MIGRATION OF THE SONS OF FREEDOM (Lower Mainland)

by

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Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK in the School of Social Work

Accepted as conforming to the standard required for the degree of Master of Social Work

School of Social Work

1964

The University of British Columbia
THE MIGRATION OF THE SONS OF FREEDOM
TO THE LOWER MAINLAND OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

The Movement to the Gates of Mountain Prison, Agassiz, B.C.
1962-1963

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ABSTRACT

The Sons of Freedom Doukhobors have been of great concern to the Government of Canada and the people and Government of British Columbia for many years. They have gained notoriety in recent years because of protests against the Canadian and British Columbia Governments by the use of treks, arson, dynamiting, nudism, opposition to schools, taxes, and forms of registration. Since 1925 there have been more than 900 acts of violence and terrorism attributed to the Sons of Freedom. There have been convictions in approximately 10 percent of the cases.

Proposed relocation in British Columbia has not occurred because of protests from the proposed areas. Many countries have been approached for possible migration, but none will accept the Sons of Freedom.

In 1961-1962 there were over 100 acts of terrorism and arson which led to the imprisonment of 95 Sons of Freedom. There are many conflicting issues on the subject of terrorism. Most of it has to do with inter-sect conflict with one group blaming the others of siding with the government in an attempt to destroy the sect and assimilate it into the Canadian way of life. Out of fear of death and destruction the marchers burned their homes and vowed that their destination would be the gates of Mountain Prison, a special prison established for Sons of Freedom offenders.

The trek was designed as a protest to draw public attention to themselves and force the government into making an impartial investigation behind the imprisonment of their sons, husbands, and brothers. The trek began on September 2, 1962 and ended on August 21, 1963. This migration is significant in so far as it brought the Sons of Freedom out of relative isolation in the Kootenays and exposed them for a period of time still to be determined, to the heavily populated area of Vancouver and the lower mainland of British Columbia. The present migration is possibly the most significant event in recent Doukhobor history as it offers the first hope for possible integration or at least a better understanding between the Sons of Freedom and the larger Canadian Community.

This study records the facts and details of the migration and the reciprocal impact between the Sons of Freedom and the community of Agassiz. Information was received from interviews with the Freedomite spokesman, people in the community, newspaper and magazine articles and books written about the Doukhobors.

The entire study is divided into four sections done by four students in the School of Social Work. The first section is the movement of the migration from the Kootenays into the community of Hope. The second is the movement of the migration from the community of Hope to the city of Vancouver. The third part focuses upon the social welfare aspects and implications of the migration. The fourth section is the movement of the
migration from the city of Vancouver to the gates of Mountain Prison in the Municipality of Kent. It is with this later phase of the migration that this section of the study is concerned.

The Freedomites failed in their objective to gain an impartial investigation for the prisoners. They did however gain the objective of being with the men and share their suffering with them. The Freedomites displayed their usual capacity to adjust to any situation by making and subsisting in their makeshift encampment. They have caused very little trouble outside of "squatting" on municipal land. The Freedomites are keeping their usual detachment from the community. The community is rather passive in regard to the Freedomites. The sect is very uncertain in regard to the future as they have no place to go and no money or resources. The Freedomites should be encouraged to remain in the lower mainland where improved community relationships and better understanding are possible.
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The Doukhobors in Russia

A historical review of the development of the Doukhobors in general and the Sons of Freedom in particular, with primary focus on migrations, both in Russia and Canada, is necessary for an understanding of the present situation. The Reformed Group of Sons of Freedom say that they are the only true Doukhobors. They still maintain deep rooted religious convictions that remain basically unchanged in their 65 years in Canada.

The Doukhobor religion as it is known today originated in Russia in the 19th century as a peasant sect protesting against the controls of the Russian government and the Russian Orthodox Church. The Doukhobors in Russia attempted to live a communal way of life, free from any form of external control. They believed in toil and a peaceful life, in which they had a direct communion with God. This rebellion led to opposition to authority, with a complete rejection of man made laws and a complete acceptance of God's law.

In Russia the Doukhobors lived in geographical isolation. The sect was banished from the Mily Waters to the sparsely settled Wet Mountain region of the Southern Caucasus in 1844. In the Southern Caucasus, which is located near the Sea of Azov, the Doukhobors lived in isolation from the larger Russian Community. This isolation was an attempt on the part of the government to segregate the sect so they would not influence other people.

Soon after Peter V. Verigin became leader compulsory military training was extended into the Southern Caucasus. The Verigin followers refused to co-operate with the government orders. Verigin
was eventually exiled into prison on the Kola Peninsula. During his imprisonment he began his study of the writings of Leo Tolstoy. Tolstoy, who later became a champion of the Doukhobor cause, believed in pacifism and was opposed to commercialism. Verigin reviewed and expanded Doukhobor religious philosophy and incorporated Tolstoy's teachings.

During Verigin's exile the sect continued to resist government orders. In 1895 there was an imperial decree which ordered the banishment of the Doukhobor sect, many settlements were broken up, and the families were evicted.

The Migration to Canada

The Society of Friends in England, led by Aylmer Maude and sympathetic Russians led by Leo Tolstoy, found the ways and means for migration of the Doukhobors. The choice of location was between Canada and the Island of Cyprus. In 1898 Aylmer Maude, among others, went to Canada to make final arrangements for migration. A group of 1000 migrated to the Island of Cyprus, were disappointed because of land and climate conditions, and later migrated to Canada.

One of the prime reasons for the Doukhobors' selection of Canada was an Order-In-Council in 1898 granting them exemption from military service. By the end of 1899 over 7000 Doukhobors had reached Canada. The Doukhobors settled in three blocks of homesteads in Saskatchewan, then part of the North West Territory. By the spring of 1900 nearly 2000 had separated themselves from the communal system and took up individual homesteads. In 1907 the main body of Doukhobors in Saskatchewan, under the leadership of Peter V. Verigin refused to sign for
individual land titles and take oaths of allegiance to the Crown.
The refusal to sign for individual land titles led to a government repossession of 100,000 acres of community occupied land. By the end of 1909 more than 5000 Doukhobors made their large-scale resettle-
ment in the West Kootenay region of British Columbia.

Conflict in the Kootenays

In the early 1930's there were many large scale demonstrations which led to the imprisonment of several hundred Freedonites on Piers Island, one of the Gulf Islands. Many of the demonstrations were reactions to the imprisonment of Peter the Second for perjury. Attempts were made to deport him which failed. Over three hundred Doukhobor children were placed in foster homes and children's institutions upon the imprisonment of their parents.

In 1946 Michael "The Archangel" Verigin formed a new society called the Union of Christ and formed a colony at Hilliers on Vancouver Island. The Colony grew and prospered and was composed of Freedonites who moved from the Kootenays to avoid violence and terror-
ism. The colony was burned during the reign of terror that charac-
terized the Doukhobor settlements in the middle 1940's and early


2 "Mike Verigin Moved to Avoid Violence", Vancouver Sun, 6 November 1947.
In 1950 Stefan Stanley Sorokin, a displaced German Baptist Missionary of Russian ancestry, became leader of the Sons of Freedom. His influence led to a short period of peace and he formed the Christian Community and Brotherhood of Reformed Doukhobors. In 1953 Stefan S. Sorokin moved to Montevideo, Uruguay. He remains in Uruguay at this time and is still the spiritual leader of the reformed group.

In 1950 the British Columbia Government set up a research committee and a consultative committee to study and make recommendations regarding the Doukhobor problem. The consultative committee made recommendation regarding resettlement and relocation in Canada and other countries. In the years that followed recommendations for resettlement in British Columbia and migrations to foreign land were proposed but all failed because of resistance in the proposed areas and countries. In 1953 Costa Rica, Panama, and Bolivia were considered. In 1959 the Doukhobors made an attempt to return to their native Russia. At this time the Canadian Government agreed to pay for their trip back and the most of resettlement. In January of 1959 the R.C.M.P. disclosed that a small group of Doukhobor leaders exploited the proposed move. In 1961 the Doukhobors planned another exodus, this time to


2 "Sect Still Waiting Russian Permission", Vancouver Province, 19 February 1959.

3 "Ottawa Willing to Ship Doukhobors", Vancouver Sun, 22 January 1959.

4 "Freedomites Say They Plan Another Exodus", Vancouver Sun, 15 November 1961.
Uruguay. This plan failed because the government of Uruguay felt that the Doukhobors were troublesome and troublemakers.

In 1954, 97 Freedomite children were confined at a school at New Denver in the Slocan Valley. The children were removed from their parents in the summer of 1959.

In 1961 and 1962 many Freedomites in and out of prison gave members of the R.C.M.P. "D" Squad (D for Doukhobor) statements in which they accused many of their own leaders of inspiring their crimes and gave details on how they assisted. Many of these people volunteered this information in court and it was read into the public record.

On March 24, 1962 a 150 man "D" squad raided 90 Freedomite homes and seventy members of the Fraternal Council and their aids were arrested. The leaders were charged with the use of violence to intimidate the Parliament of Canada and the Legislature of British Columbia. On June 8, 1962, three days before the preliminary hearings of the leaders the first homes in the Freedomite settlements were raided.

1 "Doukhobor Migration Exploited", Vancouver Province, 17 January 1959.

2 For a number of years the Reformed group of Doukhobors claim that John L. Lebedoff was assisting the R.C.M.P. by initiating terrorism. This was done through the use of prophecy and promises. The prophecy was that Doukhobors will only leave Canada through Canadian jails. The terrorists were told that they must commit any crime and then confess to it. The terrorists were also told to blame members of the Fraternal Council as instigators. The promises were land and being reunited with their families and spiritual leader. The prisoners changed their confessions and said in court that they deliberately lied on themselves and others. At the present time they feel that they had been deceived and deliberately railroaded into prison.
burned. During the first day fifty-three homes were burned, the next
day thirty-nine more. At this time all of the prisoners except one,
Mike Bayoff, reversed their earlier statements. In the next six weeks
two hundred and fifty more homes were burned.

When the leaders came to trial Magistrate William Evans dis­
missed the charges. The majority of the leaders were released from
jail on August 7, 1962.

In December of 1962, two months after the trek began, Magistrate
William Evans contacted the embassies of Russia, Brazil, Columbia,
Venezuela, Argentina, Cuba, Turkey and Peru. Non would accept the
Sons of Freedom. Every country contacted refused the offer giving the
same reason. They have compulsory military training with no provision
for the exclusion of minority groups.

The Present Migration

The migration from the Kootenays began on September 2, 1962.
The first major stop was an R.C.M.P. roadblock at Bromley Park which
lasted until the 28th of September. After the roadblock was lifted
the marchers proceeded to the community of Hope, arriving on the 29th.
Prior to leaving for Hope the Sons of Freedom gave a statement to a
meeting of the Kent Municipal Council. In the statement they gave
their destination, the reasons why they were going, why the children
were included, and what they believed the government intentions were.
The Freedcmites said that they were considered third class citizens

1 Simma Holt. "Death of a Doukhobor". Canada Month, (October

2 "Nobody Wants the Sons British Columbia Government Told",
Vancouver Province, 4 January 1963.
not worthy of the rights of others.

Kent Municipal By-Laws.

On September 17 and 18, 1962 the Kent Municipal Council wrote Emergency By-Law 399 and Building and Sanitation By-Law 400. The two by-laws were legal attempts by the Municipal Council to protect the community from the impact of the threatened migration. The Municipal Council felt that there would be a complete disorganization within the municipality in the areas of schooling, housing, health, sanitation, and law enforcement.

Section 2 of Emergency By-Law 399 prohibited anyone associated with the Doukhobors, who were part of the trek, or who had intentions of remaining close to Mountain Prison from entering the Municipality of Kent during the emergency. Building and Sanitation By-Law 400 made it illegal for anyone to camp in tents or temporary shelters of any kind. It limited the number of persons to 10 per acre. Shelters and latrines had to be inspected by the Sanitary Inspector. Piped drinking water and rainproof cooking shelters also had to be provided.

Section 3 of By-Law 399 and section 4 of By-Law 400 defined the penalty for violation of either By-Law. Any violator was subject to arrest without warrant, upon conviction subject to a fine of $500.00 and/or imprisonment up to six months together with court costs.

Supreme Court Action

On October 9, 1962 Mr. Justice Monroe granted a temporary Supreme

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Court Injunction with the understanding that By-Law would be tested in British Columbia in the near future.

On November 19, 1962 Mr. Justice Whittaker ruled By-Law 329 invalid as sections 2 and 3 made or attempted to make it a crime for any Doukhobor to enter the Municipality of Kent. According to Mr. Justice Whittaker the Kent Municipal Council sought to meet the situation by the creation of a new crime. This was an evasion of the exclusive legislative authority of the Parliament of Canada.

The Sons of Freedom remained in the community of Hope until January 18, 1963 at which time they moved to the city of Vancouver. The events in Hope will be covered in another section of this paper by Mr. William Mundy.

The Sons of Freedom remained in the city of Vancouver from January 18, 1963 until August 21, 1963. The events that took place in the city of Vancouver will be covered in another section of this study by Mr. Roopshand Seeberan.

The Movement to the Gates of Mountain Prison

Between the dates of August 19 and 21, 1963 an estimated number of five to six hundred Sons of Freedom moved from the city of Vancouver to the gates of Mountain Prison. Mountain Prison is located in the Municipality of Kent near the small community of Agassiz. It is a

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maximum security prison which was built in the spring of 1962. The prison, which is fire-proof, was established for the imprisonment of Doukhobors and more specifically for the Sons of Freedom who are convicted for some act of terrorism or violence.

The Freedomites were motivated in their move from Vancouver because of the prisoners' hunger strike which started one month earlier, on July 21, 1963. The hunger strike was originally declared to be a fast until death as the prisoners claimed that they were railroaded into prison and were not being allowed the right of appeal. The fast was called off on October 31, 1963 at which time the prisoners forgave those who caused their suffering.

The Freedomites' decision to move from Vancouver was spontaneous and came about in a Sobranya in Victory Square, Vancouver on August 17, 1963. Sobranya is the traditional Doukhobor group meeting. It is Doukhobor religious philosophy that God is present in each individual. In Sobranya the God of each merges with the God of others. From this corporate union a decision is reached which is God's Will speaking through the group. This form of decision making absolves the individual from any formal responsibility.

The Sons of Freedom arrived at the gates of Mountain Prison over a two day period. They arrived in chartered busses and private automobiles. The move was financed from social assistance funds. The expected storming of the prison and breakdown of law and order did not materialize.

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2 Storgoff, Mrs. Florence. Interview with writer. 22 December 1963.
3 Perepolkin, Mr. John. Interview with writer. 16 January 1964.
On August 23, 1963 representatives from the Vancouver Human Rights Organization were allowed in the prison in an attempt to call off the prisoners' fast. Mr. William Carson, President of the Human Rights Organization, showed the prisoners a telegram from Stefan S. Sorokin, the Freedomites' Spiritual Leader which requested a stop to the fast. The attempt failed.

At the same time Mr. Carson sent a telegram to the Attorney General of British Columbia recommending that the Government of British Columbia offer the Freedomites land with an extended payment plan and a promise of immunity for S. S. Sorokin should he return to British Columbia. On the same date the Freedomites sent a cable to the Minister of Justice in Ottawa requesting an inquiry into the situation.

At the time of the marchers' arrival a number of the marchers started a fast of their own which lasted for a few days. The marchers immediately began the construction of their cardboard, plastic, and canvas encampment.

The Freedomite Encampment

The Freedomite encampment is situated on a half-mile section of road at the gates of Mountain Prison. In the first weeks at the campsite everybody was building ramshackle tents, lean-to's and huts which line the road. In the weeks that followed many tents were overlaid with plastic sheeting for protection against the weather and later

1 "Authorities Move to Save 103 Sons", Vancouver Province, 27 August 1962.

2 . . . Agassiz Camp Newsletter (hereafter cited as ACN), . . . .
covered with slabwood siding.

Others chopped poles from the nearby forest and covered them with cardboard, canvas, old pieces of wood and sheet metal. They also dug privies, sank holes into the ground beside the road to tap swamp water for washing and bored two wells for drinking water.

There are approximately 150 assorted buildings in the encampment running 4 to 5 deep along the road. The larger buildings are the size of medium and large camping tents. The majority of the buildings, which are tents, have one room with the cooking equipment situated near the entrance. The homes are neat and clean and contain only essential household equipment. Because of the nature of their situation, the Freedomites do not have modern household appliances or conveniences.

Stove pipes have been fashioned from tins cans which are crimped together and held up with wire. The huts are heated by various methods, some have conventional wood heaters and stoves, others have home-made heaters and stoves fashioned from assorted non-inflammable material. On the opposite side of the road, next to a marshland, there is a series of clotheslines and wood piles.

In the center of the encampment is a large sign made of canvas with the Canadian Bill of Rights outlined upon it. Above the sign is written - Fact or Fantasy. When visitors come to the encampment Doukhobor children sing religious songs in both Russian and English while standing next to the sign.

The Freedomites' clothing is plain and colourless. The elderly men are characterized by their long beards and the women by their
babushkas. The encampment has many elderly people, school age children and their mothers, but few teen-agers and middle-aged men. While in the encampment one sees much aimless wandering and sober faces. Apart from the play of children and the sawing of wood there is little noise present in the encampment.

With the exception of the traditional Sobranya there is no formal organization in the encampment. The Freedomite spokesmen say that formal organization or structure is impossible because of the uncertainty of the situation. The Freedomites gather for Sobranya whenever convenient, usually in the morning and on Sunday afternoon. The teen-agers and young people also have a daily Sobranya of their own. Sobranya is frequently used for the passing of current news and information. The spokesmen claim that they frequently have to be careful about what is said in Sobranya when visitors and outsiders are present.

The sect has several spokesmen but deny any individual leadership or individual policy making. The sect spokesman use both English and Russian when meeting outsiders. They speak to the outsiders in English and settle issues amongst themselves in Russian. They welcome interested visitors and will extend themselves in answering questions or guiding them through the encampment. The spokesmen seldom, if ever, depart from the subject of their situation or religious philosophy. They want people to know and understand their situation but are very intolerant of any other point of view. The spokesmen frequently lead one into highly abstract and idealistic ideas on their values and way of life as opposed to the capitalistic free enterprise system of government. The Sons of Freedom seem to be preoccupied with highly
abstract ideals and values rather than giving thought and practical consideration to solving their problem. Outside of their active protest they leave the problem-solving to others.

The encampment has three buildings which are not used for housing. One is the community steam bath which will hold 10 - 15 people at one time. There is also a wash room for clothing with a hand driven washing machine, a bath tub, and a hot water heater which supplies both. The hot water heater is an old washing machine with an oven built into it.

There is also a community hall which will hold up to 200 people. The community hall is a wood structure which is frequently used for Sobranya and children's play activity.

The Freedomites obtain their building material from various sources. They obtain waste wood from saw mills, cardboard and packing crates from stores, waste lumber from destroyed housing, tin cans from service stations, and whatever they can salvage from garbage dumps.

The Reaction of the Community to the Sons of Freedom

The municipality of Kent, which is both mountainous and farm region, covers an area of 70 square miles. The population in the 1961 census was 2194. Agriculture, logging, mining and dairy farming are the major sources of income in the area. The largest community in the municipality is the village Agassiz with a population of 478.

1 Observations and Interviews by the Writer.
The municipality has one Reeve and 5 councillors, a 2 man R.C.M.P. detachment and a 12 man fire brigade for fire protection. The Agassiz-Harrison Advance is the local weekly newspaper. The Anglican, United and Roman Catholic faiths are the principal religious denominations.

Agassiz has a small business community which includes several grocery stores and service stations, one barber shop, hotel, movie theater, general store, hardware store, and real estate office. It also has a bank and several other small businesses.

The grocers in Agassiz have profited financially from the Sons of Freedom. Particular grocers receive vouchers distributed to the Freedomites from the Salvation Army. Direction to specific stores was put into effect to spread the money evenly in the community. The grocery store closest to the encampment cashes checks for the Freedomites. The owner of the store says that she has found the Freedomites to be "terribly honest". At the same time she cannot see the government helping them out when many of them are healthy and able to work. Another store keeper, who is close to the encampment, has a very hostile attitude towards the Sons of Freedom. He will only deal with them on a cash basis, and says that the only way in which he would help these people is by furnishing transportation to get them out of the municipality. A third storekeeper located close to the encampment refused to discuss the Freedomites with the writer.

One storekeeper has a mobile grocery store and drives to the encampment each day. The owner of the general store says that the Freedomites are shrewd shoppers. They always buy the best quality that their money will buy. The Freedomite women will purchase pure
and not blended food products even though the blended items might cost less. They will also purchase the best quality of clothing that their money will permit.

The Freedomites seldom, if ever, patronize the other businesses. Because of lack of money they seldom frequent the local barbershop or hardware store. The owners of these businesses were very hostile in their attitude towards the Sons of Freedom as was the owner of one local service station. The service station owner stated that the Freedomites will frequently attempt to barter for white gasoline and small batteries. A drug store clerk finds the Freedomites to be like any other people in her business dealings. The Freedomites seldom patronize the local restaurants because of lack of money.

The encampment has attracted many tourists into the municipality. The business community is quite critical of this because the tourists are not staying and spending money in the community. The least critical in the community are those who make a financial profit. Those who make little or no profit are very critical and often hostile in their attitude towards the Sons of Freedom.

The local real estate agent stated that the presence of the Freedomites in the Municipality has not affected the sale or price of property. One business man, the owner of the general store, established business at the time of the arrival of the marchers. He said that the presence of the Freedomites had no effect on his decision to establish business in Agassiz.

Prior to the arrival of the Freedomite marchers the Municipal Council was concerned over the possibility of a serious health and
sanitation problem. Upon the establishment of the encampment the Public Health Department offered and made available all the services available to the general community. To date there has been no outstanding incident of illness or disease. The Sons of Freedom have made good use of the Public Health Service as the Public Health Nurse comes into the encampment on a regular basis. The Sons of Freedom have followed the advice and suggestions of the health and sanitation officials. When medical care requiring a doctor's care is needed, frequently the Freedomites go to the emergency ward of the General Hospital in nearby Chilliwack.

Another major concern of the Municipal Council was the possible disorganization of the public school system. The Provincial Government granted $3500.00 to the Public School System to meet the sudden expansion of the local school. One teacher was added and two new classrooms provided. Prior to this, a room in the Anglican church building was used as a classroom. The Provincial Government also provided finances for the Freedomite children's initial school fees and school supplies. This caused some concern among several teachers since there were some non-Doukhobor children whose parents could not afford supplies.

In the beginning the Freedomite children were segregated but were totally integrated by January of 1964. The first problem was to determine the proper grade placement for each child. The school

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1 Hunton, Mrs. Margaret. Interview with Writer. 5 November 1963.
system did not have the previous school records for the Freedomite children. Various tests were given to the children at the beginning of the school year to determine their school level and ability. None of the Freedomite children are doing poorly in school, and none have displayed behaviour or discipline problems. The only outstanding characteristic in school is that a child the age of a sixth grader might be in the fourth grade.

The Freedomite children mix well with the children of the regular community and do not show any signs of feeling "different". It is the opinion of school and public health officials that the Freedomite children are often better dressed, cleaner, and better behaved than children in the general community.

The Freedomite children have been excused from participation in physical education, the singing of patriotic songs, and the pledging of allegiance. This has been done in respect to the Doukhobor's religious convictions.

In September of 1963 there were nearly 80 Freedomite children enrolled in school. In January of 1964 there were only 64 children enrolled. The majority of those who left school returned either to Vancouver or the Kootenay area.

Reeve James Frazer is bitterly opposed to the presence of the Freedomites in the Municipality and to any form of help or assistance that they receive. Reeve Frazer blames the Salvation Army assistance vouchers for keeping the Freedomites where they are. He feels that

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1 Duncan, Mr. W.C. Interview with Writer. 16 January 1964.
the Salvation Army is aiding and encouraging them to remain and feels  
that the Government should look after its own "dirty work". He  
asked the Attorney General to remove the Freedomites from the munici-

cipality because they were violating the camping by-law but this was  
not done. Reeve Frazer also feels that the Freedomites think that  
they can flout the law because the R.C.M.P. has not enforced the  
building and sanitation by-law.

The R.C.M.P. officers in Agassiz are reluctant to discuss the  
Dookhobor in a specific manner. One officer of the local detachment  
said that the Freedomite encampment contains the largest concentration  
of criminals in Canada. He says that he is unable to enforce the  
By-Laws because of instruction from the Attorney General's office.

A cross section of people in and around Agassiz were interviewed  
regarding their opinion of the Sons of Freedom. All of those inter-
viewed (20) felt that the Sons of Freedom are strange people, with a  
majority (14) feeling that the group has poor leadership and the  
individual members not being fully responsible for their behaviour.  
Approximately three-fourths (14) of those interviewed had little or  
no concern when they heard that the Freedomites were on their way to  
Mountain Prison. However (11) did see the possibility of a serious  
problem in housing, health, sanitation, and schooling. A very small

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1 "Reeve Raps Salvation Army", Vancouver Sun, 12 February 1964.
3 "Sons Out of Trouble for a Week", Vancouver Province, 23 August 1963.
4 Interview with Writer, 5 November 1963.
minority (3) feared destruction of property, a breakdown of law and order or a police problem.

