

History in the Community

The Doukhobors: Celebrating A Century of Life in Saskatchewan

by George Stushnoff



THE EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

George Stushnoff is the President of the Doukhobor Cultural Society of Saskatchewan. His grandparents and parents came from Russia to the Doukhobor community in the Langham area of the Prince Albert region of the District of Saskatchewan in the North-West in 1899. They were from the Independent Doukhobor tradition. Born in 1922, he was raised on his parents' farm, he took teacher training after he finished high school, and he taught school for five years. He returned to take over the farm his

father had bought 10 miles southwest of Langham. He farmed for 20 years and was active as a 4H leader. After he left the farm in 1968 he worked for the federal Department of Indian Affairs.¹

During the hearings of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism the people of Canada who were of neither French nor British descent objected strongly to the idea of Canada being defined as a bilingual and bicultural country with "two founding races." Spearheaded by the Ukrainians, they made it clear that this relegated them to being second-class citizens. As a result the Royal Commission Report included a book on the "Cultural Contributions of Other Ethnic Groups."² In response to the Report, Prime Minister Trudeau announced a policy of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" in October of 1971 and the government began to fund bilingualism programs. Because minority ethnic groups lobbied for funding for what was by then being referred to as "multiculturalism," federal and provincial governments began to fund ethnocultural organizations and folk festivals.³ In Saskatchewan, where there were many ethnic groups, the idea of the state endorsing and funding multiculturalism was popular.⁴ The Saskatchewan Multicultural Act passed in May of 1974 and Section 209 of the School Act was repealed. In 1919 Section 209 had forbidden the use of languages other than English, and limited use of French, as the language of instruction.⁵

In the mid-seventies, as historian Howard Palmer observed, an "ethnic pecking order" still existed in Canada although the hierarchy was "not as rigidly held as in the past."⁶ Stushnoff, knowing the history of discrimination against the Doukhobors and having experienced it himself, welcomed the opportunity to work for the federal Secretary of State in 1973. He was the first Social Development Officer in Saskatchewan, hired to implement the multicultural program and the human rights program. He always stressed the idea that "there is beauty and riches in all cultures." He worked for the Secretary of State until he retired in 1988.⁷

Stushnoff, who remains a strong advocate of the policy of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework," has been active in the Doukhobor Society of



The George Stushnoff Private Collection.


George Stushnoff as a boy with parents, Hannah (Woykin) and Peter A. Stushnoff, his brothers, and his sisters in 1928. Back row (left to right) William and Peter. Front row (left to right) mother Hannah with baby Helen on her knee, Annie, George, and his father Peter.

Saskatoon for over 20 years. When multicultural programs began there was a great deal of debate about the groups that could be defined as ethnocultural groups. One of the important questions was whether or not groups like the Doukhobors were religious organizations or ethnocultural groups. If they were not classified as ethnocultural organizations they could not get funding through the multicultural programs. Stushnoff therefore helped to organize the Doukhobor Cultural Society of Saskatchewan, just one of the ways in which Doukhobor societies in the province have been redefined over the decades.⁸ Zenon Pohorecky, who did a study of ethnocultural organizations in Saskatchewan during the early seventies, found that Doukhobor societies put a great deal of time and effort into raising funds "for worthy service organizations which had goals consistent with Doukhobor ideals." By supporting these institutions, "the Doukhobors have looked beyond their own group towards persons of goodwill everywhere. Their concept of sharing has extended their horizons."⁹ The groups the Doukhobors work with now include humanitarian groups, such as Veterans Against Nuclear Arms, and those dedicated to peace and to a non-violent world, and groups that are fostering human rights and improved race relations across Canada, such as the Canadian Race Relations Foundation.¹⁰

