the attainment of the good and 'perfected' life.[5] Of the two interpretations the latter has predominated to this day. Thus, a variance in personal beliefs resulted in a variation in church attendance on a regional basis at one point in time.

An anonymously written document of 1805[6], which Vladimir Tchertkoff argued was indicative of the year 1897 as well,[7] discloses a sharp difference between the principles and actions of the Doukhobors and those of other peasantry. This document reads in part:

> • • • The Doukhobors never frequent the churches; they do not worship images, during prayer they do not make the sign of the cross; they do not keep the ordinary fasts, and they take no part in the recreations and loose pleasures of worldly people. There are many such circumstances which completely separate them from all ordinary society of peasants, and which have always been a cause of unceasing persecution against them.[8]

The major differentiating worship factor of the Doukhobor faith seems to be the rejection of traditional forms of worship. It has been argued that this rejection existed as early as 1740 in the Ukraine[9] and is still characteristic of the Doukhobors today.

In some cases the rejections of traditional forms of worship had no demonstratable impact on the landscape, while in other instances rejection affected major landscape features. The Doukhobor concept of the church acknowledges:

> ...one sacred, universal and apostolic Church, which the Lord by his coming has assembled, consecrated, and replenished by the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and which is of course, the union of all faithful and true Christians.[10]

In a letter to the Royal Commission of 1912, the application of this view

in terms of the Community Doukhobors was presented in the following words:

> We in the spirit and soul confess God, but we Doukhobors refuse churches made of wood and stone upon which... people expend so much labour and money long since ago. God's spirit and Wisdom dwell in the heart of the humble believer in Jesus Christ, and this Divine Church we recognize in every part of the world.
>
> For the building of this Divine Church it is not required that men's hands and money be employed. "Where two or three are gathered in Christ's name, God is amongst them."[11]

While they rejected the concept of the physical church made with human hands they did not reject the gathering together in a village meeting called a sobranie:

> The effectiveness of the sobranya (sic) lies not in a building, which is unnecessary; not in ritual, which is minimal; not in preaching; which is incidental; not in communions and prayer, for which there is no provision; and not in the heightened sensitivity of mind and heart reaching for truth, because this is not characteristic. The sobranya is a settling down into the past, an immersion of self into the group. The singing at a sobranya is monotonous, persistent, inescapable; it is vocal magic which takes the place of other forms and determinants of unity.[12]

The wholeness of their conception of life and their refusal to conceive of life in a divided manner by separating that which is religious from that which is secular is also to be seen in the sobranie. The sobranie was a meeting of the people to learn spiritual things from others and to conduct Community business. A distinct separation of these two ingredients is not evident. In the early years of the sect the sobranies as well as other meetings, weddings, and funerals were usually held in the homes.[13] In the late eighteenth century, Kolisnikoff met with his followers in his home,[14] while it was reported in 1805 that "they meet at each other's houses without distinction."[15] However, Cormie in his

visit to the Saskatchewan colonies in 1903, reports the existence of a "meeting-House".[16] However, it is interesting to note that part of this meeting-house served as a guest house for the community rendering any connotation of sanctity minimal. While for a time opposition to the erection of Community Homes (meeting-houses) was voiced by Peter Verigan II upon his arrival in Canada,[17] they have become a significant part of the Canadian Doukbobor landscape.

If the weather is compatible the sobranie is held out of doors, but whether inside or outside the spatial organization remains distinctive and relatively constant as does the order of the meeting. If outside, the congregation takes the form of a large circle with men on the left and the women on the right of a table.[18] The children form the other half of the circle. If held indoors the division of men and women remains the same but a circle is dependent on the facilities. Such services can be held anywhere, for example, on one occasion a sobranie was held on a streetcorner in Nelson.[19]

It is significant to note that while the "Community Home" in theory had no sacred meaning attached to them, differences of feeling arose on several occasions. In the beginning they were reserved exclusively for sobranies and more specific business meetings.[20] Little by little other events such as concerts, funerals, after sobranie meals, and finally weddings were held in the Community Homes.[21] The change did not come about without opposition, hence, some had attached meaning, all be it negligible, to the buildings.

In the same manner the Doukhobors claim they do not attach any sacred meaning to times or days in relation to their meetings. For

convenience those days adopted by the society in which they reside as holy days are used by the Doukhobors. The Doukhobors have made extensive use of a "Sunrise Service", which was originally chosen in order to escape the persecution of their enemies in Russia.[22] This practice was maintained to an extent on their arrival in Canada.

The rejection of images and signs provides a landscape void of the usual symbols of religion we are accustomed to looking for: spires, crosses, majestic large buildings, and the stained glass windows. However, certain ceremonial practices have at times crept into their lives. In the nineteenth century they gave recognition to the "inner spirit": For example, entering a meeting:

> ...the men greet the men, the women the women, by grasping each other's right hands, bowing three times and kissing each other.... At the end of the meeting they again kiss each other thrice as at the beginning....[23]

In 1902, Verigin abolished the practice of kissing and handshaking as "superfluous ceremony".[24] Worship reforms went even farther, for at a convention called in 1908 it was resolved to leave off all "external spiritual customs" such as reading palms, singing of hymns, and bowing to the ground.[25] Despite this resolution, its acceptance, and Verigin's approval, amongst some the old ceremonies continued.[26] However, in 1927, under his successor, Verigin II, this practice of ritual returned once again as an accepted part of Doukhobor worship.[27] Such practices have not left any imprint on the landscape.

No sacrements, in the orthodox since, are used by the Doukhobors. The Bread, Salt, and Water on the table at a sobranie are common Russian symbols of hospitality. To the Doukhobor they are a sign indicating that

as the bread, salt, and water are the minimum requirements of the body, Doukhoborism is the minimum requirement of the soul.[28] After the meeting the bread may be eaten and the water drunk or be left for the next meeting.

In review, it can be said that Doukhobor patterns of worship are a complete break from the general practices of other Russian peasantry. The uniqueness of the Doukhobor landscape is the total absence of ritual symbols. Worship amongst the Doukhobors is not, however, totally devoid of ritual but these have had little impact on the landscape. Finally, it has been shown, through an example provided from the early times of Doukhoborism, that variance in the application of the concept of "rejection" did exist on a regional basis.

Negativism As a Form of Godliness

The rejective nature of the Doukhobor abandonment of worship forms found in what can be called traditional Christianity is carried over into the everyday life. The result has been a repudiation of general societal life. The performance of some of the more personal rules of Doukhobor belief deserves some attention.

Herbison in his study of the Doukhobor religion stated:

> They are not departmentalized, having never grasped the significant difference between secular and religious. Meat eating, communalism, the full skirt and pacifism are all of religious importance; and the intellectual scientific method, denied in the field of faith, is similarily denied in the realm of social and economic life.[29]

If Godliness is gained by rejecting the accepted forms of religious life then many of the forms of societal life associated with the forms of religious life that has been abandoned should also be rejected. Coupled with a need for an absorption into a religious experience this belief has led to negativism being conceived as a form of Godliness. "Goodness

is no smoking, no drinking, no meat eating, no owning, no voting, and, with extremists, no clothing and no schooling."[30]

The influence of such negativism on the landscape will not be considered as a whole but several elements will be considered within other categories in the text which follows:

Nudism and Arson

The origin of nudism and arson within Doukhoborism is not clear. The first recorded incidence of nudism amongst the Doukhobors took place during a 1903 pilgrimage on the Canadian Prairies. Eight years earlier arson was involved in the destruction of weapons.

Nudism related to religious zealotry is not without precedent in history:

> George Fox, who founded the society (of Friends or Quakers) in England about 1650, himself tells us that one of his friends walked naked through Skipton declaring the truth, and that another was divinely moved to go naked during several years to market places, and to the houses of gentlemen and clergymen. Fox complains bitterly that these pious acts were requited by an untoward generation with hooting, pelting, coach whipping and horse whipping. Though he applauded the zeal of the sufferers, personally he did not go quite to these lengths. Sometimes he was impelled to strip himself partly, and to walk barefoot through the streets of lichfield crying, 'Woe to the bloody city.'[31]

"Witness" was then a rationale for the stripping off of the clothing. Doukhobor zealots have put forward a similar rationale:

> ...as long as mankind will persist in following its old habits to be governed by external appearances it shall not ever come out into the clear path out of the terrible stupifying mists of this befuddled civilized age....Herein is revealed the true purpose and meaning of Doukhobor nudism. It symbolically designates the second regeneration of man who has died in Adam, and has become born again (resurrected) in Christ Jesus.... Hence, let our nudism serve to

> all the world as a symbol of peace and as a blazing example of how the labouring people throughout the land are unjustly and unmercifully denuded (dispossessed) by wielders of power and wealth under present Twentieth Century false conditions in life.[32]

These zealots also attribute a strong religious symbolic meaning to nudism. On numerous occasions the egalitarian ideal was given as a rationale for nudity since nude they come into the world, and when nude, material wealth was not apparent. The level of symbolic meaning of nudism amongst the zealots has been raised to that of baptism, according to a document put out by the elders of the Spiritual Community of Christ,[33] one segment of the Svobodniki. This document reads in part:

> Baptism: In view of many members wishing to join organization Spiritual Community of Christ, the bodily stripping off included in the decision of Elders Baptism, seems to be beyond their will, the Elders wish to declare the following: Every member wishing and ready to join this organization and to obey all our By-Laws (donations, etc.) temporarily permitted from November 26th to join Spiritual Community of Christ without stripping off, but must understand that the conditions for baptism are not altered and that this part of baptism (nudism) which he has not accomplished yet, however still remains in arrears as a debt which must be accomplished. Time for this is not set but he must eventually to do so.

Rationale for the act as supplied by this document refers to its symbolism as an act of spiritual development through a relationship to egalitarian ideals and non-materialism as expressed in nature.

As stated earlier the first recorded act of nudism amongst the Doukhobors took place during a May, 1903 pilgrimage when forty-nine men, women, and children marched naked from village to village in the South Colony.[34] This was the only recorded incidence of a nude pilgrimage.[35] The majority of the other incidences of nudism were in the form of demonstrations not involving travel in obedience to ideals.

The result of the 1903 nude pilgrimage was the arrest of some twenty-eight[36] men who were each sentenced to three months in jail. While this act of religious fervour, like all other nude demonstrations, had no direct bearing on the static Doukhobor landscape it initiated another protest form which brought about considerable change to the landscape: arson. Of those jailed all but ten returned to the community to live a peaceful quiet life. The ten remaining became irreconcilable extremists and formed a hard core nucleus of what was to be called some twenty years later the "Sons of Freedom".[37] Six weeks after their release from prison some members of this core committed a deliberate act of arson by burning one of the community's new combines for which they were sentenced to an additional three years in Stoney Mountain Penitentiary.[38]

Two types of arson are evident on the Doukhobor landscape: a) that which is openly done and involves quite often one's own property; b) that which is secretly done. The latter is rather difficult to deal with in that ~~since the arsonists~~ are usually unknown and the motive is also unknown.

Exactly when the first burnings actually took place is not clear for it is reported that on occasions ikons were burned prior to 1895.[39] However, it is a matter of record that in 1895 the majority of Doukhobors held an "arms burning" and destroyed all their weapons. Burnings since that time have ~~been credited~~ to a small group of zealots.[40] The rationale for most arson falls under the category of destroying 'worldliness'. Such 'worldliness' usually relates to the concepts of materialism[41] or militarism.[42]

A few examples will provide an overview of the types of property

involved and the extent of the feelings about this activity:

1) 1895 - In keeping with their pacifistic views 12,000 Doukhobors burned all their weapons in three different districts of Russia.

2) 1904 - There was a burning of Community-owned fields, as some of the more zealous members believed the ground should not be worked.[43]

3) 1905 - Thirty-five Svobodniki burned their clothing before attempting to march naked into Yorkton.

4) 1916 - A number of zealots burned the home of Peter Verigin on the outskirts of Canora, for which value estimates range from $20,000 to $75,000.[44]

5) 1923-25 - A total of nine schools destroyed by fire.[45]

6) 1947 - Between August 13 and 17 ten Krestova homes were burned by their owners along with all their possessions.[46]

7) 1962 - During the summer an estimated 240 homes had been burned in all Doukhobor districts.[47]

8) At Krestova a large number of cars had been burned because they cause accidents, hence they are weapons.[48]

... Nudity and arson have been used only by a small band of zealots, while in general the Independents and the Community Doukhobors have condemned their use. While the zealots have provided a rationale for such action they cannot be said to adhere to Doukhobor doctrine, even though the Spiritual Community of Christ elevated nudism to the level of a religious requirement. Whether nudism is an element of landscape is no doubt debatable in terms of landscape studies; on the other hand, in Doukhobor landscapes its presence has created considerable activity, and therefore must receive at least minimal attention. Arson has had a very

noticeable effect, especially in the Svobodniki settlement of Krestova which, as a result of repeated arson has become essentially a shack-town. Fire and ashes have been prominent in the Doukhobor landscape and because certain groups within Doukhoborism have practiced arson, because they believe it to be a means of adhering to certain core beliefs, there is a variance over space and time in its application and extent.

Spatial Political Organization and Doukhobor Leadership

Individualism has been a major principle of Doukhobor teaching. The emphasis placed on this concept is made clear by the number of basic beliefs which focus on the individual.[49] For example, the belief exists that all life is sacred in that the spirit dwells in the individual, and it is the duty of each man to be true to his own conscience. Furthermore, the striving for the perfect life, is essentially an individual matter in that guidance towards this goal comes from within the individual and not externally from the group. Thus, self-reliance is a basic idiom of Doukhobor dogma.

Leadership has played a prominent role in Doukhobor history, though the concept is at times very puzzling.[50] (Figures 1 and 2 give the leadership lineage of the Doukhobors). In the days of Russian persecution, Doukhobors openly claimed to have no leader and that all were equal. Such a stand is compatible with the strongly held tenet that the individual listens only to the "voice within" and is guided by such. Despite this claim, for most, a leader surely existed.

The leader's role is not that of a priest since he performs no liturgical function and the Christ within, the indwelling spirit, is the only true Priest, making an external priest unnecessary.[51] The contradiction

Figure 1: Leadership in Russia

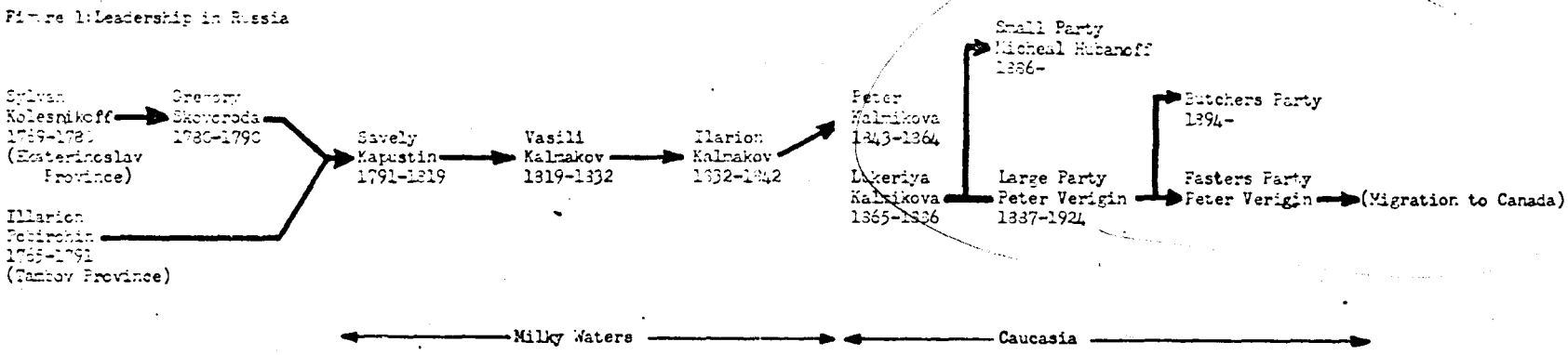
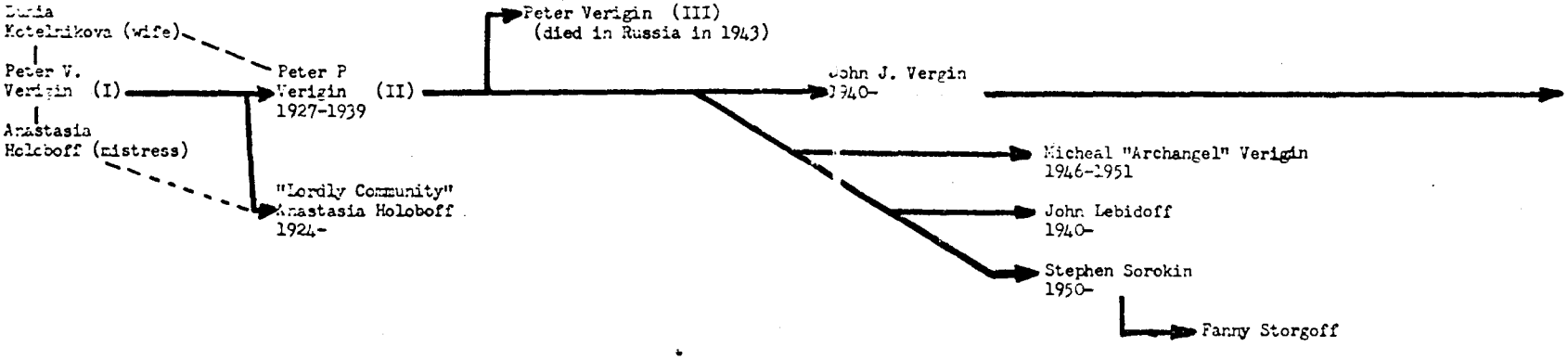


Figure 2: Leadership in Canada



in the role of leadership comes about since in spite of the individualistic character of their basic doctrines, their egalitarian ideals, and the claim of equal voice, Doukhobor leadership has with only minor exceptions been given a position of quasi-divinity.

Divine or spiritual leadership is not, however, a basic principle or an accepted tenet of Doukhobor faith.[52] While it has been a significant aspect of Doukhobor history and because of this demands consideration in all Doukhobor studies, it must be placed in its proper perspective. Divine or spiritual leadership like many religious phenomena has inched its way in, meeting a variation in its degree of acceptance.[53]

The role which has been given the leader has been that of a prophet whose insights and visions are considered more discerning than those of ordinary men.[54] Early Doukhobor leaders were naturally gifted teachers who rose up from among them and were able to draw adherent's attention to the sect's basic doctrines. The change from this natural charisma to a hereditary sacredness soon followed bringing with it its own internal tensions and splits. The result, in many instances, has been that while professing an egalitarian doctrine of community the relationship between the leader and his followers has been one of "moral and even physical coercion" resulting in the rise of a narrow, despotic regime.[55]

It cannot be over emphasized that the situation which arose through the introduction of a divine and hereditary leadership in contradiction to their basic beliefs brought about a paradox. Wishing to be guided by the "spirit-within" they say:

> Whenever there is a conflict of loyalties we are faced with a choice --"either this or that". If we give supreme respect for the conscience, then we must follow the dictation of our conscience.[56]

Opposed to this view was the utter devotion of the followers to the leader which is exemplified in a document signed by fourteen Doukhobors of the village of Krasnikova on July 28th, 1901. It reads in part:

> "'Great is the Lord above all nations, for his goodness and mercy endureth for ever.' And his goodness in that He has been born by the Spirit of the Most-Holy Virgin Mother of God the Queen of Heaven, of the blessed race of Loukeriya Kalmikova.
>
> "This Lord is our Leader, Peter Vasilyevitch Verigin. His beauty is in his Wisdom; in flesh he is pure.
>
> "We strive towards him, esteem him God and Tsar, and with full desire yield ourselves to his power."[57]

The full impact of this contradiction is seen in the varying degree of acceptance of the divinity of the leader. In reference to Peter V. Verigin a Doukhobor wrote:

> Some looked on him as the Apostles looked on Christ, and considered him a Savior, or the 'Door to the Kingdom of Heaven'; others considered him as a God-Man or earthly Diety; others only considered him a prophet; and there were also sensible men who simply looked on him as an ordinary man. What was most important was his influence among us as a public Leader.[58]

It should also be argued that despite the recognition of leadership as being divine the individual principle remained and their "apparent submissiveness is deceptive."[59] The power of the people is primary and becomes quite evident in the sobranie where decisions are not made on the basis of a vote but rather by a general consensus arrived at by the silencing of all opposition.[60] Control rests in a fine balance between the combined will of the people and the leadership. While leadership is often given obedient accord to its advice it cannot be said to

be automatic. For example at a meeting of Sorokin's devout followers it was stated: "It doesn't matter what Sorokin says. We are the people we say...."[61] The degree to which this external idea has been accepted is better understood when considered in light of the stress by the adherents of Doukhoborism on a practicing religion." Tar soff argues

> Practice is the emphasis in the movement; belief is secondary. You may speak of God all you like, or not at all, but the actual deed of doing good is the test of your sincerity.[62]

In most cases the sincerity of the leadership cannot be questioned. At the same time, the charismatic character of many of the leaders has been construed as the attainment of perfection, both in conduct and character, resulting from the attainment of total freedom from this world through a high degree of spiritual motivation of the 'inner spirit'.

Variance and Change In Spatial Political Organization

The change in the spatial political organization of the Doukhobors reflect obedience to such leadership, the existence of a strong spirit of individualism, and the clash between these principles.

In its early beginnings, Doukhoborism was not a concentrated phenomena with adherents grouped together, but rather they were scattered and living amongst other Russian peasants.[63] In terms of spatial political organization they must be viewed as independents whose only common bond was a unity of opinion and belief and the goal of prosilytization of those amongst whom they lived.

The first recorded attempt at a concentrated spatial organization appears to be that attempted by Sylvan Kolesnikoff in the latter part of the 18th Century.[64] His strict life and his habit of being well informed

attracted many people and he soon became according to Novitsky "...the first organizer and propagator of Doukhobor teaching in a real sense."[65] The exact extent of this organization is not known but it can be speculated that it was at least a loose organization. Kolesnikoff introduced the use of the bread, salt, and the water as signs of the basic needs as well as the practice of bowing to the Spirit Within.

With the death of Kolesnikoff, Gregory Skovorada was led by the 'admonitions of Christ' to come to the Doukhobors of that district. Little is recorded about his period of leadership or as to how much influence he exerted, however, he is credited with introducing many hymns.[66]

At about the same time that Kolesnikoff was in the province of Ekaterinoslav, in another area of Russia, the Province of Tambov, a travelling wool dealer began to prophesy.[67] The dealer's name was Illarian Pobirohin and upon the death of Kolesnikoff he became influencial over both areas. Pobirohin introduced two innovations into Doukhobor philosophy, the "Living Book" and the concept of "divine leadership."[68] Pobirohin chose to proclaim himself as the "Christ" despite such a move being contrary to Doukhobor beliefs relating to the equality of man. The extent to which he was accepted as such is not known since the Doukhobors were essentially still only loosely affiliated. However, he appears to have had considerable following at this time.

Pobirohin proceeded to establish a form of religious or theocratic communism based on divine rule.[69] Again it seems safe to speculate that it did not amount to much more than a good deal of cooperation since they were not living in isolation from the other Russian peasants.

A form of religious government was proclaimed, however, with the naming of two committees, one for teaching and the second for punishing "backsliders". A year after coming into full leadership after the death of Skovorada, Pobirohin was arrested for inciting the people against the civil law. Pobirohin was the first leader to make a major prophecy. He prophesied that the persecution would soon cease and the Doukhobors would be allowed to settle together in a favourable part of Russia and live unmolested and happy.[70]

Pobirohin was followed in 1791 by a young corporal of the guards who believed he had been appointed by God to lead his people much as Moses had led God's People out of the wilderness.[71] Savely Kapustin, justified his role as a divine leader and the Christ:

> He attached peculiar importance to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, (this is not a Doukhobor principle) which was already known among them: he also taught that Christ is born again in every believer; that God is in every one; for when the Word became flesh it became this for all time, like everything divine, that is, man in the world; but each human soul, at least as long as the created world exists, remains a distinct individual. Now when God descended into the individuality of Jesus as Christ, He sought out the purest and most perfect man that ever existed, and the soul of Jesus was the purest and most perfect of all human souls. God, since the time when He first revealed himself in Jesus, has always remained in the human race, and dwells and reveals himself in every believer. But the individual soul of Jesus, where has it been? By virtue of the law of the transmigration of souls, it must necessarily have animated another human body.[72]

Based on this teaching he proclaimed that "As truly as the heaven is above me and the earth beneath my feet, I am the true Lord Jesus Christ."[73]

Under Kapustin's dictatorial leadership they began to build their first utopian colony when the government allowed many of the

Doukhobors to gather together as a single community in the Milky Waters area near the Sea of Azov. The colonists heeded the demands of Kapustin to turn over to him all their personal property. However, before his reign ended, he redivided the property in such a manner as to leave himself and his family with sizeable holdings. He accepted and rejected members, bought and sold land, and made and broke laws according to what he claimed was God's will. In part Pobirohin's prophecy had become a reality.

Kapustin introduced a number of innovations, an unwritten constitution, lereditary leadership, non-recourse to the courts, Zion the widows and orphans home, and community ownership.[74] The latter two innovations are directly related to the landscape and will be considered in detail later in the text.[75]

On his deathbed Kapustin declared the power of Christ would pass into his son, consequently, Vasily became the first hereditary divine leader when he assumed control. Unfortunately, he was a drunkard and so was his son Illarion, who succeeded him in leadership. Still the majority of the Doukhobors preferred to accept the hereditary leadership principle over the individualism couched in their beliefs. The elders went as far as to provide Illarion Kapustin with six different virgins while still sixteen years of age since they wished to insure a hereditary leadership and Illarion did not wish the responsibility of married life.[76] Two sons were born of this experiment and it was avowed to be the will of God.

Shortly after being banished to the Caucasian Mountains, Peter Kalmikoff, one of the two sons was recognized as leader. Until 1864 Peter worked diligently to build a model community. With his death the leadership passed to his wife for on his deathbed he stated, "I give you

Loukeriya. The spirit of Christ will pass from me to her."[77] He prophecied, however, that after his wife's reign the spirit would no longer dwell amongst the Doukhobors.[78] There exists a dispute as to whether or not Loukeriya ever had any children.[79]

For over twenty years Loukeriya was given full recognition as divine leader. Two events during her reign are significant to future Doukhobor problems. She authorized, as leader, that the Doukhobors provide transport for the Russian army during the Russian Turkish war of 1877-78.[80] As spiritual leader Loukeriya was also its prophet. One prophesy reads as follows:

> My dears: The Doukhobors have a great fight ahead: to free themselves from shedding human blood. Oh, how strongly I would wish that the Doukhobors for ever would stay united. But it may happen that the Doukhobors will split to their disaster. It is predestined that the Doukhobors shall leave their motherland and live for a time in countries far away - as a test of their faith and for the honour of God. But this I have to tell you: Wherever the Doukhobor may go, wherever they may stay, they will finally return to this place. This place is promised and selected for them, and when the Doukhobors return here they will find peace and comfort.[81]

This prophecy played a major part in Doukhobor migrations and proposed migrations and points out their importance.[82] Loukeriya made a number of other prophecies:

> She foretold that the Doukhobors would split up into various groups in the new land and that among the various groups there would be diverse trends of thought and many would attempt leadership of the various groups. Prophecying of the many attempts at leadership, she however foretold of the basic pattern of true leadership that would follow her. She said, - You will first be led by a Verigin, Peter, who in the pattern of his life shall lead such a Christ-like existence that he shall become known as Peter "The Lordly". After him, you will have a Peter Verigin whose role will be "The Cleanser", because you again will start becoming too world-

> ly and sinful. After this will come a Verigin whose era will be a period of "Extermination." Multitudes shall perish from the ravages of war, hunger and pestilence. All forms of false worship and false social systems shall be uprooted and Heaven itself shall then give inspiration for a new plan of living. After this Verigin era, she said, the Doukhobors shall have evolved to a state where they will know each for himself of what is the true course of life.[83]

Whether or not the contradictions in prophecy in terms of leadership played a role in the split that occurred over the selection of her successor is not clear. However, about one quarter refused to follow Peter V. Verigin (Verigin I), Loukeriya's obvious choice. Verigin was reputed by various sources to be her nephew, her lover, and even her son.[84] Meanwhile, Mr. Zubkov,[85] an elected village elder, for more than 20 years,[86] and the Hubonoffs,[87] Loukeriya's family, did not approve of this appointment. After much internal conflict it seemed that the majority wished to follow the instructions of the former leader and name Peter Verigin I in her place. The minority who wished to follow conscience other than tradition refused to yield, causing a split within the Sect: the "Large Party" under Verigin opposed to the "Small Party" under Hubonoff.

Following the advice of Zubkov, the colony's manager, Hubonoff laid claim to the Orphans Home[88] and the bank account, both being in the name of his sister. Though she left no will there seems little doubt she would have left it to Verigin I and the Large Party. Legally, however, Hubonoff had a claim. For the first time in their history, except for Verigin's divorce, the Doukhobors went to civil court to settle a community dispute.[90] The court settled in favour of the Small

Party. It should be pointed out, however, that the only modification in the status of the Orphans Home was that it became the property of the Small Party, for from the moment of takeover it was used solely for its intended purpose.[91] The severity of this split was staggering, rending apart many families which remained permanently broken up.[92] As Doukhobors took sides they also became spatially differentiated requiring that men leave their homes and lands.

Another result of the struggle was the banishment to Siberia of Verigin I. It was while in exile that one of the major influencing factors on the Doukhobor landscape became a part of Verigin I's life. While in exile Verigin I read a great deal and came into contact with the ideals of a number of other exiles. He was particularly influenced by the thoughts and ideas of Leo Tolstoy though he on occasion denied knowledge of his works.[93] He had in fact had personal correspondence with Tolstoy.[94] At the same time he was familiar with the ideal 'Republic of Plato' as well as Sir Thomas More's 'Utopia'.[95] The influence of these idealists were felt by the Doukhobors through two differing types of letters.

Verigin I had begun to sow the seeds of a religious revival as soon as he took control of the Large Party. With his banishment to Siberia he maintained contact with his followers through a series of letters which were of a very practical nature dealing with the practice of everyday life. For example, such letters written in the 1890's advised the Doukhobors to once more adopt the ideals of communism, which had lapsed for many years, to broaden their pacifistic ideals to reject all manner of violence, and to adopt for the first time vegetarianism

and a universal outlook. In order to perpetuate the universal ideal amongst his followers Verigin changed their name to "Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood,"[96] as it would "tell more clearly that we look on all men as our brothers according to the command of the Lord Jesus Christ."[97] By courier his followers were advised that November 4th, 1894 had been set as the day that a further step would be taken toward "spiritual purity". No longer were they to indulge in the eating of meat, in smoking, or in drinking alcoholic beverages.[98]

The ban on meat-eating encountered strong opposition among the followers of Verigin I. A large number of families actually broke away from him and formed another distinctive group and were given the name Butchers Party, while Verigin I's group became known as the Fasters. (See Table 3 for the group breakdown). The break became even more severe when Verigin advised his followers to abstain from sexual intercourse "during their time of tribulation."[100] This ban was difficult even for his most ardent followers.

