



Site of Grand Forks jam factory, 2008.

Photo: Greg Nesteroff

THE DOUKHOBOR JAM FACTORY

at Grand Forks

By Jonathan J. Kalmakoff

In the early twentieth century, the Doukhobors established a vast communal fruit-growing enterprise at Grand Forks. Not only did these pacifist agriculturalists maintain extensive, attractive, and productive orchards, they were also at the forefront of local fruit processing development. The following article examines one such development—the impressive but short-lived Kootenay-Columbia Preserving Works, a jam factory and cannery at Grand Forks—its establishment and operation, as well as the questions that remain regarding its mysterious and untimely demise.

Orchard development

Between 1909 and 1912, Peter V. Verigin on behalf of the Doukhobor Society purchased 4,182 acres of land west of Grand Forks.¹ During this time, 713 Doukhobors resettled there from Saskatchewan, constructed villages, and proceeded to develop the land for large-scale fruit growing.² While a small acreage was already under mature orchard,³ most was virgin ranchland, open or lightly wooded. There were also

some hundred acres of rough, wild forested land. It was soon cleared and cultivated.

By 1912, the Doukhobors set out 50,000 apple, plum, pear, prune, and cherry trees on 593 acres, making them the largest fruit grower in the Boundary District.⁴ The colony continued to expand. By 1921, it included 928 persons⁵ with 5,000 acres in holdings—1,000 in orchards coming into full bearing and 2,000 acres



Community orchards along Spencer Hill, west of Grand Forks, circa 1918.

Photo: BC Archives C-01718



Community fruit packing house (far left) at Village No. 3 (Vanjoff Village) near Copper Junction, circa 1921.

Photo: Courtesy of Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ

cultivated in small fruit (strawberries, raspberries, currants, gooseberries) as well as vegetables (potatoes, tomatoes, onions, cucumbers), grain (wheat, oats), and forage (alfalfa, clover, timothy), with the rest in pasture and timber.⁶

To support their orchard development, beginning in 1911 the Doukhobors established an extensive gravity-flow irrigation system using over 30,000 feet of flume, ditch, and self-manufactured wood stave pipeline to convey water from July Creek and tributaries as well as Ward Lake, Hardy Creek, and the Kettle River to their fruit trees.⁷ By 1919, a large concrete and earthen irrigation reservoir was completed in the draw near Hardy Mountain.⁸

By 1912, the Society also operated a large, two-storey, 100- by 30-foot fruit-packing house with a concrete basement at Village No. 3 (aka Vanjoff Village) near Copper Junction, on the Great Northern Vancouver Victoria & Eastern railway Phoenix branch, for the sorting, grading, and packing of fruit from their orchards.⁹ It had a fruit box-making plant on the second floor. In 1919, a second, larger plant was built on their property near Carson.¹⁰

Undoubtedly, what contributed to the early and rapid success of the Doukhobors as fruit growers was their large pool of communal labour. All of the men, women, and children of the colony were engaged in the growing effort on an unpaid basis. In return for their labour, the Doukhobor Society supplied its members with food, clothing, shelter, and other necessities.¹¹ This arrangement gave them a competitive advantage vis-à-vis other orchardists as their cost of fruit production at all stages was significantly less.

The Doukhobors saw an opportunity to expand their operations beyond merely growing and selling fresh fruit, and they began to engage in secondary manufacture of fruit byproducts.

The need for fruit processing

As the Grand Forks orchards came into bearing, the Society found a ready market for its large fruit (apples,

pears, etc.) on the Prairies. However, as with any plantation, there was inevitably a certain quantity of culls that were unsaleable because they were small-sized, poor quality, or bruised.

At the same time, there was a limited local market for small fruit (cherries, currants, etc.) and berries, and any surplus of this particular kind of produce could not be transported to Prairie markets without spoilage in the 1910s, given the speed and conditions of rail transport at that time.

These limitations cost the Doukhobors many thousands of dollars in lost revenues each year. Processing surplus fruit that was unsuitable for shipping into various byproducts meant that it could be sold rather than wasted.

To this end, in April 1911, the Society purchased the vacant Kootenay Jam Company factory in Nelson and commenced a large-scale jam-making and canning enterprise as the Kootenay-Columbia Preserving Works, producing the famous K.C. Brand jams.¹² Using fruit grown by the Doukhobors and other Kootenay growers, the 6-ton-per-day facility ran four years and was then replaced by a new, larger 12-ton-per-day plant built at Brilliant in 1914.¹³

As early as January 1912, the Doukhobors proposed building a second jam factory at Grand Forks to serve their orchards there.¹⁴ However, the Society elected instead to focus on developing and expanding its Brilliant facility, and it was over a decade before



Community members cherry picking west of Grand Forks, circa 1921.