In 1995 Stushnoff received a certificate of acknowledgement as a Global Citizen from the Canadian Committee for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations. He attends the Doukhobor Prayer Home in Saskatchewan, conducts services, sings in choirs, and participates in historical dramas.¹¹ The Chairman of the Doukhobor Cultural Development Committee in Saskatoon, he was an honorary co-ambassador to the Saskatoon Folkfest in August of 1999. In addition to being the President of the provincial Doukhobor Cultural Society he writes, edits, and publishes "The Dove," the society's newsletter, which is "dedicated to the harmonious enlightenment and peaceful co-existence of humanity."¹²

In other words, the following article is written by a leader of the Doukhobor community in Saskatchewan.¹³ George Stushnoff does not claim to be a professional historian. He is frequently asked to speak about the Doukhobors, who have a strong commitment to keeping alive their own version of their history. Stushnoff writes as he speaks, mainly from his own experience and that of his parents and grandparents and his knowledge of other Doukhobors. He is a community historian who views the history of his people through the eyes of a man of faith.¹⁴

Georgina M. Taylor. Editor

he Centennial Anniversary of the arrival of the Doukhobors to Canada is being celebrated this year. Migrating from Tsarist Russia, where they were being persecuted, our ancestors arrived as refugees in four ship loads between January and June of 1899. They then travelled across the country by train to settle in present-day Saskatchewan.

Who are the descendants of these Doukhobors? We are ordinary, grassroots, peace loving people. We believe in a creator of the universe. This creator of all things is God, the Father of all humanity. That means that all human beings are brothers and sisters, regardless of race, color or religious belief. We have no church, no priests or ministers. When we conduct worship services we take turns, both men and women, through the reading/reciting of psalms from our Book of Life and the singing of hymns that have been composed over the years in order to share the lessons of life and our relationship with God, our Father. We are a fraternal society. We register our organization as a charitable non-profit voluntary society. From the foregoing description you would think that we have a very uneventful history, but in reality that is not the case.

In the early 1600s many new forms of religious thought were being introduced into Russia as the Protestant Reformation had done elsewhere in Europe. Doukhoborism had its origins in Russia in the early 1700s when the Russian Orthodox Church and State treated the Russian peasants very oppressively thus creating a climate for dissension. Sylvan Kolesnikoff, an army officer, knowing the horrors of war, and probably aware of the Protestant Reformation elsewhere in Europe, began to introduce to the soldiers and other peasants the simple way of life and worship as had been originally taught by Jesus in Israel. These teachings appealed to many of the peasants who then stopped attending the Russian Orthodox Church.

The name Doukho-borets was first coined in 1785 by a Russian Orthodox priest, as a derogatory term against a protestant group of Russian peasants who rejected the rites and dogmas of the Russian church. It meant "Spirit-wrestlers," in the sense that these people were wrestling against the spirit of God because they would not use the services of the priest or his church. However the Doukhobors believe that the spirit of God dwells and animates every living human being; that the people, not needing a priest, practised using this spirit of God within them to 'wrestle' or cope with the problems of daily living. Therefore it was appropriate to be called 'Spirit-

wrestlers.' They prayed to this indwelling spirit of God for guidance and not to, or through, a priest. The teachings are the true teachings of Jesus. Jesus taught that where two or three are gathered in his name that is where his church is. Jesus taught a way of life and worship not a religion. Doukhobors find no sacredness in man-made churches and icons. The sacredness lies in one's relationship with God. Accepting the word of God as taught by Jesus is their form of baptism instead of using water. They also reject all church ritual and have no religious hierarchy to give orders down the line. Each local society is independent of any other, but local societies respect and communicate with each other.