TABLE III

ESTIMATE OF POPULATION BY PARTY - 1895

Fasters	8000	under Verigin
Butchers	5000	under Voriobieff
Small Party	8000	under Hubonoff
	21000	

Verigin wrote a second type of letter which was not intended for his followers but the letters were published by an outsider and reached the Doukhobors shortly after their arrival in Canada.[101] These letters were intended for other idealists like Tolstoy and meant to outdo their advocacy of the simple idealistic life. He wrote of a

theoretical "Garden of Eden." Extracts from these letters read as follows:

> I admit the possibility of advising not to work physically, and yet to be sufficiently fed (obtain first the Kingdom of Heaven, and all the rest will be added unto you)...People should begin to preach peace and goodwill, which are bound up with abstinence. Plenty of corn exists, if only avarice were diminished. The earth, freed from the violence of human hands, would begin to abound with all that is ordained for it. I do not even imagine that mankind would suffer want were it to submit to such a theory, for, feeding moderately, the eatables now in existence would suffice mankind for a hundred years, and within a hundred years the earth would have time to clothe itself completely and return to its primitive condition. And humanity, together with the spiritual stature lost of Adam and Eve, would regain an earthly paradise.
>
> It is important for me to know: in order to live rightly...should we keep cattle?...For it is very natural that if fruits exist, man should feed on them (that is my ultimate conviction).
>
> If we cannot get on...without knives, then we shall never free ourselves from the power of contemporary civilization...If all humanity began to live peaceably and quietly in huts, and still needed an axe, then they would again return to the above-mentioned: that is, to the mines. You may say that even in mines one may lead a peaceful and tranquil life. I reply, 'that man was created not for physical existence, but for spiritual'!
>
> And therefore, in my opinion, man need not act, but need only observe and admire what exists.
>
> 'Take up thy cross and follow me', and to follow Christ--we must live as He lived, and we see that Christ did no physical work, nor did the Apostles.[102]

Such letters produced a wave of zealotry in the early years of settlement in Canada culminating in a series of pilgrimages.[103] It can be speculated that a rationale for much of the zealous behavior of a 70-year history in Canada can be found in this series of letters. One other innovation was introduced by Verigin I when he moved the majority of his followers to British Columbia, the "double-house."[104]

With the death of Verigin I in a mysterious train explosion in 1924, Peter Petrovitch Verigin (Verigin II), his son, was called from Russia to take the leadership. The demand by Loukeriya that Verigin I divorce his wife had forced her into the Small Party in the leadership fight that ensued. Despite this the Orthodox Community of Canada in 1924 still believed in hereditary leadership and called the son, who took over in 1927. Verigin I's mistress had hoped to take over but was rejected which led to her leading some 500 followers to Arrow-wood, Alberta, where she became the leader of the "Lordly Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood" in honour of Verigin I whom the devout had referred to as "The Lordly".[105]

Verigin II brought about innovation in that he made several changes in the structure of the C.C.U.B. reducing the level of communistic operation. Also he insisted on more compliance with education and registration laws. These changes coupled with a prophecy made by him tended to crystallize the zealots into a more formal structure. Verigin II prophesied that the Doukhobors would leave Canada and that the road out of Canada "would go through the jails."[106] The more Verigin moved away from communism and toward "Caesar" the more the zealots wished to leave Canada and it had been prophesied that jail was the route.

In 1939 Verigin II died and the Doukhobors were without a leader. They waited for years for the son of Verigin II to come from Russia but he never came. In the interim the Community Doukhobors accepted Verigin II's grandson, John Verigin, on a temporary basis and eventually on a permanent basis. The Svobodniki rejected him, and once they even burned his home. The leadership of the Svobodniki has depended on prophecy. In the late 1940's John Lebedoff held a degree of control

but most of the zealots threw him over in 1950 for Stephen Sorokin, a refugee from Russia, because it had been prophesied that their leader would come from Russia.[107] Sorokin was not even a Doukhobor but rather a "former member of the Greek Orthodox Church who became a Baptist Bible student in Germany and came to the Kootenays in April 1950 as a travelling evangelist."[108] The Lebedoff and Sorokin factions became rivals. Another rival faction of zealots was in existence before Sorokin arrived on the scene. After having been rejected in his attempt to change the direction of the community at the annual memorial gathering commemorating the death of Verigin II, Michael "The Archangel" Virigin (a distant cousin of Verigin I) returned to his home in Vancouver where he became inspired by a wonderful vision to create a new community.[109] In 1944 Michael travelled to Krestova renouncing nudism, arson, and private property. After two years of preaching he led his followers to Hilliers, thirty-five miles northwest of Nanaimo.

In review it can be argued that while the idiom of Doukhobor belief has centred on "individualism", in practice they have largely followed a "divine leader". This divine leadership has undergone change since its inception and was modified to become hereditary "divine leadership", and finally the leader assumed the role of "prophet". Within this framework Doukhobor leadership has made a variable impact on the landscape. For example, the splits over leadership which occurred in 1895, 1924, and 1946 all modified the groups spatial organization. Further spatial reorganizations were brought about over the introduction by leaders of innovations such as vegetarianism, communism, and industrialization. The introduction of innovations on the whim of leaders not only

brought about splits in the group but modified the group's economy and its way of life. The results of such change brought about considerable movement, the setting up of new colonies and landscape change over time in forms of economy, and habitat.

Expression of the Rejection of External Authority in Doukhobor Landscape

Rejection of external authority was related to a number of institutional forms: the government, its courts, registration, schools, and social structure. A study of Doukhobor landscapes reveal an inconsistency in the manner and extent to which this relationship was viewed and observed.

A rationale for such rejection is based primarily on the principle of "other world citizenship" and its affiliated beliefs.[110] The disparity between these beliefs and those held by the society in whose midst they were dwelling tended to create numerous situations of institution conflict. In a 1902 appeal to the Sultan of Turkey they presented their case:

> We emigrated from Russia to Canada to the number of 7,000 in the years 1898-99. We had heard of Canada as a land of religious freedom, but that appears to have been a misunderstanding. Freedom of conscience does prevail in Canada, but not the freedom of conscience we desired. We believe that God rules our lives and leads us to eternity by His own holy ways. We obey only the commands of the Lord in our hearts, and can obey no other commands or laws. We cannot submit ourselves to the laws or regulations of any State, or be the subjects of any other ruler except God. Our expectation that we should be allowed to live according to our belief in Canada has not been fulfilled. It is true that we are exampted from military service because we cannot bear arms or kill living beings, but they demand that we should become the subjects of Great Britain and not of the Lord. They refuse to give us any land unless we promise to obey all the laws of Canada. We

> declare before God that this is impossible, and that we would sooner bear any oppression than be false to Him.[111]

It is not that they do not believe in government, but rather there are two kinds of government. Human government was necessary but only for the wicked, the second kind was for the Children of God, the "conscience". To all those Doukhobors who had adhered to the principle of "divine leadership" the leader became their "conscience". This called for the establishment of an independent nation within a nation. The Canadian Royal Commission of 1912 gave recognition to this:

> But, with respect to the large majority of the Doukhobors, one has to consider them in their present relation to communal life, because the Doukhobors differ from the ordinary Russian peasant, in that his conception of government is theocratic. Peter Verigin is to him the supreme law. He wishes to recognize no duties save those he owes to his Community and to his leader. He wants his own particular regulations, customs, laws, his own private law in the midst of the national law.[112]

The result of this condition was hostility.

In order to evaluate the kind and range of impact on the landscape of this rejection of external authority two Doukhobor institutions will be considered briefly: land and education.

Land

Because of their background, land has played a large role in Doukhobor life. Hirabayashi makes two observations; among the Doukhobors it is believed that rural peasant life and Doukhoborism are tied together and many of the older ones believe that the sect has weakened itself and its way of life by becoming less rural.[113] The prime example of conflict between the Doukhobors and external authority is the land problem in

Saskatchewan.

At the time the Doukhobors received permission to migrate from Russia, Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior in the Canadian Government, believed in all honesty that the prosperity of Canada depended on attracting settlers to the barren wastes of the interior. The Doukhobors were accepted under provisions of the Homestead Act: DLA 1902

a) every male, having reached the age of 18 could chose 160 acres registering it in his name, paying a $10 entry fee.

b) the settler must build on his homestead within a specified time.

c) the settler must live on his land and cultivate a specified number of acres in three years.

d) after three years title can be obtained upon swearing an oath of allegiance to the British Crown.

At the same time the Canadian Pacific Railway agreed to exchange its odd numbered sections for land in other areas so that the Doukhobors could consolidate their holdings. This was the complete agreement regarding the land at the time of arrival of the Doukhobors in Canada. Some Doukhobors desired independence rather than a community organization and complied fully with this form of the law.

To the majority arrangements were not quite satisfactory since it did not allow the Doukhobor to settle in Communities or work the land in common. Concessions to accommodate these desires were made. Mr. Sifton agreed to let the Doukhobors live in villages by applying on their behalf the "Hamlet Clause" in the Homestead Act. This amendment had been written for the Mennonites who had previously migrated to Canada, but it

did not make provisions for cultivating lands in common since the Mennonites farmed individually.[114] The Doukhobors were persistent and were rewarded with a letter from Sifton which reads in part:

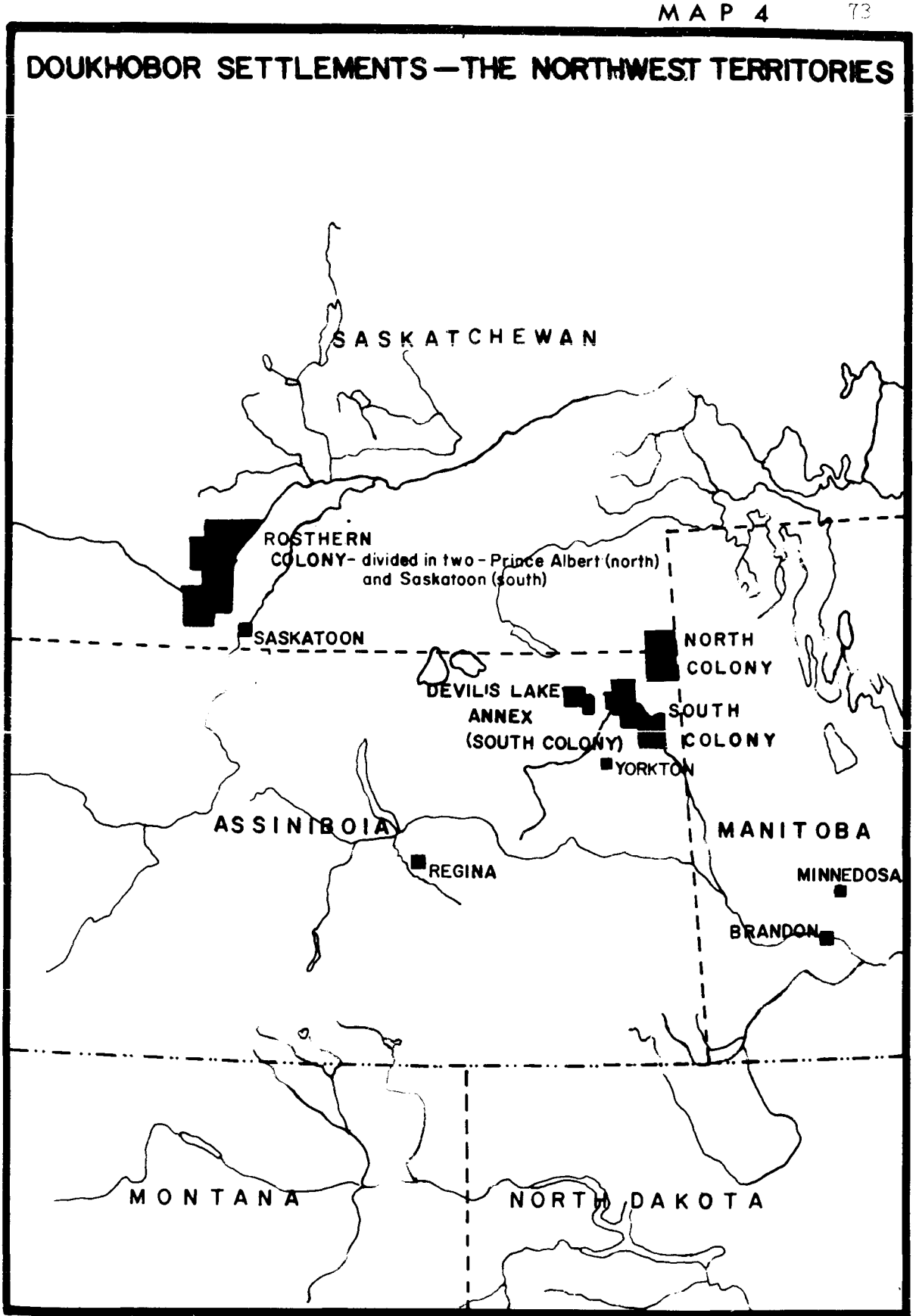
> If, for instance, a village wants fifty homesteads around the village, I will be satisfied if the amount of improvements required on each quarter-section is done around the village, only for the whole fifty. This would enable all those in the village to live together and to work together in and around the village without being compelled to go a long way to their individual homesteads.[115]

In terms of the required "oath of allegiance" the Doukhobor had hopes that this condition would also be modified.[116] Map 4 gives locations of the four major early Doukhobor settlements.

The government of Russia had virtually allowed the Doukhobors to operate as an independent state. With a few exceptions they had made and lived by their own laws and customs, governed by their own leader. In the first years in Canada they toiled under the assumption that this condition existed in Canada. However, such was not the case. The first major controversy revolved around the method of land registration.

Soon after settlement took place Canadian immigration officials began to press for compliance with the homestead act which called for individual entry for the land. To register individually was conceived as private ownership, a situation that a majority of the Doukhobors did not like. A number of Svobodniki Doukhobors petitioned to have their lands under the same conditions as the Indians, that is as reserves held by the community.[117] Sifton would not concede on this point, the land must be registered individually. In 1901 the Commission of Crown Lands warned that lands not registered by May 1st, 1902 would be thrown open to others for homesteading.[118] The Prince Albert colony was prepared to

DOUKHOBOR SETTLEMENTS—THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES



Source: Dawson & others

donald gale

comply, those in South Colony were divided while those in the North Colony were defiant. The Doukhobors requested to be allowed to pay the $10 entry fee only, and not be required to undertake the other formalities. This request was also refused.[119] Many registered, becoming Independents.

For some time the government backed off on its pressure for individual entry probably because of the extremist pilgrimages of this period.[120] Efforts were also being made to secure Verigin I's release from Russia in order to provide some leadership for the Doukhobors in order to solve the problems of zealotry and homesteading.

With the arrival of Verigin I the government made him aware of the details of the land problem. Noting that he had three years to solve the problem of "oathtaking" he urged his followers to register for the land but to view the land as being held in common. A committee was given the power of attorney to make the entries on the individual's behalf.[121] Verigin had in fact compromised with his own teaching, that is that all property should be held in common including land. He had two months previously told some of his people that compliance with the demands of land registry "are against the freedom and independence of man.[122]

Sifton resigned as Minister of the Interior in 1905 and his place was taken by Frank Oliver, one who had for some time displayed open hostility towards the Doukhobors. During this period, lands which had not been registered for by the Doukhobors but which had formed part of the initial reserves, were opened for settlement. Under the pressure of these new settlers as well as others who wished to have entry to the excellent land being held by the Doukhobors but not as yet cultivated, Oliver told the Doukhobors that the Homestead Act would be enforced.

Sifton's agreement that cultivation need only be done around the villages was declared invalid and the oath of allegiance was to be demanded.

Doukhobor objection to the oath began quite early in their history. Initially, refusal of military service was not over the question of "taking life" but rather having to swear allegiance to the Czar. This stand became problematical to the point that in 1817 the Ministerial Committee modified this condition so "that Doukhoborsti (sic) should be taken into military service without being compelled to swear."[123]

In a letter to Tchertkoff, on April 15, 1904, Verigin I wrote

> According to Canadian laws all immigrants who receive grants of land, have to sign an attestation of allegiance to the English King. Privately, agents of the Government have already two or three times proposed this to the Doukhobors, but most of them do not at all wish to, and apparently will not become subjects ....There is yet two years' term, and time will show what will happen.[124]

According to the Homestead Act, naturalization, which involved taking an oath to "defend the king", was technically required for the granting of land. Therefore, two principles were involved: allegiance to a king they did not recognize, and swearing to <u>defend</u> such a person which could involve violence.[125] The latter was feared in that it might negate their exemption from military service secured under an order-in-council of December 6, 1898.[126]

In 1906, the Doukhobors were faced with an either/or proposition, "Naturalize, take the oath and become British subjects, or lose your lands."[127] The majority of the Doukhobors chose to refuse the oath and maintain allegiance to the "other" world. Some 5,000 Doukhobors moved off their Saskatchewan homesteads during the seven year period beginning in 1906. This choice was made despite the tremendous loss in improved

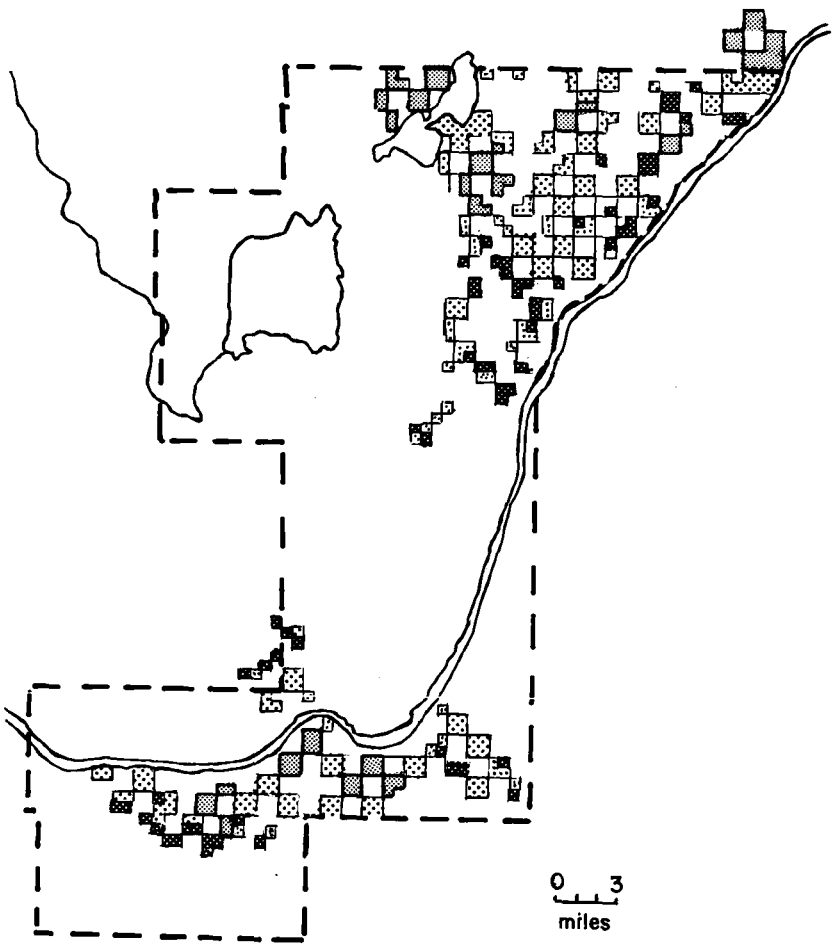
land and property, as well as labour. This loss was estimated to be as high as $11,400,000.[128] Not all Doukhobors left their lands. Some in conscience took the oath, viewing it as nothing more than a formality.[129] Meanwhile, other Doukhobors did not violate their conscience through the taking an 'affirmation'[130] rather than the oath. The Quakers had used an affirmation rather than an oath in their problems of 'conscience' and had requested Oliver, the Minister of the Interior to grant the same right to the Doukhobors. Oliver replied:

> "The Doukhobors are under a mistake if they suppose that they are required to take an oath. An affirmation as you suggest is accepted as of the same value as an oath. It is because it is of the same value in confirming their allegiance that they object to it.[131]"

The latter two actions involved about 1,000 men.[132] They gave up their membership in the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood (C.C.U.B.) and became Independent Doukhobors. Thus three varying personal beliefs relating to a common core belief have resulted over this land question. Thousands stood fast in feeling that the taking of an oath contravened their citizenship in God's kingdom and were willing to give up their lands and the fruit of their labours for this stand. A second group interpreted the oath as an earthly formality and of little consequence, thus producing no conflict of conscience. Finally, there were those who compromised between the two extremes by taking an affirmation in order to keep their land. The effect on the landscape was an extensive shift in population away from Saskatchewan as well as a decisive reorganization of the remaining settlement. Maps 5, 6, 7, and 8 show the disposition of the Doukhobor reserves as of August 1st, 1907.

The 5,000 migrants going to British Columbia bought their new

ROSTHERN COLONY AS OF AUGUST 1, 1907



Boundary of reserve-1898

Independent Doukhobors

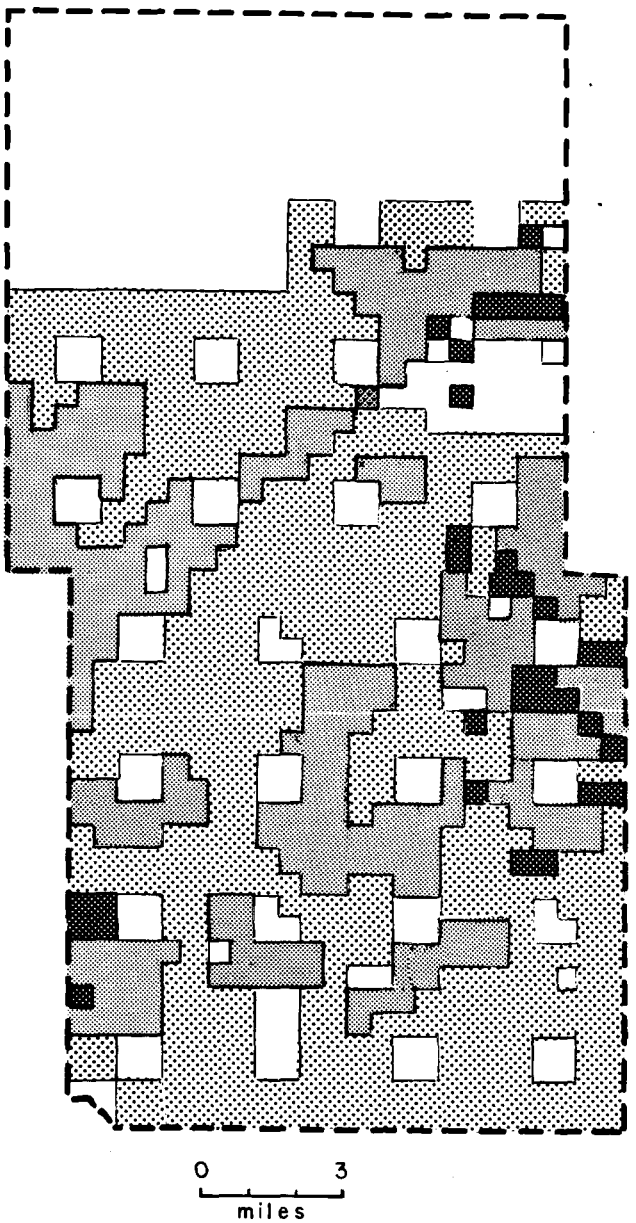
Land held in trust for Commune

Cancelled Doukhobor Homesteads

Source: Dawson

donald gale

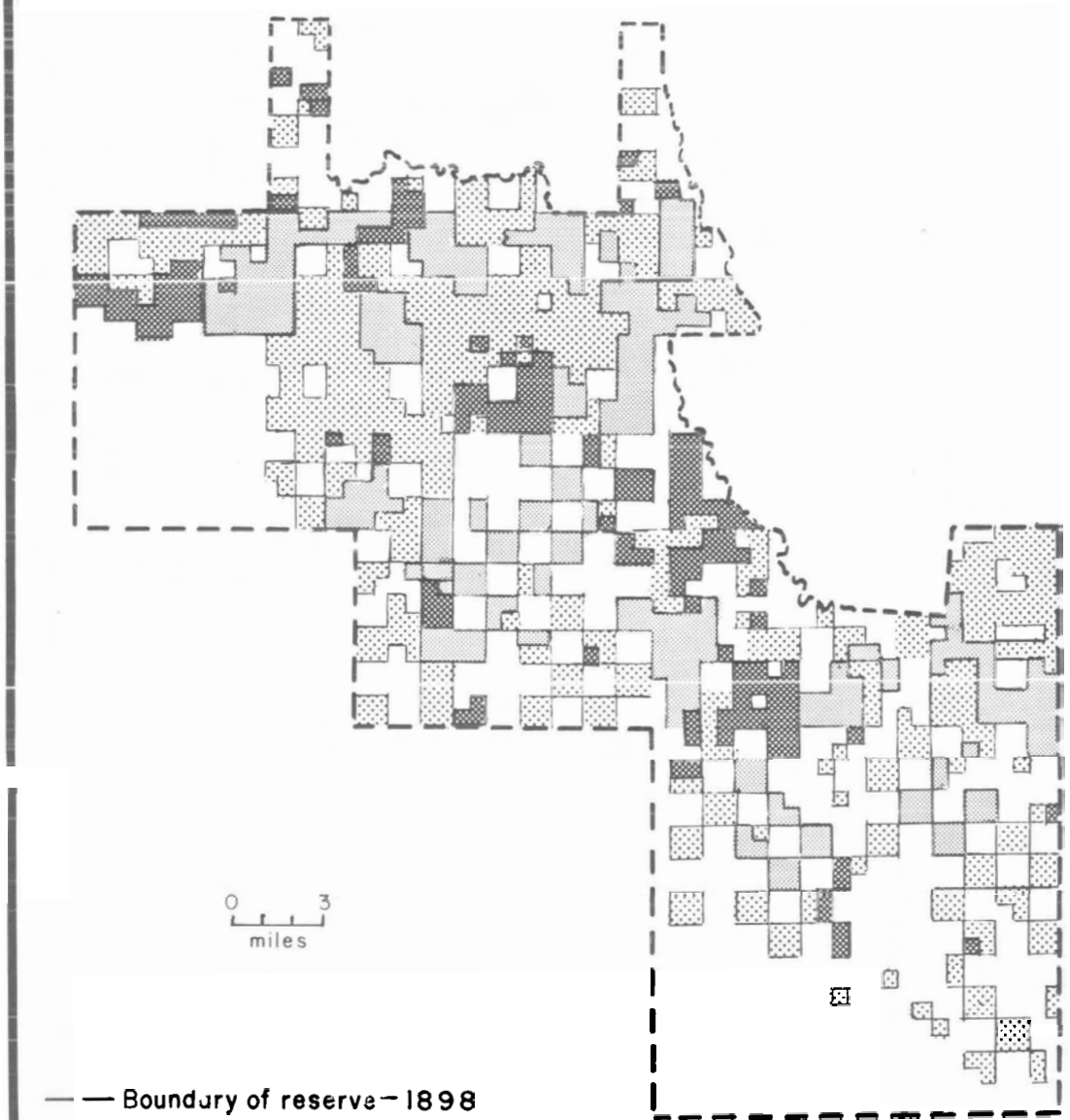
NORTH COLONY AS OF AUGUST 1, 1907



Source: Dawson

donald gale

SOUTH COLONY AS OF AUGUST 1, 1907



Source: Dawson

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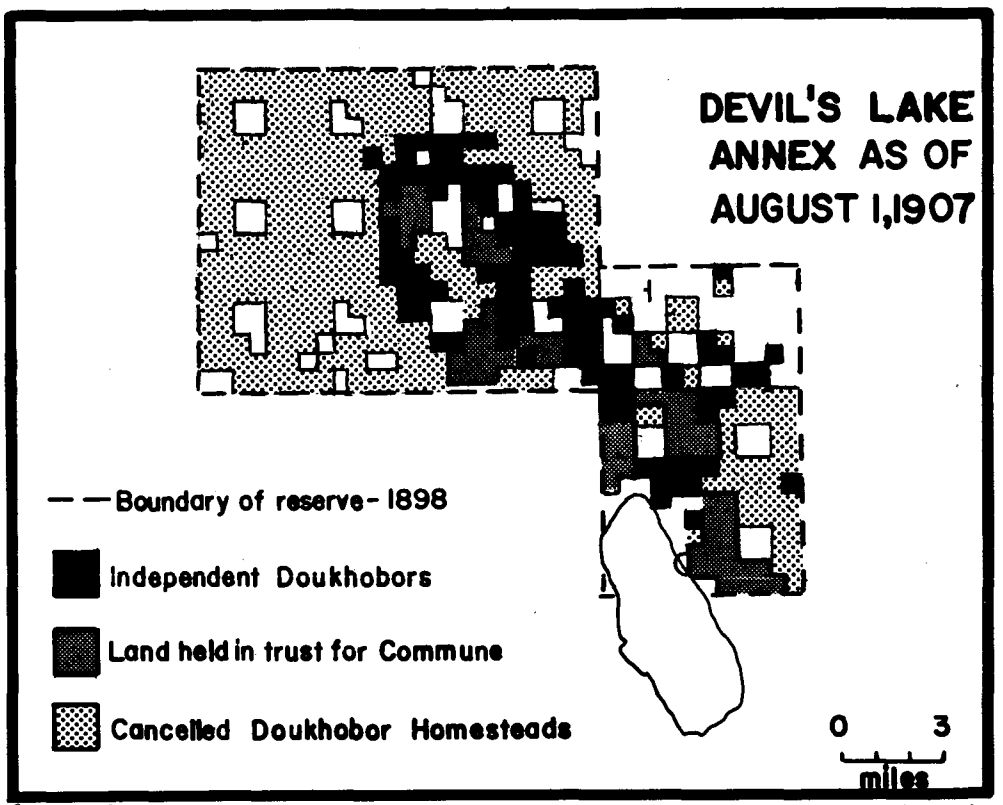
MAP 8



Source: Dawson

donald gale

land in order to eleminate the need to become British subjects and the swearing of an oath. At the same time title for the land was not individual but rather in the name of the Community as expressed by the leadership of Verigin I.

In summary, we have two beliefs dealing with the practice of the overriding principle of the "spirit within". The spirit makes all men equal, and as such no man has the right to hold property privately. Since the spirit dwells within, the Doukhobor's allegiance must be to God Canadian society demanded that in order to keep their land they must commit acts that were contrary to these beliefs. The reactions to these demands varied. In terms of individual registration a number registered independent without question, many others did under pressure, while a lot of others refused until Verigin I arrived and advised otherwise. A few refused despite this advice. In terms of "oath of allegiance" those who independently registered were aware of the need for the oath and readily complied. When pressured by the government many more became Independents, some taking the "oath" and others eased their consciences with an "affirmation". The majority refused, giving up their lands and labour.

Education

Believing that education "disintegrates men into endless divisions",[133] and is therefore contrary to the establishment of a true brotherhood, the Doukhobors have strong reservations about its usefulness.

