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A STUDY OF RUSSIAN ORGANIZATIONS
IN THE GREATER VANCOUVER AREA

by

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B.A., The University of Saskatchewan, 1957

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

of

Anthropology and Sociology

We accept this thesis as conforming to the
required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

April, 1963

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of Russian ethnic organizations in the Greater Vancouver area of British Columbia. These ethnics in total include an official population of 9,324. More specifically, this is a study of "joiners" in fourteen "existent" and seven "non-existent" organizations. Data were gathered over an eighteen month period mainly by participant observation and interviews. The findings may be summarized as follows: 1. There are relatively few "joiners" as compared to "non-joiners" in the ethnic sub-community. 2. Those that join do so for a variety of reasons, including religious, ideological, cultural and/or personal reasons. 3. Turning from the individual to the voluntary association or organization, we find certain characteristics of growth which we have described in eight sections: origin, formal structure and membership, internal differentiation, cooperation with other groups, conflict with other groups, internal strains, actual splits and termination (if any). 4. The dominant theme which evolves from the study is that one's perception of Communism (together with the "cold war" atmosphere) greatly affects organizational behavior. Thus we find a whole series of symbolic magic-like words used to pave the way on one hand or to hinder the spread

of Communism on the other--or else to maintain a "neutral" position. 5. Other factors which affect organizational behavior in the Russian community have been included under seven sub-categories: social class, kinship, jurisdictional conflict, effective leadership, ecological factors, common interest, and place of birth and time of arrival in Canada. 6. Certain queries arise concerning the actual acceptance of "unpopular" ideas in a society which theoretically glorifies "diversity". This, in turn, affects the rate of integration of such minority opinions into society.

In brief, then, the study of Russian ethnic organizations shows that there are certain things which bring people together and other things which split them apart; this whole process, in turn, is largely related to the national policy and its role in the "cold war" atmosphere.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

A study of Russian organizations in the Greater Vancouver area would not have been possible without the help of the members making up these organizations. I especially wish to thank the officials of the three Russian Orthodox Churches, the Russian Orthodox Society, the Russian Centre of B. C., the Federation of Russian Canadians, the Lower Mainland Society of Doukhobors, the Doukhobor Fraternal Society of Greater Vancouver, the Russian School group from Lochdale Hall, and the Volga Ensemble. These officials together with members of these organizations have made me more than welcome; they have invited me to their concerts, dances, meetings, banquets, parties and prayer services, and on many occasions I have been personally asked to "join" them. My sincere gratitude to all of these people whom I now consider close friends.

Likewise, I am grateful to the Canada Council for presenting me with a grant during my first post-graduate year of studies at the University of British Columbia, as well as to the Canadian Citizenship Branch for unexpectedly providing me with a grant-in-aid of research during my second term.

Dr. Harry B. Hawthorn, head of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology deserves my thanks for accepting me into post-graduate studies and encouraging me to go on. Likewise,

thanks to my thesis advisor Dr. Werner Cohn who stimulated my thinking and guided me through the latter stages of this thesis. Last, but not least, my wife, Nadya, patiently put up with me during these trying times. To all these people I say "Thank you".

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. The Problem Defined

During the 1961 Dominion Census of Canada, 9,324 people in the Greater Vancouver area stated that they were of "Russian" ethnic origin [Census, 1961: Bulletin 1.2-5, Table 39.6]. This was determined by asking the question: "To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestors (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?" The language spoken at that time by the person, or his paternal ancestor, was used as an aid in the determination of the person's ethnic group. Special instructions were provided in cases where the language criterion was not applicable.

A naive assumption might be that people of the same ethnic origin, speaking a common language, should have much in common with one another. But once we look at the situation on the West Coast of British Columbia we find a segmented picture of a diverse group amongst the Russian population of the City.

There are today a total of 14 Russian organizations in the Greater Vancouver area, ranging in "actual" (paid-up)

membership from 13 to 133 members, and totalling 824 (plus 280 children) or less than 12 per cent of the total Russian population for this area. This total includes members who belong to two or more of these 14 organizations, thus making the actual total of "joiners" lower. Another 15.28 per cent (see Chapter III) are non-member participants, thus leaving 73 per cent Russian ethnics who belong to no organization within their own group. So that 14 Russian ethnic organizations serve 27 per cent of this particular ethnic population. Even more striking is the segmentation of the "joiners" and "participants" when we look at the actual behavior and note the recurrence of cooperation, conflicts and splits.

The problem we wish to pose here is: "What are the factors which bring the Russian people together and what are the factors which split them apart?" The bulk of this paper will attempt to answer this question.

One way of demonstrating this is to make a comparative case study of the sub-groups involved in terms of certain characteristics peculiar to their functional whole. We propose to use eight categories to explain the structure or "skeleton" of each organization, to observe the behavior of its members within it, and to show how these collectivities of individuals react to other organizations within the Russian family. In brief, those who join organizations will be the focus of our attention.

The categories used in this thesis are as follows:

1. Origin. The origin of a formal organization or sub-group refers to its first pangs of life. What conditions produce its rise and who or what was instrumental in bringing this about? When did this take place and where?
2. Formal structure and membership. This category includes the rules and regulations of the organization, its purpose and aims, and data on membership composition.
3. Internal differentiation. If there is a Ladies' Auxiliary, a choir, or a drama group within a specific organization, this diversity in function is an example of "internal differentiation". Generally speaking, the activities of the group are described here in so far as they illustrate this sphere of reference.
4. Cooperation with other groups. Members of one organization may find it satisfying or advantageous to join in common activities with another organization or organizations. This banding together for a common purpose is what we mean by "cooperation with other groups".
5. Conflict with other groups. Conversely there are instances where one organization clashes with another either on an official (formal) or actual level. Some interaction between two or more persons is presupposed here, but this need not necessarily imply physical contact.
6. Internal strains. Organizations may have certain peculiar stresses and potential cleavages inherent in their

structure. This we may call "internal strain".

7. Actual splits. The life of an organization may be interrupted for one reason or another. Its membership may be reduced following some disagreement or circumstance which terminates in schism; this schismatic group, in turn, may subsequently form a new organization more compatible to its members' aims.

8. Dissolution. When an organization ceases to serve a function to its members, there may be no further adhesive to hold these people together. At that point, the organization ceases to exist as a formal body. The life cycle has come to an end with its dissolution.

B. The Area Studied

The area of study is the same as that employed in 1961 by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in reference to the Vancouver "Census metropolitan area" (or, as used in this paper, the "Greater Vancouver" area). The 1961 Canadian Census lists the following break-down for the Russians (including Doukhobors) in this area:

[Greater] Vancouver -----	9,324*
Vancouver, c. -----	4,840
Burnaby, mun. -----	1,138

*Census of Canada, 1961 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1962). Population: Ethnic Groups, Bulletin 1.2-5. "Population by specified ethnic groups, for census areas and component parts, 1961". The symbol "c." is an abbreviation for "city"; the symbol "mun." for municipality.

Coquitlam, mun. -----	418
Delta, mun. -----	129
Fraser Mills, mun. -----	-
 New Westminster, c. -----	 536
North Vancouver, c. -----	165
North Vancouver, mun. -----	227
Port Coquitlam, c. -----	76
Port Moody, c. -----	27
 Richmond, mun. -----	 403
Surrey, mun. -----	1,157
University Endowment Area -----	35
West Vancouver, mun. -----	97
 White Rock, c. -----	 46
Unorganized -----	23
Indian Reserves -----	7

For the same period, the population for the Greater Vancouver area of all peoples is 790,165--or 84.7 times greater than the Russian population. On the provincial level, there are 27,448 Russians in contrast to the total of 1,629,082 people, while the national total has 119,168 Russians or 0.7 per cent of Canada's total population of 18,238,247.*

C. The Method of Study and Sources of Information

The idea for this thesis evolved from my Sociology of Religion term paper** on the Russian Orthodox peoples. The paper strove to illustrate the "fission-fusion" principle, as I called it.

*From the 1961 Census of Canada.

**Koozma J. Tarasoff, "Russian Orthodoxy in Vancouver, B.C.--An Illustration of the 'Fission-Fusion' Principle", unpublished paper in Sociology of Religion, March 28, 1962.

At that time, from October 1961 to March 1962, I made 28 visits to the three churches and the Centre. Besides the regular church services, I witnessed many cases of confession and communion, one case of baptism, several theatrical presentations, the visit of a Bishop from Montreal, a Russian Christmas party (in January), the showing of a film on the local Russian Orthodox Church activities, several bazaars, a Russian school on Saturday, and several cabaret-styled evenings.

In searching for a thesis topic, I decided to expand my inquiry to include the rest of the Russian peoples in the Greater Vancouver area--this included the Federation of Russian Canadians, the Doukhobors and other groups. When looking at the existence of this diverse ethnic population in the area, I was struck by their segmentation. Thus I set out to find an explanation for this.

Information was obtained through the use of the following techniques:

1. My main "tool" was the standard anthropological approach of "participant observation" or first-hand witnessing of the event or data facing the inquirer. Following my Sociology paper, I continued to make regular visits to the church groups (mainly to the Holy Resurrection Church), the Russian Centre, the Federation of Russian Canadians, as well as the Doukhobor and other Russian groups. This was continued until March 1963.

During the course of participant observation, public and private meetings were attended, families were visited, and friendships developed. The fact of being a Doukhorbor myself and pacifist did not, in my estimation, hinder my opportunities in sharing experiences and getting further into the Russian community. Knowledge of the Russian language was invaluable since practically all of the meetings, services, announcements, and conversations were in the Russian language. My presence was accepted to the extent that I was asked many times to formally "join" a particular group, church, a dramatic production, to take out insurance in a mutual benefit society, to have my wife as one of the "Stars" in a fund-raising project, to write an article in one of the ethnic papers, to enroll in a Russian school and dancing program, and to "baptize" our child (which I tactfully refused).

The average time spent during the visits was two and one-half hours, although many visits lasted four or five hours. The longest period spent in the field at one time was 8 1/2 hours when the Russian Orthodox Society held its annual convention on February 25, 1962.

I had qualms during this study about participating in certain rituals of the Russian Orthodox churches. This included: lighting a candle, crossing oneself, kissing the icon and the priest's cross, and partaking of the communion and the confession. I felt that it would be wrong for me to participate in these activities for fear of being called a "hypocrite"

and for fear of prejudicing my inquiry of other Russian groups. A real commitment in one group might well have meant that I would be rejected by another. The matter of maintaining "social distance" in this study was a difficult one. Continually one was literally "bombarded" with enticements "to get you involved".

However, when there was little danger of my study being jeopardized, I did not hesitate to participate fully. This included: the Russian "kissing" ritual (a form of wishing one well) on Easter Sunday at the Holy Resurrection Church; clearing the floor of chairs for some event; helping make bazaar tickets at the Russian Centre of B. C.; and clearing away the dishes during a banquet at the Russian People's Home.

2. Both casual, "non-directed" type of interviewing and the follow-up "focused" type of interviewing were employed [Merton and Kendall, 1946: 541-557]. With few exceptions, note-taking was done in the presence of the person being interviewed. Frequently interviews were made in private homes, and many more times at halls (especially during the course of a banquet, dance or picnic).

3. Review of literature. There is a relative absence of material on the Russians of Vancouver. Some literature about this area is included in G. Okulevich, Russkie v Kanada; Freda Walhouse's M. A. thesis, "The Influence of Minority Ethnic Groups on the Cultural Geography of Vancouver", which has 12

pages on the Russians and Doukhobors of this area; and a 1961 Sociology term paper by G. T. Atamanenko, "The Russian Community of Vancouver".

For general historical analysis, however, the following have been used: Pauline V. Young, The Pilgrims of Russian-Town; M. K. Argus, Moscow-on-the-Hudson; St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly, vol. 5, no. 1-2, 1961, "The Orthodox Church in America--Past and Future"; Jerome Davis, The Russian Immigrant; Paul Miliukov, Religion and the Church; K. J. Tarasoff, "In Search of Brotherhood--A History of the Doukhobors", an unpublished manuscript; and A. Markoff, The Russians on the Pacific Coast.

In addition, content analysis has been made of the Bulletin, a monthly publication of the Russian Centre of B. C., and Vestnik, which is published by the National office of the Federation of Russian Canadians.

Census data has been used from the 1961 Dominion of Canada Census and from the 1916 USA Bureau of Census, Religious Bodies. Also, Landis's 1961 Yearbook of American Churches was useful.

Organizational constitutions and other Club information were perused.

D. Background of the Russians

The Russians were among the earliest explorers and traders of the Pacific North-west coast [Ormsby, 1958:58], but

poverty along with growing competition by the Spanish and British traders restricted any large-scale emigration or colonization in this area. "In the latter part of the 18th Century Russian eyes turned southward from the holdings of the Russian American Company in Alaska toward the fertile and sunny lands of Spanish California. Secretly the officials of the Company hoped some day to possess the southern coastline to act as the bread basket for their northern empire" [Arthur Woodward, in Markoff, 1955:vii]. The Russians went as far south as San Francisco and in 1812 established Fort Ross. They went no further. In 1867 Alaska was sold to the United States of America and those who had settled in North America soon dispersed. Some returned to Russia, others moved south to search for gold in California, and a few stopped in British Columbia. In Alaska many Russian Orthodox churches have remained to this day [Drucker, 1958:12].

Large scale immigration of Russians to Canada hardly began until the early part of the twentieth century. Russian immigrants were of five kinds: 1. Peasants from the poorer western regions of Tsarist Russia who had a dream of making money in "free America" and then returning to their native lands; 2. Religious peoples who sought a land where they would be free from military service and where they could work land in common; 3. Conscripts who illegally left Russia to avoid military service; 4. People who were directly or indirectly involved in the revolutionary movement in Russia and who were

thus forced to leave their homeland; and 5. Displaced persons who came to Canada from Europe after World War Two, as well as those who came from the Far East (via ports of Vladivostok, Shanghai and Hong Kong).

Early Russian settlers in Vancouver were essentially "political immigrants" from Tsarist Russia [Okulevich, 1952:39]. By 1909 there was a small Russian population in Vancouver composed mostly of "young people". In the same year, they formed a small library and around this the Russian Progressive Club was organized. A Mr. A. Muzychenko, in 1912, reported that there were many unemployed Russian workers in the city [Okulevich, 1952:39]. He later became a leader of the Russian Progressive Club which existed until 1918, when it disbanded.

The aftermath of the Russian Revolution in 1917 resulted in a wave of Russian immigrants coming to Canada. It consisted largely of European Russians who were anti-Bolshevik refugees. The immigrants came mainly from Europe to the Atlantic coast of America, reaching its peak before the onset of the depression. Very few of these people found their way to Vancouver.

However, over 100 families had found their way to Vancouver at this time by way of the Far East (mainly from Harbin,* Manchuria where a Russian colony of some

* Harbin in Manchuria-China had been a village in June 1898 when it was chosen by Tsarist officials as construction headquarters for a railway line to the coast (to Dairen Bay and Port Arthur).

50,000* had been formed--partly from workers on the Trans-Siberian and Chinese Eastern Railways, and partly from those who fled to escape the Soviet administration). These people came to be known as "White"** Russians and the city of Harbin as the "Mecca of White Russians" [South Manchurian Railway Company, 1937: vol. 1, no. 3, Sept., p. 18]. For the most part, these were officers and soldiers of the Imperial Russian Army, officials of the Tsarist regime and their families, all of whom had lost their property in the 1917 Revolution.

Migration was renewed following the Second World War. This time displaced persons came from eastern Europe. In addition to these, there was a considerable migration of Russian people from the Far East following the Chinese Communist occupation in 1947.

*For a short time Harbin had a population of over 150,000 "White" Russian refugees [South Manchurian Railway Company, 1937: vol. 1, no. 3, Sept., p. 18]. Following the outbreak of the Russian Revolution of 1917 it was estimated that there were in 1937 a total of "1,600,000 White Russian refugees in foreign countries".

**The term "White" Russians (as contrasted to "Red or "Communist" Russians) refers to the Tsarist supporters who fought against the new Bolshevik regime. This term was born simultaneously with the outbreak of the Russian Revolution of 1917 when the red banner was the symbol for revolution. Symbolically, this label today implies "anti-Communist".

The extent of the "White" Russian antipathy against the Soviet Administration can be shown by looking at the 119 Russian organizations existing in Harbin in 1937, of which three were especially aimed at the "overthrow" of the new regime. See Appendix "G" for a description of these organizations.

Of the 9,324 Russian people in Vancouver region, it is estimated that 3,000 of these left Russia prior to the Revolution and a larger number left in post-Revolution years. When conditions for employment became difficult, emigration regulations required that permits for landing in Canada be granted on condition that the first two years would be spent in farm work. These regulations lasted until the end of the 1930's, and many Russians landing in Vancouver found trains to Alberta and Saskatchewan awaiting their arrival at the dockside. Today, many Russians in the City have done two or more years of farming before moving West.* The number of Russians permitted to come and join relatives in Canada has greatly diminished. It was estimated in 1952, that "approximately 100 families came to Vancouver, usually via Shanghai, but in 1959 this number had fallen to about ten families" [View by Mr. Neichoda, and Mr. A. E. Andreef, in Walhouse, 1961:103]. A "liberalization and broadening of the immigration policy" has been demanded recently by the Russian Centre of B. C. [see Appendix "F"].

Most of the immigrants who left Russia prior to the Revolution were initially poor and frequently illiterate, or, at best, were poorly educated people. Except for the Doukhobors,

*View by Mr. J. Vishniakoff, member of the Russian Orthodox Society and the Russian Centre of B. C.

many of them were army deserters or political fugitives. Practically all of them went into the labor field. Most of them have almost completely assimilated into the city's population, but some have closely followed the affairs of Russia and constitute the core of the Socialist movement (which has also been joined by some of the later immigrants).

The "Society of Technical Aid to Russia" was opened in Vancouver in 1922, but was closed down in 1924 by which time the need for it had diminished [Okulevich, 1952:40]. The famine in the Soviet Union had been overcome.

Those Russians who arrived in Vancouver in the post-revolutionary period form a very diverse element of the city's population. One writer described this latter group of immigrants in this way:

Princesses and duchesses earn their living in the restaurants and beauty parlors of New York, in the cinema scenarios of Berlin, or as fashionable dressmakers in London. The majority of the refugees who have found their way through Manchuria, China and Japan to Vancouver belong to the Russian bureaucratic and professional classes, which, as a Russian reminded the writer, were often recruited from the ranks of the nobility when big estates were broken up and given to the peasant communities during the social reforms in Russia in the latter half of the nineteenth century [The Sunday Province, May 31, 1931, p. 3].

These people came from all parts of Russia and differed in level of formal education, in political and religious beliefs, and in occupational and social status. Among their numbers

were many more people with specialized and professional training and with university education, as compared to those who had left Russia prior to the Revolution. On arriving in Canada, most of these people knew no English, but today they have at least some knowledge of English. Russian, however, generally remains the language used in the home.

Out of this latter movement came the Russian Orthodox Church to Vancouver, with the first church being organized in 1923 by an anti-Communist clergyman who came to this City from Harbin, Manchuria. With his "White" Russian supporters, the first Russian Orthodox Church in this City was built in 1928. Since then two other churches have been built, but these belong to another jurisdiction. This difference in jurisdictions forms the basis for the rival claims of the churches.

The historical development of the jurisdictional split amongst the Russian Orthodox churches in North America should be noted at this time. Originally, all were united in the Russian missionary Diocese of the Aleutian Islands and North America, which was under the highest governing body of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg. Several years after the Russians discovered Alaska and the Aleutians, the Holy Synod sent a Russian mission to that area. This mission reached Kodiak Island on September 24, 1794 and marked the beginning of the Russian Orthodox Church in North America [Grigorieff, 1961:4]. In 1870 a separate Diocese was

created in North America. Its headquarters, in 1872, were moved from Sitka, Alaska to San Francisco, and in 1903 to New York. Until 1918 there was no Greek bishop in North America, and the Russian bishop attended to the needs of all the Orthodox people in United States [Ibid., 11]. By this time, too, the Uniates* had in mass returned to Orthodoxy.

The great upheaval came with the Russian Revolution, when the Communists seized control of the Russian government. All normal connections between the American Diocese and the highest church authority ceased. Financial support from Russia stopped. Prior to this upheaval, the Holy Synod in Russia used \$77,850 annually from the Tsar's treasury for the support of the mission in America; in addition, the Missionary Society of Russia donated \$1,481 [Davis, 1922:91]. At that time there were 169 churches with 99,681 members** [USA, Bureau of Census, 1916, part 2, 261]. The situation in 1917 was further complicated by the fact that the American Diocese was without a head, as the incumbent of the Diocese never returned to North America. It thus remained for Bishop Alexander

* By affiliation the Uniates were Roman Catholic of the Eastern rite (that is, "in union" with the two church bodies). With respect to Vancouver, however, I have been told by the president of the Russian Orthodox Society that there are no Uniates amongst the Russians in this City (although there are amongst the Ukrainians).

** This membership includes all the men, women and children living in a parish who ever attended services.

(Nemolovsky) of Canada to control the Diocese temporarily.

A series of Church Sobors (meetings) were held by the North American Diocese. At the Fourth All-American Church Sobor, in Detroit, Michigan, April 1924, the meeting decided that it would be impossible for the American Diocese to be directly dependent upon the Highest Church Authority in Moscow, as the Patriarch (who had been appointed by the Soviet Government in 1917), "in their estimation, did not have the freedom to communicate with the outside world" [Schrunk, 1962:188]. The Sobor meeting proclaimed the Russian Orthodox Church in America to be temporarily autonomous until the convocation of a new All Russian Council. The head of the Church in America was consequently elected as an Archbishop. Also, a Council of Bishops was set up, a Council made up of representatives from the clergy and laity. In this way, a "temporary" autonomous jurisdiction was established, with this body becoming known as the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America (or the "Metropoly"). By jurisdiction I mean an autonomous ecclesiastical administrative unit of one particular church hierarchy. Metropolitan Leonty, as Ruling Bishop of this particular organization, has his residence today in New York. Next in the Administrative hierarchy are eleven Diocesan Bishops (seven in United States and one each in Alaska, Argentina, Japan and Canada). North America in turn is divided into three major districts: (A) United States, (B)

Diocese of Alaska, and (c) Archdiocese of Canada.* The "Big" Holy Resurrection Church in Vancouver which has ties to this jurisdiction would normally come under the administration of the Diocesan "Bishop of Montreal and Canada" (Rev. Anatoly Apostolov). But due to the distance involved, in practice this function is performed by Rev. John Shahovskoy, "Archbishop of San Francisco and the Western United States".

The Soviet affiliated Diocese (the Russian Orthodox Catholic Church, Archdiocese of the Aleutian Islands and North America) continued its existence and today has its headquarters in New York. However, there is no church in British Columbia with such an affiliation. In fact, there are an estimated 20 churches in North America for this jurisdiction [Grigorieff, 1961:48].

The main complication occurred, however, with the creation of a group calling itself "The Russian Orthodox Church Abroad" (currently known as the "Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia"). This group was composed of fleeing "White" Russian soldiers and priests who opposed the New Regime. As the opportunity arose, they held a meeting at Karlovtsi in Yugoslavia and decided in 1920 to claim themselves "supreme

* According to the 1961 Yearbook of American Churches, edited by B. Y. Landis, the Metropolity claims the following statistics for North America [p. 46]: "Churches: 352 (1957). Inclusive membership: 755,000 (1957). Sunday or Sabbath Schools: 200 (1957). Total enrollment: 10,800 (1957)."

ecclesiastical authority for all Russian Churches outside of Russia, and to be the source of their canonicity" [Schrunk, 1962:190].

On May 3, 1922, Patriarch Tikhon (the new Patriarch of "Moscow and All Russia") officially stated that the refugee hierarchs had no right to speak for the official Russian Orthodox Church. He also stated that in view of its political character, the Synod of Karlovtsi could not possess any canonical character [*Ibid.*]. Nor would the newly-formed independent American Metropolity Church recognize the Karlovtsi group. Nonetheless, the Karlovtsi group persisted and subsequently moved their headquarters, first to Munich, Germany, at the end of World War II, and then to the United States in November 1950.* The Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia lays emphasis on being true to the old traditions of the Russian Church, but "it does not compromise" with official church leaders in Moscow, "since that would amount to being under the influence and direction of a godless State" [Landis, 1960:45]. In Vancouver, the St. Nicholas and the Holy Trinity Russian Orthodox Churches belong to this particular jurisdiction.

*The 1961 Yearbook of American Churches (edited by Landis), states the following statistics for North America about the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia [p. 45]: "Churches: 81 (1955). Inclusive Membership: 55,000 (1951). Sunday or Sabbath Schools: 57 (1955). Total Enrollment: no data. Ordained clergy having charges: 92 (1955)."

Thus, in North America there are today three church organizations which claim "supreme ecclesiastical authority" for all Russian Churches outside of Russia. This rivalry is clearly evident with the Vancouver situation.

In all the services the language used is Church Slavonic, a custom which has been handed down through the years, dating from the ninth Century A.D. with the spread of Orthodoxy to the Slav people. In stabilizing religious language, the use of Church Slavonic "makes the service comprehensive to the few Bulgars and Rumanians in the city, some of whom attend the Church of St. Resurrection" [Walhouse, 1961:108]. A recent innovation at the latter church is the introduction of English to a part of the service; so far, this has only been an experiment and has not become a regular practice.

Christmas is observed on the twelfth day after December 25 by most members of the Russian Orthodox Church, this being in accordance with the Julian calendar. By far, however, the Easter service in the spring is considered "the most important" observance in the Russian Orthodox tradition; preparation for it begins with Lent. With its arrival, Easter is "the holiday of holidays".

The Russian Orthodox Society is the controlling body of the Holy Resurrection church. As such it is unique for Russian Orthodox Churches in Canada and perhaps the United States [see below].

The Russian Orthodox people have yet another organization and centre: namely, the Russian Centre of B. C. which is located at a former theatre building in the Kitsilano district. This is a civic organization along the lines of a business club.

In 1930 those in the city supporting the Russian Socialist movement organized a Russian Workers' Club named after Maxim Gorky. Later, its successor (the Federation of Russian Canadians) in 1946 purchased the former Croation Educational Centre and renamed it the "Russian People's Home". This has now become a vigorous cultural, social and educational centre. It does not support any of the Russian churches nor do its members associate with the Orthodox Society. Walhouse has estimated that 30 per cent of the Russians in Vancouver are sympathetic to this organization [Walhouse, 1961:109]; a member, George Legebokoff, estimates the figure at 60 per cent.

Another grouping of Russians in Vancouver is the Doukhobors, commonly known as a "Russian sect".

Originally in 1898-1899, the Doukhobors (7,500 of them) left Russia because of intensified persecution by the Tsarist Government and the Russian Orthodox Church. Their philosophy ran counter to the church as a whole for they rejected the legitimacy of a religious hierarchy and priesthood, icons, along with the Christian Bible. Likewise, they rejected kings and queens and national governments. Ideally, each

person was conceived as having the quality of "charisma" (the "gift of grace", to use Max Weber's term), and no one was to claim a position higher than another. Their central belief--pacifism--was ultimately related to their "search for universal brotherhood" [Tarasoff, 1963].

After settling and pioneering on the Canadian prairies, two-thirds of the group split off following a precipitous land loss and migrated to the Kootenay and Boundary regions of British Columbia [Dawson, 1936]. That was 1908-1912. As the Doukhobor Community expanded it borrowed money, but with dwindling membership during the "Dirty Thirties", another land loss occurred. There was further splitting off, many remaining "Orthodox", some becoming the so-called "Sons of Freedom", and an increasing number turning to individual enterprise as Independents.

We find a drift of Doukhobors to Vancouver only very gradually, accelerating after the Second World War. The first few families came to the west coast, it appears, during the period of the First World War. In 1935 they formed their first organization here. Today there is an estimated 3,000* people of Doukhobor background in the Greater Vancouver area. The 1961 Census, however, found only 171 persons who claimed "to be Doukhobors" by religious affiliation. The figure is difficult to ascertain because a considerable number of Doukhobors

* Estimate by Peter S. Faminow, Doukhobor lawyer.

have changed their names, while many more are scattered about having little or no contact with their former brethren. To that extent a number of these people have been almost completely assimilated into urban Canadian society. To that extent, too, they have lost their ethnicity. Nevertheless, there is a small core who maintain some of their religious traditions, and many more share the basic tenet of non-violence.*

Almost reflecting the segmented nature of industrialized society, the Doukhobors in Greater Vancouver today are characterized by several organizations involving only a relatively few people. No Doukhobor youth organization exists here today. Of the adult organizations that exist, only one has the official status of being registered under the Societies Act of the Province. Likewise, no Doukhobor organization on the west coast has a hall of its own.

*Faminow also estimates that less than 8 per cent (and perhaps as low as 5 per cent) of the eligible men went into the military service during World War II. Here, then, is a central Doukhobor value which is working against assimilation in a society where nationalism and power politics prevail.

CHAPTER II

CASE STUDIES OF RUSSIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN THE GREATER VANCOUVER AREA

Introduction

Twenty-one different Russian-ethnic organizations in the Greater Vancouver area will be brought into this study for comparative purposes, of which 14 are currently in existence. Then, in Chapter III, we will apply theoretical concepts to this data and come up with some generalizations.

For the moment, though, it would not be amiss to state that the 21 organizations might be broken down into several rough categories. For this purpose we might use one of several typologies:

- A.
 - 1. Church
 - 2. Secular
- B.
 - 1. Religious
 - 2. Secular
 - 3. Doukhobor (combination of secular and religious)
- C.
 - 1. "Progressive"
 - 2. Russian Orthodox
 - 3. Doukhobor
 - 4. Others

Taking the first two possibilities we find several difficulties. In the first place, at least one of the "church" organizations in this study has a number of secular functions. Secondly, there is difficulty in fitting the Doukhobors into either the Secular or Religious category (they are a cross in between). The most promising typology, in my opinion, is that of the Type "C". The first eight organizations appear to fit the "Progressive" category; the next five the "Russian Orthodox" category; then "Doukhobor" for another five; finally, "Others" for the remaining three groups.

The term "Progressive" is used here in a special sense--not as a value judgement, but as a term used by the people themselves.* A recent interpretation was given by the National Secretary of the Federation of Russian Canadians, George Okulevish. My field notes, following the interview, state:

"Progressives" are socially conscious people "who hold close to their hearts the question of coming together of the world" (blezko k sertzje vopros k soediennie mira). They are for world peace and brotherhood. On the national scene, they are people who are against American monopoly in Canada. For example, British Columbia resources, they state, should be for the peoples of this Province, not for the people from down south, as is currently advocated by some politicians with regard to the Columbia River Project....

All people to some extent have this quality of being "progressive", according to Mr. O., but it is a matter of degree. Less than 50 per cent

* See Appendix "A" for usage of the adjective "Progressive".

of the Canadians have this quality to any significant degree--and only very few really have it [Field Notes, January 19, 1963].

For others the term "Progressive" implies being "pro-Soviet", "anti-Fascist", and "anti-Church" (or at least "neutral" on the subject of formal religion).

Under the category "Russian Orthodox" we might include three church groups (with two differing ecclesiastical jurisdictions), together with one cultural group called the "Russian Centre of B. C.", and the "Canadian Ladies" Orthodox Guild". Many people in this section have been generally characterized as having "pro-Tsarist sentiments", "anti-Soviet biases", with a claim for holding to the "true Russian spirit".

Doukhobors, as the third group, may be described as being "religious-secular, but anti-church in attitude."

However, it would be presumptuous (and unscientific) at this time to place these groups in any of the categories mentioned. Rather this is a matter which has to develop out of the study itself, and be supported by the facts in each case. We will leave it at that and let the reader judge for himself.

1. Russian Progressive Club

Origin

One of the old Russian immigrants who travelled to many countries in "all continents" before stopping to live in Vancouver in 1909 was Nikolai Nikolaevitch Nikolaev (Nixon) [Okulevich, 1952:39]. The same year he is credited with organizing "a significant Russian colony" [Okulevich, 1952:39] here. Okulevich, in his Russkie v Kanade describes Vancouver for this period:

. . . Many of the Russian immigrants in Vancouver were political refugees from Tsarist Russia. For the most part these were young people. They gathered together in social circles, read books and newspapers. At that time large popularity was given to the paper "Russkii Golos"* [Russian Voice], which was published in New York by Ivan Okuntsov. Okuntsov was himself a political refugee (was a former member of the First Duma**). . . .

In 1909 Russian workers in the City of Vancouver formed their own library, in the home of Pavel Shuravsky. Around the library soon after there was formed a Russian Progressive Club.

In the library there were continually more readers than there were books," writes

*The "Russkii Golos" is said to be "Communist" in its sympathies [Dawson, 1936:75].

**The First Duma or representative assembly in Tsarist Russia was convened by Tsar Nicholas II in May 1906, following demands by the people for more popular representation [Kirchner, 1958:160].

Nikolaev. "Russian workers came to their own library with much satisfaction. Each person felt a special honor to take his turn in serving his library by cleaning up the room and issuing out the books." [Okulevich, 1952:39. Trans. by KJT].

Thus, from this account, we learn that the Russian Progressive Club was formed around a central meeting place for new immigrants of the same ethnic background (with their common language, history and culture). Here "Russians" met together, reminisced about the past, and planned for the future. Naturally, the few books available and the conversations were in the group's own "mother" tongue, and not in the "foreign" tongue of their adopted country. Language and similar interests brought people together.

Formal Structure and Membership

Most of the members appear to have been local laborers, many of whom were working on road building projects in Vancouver.

On the wider national scene there were a total of 12 Russian Progressive Clubs in centres such as Victoria, Winnipeg and Toronto. The latter club had an especially "large library" [View by Okulevich. Field Notes, January 19, 1963] and is reported to have initiated "great political meetings (up to 3,000 to 4,000 people) of Russian and Ukrainian peoples". In time its members became organizers of trade unions

in industries such as the Massey Harris, Swifts, and others. Its members worked in foundries and other heavy industries.

No data for internal differentiation, cooperation with other groups, conflict with other groups, internal strains and actual splits.

Dissolution

The Progressive Club existed until 1918, shortly after the Russian Revolution. Then, according to Okulevich, this Club was undermined by "provocateurs" [Okulevich, 1952: 39]. One such provocateur, who called himself a "Moscow student", was said to have gathered all the names and addresses of the Russian residents in Vancouver and handed them over to the police. A raid followed and 24 members of the Progressive Club were arrested. Only "strong protests" from the Russian workers prevented their deportation to Vladivostok (where General Kolchak and his "White" or anti-Communist forces were staying). Eighteen of these people, however, were arrested and sentenced to 18 months imprisonment; the rest were released. The arrested group were said to have constituted the core of the "Russian Socialist Progressive" movement. On the national scene, especially in Toronto, the Russian Progressive Clubs did not disband until around 1926. "Prosperity" has been given as a main reason for disintegration. "There was nothing further to hold them together [Field Notes, January 19, 1963:7].

2. Society of Technical Aid to Russia

Origin

In 1922, a branch of the "Society of Technical Aid to Russia" opened in Vancouver. This organization, with its headquarters in New York, collected money, clothing and medicine to aid war-torn and famine stricken Russia. This was the period of the severe famine in the USSR, and thus the stimulus for this organization came from the outside.

Formal Structure and Membership

The central organization was in New York, with branches across Canada and the United States amongst the Russian-speaking population. Russian workers "actively" supported this cause [Okulevich, 1952:40]. Okulevich says this about the Society:

Many of its members were refugees from the political regime of the Tsarist government. They provided material aid to Russia. Later, many of them went to the Nikolaevskaya Oblast in Kherson, USSR and in the Saratovskaya Oblast, and formed two colonies of Russian Canadians there. But when a Doukhobor delegation went there around 1924, and did not want to move there, further migration stopped.

The organization provided trained people to Russia as well Mechanics, for example, were sent to Russia. Besides material aid, a major purpose of the organization was to help Russians return to their motherland [Field Notes, January 19, 1963].

No data for internal differentiation, cooperation with other groups, conflict with other groups, internal strains, and actual splits.

Dissolution

The Society functioned until 1924, by which time the campaign for aid was over [Okulevich, 1952:40]. Thus the organization functioned while it had a specific purpose. Once its initial aims had been fulfilled, however, the Society had no longer any cause to exist.

3. Maxim Gorky Russian Workers' Club

Origin

Organized in Toronto in March 1930, this Club spread quickly across Canada, with Vancouver organizing one in the fall of 1931. This occurred at the second convention of the organization held in Winnipeg on October 27, 1931. Here 25 delegates (including one from Vancouver) representing 17 clubs formed a Central Executive Committee for the purpose of "guiding" the following regions: Vancouver, Edmonton, Sault St. Marie, Kirkland Lake, Toronto and Winnipeg. In the east Workers' Clubs arose out of the dissatisfaction of the newly arrived Russian immigrants over severe unemployment and low wages. The 1929 "Market crash" in New York and the subsequent depression years were an immediate source of

dissatisfaction. Moreover, leaders were available to spearhead the movement. One of these leaders was George Okulevich who today holds executive posts on several national "progressive" organizations of Canada. Okulevich explains the rise of the Russian Workers' Club in this way [from my Field Notes, January 19, 1963: 8]:

The Maxim Gorky Russian Workers' Club originated during the 1930's economic crisis. Secondly, there was an influx of immigrants from the Byelorussian* part occupied by Poland--an area where people had lived through difficult crises during the Revolution and the Fascist onslaught. These immigrants came here beginning in 1925 to 1930--this being the largest migration of Slavs to Canada. When they got here they were struck by the almost 100 per cent unemployment in this country.