Photo: BC Archives C-01716



Community fruit packing house (far left) and other industrial buildings near Carson, circa 1928. Village No. 6 (Gritchin Village), Spencer Hill, and Hardy Mountain can be seen in the background.

Photo: BC Archives C-01376

building a new facility in Grand Forks was seriously considered again. In the interim, the Grand Forks colony shipped all of its small fruit and some of its large fruit 70 miles by railcar to Brilliant for processing.

Plans for a factory in 1923

In April 1923, Peter V. Verigin, president of the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood (former Doukhobor Society), proposed a program to build a jam factory at Grand Forks to preserve jams, jellies, and canned goods on a very large scale. As he reasoned, “It is better to have a factory right at Grand Forks so that all the berries that will be grown in Grand Forks should be used by [the] Grand Forks jam factory.”¹⁵ The savings in the cost of shipping fruit to Brilliant was a compelling factor. However, Verigin identified several preconditions to the establishment of such a plant.

First, while the Grand Forks Doukhobors already had a fair crop of berries under plantation being sent to the Brilliant jam factory, there was, as of yet, insufficient acreage to support a local plant. Accordingly, Verigin expected the colony to grow a substantially larger acreage of small fruits, such as strawberries and raspberries (the two most popular K.C. Brands) and other varieties of berries over the coming seasons.¹⁶

Second, the establishment of a jam plant involved a significant outlay of capital, which the Community could not then afford. The Brilliant jam factory was undergoing a \$60,000 tomato cannery expansion that same year, and in view of a hard year in financial operations, the building of the Grand Forks plant would be postponed for another year and was expected to commence in 1924.¹⁷

By February 1924, Verigin and his Community officials encountered a third obstacle: finding a location to build a Grand Forks jam plant.

The initial plan was to build a factory on Community property near Carson, where their main orchards lay; however, this plan was shelved given the absence of adjacent rail facilities.¹⁸ They investigated building near

the Canadian Pacific west end station in Columbia Flats but were unable to negotiate trackage with the railway.¹⁹ In March, a site near Weston station in Columbia Flats was tentatively agreed to with local Great Northern officials, but the head office in St. Paul, Minnesota, failed to process the sale.²⁰ Finally, the Community endeavored to secure a Canadian Pacific site on the C&W line near the Community packing house at Vanjoff Village, but to no avail.²¹

In light of these challenges, the Grand Forks Doukhobors deferred building a local jammery in 1924. They did, however, erect a commercial-scale tomato canning plant²² and fruit evaporator²³ that year under the auspices of the Kootenay-Columbia Preserving Works at their Community flour mill just outside the western city limits. These were the first permanent fruit processing facilities established at Grand Forks.

A Community jam factory might very well still have been built in Grand Forks by 1925 but for the death of Peter V. Verigin in a mysterious train explosion at Farron in October 1924. This effectively halted any immediate plans to expand the colony’s nascent fruit processing industry beyond canning and evaporating to include jam-making.

It must be noted that the Doukhobors were not the only Grand Forks fruit growers to identify the need for fruit processing facilities and to encounter major challenges in their development during this period.

A small-scale prune dehydrator was built by W.H. Covert in 1902 but, curiously, was only used one season.²⁴ Initiatives to build a large-scale cannery, jam factory, and fruit evaporating plant, first by the Grand Forks Canning Company from 1912 to 1914²⁵ and then by the Grand Forks Canning Association from 1914 to 1924,²⁶ both ended in failure over lack of financing, although the latter leased its vacant cannery building to a potato dehydrator plant in 1915 for one season and to an apple butter plant for two seasons in 1923. And calls by the Grand Forks Farmers Institute and Board of Trade to growers in 1922 to devote substantially larger



Community Jam Factory at Grand Forks, 1935.

Photo: BC Archives C-01592

acres of small fruit to facilitate these industries bore few tangible results.²⁷

Plans for a factory in 1927

Plans for a Doukhobor jam factory at Grand Forks were revived in September 1927 with the arrival of Peter P. “Chistyakov” Verigin in Canada to assume leadership of the Community. Declaring his immediate goal to free the organization from its burdensome debt, he launched an ambitious program to increase the production (and earning) capacity of various communal enterprises while building several new ones.

In November 1927 and again in March 1928, Chistyakov announced that the Community would double the production of the Brilliant jam factory to 24 tons per day and erect another factory at Grand Forks of equivalent size, thereby quadrupling the capacity of the Kootenay-Columbia Preserving Works.²⁸ Like the Brilliant plant, the Grand Forks plant would also carry on large-scale canning operations, which would handle various fruits and vegetables.²⁹

The expansion of the Brilliant jam factory was completed in 1928. It would be another seven years before the Grand Forks jam plant came to fruition. In the interim, the Community considerably enlarged its Grand Forks brick plant and sawmill, and it replotted its colony holdings with cross-roads to make each of their factory locations more accessible, among other improvements.³⁰

Construction in 1935

It was contemplated in August 1927 that the jam plant would be a stand-alone structure adjacent to the Community fruit-packing plant on their property near Carson.³¹ However, by 1935, it became financially expedient to retrofit the existing packing house rather than construct a new structure. Space limitations would



Jam factory boiler house as it appeared in 2002.