The question of the Doukhobors' refusal to give in to governmental pressure to comply with regulations regarding education has had some influence on the landscape. A statement handed to Commissioner Blakemore during the Royal Commission hearings of 1912 outline the

Community Doukhobor's objections to the school system as found in British Columbia at that time. This statement reads in part:

> The School teaching Doukhobors same did not accepted while being in Russia, and very seldom the children were thought to read and write, and if it had happened it was at home-school. 'We educate our children by means orally, so as not to have expense for the paper and the printing matter. The School education we turned aside by many reasons and the most important of them are: Three.
>
> '1. The school education teaches and prepares the people, that is children, to military service, where shed harmless blood of the people altogether uselessly. The most well educated people consider this dreadfully sinful such business as war, lawful. We consider this is great sin.
>
> '2. The school teaching at the present time had reached only to expedience for easy profit, thieves, cheaters, and to large exploitation working-class laborious on the earth. And we curselves belong to working-class people and we try by the path of honest labour, so we may reap the necessary maintenance, and to this we adopt our children to learn at wide school of Eternal Nature.
>
> '3. The school teaching separates all the people on the earth. Just as soon as the person reached read and write education, then within a short time leaves his parents and relations and undertakes unreturnable journey on all kinds of speculation, depravity and murder life. And never think off his duty, respecting his parents and elder-ones, but he looks opposite, turning themselves, enslaving of the people, for theirs own licentious and insatiableness gluttony....It is really dangerous to talk about all school education, to what extent crack-brained people attain in highest royal universities, in education science, where, Glory to God the common people is not admitted. But thousand times sorrowfully for this, well educated people, swallow down all the national peoples power and the capital.... And the people suffer from not having land even a piece of daily bread....And therefore we distinctly understand instruction of Christ, we holding on to Community life and we calculate all the people on earth are our brothers and ones Fathers-Gods children.[134]

Education amongst the Doukhobors in the past has been simple and the same for all. As soon as the child can speak he is taught orally psalms, prayers, and passages from the Scriptures.

In Russia there were no schools in the Doukhobor villages just as there were no schools in most Russian villages.[135] Thus, initially, the Doukhobor landscapes in Canada in terms of education symbols were the same as in Russia prior to their migration to Canada. With the introduction of the provincial school laws in Canada in the early 1900's reaction to these laws by the Doukhobors becomes an influence on the landscape.

Although British Columbia school attendance legislation was passed as early as 1876, no effort had been made to enforce it befor 1915. A Community Regulations Act had been passed in 1914 which made the Community responsible for the fines imposed on any individual for non-attendance of children between the ages of seven and fourteen as well as failing to register births, deaths, and marriages.[136] Failure to pay could result in the seizure of Community property. The first schocl built to accommodate Doukhobor children was opened at Brilliant in 1910, but before the year was out the children had all been withdrawn.[137] In 1912 there were some seven hundred Doukhobor school age children truant according to British Columbia law.[138] By 1920 eleven schools had been built for these children but average attendance was about fifty percent.[139]

In the early 1920's the government raised the compulsory school age to 15 and held school boards responsible for enforcing the attendance laws. As enforcement increased so did the destruction of schools. The first school was destroyed at Outlook in 1923, and a total of nine had been destroyed by 1925.[140] Though the cost of rebuilding these schools was charged to the Doukhobor Community the more zealous elements still refused to send their children to school. In 1924 some $4,000 in fines

were levied, and goods seized on distress warrants. In 1927 the Doukhobors requested that they be allowed to set up their own Russian language schools, but the proposal was rejected by the government. Verigin II ordered Doukhobors to send their children to school. During 1929 four more schools were destroyed by fire. Because of these problems the zealots were removed from the Community by Verigin II and resettled in three new villages, Kreistova, Thrums, and God's Valley, which was Community land not previously used.[141] As a result of truancy, among other things, the government took another rigid stand in 1932 over school attendance and the registration of "vital statistics". The result was defiance in the forms of nude parades ending in prison terms for nearly six hundred adult zealots.[142] Upon release from prison the zealots were not allowed to return to the Community, on the orders of Verigin. They took over the deserted buildings in Gilpin, thus founding another zealot community. Meanwhile, the Community Doukhobors' children became more consistent in their school attendance and the Community was maintaining ten Russian language schools.[143]

In Saskatchewan the problem was almost negligible. The Independents had almost all from the beginning conformed to government wishes over compulsory education. Amongst the Community Doukhobors in Saskatchewan there was an increasing enrolment during the early period of school burnings in British Columbia.[144] Peter Verigin II's general approval of elementary education helped the momentum. However, one year prior to Verigin II's arrival 30 to 40 Community children were marched to the school in Verigin, Saskatchewan, for the first time, as "a spontaneous act."[145] No Saskatchewan schools were burned and only

minor demonstrations occurred during the education crisis.

While Saskatchewan seemed to be free of a Doukhobor school crisis, British Columbia's was to continue. For a period of six years, 1953-59, many British Columbia Doukhobor children were taken from their parents and placed in school dormitories at New Denver.

The school crisis had an impact on the Doukhobor landscapes of British Columbia, but not so in Saskatchewan. In Saskatchewan the entry of school was new to the landscape, something that had not formed part of their Russian landscapes. In British Columbia many schools had been destroyed by fire and bombing, three new villages had been formed to house the zealots expelled by the Community Doukhobors, children had undergone forced separation being housed in a specially created institution, and finally, hundreds of zealots' homes had been destroyed in protest.[146]

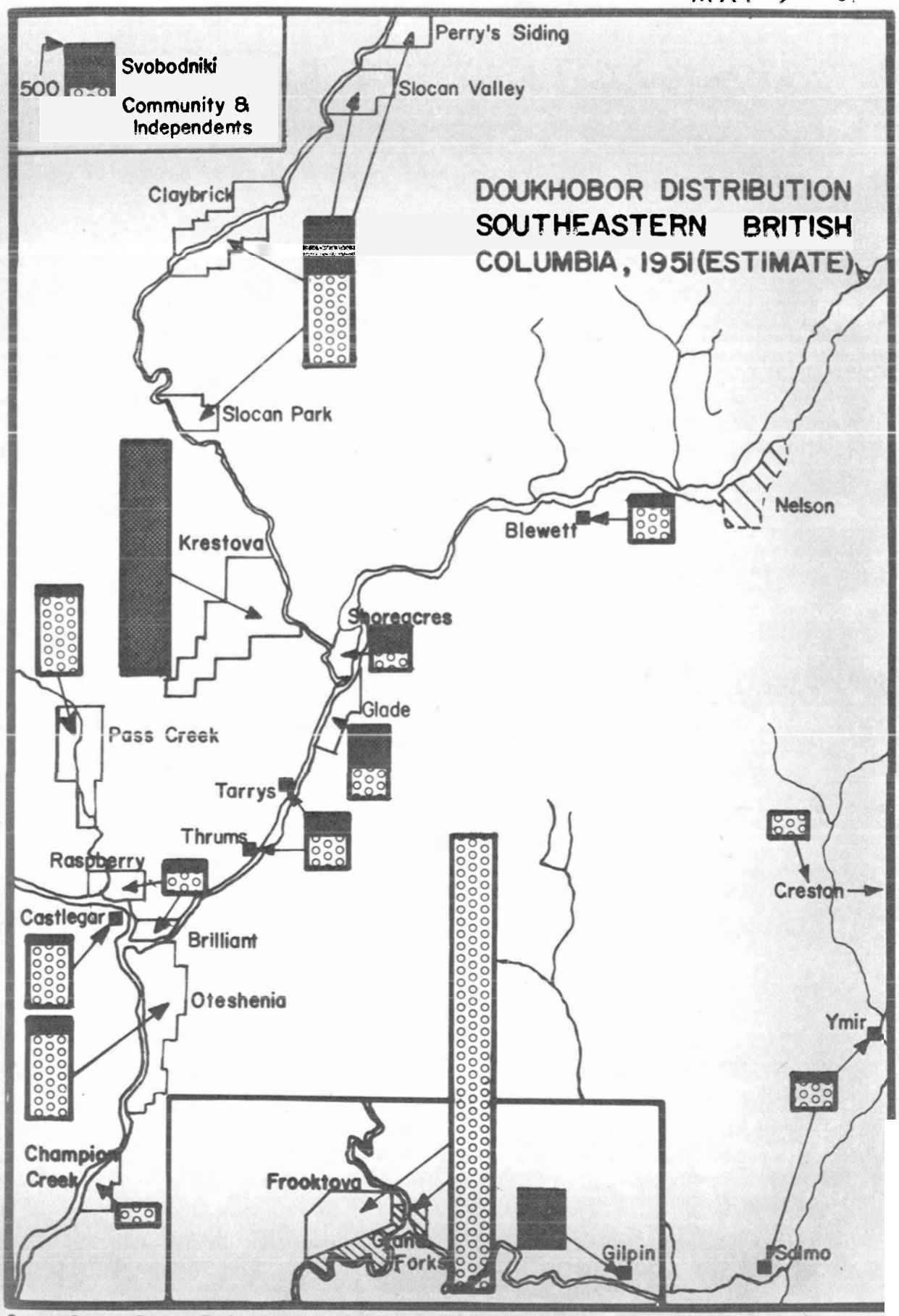
There seems little doubt that there existed wide differences of opinion and interpretation as to the role that education played in the Doukhobor beliefs system. The Independents seem to view it not on an external threat but rather on an acceptable part of life with many of them going on to higher education. The Community Doukhobors retained certain reservations but generally agreed to comply with law but, as a countermeasure in some areas, Russian language schools were operated by themselves. That the Community group was reinterpreting the place of education in Community life is apparent from the decision of the second convention of the Named Doukhobors in Kamsack in 1928. Verigin II was elected as Honorary Chairman and the Community membership formed a substantial part of the whole. Besides establishment of joint Russian and English schools, proposals were adopted for the provision of higher

education to Doukhobor students as well as the encouragement of libraries to acquire more books.[147] The zealots on the other hand, totally rejected schools, viewing them as symbols of all that is evil. In a brief presented to the Royal Commission of 1947 such a strong interpretation is presented. In relation to the burning of schools it reads:

> Schools forced upon the Doukhobors by the government were destroyed because schools are propagators of a false concept of civilization, patronizing the beast militarism. We need no specific evidence to prove this for a glance at the school and its results clearly shows that every important weapon of destruction, including the atom bomb, could be traced to the school doorstep and the teacher's desk.[148]

At the same time the Doukhobors have always held the simple life, as found in tilling the soil, to be a more perfect life. The perfect life in their goal, education "unfits the young for the pursuits of the peasant."[149]

This brief review of the conflict over the education of Doukhobor children has provided examples of a variety of landscape responses. In Russia there had been no schools; in Canada these became a part of the Doukhobor landscape. Amongst the Independents they were generally accepted. To the Orthodox they were at first a menace, but later they became generally accepted. The Svobodniki never accepted the schools except under force. The use of force resulted in hard core resistance, and their demonstration of this resistance through the use of arson and nudity. The effect of these demonstrations was the consolidation of the more zealous members of the Doukhobor sect. Many of those who participated in such actions were expelled from the Community, which action resulted in the formation of some strictly Svobodniki settlements. Map 9 provides some indication of this separation as it existed in 1951.



Source: Canada Census Estimate

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Finally, a number of schools were put to the torch by arsonists in the Doukhobor landscapes of British Columbia.

NOTES ON CHAPTER IV

[1]Lunberg, G.A.; Foundations of Sociology; The MacMillan Company; New York, 1939; p. 182.

[2]Buhr; op. cit.; p. 56.

[3]See Chapter III.

[4]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 28.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Quoted in Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 59-65; See also Tchertkoff; op. cit.; pp. 16-35.

[7]Tchertkoff; op. cit.; p. 8.

[8]Tarasoff; op. cit.; p. 60.

[9]Bockemuehl; op. cit.; p. 6.

[10]Tarasoff; op. cit.; p. 60.

[11]Report of Royal Commission - 1912; p. T53.

[12]Herbison, Hugh; "Religion"; in Hawthorn, Harry B. (ed.); The Doukhobors of British Columbia; Vancouver, J.M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Limited; 1955; p. 168.

[13]Tarasoff; op. cit.; p. 905.

[14]Ibid.; p. 28.

[15]"Paper Written In 1805" and quoted in Tarasoff; op. cit.; pp. 60-61.

[16]Cormie; op. cit.; p. 591.

[17]Tarasoff; op. cit.; p. 905.

[18]Grellet, Stephen; "A Visit to the Doukhobors Near Ekaterindslav in 1819"; in his Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Stephen Grellet; edited by Benjamin Subohm; Philadelphia, H. Longstreth, 1864; Volume 1, p. 456.

[19]Pictorial evidence, British Columbia Provincial Government Archives.

[20]Meetings with government officials were held in the Community Home.

[21]Specific reference is to the Blaine Lake Community Home, within a largely Independent Doukhobor settlement: Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 905.

[22]See Elkington; op. cit.; p. 33. Thorsteinson claims that the Sunrise Service has become a rite to the Doukhobors, a people who have claimed a rejection of all church rites. See Thorsteinson; op. cit.; p. 33. Dawson, Carl Addington; "Doukhobors"; in his Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities In Western Canada; Toronto; Macmillan, 1936; p. 265, reports one service each day from 4 - 6:00 a.m. in Canora, Saskatchewan.

[23]"Paper written in 1805" quoted in Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; pp. 61-62.

[24]Tarasoff; op. cit.; p. 396.

[25]Ibid.; p. 398.

[26]Ibid.; p. 399.

[27]Ibid.; p. 396.

[28]Personal interview in Castlegar.

[29]Herbison, Hugh; op. cit.; p. 166.

[30]Ibid.; p. 164.

[31]"Queer Pilgrimages"; The Yorkton Enterprise; May 21, 1908; p. 7, quoted in Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 322.

[32]Nudism and The Destruction of the Altar of Satan; published by the Spiritual Community of Christ; 1944.

[33]Circular #2; From the Elders of Spiritual Community of Christ; this document is housed in the British Columbia Provincial Government Archives.

[34]Fisher, Claude Lang; The Real Story of The Doukhobors; Vancouver; Unpublished Manuscript; n.d.; p. 41.

[35]In 1905 a group of 32 attempted to march naked into Yorkton, but the actual distance travelled was one half mile. See Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 323.

[36]Ibid.; Fisher reports that 28 were arrested. However, Reid reports the number as 29, see Reid, Ewart, P; The Doukhobors In Canada; Unpublished M.A. Thesis; McGill University; p. 72; and Maloff reports it to be 26, see Maloff, Peter; Doukhobors, Their History, Life and

Struggle; Unpublished History of Doukhobors Manuscript; 1948; p. 226.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Reid; op. cit.; p. 74 reports the number as 4, while Fisher; op. cit.; p. 41 reports the number as 6.

[39] Frantz; op. cit.; p. 51 (footnote)

[40] It is important to remember that until 1935 the Svobodniki were still accepted as part of the Community and considered Community property their own.

[41] Hirabayashi; op. cit.; p. 39.

[42] Royal Commission Report of 1912; p. T52

[43] Frantz: op. cit.; p. 51 (footnote). Rationale for this comes from Verigin's "Garden of Eden" letters - See later section on "Leadership".

[44] Fullerton, Avorey; "The Doukhobors and Their Utopia Problems of Communities In Canada"; Sunset, The Pacific Monthly; San Francisco; Volume 38; February, 1917; pp. 31-32. Frantz; op. cit.; p. 51 gives value as $75,000.

[45] Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 473.

[46] Robinson; op. cit.; p. 3.

[47] Bjerke, Ole; Eit Folk Eg Elsker; English Translation; Manuscript, Typescript, 1965; p. 66.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Basic Beliefs are outlined in Chapter II.

[50] Holt, Simma; op. cit.; p. 10; claim that from "its known beginnings the history of the group has been the history of the leaders"; while Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 22; speaks of it as a puzzling phenomenon.

[51] Maude; op. cit.; p. 16.

[52] Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 918. These beliefs are outlined and discussed in the previous chapter.

[53] Ibid.; p. 23 and Holt; op. cit.; p. 10.

[54] Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 22.

[55] Ibid.; p. 23 and Holt; op. cit.; p. 10.

[56]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 332.

[57]Maude; op. cit.; pp. 226-227.

[58]Statement of a one time representative of Peter V. Verigin who split away with many others just before the migration to Canada. See Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 92.

[59]Hawthorn; op. cit.; p. 170.

[60]Frantz, Charles; The Doukhobor Political System. Social Structure and Social Organization In A Sectarian Society; Ph.D. Dissertation; University of Chicago; 1958; Typescript; p. 77.

[61]Hawthorn; op. cit.; p. 170.

[62]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 917.

[63]That they were a scattered group during this period is concluded by a number of studies: Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 29; Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; pp. 28-29.

[64]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; pp. 27-28.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Bach, Marcus; Strange Sects; op. cit.; p. 13.

[67]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 28 and Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 31.

[68]See Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 31.

[69]See Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 32 and Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 29.

[70]Popoff, E.A.; Historical Exposition On Doukhobor Beliefs; Grand Forks; Written for National Museum of Ottawa; August 27, 1964; p. 8.

[71]Buhr; op. cit.; p. 38.

[72]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; pp. 57-58.

[73]Bach; Strange Sects; op. cit.; p. 186.

[74]Woodcock and Avakumovic; p. 43 and Holt; op. cit.; p. 12.

[75]See Chapter VII

[76]Bach; Strange Sects; op. cit.; p. 187.

[77]Ibid.; p. 188.

[78]Ibid.

[79]Claims were made by some of the followers of Peter V. Verigin that he was not Loukeriya's nephew, but her son.

[80]See details in Chapter V.

[81]Bjerke; op. cit.; p. 37.

[82]Such migrations and proposed migrations are detailed in Chapter VI.

[83]Popoff; op. cit.; p. 15.

[84]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 99.

[85]The spelling used here is the most common, another spelling is Zoubkoff.

[86]Tarasoff; op. cit.; p. 100.

[87]The spelling used here is Tarasoff's, Snesarev; op. cit.; used Goubonoff.

[88]This institution was made up of community held property and operated as the home of the leader, administrative headquarters, and provided support for widows and orphans. See Chapter VII.

[89]When Loukeriya took Verigin I to be her companion she insisted he divorce, through the courts, his wife of a few months, Dunia.

[90]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 105.

[91]Snesarev (Trevor); op. cit.; p. 11.

[92]Buhr; op. cit.; p. 53.

[93]In 1896, the year he denied reading Tolstoy's works, he composed a letter to his followers which was principally a compilation of passages from Tolstoy's The Kingdom of God is Within You. See Thorsteinson; op. cit.; p. 15; Also a diary of a prisoner with Verigin gives entries such as "He is fond of hearing about Tolstoy;"I have told him all I know" dated December 5, 1894; See Maude p. 159.

[94]Fisher; p. 28 or 35 (Both page numbers appear on this unpublished transcript.

[95]Ibid.

[96]Referred to from this point as the C.C.U.B.

[97]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 96.

[98]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 91.

[99]These figures are the most often mentioned figures, the variance is great.

[100]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 92.

[101]Reid; op. cit.; p. 65.

[102]Oliver; op. cit.; p. 115.

[103]See Chapter VI.

[104]See Chapter VII.

[105]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 526.

[106]Bjerke; op. cit.; p. 35.

[107]Bjerke; op. cit.; p. 36.

[108]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 786.

[109]Ibid.; p. 705.

[110]See Chapter II.

[111]Hopkins, Castell; "The Doukhobor Settlers in the North-West"; The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs; 1902; p. 365.

[112]Report of Royal Commission of 1912; p. T37. See also Fullerton, Avorey; The Doukhobors and Their Utopian Problems of Communities In Canada"; Sunset. The Pacific Monthly; San Francisco; Volume 38, 1917; p. 66.

[113]Hirabayashi; op. cit.; p. 3.

[114]Snesvarev (Trevor); op. cit.; p. 22.

[115]Letter from Sifton, dated 15th February, 1902 - sent to Ivan and Fooder Suchorukoff, Delegates from the Thunder Hill Colony; See "Doukhobor Claims For Compensation"; Canadian Slavonic Papers; Toronto, Volume 1; 1956; p. 5.

[116]It has been suggested that Sifton had told the Doukhobors the oath would not be demanded(Snesvarev ; op. cit.; p. 24), however, there seems nothing in the way of documentary evidence of this.

[117]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 170.

[118]Ibid.; p. 171.

[119] Ibid.

[120] See Chapter VI.

[121] Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 187.

[122] Wright, J.F.C.; Slava Bohu; New York, Farrar and Rinehart Inc.; 1940; p. 205.

[123] Report of Royal Commission of 1912; p. T10.

[124] Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; pp. 297-298.

[125] Ibid.; p. 332.

[126] Details of this exemption are considered under Pacifism, which follows in the text.

[127] Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 332.

[128] Estimate of loss made in a claim for compensation in 1914, in "Doukhobor Claims For Compensation"; Canadian Slavonic Papers; Toronto, University of Toronto Press, Volume 1, 1956; p. 13.

[129] Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 333 (footnote).

[130] The making of a solemn declaration but not swearing in the name of God.

[131] Frank Oliver to William Evans, June 6, 1907; see Tarasoff; op. cit.; p. 333 (footnote).

[132] Bockemuehl; op. cit.; p. 14.

[133] Jessup, Elon; "A Utopia That Works"; Travel; Volume 40; November, 1922; p. 38.

[134] Report of Royal Commission - 1912 - pp. T51-T52.

[135] Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 298. It should be remembered that in Russia education of peasantry was not undertaken, while in Saskatchewan it was not enforced.

[136] Ibid.; p. 457.

[137] Johnson, Henry F.; "The Doukhobors of British Columbia. The History of a Sectarian Problem In Education;" Queens Quarterly; Volume 70; 1963; p. 531.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Ibid.

[140]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 473.

[141]Johnson; op. cit.; p. 534.

[142]Johnson; op. cit.; p. 534.

[143]Ibid.; p. 535.

[144]Dawson, C.A.; "The Doukhobors"; Group Settlement, Ethnic Communities in Western Canada; Toronto; The MacMillan Company; 1936; p. 71.

[145]Ibid.

[146]Johnson; op. cit.; p. 538.

[147]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 647.

[148]Johnson; op. cit.; p. 536.

[149]Report of Royal Commission of 1912; p. T54.

CHAPTER V

THOU SHALT NOT KILL

Belief in the equality of life and that salvation is faith in practice has through the history of the Doukhobors aroused both internal dissension and external antagonism. The irregular observance of foodways and discrepancies in the observance of pacifistic tendencies provide one more indication that historically the Doukhobors have never comprised one single monolithic sect, but rather a range of groups and individuals served by a common body of doctrine resulting in a range of landscape applications.

In the area of "pacifistic doctrines" there exist numerous contradictory statements and the evidence which follows has been selected on the basis that it is the best documented evidence available. Evidence from secondary sources have been selected and evaluated with extreme care.[1] Pacifism is broadly defined here to mean a respect for the holiness of life, thus engendering an attitude of non-violence.

The Doukhobors contend that "War and militarism in wholesale murder and wicked, and a threat to civilization itself."[2] Based on the principle of human love they search for a universal brotherhood, a search that does not recognize man-made boundaries as to its limits and directions. The result has been that many times inner conflict has arisen as innovative ideas have been introduced in an attempt to achieve the ultimate goal of a perfect society built on love.

It is significant to note, as reported earlier, that the first recorded instance of Doukhobors having refused to bear arms in military

service, 1807, was not related directly to the doctrine of "pacifism". The refusal was based on the requirement for an oath of allegiance, which became no longer mandatory as of 1817.[3] Ample evidence exists that violence and resistance were part of the Doukhobor way of life during the first half of the 19th century.

Evidence suggests that during the initial attempt by the Doukhobors at community life, the principle of human love may have been subordinated to that of theocratic rule by force. In the 1830's allegations of mass murder were brought against the sect:

> 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 their caprice; the house of justice was called Rai i muka, paradise and torture; the place of execution was on the island at the mouth of the Malotchnaya. A mere suspicion of treachery, or an intention to go over to the Russian Church, was punished with torture and death. Within a few years about two hundred people disappeared, leaving scarcely a trace behind.[4]

These allegations brought on an official investigation which lasted four years and led to the exhuming of some twenty-one bodies which showed evidence of death by unnatural causes.[5] Some had been buried alive, while others had been decapitated and mutilated. Exactly who was responsible remains in some doubt and the eagerness of the officials to find any evidence which could be used against the Doukhobors is beyond question. The facts of this incident, however, put into question the idea of early Doukhobors holding to a strict pacifist doctrine. These circumstances provided the grounds for banishment to the Caucasian uplands.

Exactly how early in the 19th century they began to look on military service as forbidden by God is not too clear. Before their banishment to Caucasia they did participate in the practice of "paid

substitution", a generally recognized practice in Russia during the early part of the 19th century.[6] In 1834 the Doukhobors were allowed to hire the local Moslem Tartars to bear arms in their place but by 1839 they were restricted to finding such substitutes from amongst themselves or the Molokov sect, their neighbours. With their banishment to the Wet Mountain district of Caucasia one year later they took on the status of "exiles" and were exempt from the requirements of military service.

"While in exile "non-violence" does not appear to have been as yet, a Doukhobor principle. It has been claimed the Doukhobor "meekness of behavior" brought about immunity from the wild hill tribes in the Wet Mountain region of Caucasia.[7] Maude, who had earlier made this claim, retracted this position for "...it hardly tallies with what little is authentically known of the relation of the Doukhobors to other sects and tribes."[8] Evidence suggests that during the 1860's and 1870's Doukhobors were to a degree feared by the tribesmen and were known to shoot cattle rustlers and bandits.[9] The use of bodyguards by the Doukhobor leaders and the enormous amount of weaponry destroyed some years later suggests that fear rather than "non-violence" was essentially responsible for the peaceful relationship between the Doukhobors and Caucasian tribesmen.[10]

Though the idea of "non-violence" had apparently not yet gained much status it was still recognized that the act of war is against the will of God. The outbreak of the Russian-Turkish war of 1877-78 provides an example of compromise on the part of the Doukhobors over this issue. Grand Duke Michael visited the Doukhobor colonies in

the Wet Mountains and asked Loukeriya Kalmikoff to supply conscripts for the Reserve.[11] When answered that Doukhobor belief forbade the taking of life regardless of who the victim might be, the Grand Duke suggested that he would be satisfied if they would supply men and equipment for the transport of men, arms, ammunition, and equipment. The Duke applied considerable pressure and pointed out that:

> We have the power to take every one of your men to the army...and if you don't agree with this, then we shall authorize our army to invade your village and sieze everything that they wish. In this manner you will be ruined and bring no value to us....I advise you to agree to our demand.[12]

A meeting of the elders was called and the demand was accepted. At a huge sobranie held just before the 400 waggons left for the only military compaign in Doukhobor history, Loukeriya instructed the drivers to help all wounded, not to loot either side and if forced to take up arms they were to "fire over the heads of the people".[13] She concluded that:

> ...this act is against the will of God, but I am a woman and therefore not able to decide otherwise.[14]

The spoils of "compromise" were rewarding. Through the transport alone the Doukhobors received a million and a half roubles and at the same time they were invited to colonize the newly acquired territory around Kars taken from the Turks. Eventually, a population of some 5,000 Doukhobors settled on this former Turkish territory which abounded in fertile land and had a much milder climate than the mountain settlements.[15] At the same time a fourth tract of land was given to them in Tiflis province to which some 800 Doukhobors migrated.[16]

To this point in their history the doctrine of "pacifism" as eventually conceived by many Doukhobors was not fully developed. Further-

more, the landscape was indirectly affected more from failure to live up to the principle of "equality" or a readiness to compromise their belief than from the belief itself. Violence brought about their removal to the Caucasian uplands and compromise brought them wealth and valuable new territory. The last decade of the nineteenth century, however, witnessed a dramatic change for a majority of Doukhobors: "pacifism" became a priority doctrine.

With the death of Loukeriya in 1886, the Doukhobors entered a period of inner struggle beginning with the leadership question that resulted in the split into the Large Party and the Small Party. The schism grew more bitter as other issues became involved until it came to the point that theywould no longer:

> ...share the same pastures or even the same villages, and migrations took place until certain places were entirely Small Party and other places entirely Large Party.[17]

So bitter was the split that husbands and wives separated and, "one party would not allow the other even to use the same cemetery."[18] Besides the question of leadership the issue of conscription deepened the rift. Conscription became a central issue one year after Loukeriya's death when the Russian government adopted a policy of Orthodox Russianization which included the introduction of conscription into the Caucasus.[19] The Doukhobors were no longer to be considered exiles. It appears that at first the Doukhobors generally complied with the order although those entering the service were encouraged not to become murderers, shooting high if necessary.[20] Vladimer Tchertkoff points out the degree of soul searching that this imposition brought about:

> In 1887, universal military service was introduced in the Caucasia; and even those for whom it was formerly (in consideration of their religious convictions) replaced by other service or by banishment, were called upon to serve. This measure took the Spirit-Wrestlers unaware, and at first they outwardly submitted to it; but they never in their consciences renounced the belief that war is a great sin, and they exhort their sons taken as recruits, though they submitted to the various regulations of the service, never to make actual use of their arms. Nevertheless, the introduction of the conscription among people who considered every murder and act of violence against their fellowman to be a sin, greatly alarmed them, and caused them to think over the degree to which they had departed from their belief.[21]

For the majority of the Doukhobors this began a period of rethinking. Had it been right to hire others in their place for military service?[22] In supplying transport during the war of 1877-78 had they not participated in the slaughter of men?[23] When along with this several of the Large Party including their leader Verigin I were exiled to the government of Archangel "this awakening assumed a very definite character."[24]

As at the time of their expulsion from the Milky Waters there was a division between the lax and the zealous. The former represented in the Small Party, based their position on the supposed deathbed prophecy of Peter Kalmykov that after the death of Loukeriya "they would have no living Christs among them."[25] With the loss of divine leadership they put aside their millenarian views and adopted a more rationalistic form of Doukhoborism.[26] In keeping with this change the Small Party agreed to a continuing participation in military service when required to do so.[27] On the other hand, the Large Party became more established in their hopes for a kingdom of God on earth. Bound firmly together by the loss of communal funds and their exemption from military service they lived by the prophecy of Loukeriya Kalmykova "that after her would

come a leader to guide the Doukhobors back into righteousness...."[28] Though Verigin I was in exile they, through various means, remained in contact. For the first few years of his exile his followers continued, though very reluctantly and with a few exceptions, to allow their young men to be conscripted,[29] a condition that was soon to change.

Two conditions provided the direction of change. The first was the general revival amongst the Large Party of the traditional principles of their forefathers. The second condition focuses upon the influence of the thoughts and ideals of Tolstoy. Evidence suggests that the moral tracts of Tolstoy and the populist writings of Nekrasov were by 1894 Verigin I's favorite reading material. The interplay of these two philosophies led to the proclamation of a number of strategies which over time directly modified Doukhobor landscapes. Individual practice of these suggestions were theoretically optional, however, the liability of being ostracized by the more zealous was a deciding factor in many cases.[30]

A series of dispatches were sent by Verigin through trusted messengers. The first of these directives was sent in the autumn of 1893, and called upon his followers to return to the former tradition of "Christian Communism".[31] A second dispatch, in November of 1894, advised against drinking, smoking, and meat-eating.[32] A third directive called for "his people to abstain from sexual intercourse during the time of our tribulation'."[33] Finally, they were directed to avoid all manner of violence and to refuse military service, both direct and indirect.[34]

The impact of communal living, and the abstention from sexual intercourse, smoking, and drinking are evaluated under other topics. Our interest here is with the strengthening of the pacifist doctrine to

include the refusal to eat meat or participate in any form of violence.