This spirit of God/soul enters the human body at the first breath of the baby after birth and dwells in every human being, making all human beings as brothers and sisters under the Fatherhood of God, our Creator. Furthermore, since God dwells within us that makes the human body a holy temple of the living God. Therefore the Commandment: "Thou shalt not kill." God doesn't want anyone to destroy His Holy Temple under any circumstances. "Love thy neighbor as thy self." Love, towards the so-called enemy, is a power of God that we must utilize to overcome the enemy by making friends with them and at the same time not losing one's principles. For these so-called 'heretical' beliefs and so as not to contaminate the rest of society, the Doukhobors from 1840 to 1845 were exiled from the interior of Russia into the Caucasus region of the Republic of Georgia where they were meant to be annihilated by roving bands of outlaws in this largely ungoverned territory. To survive in this hostile land, the Doukhobors were put to the test: whether to protect themselves by the use of guns and swords or apply the teachings of Moses and Jesus. "Thou shalt not kill; Love thy enemy; if they steal your coat, give them your shirt also." Actually the Doukhobors didn't have much choice but to put these teachings into practice. So when the enemy came to steal, the Doukhobors invited them in to a meal and gave them more food and clothing to take home for their families who must have been pretty hard up. It wasn't long before the power of God, manifested through man as Love, began to take effect. The bands of outlaws soon began to say to one another: The Doukhobors are our friends, we shouldn't steal from them. Not only did the enemy become friends with the Doukhobors; some of the enemy, learning from the Doukhobor example, began to change their lifestyle and became productive farmers and peaceful people themselves.

In the mid 1850s Russian civilization once more caught up to the Doukhobors with the advent of the

Crimean war and the Doukhobors were called to serve in the military. The Doukhobors compromised by agreeing to haul wagon loads of supplies to the Russian front lines. As more years went by young Doukhobor men were subjected to conscription for military training. In 1885, at Easter time, on the orders of their Spiritual Leader, Peter V. Verigin, the Doukhobors decided to refuse military training. On Easter morning as their military officer greeted them



Peter V. Verigin and his long-time companion Anastasia Holoboff who lived with him throughout his years in Canada. At times he referred to her as his wife.

with, "Christ has risen", the young men in service, responded, "Christ has risen within us, too", and dropped their guns and refused to carry them on parade. For this they were severely tortured by whip lashing and other means. However, the faith in these young men was so strong that they would rather die for the cause than give in. Remembering that Jesus sacrificed His life for a cause, they were ready to do the same. The authorities pleaded with them that nobody believes in war, that the time had not come to abolish war. The boys' response was, "Maybe the time has not come for you brothers, but it has come for us," The tortures continued. Then on the night of June 28,

1895, the eve before St. Peter's Day, the Doukhobors, under the instructions of their Spiritual Leader, Peter V. Verigin, gathered all their personal weapons, such as guns and swords, threw them onto a large wood pile that they built and set fire to them. The Russian authorities perceived this peaceful manifestation as an act of insurrection and sent the cavalry to bring them into line. When the horses refused to trample on the people the cavalrymen used their whips on the people. The leaders were arrested and exiled into Siberia, while the remaining people were constantly harassed and tortured.

When news of these severe persecutions reached Leo Tolstoy, the famous Russian writer and nobleman, he set about laying plans to save these people from extinction. He appealed to the British Quakers and Queen Victoria to help in preparing the way for the emigration of Doukhobors from Russia to Canada. In the meantime he completed writing his book, *Resurrection*, and used all the royalties from it to hire two ships for the transportation. Since money was very limited, the emigration ships turned out to be two cattle cargo boats that the Doukhobors had to first clean up and refurbish by building storage rooms and bunk beds. The Doukhobors, being skilled at this type of work, soon had the ships ready and spic and span. By December of 1898 the first shipload, of an eventual total of some 7,500 persons, departed from the Port of Batoum on the Black Sea. When, in January of 1899, this first ship, the S.S. Lake Huron, arrived at the Canadian port of Halifax, the quarantine officials were surprised to find this former cattle boat cleaner than any other passenger ship that had ever brought immigrants to Canada. The Doukhobors believe that cleanliness is Godliness, just as, where there is Love there is God. They loved seeking a peaceful life, and Canada was their promised land of hope and a new life because, before they decided to move, the Canadian government promised them freedom from military service just as they did for the Hutterites and the Mennonites. Clifford Sifton, the Canadian Minister of the Interior who was in charge of immigration, felt it was more important to settle the western prairies with farmers than it was to build up the military. If the land was made productive then the government could afford to pay other willing people to serve in the army and leave the Doukhobors free to produce food. They were also promised freedom to worship in their own way.

