

Perception and Reality:

The Roles of Doukhobor Women in their Communities

A paper written for the Athabasca University course,

History 363: The Women's West: Women and Canadian Frontier Settlement

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The Doukhobor people have encountered persistent persecution throughout their history. As a result of their self-imposed isolation and refusal to conform to dominant societies in both Russia and Canada, the Doukhobors have received considerable public scrutiny. The Doukhobors, a pacifist Christian sect, came to prominence in the middle of the eighteenth century in Russia because of their rejection of the Russian Orthodox Church and aversion to state influence. Doukhobors isolated themselves from the dominant society both spiritually and physically, which affected how they interacted with, and were perceived by, the state. Spiritually, Doukhobors abandoned a “mediatory priesthood” and instead believed “in the immanence of God, in the presence with each man of the Christ spirit.”¹ This unique faith departed from the Russian Orthodox Church that dominated Russian society. Furthermore, they believed that since “all men are vessels for the divine essence,” it was a sin to kill or harm another human.² This pacifism prohibited Doukhobors from military conscription and further isolated them from the state. Doukhobor communities also physically isolated themselves by living in small self-sufficient communes. Communal living unified Doukhobors thereby preventing acculturation by the dominant society. Moreover, their small communities nurtured social networks that helped them survive within their own society. However, by choosing to isolate themselves, and rejecting state intervention, Doukhobor communities threatened the dominant ruling class. As a result, the Doukhobors encountered a series of forced migrations over a hundred years that ultimately led to settlement in western Canada.

¹ George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, *The Doukhobors* (Toronto and New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 19.

² *Ibid*, 20.

In 1802, Russian Tsar Alexander I forced the Doukhobor communities to migrate to Milky Waters, in what is now southern Ukraine.³ The Tsar used this forced migration to establish a Russian presence on the frontier. As a result, not only was the Tsar able to minimize the impact the Doukhobor communities had on Orthodox Russians, he was able to populate the frontier territory with Russian citizens and therefore, gain geo-political influence in the region. However, upon later challenging the rule of Tsar Nicholas I by refusing military conscription and converting local Russian Cossacks to their way of life, the Doukhobors were once again forced to migrate.⁴ Doukhobors migrated further away from Russia to the wild Caucasus, and later, by the end of the nineteenth century, to Cyprus. Upon learning of the opportunity to settle in western Canada, and the concessions the Canadian government was willing to make, the Doukhobors made a final migration to Canada in 1899.

Similar to Alexander I, Clifford Sifton, the Canadian Minister of the Interior, presented the Canadian west as a frontier suitable for the Doukhobor communities. Strategically, Sifton and the Liberal government under Sir Wilfrid Laurier wanted to settle the western Canadian ‘frontier’ with European immigrants and thereby broaden the reach of the federal government. Western Canada was equally beneficial for the Doukhobors. Under the *Dominion Lands Act* of 1872, the Doukhobors were able to obtain 160-acre parcels of land at 10 dollars for each male applicant on the condition they would farm the land within three years.⁵ The Hamlet Clause within the *Act* allowed the Doukhobors to adjoin their land, thereby creating farmed cooperatives while living nearby in communal villages. Western Canada presented other appealing features to the Doukhobors. A clause in the *Militia Act* allowed the pacifist Doukhobors to be exempted

³ Ibid, 36.

⁴ Ibid, 54.

⁵ Ibid, 133.

from military service.⁶ In addition, “Education [...] was not compulsory in the outlying areas, and in any case religious instruction was forced on no one in Canada.”⁷ In sum, western Canada framed itself as a mutually beneficial region for settlement to a religious minority seeking isolation and an expansionist federal government seeking to colonize peripheral territory. It was under these terms that 7400 Doukhobors reached Canada in 1899 hoping to start a new life and end a history of persecution.⁸

However, like their experience in Russia, the Doukhobor communities soon challenged the Canadian Anglo-Christian identity desired by the federal government. As this essay will show, Doukhobor people did not mould into the Canadian citizens the government and media had expected, and as a result, they were persecuted. Doukhobor women presented a particular problem for the government because their dominant roles in their communities threatened Canadian conceptions of feminine norms. Doukhobor women performed vital familial and economic roles that were equal to, and celebrated by, their husbands. Moreover, they were leaders in their communities and integral in the preservation of their unique oral history. However, the mystique of these isolated communities, and the gender equality therein, was misinterpreted and challenged by a patriarchal government and dominant Anglo-Christian communities. Furthermore, media reports sensationalized the actions of a minority Doukhobor community thereby reframing all Doukhobors in a negative way. This essay will explore the persecution of Doukhobor women by first examining what it means to be a *Doukhobor* woman in contrast to the constructed Canadian feminine ideal and how these social constructs negatively stereotyped Doukhobor women. In addition, this essay will examine historical media

⁶ Ibid, 132.