On November 8, 1894, on the holy day of Michael the Archangel, the majority of the followers of Verigin I quit eating meat.[35] However, the ban on meat-eating came against some strong opposition, and played a large part, along with the exhortation for communal living, in creating another split in the ranks of Doukhobors. In 1895, a large number of families appealed to the government, asking that they not be recognized as part of the Large Party and that they not be held in any way responsible for the Large Party's action.[36] The new group was labelled the "Butchers Party" and the Verigin followers as the "Fasters". Many of those who left had followed Verigin as long as he continued the tradition of Kapustin but were not willing to accept an innovation which would destroy the pastoral economy upon which their existence in the Wet Mountains depended.[37]

The sincerity of the followers of Verigin I were soon put to the test. He advised his followers through secret courier that as an outward sign of their stand for non-violence all their weapons should be destroyed. The weapons to be destroyed in no way belonged to the government but were rather weapons kept by the Doukhobors for delf-defence.[38] Separate burnings took place at the same time in the three districts: Wet Mountains, Kars, and Elizavetpolsk, June 28, 1895. The consequence of their act varied considerably in the three different settlements. In Kars some fifteen Doukhobors were arrested as ringleaders while in Elizavetpolsk, eighty were arrested.[39] In the Wet Mountains the situation was much more serious. Since the people here were considered as the most stubborn of the Doukhobors, it was hoped that the example of their punishment would be an example to the rest of the community.

About 300 underwent some form of imprisonment.[40] The remaining 4,300 were ordered to leave their homes, being banished to the malarial valleys of Georgia. The exiles were split up so that no more than four or five families could settle in any one village.[41] They were given no land, were forbidden to buy land, and not allowed to leave their village in search of employment. Not one accepted the official offer to be allowed to remain in the Wet Mountains in return for allegiance. In just over a year 350 of the exiles died,[42] and in three years the number of deaths rose to about 1,000.

In 1899 the Verigin I followers were given permission to leave Russia. One of the primary considerations in selecting Canada was the securing of an exemption from military service. This was secured by order-in-council on December 6, 1899.[43]

The exemption was to create problems in later years when some groups of citizens including veteran's organizations attempted to have Doukhobor land confiscated for not taking part in the defence of their country.[44] In 1919 they were disinfranchised in British Columbia, on the same grounds.[45]

The Small Party which remained in Russia and had broken with the majority over Verigin's leadership had compromised with the issue of military service. Once again, about 4,000 members of this group felt the pangs of conscience and refused military service which resulted in severe persecution from the Soviet Government.[46] Canada would not accept any more Doukhobors and efforts were made to settle them in Mexico but arrangements were never completed.

While in the past violence had brought about their migration

and compromise allowed them to gain a great deal of wealth and new territory, a firm stand by one segment had resulted in persecution, banishment for some, loss of considerable property and finally a strong desire to find a new land.

The ban on meat-eating of 1894 marked a reversal in Doukhobor belief which revolutionized traditional patterns of life. For many the life of the animal had achieved a status almost equivalent to human life. Almost that is, because though the "Fasting Doukhobors" would not eat meat or kill cattle they did continue to raise cattle to sell to others for butchering. This practice was to continue even after they came to Canada and into the early years in British Columbia. In 1917 in an exchange of arguments between the Independent and Community Doukhobors, Verigin I claimed the Independents were no longer Doukhobors since they did not live according to Doukhobor principles, especially vegetarianism. In reply the Independents stated that:

> Living together or separate does not interfere with the Doukhobor religion. If Independent Doukhobors do kill animals, Peter Verigin does as great a crime, for he raises the animals and sells them to be killed. If Independent Doukhobors eat meat, the company of Peter Verigin wears the boots made from the skins of the animals.[47]

If we trace the development of the man-animal aspect of pacifism through the rest of their history we find two principles come into operation.

A number of the more zealous members decided that animal life should be equated directly to human life. That is, not only should they not be slaughtered, they should be free. In 1902, there was much discussion as a result of the Garden-of-Eden of Verigin I, written while

still in exile, which questioned the keeping of horses and cattle, the use of metal, and the cultivation of soil, since such practices were against nature. Some members of the South Colony released their farm animals.[48] A small group refused even to till the soil.[49] Many who let their animals go tilled their soil by pulling their ploughs themselves. The British Columbia settlements did not generally practice pastoralism even though "much of their new land was well suited for this activity."[50]

The taking of animal life was, however, the major issue. Not only was this avoidance extended to the use of animal products for man's nourishment, principly the eating of the meat, but for some this included the use of leather.[51] The more zealous followed this principle to the extent that it interfered with successful farming practices. Wright provides one example:

> In the North Saskatchewan River Colony they came to the conclusion "it is wrong to kill our brothers, the gophers," even though these prairie rodents ate their grain. So men and women sat patiently by the gopher holes with string snares, and lassoed the little animals; afterwards taking them in boats across the river where they were given their "freedom" in the Mennonite settlement.[52]

It is a matter of record that they would not kill other crop destroying animals such as squirrels and deer.[53] In fact many of the older zealots found it difficult to kill flies.[54] A further example of the extension of this belief in bringing about a change in farming practices is seen in the development and decline of Doukhobor orchards.

Verigin in one of his Garden-of-Eden letters, expressed an ideal that was broadly accepted by the majority of the Doukhobors:

> I consider the proper place of residence to be...where the sun, sending its beneficient beams on all that lives,

> at the same time will influence the brain of man with its vital energy. Man employing food raised by an abundance of solar heat, as for instance, raspberries, strawberries, and in general, so to say tender fruits--his organism will be formed as it were, of energy itself, because tender fruits, I suppose contain in themselves very much, as it were, of compressed solar ether, that is to say, warmth energy....Feeding on food that grows, and, as far as possible, on fruits, I see to be advantageous already in this respect, that I shall consume into myself more solar heat which is energy. And in consequence of that I hope to be even wiser.[55]

The first recorded experience in fruit growing by the Doukhobors was in Caucasia, near the western shore of the Caspain Sea.[56] Because the Saskatchewan climate was not favourable for fruit growing, a number of zealots petitioned the government in 1902 requesting permission to trek to a warmer climate, but the request was refused. Later in the year some 1,700 zealous Doukhobors began a pilgrimage in search of the Promised Land saying, "...we are going to the sunny land, but we will stay there, not returning in the spring...."[57] One of the pilgrims, Mahortoff, shouted, "Free them! Free them!...and we will all go to the place where it is possible to live on fruits without having to enslave our brothers, the animals."[58] Though the pilgrimage came to an unsuccessful conclusion in November, the idea of growing fruit as an integral part of their subsistence was not forgotten. In 1907, after losing most of their homesteads, another group of zealots, though fewer in number began a pilgrimage for "The time has come...when we must all go to that place of freedom and eternal sun...."[59] This pilgrimage also ended in the cold of winter though many of the pilgrims got as far as Fort William. Wild berries had formed a significant part of their diet during the pilgrimage.[60]

The choice of land in the Boundary and West Kootenay regions of British Columbia as their new home by the Community Doukhobors was in

part made on the basis of the feasibility of fruit growing:

> ...he told his people that at last they would live on land that was their own, in a region where fruit --the natural food of natural men--would grow abundantly.[61]

They bought orchard land at Frooktova and Shoreacres which had fifteen-to-twenty year old trees which were in full production in 1912.[62] Younger orchards just beginning to produce were bought at Brilliant, Ooteschinia, and in the Boundary District.[63] Beside this another 70-80,000 trees were planted in 1912 alone, some of these came from the Doukhobor-operated nursery.[64] The Royal Commission Report of 1912 points out that the Doukhobors took the lead in grape-production in British Columbia and became so skilled in the art of grafting that there was no losses in an orchard of 50,000 plants.[65] The fruit industry prospered:

> The Community orchards had 325,000 trees in 1917; about 175,000 of them were mature and bearing. The value of the crop increased rapidly, and by 1920 the West Kootenay district fruit crop sold for more than $400,000 -- an eight-fold increase over the crop of four years before.[66]

In total nearly a half million trees were planted in newly cleared areas.[67] The priority of fruit to the Doukhobor is seen in the degree to which they entered into all avenues of the industry. By 1913 the Brilliant jam factory was in operation and processed all excess fruits in "K-C" (Kootenay-Columbia) brand jams, jellies, and preserves. In 1922 the value of fruit processing sales exceeded $2,000,000.[68]

After 1920 the orchard industry began to deterioriate quite rapidly, and today few trees bear usable fruit.[69] This deterioration can be attributed to a number of poor farming practices some of which are directly related to their beliefs. Many of the Doukhobors who had migrated to British Columbia were the more zealous variety, those that

believed that physical labour was more saintly than the use of machinery. However, the total effect of this practice was likely minimal in light of the total amount of machinery being used in sawmills, power plants, and fruit processing plants. Snesarev argues that the intermingling of various varieties was not a good practice, but its effect is unknown. However, two such practices are related to the pacifistic ideals of the Doukhobors. First, the almost total rejection of pastoralism in the British Columbia colonies by the 1920's left them without a source of natural fertilizer, and they refused to use chemicals.[70] The second problem arose over the infestation by orchard pests which took on major proportions by 1920. It seems the sanctity of life had for many Doukhobors been extended to include the coddling moth and other pests. It seems in many cases Doukhobors refused to use pesticides altogether,[71] while in cases where they were used they were only sparingly applied.[72]

Before leaving this particular aspect of the impact of the pacifistic doctrine on the Doukhobor landscape one example of differing interpretation should be reviewed. Though they had adopted vegetarianism before arriving in Canada on many occasions Doukhobors were observed catching and eating fish.[73] Some rationalized this in terms of a distinction between cold-blooded and warm-blooded creatures. In the Thunder Hill Colony, Zibaroff claimed that"fish was not meat."[74] On the other hand, members of the South Colony rejected this practice as being a sin.[75]

Summary

In review pacifism as applied to man-animal relationships had a major impact on the Doukhobor landscape. This impact was not the same in all areas or amongst all factions. In Russia many did not accept the

practice of vegetarianism and a major split occurred. In Saskatchewan pastoralism continued for some time and amongst the Independents does not appear to have ever become an issue. Within the early settlements a dispute arose over the eating of fish. In British Columbia pastoralism was negligible and, since fruit was conceived of as a natural food, orchards became the major landscape feature. However, after 1920 this industry began to decline at least partially because of the priority of pacifist ideals which overruled the general use of pesticides and created an unwillingness to use chemical fertilizers. The Doukhobor beliefs relating to the principle of guidance by the inner spirit underwent extensive modification both in use and application. These modifications created serious problems for the Doukhobor Community in that they demand revolutionary changes in the subsistence methods practiced by the Community. Not only did these changes result in major transformations in some sectors of the landscape related to subsistence, but the unwillingness on the part of many Doukhobors to accept these modifications in personal belief had a double impact on the landscape:

1) an increase in the variance within Doukhobor landscapes,

2) contributed to upheavals and splits within the Community.

NOTES ON CHAPTER V

[1]Many secondary sources are "sensationalist" in nature. Such sources have, in most cases, not been used.

[2]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 418.

[3]Report of Royal Commission of 1912; p. T10.

[4]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 57.

[5]The figures quoted here are those of Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 84; Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 57; claim there were 22 bodies and that the investigation lasted some five years.

[6]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 55.

[7]Maude; op. cit.; p. 23-24.

[8]Ibid.;(footnote).

[9]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 68.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Tarasoff; op. cit.; p. 93.

[12]Ibid.; p. 94.

[13]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 94.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Ibid.; p. 95.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 85.

[18]Maude; op. cit.; p. 167.

[19]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 104; also Maude; op. cit.; p. 26.

[20]Maude; op. cit.; p. 26.

[21]Tchertkoff, Vladimir; Christian Martyrdom in Russia; London, The Brotherhood Publishing Company; 1897; pp. 6-7.

[22]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 104.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Tchertkoff; op. cit.; p. 7.

[25]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 88.

[26]Ibid.; p. 88.

[27]Snesarev (Trevor); op. cit.; p. 12.

[28]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 89.

[29]Ibid.; p. 85.

[30]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 89.

[31]Ibid.; pp. 89-90.

[32]Ibid.; p. 91.

[33]Ibid.; p. 92. Tarasoff suggests the abstinence was not called for, but that excessive sexual relations were to be curtailed in order to reduce the number of births. See Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 110.

[34]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 117; see also Tchertkoff; op. cit.; p. 8.

[35]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 112.

[36]Ibid.; p. 114; see also Maude; op. cit.; p. 169.

[37]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 92.

[38]Tchertkoff; op. cit.; p. 57.

[39]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.;pp. 101-103.

[40]Ibid.; p. 104.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Ibid.; p. 105.

[43]See Appendix A.

[44]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; pp. 491-492.

[45]Ibid.; p. 494.

[46]Henderson, David C.; "News From The Doukhobors"; The Friend; July 3, 1930; pp. 4-5.

[47]Zbeitnoff, W.W., Popoff, F.N., Hoodiacoff, S.F. to C. Doherty, Minister of Justice, Ottawa, in Nelson Daily News, October 25, 1917.

[48]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 271 - Authorities rounded up 120 horses, 295 cattle, and 85 sheep.

[49]Ibid.; p. 272.

[50]Bockemuehl; op. cit.; p. 105.

[51]Wright; op. cit.; p. 187.

[52]Wright; op. cit.; p. 186.

[53]Hindus, Maurice G.; "Bookless Philosophers"; The Century Magazine; Volume 10, No. 5, January, 1923; pp. 427-428.

[54]Hayward, Victoria; "Doukhobors: A Community Race In Canada"; in her Romantic Canada; Toronto, Macmillan, 1922; p. 226.

[55]Wright; op. cit.; p. 189.

[56]Wright; op. cit.; p. 21, and Bockemuehl; op. cit.; p. 9.

[57]Wright; op. cit.; p. 194.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Wright; op. cit.; p. 242.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Ibid.; p. 226.

[62]Bockemuehl; op. cit.; p. 44.

[63]Ibid.; p. 44-45.

[64]Ibid.; pp.45-46.

[65]Report of Royal Commission of 1912; p. T32.

[66]Bockemuehl; op. cit.; p. 62.

[67]Ibid.; p. 102.

[68]Ibid.; p. 67.

[69] Ibid.; p. 93.

[70] Snesarev (Trevor); op. cit.; p. 78.

[71] Bockemuehl; op. cit.; p. 105.

[72] Snesarev; op. cit.; p. 79.

[73] Archer, H.P.; "The Doukhobors In Canada"; The New Order; August, 1898; p. 114.

[74] Wright; op. cit.; p. 143.

[75] Ibid.; p. 151.

CHAPTER VI

EARTHY PASSAGE AND THE SEARCH FOR UTOPIA

Migrations, on the part of a religious orientated group, take on the characteristics of pilgrimage when such migrations are religiously motivated and stem from a wish to escape an unpleasant situation, to search for mythical goals, or to achieve a combination of both.[1] The motivation for this kind of migration arises because the pre-migration conditions in which the group functions are considered either intolerable for effective spiritual life, or, on the other hand, while tolerable they can be improved through migration.

Pilgrimage is common to many religions. At times it has been a mandatory part of religious practice, while at other times it has been voluntarily practised with the view of obtaining future rewards.[2] Geographical interest in pilgrimage has focused on the patterns of movement,[3] as well as the characteristics of the site itself and of the people who gave that site meaning.[4] Separation of site and people is significant in that it emphasizes the characteristics of search. The search is not necessarily for a positional point but may be rather for a situation, with perhaps an associated mythical meaning.

Doukhobor history has been one of hope and search: the hope is of one day establishing a truly "universal brotherhood"; the search twofold: (a) a search for a form of social life which would accommodate certain preconceived notions of what constitutes a perfect society; and (b) a search for a site and situation in which to apply various social forms that the various leaders have adopted. In searching for such sites, not only were the physical qualities important, but the degree of freedom

from the "worldly" elements of society external to the group were equally important. The hope sprang external that, "There is a faraway land, everyone would be happy, the days of persecution would be over."[5]

"Migrations amongst the Doukhobors have been of two general types. First were the utopian[6] pilgrimages which were an attempt to escape from present conditions incompatible with the ideals of the group, and attain sites where conditions were more favourable for the founding of a Doukhobor utopian community. A majority of Doukhobor migrations have been of this type. These 'utopian pilgrimages' follow two general patterns. One pattern can be labelled "Promised Land" pilgrimages, in which participation was confined usually to the more zealous Doukhobors. On a number of occasions in Doukhobor history, notably in Canada, such pilgrimages were carried out in order to draw attention to basic doctrines in light of what the more zealous considered to be 'a falling away' on the part of many Doukhobors. This type of pilgrimage tended to be 'wanderings in protest' rather than pilgrimages in search of specific sites. The second pattern of utopian migrations were made in search of a specific 'sites and situations' in which it was believed that a particular social order could be established which would in effect produce a mystical "Garden of Eden". Another type of migration took the form of forced migrations. On numerous occasions the actions of the Doukhobors were conceived as hostile to the remainder of the society in which they were housed. In a few instances the degree of conflict became extreme and the Doukhobors did not choose to migrate but were forcibly removed to areas chosen, not by the Doukhobors, but by a government external to the sect.

To further point out the significance of the religiously motivated journey in Doukhobor life, the high incidence of 'proposed pilgrimages' will be considered in brief. The enthusiasm engendered in many instances by the mere suggestion of migration, underscores its significance in Doukhobor religious life.

The following analysis of Doukhobor migrations will consider in detail some examples of each of the types outlined above, and selected from the numerous examples found in Doukhobor History (Table IV). The analysis will seek to relate these migrations and to identify and measure any variation and fluctuation in migration patterns which can be related to similar alteration in belief patterns.

Promised Land Pilgrimages

The strength of the utopian dream and the intensity to which some personal beliefs related to this ideal were held are best exemplified by the many "Promised Land" pilgrimages which have taken place in Canada. (See Map 10). While it is true such intensity of belief was confined to a minority, this minority on occasions was of significant size. Such pilgrimages point out the priority of action over faith, amongst the Doukhobors. Finally, while such acts were extremely zealous and frowned upon by many Doukhobor adherents, it must be remembered that almost all the Doukhobors had, in the face of certain persecution committed zealous acts, such as, burning their weapons and refusing military service.

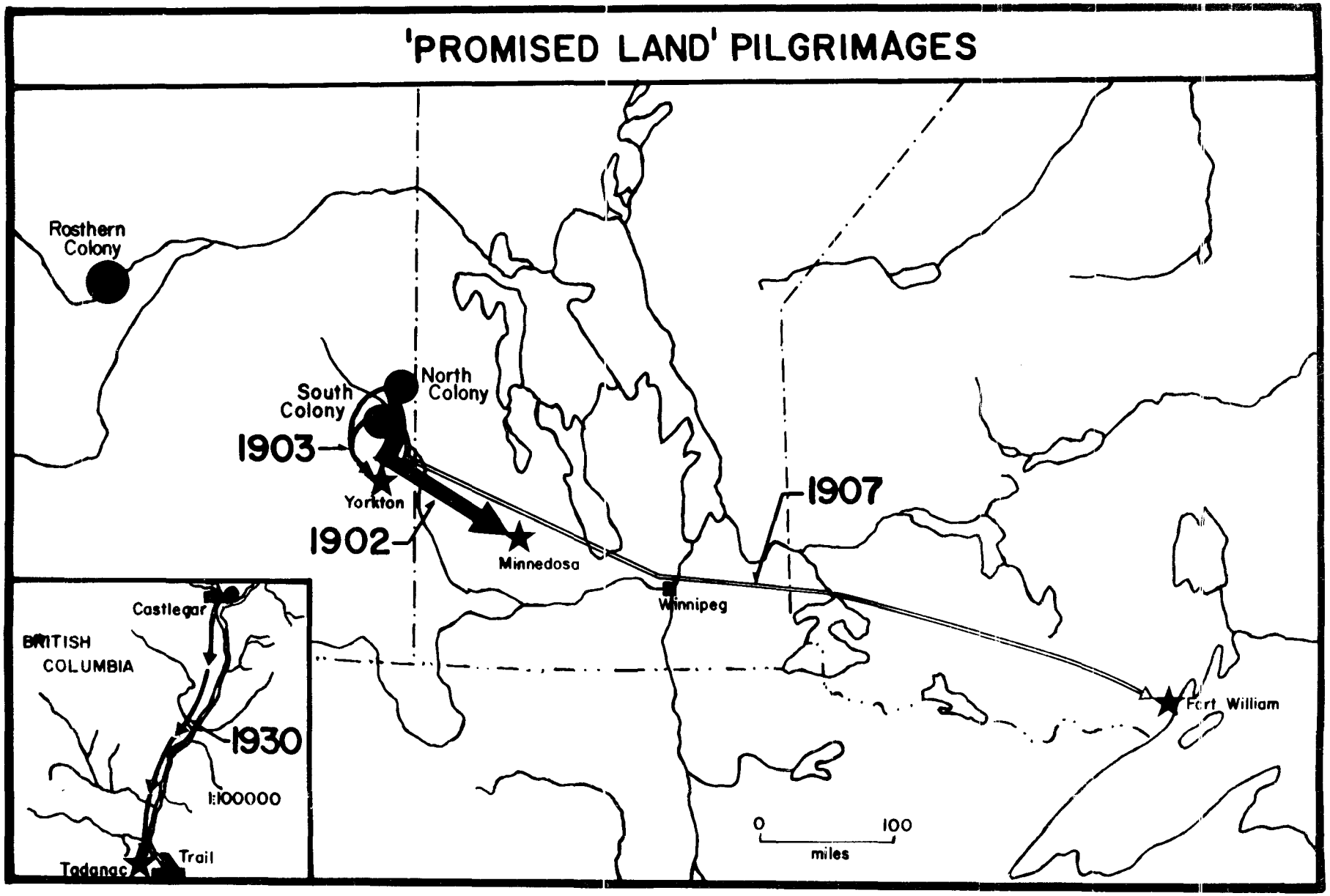
The first of a number of "Promised Land" pilgrimages took place shortly after they arrived in Canada. Conditions were such that there was a great deal of uncertainty. They were leaderless, for Verigin I was still in Siberian exile. Estimates of the number who began settle-

TABLE IV

DOUKHOBOR MIGRATIONS AND PROPOSED MIGRATIONS

1796 - Dissenters - exiled to Siberia.
1801 - Gathering Together at Milky Waters.
1811 - Proposed gathering of other Doukhobors on Balkan Frontier
1840 - Banishment to Caucasia.
1887 - Verigin and some followers exiled to Siberia
1895 - Banishment of Wet Mountain Settlement to Georgian Swamp Land Villages
1898 - Migration of 1126 Verigin I followers to Cyprus.
1899 - Migration of all Verigin I followers to Canada
1900 - 100 Doukhobors zealots to California
1901 - Proposed Migration by zealots to Australia
1902 - Proposed Migration to Turkey
1902 - Promised Land Pilgrimage (1700 participants)
1903 - Promised Land Pilgrimage - First Nude Trek
1904 - Promised Land Pilgrimage - Small group from Thunder Hill Colony
1905 - Siberian Exiles Migrate to Canada
1907 - Promised Land Pilgrimage - (Fort William)
1909 - Community Doukhobors migrate to British Columbia
1911 - 200 Small Party Migrate to Canada and settle separately (Langham)
1913 - Small group to Oregon (reject divine leadership)
1916 - Community Doukhobors create additional settlement - Cowley/Lundbreck
1918 - Community Doukhobors create additional settlement - Kylmore
1921 - Proposed return to Russia
1923 - A few hundred return to Russia
1924 - Anastasia and followers leave Community - settle in Arrowwood
1928 - 130 of 1923 group return to Canada
1929 - Verigin II's proposed Whitehorse migration (Mexico)
1930 - Promised Land Pilgrimage to United States Border
1931 - Proposed migration of 20,000-30,000 Russian Doukhobors to Canada
1932 - 600 zealots to Piers Island
1935 - Proposed Migration to Par quay
1949 - Michael Verigin zealots to Hilliers
1950 - Proposed migration of Lebedoff zealots to Turkey or Russia
1950 - Proposed migration of Sorokin zealots to Costa Rica
1957 - Proposed migration of zealots to Russia
1962 - Proposed migration of zealots to Brazil
1962 - Migration to Agassiz Mountain Prison
1972 - Migration to Krestova area from Agassiz

MAP 10



donald gale

ment on an independent basis are not consistent, but there is sufficient evidence to suggest that while they were in the minority their numbers had increased substantially.[7] Some of the more well-to-do members who remained in the community were reluctant to pool all their possessions. Meanwhile, not all who went out to work in the 'world' turned their money over to the Community. The more zealous Doukhobors began to question the nature of their expected Canadian 'utopia'.

About this time 'extreme' ideals were laid before them by Tolstoy, who had done so much in securing their migration to Canada, and by their own leader, Verigin I. In February 1902, a letter from Tolstoy reached them. In this letter Tolstoy expounded the ideals of communal life and the evils of secularization, into which the Independents were evidently drifting. It was also at this time that Verigin I's "Garden of Eden" letters, not intended for his followers,[8] were published by an outsider and reached the Doukhobors in Canada.[9] These letters put forward a number of radical principles:[10]

1) the rejection of earthly government on the grounds of its "worldliness."

2) the rejection of physical labour as being a prerequisite to Christian life (seek first the Kingdom of Heaven and all the rest will be added unto you), the necessities of life are found in nature.

3) the rejection of pastoralism, for man should feed on natural fruits.

4) the rejection of "works" as a Doukhobor principle since man was created for spiritual life he only needs to admire what exists (Christ did not work, but ate and was clothed), priority must go to preaching the gospel, even if it means begging for food.

5) the search for areas of maximum sunshine in order to benefit from the direct energy of the sun as well as the energy of the natural fruits found in such a place.

Add to these circumstances the initiation on the part of immigration officials of increasing pressure for statistical registration and individual entry for land. The culmination of all these factors created an environment of frustration which was conducive to action.[11] Zealots in small numbers now appeared on the scene to question the materialistic values of their way of life.

The demonstration of this frustration came in the summer of 1902. The first reaction was that many of the villages turned all their animals loose on the prairies, since it was not right to eat meat and now it had been suggested that they should no longer be used for physical labour. Evidence indicates that having done this, a number of influencial Doukhobors travelled from village to village advocating the ideas expounded by Verigin's letters. A central theme which seems to have arisen was the need to sever all worldly commitments and to go out preaching the second-coming of Christ.[12] A number of their influencial leaders hoped to create a large enough demonstration to pressure the government into transporting them to an area of warmth and sunshine.[13] Requests to be moved to fruit growing areas of British Columbia or Ontario were made to government officials, but they were ignored. In some cases all items which could interfere with man's life as a spiritual existence were evaluated and in turn metal objects were discarded, and ritual burnings of animal skins, leather boots, and sheepskin coats and other leather goods took place.[14]

In October the more zealous members began to march from village to village gathering converts. In some cases whole villages were abandoned. On October 26th they were 1,100 strong, but by the time they had marched through both North and South colonies they numbered close to 1,700.[15] Reaction to the march varied considerably. Some villages joined eagerly, others sympathized but would not join, while others were in strong opposition. Participants enunciated goals consistent with the themes of Verigin I's letters.[16] In a letter written by Verigin I's brother, a non-participant, this is made clear:

> We went out to meet them. Greeting us, they wishes us peace. They they invited any of us who might wish to, to 'come with us to the wedding feast'. Another said: 'We are going to meet the Bridegroom, a third said: 'We go to preach the Gospel': and a fourth said: 'Let us go to the promised land.'[17]

It is clear they were looking for the establishment of a heaven on earth.[18] The direction of that search must be in a southerly bearing since naturally it must be warm and contain an abundance of fruit.[19] That some of the marchers had other motives cannot be doubted,[20] but a search for a utopian life is undoubtedly the general concern of the pilgrim. With each mile of progress the degree of extremist behavior increased and the pilgrims discarded more and more of the few goods they carried. Household goods had been left behind from the outset but now other items became unnecessary and wrong: buttons were torn off, money was turned into the government agent, pocket knives and watches were discarded.

On October 28th they entered Yorkton where the women and children were herded into an immigration hall. The next morning, unable to secure the release of the women and children, six hundred men marched out of Yorkton in a southerly direction. In November, minus a few who had

dropped out, they reached Minnedosa where they accepted shelter in the local skating rink. Since their crossing of the Manitoba border the weather had turned severe. Three days later they were herded on a train and returned to the colonies.

When returned to the colonies, a significant number did not return to their homes, but rather settled together in the area of Terpenia with the intention of wintering together and returning to the march in the spring.[21] Many considered themselves as arrested and insisted that the government provide their needs. This was done by using the money which had been turned into the government at the outset of the march, as well as, monies received from the sale of farm animals the pilgrims had turned loose.

Thus ended the first of a number of pilgrimages initiated by a specific set of circumstances which created a high degree of frustration, and finally culminated in a severe degree of dissatisfaction within their present state. Stimulated by utopian ideals, principally put forward by a leader in exile, they began an immediate search for this utopia, which incorporated such amenities as a warm climate, natural food in the form of fruit, and the absence of physical labour which would allow for full time devotion to a spiritual existence.

In terms of the landscape, some significant changes did occur. While the movement of a population outside of the settlement was lengthy, but only temporary, there was a decided shift in population within the settlement. In cases whole villages were abandoned and in most others many single homes were abandoned. Many of these homes were not re-occupied. There occurred a centralization of the most zealous element upon their

return to the settlement. Many of the zealous members continued to seek perfection by clinging to the tenets expressed in Verigin's letters.

Once more we are faced with evidence which suggests that reaction of the Doukhobors to specific personal beliefs varies in intensity and at times contradictory. While some 1,700 argued for and participated in the immediate search, some 5,000 - 6,000 rejected the notion with equal vigour. The existence of this contradiction, with its resulting multiplicity and complexity of landscapes is further verified by other similar migrations.

As early as 1900, idyllic principles of natural food and a warm climate had caused a temporary migration to California. Bodiansky, an eccentric follower of Tolstoy, travelled through the villages attempting to interest the Doukhobors in leaving Canada. Based on the principle of a warm climate and abundant fruit, almost 100 Doukhobors made this trip, working in California for the summer. A handful of them stayed to form an independent colony.[22]

One year after the first major pilgrimage of 1902, a second such pilgrimage took place. In the meantime Verigin I had arrived in Canada, taking personal leadership of the sect. In dealing with the pilgrimage of the previous year he had attempted to steer a middle course. He praised the zealots for their religious fervor and chided, though lightly, those who had been critical of the pilgrims.[23] Finally, he praised those who stayed at home for their fine settlements and good crops.[24] Though Verigin tried to bring about a degree of stability, not all zealots willingly responded and their utopian zeal could not be controlled.[25]

When Verigin convinced the Doukhobors to make individual entry

for their homesteads, six zealots refused and began to agitate amongst the many villages. The zealot core grew to a total of 45, including women and children.[26] They preached the teachings of the previous summer but this time adopting an innovation:

> After the 12th of May, we went in the manner of the first man Adam and Eve, to show nature to humanity, how man should return into his fatherland and return the ripened fruit and its seeds.[27]

Other Doukhobors took exception to these acts of nudity and even forsook their pacifistic tendencies:

> We began to go naked from the village of Efremovka and finished at the village Nodezhda. We went through sixteen villages in all. When we were stopped naked, we were much beaten with twigs, all in blood, so that it was terrible to see us.[28]

Twenty-eight continued on to the town of Yorkton where they were arrested, convicted, and sentenced to three months in jail. In Rosthern colony a few individuals committed similar acts for which one was given a three-months sentence.