Only 4 of those interviewed had never met a Doukhobor in the Agassiz area. The majority (16) had either a business contact or met them in a store. Half of those interviewed stated that they would not offer help to the Sons of Freedom in any form. One-fourth (5) said they would help them if the need arose. The remainder (5) said that it all depended upon the condition.

Three-fourth (15) of those interviewed stated that the Freedomites could remain in the community if they would follow municipal, provincial, and federal laws. Only 3 would not let them remain in the municipality under any condition.

Several of the people interviewed felt that the Freedomites want publicity and felt that they should not receive it. Some felt that the Freedomites are confused, do not know themselves, and are "bums" wanting "handouts".

The biggest impression that the Freedomites have made on the community is the care and discipline that they give their children. Not one negative comment was raised against the Freedomite children.

The Freedomite Reaction to the Municipality of Kent

The Sons of Freedom tend to isolate themselves from the general community. They do not participate nor take interest in the affairs of the town. The majority of their contacts are in business transactions with local grocers and service station operators.

In the first months of the encampment the Freedomites were able
to choose which grocer they pleased. This was changed by the Salvation Army and grocery vouchers were directed to specific stores. The Sons of Freedom are satisfied with these contacts. They say that some grocers give them a little extra for their money.

The major source of contact with the community is through the school children who receive much praise and favourable comment from members of the community. The Freedomites appreciate the school system's recognition of their religious convictions in regard to physical education, the singing of patriotic songs and the pledging of allegiance.

The Freedomite spokesmen say that By-Laws 399 and 400 do not exist as far as they are concerned. They do not believe in man-made laws. They feel that they have a duty and a responsibility to be with the prisoners and feel that they are fully justified in their action.

The Freedomite spokesmen say that the only individual in the community who has directed hostility toward them has been Reeve James Frazer. As stated previously, he bitterly opposes their presence in the municipality.

The Sons of Freedom claim that the R.C.M.P. and the "D" squad are treating them same way they did when they were in the Kootenay area. They maintain that they have no faith or trust in members of the R.C.M.P. They denounce alleged bribes and promises that presumably led many of the prisoners to making confessions to crimes that they say they did not commit.

The Sons of Freedom feel that members of the community have treated them fairly well. The Freedomites have only a limited
contact with individual members in the community. Some community
members have brought them food and clothing, others have given them
rides, offered fire wood and occasional part time work. One farmer
is going to loan them a field to make a garden in the spring.

The Freedomite spokesmen say that there is a charitable element
in any community but this does not speak for the views of all the people.
They feel that the majority of the people could not care less about
the situation. The Freedomites feel that those who make a financial
profit are pleased and those who speak the loudest are those who do
not profit financially or politically.

The Human Rights Organization

The Human Rights Organization from Vancouver has been actively
engaged in working on the Doukhobor problem on the community level.
They are concerned over the rights of minority groups and individuals
who come into conflict with society and have difficulty in speaking
for themselves. The Human Rights Organization, through its leaders,
are outspoken regarding the Doukhobor problem. Mr. William Carson,
President of the Human Rights Organization, is highly critical of the
major forces in the community which have formed public opinion over
the years. He does not feel that the government will ever take a true
look into the situation because any investigation would lead to revela-
tions that would embarrass various individuals and authorities.

1 "Freedomite Hut Village Busy Place", Toronto Globe and Mail,
17 February 1964.

2 Storgoff, Mrs. Florence, Ribalkin, Mr. Tim, Perepolkin Mr.

3 Carson, Mr. William. Interview with the writer. 2 October
1963.
Mr. William Carson and Dr. Ananda Bhavanani kept in contact with Mrs. Florence Storgoff and John Perepolkin in the encampment and Joe Podovininkoff, a Doukhobor residing in Vancouver. Joe Podovinikoff is an associate of Stefan S. Sorokin, the Spiritual Leader in Uruguay. Conflict arose between the Human Rights Organization and the Freedomites in November of 1963 because the Freedomites felt that the Human Rights Organization was trying to tell them what to do, and rejected their offer for solution. The Human Rights Organization solution wanted to place the group on an island. The Freedomites were to turn over their property holdings to the Human Rights Organization in return for the island and the Freedomites would receive a written document that the money received from the sale of their land would be returned in full if they should ever decide to leave the island. In this way the Freedomites would not have to buy the land and they would not have to pay taxes or rent.

The Freedomites rejected this offer. They said if the Human Rights Organization wants to help there is an alternative. "Let them get the prisoners out of prison, take them to some land and then we will follow."

In January 1964 the Freedomite sect contacted Mr. Carson asking him to bring Stefan Sorokin back from Uruguay to tell them what to do. They said that they will do whatever he says. Mrs. Storgoff said that they would move to land if it would be advised by their leader and if


2 Storgoff, Mrs. Florence. Interview with writer. 22 December 1963.
he would obtain land for them. On April 16 1964 Mrs. Storgoff informed the writer that the Human Rights Organization has lost contact with the members of the encampment. They have had no contact for a long period of time with their spiritual leader Stefan S. Sorokin.

Conclusions and Implications

The migration of the Sons of Freedom to the Lower Mainland of British Columbia is but one in a long line of mass movements that have long characterized the Doukhobors. The present migration brought the Sons of Freedom out of relative isolation in the tight, small valleys in the West Kootenay region of British Columbia, and offers the first hope of possible integration or at least a better understanding between the Sons of Freedom and the larger Canadian community. The fifty-six years since the movement of the sect to British Columbia have been characterized by terrorism, arson, violence, and nude demonstrations. These demonstrations have been protests directed towards the control of government and conflict between members and factions within the sect itself.

The current migration was designed as another protest against the government, this time to draw attention towards themselves and to force the government into making an impartial investigation into the reasons behind the imprisonment of their sons, husbands, and brothers. The desired investigation failed to materialize. The Sons of Freedom also found themselves without money, homeless, without leadership or

direction and "squatting" on property where they are not wanted.

The Kent Municipal Council attempted to meet the problems imposed by the impending migration by the creation of an emergency by-law. The Kent Municipal Council foresaw serious problems in the area of housing, schooling, health and sanitation, and in law enforcement. The Supreme Court of British Columbia ruled the by-law invalid as it sought to create a new crime. Though the Freedomites are violating the Building and Sanitation By-Law by "squatting" on municipal property they have not caused serious problems in any of these areas of concern.

The Kent Municipal Council and various members of the community were concerned because they were unable to enforce the Emergency By-Law, as defined in the Municipalities Act. They feel that the Provincial and Federal Governments are not assuming their responsibility and they find themselves powerless to cope with the situation and receive no support from the senior government bodies. From all appearances the government is inactive on the Freedomite problem except for their standing offer for individual or family resettlement any place in Canada.

The Freedomites have showed their usual ability to adjust to any situation and make the best out of it. The encampment itself and the people in it are, considering the circumstances, unusually clean. The Freedomites have displayed an almost unbelievable ability to

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1 That of making it illegal for a Doukhobor or anyone associated with them from entering the Municipality during the duration of the emergency. Judge Whittaker's decision, even though he recognized that an emergency existed, upheld the rights of an individual in a free society.
make a liveable situation out of "nothing". The Freedomites continue their usual detachment from the surrounding community. As one spokesman said, "We mind our business and they mind theirs". The Freedomites feel uneasy when confronted by the sights, sounds, and temptations of the town or city. They fear living in Vancouver as it necessarily separates them. Occasionally they will go to the city obtaining medical care. They also prefer having new born children living in the city because life in the encampment is often harsh and cold and not good for infant children. The Sons of Freedom have no intention of participating in the affairs of the town or city as this would demand reciprocal behaviour on their part. They desire a community of their own making free from any form of external control. At the same time the Freedomites are inactive on working out a solution or compromise to their problem.

The Municipality of Kent, apart from the Reeve and two other council members seem quite passive to the presence of the Sons of Freedom. This is probably due, in part, to the fact that the Freedomites have not resorted to some of their traditional acts of arson, terrorism, violence, or nude demonstrations. Interviews with a number of people in the area indicate that very few people were at all concerned over possible terrorism. This is probably due to the fact that there were no acts of terrorism while the Freedomites were in Hope or Vancouver. A number of people interviewed were concerned over possible problems in housing, schooling, health and sanitation but only a small minority are absolutely opposed to the Freedomites remaining in the municipality under any condition. It would seem that
the general community is less concerned with the Freedomites than members of the Municipal Council who represent the general community in government.

Policing has not proved to be an outstanding difficulty. The R.C.M.P. "D" squad is located in the municipality and additional police have been added to the local R.C.M.P. detachment. Twenty-four hour policing has been put into effect in the municipality. Members of the "D" squad come into the encampment quite frequently and talk to Mrs. Storgoff.

The Freedomite children have made an excellent adjustment to the school situation. None are failing in school nor have they been any behaviour or discipline problems. The children have been clean and appropriately dressed. When influenza and measles were rather widespread in the community, the Freedomites, including the children, were almost immune. This in itself helped the Freedomite image in the community. The Freedomite children's good behaviour can be related to the strict obedience expected of them. This form of obedience carries over into later life as the adult Doukhobor displays fierce loyalty to the group and its leaders.

A small number of young adult women in their late teens and early twenties seemed to separate themselves from the group and live independently in Vancouver. In recent weeks several of these young women moved back to the encampment. They will only say that they did not like the city or were there for medical reasons. One spokesman said that they are moving back upon their parents' request. It has said by several authorities and the Freedomite spokesmen themselves
that the individual Doukhobor who tries to separate themselves from the group find it difficult, if not impossible, to stay away from the group for any period of time. The spokesmen deny any dissatisfaction among the teenagers in the encampment.

The Freedomites are subsisting financially from Salvation Army vouchers and from casual employment in the Agassiz area. (See the section on Welfare by Miss Irene Forrester.) Many of the able-bodied men are employed by farmers in the planting and harvesting of seasonal crops. Other men in the encampment have skills in house painting and house building. More often than not farmers and individuals in the community will come to the encampment and seek someone for the service they require. The Freedomites share their money with those in need. Some of the working men will help support a mother and children whose husband and father is in prison.

The first prisoners will be released in May and June of 1964. Some of the prison terms are up to fifteen years. It is likely that the Freedomites will remain in their present location until they are forceably removed or relocated in another area. They will not move before this because they have no place to go and no money to move. If they should move for any reason, it would either be back to Vancouver or to the Kootenays. In Vancouver they would be able to obtain housing and social assistance payments. They say that they will never return to the Kootenays because their property has been sold. They also say that they moved from the Kootenays to clear their name from the terrorism and violence that has for so long been associated with them.
It is suggested that the Freedomites be encouraged to remain in the lower mainland of British Columbia. This will offer hope for eventual integration and better understanding between them and the people of the immediate area.

It is unlikely that any form of terrorism, violence, or demonstration will develop. It will only be used as a last resort to draw public attention to themselves if their situation becomes intolerable. Because of the possibility of demonstrations the surrounding community should be encouraged in its practice of accepting the group. The public school system acted very wisely by respecting their religious convictions and integrating the children into the classes best suited for their individual ability. Public health services should continue to be extended to the members of the encampment. The government should explore the possibility of extending social welfare medical services to the encampment as illness, the effects of age, and limited diets will eventually have an impact on the group.

It is also suggested that interested members and groups in the community reach out to members of the encampment and include them or at least make possible for them to participate in some form of community project. This could be started with the school age children in some form of school or recreational program.

At the present time no group, organization or government agency is actively engaged in working out the Doukhobor problem. The Freedomites themselves are sitting back in a very passive way.

The Sons of Freedom are presently homeless, and "squatting" on municipal property, without financial funds and without much leadership.
It is up to the government and the local community to take the initiative and work with the people on a cooperative basis. Only in such a way will mutual understanding come about.

The Sons of Freedom should not be expected to give up their cherished hope for a Doukhobor community free from internal and external pressure.
Appendix A.

THE CORPORATION OF THE DISTRICT OF KENT

BY-LAW NO. 399

WHEREAS The Council of the District of Kent is reliably informed that an organized group of several hundred members of the Doukhobor sect known as Sons of Freedom is rapidly approaching the District of Kent with the intention of remaining in that District for an indefinite period.

AND WHEREAS many children of school age are within the approaching group.

AND WHEREAS the group has neither the financial resources necessary to enable the members to acquire dwelling houses nor the intention of acquiring or maintaining dwelling houses within the district.

AND WHEREAS members of the sect are addicted to nudism, arson and the illegal use of dynamite and explosive devices.

AND WHEREAS the District of Kent lacks school accommodation to take care of the children of school age within the group.

AND WHEREAS the District of Kent lacks facilities for the accommodation of a group of this magnitude under healthful and sanitary conditions.

AND WHEREAS the arrival of a group of this kind in the District of Kent will disorganize the educational system of the School District, will be a menace to health and is likely to lead to breaches of the peace and the possible break-down of law and order in the District.

AND WHEREAS the powers and authorities vested in or conferred upon the Council are inadequate to deal with the emergency created by these conditions.

NOW THEREFORE the Council of the District of Kent in open meeting duly assembled enacts as follows:

1. The Council of the District of Kent declares that by reason of the matters set forth in the preamble hereto an emergency exists.

2. No person associated with or being a part of the group of Doukhobors presently moving from the Kootenay area of the Grand Forks area to Agassiz or the district of Kent with the intention of remaining close to the Mountain Prison for Doukhobors and no person who is or has been a member of or who is or has been actively associated with the Doukhobor sect known as Sons of Freedom shall enter the district of Kent during the continuance of this emergency.
3. Any person who contravenes any provision of the By-law shall be liable to arrest without warrant and on summary conviction to a fine of up to $500.00 or to imprisonment for up to six months or both together with costs.

4. This by-law may be cited for all purposes as "The District of Kent Emergency By-Law, 1962, No. 399.

READ A FIRST TIME and passed by the Council on the 17th day of September A.D. 1962.

READ A SECOND TIME and passed by the Council on the 17th day of September A.D. 1962.

READ A THIRD TIME and passed by the Council on the 17th day of September A.D. 1962.

RECONSIDERED and finally passed by a two-thirds majority of all the members of the Council of the District of Kent this 18th day of September A.D. 1962.

Reeve

Clerk

I hereby certify the above to be a true copy of the By-Law No. 399, as passed by the Municipal Council of the Corporation of the District of Kent, on the 18th day of September A.D. 1962.

Clerk
Appendix B.

THE CORPORATION OF THE DISTRICT OF KENT

CAMPING REGULATION AND SANITARY CONTROL BY-LAW, 1962

BY-LAW NO. 400

The Council of The Corporation of the District of Kent in open meeting duly assembled enacts as follows:

1. DEFINITIONS:

"Camping" includes living in tents or in temporary shelters of any kind but does not include living in a trailer having sanitary facilities which have been approved by the Sanitary Inspector or Health Officer.

"Sanitary Inspector" means the Sanitary Inspector of the North Fraser Health Unit.

"Health Officer" means the medical health officer of the North Fraser Health Unit.

2. No group consisting of five (5) persons or more shall camp on any parcel of land in the District of Kent until a Permit to camp has been issued by the Council of the District of Kent or by some official or employee of the Council authorized by the Council to issue a Permit.

3. (a) Application for such a Permit shall be made in writing to the Clerk of the District of Kent by the person who is in charge of the group or who accepts responsibility for the conduct of the group with respect to this by-law.

(b) The application shall:

(i) State the number of persons proposing to camp and shall give their names.

(ii) State the legal description of the parcel of land on which the camping is proposed.

(iii) Describe the tents or shelters proposed to be used giving dimensions and state the number of persons who will occupy each tent or shelter.

4. The number of persons on any parcel of land shall not exceed ten persons per acre of area.
5. No permit to camp shall be issued until the Sanitary Inspector has inspected the tents or shelters proposed to be used and until latrines have been constructed and the Sanitary Inspector or health officer has certified to the Council that the tents or shelters and sanitary facilities are adequate.

6. No more than ten persons shall camp of any parcel of land which is not served by piped drinking water.

7. No more than ten persons shall camp on any parcel of land which does not have within its area rain proof cooking shelter.

8. Any person who contravenes any provision of this by-law shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine of up to $500.00 or to imprisonment for up to six months or both, together with costs.

9. This by-law may be cited for all purposes as "Camping Regulation and Sanitary Control No. 400."

READ A FIRST TIME and passed by the Council on the 17th day of September A.D. 1962

READ A SECOND TIME and passed by the Council on the 17th day of September A.D. 1962

READ A THIRD TIME and passed by the Council on the 17th day of September A.D. 1962.

RECONSIDERED and finally passed by the Council of The Corporation of the District of Kent and the SEAL of the Municipality affixed and signed by the Reeve and Clerk, on the 18th day of September A.D. 1962.

__________________________
Reeve

__________________________
Clerk

I hereby certify the above to be a true copy of By-Law No. 400, as passed by the Municipal Council of The Corporation of the District of Kent, on the 18th day of September A.D. 1962.

__________________________
Clerk
IN THE SUPREME COURT OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

BETWEEN:

THE CORPORATION OF THE DISTRICT OF KENT

Plaintiff, )

AND:

FLORENCE STORGOFF and MARIE SHLAKOFF and the class that they represent being the Sons of Freedom Sect of the Doukhobors

AND

THE HONOURABLE THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF THE PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Defendants

Frank Wilson, Esq., - for Plaintiff

T.G. Bowen-Colthurst, Esq., Q.C. and G.S. Cumming Esq., - for the Attorney-General

This action is brought by the Corporation of the District of Kent (hereinafter referred to as "Kent") against Florence Storgoff and Marie Shlakoff and the class that they represent being the Sons of Freedom Sect of the Doukhobors. The Attorney-General of British Columbia is also named as a defendant.

The Plaintiff's claim is for an injunction restraining the defendants (other than the Attorney-General) from violating the
terms and provisions of Plaintiff's by-law number 399 passed on September 18th, 1962. My brother Munroe, on October 9th, 1962, granted an injunction until trial. In his reasons for judgment Munroe J. was careful to express no opinion as to the validity of the by-law.

The matter comes before me by way of motion on behalf of the Attorney-General for an order that the injunction be dissolved on the ground that the by-law is illegal. The parties have agreed that the hearing of the motion shall be considered the trial of the action, and that any order I may make shall be as effective as if made after trial. Upon hearing of the motion the defendants the Sons of Freedom (hereinafter, for the sake of brevity referred to as the "Freedomites") were not represented by counsel, but counsel for the Attorney-General argued strenuously, and I may say, very ably, against the validity of the by-law.

At the outset of the present hearing, Mr. Wilson, counsel for Kent, admitted that certain portions of the by-law were bad for uncertainty. Counsel for the Attorney-General conceded that those portions could properly be severed. The preamble and operative sections of the by-law, with the offending portions deleted, reads:

"WHEREAS the Council of the District of Kent is reliably informed that an organized group of several hundred members of the Doukhobor sect known as Sons of Freedom is rapidly approaching the District of Kent with the Intention of remaining in that District for an indefinite period.

AND WHEREAS many children of school age are within the approaching group.

AND WHEREAS the group has neither the financial resources necessary to enable the members to acquire dwelling houses nor the intention of acquiring or maintaining dwelling houses within the district."
AND WHEREAS members of the sect are addicted to nudism, arson and the illegal use of dynamite and explosive devices.

AND WHEREAS the District of Kent lacks school accommodation to take care of the children of school age within the group.

AND WHEREAS the District of Kent lacks facilities for the accommodation of a group of this magnitude under healthful and sanitary conditions.

AND WHEREAS the arrival of a group of this kind in the District of Kent will disorganize the educational system of the School District, will be a menace to health and is likely to lead to breaches of the peace and the possible break-down of law and order in the District.

AND WHEREAS the powers and authorities vested in or conferred upon the Council are inadequate to deal with the emergency created by these conditions.

NOW THEREFORE the Council of the District of Kent in open meeting duly assembled enacts as follows:

1. The Council of the District of Kent declares that by reason of the matters set forth in the preamble hereto an emergency exists.

2. No person — being a part of the group of Doukhobors presently moving from the Kootenay area or the Grand Forks area to Agassiz or the District of Kent with the intention of remaining close to the Mountain Prison for Doukhobors and no person who is — a member of — the Doukhobor sect known as Sons of Freedom shall enter the District of Kent during the continuance of this emergency.

3. Any person who contravenes any provision of the by-law shall be liable to arrest without warrant and on summary conviction to a fine of up to $500.00 or to imprisonment for up to six months or both together with costs.

This by-law was passed by Kent in purported exercise of the powers conferred upon municipal bodies by S. 218 (2) of the Municipal Act, R.S.B.C. 1960, Ch. 255. The sub-section is as follows:-
"(2) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, when the powers and authorities vested in or conferred upon the Council of a municipality are inadequate to deal with an emergency, the Council may, by by-law adopted by an affirmative vote of at least two-thirds of all the members thereof, declare that an emergency exists and exercise such powers as are necessary to deal effectively with the emergency."

It is not for me to say whether such an emergency existed as would justify the exercise by Kent of the rather wide powers conferred by S. 218 (2). The Council evidently felt that the authorities vested in them were inadequate to meet the situation and declared that an emergency existed. That would appear to conclude the question as to whether of not an emergency did in fact exist. If, however, that were a question for me to decide, I would have no hesitation in saying that Kent was, and still is, confronted with an emergency of alarming proportions. In what is known as the Mountain Prison in Kent Municipality some sixty-eight Freedomites are serving sentences for such offences as arson, bombing and possession of explosives. In August or early September of this year there was a mass migration of Freedomites, men, women and children from their homes in the Kootenays approximately 400 miles distant from Kent, with the expressed intention of "going where our destiny lies, with our fathers, husbands, brothers and sons at Buchenwald." Before leaving on this trek many burned their own homes. Eventually the trekkers arrived at Hope, only a few miles from Kent, where they are now camped. There are approximately 1000 persons in this group, including about 160 children.

On September 10, 1962, representatives of the Freedomite marchers read the following document at a meeting of the Kent municipal council:
"TO GIVE THE GENERAL PUBLIC A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF OUR PRESENT MISSION, WE WOULD LIKE TO PUBLISH OUR SIDE OF THE PRESENT SITUATION. WE TAKE FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT.

First - Our Destination

We are going where our destiny lies, with our fathers, husbands, brothers and sons at Buchenwald.

Second - Why we Are Going

John L. Lebedoff, who has the protection of the R.C.M.P., has been threatening our people with loss of life if we did not comply with his wishes, which are: the burning of homes voluntarily. If this was not carried out, he stated that the homes would be levelled to the ground with bulldozers supplied by the R.C.M.P. He further stated that Krestova would be raced to the ground; the old would be destroyed, the new would be created.

This shows us how Lebedoff and the Government of British Columbia have been working hand-in-hand to create the present situation. While the Government were building the fireproof and indestructible Buchenwald of Mountain Prison at Agassiz, Lebedoff was instigating the terrorism for the complete destruction of Krestova and the other districts of Sons of Freedom.

This accomplishes the plans of Lebedoff and the Government of fulfilling the purpose of Buchenwald, which is the transplanting of the Sons of Freedom from their homes to a concentration camp.

This terrorism and the consequent use of the Mountain Prison has left us destitute and homeless.

Now we, the mothers, wives, children, the aged are going there to complete the transplanting. Why we the children follow in line with our fathers and mothers? Because we fear we will be taken again from our parents and will undergo again the same experience, cold hunger and separation as we have went through in the New Denver Dormitory.

Have you built this Buchenwald for us or for yourselves? If for us, then let us go there to join our brethren. If you find that the Mountain Prison will not be satisfactory for all of us, will not accommodate all of us, then build us a duplicate at Krestova.
You make claims that the Mountain Prison is only for terrorists and wrongdoers. We ask all of you who the wrongdoers in Germany were - the Fascists and Hitlerites, those who built Buchenwald and allowed it to be built, or those who were imprisoned in it? If you judge that those who built and allowed it to be built, are the guilty party then by comparison you likewise are the wrongdoers. By remaining silent, you share the guilt.

You consider us third-class citizens, not worthy of having homes or land, or having a family and our own way of lives, of having children and bringing them up satisfactorily according to our religious convictions. You wish to solve our problem with the complete liquidation of our group. If this is your true desire, Good! Do with us as you wish. Do with our bodies as you think necessary - soap, fertilizer, handbags, lampshades and bind your books with our hides.

The population of Kent is about 2200. The prospect facing this small municipality was its invasion by 1000 people belonging to a sect with a history of violence and the expressed present intention of joining those members of the sect then inmates in the Mountain Prison. These people were without housing and had no financial resources. Problems of housing and sanitation would inevitably arise. Schools would have to be provided for the children. The residents of Kent might well fear a breakdown of law and order following the frustration of the Freedomites' expressed purpose of joining their imprisoned brethren. These are the urgent problems which the residents of Kent have sought to forestall by the passage of the by-law in question.