Photo: Greg Nesteroff

restrict the size of the retrofit plant from 24 tons per day (as initially contemplated by Chistyakov) to a still impressive 12 tons per day.

Built in 1919, the fruit packing plant was a large, two-and-a-half-storey, 100- by 30-foot wood-frame structure with elevator lifts, a concrete basement, monitor-style roof, and large south-facing shipping door.³² As there were no adjacent railway facilities, fruit packs were hauled to the Community warehouse near the Canadian Pacific west end station in Columbia Flats for shipping.³³

In the spring of 1935, alterations were carried out to retrofit the packing house as a jam factory. A brick veneer was added to the building exterior.³⁴ Twelve steam-activated jam-making kettles, ordered from England, were installed on the upper floor.³⁵ Fruit and vegetable canning equipment was also ordered but did not arrive until late summer.³⁶ It would be Grand Forks’ first permanent jam plant.

Adjacent 20 feet to the north, a two-storey, brick 40- by 36-foot boiler house with concrete foundation and monitor-style roof was built to supply steam power to the jam plant.³⁷ And between the two structures, a 30-foot high water tower was erected to supply water to the boilers for steam conversion.³⁸ A wood lot was established on the other side of the boiler house and was stocked with cordwood, slabs, and board ends from the Community sawmill to fire the boilers.

A workforce of about 22 members of the local Community, primarily Doukhobor young adults, was assembled to staff the new jammyery. Nick D. Arishenkoff was placed in charge of shipping and receiving³⁹ and Peter S. Polonicoff as business secretary. John W. Sherbinin was the overall supervisor of the plant.⁴⁰

Prior to production, four railcars of granulated cane sugar were received from the BC Sugar Refinery in



Doukhobor staff at the retrofit Community Jam Factory in 1935.

Photo: Courtesy of Silver Kettle Village, Grand Forks

Vancouver,⁴¹ as well as several railcars carrying over 50,000 tins from the Community jam-tin manufacturing plant in Brilliant.⁴² Jam-tin labels were ordered from Harris Lithographing Company of Toronto but did not arrive until late summer.⁴³

As the Grand Forks colony did not yet have sufficient acreage cultivated in small fruit (most being in tomatoes for the existing cannery), numerous supply contracts were entered into with other Grand Forks fruit growers to supplement the Community's own production.⁴⁴ Under the terms, the Community supplied its own pickers and transport to the factory.

Production

Over the first two weeks of August 1935, the *Grand Forks Gazette* reported that considerable quantities of strawberries, followed by raspberries, cherries, and other small fruit had arrived at the new plant, where it was manually sorted and stored in the basement until jam production commenced mid-month.⁴⁵

The Kootenay-Columbia Preserving Works manufactured pure jam using an "open kettle" method according to the old English recipe introduced by its original jam-maker, Harry Beach, in 1911.⁴⁶ Only pure fruit of the highest quality and granulated sugar cane were used. There were no preservatives, colouring, or other additives. Cleanliness and sanitation during production was strictly supervised.⁴⁷

When jam production began, fruit was brought from the basement to the main floor, where it was cleaned and prepared (peeled, de-cored or de-stoned, then cut

into pieces and/or crushed) both manually and using mechanized pitters and sieve equipment.⁴⁸

Equal portions of fruit pulp and sugar were placed in large copper jam-making kettles on the second floor and mixed with ladles.⁴⁹ The kettles were then fired by steam heat supplied from the boiler house and the mixture was cooked for 15 minutes.⁵⁰ As it cooked, it was continually stirred by an attendant.

After the jam was cooked, the attendant flipped each kettle over on its emptying hinges and the jam was poured into smaller copper pots that were placed on wheeled "turtles."⁵¹ The small pots were then wheeled over to long cooling trays filled with cold water in which the pots were placed.⁵² As the temperature of the jam was reduced, it received a final skimming.

The cooled jam was then taken to tables where it was ladled by hand into sterilized cans.⁵³ A sheet of antibacterial gauze was placed over the top of each can, which was then automatically sealed with the lid.⁵⁴

The cans of finished product were then moved by lift to the labelling room on the main floor to await the affixing of labels (which had not yet arrived from Toronto) onto each can designating its contents.⁵⁵ Once labelled, the cans would be hauled to the Community warehouse in Columbia Flats to await freight.

The fledgling factory operated for a roughly ten-day period between August 8 and 17, 1935, producing 194,250 pounds of various jams. As fate would have it, there would be no eleventh day of production and not a single can would be shipped from the plant.