A small pilgrimage was made by some members of the Thunder Hill Colony in July 1904. However, Verigin's control of the colonies kept it from spreading.[29]

In 1907, about the time that the Doukhobors were faced with losing their land, over the question of the "oath of allegiance", the zealots once again turned to the act of 'pilgrimage'. As soon as the majority of their land had been repossessed, several dozen pilgrims began preaching the "Promised Land" ideals amongst the villages of the North Colony. In early summer, seventy-one zealots in two separate parties began a pilgrimage eastward. Before winter set in both parties had reached Fort William, Ontario.[30] During this, the longest of Promised Land pilgrim-

ages, no nudity was practised while enroute but they did carry out a nude demonstration on New Year's Day in Fort William. A few months later all of the pilgrims were returned to the colonies by the government.

The only other recorded instance of what can be called a 'Promised Land' pilgrimage took place in June of 1930. A group of extremists, led by Paul Vitkin, left the West Kootenay settlements and trekked south towards the United States. They were, however, turned back at Tadanac, just outside of Trail.[31] (See Map 10).

The ideals of a 'warm climate and natural fruit' were not confined to the more zealous factions of the Doukhobors. These ideals will be shown to have played a role in the selection of sites for other more general migrations.

Promised Land pilgrimages have been able to attract a good measure of participation on only one occasion. After the 1902 trek only a small group of the very zealous participated. On each occasion there was a variety of degrees of opposition. The occasion of most participation occurred at a time of much confusion within the Community due partly to absence of their leader. The one major change they produced on the landscape was the permanent abandonment of some villages and homes and the concentration of the more zealous element. A definite fluctation in personal beliefs is made evident in the degree of variation in the number of participants amongst the successive pilgrimages, and the varied opposition to the marchers.

'Site and Situation' Pilgrimages

Prior to the 19th century, as has already been pointed out, the Doukhobors were scattered throughout the area which is today called the

Ukrainian S.S.R. During the middle years of the eighteenth century religious persecution was relaxed and there was a tendency on the part of a number of Doukhobors to establish themselves in some form of community organization resulting in a trend toward concentration. Two such concentrations were near the village of Horelovka, in the province of Tamleose, and near the village of Nikolah, in the province of Ekaterinoslav.[32] During the persecution of the late 18th century these concentrations were broken up and a number of families exiled.

The beginning of the 19th century witnessed a dramatic change within the Doukhobor movement. Alexander I, the Russian Tsar, drew two conclusions: (a) it was useless and harmful to continue the persecution of the Doukhobors; and (b) some way must be found to bring an end to Doukhobor proselytization.[33] He therefore approved a plan for allowing colonization through migration to an area of fertile land on the shores of the Sea of Azov, called "Milky Waters". (See Map 1)

In doing so the Doukhobors were given the same status as immigrant groups under the Russian Colonial Law.[34] This law fostered three characteristics of immigrant settlement: isolation, protection of homogenerity, and self-sufficiency.[35] Such foreign colonies were often separated entirely from the jurisdiction of local governors, and administrative officials treated such colonies as corporate bodies represented by their own elected officers.[36] Doukhobor village structure was closely allied to that of the Russian Mir. Adjacent to the area proposed for Doukhobor settlement lived one such colonial immigrant settlement, that of the Mennonites.

Milky Waters

In 1801, some thirty families migrated to Milky Waters as a preliminary experiment.[37] As it proved successful Doukhobors began to petition to be allowed to migrate from a variety of districts. It should be recognized that even though this proposal for such a settlement came from the Tsar, not all Doukhobors joined the colony. Approval to move had to be gained from the district authorities; such requests were not automatic. For example, in 1812 some requests were turned down on the basis of the Napoleonic invasion.[38] Finally, by 1825, all migrations to Milky Waters were prohibited.[39]

The proportion, of the total number of Doukhobors, that actually migrated to Milky Waters is not known, but on the basis of available evidence it is believed to have been a minority.[40] Migration was voluntary and many never even sought permission, wishing to remain scattered. On the other hand, one group of 3,186, scattered in various provinces, requested in 1911 that they be allowed to migrate, however, not to Milky Waters, but rather to the Balkan frontier.[41] This request was refused. A number of independent villages grew up as a result of similar refusals, particularly in Siberia.[42] There is no apparent evidence to suggest that there was any real contact between the settlers at Milky Waters and the other groups, or the independents. By 1816, some 3,000 had migrated to Milky Waters,[43] and migration continued for another few years. Some twenty years later they numbered 16,617.[44] As to the other groups and the independents, their recorded history is negligible and numbers unrecorded.

Community settlement was not a religious requirement of the

Doukhobors. This fact is made evident by the number of Doukhobors who did not request permission to take part in group settlement when the opportunity arose, but chose to remain independent. Similarly, it is evident that the idea of a single divine leader was not accepted by all Doukhobors in that independents existed and one large group sought government permission to settle as a separate group.

The Milky Waters settlement, aided by rich, fertile soil and excellent climate, prospered under the rule of Kapustin. They continued to increase in number most of which can be attributed, however, to natural growth. The Doukhobors had turned inward:

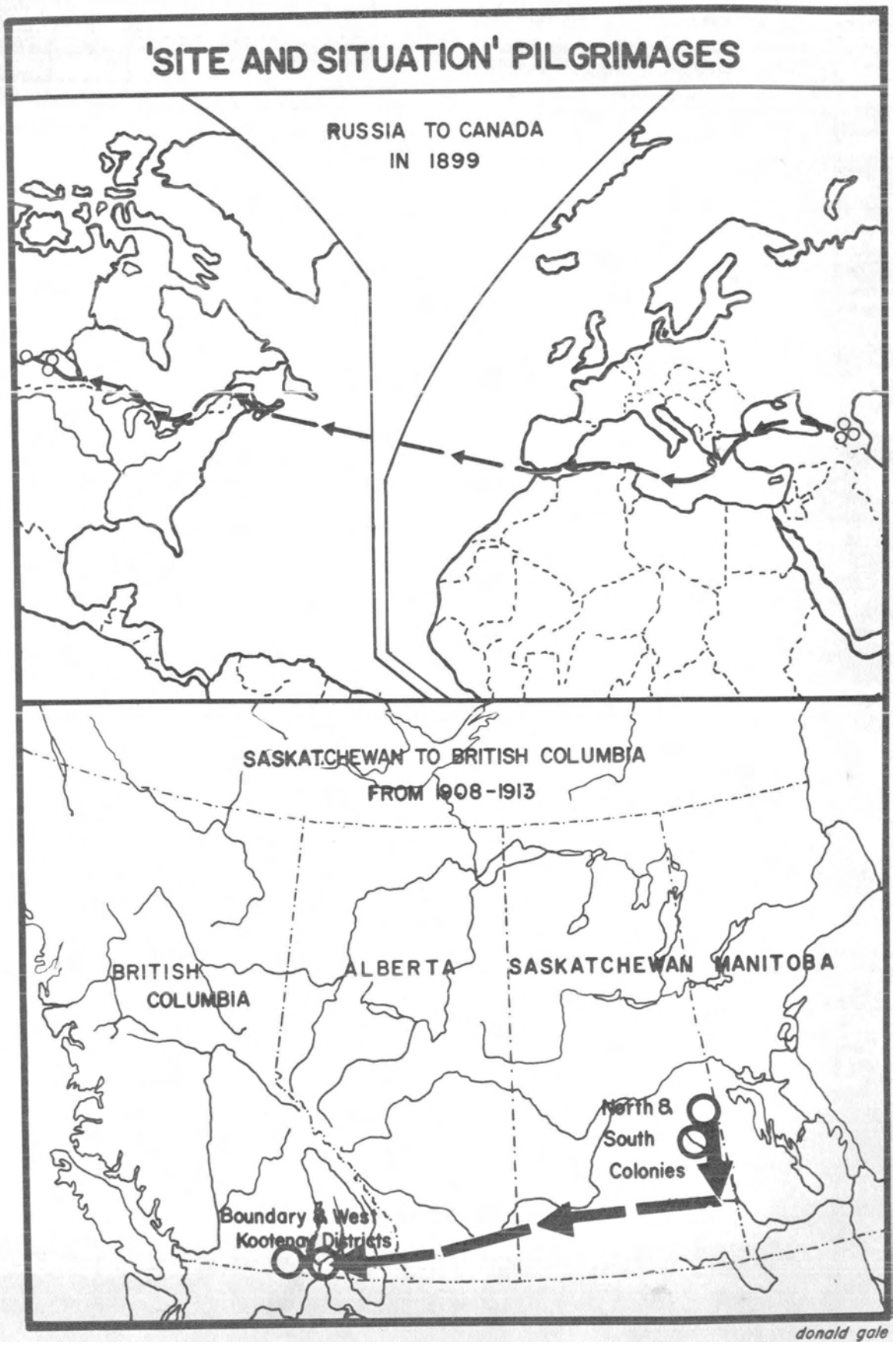
> And when, on settling in the Milky-Waters, they were enjoined to live quietly and modestly, and not to endeavour to bring others into their sect, they answered that all that was needed had been already sown; they need no more trouble about that, for now the time was come for the harvest, not the sowing.[45]

This was a major change from previous Doukhobor philosophy, and has remained the general thinking of the descendants of this group.

Migration To A Canadian Utopia

The next example of a search for a 'site and situation' in which to build their "Doukhobor Utopia" was their migration to Canada at the close of the 19th century. (See Map 11). They had been in Caucasia for over fifty years after being banished to this area from Milky Waters.

The wealth and comforts of their Caucasian empire led to a leaving off of some of the religious ideals that had been part of their tradition. No real attempt was made to bring about an egalitarian utopia in the Caucasian settlements. Verigin I's search for the utopian social order produced the setting and conditions for another pilgrimage.


'SITE AND SITUATION' PILGRIMAGES
RUSSIA TO CANADA
IN 1899
SASKATCHEWAN TO BRITISH COLUMBIA
FROM 1908-1913
BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
North & South Colonies
Boundary & West Kootenay Districts
donald gale

With the death of Loukeriya Kalmikova, 8,000 Doukhobors broke away refusing to follow Loukeriya's obvious choice as leader, Verigin I.[46] The 8,000 members of the Small Party continued the pattern of life adopted during the colonies' long history. The remaining 12,000 followed Verigin in a revival of former religious principles. Once again the principles of communism were applied to everyday life, and at the same time appurtenances of worldliness such as tobacco and alcohol were forbidden. This revival of old traditions was not, however, the central issue which brought about the strife which followed. The major sources of friction were the number of innovations introduced by Verigin I resulting from his re-evaluations of the practical applications of old traditions.

"The equality of man was to be practised in a strict form of communism."[47] This equality was to be extended to all living things, thus the eating of meat was banned. The taking of life under any circumstances was considered incompatible with the building of a "universal brotherhood" and as an expression of this all weapons owned by Verigin's followers must be, once and for all, destroyed.

The results were momentous. Verigin lost another 5,000 followers who would not accept the ban on meat-eating. Once again the Russian authorities became very suspicious of the heretics. The burning of all arms at a time when conscription was being forced upon them was conceived as an act of treason by some local authorities.

The treatment of the followers of Verigin I amongst the different settlements was not consistent. The Wet Mountain settlement was very harshly dealt with:

> Then the Doukhobors were expelled from their villages. They would be given three days' notice to clear out, and at the end of the time their property would be sold for a mere bagatelle, and what was not sold was thrown away. The cattle were left to roam and the corn to rot in the fields. The whole population was absolutely ruined.
>
> There were expelled from this district 464 families. They were scattered over adjoining districts, but no land was granted to them, and the intention was to starve them out....
>
> At this time their condition was indeed pitiable. The Community was practically broken up and the people scattered. Their property had been sacrificed. Nearly every family had some of its members exiled, or languishing in prisons, or in penal battalions. And in these battalions, according to the regulations, the prisoners were expected every day to comply with the demands of military discipline; and, as the Doukhobors could not conscientiously do this, they were subjected to an unceasing series of punishments --flogging, confinement in a cold, dark cell, diet of bread and water, prolongation of sentence, and other tortures.[48]

It is estimated that 1,000, one quarter of those exiled in this manner, died during a four-year period, as a result of malnutrition, disease, torture, and execution.[49]

The persecuted followers of Verigin I once again hoped for that far-away land where they could be happy and free and Caucasia it seemed was not their 'utopia'. Loukeriya had prophesied they would have to leave Russia, surely this was the time. Verigin I expressed this desire in a letter to Empress Alexandra; dated November 1, 1896; which reads in part:

> 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.
>
> If the government were to find it impossible to consent to this, then let is give us the right of migration into one of the foreign countries.[50]

With the help of the pressure of world opinion, largely secured through

the writings of Tolstoy and the labour of influencial English and American Quakers, permission to leave Russia was secured in March of 1898.

Permission to leave was given to the Doukhobors provided:

(1) they should go at their own expense;

(2) that those serving sentences should complete them;

(3) those who had been called on for military service were excluded;

(4) that before leaving they should sign an agreement never to return within the borders of the empire.[51]

With considerable financial aid the first migrants departed in the summer of 1898.

The first party of migrants settled in Cyprus and not in North America. However, within a year those in Cyprus had joined their brethren in Canada.

There were a number of other migrations which may be viewed as "site and situation" pilgrimages. These will not be considered in detail, but rather the significant highlights of some of these will be briefly outlined.

For the first three years in Canada the Doukhobors were without their spiritual leader, Verigin I, who remained in Siberian exile. A number of factors arose during this three-year period which created a situation not in keeping with Doukhobor ideals, creating many sources of internal and external tension. Some of these have already been considered in depth, for example, the unrest created from the 'Garden of Eden' letters, the unrest created by the 1902 pilgrimage, and the uncertainty about individual entry of homesteads. Equally vexing was the large number of Doukhobors who established an independent status by voluntarily signing

for their homesteads and openly practising a non-communal way of life. By January of 1900 some one-third or in excess of 2,000, had rejected communal living. Table V shows this condition among the villages in the

TABLE V

SYSTEMS OF PROPERTY HOLDING AMONG THE ASSINIBOIA VILLAGES IN 1901 [52]

COLONY	NO. OF VILLAGES	COMMUNIST PRODUCTION & DISTRIBUTION	COMMUNIST DIVIDED INTO MORE THAN ONE COMMUNE	PARTLY COMMUNIST & PARTY IND.	INDIVID.
Thunder Hill	13	9	1	2	2
South Colony	24	12	3	8	1
Devil's Lake	10	-	-	5	5
Assiniboia Reserves	47	21	4	15	7

Assiniboia Reserves. Communism was not practised within the Saskatchewan Reserve during this period.[53] With the arrival of Verigin I he was able to get a number of those who made individual entries to unite once again since it was the decision to keep the land by making individual entries for all Doukhobors.

When the government insisted that the letter of the law regarding the Homestead Act be kept, the Community once again showed much internal tension. The proposed 'utopia' required communal ownership and communal settlement, both of which would be forbidden under the enforcement of the Homestead Act as interpreted by Oliver. Most of those who had originally signed individual entries were operating on an individual base and preferred to remain that way. Under threat of losing their land another 248 families became independent. (See Table VI). Community land was reduced to one third its size, when land reserves were granted on the basis of only 15 acres per person. The cost to the community, as valued by the

TABLE VI

STATEMENT RE DOUKHOBOR HOMESTEADS.[55]

Ottawa, August 1, 1907

The Doukhobor Commission dealt with a total of 2,757 Doukhobor homesteads in the Yorkton, Prince Albert and Regina agencies:-

There were cancelled on the recommendation of the Doukhobor Commissioner Doukhobor entries totaling	2,503
There were standing vacant Doukhobor homesteads which had previously been cancelled to the number of	79
There were standing reserved as village sites	39
There were entries standing of independent Doukhobors numbering	136
Total in three districts	2,757

STATEMENT RE DISPOSITION OF DOUKHOBOR HOMESTEADS

Ottawa, August 1, 1907

Following is a memorandum showing how the 2,757 Doukhobor homesteads dealt with by the Doukhobor Commission have been disposed of:-

Set apart as reserved for Doukhobor communities	768	
Under entry to independent Doukhobors	384	
Thrown open to the general public: Taken to date	1,211	
Still untaken	394	1,605
		2,757

Doukhobors, was in excess of $11,000,000.[54]

On top of all this, with their repossessed homesteads being claimed by non-Doukhobors they had lost their isolation.[55] This coupled with the need for more land in which to operate a self-sufficient and communistic society effectively, led Verigin to search for, and find, a new 'site and situation' in which once again to rebuild their utopia; the West Kootenay and Boundary districts of British Columbia. (See Map 11).

It is significant to note a number of features about the new site. The land was bought and not homesteaded, thus it could be communally-owned, communistically settled, and no oath would be required. At the same time two of the 'Garden of Eden' ideals were apparently satisfied: a warm climate and a place where fruit could be grown in abundance. Verigin's words echo the general feeling of the pilgrims to British Columbia:

> "True", said Verigin, "There is a lot of work to be done in clearing, before any fruit trees can be planted. But then, physical labour is a healthy thing in this fresh wholesome air of the Kootenays, just like in Switzerland. The climate is mild, not like in Saskatchewan on the "Wet Mountains". We shall no longer fear getting rheumatism and coughs. As for the forest, it is our friend; we will use it to build our homes. It's splendid timber: the soil will need irrigation, but then there is water everywhere -- cheap, clear, and clean. No Schools. No government interference. An ideal place to build a brotherhood.[56]

However, not all the members could agree completely. For one group the site may have been adequate, but the situation was apparently not acceptable. Some of the pilgrims were extreme idealists who were not entirely happy with the lot of those who remained in the Community.[57] Based on such ideals one group left the Community in 1913 and settled on 1,000 acres of land in the valley of the Willamette River in the

State of Oregon.[58] The residents of this group were practicing Doukhobors but had rejected at least one major principle on which the Community in British Columbia operated. Some had rejected divine leadership, while others were not in accord with the Orthodox views on such matters as education, and full freedom of thought. The community lasted for five years, then a 'legal' problem arose when certain shortcomings in the documents arose concerned with the manner in which the land was purchased. There were some forty owners, and the land had been subdivided between them. However, because of payment arrears on the part of one member who was foreclosed upon, all lost their land.

On the death of Verigin I in 1924, a leadership struggle was the basis for the departure of another splinter group from the Community in British Columbia.[59] Anastasia Holoboff, a devoted maid and constant companion of Verigin I expected to be named the leader. During the six week waiting period she actively compaigned, visiting most of the settlements. However, on the appointed day the principle of divine hereditary leadership was maintained and Verigin I's son was chosen even though he resided in Russia. Even a letter left by Verigin I naming a triumvirate to rule over the Community was ignored. The 'situation' was obviously no longer satisfactory for Anastasia and her 500 followers. They withdrew and purchased a 1,260 acre plot in Arrowwood district of Alberta, becoming the only communal opposition to the Community.[60]

Reform can be said to have stimulated the migration of a break-away segment of Svobodniki to Hilliers, British Columbia, in 1946. The leader, Michael "The Archangel" Verigin, claimed to have been inspired by a vision which told him he was destined to lead a people away from the wickedness of the Svobodniki.[61] "The Archangel" stated that nudity,

arson, and bombings were no longer acceptable practices. Instead, maximum emphasis must be placed on the sharing of all things, hence the name, "Sharing Doukhobors". Other principles, including vegetarianism, pacifism, and communism were strictly practised.[62] The Hilliers community operated quite successfully for about five years and then began to disintegrate after their leader's death in 1951.

In review, the 'utopian' ideal permeated the majority of Doukhobor migrations. Since these ideals are religiously motivated in that theyare a result of the egalitarian and perfectionist beliefs of the sect, such migrations can be viewed as pilgrimages. The many "Promised Land" pilgrimages attracted only a limited number of participants and the landscape underwent only minor change with the abandonment of some housing and the concentration of some segments of zealotry. 'Site and situation' migrations produced major changes on the landscapes, as well as, a diversity of landscapes. Migrations were a result of, or a means of overcoming situations created by contradictory personal beliefs relating to the implementation of such core beliefs as the nature of social order, vegetarianism, pacifism, as well as the rejection of external society.

On the other hand, many of the Doukhobor migrations were not made voluntarily but were forced upon them because of tensions which arose as a result of differences over the acceptability of a number of practices.

Banishments

The imposition of exile during the 1790's were the first recorded examples of forced pilgrimage imposed on the Doukhobors. Because of the conflict between the Doukhobors and Russian society, resulting from differences in practice and beliefs, as well as, objections to the sect's

success at winning converts, it became the objective of the Russian government to destroy it. Poberohin's imposition of a level of theocratic communism was most objectionable. An end to Doukhoborism was to be achieved by persecution and the scattering of its adherents. (See Map 12) For example, in 1796 great numbers were exiled to a variety of districts.[63]

a) 38 Doukhobors to the outpost of Azov

b) 57 Doukhobors to the province of Archangel

c) 90 families of Doukhobors to Finland

d) others exiled to Tobolsk in central Siberia and Irkutsk in eastern Siberia.

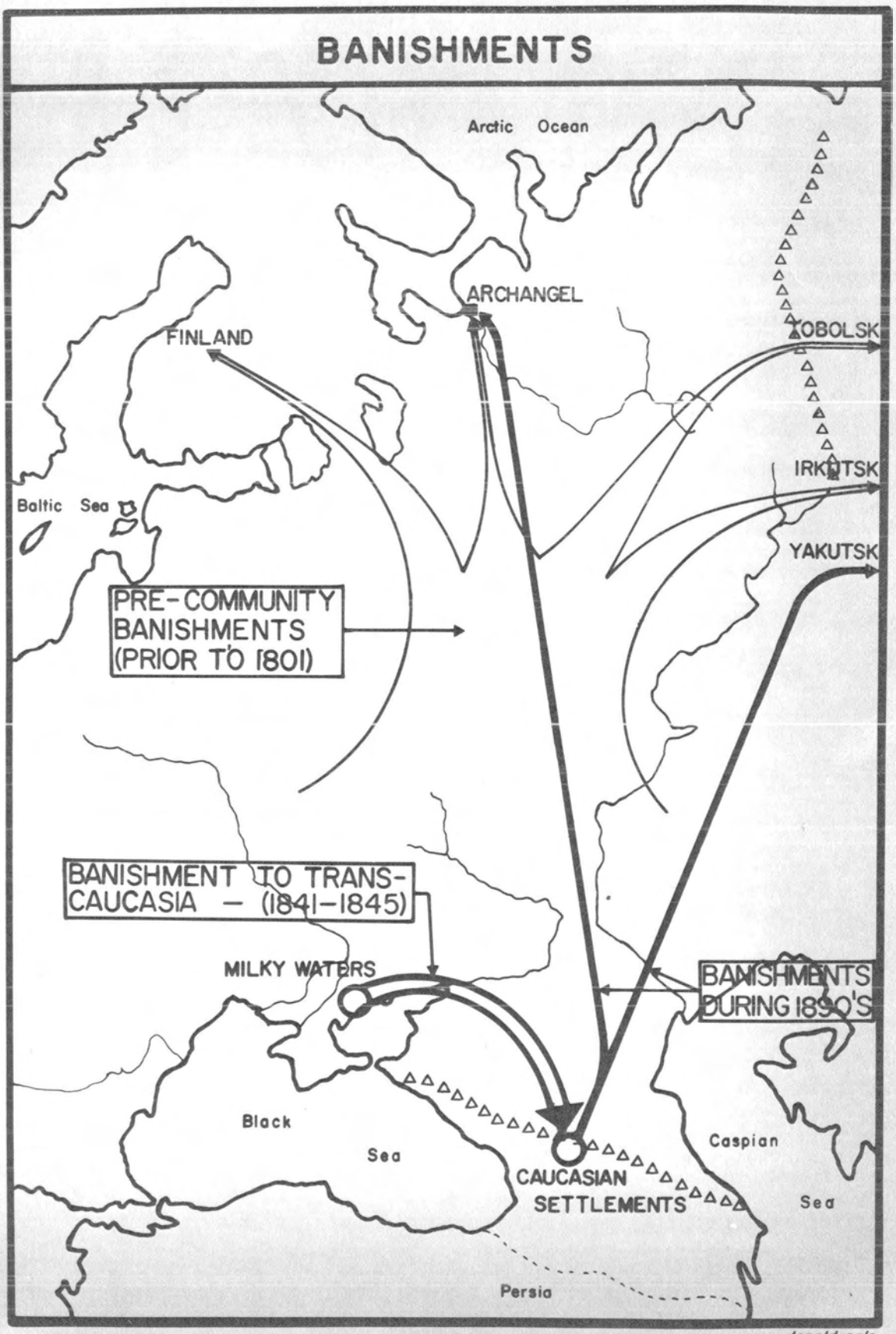
Many of the exiles over time managed to escape from the northern reaches, making their way south to the areas along the northern shore of the Black Sea.[64]

Exile did not, however, achieve its purpose but rather placed Doukhobors into new areas in which they could continue to win converts:

> Yet even in exile, these people persisted in their convictions. Little by little "they spread their ideas amongst the Azov settlers. On one occasion for instance, fifteen people in the City of Azov... suddenly proclaimed themselves as Doukhobors. At the same time they ceased to go to church and disallowed their children to go to it.[65]

Persecution and exile did not solve the problem, the Doukhobors continued to increase in numbers.

Though the Russian government had permitted the Doukhobors to congregate as a community in 1801, the Orthodox Church had never agreed with giving such heretics the freedom to practise their heresies, and did all it could to bring charges of misconduct against the Doukhobors.


BANISHMENTS
Arctic Ocean
ARCHANGEL
FINLAND
TOBOLSK
IRKUTSK
Baltic Sea
YAKUTSK
PRE-COMMUNITY BANISHMENTS (PRIOR TO 1801)
BANISHMENT TO TRANS-CAUCASIA – (1841–1845)
MILKY WATERS
BANISHMENTS DURING 1890'S
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
CAUCASIAN SETTLEMENTS
Persia
donald gale

In 1816 several charges of attempting to proselytize and of hiding political prisoners were brought against the Doukhobors.[66] With Kapustin's death in about 1817, and the inability of his son and grandson to govern, the colony entered a twenty-year period of maladministration. As early as 1826, a government decision was made to transport the Doukhobors from the Crimea to the Caucasus "in order to disperse the obnoxious weed."[67] This order was delayed, though some Cossacks who had turned Doukhobor were banished.[68] However, during the 1830's tales of immorality, torture and murder led to an official investigation, which lasted for five years.

While the allegations concerning what actually took place are conflicting, it seems that there is sufficient evidence to support the assertion that the elders who controlled the colony, because of the inability of Kapustin's heirs to govern, were guilty of gross misconduct. An official document reads in part:

> Hardly were you installed on your new property than in the name of your beliefs and at the orders of your religious leaders, you committed atrocious acts, you tortured and persecuted men whom afterwards you put to death; you gave asylum to malifactors and criminals who had escaped from the hands of justice; you screened and hid from the knowledge of authority the crimes and misdeeds of your brothers, and not for a single instant did you cease to be rebels, insubmissive to government. It is for these acts, contrary to all divine and human laws, that many of you have been thrown into prison and will receive a deserved punishment....
>
> ...Informed of all your misdeeds, His Imperial Majesty has ordered that all individuals belonging to the harmful sect of the Doukhobors shall be colonized in the Transcaucasian provinces.[69]

The nature of the banishment was not as cruel as may have been expected, as is seen in the following directive:[70]

His Majesty the Tsar has ordered:
Everyone who confesses to your religion has to be moved and transported to the Caucasus.
The gracious Tsar permits you the following:

1. For exchange of the land, which you received from the government, and are at present occupying, you will receive other parcels of land in the Grusin-Imeritish Province in the Alchaltisk district in the Caucasus. At the same time you are instructed that everyone who belongs to your community and is transmigrating to the Caucasus, from now on, is NOT exempted from military duty.
2. The transmigrator can sell his movable possessions, or can take them with him.
3. For the unmovable possessions, as: houses and gardens, a commission will evaluate your possessions and the owner will receive a compensation.
4. Land parcels, which belong to the transmigrators, can be sold, or can be turned over to the Crown, for a certain price, with the understanding that if the parcels are not sold before the date of moving, which is the middle of May in the year 1841, the owners have to move away and can not stay any longer on their property.

At the same time, His Majesty ordered us to let you know that everyone among you who will repent his mistakes and will go back to the Mother Orthodox Church can stay on his property and on the land provided by the Government, and will have all the protection the Crown can give him.
This "Will" of His Majesty the Tsar will be brought to you by your civil governor, the Privy Council Muromtzow and the Collegia (six) Council Klutcharow. I advise you, and ask you all, to give this that is said above, a mature consideration and let me know your answer and intentions.
Signed: Governor General of New Russia and Bessarabia.

Graf Woronzow.

The exact number of Doukhobors who accepted the offer and returned to the Orthodox Church is not agreed upon by the historians and estimates range from 27 to about 1,000.[71] Many supposedly returned because of the circumstances in the Caucasus.

This banishment was essentially a result of the clash between two belief systems, primarily in relation to the concept of "divine right",

the divine right of the Russian Tsar as opposed to that of the Doukhobor leader. The cruelties perpetrated on the Doukhobors by their leaders led the Russian Tsar to the conclusion that the liberal policies of his predecessor were morally wrong, as were the actions of the Doukhobors. Such banishment was necessary for the preservation of public peace and order. At the same time it was for the good of the Doukhobors if for no other reason than to drive them back to Orthodoxy. External society, therefore, made a decision based on the beliefs of that society, forcing that decision upon the Doukhobors and drastically changing the Doukhobor landscape and modifying their ways of life.

Other banishments have taken place, though of a more temporary nature than the banishment to Caucasia. For example, there was the banishment of some 4,000 Doukhobors from the Wet Mountains settlement to the Georgian villages which has already been briefly reviewed. One other incident of banishment took place in 1932. As a result of intense activities on the part of the Svobodniki some 600 Doukhobors were convicted, mostly of nude parading. The problem of a place for incarceration was solved by banishing them to Piers Island, in the Gulf Islands of British Columbia. This banishment occurred in the fall of 1932 and lasted until the spring of 1935. Some 350 children were, as a result, sent to private homes, orphanages, and schools some distances away.[72] The significance to the Doukhobor landscape came about on their release. Before being sent to Piers Island, they had dwelt upon Communal Lands and were recognized as members of the Orthodox Community. Upon release Verigin II refused to allow them to return to their former homes. The result was the establishment of concentrations of Svobodniki. Many of them made their

way to Krestova (See Map 9) which at that time had been abandoned by the Orthodox Community because of poor soil.[73] The buildings at that time were in a severe state of disrepair. A number who had returned to the Grand Forks area were eventually settled on an arid piece of land with a few abandoned buildings, known today as Gilpin.[74] (See Map 9)

It has been shown that Doukhobor banishments have had a considerable influence on the landscape. In one case a settlement many thousands strong was transported as a unit to an area which required a drastic change in economic base; agricultural to pastoral. In the cases of exile they have tended to separate out the more zealous elements and to concentrate them in communities of their own, thus producing landscapes which have born the mark of zealous ideals. In Krestova and Gilpin this has produced a landscape marked by destruction.