Said S. 218 (2) is, in my opinion, wide enough to confer upon a municipal council the power, in an emergency, to adopt such measures as could be exercised by the Provincial Government. It cannot, however, authorize the enactment of legislation
in a field assigned exclusively to the Parliament of Canada.

"...a provincial Legislature cannot delegate any power which it
does not possess; and the extent and nature of the functions which
it can commit to a municipal body of its own creation must depend
upon the legislative authority which it derives from the provisions
of S. 92 other than No. 8." Attorney-General for Ontario v. Attorney-
General for the Dominion (1896) A.C. 348 at 364.

By S. 91 (27) of the British North America Act the
Parliament of Canada is given exclusive legislative authority in
matters relating to the criminal law.

By S. 92 (15) Provincial Legislatures may exclusively
make laws in relation to "The imposition of punishment by fine,
penalty or imprisonment for enforcing any law of the Province made
in relation to any matter coming within any of the classes of sub-
jects enumerated in this section."

The test as to what constitutes a crime is thus stated
by Lord Atkin in Proprietary Articles Trade Association vs. Attorney-
General for Canada (1931) A.C. 310 at 324:

"The criminal quality of an act cannot be discerned by
intuition; nor can it be discovered by reference to any
standard but one: Is the act prohibited with penal
consequences?"

Applying this test it seems clear that Kent has, by
sections 2 and 3 of the by-law, made, or attempted to make it a
crime for any Freedomite to enter the Municipality. This is an
invasion of the exclusive legislative authority of the Parliament
of Canada, unless it can be said that the imposition of punishment
was for the purpose of enforcing a law coming within any of the classes of subjects enumerated in the above section 92.

It is true that in the preamble the by-law refers to anticipated problems of housing, education and health. Those are local problems, but the penalties imposed are not for the breach of any law relating to those subjects. The by-law is designed to prevent conditions arising which may lead to their breach. This is a laudable object, if it could be achieved by the exercise of powers within the jurisdiction of the municipality or the Province, but Kent has sought to meet the situation by the creation of a new crime. This is clearly beyond its powers.

The by-law is also designed to prevent conditions arising which may lead to a breach of the peace or unlawful assembly. These are matters relating to the criminal law and as such are within the exclusive legislative jurisdiction of the Parliament of Canada. Both are covered by the Criminal Code; breach of the peace by sections 30 and 31, and unlawful assembly by Section 64.

In Rex vs. Karminos (1936) 1 W.W.R. 433, Turgeon J.A. at 440 quotes a portion of the judgment of the Privy Council in Russell vs. Reg. (1882) 7 A.C. 829:

"Laws designed for the promotion of public order, safety or morals, and which subject those who contravene them to criminal procedure, belong to the subject of public wrongs rather than civil rights and fall under section 91 of the British North America Act and have relation to the criminal law; the true nature and character of the legislation in each particular instance must always be determined in order to ascertain the class of subjects to which it really belongs."
I am of the opinion that for the reasons mentioned the by-law must be declared invalid and the interim injunction dissolved. There were a number of other points of attack on the by-law which I need not consider. I may say that I have been greatly assisted by the able arguments of counsel on both sides.

If I am right in the decision I have given it would appear that Kent, acting alone, is helpless in the face of the emergency with which it is threatened. One does not like to think that the law is so inadequate that higher authority also finds itself powerless to come to Kent's assistance.

Section 64 of the Criminal Code is as follows:

"An unlawful assembly is an assembly of three or more persons who, with intent to carry out any common purpose, assemble in such manner or so conduct themselves when they are assembled as to cause person in the neighborhood of the assembly to fear, on reasonable grounds, that they

(a) will disturb the peace tumultuously. . . ."

The statement read to the Kent municipal council, quoted above, expresses the intent to carry out the common purpose of "going where our destiny lies, with our fathers, husbands, brothers and sons at Buchenwald." It is apparent that the Freedomites could not join their fathers, husbands etc. unless they either attempted to enter the prison by force, or committed some offence which would cause them to be imprisoned. On the strength of this expressed intention, and in view of the fact that the Freedomites have assembled in such force the citizens of Kent evidently feared, upon what would appear to be reasonable grounds, that these people would "disturb the
peace tumultuously."

To meet this danger it would not appear to be necessary to lay a charge or make an arrest. By the Criminal Code, Section 27, it is provided that "Everyone is justified in using as much force as is reasonably necessary

(a) to prevent the commission of an offence

(i) for which, if it were committed, the person who committed it might be arrested without warrant, and

(ii) that would be likely to cause immediate and serious injury to the person and property of anyone; or

(b) to prevent anything being done that, on reasonable and probable grounds he believes would, if it were done, be an offence mentioned in paragraph (a).

Unlawful assembly is one of those offences coming within the above S.27 (a) (i), for, although it is punishable only on summary conviction, it is nevertheless a criminal offence, and by virtue of code section 435, anyone committing it may be arrested by a peace officer without warrant. It is therefore an offence which may be prevented by the use of force without laying a charge. These preventive measures could be taken as soon as the Freedomites show signs of leaving their present camping grounds for their march on Kent.

Anything I have said which is unnecessary for my decision on the validity of the by-law is said solely for consideration by the proper authorities, and is not intended as a judicial pronouncement. It is not for me to say what Government policy should be. Nevertheless, every citizen must be concerned, as I have been
while writing these reasons, because of the problems facing the people of Kent if the Freedomites are permitted to enter their municipality.

"W.W. Whittaker J."

Vancouver, B.C.

Appendix D. Opinion Questionnaire

1. Were you aware of the Sons of Freedom before they left Krestova?
   Yes .... No ....
   Comments: ..............................................................
   ..............................................................

2. Where did you obtain your prior information? Check more than one.
   Radio .... Television .... Newspapers .... Friends ....
   Relatives .... Books .... Magazines .... Observations ....
   Other .... Comments: ..............................................................
   ..............................................................

3. What impressions had you formed about these people? Check more than one.
   All strange .... Some strange .... None strange ....
   Good Leadership and responsible for their behaviour ....
   Other .... Comments: ..............................................................
   ..............................................................

4. What were your concerns when you heard they were coming to Agassiz?
   Check more than one. No concern .... Little concern ....
   Much concern .... Burning and bombing of local property ....
   A serious housing problem .... A serious health and sanitation problem ....
   A school problem .... Breakdown of law and order .... A police problem .... Physical harm to self and/or family ....
   Other .... Comments: ..............................................................
   ..............................................................

5. Have you had any personal contact with any of these people since they have been in the encampment? Check more than one. Yes ....
No . . . Couldn't care less . . . Visited encampment . . .
Met in store . . . Met on street . . . Met in school . . .
Business contact . . . Please explain nature of the business contact . . . . . . . . . . . . .
Comments: . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

6. Have you or would you help these people if the need arose? Please check more than one. Yes . . . No . . . It all depends . . .
Transportation . . . Other . . . Comments: . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

7. Under which of the following conditions would you let these people remain in the municipality? Check the most appropriate.
If they would follow the local, provincial, and federal laws . . . If they set up a community form of life and remained to themselves . . . If they follow only some of their own and some of the laws of the land . . . Under any situation as long as they do not commit any form of arson, violence, and terrorism . . . Not under any type of situation . . .
Comments: . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

8. Do you feel that these people have helped the municipality?
Check the most appropriate. Yes . . . No . . . Maybe . . . .
Financially . . . They have attracted people to the community . . . They have kept people away from the community . . .
Comments: . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

9. Have any of your ideas changed regarding the Sons of Freedom?
Check the most appropriate. Yes . . . No . . . A little . . .
For the best . . . For the worse . . . Comments: . . . . . . . .
10. From your experience do you feel that the radio, press, television, magazines, and books have presented the Doukhobor problem properly? Yes .... No .... Comment: .......
Appendix E. The Prisoners' Declarations

1. The Text of the Prisoners' Declaration reads as follows:

"We openly declare unto all, that we are on a hunger-strike - until death -

The reason is that the Gov't. refuses to investigate our matter. They refuse us lawyers & they refuse us appeals & we have to suffer incarceration for no reason at all.

When we were in Nelson Jail, Lebedoff, Bayoff & Special D Squad (CIB) came every day to see us and promised us everything - solving our problem, freeing us & find us a piece of land & reunite us with our families & our Spiritual Pastor, S.S. Sorokin.

CIB special D squad gave us all kinds of privileges and favors, Bodnaruk, Malenowski, Padowski & others drove us home to see our wives & left us home for several hours on many occasions. And the young boys were driven to Weddings and evening parties. Through all these promises and favors that were done by special D squad we were convinced that they were sincere in solving our Douk. problem. Therefore we agreed & accepted everything & lied on ourselves & others. Now we see that we were deceived & deliberately railroaded into prisons.

From all the brothers in Agassiz Mt. Prison."

2.

We the incarcerated brothers and sisters, in Mountain Prison, at Agassiz B.C. have come to a conclusion to forgive everyone, who caused our suffering and on our behalf we plead before our heavenly father, that he forgive us upon of our belief or faith we started our hunger fast and we discontinue it.

Brothers and Sisters in Mountain Prison
Appendix F. Bibliography


PUBLIC POLICY IN HEALTH AND WELFARE IN THE MIGRATION OF THE SONS OF FREEDOM TO THE LOWER MAINLAND

by

IRENE JEANETTE FOERSTER

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK in the School of Social Work

Accepted as conforming to the standard required for the degree of Master of Social Work

School of Social Work

1964

The University of British Columbia
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

School of Social Work

The University of British Columbia,
Vancouver 8, Canada.

Date May 13, 1964
ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to record the movement of The Sons of Freedom in 1962 - 1963 into the Lower Mainland Area, since it was felt that such a piece of unusual social history relating to the Sons of Freedom was worthy of documentation. The thesis is divided into four main parts. The first part is a discussion of the reciprocal impact of the Sons of Freedom and the village of Hope, the second part deals with the reciprocal relations between the Sons of Freedom and the City of Vancouver. The third section deals with public policy in health and welfare aspects of the Sons' of Freedom migration and the fourth section discusses the reciprocal impact of the Sons of Freedom on the village of Agassiz.

This section of the thesis focuses on public policy in health and welfare aspects of the Sons' of Freedom migration. The paper is divided into three main parts, and discusses public policy in health and welfare at Hope, Vancouver and Agassiz, with an emphasis placed on public policy in the granting of Social Assistance to the Sons of Freedom at Vancouver. Research was carried out largely through interviews with public and private agencies which had had direct contact with the Sons of Freedom. An analysis of present problems of Sons of Freedom in Vancouver was carried out through an individual survey of problems of Sons of Freedom receiving Social Assistance, as defined by the City Social Service Department, and by the Sons of Freedom themselves. A small number of Sons of Freedom in Vancouver who were not receiving Social Assistance were also contacted.

This study yielded four major findings. It was found that the health of the Sons of Freedom remained fairly good throughout the migration. Public policy in health was construed liberally in relation to the Sons of Freedom, and authoritative action was taken only when danger of an epidemic at Hope was felt to be imminent. Care of Sons of Freedom children was found to be excellent, and no major problems arose regarding their schooling. It was further found that the older members of the sect in receipt of Old Age Assistance and Old Age Security were the main source of financial aid to the group, when Social Assistance was refused to those who applied. Finally, it was found that public policy in social welfare was frequently applied in an inconsistent and discriminatory manner.

An attempt was made in this paper to discuss public policy in health and welfare as it related to discussion and recommendations in the Hawthorn Report of 1952. The recommendation made in the Hawthorn Report that a permanent Commission on Doukhobor Affairs be set up to insure consistency and coordination in public policy was felt to be still applicable.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to express particular thanks to Professor W. Dixon, Head of the School of Social Work for his suggestions and direction in the preparation of this thesis.

Appreciation is also extended to Mr. Carlos Charles and other members of the staff of the City Social Service Department and to Major T. Powell of the Salvation Army for their warm interest and cooperation.
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The Migration to Hope

On September 29, 1962, approximately 400 Sons of Freedom Doukhobors arrived at Hope, B.C., just over three weeks from the time the march began. By October 3rd the numbers had swelled to about one thousand. As early as September 12th the Sons of Freedom began complaining of lack of funds, since those who were on Social Assistance had not received their September cheques. At this time, the official position of the Department of Social Welfare in Victoria, as stated by the Deputy Minister, was that "there will be no welfare allowances paid to those on the trek".¹ Merchants along the route of the trek, however, had reported that sales to the Doukhobors had been brisk. Other reports indicated that individuals, both Doukhobor and non-Doukhobor, had supplied gifts of fruit and vegetables. Prior to the total group's arrival at Hope, many of the children had stayed briefly with relatives and friends along the route, and had been amply cared for. It seems likely, therefore, that at this point at least the sect members were receiving sufficient food to meet their needs.

The Sons of Freedom set up their camp beside the Coquihalla River at the Coquihalla Parksite on the outskirts of Hope. Conditions were described by one spokesman (a non-Doukhobor living in Vancouver) as intolerable, but on October 21, 1962 a rather lengthy report prepared by

¹ Quoted in the Vancouver Province, September 12, 1962, p. 1.
the Catholic Family Services for the Attorney-General's Department stated
the following:

Their income and food has been supplemented by
groups and people in the neighbourhood and obviously
from the Kootenays, and they are not without resources
for material living. She [Marie Schlakoff] also mentioned
that clothing had come from Vancouver and we...knew that
our St. Vincent de Paul Salvage Bureau had supplied some
clothing....

About this time social welfare officials in Nelson reported that some
Doukhobors were receiving Social Assistance cheques, but it was impos­
sible to say whether these were or were not members of the trek. It
was also reported, then and later, that many Sons of Freedom were
returning briefly to their former homes in Krestova to salvage root crops
from their gardens and cellars. Other reports indicated that some of the
Sons of Freedom were working in the orchards of the Okanagan, while others
picked corn and dug potatoes for nearby farmers.

On October 10th, several women appeared at the Social Welfare
Office in Chilliwack requesting Assistance. They were told that pro­
vincial policy as laid down by officials in Victoria was that no
Assistance was to be given to trekkers. The official in question further
conveyed to the Doukhobors that he was in complete agreement with this
policy. He stated that in his opinion, an application for a Board of
Review (permitted under the Social Assistance Act for those who feel
policy or procedures have been inappropriately applied in their case)
would not be applicable, since in this case policy concerned a group,
not an individual. However, neither in the Social Assistance Act, nor in
the Policy Manual governing administration of the Act, is there a state­
ment given preventing a Board of Review in such a situation.
A few days later, a group of Vancouverites interested in ethnic groups sent a telegram to Welfare Minister Black requesting a review of living conditions at the Doukhobor camp with a view to assessing if destitution was evident. No reply was received to this telegram.

Following the Sons' of Freedom move to the Seventh Day Adventist camp in November, Paul Scherle, Village Chairman of Hope, threatened to move the Doukhobors to Victoria, if some form of social welfare aid was not forthcoming. This prompted an investigation of the situation by social welfare officials but no action followed this investigation. Reports were still being received that Doukhobors were receiving Social Assistance from Nelson, but again, there was no evidence to prove these recipients were in fact living at Hope. Early in December Mr. Scherle made good his threat and a busload of Doukhobors arrived in Victoria to discuss "the whole problem of the Doukhobors". Nothing came of this meeting, however, and on December 18th a group of fourteen Sons of Freedom women went to the Social Welfare Department in Chilliwack to demand Social Assistance. A meeting was held, comprised of local welfare officials, the Salvation Army, the Court Registrar and the R.C.M.P. After consulting with officials in Victoria (who had previously asked the Salvation Army to "watch" the welfare needs of these people) it was decided that each of these person's needs would be assessed by Major Powell, Salvation Army representative in Chilliwack, and if need was established each would receive a $10.00 grocery order. On December 20th thirty-five more arrived and received $10.00 grocery orders, on December 29th
thirty-eight more received them. This money was later reimbursed by the provincial government. At this point, it was clear that a more formal procedure for coping with the situation would have to be initiated, so Major Powell drafted registration forms (see Appendix A) based on those used by the Department of Social Welfare. Registration began in early January, but before it was completed the group moved to Vancouver.

The official position of the Salvation Army officer is at best puzzling. Although operating as a member of a certified voluntary agency, his services in this instance were not, he stated, on behalf of the Salvation Army. On the other hand, although using government funds, he was not in the employ of the government and was therefore accountable to them only for fiscal arrangements. The fact that the rates given were lower than those normally given to Social Assistance recipients for food suggests a policy of less-eligibility; yet can this officer be held accountable for such a policy?

Health Aspects

Until late in December of 1962 the health of the members of the trek remained very good. During their stay at the Coquihalla campsite, sanitation and health conditions were checked regularly and there was no evidence of malnutrition or ill-health due to unsanitary conditions. Following the move to the Seventh Day Adventist camp, occasioned by the rising water of the Coquihalla River, questions arose as to sanitation at the new camp. However, the facilities, which include hot and cold running water, electricity, thirty indoor toilets, a small hospital and
a dining hall, were infinitely superior to those at Coquihalla. A question was raised by the fire marshall as to a fire hazard presented by having stoves in the tents, so the Doukhobors formed a fire brigade and even conducted a fire drill.

As temperatures dropped, fears arose that water and sewage pipes at the camp would freeze. Dr. A.S. Arneil, Director of the Upper Fraser Valley Health Unit, had been visiting the camp at least once a week and reported sewage disposal was quite inadequate. However, despite threats that the water would be shut off permanently, the Doukhobors remained in the camp. When water for sewage disposal was finally turned off entirely they used nearby facilities in restaurants and service stations.

The only major threat of illness came in late December, when about ten cases of measles and one case of hepatitis were reported. Many of the sect were also suffering from severe colds and coughs and a major epidemic was feared. Largely due to the efficient efforts of Dr. Arneil, the situation remained under control. The only incident where authority had to be exercised occurred when a 72 year old Doukhobor, on her sixteenth day of fasting, refused hospitalization. Legal authority was obtained to have her hospitalized. She was fed intravenously and released several days later.

Although several officials advised that the children at the camp should be removed to more adequate accommodation, no official action was taken. It is quite possible, however, that if the health situation had become worse or the Sons of Freedom had remained much longer such action would have been initiated.
Schooling and Family Allowances

Largely due to the efforts of Ray Thorstenson, District Superintendent of Schools, registration of the 130 school age Doukhobor children was accomplished quickly and efficiently. Average attendance however was about 96; at no time was full attendance recorded. Costs for schooling of the Sons of Freedom children were reimbursed by the provincial government. Although Family Allowance can be withdrawn if pupils fail to attend school, there is no record of this having occurred. In any case, it is estimated that somewhat less than half the families eligible for Family Allowance are actually receiving it. Many of the Sons of Freedom refuse to accept this allowance, for they feel that somehow the government would then have some sort of special control over their children.

Recreation

While there was little attempt on the part of the adult Sons of Freedom to participate in the community life of Hope, it is reported that some of the teenage children attending school did visit the homes of some of the school children in Hope. However, only three of the thirty children registered in high school took an active part in the physical education programme. Most of the children, although they mixed well with the Hope children during school hours, returned to the camp as soon as school was dismissed.

The Migration to Vancouver

Stage I  The Main Group January - August 1963

On January 16th and 17th, 1963 an estimated 800 Sons of Freedom
Doukhobors arrived in Vancouver. City officials seemed unsure as to what to do - and did in fact do nothing. However, other forces were already organizing to cope with the situation. By 2:00 p.m. the same day a group was formed, which became known as the Committee for the Welfare of Sons of Freedom Children.* The concluding paragraph of the record of their first meeting read as follows:

It was made clear at this meeting that the lawless actions of the Sons of Freedom were not endorsed by this committee and its only concern is to meet the emergency for the sake of the very old and the very young in the group from the humanitarian aspect.2

Members of the committee included Prof. W. Dixon, U.B.C., Chairman of the Committee; Dr. Joseph Katz, U.B.C.; Rev. Ross, First United Church; Dr. Black, Department of Citizenship & Immigration; Michael Audain; Margaret Erickson; Father Hanley, Catholic Church; Deryk Thompson, Family Service Association; Philip Stratton, Vancouver Housing Authority; and Mr. Ikuta, Vancouver Buddhist Church. Mrs. Ostupchuk, Executive-Director of Civic Unity Association, acted as secretary for the Committee. The group had three main purposes: to assist in finding housing for the Sons of Freedom, to aid in helping them obtain public assistance and to help them register their children for schooling.

Public Welfare

Social Assistance

Although Fanny Storgoff, unofficial spokeswoman for the group, stated on January 16th to the press that the group did not intend to try to get Social Assistance, nevertheless on January 17th a group of three

Hereafter referred to as the Ad-Hoc Committee.

Doukhobors, Fred Baraboroff, Marie Schlakoff and Fanny Storgoff approached Brigadier Purdy, Salvation Army Officer in charge of family welfare, and requested him to help them. Brigadier Purdy interviewed approximately ten applicants a day and began issuing food vouchers to those found eligible. The rates were as follows: $5.00 for one adult for one week, $7.00 for two adults and $1.00 per child. In all, the Brigadier handled over 300 families. The Salvation Army remained active with the Sons of Freedom for about three months, assisting families and individuals having difficulty obtaining Social Assistance. Throughout this period, close liaison was maintained with the City Social Service Department to confirm there was no duplication of service. As had occurred at Hope, expenses accrued from service to the Sons of Freedom were reimbursed by the provincial government.

During these first few weeks, the Sons of Freedom were also helped by the Catholic Family Services, which as indicated had previously been in contact with the Attorney-General's Department regarding the living conditions of the Sons of Freedom at Hope. Social workers at the Catholic Family Services again were in contact with the Attorney-General's Department and with officials from the Department of Social Welfare at this time, in an effort to help the Sons of Freedom obtain housing and Social Assistance. They too provided emergency relief to Sons of Freedom families and maintained communication with the Salvation Army in this regard. Rates used by the Catholic Family Services were those recommended by the Metropolitan Health Service; that is, $19.00 a week for food for a family of four. This was given in the form of food vouchers and, as was the case with the Salvation Army, expenses were paid by the provincial government.
The Ad-Hoc Committee, as indicated above, was formed to help cope with problems of social welfare, housing and schooling. Immediate contact was made with the Salvation Army and with Mayor Rathie regarding Social Assistance. The Committee was told by the Mayor that nothing could be done at the moment, but that he, the Mayor, would be discussing the situation with Mr. Bonner that night. Letters were written to both the Minister and Deputy Minister of Social Welfare, requesting that Social Assistance be provided to the Sons of Freedom, but no action followed these requests.

On January 30th it was officially announced that Social Assistance would be granted to Sons of Freedom Doukhobors who were found to be eligible. The following day it was announced that a provincial worker from the Kootenays, a Mr. McLeod, would be sent to the city to help process Doukhobor applications. On February 5th City Council minutes ran as follows:

That the Social Service Administrator be instructed to handle applications for Social Assistance received from the Sons of Freedom as best possible by seconding one Social Worker from his present staff to work with the special Provincial Social Worker seconded from its Nelson Office (sic).

Further, that the City Council advise the Provincial Government that the City is fulfilling its obligations under the terms of the Act as well as can be done with its present staff. Also, that the City Council has gone on record as refusing to accept any additional administrative costs.3

It might be helpful to pause here for a moment and examine some of the implications which can be drawn from the actions of the City of Vancouver as contrasted to those of Hope.

When the Doukhobors arrived at Hope, the provincial government was no more anxious than was Hope to have the 1,300 Sons of Freedom as permanent residents. The government, it is suggested, felt that administration of Assistance to the majority of these people would only encourage them to remain in the area. However, when the situation showed signs of growing out of control on December 18th, the government did provide Assistance of a kind to the Sons of Freedom, thus preventing a repetition of the "March to Victoria" incident which had been given such wide publicity. At the same time, however, Assistance was given in such a way that administrative responsibility was carried by the Salvation Army rather than the government.

In Vancouver, however, the situation was quite different. The Attorney-General believed and, in fact, stated quite openly that Vancouver was the ideal spot for the Sons of Freedom to remain indefinitely. Vancouver not only had the financial capacity and the administrative machinery to cope with the problem; Vancouver was the ideal place to accomplish the long hoped-for integration of the Sons of Freedom. Whether integration was or was not achieved is beyond the scope of this paper. It was clear, however, that Vancouver did not agree with the provincial government regarding either its administrative machinery or financial capacity to cope with the Sons of Freedom (see quotation on page 9). It seems clear that a provincial-municipal power struggle was occurring with the Doukhobors as the political football.