K.C. Brand jam label of the type used at Grand Forks plant, 1935.

Photo: UBC Rare Books and Special Collections



Grand Forks Gazette front-page headline, August 22, 1935

Conflagration

On the evening of Saturday, August 17, the jam factory shut down production for the night. A popular Russian picture was being shown at the Granada theatre in downtown Grand Forks and over 500 Doukhobors went into town for the movie feature, leaving the colony unusually empty.⁵⁶ The colony night watchman passed the factory mid-evening but saw nothing amiss.⁵⁷

Shortly after 11 o'clock, a truckload of Doukhobors returning from the movie drove past the plant and saw the night watchman, but noticed nothing awry.⁵⁸ However, when the truck returned again at 11:30 p.m. the jam plant building was fully ablaze and the night watchman was making frantic but futile efforts to put it out.⁵⁹

The fire had started in the shipping doorway where there was ordinarily little opportunity for one to start. Despite a heavy rain falling most of the evening, the wooden interior of the plant building was tinder-dry. The brick veneer directed the fire upwards and the flames surged high, making a terrible blaze that attracted many onlookers from town.⁶⁰ The top of the adjacent water tank burned off and the sides were scorched, but the tank remained intact, while the boiler house was saved.⁶¹ However, the jam material in the plant building acted as a candle wick and kept the fire going through Sunday. The factory burned to the ground.

The destruction of the jam factory was a devastating blow to the Community, with losses estimated from \$65,000 to \$100,000, upwards of \$2.2 million in today's dollars. The plant building and equipment had an estimated value of \$30,000 and \$40,000.⁶² It contained 48,000 four-pound cans of jam ready for market, save for the labels which had been delayed in transit. In addition, there were 500 five-pound pails of jam ready to be tinned. The value of this product was estimated at \$25,000.⁶³ Several railcar loads of sugar and tins just received were valued at \$15,000.⁶⁴ Payments due to other fruit growers was estimated at \$5,000 to \$10,000.⁶⁵ Only a nominal insurance of \$7,000 was carried.⁶⁶ In short, the financial loss was substantial, to say nothing of the blow to Doukhobor morale

As for the origin of the blaze, the evidence pointed overwhelmingly to arson. The question left to provincial police was who did it?

Suspects

The destruction of the jam factory followed on the heels of the burning of the Carson school, close to the factory, and the bombing of a school at Brilliant a few weeks earlier, both attributed to a small faction of Doukhobors known as the Sons of Freedom recently returned from Piers Island penitentiary, and provincial police strongly suspected that the same radicals set fire to the factory.⁶⁷

T.A. Love, editor of the *Grand Forks Gazette*, observed that past depredations by Sons of Freedom were focused squarely against public schools and not Community property per se, making this latest incendiarism somewhat uncharacteristic of the group.⁶⁸

Nonetheless, on August 22, 1935, Paul Vatkin, a 65-year-old Son of Freedom who had served out a sentence at Piers Island, was arrested by provincial police for questioning.⁶⁹ Vatkin was already a suspect in the Carson and Brilliant school burnings, lived only a few hundred yards from the jam plant, and was seen driving a buggy past it the night it burnt. However, there was insufficient evidence to tie him to the arsons and he was cleared of the charges.⁷⁰

As for Community members themselves, according to Nick D. Arishenkoff, jam factory shipper-receiver, "Nobody at the time thought that Sons of Freedom were involved in the burning," and "Years later, when Sons of Freedom who had been involved in arson voluntarily admitted their various crimes, nobody appeared to claim responsibility for the burning of the jam factory."⁷¹

Intriguingly, when interviewed in 1974 about the Grand Forks jam factory for *MIR* magazine, Arishenkoff posited his own theory about the suspect: "MacDonald's Jam's [*sic*] in Nelson had lost a great deal of business when the CCUB factory at Brilliant was first established and the surrounding non-Doukhobor farmers began to bring their produce there. The Nelson factory's main remaining source of fruit supply was from non-Doukhobor growers in Grand Forks who shipped by rail directly to Nelson. The opening of the new factory in Grand Forks, of course, changed all that."⁷²

Along the same line, it is conceivable that if certain growers contracted to sell their fruit directly to the Community jam factory, thus going outside the Grand Forks Growers' Exchange to dispose of their crop, this may not have met with the heartiest approval by Exchange principals or growers generally. Some may even have viewed the jam factory as a direct threat to their selling power and profit potential.

In 1974, Arishenkoff also recounted that "years later, I asked [Trail RCMP Staff] Sergeant Nelson if he had anything on record [about the destruction of the Grand

Forks jam plant] and he said he didn't. 'It must have been one of your [English-Canadian] people,' I said. 'That could be,' he answered."⁷³

Leaving conjecture aside, it remains that no one was ever charged for the destruction of the Kootenay-Columbia Preserving Works jam factory at Grand Forks, and the origin of the blaze is a mystery to this day.