The Doukhobor lifestyle included people living in villages and sharing their labor, equipment and revenues collectively. The Doukhobors originally came to Saskatchewan and settled in villages, north of Yorkton

and northwest of Saskatoon, farming the land collectively. In the first spring, having come to Canada practically penniless, the able-bodied men sought jobs building railway grades. In the meantime, the women needed cultivated soil for their gardens. Since there were no horses or able bodied men around, with the help of some old men, about 12 of them would hitch themselves up to a small breaking plow and break up the virgin prairie grass in that manner. With the production of vegetables and relief assistance from the Quakers they managed to survive the first winter, while the men kept working out to earn money to buy other supplies, livestock and machinery. Within five years they had improved several thousand acres of land, built their villages, brick factories, flour mills, shoe and tailor shops as well as blacksmith and wood-working shops.



Women and children at work on a road to an unidentified Doukhobor village, ca. 1899-1900.

Saskatchewan Archives Board, National Doukhobor Heritage Village Collection, S-B 9708.

Due to greater efficiency and saving of labor the Doukhobors broke sufficient lands surrounding the villages to meet the Homestead Act requirements for each settler. However, large tracts of land in the outlying areas were left in their natural state. When new immigrants arrived, not understanding the Doukhobor situation, they pressured the government to give it to them for their homesteads. Unfortunately for the Doukhobors, the Department of the Interior had a new minister. Clifford Sifton had been replaced by Frank Oliver, who was hostile to all Slavs. Thus Doukhobors were forced to leave their villages, take up individual ownership of land and rebuild once again. In June of 1907 eviction notices were issued and over 250,000 acres of choice improved land reverted back to the crown, a loss of some eleven million dollars. As a result, in 1908, out of 8,000 Doukhobors, some 5,000 packed up and moved to British Columbia where they purchased a block of land and began to farm it collectively once again, under the name of the Christian Communities of Universal Brotherhood.

It didn't take the Doukhobors long to clear the vir-



Saskatchewan Archives Board, National Doukhobor Heritage Village Collection, S-B 9539.

Community Doukhobors harvesting in Section 13 with mechanical machinery near Verigin in 1917.

gin forests in the Kootenay valley and develop their thriving enterprises such as sawmills, brick factories, fruit orchards and a world renowned jam factory. They even built a steel bridge across the Kootenay River which was used by the general public for many years until the B.C. government had to build a bigger bridge to accommodate higher volumes of traffic. The old bridge is now a heritage site. The Doukhobors were enjoying freedom, prosperity and a good quality of life not realizing that all was not as well as it appeared on the surface. These were thriving communal village enterprises; they were not 'Communist.' However, since the Doukhobors maintained their communications with their Russian friends and relatives in Russia, by then a Communist State, the Canadian government was becoming disturbed by this chain of events.

Apparently this collective type of prosperity was not supposed to happen in Canada. On the early morning of October 29, 1924 the Doukhobors received shocking news. There had been a fatal explosion on board the West bound Canadian Pacific Railway Express train near Farron, B.C. A total of nine people were killed, including their most charismatic and brilliant leader, Peter V. Verigin. The cause of the explosion was not determined but the records of the investigation were closed to anyone for research or study. This closure and secrecy led to the suspicion that high authorities might be implicated. Rumour, other incidents, and observations provide strong indications of this. It was suggested that some of our own people were paid substantial enough amounts of

money to confuse and mislead and to burn and bomb in order to put an end to the collective way of life and to discredit Doukhoborism. The impact of these negative events led to the assimilation of many of our Saskatchewan Doukhobor descendants who still refrain from associating with us.