The technical situation was, of course, fairly clear. If the Doukhobors remained in Vancouver, the city would presumably be responsible for some kind of maintenance, for under the City Charter, Vancouver must
care for its "poor and destitute". The City was not, however, under obligation to pay them Social Assistance rates, since the Social Assistance Act states that if the terms of the Act are met, Social Assistance may (but not "must") be granted. If, however, Social Assistance was granted to the Sons of Freedom it was reasonable to expect that the provincial government was then under obligation to reimburse the City up to the schedule of amounts being followed throughout the Province and which are approved by the provincial legislation.

Once the City had approved in principle that Assistance would be granted, it was then left to the Social Service Department to issue Assistance to the Sons of Freedom "if they break away from the main sect body and apply as individuals". There was no attempt, however, in practice, to enforce such a policy.

Although, as stated, approval to grant Assistance had been given in January, most of the Sons of Freedom did not receive Assistance until the end of February. The first days were marked by considerable confusion. No one seemed to be sure who was responsible for decision-making. Mr. McLeod, the worker brought in from Nelson, thought his role was merely to carry out instructions, while others thought Mr. McLeod would take a lead in decision-making. Assistance at first was issued in the form of food vouchers. These were based on the same rates

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4 Vancouver Charter, Chapter 55, section 183.

5 Social Assistance in British Columbia provides that the provincial government pay 90% of costs. The municipalities pay 10% on a per capita basis. Vancouver pays approximately 1/3 of this 10%.

as the food portion for other Social Assistance recipients and were
issued bi-monthly. By the end of February, as the Sons of Freedom
began looking for private dwellings, requests began to come in for
the rental portion of Social Assistance rates also. Rental portions
were therefore granted up to the rates established for all Social
Assistance recipients. However, in many cases the portion given was
considerably less than the maximum allowable, since most of the Sons
of Freedom lived in groups of two to five families per dwelling. For
example, where three families were living together in a dwelling where
the rent was $60.00 per month, each family would receive $20.00 as
their rental portion. Following this, a group of women staged a sit-
down strike in the office of the Social Service Department as a protest
to back up their request for the "miscellaneous portion" of Social
Assistance allowance normally granted to Social Assistance recipients.
This portion, they stated, was needed to pay for light and fuel bills.
Need was assessed, therefore, in each case and the portion granted where
it was felt to be needed.

In April the cumbersome system of food vouchers was dropped
and regular Social Assistance cheques were used instead. Still, the
practise continued of delivering the cheques to the homes of the various
sect members, a time-consuming job for the two social workers involved.
In June, therefore, this system was dropped and the Sons of Freedom were
designated a special "issue day" on which they, like other Social Assist-
ance recipients, came in to complete the Income Forms required and to
receive their cheques. By June it was noted that many of the families
were beginning to move off to individual dwellings and it was estimated
by one official that almost one-third of the Sons of Freedom on Assistance were now receiving the same amount of Social Assistance as other non-Doukhobor recipients.

During the summer months there was a decline in the numbers receiving Assistance. It was estimated that about forty young persons had found or were attempting to find jobs in the city. Others had left to work in the orchards of the Okanagan.

Several times during these months social welfare problems arose which could be considered peculiar to the Sons of Freedom. On July 17, 1963 the Department of Forestry requested names of persons who were considered employable and able to act as fire-fighters. The names of eighteen Sons of Freedom were provided. Of this number four could not be contacted, three were working on a part-time basis and three had returned to the Kootenays. The remaining eight refused to accept this employment, stating they wished to remain in Vancouver with the rest of the group. They were therefore refused further Social Assistance. Before further action was taken, however, seven of the men left with the trek for Agassiz. The Doukhobor who remained has subsequently been able to obtain Assistance.

On several occasions, there were extensive delays before Assistance was received. This usually occurred because the applicants had been out of Vancouver visiting in the Kootenays and had received some Assistance there in the form of food vouchers. While delay in such cases could be expected in any case, the Sons of Freedom seemed almost invariably to consider it as discrimination aimed at them in particular.
In fairness it should be added that, as mentioned above, delay was often unnecessarily prolonged because of lack of clarity as to who should assume responsibility for decision-making. Possibly as a result of this, decisions at lower levels often seemed to be more narrowly interpreted than at higher levels.

**Old Age Assistance, Old Age Security and Supplementary Social Assistance.**

Recipients of Old Age Security and Old Age Assistance* continued to receive their pensions throughout the duration of the trek. Between fifty and sixty of these recipients upon arrival in Vancouver applied for Supplementary Social Assistance.** The O.A.A. Board designated one office worker (not a social worker) to handle all Sons of Freedom applications. Delay was noticeable here also. It took approximately one month to process all applications but this was largely due to the difficulty in establishing the residence of many of the applicants. As with the Social Assistance recipients, many of the Sons of Freedom were moving from temporary shelter into more permanent dwellings and thus, when the worker visited, he frequently found that the applicant no longer lived at the address given.

Only one problem case stands out from the rest. In this case the elderly Doukhobor was receiving O.A.A. and his wife was receiving Social Assistance. In July, the R.C.M.P. reported to the O.A.A. Board that this man allegedly had a large amount of money in the Kootenays. Although this report was later found to be without basis, the man's S.S.A. was cut off for four months.

*Hereafter referred to as O.A.S. and O.A.A. respectively.
**Hereafter referred to as S.S.A.
Housing

On arrival of the trek in Vancouver the older Sons of Freedom spent the night in the New Democratic Party Hall on Robson Street. This had been arranged by a member of the Ad-Hoc Committee, who continued to help locate the group in smaller dwellings for some weeks following their arrival in Vancouver.

Following this about 150 of the sect members moved to the Russian Community Hall in East Vancouver where they slept on blankets and make-shift cots. Others went to the Central City Mission (single men), the Catholic Hostel (men and boys) and the First United Church Hall (women and children) at Hastings and Gore. From here the group members began moving out into skid-row hotels and into homes, usually several families to a home. The largest group moved to the Japanese Buddhist Temple, and here they remained until they were granted Social Assistance. The group's aim, as voiced by Fanny Storgoff, was to move to the Vancouver Forum, a building which could house several thousand persons. This suggestion had been voiced several months earlier, and had been given fairly broad newspaper coverage. At that time officials had given the suggestion a flat veto and now in January there decision remained the same.

Several problems confronted the Sons of Freedom in their search for housing. The first and main problem was their wish to remain together. City officials, however, were anxious to have them segregated, partially with the hope of preventing mass demonstrations and partially with the hope of integrating them into the community. The Sons of Freedom were, of course, perfectly aware of these considerations and were themselves concerned about the insidious influences the city might have on the unity of the group.
A second problem was that of finances. It was one thing to live in rent-free accommodation at Hope, where friends and relatives could provide some of the fruit and vegetables needed. It was quite another thing to pay from $45.00 to $120.00 a month for rent and then try to purchase food at retail prices. Also, many of the Sons of Freedom had no idea what rental should be paid for accommodation. They were not helped in this by the local homeowners in the east end, some of whom raised their rents when they learned the difficulties many of the Sons of Freedom were having in procuring accommodation. On the other hand, however, a good deal of assistance was given to the Sons of Freedom in helping them locate dwellings. Several members of the Ad-Hoc Committee spent many hours helping individual families find suitable accommodation, and a volunteer worker from the Catholic Family Services found accommodation for approximately fifteen families. Others volunteered to take families into their own homes, for many were concerned about the welfare of the children and aged.

The final problem posed was that of finding furniture, as the Sons of Freedom had brought very little with them. Some was provided free to the Sons of Freedom by the St. Vincent de Paul Salvage Bureau, and some was provided by both St. Vincent de Paul and the Salvation Army through the City Social Service Department's Emergency Health Aid. This meant that all costs would be paid by the provincial government.

It should be noted here again, that if rent was lower than that allowable under Social Assistance regulations, the Sons of Freedom received only the amount necessary for rental payment. If the rental
If the rental exceeds the rate given under Social Assistance the Sons of Freedom were not considered for "rental overage". (Rental overage, a recently-instituted policy amendment, was introduced to cover rents which were in excess of the rates given on Social Assistance. Under this regulation, up to $10.00 a month extra may be granted by the Unit Director upon the recommendation of the social worker. It is only to be recommended where the worker feels the accommodation is adequate to the needs of the family concerned.)

**Schooling**

A few days after the Sons of Freedom arrived in Vancouver a delegation of the sect, headed by Florence Podovinikoff, approached Mrs. Ostupchuk, acting secretary for the Ad-Hoc Committee, and requested help in putting their children into school. Dr. Black, a member of the Ad-Hoc Committee, went with the delegation to a meeting with Dr. Sharpe, Superintendent of Schools, and other school board officials. As with housing, the Doukhobors wished to prevent assimilation and therefore requested that all their children be placed in one school. It was explained to them that this could not be granted and when reasons for this decision were given, the Sons of Freedom accepted the decision. They were told that the children would not be required to sing "O Canada" or to salute the flag, but that they would be required to stand during the singing of "O Canada".

The Sons of Freedom children assimilated very well in the schools, although attendance, as at Hope, fluctuated. Officials reported that most of the children did participate in physical education and
several of the teenage girls began wearing nylons in imitation of the Vancouver children.

The City Social Service Department maintained contact with the Vancouver School Board and on several occasions inquired whether children were attending school. In three cases, it was reported that the families had been told that their children must be attending school before Assistance could be granted. Certainly, on January 19, 1963 it was reported in a local newspaper that "a high government source said that if the Doukhobors find homes in Vancouver and put their children in schools (the italics are mine) they will become eligible for provincial welfare aid". It might be noted here that a member of the Doukhobor Research Committee of 1952 stated:

While it is true that, under section 13 of the Social Assistance Act the Director of Welfare "subject to the approval of the Minister, is empowered to establish regulations and formulate policies not inconsistent with this Act...", insistence on registration and school attendance as qualifying conditions appears inconsistent with the spirit of the Act in its emphasis on the meeting of need where it exists.

Health and Child Welfare

Upon arrival in Vancouver medical authorities reported that the health situation was quite good: the only major illnesses reported were six cases of measles amongst the children. These children were immediately separated from the main group. One elderly Doukhobor, who

7 Vancouver Sun, January 19, 1963, p. 2.

had been fasting for several days, was discovered trying to sleep on a church pew in one of the halls provided by a church organization. Despite her extremely weakened condition from lack of food she refused to leave her uncomfortable bed, stating it was right that she should remain with the group. Several days later, through the efforts of other sect members, she was finally taken to hospital.

A fairly large number of the Sons of Freedom used the facilities of both St. Paul's and Vancouver General Hospital's Out-Patient Services. Mrs. Kaller, volunteer worker for Catholic Family Services, reported that the Sons of Freedom were questioned at Vancouver General Hospital as to who was to pay for any service granted. (This was during the time when the Hospital was complaining about the cost of services and was suggesting civic authorities should assume responsibility for the Out-Patient Service.) On one occasion it was reported that a doctor refused to make a house call to see a sick child and stated the child should be taken to the Out-Patient Department of Vancouver General Hospital. However, since it was Saturday night and Out-Patient Service would not be available until Monday morning, this was not possible. The child was taken to St. Paul's Hospital and was admitted. It should be noted, however, on the other side of the picture, that a local Japanese doctor did offer his services to the Sons of Freedom free of charge.

Several of the sect members also received psychiatric treatment. In a case presentation given at Vancouver General Hospital some months later it was noted that a lack of self-identity seemed to be present in many of these cases. This was particularly noticeable in
the men and was thought to be partly attributable to the emphasis on group identity rather than individual identity, and partly to the fact that in many of the families it is the woman who is the leader and decision-maker.

The Children's Aid reported that there were no cases of apprehension of Sons of Freedom children, although several telephone calls were received from citizens concerned about them. In fact, a rather interesting reversal of roles occurred on one occasion, when a Freedomite family telephoned the Civic Unity Association office to report that they had taken in a child who had been found wandering near their downtown room. The child was later discovered to be in foster home care.

The Migration to Vancouver

Stage II The Residual Group

During the period from January to August 1963 when 500 - 800 Sons of Freedom were living in Vancouver, many persons expressed the belief that the Sons of Freedom were becoming assimilated in this urban community, and that "the Doukhobor problem" had ended. If by assimilation one means lack of newsworthy activities, this was certainly true. The Sons of Freedom no longer congregated in Victory Square and only a half dozen articles about them appeared in the press during the entire month of July. It seemed as if a kind of mass amnesia had struck the group. The leaders among the group questioned later about this felt it to be true. They too had been concerned about assimilation, as noted
above, and had tried to keep the group united physically in order to prevent this assimilation from occurring. But such arrangements had been impossible and gradually intergroup communication was breaking down. When the "call to arms" came, provoked by the fasting prisoners at Agassiz, the majority of the group awoke from their lethargy, but those who remained seemed definitely to have assimilated. It is important, however, to distinguish between this assimilation, literally, "to be absorbed into" and integration, that is, "to become a part of the whole". The residual group of Sons of Freedom, numbering approximately 150 to 200 persons have become assimilated. They have not, for the most part, become integrated.

I state "for the most part" because there is no doubt that some of the younger persons, particularly single girls in the age group 18 to 25 who are working in the city have, at least outwardly, become indistinguishable from other urban community dwellers. How complete this transition is, only time will tell. Many of the school children, too, show signs that integration is in progress in much the same way that it occurs with most second-generation Canadians.

Caseload Statistics

The number of Sons of Freedom receiving Social Assistance in Vancouver has not fluctuated radically from September 1963, until the time of this present recording in February 1964. At the end of September 1963, there were 46 open cases; at the present there are 51 cases. The maximum number reported was in early February when the number of cases
rose to 56. As of February 1964, the total number of cases closed since January 1963 stands at 212.

Since many of the Sons of Freedom have stated that only the sick and elderly remained in Vancouver, it is interesting to examine the caseload distribution according to age. Certainly from this breakdown such statements appear somewhat unfounded.

**AGE DISTRIBUTION OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Birth Date</th>
<th>1900-09</th>
<th>1910-19</th>
<th>1920-29</th>
<th>1930-39</th>
<th>1940-49</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the total caseload of 51, thirty men are registered as the head of the household, compared to twenty-one women. Further, the average age of the thirty men registered is 50, compared to an average age of 34 for the women. This suggests that many of the persons in the age group 55 - 64 would be unemployable men, and this, in fact, is borne out: eleven of the fourteen cases in this age bracket have men registered as the head of the household. Most of these cases are registered as unemployable persons due to illness or disability, and the other two or three cases can be considered unemployable to all intents and purposes, since they are unskilled labourers, past "marketable" age.

The large number of cases where the head of the household is between 25 - 34 years of age suggests that these may represent some of the young wives of prisoners in Mountain Prison. This is, in fact, also found to be true. Ten of the sixteen cases have women registered as the head of the household, and all but one are wives of prisoners in Mountain Prison.
Welfare Problems and Policy

There is always difficulty, even in an "ordinary" caseload to decide unequivocally which persons should be considered employable and which unemployable. In cases where a woman with small children has applied for Assistance it is usual to consider her unemployable, since it is assumed that on the average, the woman needs to remain in the home to care for the children. In cases where there is only one child, however, and this child is not an infant (that is, under about the age of two) the woman is usually considered employable. However, discretionary power is used here and if the worker feels there is some justifiable reason why the woman should be considered unemployable, exception can be made. With the Sons of Freedom, however, this policy has been more rigidly applied. All Sons of Freedom women who have only one child and are physically able to work are considered employable. This seems to be a departmental, that is, a unit decision; at the administrative level there was no indication given that such rigidity should be used. While at the moment the policy affects only three families, it is another illustration of the problems which have arisen in this governmental department in regard to the Sons of Freedom because of lack of adequate communication. It should be added, too, that these young Freedomite wives do not understand this policy. Their view is, that the government took away their means of livelihood by putting their husbands in prison; therefore the government should support them.

Another policy which has been applied to the Sons of Freedom is that they are not eligible for rental overage. 9 Here again it was

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9 For an explanation of this term see page 17.
stated by the assistant administrator of the City Social Service Department, that this policy is no longer applicable and should not be used. Yet at the unit division level this policy is being applied. It is estimated by the worker handling the caseload that this policy affects approximately one-fifth of the caseload. None of the Doukhobors to whom this writer spoke were even aware that such a policy existed; they were therefore hardly in a position themselves to press for equal consideration for rental overage. We should perhaps examine the implications of this a little more closely. Rental overage is not automatically granted when rent is higher than the portion allotted for it under Social Assistance rates. It is not granted where accommodation is considered sub-standard. Thus the policy has the expressed intent of encouraging Social Assistance recipients to procure housing which meets minimum standards of health and decency. If rental overage is not granted to Sons of Freedom, it implies at least, that they have less right to adequate accommodation than do other Canadians. It is clear from discussion with administrative officials that no such policy of "less-eligibility" is intended. It would therefore seem necessary that communication at different departmental levels be improved, so the expressed policy and actual application of policy become one and the same. As pointed out in the Hawthorn Report, section 8 of the Social Assistance Act forbids discrimination based on race, colour, creed, or political affiliation. 10

10 W.G. Dixon, op. cit., p. 201.
Another interesting development in the area of social welfare in relation to the Sons of Freedom has arisen around the question of accepting Family Allowance. A family in receipt of Social Assistance may receive Family Allowance over and above their Social Assistance allowance; that is, Family Allowance is not deducted from the Social Assistance allowance. At the moment exactly half the families eligible are not receiving Family Allowance. The social worker handling the Doukhobors has been encouraging these families to accept this Allowance and has been successful in convincing some that this Allowance does not mean the government has some mysterious hold on their children. Some women would accept this Allowance, the worker believes, but are afraid of the disapproval of their husbands in Agassiz Prison.

A further policy initiated at the time the Freedomites first began receiving Social Assistance was that there should be no casework counselling service or referral service given to the sect members. From the beginning, however, this latter policy seems never to have been implemented for the Sons of Freedom received numerous referrals to the Salvation Army and St. Vincent de Paul for both clothing and furniture. During this early period it would have been almost impossible to have given casework service in any case, since the actual administering of the cheques took up almost all of the workers' time. At present, however, the situation is quite the opposite; the Sons of Freedom receive probably more individual casework service than many other Social Assistance recipients. The rather peculiar position
exists that at the administrative level casework and referral services are approved, but at the unit level are not approved and at the caseworker level, casework and referral services are implemented. Several interesting cases show the results of this policy implementation.

Mrs. K., a young Freedomite woman whose husband is in Mountain Prison, decided a few months ago to accept Family Allowance for her young child against her husband's wishes. This caused a good deal of contention between Mrs. K. and the other young Freedomite wives but she stood firm on her decision. A little while later with the worker's encouragement she began training as a power-machine operator under the provincial rehabilitation programme "Schedule M". Her child attends a day-care centre while the mother is at school. At the time of writing Mrs. K. is doing very well in her course and is enjoying it immensely. Mrs. K. is still a Freedomite but she is also becoming a Canadian. In another case, Mr. H., a young Freedomite who is also receiving Family Allowance, is now taking a carpentry course after referral was made to National Employment Service Special Placements Division.

Future Policy

What will future policy be in relation to the Sons of Freedom? Integration here is also planned. In a few months the "Doukhobor caseload" will cease to exist. The different families will be designated to the Social Assistance worker who ordinarily covers the district in which they live. There will be, it is stated, no special regulations
for Doukhobors; they will be treated under policy exactly as other Social Assistance recipients.

And what if the major sect of the group should return to the city? It is anticipated that they would again receive Social Assistance and that the City would again hire a worker to assist the provincial social worker in the administration of Assistance.

Employment

It is extremely difficult to assess accurately the number of Sons of Freedom who are employed in and around Vancouver. One of the reasons for this difficulty is the mobility of this group; much of their work is of a casual nature. During the fall months of 1963 and on into the winter months, many of the employable men at the camp in Agassiz travelled down to the city to work as longshoremen, while the grain shipments to Red China were being loaded. Some worked on farms in the Agassiz district, while others went to the Kootenays to find work. Of those who remained in Vancouver a number found work at a gardening nursery just outside the city. A total of eleven procured jobs on the Winter Works Programme and were found to be efficient workers. A few, probably not more than half a dozen, obtained work as carpenters, a trade at which many Doukhobors are particularly skilled.

Fewer of the women seemed to have obtained employment. However, several are working as waitresses and three young girls are reported working as nurses' aides at a local hospital. This small group of young unmarried girls, numbering perhaps ten, are indistinguishable from other Vancouverites. Most of them wear lipstick and nylons, go to movies and go out on dates.
The Migration to Agassiz

When the Sons of Freedom moved to Agassiz in late August the Department of Social Welfare again asked the Salvation Army to provide food vouchers for those persons who requested Social Assistance. Again it was not stated that this money was to come from the government but by now the source of income had become fairly common knowledge.

In December, the Vancouver Sun newspaper printed the following:

Everyone - including the Doukhobors - assumed the Salvation Army money was coming from the organization's own reserves. But Army spokesman Lt. Col. John Steele, said Wednesday that wasn't the case. He said the Salvation Army has been receiving the emergency funds - $2,100 a month - from the provincial government, then simply passing on the money to the Freedomites.

The Salvation Army official in charge again registered the Sons of Freedom "eligible" (see Appendix A for form used) and within two weeks some 160 persons were registered. The Sons of Freedom must also complete a second form similar to the Social Assistance Income Form (see Appendix A-2) each time they receive the food vouchers allotted to them. These food vouchers are issued bi-monthly, not every two weeks as some newspaper reports have stated. There is a distinction here because, if there should happen to be five weeks in a month, some of the Sons of Freedom may not receive a food voucher for three weeks.

In the Social Welfare offices in British Columbia this problem has been solved by granting assistance calculated on $ \frac{4}{3} $ weeks per month. Thus, one's total Social Assistance for any one month will always be

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11 The Vancouver Sun, December 20, 1963, p. 10.
the same, no matter how many days there are in that particular month. Since the Salvation Army rates are calculated on a two-week basis, but issued on a bi-monthly basis, the amounts actually received per month will usually be less than the rates given below.

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.00</td>
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<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>22.50</td>
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</table>

These rates represent approximately one-third of the portion given under the Social Assistance Act. It is not clear why it is felt that the Sons of Freedom should be able to survive on two-thirds less food than other persons but apparently the provincial government does not object to this arbitrary rate, since it neither insisted upon a particular rate nor reviewed the rates once they had been set. The decision regarding the amounts to be given was left entirely to the Salvation Army officials. The Sons of Freedom, however, those people who receive the vouchers, do object to the rates. Several letters were written by the Sons of Freedom to the Director of Social Welfare protesting against the meagre funds. No answer was received to these requests so in January a group of women wrote a letter (see Appendix B) to the Minister of Social Welfare protesting what they called "help which is so meagre that it is next to impossible to live on". Whether as a result of this or not, a change was made: now for each child whose father is in prison an extra $1.00 is given every two weeks. Families are also now allotted one bag of coal per month. Such arrangements might appear strange, not to say ludicrous, to some
observers; however, there has still been no voice raised by the provincial government. It might be noted here that it is not only the Department of Social Welfare which is involved in these arrangements. The Salvation Army maintains close contact with the R.C.M.P. and sends information regarding the Sons of Freedom to the R.C.M.P. every two weeks. Presumably, this information relates only to the whereabouts of families.

Quite apart from the legality of the situation it is interesting to examine what could be called the "social aspect" of the situation. On one hand, the Salvation Army has received sharp criticism for helping the Sons of Freedom at all. The Council of the Municipality of Kent, which normally grants a certain portion of its funds to the Salvation Army, has stated that this year this money will not be forthcoming because of the Salvation Army's assistance to the Sons of Freedom. On the other hand, those who are sympathetic to the Sons' of Freedom present plight and are convinced there is genuine need in the camp are highly critical of the arbitrary rates set by the Salvation Army, and feel that by using government funds they are the willing dupes of a governmental policy of less-eligibility and discrimination. Between this two-pronged attack stands the Salvation Army official responsible for setting the rates and administering the food vouchers. His services to the Sons of Freedom must be squeezed into a working week which is already six and a half days. Not only must he visit the camp regularly, complete forms and administer the vouchers, but he must also handle all accounts and records. For all these services he receives no remuneration. Thus, in effect, the government has an unpaid employee doing the work of about three persons,
who receives the brunt of all criticism for the administration of their money.

Those in receipt of O.A.A. and O.A.S. continue to receive their cheques, although no S.S.A. is granted. The old people receiving these cheques share their money with the others. It is one of the major sources of income to the group and it might be speculated that, had this source of income not been forthcoming during the winter months when few of the men were working, a major crisis would have arisen.

Health

There are approximately 120 shacks in the Sons' of Freedom camp outside Mountain Prison. Most of them are now reinforced with two layers of plastic which makes them effectively rain-proof. The huts are warmed by wood and coal stoves, which provide adequate heat but constitute a real fire hazard. To date, a few individuals have sustained only minor burns but the threat of a major fire is still very real.