⁷ Ibid, 133.

⁸ Ibid, 149.

publications to highlight how the western Canadian media reinforced a negative representation of Doukhobor women.

Doukhobor women first gained national attention shortly after their arrival in Manitoba and Saskatchewan in 1899. As the Doukhobor people established their communal homesteads, the men took up wage employment to offset the cost of living and buy much needed supplies. As Woodcock and Avakumovic point out, many of the Doukhobor men “worked through the summers on construction contracts for the extension of the Canadian Northern Railway” and spent the winters “away from the villages cutting lumber”.⁹ Other Doukhobor men worked for local farmers harvesting crops. Thus, the Doukhobor men spent much of the time away from their communities, which left significant amounts of work for the Doukhobor women. It is through these women’s complete self-sufficiency while community building that they first came to public attention. Working together, women built their houses and “plastered their dwellings with their own hands”.¹⁰ All women and children worked to contribute to the community, “even the old women worked as long as they could move a limb –spinning, knitting, tending the garden plots”.¹¹ Women also entered into the wage economy by picking senega root. This root was used as a popular medicine and provided a profitable source of income for the women - earning them nearly \$25 000 from the years 1903 to 1905.¹²

Women took part in all aspects of farm life. As Images One and Two (see Appendix) illustrate, women worked together to plough the fields and harvest the crops. With little help from their male counterparts and few farm animals, women banded together to perform these

⁹ Ibid, 200.

¹⁰ Koozma J. Tarasoff, *Plakun Trava: The Doukhobors*. (Grand Forks: Mir Publication Society, 1982), 57.

¹¹ Woodcock and Avakumovic, *The Doukhobors*, 200.

¹² Ibid.

necessary and burdensome tasks. As one onlooker recalled in his diary, “In the lead an older tall woman with a stern face moved with measured but heavy steps, looking at the earth. She knows what life is like and even this work does not surprise her. She knows this is necessary.”¹³ The picture of women taking up the harnesses and plowing the fields is particularly powerful and much publicized. This iconic image illustrates the ‘frontier spirit’ that was viewed admirably by Canadian society. As one contemporary at the time noted, “The English respect the Doukhobors’ sense of personal worth, their rare persistence, their ability not to complain under difficult conditions”.¹⁴ Another article commented, “They are turning the whole country over. In one settlement thirty-three plows were at work [...] all managed by women and boys, the men being away at work”.¹⁵ In addition to the admiration of the Doukhobor women’s stoic resolve while plowing their fields, newspapers remarked on their “quietness and gentleness”.¹⁶ As an article in the *Globe* notes, “The absence of anything like noisiness or excitability strikes one the instant one moves about among the villages”.¹⁷ The author goes on to muse that “the innate dignity of the women and their uncomplaining, untiring patience have perhaps been the reason they have had strength given them to endure to the end trials that their magnificent physique could not alone have enabled them to withstand”.¹⁸

These contemporary accounts reveal multiple overt and subtle opinions of Doukhobor women. First, there is a general consensus in the early newspapers that the Doukhobor women were admirable and well thought of, even though they were non-British immigrants. Second,

¹³ L.A. Sulerzhitsky, *To America with the Doukhobors*. Translated by Michael Kalmakoff. (Regina: University of Regina, 1982), 153.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 203.

¹⁵ *The Edmonton Bulletin*, “Doukhobor Progress”, July 26, 1901: 3.

¹⁶ *Globe*, “With the Doukhobors”, September 9, 1899: 5.

¹⁷ *Ibid*.

¹⁸ *Ibid*.

these early newspaper articles also reveal a series of subtle stereotypes that are used to judge women. The columnists reconcile the Doukhobor women's physical ability, which is viewed as masculine and uncouth, with more acceptable feminist traits as "quietness and gentleness". Interestingly, the Doukhobor women are as much admired for their physical toil on the farms as their ability to remain calm and not complain. The feminist scholar Ashleigh Androsoff supports this view that contemporary accounts have had to celebrate the more accepted feminist traits to counterbalance admirable masculine traits. As Androsoff suggests, "Framing these activities as nurturing and highlighting the women's "dignity" and "patience" made it easier to reconcile the unusual physical activities with late nineteenth-century Canadian definitions of femininity".¹⁹ Nonetheless, it is the women's bodies and their physical ability that gained the most attention in the media.