I myself came to Canada in 1928--from the southern part of Byelorussia where some one-third of the population is of Ukrainian background. At that time there were fierce investigations in Poland for political and religious discontents. Practically no youth of my age stayed around without going to jail for terms ranging from two to ten years. We appealed to the League of Nations for our rights (to hold our own Byelorussian school, for example), but without avail. At that time I was secretary of a Russian school there. Fortunately for me, my father was a close friend of the head of the police. My father was warned by the authorities that

* Since "Byelorussian" is the Russian word for "White Russian", these Slavs are sometimes called by the latter name and should not be confused with the anti-Soviet White Russian emigres who fled abroad during the Revolution and Civil War. Byelorussia is bounded by the Ukraine on the south, the Baltic States on the north, and Poland on the west.

they could no longer keep from arresting me. It was at that point that I made my departure for Canada, and thus was saved from being arrested. At around the same time, thousands of people came to Canada--all just prior to the unemployment.

With such a state of affairs, the atmosphere was ripe for people to organize--and they did. Their first job was to get bread. These people were generally of a radical and boykoi [alert, smart] turn of mind. Today Byelorussia has returned to Russia.

Formal Structure and Membership

The Vancouver group was a branch of a national organization, with its headquarters in Toronto and later in Winnipeg (Manitoba). Members were elected to both the national and local executives, and meetings and conventions were held regularly. The initial appeal of the organization was to organize the Russian immigrants. Next it spread its base and drew in other Slavs (including many Ukrainians) into its activities. In time a few Doukhobors joined. The purpose of the organization was to speak for the "working class people", as the following editorial illustrates in the first issue (April 8, 1931) of Kanadsky Gudok (an organizational paper):

Kanadsky Gudok justifies the confidence which has been given to it by the organized proletariat of Canada to fearlessly castigate [bichevati] all the manifestations of the capitalistic system. In this struggle it serves to uphold the Canadian workers [working class], both morally as well as materially and only by their active participation and close cooperation will it give a true picture of working people in Canada, and be able to

strengthen itself and to become a strong organ of struggle with injustice and arbitrary rule [In Okulevich, 1952: 85. Trans. by KJT].

Internal Differentiation

The Russian Workers' Club organized and promoted the first Canadian Russian newspaper--the Kanadsky Gudok. When the first issue of the paper was published 250 copies went to the Toronto Club, 200 each to Montreal and Windsor, 75 to Vancouver and 50 to Edmonton [Okulevich, 1952: 84]. At the second convention of the organization held in Winnipeg, October 27, 1931, the Kanadsky Gudok was moved to Winnipeg, the new centre of the organization. Other resolutions passed [and later carried out], included the setting up of Russian schools; the formation of book stores; a committee to aid Russian immigrants; one "unifying constitution for all clubs" with membership dues at 30¢ a month for workers, 20¢ for farmers and 10¢ for the unemployed; all clubs were to adopt the name of Maxim Gorky. [Maxim Gorky was a Russian story writer, novelist, and playwright who in 1905 took an active part in the rebellion and when it failed went abroad; he returned to Russia in 1928 and was given a royal welcome.] Moreover, it was resolved that the "editorial board of the Kanadsky Gudok was to be controlled by the Central Executive [Okulevich, 1952: 99].

As for the Vancouver branch, at its height the Club held a regular Russian school (involving 40 pupils), an

active drama club, a choral and dance group, and lectures on "Marxism" as well as other topics.

Cooperation with Other Groups

The Doukhobor Progressive Society of Vancouver cooperated with the Club in fund-raising drives for the Kanadsky Gudok and the "leftist" English-language paper, The Tribune. This was made possible when an executive member of the Russian Workers' Club, who was also a Doukhobor, called together a meeting and founded the Doukhobor organization. Likewise, they participated in May Day parades. ✓

Conflict with Other Groups

During 1932 several arrests took place of people working on the "Progressive" papers in this country. Editor Yasnoy of Kanadsky Gudok was arrested by the Canadian authorities with the intention of deportation. But when he showed his Citizenship Papers, the authorities could do nothing [Field Notes, January 19, 1963]. All those leaders arrested without such papers, however, were deported to Europe.

The Community Doukhobor leader, Peter P. Verigin, officially condemned the Russian Workers' Club and threatened to excommunicate anyone who read its paper. Nevertheless, some 158 pages of highly polemical articles, many of them written by Doukhobors themselves, were published and frequently criticized the Doukhobor Community organization and its leader.

Internal Strains

No data.

Actual Splits

None.

Dissolution

The last issue of Kanadsky Gudok appeared on April 4, 1940, several months after Canada entered World War Two. On March 28 the Government, by an Order-in-Council, ruled that the publication was "illegal" [Canada Gazette, June 8, 1940]. The Russian Workers' Club received the same fate in June of the same year. One of the editors of the paper and a member of the national Executive stated:

. . . The Government of Canada felt that we were "Fascists". However, in reality we were against Fascism, but not against the Soviet Union. At that time all propaganda went against the USSR, not against the Fascists, although the country fought against the Fascists. In a perverted fashion, the Government appears to have rationalized: "If you are not against the Soviet Union, then you are for the Fascists. Therefore you must be a Fascist organization-- i.e., an illegal organization" [Field Notes, January 19, 1963: 9].

Since none of the Russian Workers' Clubs in Canada had any halls of their own, there were no confiscations as with some of the Ukrainian "Progressive" organizations in this country, as well as with some one dozen other organizations [Canada Gazette, June 8, 1940]. "Subversive" literature was seized and the public was warned to cease all meetings of the banned variety.

4. Progressive Society of Doukhobors

Origin

The Progressive Society of Doukhobors in Vancouver was founded in 1935. The motive for its formation came from two sources: 1. The Maxim Gorky Russian Workers' Club was anxious to persuade Doukhobors to join their "Progressive" movement, the "Third International", as one Club member called it. 2. The first Progressive Society of Doukhobors was formed August 1934 at a founding convention in Kamsack, Saskatchewan [The Yorkton Enterprise, August 2, 1934, p. 1]. One delegate who attended that Convention, in 1935 moved with his family from the Kootenays to Vancouver and reported on the idea of forming a similar organization in Vancouver. The man, Wasil Vereschagin, together with Peter Halishoff (a Doukhobor who came to Vancouver in 1922 and later became an Executive member of the Maxim Gorky Club) called forth the first meeting.

Formal Structure and Membership

The first meeting of the Progressive Society of Doukhobors in Saskatchewan drew up a "manifesto" which set forth their aims:

The Progressive Society of Doukhobors makes its chief aim the promotion of a cultural-educational work among the Doukhobors: the opening of schools for children and adults; the organization of the youth for cultural educational work, such as study groups, dramatic groups, by means of which will be carried on educational activities, the elimination of bad conduct, the

encouragement of worthy aims. It aims to found libraries for the use of all desirous of reading; to start up wall-gazettes, which shall serve to help in the struggle with bad conduct among our members and bring out from our midst experienced correspondents and editors; to institute lectures and reports and prepare lecturers and reporters from among the Doukhobors. It aims to carry on every manner of beneficial work which would contribute to enlightenment, moral improvement, and the eradication of bad habits.

The Progressive Society of Doukhobors makes as another of its aims the struggle against militarism and the danger of war [and] will carry on its anti-war activities in common with other anti-war organizations. We . . . shall help fraternal organizations towards resisting war preparations by supporting strikes, as that shall be a blow to the makers of war. We shall help the unemployed in their struggle to have monies reserved for war purposes turned towards helping the unemployed and the farmers, and under no circumstances shall be give material aid to war [The Yorkton Enterprise, August 2, 1934: p. 1]

Echoing with "Communist" phraseology, the manifesto sought out complementary aims.

[We] . . . shall also struggle with and support the struggle against every wrong in society, against capitalist exploitation of the working class, against government terror and violence upon labor; we shall give moral and material support against every evil among Doukhobors as well as in all society.

[We] . . . will start communications with Doukhobors in other lands, such as the United States, Soviet Russia, and others. We shall seek information as to their life, exchange experiences, borrow from them everything good and enable them to make use of what good we possess.

The first meeting in Vancouver brought together "a full hall" of Doukhobors, but only 15 signed up. Many questions were asked, as "orator" Vereschagin replied as best he could while Halishoff acted as secretary for the occasion. These two organizers then gave the right to the members to choose their own Executive Committee--which they did. At its height the organization swelled to 60 members [View by Halishoff. Field Notes, February 13, 1963].

Internal Differentiation

When the Doukhobor Progressive Society was formed in Vancouver in 1935, a fund-raising campaign was in progress for the "Progressive" newspaper from Toronto, The Tribune. The Society's quota was set at \$15. Within a short time a committee of four doubled their quota, to the surprise of everyone else, including the Maxim Gorky Club. "The Progressive Doukhobors have reached the top" were the words of one banner, publicizing the event. The members of this newly-formed organization were overjoyed. They placed "first" in several subsequent fund-raising drives, both for The Tribune and for the Kanadsky Gudok.

Their next step was to form a choir, since "many of them already had good voices". Moreover, they introduced an accordionist to their choir, along with a couple of dancers. The result, according to Halishoff, was "filled halls" wherever the Progressive Doukhobors performed. They hired theatres several times. All numbers were in Russian.

Their prowess became known, and in October 1937 they participated in the Fifth Vancouver Folk Festival. The Vancouver Province for October 28, 1937 reports:

Noteworthy in the fine display of folk crafts shown in the Folk Song, Dance and Crafts Festival, are the contribution of the three groups who are making their initial bows in presenting their handicrafts to Vancouver, under the auspices of the festival. These include the Doukhobor, Eskimo and Portuguese exhibits.

One of the first objects to catch the eye in the Doukhobor section is a huge loaf of bread, weighing nearly five pounds, with its side dish of salt. This is not a gala baking, but the customary one in the Doukhobor household.

The group repeated its successful debut during the next three Festivals, so that, according to one of their members, "Our name was high all over" [Halishoff. Field Notes, February 15, 1963]. Besides singing and dancing, they staged several plays (including "Rasputin"), and held public displays of Doukhobor handicrafts with the members wearing traditional costumes.

Soon after the commencement of World War Two, the Doukhobor Progressive Society organized a committee of five to register all Doukhobor people in the Greater Vancouver area as well as in Victoria, with the result that the legal requirements had been fulfilled as to their exemption status from military service.

Cooperation with Other Groups

As we have mentioned above, the Society raised funds for two "Progressive" papers as well as participating in the annual Vancouver Folk Festivals and handicraft displays. Likewise, they provided the personnel for registering Doukhobors during the War crisis. In addition they took part in one May Day parade from Cambie Street to Stanley Park. On another occasion they helped other groups feed the unemployed during a Mother's Day welfare project.

Conflict with Other Groups

There were no formal ties with the Community Doukhobors of interior British Columbia, except that the Community leader condemned the "Progressive" Doukhobor movement as being "Bolshevik" and "the cause" of the then current agitation among the Doukhobors.

When we were asked [said one of the Progressive Society members]: "Why do you organize?"

We replied: "To give our voice against killing--this being the basic tenet of our forefathers in Russia. If we get together, then we can be more effective.

"We reject no one, but invite all--veroshe i ne veroshe (believers and non-believers)" [Halishoff. Field Notes, February 15, 1963].

Apart from their own people, the group apparently enjoyed a considerable degree of prestige in the City's cultural circles--all this, despite the fact that the majority

of them were laborers and only a few of them could read or write well in English (Russian was their mother tongue).

Internal Strains

By their very success as a competing group with the Maxim Gorky Russian Workers' Club (a group which initially promoted their Society), some "jealousy" resulted between the two rival groups. As one of the members put it: "The Russians felt they were slighted by the Doukhobors whom they always counted as 'nothing'" [Halishoff. Field Notes, February 15, 1963]. In effect they carried out much the same work as the Russian Workers' Club.

Another internal strain was that concerned with organizing the Doukhobors in Vancouver. "It is very, very difficult to organize the Doukhobors," said one of the old executive members, "for many of them have no notion regarding the purpose of an organization. With such people, one always has to have great patience--one has to talk softly, trying to reconcile diverse feelings. If these people were more educated it would have been a different story--the work would have been much easier." [Halishoff. Field Notes, February 15, 1963.]

Actual Splits

None.

Termination

The Progressive Doukhobor Society of Vancouver ceased to exist after 1944. One of its main organizers and his wife had left the city for work in the interior. At the same time, the other partner was having some marital problems, so that no one was apparently willing to accept its leadership.

5. Federation of Russian Canadians

Origin

In effect, this organization was formed as a successor to the "subversive" Maxim Gorky Russian Workers' Club. Its initiators sought to make legitimate and respectable a "workers' movement". Once Adolph Hitler and his forces had turned against the Soviet Union, on June 22, 1941, the war-time antagonism against Russian Canadians had momentarily diminished. "Progressive" Russian groups gradually began to reorganize their communities for the purpose of helping their "motherland". At a mass meeting of 300 in Toronto, George Okulevich, a founding executive member of the former Russian Workers' Club, proposed a new movement:

First, all Russian settlers in Canada must unite into one Russian movement, must drop to the side all political, religious, and other sources of discord, and enter into a Russian committee in aid of the motherland and support their work. Secondly, there is a need to refute and expose lies concerning the Soviet

Union, as propagandized by Hitler's agents around the world. Thirdly, to expose traitors here, who strive to seed harm and discord among the allies. Fourth, to gather money for the sending of gifts to the Red Army--medical supplies . . . , clothes, shoes, and so forth . . . [Okulevich, 1952: 198. Trans. by KJT].

By September 1941, Russian aid committees were formed in Windsor, Hamilton, London, St. Catherines, Timmons, Kapuskasing, Winnipeg, Calgary, Vancouver and other centres--in a total of ten places. This in turn led to the establishment of a Russian Committee in Aid of the Motherland, a central clearing house for some 59 organizations and groups [Okulevich, 1952: 209]. To aid this work, Vestnik, a bi-weekly newspaper was formed at the Toronto office. As requests came to organize various activities--especially choral and instrumental music, drama, the setting up of libraries, the publishing of a paper and journals for wider distribution, and the organizing of meetings and lectures on different themes--the aid-to-Russia fund committee took on further differentiation. The Toronto office was soon looked upon as a Russian organizational and cultural centre, "a rallying point for all Russians in Canada." Therefore, to meet this wider role, a special convention in Toronto, Ontario, on May 30-31, 1942, culminated in the formation of the "Federation of Russian Canadians" (FRC, for short). The Vancouver branch was formed simultaneously.

Formal Structure and Membership

The Constitution of the FRC, which was nationally incorporated in 1947, states:

The Federation of Russian Canadians is organized for the purpose of carrying on in more than one province of Canada, without pecuniary gain to its members the objects following:

To unite, organize and integrate the full effort of all Canadians of Russian origin for the purpose of assisting and enabling the most useful contribution by Russian Canadians to Canadian National life, and for such purposes to enlighten and inform the members of the Federation and the public generally concerning the Federation and its objects and activities, and further for such purposes to carry on such cultural activities, including of the arts, music, and the drama, and to acquire such properties, personal and real, such as libraries, musical or theatrical effects, lands or buildings, as the Board of Directors, from time to time may decide and determine, and further to encourage Russian Canadians to create their own halls, cooperatives, children's Russian language schools, play-groups and camps [From the Constitution].

With regard to Article 6, points 27-29 of the Constitution, affiliated membership was invited from any sympathetic Canadian Slavic organization.

27. Russian organizations of specific character such as Church and mutual benefit societies, religious and such like bodies may affiliate with the Federation without departing from their previous character or disturbing their previous affiliations. Such a branch shall pay to the Federation an annual fee of five dollars (\$5.00) if it has twenty-five members or less, otherwise, it shall pay an annual fee of ten dollars (\$10.00).

28. (a) An affiliated organization shall receive all the circulars of the National Executive as all the other branches, shall have the right to participate in all the Conventions and Conferences of the activities of the Federation.

(b) Members of the affiliated organizations shall have the right to be elected to any office or committee of the Federation.

Ideally, the Federation of Russian Canadians sought to unite into its orbit as many Slavs as possible on as broad a basis as possible. Membership eligibility includes any Canadian resident "of good character and of Russian origin."* One member told me that "strike-breakers" would not be welcome [Halishoff. Field Notes, February 15, 1963]. Any person who becomes a member of the Federation shall agree to pay monthly dues of twenty (20) cents per calendar month, payable in advance on the first day of the calendar month, provided that if several members of the branch belong to one family, all the members of the family who are financially dependent, with the exception of its head who pays twenty (20) cents, shall pay five (5) cents per calendar month. As a result

*A number of "Ukrainians" have joined the Vancouver Branch, and presumably other Russian branches too. Normally they would join the "Progressive" Association of United Ukrainian Canadian organization. Because these people migrated to Canada between 1926-1930 from the Volinskoy Oblast (between Byelorussia and the Ukraine), they are technically Ukrainians, but linguistically they are Russians and count themselves as "Russians"--hence the desire to be in a Russian organization. This mixture of peoples accounts for the mixed dialects one readily finds among the FRC members.

of the 1962 Convention, however (effective January 1963), a flat rate of 20¢ is the current membership due; locally, this means in practice adult members. Members who are not allocated to any specific local branch shall pay dues of fifty (50) cents per calendar month to the National secretary.

The Vancouver branch of the FRC took a bold step in 1946 by purchasing the large Croatian Educational Home at 600 Campbell Avenue for a sum of \$35,000. Previously the FRC gathered in an old hall on Georgia Street, several blocks away. Symbolically, they renamed their newly acquired hall the "Russian People's Home", i.e., a cultural and educational home for all Russian peoples in Vancouver and their friends where they could meet one another on the basis of face-to-face primary relations. By 1960 its members had paid out in full for their new home.

The centralized hierarchical structure of the FRC has important implications to its member branches, as would any "Incorporated" body. According to its Constitutions the Russian People's Home and all its contents belong to the National organization. Point (k) of the Constitution's article 2 spells out the relationship with the Local Branches:

Any asset, real or personal, which may be acquired by any local branch shall automatically become the property of the Federation and can only be disposed of as provided by these Bylaws for disposition of or sale of an asset of the Federation [Constitution, p. 26].

In practice, though, the National Executive has a working agreement with the locals (with the locals agreeing to pay for their own purchases, expenses, etc.); and that only in time of liquidation, does the National Executive take action. According to the National Secretary, "this has happened on three occasions: in 1959 at Gerlton, Ontario; in 1961 at Fort William, Ontario; and in 1961 at Val d'Or, Quebec. The members could not hold their halls (due to migration and dwindling membership), so they decided to liquidate their assets. The Toronto office took over the property, sold it, and is now keeping the money in trust for the members, should they in the future decide to procure another hall" [Okulevich. Field Notes, January 19, 1963: 5].

The Vancouver Branch today has 87 members, two-thirds of whom are men.* All are adults. Structurally, seven of these are executive members (including one woman). On the second Friday of each month they meet with the members at large, while once a year an annual meeting is convened. Occupations represented in the executive are: carpenter, tradesman, laborer, salesman, housewife, and photographer. The membership, in addition, includes: one librarian, one student lawyer, several bookkeepers and clerks, industrial

* There is a high overproportion of males to females in the FRC membership as compared to the Provincial ratio of 13,847 males and 13,601 females of Russian origin [Census, 1961: Bulletin 1.2-5, Table 35-2].

workers, a hospital security officer, railway worker, fishermen, and several young teachers. As one of the Executive members stated: "Ours is not a businessman's organization. We have no parasites, and no aristocrats" [Phone conversation with George Legebokoff, February 18, 1963]. The same informant states that 20 years ago "our membership was primarily of the pick and shovel type".

"What percentage of the membership were born in Canada?" I asked.

✓ "Approximately 50 per cent," replied George Legebokoff.

"What percentage are Canadian citizens?" was another question.

"Only a few haven't got their Citizenship papers yet," came the reply.

Biennial conventions, on the national level are held every two years in Toronto (the organizational centre), and delegates from the various locals along with observers attend. For example, at the Second "All Russian Convention" in Toronto (November 9-12, 1944), there were 148 delegates from the local branches, from Doukhobor organizations, many Russian church societies, youth organizations, representing some "35,000 people". This figure was broken down: 98 delegates from 45 FRC branches, 11 delegates from 6 youth groups of the FRC, 7 representatives from the Russian Orthodox church, and 10 from several Doukhobor organizations. In all, the 1944 convention

reported a membership of 3,492 members and around 400 youth in the youth groups.

Internal Differentiation

At the 9th Convention in 1960, one Vancouver delegate reported an "active season" on the local level. This included 5 choirs (children's choir of 45; FRC adult choir of 30; mixed choir; women's choir; men's choir); one physical culture group; close contact with the Slavic Committee of the USSR (the Toronto executive has direct representation on this Committee) and the Canadian Slavic Committee; local support for the Workers' Benevolent Association of Canada (a fraternal benefit society with headquarters in Winnipeg, Manitoba) [see below]; the holding of fund-raising picnics, banquets, dances and special campaigns in aid of Vestnik, the FRC, the Workers' Benevolent Association, and the local branch; the establishment in May 1959 of a Troika Book Store in their Centre--open only on Saturday and Sunday during the period of most activity--but it was closed in 1961; Russian cultural school program (Russian language, vocal and dancing classes) for children on Sundays 10 a.m. to 2 p.m.; the holding of occasional talks on Russian culture; and the regular Sunday evening Russian movie nights (which bring in an average of 100 persons).

Yet two years later, in the fall of 1962, the Vancouver Branch of the FRC showed signs of falling interest. There were barely enough interested people to form a drama group (despite

the fact that one of their members had just returned from a three-year study of drama and dancing at the Byrlorussian cultural school in the USSR); and, generally, things were not looking too bright.

Officially the Russian-cultural school program began in Vancouver on a systematic basis six years ago (1956) when a Parents' Committee took the initiative. Comprising a majority of non-members, the Committee was obliged to work closely with the Federation in supporting picnics, plays, fund-raising drives, and concerts. In the fall of 1962 there were 30 pupils (under 16 years of age) participating in this cultural program. Grammar texts were invariably purchased from Soviet sources--with the price being relatively low as compared to any North American or British sources. An instrumental group was an early addition to their activities. Likewise, dancing instructions are an integral part of the Russian-cultural school program. In April 1953 the FRC dance group gained "top place" in the 6th Annual British Columbia Dance Festival. For this occasion, "genuine" Russian costumes were worn.

The Ladies' Auxiliary of the local FRC prepares meals for the banquets and picnics as well as the Sunday noonday meals for the children who attend the Russian-cultural school. In addition, they visit their sick brethren in the hospitals and at homes. The significant thing is that all this burden falls on a disproportionate number of women as compared to men--27 to 57.

By far the most developed interest group among the adults is the singing group, many of whom have actively participated since the local Branch was formed. Except for 1962, the adult choir appeared regularly at the annual Vancouver Folk Festivals.

One of the activities of the FRC is to entertain the crews of Soviet ships which come to port into the Vancouver harbour. For example, when the recent USSR Academy of Sciences non-magnetic ship "Zarya" was in port, the Executive passed a motion at their bi-monthly meeting to invite the crew for an informal lunch and meeting at the Home. This was done with some 150 people turning out for the occasion. After a supper banquet there was a short program on stage (with a totem pole replica being presented to the captain as a gesture of the local FRC), and dancing to a two-piece orchestra. Several cases of beer were served as refreshments to the sailors, and beer was also available for sale to others. On another day, the Russian-cultural school students were given a conducted tour through the ship. In addition, many members took sailors to their homes for dinners and informal evenings--this was also done by some local Doukhobors and Russian Orthodox people.

The current Soviet exchange student attending the University of British Columbia, Yuri Regin, is a frequent visitor to the Russian Home. On the occasion of a farewell supper for one of the FRC members, March 22, 1963, Yuri sang several Russian songs and was well received.

Soviet films are regularly shown at the Home, and on special occasions, exhibitions of Soviet handicrafts and paintings have been held. Trips to the Soviet Union have been made by a number of members of the FRC. Two of the young people (Vallie Plaxin and John Stoochnoff, the latter of Doukhobor parentage) have spent two and three years respectively in Minsk, USSR, in the study of Russian language, drama, dancing, and folk singing; both were sent by the FRC, but sponsored by the Byelorussian Cultural organization (which has also sponsored several other young people across the country). During the past five years, three families from the FRC have gone to live in the Soviet Union. All this, together with the Canadian Slavic Committee and the Slavic Committee of the USSR serves as a mechanism for maintaining emotional ties with the "mother country".

The publications to which the local Branch subscribes, include the bi-weekly newspaper Vestnik (the organizational organ), the Pacific Tribune (published in Vancouver by the Communist Party), and several cultural and political magazines from Russia (which are on sale at their counter). The antagonistic outsider believes that articles in these papers appear as "Communist Party propaganda", although, perhaps, in diluted doses. Vestnik is printed in Russian, although occasionally (as a result of a recent request by the young people) an English language page is included. A large proportion of the news articles deal with USSR, USA and international events. Some

of their headlines read as follows: "USSR Asks India and Japan to Cease War-like Activities"; "United States of America Threatens to Blockade Cuba"; "Gromiko Warns Aggressors and Denounces Propaganda of Preventive War"; "MacMillan Remains Steadfast to His Decision to Unite England to the 'Common Market'" [Vestnik, September 19, 1962, p. 1]; "New Unsurpassed Achievements by USSR" [Vestnik, August 15, 1962, p. 1]. "New Cabinet of Diefenbaker Under Control of Monopoly"; "Reaction of Doctors Prepare Ground for Agreement" [Vestnik, July 21, 1962, p. 1]; "Social Creditors Aim to Support Conservatives"; "Federal Police Stopped Trek of Freedomites" [Vestnik, September 22, 1962, p. 1]; "Federation of Russian Canadians Concludes 10th Convention". Inside the paper signed articles and letters report on FRC activities and frequently about Doukhobor life. Notice of forthcoming activities and meetings appears in a stated place. Usually, there is a short story or a longer story in serialized form (from Slavic authors primarily, as well as American authors such as Mark Twain). Almost a page is devoted to paid advertisements.

Cooperation with Other Groups

Despite the fact that the Church and the Federation have generally been two opposing bodies, there have been instances where some cooperation has taken place between the two. One instance is that of the participation of several priests at the Second National Convention of the FRC in Toronto,

in 1944. Several Russian Orthodox and other churches had joined with the FRC on an affiliated basis. Since 1945 all such religious affiliations have ceased.

Today those FRC members who hold church memberships are said to be "quite small" [View by Okulevich. Field Notes, January 19, 1963]. "In Winnipeg there are people who attend church regularly; likewise a few in Toronto, and several in Windsor. A Russian Orthodox Church of the Metropoly jurisdiction in Winnipeg once belonged. The same is true of the Moscow jurisdiction at Star and Leduc, Alberta--but they pulled out at the end of the Second World War without giving any reason." A member of the Vancouver branch has told me that none of their members are church goers, with the possible exception of two or three people.

During the Second World War, in 1944, there was a momentary coming together of Vancouver's "two Russian groups-- the 'Whites' and the 'Reds'," according to a Russian Orthodox woman [Field Notes, February 24, 1963]. A concert was staged jointly in honor of the first Russian ship that had come into port since the beginning of the war. It was at this time, too, that the "Reds" and the "Whites" and the "Canadians" got together and raised funds and supplies for their allies, the Soviet Union.*

*During the Second World War, the headquarters of Soviet officials in the City was at 3380 Granville Street. It was acquired by the USSR as quarters for engineers, shipping and

The local Executive has no formal ties with any of the Russian Orthodox church groups or with the Russian Centre of British Columbia. Nevertheless, circulars advertising concerts and so forth are sent out to various individuals who are selected for their Russian-sounding names from the telephone book. It has been observed that a few church people come to the Russian Home on occasions such as during the visit of Russian sailors (from Soviet ships in port) on Sunday evening Russian movie nights, and the periodic concerts.

Informal cooperation has resulted due to particular policies of a local priest. Rev. Alexander Kiziun from 1938 to his death in 1953 encouraged his congregation of the Holy Trinity Russian Orthodox Church to attend the functions at the Russian People's Home. Since the church was located only one block away, and since it had no such facilities as a hall, the informal cooperation was advantageous. The church choir leader and some of their members participated in the FRC choir (at an all-time total which brought together 60 choralists) and put on a joint operetta, "Krasnaya Solnitsa" (the Red Sun). Today, with another priest at the church, cooperation has ceased.

One member of the FRC observed: "The priest attended many of our activities and thereby attempted to convert our members. But nothing came of it."

cargo directors and other employees during the years when many Russian freighters came in and out of the Vancouver harbour [Soviet Headquarters in Shaughnessy Sold", Daily Province, May 28, 1947].

Apart from that temporary cooperation, it appears that the FRC's relations with the Orthodox groups have been one-sided. The FRC notifies them of its major activities (as it does many of the Doukhobors) and invites them to attend. But there seems to be little return for their effort. As one Russian Orthodox official stated: "We have politely put it to them not to send us any of their notices as we are too busy with our own doings, but they continue to do so." Apart from the Holy Trinity Church incident, very few "White Russians" (symbolic for anti-Communist) Orthodox people go to the FRC activities because of their strong disapproval of what they consider is a "leftist" group, and because of pressure from their organizations. Moreover, one elder told me that he was not made to feel at home when he attended one of the functions at the People's Home: "They all seemed to be too cold to me, especially when they learned that I was a "White Russian". He had no desire to return under such circumstances.

At dances and concerts in the Home, I have noticed a number of Italians attending. Perhaps this is due to the proximity of the Italian ethnic community in the district, and a new large Italian Catholic church across the street (which has no hall of its own). An official reported that Italians are regular customers for banquets, weddings, and special events. The Home is also rented out during the Dominion and Provincial elections, as a polling station. Recently the

Communist Party rented the Home for an Election rally dance, while the Polish people for a private party. The local branch of the FRC cooperates closely with other "Progressive" groups in commemorating the "month of peace", a project initiated and promoted by the Canadian Slavic Committee. This Committee was formed in 1942 in response "to the terror of Fascism which counts the Slavs 'as the lower race'" [View by Okulevich. Field Notes, January 19, 1963]. Its membership is open to all people of Slavic origin, "on an absolute equal basis". At one time there were 25 Slavic representatives on the National Executive, but today the total is 15, with representatives from Polish, Bulgarian, Yugoslav, Russian and Ukrainian groups; the local FRC and the local Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC, for short) have representatives on this Executive.

The "month of peace" is commemorated across Canada each January through the medium of banquets, concerts, meetings, and the sending of informal greetings to the USSR Slavic Committee.* The last annual Slav Concert in Vancouver was held at the "plush" Queen Elizabeth Theatre, with the FRC and the

* I have been told that there are no formal ties at the present time between the Canadian and the Soviet Committee. However, in December 1946 twelve Canadian and fifteen American delegates were invited to the USSR, while in 1959, Yasnoy, the editor of Vestnik (the FRC organ) was invited by the USSR Committee to visit that country. The USSR Committee at one time published a monthly paper called Slavanve, but it ceased in 1959 after several years of publication.

Association of United Ukrainians participating, plus a contribution from a Polish family. Besides the variety concert of song and dance (Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian), a guest speaker was flown in from Toronto to address the audience. He was George Okulevich, National Treasurer of the Canadian Slav Committee as well as National Secretary of the Federation of Russian Canadians. Okulevich denounced Canada's foreign policy in seeking to acquire nuclear armaments, he spoke out against discrimination of Slavic and other minority peoples, and he reiterated the dedication of the Slav Committee "to work for peace and friendship with every other national group" in the cause of "peace and friendship of all peoples" [Field Notes, January 20, 1963. See Appendix "D" for copy of these notes.]

The "Progressive" Russian and Ukrainian groups cooperate frequently on other occasions. Besides sending each other notices of forthcoming events, they occasionally make announcements of major programs of interest for both. Their halls are located several blocks from each other. At the annual three-day bazaar held at the Russian People's Home, the "Ukrainskaya Knyha" (which operates a Global Imports store at 2643 East Hastings Street, Vancouver, B. C.) had a display and sales booth of imported goods from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, China and Poland. Many of the prizes were purchased from that store as well. The Ukrainskaya Knyha* is a large

*Its advertisements appear in Vestnik (Toronto), and in the Pacific Tribune (Vancouver, organ of the Communist Party).

foreign import company with headquarters in Toronto, catering mainly to the Ukrainian people, but as well to other Slavs. The Troika* Company, another import firm in Toronto, also caters to the Slavs as well as to other people. Besides foreign imports (Soviet wrist watches, records, perfumes, chinaware, linens, embroidered goods, glassware, textiles, books, tea and confectionary) both firms arrange tourist visits to the Soviet Union. A local branch of the Troika Bookstore was promoted by the FRC for a short time, but it folded up after several months in operation, following lack of support [see below].

Doukhobors frequently attend the activities of the FRC, and on several occasions have rented the Russian Home for their own special meetings.

In discussing their early years in Canada with members of the Federation, the outstanding feature mentioned was the lack of work during the depression years. Even at present, some of these people are reported to be unemployed. The outstanding feature since 1940 is the "cold war between the East and the West". There is a feeling that Slavic peoples in general are being discriminated against today. We may illustrate

* While Troika is not part of the Federation of Russian Canadians the FRC paper Vestnik frequently publishes several pages of advertisements for the Company. Although now self-reliant, the FRC lent money for Troika when it was first established in Canada in January 1957.

with the following examples (the illustrations are valuable in showing how the accumulation of felt grievances leads to cooperation between several ethnic groups):

1. The Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (with whom many FRC members make exchange visits at the Ukrainian centre located only several blocks away) have reported that they have been refused paid publicity by the Vancouver Sun in advertising their large Centennial Festival in 1958. Likewise a similar type of "discrimination" is reported to have resulted with the 1961 Taras Shevchanko celebrations. [Compare this, they say, to the "pro-nationalist group" of Ukrainians* which "has received much publicity, with the help of Dr. W. G. Black (citizenship officer) and others".]

2. When Ellen Fairclough, then Minister of Citizenship, visited Vancouver in the spring of 1961, she met with a number of representatives of ethnic groups. But the local FRC had apparently not been invited. [Interview with a member of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and the FRC.]

3. Radio Station CKLG, North Vancouver, has refused to publicize the Troika Bookstore which opened in the fall of

*Reference is here made to the Ukrainian National Federation which has previously been described as an organization glorifying the "Nazi regime" [p. 26] and "working for the establishment of a 'sovereign' Ukrainian state" [p. 19], in contrast to other "Ukrainian progressive masses in Canada", struggling "for peace, against war and fascism, [and] for the protection and extension of democracy" [Davies, 1943:28].

1961 but closed five months later. On the scheduled time for the proposed announcement and accompanying program (which was to include Soviet records), the announcer stated over the air: "The program scheduled for tonight will not be heard." [Interview with Troika salesman.] The only publicity that could be obtained was over Channel 8 television.

4. Without doubt, the biggest case for discrimination, according to the local FRC officials, is that concerning the acquiring of citizenship status. From the proclamation of the Canadian Citizenship Act on January 1, 1947, to December 3, 1961, it is reported that 582,299 applications for citizenship were granted. During this period, on the basis of information that has been filed, 3,317 applications were refused. This figure includes some applications which have been refused on more than one occasion. Many of these applications had involved Slavic peoples. [Question: Is all this directed against Slavs or against "Progressives"? It would appear to be a matter of degree.]

A campaign was launched early in 1962, which resulted in the formation of two new national organizations "for democratic action" on such major issues as peace and human rights. The founding convention was in Toronto on March 9. National committee members from ten cultural, educational and fraternal societies, and editors from eight national language newspapers, attended the meeting that launched the Canadian Council of

National Groups and the Canadian Language Press Club [The Ukrainian Canadian, April 1, 1962, p. 1].

The conference, which was convened by the Canadian Slav Committee, had representatives from "progressive organizations" in the Finnish, Ukrainian, Russian, Hungarian, Carpatho-Russian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Jewish, Italian, and "other national group communities". [See Appendix "A" for Statement of Purpose of the CCNG.] Initially, the Vancouver local was represented by Walter Esakin of the FRC, as chairman, and Hannah Polowy of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians as secretary.