Aftermath

The jam factory was never rebuilt. By this time, the Community treasury was near empty. Nonetheless, the members of the colony repaid all of the local growers' accounts for fruit that had been received to the last penny.⁷⁴ The following year, in July of 1936, the Community declared bankruptcy.

Its collapse resulted from a combination of complex factors, including low prices assigned to agricultural and industrial products during the Great Depression; burdensome interest rates on its mortgaged properties; a declining membership base, increasing the debt load on fewer members; members who defaulted on annual allotments; the enormous losses to its capital assets suffered from incendiarism; as well as financial mismanagement.⁷⁵

In June 1937 and May 1938, the Community was placed under receivership by the Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada and the National Trust Company respectively, who foreclosed upon the company and

its property valued at \$4,000,000 for a total debt of \$360,580.64.⁷⁶ Thus ended the largest fruit-growing and fruit-processing enterprise ever undertaken in the Boundary.

From factory to family home

Traces of the Kootenay-Columbia Preserving Works jam factory and cannery can still be found in Grand Forks today. In 1979, the brick boiler house that survived the destruction of the jam plant, together with adjacent former industrial buildings, was transformed into a comfortable and impressive family home by Alex and Carolyn Padmoroff.⁷⁷ Fittingly, the road that runs past the property is Canning Road, named after the former Doukhobor jam-making enterprise.

More enduring are the Doukhobors' achievements in bringing forth the bounty of the land with the help of fertile soil and a moderate climate and fueled by the desire to work together in community towards a common purpose. The Doukhobors' contribution to the early agricultural growth and development of Grand Forks deserves to be recognized and acknowledged in this regard. ■

Special thanks to Dr. Ashleigh Androsoff, Assistant Professor, University of Saskatchewan Department of History for kindly reviewing a draft of this article and offering valuable feedback.

Endnotes

1. William Blakemore, *Report of Royal Commission on Matters Relating to the Sect of Doukhobors in the Province of British Columbia, 1912* (Victoria, BC: King's Printer, 1913), 31. These acquisitions included the 900-acre Coryell Ranch in February 1909; 320-acre Newby Ranch in March 1909; 1,200-acre Vaughan Ranch in November 1909; 480-acre Macey Ranch in May 1910; 30-acre Collins Orchard in July 1910; 160-acre Hoffman Ranch in April 1911; 320-acre Pettijohn Ranch in April 1911; and 320-acre Capsey Ranch in April 1912 among others.
2. *Ibid.*, 35. According to a census conducted by the Doukhobor Society, there were 269 men, 261 women and 183 children settled in Grand Forks as of October 22, 1912.
3. The acreage acquired by the Doukhobors that was already in orchard was relatively small. It included 10 acres on the Vaughan Ranch (*Grand Forks Gazette*, May 24, 1902 and December 23, 1905); 30 acres on the Collins Ranch (*Grand Forks Sun*, July 9, 1910); 65 acres on the Newby Ranch (*Nelson Daily News*, March 20, 1908; *Grand Forks Sun*, June 2, 1911; *Greenwood Ledger*, April 25, 1912; *Grand Forks Gazette* April 20, 1912); and 8 acres on the Hoffman Ranch (*Grand Forks Sun*, June 2, 1911). These 113 acres of orchard ranged in age from fifteen to twenty years old and from full bearing to five years old to just beginning to bear.
4. Blakemore, *Report of Royal Commission*, 32, note 1; W.J. Bonavia, Crops and Labour Commissioner, "Orchard Survey in Okanagan and Boundary," in *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the B.C. Fruit-Growers' Association for the Year Ending December 31, 1911* (Government of the Province of British Columbia, Victoria, BC: 1912), 22. Indeed, by 1911 the Doukhobor Society was the largest fruit grower in the Boundary Region, and second only to the Coldstream Ranch at Vernon (with 650 acres planted) in the combined Okanagan-Boundary Region. The next largest fruit grower in the Boundary was the Kettle Valley Irrigated Land Company with 340 acres planted, while in Grand Forks in particular, the next largest fruit grower was W.H. Covert with 140 acres planted.
5. *1921 Canada Census*, Yale District No. 25, Grand Forks Sub-District No. 52, 1–25.
6. *Grand Forks Gazette*, May 13, 1921.
7. In May 1911, the Doukhobor Society had the fourth-largest irrigation system in the Kettle Valley, covering 100 acres (*Grand Forks Sun*, May 19, 1911). At the time, the three largest irrigation enterprises in the valley were the Covert Estate (280 acres), L.A. Campbell (220 acres), and Kerman and Kerby and Atwood (180 acres). By 1912, the Society increased its irrigated acreage to 230 acres; by 1923, to over 758 acres. See also Province of British Columbia, Department of Lands, Water Rights Branch, Water License No. 5393, dated January 20, 1888, renewed July 22, 1926; No. 5394, dated October 24, 1888, renewed July 22, 1926; No. 8502, dated November 9, 1926, renewed July 10, 1933; No. 710, dated February 2, 1914; No. 289 dated November 9, 1889, renewed July 22, 1926; No. 290, dated June 13, 1916; No. 5397, dated August 3, 1914, renewed July 22, 1926; No. 9557, dated May 8, 1914, renewed January 20, 1936; No. 2689, dated May 9, 1917, renewed May 10, 1926; No. 5391, dated August 8, 1911; No. 699, dated June 12, 1913; and No. 8499, dated April 8, 1911, renewed July 10, 1933.
8. *Nelson Daily News*, August 22, 1919; *Vancouver Daily Sun*, August 27, 1919. See also Province of British Columbia, Grand Forks Water District, May 3039, dated February 1, 1983 re: Water License No. 58084.
9. W. Blakemore, *Photographs, Royal Commission on Matters Relating to the Sect of Doukhobors in the Province of British Columbia, 1912*, British Columbia Archives, Item No. GR-0793.5, Accession No. 197904-015; Mike Sookochoff, Grand Forks, interview by Jonathan J. Kalmakoff, April 25, 2020.
10. *Nelson Daily News*, August 20, 1935; *Vancouver Daily World*, September 1, 1921; Vera Novokshonoff, Lucy Reibin, and Marion Obedkoff, "Doukhobors in the Boundary," *Boundary Historical Review*, Report No. 3 & 4, 1964; Alex Padmoroff, Grand Forks, interview by Jonathan J. Kalmakoff, March 17, 2020.
11. A. Dawson, *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1936); Vladimir N. Snesarev (Harry W. Trevor), *The Doukhobors in British Columbia* (University of British Columbia, Department of Agriculture, 1931).
12. For a comprehensive history of the Kootenay-Columbia Preserving Works, see articles by Jonathan J. Kalmakoff in the West Kootenay Advertiser: "Sweet Spot: The Doukhobor Jam-Making Enterprise," April 23, 2020, <https://tinyurl.com/7938yz47>; "Doukhobor jam factories stood at Nelson, Brilliant, Grand Forks," April 30, 2020, <https://tinyurl.com/4h7ka3kk>; "Brilliant jam factory offered many products," May 7, 2020,