Newspaper articles at the time regularly commented on the stout physical appearance of Doukhobor women and compared them negatively with Canadian women's bodies. As one article notes in 1902, "It is regrettable that some of the women take such an active part in outdoor work [...] they have little housework to engage them, and they are large and strong as compared with the average Canadian women".²⁰ In sum, Doukhobor women's physical ability was both admired and judged by Canadian society. Canadian men and women found it easier to celebrate Doukhobor women's more traditional household pursuits such as needlework. Doukhobor women were renowned for their intricate needlework, which was used to supply their communities with clothes and linens. The Doukhobor women's "fine needlework" was regularly

¹⁹Ashleigh Androsoff. "A Larger Frame: "Redressing" the Image of Doukhobor-Canadian Women in the Twentieth Century." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 18, no. 1 (2007): 93.

²⁰*Globe*, "Outbreak of Fanaticism: Story of the Doukhobor Abandonment of Stock," October 18, 1902: 16.

commended by early news columns.²¹ As one visiting *Globe* reporter comments, “The Doukhoborati have as a rule an excellent idea of harmony in design [...] This is very remarkable among a people who have neither books nor pictures”.²² As Androsoff points out, this image of Doukhobor women’s needlework “fit in with Canadians’ understanding of appropriate “women’s work”; it was an image with which many middle-class Canadian women identified”.²³ In Canada at the time, a gendered division of labour existed with women’s primary roles being domestic and familial while the men’s function was to earn a wage. Women were viewed to be reliant upon men. Thus, the images of Doukhobor women toiling in the fields challenged Canadian conceptions of feminine identity and caused the media to rethink traditional gender roles. However, unwilling to cause conflict, the media attempted to draw out perceived feminine traits from this tough manual labour the Doukhobor women undertook. Some newspapers did not bother to attempt to reconcile these perceived masculine and feminine traits and instead just negatively focused on Doukhobor women’s bodies. As this essay will later show, the negative image of Doukhobor women’s bodies became the overriding image with the rise of the Sons of Freedom and the public images of nudity.

Viewing these images from a Doukhobor women’s perspective proves to be especially enlightening. Contemporary Doukhobor women view this time of hardship and toil with pride and embrace the image of their ancestors in the spirit of Toil and Peaceful Life – a prevalent Doukhobor slogan. As Woodcock and Avakumovic point out, “the women who pulled the ploughs did not see themselves submitting to servitude; at the time they probably thought of their

²¹ *Globe*, “With the Doukhobors: The Globe’s Correspondent Pays a Visit to the Southern Colony”, October, 28, 1899: 17.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Androsoff, “A Larger Frame,” 94.

act as a mere necessity, but later they saw it as an assertion of faith”.²⁴ However, it should be noted that Doukhobor women at the time had little exposure or control of their image as they remained isolated in their communities. The barrier of language and impenetrable communities isolated these women from the media and village gossip, which was quickly defining them. Therefore, the dominant society, through its use of media, was rapidly defining Doukhobor women and judging them against traditional norms. As the Doukhobor communities separated into three distinct sects, this power to frame Doukhobor women’s image was used to persecute these women.

Despite the lack of power Doukhobor women had outside their communities, they had a lot of power within them. Since male Doukhobors were often absent from the communities, women were leaders of the household and had significant political power in the communities. As Koozma Tarasoff, a Doukhobor historian, points out, “There were meetings (sobranies) at which women and men participated equally in the decision making”.²⁵ These weekly meetings allowed all villagers to raise their concerns and provide them an equal opportunity to participate in the governance of the community. Doukhobor women also had significant influence outside these sobranies. Their constant presence in the communities allowed them to shape the character of the communities and their culture. Since the women live in greater isolation than men and shape the attitudes of Doukhobor youth, they have ensured the “persistence of conservative attitudes among the Doukhobors”.²⁶ Doukhobor women were able to ensure the continuation of the Russian language and their unique oral histories. As Aylmer Maude observed in 1904, “Even today the men who have been away at work on the railways, or elsewhere, would many of them be

²⁴ Woodcock and Avakumovic, *The Doukhobors*, 163.

²⁵ Koozma J. Tarasoff, ed. *Spirit Wrestlers: Doukhobor Pioneers' Strategies for Living* (Ottawa: Legas, 2002), 18.

²⁶ Woodcock and Avakumovic. *The Doukhobors*, 236.

inclined to break from the enchanted circle, were it not that the women hold them back. The women are the chief repositories of the “Living Book” that enshrines the traditions of the sect, and they are exceedingly conservative”.²⁷ Therefore, it was the women that threatened the government’s desire to acculturate the Doukhobor communities, and thus it was the women who were persecuted and derided in the media. In sum, there was a significant disconnect between the power Doukhobor women had to shape their culture and the power media and the government had to override their power and frame them in a negative way.