Proposed Pilgrimages

The high incidence in Doukhobor history of 'proposed pilgrimages' which were never realized, appears to reaffirm their wish to achieve a 'heaven on earth'. That the Doukhobors could achieve a state of perfection was the backbone of the Doukhobor belief system. It was the question of 'where' and 'how' that created tensions and contradictory approaches.

As early as 1901 and 1902 a small group of zealots, agitated by Bodiansky, an eccentric follower of Tolstoy, made proposals to leave Canada and go to Australia and Turkey, respectively. The basis of these proposals was the hope of finding some corner of the globe free from the pressure of an external society, enabling them to practice their religion.

Such proposals were not confined to what can be viewed as the more zealous elements of the Doukhobor. In 1923 some 300 Independent families requested to be allowed to return to Russia.[75] The Bolshevik government, eager for capital and skilled farmers proposed an ambitious plan covering up to 3,000 Independents. Though the plan was a little too ambitious some 50 families did return to Russia between 1923 and 1926. In 1928 some 130 members of this group re-entered Canada and others have returned since.

In 1929, Verigin II announced that the Doukhobors should leave Canada forever and journey to a new haven.[76] This proposal called for contributions towards a "white horse" fund and the zealot element were naturally the best contributors although it is important to note that most Doukhobors did contribute. Verigin II obtained loans and contributions from all factions to a total of some $500,000.[77] The migration never came about and the money was never returned. Mismanagement led the Community into severe debt and in 1938 its many creditors forclosed before any of this money was repaid. Mexico had been the proposed destination and several Doukhobor delegations had been sent to inspect different large tracts of land. The scheme failed mainly because it required the consent of the many groups of Doukhobors, and this was not achieved.

The earlier prophecies of influencial leaders were the bases of many proposed migrations. Loukeriya's prophecy of a return to Russia stimulated much thought in that direction. In 1938, at the founding convention of The Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ, Verigin, stated:

> We are concluding our sojourn in the West, and according to the vow of our forefathers, we must return to the promised land, where there will be rest, although

> perhaps we may not get there all at once, like crows, for it might be necessary to make a mid-way stop. We must trust in God, and in slowing down our journey, we shall slowly descend to the promised land, but the most important thing is to preserve and not to lose our first origin and belief in the Lord our Jesus Christ, who shall illuminate us like the rising sun and will be a light for our path.[78]

In 1957, a major effort was made by the Svobodniki at returning to Russia. In order to obtain the cooperation of the government of Canada and British Columbia in providing the necessary transportation those holding citizenship were required to submit citizenship renunciation forms and some 2,440 were submitted.[79] However, in 1959 the Russian government rejected their appeal.

The more zealous of the Doukhobors have never forgotten the prophecies most of which state the Doukhobors must eventually return to Russia. Sorokin, the non-Doukhobor who became a zealot leader singles this out as the major problem in perpetuating zealot activities:

> Now the question here is: What is behind all this? The answer is short and clear. Every policeman and jail-guard knows what the Svobodniki say: "We have finished our sojourn in Canada; let us go now; open the door; we are leaving Canada." This is the reason, and the true answer to all their trouble-making! And this idea is very strongly inbedded in the mind of every Svobodniki that he has finished his sojourn in Canada, that he must now leave for the fatherland, since that was the prophetical forecast made by their former leaders.[80]

The many "proposed pilgrimages" did not contribute to the Doukhobor landscapes in a direct way, but did contribute indirectly in two ways. As each proposal was put forward they tended to solidify the particular segment of the sect which made the proposal, with some movement between segments as a result of such proposals. At the same time, there were a number of small parties which made investigative

journeys which by their very nature and in some cases the time involved were temporary migrations. However, the major impact of the "proposed pilgrimages" was the feeling of settlement impermanency which they created. The whole theme of a "completed sojourn" in Canada led to considerable landscape 'neglect'. The burning of property, the abandonment of farms, and the failure to carry out effective maintenance, correlates with the specific groups and relative times of emphasis on the fulfillment of prophecied migrations.

Summary

The religious meaning attached to the motivation and rationale for a number of Doukhobor migrations lends a connotation of pilgrimage to these journeys. These pilgrimages take different forms, involuntary banishments, searches for the fulfillment of the utopian dream, and banishments, accepted in order to preserve activities compatible with beliefs. Doukhobor history provides evidence of a number of 'proposed' pilgrimages which never did come about, but provided certain elements of the Doukhobor society with the feeling of "non-permanent settlement", which was reflected by landscape neglect.

The reaction on the part of the Doukhobors to the various prophecies and leadership decisions regarding migration was never unanimous. In most instances only certain groups of Doukhobors took part, and in many cases such migrations led to further splits and schisms. In a few extreme examples, the migrations could be classed as mere wanderings with no specific goal or destination except a meeting with an expected miracle.

The major landscape impact was the founding of new settlements. A number of settlements of exiles were founded in areas of Russia,

especially in the northern extremes and in Siberia. The various settlements in Canada are all a result of such religious motivation. The resulting landscapes show variance and in many cases this variance exists as a direct result of the conflict over different personal beliefs which created the need for migration. For example, the Community lands of British Columbia were the result of land conflict in the previous settlement in Saskatchewan. The orchards of British Columbia as opposed to the pastoral setting of previous times are also an example.

NOTES ON CHAPTER VI

[1]Salter, Christopher; The Cultural Landscape; Belmont; Dunbury Press; 1971; pp. 1-4.

[2]Rutler, Eldon; "The Muslin Pilgrimage"; Geographical Journal; Volume 74; 1929; p. 271.

[3]Carter, William; "The Pilgrim Railway"; Geographical Magazine; Volume 39; 1966; p. 424.

[4]Stoddard, Robert H.; "An Analysis of The Distribution of Major Hindu Holy Sites"; National Geographical, Journal of India; Volume 14; 1968; p. 148.

[5]Excerpt from a speech by Verigin II. See Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 561.

[6]The term "utopian" in this context refers to the Doukhobor dream of a society based solely on the principle of 'universal brotherhood' and is not related directly to Mannheim's terminology. See Mannheim; op. cit.; pp. 208-209.

[7]For figures see Chapter VII.

[8]See Chapter IV.

[9]Zubec, John Peter and Solberg, Patricia Anne; Doukhobors At War; Toronto, Ryerson Press; 1952; p. 48 - indicates they reached the Doukhobors in 1902. They were published in 1901, see Maude; op. cit.; p. 231.

[10]Excerpts from letters in Maude; op. cit.; pp. 224-226.

[11]Zubec; op. cit.; p. 45.

[12]Maloff; op. cit.; p. 259.

[13]Maude; op. cit.; p. 227.

[14]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 177.

[15]Ibid. p. 179.

[16]Ibid..

[17]Maude; op. cit.; p. 234.

[18]The terms 'Bridegroom', 'wedding' and 'Promised Land' are all Biblical terms in reference to life after death, heaven, and a future Kingdom of God.

[19]The previously cited letter by Verigin I's brother indicates that he cautioned the marchers by saying "if one is to look on such a movement or a migration to a Promised Land where you will feed on fruits, such a land even, supposing it to exist, must be far away...; See Maude; op. cit.; p. 234. The quest for a warmer climate is confirmed by other witnesses to the trek; Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 178.

[20]Maude proposes a few other motives as expressed in some circles as being attributing possibilities; See Maude; op. cit.;pp. 239-240.

[21]Maloff; op. cit.; p. 265.

[22]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 169.

[23]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 315; and Thorsteinson; op. cit.; p. 41-42.

[24]Fisher; op. cit.; p. 41.

[25]The source of the pilgrims here is in dispute. Some sources suggest that the 1903 pilgrims were from those who had stayed at home in 1902 and resulted from Verigin I's praise of zealotry. See Thorsteinson; op. cit.; p. 41. Other sources claim that they originated from the original group of 1902. See Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 193 and Tarasoff; op. cit.; p. 315. The latter stand is taken in this study since the arguments put forward seem more realistic.

[26]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 316.

[27]Maude; op. cit.; p. 241.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Fullerton; op. cit.; p. 32.

[30]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 318.

[31]Hirabayashi; op. cit.; p. 23.

[32]Robinson; op. cit.; p. 15.

[33]Maude; op. cit.; p. 122.

[34]Maude; op. cit.; p. 122.

[35]Francis, E.K.; In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites In Manitoba; Altona, Manitoba; D.W. Friesen and Sons; 1955; pp. 1-4.

[36]Ibid.; p. 21-22.

[37]Maude; op. cit.; p. 122.

[38]Maude; op. cit.; p. 122.

[39]Thorsteinson; op. cit.; p. 10.

[40]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p.53.

[41]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 38.

[42]Maude; op. cit.; p. 119.

[43]Oliver; op. cit.; p. 99.

[44]Buhr; op. cit.; p. 49.

[45]Tchertkoff; op. cit.; p. 35.

[46]See Chapter IV.

[47]The landscape ramifications of the differing forms of communism are evaluated in Chapter VII.

[48]Report of Royal Commission of 1912; p. T15.

[49]Pierson, Delevan; "How The Spirit-Wrestlers Came to Canada"; World Wide Magazine; Volume 4, No. 24; March, 1900; p. 724.

[50]Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 116.

[51]Maude; op. cit.; p. 37; and Thorsteinson; op. cit.; p. 18.

[52]Source - Dawson; op. cit.; p. 13.

[53]Ibid.

[54]_____; "Doukhobor Claims For Compensation"; Canadian Slavonic Papers; Volume 1, 1956; p. 13.

[55]Reports and Maps Relating to Lands Held Under Homestead Entry By Doukhobors and Disposition of Same; p. 5. Quoted in Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 360.

[56]Based on a report submitted by P.V. Verigin and Nicholas Zibarov to the 1912 Royal Commission on Doukhobors; Report of Royal Commission of 1912; p. T29.

[57]Maloff; op. cit.; p. 106.

[58]Maloff; op. cit.; pp. 108-114.

[59]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 525.

[60]Ibid.; p. 526.

[61]Fisher; op. cit.; p. 116.

[62]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; pp. 710-711.

[63]Ibid.; p. 34-35.

[64]Wright; "The Doukhobors"; Canadian Geographical Journal; Volume 19, No. 5; 1939; pp. 300-306.

[65]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 34.

[66]Buhr; op. cit.; p. 44.

[67]Report of Royal Commission of 1912; p. T11.

[68]Dawson; op. cit.; p. 3.

[69]Quoted in Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; pp. 58-59.

[70]Buhr; op. cit.; pp. 46-47.

[71]The Royal Commission of 1912 states 27 Doukhobors, (p.T12) however, Novitski used the figure of 27 families which Nikol'skie suggests that it finally numbered about 1,000. See Woodcock and Avakumovic; op. cit.; p. 61.

[72]Bjerke; op. cit.; p. 32.

[73]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 622.

[74]Ibid.; p. 621.

[75]Reid; op. cit.; p. 148.

[76]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 561.

[77]Ibid.; p. 553.

[78]Ibid.; pp. 666-667.

[79]Ibid.; p. 817.

[80]Bjerke; op. cit.; p. 40.

CHAPTER VII

DOUKHOBOR SETTLEMENT PATTERNS, LAND TENURE, AND ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

The analysis of patterns of settlement has long been one of the basic interests of geographers. These interests range from agricultural settlement[1] to those of urbanism and urbanization.[2] The basic assumption underlying these studies is that settlement contains the works of man and as such the observable variation results from differences in behavior attributable to differing cultures.[3] Several studies demonstrate a link between culture and settlement,[4] while others argue a relationship between settlement and religion.[5]

Within the artificial landscape evidence of instances of conflicting motives tend to be preserved in archaic types of construction and design.[6] Jackson argues that man assigns meanings to the architectural forms he builds and thus such forms are a reflection of man's temperament.[7] Currently, the interest in architectural form is not confined to monuments, castles, cathedrals and institutional shrines but has shifted to include the simple dwelling. The house has been viewed as having important diagnostic value as an indicator of regional differentiation,[8] more reliable than any other element of occupancy.[9] As such the house is an essential element in the study of human geography.[10]

In terms of the religious focus of this study, the sacred element of the dwelling is most valuable. Within the walls of the house there is a minimum of conformity to the complex rules of society, resulting in the house having a sacred character.[11] There is considerable evidence which supports the notion that the dwelling has served as a focus of

worship and a sanctuary from society, and it has been argued that dwellings originated in order to satisfy man's need for worship and not necessarily for shelter.[12]

In light of the basis provided from the above sited studies, this chapter will analyze three aspects of Doukhobor settlement: systems of land ownership and tenure, patterns of settlement, and characteristics of architecture. Comparisons will be made of elements of these three aspects of settlement as they are in evidence in a number of selected Doukhobor settlements representative of the various spatial locations and time periods.

Pre-Community Settlement

It has already been pointed out that in its earliest beginnings Doukhoborism did not focus itself in individual concentrated settlements, but rather consisted of a widely dispersed set of individuals living with other Russian peasants. Like most of the Russian peasantry they lived in village communities, to which the name Mir has often been applied. In reference to the Mir, Elkington states:

> This form of government includes five-sixths of the entire population of Europian Russia, and is one of the most democratic in the world. Without any written law, its authority is recognized as equally binding upon every member of the community. The methods of different communities vary much, and yet some salient features are common to them all.[13]

Furthermore it has been argued that these village communities bore a number of well established and static common characteristics such as:[14]

(1) the peasants all live in villages and farm adjacent land.

(2) the Village Assembly is composed of the heads of households.

(3) an Elder is selected from this assembly and functions as chairman (the

lowest state official may supersede or suspend the Elder, at any time).
(4) there are three divisions of property: land on which the village is built, cultivated land, pasturage.
(5) sites for buildings and gardens at the individual property of the family and passed on in a hereditary manner.
(6) cultivated land and pasturage undergo periodic redistributions.
(7) the Mir supplies conscripts for military service and has the power to banish or recall its members.
(8) the Mir is taxed and not the individual household.
(9) the domestic affairs of the Mir are supervised by the local government officials who in turn act in accordance with the central government.[15]

Whether the Russian peasant community, or Mir, was as static or widespread as suggested is uncertain for the evidence to support such a claim is inconclusive. These claims, however, will provide a guide for the consideration of the establishment and modification of Doukhobor communities. Settlement patterns before the 1800's will not be considered since with the exception of on or two villages all Doukhobors were dispersed amongst the Russian peasant communities. In the cases of the one or two villages where some concentration of Doukhobors existed there is not sufficient evidence to analyze settlement patterns, land tenure, or architectural form adequately.

Milky Waters

The move towards concentration, which began in 1801 with migration to Milky Waters, provides the first totally Doukhobor landscapes. (See Map 1) At Milky Waters they settled in nine villages, five of these villages were situated beside a river and the other four were located beside the lake of Milky Waters at the mouth of the Sea of Azov.

Figure 3: Sketch of Doukhobor village in the "Milky Waters" region, Russia, 1817. (Photos from B.C. Government Archives.)

Four other villages were established prior to their leaving the colony in the 1840's.

When joining the colony some of them brought with them large flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and considerable other private property.[16] Soon after arrival Kapustin became the acknowledged leader and demanded of his followers that they turn over to him all their private property. This they did without questioning his right to rule.

The pattern of settlement can be outlined as follows. (See Figure 3). Each family lived in its own cottage, which showed the evidence of Mennonite influence,[17] and worked individually on a plot of land allotted to it. There were, however, several cottages in each village which housed three to five families.[18] They had a common treasury, one flock of sheep, and a single herd of cattle. Each village had a common granary. Kapustin established in this setting a community

of property which did not exist in the standard Russian peasant Community.[19] Storehouses were erected for storage, in case of famine.[20] Under this communal setting each was to receive according to his needs. After a time Kapustin did away with community ownership, but in such a manner as to leave him and his family with large holdings. With Kapustin's death discipline broke and community was no longer recognized.[21]

While in Milky Waters a new institution was introduced to the Doukhobor landscape: 'Zion' the 'Orphans Home'. The exact origin of the innovation has been credited to Kapustin. However, it is a well established fact that the Doukhobors adopted a number of innovations from the Mennonites who lived across the river,[22] and the Mennonites had an institution called Waisenant, defined as "a trust company managing the property of orphans and widows under the auspices of the church."[23]

The Doukhobor 'Orphans Home' was not a home for the colony's destitute, but rather the colony's treasury and the home of leadership. It was looked upon as a community investment from which destitute members of the colony could draw in times of need.[24] A large tract of land was set aside for this institution which was worked without charge by the members of the colony. The income of the Orphans Home was often augmented by voluntary or agreed upon contributions from individual Doukhobors. Members without families or unable to support themselves were able to draw from this institution or find work on its lands whichever was appropriate.[25] The fact that the leader was officially described as the manager of 'Zion' has been described as a means of disguising the seat of government.[26] It was in the Orphans Home that government officials were received and entertained.

Milky Waters provided a few departures from the average peasant settlement in Russia. The settlement contained no Orthodox Church or religious symbols. For a short time a system of communal ownership, production, and distribution was put into operation, but this was withdrawn. Finally, a new institution, the Orphans Home was introduced.

Only limited evidence is available concerning architectural quality. The sketch (Figure 3) of the village shows a common roof style with gable ends but building styles and sizes seem to vary. Fencing is variable. However, the evidence in support of these observations is quite limited.

This single piece of pictoral evidence makes it impossible to draw conclusions in regards to any geometrical pattern or village plan that may have been used during this period.

Caucasian Settlements

Some 12,000 Doukhobors were stripped of much of their wealth by the time they reached the Wet Mountains of Caucasia. They were able to maintain, however, their relative autonomy and almost unanimously obeyed their leader. Over time they settled in three areas: Tiflis, Elizavetpol, and Kars. (See Map 2). The first two are in elevations exceeding 5,000 feet, while the latter is in the much milder lowlands.

The basic principle of settlement was private property. "Separate families raised separate herds and lived in separate houses".[27] The pasturelands were, however, held in common.[28] They once more established an Orphans Home, setting aside land and providing labour at no charge. The first Orphans Homes were not elaborate, (See Figure 4)

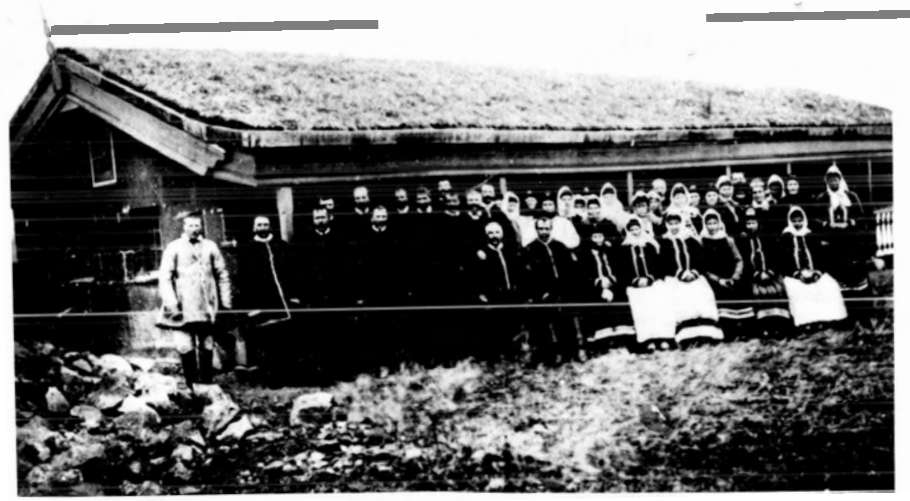


Figure 4: "Orphans home" - Village of Horelovka, Russia - prior to 1895.

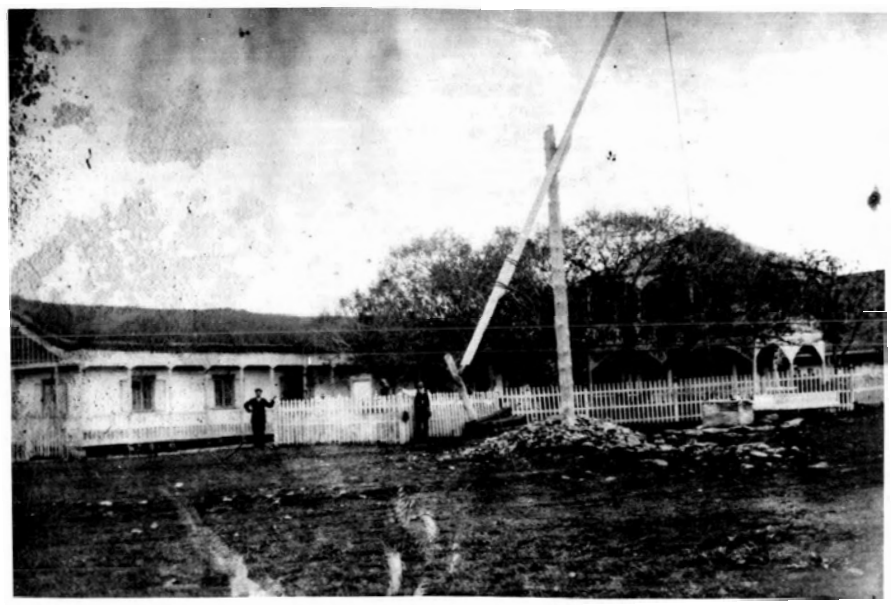


Figure 5: "Orphans Home" on the left and "Besedka", the summer home of Loukeriya Kalmikoff, taken 40 years after her death.

but some years later when the colony was once again wealthy Loukeriya Kalmokoff built an Orphans Home from her own private wealth.[29] (See Figure 5). The prosperity of the community perpetuated the principle of individualistic settlement. Personal beliefs relating to the community of ownership, production, and distribution were not in evidence at this stage of their settlement.

With the death of Loukeriya the first event in a series which was to bring about settlement change took place, a split over leadership. The Small Party which laid claim to the Orphans Home and received legal rights to it through the courts, continued to operate on the principle of individualism. Verigin I, on the other hand, took the Doukhobors back to their traditions. To Verigin this included the adoption of 'communism' which in this instance was incorporated by a redistribution of property. Having lost another 5,000 followers over this and other innovations the majority of the remaining 7,000 redivided their property in 1894.:

> In the summer of 1894 we liberated ourselves from the evil of the division of property. We called to mind the words of the Lord as to the first commandment being, to 'love God with all one's heart, mind and strength,' and the second one like unto it, to 'love one's neighbour as oneself.' Upon these two commandments stands the law of God. And my spirit wishes to fulfil God's law. That which I do not desire for myself, I do not desire for my brother. We, the olders, therefore, met in the village of Orlovka, worshipped God, and decided to divide all our property equally amongst us. After that, in every village the money owned privately was brought to one place and put into the hands of the local elders. It was not only the poor brethren who agreed to this, but also the rich ones. Tchernenko, for instance, had a fortune of 25,000 roubles (about 2500 lbs.), and he gave all up. Other rich brethren did the same.
>
> The cattle and all other farming accessories were also equally divided among all....[30]

During the next three years this practice of redivision was repeated on

occasion when inequalities in "private land" became pronounced.[31] The land was not held in common but held privately. The families still lived as individuals. The distribution of goods was done on the basis of an equal division per consumer and they ploughed and mowed in common.[32]

In terms of architecture, a comparison of Figures, 5, 6, and 7 indicate the persistence of several design characteristics over an extensive period of time. For example, the gable ended roofs appear in each photograph. The row of posts are well exemplified in two photographs and appear in the other. Also, fencing does not appear to have been used as a means of symbolizing private property. These features are not, however, characteristics that were uniquely Doukhobor for they are also to be found in non-Doukhobor architecture as well (See Figures 8 and 9).

The Caucasian settlements provided a diversity of settlement patterns. They began the way Milky Waters had ended on the principle of individualism and private property. Change in this system was brought about by a revival of traditional principles amongst the followers of Verigin I. Besides introducing a number of innovations he reintroduced the theme of communal ownership. However, while Kapustin had created a total common ownership of all property including land, Verigin I's followers had restricted it to a periodic redistribution of private property. In terms of production and distribution Verigin's followers established a similar pattern in that the production tasks were shared in each case, but goods were distributed on the basis of need in Milky Waters, but equitably in the Verigin experiment. The experiment was cut short by the migration to Canada. It must also be kept in mind that the experiment only covered about one-third of the original settlement. The architectural

Figure 6: (above) Doukhobor Village in Russia.

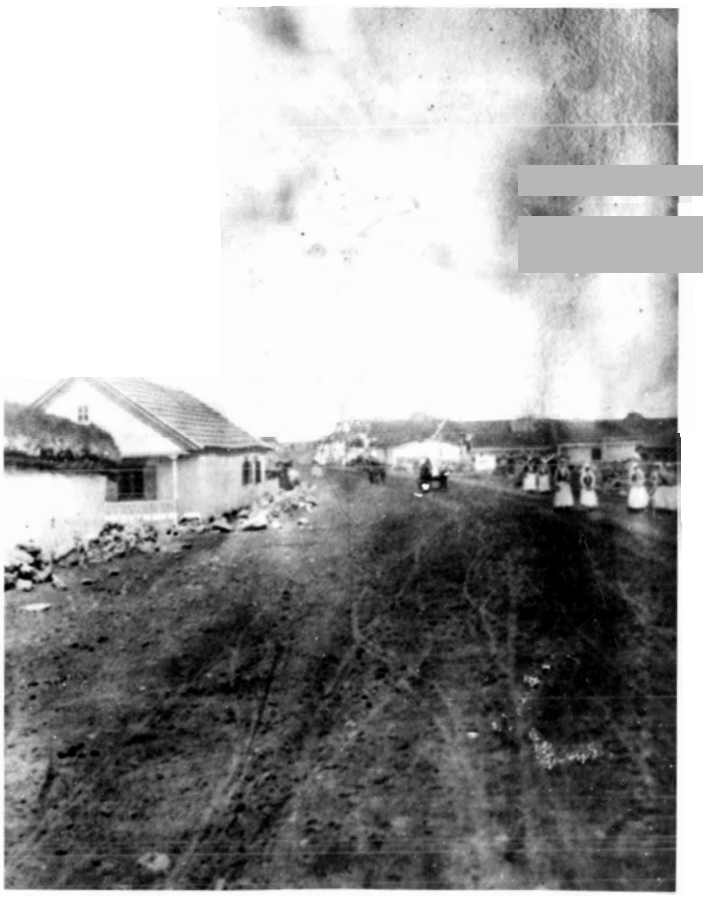


Figure 7: (left) Village of Horelovka - Trans-Caucasia, Russia, 1925.

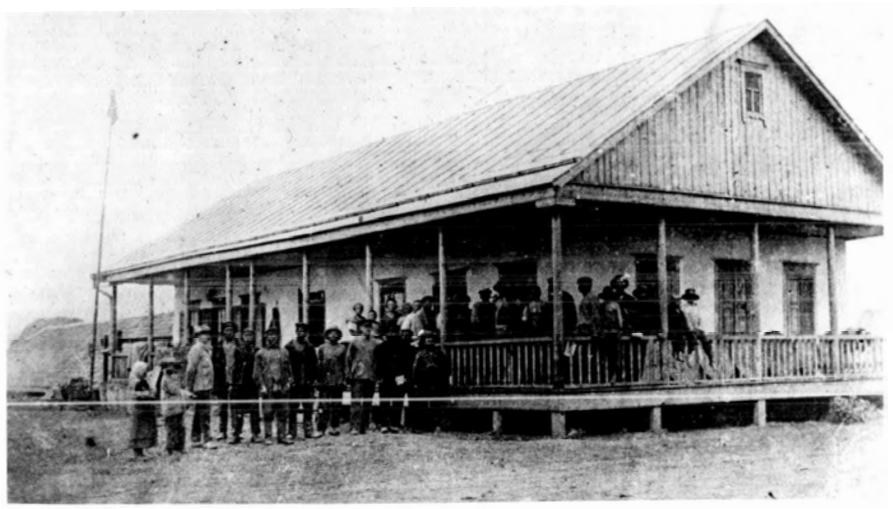


Figure 8: Non-Doukhobor housing in Russia.

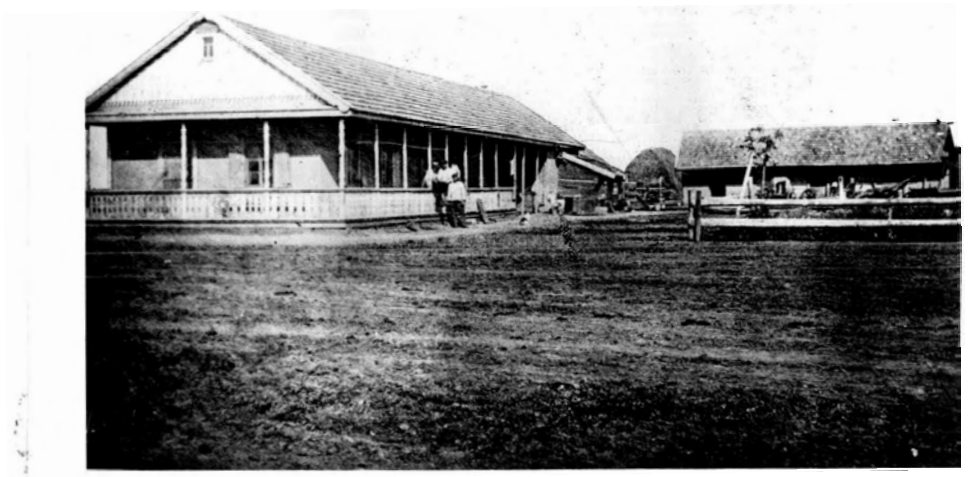


Figure 9: Community home of the "Vifania" Evangelical Christian Community, Russia - Non-Doukhobor.

patterns in the Caucasian settlements seem to have followed the general pattern adopted by the peasantry in general in Russia.

Pre-Verigin Settlements in Canada

The settlement pattern for the first three years will be considered separately since Verigin I had not yet been released from exile.

Original settlement in Canada was to be in three settlements: Rosthern Colony in Saskatchewan, North Colony and South Colony with an annex called Good Spirit Lake (often referred to as Devil's Lake Annex) in Assiniboia (See Maps 2 and 4). There was a significant diversity amongst the settlers as a result of migrating from three districts in Caucasia.[33] To the North Colony went the migrants from the Wet Mountain province of Tiflis who had been the most severely persecuted after the arms burnings. To the South Colony went those from Elizavetpol and Kars, as well as those who had originally gone to Cyprus. To the Rosthern Colony in Saskatchewan went only those from Kars. This was significant because it divided the colonies into three areas with differing priorities and outlooks.

It has been the intention of Verigin I that his new Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood would enter into a new form of life. The principle of sharing had been laid down some years before their migration to Canada. Sharing had not been carried out in full in Russia. While done on an individual basis and in many cases on a village basis it had never been carried out amongst the districts.[34] However, in their new land sharing principles were to have priority.

Settlement patterns in Canada, in its first three years, did not reflect to a high degree the principle of sharing.