The Doukhobors as a whole are an extremely clean, tidy people and the Sons of Freedom are no exception to this rule. They have now built two steam bathhouses, in which large stones are heated and then water poured on them. Before these were built, however, many of the Sons of Freedom used to travel to Harrison Hot Springs to use the baths provided there. They also used the laundromat located there to wash their clothes.
Sanitation at the camp seems to be very good. A sanitary inspector visits the camp once a week and reports that the Sons of Freedom keep the camp in a clean and orderly state. They have delegated one man to keep the privies clean and have organized a garbage disposal brigade.

The public health nurse reported that the children are always provided with an adequate school lunch despite the limited amount of money which the Sons of Freedom receive. She also commented on the excellent condition of the children's teeth. Of all those children examined, there was apparently only one child with a cavity in her teeth. The children are also very well clothed, although very little of the clothing is new. (The Salvation Army will provide new clothing if it is "quite sure" that it is needed. For each article 25¢ is deducted from the family's food voucher.)

Such a favorable report of the health condition of the children is not surprising, since the Doukhobors are extremely affectionate and attentive parents. It is interesting to note, too, that in early March when funds in the camp had reached a new low, the mothers held a meeting at which they decided they would take their children out of school as a protest against the Salvation Army's welfare rates. They intended to state they had done this because they could no longer afford to provide their children with adequate school lunches. Whether they hoped this would lead the school to suggest providing lunches is not known, but certainly their concern for the children was genuine enough.
If the Sons of Freedom are not provided with all the Social Welfare services they might like, certainly they lack nothing in the way of health services. All the young mothers were encouraged to use the baby clinic in Agassiz and, in fact, about one-third of these women did take advantage of this service. They have been offered all immunization services and oral polio vaccine. There was a T.B. Mobile survey truck set up at the camp to enable all the Sons of Freedom to have chest X-rays. There is one diabetic in the camp, who receives free insulin. Even the local milkman and dry cleaning service delivers to the camp. The provincial government may insist that the Sons of Freedom do not have a bona fide address, but certainly the local merchants seem to have no problem finding them.

Review of Social Welfare Policy

There are several major legal problems involved in the question of granting Assistance of any kind to the Sons of Freedom. These legal problems should not be construed narrowly as pertaining only to the Sons of Freedom, but should be seen as reflecting the type of discriminatory action which could be applied to anyone if such action were again thought necessary. The first is the question of responsibility for the Sons of Freedom - a rather well-worn subject. In this case the Municipality of Kent By-Law No. 400, the Camping Regulation and Sanitary Control By-Law enacted September 18, 1962, prohibits the camping of persons in the District of Kent without a permit. It further prohibits the camping of more than ten persons per acre.12

12 The Corporation of the District of Kent, Camping Regulation and Sanitary Control By-Law No. 400, sect. 4.
Thus, because the Sons of Freedom are not legally camped in the Municipality of Kent, it would seem that the Municipality has no responsibility for the welfare of the Sons of Freedom under the Municipal Act which states that all municipalities must care for their "poor and destitute". Since the failure to remove the Sons of Freedom from their present residence is due entirely to the action (or inaction) of the Attorney-General's Department, which last August requested time enough to "study the Kent By-Law", it seems clear that responsibility for the welfare of the Sons of Freedom rests at the provincial government's doorstep.

Further, under section 639, subsection (3) of the Municipal Act, a municipality is not responsible for the payment of Social Assistance if a district municipality has under 2,500 persons and assessed land value and improvements taxable for school purposes does not exceed $2,500.00 per person. As a consequence, the Municipality of Kent is not responsible under this subsection of the Act.

If the Sons of Freedom, then, can in no legal sense be considered the responsibility of the Municipality of Kent and are the direct responsibility of the provincial government, they are then eligible for welfare of any kind only under the Social Assistance Act of British Columbia. Under this Act, however, Social Assistance is not granted as a right, but as a privilege. That is, the Social Assistance Act states that "social assistance may be granted" (the italics are mine) if certain stipulated terms of the Act are met.

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14 R.S.B.C. 1960 Chapter 360 Social Assistance Act (1948), sect. 3.
The Act does not read that if the terms of the Act are met, Social Assistance shall be granted. Thus, in a legal sense there is no guarantee that even if the terms of the Act are met, Social Assistance will be granted.

However, as stated previously, the Act does stipulate that there shall be no discrimination based on race, colour, creed, or political affiliation. While it cannot be shown unequivocally that Social Assistance has been denied the Sons of Freedom specifically because of their creed, a statement in the Hawthorn Report of 1952 is worth noting in this regard. It reads:

The case for Social Assistance to resistant Doukhobors or to their dependents rests in the first instance on a principle recognized in the case of the sick, the mentally ill and the delinquent of whatever creed, that however resistant, useless, depraved or criminal an individual may become, he has the right to expect the necessities of life simply because of the fact that he is a human being.  

Further, under Section 13 of the Act the Director of Welfare "subject to the approval of the Minister, is empowered to establish regulations and formulate policies not inconsistent with this Act..." It may well be questioned whether the granting of funds to an official of a private organization, to disperse as he sees fit amongst more than 500 persons is a policy consistent with the Social Assistance Act, but certainly it does not contravene any specifically stated section of the Act.


If we examine the question now from a less technical point of view and trace back over the events outlined above, we see a group of people who moved from their own community to a second, small community, in which they were not granted social welfare. They then moved to a third community, a large, powerful, highly-organized community. Here they were granted Assistance. They finally moved to a fourth community, again a small community. This time they did not receive Social Assistance. For a people who mistrust the machinery of a democratic government and who are quick to pick up inconsistencies in the operation of democratic government, what must they think of such inconsistency?

The provincial government first stated that Assistance would not be granted at Hope because the Sons of Freedom were "trekkers". But there are no regulations preventing the mobility of persons from one part of the province to another and it would therefore seem clear that the government was clutching at straws here. Such a view is reinforced by the fact that when the group arrived in Vancouver no such policy was announced. Quite the reverse was true; the government was anxious that the group should receive Assistance, for it saw this as a means of assimilating the group into this large, urban centre. But when the group moved to Agassiz, the government once again refused the members Social Assistance, this time on the grounds that they did not have a bona fide address. The Sons of Freedom, it should be noted, do have a postal address and certainly their community, complete with washhouse, steam-baths and a community hall, seems fairly permanent. The government policy should be seen clearly for what it is: a policy
of less-eligibility administered by a private individual who has neither the time nor the experience to administer the funds properly.

Lest this criticism of government policy seem over harsh it might be as well to examine some of the views which have appeared repeatedly in the papers, sometimes in editorials, sometimes in letters written by private individuals. One of the frequent protests given runs something like this: "Why should we pay out money to people who burn homes and dynamite buildings?" To this argument it should be pointed out that there are now some 100 persons serving prison sentences at Mountain Prison for just such offenses. Under democratic Canadian law we presume a person is innocent until proven guilty. Therefore we must assume the remaining 1,500 odd Sons of Freedom, that is, the vast majority, are innocent and are therefore as eligible for Assistance as any other citizen.

A second argument, somewhat more potent, states generally, "Why should we pay Social Assistance to men who voluntarily quit their jobs to go marching over the countryside?" Again, the quotation given above from the Hawthorn Report is applicable here, for it stated that no matter how resistant, useless or depraved we may consider an individual, he still has a right to expect the necessities of life, simply because of the fact that he is a human being. We do not agree with the Sons' of Freedom policy of dynamiting and arson but we do not punish them in prison by denying them adequate subsistence. It would therefore seem unreasonable to deny other members of the sect the basic necessities of life simply because we do not understand or condone the beliefs which drive them to many of their actions.
A final and somewhat irrelevant argument which has been used is that of quoting sums of money which the Sons of Freedom are estimated to have spent thus far. The implication of such arguments is, that the Sons of Freedom have an enormous reserve of funds and do not need to receive Social Assistance. For example, one newspaper estimated that in the first 141 days of the trek, the Sons of Freedom had spent $225,000.00. This sum may appear at first glance to be very large, but a simple estimate will show that for 1,000 Doukhobor, this represents approximately $1.50 per day. We should remember, too, that those in receipt of O.A.A. and O.A.S. continued to receive their cheques, which for this period of over four months would represent probably $50,000.00. Be that as it may, the argument, as stated, is really irrelevant, since Social Assistance is paid only to those who can demonstrate need, not to those whom one guesses, or supposes, need Assistance. It should be questioned whether the Salvation Army official has either the time, knowledge or administrative machinery to accurately assess this. It should be noted, too, that the government has never suggested that payments should not be granted because they are not needed. Surely by granting them even the present limited amount they are acknowledging that a need does exist.

From all that has been said here it should be clear, if it were not so before, that the present system of giving is discriminatory, inefficient and of doubtful legality.

17 Vancouver Sun, January 21, 1963, p. 23.
CONCLUSIONS

The mass migration of the Sons of Freedom into the Lower Mainland is a unique occurrence in the history of British Columbia. It is therefore not altogether surprising that conflict in application of public policy should arise in relation to this mass movement. It is hoped, therefore, that this study will be an aid for future reference should such a mass migration of the Sons of Freedom again occur.

The health of the Sons of Freedom remained, on the whole, very good during the migration. This is not altogether surprising, since the Doukhobors are known to be a health-conscious, cleanly people who, unlike some other minority religious sects, are not averse to using community health resources. Public health policy, when applied to the Sons of Freedom, was construed liberally, since the above-mentioned attribute of these people was recognized. Authoritative action was taken only when the danger of an epidemic, as at Hope, became imminent and when there was actual danger of loss of life.

The children on the trek appear to have been well cared for and remained generally in good health, except for the epidemic of measles which occurred at Hope. Their registration in the schools at Hope, Vancouver and Agassiz was completed with almost no friction or publicity and they assimilated well in the school environment. On no occasion was there reported to be a need for intervention on the part of Child Welfare authorities.

The aged members of the sect undoubtedly suffered some physical discomfort during the actual trek but public policy in welfare
was applied less rigidly to them than to younger members and few were in actual financial need. It should be noted, however, that these elderly persons did not, in fact, benefit materially from their financial resources, since their money was used to sustain the group when other sources of income (specifically Social Assistance) were not forthcoming.

It is felt that public policy in welfare, and specifically as it relates to the granting of Social Assistance was applied in an arbitrary and capricious manner which ignored the expressed intent of the Social Assistance Act to prohibit discrimination, and utilized inappropriately the provincial discretionary powers permitted under the Act. Section 3 of the Social Assistance Act is very broad in its provisions, for it states:

Social Assistance may be granted out of funds appropriated by the Legislation for the purpose to individuals, whether adult or minor, or to families who through mental or physical illness or other exigency are unable to provide in whole or in part by their own effort, through other security measures, or from income and other resources, necessities essential to maintain or assist in maintaining a reasonably normal and healthy existence.

It would be reasonable to assume that under this section of the Act the Sons of Freedom would be eligible for Assistance. Further, it appears evident that provincial-municipal cooperation in public policy relating to the Sons of Freedom was at a minimum, and that power politics influenced the public welfare policies implemented at Hope, Vancouver and Agassiz respectively. The present policy in operation at Agassiz, where public funds are administered by a private organization not accountable under the Social Assistance Act of this province, would appear to be indefensible.
The Sons of Freedom camped outside Mountain Prison, are not unaware of the inconsistencies in government policy implemented during the trek and are hostile towards present social welfare policy. The members of the sect inside Mountain Prison are reportedly receiving no type of education program and it would thus seem that their imprisonment can have little, if any, rehabilitative value. Thus, on both sides of the prison fence we have a large group of discontented and hostile Sons of Freedom, who show no signs of becoming more accepting and less hostile towards the government or government policy as it is now implemented.

It is therefore felt that the recommendation of the Hawthorn Report, that a Commission on Doukhobor Affairs be set up to insure coordination and consistency in government policy, is still applicable. Such an advisory body of five to seven individuals would help in the formulation of policy and would aid in protecting administrative integrity against hostile outside pressure. Most important, and most significant to the present situation, it would prevent governmental policy from drifting from one crisis situation to another. It is clear that such a Commission would be of some considerable value at the present stage of inactivity.
Appendix A

THE SALVATION ARMY CHILLIWACK, B.C.

WELFARE DEPARTMENT

Application for Emergency Relief

1. NAME

2. ADDRESS

3. PLACE OF BIRTH DATE OF BIRTH

4. NAME OF SPOUSE NEE

5. ADDRESS OF SPOUSE IF DIFFERENT THAN ABOVE

6. DEPENDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>RELATION</th>
<th>DATE OF BIRTH</th>
<th>BIRTH PLACE</th>
<th>REASON FOR DEPENDENCY</th>
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7. Unemployment Insurance No. Occupation

8. Monthly income of Applicant and Dependents from all sources

9. Total Assets of Applicant and Dependents

10. Date Moved to Local Area

11. Place and Date of Last Assistance Received

12. Reason for Application

13. Previous Addresses during past two years

DECLARATION OF APPLICANT

I, __________________________, of __________________________ in the Province of British Columbia, solemnly declare as follows:

(1) That the statements and allegations contained in the foregoing application which I have read or have had read to me, are true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

(2) That no information required to be given has been concealed or omitted.

(3) And I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing it to be true; and I will notify the Commanding Officer of any change of my financial status.

CHILLIWACK, B.C. (Signature of Applicant)

Witnessed at __________________________ on this ______ day of ______ 19______

by/for Major Thomas I. Powell
Commanding Officer
Appendix A-2

Duplicate of Weekly Income Form

NAME __________________________

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<th>Income</th>
<th>CV</th>
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Appendix B

Copy of Letter to Dept. of Social Welfare

Mountain Prison Gate
General Delivery,
Agassiss, B.C.


Mr. Black
Department of Social Welfare,
Parliment Buildings,
Victoria, B.C.

Dear Mr. Black:-

We have written to Mr. Sadler of the Welfare dept. at Victoria, B.C., some time ago but did not receive an answer from him.

Now we wish to ask you and if you can be kind to tell us where we can turn to for help. First of all, for the women with children whose husbands are in prison. From what we heard - that according to your regulations these women should receive assistance from the Welfare Dept. of the province. Secondly - for people that are not able to work or not able to find work and have no income to live on.

We are being helped by the Salvation Army, but the help is so meagre that it is next to impossible to live on, e.g. A person is allotted a five dollar voucher for a period of two weeks, need we say more?

A mother and two children get twelve dollars and fifty cents for the period of two weeks and not money, but vouchers.

Please let us face it in a truthful manner, let us not have discrimination here in Canada like the one in the U.S.A. with the Negroes, only then the Government will be free to "Say the Rights".

We are very truly speaking to all Nations of all Races.

Yours Truly

On behalf of all mothers in camp.

Mrs. F. Storgoff
Mrs. Mary Repen
Mrs. Annie Davedoff
Mrs. Nada Ogloff
Mrs. Katie Lebedoff
Mrs. Polly Verigin
Appendix C
Pictures of Agassiz Camp

Fanny Storgoff on the left

Signs opposite Fanny Storgoff's shack
View of camp from roadway

Construction of some of the shacks
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THE SONS OF FREEDOM AT HOPE

A Study of the Interaction of a Settled Community and a Migrant Community.

by

WILLIAM BASIL MUNDY

Two Chapters Summary and Conclusions for a Joint Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK in the School of Social Work

Accepted as conforming to the standard required for the degree of Master of Social Work

School of Social Work

1964

The University of British Columbia
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

School of Social Work

The University of British Columbia, Vancouver 8, Canada.

Date 21 May 1964
ABSTRACT

This thesis in its entirety sets out to record to date an unusual piece of social history - the Migration of the Sons of Freedom Doukhobors from interior British Columbia to the Lower Mainland of the province. Two other sections discuss the effects of public policy in the health and welfare fields and the relations of the Freedomites with the Agassiz community to which they went on the final leg of their Migration.

This present section is concerned with the mutual impacts of the unorganized community of Freedomites and the organized settled community of Hope, the first town they encountered in the Lower Mainland, at which they remained through force of circumstance for the major part of the winter. It was felt that this mutual relationship merited special attention and study due to its unique character and result. It could well reveal guidelines for the future in the confrontation of a settled community by a migrant minority.

Research was pursued by means of interviews and the review of reports written at the time. The current leaders of the Sons of Freedom were a primary source, as were the Village Chairman at Hope, the newspaper Editor, the School Superintendent, and the Medical Officer of Health, as well as police and Salvation Army personnel. Records were obtained from news media, office records, reports by social workers.

Analysis of the relationship between the two groups revealed an unusually high level of statesmanship and wisdom in the leadership structure of Hope, which avoided triggering off any defensive response in the migrants. Patience and sympathy were present instead of the oft-encountered suspicion and hostility with which such groups are met.

There was some ground for belief that an extension of the mature and just attitude of the leaders of Hope on the part of all concerned with the Freedomites, might bring a rapid end to a "problem" which has beleaguered two provinces and the federal Government for nearly seventy years.
Occasion  In the early fall of 1962 a large group of people left their familiar surroundings in the various villages\(^1\) of the Southern West Kootenay district of British Columbia province, and migrated en masse to the Pacific coast area. Their numbers are estimated variously between 500 and 1400,\(^2\) but were at least 1000 when they approached the peaceful village of Hope, the first town they encountered after penetrating the coastal mountain barrier. It is there that this part of our story of them is set. Their progress toward Hope had not been without incident. They started off on foot, a group of the women, perhaps 350 in number, having burned their homes in a gesture of pious defiance against the materialist code of the dominant culture.\(^3\)

Background  What led up to this is hard to guess, for it came out of a past plagued with crises of their culture, that of the Doukhobors of 18th and 19th Century Russia as it resisted assimilation in a strange, fast-moving Canada. Some of the women remembered faintly the Russia of the Czars, where men had resisted enforced military service by burning their rifles, and they had had their villages burned by the Cossacks,

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\(^1\)See Schooling (below) p.29.

\(^2\)This would be between \(\frac{1}{3}\) and \(\frac{1}{2}\) of the Sect. See Hawthorn Report p.12

\(^3\)Hawthorn Report:- Women's roles p.17, Arson p.18. It is interesting to note that the best leadership in the Russian period was given by Lukeria Kalmikova, who took \(\ddagger\)Peter (Lordly) Verigin as her lover.
becoming exiles in the Caucasus, and eventually arriving in Canada through the help of Tolstoy and Aylmer Maude.

In this land they had hoped for freedom for a religion which forbade military service, or any form of compliance with an ungodly civil power, including registration of persons or lands. This was never fully clarified with them, having to be settled with Maude in their name. They believed they were to have the right to educate their children as they saw fit, on lands they simply occupied without governmental controls, as in the Caucasus. When the part of the Northwest Territories on which they settled became the Province of Saskatchewan, land registration was required in the name of individuals, offending both their communal life and their anarchism, but the final insult was the requirement of an oath of allegiance. This caused many of them to look toward the west, and under Peter (Lordly) Verigin they established their B.C. homes on communal purchased land, galvanized by the Saskatchewan government's beginning to establish schools in their colonies there. Many however, were able to accommodate their religion with the dominant culture of Canada, and remain citizens on the Prairies. Their main identifications with the original group are in their informal mystical religion and their pacifism, in which they are not unlike the Quakers. No-one has ever seriously threatened any of the Doukhobors


2 It is interesting to read the possible motivations of the leaders for this migration to B.C. in "Slava Bohu."
with conscription, an Order-in-Council in 1898 having exempted them from arms-bearing.¹

The first group of opponents to assimilation arrived in British Columbia in 1908, and within five years they were joined by nearly six thousand from Saskatchewan. The purchased lands were near Trail in the Columbia Valley, and its tributaries at Grand Forks, and Crescent Valley (Slocan) and the Kootenay near the Columbia. These they turned into model fruit-farms, using irrigation which depended on careful maintenance. After their ambition left them these farms became desert wastes. They also engaged in lumbering, and their skill in carpentry has become famous locally.

There was friction between these peoples and other settlers in the area, particularly after the first World War. The Freedomite literature² sees this period as one in which Canadians who had been at war (and thus were engaged in what they see as a reprehensible activity) coveted their lands. From this time onward there is a thread of hostility toward the imagined enemy in the Kootenays, variously located in the Grand Forks veterans, the Trail and Nelson municipal leaders, and the various industries of the C.P.R., as well as the Life Insurance Companies who foreclosed on their mortgaged lands and the Government who saved them from eviction by buying back the land from the Companies. Essentially,

¹Vide Hawthorn Report p.10
²e.g. "Open Letter to the Quakers."

these ideas can probably be understood as projections of blame by a people who see their way of life threatened by cultural progress, but cannot understand that the elements of their downfall lie in their rigid reactions to change, and their choice of leaders.

**Origins of Thought** Their original leader in Canada, the man associated with their last great Russian leader, Lukeria, was Peter (the Lordly) Verigin, who arrived in 1904 after an exile in Siberia. He had advocated a communal life in his letters, and no assimilation, but when he arrived he found life in Canada vastly different from that in Russia at the time, and for a while he seemed to accept assimilation. This confused the faithful, who recalled many negative ideas in his letters and they began to interpret his acts and words on a "double-think" basis.¹ Symbolical obsession and double-entente has become a noticeable feature of thought among Sons of Freedom.² One of the commonly understood motives behind the move to B.C. was Peter Verigin's wish to reunite the Doukhobors and consolidate their culture. The Freedomites were at this time an embarrassment to the others, because of their extreme literalness about Peter's first ideas which made them

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¹e.g. One of the people charged with Arson in the Kootenays testified that the signal to burn was the wearing of a tie backwards by their leader.

²This is not unusual in art and poetry, but it is an uncommon feature in the prosaic life of most Canadians. It has been characterized as a feature of childhood by psychologists and psychiatrists, who relate it to primary-process thinking, and thus to a tendency to seek immediate gratification instead of subjecting the id-forces to the rational control of the ego and the stringencies of the super-ego (conscience). Vide, Charles Brenner, M. Cunliffe.
non-conformists with the mass of the Doukhobors who were somewhat willing to adapt. There were home-burnings in Saskatchewan, and the time when horses were released from servitude to wander over the Prairie did not endear Freedomites to their neighbours, whose crops were damaged, but their nude parades were their most effective form of protest against assimilation. There is evidence in the literature that these burnings and nude parades offended Peter and his son by his original marriage who followed him.

The father had been an astute business man, under whom the affairs of the B.C. group were able to prosper. He had however mortgaged their lands heavily when a bomb-blast took his life in a train on the C.P.R.'s Kettle Valley Line in 1924. There was talk of having his common-law wife take over, but the succession fell to Peter Petrovich Verigin, who called himself Chestiakov (the Scourger.) He had been in Canada before to visit his father, but nearly caused a rebellion against the latter, and had been sent back to Russia. The Revolution of 1917 had brought him to a local leadership position, and he came to Canada reluctantly in 1927. He found compensation in an apparently debauched life, which he explained to his followers in further "double-think," as a ruse to keep the Canadian authorities from knowing he was "the Christ." When he died in a Saskatoon hospital just before World War II, one of his followers declared he had told them to live as Canadians, except for military service. This relieved many who had already drawn away, and although it was disputed, the advice was widely followed. Soon afterward however, the War
set back assimilation by reuniting various groups in a common stand for pacifism.

Sons of Freedom The Freedomites, who had gradually emerged as an extreme faction taking the Leader's words at their most conservative interpretation, repudiating all assimilation, and deliberately avoiding education, had always adhered to the Verigin leadership even when it castigated their antics. Now a period of anarchy followed. Michael Verigin, who styled himself "Archangel" and capitalized on his name, joined forces with Joe Podovinikoff to found an idealistic communal society at Hilliers on Vancouver Island at one point, but this had few adherents, and did not persist. Some Doukhobors formed organizations to follow on the original Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood, notably the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ with John J. Verigin as secretary, or independent groups affiliated to this body in some matters. Economic burdens tended to weaken and separate the groups, and many Doukhobors were fully assimilated to the dominant culture, some even changing their names to English forms.

The Sons of Freedom claim to be the only "true Doukhobors" left, and their isolation in Krestova (accessible only by pathway) and the shaded lower Kootenay valley villages would suggest a "Shangri-la" separation. The majority, who did not go to Hilliers, were leaderless for a time, and one John Lebedoff began to emerge as their leader. He showed some of the characteristics associated with Peter Petrovich, but before he could consolidate his position he was displaced by an eastern
European Baptist missionary, Stephan Sorokin. The latter is called "spiritual leader" because he refuses to control many of the economic matters in which former leaders have delighted. He was, however, able to form a working relationship with the Canadian authorities in the Kootenays, especially with Magistrate William Evans, under whose jurisdiction the Freedomites came, and relative peace reigned for a time after he took over about 1950. There were the seeds of rebellion in the rivalry of Lebedoff, who had a small following at his home in Wynndel, B.C. Sorokin went along with the idea of migration to a promised land, whereas Lebedoff favoured settlement and some accommodation to the Canadian culture.