- https://tinyurl.com/43axfdjk; "Distinctive label made KC Brand jam stand out," May 14, 2020, https://tinyurl.com/pr8f6yc5; and "Doukhobor jam was popular across Western Canada, May 21, 2020, https://tinyurl.com/vjj9pcuj; and Greg Nesteroff, "The Doukhobor Jam Factory in Nelson, British Columbia," Doukhobor Heritage (website): https://tinyurl.com/tywvxh.
13. Kalmakoff, "Sweet Spot".
 14. *Nelson Daily News*, January 8, 1912; see also "Report of Consular Agent, W.S. Riblet, Nelson, BC," in *Daily Consular and Trade Reports*, No. 76, March 30, 1912, 1289; Blakemore, *Report*, 33.
 15. Peter V. Verigin, quoted in *Grand Forks Gazette*, April 13, 1923.
 16. *Ibid.*
 17. *Ibid.*
 18. *Grand Forks Gazette*, February 8 and 15, 1924.
 19. *Grand Forks Gazette*, February 15, 1924; *Vancouver Daily World*, February 21, 1924.
 20. *Nanaimo Daily News*, March 19, 1924; *Grand Forks Gazette*, March 21, 1924.
 21. *Grand Forks Gazette*, March 21, 1924.
 22. As early as 1912, the Doukhobors installed a small fruit and vegetable cannery plant at Grand Forks for the colony's own domestic use (*Grand Forks Gazette*, August 17, 1912). The cannery erected in 1924 was a large-scale commercial plant intended primarily for tomatoes but which could also be used for other vegetables as well as fruit (*Nelson Daily News*, March 13, 1924); Snesev, *The Doukhobors in British Columbia*; Sheila Gardezi, "The Essential Mill," *Route 3* (Fall 2010), 23. Interestingly, in April 1925, 1,110 pounds of canned fruit (10-pound tins) and 10 cases of tomatoes (24-ounce tins) were confiscated from the new cannery by provincial police to satisfy fines levied against the colony for the failure to send its children to public school (*Grand Forks Gazette*, April 17, 1925).
 23. As early as 1915, the Doukhobor Society installed an evaporator at its Brilliant factory (*Nelson Daily News*, February 21, 1913, December 2, 1914, and March 6, 1919). Once dehydrated, fruit was preserved without spoilage at one-tenth its original weight; when required, dried fruit was soaked in water and returned to practically its original state with all colour and nutrients retained. The evaporator erected at Grand Forks in 1924 served the same end (Snesev, *The Doukhobors in British Columbia*; Gardezi, "The Essential Mill," 23). Interestingly, in April 1925, 1,180 pounds of dried fruit (equivalent to 11,800 pounds of fresh fruit) were confiscated from the new evaporator by police to satisfy fines levied against the colony for failing to send its children to public school (*Grand Forks Gazette*, April 17, 1925).
 24. A small-scale prune dehydrator was built by Grand Forks pioneer fruit grower A.W. Covert in 1902; however it was inexplicably only used for one season, whereafter Covert sent his prunes to Salem, Oregon, for drying (*Grand Forks Gazette*, November 8, 1902, December 6, 1902; October 31, 1903, and July 9, 1904).
 25. In November 1912, the Grand Forks Canning Company was incorporated to build a modern fruit cannery, jam factory, and fruit evaporating plant in the city. A fine brick cannery building was built downtown in December 1913. Yet, despite securing growers' contracts, a city tax exemption, and sales contracts, it failed to sell sufficient stock and was liquidated in June 1914 before any equipment was ever installed (Jonathan J. Kalmakoff, "The Cannery Building, Grand Forks, BC," *Grand Forks Gazette*, October 4 and 11, 2023).