In October (1962), 150 delegates converged on Ottawa in a conference on citizenship rights. Its findings were presented to Minister Richard Bell. It requested:

Removal of citizenship-application processing from the RCMP; immediate review of rejected applications, with written reasons for refusal of citizenship; incorporation of the right to citizenship in the Bill of Rights; and it stated that the revision of the Citizenship Act is long overdue. The meeting was told that some immigrants applying for citizenship are discriminated against for belonging to certain organizations or subscribing to certain newspapers [Vancouver Sun, October 29, 1962, p. 2].

The Russian People's Home was the site of a fund-raising banquet and inter-ethnic program (October 21), just

prior to the Convention in Ottawa. Over \$300 was realized. It was pointed out at the meeting that the Slav groups were instrumental in beginning the campaign for citizenship rights, but soon to be joined by other ethnic groups. "In unity there is strength," they said.

Participation in the annual Vancouver Folk Festivals* is another area where cooperation is possible among a whole spectrum of ethnic peoples. As long as politics and religion are not forced upon the group, the Vancouver Folk Festivals manage to get wide participation from the numerous ethnic groups in the City.

Conflict with Other Groups

Briefly we might include two types of clashes between the FRC and the three Russian Orthodox Churches along with the Russian Centre of B. C. [see below]:

1. Ideological conflict. This includes differences in religious and political orientation. The FRC tends to be pro-Soviet; the other two "anti-Soviet".
2. Social class conflict. It has been observed by a number of officials themselves that the Russian Centre is full of "upper class" people--the White Russian "intelligentsia". This is derived from the fact that

*The first Vancouver Folk Festival was held in 1932. The FRC participated since 1942 when they became constituted as an organization.

the Centre has an overproportion of highly educated people, holding high income jobs. The Federation of Russian Canadians in Vancouver consider themselves as the "working class" and not "parasites" as one of the FRC Executive members called the people at the Centre. The Holy Resurrection Russian Orthodox Church membership probably holds an intermediate position in the status of middle class.

As with the Soviet fear of the rise of the German Reich, so too with the Federation of Russian Canadians' fear of any "Fascist-Nazi type movements" (for example, the John Birchers and the old MacCarthyism of the USA). The "Nationalist" Ukrainians (in contrast to the "Progressive" Association of the United Ukrainian Canadians) are generally considered, according to FRC members, as having these Fascistic tendencies; hence, there is no apparent cooperation between these two groups, but rather an underlying strain of animosity.

Internal Strains

The generational difference is one obvious internal strain amongst the Federation of Russian Canadians in Vancouver. So much so that the young people have, in 1958, formed an English-speaking Branch of the FRC [see below]. While the older people (for the most part) know a limited amount of English, the younger generation had generally not been able to gain a good command of the Russian language. Hence, there arises a gap in communication, not to mention the differences in experiences between these two groups.

The fact that I had difficulties at first in getting into their business meetings suggests another internal strain amongst the membership. One is struck by the fact that there is latent suspicion about any stranger within their midst. The secretary of the National Executive of the FRC claims that "it is definitely known that the FRC members in the past have been investigated by the RCMP" [Field Notes, January 19, 1963]. One young, but active member, points out that this attitude is due to the "cold war" atmosphere. She explains further:

As a result of the last war, thousands of dollars worth of books in our libraries were taken away and homes--organizational centres--were closed down. All this was a great loss. The result is that fear has been carried over into the current generation. People, for example, feared a loss of their jobs if they continued to belong to a formerly "banned" organization or even to attend any of their functions. The result is that the membership and attendance at our functions has declined significantly with the deterioration in the "Cold War" [Field Notes, November 5, 1962].

Besides a loss of membership, there are other far-reaching consequences, especially in regards to prospective members. Displaced persons (or "D.P.'s") from the last war are especially suspect as potential "provocateurs" or perhaps even "spies" or "informers". A member of the National Executive believes that there is some basis to this because "the Government of Canada has encouraged those D.P.'s who appeared to be strongly anti-Soviet. In fact even those who were involved in Gestapo work

and the gas chamber were more welcome as long as they were against the Soviet Union" [Field Notes, January 19, 1963].

Whether this is the government policy or not, the important thing is that it is a common belief amongst the FRC.

A new member and a recent "D.P." at the Vancouver local tells of his experiences with the Federation of Russian Canadians in this City. My field notes state:

Last December 17, 1962 he became a member of the local branch of the FRC, at which time he presented a two-page list of suggestions to the organization. "My general theme," he said, "was to widen the scope of local activities by getting into contact with other groups--for example, church groups, Jews, Doukhobors and so forth--concerning our mutual interests. Peace, for example"

Mr. M. then complained how he had been misunderstood by his own fellow members. Since coming to Canada in 1947, he had been charged with being a "Nazi, a killer", and similar allegations. [Mr. M. claims that he had been an executive member of the Pioneer and Komsomol organizations in the Soviet Union, and subsequently served a lengthy military career, only to be wounded and captured in Finland by Hitler's forces when he was commanding one of the Soviet Units. In 1947 he was released and had an opportunity of going to Canada as a "D.P." Last fall, in Vancouver, when the Russian scientific ship "Zarya" was in port, Mr. M. met one of the sailors whom he had known in Finland and they began to reminisce about the past. Suddenly, almost out of nowhere "rumors began to fly", charging Mr. M. with being a "killer". The captain of the ship consequently barred this friend and five other sailors from going home for an evening of conversation. Mr. M. was disgusted by such an attitude of the local people towards him, a fellow Russian [Field Notes, January 23, 1963].

Actual Splits

The loss of participation by some Russian Orthodox people following the death of one Rev. Kiziun has already been mentioned. This was not all. There were subsequent splits which gradually diminished the membership (despite the "natural" increase of new members).

The first notable split is that which caused the loss of Doukhobor members on at least two occasions. In the first place, a group of Doukhobors formed the Society of New Westminster around 1948 [see below]. They apparently reacted to the Russian People's Home as the "Communist Hall" and its members as "the drinking group". This loss of membership, however, did not involve more than a dozen or so.

The second split was considerable and alienated many Doukhobors from the Federation and its activities--even to this day. As one of the FRC members described it:

Around 1957, an unfortunate incident resulted in the virtual boycott by the Doukhobors of the Russian People's Home. Apparently Mr. Bazihin (now living in Russia with his family) was instrumental in offending the Doukhobors. This happened at the time when a Russian ship was in port. The Doukhobors had invited the Russian sailors to a banquet. When asked by the sailors who these Doukhobors were, Bazihin volunteered, stating: "They are just a religious group and they have nothing to show you." Soon after the captain is reported to have turned down the Doukhobor invitation, with the excuse that they were busy on that particular day with some loading operations. The

Doukhobors heard about this and interpreted it as an FRC insult to all Doukhobors [Field Notes, November 5, 1962].

My informant told me that the local organization held their own "Court" session in which they discussed this incident. When all was over, many Doukhobors were alienated from the FRC.

The third instance of a split involved the loss of the talented Nekrassoff family (man, wife, and daughter). The Nekrassoffs (of Russian Orthodox and Molokan* background) had been active participants (not official members) of the Federation for some years, both in the capacity of teachers of Russian language, singing and dancing, and as fine singers in the senior choir. Several versions are offered as to the actual cause of the split.

(1) According to one FRC informant [Field Notes, November 5, 1962], the Nekrassoffs acted as if they were of some "upper class"--but this air of "haughtiness" was resented by the rank and file members of the FRC. As a result, continued my informant, none of the Nekrassoffs was chosen to the Executive, a position and honor which they felt they deserved. Consequently they pulled out--taking several couples (two of whom were Doukhobors and former singers with the FRC choir) with them.

*The Molokans are a Russian sect somewhat similar to the Doukhobors.

(2) Another explanation concerns marital difficulties. Margaritta, the daughter, had been married to a Mr. R., a carpenter by trade, while she had the "respectable" job of lab technician. They "broke up" after eleven years of childless marriage; Mr. R. stayed with the FRC, Margaritta and her parents left. [My informant suggests that Margaritta felt that "she was too good for her husband"; he was a carpenter, "of the working class"; he had few skills for leadership; while she, Margaritta, was a talented singer, had a "high class" job and felt herself above "a mere working class level".] Moreover, there was also the strain of the two families coming together-- by breaking away from the scene, this was in effect a structural device for lessening the chances of conflict between the two factions and avoiding the discomfort of facing unpleasant rumors concerning their marital problems.

(3) The third reason offered for a split concerns a "personality clash". One informant suggests that the Nekrassoffs could not get along with the FRC Executive in regard to methodology concerning the teaching of Russian to the children. The result was a clash in techniques. Nekrassoffs would have it no other way. They left.

(4) The fourth possibility has some merit too. A popular choir instructor, Vallie, was accused by one of the older members of leading herself in a "disrespectful manner" when she took her training at the Byelorussian school in Minsk,

USSR. Vallie denied this, and being "overworked", she found it desirable to quit following the 1960-61 season. Once Vallie left, Nekrassoffs and others pulled out.

(5) Perhaps a combination of these factors were at work, culminating in an unbearable set of grievances.

This particular split resulted in the formation of the Volga Ensemble [see below], and the loss of talented singers and a music teacher by the FRC organization.

6. English-Speaking Branch of the FRC

Origin

The local English-Speaking Branch of the Federation of Russian Canadians was organized in 1958 by a group of young adults (some married) in the FRC organization who did not know the Russian language too well, yet felt that they would like to continue to preserve the Russian culture. They were especially concerned about young people who married and then left the organization for one reason or another, among which was the lack of fluent Russian. This handicap, it was felt, hindered them from complete acceptance in the senior organization. They saw no future for themselves, and therefore left.*

* Actually, this is not the first time that a youth club has been initiated amongst the Federation of Russian Canadians. In 1955 there was in existence across Canada a national "Russian Canadian Youth Organization" (RCYO for short), with its

To counteract this loss of membership in the English-Speaking Branch (ESB, for short) of the FRC was created to fill the gap between the younger people and the older group--a kind of "transition period", as one of the members put it.

executive publishing an English-language mimeographed monthly booklet. Its National Secretary, Stan Linkovich, wrote this about their organization:

The Russian Canadian Youth Organization believes that each of the peoples who make up Canada has something fine and unique to offer the Canadian nation. We strive to maintain in Canada the finest traditions of the Russian people. We do not believe that Canada is, or should be, a melting pot--that all the peoples who make up this land should be stirred into one brew until their own characteristics are boiled out. The heritage of the whole Canadian people is revealed in song, music, dance, literature, art and so on. It speaks of the joy human beings find in life, of the dignity of man, of friendship among all peoples and peace in the world.

The RCYO functions independently under the leadership of the Federation of Russian Canadians. We are free to make our own decisions on the policies and activities of our Organization. The RCYO maintains a full-time National Secretary and publishes a monthly (more or less) magazine called "Club Life". There are Russian Canadian Youth Clubs in Eastern and Western Canada, in cities such as Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver, Windsor and others.

The RCYO carried on a rich program of activity for its membership. For almost four years, there has existed in Toronto the Russian Canadian Youth Choir, directed by Alex Ticknovich. From a membership of 18, this choir has grown to a membership of more than 30 young people and has gained in quality

Formal Structure and Membership

Today, in Canada, there are three "English-Speaking Branches" of the Federation of Russian Canadians--one each in Vancouver, Winnipeg, and Toronto. The one in Vancouver was the first to be organized. Each of these branches, according to its first National Executive Newsletter, "has between 12 and 20 active members". There is also a lot of people who are not active branch members, but who participate in most of the activities.

as well as members. Each Club also maintains a dance group which studies and develops volleyball, baseball, basketball and other team sports. We show films, sponsor debates discussions and various social activities such as outings, dances, parties and others.

If you believe in the dignity of man, in the ever-present desire of man to live a happier and richer life, then you must oppose that which stands in the path of achieving these goals. For that reason, our organization discusses and takes action on issues of local, national and international importance. We support the peoples' struggles for peace and members of the RCYO are gathering signatures on the world-wide appeal against atomic war. As a contribution to understanding among peoples, we sent four young people for a four-week visit to the Soviet Union in 1954. We support the struggles of Canadian youth for jobs, education, recreational facilities, against militarism and conscription, against racial discrimination and so on. We have a deep confidence in the Canadian people and we share their desire for a rich and bountiful future for our country [The Inquirer, vol. 2, no. 6, July 1955, pp. 31-32].

Structurally, the local ESB gained full autonomy with reference to that of the senior organization. To illustrate this, the local English-Speaking Branch of the FRC sent its own delegates to the 10th Annual National Convention of the FRC in Toronto, September 13, 1962. Structurally, too, the ESB has a National Executive, in this case, a sub-committee of the senior organization itself. The sub-committee does not make decisions itself, but makes suggestions and recommendations to the National Executive. The fact is that the senior organization has the funds, the people, the equipment, the experience and the halls--hence the over-riding decision-making body.

Theoretically, anyone can join the Club, but in reality only those people have so far joined who share similar ethnic characteristics.

Internal Differentiation

A decision to publish a Newsletter was one of the first results of the meetings of the founding sub-committee. This idea has been superseded with the first publication of a new Club Life (October 1962). Publication of this mimeographed paper is now being done on a rotation basis: the first issue was published by the Toronto club, the second by Winnipeg and the third by Vancouver. According to the editorial of the first issue:

"Club Life" will continue to be issued in this way up until the time when we will have a national organizer and are able to issue an English page in the Vestnik.

The publication of this paper is in the English language, as are the ESB meetings themselves (in contrast to the FRC meetings which are held in Russian).

Since first being organized, the local ESB has worked and raised money (in cooperation with the senior Branch) to give a new orange-beige paint job to the Russian People's Home. They have also purchased a new film projector. The candidate for the Zvezda (Star) at the annual summer Regional picnic in Vancouver was Helen Esakin of the ESB. On June 23, 1962, they held a grand chicken barbecue. Its members have also participated in carrying through the FRC annual Vestnik press campaigns, and in fund-raising drives for the FRC itself. The last New Year's Eve supper party and dance--which was co-sponsored by the English-speaking and Russian branches--attracted some 500 people and was reported to have been "one of the best in the history of the Vancouver FRC branches" [Club Life, vol. 1, no. 4, 1963].

Cooperation with Other Groups

As much as possible, the young adults work with the older FRC branch--in fund-raising, program planning, helping in the kitchen, selling tickets at the door, running the movie projector on Sunday night, and other activities. They also

send their representatives to the annual Convention in Toronto. Moreover, they generally participate in one way or another in the activities of the senior organization. Two of its members, for example, form the nucleus of an orchestra at FRC functions.

Conflict with Other Groups

Generally similar conflicts occur as with the Russian-speaking branch of the Federation of Russian Canadians [see above].

Internal Strains

The creation of an autonomous branch can be looked upon as a strain within the Vancouver FRC Branch. At least some of the older members of the FRC are opposed to this sort of development, claiming that the preservation of the "mother" tongue is a medium for cultural values. According to this logic, a change from the use of Russian to the English language would mean a drastic change in the value system of the members themselves. Whether this proves to be so remains to be seen.

Older folks who have a poor knowledge of the English language appear to resent the fact that their young people are not able to express themselves in the Russian language. When the two ESB delegates returned from the National Convention in Toronto, they presented their reports in the English language, with only a passing introduction in Russian; the same had been the practice at the National Convention by the Vancouver ESB delegates. In the first instance, one of the elders openly

reprimanded the young adults for not speaking in Russian; one or two even walked out.

On the other hand, the National Secretary of the FRC looks on this development with favor:

I believe that the future of the Federation of Russian Canadians will consist of Canadian-born peoples. And it is our hope that they will in the future have a warm feeling for their Russian--its language and culture and all that is good in the background. The Ukrainians have an Anglo-Ukrainian youth group composed of third and fourth generation Canadians. Some of them do not even know Ukrainian, yet they are interested in their ancestry, in Ukraine; they read Ukrainian books in English. The same thing may be said about the English-speaking Branch of the FRC. The FRC wishes to give such possibilities to its youth. We don't believe in the perpetuation of nationalism in Canada. Rather we believe that groups will eventually dissolve into the Canadian peoples. Yet the opportunity to exist as a distinct group should be present. One can't use force to get people to learn the Russian language, or to separate the peoples from other Canadians [View by Okulevich. Field Notes, January 19, 1963: 4].

Actual Splits

None, as far as I know.

7. Federation of Russian Canadians--Branches at Richmond, New Westminster, Victoria, British Columbia

Only a limited amount of knowledge is available for these branches. Peter Halishoff, Executive member of the New

Westminster Branch (and a former Executive member of the now defunct Maxim Gorky Russian Workers' Club and the Progressive Doukhobor Society--see above) claims that all the above-mentioned branches began at about the same time as the Vancouver local; namely, around 1942. The memberships are decidedly smaller (New Westminster: 12; Richmond: around 25; Victoria: around 30).

The composition of the New Westminster branch is interesting: 11 members are of Byelorussian background, while one (the president) is of Doukhobor background. The Executive meets once a month in a private home.

A British Columbia regional picnic is held every summer, at which time all the B. C. branches, including the English-speaking Branch, participate. The first regional picnic was held 10 years ago. At the most recent Annual Regional Picnic (July 22, 1962) held at Central Park in Burnaby, activities during the day-long affair included: speeches (by a man who recently visited the Soviet Union, and other FRC members); fund-raising projects: tickets for raffle, silver collection and tags placed on lapels to designate those who had contributed, food sale (Russian dinner; ice-cream, chips, soft drinks), estimate the length of a pole for 10¢, sale of Russian books, and donation to the Zvezdas (Stars) of the various branches who competed against one another for the highest number of "votes" derived by the amount of money raised over a specified period of weeks. The highlight of the day is

tallying of the totals gathered by each candidate, with the Zvezda (Star--comparable to a "Queen" in the English tradition--being chosen from the highest total, on a proportionate basis. Children's and adult races are held in the latter part of the afternoon.

Besides the regional picnic, there are a few other occasions in which members of the various branches may get together--certain dinners, picnics, concerts and the National Convention in Toronto. Internal strains and conflict with other groups apply generally as with the Vancouver Branch [see above].

8. Workers' Benevolent Association of Canada (Russian Branch in Vancouver)

Origin

The Russian Branch of the Workers' Benevolent Association (WBA, for short) is part of a larger organization with its head office in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The organization was first formed by Ukrainians in 1922 (and today 85 per cent of the members are Ukrainian), with the Russians being admitted in the late 1940's. The demand for such an organization arose largely as a result of the insecure position of the working man, and the desire to have some sort of protection or insurance in times of life's crises. It is not unlike the motives of

many other ethnic mutual benefit societies.*

Formal Structure and Membership

The Vancouver Branch has some 100 members today, according to its Secretary, George Legebokoff, who is also an Executive member of the Federation of Russian Canadians in this City. This compares to 15,000 members on the national scene (1,500 in the Russian section) with \$8 million worth of insurance and \$3 million already paid out in benefits [Pamphlet published by the National Office, 1962].

Other Russian branches in British Columbia are at New Westminster, Victoria, Port Alberni and Nelson (where the membership is primarily made up of Doukhobors, with its branch said to be "one of the strongest in B. C." [Legebokoff. Field Notes, February 21, 1963]). There are several Ukrainian WBA branches in this province, as well as a Polish Branch in Vancouver; in some other provinces there are, in addition, Byelorussian and Slavic-Hungarian sections. Some English people and several French are members, but they send their monthly dues directly to the Central office. Each of the branches conducts its business according to the official rules of the "Constitution and By-Laws" of the WBA, adopted by the Convention in

*This is comparable to the mutual aid societies discussed by Thomas and Znaniecki in their study of the Polish-American community [Thomas and Znaniecki, 1958: 1590]. "Security" is said to be one of the basic motives for the rise of this type of organization.

December 1944 (when the organization was incorporated by a special Act of Parliament), and supplemented and amended by the Conventions in 1946, 1949, 1952, 1954 and 1957. Its "Aims and Objects" are specifically stated:

4. (1) The Association shall be a fraternal benefit society and shall possess, sustain and avail itself of all rights and privileges which by law pertain to fraternal benefit societies in Canada. It is organized solely for the purpose of rendering assistance to its members, their beneficiaries and their families and not for profit. It shall conduct its activities and operate through a system of branches and shall have a representative form of government. It shall provide life insurance, endowment insurance, personal accident and sickness insurance and other benefits in accordance with the provisions of its Constitution and By-Laws.

(2) The Association may establish and maintain homes for the aged, poor and infirm, and orphanages for the orphans of deceased members. It shall provide other benefits for its members and their families, establish and administer such funds as may be necessary for the attainment of its aims of fraternal and mutual assistance and charity.

(3) The Association shall foster and develop among its members a spirit of mutual co-operation, assistance, friendship and solidarity. It shall promote instruction and education among the members of the Association on the history, constitution and government of Canada. It shall promote and cultivate among its members and their families sports, hygienic, cultural and dramatic activities, as a means of better understanding and relationship among the members and the Canadian people generally [From the "Constitution and By-Laws", pp. 8-9].

Membership is open to all between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five with the exception of the following persons; "(a) habitual drunkards or persons addicted to narcotics; (b) females when pregnant; (c) any applicant unable to submit a satisfactory medical certificate of his health; and (d) any applicant whose eligibility as member is opposed by a majority of members of the branch of the Association which he desires to join" [Ibid., p. 10]. National conventions are held every two years in Winnipeg and it is there that the officers are chosen from amongst the members.

It is estimated that "50 per cent or more" of the Federation of Russian Canadians are members of the WBA [View by Okulevich. Field Notes, January 19, 1963].

George Legebokoff who plans to go to the next convention in Winnipeg, March 1963, expects that the following Slavic languages will be spoken by the members: Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, and Carpato-Russian, while the younger members will likely use English. There are no church groups or church members in the local Russian Branch. George claims that those people who are members are expected to act as salesmen for the organization.

Internal Differentiation

The Vancouver Branch of the WBA, Russian section, is primarily concerned with insurance benefits. For the most part it does not go into other cultural and educational projects

as do some other branches. The local Federation of Russian Canadians serves many of these latter functions, and many of its members belong to the WBA.

Cooperation with Other Groups

Many of its members belong to the FRC and therefore cooperate on a friendly basis with that organization. There is said to be no competition with other ethnic WBA branches. For example, one member sends his children for dancing lessons to the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians Hall, but is himself a member of the Russian WBA.

No data for conflict with other groups, internal strains and actual splits.

9. The Russian Orthodox Society

Origin

The organization of the Russian Orthodox people in Vancouver began soon after there was an influx of Russian immigrants from the Far East (mainly from the settlement of Harbin, China). On September 14, 1924* Archimandrite Antonin Prokovsky arrived in this City with the intention of

* Much of the information for this "Origin" is taken from an official document (which is found in a glass frame at the Holy Resurrection Church, 75 East 43rd Ave., Vancouver, B. C.) called Istoriya (History) of the "First Russian Orthodox Church in Vancouver."

establishing a Russian church here. There had been no Russian church in British Columbia up to that time.

Following the first religious service held at the YMCA, the congregation held a business meeting at which time they decided to form a Russian Orthodox parish in Vancouver. For this purpose they chose a five-man committee to administer the plan. After several days the Archimandrite met M. S. Aivazoff, a rich Armenian immigrant from Transcaucasia, USSR, who was also an Orthodox person by religious conviction. Aivazoff agreed to help and subsequently donated some choice property at 1570 West 7th Avenue. As a temporary measure a large "bunk house" was purchased and the site was named the "Holy Resurrection Church". Its jurisdictional or ecclesiastical allegiance was to the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America (Metropolity), with Metropolitan Platon coming from New York to officially bless the site. With the arrival of Russian immigrants from the Far East the congregation grew so that funds were sufficiently subscribed to begin construction of the first Russian Orthodox Church in Vancouver. The corner stone was laid in November 1928 [Vancouver Sun, November 24, 1928, p. 10], with the Hon. S. F. Tolmie, Premier of the province, doing the honors. The 40 by 50 foot frame and stucco \$24,000 structure was completed some months later. It was said to be the "first church of strictly Russian design and architecture to be built in Canada" [Ibid.].

During the beginning of the depression in 1930 the Church got into debt, and as a result mortgage companies "froze" the assets and locked up the building. This was a time when work was scarce, wages were low, so that the task of making a living was a paramount one.

To meet this crisis a small committee of Orthodox members decided to form an independent organization which would raise funds and negotiate with the finance company concerning the possibility of reopening the church. This was done. Thus, in 1935, the "Russian Orthodox Society" was formed as the sole trustees of the church and all activities that the organization might from time to time decide. The organization retained emotional ties with the same episcopal jurisdiction (the Metropolis), but departed from the Russian Orthodox tradition in that the "Society" became the chief legislative and administrative body. (The usual form was for the Metropolis and priest to act as owners and controllers of the church). The Holy Resurrection Church was rented from the finance companies for some \$35 a month, and by 1938 enough money had been raised to pay the outstanding debt and thus the Society became the sole owner of the church.

Services (with cultural activities held in the basement) were held in the church at the corner of 7th Avenue and Fir Street until 1954 when a new church building was necessitated in order to make room for the construction of the

new Granville Street Bridge. As compensation, the City of Vancouver presented the Society some \$55,000 plus free property at 75 East 43rd Avenue. Here the new church with an attached hall (and a separate manse) was built. Two years later, in 1956, the "Constitution and By-laws" of the organization was formally filed and registered in Victoria, under the "Societies Act" of the Province.

Formal Structure and Membership

When the church was first initiated at the old site, there were an estimated 20 families as members. With the movement to the new site, however, the congregation increased to 80 families (or 200 "paid-up" members--i.e., members in good standing), with perhaps another 200 nominal members who attended the Easter service (the biggest event in the Orthodox year). The present membership, according to the annual meeting, February 17, 1963, was 107 bona fide members [Field Notes, February 17, 1963].

The current President of the Society describes the occupational composition of the members as being "mostly all workers" [Field Notes, February 20, 1963], while another Executive member says: "There are more professionals than laborers" [Vishniakoff. Field Notes, February 18, 1963]. No University of British Columbia professors are included in the membership. The eleven officers (all men) of the Executive Council hold a variety of positions: upholsterer, bookkeeper,

plumbing and heating contractor, an owner of a cabinet-making firm, a worker in a nursery, a gas fitter and a worker at a sawmill plant. One of the men is described as a "millionaire"-- he owns several apartment blocks and a hotel. Another man lives off the revenue of the land which he purchased "cheaply in Surrey" when he first came to Vancouver in the 1920's. Two of the men are retired (one of whom was a former Russian professor in Vancouver, and prior to that was a director of a large factory in the Urals, USSR; the other is a former officer of the "White" army). All are middle-aged and older. All eleven are Russian born, although they are reported to have acquired their Canadian citizenship papers.

Eligibility for membership, according to the By-laws, is open to:

1. Any person who recognizes unreservedly and unconditionally the principles of Orthodox faith and Church and owes allegiance to the North American Metropolis, of eighteen years of age and over, regardless of sex or nationality, may become a member of the Society.

2. Persons desiring to become members of the Society shall make their application on special application forms of the Society, which application shall be endorsed by three active members of the Society and submitted to the Executive officers [which number twelve with the priest and the starista (church warden)]. These applications shall then be examined by the Executive Officers and submitted to the membership of the Society at the next General Meeting for decision upon the application, with necessary comments and recommendations regarding the applicant.

The section dealing with membership has an expulsion clause for those who fail to pay the membership dues, who fail to promote "the objects of the Society" or who morally and materially fail to upkeep the Church and other property belonging to the Society. As for privileges, each member of the Society "may participate at the General Meetings of the Society with the right of consulting or deciding vote, and may be elected to the Executive Council or other responsible posts upon attaining the age of twenty-one years. New members accepted by the General Meeting receive a right of consulting vote for a period of six months from the date of application form; and after six months' membership in good standing, the member may have a deciding vote. I have been told that members with "leftist" (i.e., Communist) leanings would have little chance of being admitted. Several members have told me that they would join the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate, if there were such a church in Vancouver (this was said to me in a whisper).

The "Objects" of the Russian Orthodox Society are:

- (a). The bringing together of the Russian people of the City of Vancouver and its surrounding areas.
- (b) To serve their spiritual, religious and cultural needs [From the By-laws, p. 3].

The "Powers" of the Society have been spelled out in Article II of the same document, and well illustrate the Society's status as an independent judicial body:

1. The Society is the owner of lands and buildings, church, hall and other buildings and all contents therein. The Society shall have all the rights of a judicial person, enter into contracts, acquire in its name real and personal estate through purchase, gifts and bequests, have full rights of ownership, and expropriate and mortgage same.

Internal Differentiation

For the accomplishment of its objects the Society organizes committees on various types of work (Ladies' Auxiliary, youth, dramatic, musical, Aid to Russian Invalids), a Library (which has been in existence since 1924 and today has some 2,000 Russian books), occasional public addresses and lectures (by the Archbishop of San Francisco, for example, during his visit to this City; and the showing of a private film of the "Russians of Vancouver"), and a Russian School.

Right from the outset a Ladies' Auxiliary was formed, and looked after fund-raising bazaars (which are held once or twice a year), banquets, and general cleaning up of the church (although a part-time janitor has been hired for this purpose). The Auxiliary has its own Executive, holds its own meetings, but turns all monies over to the Society (as required by the By-laws).

In contrast to most of those immigrants who came to this country as peasant farmers before the revolution, many of those who came after were "representatives of the Middle

class called "Russian intelligentsia" [Pashkovsky, 1954]. They naturally brought with them the traditions of Russian art, drama, singing and dancing. As early as 1931 we read in the local paper about the formation of a Drama group.

A Russian dramatic society of twenty members has been formed. Some of these young people have performed on professional stages in Europe during the long trek from Russia. They give their performances in the basement of the Greek Orthodox Church; they make their own costumes, scenery and decorations; they play the works of Anton Chekov and other well-known dramatists, and the proceeds of their labors go to the upkeep of the Russian Orthodox Church and the litany [Dooley, 1931: 3].

A few of the members of the Dramatic Society remain with the Russian Orthodox Society. The remainder, joined with recent immigrants, have split off and formed the Russian Centre of British Columbia [see below].

The same writer describes the talent of Madam E. V. Pashkovsky who came to Canada with her husband (a judge in Russia before the Revolution) and family in 1927.

. . . She trained at the Imperial College of Music at Vladivostok in vocal and instrumental music and she accompanies the Russian Balalaika orchestra over radio CNRV. "You think it is basso Balalaika, because I play staccato; but it is piano. We play from remembrance; but now we will get Russian music from California." Madam Pashkovsky, who has organized many musical events for the Russian colony and sung for the Vancouver clubs, intends to open a studio in town. Meanwhile, she and her husband have been learning English at the night school. She showed me with great glee their joint certificate of proficiency [Ibid.].

The same Madam Pashkovsky has been an active member with the Russian Orthodox Society and the Holy Resurrection Church. Only with the last Convention (February 1963) has she decided to retire from active work because of "doctor's orders". In her own words, Madam Pashkovsky states that she "was Musical Director of most of the musical performances of the Russian Orthodox Society in Vancouver, B. C., and Seattle, Washington and . . . has been leader of the Russian Orthodox Ethnic group in [the annual Vancouver] Folk Festival from its origin in 1932" [Pashkovsky, 1961:5].

In addition to her artistic contributions to the culture of Vancouver, Madam Pashkovsky has headed a small committee within the Society which sent parcels of clothing to the Russian needy in Canada; also they have "adopted" two Russian orphans at an orphanage in France.

"Aid to the Russian Invalids" is another committee which holds annual fund-raising drives. An average of \$400 [Field Notes, February 19, 1963] is sent yearly to some of the 1,200 remaining Russian invalids of the First World War. In conjunction with this fund-raising drive, which is reported to be carried on by many Russian Orthodox Churches in North America and Australia, is the sale of thick Russian calendars (with daily sheets, on which are printed classical Russian poems of Tsarist times, and short stories); these calendars are printed by an Invalid Union Outside of Russia, located in France.

In the mid-1950's a further differentiation took place when the Russian Orthodox Society established a regular Russian school program, with a Parents' Committee providing the administrative body responsible to the Society itself. Here the Russian language (Russian teachers are readily available), history, and "God's" word are taught. About twenty-five children attend today, although more have attended in previous years. Participation is open to Orthodox and non-Orthodox alike (and two non-Orthodox children are included in the current Saturday morning classes).

The most recent example of differentiation is that of the formation of the Canadian Russian Youth Club in May 1962. Previous attempts at organization were said to be "unsuccessful".

The Club arose as a free or voluntary association of older teen-agers and young adults, interested in Russian singing, dances, and social activities. The original group involved 15 members, with a secretary and chairman at the head. In February of 1963 there were still the same number of members (including two "English" boys and one Portuguese). "These three boys are members because of the girls," I was told by one of the members.

Its initiators had just graduated from the Russian School program at the Society's Hall. Their meeting place was this same Hall. While the majority of the members belong to the large Metropoly jurisdiction and sing in the choir of

the Holy Resurrection Church, the dance instructor is not a member of this Church although he occasionally acts as an altar servant on important occasions; his allegiance is to the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia, although his father is an "Executive member of both the Russian Orthodox Society and the Russian Centre of B. C."

Its first activity was a short concert and dance on June 23rd which brought out the regular Russian Orthodox audience. In addition, a number of Greek Orthodox young people were present as well as on later occasions. While the older Russian people enjoy the Russian Minuet, Waltzes, and Fox Trots, the younger ones follow the Western mode with the "Twist" and the "Bunny-hop". In such a mixed group, the young people invariable use the English language as they sit at tables around the perimeter of the dance floor, cabaret style. In their turn, segregated from the youth, are other tables of older people with Russian language predominating. Coffee, pastries, 7-Up (which some people "spike" with the occasional "under-the-table" bottle) are regularly available. The latest in hair styles are noticeable among the young ladies.

The influence of the Church itself reaches beyond Vancouver--into the Fraser Valley, Vancouver Island, and the Interior of the Province. The Holy Resurrection Church is the only church in British Columbia of the Metropolis

jurisdiction, so that the priest is called out occasionally to perform a service for some Orthodox member of that particular allegiance. Early in 1961 the local priest (at that time, Rev. Peter Kursemnek) travelled to Nelson to baptize seven children. Moreover, some three trips a year are made to Abbotsford where the priest performs services for a small congregation at the St. Peter and Paul Church. Performing the "last rite", a wedding ceremony, or a baptism occasionally demands a trip to Victoria. Apart from that, the priest visits the sick in their homes and hospitals.

Cooperation with Other Groups

Choir master A. M. Panovsky ("one of the best in Canada") leads one acappella church choir at the Holy Resurrection Church and another choir at the Russian Centre of B. C. [see below]. His services are paid for by the respective organizations. Church choir practices are held Wednesday evenings at the Hall of the Russian Orthodox Society. Choral members include several singers from the recently formed Volga Ensemble [see below] and the Russian Centre of B. C., with the balance coming from Church members and the Canadian Russian Youth Club.

On the eve of Easter Sunday (when more than 500 people squeeze into the church and outside), the choir expands to its maximum of 40 members.

At least some of the members of the church choir attend the Saturday evening liturgy service because vocal replies in the form of singing, in traditional Church Slavonic text, are required in response to the priest's discourse. For a similar reason, funeral and wedding services require the participation of at least some of the choir members or other singers (members at large).

Informal ties are maintained with two local churches: the Greek Orthodox Church, and one High Anglican Church. In February 1963, several dozen Anglican young adults sat in on a Sunday morning church service at the Holy Resurrection Church--this was said to be the first such visit here by another church group.

The annual Vancouver Folk Festival [see above] has already been mentioned as an instance where church members cooperate with other ethnic groups. Except for the last two seasons, participation in cultural activities has been regular since 1932.

The group joined with the Federation of Russian Canadians on one occasion. That was in 1944 when the first Russian ship came into port since the beginning of World War Two; on that occasion a joint program was held in honor of the Russian sailors [see above].

According to the By-laws of the Russian Orthodox Society, its church has emotional ties to the Metropolitan of

all America and Canada, Archbishop Leonty, "or his lawful successor" [By-laws, p. 11]. Therefore some tribute would be expected. This is not obligatory, although Society members are encouraged to donate a sum of money (usually \$1.00) to the Metropoly for administrative expenses [View by Portnoff. Field Notes, March 24, 1962].

The Society cooperates with the Diocesan Council of the Russian Greek-Orthodox Church in Canada by selling the yearly Canadian Greek-Orthodox Calendar to its members. The 1962 issue, for example, has a full length picture of Queen Elizabeth on page three, followed by another picture of Leonty (Metropolitan for all America and Canada). And besides daily calendar notations (commemorating saints and sufferers for the Orthodox faith), the book includes the names and addresses of priests and their churches for all of Canada, a leading message from the Metropolitan, articles from the Archbishop of San Francisco, a historical note from an Orthodox professor, an article in memorium to one deceased, the life of Catherine the Great, an article on ancient Russia, and other pictures and advertisements. Except for several words, the Calendar is printed in the Russian language.