Systems of land tenure provide an excellent indication of the degree of variance in preference for the method of land holding in the pre-Verigin Canadian settlements. As indicated earlier in the text, (See Table V) in 1901 only 25 of the 47 villages in the Assiniboia colonies were totally communistic. Fifteen others were partly communistic and seven were totally individualistic. Rosthern colony in Saskatchewan, which was settled by those migrating from Kars province, many of which were exceedingly wealthy, operated almost entirely on an individualistic basis.[35] By 1900 some 2215 Doukhobors were living under an individualistic system.[36] In many cases it must be stated that "sharing" as a principle was not adhered to in terms of land, production, and distribution. For example, in 1903 it was reported that:

> In those settlements where individual ownership was adopted, by the Doukhobors from the very first year of their life in Canada there was a marked separation of the poor from the rich, self-sufficient land owners. Some of the Prince Albert farmers began to hire their own 'brothers', the horseless poor, who had only a bare acreage and no means of working it. They exacted harsh terms when they allowed the poor farmers to use their horses, and field implements. In general it must be stated that the custom and feeling of generous philanthropy which is common to the Doukhobors, 'for their souls' salvation' in the ordinary every day life of many, especially in those who are seeking to lead a life on the basis of private ownership, bow before the worship of possession and not only do they bow before it, but they use every means known to them to amass and hoard up wealth.[37]

The lack of desire for community life on the part of many was apparent. A number had entered individually for their homesteads.

The village pattern in the Canadian colonies immediately after their migration was similar to those they had occupied in Russia. The overall plan was in accordance with the instructions received by letter from Verigin I. As permanent homes were built they were constructed on

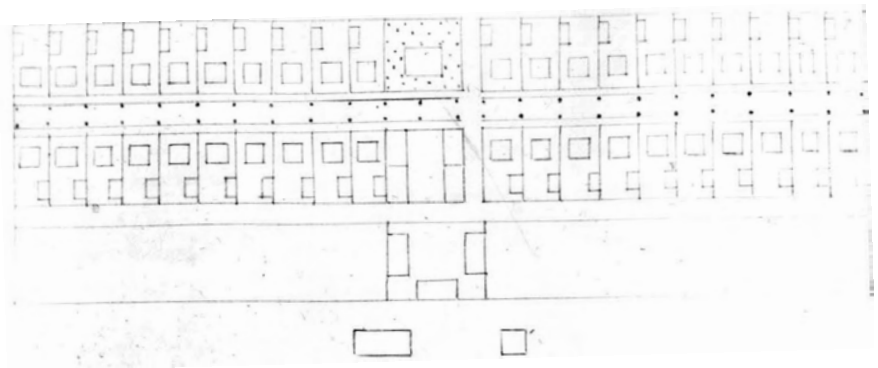


Figure 10: Plan of Community - Doukhobor villages in Saskatchewan.

Figure 11: An early pioneer Doukhobor village on the Canadian Prairies - 1900.

the basis of a separate dwelling for each family.[38] While Verigin had proposed that a village contain some 40 families[39] the average seems to have ranged between 12 to 20.[40] These dwellings had one or two storeys, usually the former, and were arranged in order along either side of a very broad road in a rectaliniar pattern. (See Figures 10 and 11). Many houses had their own grounds, trees and a garden. These grounds were usually enclosed with fencing (See Figures 12 and 13) to show privacy but this was not a consistent pattern. (See Figure 14).

Figure 12: Early Doukhobor village in Saskatchewan.
Village of Vaskresennie, South of Kamsack.

In the communist villages, confined to North and South colonies, one or two large barns, which served the whole village, were built behind the row of houses. In the Rosthern colony, with its strong individualistic

Figure 13: Early Doukhobor village in Saskatchewan.

Figure 14: Early Doukhobor village near Kamsock, Saskatchewan.

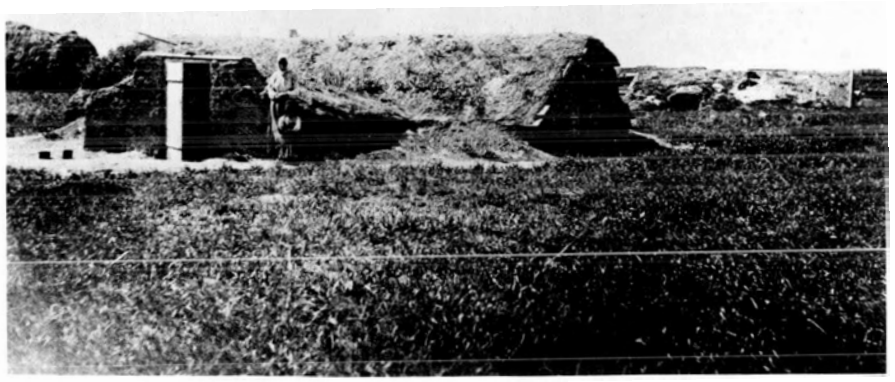


Figure 15: Roof thatched with straw dipped in clay mix. A dug-out type of home in early 1900's.

Figure 16: Temporary timber huts used by Doukhobors during settlement on the Canadian Prairies - 1899.

tendencies, barns were built adjoining the rear part of each house with separate granaries standing on the front part of individual lots.[41] Other buildings were few; some villages had meeting houses but there were no schools and no retail stores.[42] Each village had a public bath house which was used extensively, and it also served as a laundry.

Housing styles show a variation during the pre-Verigin period in Canada, but the more permanent homes were characteristic of their counterparts. Thorsteinson reports:

> Where logs were procurable, substantial homes were built; the roof was made of poles on which was laid prairie sod four inches in thickness. Where no wood was available, they built wonderfully neat and compact houses of sod. Mention is also made of half dug-outs damp and dark. In one village, where neither timber nor sod were to be had the houses were made...by the use of popular sticks five or six inches in diameter...driven into the ground one foot apart to form an enclosure thirty by twenty feet, and...willow withes were tightly woven like baskets. The whole structure when completed was plastered inside and out...with a thick tenacious clay mixture....[43]

Examples of these houses are seen in Figures 15, 16 and 17.

Figure 17: Doukhobor village in Saskatchewan, thatched with hay, log walls stuccoed over with clay.

The characteristic feature in each Doukhobor house is the oven which stood six to eight feet high and about five feet wide, a typically Russian characteristic. In extreme cold weather the whole family would sleep on the oven.[44]

On settling on the Canadian prairies a number of communal experiments on the scale of both colonies and villages took place. In June of 1899 it was proposed by members of the South Colony that the Doukhobors should have one common treasury, common warehouses and stores.[45] This was approved at a meeting of the South Colony.[46] The North Colony decided that the 13 villages of the North Colony would live communally but separately from the South Colony.[47] The attempt at Colony organizations on the part of the North Colony lasted about two months, and by the spring of 1900, even many of the "village" Communes in the South Colony had themselves broken down.[48] A number of other experiments were attempted such as wholesale buying, division of labour and common ownership of equipment and animals.[49] On the other hand, there are instances of quite permanent and model forms of communes in operation. Some were characterized by communal production while others carried it into areas of domestic affairs.[50]

Settlements In Canada Under Verigin I

Upon Verigin I's arrival in Canada he proceeded to establish what he envisioned to be the true communal organization. Mavor, describing Verigin's activities upon his arrival, states:

> Verigin immediately set about the organization of the communities. He gave their business affairs a legal status by forming the Doukhobor Trading Company. He arranged credits, made large purchases of horses, cattle and agricultural machinery, and generally infused intelligent activity into the whole enterprise. He put a stop to the fantastic adventures of the Doukhobors in social idealism, and directed

> their energies into the concrete problem of providing a sound economic basis for life. Yet he did not modify their communist basis. On the contrary he intensified it, made it more practical and thorough, and dominated it with his own remarkable personality....[51]

Rather than the multiplicity of approaches to communal living, with his return, there began an intensified communal organization, but the approach was his alone. There still existed, however, a number of independents, but he managed to persuade a number back into the domain of his influence. However, the trend toward individualism was not stopped and during the period 1902-1908 about 1,000 became Independents.[52]

Land tenure was the first serious problem that Verigin faced upon reaching Canada. The government demanded individual entry but the Doukhobors' communistic leanings did not conform to the idea of private ownership. After consideration Verigin advised that it was reasonable to sign for individual entry, providing that those signing viewed the land as belonging to the community. Under this compromise over 2,000 homesteads were entered. A total of 136 Independents had already made individual entry.[53]

Verigin I's first organization was at the level of the village.[54] Each village was to:

a) form a separate community and develop its farm independently of other villages.

b) undertake agricultural work in common.

c) have a common treasury.

d) possess everything in the name of the whole community.

e) appoint from within the village their own cashier.

f) share all commodities equally.

e) be responsible to central office under Verigin I.

Later on a number of Community enterprises were organized which included a brick yard and several flour mills. Once a year a meeting was held with one representative from each village participating. They elected a special committee of which Verigin I was the permanent head to conduct the Community business for the year.

Individual villages made their own decisions in some areas. For example, they decided whether to have a communal bakery or have housewives bake for themselves as well as deciding on the provision of Russian schools.[55]

The pattern of settlement had been established quite firmly by the time Verigin I arrived in Canada, so there exists little clear evidence of his influence in bringing about major change after his arrival. However, under his direction a plant for the manufacture of brick was put into operation in October, 1904, and houses and other buildings used brick extensively. Also during this period a number of sawmills went into operation. These two different operations introduced change in the materials used on new buildings. (See Figure 18).

Even though the design and construction of the dwellings in the early years of Canadian settlement bore a similarity with those of their Russian predecessors there was a certain variety of styles. An analysis of Figures 19, 20, 21, and 22 indicates that there was considerable variance in roof lines, facades, number of stories, and ornamentations. From this it may be inferred that these characteristics were not governed by religious motive or leadership decree, but rather by personal preferences and taste.

Figure 18: Doukhobor Community, Verigin, Saskatchewan in 1908. (Note use of brick facing and variety of building designs.)

The problems of homesteaders having to live on individual plots, the oath of allegiance, and the increasing number of Independents led Verigin to move some 5,000 of the more zealous Doukhobors to British Columbia. In doing so he entered a setting in which it would be much easier to build a totally communal settlement. Several new conditions were obtained:

1. his followers were bonded together by persecution.
2. there were no established communities or settlement patterns.
3. the group was more isolated than in Saskatchewan.

In one or two of the settlements there were a few farm buildings which were used as dwellings. Out of this wilderness the Doukhobors began to build what was to be a utopian settlement based on the principles of sharing and communal ownership.

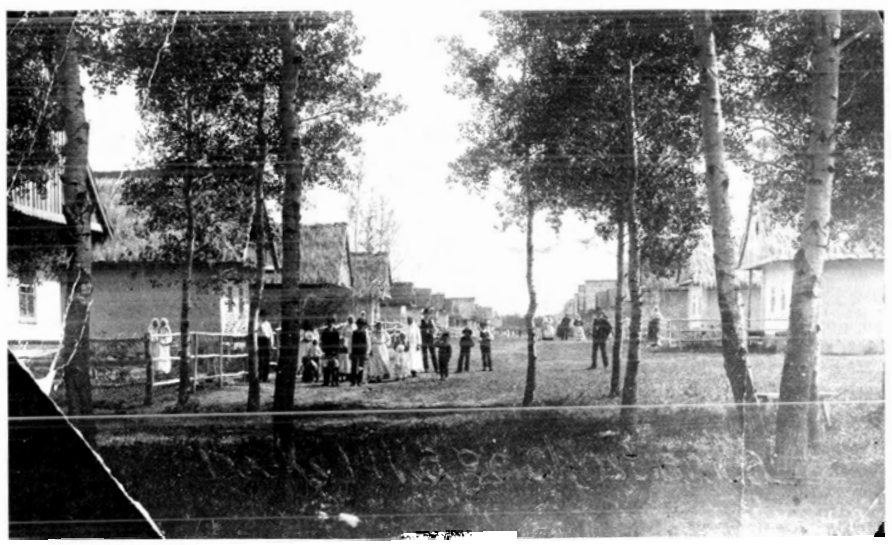


Figure 19: Early Doukhobor village in Saskatchewan - 1910.

Figure 20: Early pioneer home near Verigin, Saskatchewan.

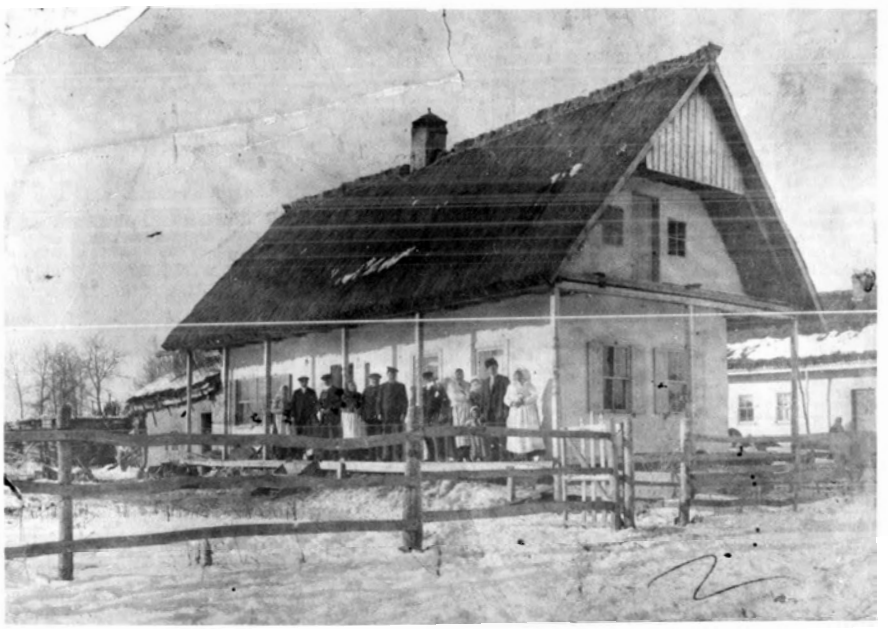


Figure 21: Village of Hrestianovka - 1910.

Figure 22: Petrofka Village, near Blaine Lake, Saskatchewan

In migrating to British Columbia the majority of the Doukhobors could once more return to the security of a village system more in keeping with their former Russian traditions. In doing so Verigin would no longer have to wrestle with the problem of private property to which he was not accustomed. This was assured when Verigin I purchased outright land in the area of the Columbia River Valley and the Boundary region in the Grand Forks district. By 1912 a total of 14,407 acres of land in British Columbia had been purchased at a cost of $646,017 upon which some four major settlements were established at Brilliant, Glade, Pass Creek, and Grand Forks, and a number of smaller settlements.[56] By 1916 the acreage had reached some 19,000 acres. The distribution of Doukhobors in 1912 is seen in Table VII.

TABLE VII

CENSUS OF DOUKHOBORS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA UP TO OCTOBER 22nd, 1912.[57]

	No. of Men	No. of Women	No. of Widowers	No. of Widows	No. of Married Couples	No. of Children
Brilliant Settlement & other smaller surrounding Settlements	768	781	36	67	396	654
Champion Creek Settlement	92	90	4	5	48	87
Glad Settlement	585	601	29	34	279	565
Pass Creek Settlement	248	257	14	19	118	236
Crescent Valley Settlement	15	21	..	1	12	11
Grand Forks Settlement	269	261	16	11	160	183
Total	1,977	2,011	99	137	1,013	1,736

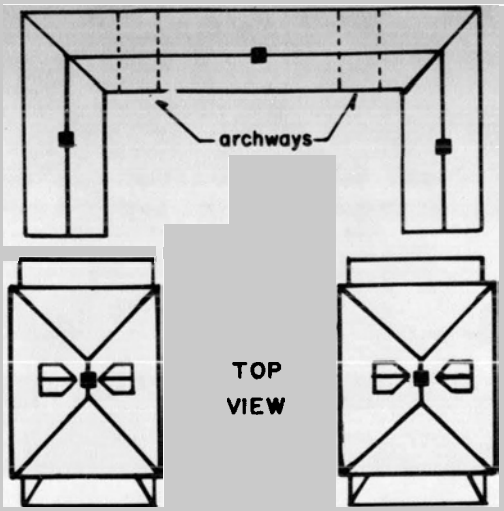
Of all the tracts of land purchased by Verigin I the majority was virgin land. In the West Kootenay district only Shoreacres had been clear and at that time its orchard contained 3,000 mature fruit trees.[58] In the Grand Forks area, much of the land had been cleared and orchards planted.

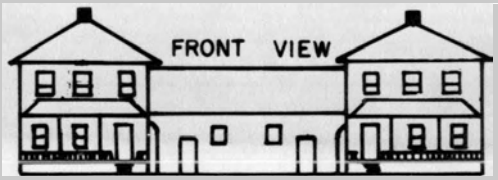
Unlike the Saskatchewan colonies, where patterns of settlement followed closely those of the previous settlements, the British Columbian settlements were patterned after a plan devised by Verigin I.[59] The basis of the plan was to provide a compact settlement which would be adaptable to a total communal pattern of life. Unlike former settlements, many that were built were of the plan which has been referred to as the "Doukhobor Double House". (See Figure 23).

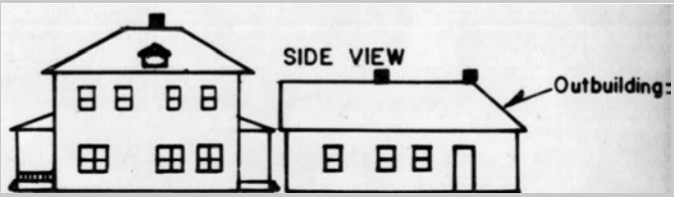
The "Double House" consisted of two double story buildings with pointed roofs built some fifty feet apart. These two structures were joined by a 'U' shaped one story structure forming an inner courtyard which had two archways, one on either side, which provided an exit. (See Figures 24 and 25). The single story structure contained a number of small rooms used for storage with one serving as a steam bath and laundry. Each of the two storey structures had a cellar for storage of foodstuffs. The lower floor was divided in two parts, one serving as a meeting room or living room and the other as a combined kitchen and dining room. The second floor was divided by a long hallway with four bedrooms on either side. Each of the two storey structures had a porch across the front. A number of the "Double Houses" were built or faced by brick, (See Figures 25 and 26), but the majority were wood structures. These structures were totally devoid of ornamentation. Originally there were 48 such

FIGURE 23

DIAGRAM OF A TYPICAL DOUKHOBOR DOUBLE HOUSE







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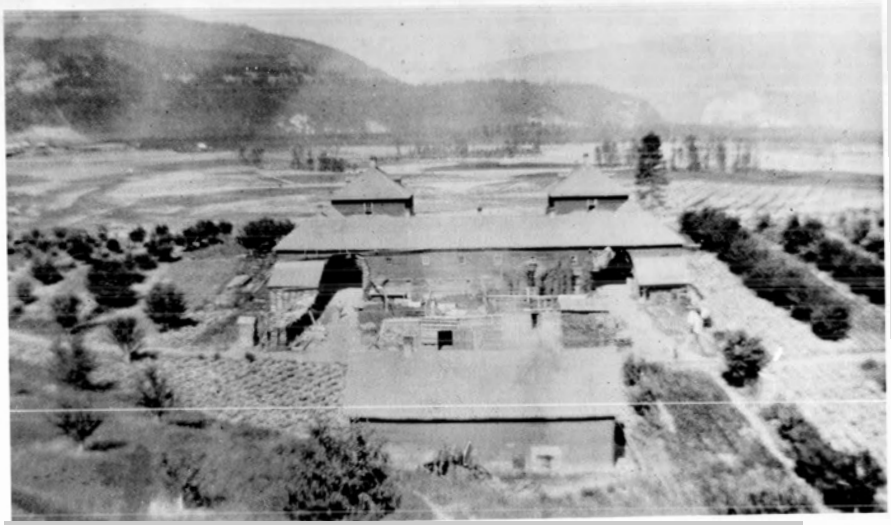


Figure 24: Village of Kaminaya, across from Brilliant, 1920.

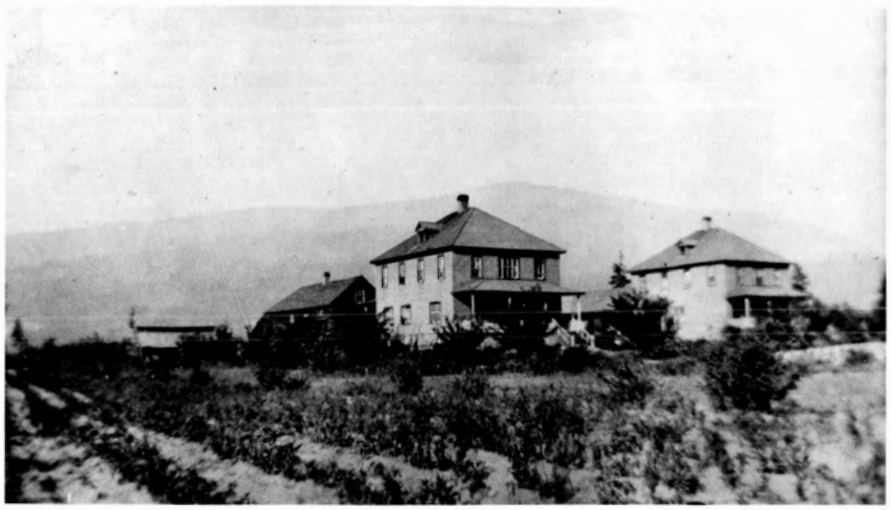


Figure 25: Double House in the area of Brilliant, B.C., built around 1910-1914.

Double Houses in the West Kootenay settlements,[60] and about 24 such homes in the Grand Forks area.[61]

While there were a large number of Double-Houses, the amount of variance in residential types, as well as the variance between the Double Houses themselves suggests that there existed no religious meaning or rigid common design principle in their construction or orientation.

For example, even though there were a great number of Double Houses built in each of the major Doukhobor settlements there were a great many residences in use which were not of this type. A published property report listing the holdings of the C.C.U.B.[62] as of January 31, 1931 list more other types of dwellings than Double Houses (See Table VIII)[63]. The other types of dwelling range in value considerably and were both single and double storey in style.

TABLE VIII

DWELLINGS OWNED BY C.C.U.B. AS AT JANUARY 1st, 1931

Double Houses	60
Half Double Houses	2
Three Storey Houses	4
Other Dwellings	62
Total	128

Meanwhile, evidence indicates that the Double Houses were not constructed with a consistent pattern or design. On occasion only half of the Double House was constructed with a proportionate half of the outbuildings, (Figure 26), while some half Double Houses did not have the standard outbuildings (See Figures 27 and 28). At times the two halves of the Double House would be side by side but the standard outbuildings would be missing (Figure 29) or constructed in a manner which deviated from the typical plan (Figure 30).

Figure 26: Community residence home, Grand Forks, B. C. Built between 1910 and 1914.

In terms of the design of the two two-storey residences which are the major components of the Double-House, considerable variance is evident. Some had pointed roofs while the majority were cottage style (See Figures 25, 26, 28 and 31). Entrances were often centred but usually off centre. The number of windows and the location of dormers are not consistent though they were usually on the sides of the roof.

Each Double House formed a unit and incorporated approximately 100 acres of land. It was the intention of the plan that each Double House would accommodate up to 100 people, although the number was usually much smaller. All the Doukhobors were organized as one commune with the individual incomes and earnings to be turned to the central office.[64] Each Double House had an elder as a representative but they had little power. The central office handled all purchases and sales. Despite the relative success of their fruit industry this period realized an extreme debt. Because of this, modifications were introduced in order to reduce the

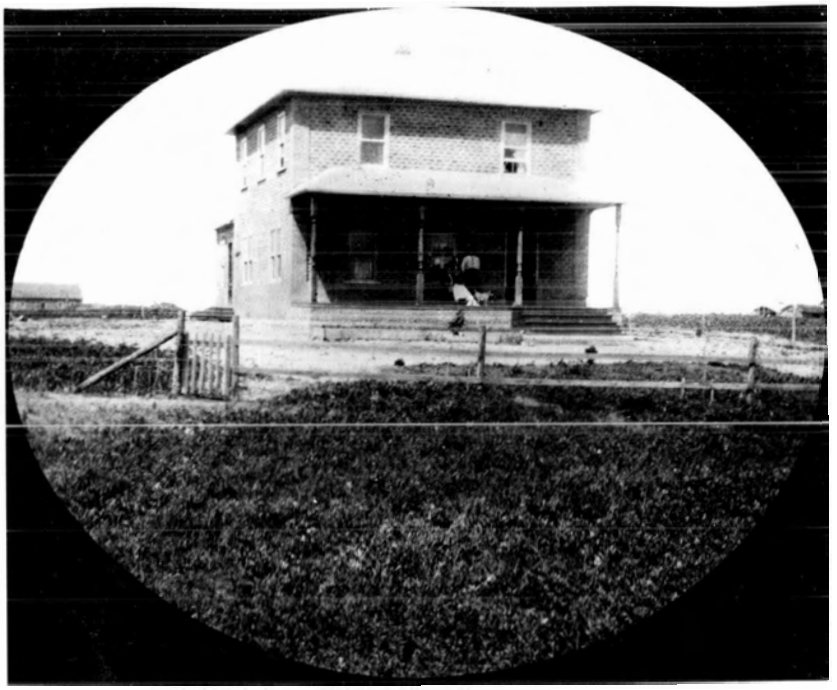


Figure 27: Doukhobor Community dwelling in Saskatchewan.

Figure 28: Verigin, Saskatchewan - 1929.

Figure 29: Doukhobor Double-House with no U-shaped outbuildings.

Figure 30: Doukhobor Community Home near Brilliant, B.C. - Source: Dawson; op. cit.; p. 57.

Figure 31: Brilliant, B.C.- Headquarters of the C.C.U.B.

inefficiency of the system.

The modifications were not all introduced at once. About 1916 the organization was as follows:[65]

(1) while at home they were provided with shelter, flour, potatoes and salt by the central office.

(2) each "Double-House" provided its own fruit and vegetables, and the household and agricultural chores were shared, allotted or rotated in order to provide equality.

(3) each member of the commune was provided a sum of money each year. (the sum varied each year).

(4) each adult male was required to turn in to the commune a specified sum from earnings gained outside the community (being allowed some expenses for living outside).

(5) those who stayed and worked in the commune were credited the amount of their levy and given their annual allotment.

At all times the settlements were considered as a single unit and goods could be moved from one settlement to another when scarcity existed. The new system was superior in that it alleviated the problem of collecting all the funds earned outside of the community.

Members of the Community were evidently not totally satisfied with its achievement of a "utopia". This is suggested by its loss of members, for while their membership in 1912 was about 8,000 by 1917 it had dropped to 5,880.[66]

Though there were a few minor changes from year to year this basic pattern of landscape organization remained in effect until the death of Verigin I.

Settlement Under Verigin II

While Verigin II, like Verigin I, believed strongly in the principle of communism, there was a basic difference in point of view. Verigin I looked on all non-Community Doukhobors as exiles, while Verigin II viewed the independents as being on an equal footing with Community Doukhobors and held that the non-members were just not aware of the advantages of communal life.[67] This change in viewpoint was responsible for the introduction of a number of organizational changes, which introduced much more individualism. For example, shortly after his arrival he offered to build individual cottages for each family.[68] This idea was discarded on grounds of economy and not in any way on religious grounds. At the same time, all new homes were built as single family dwellings. (See Figure 32).

The new leadership modified the Community's organization in order to encourage the community to make a number of choices independent

Figure 32: Community Homes in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, constructed in early 1930's.

of the central organization.[69] This was to bring changes to the organization, as well as to the practice of daily living.

Life in the Double Houses underwent a variety of modifications. In some houses, instead of one kitchen there were two or even three.[70] Each family began to cook its own meals and live independent lives. The number of families living in each "Double House" also began to drop off.

In order to provide more incentive and to reduce internal tension, instead of one commune, Verigin II divided the Community settlements into a number of communes, called "Families". British Columbia was divided into 44 "Families"; another 12 "Families" were formed at Cowley, Alberta; 17 near Verigin, Saskatchewan, and 12 more "Families" at Kylemore, Saskatchewan; for a total of 85 communes.[71] In order to equalize, in terms of grain growing as opposed to fruit growing, the prairie "Families" were assigned 25 persons as opposed to 100 in British Columbia.[72] The actual number of persons and the size of the property varies with the

quality of land and orchard. In British Columbia the average "Family", or commune, included three Double House and out-buildings.[73] The income of the village belongs to all of its members but each village paid an assessment to the central office based on the size of its male population. The fee per person varied from year to year.[74]

While this system provided a measure of incentive, it produced a situation in which the principle of equality became a secondary consideration. In fact members of different villages were no longer equal.

Despite these measures the membership in the Community continued to fall off. In 1928, a year after Verigin began his communal reforms, the C.C.U.B. had 5,485 members, in 1937 only 3,103 assessments were paid, and in the next year over 1,000 of these did not pay their dues.[75] By 1951 there was no formal pattern of communal living on the part of almost 20,000 Canadian Doukhobors.

Svobodniki Settlements

In the early years of settlement in Canada, the Svobodniki lived on Communal lands with the Community, or Orthodox, Doukhobors. In more recent times many of the more zealous members have settled in the strongholds of the Svobodniki: Krestova and Gilpin. Because of the attitude of the Svobodniki towards all forms of materialism these settlements have become "shacktowns" (See, for example, Figure 33). Much of the original landscape, built by the Community just after their migration to B.C., has been destroyed by fire. The splinter group of Svobodniki, who migrated to Hilliers, B.C., provided no unique settlement or architecture, making use mostly of available dwellings (See Figure 34).

Figure 33: Trekkers leave Krestova, B. C. - 1962.

Figure 34: Hilliers, B.C. settlement - 1948.

Doukhobor Community Homes In Canada

"... While the Doukhobors have no formal churches, because of their numbers they have built a number of buildings which serve as meeting places, the residences of the leader, and at times a focus of community affairs. It can be assumed that the nature of such building would reflect the existence of any architectural symbolism adopted by the Doukhobors as a reflection of specific religious meanings or beliefs.

The analysis of the architecture of a number of Community Homes provides no evidence of religious symbolism in keeping with Doukhobor beliefs. The Doukhobor Community Home in Verigin, Saskatchewan (Figure 35) has a strong similarity to that in the village of Goreloe, in Trans-Caucasia, Russia (Figure 5). This resemblence must be credited largely to

Figure 35: Doukhobor Community Home - Verigin, Saskatchewan - 1918.

tradition in that the Community Home in the Saskatchewan village of Otradnoe (Figure 36) shows enough variance from that at Verigin, Saskatchewan to render any suggestion of religious symbol dubious. The lack of religious symbolism is further emphasized by the distinctive style difference between the Community Homes of Verigin and Otradnoe and that of Grand Forks in the early 1920's (Figure 37). The ornamentation so prominent in the Community Homes previously mentioned is not to be found in those built in later years, for example, those in Kamsack (Figure 38) and Grand Forks (Figure 39). The variance in style and design in the above examples of Community Homes suggests that the religious beliefs of the Doukhobors are not reflected in their architecture. These buildings reflect rather some traditions, with design of a past Community Home, personal tastes, and some evidence of assimilation in the later buildings.