 26. *Ibid.* In September 1914, the Grand Forks Canning Association took over the cannery building to start a jam plant. It received a \$10,000 loan from the province but failed to install machinery as a condition to funding. In November 1915, it leased the premises to a potato dehydrator plant for one season, and in January 1923, to an apple butter plant for two seasons; it went insolvent in September 1924.
 27. *Ibid.*
 28. *Grand Forks Gazette*, November 25, 1927 and March 30, 1928.
 29. *Ibid.*
 30. *Grand Forks Gazette*, March 30, 1928.
 31. *Ibid.*
 32. *Nelson Daily News*, August 20, 1935; *Vancouver Daily World*, September 1, 1921; Novokshonoff, Reibin, and Obedkoff, "Doukhobors in the Boundary"; Alex Padmoroff, Grand Forks, interview by Jonathan J. Kalmakoff, March 17, 2020.
 33. *Grand Forks Gazette*, March 30, 1928.
 34. *Grand Forks Gazette*, August 22, 1935. The bricks forming the factory building veneer were self-manufactured at the adjacent Community brickworks.
 35. *Grand Forks Gazette*, November 25, 1927.
 36. *Grand Forks Gazette*, August 22, 1935.
 37. Padmoroff, interview by Jonathan J. Kalmakoff; *Grand Forks Gazette*, August 22, 1935.
 38. *Grand Forks Gazette*, August 22, 1935.
 39. Nick D. Arishenkoff and Cecil W. Koochin, "Life in the Doukhobor Commune," *MIR 2*, no. 3–6 (September 1974).
 40. *Grand Forks Gazette*, November 25, 1927 and August 22, 1935; *Nelson Daily News*, August 20, 1935.
 41. *Grand Forks Gazette*, August 22, 1935; *Nelson Daily News*, August 20, 1935; Arishenkoff and Koochin, "Life in the Doukhobor Commune"; Kalmakoff, "Sweet Spot".
 42. *Grand Forks Gazette*, August 22, 1935. Note the Kootenay-Columbia Preserving Work had installed a plant for the manufacture of tin cans at its Brilliant facility in 1915 (*Nelson Daily News*, January 8, 1912 and June 17, 1916).
 43. *Grand Forks Gazette*, August 22, 1935; *Nelson Daily News*, August 20, 1935.
 44. *Grand Forks Gazette*, August 22, 1935; Arishenkoff and Koochin, "Life in the Doukhobor Commune".
 45. *Grand Forks Gazette*, August 15, 1935.
 46. William Rozinkin, "Brilliant Jam Factory Was a Thriving Industry," *Nelson Daily News*, June 9, 1967.
 47. *Nelson Daily News*, August 8, 1935; *The Province*, December 29, 1929; *Langley Advance*, June 1, 1932. The cleanliness of the Kootenay-Columbia Preserving Works facilities was a particular point of pride among the Doukhobors. Each label of K.C. brand jam was stamped with the following guarantee: "Guaranteed pure Fruit and Sugar only, and of the Finest quality. Empty can when opened. All products sold under this brand are put up in Sanitary Factories. The cans are automatically sealed without solder or acid. Fruits are gathered from the famed Kootenay orchards."
 48. Rozinkin, "Brilliant Jam Factory"; *The Province*, December 29, 1929; *Edmonton Journal*, June 4, 1932.
 49. Marlene Hadikin, "Life in the K-C Jam Factory," *MIR 4*, no. 12 (May 1976): 32–35.
 50. Arishenkoff and Koochin, "Life in the Doukhobor Commune"; *Edmonton Journal*, June 4, 1932.
 51. Hadikin, "Life in the K-C Jam Factory"; Rozinkin, "Brilliant Jam Factory".
 52. Hadikin, "Life in the K-C Jam Factory"; *Edmonton Journal*, June 4, 1932.
 53. Hadikin, "Life in the K-C Jam Factory"; Rozinkin, "Brilliant Jam Factory"; Arishenkoff and Koochin, "Life in the Doukhobor Commune"; *Edmonton Journal*, June 4, 1932.
 54. Hadikin, "Life in the K-C Jam Factory"; Rozinkin, "Brilliant Jam Factory"; Arishenkoff and Koochin, "Life in the Doukhobor Commune"; *Edmonton Journal*, June 4, 1932.
 55. Hadikin, "Life in the K-C Jam Factory"; Rozinkin, "Brilliant Jam Factory".