Many elements of Russian peasant culture have gone into the Freedomite makeup. From their friend and protector Tolstoy, came a reinforcement of puritanical reformism. They express the ubiquitous Russian "mother-earth" concept in terms of their religious value of physical toil and repudiation of advanced technology, and its concomitant mystical unity of all mankind is shown in their pacifism and communalism, so long only an ideal but indulged in during treks. They profess to despise worldly show, and "go naked in the world" as they were born, when it comes to a showdown with the corrupt and compromised. Their distrust of complex religions, (though they have learned to tolerate but not to trust most Canadian Churches) comes probably from the general Russian peasants' mistrust of the Orthodox Church which was identified with Czarist power before the Revolution. Violence had been taught them
by the Cossacks who plundered them and the Caucasian bandits to whose mercy they were thrown, but the "depredations" laid at their door, in the form of bombings and burnings, their pacifist creed forces them to deny. There is much evidence of a martyr-complex pervading the group, and they have become an outcaste in the Kootenays, as the Hawthorn Report amply indicates.¹

Ever since Peter (the Lordly) Verigin was killed on the C.P.R. in 1924, this railway and its other interests, the West Kootenay Power Company and Consolidated Mining and Smelting at Trail and Kimberley, have been considered betes noirs by many Freedomites. While the connection has been largely unproved, power poles and railway bridges have been prime targets of terrorist activities. The provincial Government's schools and highway culverts have also been focuses of anti-social behaviour. While no further lives of Canadians have been lost,² in accord with the Doukhobor creed of abhorrence for violence, millions of dollars have been lost in property damage, and untold millions in loss of investment. Concrete evidence to link "the troubles" with the Freedomites was found in 1961 when a grain elevator was blasted at Wynndel, and the same day workmen found a bomb unexploded in the crawl space under a tiny Anglican Church beside the highway and 100 yards from an occupied school. The school

¹Op.Cit p.16

²One Freedomite youth (Kootnikoff) was killed and four others injured when an infernal machine he was carrying in his lap exploded in a car at Kinnaird, B.C. in 1962.
was immediately evacuated, while a bomb expert from the Canadian army, at great personal risk, successfully removed the detonators from 36 sticks of very old and dangerous dynamite.¹ This was traced, and two Freedomite Doukhobors were convicted. They implicated others, and the bombing of a power pylon carrying four miles of triple wire across Kootenay Lake² was traced to Freedomites as well. Strangely enough, people confessed readily. Freedomite spokesmen now lay these confessions to a prophecy by former leaders, which they say was cited by Lebedoff frequently, that the Doukhobors would emigrate "through the jails." Some sect members blame the "D" squad of the R.C.M.P. for improperly extracting confessions by inducements.

All of this occurred while Stephan Sorokin was in South America, ostensibly searching for a new land to which the Freedomites can migrate. Of late years they have variously canvassed Mexico, Russia, Brazil and Uruguay, all unsuccessfully, and they still look to Sorokin to help them, although he is settled in Montevideo and does not intend to return to B.C., where he faces litigation. Through the processes of court action about a hundred of the younger Freedomites were under sentence and the Federal Government had decided to incarcerate them together in a special prison where their vegetarian dietary requirements could be provided and they would not be in danger of corruption by "hardened criminals" in the

¹The author was present, being at that time Rector of the Church (St. Patrick's).

²One of the two longest spans in the world. The other is in Russia.
ordinary penitentiaries. The people of Agassiz, a small village on the Fraser River, had asked that the prison be placed there to bring employment and trade, and it was thus that Agassiz became the focus of Freedomite interest. The Sons of Freedom named the double-wired, grey-walled huts, separate for male and female prisoners into two adjacent camps, "Buchenwald." Its official title is "Mountain Prison."

The Treks  In early Fall of 1962 then, with Sorokin in Uruguay and many of their men in prison, the people of Krestova village were visited by John Lebedoff. What was said is difficult to determine, but the result of this visit was a rumour that if they did not leave the village and begin the Migration from Canada, someone would burn down their communal old people's home, people inside or no. One morning early the elderly people were evacuated and the torch took the building. That day, 2nd September, the women of the village set out on the Trek, with some of the men accompanying them and others beseeching them to stay. All of them fully expected the "D" squad of the R.C.M.P. to stop them, as they had in the past prevented their parades. By nightfall, with no-one barring their path, they were eight miles from home. Some returned to pack up and get suitable equipment, realizing that they were on the Trek in earnest. Many more joined them.

Progress  They halted for a few days in friendly territory at Grand Forks, where there are many Orthodox and Reformed Doukhobors, notably Vanichka (Johnny) Verigin. He invited them to camp overnight, but later was glad to see them go, as their communal provisioning depleted
his farm radically. They frequented government camp sites and friendly farms in traversing the Okanagan and the Similkameen Valleys, and by mid-September were about to go through Princeton and on over the high pass country of Manning Provincial Park. They were encamped overnight at Bromley Provincial Campsite, when they discovered they were barricaded from going onward or back, by the R.C.M.P., on the orders of someone in the Attorney General's Department.

**Barricade** This barricade lasted for several weeks, and some who had been behind the main groups were trapped on the eastern side. One man was kept from his family for several days, at a time when his wife was expecting their second child, simply because he had returned to the Interior to sell his business and join the trek in earnest. He was finally let in, and found the trekkers breaking out in sores because their diet was limited by their inaccessibility to a variety of vegetable foods. They had become dependent on tomatoes, he stated. His wife shortly began to deliver, and he put her in the car not knowing if he would get through the barricade on the Princeton side, but it was dark, and when he told the constable on duty his wife was going to have a baby, his identification was not inspected. She was safely delivered at Princeton Hospital.¹

During this period, the Attorney-General and the Premier met with representatives of the Vancouver Council of Churches whom they had

¹This account, which may reflect the bias of the teller, is from a confidential taped interview with two of the authors.
asked to come to Victoria, to discuss the barricade.\(^1\) They perceived no support for the barricade policy on the part of these representatives, who had made themselves informed about the Sons of Freedom by reading the Hawthorn Report. The next day the barricade was lifted.

The Village Chairman at Hope states that the offer of Angelo Branca, Q.C., later made a judge, to defend any member of the Sons of Freedom who defied the barricade, was believed locally to be the cause of the lifting of the barricade. There is a story in Hope that the police of the "D" squad who had been billeted in Hope Motels while manning the barricades, were ordered at 2 a.m. to leave town precipitously, and did so.\(^2\)

**Approach to Hope** At any rate, the Freedomites were informed of their freedom to proceed by a newspaper reporter, and they immediately passed Princeton and headed down the mountains toward Hope. They planned to remain there only a day or two, while they rallied strength to go to Kent municipality, where the prison lies, to test its new by-law against their presence. The fact that they stayed in Hope for half the winter is the basis of our study of their impact on this peaceful community, and of the reasons for the difference in their relations with the village, in contrast to their relations to other similar communities in the past, and ever since.

\(^1\) The author was asked to obtain background information for this meeting at the time.

\(^2\) Taped interview with the author.
The present leaders of the trek feel that their stay at Hope was the brightest spot in all their recent history. John Perepolkin and Fanya Storgoff both say "At Hope we found hope." They arrived there 29th September 1962, intending to stay only two days, so they were welcomed into the town's campsite in Coquihalla Park. The declaration of intention they had made while in Bromley of marching toward Kent municipality, and the dubious by-laws, passed by that municipality, caused a temporary injunction to be given, banning them from proceeding to Kent. This was followed by another by-law limiting campers to 15 per acre, banning their entry into Chilliwack, and until the by-laws were tested and declared ultra vires on 19th November 1962 and the interim injunction dissolved, they were trapped in Hope.

Situation Thus we find two communities thrown together by no choice of the one and no planning of the other. Wherever these people or migrating groups of their faith had camped before, there had been at least subconscious and often conscious hostility on their part. This free-floating anxiety was still available to these people, and given the right signals, would have been galvanized into action. That it was not is the miracle of Hope, in large measure creditable to the town's leaders.

Before we pass to consideration of the stable community of Hope,

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1Personal interviews with the author.

2See D. Commerce (in another chapter of this thesis)

3See Hope Standard (Appendix H.S.1 and H.S.4)
it is well to consider the crises through which the Freedomites passed, and factors which might have caused volatile reactions. They arrived bent on joining their separated brothers in the prison, though preferably in peace. They were frustrated by Kent's by-law, then further confined by Chilliwack's, and thus pent up in Hope. Any hostility by residents would have been reciprocated. They were faced with the problems of refugees, in effect, and their campsite was not suited to the weather they soon experienced.

**Positives** Their position was made more tolerable by the town's unthreatening response. When their children's needs were met readily, as we shall see, a further bond was established, and when town officials took pains to halt harrassment by irresponsible youths, they saw authority in a fairer light than ever before. At one point the leaders made common cause with them to try to gain Governmental attention, by taking a busload to Victoria. Being forced by natural calamity to move out of their bivouac, they found acceptance by a religious group in its camp. Probably if this arrangement had not been disturbed by the gradual threat to health caused by frozen sanitary facilities, the stay would have been longer. Also, many of them found some economic support in the welcome

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1 See Appendix H.S. passim.
3 Ibid. H.S.7-11.
way they were hired for semi-skilled labour in Hope and nearby.¹

Under these circumstances, with the desperate motivation they felt in trekking at all, and their nearly-paranoid sense that the world opposed them, it was crucial that their feelings be respected in order that health and sanity could prevail in this encounter. That the situation was perceived, and met with more than adequate responses, speaks highly of the maturity of the leaders in Hope.

¹See interviews with P. Scherle and J. Reid (below) on "Economics."
Dramatis Personae  The leaders interviewed compose the people in positions of influence in Hope and in Chilliwack, the county seat, who had direct and significant contact with the Sons of Freedom. Those in Hope had close communication with each other thru the informal channels of contact in a small town, and those in Chilliwack had communication either primarily with the leaders in Hope, or else with the Provincial authorities.

These leaders were interviewed personally, without a predetermined schedule of questions, but with the aim of learning the impact of the Freedomites on the settled community, the reciprocal impact of Hope on them, and the unique features of the interaction which made this encounter a peaceful one.

Village Chairman  We asked Village Chairman, Paul Scherle, why he thought they had found Hope so positive. He replied that it was because they were not bothered in Hope; no-one bothered them. He gives the impression of being a very calm, wise, clear-headed person with a wide experience of life and an acceptance of himself and other people. He did not take credit for the difference, which the Sons of Freedom readily ascribe to him, but as this and other interviews in Hope went on, it was apparent that Mr. Scherle had given unusually sensible leadership, and had been backed up also by other community leaders, who although they were personally acquainted with "the troubles" in the Kootenays, refused to be stampeded by the arrival of the Freedomites in
Scherle's reaction to our curiosity about his novel open-mindedness to the "Sons" was: "When you've got a cat in your lap, you don't twist its tail, you pet it. And while they were here, and they were here, we thought we'd better make the best of it. We couldn't do anything about them being here, anymore than Kent can do anything about them being there." (Referring to the municipality which tried to bar them from entering.) Many of the townspeople visited them, especially young people who made friends through school.

Responses He was asked what he thought as he knew they were approaching his village, and answered "You have to treat people like people no matter who they are. We have four or five hundred campers over a weekend here in the park. It's about the same. People are people. If we had treated them roughly, with the frame of mind they were in at the time they could have got rough right back. There are 2780 people in town here, and there was something like 1100 Doukhobors; we could have had all sorts of trouble, but in actual fact we didn't have any." There were no crimes nor misdemeanours while they were in Hope. They did everything Scherle asked them to do, and nothing he asked them not to do. He says "I've never seen a people who co-operated better while they were here."

Economics Quite a few got employment in Hope, both men and women,

1 See also Interview with J. Reid (below).
in part-time work, in carpentry and housework. There has been praise for the quality of their work. Most of the able-bodied men picked corn, filberts and potatoes in the farmlands near Chilliwack; sometimes they were paid with half of the potatoes they picked, other times as little as .75¢ hour for other farm work. The workers in town got the going rate. They were good craftsmen.¹

Mr. Scherle had the closest dealings of any of the citizens with them, as Chairman of the Village Commission. He feels his relationship with them has not affected his relationship with his electors. The situation at Chilliwack, wherein the Salvation Army has suffered loss of popular support by acting as the distributor of social assistance for the Provincial Government,² was deplored by Scherle. He felt the government ought to take its own responsibility and deal directly with the Freedomites, rather than involving a good organization like the Salvation Army. The giving of grants at all was a tacit recognition of a right to welfare and this should be handled in the normal manner.³

Mr. Scherle referred to the costs of the government's actions about "the Doukhobor problem" to date, and how the Hawthorn Report's recommendations could have solved many problems if they had been instituted.

Campsites  Mr. Scherle said that after Hurricane Ethel caused the Coquihalla River to flood their camp the Sons of Freedom moved to

¹Above (note 1, p.15)  
²See interview with Major Powell (below)  
³See note 3, next page
the Seventh-Day Adventist Camp through the efforts of Joe Podovinikoff, a self-appointed spokesman for them who lives in Vancouver, and the R.C.M.P., "who didn't want them on the highway." He did not arrange it, but he had been keeping a close scrutiny over the situation in the town's Coquihalla campsite as the river rose during the winter rains.

**ATTITUDES**

We discussed the different attitude in Hope as compared to the Kootenays. He said Hope was never subjected to "the troubles" as the Kootenays were. They had a few local youths who started to harrass the campers, but he and a local publisher, John Reid, patrolled the campsite each night, until 2 or 3 a.m., and had a guard of Freedomites organized as lookouts. Some youths went through "raising hell": one night, and the Doukhobors tape-recorded this, so the town officials recognized voices, spoke to the persons concerned, pointing out that "there was nothing for them in the camp at that time of night," and the trouble ceased.

**Victoria (Government Relations)** At one point Mr. Scherle took a group of Freedomites to Victoria on a bus, to bring their plight to

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3There was a time in earlier years of Freedomite activity in the Province when they were granted lower rates of assistance than other persons, but this practice had stopped by the time the Hawthorn Report was written. (q.v. pp. 197-200 - an excellent discussion of the issues involved.) This policy seems to have been reinstated. (Appendix H.S.12.)
the government's attention. This aroused the criticism of the M.L.A. at the time, Irvine Corbett, a government member. The government had refused to answer three wires, and did not accept its responsibility here, so Mr. Scherle took some of them to Victoria. He felt he should have taken all of them. The money for the trip was raised locally among businessmen. The Council did not spend any extra funds on the Freedomites. The Chamber of Commerce took no overt interest in them, but some local merchants asked that the Freedomites be barricaded from leaving the town, so welcome was their business.

For the first period they were in Hope, the Social Welfare Department had no dealings with them at all, not even in Child Protection. The children attended school, the School Board having made space and teachers available at the request of the Doukhobor parents. The Attorney-General's Department paid the extra costs to the School Board.

Town Relations The Freedomites were well-dressed and well-fed, sharing with each other. The town accepted them as campers and tourists, not growing weary of them. If they had remained till Spring, they would have been asked to vacate the campsites for summer guests, and Mr. Scherle feels they would have gone readily at any time he asked them, so co-operative

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1Appendix H.S. 7, 8 and 10.

2Ibid. H.S. 8-9. There was a further letter in the same vein after the Freedomites left Hope.

3Appendix H.S.1, H.S.3, H.S.5. See also section on Schools (below)
were they. The service clubs had very little to do with them. One minister went to visit them often, until their controversy with the government, in which he supported the government.

Young people invited their Freedomite fellow students to watch T.V. at their homes. Mr. Scherle took one little boy into his own home on the night of Hurricane Ethel, and he remained with the Scherles a month. He was asked how people might receive Freedomites wishing to settle in Hope. He said if they wanted to settle down like other citizens they would be welcome, as long as they didn't bother people.

**Personal Attitude** Mr. Scherle had studied the history of the Doukhobors before they came, out of interest, and had known the conditions of their leadership under Peter the Lordly Verigin and under Peter the Second, as a resident in Saskatchewan. He knew their co-operative Jam factory at Brilliant to have been a very fine operation. He felt they had not learned from experience with bad leadership, and were still listening to people who told them to do things but stayed safely out of the suffering.

Asked who seemed to be the leaders when the Freedomites were in Hope, he said Fanny Storgoff at that time was primarily a spokesman for other leaders (Joe Podovinikoff and Marie Schlakoff among these) but now he understood she had effective control of the group at Agassiz. (This is borne out by our observations.)

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1 See note 3, p.14
When asked who else was involved with the Freedomites during their stay, Mr. Scherle replied: "Most of the town didn't have much to do with it" indicating that Mr. Reid, the publisher, had more contact than any others, and the school authorities were also involved.¹

**PUBLISHER AND EDITOR: HOPE "STANDARD"**

Mr. John Reid agreed with the remark made by Mr. Paul Scherle, and quoted to us by Mr. Green, the former's assistant: "It's all very well to talk, but when a tiger is sitting on your lap, you pet it." He said this summarized the attitude of Hope village toward the Sons of Freedom.

**Personal Attitude**  Mr. Reid had personal experience of "the troubles" in the Kootenays, having grown up in Nelson, and been in "the battle of Baker Street." A girl on the staff of the Nelson Daily News, where Mr. Reid worked, was grabbed by demonstrating Doukhobors and he went to help her. He was nearly dragged down by the women, who would not strike, but would cling to a victim until he was trampled. However, when the Freedomites came to Hope, his former experience had made him realize they could not be forcibly expelled, and he resolved not to provoke them in the press. His editorials, when they concern the trekkers at all, are reasonable and even defend their rights. Almost every week

¹See Mr. Scherle's opinion of the townsfolk in Appendix H.S.11 (last paragraph). This section is based on two confidential interviews, one taped.
his small but excellent newspaper contained an article or two of news about them.¹

When the youth of the village went to the camp to stir up excitement, Mr. Reid warned Paul Scherle from experience that trouble must be headed off at once. If hostility were allowed to arise it might cause the Freedomites to carry out bombings as in the Kootenays, and he feared for the Fraser bridge. Therefore to stop the youth from their hazing and tormenting, he and Paul Scherle made a nightly patrol of the camp as long as the Freedomites were in Hope. They caught the children of some well-known citizens and threatened to take their pictures and publish them if they returned. They never did.²

Mr. Reid states that the teachers were highly impressed with the abilities and behaviour of the children of the Sons of Freedom.³ He said his own experience in the past also impressed him with the close family relationships and respect for elders felt even by their teenagers. When young people in town took out the Freedomite young people, they were back to the camp by 9 p.m., the self-imposed curfew time for all Freedomites while in Hope.

Police While they were in town, in order to avoid provoking them the "D" squad had little contact with them. The Corporal-in-


²See interview with P. Scherle(above) section "Attitudes."

³Appendix H.S.3. See also section "Schools"(below)
Charge, stayed in his headquarters and sent out others whom they would accept more readily. Asked why there had been this change in the tactics of confrontation by the law, which had been so obvious during the time in the Kootenays when arrests were rife, he felt it followed the "about face" of the Attorney-General's Department after the blockade at Bromley failed to get support from the public. We discussed this and concluded that this blockade had been bluff, initiated at a lower level, which embarrassed the Attorney-General, and that he was only too glad to abandon it. Reid felt it was like the Kent Municipality's prohibitory By-law, which was a bold bluff that could not succeed, and has had to be abandoned.

Welfare and Economy Mr. Reid told us about the arrangements for Social Assistance through the Salvation Army at the rate of $10 a month per person, which are outlined elsewhere. This followed the "sit-in" by a number of the Freedomite women and children at the Social Welfare office in Chilliwack. This brought up their contrasting relations with Hope, which were cordial. He pointed out that, like everyone, these people respond very well to kindness. They spent between eighty-five and one hundred thousand dollars in Hope. The presence of old-fashioned large bills at the banks showed that they were using up long-term savings, and they were in genuine need of money by the time they left.

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1See (above) notes 1 and 2, p.12
2See notes 2 and 3, p.18, also I. Foerster (another chapter in this Thesis)
3Appendix H.S.1 (last para.) H.S.5, H.S.12.
Effect on the Sect  He mentioned that he and Paul Scherle visited them twice in Vancouver after they left, and felt it was a good experience for them to be in the big city, out of Krestova and similar villages for the first time in many years. He felt that the chief fomenters of the unease among the Freedomites were not those who lived in the camp. The Fraternal Council was suspected of keeping the pot boiling, and the blame attached by Freedomites to Lebedoff was not entirely valid. Mr. Reid also attributed "the troubles" to the poor guidance they received from irresponsible leaders. Like everyone who meets them, he expressed admiration for their ability to survive and to keep clean in the face of conditions on the trek, and in their Agassiz camp.

He felt that Hope's treatment of the Freedomites rested on the town's willingness to take these people on their own merits, and not on past reputation in the negative reports in Interior newspapers. His own treatment of their coming, which might have been much more prejudiced in a man who had twice been beaten during demonstrations in Nelson, was an example to all townspeople of fairness and common sense.

R.C.M.P.

Detachment  Being curious about the role of the police, we interviewed the head of the local R.C.M.P. detachment. He had no direct dealings with them, as the "D" squad was in charge, from the time of the

1 See section "Latest History" in Chap. "The Freedomites and the Trek" - (above)
2 Personal interview with two of the Authors.
Bromley barricade until they left Hope for Vancouver.

They were seen as no problem to the Police, who had naturally been a bit apprehensive, but found them co-operative and quiet. They were in fact helpful to the economy of the town, in the opinion of the Sergeant. The only incident causing anxiety occurred when "some of the town bucks drove thru the camp to see the Sons of Freedom girls." The camp objected and the youths were persuaded to desist.

The detachment head had only the highest praise for Paul Scherle in his handling of the problem. He was aware that there were some who criticized him for "going out to them" and letting them use the municipal Coquihalla campsite but the general village attitude was favourable to Scherle and tolerant of the Freedomites.¹

HEALTH

_Camp Health Conditions_ Dr. A.S. Arneil² had regularly visited both campsites of the Freedomites in the course of his duties as Medical Officer of Health. There was no problem in the Coquihalla campsite until rain swelled the river to washout proportions. The sanitation was twice inspected by the sanitarian and once by himself and was good. They kept themselves extremely clean and well-washed, established their own garbage collection, had only one tent-fire (which was not serious), and no real hunger except for one hunger-striker, an elderly woman.³ The Children

¹Ibid.
²Medical Officer of Health, Chilliwack. See Appendix H.S.5.
³See Appendix H.S.6, H.S.14.
were well cared for, and their teeth were better than normal, their parents having made better use of dentistry. There was next to no illness, certainly no epidemics, a little measles within control, and very little pneumonia.\(^1\) The same applied when they moved to the more comfortable Seventh-Day Adventist camp, where unfortunately the septic tank was overloaded in freezing weather, causing a need to evacuate them near the time they left.\(^2\) However, they were not forced out, though they were often asked to move on.

**Interactions** Like Paul Scherle, Dr. Arneil found them most cooperative in all his demands or requests. They were apparently led by Marie Shlakoff. The talk of famine was a figurehead. They had many positive features: they brought money to the village, caused no trouble such as crime or shoplifting, they willingly registered the children for school, perhaps out of fear of their being taken from them, but there was no need for child protection casework at any time. The doctors of Hope gave them good service, and were not fully paid. They still use some of these doctors, although most go to Chilliwack. A special clinic set up in the hospital basement was fully covered under B.C.H.I.S. or other government grant, though it did not have a heavy demand.\(^3\)

He said the complaints of poor treatment had not come from

\(^1\)Ibid. H.S.12.
\(^2\)Ibid. H.S.13.
\(^3\)Ibid. H.S.1, H.S.5.
Freedomites, but from Vancouver newspapers, Church groups, who brought supplies which apparently were not needed, and so on.¹ He believed the village had given them clothing (blankets from citizens - author.) They received food supplies from Krestova, and there was coming and going between the two places, 5 per cent of the huts being padlocked and unoccupied while their inhabitants were on trips back to the Kootenays. This was during the end of November and in December.

Personal Assessment He had had some previous experience with the group from visiting Krestova where the children were cared for by all members of the village, as were the aged. While there was easy "divorce," this did not bother the children, because they received communal care. They were not militantly-minded people, and seldom did violence intentionally, but they had a long-standing grievance against the Canadian Pacific Railway, going back to their original settlement scheme in Saskatchewan.² Their peculiar habit of nudism derived from working in the nude, and they greeted each other by stripping, showing their pristine condition. He felt they were a matriarchal society.³ He felt the New Denver School had been the best thing ever done for the children.⁴

¹Ibid. H.S.5.
²This idea has come up in interviews with independent Doukhobors by the Author as well.
³The strong role of women as leaders is apparent, from the beginning in Russia to the present in Agassiz. (Author)
⁴Personal interview with two of the Authors.
SCHOOLS

We interviewed the Superintendent of Schools for the District, Mr. E. Thorstensen, whose file on the children was most enlightening. He had taught Freedomites before, when Michael (Archangel) Verigin and J. Podovinikoff and some members of the Fraternal Council had set up a colony at Hilliers, on Vancouver Island. At the time of the Trek he had been on vacation and had gone out to see the marchers on their way to the Lower Mainland. The communities en route had felt concern.¹ Princeton could not accommodate the children who applied for registration at its schools, so they were kept from getting on the school bus. This may have been an additional cause behind their confinement at Bromley campsite.²

Request for Education When they descended to Hope, the town chairman was criticized for allowing them to stay in the town's campsite, but their original stay was to be short.³ It grew of necessity,⁴ and the parents of the Freedomite children approached the School Board asking to have their children allowed to attend the schools. Two motives were seen by the townfolk in this novel request:

1. A desire to adhere to regulations while out of their own

¹(Keremeos' Chamber of Commerce is rumoured to have talked of organizing a town guard.)
²Chapter on "The Freedomites and the Trek" - note 1, p.11 and note 1, p.12 (above).
³Appendix H.S.1.
⁴Ibid. H.S.5.
community, arising from fear of the possession of their children by child welfare authorities or the truant officer (as in the New Denver School situation.)