The Doukhobors who remained in Saskatchewan became Independent Doukhobors and adopted individual farming methods as they are doing to this very day. In the early 1920s, in the area of their original settlement, there was a Doukhobor family on practically every quarter-section of land. Today they live about five miles apart. In those days we were mixed farmers, growing a variety of grains, vegetables, poultry and cattle. There were milk cows on every farm. We produced our own cheese and butter and needed to buy very little food. Today's farmers specialize and buy practically all their food. Most Doukhobors today receive an education and have all kinds of jobs all over Canada. They were also good supporters of co-operatives, dairy and wheat pools.

Personally, when I decided to leave the farm in 1968 I got a job with the federal Department of Indian Affairs. After five years I was fortunate to become the first Officer with the Department of Secretary of State in Saskatchewan to administer Pierre Trudeau's Liberal programs of multiculturalism and bilingualism, trying to develop a just society for all Canadians regardless of their country of origin. Now that I am retired I am busier than ever trying to create a better understanding and appreciation of our Doukhobor heritage and culture.

The Doukhobor “a cappella” style of singing is becoming very popular in Saskatoon and the Choir is being invited to perform at a variety of events. For the singing participants, it is more than just the popularity of appearing in public. According to Psalm # 91 in the “Doukhobor Book of Life,” by Vladimir Bonch-Bruevich, “the singing of psalms is an adornment to our souls. Singing, many psalm musters the truth against the forces of evil. It shows the true light. To the elders it is a means of comfort. To the young it is an improvement of their mind coming from Christ, our God.”

As Doukhobors born in this country, we love the freedoms and the opportunities that Canada provides for us. We believe in co-operation, that people should

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work together for the common good and avoid the dog-eat-dog attitude. In unity we become strong; divided we fall. As you work with, and help, the least of the people you will have helped yourselves. As you sow, so shall you reap in the long run. Co-operate. Make friends of the enemy. That is the Doukhobor Way of Life.

In 1996 the Doukhobors were pleased to receive a citation from Prime Minister Jean Chretien, in which he stated that:

The presence of the Doukhobor community in Canada is a fine example of the breadth and dynamism of our multicultural society. Since their arrival in Canada, the Doukhobors have made many contributions to this nation, always undertaken in the spirit of tolerance, toil and a continuing commitment to global peace and harmony.

On this Centennial Anniversary of Doukhobors' arrival in Canada, we have a lot to be thankful for: for the freedom, as Canadians, to be ourselves with the

right of use of any language, culture or faith within the framework of two official languages and a Charter of Rights and Freedoms that treats all people equally. We thank God for His mercies.

A CHRONOLOGY OF THE HISTORY OF SASKATCHEWAN DOUKHOBORS

- 1899 - The first Doukhobors arrive in Saskatchewan.
- 1899 to 1907 - Some 7,500 Doukhobors, who were encouraged by Clifford Sifton, the Canadian Minister of the Interior, lived and thrived in communal villages.
- 1902 - Peter V. Verigin, the 'divine' leader of the Community (or Large Party) Doukhobors arrived in Saskatchewan, after 16 years of enforced exile in a remote region of Russia.
- 1903 - Independent Doukhobors, who opposed the idea of 'divine' leadership and favoured the idea of direction from 'the voice within,' continued to break away from the Community (Orthodox) Doukhobors.
- 1905 - Developed land was scarce. When Frank Oliver, who had no respect for Slavic people and had opposed the immigration of the Doukhobors, replaced Sifton as the Minister of the Interior, trouble ensued.
- 1907 - The elimination of communal villages and the seizure of Doukhobor lands by the federal government.
- 1908 to 1913 - 5000 Community Doukhobors and a small group of zealots moved to British Columbia. The Independents and some of the Community Doukhobors stayed in Saskatchewan.
- 1916 - Peter G. Makaroff became the first Doukhobor to graduate from the University of Saskatchewan. In 1918 he was awarded a law degree.
- 1917 - The Community Doukhobors were incorporated as the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood (CCUB) with Peter V. Verigin as its President. Its head office was in Verigin, Saskatchewan.
- 1924 - Peter V. Verigin died with eight others in a mysterious train explosion.
- 1931 - The CCUB head office moved to British Columbia.
- 1933 - Premier Anderson of Saskatchewan and Prime Minister Bennett failed in their attempt to have Peter P. Verigin, who had succeeded his father as the leader of the CCUB, deported. The CCUB lawyer who successfully