 56. *Grand Forks Gazette*, August 22, 1935. Reportedly, only a half-dozen or so of Doukhobors ordinarily attended the movies,
- while on August 18, 1935, some 500 came into Grand Forks for the movie feature. The name of the feature is not recorded; however, it is the writer's conjecture that it was the 1935 Soviet propaganda film, *Pobeda Kolkhoznogo Stroya* ("Victory of Collectivization"). Unlike many warlike revolutionary-based Soviet films of the period, this movie focused on collective Russian grain-farming and harvesting practices, which would have particularly appealed to the communal-agriculturalist Doukhobors.
57. *Grand Forks Gazette*, August 22, 1935.
 58. *Ibid.*
 59. *Ibid.*
 60. *Ibid.*
 61. *Ibid.*
 62. *Grand Forks Gazette*, August 22, 1935; *Nelson Daily News*, August 20, 1935.
 63. *Ibid.*
 64. *Ibid.*
 65. *Ibid.*
 66. *Ibid.* The insurance covered jam-making machinery only and not the plant building or contents. It also did not cover the tomato canning equipment, received only the day before the blaze, as it was leased with ownership remaining with the manufacturer-shipper.
 67. *Grand Forks Gazette*, August 22, 1935.
 68. *Ibid.*
 69. *The Province*, August 22, 1935.
 70. Paul Vatkin was accused of burning down Spencer School in 1929 but acquitted due to lack of evidence (*Grand Forks Gazette*, August 16, 1929, and June 5, 1931). He was similarly suspected but cleared of charges for the burning of the Carson and Brilliant Schools and Doukhobor jam factory in August 1935; however, he was convicted on August 29, 1935 of charges of counselling Community members to keep their children from school and sentenced to two months' hard labour at Nelson provincial jail (*The Province*, August 29, 1935). A year later, he received life imprisonment for firing the Cooper Bridge near Grand Forks (*Grand Forks Gazette*, May 7 and 14, and June 11, 18, and 25, 1936; *The Province*, May 14, June 12, 16, 17, 22, and 24, 1936; *The Vancouver Sun*, June 12, 16, and 22, 1936; *Victoria Times Colonist*, June 12, 16, and 22, 1936; *Vancouver News-Herald*, June 17, 1936; and *Nanaimo Daily News*, June 18 and 22, 1936).
 71. Arishenkoff and Koochin, "Life in the Doukhobor Commune". By comparison, the December 1943 burning of the Kootenay-Columbia Preserving Works jam factory at Brilliant was admitted to by Sons of Freedom Peter Swetlishoff at a special commission hearing at South Slovan in October 1947 (*The Vancouver Sun*, May 11, 1949).
 72. Arishenkoff and Koochin, "Life in the Doukhobor Commune". For examples of J.A. McDonald purchasing fruit in the Grand Forks district for his Nelson jam plant, see *Grand Forks Gazette*, July 5, 1913, May 5, 1917, June 15, 1917, June 22–August 10, 1917, and October 27, 1922.
 73. Arishenkoff and Koochin, "Life in the Doukhobor Commune".
 74. *Ibid.*
 75. Koozma J. Tarasoff, *Plakun Trava* (Grand Forks, BC: Mir Publication Society, 1982), 153–154; Stuart Jamieson, "Economic and Social Life," *The Doukhobors of British Columbia*, edited by H.B. Hawthorn (Doukhobor Research Committee, University of British Columbia, 1955), 52–56.
 76. Tarasoff, *Plakun Trava*, 153–154; Stuart Jamieson, "Economic and Social Life," 52–56; *Winnipeg Tribune*, June 30, 1937, 39; *Medicine Hat News*, June 29, 1939; *National Trust Company v. The Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood Ltd.* (SCC) [1941] SCR 601, [1941] 3 DLR 529; 23 CBR 1; *Medicine Hat News*, June 29, 1939.
 77. Sheila Gardezi, "From Toil to Peaceful Life," *Route 3* (Spring 2010): 15–17.