2. A curiosity to test the sincerity of school authorities as providers of education when presented with their actual co-operation.

Sanction This request for education required referral to the Provincial authorities, who immediately advised the local board to co-operate with the parents, and promised financial assistance. Dr. English, the Deputy Minister, was chairman of the "Deputy Ministers' Committee on Doukhobor Affairs," and was kept posted daily.\(^1\) The financing came from interdepartmental transfers of funds, and was to be handled by extra grants to 1963 and 1964 budget in the School District. The arrangements were made by the School Board quickly, and were revised in the light of changing situations.

Numbers There were thirty children of high school age, who were quickly integrated completely into existing classes at the high school. Classes began October 3rd. This added to the already crowded situation. Enrolment in grade 7 increased from 96 to 111, in grade 8 from 99 to 109, in grade 9 from 94 to 99, making total enrolment rise from 485 to 515.

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\(^1\)There is a very appreciative note from the Deputy Attorney-General for "the efforts which (the) Board has made in assisting with this community problem, and particularly in assisting these children to receive an education. He further commends the Board for integrating the high school children, and wishes the same could be done as far as possible for elementary pupils."
Extra teacher time was required to bring the students (not previously attending school in Autumn 1962) up to the level of other students. The principal commented that despite these difficulties "these students are well-behaved and co-operative." He felt that their attendance record was adversely affected by their living conditions.\(^1\) We learned that they had not objected to the opening exercises involving the singing of the national anthem, but had stood silently. They were well-liked by their fellow students, making many friends among them, and learning of the homelife of Canadians at first-hand by visits to their friends' homes. One parent discovered that his child had absented himself from school, and enforced his attendance.

School district records indicate names of 99 elementary level children who registered on 2nd October, 1962, as well as the high school children.\(^2\) Among possibilities thought of was the bussing of 10 children 3 miles to Silver Creek, 33 to Yale 20 miles away, and 19 to St. Elmo about 16 miles away, but instead, all were accommodated in Coquihalla Elementary School at Hope and later transferred to the Seventh-Day Adventist Camp as a school, before the whole Freedomite group moved there.\(^3\) The local schooling of the children avoided the considerable cost of bus transportation to rural schools, as well as providing in a

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\(^1\)School Board File "D", item 5.

\(^2\)Ibid. Item 1.

\(^3\)Ibid. Items 2,3,8 and 12
more humane manner a facility close to their families.

Arrangements The first arrangement for the elementary pupils was an afternoon-evening shift. This caused problems for the regular teachers, who needed the rooms for preparation of next day's classes, and together with the anxiety of some Freedomite mothers about their children's coming home in the dark, this led the School Board to arrange to transfer the special school to the Seventh-Day Adventist campsite, in the latter half of October. An announcement dated 31 October, 1962, on the letterhead of School District number 32 (Fraser Canyon) Hope, B.C., reads: "Announcement of Day School for the Sons of Freedom. The Board of School Trustees has rented accommodation to place the Elementary-aged children of the Sons of Freedom in Day School. Units have been rented in the local Seventh-Day Adventist Camp and regular Day School will commence at 9.00 a.m. and dismiss at 3.00 p.m. on Thursday, November 1st, 1962, and each day thereafter, Monday through Friday of each week. As these are regular day sessions, arrangements should be made accordingly. The children will have a one hour recess during the lunch hour. (12.00-1.00 p.m.)."

The buildings used at the Seventh-Day Adventist Campsite included the school building, the Dorcas building, Business office, Home Mission building and a recreation building for shelter on rainy days for games,

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1See Appendix H.S.1.
2School Board File "D", Items 8 and 12.
recess and noon. There had to be heating arrangements made in some of these buildings. The immediate cost of this move, for renovations to the buildings and for necessary equipment, was $650.00, and there were continuing costs for janitorial, maintenance, heating and other administrative services, as well as the teachers' salaries. Teachers who had known the Doukhobors before wrote in, offering their services, but the need was met from the relieving staff in the district. This was thought wisest as the duration of stay was expected to be very short. None of these costs came out of the school taxes of Hope and district citizens.

The S.D.A. Camp School was as satisfactory as the one at Coquihalla school, to judge from the attendance records. In each case, attendance began at a high level in relation to registration (80.9% and 80% respectively) and fell to a more or less stable average (72.6% and 74.6%) in the main central periods of each school.

Integration The school authorities regretted that considerations of space prevented the integration of elementary pupils as the high school pupils were integrated. The children were easy to handle, one of them even being brilliant. The children took part in games, though three

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1Ibid. Items 3 and 14.
2Appendix H.S.1.
3See Table S.R.I (below).
4Readiness of Freedomite children to obey adult figures has been described at length by Claudia Lewis in the Hawthorn Report (p.108ff). It is still apparent in the homelife of the trekking children.
parents objected to physical education as militaristic in nature. (Their children, in high school, voluntarily participated anyway.) The high school children attended assemblies and stood silently and unobtrusively through opening exercises. They interacted well with other pupils, especially when they were in small numbers; where their numbers were larger they tended to remain together. They did not take much part in after-school social activities. When they were asked their future ambitions, one child replied "When I grow up I want to go to jail."\(^1\)

The school superintendent asked one of the leading spokesmen, whether in three months' experience anyone in town had regimented the Freedomites, as they always claimed Canadians imposed our culture upon them, and the Freedomite replied "No. If this trek does nothing else, it will teach my people they can live with the rest of you."\(^2\)

**Origins** The school records provide an interesting insight into the places of origin of the children, giving us some index of where the original trekkers came from in the Kootenays.\(^3\) There were four children from Pass Creek from two families, five from Winlaw from four families, four from Passmore from three families, eight from Perrys Siding from five families, fourteen from Grand Forks from nine families, ten from Thrums from eight families, fifty-six from Crescent Valley from perhaps thirty-

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\(^1\)Interview with the Author.

\(^2\)Ibid.

\(^3\)School Board File "D", item 19.
eight families, and two from Nelson from one family, with one each from Oliver, Appledale and Slocan City. While they were in Hope there must have been very few permanent returns to the Kootenays, because the schools there did not request any Pupil's Record cards.

Attitudes There was a determined effort on the part of the School Board to avoid playing into any hostile feelings toward education among the Freedomites. No publicity was allowed, and all transactions were handled very discreetly. There was one occasion in Hope when some Freedomite spokesmen who had been invited to a service club meeting were rather closely questioned, but otherwise there seems to have been a tacit agreement on the part of the power-structure and all opinion-makers to avoid provocation.¹

SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICE

One person had a unique relationship with the Freedomites, during their stay in Hope, and he again has this role now. Major Powell, in charge of the Salvation Army Citadel in Chilliwack, acts for the Provincial Welfare Department as its agent in dealing with the Freedomites. This developed out of a request by the Provincial Government to Major Powell when the Freedomites arrived at Hope, in regard to any suffering in the Coquihalla Campsite. With some apprehension he visited them, but his inquiries and examination could discover no privation.²

¹Interview with the Author.

²This finding is corroborated by the findings of other Christian welfare workers who visited the Coquihalla Campsite at about the same time. See Appendix H.S.1 and H.S.5.
He visited the camp several times in October, but could detect no obvious need; he left his name in case it should arise. He states that he discussed the Kootenays with them, having come from Nelson himself, and still having relatives there in business, who had kept him up to date on the interaction of the city and the Freedomites, which had been unpleasant.

Crisis On December 18th, fourteen Sons of Freedom women and children conducted a "sit-in" demonstration in the Chilliwack Social Welfare Office, claiming Social Allowance as a right.1 Rather than evict them violently at closing-time the R.C.M.P., Social Welfare officials and Major Powell conferred hurriedly, contacted both Social Welfare and Salvation Army headquarters, and Major Powell was instructed by both sources to issue food vouchers where need was proven, and to bill the Provincial Government.2

Provision He took names that night and the next day, and later visited the Camp to set up a proper roster. Fourteen registered 18th December, thirty on 20th December and thirty more on 29th December. The Provincial officials authorized the issue of any amount up to the regular portion of Social Allowance given for food (i.e. $34 per single

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1Ibid. H.S.12.

2The reaction of Hope citizens toward this "makeshift" arrangement has been discussed in the Interview with the Village Chairman (above)—see notes 2 and 3, p.18. The publisher of the paper expressed similar feelings. A main objection is that the Government is admitting its responsibility to provide, but "dragging in" a good organization unnecessarily.
person per month, with a sliding scale upward for families.) At this
time he decided a grant of a flat rate of $10 per applicant per month
was appropriate;\textsuperscript{1} this was later increased to $15 for families. He
said he did not wish to encourage them to remain in Hope, but rather
to return to Krestova or go on to Vancouver. At first the vouchers
were non-specific as to where they could be spent, but the Freedomites
tended to favour certain stores, so a rota of stores was instituted,
spreading the business around. As the numbers grew, he began using
forms almost identical with the Social Welfare Department's, and to
take registrations in groups of thirty, followed by an investigation
of need. At this time he thought there were at least 1500 Freedomites
at Hope. Not all of them had been registered for this form of Social
Assistance before they departed for Vancouver in mid-January.

Major Powell expressed concern that people had the misconception
that the Salvation Army was using charity-donated funds to help the
Sons of Freedom group. There had been withdrawal of some support in
the area when the annual Red Shield appeal was made. He felt people
should understand it was provincial revenue that was in use, and that
as a person who understood the Freedomites and was not overly sentimental
toward them he was protecting the taxpayers by his careful use of these
funds.\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{1}See Appendix H.S.12.

\textsuperscript{2}Interview with the Author. See also I. Foerster in another chapter
of this thesis.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY

Certain facts emerge from this study. Perhaps the most fascinating is the town of Hope's unthreatening response to the arrival of the Freedomites in their midst. Other towns had been hostile in the past, from Saskatchewan where the Freedomites arose as a strain of world-negating literal interpreters of Verigin's letters, through the long history of Kootenay "troubles" to the injunctions barring entry into Agassiz and Chilliwack. But Hope accepted them as people, and was rewarded with good behaviour.

There were several crises in which the town's response might have been very different. The first was the request for schooling, which was met by prompt and efficient provision. This could have evoked anxiety about the possibility of a protracted stay, and indeed there is the note of this in the newspaper at the time, but the feeling of panic was controlled and suppressed by the School Board and the Publisher.

Again when some youths of the town attempted to harrass the campers there was a quick, decisive and effective handling of this without the use of the police, by the Village Chairman, Paul Scherle, and the Publisher, John Reid. Collaborating with the campers these two maintained a nightly vigil, and thus set a tone of respect for justice to minorities which the town accepted.

1Appendix H.S.1.
When the senior governments got into a wrangle about whose responsibility these problem-people were, the town council and businessmen, under Scherle's leadership, made common cause with the Freedomites by sending a busload of them to Victoria, thus reminding the provincial authorities that this was not an administrative abstract, but the suffering of real people.

Then when the campsite was flooded, instead of saying "We told you so, now move on" there was a genuine concern for their welfare, and the Seventh-Day Adventists opened their hearts and campsite and took them in. The same spirit was shown later when an eviction order was held back because there were too many sick children in the camp to move them.¹

One can also cite the sympathetic response to their economic needs by the townsfolk, who offered them as much work as they could, and were very pleased with their craftsmanship and diligence. They also gave some material assistance in their need, in the form of foodstuffs and blankets.

But the prime difference lay in the attitudes of the town's leaders, and particularly Paul Scherle, the chairman. He is a unique blend of coolness, common sense, and great human warmth. His excellent handling of this situation has been praised by every leader we met, and every resident we spoke to. This sentiment is further echoed by the Freedomites themselves, to whom he is a trusted beacon of light in a dark sea of prejudice. He, if anyone, could help them to accept civic authority.

¹Appendix H.S.13.
CONCLUSIONS

We have seen the mutual impact of two communities, one in an immature state of organization and sophistication, with the attendant predisposition to fantasy, fear, and panic and acting-out behavior, coming to another with a high degree of organization and codified behavior, and mature, secure leadership. We have observed the mature society transferring its ethos to the less mature, not by a didactic pose but by behaving according to its own highest ideals, and thus being attractive in the eyes of the weaker, disorganized society, which emulated it in areas of behavior where it had little experience.

The clue to this process is found in the attitudes of the leaders of the settled community: "Make the best of it......treat people like people" (Scherlé), and to take the Freedomites on their own merits, not on past reputation (Reid), meet their demands seriously and give them the highest standard of service possible, without undue publicity (Thorstensen). These leaders found willing support on the part of the majority of the residents,¹ who reflected their ethics in dealing with the visitors.² That this warm-hearted response following an open-minded meeting was reciprocated by the Freedomites is apparent from their compliance,³ and the growing

¹See P. Scherle's Letter to the Editor, Appendix H.S.10.
²As witness the accounts of employment, material aid and hospitality being offered by old and young alike; e.g. Appendix H.S.3; "Village Chairman-Economics; Town Relations" (above); "Publisher & Editor-Welfare & Economics" (above).
³See (above) "Village Chairman-Responses"; "R.C.M.P. Detachment."
genuine affection towards the residents of Hope.¹

It is evident from this investigation and findings that the Sons of Freedom Sect is now in a frame of mind to observe and emulate the highest behaviour-patterns of democratic Western communities, where these are apparent from the actions of leaders and populace with whom they come in contact. This informal community education is acceptable, and does not threaten the Sect, so it avoids the evocation of negative and regressive behaviour. By treating these people with equality, justice, and some warmth, the so-called "problem" is in a position to be solved. All behaviour that tends to isolate, stigmatize, and herd together these people is to be avoided. In particular they need gradually to learn that the governments of this Province and Country can be just and considerate in their dealings with them.

¹See Appendix H.S.4, H.S.6, H.S.9, H.S.12, H.S.14.
### TABLE S.R.-I

#### ATTENDANCE RECORDS

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**Note:** In each case figures for attendance are expressed as a fraction of figures for current registration in the class (or total).
Freedomites Leaving
But Date Uncertain

Sons of Freedom camped at Coquihalla campsite are still planning to move on towards the Mountain Prison in spite of a court injunction preventing them from entering Kent municipality, but at press time they had no definite plan for departure.

On Wednesday a group including “Big Fanny” Storgoff and Marie Schlakoff made a trip to the Popkum area, just across the bridge from Agassiz. They found suitable property for camping on a farm near the Cheam Main lime quarry, but were unable to contact the owner, Bob Cattermole, of Chilliwack.

Told on their return of the success of Kent’s application for an injunction, they said they did not understand the legal technicalities involved and could not afford a lawyer, but they intended to keep moving closer to the prison.

The court proceedings were not a test of the validity of the Kent by-law barring the Freedomites and Mr. Justice Craig Munroe ruled that such a test must be made by Kent if the municipality wishes the by-law to remain effective.

The injunction establishes that the by-law is in effect until this court decision is made and requires that the attorney-general and the R.C.M.P. enforce it.

Mr. Justice Munroe rebuked Attorney-General Robert Bonner for deciding not to enforce the by-law, saying that he had wrongly assumed the role of a judge.

On Wednesday afternoon 90 Freedomite pupils registered for classes at Coquihalla Elementary School.

Principal H.C. Carlaw said 116 had registered in advance but not all the 90 who actually showed up were among the 116. Previously there had been a list of 98 names submitted, but only 78 of these were among the 116 registered. At one time he had been told to expect 160 so eventual registration was still an open question.

At present there are four classes, Grade Five and Six taught by George Martin, Grade Four taught by Mrs. A. Solitis, Grade Three taught by Mrs. Margaret Jones and Grade One and Two taught by Mrs. Helen Fuchs.

The children will have only two hours schooling a day, from 4 p.m. to 6 p.m., and the special classes are set up on a night-school basis, not as a regular school. It is understood that the Department of Education will pay the bill.

Subjects to be taught are arithmetic, reading, spelling and writing.

A normal school day is 4½ hours. There is not enough classroom space to teach the Freedomite children during the day, and their parents would not agree to a school day from 4 to 8 p.m. as it would have kept the children away from home after dark.

The children are supposed to be receiving instruction at the camp as well as in school.

Most of the pupils are from either Crescent Valley Elementary School or Mount Sentinel Elementary School at South Slocan. Their records will be obtained, and they will be given tests to make sure they are in their proper grades.

More than two dozen parents accompanied the children when they came to school. The adults showed great interest in the classrooms and the instruction program.

All the teachers hold certificates and are experienced. They are local people who normally serve as substitute teachers.

At the campsite comfort appeared to have been restored after the heavy weekend rains. There were numerous plastic shelters over cooking and living areas as well as plastic covers over many of the tents.

New arrivals over the weekend were reported to have swelled the number of campers to 1400. The Freedomites have now occupied the campsite for 11 days, although they had permission only for two. There has been no discussion of requiring them to move on, but
DOUKHOBOR CHILDREN, like their parents, show no ill effects from camping out in the cold rainy weather experienced here this past week. The sect is camped at Coquihalla Park, and as can be seen by this picture the children vary in age from tots to teens. Contrary to rumors, Fraser Canyon Hospital has only admitted three of the sect since they arrived here Sept. 29.

DOUKHOBAR CAMPERS are helping to clear away fallen trees in Coquihalla campsite as they cut up the waste wood to feed camp fires these cold, wet days.
What Other Newspapers Are Saying

In a slit trench under enemy fire the white soldier doesn't climb out because his companion is a Negro. Injured in a car accident on a lonely stretch of road the white man doesn't stumble to the nearest house and turn away if the occupants have dark-colored skin. And many, many people think only of prayer when they are in trouble.

Man writes of himself as a noble animal. But is he? He has been on earth since creation and he has not yet learned how to live with his fellowman in peace and understanding. In the past few days the finger of criticism has been pointed at a segment of the population in the southern United States because of ugly racial discrimination incidents. But how many of the critics are themselves guilty of discrimination against people of another race, color or creed?

Here, in Canada, we have been witnessing a trek of Doukhobors in British Columbia. Acting under instructions the R.C.M.P. threw up a road block to deprive these people of their right to travel on the Queen's Highway. One municipality passed a bylaw to forbid the trekking Doukhobors to enter. This is freedom and democracy as interpreted by some Canadians. Let us be honest enough to admit they are bald-faced acts of discrimination against the Doukhobors. Let us be very careful of throwing stones in glass houses in criticism of racial incidents in the southern United States.

We hold no brief for the Sons of Freedom sect of the Doukhobors in the acts that have been committed against other people in violation of Canadian criminal law. We can agree that they might find a happier life in some other country. But the solution to the Doukhobor problem is not in persecution or acts of discrimination. It is not to be found in setting up a type of concentration camp to take fathers and brothers away from wives and children. It is not to be found in roadblocks or questionable bylaws that say: "This is our town; you can't come in."

Hostility toward the Doukhobors is apparent in remarks made by people in official positions in government. From this antagonism stems the belief that Doukhobor spokesmen speak the truth when they say they are unable to establish a line of communication with government officials to discuss matters of controversy.

Our forefathers were able to reach agreement with the Indians on the occupation of land, the establishment of reservations and rights to be recognized in law. In this modern age of wise men it appears to be impossible (or is it reluctance?) to reach similar agreement with the Sons of Freedom sect. They adhere to what they call "God's laws" as found in the Bible. Like any other religious sect they are entitled to their beliefs. Like other religious sects that must expect to obey the dictates of criminal law. But civil law in regard to land, education and such matters may be in conflict with some of their beliefs. This does not necessarily make them less Christian than other people living in Canada. In fact, in their family lives and the upbringing of the children they may be more Christian than thousands of their critics.

The answer to the Doukhobor problem is not in persecution and acts of discrimination. It is not to be found in breaking up families and filling the jail. The answer might be found in reasonable discussion with the Doukhobors on the establishment of a type of reservation or settlement where they can live in peace without government force and interference to make them conformists. Is it not true that Doukhobor "incidents" followed government interference? Is it not true there has been antagonism toward the Doukhobors almost from the day of their arrival in Canada almost half a century ago? The solution calls for statesmanship of the highest order but-basically it demands recognition that they are people. And people with many fine qualities that are demonstrated in family and community life.—The Sudbury Star.

Douk Children Liked at School

Sons of Freedom Doukhobor children from the Coquihalla campsite attending Coquihalla Elementary School this past week have won the praises of their teachers and have been well accepted by other students at the school.

The Doukhobor children attend school from 4 p.m. until 6 p.m. daily, and are using the regular classrooms at the school. School Principal Harold Carroll said that 116 registered last Wednesday, the first day, and an additional 10 have since registered. School attendance averaged about 101 students daily he said.

Subjects taught are arithmetic and the language arts of reading, writing and spelling.

Mr. Carroll said that the children were most cooperative. He said that they were used to school with the homework done and if materials are needed for school projects the children bring them.
New Camping By-law

Block Sons’ Plan to Move Into Chilliwack

Son’s of Freedom Doukhobors camped at Coquihalla campsite have again been blocked in their efforts to continue their western trek by a local by-law. Chilliwack Municipality has restricted the number of people who may tent on an acre of land to 15.

Early this week, a scouting party from the local camp had selected a piece of government land within the Municipality of Chilliwack as the next campsite for the trekkers. Holes for outside toilets were dug and the group was all set to move Wednesday with an advance party going ahead Tuesday.

Chilliwack municipal officials said the advance party tried to set up outhouses in a provincial gravel pit off the Trans-Canada highway between Annis Road and Ford Road. The site is two miles within the eastern boundary of the municipality and was only about 28 acres and this would provide accommodation for less than a third of the Freedomites under the new by-law.

At noon Wednesday, there was no indication at the camp that the sect planned any immediate move, but an R.C.M.P. plainclothes detail was keeping close watch on the camp.

Questioned as to what the campers planned to do now, Mrs. Florence “Big Fanny” Storgoff said a mass meeting would probably be called at the camp today to decide what the sect’s next move will be.

Colder nights and the danger that sudden fall rains might swell the Coquihalla River to the point where it would flood the park, makes it essential that the sect move from the campsite at the earliest possible date in the opinion of Village Chairman Paul Scherle.

Sons Waiting to Hear Outcome of Injunction Case

Sons of Freedom Doukhobors camped at Hope’s Coquihalla campsite apparently are waiting to see what the outcome of the Attorney General’s application to have the injunction barring their entry into Kent municipality dissolved at a hearing in the B.C. Supreme Court on Nov. 7.

Meanwhile, many of the men and some of the women are being employed in corn fields in the Chilliwack and Agassiz areas.

Spokesman said Wednesday that no action is presently planned until the result of the Nov. 7 hearing is known. However, it is reported that a mass meeting will be held Sunday at the campsite, and some other plan of action may come from this meeting.

Doukhobors Pray For Our Safety

A group of about 35 of the over 1300 Doukhobors camped at Coquihalla campsite paraded down Wallace street about 9 a.m. Monday singing in Russian.

Mrs. Florence “Big Fanny” Storgoff, who was one of the group, told The Hope Standard that the parade was in memory of Peter (The Lordly) Verigin No. 1, who had died when a train was bombed on Oct. 29, 1924.

Big Fanny said the parade was also to than “the good people of Hope for their kindness to us here.” She said the group had been praying that the “good people of Hope” would be safe from atomic bombs. Fanny herself, had tears in her eyes and many of the women and children had been crying, she said.

Otherwise, the week passed without incident insofar as the Doukhobors are concerned. The children, however, did not go to school Monday, the anniversary of Verigin’s death.

School Board officials are endeavoring to make other arrangements for classrooms for the children attending Coquihalla Elementary between 4 and 6 p.m.

**THE WEATHER**

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Belts Tighter But Everyone Is Healthy at Doukhobor Camp

Sons of Freedom Doukhobors camped at Coquihalla campsite here have been the subject of a number of exaggerated, if not completely erroneous, reports circulated across national news media this week.

Statements attributed to A. Reibin of Victoria, a Doukhobor who is sympathetic to the Sons of Freedom, that there is disease and starvation at the camp here, are without foundation.

Mr. Reibin is the man who came to Hope Nov. 4 with his station wagon loaded with clothes and food donated by Victoria church organizations and others. He visited the camp again last weekend.