The Russian language newspaper, Novaya Zarya, published in San Francisco, appears to be widely read by many members of the Russian Orthodox peoples. This paper seems to reflect very conservative attitudes in politics. Eisenhower

and John Foster Dulles received full approval, while Kennedy is accepted with some reservation. The paper reports carefully on any international events involving the USSR, and as might be expected, slants their reports against it. Articles commemorating elements in the old Tsarist regime are frequently mentioned.

One executive member of both the Russian Orthodox Society and the Russian Centre of B. C. subscribes not only to the Novaya Zarya but also to the following papers:

1. Russko-amerikanski pravoslavnyi vvestnik (The Russian American Orthodox Messenger), a monthly magazine published in Stamford, Connecticut;
2. Nashe Obschee Delo, published in Munich, Germany by the "American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism";
3. Soglasie, a monthly Church journal from Los Angeles, California;
4. Russkii invalid, a "military educational and literary journal" published in France;
5. Ruskoe Misli (Russian Thoughts), also published in France;
- and 6. Ruskoe Zhizhn (Russian Life) which comes from San Francisco, California.

Conflict with Other Groups

The Russian Orthodox Society has no official ties with the other two Russian Orthodox churches (both of which belong to a different jurisdiction). I have been told that neither of their priests would be allowed to step inside the Holy Resurrection Church, although individual members may do so.

Conflict with the Moscow jurisdiction occurred in the fall of 1961. At that time an English boy was marrying a Russian Orthodox girl whose allegiance was to the Moscow jurisdiction. The local priest would not accept her. Hence, the marriage took place at the Greek Orthodox Church with the service being conducted in Russian, English and Greek. A priest from Edmonton (of the Moscow jurisdiction) was present to conduct the service with the Greek priest. The Holy Resurrection Church Choir participated.

Quite a number of the members do not attend the various functions at the Russian Centre of B. C. In fact when this latter organization was first formed as a "break-away" group [see below] from the Society, there were hard feelings on both sides, with frequent conflicts in programming being strategically arranged.

Generally there was strong disapproval of its members participating in the "leftist" Gorky Club, and currently in the Federation of Russian Canadians. Indeed such an outing is potentially considered a very suspicious one. "An Orthodox lady member of the Big Church (the Metropoly) is currently the subject of considerable disapproval and gossip as it has been learned that she has attended FRC concerts and has some leftist pamphlets in her home" [Atamenenko, 1961: 14].

The Society does not notify the FRC of their activities, nor does it make any effort to win their interests. It appears that "left" wing individuals would be barred from membership in the Society.

Archbishop John* of San Francisco as well as Rev. Peter Kursemnek (the former priest at the Holy Resurrection Church) both look upon the Doukhobor people (and especially the zealot faction) with pity. "They are lost people," the two Russian Orthodox officials told me, "and should either be spread out and assimilated amongst other peoples or they should acquire themselves a pastor who would lead them along the true path" [Field Notes, June 1, 1962: 6]. The Doukhobor notion of rejecting all priests, the Bible, and baptism of the young was shocking to both men. They asked how young people and students like myself could organize some sort of "religious activity" amongst the Doukhobors, presumably to lead the group away from the "wayward path".

Rev. Kursemnek related an incident which took place in Grand Forks, B. C. (an area where 3,000 Doukhobors live) and which apparently involved the Russian Orthodox Church. The event took place some eight or nine years ago-- around 1956. My Field Notes state:

*Archbishop John is the Diocesan Bishop of "San Francisco and the Western United States" (and because of his proximity, in practice with the Vancouver area as well).

. . . Stephen S. Sorokin [a leader of one zealot Doukhobor faction whom Archbishop John has personally met in Berlin during World War Two, where both of them served in a Russian Orthodox Church] had apparently invited three monks to come to Grand Forks with the apparent purpose of setting up a parish or church there. Two of the monks were United States citizens, the third (a Serb) was a Canadian citizen.

The monks came in but almost overnight they departed or were kicked out. "Why?" asked Rev. Kursemnek. He suggested that this was perhaps due to the advice of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police--namely that they had better get out of the area for fear of their lives. Rev. Kursemnek was shocked to learn that one evening when Sorokin and the three priests were meeting together, four young zealot ladies came in and sat beside the priests--the four young ladies were all nude [nudity in this case was apparently being used as a protest device against the intrusion of the monks]. [I have previously heard from informants in Grand Forks that the monks stayed in the area for two or three months before calling it quits. My informant once speculated in this way: "Were Sorokin, and the monks deliberately sent amongst the Doukhobors by the Russian Orthodox Church? Perhaps this was at the suggestion of some government agency--say the late Colonel Mead, a retired RCMP officer? Since the so-called "Doukhobor problem" could not be solved by other means, a new approach by way of the church might have been attempted."] [Field Notes, June 1, 1962: 7].

During my conversation with the two Russian Orthodox officials, I noticed a definite reaction against the Communists. One of the expressed assumptions was that "Communist or Bolshevik provocateurs were stirring up trouble amongst the Doukhobors". Since Sorokin was said to be "an out-and-out opponent of

Communism", both men favored Sorokin's mission amongst "these misguided people"--the Doukhobers. Sorokin was said to be serving a good purpose "by fighting the menace".

Concerning migration as a "solution" to the zealot troubles, Archbishop John advised against Brazil because "this area was too hot and uninhabitable for the uninitiated", and suggested that a better place would be Australia [where there is a large Russian Orthodox colony]. "Soviet Union," according to Rev. Kursemnek (a Latvian and an outspoken anti-Soviet) "was out of the question, since the 'Reds' would disperse the zealots once they came to that country."

Internal Strains

The generational strain between the young and the old is a real contentious issue at the Holy Resurrection Church as it often is amongst other immigrant non-English-speaking groups.

A major concern is the language question. One of the initiators of the Canadian Russian Youth Club claims that the Russian language is having a difficult time surviving amongst the young people. In the home, with their older parents, they speak Russian, but with the younger second and third generation Canadians the language spoken is usually English. The strain in acquiring a new priest was partly motivated by this particular concern. The retiring priest did not know English fluently (though he took night class) and therefore was not able to attempt any English services.

At a special meeting last fall of the Society, a proposal was brought forth from the young people that some part of the Sunday services should be conducted in English rather than in the traditional Church Slavonic. The proposal was at first rejected. For one thing, the new priest claimed that the choir has to practice the appropriate replies in English (which takes time) and secondly, that the elders are concerned about the principle of introducing English into the service. The elders say: "Once Russian is discarded, what then is left and how is one to call himself by the title, 'a Russian Orthodox member'?" Since then, during the winter months, several Sunday services have been conducted with some parts of it in English; and the recent visit of the High Anglican young people meant that at least something had to be said in English, and this was done. However, one of the Society's officials informed me that "the old ladies don't like it--they can't understand English".

The current priest, the 82-year-old Rev. Prokopie Powers points out that "most of the United States Russian Orthodox churches today have services in both Russian and English", although "very few of the Canadian churches have accepted this practice" [Field Notes, February 20, 1963].

There are probably several thousand* people in

*In the 1961 Census of Canada, Table 46 ("Population by specified religious denominations, for census metropolitan areas and component parts, 1961"), the figure for the "Greek

the Greater Vancouver area who have designated themselves as "Russian Orthodox" during the 1961 Dominion Census, yet only a fraction of these people are members of the Russian Orthodox Society, some are separated amongst the other two Russian Orthodox Churches and the Russian Centre of B. C., while the bulk of these people are "non-joiners". The strain involved here is this: On one hand, the traditional aim of Orthodoxy has been unity, while in reality there has been much segmentation amongst its peoples, particularly amongst the Vancouver population. This is disturbing to many Orthodox people.

Intermarriage with non-Russian and/or non-Orthodox members or members of another jurisdiction is another source of strain. There are cases in which the wife and her husband belong to different jurisdictions with the outcome that each goes to his or her respective church on Sundays. In another case, a Russian Orthodox boy married a non-Orthodox "English" girl--the result is that the couple and their two young children seldom attend any church at all. Furthermore, the husband (who formerly knew the Russian language "fluently") is now gradually losing his command of the language; his wife has not taken any Russian classes, although some effort

Orthodox" is 9,400. Since "Russian Orthodox" was included with the "Greek Orthodox" in the Census coding operation, the figures on the number of Russian Orthodox people in this area has not been determined.

has been taken to teach the children some Russian "in order for them to be able to talk with their Russian grandparents".

Perhaps the major strain amongst the Vancouver Russian Orthodox Society and its church is that concerned with the powers of the Society versus the powers of the priest and the episcopal hierarchy. One could say that the creation of the independent Russian Orthodox Society was in effect a revolt against authority. The current priest and the Secretary claim that the formation of such a Society is unique* in the history of their particular jurisdiction; it departs from the usual pattern whereby the Church controls the material and spiritual needs of its congregation. Some of the old members (particularly the elderly women) who have been brought up believing that the priest and the Church are "supreme", cannot understand certain actions of the local Society. Hence internal strain exists between proponents of the "old" and the advocates of the "new".

We can best illustrate this internal strain by citing a detailed example. The Russian Orthodox Society versus the priest--that is the way we might sum up the basic controversy which ensued at the annual meeting held February 25, 1962, at the hall on 75 East 43rd Avenue. Or, to put it

* One of the elderly officers of the Executive Council claims that the Russian Orthodox Church of the Savior in New York City has a similar arrangement as the Russian Orthodox Society in Vancouver [Field Notes, February 18, 1963]. I have not been able to confirm this.

another way, the Society has openly challenged the authority of the local priest as well as the Metropoly jurisdiction.

As President Anatole E. Portnoff has told me privately:

"The local Society and its church are autonomous. We are the sole owners" [Field Notes. February 25, 1962: p. 7].

Here, in brief, are the details behind the controversy as related to me by the President in a private interview, March 23rd, 1962.

Priest Peter Kursemnek is reported to have personally told the President last June 1961 that he is anxious to retire in March 1962, i.e., when he reaches ten years of service. [It was suggested to me that the priest's motive in retiring was prompted by rumors that the local Russian Orthodox people would like to get a priest who is conversant both in the Russian and English languages.] This intention to retire was brought up at the next monthly meeting. The Executive Council accepted his "resignation", and Mr. Portnoff was asked to write to New York for possible candidates. He wrote, but received no reply. [The letter was sent directly to Metropolitan Leonty in New York, instead of writing to the Diocese of Toronto and Canada, or more closer to home, to the Archbishop in San Francisco (the usual practice under such circumstances).] At the semi-annual meeting of the Society, on August 27, 1961, the priest made no apparent objection to the Council's decision to continue looking for his replacement. The meeting ended and the members dispersed.

Then, as President of the Society, Mr. Portnoff did an extraordinary thing--he advertised for a priest in the Novaya Zarya,* a Russian Daily published in San Francisco, with a world-wide circulation. The advertisement in the October 14, 1961 issue reads as follows:

OPEN ADVERTISEMENT FOR A PRIEST

for the Holy Resurrection Church
in the City of Vancouver,
British Columbia, Canada.

For full details write to:
Mr. A. E. Portnoff, 5391 Knight St.,
Vancouver 15, B. C., Canada.
[Novaya Zarya, October 14, 1961: p. 7]

Mr. Portnoff had contemplated that some priest in another part of the world might see the "Ad" and would then write to him for further details. But no reply came--from either the Metropolitan or anyone else. This did not mean that the "Ad" was left unnoticed. On the contrary, when the Archbishop John of San Francisco read it, he is reported to have said: "What is this? This sort of thing has never before been heard of in church circles." Mr. Portnoff agrees that this was "an extraordinary action"--but then, the Russian Orthodox Society of Vancouver is an independent Society. "After all, we are

*This publication is subscribed to by many members of the Russian Orthodox Church. An elderly member of the Russian Orthodox Society Executive Council is a frequent contributor to its pages.

the owners," remarked Mr. Portnoff.*

Locally the priest was upset when he read the above-mentioned advertisement. "This is no good," he told Mr. Portnoff. Some time passed and the annual convention came up when this issue was again raised and a hot debate erupted. Discussion was eventually called to a halt late in the evening when a quorum was no longer available. The priest had maintained he had withdrawn his former request, but the President denied this.

Further formal action on this touchy question was postponed until several weeks after their large Easter observances. The special meeting was called for May 20th, as formal notices were sent to the members. On this occasion, most of the members were present, thus making a quorum of 100 votes (including proxies) out of a possible total of 110 paid-up members. The secret ballot was used three times, as the decidedly "explosive" atmosphere threatened to split the Society down the middle [See Appendix "B" for transcript of my Field Notes]. The vote was 57 in favor of the priest staying, and 43 against. At one point the emotions were riled up so much between antagonists that for 15 minutes the meeting was in a state of shouting and general uproar as the 11-man Executive Council of the Society all stood up at their head

*According to Article II of the "By-laws", Mr. Portnoff is correct in saying that "we (the Society) are the owners."

table, beseeching the members to bring the meeting to order. Nor was the Sergeant of Arms able to quell the tempers. In fact, except for myself and one or two people, everyone in the Hall was on his feet either shouting at one another or trying to calm down the dissident ones. The disruptive situation was prevented from deteriorating further when a temporary solution was offered. Namely, to shelve the controversial question pending the arrival of the Archbishop from San Francisco. It was left at that.

When Archbishop John arrived in Vancouver in June, several days of services and meetings were held, at which time the Ecclesiastical regional head offered a tentative solution. In his conciliatory way, he called the members to come together on the basis of "common Orthodoxy". On the final day of his visit, June 3rd, 1962, during a pompous service, he took away the "burden" of service from the old priest, and handed it to a priest from Portland, Oregon, to be made effective as of September first. The new priest turned down this offer because at that moment there was no replacement for him with his own congregation in Portland. So that, as a temporary measure, there was sent to Vancouver the Rev. Prokopie Powers, an 82-year-old priest who had been serving various churches in Alaska and the USA for many years and one who has held a few services in the English language. In this way the sharp conflict situation was resolved. The

Portland priest has recently died and Rev. Prokopie continues to stay. A working agreement has apparently been worked out between the Society and the priest: the priest is to look after the "spiritual" matters of the congregation (ritual services), while the Society is to look after "material" and other matters.

One of the officers of the Executive Council described the problem in this way:

When Otetz [Father] Peter came to us in 1952 he was a good priest. Soon after, however, he desired more money for his services. At one time he came to us and said:

"I am not only the head of Church, but I'm also the head of your inner world--your family and your soul."

"No," we pointed out to our priest. "We are the head of the church and have sole control over material matters such as salaries. Your mission, Otetz, is strictly to look after spiritual matters."

As time went on, Otetz Peter became more persistent and agitated for control in personally campaigning by phone for supporters prior to annual meetings when a new slate of officers were to be chosen. He especially took advantage of the older women who have been brought up to obey unquestionably the voice of the priest [Field Notes, February 18, 1963].

Actual Splits

Four actual splits can be discerned in the study of the Russian Orthodox Society and its Holy Resurrection Russian Orthodox Church.

1. The first of these splits occurred during the 1924-29 migration to Vancouver of Russian immigrants from the Far East. Some of these people, due to religious motives, in 1929 decided to form their own church--one that belonged to the jurisdiction calling itself "The Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia" or its earlier name "The Synod of Bishops Outside of Russia". Hence the first St. Nicholas Church [see below] was founded several blocks from the Holy Resurrection-Metropol Church.

2. What really was an extension of the first split occurred in the early 1950's when it was decided to build a new St. Nicholas [see below] church at a new site. The old church had apparently been a house, but after World War Two, the congregation went to the Holy Resurrection Church. With the arrival of recent Russian immigrants from Shanghai, who soon joined the Holy Resurrection Church, some of them, in time, decided to reactivate the old St. Nicholas Church. Not more than 25 members were involved. The basis of the split was a jurisdictional one.

3. The "Big Split". The biggest membership loss occurred about the time (1954) that the Holy Resurrection Church was being built on its new site. The Russian Dramatic Group of the organization split off from its parent body, formed the "Russian Amateur Art Theatre" and in 1956 became the nucleus of another new organization that was called the

"Russian Centre of B. C." [see below]. It appears that the split was touched off when the Executive of the Drama group sought for more independence following a request by recent immigrants for more cultural activities. There may be several other reasons for the split. [See Appendix "E" for further explanations of the "Big Split".] The president of the Russian Orthodox Society ruled that this move for independence was contrary to their By-laws which state that all monies receivable by its auxiliary organizations must be lodged with the treasurer of the Society. Some 50 official members were lost to the Society and perhaps another 50 nominal members--i.e., about half of the membership.

4. This particular split was only partial, in that the schismatic group continued to hold close ties to the Society and to attend its Church. About the same time of the "Big Split", 1954, some 35 members of the Ladies' Auxiliary felt that they were not welcome either by the President of the Society or by other members of the Ladies' Auxiliary. They felt that they were "looked down upon", since, for the most part they were either "Ukrainian" or of "un-pure" Russian stock. The schism was real when these "offended" ladies formed the Canadian Orthodox Ladies' Guild [see below].

10. St. Nicholas Russian Orthodox Church

Origin

Currently located at 810 13th Avenue East, this church had for many years consisted of a congregation meeting in a house located at Maple Street and 7th Avenue. It was at this latter place that a break-away faction from the Holy Resurrection Church in 1929 decided to form a separate church which would belong to the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia. Up to that time there had not been a church with this jurisdiction in British Columbia. The demand for such a church had come from some of the 100 or so families which had arrived in Vancouver during 1924 to 1929 period, mainly from the Russian settlement of Harbin, Manchuria. Many of these were refugees who were in the "White" forces against the Bolsheviks--consequently, at least some of them felt a tie to the new jurisdiction formed outside of Russia following the Revolution of 1917.

After World War Two, the members of the congregation decided to disband, and join in with the Holy Resurrection Church. Then, with another wave of immigrants from the Far East during the 1949 period a splinter group decided to reactivate the old church--"to run the affairs themselves"--but this time to build a new church at a new site. The building permit was taken out in 1952, and the new church was opened several years later.

Formal Structure and Membership

The jurisdiction of this church is the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia, with the control of church affairs, including church property, in the hands of the local priest and the jurisdiction (whose head is Metropolitan Anastasia, of New York City). The local priest is a monk--the only one amongst the Orthodox in this City--and he began his service here in 1957; he lives alone in the manse, at the back of the church property. Born in Russia, he only recently learned sufficient English to pass his Citizenship test. The church itself is the smallest one [approximately 30 by 55 feet] of the three Russian Orthodox churches in this City, with its congregation of 27 being the smallest as well. A few children and three teen-agers attend. Only at Easter does the congregation swell to some 80 people. All adult members are Russian born and are recent immigrants from the Far Eastern point of Shanghai and Harbin [Field Notes, February 20, 1963]. From a socio-economic standpoint, it has been estimated by a Russian Orthodox student, that "all walks of life are represented in this congregation, but the majority have a higher standard of education than is prevalent in the Holy Trinity Church" [Atamenenko, 1961: 16]. I have not been able to evaluate this judgement.

Annual meetings are held in the winter, with the last one being on February 17, 1963.

Internal Differentiation

Data is nil. Once a month the priest (Rev. Seriphim Popoff) goes to Victoria, B. C., where he holds a service for some 35 worshippers in a private home. This particular congregation is not registered.

The local church does have its own small choir.

Cooperation with Other Groups

Besides supporting the hierarchical head, the congregation subscribes to the Pravoslavni Vestnik v Kanade, a weekly Orthodox publication from Montreal. When the first number came out in the fall of 1961, the priest announced to the worshippers: "Give as much as you can to support this project. Subscription is by donation. We must support it" [Field Notes, October 22, 1961: 7]. At one corner of the room, the Church has a stand with literature for sale to the public. One of these booklets was in the English language and was published in Switzerland by the "Orthodox Action Society". As with the other Russian Orthodox churches in Vancouver, this church raises funds for Russian invalids of the First World War. Apart from that, I have not been able to ascertain the extent of cooperation with the Holy Trinity Church of the same jurisdiction.

Some members of this church are members of the Russian Centre of B. C. [see below].

Conflict with Other Groups

The local priest has told me in an interview that he considers the Metropoly church jurisdiction as being "illegal" and that the rightful heir to the hierarchy is the Russian Church or Synod Outside of Russia "which is the most righteous one". Furthermore, he was critical of Archbishop John of San Francisco (of the Metropoly jurisdiction) for introducing the "unheard of practice" of monks and nuns living in the homes instead of in the monasteries. Being a monk himself, the local priest has criticized Rev. Peter Kursemnek of the Holy Resurrection Church for "cutting his hair", "shaving", and for "wearing a white collar--like the Roman Catholics". In addition, Rev. S. Popoff says that he, himself, gets a salary of \$2.00 per day, "while Otetz Peter, in the richer church, gets \$150 to \$200 per month" [Field Notes, October 22, 1961]. "Nevertheless, I occasionally meet and talk with Peter," he said, "since it would be wrong for a Christian to do otherwise."

A further criticism by Rev. Popoff is that of one Metropoly church which he personally observed in Montreal. "Upstairs is the church; downstairs is a hall for dancing and drinking. Also upstairs, pews were brought in for people to sit on--just like the Roman Catholics. This is against the Orthodox tradition" [Field Notes, October 22, 1961: 11].

Why did the congregation not join the Holy Trinity Church of the same jurisdiction? Rev. F. Gorelik of the

latter church claims that this is due to an ecological factor--i.e., "the location of the worshippers' homes". An Orthodox member from the Holy Resurrection Church says that a new priest was available and therefore "both had to make a living somewhere" [Field Notes, November 25, 1962]; he adds, however, "there is no antagonism between the two churches on religious grounds, but rather it may be due to personal reasons".

Perhaps these "personal reasons" are the result of differences in status between the two priests: Rev. Popoff is a monk (not married), while Rev. Gorelik is married and has a family. Popoff does not cut his hair,* while Gorelik trims his. Popoff lives in a "poor" Manse (about 15 by 20 feet) at the back of the church grounds, while Gorelik lives in a large home away from the church.

Rev. Popoff's reaction to the Communists is naturally negative for he is a refugee from the Soviet Union. In a publication which I purchased from his church, the article states:

. . . The Patriarch, bishops and clergy have found themselves forced to bow under the yoke of a godless power in the terrible conditions of a heretofore unseen totalitarian rule. But

*To avoid cutting one's hair is symbolic for "striving to be like Jesus Christ". It serves as a prestige symbol for the role of "a devout" priest.

in the free world, there must remain a Church which does not accept this yoke and honors those who, in secret and separated from the world, have preserved the loyalty to God's truth [E.N., 1960: 8].

Internal Strains

The generational differences between the young and old are present here; the one is assimilated in the "English" school, while the other has been brought up in Russia.

Actual Splits

None.

11. Holy Trinity Russian Orthodox Church

Origin

A building permit for the church was taken out in 1938* by Rev. Alexander Kiziun, a Russian who had come to Canada in 1928. With his own funds and his own labor he began building the church at 710 Campbell Avenue. Before his death in 1953, he managed (with some help from his parishioners) to complete the exterior, giving it a coat of paint. The interior was left undone. Freda Walhouse in her M. A. Thesis states that "from an architectural point of view" the Holy Trinity Church "is one of Vancouver's most distinctive buildings with its pale blue bulbous domes and the three bar crosses of the Eastern Church" [Walhouse, 1961: 106].

*Data from City Hall, Building Permits Department, Vancouver, British Columbia.

Following Kiziun's death, the church lay idle for over a year, before being purchased by the Gorelik family, with Rev. Gorelik becoming its priest. The Vancouver Sun, December 21, 1955, states:

Christmas will be celebrated in one Vancouver church because an immigrant family saved it from abandonment.

.....

To save it from ruin, Mrs. Maria Gorelik, of 2011 West Forty-eighth, pooled her savings with her husband, father-in-law, and sister-in-law.

After making a \$500 down payment on the building, the family . . . donned working clothes. They cleaned and painted the building. They organized a choir to collect funds through carolling. They raised more money by holding teas and sales of food and needlework.

Today congregations of from 50 to 100 attend services at Holy Trinity.

Mrs. Gorelik, a Vancouver insurance clerk, estimates she and her in-laws raised \$2,500 in their campaign to rescue the church.

Formal Structure and Membership

The first priest of this church, Rev. Kiziun, apparently built the church "as his own" with "no allegiance to any jurisdiction" [View by Rev. Gorelik. Field Notes, February 18, 1963]. But with the coming of his successor (the current priest--Rev. Filimon Gorelik), the affiliation became that of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia.

In February 1963 there were 35 official members of the church, according to its priest, but on Easter morning some 100 crowd into the building. On other special occasions, such as in November 1961, during the visit of Archbishop Vitaly (Archbishop of Montreal and Canada), 80 people attended the Sunday morning service. The congregation today is essentially (over 50 per cent) built around the priest, with his wife, sons, their wives and children. The Goreliks lived in Byelorussia and Poland where the father served as a priest since 1913; the younger son, after serving in the army, received free education in England before coming to Vancouver where two years ago he began teaching a class at the University of British Columbia. One daughter is married to a Roman Catholic, the other to an Anglican minister in Victoria.

The rest of the members are "almost all from Europe" except for Madam Elina Bryner who came from Harbin and Shanghai (China) in the early 1950's. She is secretary of the church. All the congregation know Russian (according to the priest), although "some don't know English". Except for their youngest son, there are no university graduates among the members; four, however, are high school graduates. A number of the members are not Canadian citizens, including Rev. Gorelik and his wife. (The elder Goreliks continue to renew their Canadian visas every two years, according to Canadian government regulations.)

Occupations represented by the members include: a mechanic, an office secretary, a nurse, a sawer in a sawmill, a former professional actress, and several retired people (including one 75-year-old woman who graduated from an institute in Moscow).

The Tserkovnoi Sovet (Church Council) consists of five people: starista (church warden), treasurer, secretary, one member and the president. The priest is always president, while the rest of the positions are chosen for three-year terms, with the annual meetings being held in March. A Revisions Committee of three checks the accounts and reports periodically to the congregation. This organization as such is subordinated to the church (the priest and its jurisdiction).

Internal Differentiation

The church has its own choir, with its fifteen members composed mostly of the Gorelik clan; its director is the priest's youngest son. Just prior to Christmas, the choir goes around and sings in front of Russian homes. In this way some \$400 are raised annually through donations. Notes are used for the singing.

There is a Sestrichestvo (Sisterhood) which initiates bazaars once a year, holds occasional teas, and during the beginning of Lent makes blini* (pancakes) for

*The making of blini at the beginning of Lent is traditional for all Russian Orthodox people.

their members. Such projects are held in the church basement.

A small library of Russian books is found in the church.

There is no youth club.

Rev. Gorelik holds two or three services at Abbotsford, near Vancouver, where some 25 to 30 members attend [according to Rev. Gorelik].

Cooperation with Other Groups

The first priest, according to one informant, was a "generous man". At any time of day he was said to have driven his "jalopy" in the service of helping someone. For example, he is said to have hidden away some Russian sailors from ships docked in Vancouver; when a ship had left port, he would apply for a visa. In this way a number of Russian people are reported to have come to Canada from China and Shanghai.

Several informants have reported that Rev. Kiziun frequently attended the activities of the Russian People's Home, the home of the local branch of the Federation of Russian Canadians [see above], which is located one block away. He did more than that; he encouraged his congregation to patronize FRC functions. This cooperation resulted in its choir leader and singers joining together with the FRC choir in the presentation of several "successful" public performances.

When Russian ships came into port in 1944, the church choir participated with the Holy Resurrection Church and the FRC in a joint welcoming program for the sailors.

The first priest had occasion to seek for cooperation with an Archbishop in Greece. This occurred when the priest's wife was not able to obtain a visa from Russia to come and rejoin her husband in Canada. In time, following a divorce, the priest met a woman with a child in Vancouver and consequently applied to the Metropolitan in New York for permission to live with this woman. The request was promptly turned down. The priest then applied to the Archbishop in Greece who readily gave his sanction. The marriage was made effective, and the priest now had a new wife.

With the coming of the present priest, the Rev. Gorelik, cooperation has been given to the church's jurisdictional head, the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia. "Part of the funds which we raise," says Mrs. Gorelik, "goes to the 'higher-ups' in Edmonton, Montreal and Toronto--a little bit for everyone" [Field Notes, February 18, 1963].

There appears to be a minimum of interaction with the St. Nicholas Church. Rev. S. Popoff holds monthly services in Victoria at the home of Rev. Gorelik's daughter (the one married to the Anglican minister).

Quite a few of the congregation, including some of the priest's family are participants in the Russian Centre

of B. C. [see below]. Madam Bryner, for example, has been an active member at the Centre in the capacity of a Drama Director. She is related by affinal ties to Yul Bryner, the Hollywood actor who performed in Taras Bulba among other films. Madam Bryner is a graduate of the Moscow Art Theatre.

Conflict with Other Groups

Under the priesthood of Rev. Gorelik, there is no longer any cooperation with the Federation of Russian Canadians. Such an outing is looked on with suspicion, with the members being subject to expulsion. Rev. Gorelik and his wife give a "red" label to the FRC organization. "They are bezbozhniki (Godless people)," they state, "and this is the main cause of the splits among the Russians in Vancouver" [Field Notes, February 18, 1963].

With respect to the Roman Catholics, the local priest has this to say [from my Field Notes]:

The Roman Catholics have gone off the right path. The Orthodox, however, have managed to hold on to the original beliefs. The Pope in Rome, for example, considers himself as "infallible", as being without "sins", always claiming to be at the "head". This is not true of the Orthodox tradition.

Nominal contact is maintained with the local Anglican churches.

With regard to Rev. Kizium, the first priest, strain with the local Russian Orthodox churches eventually resulted

in verbal conflict. When the priest divorced his first wife and married another, he was denounced by all the local Orthodox churches. So that when he died in 1953, neither the local Russian Orthodox priests nor the Greek Orthodox priest would perform the burial service. The reason given was that Rev. Kiziun had broken the canonical laws concerning marriage. Consequently, as an alternative, a priest from Edmonton (belonging to the Soviet affiliated Diocese)* was engaged for the service. His funeral oration was said to have been "quite severe"; the Moscovite priest condemned the "un-Christian" behavior of the local priests in refusing to bury a brother priest.

Internal Strains

Generational differences appear to be at a minimum because this church is primarily a "family church". There may, however, be a strain between the Gorelik clan and the rest of the congregation--I have no knowledge of this.

The priest's inability to speak English means that he is obliged to turn down invitations from the Anglican church to attend their special gatherings. "Just last week I have had such an invitation" [Rev. Gorelik. Field Notes, February 18, 1963]. This is also partly the reason for not taking the test for Canadian citizenship.

*This Soviet affiliated Diocese (the Russian Orthodox Catholic Church, Archdiocese of the Aleutian Islands and North America) has its North American headquarters in New York.

Actual Splits

I do not know. Perhaps there was some splintering of membership during the interim period in the early 1950's following the death of Rev. Kiziun.

12. The "Russian Centre of British Columbia"

Origin

The Russian Centre of B. C. evolved in 1956 following the "Big Split" at the Russian Orthodox Society [see above] and its Holy Resurrection Church. The motives for the schism in 1954 might be summarized as follows: (1) a desire for independence from a partisan organization; (2) a desire to have a cultural club on a "freer" and more business-like basis; and (3) a revolt against authority preceded by the accumulation of grievances. [See Appendix "E" for several versions of the "Big Split".]

The initiating group was the members of the Russian Dramatic Club (a organization which had been in existence since the late 1920's within the Holy Resurrection Church). To this was added post-World War Two arrivals from Harbin and Shanghai (in China). This latter movement brought to Vancouver several talented actors and actresses trained at the Moscow Art Theatre.

The founding meeting of the Centre was held March 11, 1956 at the Regent Hotel, Vancouver, the owner of which was a wealthy Russian Orthodox member. Out of 360 invitations sent, 130 people attended the meeting and set forth the basis for the organization [from the Minutes of the Organizatsionnoe Sobranie]. These "art lovers" met at the Hotel until they were able to purchase suitable accommodations for their interests. On November 10, 1957 they purchased the Kitsilano Theatre at 2114 West 4th Avenue for \$32,500.00 [Bulletin, no. 11, November 1957]. Following this, the members renovated the Theatre, purchased some furniture, and by August 23rd, 1958 [Bulletin, no. 21, September 1958], they moved into the renovated quarters. Here the Centre is presently located.

Formal Structure and Membership

The current membership is 133* (i.e., paid-up members in good standing). Only one of these members was born in Canada, the rest came from Russia. It is estimated by the secretary (Pavel Patrikeef) that 75 per cent of the group came from the Far East--from points in Harbin and Shanghai. Fourteen of the members are pensioners--all of whom have full membership rights, but are exempt from paying dues.

In comparison to all the other Russian groups studied here, the Centre has an over-proportion of professional

*This figure includes both husbands and their wives.

and university-educated people in its membership. The list includes several professional engineers, a professor of atomic physics and head of his department, four medical doctors, one owner of a sawmill and manager of two large Vancouver sawmills, a soloist with the General Platoff Cossack Choir, one printer, one musician, a barber, sculptor, architect (with his wife being a professional opera singer), a butcher specialist, a grader in a sawmill, television repairman, two hotel clerks, a merchant, a teacher, manager and director of a milling company, a former actress and graduate of the Moscow Art Theatre, a choir master, two home and apartment building contractors, furrier, insurance salesmen, servicemen, and other skilled tradesmen. In addition, the Centre boasts as a member Madame Lydia Karpova, an accomplished choreographer and ballet teacher who has performed in major theatres in twenty-three countries and who today is rated "as one of the greatest living dance teachers in the world" [From Program, "An Evening of Ballet", May 26, 1962]. Her biographic sketch has been written as:

. . . Born in St. Petersburg (Russia). In 1895 Lydia Karpova at the age of 9 was one of the few children chosen from all Russia to enter the Imperial Ballet School of St. Petersburg. Attending the School at the same time were such students as Anna Pavlova . . . and others. In 1905 she graduated . . . at the head of her class and joined the Imperial Ballet of the Mariynsky Theatre.

Between seasons of the Imperial Ballet, L. Karpova travelled through Europe as a principal artist with the great and unequalled Anna Pavlova

. . . In 1920 she emigrated to Paris and opened a Ballet School of her own name in Paris and in 1923 in Nice. More than 20 years she staged, danced and choreographed ballet in French, German, Italian and Russian operas. In 1951 she came to Canada, and in 1953 to Vancouver where she became the head of the B. C. School of Dancing . . . [Pashkovsky, 1961: 3].

The Russian Centre of B. C. has a controlling body, the Executive Council (consisting of five members of the presidium and three additional members), whose members are elected at the annual meeting held in the spring. During the interim, monthly meetings are held. The following occupations are represented in the current executive (with the first two being president and vice-president): owner of sawmill and manager of two large sawmills, manager of a sawmill, insurance salesman, retired engineer, hotel clerk, sawmill worker, manager and director of a milling company, and a welder.

According to the Ustav (Constitution), the Russian Centre of B. C. has the following aims:

- (a) The preservation and the promotion of Russian culture and art in Canada.
- (b) The upbringing of youth to respect the foundations of Russian and Canadian culture.
- (c) Mutual aid, cooperation and philanthropy.

(d) The development of healthy sports.

(e) [A place] to rest and have social intercourse for members and their friends [Ustay, April 15, 1956. Trans. by KJT].

Fear of Communist infiltration appears to be inherent in the section dealing with membership.

Paragraph 3.

(7) Bona fide membership is open to all persons over 18 years of age regardless of sex, nationality and religion, but is barred to anyone who belongs to Communist organizations or those who are involved in pro-Communist activities.

Apart from that, members in good standing must pay their monthly dues (which is \$1.00 at the present time), and must lead themselves in "an active and respectful" manner. Any breach of the Constitution is liable to lead to expulsion of the members at the next General Meeting.

Internal Differentiation

The Centre's activities are carried out through the medium of various "Branches" (each with its own set of officers). These include the Russian Dramatic Society; the Ladies' Auxiliary; the Russian Centre Choir; a Music Society; and a Committee in Aid of Invalids and Crippled Children. The Centre's monthly paper, Bulletin, consists of the following: editorials, often urging more active membership; news about the Centre's activities (and, in later issues, about the local Russian Orthodox church news);

serials on Russian history; anniversary notes about such distinguished Russian literary and artistic personalities as Pushkin, Chekov, and Lev N. Tolstoy; announcements; notices about births, marriages and deaths; news concerning the recently formed (1959) Russian Centre of Seattle [Bulletin, No. 26, February 1959]; a Ladies' section; and a poetry section, as well as a children's page. The last issue (No. 61) was published on March 16, 1962 due to "ill health of the editor".

The Centre's activities are many and varied. Here is a representative sample of activities held since its formation:

1. Numerous Russian theatrical productions (directed by such members as Madam Bryner, a graduate of the Moscow Art Theatre who came to Canada in 1952). One-act and three-act plays.