- opposed the deportation was Peter Makaroff.
- 1938 - The by-then defunct CCUB was replaced by the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ.
- 1939 - Wartime prejudice against the Doukhobors, who were pacifists, mounted.
- 1941 - 70 Doukhobor conscientious objectors were held in an alternative work camp near Lac La Ronge. 92 Doukhobors went to prison in Prince Albert rather than do alternative work, which they regarded as equivalent to military service.
- 1949 - Doukhobors celebrated 50 years in Canada. A re-enactment of early times was captured on film "The Thorny Road."
- 1954 - The Saskatoon Doukhobors establish their first bread baking ovens and sales of Doukhobor bread with the first Pioneer Days at the Western Development Museum in Saskatoon.
- 1958 onward - The Doukhobors joined other peace groups in joint protests against war.
- 1960 - The 1960 edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* describes the Doukhobors as: "industrious and abstemious in their lives, and when living up to the standard of their faith, present one of the nearest approaches to the realization of the Christian ideal which has ever been attained."
- 1980 - Official opening of the National Doukhobor Heritage Village (NDHV) Museum on June 29th, at Verigin, Saskatchewan
- 1986 - The formation of the Doukhobor Cultural Society of Saskatchewan (DCSS) in April.
- 1987 - A statue of Lev Tolstoy, the Doukhobor migration benefactor, was erected at the NDHV at Verigin, Sask.
- 1987 - The first issue of *The Newsletter* of the DCSS was published in October.
- 1987 - Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip visit the NDHV at Verigin, in October.
- 1989 - The first provincial Doukhobor conference/workshop held in Saskatoon Coop College.
- 1995 - The Saskatchewan Doukhobor newsletter changed its name to 'The Dove.'
- 1995 - Saskatchewan Doukhobors celebrated the 100th Anniversary of the 'Burning of Arms' in 1895 in Transcaucasia. Under the leadership of Peter V. Verigin, the Doukhobors had burnt their swords and firearms as a protest against conscription and the persecution of the Doukhobors had escalated. The celebrations in Saskatchewan included: Peter's Day in

June in Saskatoon at the Western Development Museum and at the NDHV in Verigin; Voices for Peace Choir and Drama Ensemble in Saskatoon and Yorkton before proceeding across Canada, the United Nations in New York and across Russia; "Spirit Wrestler" Doukhobor Drama at Twenty-Fifth Street Theatre Centre in Saskatoon from October 27th to November 5th.

- 1997 - The provincial Doukhobor conference/workshop at Manitou Springs Hotel in February.
- 1998 - "Spirit Wrestler" drama reproduced at Rosthern Station Arts Centre July 11th - August 2nd.
- 1999 - Centennial celebrations at Manitou Springs in February, at Blaine Lake on June 27th, Verigin Heritage Village on July 18th, and a bus tour to Montreal Lake and La Ronge to visit the alternate service camp site and highway where Doukhobor boys worked in lieu of military service on July 29th. A new drama on race relations based on Doukhobor principles is being created by Tom Bentley, the director for "Spirit Wrestler" in 1995 and 1998. This drama will premiere at the Rosthern Station Arts Centre in 2000 and may travel across Canada as a New Millennium project.