Village Chairman Paul Scherle visited the camp immediately after hearing the report Tuesday morning, and found conditions there much the same as before.

Dr. A. S. Arniel Denies Reports

The Doukhobors themselves admit that their funds are running low and that food supplies are also getting low.

Mrs. Florence (Big Fanny) Stojjic and Mrs. Marie Sh'akoff told The Standard that some families are without money, but that the group is assisting them by sharing what they have.

Fanny said that if there is a critical shortage of food that the adults would have to fast and allow the children to have most of the available food.

The present shortage is not that acute however. She did not suggest or mention anything about a hunger strike as had been reported in radio and television newscasts.

Dr. A. S. Arniel, M.B., Ch.B., D.P.H., director of the Upper Fraser Valley Health Unit, has denied reports that pneumonia and contagious disease and un

Sanitary conditions exist in the camp. There have been no new admissions of Doukhobors to Fraser Canyon Hospital and there are none in hospital now.

Doukhobor elementary school children are attending school at special classrooms set up in the Seventh-day Adventist camp here.

Rumors of every description persist, but on investigation these are found to be without substance. A story that the Freedomites were building a meeting hall at the campsite were found to be false Wednesday. A 16 x 16 army tent had been put up as a meeting place.

Mrs. Marie Shlakoff said

THE WEATHER

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Remove Fasting Freedomite to Hospital Here

Mrs. Tania Rezansoff, 72-year-old member of the Sons of Freedom group camped at the Seventh day Adventist campground here, was taken to Fraser Canyon Hospital at 4 p.m. Wednesday, when health authorities intervened in her 16-day fast because of her condition.

Dr. A. S. Arnell, director of the Upper Fraser Valley Health Unit, had earlier been granted a warrant to have Mrs. Rezansoff apprehended to receive treatment for her own protection under the Mental Hospitals Act.

The application was made before C. S. Davidson, Justice of the Peace, who went with Dr. Arnell to see Mrs. Rezansoff before granting the application.

At 4 p.m. she was moved from a cabin at the Holiday Motel to the hospital by ambulance.

The warrant commits her to the custody of Fraser Canyon Hospital pending further medical examination.

Mrs. Rezansoff was on her 16th day without food and her fourth day without water.

Doukhobors Offer to Build New Home for Haywards for Free

Donations to the fund set up here last week to re-establish the Don Hayward family, who lost everything when Texas Creek flooded their home Nov. 19, are not coming in very fast. Only $128 has been contributed thus far.

Village Chairman Paul Scheple said that six members of the Sons of Freedom group at the Seventh-day Adventist camp here had offered to assist the Haywards in cleaning up and repairing the damage done by the storm, free of charge.

However, after surveying the damage, it is believed it is useless to try to salvage anything from the home. Most of the yard has been washed away, along with part of the foundation under the house. The family's well is buried somewhere under gravel.

It has now been suggested (Cont. from Page 1, 1st Sec.) that the family should build a new home on land they have leased about 100 yards further west.

Once again the Doukhobors, who have many good carpenters in their group, have volunteered to supply 30 to 50 men free to build another home for the Haywards.

There is only one problem. There isn't enough money to buy material. Mr. Scheple estimates that upwards of $500 will be needed to start the job.
Scherle Has Government Pledge To Help in Doukhobor Problem

Village Chairman Paul Scherle returned to Hope late Wednesday with provincial assurances that the Provincial government will do all it can to alleviate the problems at the Sons of Freedom camp here.

After many hours of negotiation, the chairman succeeded in getting government officials to agree that the village should not be responsible for the Doukhobors. He said that Deputy Attorney-General Gilbert Kennedy and Deputy Welfare Minister Ray Richardson had told him that the provincial government would do everything in their power to assist in solving the problem.

Mr. Scherle said that the Provincial government was still prepared to pay expenses to send a delegation of the Doukhobors to Ottawa if the Doukhobors wish to carry their case to the Federal government.

The 45 Freedomites, who left here by bus Tuesday morning, returned on another bus Wednesday, and their belongings were brought back on a truck, both paid for by the Provincial government.

Mr. Scherle said that he could rest now that the burden of responsibility for the Freedomites had been lifted off the shoulders of the Village.

Mr. Scherle, in company with Commissioner Henry Hockin, went to Victoria with 45 members of the Doukhobor sect Tuesday morning, arriving at the Provincial Legislature buildings about 1:45 p.m. that afternoon.

The Freedomites were transported in a bus chartered by Mr. Scherle, and paid for by donations from Hope business (Cont. on Page 4, 1st Sec.)
**The Sons of Freedom**

Village Chairman Paul Scherle has taken a busload of Sons of Freedom Doukhobors to Victoria in an effort to get some action started on the problem posed by the group camped at the Seventh-day Adventist summer campgrounds here.

In his first response to Village wires sent to him over the past two weeks, Attorney-General Robert Bonner concluded his message with the statement: "Congratulations due your area for intelligent handling of problem to date."

Mr. Bonner, the Provincial Government and the Federal Government might well extend congratulations to this community. However, it is hardly fair for senior governments to expect that this little community can cope with this situation indefinitely.

The Sons of Freedom have been most co-operative with officials in Hope, and are most appreciative of the manner in which they have been received here.

The fact remains, however, Hope does not have accommodation available to house these people under severe winter conditions if such should come our way.

Whatever, the merits of the Doukhobor's claims and government counter-claims, it must be clear to both sides that Hope had no part in creating the problem and is no way equipped to solve it.

Some may disagree with what the Chairman and Council has done but no one can say that they sat on their backsides and did nothing.

---

**Visitors Probe Douk Problem**

Members of Hope's Village Council had two meetings last Saturday afternoon with Vancouver Island people interested in the Doukhobor situation here.

First meeting was with Mr. and Mrs. Charles Smith of Lasqueti Island. The Smiths had made previous visits to Hope to visit the Doukhobors. They brought a plan to re-establish the Freedomites on the island to the Council to get the reaction of the Commissioners. Council members made no comment on the plan, but suggested the Smiths contact Victoria.

---

**Reeve Simpson Supports Move**

By Paul Scherle

Village Chairman Paul Scherle had the moral support of municipal leaders in other centres when he carried the Doukhobor problem to Victoria Tuesday.

One of these, Reeve W. G. E. Simpson of Chilliwack Township expressed his support in a telegram Wednesday:

This is what the telegram said: "I want you to know that we fully support your efforts to resolve the Sons of Freedom problem. Transporting this problem to Victoria is, in our opinion, a very reasonable solution."

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**THE WEATHER**

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LETTER OF THANKS

I further think that Mr. Scherle in assisting the Doukhobors is only aiding them in their endeavor to gain from the Government special assistance which would have to be paid for by the taxpayers. Aiding and abetting those people who are not willing to accept our laws and live in our Society and when they are not willing to assist themselves. If and when they go to their separate homes and it is found that they require Social Assistance, they should receive it on exactly the same basis as anyone else.

It seems strange that the Health Officer finds a hazardous sanitary condition when in fact these people have moved from an area where there were no septic tanks nor plumbing to an area where these facilities are available. And now Mr. Scherle has taken it upon himself for reasons best known to himself to ship a busload of these people per week to Victoria.

If I thought that moving the Doukhobor people to Victoria would solve the problem, I would assist Mr. Scherle in this endeavor. I believe the proper solution to the immediate problem would be for the Doukhobors who have homes or who have friends with whom they can stay to go home or to their friends and for those who have not to accept what accommodation is available. Those who have jobs should go back to their jobs and not expect the other working people of our Province to keep them. If other groups of people were to act as do the Doukhobors we would have chaos. If their problem is that they have been misled by their leaders then they should get busy and clean up this situation and we should assist them wherever possible in doing so.

I. F. CORBETT, M.L.A.

THE WEATHER

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HOPK, JANUARY 1, 1962

LETTER OF THANKS

(Cont. from Page 2, 2nd Sec.)

Court House in the Kootenays during the hearings.

The Doukhobors have consistently turned down accommodation which has been offered to them in different areas. Those with homes as well as those without are staying here under adverse conditions in order that they may receive special privileges.

I further think that Mr. Scherle in assisting the Doukhobors is only aiding them in their endeavor to gain from the Government special assistance which would have to be paid for by the taxpayers. Aiding and abetting those people who are not willing to accept our laws and live in our Society and when they are not willing to assist themselves. If and when they go to their separate homes and it is found that they require Social Assistance, they should receive it on exactly the same basis as anyone else.

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I. F. CORBETT, M.L.A.

FREEDOMITES WANT SCHERLE TO GO TO OTTAWA WITH THEM

An apparent stalemate has developed in the controversy over who should accompany a Sons of Freedom delegation to Ottawa to seek setting up of a commission to investigate the problems of this Doukhobor sect.

Four Doukhobors were selected to represent the group at meetings here over the weekend. The Freedomites also wanted Village Chairman Paul Scherle to accompany them as an impartial observer.

The Freedomites made their desires known to Mr. Budd, executive assistant to Premier Bennett, in a series of telephone calls between Hope and Victoria Monday.

The Provincial Government wanted Deputy Provincial Secretary Wallace to accompany the delegation, and would not agree to Mr. Scherle being sent.

Reservations were made for the delegation on a plane leaving Vancouver at 9:20 a.m. Tuesday, but no agreement was reached on who should accompany the delegation and so the Doukhobors remained at the Seventh-day Adventist camp here with their bags packed.

 Asked if he would accompany the Doukhobor delegation, Mr. Scherle made it clear he would only go to Ottawa if the Provincial Government felt his presence would assist in solving the problem. He said he was much too busy with his business and Village affairs to be running off to Ottawa.

A suggestion that Stipendiary Magistrate H. Evans of Nelson, who is already in Ottawa on another Doukhobor matter, could be the witness to negotiations that the Sons of Freedom requested was not favored because it was felt Mr. Evans would be too busy with the other matter to give sufficient time to the delegation.

However, the Doukhobors held fast to their request that Mr. Scherle accompany them and the plane left Tuesday without them.

At noon Tuesday, after several meetings, the Doukhobors sent the following telegram to the Provincial government.

"Our group, the marching Doukhobors, are wondering about the delay of the delegation to Ottawa. Stop There are four delegates and one witness chosen to go Stop The refusal to have a chosen witness by the group shows Bennett Government insincerity in offer Stop Our group likewise cannot understand the Victoria Government's refusal to see the delegates before departure to Ottawa."

The Freedomites say they have received no reply to this wire and have made no further attempts to contact the Provincial Government.

Meanwhile, there is growing concern about the chances of freezing weather forcing the shut-off of water lines at the Seventh-day Adventist camp here.

Upper Fraser Valley Health Unit officials are keeping a close check on conditions at the camp.
Letters to the Editor

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1962

Sons to Discuss Premier's Offer

Sons of Freedom camped at the Seventh-day Adventist campground here will hold a meeting Thursday to discuss a proposal made Wednesday by Premier W. A. C. Bennett to re-establish the Freedomites anywhere in Canada as individual families.

Premier's Offer

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The Editor, Hope Standard:

Sir: The reason it seems impossible for newsmakers to suggest piously simple solutions to the Doukhobor problem, "They should be sent back to the Kootenays, by force, if necessary," says one. This person thinks little, if anything, about such a forceful action being illegal. They should go back on their own to their homes or their friends' homes where they want, says another. This would suit me just fine but all the trekkers I have talked to and I have talked to a great many say that they are not going back. "Unload them all in Victoria if they are willing to go," says the next person. This could be the legal solution to the immediate problem facing this community but it probably does little to advance a solution to the problem for all of British Columbia. However, if weather or unsanitary conditions compel evacuation of the camp now occupied by the Doukhobors and the 1400 trekkers become a standing problem, Hope's resources are insufficient to cope with it all. Forty trekkers in 28

(Cont. from Page 2, 2nd Sec.)

hours convinced the Government of British Columbia that 1400 for an indefinite period was too much to ask a small community to face.

Now Mr. Editor, I wish to make clear a few points concerning my actions in recent weeks. First, I did not invite the trekkers to Hope nor did I invite them to the Coquihalla Camping Park. When the R.C.M.P. avowed a "hands-off" policy after the road-block was ruled illegal, the trekkers asked if they would be permitted to camp at the Coquihalla for two days. There was nothing illegal we could do at that time to prevent the trekkers from entering our community. The Village of Hope had a choice of permitting the Doukhobors to enter the Coquihalla Camp on friendly terms or possibly, having them in Memorial Park in the centre of the community on unfriendly terms. There was only one choice and we made it.

Mr. J. F. Corbett, M.L.A. for this riding, has said that I have "aided and abetted" the Doukhobors. Now I do not deny that as Chairman of the Board of Commissioners I have spoken for the people and the property of Hope, and that in so doing I have found it necessary to do some things that were not altogether to the liking of the Government of the Province of British Columbia. My first duty is to the people of Hope and in my actions I have been guided by that sense of duty. It was my position that the problem was too big for Hope to face alone. That is still my position, and I am relieved to say it is now the position of the Government of the Province of British Columbia. If the Government of this province had replied positively to our repeated requests for assurances of aid in the event of emergency there would have been no trip to Victoria.

It would have pleased me more if Mr. Corbett had supported the people he represents rather than carping and complaining about the minimal action we took to protect ourselves. The only regret that I have about the trip to Victoria is that it was necessary. And if the good member thinks that the trip to Victoria was aiding and abetting I would like to know what he considers the millions of dollars his government has voted to the Doukhobor problem. I make no apologies for my actions re the trip to Victoria.

Now, Mr. Editor, I have a few personal notes to add. People with little better to do have circulated stories about my ancestry, and my motives. To those who bear false stories I suggest a reflection on the Biblical admonition "Thou Shall Not Bear False Witness." For those who doubt my ancestry let me say there is documentation enough to satisfy any court in the land that my forebears were German. To those who question my motives I suggest they first examine their own. To those people in Hope who have conducted themselves calmly, humanly and decently (and this group includes the vast majority of the people of Hope) I express my profound gratitude. When other authorities have acted rashly, intolerantly, and in some cases illegally, your good sense and good behaviour have helped to maintain the good name of our community and to frustrate the sensation-seekers. I am proud of the people of Hope.
Next Stop—Ottawa

Attorney-General Bonner may call him part of the problem, but Hope Village Chairman Paul Scherle deserves credit for what he has done in trying to get government action about the Sons of Freedom Doukhobors.

We don't think it was necessary to take a busload of Freedomites to Victoria in order to impress the provincial government with the fact that a problem exists, the government is plainly well aware of that. But it apparently was necessary to take such action in order to jolt provincial authorities out of thinking that they could just leave the whole thing in Hope's lap while shouting that the federal government should do something.

Mr. Scherle has been accused of playing politics with the matter because he took his busload to Victoria and not to Ottawa. That seems very doubtful. The obvious difference in difficulty and cost between the short trip and the long one seems ample explanation. The provincial government itself apparently is not prepared to take so expensive a step and is offering to finance a delegation to Ottawa of only three.

In our opinion that's unfortunate, because it's becoming very obvious that the federal government, unlike the provincial, does not realize the seriousness of the problem. A busload of Freedomites sleeping on the steps of the legislature may have been carrying coal to Newcastle, but a busload on the steps of the house of commons might be a real eye-opener to a lot of cabinet ministers from Eastern Canada. Three may not be enough to have the required effect.

We don't blame any level of government for not solving this problem, because we have no solution to suggest, but it's about time the provincial and federal governments got together to try and solve it instead of leaving it to any unfortunate municipality where the Freedomites happen to be.

Mr. Scherle has obviously helped to drive this point home and the effort was well worth-while.—Agassiz Harrison Advance.

ATTENTION: SONS OF FREEDOM DOUKHOBORS

Sons of Freedom Doukhobors encamped at Hope who wish to re-establish domicile as individual families in British Columbia or elsewhere in Canada may make application in writing directly to the Deputy Minister of Social Welfare, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C.

In accordance with the individual's need, consideration will be given to assist bonafide applicants who show good intention.

Deputy Minister of Social Welfare
Victoria, B.C.
Sit-Down at Welfare Office

Rumors Say Sons to Move
But No One Knows Where

Rumors persist that the 1300 Sons of Freedom who are staying in tents and cabins at the Seventh-day Adventist campground here will soon be leaving.

The church organization is fearful that colder weather may force shutting off of water in the camp, and have warned the Doukhobors of this.

However, despite repeated excursions to the Agassiz area, the Freedomites have not been able to find a place to move to, and the group has no idea where they will go if they leave here.

Shortage of funds has become acute for some of the Doukhobor families, especially those whose bread-winners are in jail. Fourteen of these women staged a sit-down strike at the Social Welfare office in Chilliwack Tuesday. They didn’t get welfare but each was given a $10 Salvation Army order on a Hope store after the women and a number of children sat in the welfare office from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.

Five of these women had visited the welfare office the previous Tuesday. They said they were told local welfare officers could do nothing but refer the matter to Victoria and advise the Doukhobor women of the outcome by mail.

No word was heard from Chilliwack, so the women went back yesterday.

Village Chairman Paul Scherle asked a man to leave the camp Sunday. The man had contacted Mrs. Florence Storoff and Mrs. Marie Shlakoff at the camp. The women said he told them his name was Peter Barabanoff and that he was from Kamloops. He said that he had been sent to the camp by Premier W. A. C. Bennett to ascertain if the Freedomites wished to be re-located as individual families or as a group. When the man was asked if he was a bona fide representative of the Premier he declined an invitation to tell his story to a mass meeting the Doukhobors sent for Mr. Scherle.

The man said he had no credentials and that the Premier had made the request in a telephone conversation Friday.

The Chairman suggested that if he was a bona fide representative of the Premier he should ask that a letter be sent to the Freedomites outlining any proposed scheme for relocation of the stranded trekkers. He then asked him to leave the camp.

Meanwhile, the Provincial government’s offer to relocate individual families continued to be looked on with suspicion by the Freedomites and it appears that none of them have accepted the offer.

Placards announcing the offer which are posted throughout the camp now have a verse from St. Luke “If thou therefore wilt worship me, all shall make thine.” written under the printing.

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However, there is reported to be some scarlet fever and chicken pox. One case of hepatitis in an elderly man has been reported.

It has been rumored the Sons would be asked to leave the Seventh-day Adventist camp on Dec. 24. Village Chairman Paul Scherle says that this is out of the question now. He doesn’t think the Freedomites should move while so many of their children are sick.

The Doukhobors have been making repeated excursions to the Agassiz area in search of land. A plan to move onto a piece of government land near Mountain Prison was thwarted this week when the municipality refused to supply water.

Thursday, the trekkers sent a telegram to Assistant Commissioner D. O. Forrest, commanding officer of the 7th M.P. “E” division, protesting statements about the Sons of Freedom appearing in a newspaper story in the Dec. 19 Chilliwack Progress, and attributed to Commissioner Forrest.

SONS OF FREEDOM

(Cont. from Page 1, 1st Sec.)

Measles, Colds
Spread Among
Douk Children

There are approximately 30 sick children in the 40 tents and cabins at the Sons of Freedom camp here, which were visited Thursday by a Public Health nurse, according to Mrs. Marie Shlakoff.

Mrs. Shlakoff said she had no idea whether the percentage would be as high in the other hundred tents and cabins in which the Doukhobors are living.

Dr. A. S. Arnell, director of the Upper Fraser Valley Health Unit, is keeping a close watch on the situation.

Measles and colds seem to be the most common ailments.

Letters to Editor

The Editor, The Hope Standard: Sir — May we, through your newspaper, express our heartfelt thank-you from all the Doukhobor children of the "Doukhobor March to Agassiz" for the gifts of oranges, nuts and candies.

We would especially like to thank Mr. Scherle and Mr. Reid, all the good people of Hope, the Catholic Women’s League and the Mennonites of the Fraser Valley.

THE DOUKHOBOR CHILDREN,

Seventh-day Adventist Campground,
Hope, B.C.

THE WEATHER

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Asked to Leave Jan. 3

Deadline Passes But Freedomites Remain

Sons of Freedom Doukhobors camped at the Seventh-day Adventist campground here have made no move to leave the camp by the Jan. 3 deadline set by the church organization.

A telegram sent to G. O. Adams, president of the B.C. Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, at Mission City earlier this week asked that the Adventists report the failure of the Doukhobors to move when requested to do so to the authorities.

The telegram said that the government would then be faced with the problem of where to move the Freedomites.

Wednesday night Mrs. Florence "Big Fanny" Storgofsky and the Freedomites were asked to leave the camp by the Jan. 3 deadline set by the church organization. With so many sick children.

The telegram said that the government would then be faced with the problem of where to move the Freedomites.

Village Chairman Paul Scherle called an emergency meeting of the Hope Village Council to discuss what steps should be taken to cope with the health problem which may arise if the water is shut off at the Seventh-day Adventist campground.

There is upwards of a thousand Sons of Freedom Doukhobors in the camp, and they will be without toilet facilities in the camp if the water is turned off.

Mr. Scherle said that the Village Council had been informed at 6 p.m. Wednesday by Henry Christiansen, caretaker at the Adventist Campground, that the water would be shut off at 10 Wednesday night.

A second meeting is scheduled for 9 a.m. Thursday at which time the Council will contact Victoria to advise them of this latest development.

The group met with Mr. Scherle, C. J. Verbeck, representing School District No. 32 and other local people to discuss the problem created by the Sons of Freedom staying in the camp.

Following this discussion, Mr. Adams addressed a mass meeting of the Doukhobors with Peter Sukoroff acting as interpreter. He told them that although the Jan. 3 deadline for them to leave had passed and while he was sympathetic to their difficulties, he still wanted them to leave the camp.

The Freedomites were admitted to the campground as an emergency measure when the council was unable to find a place to house them.

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Remainder Going Thursday

Sons Start Move to City on Wednesday

Sons of Freedom Doukhobors who came to Hope last Sept. 29 began evacuation of the Seventh-day Adventist campground here at dawn Wednesday and by midmorning over half of the group had left for Vancouver. The remainder are scheduled to leave Thursday morning.

More than 600 of the Freedomites left the camp Wednesday morning. Two buses carried 90 of this number. The remainder were ferried by private vehicle. Upwards of 75 cars, pickups and trucks were used to transport the Doukhobors and their baggage.

The Sons had been saying they were moving for several days but kept their destination a secret. All the questioning of police and reporters failed to get any member of the trek to divulge where they planned to go.

At noon next Wednesday, the answer was out by this time the group had assembled in Victory Square in downtown Vancouver.

A Jan. 3 deadline for the Doukhobors to leave the campground was passed but they did not move. They told the Seventh-day Adventists that many of their children were sick and they would move when this condition improved.

With last week's cold weather it became necessary to shut the water off at the campground. This also forced the closing of toilet facilities at the camp, creating a health problem. Two outdoor stand-pipes were left for drinking water.

Provincial Health Department officials were notified. In the meantime, facilities in downtown Hope were taxed to the limit. Some walked to the outdoor toilets at Coquihalla campsite.

Meanwhile, the expressed intention of the group to move westward became more and more determined, and on Tuesday evening it was announced that two buses had been chartered and that about half the camp would move Wednesday morning.

Last weekend 40 older Doukhobors living upstairs in one of the buildings at the campground started to fast to spur the group to proceed with the trek. Two more joined the fast Monday, and that day Mrs. Maria Bezkach, who had been near death a short time earlier from fasting, commenced once again.

Camp spokesman said that Wednesday's group would include only persons 15 years and older. There were many children among them.

They said that the younger children will be placed in homes of sympathisers temporarily in Vancouver, and those who are of school age will immediately be placed in schools in whatever area the children may be.

It was also said that old people and mothers with young children will be similarly accommodated.

A party of six or eight men will remain at the Seventh-day Adventist campground here to return the camp to the condition the Doukhobors found it in.

Early Wednesday, the camp was a beehive of activity as families tore down tents and burned wood frames and other materials.

Doukhobor Kids Stage Farewell Concert Monday

Sons of Freedom Doukhobor children gave a public concert in Hope Memorial hall Monday evening, which was attended by some 50 local residents and adult Doukhobors.

The concert had been staged that afternoon in a hall at the Seventh-day Adventist campground and at the suggestion of some who heard it, the Doukhobors agreed to the evening program.

Ken James taped the afternoon program and Bill Neufeld did likewise in the evening.

The program consisted of 17 numbers including singing of hymns and other songs in both Russian and English by the Doukhobor Youth Choir.

At the beginning of the program Mrs. Marie Schlapoff addressed the gathering expressing the appreciation of the Freedomites for the kind reception the Doukhobors had received in Hope.

Following this a member of the choir, John Savenkoft, read the following as a token of appreciation, we, the Youth Choir of Doukhobors, are here to thank all the people of Hope for their kindness in our hour of need. They opened their doors to us and took us in when we needed comfort. We can see that the Village of Hope and surrounding district is, indeed, Christian, and live according to the gospel of the Great Teacher, As the hour of parting is approaching, we feel that we at least have to spend a short while together, and praise Him in a manner befitting Christians by rendering some hymns in His name.