2. Ballet productions and concerts (choral and orchestral). Ex-Bolshoi ballet dancer, Mr. N. A. Svetlanoff, was a distinguished personality in the Centre; for many years he conducted a Ballet School in Vancouver up to his death on October 6th, 1961 [Bulletin, no. 58, October 1961]. His wife, still living, is a ballerina and talented actress. As late as September 9th, 1961 [Bulletin, nos. 56 and 57, August and September 1961], Mr. Svetlanoff produced a most successful concert with the help of the Russian Dramatic Society. His death was said to be a great loss to the Centre.

3. Fund-raising bazaars in November and at Easter average some \$500 profit in two days. Mrs. Tom Alsbury (whose husband was then mayor of Vancouver) opened the last three bazaars. Funds from this and other activities went to the central fund to help offset an outstanding debt of the Centre (which on November 6th, 1960 was \$15,900.00 [Bulletin no. 47, November 1960]).

4. Benefit concerts in aid of the Russian World War I Invalids are an annual feature of the Centre--some \$500 is sent yearly to Europe; also held yearly are benefit concerts in aid of a Russian Orphanage in France--on October 7, 1959, \$473.89 was raised for this purpose [Bulletin, no. 35, November 1959].

5. The New Year's Eve Party and the Masquerade Ball are popular events at the Centre. In fact, dancing--with a buffet open--generally follows most concerts, plays, etc.

6. Speakers, in Russian, such as member Professor G. M. Volkoff (head of the Physics Department, University of British Columbia) have proven to be popular with the Centre, as were colored slides of members' trips to Europe and South America. Prof. Alex Wainman, of the U. B. C. Slavic Department, has also spoken at the Centre.

7. Several Russian films have been shown.

8. For those interested in reading, several hundred volumes of Russian books are available at the Centre's

Library, and may normally be borrowed on Wednesday evenings-- the day reserved for informal activities such as chess playing, dancing, and the occasional showing of slides (with a possible talk).

9. Anniversary parties and wedding receptions have been held here. When the first president retired from office after four years of service, the members held a special evening in his honor; a plaque bearing his name is today hanging on the wall of the Centre. In addition, outside groups have regularly rented the building for special functions.

10. Exchange concerts with the Seattle Russian community have taken place. Its future projects may include helping similar centres to become established in other Canadian cities where there are sufficient concentrations of Russian people.

11. One of its members held a five-day Art Show here.

12. The Centre's concern also reaches out to new Russian arrivals in Vancouver. Where such effort is indicated and privileges and obligations of life in Canada are explained and such people are helped in establishing themselves. Following the 1962 Annual Convention, the Executive appealed to the Immigration Department of Canada to provide higher immigration quotas for Russian immigrants via Asia.

The most recent creation is that of a Youth Group. Since December 12, 1962, young people, mostly sons and daughters of members have established Wednesday evenings as "Club Night". Social dancing is their main activity at the present time. Lunch and coffee are available at the buffet in the Hall. The Library is also open. The senior Executive often meets at this time as well.

Cooperation with Other Groups

We have already mentioned [above] that the Centre has cooperated with the Russian Centre of Seattle, the fund for Russian World War I invalids as well as the Russian Orphanage in France. Although there were hard feelings when the Big Split occurred in the early 1950's, today there are quite a few signs of cooperation between the Russian Orthodox Society and the Centre. Mr. A. M. Panovsky is a choir director with both groups. Likewise there are a few choir members who participate in both choirs.* Besides this, a substantial number of members from both groups attend activities in both centres. We find that four members of the Russian Orthodox Society Executive Council are members

* A good example of mutual participation is that of an all religious choral performance during Lent by the Russian Centre Choir, March 23, 1963; in this case, there were some choir members from all the three Russian Orthodox churches in Vancouver. All numbers were in acappella style and Old Church Slavonic, with the exception of "God Save the Queen" which was in English. Announcements were made in both Russian and English languages.

of the Centre (with one of these members holding the secretarial post); several others who are active in the Society regularly attend the activities at the Centre. Some members from the St. Nicholas and the Holy Trinity Russian Orthodox Churches are also members at the Centre. For example, Madam Bryner is a Secretary at the latter church as well as a Drama Director at the Centre. Despite all this, the majority of the Centre's members are said to be "non-church goers".

One family of Doukhobors, their son and daughter-in-law (she is of Russian Orthodox parentage and a recent immigrant from Harbin, China) attend here regularly. The young son, a teacher, was married at the Holy Resurrection Church with the reception held at the Centre. Likewise, a few Doukhobor students taking Russian courses at the University occasionally attend.

In order to meet the high overhead costs of the theatre, the Centre has had to rent out its premises to outside groups--"but to anti-Communist organizations", as the secretary hurriedly points out [Field Notes, February 19, 1963]. Playoffs for the Little Theatre groups have been held here on several occasions.

As with the Holy Resurrection Church, here, too, members of the Centre have participated with other ethnic groups in the annual Vancouver Folk Festivals.

Conflict with Other Groups

The non-fraternity clause in the Centre's Constitution implies an official "war" against Communists and Communist sympathizers. The Federation of Russian Canadians are included in this "taboo" clause, and thereby receive no announcements from the Centre (according to its secretary).

The recent "Memorandum" to the Canadian Department of Citizenship and Immigration concerning the increase of immigration quotas to Russians overseas, reflects a definite bias against "Communist" immigrants. [See Appendix "F" for copy of "Memorandum".] People "who have suffered from revolutions, wars and persecutions for their political beliefs," according to the Memorandum, "are likely to become loyal and law-abiding citizens of the country offering them shelter, protection and hospitality in time of their unbearable distress. These immigrants would be, by their very nature, hostile to radical social changes and therefore immune to Communist propaganda, which threatens to flood Canada." Consequently the Centre petitioned the Government of Canada to let in some of the 1,500 or so of what they regard as "anti-Communist" Russians still in Shanghai.

Internal Strains

The activities of the Russian Centre of B. C. since its beginning have been quite varied. During its six

years of existence the organization has been able to acquire a good theatre and for a time at least a monthly bulletin-- "this being the first Russian publication in Vancouver" [Bulletin, no. 2, January 1957]. Yet despite all these resources, today there are signs of strain and weakening interest in the Centre. Continued support is necessary as there is still an outstanding debt to be paid (including high taxes). At the 5th Annual meeting of the Centre on April 30, 1961, only 60 members (out of 133) showed up. This provoked the President, Mr. N. N. Stremiloff, to ask:

Where is this enthusiasm, this proudness?
 Where is our Russian colony, which so much wanted to have a Russian corner, its own Centre of unity? Why is it that when it is formed by them, they do not uphold it? [Bulletin, no. 53, May 1961.]

It has been estimated by one of the officers of the organization that only about 45 of the members are "moderately active", while about 35 are "very active".

For one thing, the positions of leadership are filled mostly by older people, although there has been an expressed desire to get the youth out to their meetings--only occasionally one or two show up. Nevertheless, one member of the 1962 Executive is of the second generation. Moreover, the recent move to set up a youth group has been motivated by the fact that their youth are now of age to accept membership and responsibility in the organization. As one of the

older members told me: "Somehow they [the youth] have to be pulled into this organization in order to give them the opportunity of taking over from the elders" [Field Notes, February 19, 1963].

In order that the Russian language may be perpetuated amongst the youth, several families employ private tutors, I have been told, and some others are being sent to the Russian School at the Russian Society Hall.

Another strain, and perhaps quite obvious in the Centre is this matter of differential social class. At any concert evening, annual meeting, or bazaar, one might readily see a scene reminiscent of the pre-Revolution period. Picture a gentleman, graciously bending over to kiss a woman's hand--especially when the woman is one who comes from a special line of families. A case example is that of Mrs. Sharp (nee Dornova), a real estate saleslady, who apparently considers herself (and is also considered) coming from a "royal" line. Before coming to Canada from Russia, she and her parents lived in Harbin, China, as prosperous merchants. Servants were hired to cook their food, look after their house, and in fact, do most of the work--all at a relatively low rate of pay. All this changed when the Dornovas arrived in Canada following World War Two. They no longer had sufficient funds to hire servant labor. Consequently they had to depend on their own resources--and as one informant (who is their neighbor) tells me: "When this family came from

China, they were almost completely lost. Initially, in their home they couldn't do anything. They just weren't fitted for the role of house-keeping. Moreover, such people kept to themselves and avoided saying 'hello' to us, even when we passed each other on the sidewalk" [Field Notes, November 5, 1962: p. 5]. The informant is of Russian background herself, and a member of the Federation of Russian Canadians, as is the rest of her family.

The illustration just cited suggests that social class serves two purposes--it splits one group of people apart while at the same time brings together another group of people.

One former member of the Centre, a young Russian Orthodox immigrant from Europe suggests a reason for what seems to be a recent decline in activity. He says: "There are too many high class individuals and no regular members to do the work." Moreover, he complains that "they have been fooling people with high prices and little program".

My informant was referring to the expensive New Year's Eve Party (\$7.00 per person in 1962), for example, and the 75¢ to \$1.00 admission for other programs, as well as 75¢ for a small dish of pilmeni--a Siberian food something like stuffed meat dumplings, considered a delicacy by the Russians from the Far East. "Not all of us can afford this--some are unemployed, others are students." An additional cost

is "the bottle" which one is "expected" to bring for the evening. We might compare this with prices for the same New Year's Eve at the Russian Orthodox Society Hall and the Federation of Russian Canadian People's Home--\$3.00 per person at both places. Full course meals were included at all three places. In visiting the Russian Centre on this occasion, I observed a decided difference in class symbols as contrasted to my visit the same night at the Russian Orthodox Society Hall. In the first instance, I noticed several possible indications of "high class" society: a five-piece orchestra, most of the men wearing formal clothes (tuxedos) while the ladies had semi-formal gowns with mink and muskrat stoles), extra-fancy New Year's novelties and decorations, and men kissing women's hands, reminiscent of the Tsarist court. The party continued until five in the morning. In contrast, the Russian Society Hall had a two-piece orchestra, simpler novelties and decorations and an absence of formal wear. No kissing of hands was observed. The dancing lasted until 2:30 a.m.; the elderly priest joined the party following his Saturday evening service. At the Russian People's Home of the FRC, the New Year's Eve program lasted until 2:00 a.m., although it started much earlier than at the other two places. Here some 500 people attended, as compared to the Russian Centre and the Russian Society Hall with around 250 and 200 people respectively.

The fact that the majority of the Centre's members are former Russian immigrants from Harbin and Shanghai may mean a difference in viewpoint as compared to those who came from Europe. "Those from Harbin and Shanghai believe they are higher than us," points out my Russian-European informant. "Their soul is different--it is colder than ours. Perhaps their life experience made it so. Their outlook on life is different. In fact, we have little in common with them. They feel they are higher than us and are therefore acting smart" [Field Notes, February 14, 1963].

"Acting smart?" How?

Again my informant has this to say:

Our particular usage of vocabulary is mixed with English terms. Words like "baby", "highway" and "car" are used in their English form instead of the "proper" or "pure" Russian form. For these habits we are made fun of.

Moreover, they (the people from the Far East) consider themselves "perfect" in principle. Yet in practice this doesn't turn out to be the case. Prior to an orchestral performance at the Centre last spring [1962] one of my friends walked out as one of the instrumentalists over this very fact of perfection. The orchestral director had apparently overlooked the necessity for preparation. "Kak ne buid, sagraem" [Somehow or other we'll play], he said.

Actual Splits

None.

13. The Canadian Orthodox Ladies' Guild

Origin

The Ladies' Guild arose about the same time as the "Big Split" in 1954 [see above]. The dispute apparently developed over personal disagreements with members of the Russian Orthodox Ladies' Auxiliary and the Executive Council of the Russian Orthodox Society. The initiators of the Ladies' Guild felt that they (many of whom were of Ukrainian-Russian background) were looked down upon by members of the Ladies' Auxiliary as well as by the president of the Russian Orthodox Society. Some 35 ladies decided to form their own ladies' group, which they did.

Formal Structure and Membership

Approximately the same number of ladies (35) are present today in the organization as there were in 1954. Its composition continues to include members of "impure" Russian background. Registered under the Societies Act of the Province of British Columbia, the organization has its own Constitution, its own Executive and its own treasury. All members are either members in the Russian Orthodox Society or else are regular attenders at its Holy Resurrection Church. Their aim is to maintain and improve the Church interior.

Internal Differentiation

To date these ladies have raised funds (by personal donations and Bingos) for the purchase of several expensive ritual items for the Holy Resurrection Church. These items include a \$400 chalice, two golden marriage crowns, a wooden casket used for Easter services (worth several hundred dollars), as well as a ritual basin for the baptismal rite.

In addition the ladies have organized work parties to shine and polish the elaborate and expensive golden chandelier hanging in the centre of the Church [Field Notes, November 10, 1962: 4].

Cooperation with Other Groups

As seen in the last category, the Canadian Orthodox Ladies' Guild has helped materially in "decorating" the church. In recognition of their service, Archbishop John of San Francisco (during his visit to the Church in June 1962) presented the Guild with a certificate of merit for their contribution to Orthodoxy.

Conflict with Other Groups

When the "Big Split" occurred, the Executive Council of the Russian Orthodox Society prohibited the holding of meetings by the Guild members in the Society's Hall. Hence the ladies met monthly at the members' homes. Following a change in the administration of the Society, about four years

ago, the ladies have been permitted to hold their meetings in the Hall [Field Notes, November 10, 1962: 4].

No data for internal strains and actual splits.

14. Vancouver Doukhobor Society

Origin

William N. Papove, a local Doukhobor civil engineer, recalls the time he first arrived in Vancouver from the interior of British Columbia. He states: "There was practically no understanding among the Doukhobors here as to the meaning of the movement. In 1947, when Petrov Dien [a traditional annual peace day or 'Peter's Day' which commemorates the burning of arms on June 29, 1895, as a firm resolve to do away with military armaments, and wars] was being held, a number of the Doukhobors got together but seemed to have no idea what the celebrations were all about. Some brought their liquor, and even raffled a bottle of wine, thinking that this was some sort of picnic. They had no understanding of solemnity on such an important occasion." Mr. Papove contends that for lack of a hall of their own, many of the Doukhobors at this time attended the activities of the Federation of Russian Canadians at its Russian People's Home, and called themselves the Vancouver Doukhobor Society. The Society, it appears, was formed several years after the

1942 formation of the FRC and after the termination of the Progressive Society of Doukhobors in 1944; perhaps it was formed about the time that the FRC acquired its Home in 1946.

Formal Structure and Membership

Perhaps the name "Vancouver Doukhobor Society" is a misnomer, as one informant suggests. Initially, at least, it appears that there was simply a group of Doukhobors who met together with their friends and other Russians at the Russian People's Home, and only on special occasions like Petrov Dien did they come together as a group. Their manner of organization was apparently on an informal basis--with a limited structure. Regular Sunday services were practically absent--for it appears that the members were not too interested in this aspect of Doukhobor culture.

At a later period, however, it is recorded that there was an organization called the "Vancouver Doukhobor Society", and was headed by Nick N. Plotnicove as chairman, and John J. Sopoff as secretary-treasurer [The Inquirer, vol. 3, no. 11, December 1956, p. 17]. Just prior to this, other executive members were Messrs. Chernoff, Chutskoff, Kazakoff, Rezansoff, and George Legebokoff. The latter is now a very active member of the Federation of Russian Canadians.

Internal Differentiation

We notice that in 1956 several banquets were held at the Russian People's Home, one of which raised \$100 for the Peace Council of British Columbia. At the banquet, Ray Gardner, the Peace Council's secretary was guest speaker [The Inquirer, vol. 3, no. 3, April 1956, pp. 47-48].

In 1956 this organization became affiliated with the Union of Doukhobors of Canada (a federally structured organization which was formed in 1945 for the purpose of uniting all the Doukhobors in Canada and promoting their traditional values). Memberships were solicited for the UDC and several annual meetings for the Vancouver local were held.

One interesting event in 1957 was the holding of a prayer meeting and concert on January 5, which, it was claimed, had been held according to the old Julian Calendar [The Inquirer, vol. 3, no. 12, January 1957, p. 17].* The event was apparently considered as "Christmas Eve". If this meeting and concert is not just a coincidence, then history was made. This would be the first time in Canadian Doukhobor history that this group has celebrated Christmas Eve by the old calendar. [Russian Orthodox churches observe the old calendar, but the Doukhobors have historically rejected it.]

*The meeting and concert were held in a hall at 767 Keefer Street, Vancouver; Chairman of the meeting was T. E. Dergous-noff.

Cooperation with Other Groups

Cooperation with the Federation of Russian Canadians was one result of the segmented nature of the Doukhobors. The FRC had a hall of their own, the Doukhobors did not. Some members of the FRC hoped that the Doukhobors in Vancouver would eventually merge with them and become "Progressives".*

Periodic cooperation with other Doukhobors in Vancouver and the lower mainland has occurred regularly during the annual peace day gatherings each summer. In 1956, for instance, such a gathering was held at Ryall Park, New Westminster. The Vancouver Doukhobor Society (headed by John J. Sopoff) cooperated with the Society of Doukhobors of New Westminster (headed by Wm. N. Papove) in bringing together choirs from Grand Forks (in the interior of B. C.), Mission City, Langley Prairie, New Westminster, and Vancouver [The Inquirer, vol. 3, no. 6, July 1956, p. 22].

At another time, June 6, 1958, the same two organizations got together and played hosts to the "Nations of the City" meeting initiated by the Vancouver Civic Unity Association.** Over 180 people were present from scattered

*"Progressive" is a term that most FRC members use in reference to their organization and those like it which are "for peace", "against Fascism" and "for progress".

**The Vancouver Civic Unity Association is a voluntary non-political, non-sectarian organization, working to "promote better intergroup relations in this City".

parts of the City and from other ethnic groups and civic organizations. The meeting was designed to give the public of Vancouver an opportunity to meet Doukhobors in a friendly atmosphere [The Inquirer, vol. 5, nos. 5-8, June-September, 1958, p. 10].

The Vancouver Doukhobor Society has raised funds for the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ (USCC)* on at least one occasion. This was on December 22, 1956 when a fund-raising vegetarian banquet and evening program at the Russian People's Home netted a \$25 donation to its weekly periodical Iskra [The Inquirer, vol. 3, no. 11, December 1956, pp. 17-18]. Chairman of the Society called upon the people to subscribe and support the paper. "This publication," he said, "is invaluable in enlightening the principles and ideals of the Doukhobors and other practical Christians" [The Inquirer, vol. 3, no. 11, December 1956, pp. 17-18].**

*The Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ, often called the "Orthodox" Doukhobors, is the largest Doukhobor organization in Canada. An estimated 5,000 unofficial members belong to it, mostly in the Kootenay and Grand Forks regions where its centre is located. There are no USCC locals in the Greater Vancouver area, although there are a few individual members (one family of which are members of the Lower Mainland Society of Doukhobors). However, during the University winter season of 1958-59, a group of "Orthodox" Doukhobor students from the Interior, attending the University of British Columbia, met together in local Doukhobor homes and formed a youth choir. In the spring, the youth choir (some 8 members) participated in the annual Union of Youth (USCC) Festival in Grand Forks, British Columbia.

**Annie Abrosimoff, Nastia Birukoff, Lucy Plotnicove and Mary Tomilin were head of the banquet committee, while J. J. Sopoff and Nick N. Plotnicove were head of the evening program.

Conflict with Other Groups

When John Sopoff, chairman of the Society addressed the Petrov Dien gathering in New Westminster during the summer of 1956, he stated that certain "unfriendly agents" within the Doukhobor organization "were trying to disintegrate or confuse the Doukhobor religious movement" [The Inquirer, vol. 3, no. 6, July 1956, p. 22]. The nature of these "unfriendly agents" was not specified, although there does appear to have been some sort of conflict with some individuals or groups.

Internal Strains

The "informal" and rather "unstructured" nature of the organization presented a strain resulting in insecurity. Likewise, except for the annual summer gatherings, there was a strain for competition with the Society of Doukhobors of New Westminster [see below]. Moreover, there were periodic reminders by its competitors that participation in the FRC Hall is "politically-tainted" and somehow not in keeping with the Doukhobor universalistic emphasis.

Actual Splits

When elder Nikita Popoff (father of Wm. N. Papove) arrived in Vancouver from his Saskatchewan Homestead, this was approximately the time that a split developed. There was an expressed feeling of dissatisfaction that many of the local Doukhobors were being assimilated into the Federation

of Russian Canadians organization and many more were said to have "no knowledge" of what the role of a Doukhobor ought to be. Nikita had previously lived in the Doukhobor Commune, and although he subsequently withdrew and became an Independent Doukhobor,* he diplomatically maintained ties with both factions. Once in Vancouver, he and another Doukhobor from Saskatchewan decided to do something about the "deplorable" situation. Nikita and this young man (William Zubkoe) together decided to form the Society of Doukhobors of New Westminster. When this was done the Vancouver Doukhobor Society lost some of its members to the rival faction.

Termination

The organization as such no longer exists. It appears to have terminated around 1959. Nevertheless, during the annual Doukhobor peace gatherings in summer, its former executive members arise as a self-appointed committee in perpetuity. As far as I know, no public elections for officers have been held during the past five years.

*"Independent" Doukhobors are roughly all those Doukhobors who took out a Homestead (160 acres of "free" land) soon after the Doukhobors arrived in Canada in 1899; the term "independent" also refers to a Doukhobor who rejects the "divine" sponsored leadership of the "Orthodox" Doukhobors. Still a third definition refers to members of the "Independent Doukhobor Society" which existed in Western Canada until the 1950's.

15. Society of Doukhobors of New Westminster

Origin

The impetus for this organization came in 1948 when the "respected" Saskatchewan Doukhobor elder, Nikita Popoff, arrived with his wife in Burnaby, B. C. to join their son and family. Together with William Zubkoe, another Saskatchewan Doukhobor (who came to Vancouver in 1943), they called a special meeting of Doukhobors. They were concerned basically with three things: 1. The problem of youth ("something should be taught to them about the Doukhobor movement"); 2. The concern over the fact that a number of Doukhobors were actively participating in the Russian People's Home ("which is a Bolshevik organization where people drink liquor"); 3. The need to have an independent Doukhobor organization in order to hold their own sobranyes (religious and business meetings), to give some order to the annual Petrov Dien, and so forth. The meeting discussed these concerns and as a result its members decided to form an organization.

Formal Structure and Membership

A president, vice-president and secretary-treasurer formed the Executive Committee of the organization, with the slate of officers being chosen during annual meetings. The aims were to do something about their three-fold problems.

Since they had no hall of their own, they initially rented the Tatra "Slovak" Hall in Queensboro, New Westminster. Soon, however, they found "inexpensive" accommodation at a small evangelic church at 244 Baine Street, several blocks away from their former meeting place. The district was chosen because of the presence of a small cluster of Doukhobors in this area. Membership dues varied from \$2.00 to \$5.00 per year. All Doukhobors were invited to join.

Official membership did not reach more than around 55 members, although by 1962 the number of members declined considerably. At times many more people attended their Sunday sobranyes, while on Petrov Dien several hundred Doukhobors would participate.

The membership was initially made up of "working peoples", with several professional people joining shortly after. There were quite a few couples who were retired and these generally made up the core of a Doukhor choir. Singing has always been in acappella style--with no notes being used, as traditionally was the custom.

Several members of the Society have played an active role in the wider Doukhor movement. Two of these, William N. Papove (civil engineer) and Peter S. Faminow (lawyer) have held the post of chairman and secretary-treasurer respectively of the Union of Doukhobors of Canada (UDC).*

* As already mentioned, the UDC is a federally structured organization designed to unite all Doukhobors into one corporate body, for the purpose of promoting and preserving certain Doukhor values.

During their one-year term, 1958-59, these men prepared a study of the New Denver "Sons of Freedom" Institution.*

Among their recommendations was the termination of Government-sponsored experiment. Furthermore, during their term of office, these men were instrumental (along with representatives of the Society of Friends and the Fellowship of Reconciliation) in holding a two-day "Conference of Peace Through Non-Violence" at the University in Vancouver [The Inquirer, vol. 5, nos. 5-8, June-September, 1958, pp. 5-7]. The project was hailed as an "outstanding success" by some 200 delegates from the Pacific North-west.

Most of the members came from an Independent Doukhobor background; only a few give allegiance to the Orthodox end of the religious spectrum.

Internal Differentiation

The Society of Doukhobors of New Westminster was affiliated as an autonomous Local of the Union of Doukhobors of Canada, and consistently sent delegates and resolutions to its annual meetings. In their turn, the UDC maintained

* This institution was set up at New Denver in the Slocan Valley of B. C. in the summer of 1953 when some 300 "Sons of Freedom" were apprehended for nudity at the "Polatka" episode in Perrys Siding. While the parents were sent to penitentiary, the children were taken to a vacant sanitorium at New Denver. Subsequently more children were apprehended, and before the "school" came to a close on August 2, 1959, more than 170 children had been taken to the special School [Tarasoff, 1963].

contact with the Society by way of circulars and visits. In September 1956, the UDC sent singer and choir instructor Harry W. Vereschagin for a week-long series of meetings on the main theme of education in the Doukhobor movement [The Inquirer, vol. 3, no. 9, October 1956, p. 21]. The need for this series was prompted by the apparent misunderstanding many people had of the teachings of the Doukhobors; one result, it is claimed, was that young Doukhobors were said to be "confused" and "ashamed" while the public frequently reacted with many misconceptions about the group.

At its most active point, 1957, the Society of Doukhobors of New Westminster instituted the following activities: reading of the Zhivotnaya Kniga Dukhobortsey (Doukhobor Book of Life) and the Bible; panel discussions and speakers; a regular "Inquirer Day" in aid of the Doukhobor youth publication emanating from Saskatchewan [The Inquirer, vol. 4, no. 3, April 1957, p. 19]. The same season, Peter Faminow spoke on the "Middle East Crisis"; at a later date William Papove told of his trip to Mexico.

At their Easter Service, 200 Doukhobors came from the following areas: Brilliant, Langley Prairie, Mission, New Westminster and Vancouver [The Inquirer, vol. 4, no. 4, May 1957, p. 7]. Following the formal service, choral presentations and open forum speeches were the order of the day.

The annual peace day gatherings in summer might be considered as the highlight of the year. On the appointed day people gather and recall the 1895 burning of arms in Russia and at the same time resolve to hold true to their pacifistic ideals. If the weather is favorable, the meeting is held outside in some park, as the people pray, sing, speak and then enjoy a generous picnic lunch. The Society of Doukhobors of New Westminster have provided the main leadership for the organizing of these yearly events in the Greater Vancouver area.

Cooperation with Other Groups

As an affiliated local of the Union of Doukhobors of Canada, the Society has in a loose sense merged with the wider Doukhobor world. Independent and "Orthodox" Doukhobors have participated together from a wide area of the Fraser Valley, particularly during Easter services and annual peace day gatherings. With Quakers, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, other pacifists and various factions of the Doukhobors they have actively cooperated during the two-day Conference of Peace Through Non-Violence (1958). And together with the Vancouver Doukhobor Society, they have met the public during one of the "Nations of the City" meetings (1958) sponsored by the Vancouver Civic Unity Association.

During the 1958 Centennial Celebrations of the Province of British Columbia, choir members from the Society

participated in a Centennial concert. The project was sponsored by the Federation of Russian Canadians. Furthermore, many members of the Society have frequently attended Russian movies, concerts and meetings at the Russian People's Home. In effect, one could say that there has been a substantial amount of cooperation between the two groups, even though much of it was on the individual level.

Most of the older members support Iskra, the "Orthodox" Doukhobor Russian weekly which is published in Grand Forks, British Columbia, by the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ. The paper is a mimeographed publication with occasional pictures (this is a recent innovation), with a serious editorial, reports on happenings within the organization, and capsule news about national and world events. There seems to be a limited amount of interest for the youth, although for the older people (who, for the most part, are versed in the Russian language and not in English) it is useful. A youth section in English is a recent innovation designed to attract the young people. Vestnik, the bi-weekly Russian language newspaper of the Federation of Russian Canadians, is another common paper among the older people.

Conflict with Other Groups

Subtle forms of "discrimination" by local newspapers and some radio stations has repeatedly frustrated many a

Doukhobor on the West Coast. The use of the word "Douk" has been frowned upon, yet used by the newspapers.* Likewise, innuendoes based on minority behavior have tended "to tar the whole group with one brush". Papove and Faminow reacted to this adverse type of publicity during their stay in office with the Union of Doukhobors of Canada. On May 29, 1958, they sent a telegram to the Attorney-General Robert Bonner of British Columbia, as well as a copy to Prime Minister Diefenbaker. The telegram stated:

We are deeply concerned about the reports that are being released from time to time regarding the matter of so-called Kootenay terrorists. It appears to us that these reports often lack objectivity and a sense of responsibility. Without further clarification they confuse the public and create ill feelings amongst various groups in this area and in this country as a whole. So long as the individual or individuals responsible for the alleged bombings are not known or adjudged by the legal tribunals of this country no citizen should make irresponsible statements and in particular either directly or by innuendo to imply that destructive acts are being done by some person or persons belonging to a particular religious group. "To so prejudice causes grave injustice--not only to the people that are thereby accused, but to our whole structure of Canadian jurisprudence. Before this unfortunate situation becomes irretrievable, we request your good offices to make a judicious public utterance reminding those making these irresponsible reports, that the citizens of this country whoever they may be and of whatever race, colour,

*This matter of "subtle discrimination" is demonstrated in K. J. Tarasoff, "Report of the Press of British Columbia regarding Doukhobor and 'Sons of Freedom' News" [Tarasoff, 1958].

creed or religion, are innocent, until proven guilty by the respective courts in this country [The Inquirer, vol. 5, nos. 5-8, June-September, 1958, p. 13].

To date no public utterance has been made as requested.

Another case of conflict occurred with a rival Doukhobor organization. This took place at one of its annual peace day events at Ryall Park, in Queensboro, New Westminster. In opposition to the Society of Doukhobors of New Westminster, the Vancouver Doukhobor Society [see above] organized one of its own gatherings on the same day. The result was segmentation of the Doukhobors on what was supposed to be a day of united concern. It is reported that the majority soon "drifted over to the Zubkoe-Popoff organized event" sponsored by the New Westminster group.

Internal Strains

The young people were never really brought into the activities of the Society--only a few ever attended. Religious services were always in Russian, so were the business meetings--an occasional address has been made in English by some not sufficiently conversant in the "mother tongue" (but translations were always demanded by the elders).

Fragmentation among the Doukhobors of Greater Vancouver has produced a disturbing strain amongst its people. It is difficult to have effective social controls when groups are splintered, when "democratic" leadership is

stretched to the point of anarchy, and when out of this confusion individuals arise who claim to speak for the whole group. Many Vancouver Doukhobors remember the 1958 Petrov Dien when embarrassment and confusion resulted just at the moment when a large number of Doukhobor and non-Doukhobor visitors had been present in conjunction with the Conference of Peace Through Non-Violence. It rained early that morning, so that there was much indecision as to what the people should do. In the meantime, the sun had come out and a religious service began. Up rushed one Doukhobor elder, stopped the service and announced that a group of people had already gathered at the Russian People's Home. Confusion reigned as many local Doukhobors found themselves highly embarrassed by their own indecision and bungling before so many out-of-town distinguished guests. Such confusion was bad publicity for all of them.

Actual Splits

Not known.

Termination

The Society was not really terminated but in May 1962 was extended to form the Lower Mainland Society of Doukhobors [see below].

16. Doukhobor Fraternal Society of Greater Vancouver

Origin

Disturbed by the segmented nature of Doukhobors in the Greater Vancouver area, a group of ex-Saskatchewanites decided to form an organization which would be "neutral" and into which anyone could join without taking sides as to the "John J. Verigin's group (USCC)" in Grand Forks, the "Union of Doukhobors" group, the "Sorokinites" of the so-called "Sons of Freedom", or to any other faction. The basis chosen was that concerning the paying of funeral expenses. This was to be a mutual benefit society.

Right at the outset it was decided to gain official status by registering the Society and its Constitution under the Societies Act in Victoria, B. C. This was done in 1959, with specially printed membership cards available for this purpose.

Formal Structure and Membership

According to the Constitution (in abbreviated form), we find the following formal data:

The objects of the Society are to promote friendly social relations among the members, and to help pay funeral expenses. This is to be done exclusively among persons belonging to the Society.

Membership: Any person of the Doukhobor community, or member of his family may belong, if acceptable to the Executive Committee.

Officers and Executive Committee: Consisting of Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and Directors. The above to be elected at a General Meeting.

Finance: Membership Fee \$1.00, plus an additional minimum of \$1.00 in advance towards each death.

Benefits: of \$1.00 from each member shall be paid to the beneficiary. Benefits to come effective 30 days after acceptance. Only members in good standing shall benefit.

Committees: may be formed by the Annual Meeting or Executive Committee for any purpose related to the aims of the Society.

Meetings: Annual Meetings shall be held not later than January 31st of each year.

Books: may be inspected by members in good standing by arrangements with the Treasurer.

Amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws may be made only at an Annual Meeting by an extraordinary resolution.

The Society and its Constitution have been duly registered under the Societies Act in Victoria, B. C.

For further information, apply to the Secretary ["An Abbreviation of the Constitution of the Doukhobor Fraternal Society"; Mimeographed sheet].

As a mutual aid Society this organization has since benefited some seven members (to the end of 1962). Currently there are 75 families belonging to it. As one of its officials states: "The organization today is a functioning one--it is organized on a 'cash and carry' basis."

Membership concentration is greatest in the New Westminster region (where a considerable number of Doukhobors live). Likewise, there are members in Vancouver, Burnaby, Mission and Aldergrove. From a socio-economic point of view, the majority of the members appear to be "working class" people. There are several contractors and small business proprietors among the group.

A number of its members belong to the Union of Doukhobors of Canada, and generally look favorably upon a federal union of Doukhobors.

From a visual observation of the membership it appears that most of its officers and members of the Executive Committee have come from the Kamsack region of Saskatchewan where the "Progressive" movement is said to have firm roots. Correlated with this area is a decided decrease of interest in religious sobranyes.

When the Fraternal Society was first formed in 1958, its initiators had great hopes "that most of the Doukhobors of Vancouver and mainland would join this cooperative venture" [View by Moses Popoff, New Westminster, B. C.]. However, this did not prove to be the case. Why?

Popoff offers several suggestions:

Perhaps this is due to the fact that many organizations have started up in the past amongst the Doukhobors, but before they had a chance to prosper they would invariably decline, or its organizers would pull out.

Others say: "I'm satisfied with the way it is now, and see no need for a change. Don't bother me with your organizations," they affirm.

Still others are, no doubt, ill-informed about the situation, or are not persuaded enough to join.

Thus there appear to be a multiplicity of reasons for the "let-down" in their original expectations "that most of the Doukhobors" would join.

Nonetheless, the Fraternal Society has brought together a number of individuals who might not otherwise have joined any Doukhobor organization. Especially, this is true with those members who are disillusioned with the traditional prayer services or religious sobranyes and who nevertheless desire to maintain their ethnic identity.

The emphasis in being a "good Canadian" appears to be another motive for membership in this organization. Mr. and Mrs. Paul Reibin, whose children are members of an evangelical church, are members here. Paul frequently emphasizes the fact that members of the Fraternal Society have participated in programs of the Vancouver Civic Unity Association, especially with regard to the "Nations of the City" program (1958-59). Moreover, the Fraternal Society takes pride in having encouraged the Svidanya of Youth [see below] to participate in the 1958 Centennial program of the Vancouver Folk Festival. Paul's personal acquaintance with Dr. W. G. Black

(Liaison Officer, Citizenship Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Vancouver, B. C.) gives him a feeling of pride and personal esteem. Mr. and Mrs. Reibin are members of both the Volga Ensemble and the Russian School Group [see below].

Internal Differentiation

Besides its stated function of providing funeral funds for families of the deceased, the Fraternal Society has cooperated with the Society of Doukhobors of New Westminster in the annual Petrov Dien gatherings. At the July 1, 1962 event, the Executive Committee of the Fraternal Society contributed to its planning and actively participated in its program.

Its Social Committee has initiated a number of informal picnics, at which shashliki (Russian barbecues) have been made in open fire pits.* Informal conversation and singing were the common modes of behavior at these events--and of course, plenty of eating was the order of the day. Several evening dances at Tatra Hall (in New Westminster), cabaret style, have been organized both officially and unofficially by its Social Committee.

* This same practice has been common in Kamsack, Saskatchewan, where many of the members once lived. Among most Kamsack Doukhobors today, shashliki are considered a delicacy. This is in contrast to the "Orthodox" Doukhobors in British Columbia whose official policy is vegetarianism, and meat eating is considered "taboo"--though in practice this is frequently not the case.

The 1962 Halloween Party was presumably initiated by the Fraternal Society, by virtue of the fact that the event was publicized (via phone, posters, and personal contact) by its members. Yet, when the Executive was asked who initiated the project, they denied any direct responsibility for it. "It arose spontaneously," was the answer, without any specific sponsoring group.