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George Stushnoff, Saskatoon

NOTES FOR THE EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION:

1. Interviews with George Stushnoff, 8 September 1999, 4 October 1999, 23 October 1999.
2. Alvin Finkel and Margaret Conrad, *History of the Canadian Peoples 1867 to the Present*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, Ltd., 1998), 353, 417. Alan B. Anderson and James S. Frideres, *Ethnicity in Canada - Theoretical Perspectives* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1981), 314. Evelyn Kallen, *Ethnicity and Human Rights in Canada* (Toronto: Gage Publishing Limited, 1982), 165, 197-198.
3. Finkel and Conrad, *History of the Canadian Peoples 1867 to the Present*, 417.
4. For discussions of the concept of multiculturalism and the state policy of multiculturalism see Anderson and Frideres, *Ethnicity in*

- Canada, 99-129, 313-328. For an academic analysis of the criticisms of multiculturalism see Kallen, *Ethnicity and Human Rights in Canada*, 165-170, 197-204. For a critique of multiculturalism by a journalist who is member of a visible minority see Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions - The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1994).
5. Zenon Pohorecky, "The Changing Role of Ethnocultural Organizations in Saskatchewan: Case Studies with Statistical Data Cast in Historical Perspective," in *Ethnic Canadians - Culture and Education* ed. Martin L. Kovacs (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center University of Regina, 1978), 190. Raymond Huel points out that there was one exception to the English only rule in the 1919 legislation. French "could be used as a language of instruction in the first grade" and it "could be taught as a subject of study for one hour a day in subsequent grades." Raymond Huel, "The Public School as a Guardian of Anglo-Saxon Traditions: The Saskatchewan Experience, 1913-1918," in *Ethnic Canadians - Culture and Education*, 301.
 6. Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," in *Multiculturalism as State Policy*, the conference report of the second Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism, Ottawa, February 13 to 15, 1976, 109. See also Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice - A History of Nativism in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 5-15, 27.
 7. Interviews with George Stushnoff, 8 September 1999, 4 October 1999, 23 October 1999. *The Dove*, 44 (October 1999): 15. Pohorecky, "The Changing Role of Ethnocultural Organizations in Saskatchewan," 193-197.
 8. Interviews with George Stushnoff, 8 September 1999, 4 October 1999, 23 October 1999. In the early 1970s there were 753 ethnocultural organizations in the province representing 40 ethnic groups. Pohorecky, "The Changing Role of Ethnocultural Organizations in Saskatchewan," 190-192. Koozma J. Tarasoff, *Plakun Trava - The Doukhobors* (Grand Forks: mir Publication Society, 1982), 233.
 9. Pohorecky, "The Changing Role of Ethnocultural Organizations in Saskatchewan," 206-207.
 10. *The Dove*, 43 (July 1999): 2, 28.
 11. For Stushnoff's understanding of the Doukhobor Sobranye, their worship service, see George Stushnoff, "Sobranye - A Gathering or Assembly," *The Dove* 44 (October 1999): 2.
 12. Interviews with George Stushnoff, 8 September 1999, 4 October 1999, 23 October 1999. *The Dove*, 43 (July 1999): cover and 44 (October 1999): 2, 15-17.
 13. For more information about the Doukhobors in Saskatchewan and elsewhere in Canada see their homepage. It includes a full chronology of Doukhobor history. Koozma J. Tarasoff and Larry Ewashen, "Significant Dates in Doukhobor History." <http://www.doukhobor-homepage.com>
 14. *The Dove*, 43 (July 1999): 2, 4-5.

The Peoples of Saskatchewan



Saskatchewan Archives Board, National Doukhobor Heritage Village Collection, S-B 9532.

A gathering of Doukhobors as they bade "farewell" to Saskatchewan in Verigin on April 1, 1913. Two-thirds of the Community Doukhobors, some 5,000 people, went to British Columbia after their land and property were confiscated in Saskatchewan.



Saskatchewan Archives Board, National Doukhobor Heritage Village Collection, S-B 9660.

Peter V. Verigin (the tall man in the centre of the front row), Professor James Mavor (the bald man beside Verigin) who helped the doukhobors migrate to Canada, and the people in the village of Verigin in May of 1904.

... to be continued on page 47