Settlement Orientation

Amongst elements of religious settlement, orientation is an important feature in settlement patterns. The Muslim town has two focal points -- the Friday mosque and the market,[76] while Chinese cities were in ancient times layed out in the image of the Chinese cosmos.[77] The limited number of maps available of Doukhobors' settlements provide no evidence in support of any assertion that Doukhobor settlements have a symbolic pattern or orientation of this sort.

The initial pattern of Doukhobor settlements in Canada were rectalinear after the design put forward of Verigin I (Figure 10). This pattern has not been adhered to in later settlements. While the Double Houses in Champion Creek (Map 13) and Raspberry (Map 14) are in a row, those in Brilliant (Map 15) and Pass Creek (Map 16) are not. In

Figure 36: Community Home in the village of Otradnoe, Saskatchewan.

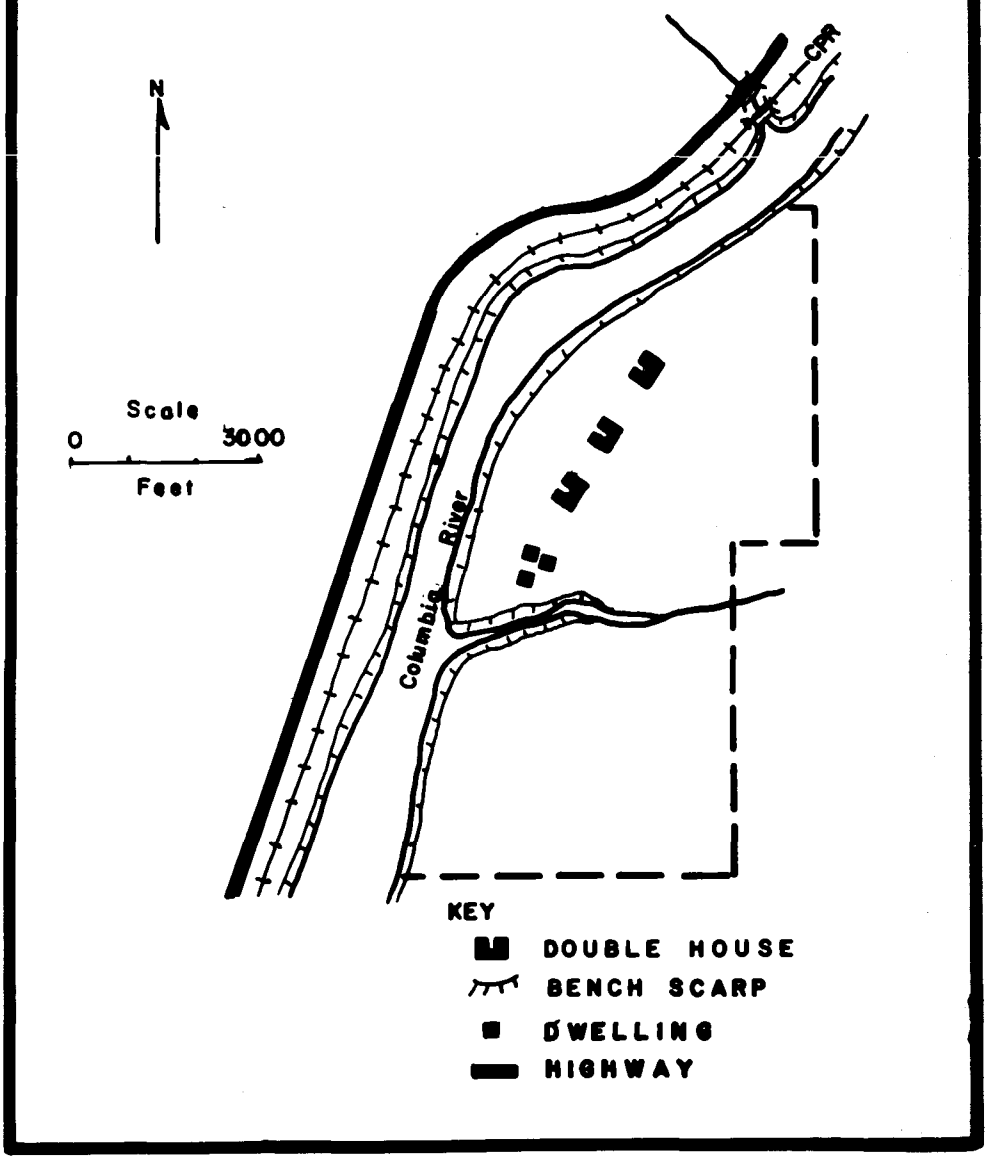
Figure 37: Doukhobor Community Home, Grand Forks, B.C. - 1920.

Figure 38: Doukhobor Community Home, Kamsock, Saskatc

Figure 39: Community Home at Grand Forks, B. C. - 195

MAP 13

CHAMPION CREEK



Source: Robinson

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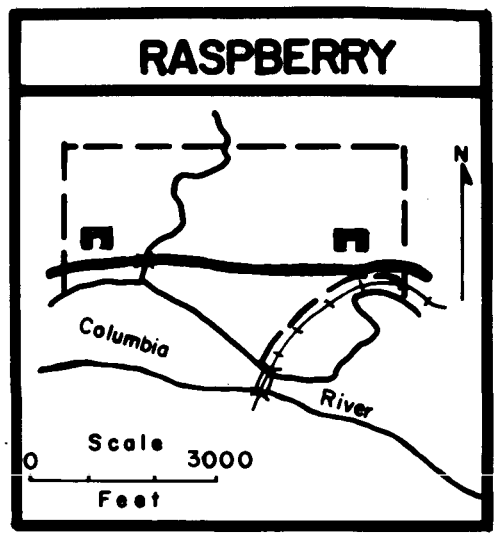
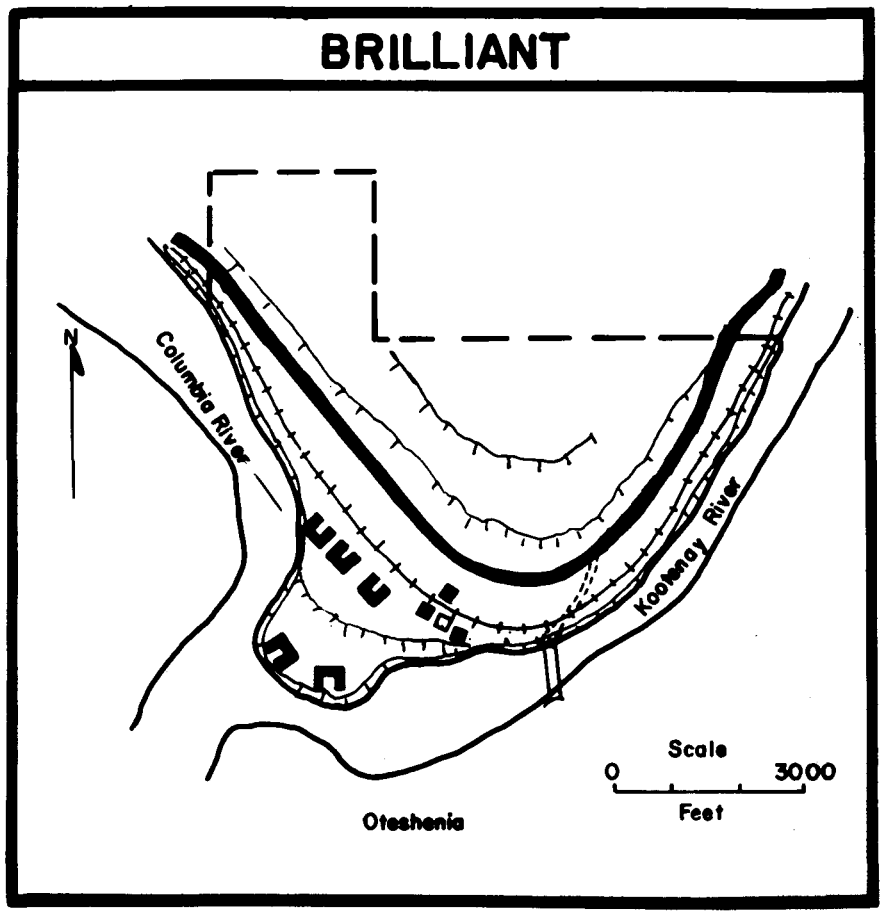
MAP 14



■ DWELLING
■■ DOUBLE HOUSE
□ 1/2 DOUBLE HOUSE
▬ HIGHWAY
BENCH SCARP

MAP 15



Source: Robinson

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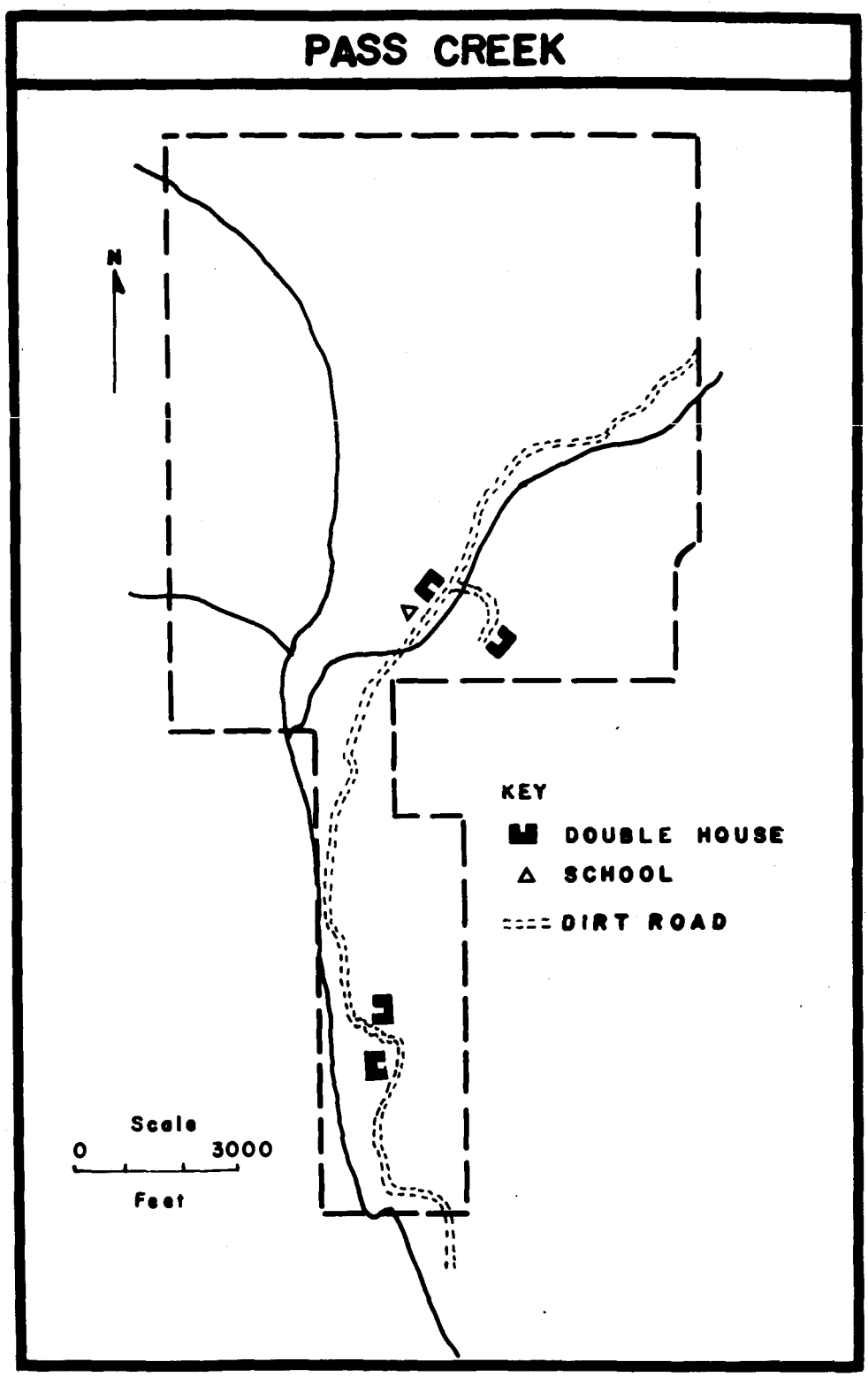
MAP 16



Source: Robinson

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Champion Creek and Raspberry they all face the water, but in Brilliant they face both to and away from the water. In Pass Creek they in one case face one another. There is no evidence of a distinctive orientation in Doukhobor settlement patterns.

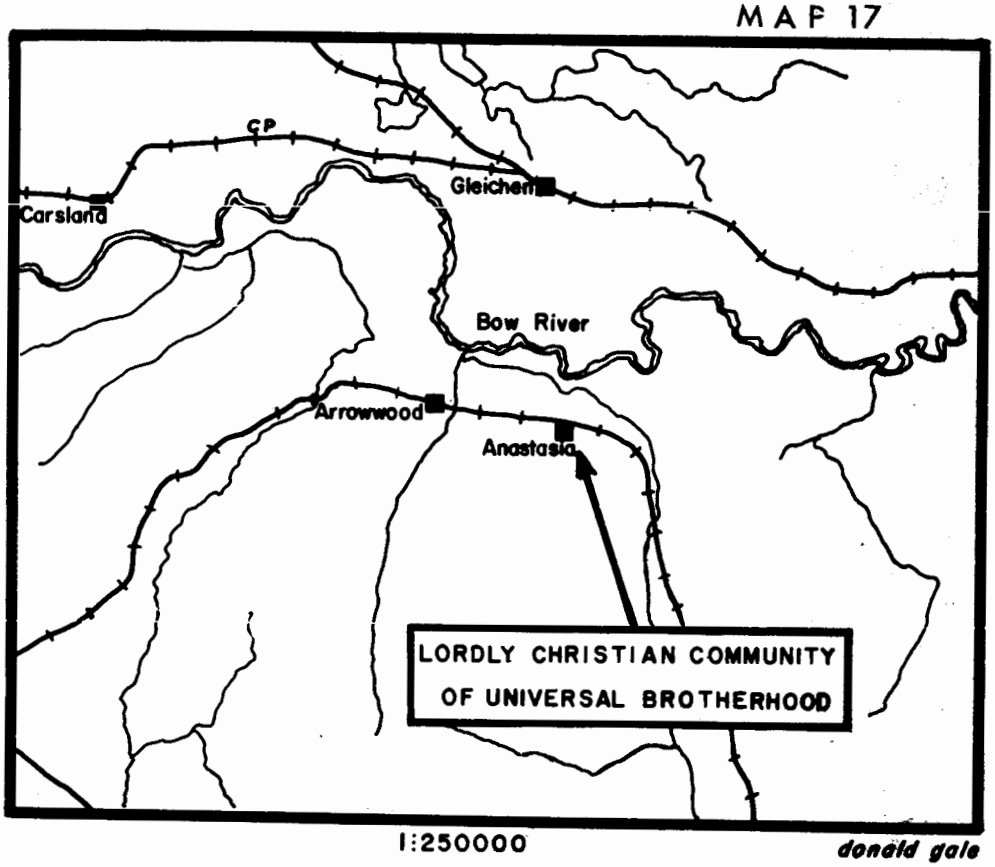
The Community of Anastasia

The will of leadership as a determinant of change as opposed to basic principles of belief which are traditional is crutial to this analysis. One other example of settlement will be considered in brief in order to substantiate this conclusion. The settlement of Anastasia in the Arrowwood district of Alberta (Map 17) was settled by the followers of Anastasia Holoboff who broke with the Orthodox Community in 1924 after a leadership struggle following the death of Verigin I. Anastasia, being an ardent follower of Verigin I, and since this settlement adopted a name honouring Verigin I, one might expect that the new community would be patterned to conform to his ideals. Such was not the case. Twenty-six homes were built and operated on an individual basis, with one large Community Home.[78] Attempts at pooling resources were unsuccessful and dissention soon arose over communal ownership of the land. Anastasia chose to operate the community on a principle of individual ownership, thus establishing her will and beliefs.

Summary

This analysis of Doukhobor settlement patterns has covered a period of 140 years and considered in brief the major Doukhobor settlements in Russia and Canada. In terms of land tenure, settlement patterns, and architecture we have been able to produce evidence to sustain a number of conclusions. The system of land tenure has fluctuated in type, degree, and

MAP 17


CP
Carstland
Gleichen
Bow River
Arrowwood
Anastasia
LORDLY CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY
OF UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD
1:250000
donald gale

priority over time, and on occasions different systems have operated simultaneously in the same settlement. Furthermore, the prevailing system has operated at the whim of the leadership's personal beliefs rather than Doukhobor basic principles where leadership was recognized. Housing in its initial stages bore the stamp of typical Russian settlements, with a few major innovations being introduced on the inspiration of specific leaders. However, such ideas did not carry over into new construction under the reign of succeeding leaders, for example, the Double House. The most recent housing and construction shows the influence of Canadian society. Some elements of Doukhoborism, especially the Svobodniki, have rejected present forms of settlement and a number of the innovations and attempt to return to the more simple agrarian and rural life of Russian peasantry, believing these to be related to Doukhobor patterns of living.

Settlement patterns, land tenure, and housing have clearly been related to the personal beliefs as expressed by the particular divisions of Doukhoborism. Those who remained under the disguise of leadership adopted patterns in keeping with the personal beliefs of the leaders. As leaders changed, the patterns changed. The more independent Doukhobors tended to adopt patterns in keeping with individual choice and decision. The Svobodniki tended to return to tradition and made choices which fluctuated often and varied widely. At times being followers of leadership and at other times having strong independent motives, making compatible decisions. The Svobodniki settlements show the least evidence of assimilation into Canadian society.

All the while, the major doctrines and core beliefs of the sect, remain constant and are annunciated and accepted by the Doukhobors as a whole.

NOTES ON CHAPTER VII

[1]Baker, D.E.; "Agricultural Regions of North America"; Economic Geography; Volume 2; 1926; pp. 459-93; and Whittlesey, D.; "Major Agricultural Regions of The Earth"; Association of American Geographers; Volume 26; 1936; pp. 199-240.

[2]For a collection of these studies see: Mayer, Harold, and Clyde Kohn; Readings in Urban Geography; Chicago, University of Chicago Press; 1959.

[3]See Wagner, Philip and Marvin Mikesell; Readings in Cultural Geography; Chicago, University of Chicago Press; 1962; p. 10.

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[6]Brodrick, Alan; "Grass Roots"; Architectural Review; London, Volume 65; February, 1954; pp. 101-111.

[7]Jackson, J.B.; "Chihuahua"; Landscape; Volume 1; 1951; p. 22.

[8]Kniffen, Fred; "Louisana House Types"; in Wagner P. and Mikesell, M., Readings in Cultural Geography; Chicago, University of Chicago Press; 1962; p. 157.

[9]Kniffen, Fred; "Talk Housing: Key to Diffusion"; Annals of The Association of America Geographers; Volume 55; December, 1965; p. 549.

[10]Bruhnes, J.; Human Geography; New York; Rand McNalley; 1920; and Jackson, J.B.; "Human, All Too Human Geography"; Landscape; Volume 2, 1952; pp. 2-7.

[11]Rainwater, Lee; "Fear and the House-as-Haven In the Lower Class"; American Institute of Planners Journal; January, 1966; pp. 23-37.

[12]See: Deffontaines, Pierre; "The Place of Believing"; op. cit.; and Raglan, Lord; The Temple and The House; London, Routledge and Kegan, Paul; 1964.

[13]Elkington; op. cit.; p. 299.

[14]Elkington; op. cit.; pp. 299-302 and Snesarev (Trevor); op. cit.; p. 10.

[15]It has been argued that terms "Mir" and "Commune" are not interchangable in that the former is a village assembly and the latter is a civic person. See Snesarev (Trevor); op. cit.; p. 10. For the purposes of this study this fine distinction will not be made. The term Mir will apply to the general pattern of settlement used by the majority of Russian peasantry.

[16]Snesarev (Trevor); op. cit.; p. 5.

[17]Buhr; op. cit.; p. 49.

[18]Snesarev (Trevor); op. cit.; p. 2 and Tchertkoff; op. cit.; p. 25.

[19]Hereafter referred to, for convenience, as the Mir.

[20]Report of Royal Commission of 1912; p. T10.

[21]Buhr; op. cit.; p. 43.

[22]Maude; op. cit.; p. 133.

[23]Francis, E.K.; In Search of Utopia; Altona, Manitoba; D.W. Friesen & Sons; 1955; p. 53.

[24]Popoff; op. cit.; p. 13.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Thorsteinson; op. cit.; p. 12.

[27]Snesarev (Trevor); op. cit.; p. 8.

[28]Popoff; op. cit.; p. 13.

[29]Snesarev (Trevor); op. cit.; p. 8.

[30]Tchertkoff; op. cit.; pp. 88-89.

[31]Ibid.; p. 90.

[32]Ibid.; p. 89.

[33]Hirabayashi; op. cit.; pp. 16-17.

[34]Maloff; op. cit.; pp. 252-253.

[35]Maloff; op. cit.; p. 253; and Reid; op. cit.; p. 59.

[36]Maude; op. cit.; pp. 185-186.

[37]Maloff; op. cit.; p. 451.

[38]Ibid. p. 249.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Dawson; op. cit.; p. 15.

[41]Tarasoff, Koozmo; A Pictorial History of The Doukhobors; Saskatoon; Western Producer; 1969; p. 75; and Rhoads, Jonathan; A Day With the Doukhobors; Philadelphia, William H. Pile's Sons, printers; 1900; Xerox, p. 21.

[42]Dawson; op. cit.; p. 15.

[43]Thorsteinson; op. cit.; p. 30.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Maude; op. cit.; p. 185.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Maude; op. cit.; p. 186.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Ibid.; pp. 186-187.

[50]Ibid.; p. 188.

[51]Snesarev (Trevor); op. cit.; pp. 32-33.

[52]Ibid.; p. 34.

[53]See Chapter IV.

[54]See Maloff; op. cit.; p. 277.

[55]Maloff; op. cit.; p. 278.

[56]Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 383.

[57]Ibid.; p. 387 - Based on figures taken from the Report of Royal Commission On Matters Relating To The Doukhobors; 1912; pp. T32-T33.

[58] Ibid.; p. 387 (footnote).

[59] Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op.cit.; p. 391; and Robinson; op. cit.; p. 63.

[60] Robinson; op. cit.; p. 64.

[61] Novokshonoff, V. (et.al);"Doukhobors In the Boundary"; Boundary Historical Society, Report; Grand Forks, B.C.; No. 3 (1960); pp. 38-43 and No. 4 (1961); pp. 27-31.

[62] Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood Ltd.

[63] Snesarev (Trevor); op. cit.; Appendix.

[64] Ibid.; p. 45.

[65] Ibid.; p. 45-46.

[66] Dawson; op. cit.; p. 42.

[67] Snesarev (Trevor); op. cit.; p. 51.

[68] Ibid.; p. 52.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Dawson; op. cit.; p. 44.

[72] Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 553.

[73] Snesarev (Trevor); op. cit.; p. 54.

[74] Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 554.

[75] Ibid.; p. 555.

[76] Von Grunebaum; op. cit.; p. 2.

[77] Tuan, Y.F.; op. cit.; pp. 218-219.

[78] Tarasoff; In Search of Brotherhood; op. cit.; p. 526.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

An attempt has been made in this study to identify and assess the impact of a religious sect, the Doukhobors, on the landscape. More specifically this study attempts to assess the role of Doukhobor personal beliefs on the religious landscape. Based on a review of the literature it is suggested that though the core beliefs and doctrines of Doukhoborism are static and generally accepted and enunciated by the whole sect, Doukhobor landscapes will reflect diversity in space, and change over time. Furthermore it is hypothesized that such diversity and change can be correlated with diversity and change in the order of personal beliefs on the part of Doukhobor decision-makers. Finally, it is argued that external influence has played a role in shaping the Doukhobor landscapes.

The nature of the structure of belief systems has been a major focus of this study. From the literature it has been inferred that belief systems have three common characteristics. Belief systems based on irrational absolute principles can be expected to contain contradictory elements. While shared dogmas and core beliefs tend to endure, personal beliefs, that is those relating to the implementation of doctrine, may fluctuate and vary. Finally, peripheral beliefs may be held but may not necessarily find expression in overt behavior.

In order to identify and assess the impact of the Doukhobor religion and the role of its members' personal beliefs on the landscape three approaches have been used: the descriptive, the comparative, and the historical. Through the research of documents, a series of field

trips, and a review of literature relating to the Doukhobors, this study has attempted to provide an accurate description and rational interpretation of Doukhobor landscapes. From this analysis comparisons have been made in search of conditions necessary to produce specific types of landscapes or regular correspondences of pattern. In an effort to identify influences from outside the sect a number of events external to the sect but bearing on their beliefs, creeds and policies have been investigated in order to attempt to establish "causal interdependence".

Historical documents provide evidence of continuity in Doukhobor core beliefs dating from the eighteenth century to the present. Though these core beliefs have been handed down orally from generation to generation they have undergone little noticeable modification. Four basic or core beliefs stand out in all statements of Doukhobor belief: the guidance of the 'spirit within', salvation achieved through the 'working out' of faith, the need for a 'simple' life through the rejection of 'worldly' influences, and the holiness of life and character. There is, however, no commonality relating to the implementation of these 'core beliefs'; in fact there is a wide range of variance.

The history of the Doukhobor sect has been one of conflict; such conflict has arisen within the sect itself and with forces external to the sect. While as a whole the Doukhobors have maintained a degree of solidarity based on a common doctrinal definition the degree of assimilation into, and association with, society external to the sect has varied.

Doukhobors at present living in Canada reflect the pattern of internal disputes. Three general groupings have emerged: the 'Independents', those who continue to subscribe to the basic religious principles

of the sect, but have broken away from the more conservative elements, rejecting specific personal beliefs relating to government, social life, and methods of subsistence; the 'Svobodniki', the ultra conservative element which strongly relates life to past traditions and has in some situations adopted nudity and arson as means of protest; and the "Orthodox or 'Community' Doukhobors represent the middle group who have retained many traditions, with some modifications, introduced some innovations, and become in later years to some measure assimilated into Canadian society. These groupings are very general and in no way reflect in total the number of factions which existed or the degree of internal dissension. At the same time the personal beliefs held by the various members of these groups varied greatly over time.

The findings of this study go some way to confirm the hypotheses. Doukhobor landscapes have displayed some elements of commonality over space and time, but there has at the same time been inordinate diversity. Much of this diversity has been shown to relate to differences in personal beliefs associated with the implementation of the more static core beliefs. At the same time, pressure external to the Doukhobor sect has in specific instances led to further change and diversity in the landscape.

The application of "guidance by the spirit within" created both commonality and diversity in Doukhobor landscapes. This emphasis on 'conscience' and rejection of external authority lead the Doukhobors to break with the Russian Orthodox Church. The break with Orthodoxy was so complete that it can be summarized best as a total rejection of all accepted forms of Christian ritual. Because of this Doukhobor landscapes are totally devoid of the "standard" symbols of Christianity; churches,

spires, crosses, statues, and altars, to name some examples. Certain ceremonial practices were at times introduced, but these had little impact on the landscape. The theme of 'rejection' did show some variation on a regional basis at certain periods in their history. Negative aspects of the above stated rejection have carried over into everyday life; leading to a repudiation of general societal life. Because of this some members of the more extremist element adopted negative practices, including nudity and arson. Arson had considerable impact on segments of the British Columbia landscape. Settlement patterns and village design provide no evidence of a spatial reflection of a Doukhobor religious cosmology.

Though the belief in the guidance of an inner spirit is a common and a core belief of the Doukhobors its implementation in daily life was diverse. A major segment of Doukhoborism has chosen to believe in the guidance of the 'individual's' conscience while others have tended to relinquish individual conscience and replace it with the notion of "a divine leadership" conscience. Such leadership has played a large part in the impact of Doukhoborism on the landscape. Many have viewed the leader as a man with a special revelation of the 'spirit' and have willingly concurred with change introduced on the whim of current leadership, adopting change just as willingly when the leadership changed. Variation in settlement patterns, house styles, economic practices, and methods of subsistence provide numerous examples of the introduction of change and innovation on the whim of leadership. Equally important is the high degree of fluctation, on the part of many members of the sect, between the adoption of leadership and its rejection. Leadership struggles led to a number of schisms which divided the sect.

Believing that salvation is 'worked out' through the perfection of character the Doukhobors have to varying degrees and in various manners attempted to reach perfection through the rejection of "worldly influence". To many the way to perfection was the adoption of a simple life. Because of this concept many refused to adopt progressive methods relating to their subsistence. However, during certain periods some segments of the sect made use of modern machinery. The more zealous abstained. The degree of use even emongst the more liberal Community Doukhobors fluctuated. Many Doukhobors attempted to simplify life by combating materialism, even to the point of arson. Many members of the sect attempted to work out their salvation by endeavouring to search out the ideal site or situation. Some Doukhobors acted on intuition and sought the simplicity of life devoid of physical labour with their needs supplied by nature. Banishment and loss of all worldly possessions were the price that many other members paid for failing to compromise with the world, but rather to seek after what they believed was the way to perfection.

The belief in the holiness of life has also contributed to landscape change and variance. The migration to Canada was instigated by severe persecution resulting from the burning of arms. Many Doukhobors extended this concept of the holiness of life to include all manner of life including animals and insects bring about a change in some landscapes from an emphasis on pastoralism to vegetarianism and eventually orchard cultivation. Some Doukhobors refused to take effective measures to protect their orchards from pests bringing about their decline. Their responses to overall concepts relating to the 'holiness of life' have not been common to the sect as a whole.

There exists no single type of Doukhobor landscape, but rather a complex of landscapes which reflect the complexity of Doukhobor personal beliefs. Over both space and time, and despite unanimity within the sect toward the expression of a common doctrinal definition, change and innovation was frequent. Furthermore, such innovation and change was not general but often confined to specific groups and locations. In addition to this, pressure from outside the sect has been shown to have placed restraints on the variety and degree of change and innovation as well as having introduced change on its own behalf.

Thus it can be said that the diversity and form of Doukhobor landscapes is better understood in the context of the group's personal beliefs, relating to its core beliefs, than in the context of its core beliefs alone. Furthermore, it can be concluded that a congruent pattern of landscapes is not a necessary condition for the practise of Doukhoborism. Often migrations rather than landscape alteration of a special kind are shown to be a particular feature of Doukhobor impact. While the Doukhobors may continue to be recognized as a single religious sect, they can not be expected to form or function within a single landscape type. Finally, Doukhobor landscapes are often a result of a compromise between doctrine, present conditions, and external pressure.

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APPENDIX A

Extract from a Report of the Committee of the Honourable of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency on December 6, 1899.

> The Minister submits that sub-section 3 of Section 21 of the Militia Act, Chapter 41 of the Revised Statues of Canada contains the following provision:
>
> Every person bearing a certificate from the Society of Friends, Mennonites or Tunkers and every inhabitant of Canada of any religious domination, otherwise subject to military duty, who, from the doctrines of his religion, is adverse to bearing arms and refuses personal military service, shall be exempt from such service when balloted in time of peace or war upon such conditions and under regulations as the Governor from time to time prescribes.
>
> The Minister recommends that under the power vested in your Excellency in Council by the above provision, the Doukhobors, settling permanently in Canada, be exempted unconditionally from service in the Militia upon the production in each case of a certificate from the proper authorities of the community.*

*Royal Commission, 1912, p. 66.