Cooperation with Other Groups

We have already mentioned the Fraternal Society's participation in the "Nations of the City" program sponsored by the Vancouver Civic Unity Association. Also, we have stated that its Executive Committee has actively cooperated with the planning of the 1962 Petrov Dien, and that many of its members support the Union of Doukhobors of Canada. The short-lived Svidanya of Youth [see below] has also been promoted by this mutual aid society.

Conflict with Other Groups

None that is apparent.

Internal Strains

Significant is the fact that there is a decided absence of "Orthodox" Doukhobors (many of whom value vegetarianism as an ideal) in this Fraternal Society. One informant (with "Orthodox" Doukhobor affinal ties) comments that "the Fraternal Society is nothing more than an organization

catering to the dead, holding shashliki, dances, and drinking parties". For this reason, my informant claims there can be no appeal for the person with "Orthodox" orientations.

Actual Splits

No data.

17. The "Svidanya of Youth"

Origin

It is suggested that the immediate "cause" for the formation of this group was the desire of Doukhobor youth in the Greater Vancouver area to meet together on the basis of common social and cultural activities. The existing non-Doukhobor institutions apparently did not satisfy their appetites--or to put it another way, they felt that their ethnicity made them a group "different" from others.

The first meeting, January 18, 1958, was in the home of Nick N. Plotnicove. Miss Sophie Chutskoff, who had earlier attended the 6th World Youth Festival in Moscow, USSR, acted as chairman of the gathering.

The name "Svidanya of Youth" literally means "The Meeting of Youth"--a neutral title.

Formal Structure and Membership

From the "Minutes of the formative meeting in January 1958, we learn about the aims of the group and the composition of its membership.

The purpose of future gatherings was put forth by Sophie [Chutskoff] and discussed at length . . . It was decided to start the organization with a social club and expand into culture, education, and such as time progresses.

The following executive was voted in: Pres.--Harry Nahornoff; Vice-Pres.--Sophie Chutskoff; Sec.--Peter Hoodicoff; Treas.--Paul Moroso.

The name for the club was not chosen . . . The members recommended that the club would consist mainly of Russian people, however, any other close friends would be welcomed.

A motion was carried that the regular meeting would be held every first and third Sunday of each month at the time of 7-9 p.m. The group would try to hold social evenings once every month [Minutes, January 18, 1958].

At the second meeting, Tatra Hall (New Westminster), the name was finally decided upon. In Russian it became known as Svidanya Molodozh ("Svidanya of Youth" in English). John Popoff agreed to instruct the group in the art of choral singing [Minutes, February 2, 1958].

On March 2nd of the same year, we learn that the group had already acquired the rental of a small clubhouse, called Fir Lodge, which was located in Central Park, Burnaby. At the meeting, seven "objectives" of the Constitution were suggested and discussed by the 20 members present:

1. To uplift the level of the Doukhobor name.
2. To weld all the Doukhobor youth into a harmonious unity.
3. To preserve Doukhobor heritages.

4. To strengthen Doukhobor relationships with the society.
5. To offer varied recreational and social opportunities among the Russian people.
6. To bring about a realization that human relationships can be improved.
7. To promote intercultural understanding and friendship with all [Minutes, March 2, 1958].

Earlier it was recommended that Club members attend as many festivities as possible at the Russian and Ukrainian Halls, and that articles be sent to Iskra (a Doukhobor "Orthodox" weekly periodical in Russian) and The Inquirer (an Independent youth publication in English) in order "to explain and publicize" the Club [Minutes, February 16, 1958].

Generally speaking, the Svidanya of Youth brought together Doukhobor young adults on the basis of common interest in Russian choral singing of folk songs. Its members proved to be exceptionally good singers who came from a variety of occupations; two of the ladies worked in a plywood factory; several were teachers; others were employed in carpentry, truck-driving; one or two were students. Practically all had previously frequented the Russian People's Home.

Internal Differentiation

Before the Svidanya of Youth terminated its activities after less than two years since it came into being, the Club participated in or initiated the following activities:

1. Valentine's Dance, netting a profit of \$75. Masquerade Dance and Program at the Russian People's Home, November 1, 1958. St. Patrick's Day program netted \$115.

2. Peter S. Faminow, Doukhobor Lawyer, spoke on "Doukhoborism", March 6, 1958.

3. Panel discussion: "Where do we go from here?" March 15, 1959. Panelists were Peter S. Faminow, Arni S. Arnason (Executive Director of the Vancouver Civic Unity Association), and one of the members of the youth group. Thirty-five people were present. Lunch was served.

4. The Youth Choir, which included most of the members, participated in a variety of places: the Chinese Benevolent Association; the Centennial of B. C. Concert of the Federation of Russian Canadians, June 15, 1958; at the "Dance of Nations" program sponsored by the Vancouver Civic Unity Association, October 3, 1958; at the "Nations of the City" program, also by the VCUA, June 6, 1958; the Centennial Folk Festival, October 23, 1958; and at the dance and program held at the Russian People's Home, February 14, 1959.

5. In addition, at the beginning of the second season, September 21, 1958, Miss Vallie Plaxen (who had just returned from a two-year study of dancing at the Byelorussian cultural school in Minsk, USSR and was a dancing instructor for the Federation of Russian Canadians) reported that Russian dancing lessons were being formed. A bowling league was also set up.

Cooperation with Other Groups

The group cooperated with the Federation of Russian Canadians by holding a number of public dance-parties at their Russian People's Home, by engaging their dance teacher, and by contributing to their Centennial B. C. Concert in 1958. The Club's participation with the Vancouver Folk Festival and the Civic Unity Association programming was an instance of outside participation with other ethnic groups (including that of the Russian Orthodox group).

Conflict with Other Groups

The Svidanya of Youth clashed with the Union of Youth* "Orthodox" Doukhobor youth organization in the spring of 1959. The dispute centred around the right of participation in the Union of Youth's annual Youth Festival in Grand Forks, B. C. The Union of Youth invited the Svidanya of Youth Choir provided that one of the members of the choir would not participate. The "banned" member was charged with having participated in the zealous faction known as the "Sons of Freedom". According to the parent body of the Union of Youth, all fraternalization with the "Sons of Freedom" is banned. The Svidanya of Youth, while anxious to attend the Festival, would not bow down to "such indignity".

*The Union of Youth is the youth group of the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ with its headquarters in Grand Forks, B. C. The group is commonly known as the "Orthodox" Doukhobor group.

During the same season, a group of "Orthodox" Doukhobor students from the Kootenays of B. C. who were attending the University in Vancouver refused to associate with members of the Svidanya of Youth; instead they formed their own choir and subsequently participated in the Youth Festival in Grand Forks. The "Orthodox" Doukhobor student group reacted disfavorably to the inclusion of dancing and the use of the English language in a Doukhobor youth group. Opposition to dancing is a puritanical notion which had been embedded in tradition.

Internal Strains

Mary Hlookoff, a founding member, was asked to explain "why" the collapse. She gave three reasons:

1. Some youth got married and didn't bother to attend because the partner was either not Doukhobor or Russian.
2. It was difficult to attend all singing practices because everyone was so busy with working on their own jobs.
3. Everyone wants to be a leader, but no one wants to be a follower [View by Miss Mary Hlookoff. Field Notes, September 2, 1962].

From these comments it appears that several internal strains were present which led to the eventual collapse of the organization. In addition to this, it appears that the group's enthusiasm was discouraged when the USCC youth in Grand Forks turned down a request of the Svidanya of Youth to participate in their annual Youth Festival.

Actual Splits

None.

Termination

After the second season, the Svidanya of Youth ceased its activities in the spring of 1959. In the fall of 1961 some of its members held a meeting concerning the possibility of reviving the Club, but nothing came of it.

18. Lower Mainland Society of Doukhobors

Origin

This is the most recently-formed organization among the Russian people on the West Coast of British Columbia. It was formed in the early part of 1962 as a successor to the Society of Doukhobors of New Westminster [see above]. The idea of the organizers was to extend the former organization throughout the Greater Vancouver area so as to include all the Doukhobors (young and old) into one united and effective whole.

Thus, when the continuing elder group of the Society of Doukhobors of New Westminster got together at 244 Boine Street (a small church building which they rented at a small fee), they discussed various concerns, including plans for a Velik Dien (Easter) and Petrov Dien (annual peace day). Ken Konkin, local pharmacist, and his family along with another

young couple and their family attended and presented other suggestions as well. One of these was to begin the service on time at 2:00 p.m. and to end "sharply" at a specific time-- "and not to drag on as the elders generally do". [In one case, the young couple had hired a baby-sitter while they were away and had to be back early.] Secondly, there was a desire to hold the service "at a more centralized location". Thirdly, "more order was desirable during the business part of the sobranye". Fourthly, "their children should be provided with some religious instruction". Fifthly, it was emphasized that the old organization should be reorganized "on a democratic basis" so that it could effectively carry out its work, such as providing leadership for Petrov Dien.

A provisional chairman (Wm. Zubkoe) and secretary (Ken Konkin) were chosen, and they, together with others, prepared to study the local situation with the intention of presenting their report before a special meeting.

The big day came, May 27, 1962, when some 60 Doukhobors of various factions gathered at Lochdale Hall in Burnaby. Notice of meeting had earlier been advertised in the Iskra publication, as well as by phone and personal contact. Various arguments revealed a general discontent with the existing state of affairs. As 27-year-old Harry Cheveldave stated in English:

I look around us and note the lack of young people at this sobranye. I'm the last of the Doukhobor generation--unless something

is done about it. Let's do something positive to build up a "proper religion". Let's put it on a firm foundation, so that we could proudly say, when asked, that "I'm a Doukhobor" [Field Notes, May 27, 1962, p. 8].

Harry is married, has several children and works as a foreman in the electrical field. (See Appendix "C" for a running commentary of the proceedings at this particular meeting.) To make things short, thirty-one of those gathered voted to establish a new organization--the rest, about an equal number, either abstained or nodded in approval.

Formal Structure and Membership

The new organization followed the same administrative structure as that of its predecessor. There was a president, vice-president and secretary-treasurer, with these positions being filled at the annual meeting. In either case there was no written Constitution and it was not registered under the Societies Act of the Province.

The present Executive includes Wasil Zubkoe as president, Nikita Popoff as vice-president, and Ken Konkin as secretary-treasurer. All three are former Saskatchewanites. Zubkoe came to Vancouver in 1943 and has since worked with a sash and door manufacturing company; he is in his late 40's. Popoff is a retired pensioner who was born in Russia, later worked as a farmer on the Saskatchewan prairies, and who throughout his life continued to participate actively in Doukhobor organizations. Since coming to Vancouver in 1948 he was often

called to lead sobranyes and conduct funeral services. Ken Konkin, 33 years old, is a graduate pharmacist who is currently operating his own drug store. Except for Ken, the other two men were long-time members of the former New Westminster organization.

The present organization has 43 paid-up members (those over 16 years of age who have paid a \$2.00 fee) plus some nominal members. All are "old" members except for several young adults and married couples (with children). Besides the Executive, the occupations represented in the membership include: a civil engineer, a social worker, carpenter, an accountant, a barber, a lawyer and an electrical engineer. The rest are retired and Russian born (all from Transcaucasia).

Internal Differentiation

Since its official inception, the Society has held sobranyes twice a month (with the exception of the summer and part of the winter season), and has provided the leadership for the Petrov Dien event. With its second season, it sponsored an illustrated lecture by Wm. N. Papove on "Service and Travelogue on Southern Asia". Also, it held two special meetings concerning the 13th Annual Convention of the Doukhobor Society of Canada*) which had been scheduled for November 1962,

*The Doukhobor Society of Canada is the new title (since 1959) for the "Union of Doukhobors of Canada". The title was changed as an experiment to see if there would be any effect on membership increase. There seems to be no favorable effect [Tarasoff, January 1963: 742].

at Taghum, B. C. Hotly debated was the question of offering aid to the "trekking Sons of Freedom", one of the topics scheduled for discussion at the Convention. William Zubkoe, was chosen to represent the local Society at the Taghum meeting; he failed to get there when bad weather forced cancellation of plane flights out of Vancouver. With the 1963 Federal Election in April, the local Society held a debate in early March on the topic: "Resolved that Doukhobors should participate in politics."* The topic was vigorously debated, especially in view of the fact that one of Vancouver's prominent Doukhobors was running for a Federal post in the election.

Another innovation by the new organization, and particularly due to the efforts of Ken Konkin, was the holding of a "Sunday School" for young children at the same time as the sobranye itself (but in a separate room). The experiment (teaching elementary Russian to the children, along with some "religious" teachings) got off to a slow start as its teacher--one of the young married women--failed to appear regularly.

*Traditionally, Doukhobor organizations in Canada have either been officially against participation in politics or have had no say about it. The "Orthodox" Doukhobor organization (the USCC) has a clause in its "Declaration" which states that they "have never recognized and do not recognize any political party". The fear is based on the assumption that participation in politics means participation in governments (and ultimately in violence and war).

Cooperation with Other Groups

The "Sons of Freedom" trekkers (zealot Doukhobors) in Vancouver came together with the Society on March 3, 1963 to hear a Doukhobor from Saskatchewan, Peter G. Makaroff. Mr. Makaroff, a lawyer, was the first Doukhobor to graduate from a university in Canada, and during the early part of his career he played an important part in legal cases dealing with the Doukhobor community. Zealot spokesmen together with other Doukhobors were given an equal opportunity to participate in the discussion that followed. Some 150 people were present and joined in Russian singing at the beginning and the conclusion of the gathering. The common factor in discussion was the possibility of a solution to the present crisis of the zealots. In addition, all joined in a verbal attack against the Vancouver Sun's "misreporting" and "deliberate distortion" of a statement* purportedly made by Makaroff to Sun reporter Simma Holt. Makaroff disputed the accuracy of the report and has since made a personal complaint to the Sun.

Joint planning for the 1962 Petrov Dien was done with the Doukhobor Fraternal Society of Greater Vancouver [see above]. Doukhobors from various factions participated in the event.

A few individual members attend Club activities at the Federation of Russian Canadians, but the organization as such has no formal ties with them. Doukhobor attendance at

*The article under fire was called "Doukhobor QC Blames 'Sons' Leaders" and was published in the Vancouver Sun, March 2, 1963, p. 3.

the FRC's Russian People's Home increases whenever Soviet sailors in port are being entertained there.

One of the interesting examples of cooperation with other groups was that in which the Lower Mainland Society of Doukhobors was asked to perform a funeral and burial service for one of the few remaining Molokans* in this City. The deceased was 85-year-old Feodor Condrashoff [Vancouver Sun, January 17, 1963, p. 37], a former immigrant from eastern Russia, who during his last few years in Canada frequently attended Doukhobor sobranyes in Vancouver. Executive member Nikita Popoff lead the service, with a Doukhobor choir from Langley and Mission participating. Three remaining local Molokans sang during the course of the service [Field Notes, January 18, 1963].

Conflict with Other Groups

The coming together of various Doukhobor factions against the local newspaper has already been noted above. There appears to be a common consensus among members of the Society that local newspapers are "deliberately discriminating against all Doukhobors".

The zealot faction was involved in another contentious discussion--this time in a conflict situation with other

* The Molokans are a Russian peasant group which, with a host of other sects, dissented from the Greek-Orthodox Church of Russia nearly three hundred years ago [Young, 1932: 1].

Doukhobors. This happened last fall (1962), when Nick Plotnicove, who was then helping the trekking zealots,* created an "uproar" by accusing the organization and the Doukhobors present at one of the sobranyes of being "non-Christians" and "non-Doukhobors". The accusation came following a plea by Plotnicove that a collection be made in aid of the trekking children. After much discussion, he was told that the organization could do nothing unless there was "an official request" from the group in question; only individual action could be taken otherwise. Still others urged that the question be shelved until the next meeting. Plotnicove got so irritated at these remarks that he said:

*The "trekking zealots" are those "extremist" Doukhobors (about 1,000) who in September 2, 1962 left their homes in the Kootenay and Grand Forks regions of B. C., and trekked (partly by foot, but most of the 400 miles by cars and trucks) to the coast of B. C. In early January 1963 they stopped in Vancouver; here they currently stay. Their motive for the trek is uncertain. However, it is generally believed that an accumulation of certain grievances has led them to demand a "solution" from the governments of Canada and the Province of British Columbia. Migration to another country, for example, has for some years been suggested as a possible solution. The initiators of this trek were generally those who earlier in the year were arrested on a charge of "conspiracy to intimidate the Parliament of Canada and the Legislature of British Columbia" and "to commit arson and conspiracy to place explosive substances illegally" [Tarasoff, 1963: 828]. After 38 days of Preliminary Hearing, the charge was dismissed on August 7th and the 54 accused were released, while sixteen others were sent to prison to serve other sentences [*Ibid.*, 832]. It was generally believed that this particular group was in some way responsible for at least some of the \$18 million in depredations in the Kootenay and Grand Forks regions of B. C. during the past 30-year period--but this has not been proved.

These people are no longer Doukhobors by their actions. They shouldn't call themselves "Doukhobors" any longer. If they were, they would help [Field Notes, September 16, 1962].

In an aside, Plotnicove said, "These people are no longer Doukhobors--they are the worst scum in Vancouver." The question was shelved until the next meeting, although individuals were permitted to do as they pleased (but not on behalf of the organization).

Plotnicove and two other men subsequently published an appeal in Vestnik (the Federation of Russian Canadians newspaper), in which they claimed to be spokesmen for the "Doukhobors of Vancouver and New Westminster" [Vestnik, October 27, 1962]. The appeal was made to subscribe aid to the trekkers. The Lower Mainland Society of Doukhobors brought this matter up at one of its sobranyes. As a result the Executive made a formal protest; a statement, published in Vestnik [November 28, 1962, p. 3] dissociated the Society from the three individuals and charged that the statements were "individual opinions" and not sanctioned by the Society.

Internal Strains

The direction of one's orientation has created internal strains amongst the members. At one of the sobranyes last year (1962), one of the people present stated that it is the Doukhobors' role today to set his sights high and join

in the protest for world peace and disarmament. In response to this, one elder replied: "We should clean our own house first, otherwise how could we tell others how to live" [Field Notes, May 13, 1962: 1]. One can discern two approaches here: We could start by perfecting ourselves first and then turning our sights to wider interests, or we can go directly to vital issues concerning the world scene and hope that individual members will reform and improve in the process.

Another element of internal strain is the anxiety among some Doukhobors that there is a "conspiracy" against them. One of my informants, a member of the Society, told me one day that an "outside" group in this City is organized specifically "against the Doukhobors", and has been in existence for some years. Biased newspaper and radio reporting is supposed to be one manifestation of this "character assassination". The informant claims that the head of this "underground" group (which includes "prominent people") has personally approached him "to see if he would spy on the Doukhobors [Field Notes, May 13, 1962: 2]. My informant says he refused the offer. He describes the aims of this body in this way, as I have recorded them in my field notes:

The basic aims of this mysterious group are to wipe out the Doukhobors--or, in other words, to assimilate them)"which would be in line with the national policy"). Its manifestation is felt through the press, radio and television--all the Doukhobors have been labelled as something "bad", as "terrorists";

all this has been going on through the years, largely because of this particular pressure group. Everyone, in effect, has been black-balled with the same brush.

I further believe that there are "spies" within the Doukhobor groups across Canada, acting as information sources to the "head office". And this is one of the main problems why there has been disharmony amongst Doukhobor factions in this country.

Whether there is or is not such an "underground" or "pressure group" working in Vancouver to undermine the Doukhobors has not been ascertained. Nevertheless, the anxiety remains.

A third element of strain may be due to the influence of Western Christianity and North American "churchism". While the Doukhobors have been traditionally opposed to the formal structure of churches, priests and their ritualistic paraphernalia, there are some Doukhobors in Canada today (particularly second and third generation) who seem to be "drifting" towards "churchism". The Lower Mainland Society of Doukhobors has some young married adults who have demanded "Sunday Schools" along the line of other churches, and have asked for other things: "starting on time--like other churches do"; advertising in the church page of the local paper [this was turned down by the sobranye]; and the need to read the "Scriptures". Some members use the word "Church" interchangeably with the word sobranye--but this has been periodically challenged by other members. Likewise challenged is the contention that many of the "old psalms have no meaning whatsoever and should be discarded".

The prayer part of the sobranyes and most of the business part have been in the Russian language. However, the English language has been used occasionally by several of the younger members--to the frustration of many elders who know very little English. Hence, a strain in generational relations.

An interesting comment regarding one sobranye meeting was that by a young teacher from the Kootenays of B. C. who had been brought up under "Orthodox" Doukhobor influence. Following her first exposure to a Doukhobor sobranye meeting on the West Coast, my Field Notes state:

Florence Bloodoff . . . told us that she felt "odd" and "out of place" at the sobranye meeting which she witnessed this afternoon. Florence comes from the interior of B. C., where the force of custom dictates the wearing of simple clothing, no ear-rings. Shawls over the head are customary. However, according to her, these customary taboos were not observed today. Some people wore ear-rings; none wore kerchiefs (it was especially for this reason and also because of the fact that she was wearing a fashionable, dress that Florence felt out of place). The Union of Youth members of the USCC (Florence served on the Executive one season) are supposed to wear Russian clothes, even to their singing practices. Simplicity is the ideal [Field Notes, September 16, 1962: p. 5].

Actual Splits

With the more inclusive name, the hope was that all Doukhobors in the Lower Mainland would now be included under one title: The "Lower Mainland Society of Doukhobors".

However, while some new and younger members joined, the change in name and the shift in location of the meetings from the New Westminster site to the Lochdale Hall in Burnaby appears to have produced a loss of some elderly members. Peter Goolieff (and his wife) of New Westminster practically ceased to attend, though perhaps out of personal reasons.*

19. Slavonic Circle

For the past 15 years, at least, there has been organized at the University of British Columbia, a student-faculty group called "Slavonic Circle". Its membership is said to change from year to year, depending upon the Slavic students studying at the University, and upon their interests. Periodically Russian concerts and plays have been presented at the University [Data from Madam Pashkovsky]. Several years ago, for example, four Doukhobors studying Russian at the University participated in a Russian theatrical play with other fellow Slavic students.

*Normally, at the 244 Boine Street Hall, in New Westminster, Peter Goolieff had been on the Executive of the New Westminster Society for a number of years. He enjoyed being in the forefront by opening most of the sobranyes. But, with the formation of the new organization the majority vote failed to elect him to any executive post. He was quite disappointed. Unexpectedly he died of a heart attack, November 13th, 1962. It is generally thought that he had taken things "too seriously" and that in his reactions to the situation, "he was against everyone".

Another activity of this group has been choral singing, for which song sheets* with music were printed. The Slavonic Circle is said to provide "an outlet for creative expression" and at the same time gives an opportunity "to practice one's Russian and personally learn about Slavic culture."

Slavic professors, I have been told, have formed "cliques" of their own at the University.

20. The Volga Ensemble

Origin

The nucleus of the Volga Ensemble was formed in 1961 following a small but significant "split" from the Federation of Russian Canadians [see above]. As a result, competent vocalists and a music teacher were free to pursue their own interests. Practices began in the home of L. P. Nekrassoff in October.

Formal Structure and Membership

Currently thirteen members compose the Volga Ensemble. The Nekrassoffs are of Molokan and Russian Orthodox background.

*One set of song sheets in Russian with music includes the following popular folk numbers: "Korobushka", "Vo Kuznitze", "Metelitzha", "Vechernii Zvon", "Moskva", "Katusha", "Stenka Razin" and "Dorogi".

Eda Kronhause (nee Laskin) is the director and accordion and piano accompanist for the group. Next there are several Russian Orthodox Society members, with the rest being Doukhobors. The Nekrassoffs, Mrs. Kronhause, and the Doukhobor members were for some years prominent singers in the Federation of Russian Canadians. Margaritta Nekrassoff had been with the FRC as a dancer and singer since 1945 and later was married to one of their members (although they have recently separated); Margaritta is currently studying to be a concert singer. The Nekrassoffs and the Russian Orthodox members of the group sing in the Holy Resurrection Church choir; the Nekrassoffs, however, are not official members of the Church.

The Nekrassoffs and the Russian Orthodox members are immigrants from the Russian colony of Harbin, Manchuria. Eda Kronhause comes to Canada from Russia and Europe where she has had formal training in music.

The basis of the group is "strictly cultural", "non-political", and "non-religious". Its members love "pure" Russian folk singing and "authentic" Russian culture. Rhythmic gestures add a distinctive touch to their singing. Practices are normally held twice a week in private homes.

Vallie Plaxen, a Russian dance teacher who studied for two years at a cultural school in the USSR, has commented on the authenticity of the costumes which the Volga Ensemble wear during performances:

The costumes are not really authentic, but include a conglomeration of everything: Ukrainian and pre-revolution [Field Notes, November 5, 1962:5].

Vallie was also critical of "word changes in some songs": "The Ensemble has not hesitated," she says, "to change some words in the original Russian songs to suit their style. For example, the word 'Kolhoz' was omitted in one number and another word put in its place."

Internal Differentiation

Since their first public performance in January 1962, the group has put on six concerts and some of their members have performed at the Balalaika Nite Club. At least one member of the group has stated that they eventually hope to promote Russian singing on a wider level--through television and radio, if possible.

Cooperation with Other Groups

Concerts have been put on at the following places, with the sponsors in brackets: Russian Orthodox Hall (Russian Orthodox Society), the Queen Elizabeth Theatre (Vancouver Folk Festival), at a "high class" private home (Vancouver Civic Unity Association), Tatra Slovak Hall (an unidentified Doukhobor group, although members of the Doukhobor Fraternal Society of Greater Vancouver were involved), and the Lochdale Hall (Russian School group).

Conflict with Other Groups

The Volga Ensemble has not been invited to the Russian Centre of B. C. One member suggests that no invitation has come because "the Centre thinks that they are 'above' the Volga Ensemble". Perhaps, too, they still have a "taint" by virtue of the fact that its initiators were once instructors at the Federation of Russian Canadians.

Internal Strains

Three members of the Volga Ensemble refused to participate with the group during their performance at the Balalaika (a Vancouver Nite Club). The three people are members of one family belonging to the Russian Orthodox Society.

Actual Splits

One leading male singer quit at the beginning of the second season for some unknown reason. Subsequently he formed a small group called the "Guitara", and late in January 1963 presented a series of Russian concerts in the interior of the Province. The repertoire included folk singing, dancing, guitar playing, an accordion player, vocal soloist, and duet singers [Castlegar News, January 31, 1963].

21. Russian School Group

Origin

In January 1962, a group of relatively young Doukhobor parents in North Burnaby felt a need to promote Russian culture for their children. They felt that the existing Doukhobor organizations were doing little or nothing in this regard, and that the Federation of Russian Canadians was not considered "a respectable place" to send their children. "Certain local individuals," they contended, "gave the FRC a political tinge." Nor would the Russian School Program of the Russian Orthodox Society suit their purposes because Orthodoxy was foreign to their upbringing. Consequently a neutral group was proposed, a dancing instructor and two teachers engaged, and the Lochdale Hall (near Hastings and Sperling) in North Burnaby was rented for this purpose.

Formal Structure and Membership

A "Parents' Committee" (made up of all parents) is the controlling and administrative body of this group. Its members, however, insist that they are "not" an organization, but "strictly a Russian school".

The first Sunday lesson in January 1962 brought together only ten students, but five months later the figure was doubled. By January 1963 the figure had reached 25 students plus about an equal number of adults (mostly parents).

Initially begun by Doukhobor parents, the group has since included one Russian family and one Ukrainian family. In the latter case, the man is married to a Doukhobor lady. Likewise, one Doukhobor man who is married to an American, brings his three daughters to the School. Some of these children initially did not know any Russian. A recent "joiner" is a young man originally from Doukhobor background, but who had earlier joined one of the evangelistic churches in the City and who is married to an Anglo-Saxon; his parents are members of the Doukhobor Fraternal Society of Greater Vancouver. Two of the members were the former chairman and secretary of the Union of Doukhobors of Canada during the 1957-58 season; now and then they continue to participate in a few functions of the Lower Mainland Society of Doukhobors.

From a socio-economic point of view, it appears that many of the members are well-to-do professional people (in law, engineering, social work and teaching), with the remainder coming from the following occupations: dry-cleaning, ship-yard worker, and tugboat man. Two of the "professionals" hold high status positions in their respective jobs.

The dancing and teaching staff members come from quite diverse backgrounds. Dancing instructor Miss Vallie Plaxen was formerly employed for this same purpose at the Russian People's Home by the Federation of Russian Canadians. In the summer of 1958 she graduated from a two-year course in

dancing at the Byelorussian cultural school in Minsk, USSR. Following the 1960-61 season with the FRC, she states that she decided to "rest up"--it was under such conditions that the Parents' Committee approached her.

The second member of the staff is Mrs. Irene Alexandrovna Novakshonoff. She is a recent Russian Orthodox immigrant from Eastern Russia, via Shanghai. She also teaches Russian for the Russian Orthodox Society. The third member, who served temporarily for the first term only, was Kondrat Nikiforovitch Kievich, a Canadian-born Russian.

Internal Differentiation

An evening concert of dancing, recitation, and singing (along with contributions from several guest instrumentalists) concluded the first season. A young five-piece orchestra was engaged for this occasion, as parents, children and visitors participated together, with a generous buffet-lunch (home-made Kolbasa, herring, calery, cucumbers, potato salads, pastries, tea and coffee) all combining to produce an enjoyable evening. It was "familistic" in atmosphere.

During the first season the students met on Sunday mornings from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. The second season, however, began with Friday evening sessions (7 p.m. to 10 p.m.) because it was felt that "Sunday sessions disrupt visiting". The Lochdale Hall was engaged again. Local School Boards offered free accommodations for Russian school, when approached, but

refused the use of "hard shoes" on the gymnasium floors. Miss Plaxen and Mrs. Novokshonoff continue to be the dancing, singing and Russian School instructors.

The second season brought forth a new development. The parents felt that they themselves would like to "brush up" on their Russian. So we now have a group of parents meeting on Thursday nights with spry Mrs. Novakshonoff teaching them. They meet at individual homes, in turn.

The older children's group uses volume one of Russian Elementary Course (edited by N. F. Potapova and printed in 1954 by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, USSR), while the younger ones use a Soviet elementary illustrated Bukvar. Both books are relatively inexpensive and are obtainable locally from the People's Co-op Bookstore, among other places.

Cooperation with Other Groups

Last November (1962) the Russian School Group sponsored a performance of singing by the Volga Ensemble [see above]. Several members of the Ensemble also participate regularly in the activities of the Russian Group--for example at a Christmas Party, December 30, 1962 and at the Valentine Party and Dance on February 9, 1963. Proceeds of the latter event, according to a mimeographed circular, went "in aid of Lochdale Russian School". Admission was \$1.00.

Conflict with Other Groups

A few of the members formerly sent their children to the Russian People's Home--now they attend the Lochdale Russian School. Participation in the Home is not considered "respectable" because of an alleged "political tinge" there.

Most of the Doukhobor members do not attend local sobranyes held by the Lower Mainland Society of Doukhobors. I have been told that there is "little to offer there" for the younger Canadian generation. However, one Russian School spokesman has made announcements at Doukhobor meetings concerning Russian School programs and has invited Doukhobor children to join such programs. To this extent there is generally an amicable relation between the two groups.

The Secretary of the Society, however, looks upon this Russian School as a "non-religious" group of people; he appears to equate "religion" with attendance at Sunday "prayer" services and "Sunday Schools" for children.

Internal Strains

There is some anxiety to maintain "neutrality". This may be due to the social positions of some of the members. Association with "Communists" or "pro-Reds" might be embarrassing.

Actual Splits

None.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR

In Chapter II we have presented data on the organizations, past and present, among the Russian population in the Greater Vancouver area. We have not, however, attempted to generalize upon the various stages of organizational development. This we propose to do here.

1. Origin. The Russian ethnic people of Vancouver have found it necessary to band together for one reason or another. The basic reasons are these:

(a) The propagation of one's traditional belief system and personal interests, be they religious, political, cultural or otherwise.

(b) Association with people who speak the same language and understand what one is saying. This stems from the need for social relations with people with whom one can communicate linguistically (with the nuances of meaning perceptible only to those whose mother tongue the language is).

(c) Preservation of the past, e.g., the Russian Centre.

(d) Mutual benefit purposes. The Workers' Benevolent Association and the Doukhobor Fraternal Society of Greater Vancouver are examples of this.

(e) Catering to the interests of a particular age-set. Examples: The Canadian Russian Orthodox Youth Club and the Svidanya of Youth.

(f) Filling a vacuum following a split from another organization. The Volga Ensemble is a good example.

(g) Reaction to the overthostility of the wider society which rejected certain of its members. The Federation of Russian Canadians belongs here as well as in several other categories above.

2. Formal structure and membership. Some organizations are affiliated with wider areas through the medium of national bodies. Others are concerned with particular interests of local scope. An example of the first is the FRC and the church groups; of the second, the Volga Ensemble.

We may also look upon the formal structure as being "hierarchical" as with those affiliated to wider bodies, or "independent" as illustrated by our study of the last three Russian groups.

Membership composition may vary in age, in social class, in place of birth, in citizenship status and in interests.

3. Internal differentiation. The complexity of the organizations varies in terms of diversity of functions. The Federation of Russian Canadians, the Russian Orthodox Society and the Russian Centre are complex organizations with many sections, as compared with the Lower Mainland Society of Doukhobors with no committees other than the Executive.

4. Cooperation with other groups. Some common factor or common interest must be present before any two sub-groups will get together in some joint project. This common factor may merely be one's cultural interests, as with the participation of a number of Russian groups in the annual Vancouver Folk Festivals. Likewise, pressure from the other side may bring together a number of groups to face the "common foe". This is well illustrated in the motive for participation by the Federation of Russian Canadians in the recently-formed Canadian Council of National Groups.

5. Conflict with other groups. There is literally a wall between the Federation of Russian Canadians and the Russian Orthodox people. The first tends to be pro-Soviet, the second--anti-Soviet. The first tends to be "irreligious", the second (except for the Russian Centre of B. C.) tends to be "religious" in orientation. In effect, two "blocks" of people are aligned against each other, while the rest strive to be "neutral" through non-involvement in politics and religion.

6. Internal strains. Generational differences have traditionally caused a strain between the young and the old in most immigrant groups. The second and third generation people generally accept the language and values of the recipient country, while the first generation people for the most part tend to live in the past. Values of the past give comfort to them, while those of the present are often disturbing. The young person finds it necessary to adapt to the new situation (and he generally cannot escape it in view of the compulsory Public School system) in contrast to the elders who often find it more comfortable to live in the past and to preserve the old, familiar ways.

Part of this internal strain is the desire to conform to the patterns adopted by the "majority" of the receiving country, while on the other hand to retain all that is distinctive in the past. This difference in generation may in turn cause further strain and possibly schism. As H. Richard Niebuhr has pointed out:

The tendency toward conformity with the new civilization is, strangely enough, responsible for much of the denominationalism of America. It separates various generations of immigrants from each other so effectively that new schisms result [Niebuhr, 1957: 213].

Niebuhr's remark primarily concerned religious groups, but the same principle can apply to political or cultural groups.

The need for authority and the need for freedom and equality may produce two quite opposing strains within any particular organization. People in authority are always subject to attack by the rank and file members. Max Gluckman has described this aptly as "the frailty in authority" [Gluckman, 1960: 27-53]. Generally, the individual is attacked, not the office or position itself. This is termed as "rebellion, not revolution".

An example of this is that which occurred in the Russian Orthodox Society concerning old priest Peter. Those who were petitioning to replace him were doing so not with the intention of getting rid of his office; they only wanted to get a replacement for his office.

7. Actual splits. Schisms among the Russian people of Greater Vancouver have occurred among the Russian Orthodox people, the Federation of Russian Canadians, the Doukhobors, as well as others. The causes of such factionalism include: revolt against authority, and the desire for more independence; marital difficulties and personal disagreements; and personal offense by one section of the people against relationships which connote inferiority-superiority.

8. Termination. Seven cases of termination since 1909 were the result of various causes: the organization had ceased to serve the needs of its members; (e.g., the Society

for Technical Aid to Russia), a Government of Canada enactment during wartime made one Russian organization "illegal" (Maxim Gorky Russian Workers' Club); weakness and indecision in the leadership role produced a vacuum, as disintegration with the Progressive Society of Doukhobors; a decision by the membership to form a new and more inclusive sub-group led to termination (the Society of Doukhobors of New Westminster); and a blockage in one's path was followed by a loss in enthusiasm and the termination of the Svidanya of Youth. All these "causes" in some way led to the dissolution since 1909 of Russian organizations on the West Coast.

A Dominant Theme Highlighted

The dominant theme which evolves from the study of Russians of Greater Vancouver is that one's perception of Communism (together with the "Cold War" atmosphere) greatly affects organizational behavior. By Communism we mean that ideology which in Eastern countries is currently looked upon as a competing influence to the "democratic way of life", or perhaps the "capitalistic way of life". "Red" and "Bolshevik" are generally synonymous terms in this context. Generally speaking, Communism as used here implies a system of society in which property and the means of production are held in common, i.e., by all members of society and not by individuals.

Communism, moreover, implies a theory of government and social reform which is said to be different, again, from that of the Western representative and republican systems of government. Added to this are the various connotations which one reads in the Western press, such as: Communists are "against religion"; Communists are out "to take over the world"; their aim is "world revolution"; "they are a threat to the stability of the world"; ad infinitum.

The important thing here is that there are stereotyped notions about the Communists--just as, no doubt, there are stereotyped notions about the West from the other side. "We are right," is the standard clarion call and "they are always wrong". We are all "white"; they are all "black". Thus, when the word "Communism" is uttered in the West, many people associate it with all the things mentioned above, and much more. In some cases, as in the United States, being a Communist means that one is suspect of being "disloyal" to the country, so that ex-MacCarthyites and the John Birchers arise to stamp out this heresy. A person with Communist affiliations is invariably barred from entering the United States. In Canada, where the Communist Party is legal, membership in such an organization may also mean that he or she is thought to be suspect of some "underground" activities. The RCMP, it appears, keep track of Communist movements in this country. All this, which may be termed as part of the "cold war atmosphere" between the "East and the West" has

direct relevance to the theme of this paper.

The utterance of the word "Communism" appears to bring forth some of the same fears as do the magic spells used by "human sorcerers" among the Melanesians [Malinowski, 1961: 393]. In both cases, the welfare of the individual is felt to be at stake. With the Melanesian, the human sorcerer "has the capacity to destroy human life and to command other agents of destruction: [Ibid.] by the use of "spells" among other things. With the Canadian or American, the Communist "witch-hunter" has the capacity to destroy one's reputation and to bring the forces of the State to bear upon the culprit. Politicians use the word ("spell") to "black-ball" their opponents, while the uninitiated avoid it as the plague.

So it is with the Russians in Vancouver. Almost every group is affected by this magical term. There appears to be a rather sharp alignment between the Russian Orthodox people on one hand and the Federation of Russian Canadians (along with other "Progressives") on the other. The rest of the Russian people (including the Doukhobors) tend to take the middle or "neutral" path. We can illustrate the effect of magical concepts on organizational behavior by citing several pointed cases:

CASE 1. Some of the Russian Orthodox people fear that other Canadians may assume that all Russian Canadians are "leftist", as they say, "like the Federation of Russian

Canadians and other Communist sympathizers". Consequently, vigorous efforts are made to dissociate themselves from the FRC, and the term "White" Russians (another magical word) is used to distinguish themselves from the "Red" ones. Thus, as with the Melanesians, one strong magic spell may counteract another weaker spell. In addition, the Russian Centre of B. C. has a clause in its Constitution barring membership to "Communist sympathizers". The Russian Orthodox churches, have, without spelling it out, the same sort of membership bar. Those with "Communist sympathies" (and there are at least a few of them within the Russian Orthodox groups) will generally hide their inner beliefs to the public lest someone expose them to the Administration.

CASE 2. The president of the Federation of Russian Canadians points out that "we have no political objectives"--even though some of the members often attend Communist Rallies, "leftist" trade union meetings, and the "Peace Council March to Victoria. At one of the FRC membership meetings, I was told: "It is important for you to know that the Federation of Russian Canadians is non-political and is based on cultural unity; and that the FRC forms the largest Russian Canadian organization uniting all Russian Canadians." They are for "peace", they claim, and are avowed "anti-Fascists".

The fear of being labelled "Communist" stems partly from the beginning of the Second World War when the FRC's

predecessor, the Gorky Russian Workers' Club, was banned as an "illegal" organization. Thus, as one member put it, "the cold war" affected the members; "some left, others stayed but all became more cautious of outsiders". Hence the magic words, "Progressive" and "Democratic" are used to counteract any notion that they are "Communist sympathizers".

Yet, one of my informants from the FRC insists:

Many call us "Communist", but the Federation of Russian Canadians is a democratic organization.

To be a Communist one would have to understand the story of Karl Marx, Engels, and so forth But we, with little literacy, understand very little about it.

Our paper (Vestnik) comes out on Democratic principles. For example, anyone can write freely into the paper without fear--you can write about Christianity or what you wish to. The editor will accept good articles. Also our Federation struggles against war--and this is the most important aim [Field Notes, February 15, 1963].

Thus, for the FRC, the magic word "Communism" is avoided for a different purpose than for the Russian Orthodox members.

CASE 3. A recent immigrant from the USSR, via Europe, sent his children to the Russian School sponsored by the Russian Orthodox Society. Being a former Soviet citizen, he asked: "Why do you teach religion in this school?" When he received no satisfactory reply, he suggested a way to improve the school and gain more members: "Russian should be taught

first, and then those who wish it could have religious lessons. Religion should not be imposed on the whole group" [Field Notes, February 14, 1963: 6]. Following such a remark, he was allegedly called a "Communist", and left with his children. His wife is a Roman Catholic, but only one of their children has been baptized in the Roman Catholic faith. To avoid inter-family conflict all have since ceased attending church.

In this case, both Communism and church membership are divisive factors.

CASE 4. Another recent Russian immigrant (via Europe) is today a "non-joiner", although several years ago he was a member of the Holy Trinity Russian Orthodox Church as well as the Russian Centre of B. C. He still attends both, but gives a legitimate reason for being a non-member:

The non-member is not obligated to anyone. But if you are a member, then you must observe the rules of the organization and pay dues. [My informant claims that he was in arrears when he quit the Church organization.] If you are a member, say of a political party, then there is a fear of being outlawed, as with the Communist Party in the United States. Hence, to be a joiner, is to create enemies with my friends. I prefer to be free [Field Notes, February 14, 1963: 14].

My informant has suggested two important principles. First, by refusing to join, yet being a participant, my informant pursues a neutral position and therefore maintains his friends

from both camps (members and non-members). Moreover, he is free to have friends--Communist and non-Communist alike. Thus, he visited a recent Soviet ship in Vancouver Harbour without fearing a reprimand by some Russian organization. The second point is related to freedom. That is, one might call this a "revolt against authority". People strain for freedom from the "shackles" of organization.

An example of strict political neutrality is that of the Volga Ensemble. Here is a case where the members have joined on an expressed cultural basis. In this way they are free to promote Russian culture on the public stage, yet at the same time insure themselves a "respectable" non-political status position.

CASE 5. The Lochdale Russian School group insists that they are "strictly a Russian School", and "not an organization". The phrase "strictly a Russian School" denotes an inherent fear of being labelled a "Communist" group. Because some of its members hold high status positions in their jobs, it would be embarrassing in Canada to be associated with some "Communist" group. Hence the defensive mechanism: "strictly a Russian School".

CASE 6. At one of the Sunday sobranyes, the secretary of the Lower Mainland Society of Doukhobors pointed out that "we should stay clear of politics and secular matters;

our aims are 'spiritual and educational' in nature" [Field Notes, May 27, 1962: 2].

At the same meeting, one elder pointed out that those Doukhobors who are members of the Federation of Russian Canadians are "no longer Doukhobors". Rather, "they are tied in a political way to the Soviet Union--and therefore are no longer neutral". He pointed out that Doukhobors "as Doukhobors" are not given the opportunity of speaking at the Russian People's Home.

The frequent emphasis by Doukhobors on the "spiritual and the educational" may be nothing more than a protective device for their deep-rooted basic (radical) beliefs. These are also "magical" words. Again, this is another instance which can be considered as an attempt to avoid being labelled by some "unpopular" word such as "Communism". One "magic" word acts as a wedge to drive out another.

The attack by the Doukhorbor elder on the Federation of Russian Canadians (a "negative^{*} symbol") is really a way of saying that "because they are Communist sympathizers, therefore, you [the Doukhobors] the 'pure' in heart, should not go to the Russian Hall".

The power of words can be illustrated by looking at the 1961 Canadian Census. Only 171 people in the Greater

*Negative symbols are symbols which produce motivations for opposing that for which the symbols stand.

Vancouver area stated that they are of "Doukhobor" religion [Dominion Bureau of Statistics, private letter, February 27, 1963]. Yet it has been estimated by a Doukhobor lawyer and others that at least 3,000 people of Doukhobor cultural-religious "origin" are living in this area. The word "Doukhobor", it appears, has become a negative symbol, following years of blanket condemnation by newspapers. Namely, the recurring story that these people "strip, burn and dynamite at the drop of a hat". In reality, these things are as obnoxious to the Doukhobors as they are to the public at large. Only a small minority is involved. Yet the newspapers would not dare say "a Canadian stripper", for example, for fear that the word "Canadian" would acquire a "negative" status.

Simma Holt, a Vancouver Sun reporter, was asked at one meeting in February (1963) how she could justify the newspaper's policy in using the heading "Doukhobor" or "Douk" during a recent incident involving the death of several Doukhobor youth in a car accident.

"Well," she replied, "we say the same thing about Indians and Negroes" (though not for Anglicans or Catholics, she confessed) [Field Notes, February 25, 1963].

CASE 7. An outsider, Dr. W. G. Black (Liaison Officer, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Vancouver) describes the Federation of Russian Canadians "as Communist dominated and working with Khrushchev himself". He places

the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians in the same camp in contrast to the other Ukrainian organization (a church group) which he calls "true and loyal Canadians" [Field Notes, Visit with Dr. Black].

Thus, from the point of view of one Government official, the FRC organization is "Communist dominated" regardless of the members' denial of this. People are judged on the basis of stereotypes, as mere figures, devoid as it were, of personal human attributes.

The far-reaching effects of social conflict,* which seems to be apparent between the "Progressives"** and the "White Russians", deserves some thought. Instead of uniting on the basis of ethnicity or on the basis of such cultural elements as the Russian song and dance, the two groupings are driven further and further apart by one factor or another, with one's attitude to Communism being the most contentious motive. The general considerations of the effect of conflict

*For "social conflict" we use Lewis Coser's definition: "to mean a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals" [Coser, 1956: 8].

**By "Progressive" I'm referring to a typology which I suggested at the beginning of this thesis. This category would generally refer to the first eight organizations studied here.

upon group structures should be recalled here. Coser, reinterpreting Simmel's theory of social conflict, states:

that conflict makes group members more conscious of their group bonds and increases their participation. Outside conflict has the same effect: it also mobilizes the group's defenses among which is the reaffirmation of their value system against the outside enemy [Coser, 1956: 90].

The result is that each side of the "camp" withdraws unto itself, reinforces its own values, and further accentuates the gulf between the two peoples. Consequently, walls of prejudice tend to rise, and from the point of view of national policy, there can possibly be no effective integration of these peoples into society until these boundaries are lowered. Under the present "cold-war" situation, this does not seem too likely. The present trend appears to be oriented towards the development of either class conflict for disintegration through a feeling of helplessness and apathy.

My second comment relates to the notion that Canadians espouse diversity in society and often claim to be superior to the American with his "melting pot". In view of the present illustrations concerning the Communist ideology, one wonders where and how does the unpopular idea fit into a society which glorifies "diversity"? This notion permeates into many spheres of life. A Vancouver druggist, of Doukhobor background, points out, for example, that he does not discuss religion and

politics at his establishment. "It may harm my business," he says, "if I should state my views firmly on some contentious issue" [Field Notes, November 25, 1962: 2].

We should ask a pertinent question here: "Is the avoidance of discussing contentious issues in the drugstore a manifestation of the wider national atmosphere?" Namely, that unpopular ideas in Canada are not as readily permitted as one might imply by a "free society"? But that the competition of diverse ideas creates, instead, a verbal "war"; that only the presence of certain mechanisms prevents rebellion from breaking out. Or is the drugstore incident merely a case of a "secondary"* or impersonal group situation being "required" in an industrial society.

Other Factors Which Affect Organizational Behavior

While the perception of Communism (and the "cold war" atmosphere) appears to be a dominant theme affecting the behavior of Russian groups in the Greater Vancouver area, it is not the only factor. Here we shall briefly look at other factors. Specifically, these are social class, kinship, jurisdictional conflict (among the Russian Orthodox churches),

* Contrast this to the "primary group" situation which is characterized by "face-to-face association and cooperation" [Cooley, 1924: 23].

effective leadership, ecological factors, common interest, and the place of birth and time of arrival in Canada.

1. Social class.* Warner, in his study of social class states that "when societies are complex and service large populations, they always possess some kind of status system which by its own values, places people in higher or lower positions" [Warner, 1960: 8]. Such is the situation with the Russian people in the Greater Vancouver area. There has been some consensus that three social classes are present amongst these people. At the bottom are generally lumped the Federation of Russian Canadians (and other "Progressive" groups) together with the Doukhobors (with the possible exception of the Lochdale Russian School group), in the middle is the Russian Orthodox Society, and at the top of the social ladder is the Russian Centre of B. C. The other two Russian Orthodox churches are somewhere between the lower and middle class.

The above three-fold classification seems to reflect the value that Western society gives to Communism, Doukhobors, established church groups and the intelligentsia. This is only an impression.

* Social class, as used here, relates to the differential ordering of peoples in an upper-lower relationship. For simplicity sake, a three-fold classification is used here--lower, middle, and upper. These arbitrary levels are derived from the degree of formal education, "aristocratic" background, type of job and income, clothes and manner of speech.

The Russian Centre of B. C. is the group where social class seems most likely to come into play. Here, prices are generally higher (for certain food, New Year's Eve parties), the dress is more formal, the Russian language is "more pure", and the group has an over-proportion of highly educated and skilled people. Moreover, some families here have "royal-Tsarist" blood ties--and this, for the ladies, is frequently acknowledged by the "kissing of the hand" (a symbol of Tsarist times).

Contrary to this view, is that by a founding member of both the Russian Orthodox Society and the Russian Centre of B. C. When asked if there is a class structure among the Russians in Vancouver, he replied: "There is none here. Only in Tsarist Russia this was true. For example, people kept titles--'graf'" [Field Notes, February 18, 1963: 16].

Despite this opinion, there appears to be surviving elements of differential social class amongst the Russians of Vancouver, as stated above. The word "Madam" (derivative from the French Court) is used in reference to distinguished (educated, talented in art or drama) women at the Russian Centre of B. C. and at the Russian Orthodox churches. This would not occur with the "Progressive" and Doukhobor groups. Rather, this usage would "produce the biggest laugh amongst the Doukhobors and FRC", contends one Doukhobor.

Moreover, in addressing audiences, the Federation of Russian Canadians use "Tovarische" or "Druzia" (friends);

the Doukhobors use "Bratii i Sestri (Brothers and Sisters); while the Russian Orthodox and the Russian Centre people use "Gospoda" (Gentlemen) and "Gospozhie" (Ladies). Note the seeming gradation of formality in the forms of address and their relation to social class.

One prominent member of the Russian Orthodox Society and the Russian Centre of B. C. told me how "shocked" he and his friends were when a Doukhobor addressed one of their banquets several years ago. His dialect was said to be "impure". [The same Doukhobor once taught a Russian class in an American university.]

"Purity" and "impurity" of language seems to be also reflected in the social class structure. The members of the Russian Centre of B. C. are said to have the "purest" language, while those of the Federation of Russian Canadians have "a mixture of Ukrainian, Russian and English".* Vancouver Doukhobors have a number of "impurities" in their language, it is claimed: a few English words, and many idiomatic words and phrases from their Southern Russian peasant background (these are similar to the idioms used by Sholokoff in his Soviet classic Quietly Flows the Don). A recent M. A. thesis has tried to demonstrate that there is such a thing as a "Doukhobor Dialect" [Harshenin, 1960]. The point here is that

* Many of the FRC members have originally come from Byelorussia where the language is described as a "mixture" of Russian and Ukrainian.

there are differences in speech as one goes up the social ladder--from simpler to more complex, from the speech of the illiterate peasant to that of the intelligentsia.

The apparent emphasis on social class, especially among the members of the Russian Centre of B. C., may be a reaction to Communism itself, and a nostalgia for the Tsarist times. Portraits of Tsars and rich boyars have been seen in some of their homes. Conversation with these people often results in their reminiscences "of the good old days--when everything was stable and everyone in his place".

2. Kinship. One termination and one split among the Russian groups in Vancouver have been found to be connected with kinship relations. The Doukhobor Progressive Society came to an end around 1944 following two factors: one initiator left the City, while the second initiator was involved with marital difficulties.

The other case concerned the formation of the Volga Ensemble in 1961 following a split from the Federation of Russian Canadians by one family whose daughter had marital difficulties with a member there (among other reasons). It was said to be "too unbearable" for this family to stay there, for they had to continually defend their status from rumors and criticisms.

On the other hand, a happy marital union tied together one Doukhobor family with a Russian Orthodox family

(whose members belong to the Russian Centre of B. C.). The result is that the Doukhobor family (parents and son) bring with them friends to the functions at the Russian Centre. As Max Gluckman has stated, marriage bonds strike at the unity of each vengeance group. Such is the case with this couple and their families in relation to their respective historical backgrounds.

3. Jurisdictional conflict. Conflict is official between the "Big" Holy Resurrection Church (which has emotional ties to the Metropoly jurisdiction) and the other two churches (which both belong to the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia). Each jurisdiction claims primacy in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, though all claim to hold to the principle of "unity". All are, so to speak, "big chiefs" who seek support from their members. This "official" pattern is modified by several factors, however. In one case the son belongs to one jurisdiction while the father to another one, as well as to the Russian Centre of B. C. In another case, the "altar" boy has participated in all three churches, but now is with the "Big" Church. Some members recognize no distinctions; one such lady says she was criticized for doing this, but she did not care. "We are really all the same."

Major conflict arises with the third (the Soviet) jurisdiction--although the closest church in Canada with such allegiance is in Edmonton. Burial services for Rev. Kiziun

(who had broken a canonical law by remarrying) were held by the priest of the third jurisdiction from Edmonton; the other Vancouver priests, including the Greek Orthodox one refused to do this. The latter priests were strongly criticized for refusing to bury "their brother".

A recent marriage ceremony conducted by the third jurisdiction was not permitted in the three Russian Orthodox churches, but took place in the local Greek Orthodox Church. Since the groom was English, the bride Russian Orthodox, and the priests were Greek and Russian, the service was performed in three languages.

4. Effective leadership. The origin and relative stability of the "Progressive" groups as well as the Russian Orthodox groups may be due to the availability of effective leaders. The national Maxim Gorky Russian Workers' Clubs began when an experienced Byelorussian came to Canada with several other compatriots. He became the first president of the group in 1930; later, when the organization was banned in 1940, he became the founder of its successor, the Federation of Russian Canadians. The Progressive Society of Doukhobors was begun in 1935, for a similar reason. On the other hand, segmentation occurs, as among the Doukhobors, when no strong leadership is available to act as a unifying force.

5. Ecological factors. The Russian population in Vancouver is scattered throughout the City, but several slight concentrations are apparent. One is in the vicinity of the first site of the Holy Resurrection Church at West Seventh Avenue and Fir Street, where some of the older settlers still live. Slight concentrations occur around the area of the other two churches. Likewise, there is some slight concentration of Doukhobors on Lulu Island (New Westminster) and Burnaby, but many more are found scattered throughout the Lower Mainland. The Lochdale Russian School group is made up primarily of Doukhobors in the Burnaby area. In Surrey* there is another clustering of Russians, but this study has not been able to ascertain "why?"

Notwithstanding these slight concentrations, they do not form what Robert Park refers to as a "natural area" [Park, 1952: 79] nor what Louis Wirth calls the "ghetto" [Wirth, 1960: 4]. In fact, it may be questionable whether there is a "Russian community" in Vancouver.

6. Common interest. All the Russian Orthodox churches and the Federation of Russian Canadians combined in a joint program in 1943 when the "cold war" atmosphere had turned to one of "friendship" with the Allied Soviet Union.

*The 1961 Canadian Census shows 1,157 people of Russian origin in the Surrey municipality, as compared to a total of 9,324 Russians in the Greater Vancouver area.

The first Russian ship in port during the war was greeted by the local Russian community. They presented a joint program in honor of the Russian sailors. This appears to be the only instance where the two groups officially met.

One Russian Orthodox priest from the Holy Trinity Church for some years attended activities at the Russian People's Home; he encouraged his congregation to attend as well, with the result that the singers from both groups performed together in several public performances. His successor, with strong anti-Soviet sentiments, stopped all such contact, even though the church and the Home are one block apart.

The annual Vancouver Folk Festivals have almost regularly brought together several Russian groups along with other ethnic groups. All these joint contacts, however, have been on the basis of cultural interests (when religion and politics are strictly avoided).

7. Place of birth and time of arrival in Canada.

There are differences in outlook between those born in Russia and those in Canada; between those who came to Canada before 1917 and those after; between those who came here after 1945 and those before; between those who came here from the European part of Russia and those who came from Harbin and Shanghai, China. Those born in Canada, if educated in Canadian schools, tend to lose the Russian language rather quickly. Hence, with the FRC in 1958 there was formed an English-Speaking Branch. The "Svidanya of Youth" among the

Doukhobors is another example of English being used in meetings. All the other organizations use Russian as their official language. The recent innovation at the Holy Resurrection Church of having several of the religious services partly in English came about following a demand by Canadian-born youth.

What Can be Said about the "Non-Joiners"?

1. <u>Total population</u> of "Russian" ethnics in the Greater Vancouver area [see Chapter I]	9,324	100.00%
2. Total "active" (paid-up) members of the 14 existing Russian organizations (this includes some duplication)-----	824	
Adjustment for children (who are not included as "paid-up" members in the 824 figure)-----	<u>280</u> *	1,104 11.73%
3. <u>Non-joiner participants.</u> An estimate of those who attend once a year or more (including adults and children), but who are not members (on the basis of attendance at "peak events" such as Easter Service for the Orthodox and New Year's Eve for the Federation of Russian Canadians).		
a. Russian Orthodox** groups:		
i. Holy Resurrection -----	300	
ii. Holy Trinity -----	100	
iii. St. Nicholas -----	80	
b. Russian Centre of B. C. -----	170***	
c. Federation of Russian Canadians --	400****	
d. Workers' Benevolent Association --	100	
(Many FRC members here)		
e. Doukhobor groups -----	200	
f. Others -----	<u>75</u>	
Total, non-joiner participants	1,425	15.28%
4. <u>Total non-joiners</u> (88.27%)	8,220	
5. <u>Total non-joiners and non-participants</u>	6,795	72.99%

* This figure is derived by taking the percentage ratio for Canadians 14 years and under (which was 34% in the 1961 Census [1961 Census of Canada, Bulletin 1.2-2]) and applying it to the total "active" adult membership figure. Thus, 34% of 824 = 280.16 or 280 persons. This is based on two assumptions: that the Russian percentage distribution of the population is the same or similar to that of the national average, and that children (14 and under) would generally be affected by their parents' participation as "active" or "paid-up" members (and would presumably attend at least some organizational functions).

** Estimate by Anatole E. Portnoff, President of the Russian Orthodox Society.

*** Estimated by Pavel Patrikeef, executive member of the Centre.

**** My own estimate for items "c" to "f".

From these statistics we can see that out of 9,324 Russians in the Greater Vancouver area, 824 of these are official (bona fide) members (plus 280 children) in a total of 14 existent Russian ethnic organizations. [Some of these people hold memberships in two organizations.] This leaves 8,220 (88.27%) who are non-joiners. Subtract from this figure the total non-joiner participants (1,425) and we have left 6,795 who are neither joiners nor participants.

In view of this data, one should be reminded that this thesis is really a study of the people who join organizations. Another study would be required to account for the 72.99% who do not join nor participate in the Russian ethnic organizations of Greater Vancouver. We might, however, speculate in this way. (1) The "participant" may not join for a number of reasons: personal disagreements; membership dues have to be paid; the desire to be "free"; disgust over "local squabbles"; and the desire to avoid organizational "responsibility". (2) The non-participant and non-joiner may also have the same reasons, as well as others: competing interests in a segmented industrial society (jobs, other organizations, hobbies, recreation, television, art, cars, etc.); the "cold-war" atmosphere puts a damper on involvement with a "Russian" group; lack of knowledge of the Russian language; spatial factors (some people may be too far away from any Russian centre*) and some unpleasant experience at a Russian function.

*The area covered by the 1961 "Census metropolitan area" (or "Greater Vancouver" as used in this study) is 562.5 square miles.

Mirra Komarovsky, sociologist, suggests the following conclusions about non-participants:

The majority of citizens remain completely outside the stream of organized social life is significant but its implications, also, require a more refined study. The frequent assumption that the non-participants are necessarily "isolated," "rootless," "barred from complete realization of personality" needs to be examined. Indeed it may be supposed that many social and recreational organizations in the city recruit their membership largely from those who are, in fact, isolated and lonely and who seek satisfactions which other segments of the population find more fully in unorganized social relations of a neighborhood, a gang, or a strong family unit. Similarly, we cannot assume that members of cultural associations are necessarily better informed or more interested in self-cultivation. Some interests may be pursued singly through individual utilization of the cultural resources of a community. Non-membership in other associations, however, no doubt implies that sections of our population are cut off from channels of power, information, growth, and a sense of participation in purposive social action. [Komarovsky, 1946: 698]

Indeed we must agree with Komarovsky that "a more refined study" is necessary before we can say anything significant about the non-joiners and non-attenders in the Russian Community. Certainly, we have not done such a study in this paper. This question, nevertheless, seems to relate to our main discovery. Namely, that the perception of Communism greatly affects the relationship of group behavior, with the "cold war" atmosphere being an underlying factor. The non-participants, it seems, are repelled from association with their own ethnic organizations

for fear that such association might mean some "unpleasant" consequences at some future date. They therefore turn to the comfort of their family, their friends and their informal groupings, or otherwise get themselves assimilated into "outside" groups. This is only speculation, but perhaps an important lead to a perplexing question.

Note: The total non-joiner participants (see page 219) is somewhat lower than it should be. This figure of 1,425 includes all the adults and most of the children but does not include those younger than about two years old. The 34 per cent adjustment made for the "active" membership, however, includes all young children including infants.

APPENDIX A

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE OF THE CANADIAN COUNCIL OF NATIONAL GROUPS*

The Canadian Council of National Groups is a consultative and coordinating centre of progressive** cultural, educational and fraternal organizations concerned with mutual exchange and joint action on all questions of common interest.

The aims of the Council can be described as follows:

1. Stronger co-operation and participation of the national group organizations in the critical struggles for peace and universal disarmament;
2. Public vigilance and enlightenment on the growing danger to peace and democratic rights from the ultra right, with special attention to this problem in the national group communities;
3. Closer ties of friendship and exchange with the people of all countries, and especially with those bound by kinship and sentiment;

*From a Statement in a special issue of "Where Do You Stand Mr. Candidate on Citizenship Rights?" published by Canadian Council of National Groups and the Canadian Language Press Club (Toronto, c. May 1962), p. 3.

**Note that the adjective "progressive" implies a category of people similar to that typology suggested at the beginning of this thesis.

4. Vigorous joint action against all forms of discrimination which deny or restrict political, economic and civil rights;
5. Increased contributions to democratic Canadian culture from the heritage of all the national groups;
6. Co-operation on all measures that enhance the role and growth of the progressive organizations and language press in the national group communities.

APPENDIX B

SPECIAL MEETING REGARDING THE PRIEST CONTROVERSY AMONGST THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX IN VANCOUVER [Sample of Field Notes by author]

PLACE: Russian Orthodox Society Hall, adjacent to the Holy Resurrection Russian Orthodox Church, 75 East 43rd Avenue, Vancouver, B. C.

DATE: Sunday afternoon, May 20, 1962, 2:30 p.m. to 5:45 p.m.

OCCASION: Special meeting called for deciding the fate of the priest of the church--"Should Peter Kursemnek continue to be priest at this church or should he be replaced by someone else?" That is the question.

This was a real hot issue--the same one which caused quite an uproar at the annual Convention of the Society in February 1962. As a matter of fact, this meeting was the most "explosive" that I've yet seen in Vancouver. Two factions were readily observable--and the existing cleavage was continually brought to mind with the shifting hand-claps of the audience according to the speaker involved. As George Patrikeef said to me: "This looks almost like a political meeting."

When I arrived shortly after 2 p.m. most of the people had gathered and had apparently already registered (by the evidence of stamped slips of paper pinned on their lapel--with their name handwritten on it, indicating voting privileges--i.e., paid-up members in good standing). I would estimate that there were more

people present than at the annual meeting in February. Officially there were 100 votes (including proxies) present, out of a possible 110 paid-up members in the organization. Nominal members (not paid-up) and visitors were early told to move to the back of the Hall in order to facilitate the voting-- and this included at least 25 people (mostly of the anti-Portnoff faction).

Three secret-ballot votes were employed on this occasion.

It was announced at the beginning that a Sergeant of Arms was present at the back of the Hall and that in the event of rowdiness in attitude he would give one warning and after that a repetition would mean automatic expulsion from the Hall. None, however, was evicted from the Hall, although several warnings were given.

PROCEDURE:

The meeting was not started until the priest took his place at the head table with the rest of the Executive Council members. Everyone then stood up and sang one hymn-- namely, the distinctive Easter hymn in Russian which has the following words [From The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom (New York City, 1960), p. 301]:

Christ is risen from the dead, by
death trampling upon Death, and has
bestowed Life upon those in the tombs.

During the course of the singing, all the people faced the southwest corner of the room where hangs an icon (in the Eastern Church, a sacred picture or image of Christ, an angel or "Ghost"); some people during the process cross themselves in the sign of the cross.

Next there began discussion as to the order of the meeting and how it should take place. Before anything was really decided the chairman of day (who was chosen by the members present at this meeting) asked the priest to say a prayer; hence everyone stood up again, faced the icon, while the priest began with a hymn, ending with everyone singing. All these were short numbers.

The meeting continued. Finally, at the conclusion of the meeting, all the people present stood up, faced the icon, and sang the same Easter hymn which was sung at the beginning of the meeting. The entire meeting was conducted in the Russian language.

CHAIRMAN AND SECRETARY CHOSEN FOR MEETING:

By secret ballot. When collected these were announced out loud as they were unfolded, while one of the Executive members wrote the results on the blackboard, marking each vote with a line in groups of five, then adding them all up. Two people were nominated (I heard no "seconder", although there might have been some; rather it seemed to be a general consensus): Mrs. A. Mironova and Pavel Patrikeef. Mrs. M. received

58 votes; Patrikeef received 39; there were two spoiled ballots and one abstention. Patrikeef became secretary automatically, with Mrs. Mironova as chairman.

"IS THIS MEETING LEGAL?"

This was the first question raised, even before the chairman and secretary for the meeting had been chosen. The Executive Council announced that it followed the usual procedure, namely, that which is stated in Article V, no. 1, p. 8, of the Constitution (See Constitution):

1. The General Meeting shall be called by the Executive Council in the form of a written notice mailed not later than ten days prior to the designated date of the Meeting.

These notices were sent to the members. As a non-member I did not receive any notice, but learned about the meeting by accident--through Mr. Buckage at the last Ballet performance at the Russian Centre of B. C.

Anatole Portnoff, as President of the Society, said that at the last Convention no one spoke against the priest's intention to resign. Nevertheless, he said, "we must first decide whether this sobranye is legal or not." Because of opposition by such people as Buckage, Mr. Portnoff suggested that a vote be taken to ascertain the validity of the sobranye.

Buckage retorted: "It's not legal."

Portnoff replied: "It's legal, but anyway let's vote

and settle the matter once and for all." And this was done. Seventy-seven voted for (Da) the legality; only 22 were against. Hence 2/3 majority.

BUCKAGE COMPLAINS

"Someone tells me to keep quiet" (pointing to a member across from him). Portnoff, on behalf of the Executive Council replied that he need not listen to such rumours--everyone has a right to have his say. On one occasion, two men (including Buckage) nearly had a fight, so that the Sergeant of Arms came and sat between them, and kept order.

Buckage clapped whenever a comment was said "against" Portnoff and "for" the priest. [It was Buckage who last week told me that the present trouble is that Portnoff and others "are Communist led". Incidentally, young George Patrikeef also told me today that the real trouble is really "Communist inspired" and has been through the years. "Communists just want to disrupt and split things up," he said. George further points out that the local Society is unique from all other Orthodox bodies in that it is independent from the central headquarters in New York--hence much of the trouble emanates through this structural arrangement. George mentioned that priests have been "evicted" on previous occasions (CHECK THIS).]

PORTNOFF PRESENTS HIS REPORT--READS IT

He brought forth excerpts from the Protocol of the last Convention concerning the priest issue. In particular, the

current meeting was called to deal with that very issue.

Six years of work on the Central Administration was noted.

"Of the 110 paid-up members, only 30 work fully and carry most of the load of the organization. Yet all the members at \$12.00 each per year benefit by the work of the few."

" . . . In the last 50 years I served the church devoutly"

[Something was read about Mr. Fetisoff's statement concerning Peter Kursemnek, the current priest. Namely, that the priest does not know the English language well.]

Portnoff reviewed the events leading up to this special meeting. In June 1961 the priest is said to have approached Portnoff and announced to him that he wished to retire in the spring of 1962. On June 23, 1961, Portnoff made this known to the first meeting of the Executive Council; accepted. Later, after action was taken to get another priest, Peter Kursemnek denied and reversed his former request.

A letter was received from the Metropolitan in New York On March 3, 1962, the Administration met for the first time after the Convention, and the matter was brought up--and plans suggested for the special meeting.

On April 15, 1962, a meeting was called by the Executive Council at which the priest was present. The question was left until after the Paska (i.e., Easter services).

On April 20th, 1962 letters were sent (or a meeting held?), announcing the special meeting.

"My conclusion is that Otetz [Father] Peter made an incorrect explanation at the last Convention."

Portnoff next read a letter signed by Fitisoff, Sam Lewluch (the starista), and Eyloff (?), the essence of which states that the time has come to change the priest. Dated April 10, 1962.

"The Russian Orthodox Society has gone 27 years without Otetz Peter and it can go without him now."

In reply to a charge that he is "a Communist", Portnoff denied this. "I respect the Patriarch of Moscow," Portnoff retorted, "just as I also respect the Metropolitan of North America. I cannot be a Communist since I serve God I have nothing against Otetz Peter, but he has fallen down for the last five years We continue to believe in the universal apostolic church."

"Peter is urist [judge]--I am sorry that he is such, otherwise he would not have been in the present predicament

" . . . The Metropolitan doesn't seem to respect us But we Russians have much patience. As Christians, let us express our views sincerely for the goodness of the church."

There was some mention about some letter of February 28, 1962 concerning Peter Kursemnek's alleged desire to retire.

Namely, that the local Church needs a new priest, that there is a home for him here, and that interested people could apply to the Society in Vancouver. Signed by Evashenko, sec., and Portnoff, president.

Concerning the letter advertising for a priest, Portnoff claims that he wrote it from himself as a member of the Society, and not as a president of the organization. There was some discussion about this letter, to which Portnoff replied: "I live in a free country. I did not write from the Organization. In ignorance I did it from myself. But you as an organization cannot condemn me for such a mistake. It was merely an individual act."

REVISIONS COMMITTEE [REVISIONNOE COMMISSIYA] GIVES REPORT

For the past ten years Peter Kursemnek has had to overcome many trials, according to the report. The appeal in essence sought to leave the priest "in peace".

ELDER SUPPORTS PRIEST

An elder altar servant got up and testified with much emotion (at times in tears and sobs) in support of the local priest. [Some claps followed his appeal.] "I'm sorry to hear of Portnoff's disturbing phrases about the priest," he began. [A voice of a non-member in the back stated in a whisper: "For this, people are sent to court . . . Shame!" Referring to Portnoff.]

"His voice is high," cried the elder. "If he [P. Kursemnek] did wrong at any time, he is forgiven it He christens us, absolves us from sins and takes us to the grave. If I had heard that Otetz Peter was corrupt, I would have gone to another church. He forgives if anyone is hurt. He teaches us. Those people who hate others were absolved by Otetz Peter through confession. How then could such a person take confession, bow before icons and the like. [Applause.] He can't do that if such a person is a Christian It must come with faith"

PETITION BROUGHT UP FROM THE BACK BY A NON-MEMBER

George Patrikeef, who was sitting beside me with a large envelope in his hands, got up and announced that he would like to say something. When denied this (because this had been decided upon at the beginning of the meeting), he strolled up to the front and presented an envelope to the Executive Council. [Some one of the members shouted: "You are not even a 'member'"]

Soon after the letter was opened; it was from the presluszchniki (servants) of the church. The secretary of the meeting, Pavel Patrikeef, read the letter. In effect the petition stated that the altar servants appreciate the priest, their "learned advisor and spiritual teacher" Signed by George and Alex Wishniakoff, Simeon Syssloff and George Patrikeef.

Another letter or petition [I'm not sure whether this was included in the same letter or apart] was dated March 20, 1962. This was from the teachers of the Russian School of the Russian Orthodox Society. It stated that the priest took an "active part" in their education program; that he travelled about to visit the sick; that he gave much energy in his activities; that he beseeched us to love each other; and that as a result "we ask the General Meeting to include this appeal in the Protocol".

[Behind me I heard rumors (referring to Portnoff and faction): "They did dirty work (graznoe rabota). They have nothing against Otetz Peter."]

MIDDLE-AGED WOMAN HAS HER SAY

"Who will be the next priest?" she asked. "Let's not talk fiercely about him. If he wishes, let him stay. Let's not shout."

[At this point some people proposed that the audience be asked to clear the Hall--but with shouting from the opposition, the question was not brought to a vote, and the audience was allowed to stay.]

[At this point, too, one of the members of the Executive arose and suggested that the matter be put to the vote. "It is obvious," he announced, "that there are two sides in this dispute--one for the priest, the other against."]

ANOTHER PETITION

This one was signed by some 18 people--all or most were women. They are all non-members who claimed they have given continuous support to the church. Included in this group were Anna Sharpe, Rosenberg, Eisenman, Patrikeef, Krasniakoff, Goralakoff, Murattow, Nurenburg, and Timofeav. [Among this group was the woman who regularly attends the local church and stands in a particular spot at the front of the church. Yet she is a non-member (supposedly a "Jew" turned Orthodox), but rather gives only a "nickel or a dime" at each service, according to the starista who told me about her some months back.]

PETER KURSEMNEK, THE PRIEST, SPOKE

He delayed his speech until late in the meeting. In this case he read a prepared statement.

Basically, he tried to point out that it is "a sin to go against the priest and the patriarchy. I, with the will of God and with the blessing of Leonty [Metropolitan of North America in New York], have all made possible ten years of service for the saving of your souls

"I, as your shepherd and your spiritual father, beseech you that which you try to do here can only be done by the episkop. (bishop)." [There was no clapping--perhaps out of respect for some principle?]

ELDER WOMAN DENIED HER SAY

An elderly woman (whom I've seen often, as one of the first or among the first at the church on Sunday services, and who occasionally helps the starista, lights the candles, and does the chores as needed at the early morning period). [She might be a Rudkaevitch?]

"I have served and helped the church," she began her speech, "and have received much abuse from the priest as a result." At that moment there began much shouting, such as "Leave such dirty claims out of this discussion." As shouting continued, the Executive was forced to deny the woman her right to speak--since otherwise there was a real threat that a section of the membership would walk out of the Meeting (I heard some talk to this effect).

Prolonged shouting continued for some time. Some members wanted the elderly woman to continue having her say, but others did not agree.

"Let's put it to the vote," came the solution from the Executive.

ANOTHER SECRET BALLOT VOTE--THE CRUCIAL QUESTION

The vote was then called for the crucial question--that is, whether the members "should" or "should not" fire the priest. Da and Nyet. The Da's received 42 votes to 57 for the nyets. Hence the verdict was that the slight majority favored the leaving of the priest as he is and not to search for another one.

The outcome was too close for comfort. As the votes were being called out and recorded on the blackboard, there was uneasy silence just as in some election returns office. "Could the group operate under the present circumstances?" This was one of the questions, no doubt, in the minds of the members.

One woman member got up and said: "We will all leave the church," at which time the group at the back applauded in support, egged on by Mr. Buckage. One of the women in the audience, a visitor, shouted that the letter written by Mr. Portnoff is "shameful" and the author should be brought for trial before the courts of Canada.

Buckage attacked Portnoff with some words that I didn't catch. "It's a lie," was Portnoff's rebuttal.

At this moment shouting and general commotion continued for some 15 minutes. The 11-man Executive Council all stood up and could do nothing as a result of the shouting, "back-biting" and what have you. Only I and a couple of other people at the back sat in their chairs and took it all in. It was a regular uproar--the like of which I have seldom if ever seen in any other group (including the Doukhobors).

Some resolution was read by Mr. Portnoff, but I couldn't hear it too well. There was something about the current priest getting a 30-day notice if a new priest should be found.

In reply the priest Peter Kursemnnek said: "You cannot do anything to me; only the episkop can do this." [Remember that Portnoff, basing his views on the Society's Constitution and his own "liberal" point of view, thinks otherwise.] Again the priest said: "You have no right to do this."

WOMAN OFFERS TO BE "JUDGED"

In a melodramatic way, a woman member at the front of the Hall (between the members and the head table) stood up, threw up her hands in a martyred manner and cried: "If you are to be Christians, you must listen and obey the spiritual teachers. Without them we cannot be saved. To judge them is not correct. To judge the priest is to judge Jesus Christ Himself. Here [pointing to herself as she flung her hands up] judge me! [in a crying and shouting voice]."

ISSUE SHELVED UNTIL THE VISIT OF ARCHBISHOP JOHN LATER THIS MONTH

Pavel Patrikeef, secretary of the meeting, got up and offered a temporary solution to the present situation: "Perhaps this proposal that I offer breaks all past precedents, but why not shelve the question for now and leave it to the coming of the episkop who shall be here in a week or so."

Peter Kursemnnek at this moment spoke again, though I'm not too sure whether I caught the words just right. It went something like this: "From this day, I shall no longer serve. I propose to leave the question to the episkop who

shall be here in one week." [The priest also announced that all those who wish to speak to the Archbishop should make an appointment with him (Peter Kursemnek).

Archbishop John is expected to be here May 29 to June 4th.]

Anatole Portnoff agreed with Patrikeef's suggestion: "Let's leave this matter to the coming of the episkop." [All during this time the people were all pretty well standing up, and it was only after determined effort that some measure of order was made possible.]

Pavel Patrikeef had a final say: "On May 29th the Archbishop will come here--each of you will have an opportunity to talk with him. We can't reject or accept the new priest . . . For the present, I appeal to you to leave the matter in peace."

The meeting was over. Everyone stood up and sang the Easter hymn.

A tough session was over--but it promises to have further repercussions.

One of the shouts at the end of the meeting was that by Mr. Buckage (with the support of some of the nominal members and visitors in the audience). He shouted: "It is not the priest who should be judged, but the Executive Council. Let's come here next week and elect a new Executive." Nothing was done about this matter formally.

Once the meeting was over, I did not wait around, but quickly departed.

APPENDIX C

SPECIAL MEETING OF DOUKHOBORS RESULTING IN THE FORMATION OF THE
"LOWER MAINLAND SOCIETY OF DOUKHOBORS" [Sample of Field Notes
by the author]

PLACE: Lochdale Hall, Burnaby, B. C.

DATE: Sunday afternoon, May 27, 1962, 2:15 p.m. to 5:20 p.m.

OCCASION: Special meeting called for by Wm. Zubkoe and others
which was under the planning stage for the last month
or so.

I came in a bit late (from another meeting which had just concluded in the kitchen) at a time when the group was singing some Doukhobor hymns in Russian. Some sixty people were present, mostly middle-aged and older people, plus only two teen-agers and two young married couples.

PHYSICAL ARRANGEMENTS:

Chairs were set up in the centre facing the front of the stage. In between was the table with the traditional bread, salt and water. Men on the left and women on the right; and some people standing in the centre amidst the chairs.

It was obvious that Nikita Popoff was at the head of the meeting--i.e., of the singing part. After the Otche ["The Lord's Prayer"], several psalms and hymns were sung. The people then sat down.

SPECIAL MEETING OPENS:

Scheduled for 2 p.m., it was opened at 2:40 p.m. by chairman of the provisional committee William Zubkoe. Ken Konkin was sitting beside in a knee-hole desk with a small transistor tape recorder beside him [he taped a number of speeches].

[All speeches were in Russian, with the exception of a speech by Ken Konkin and Harry Cheveldave.]

Zubkoe explained the purpose of the special meeting. Incidentally, this meeting was publically announced via telephone conversations and personal visits by Ken Konkin and Zubkoe, along with an announcement in Iskra publication (Grand Forks, B. C.), No. 881, May 18, 1962, p. 30, in Russian, as follows:

Notice to all Doukhobors in Vancouver and District
On Sunday May 27, 1962, at 2 p.m. in Lochdale Hall (Hastings & Sperling, Burnaby), there will take place a spiritual meeting, after which a business one of the Society of Doukhobors for the discussion of the following important questions:

1. How to strengthen our Society.
2. Report of the Research Committee.
3. Election of committee.

We invite youth, students, brothers and sisters who are interested in the success of the Society to come and give your constructive advice [sovete].

Research Committee:
Pres.: Wasili Zubkoe
Sec.: Ken Konkin

SPEECH BY KEN KONKIN (in English)

Ken noted surprise that a "prayer service" was held before this meeting. [Ken, it appears, wants the religious and

business meetings entirely separated. KJT. But this is really contrary to the Doukhobor tradition where sobranje meetings were practically always a combination of the two; i.e., Ds. don't really separate the "sacred" from the "secular"; life is a union, not a segmentary thing.]

Ken's speech was in essence a repetition of Zubkoe's speech in Russian.

There is a need to unite the young and the old. The elders "have jeopardized and put our faith in a precarious position." Now we must start with the sole purpose of having a "religious meeting". We want to work out a specific religious program.

"There are various movements afoot trying to do us harm. There is much harm done from within too. Therefore, we must start with our own family."

ZUBKOE READ PREPARED PROPOSALS

[These were prepared in a private meeting at Zubkoe's home by a Committee which included Zubkoe, Konkin, Rezansoff and Goolieff.]

[At this point a spokesman (Kondrat Kievitch) for the Russian School Parents Committee--which held its school this morning--announced that a Concert would be held in this Hall on June 9th. The chairman of the meeting said nothing in response, not even a "thank you". One lady in the audience, however, said "spasiba" ("thank you").]

Zubkoe, trying to hasten the progress of the meeting, asked for opinions on the first proposal.

"WHAT IS THE DOUKHOBOR FAITH?"

A member of the audience asked this. Zubkoe replied: "Everybody knows that."

Ken Konkin: "This organization will not be tied to any political group or connected with any leaders such as John J. Verigin or S. S. Sorokin.

Elderly Lady: "What organization?"

Peter Goolieff: Compliments to the youth. There's a need to strengthen "spiritual values". We are wrestlers for truth.

Ken Konkin: We shall pass on the Doukhobor values from the elders to the youth, by way of psalms, etc. We shall operate the organization according to a worked-out order. We will not ask who you are?

Paul Reibin: Where is our foundation? Every Doukhobor believes differently. In Canora, Saskatchewan, the Doukhobor Society of Canada [formerly the Union of Doukhobors of Canada] has a Constitution worked out, but we have no such order here in Vancouver. Each person speaks out that he is a "Doukhobor". We are living in the 20th Century, not in days of oxen and the plow. We need to make it legal. In Saskatchewan we had nothing until plans were made and an organization was set up.

Mrs. Goolieff: As we were, that we shall be. We can't change ourselves, say, and be an Englishman. He who supports the path is a Doukhobor.

Nikita Popoff: We need to give thanks to the organization for this idea. It is important not to split our ranks. The sobranje is the place to speak out on the topics of the day. Apart from this organization, there is really no operating Doukhobor religious organization in Vancouver.

Ken Konkin: British law is based on precedent from day to day. [Ken fails to understand that Doukhobors have a whole precedent behind them too, and he appears to want something "more acceptable" in its place. KJT]

Wasil Makaseef: [Zubkoe asked him to say a few words.] Istinie (true, real) Doukhobors in Canada have not lost their path. Now what have Doukhobors accomplished in Canada? This is the topic I wish to deal with briefly. Peter P. Verigin and the Doukhobors played a vital role in preventing the bowing of the group to the government when the pressure was put on them [with the Homestead issue in Saskatchewan, I believe. KJT].

THE ISSUE OF "SIGNING" CAME UP

Mr. Kinakin: stated that signatures "only disunite us". He suggested that the organization should be founded on a voluntary basis, and that there is no need for signatures. [The old fear of signatures came up. Basically the fear is that a commitment by signing may in the future be used against one's

conscience; historically this fear stems from Tsarist days when census taking was used for the purpose of getting military recruits, but Doukhobors refused military conscription.]

Wm. Zubkoe: I can't agree with the notion that there is no place for signatures in an organization. Any working organization requires signatures. We will hand out printed slips in English, which I shall translate into Russian. [The following slips were then handed out to all those present by Ken Konkin and Harry Cheveldave]:

I, the undersigned am sincerely interested in the propagation of the Doukhobor culture and the Doukhobor faith. I promise to actively participate and promote the Doukhobor religious services and to live in peace and harmony with my fellow man.

Hannah Goolieff: With the Doukhobors this was never done--this practice of signing is not right.

Ken Konkin: How is one to know that he is a Doukhobor? We have no labels. Moreover, how is an organization going to raise funds? I've already paid [for minor expenses: printing of slips of paper], but I'm not going to continue alone. We need common support. I know of no organization which operates without membership.

Peter Goolieff: During the war-time [1939-], I was asked by a policeman to prove that I'm a Doukhobor. Here I see nothing against Doukhobor principles by signing. It is voluntary here--if you desire, then sign, if not, no one is forcing you to do so.

Zubkoe: [Translates the English slips]

DOUKHOBOR FRATERNAL SOCIETY OF GREATER VANCOUVER

Sherstobitoff: What difference will it make with the Doukhobor Fraternal Society of Greater Vancouver and this new organization?

Wm. Zubkoe: This will be a "religious" organization.

Mr. Sherstobitoff: We had this We had free accommodations organized for the youth. But we could not organize any organization without a Constitution or without members' dues.

Ken Konkin: I was at your annual meeting [Fraternal Society], and asked: "Are you ready to continue religious services?" Your chairman replied: "No." That is why I put my efforts into the present organization. Where are you going to get your members when you die?

Pete Goolieff [to the sobranye]: A student speaks, take note of what he says.

Mr. Sherstobitoff: The name of J. P. Stoochnoff was brought up along with the "Sons of Freedom".

Nick Plotnikove: We have many parties, with many organizations.

Wm. Malloff: (barber on East Hastings Street, Vancouver, and member of the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ): This here is just a local organization. Let others come, be they "Sons", USCC or Communists--as long as they act sensibly.

Elder Woman: Let's have it voluntary.

Wm. Zubkoe: Doukhobors are of Christian belief and not just Russians. This is a voluntary organization.

John Chutskoff: I also was at the yearly meeting of the Doukhobor Fraternal Society of Greater Vancouver. Accommodations were available at Central Park for the Svidanya of Youth, but there were no results. Why?

Our youth took on the dance ("this was a step back"), but then our youth learned several psalms as well. At that time something happened, a split occurred. Now if this new organization is being set up for cultural work, that building is still available for use. Doukhobors always were organized on voluntary basis. [Note the continual repetition and concern for this matter of "voluntary" basis.]

Wm. Zubkoe: We don't want to destroy anything, but we wish to build. I am a member of the Doukhobor Fraternal Society of Greater Vancouver dealing with funerals, but after a year there have been no sobranyes by this group.

Wasil Makeef: Youth, here, I trust are concerned because of the lack of local organization of any kind. There

is a need to uphold all believers as well as non-believers.

Woman: Attacks Plaxen's Russian School and dance group which met this morning. "Doukhobors count sobranye as more important than the dance."

Nikita Popoff: How much sin we make with our tongues. If our youth don't do these things amongst us, then they will do it somewhere else. [Reference to the Doukhobor Fraternal Society of Greater Vancouver and the Russian School group]: "good". We should compliment those people who formed that group.

Harry Cheveldave: (27-year-old foreman of electrical work in South Burnaby, for B. C. Power Development Company; grad of UBC.) Speaks in English [he forgot "most of his Russian"]. I look around us and note the lack of young people at this sobranye. I'm the last of the Doukhobor generation--unless we do something about it. Let's do something positive to build up a "proper religion". Let's put it on a firm foundation. So that we could proudly say, when asked, that "I'm a Doukhobor".

Wm. Zubkoe: We can't blame them (youth) for being afraid to call themselves "Doukhobor youth".

John Chutskoff: Spiritual ["duhovnoe"] sobranyes are necessary for us. [To the youth.] We tried in the past to organize the youth. We tried teaching them psalms--no, it didn't work. Hence, we turned to the dance--and by this means were able to get the group together. For example, Liuba

Malloff (a talented singer) helped to organize them here. We had no other alternative--"sinful", yes, but we couldn't see it any other way. "I ask you please to try to get the youth interested not on the basis of the dance, but otherwise."

Ken Konkin: We have one aim: "spiritual sobranye which we do not have today."

Mr. Kanigan [elderly man]: My son married an English woman--later they became separated. The case dragged on to court. A missionary came and talked with me regarding the Doukhobor religion. I told him that Doukhobor marriage custom is based on the relationship of love between the two partners. I told him that we have no Constitution prohibiting us from marrying others. Doukhobors have no precedent for discrimination in marriage. We have no precedent that one is a Doukhobor today and not tomorrow. A Doukhobor stands on his beginning and on his basis. He who stands on his principles and carries them out cannot be excluded from being a Doukhobor. In the last war [1939-1945] registering of Doukhobors was done by myself [Kanigan] and Morrozoff. "Fakers" were rooted out, and not one of them was admitted for exemption on the basis of claiming to be a Doukhobor. We gained no people in the last 60 years, but lost all.

Woman: How does one deal with "Smith", and now "Brian" [alias Jmaeff] who is also a "Sons of Freedom"?

[Whisper in the back: "Youth can't be dragged here."]

Wm. Zubkoe: Only those who sign can vote and choose the new executive today.

SIGNED SLIPS COLLECTED

Thirty-one signed slips were collected. "Other blanks taken home," announced Zubkoe.

EXECUTIVE OF NEW ORGANIZATION

[First voting in the meeting today. Hands raised.]

President: Wasil Zubkoe.

Vice-pres.: Nikita Popoff [Young Harry Cheveldave was nominated too, and with Nikita went out of the room while the vote was taken, but he failed to get very many votes--few people knew young Harry.]

Secretary: Ken Konkin.

Adjournment at 5:20 p.m.

Everyone stood up and sang "Mi Okonchali Sobranye" (We've Concluded Our Assembly"--customary ending).

Written up from notes.
June 1, 1962. KJT.

APPENDIX D

ANNUAL SLAV CONCERT COMMEMORATING THE "MONTH OF PEACE", HELD AT THE QUEEN ELIZABETH THEATRE, VANCOUVER, B. C., SUNDAY, JANUARY 20, 1963.*

The Concert was scheduled for 8 p.m., but began five minutes later.

"God Save the Queen" was played over the loudspeaker system just prior to the opening of the Concert. Some 1,000 people were present.

The M. C. came out from one corner and spoke briefly and distinctively (in English) re: this annual event:

" . . . We have the same aspirations as other Canadians. The misunderstandings of the East and the West are undoubtedly painful to us.

" . . . We can't turn away from our heritage. The other side has the right to live in any social system of their choice. Likewise we in Canada can change if the majority so desire.

"There is a universal longing of the people to end the armed race, to resolve the international differences.

*Field Notes, January 20, 1963.

"We dedicate this to these ends."

Program began (see order in "Program"): Note costumes of the Federation of Russian Canadians: women wore sarafans of one color, blue with red trim, white blouses; men wore Russian shirts of various bright colors, black trousers, sapohi. Note the use of song books, held by half of the choralists. There are 11 men and 9 women in the choir, with Mrs. Walter Esakin as accordion accompanist.

One song says: "Mi za mir i druzhbu" (We are for peace and friendship). The quality of the choir for this number seemed not too good. Choir director stood in front.

George Okulevich spoke. He flew in by plane from Toronto to attend this gathering. The M. C. said that since Okulevich came to Canada in 1928 he has been active in the "Progressive movement". Currently he is the National treasurer of the Canadian Slav Committee as well as the National secretary of the Federation of Russian Canadians.

Okulevich said: "Brothers and sisters, friends." On behalf of the Canadian Slavic Committee I extend the warmest greetings. This organization was organized throughout Canada in many cities. Concerts, etc. are being held everywhere. This month, the people (Slavic Canadians) will get together and dedicate themselves to peace and friendship of all the peoples [applause]. Our desire is to present to the Canadian people our point of view of Canada. The most important questions are

preservation of peace and our contribution to this problem . . .

. . . I'm sorry to see that Canada plays a very dangerous role at this time. It is a dangerous spectacle that we witness whereby a Canadian general admits to certain 'commitments' General Norstad has 'spilled' the beans. Now he pleads and stands against nuclear armaments--except for the Prime Minister Diefenbaker who sits and says nothing If Canada accepts nuclear weapons, this will be her doom; for then others will follow likewise, including West Germany. Then it will be in the hands of Fascists [some applause] and people like Eichman, the murderer of the people. There are some 'ultra-right' people in Canada who are in effect equivalent to Fascists. The Canadian government, it is a fact, is subsidizing the Fascist elements among the Slavic groups. This is a fact--there is ample proof Take note--the Byelorussian Golus of which 250 copies are published (100 of these go to Canadians). This paper is entirely paid for by the Canadian government, via advertisements. Various Federal advertisements--half page and whole page ads. This is paid for in thousands of dollars from the taxpayers' money. Their purpose is to liberate the Ukraine of Byelorussia So it is our job to counteract the ridiculous actions of the government. We dedicate our organization to the work of peace and friendship with every other national group--that is our aim of our Slavic organization.

Resolutions against nuclear weapons. The M. C. announced that a resolution was being prepared for this purpose and that

it would be passed formally at the Concert. This was done with a formal motion, a seconder and a vote (a unanimous "aye").

Association of United Ukrainian Canadians had a large performing group. One of their sections had 16 dancers (wearing blue trousers, white shirts, low moccasin shoes). An orchestra. Choralists. In another dance, the girls wore red sapahi. [Interesting: one Chinese girl amongst the Ukrainian group.] In this case the boys wore sapahi. Note that the choralists (women) held song sheets in their hands.

9:15 p.m. intermission for 15 minutes. It was announced that at the end of the program printed postcards would be available at the door concerning a protest to the Government regarding Japanese fishing rights on the west coast. [Postcard]:

Dear Sir:

I consider the recent concessions made to Japan by our representatives on the Int'l North Pacific Fisheries Commission to be a sellout of B. C. fishermen interests and rights and that Parliament should act to stop such concessions. Further that to place the North Pacific Fisheries on a scientific and stable basis any new Treaty should include all 4 Nations who fish the area i.e., Canada, Japan, U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R. Finally, that immediate action be taken on the question of territorial waters by establishing a 12 mile limit with a headland to headland baseline, on both east and west coasts to give protection to Canadian fishermen and to the fishery resource.

Signed _____

Petition against nuclear weapons read by M. C. Letter was addressed to the Prime Minister Diefenbaker. This gathering

wished to protest the spread of nuclear armaments. We also petition the government for a program of cooperation with the USSR as advocated by Aroutunian, the USSR Ambassador to Canada. The M. C. then asked "What is the pleasure of this letter?" It was subsequently moved and carried, with the "ayes" being unanimous, as mentioned.

Joint singing by Russian Canadians and Ukrainians. One such number spoke of "nasha rodina" (our motherland).

The M. C. concluded the program by saying that if you enjoyed this program, please join one of the Slavic organizations. We wish you the best of health and happiness.

10:25 p.m. "O Canada" was sung to end the program.

Query: [Why the singing of "O Canada" and the playing of "God Save the Queen" at the program? Is this a policy of the Queen Elizabeth Theatre? Or are the sponsors emphasizing that they are "Canadians" with the same responsibilities?]

APPENDIX E

SEVERAL VERSIONS FOR THE "BIG SPLIT" AND THE RISE OF THE RUSSIAN CENTRE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA*

The exact nature of the schism is not too clear, as the following versions from several informants show:

1. William Sheburoff, a 35-year-old barber (who emigrated to Canada in 1957 and who attends the Holy Trinity Orthodox Church) suggests that the nature of the split concerns church ethics with respect to drinking liquor and dancing in the church hall. Mrs. Lelah Chutskoff, a young wife, who emigrated from Harbin, China following the Communist take-over of the mainland, holds a similar view: " . . . It wasn't quite right to hold large dances and to drink at the Russian Orthodox Society's hall, and the fact that this Church is located in a residential area is another factor worthy of consideration. For at one of its functions, some years ago, the local residents complained that orchestral music was disturbing the peace of the district" [Field Notes, January 13, 1962]. Since the other Russian Orthodox churches had no halls, according to this

*This resumé has been compiled from my Field Notes.

argument, a group of people got together and formed a separate organization--"more business like"--where they could, at liberty, do as they pleased. Incidentally, the Russian Centre has a "Liquor License", whereas the Society's Hall has none.

2. George Patrikeef, a young man, single, who came with his parents to Vancouver in 1949 from Shanghai, offers another theory. George is a talented dancer, a youth leader, and an occasional "Altar boy" at the Holy Resurrection Church, yet paradoxically he is not a member of this Church, but belongs to one of the Synod churches Outside Russia which he does not attend, according to him. He contends that around 1956-57 a group of ladies desired to form another ladies' auxiliary, with English being an accepted language. Mr. Nikolai Sergy, who was then the President of the Society since 1950, ruled that this proposal was contrary to the unity of the Orthodox Society, since, he claimed, two similar competing branches would tend to split the ranks of the Society. Then, on behalf of the Society, Mr. Sergy apparently sent out several excommunicatory letters to a handful of schismatic members stating that they are no longer members of the organization. This action was supported by the annual convention, with the result that the vice-president, Mr. E. A. Andreef, walked out of the meeting hall; soon he was joined by other supporters including the proto ladies' auxiliary along with many members of the theatrical section of the Society [Field Notes, March 7,

1962, pp. 3-4]. As an unexpected aftermath one of the excommunicated members became seriously ill [Field Notes, February 25, 1962, p. 3]. A year later, with dwindling membership, Mr. Sergy was replaced by a new president.

3. Middle-aged Simeon Antonovitch Lewluch, the current starista (warden) of the Holy Resurrection Church, suggests that the split occurred about "five years" ago. At that time the old Executive devised a method of "rooting out" certain mobile members because the administrative body felt their control was being threatened by the rising group of intellectuals and dramatic artists. A few years earlier, these "talented people" had formed a dramatic branch of the Society. But when certain members received letters of eviction, a split was inevitable [Field Notes, December 24, 1961, p. 3; also January 14, 1962]. The main issue was one of control and power.

4. The President of the Russian Orthodox Society, Anatole E. Portnoff, offers still another explanation. Some ten years ago, an "Artistic Branch" was formed within the Society by a group of artists--including an actress from the Moscow Art Theatre School, an outstanding ballet teacher who was a former member of the Bolshoi Theatre (and who in the '30's settled in the former Russian colony of Harbin, China, a colony which was the source of many Russian migrants to this country and other parts of the world), and numerous singers. Around 1954 the artistic group demanded more autonomy, financial and

otherwise. For example, they wanted to keep the money raised in their own bank account. The President of the Society, Nikolai Sergy, did not see it this way, but ruled that this practice is contrary to their By-laws:

2. All the sections of the Society must have an executive consisting of members in good standing, and all monies receivable by the aforesaid executive shall be lodged with the Treasurer of the Society and appropriated either to a general fund or a special fund for the sections [Constitution and By-laws].

5. Ivan Vishniakoff, an old-timer with the Russian Orthodox Society, a member of the former Dramatic group, and a member of the Russian Centre of B. C. gives a further explanation [Field Notes, February 18, 1963]. At the time that Sergy was president of the Society, Rev. Kursemnek once reprimanded the culturally-minded group within the Society for being too concerned about dancing and not enough about the church. Sergy then posted on the stage a list of regulations for the Dramatic club to observe--or else be subject to disciplinary action and even to expulsion. Some members of the Drama group were quite disturbed "by people telling us what to do". A split followed soon after.

6. The official position (according to the Minutes of the first organizational meeting, March 11, 1956) is this: "The aim is to unite all Russian people in Vancouver and the surrounding area." It was felt that a "neutral" body would be able to do this.

APPENDIX F*

M E M O R A N D U M

on the subject of the Canadian immigration policy and the revised Immigration Regulations - Part 1 - effective February 1st, 1962, regarding the entry of immigrants into Canada.

Submitted to

by the association known under the name of
RUSSIAN CENTRE OF B. C., 2114 West 4th Avenue,
Vancouver 9, B. C.

In the name and interests of Canadians of Russian origin residing in B. C., we wish to respectfully submit for your consideration the following thoughts in connection with the existing Canadian Immigration policy and regulations governing same.

From humanitarian point of view we regard this policy as inconsistent with Canada propagating peace and brotherhood among nations, spending millions of dollars through the United Nations to maintain world peace and order, helping through many agencies the less fortunate countries with her money and skill and, at the same time, severely restricting the entry of newcomers to her own country under dubious pretext that the economy of the country cannot absorb a larger number of immigrants.

We call this policy too rigid, because it prevents many worthy people in days of their distress and great misfortune caused by revolutions, internal wars, riots and hunger, from entering Canada and settling as useful Canadian Citizens to toil for the good of the country and enjoy normal life under the peaceful, liberal and humanitarian Canadian constitution.

* This "Memorandum" was typed from an official copy in the possession of the Secretary of the Russian Centre. It was signed by the Secretary and President of the Russian Centre and sent to the Immigration Department, Ottawa, as well as copies to the leaders of the Opposition Parties and to the three local Russian Orthodox churches.

From political point of view, we consider Canadian Immigration policy shortsighted, since it tends to embitter a lot of people who are desperately trying to find a new home in Canada. In this age of terror, threat of nuclear wars and other evils, every free country should try to establish itself as the protector of human rights absorbing as many worthy people as possible into this wonderful land of plenty and, in so doing, build a reputation of a truly great nation. Is it not a striking fact that Canada, with her vast empty territories and thin population, keeps her doors closed for immigration, while other countries with smaller territories, much thicker population and less natural wealth welcome immigrants into their respective countries? We are at a loss to find any justification for this peculiar policy of the Government. More so, since people who suffered from revolutions, wars and persecutions for their political beliefs, different from those of the Communist teachings, are likely to become loyal and law-abiding citizens of the country offering them shelter, protection and hospitality in time of their unbearable distress. These immigrants would be, by their very nature, hostile to radical social changes and therefore immune to Communist propaganda, which threatens to flood Canada.

From economic point of view, we regard the restrictions of immigration into Canada as harmful to the economy of the country. The restriction of immigration prevents people from abroad to populate and cultivate the vast virgin territories of Canada such as Yukon, N.W.T., etc. With foodstuffs, power and natural resources in abundance, Canada needs additional hands, as well as talents, ideas, skills and energy of people from abroad to organize and operate new industries. The economic advantages of immigration should be obvious if considered in light of increased demand for goods produced, resulting in increased production and employment.

Suggestions as to the amendment of Immigration Regulations - Part 1 - (effective February 1st, 1962):

We are in favour of the liberalization and broadening of the immigration policy, and against the so-called "selective immigration", which resembles more the hiring of the necessary labour force abroad than a civilized way of solving the immigration problem. As things stand at present Canada, instead of being a promised land, has in fact become a forbidden country for immigration. We, therefore, suggest further amendments to the Immigration Act, namely:

1. That persons, who are likely to be able to establish themselves successfully in Canada without becoming a public charge should be allowed to enter this

country without further requirements, as means test, previous arrangements for employment, or the assistance of relatives or friends.

2. That persons of both sexes with sufficient means to live and maintain themselves in Canada be allowed to enter this country freely. The following amounts in cash or deposited with a bank in Canada should be considered sufficient: \$3,000.00 for a single person, and \$6,000.00 for a family.
3. That persons of both sexes of any age, whose care and maintenance are guaranteed by relatives or friends, or sponsors, residing in Canada, be freely admitted to this country.

In the cases where a guarantee for care and maintenance is necessary (3), we would suggest that the practice of Affidavit of Support should be applied regardless of blood relationship between the affiant and the intended immigrant. We would wish to emphasize that the practice of Affidavit of Support is widely used in the U.S.A. for years with good results. Why should not Canada follow this example?

We also suggest that the cases of immigrants from countries under Communist regime should be treated with care and sympathy taking into account the special conditions under which people have to live there and conduct themselves in order to escape persecutions. We specifically would like to draw attention to a number of Russian refugees still living in China under intolerable conditions with no hope of ever being able to join their relatives or friends in Canada.

In presenting this Memorandum to the proper quarters we believe that we have done our duty to our new fatherland as well as to our former countrymen abroad, and we do hope that this Memorandum will meet with your favourable consideration.

Respectfully yours,

Vancouver, B. C.
December 5th, 1962.

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APPENDIX G

"WHITE"RUSSIAN ORGANIZATIONS EXISTING IN HARBIN, MANCHURIA IN 1937*

Various forms of White Russian organizations existed in Manchuria in the past, there being at one time scores of political organizations alone. All these organizations, however, had no solid financial basis and many of them were only little more than mere names. Three comparatively well-known bodies still existing are the All-Russian Fascist Party, the Grand Duke Cyril Faction and the All-Russian Military Union.

The All-Russian Fascist Party. This party was founded in 1925 by Rodzaevsky, Mankovsky and five others under the name of the Russian Fascist Party but was reorganized as the All-Russian Fascist Party in 1931. Under the slogan "God, Nation and Labour", it aims at the overthrow of the Soviet regime by co-operating with Fascists in various countries of the world. Its organ, the Nash Poot, has been energetically spreading its doctrines to the White Russians.

Since the birth of the new State, the All-Russian Fascist Party, in cooperation with various organs of the Manchoukuo Government, has been bending its energies towards effecting the complete unity of the White Russians in Manchuria. It has at present 1,300 members as compared to 200 at the time of its formation. At one time it boasted of a membership of 4,000. Its expenses are met by membership fees, profits from the publication of the Nash Poot and by donations.

The Grand Duke Cyril Faction. This party was organized in 1924 with the object of reviving the Romanoff Family and of

* Reprinted from an unsigned article by the South Manchurian Railway Company, Information and Publicity Department in its Contemporary Manchuria (Dairen, Manchuria), vol. 1, no. 3, September 1937, pp. 27-30. The article is entitled: "The White Russians in Manchoukuo". Manchoukuo was the new state created in 1931 following the Japanese invasion of Manchuria.

placing Grand Duke Cyril Vladimirovitch, the oldest cousin of the late Emperor Nikolai II, on the restored throne of Russia. Grand Duke Cyril is 55 years old and is at present residing in France. Since General Kislitzin resigned as head of the Harbin branch of the Grand Duke Cyril Faction in 1934 and became an executive of White Russian Emigrants' Bureau,* its foundations seem to have become somewhat weak.

The All-Russian Military Union. With headquarters in Paris, the All-Russian Military Union was organized for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet regime and emancipating the Russian race. Since General Verbitsky, the head of the Harbin branch, was expelled from Manchoukuo in the autumn of 1935 on a charge of implication in political activities, the publication of its organ, the Russkoye Slovo, has been discontinued and many members have seceded from the Union. Very little is expected of its future activities.

Of the various Russian organizations in Manchoukuo, those affiliated with, and under the control of, the White Russian Emigrants' Bureau number 119, with a total membership of 23,773. Those having a membership of over 200 are:

Name of Organizations	Representative	Membership
1. Far Eastern Cossack Union	Bakshéeff	7,250
2. Former C.E.R. Employees' Non-Political Union	Akimchuk	2,043
3. The Central Committee of the Harbin Suburban House-Owners' Association	Gorshkoff	1,719

* The "Russian Bureau of Emigrants' Affairs" was established in 1934 as an organ officially recognized by the Japanese Manchoukuo Government. All "White" Russians, in order to be formally recognized as such, were required to register their names with this Bureau. Its purpose was twofold: "First, the need of amalgamating various White Russian organizations, most of which were of conflicting and partisan interests, with each faction consisting of some influential leaders surrounded by relatives and close friends and devoting itself to selfish ends in disregard of promoting the common welfare of the Russian community as a whole, and second, the necessity of placing these divergent groups under unified supervision and guidance so that the members may develop into good citizens of Manchoukuo" [South Manchurian Railway Company, vol. 1, no. 3, September 1937, p. 30.

	Name of Organizations	Representative	Membership
4.	The All-Russian Fascist Party	Rodzaevsky	1,325
5.	The State Railways Russian Employees' Union	Novikoff	1,137
6.	Naturalized Manchoukuo Russians' Association	Linder	1,126
7.	The Harbin Russian Club	Rodzaevsky	1,000
8.	Organization of Colonel Mudrynin	Mudrynin	812
9.	The Harbin Medical Society	Linder	776
10.	The United Russian Farmers' Association	Christoserdoff	632
11.	The Russian National Association	Ivanoff	429
12.	The Russian Commercial Employees' Association	Lavrentieff	421
13.	The Russian Refugees' Committee	Hramov	367
14.	The Russian House-Owners' Association	Podgorbunsky	356
15.	The Russian Teachers' Society	Podolsky	314
16.	The Russian Chamber of Commerce	Vorotilin	305
17.	The Russian Young Men's Association	Von Arnold	219
18.	The Sungari River Sailors' Association	Dankin	214
19.	The Harbin Islam Society	Bogatéeff	210
20.	The Manchouli Russian Emigrants' Society	Epoff	599
21.	The Harbin Russian Emigrants' Society	Chistoff	506
22.	The Buhetu Russian Emigrants' Society	Salnikoff	1,750

(All the organizations with the exception of 20 and 22, are in Harbin)

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