Another point of contention between the government and Doukhobor communities, which affected women, was the registration of marriages. Doukhobor marriages were considered “a sacred relationship between two individuals; they objected to the intervention of any third party, such as the clergy, and therefore did not recognize the role of government or the church in the union”.²⁸ Marriages were “private affairs between families”.²⁹ Since the Doukhobors refused to register marriages with the government, as they refused to register births and deaths, the marriages were not recognized and the children from these marriages were deemed illegitimate. However, as Woodcock and Avakumovic note, the children’s illegitimacy was “unimportant to the Community Doukhobors, since it carried no moral stigma among them and questions of inheritance were not involved as long as property remained communal”.³⁰ Marriages were equally easy to dissolve if both parties mutually agreed to divorce. Upon divorce, “deserted spouses regarded themselves as free to remarry”.³¹ Furthermore, as Friesen and Verigin note,

²⁷ Aylmer Maude, *A Peculiar People: The Doukhobors*. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1904), 312.

²⁸ Tarasoff, *Spirit Wrestlers*, 26.

²⁹ John W. Friesen and Michael M Verigin, *The Community Doukhobors: A People in Transition* (Ottawa: Borealis Press, 1989), 110.

³⁰ Woodcock and Avakumovic, *The Doukhobors*, 210.

³¹ Sarah Carter, *The Importance of Being Monogamous: Marriage and Nation Building in Western Canada to 1915* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press & AU Press, 2008), 50.

“The question of where children of divorced parents would remain could easily be one of the matters with which the village might involve itself”.³² Thus, as in farming and education, the Doukhobor communities quietly and effectively sorted out household issues within the community. As a result, there was little acrimony between the parties and an outcome that was in the best interests of all concerned was prioritized.

However, the government attempted to register Doukhobor marriages, as well as births and deaths, and thereby gain control in these isolated communities. Sarah Carter, in her influential work *The Importance of Being Monogamous*, examined the ways in which the government constructed and regulated marriage to colonize western Canada. Carter argues that the government viewed marriage as “a sacred institution that supported the whole social fabric and was essential to peace, order, and good government in Canada”.³³ By controlling marriage, the government could control the population by “shaping men and women into submissive, obedient wives, and commanding, providing husbands”.³⁴ Thus the government, through the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and land officers, attempted to enter the Doukhobor communities, register the marriages, and prohibit divorces. Ironically, the government claimed to act in a defense of women - protecting them from polygamous and temporary marriages where they were thought to be subjugated.³⁵ Whereas in reality, as Carter illustrates, enforcing an artificial model of marriage destabilized Doukhobor families, subjugated women to their husband’s rule, and legalized gender discrimination.

³² Friesen and Verigin, *The Community Doukhobors*, 111.

³³ Carter, *The Importance of Being Monogamous*, 4.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 59.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 11.

The government also had the support of influential media that effectively framed the Doukhobors in a negative way and supported their persecution. One particularly venomous article in *The Edmonton Bulletin* in 1901 reported that “the unfortunate and unhappy Doukhobor will be forced to struggle along under a law that makes a marriage service necessary [...] and that imposes a penalty for bigamy. The poor, down-trodden Doukhobor wants the nations of the world to give him refuge from the tyranny of Canadian laws and to afford him a place to live in accordance with his conscience”.³⁶ This patronizing account of traditional Doukhobor marriages and their refusal to register them was an overriding narrative within the media and society. This narrative promotes an unjustified criticism of traditional Doukhobor marriages that were healthy, practical, and supported throughout their communities. Furthermore, Doukhobor women had an equal role in these unions, which was unlike the androcentric marriages of the dominant Canadian society at the time. Eventually the government did accept Doukhobor marriages. In 1909, the government of Saskatchewan recognized Doukhobor marriages, with British Columbia following suit in 1953.³⁷

As the Doukhobor communities grew and spread to British Columbia, a growing discontent with the government emerged. The government had intended the Doukhobor communities to integrate with the dominant Anglo-Canadian society. However, the Doukhobors refused this acculturation and remained isolated. As Woodcock and Avakumovic note, “from the point of view of the average Canadian, [they] had proved a disappointing experiment. The very real pioneering achievements had become obscured in the popular eye by the eccentricities of their behaviour”.³⁸ The discontent grew on all sides as the Doukhobor communities resented

³⁶ The Edmonton Bulletin, “The Poor Downtrodden Doukhobor”, March 25, 1901: 3.

³⁷ Tarasoff, *Spirit Wrestlers*, 26.

³⁸ Woodcock and Avakumovic. *The Doukhobors*, 209.

being forced to register with the government, swear an Oath of Allegiance to the Crown, or pay taxes while the government resented the Doukhobor's resistance to assimilation. It is this author's position that both parties are at fault for their discontent. The Doukhobor communities knew the conditions in which they gained Canadian land and citizenship and therefore they were not to be surprised by the government's insistence on assimilation. However, the government was also aware that the Doukhobor's chose to live on the periphery of society, wanting only to be left alone.

This discontent with the Doukhobors was mirrored in the Canadian media, which became increasingly cruel towards Doukhobor women. A few influential and well-circulated books, including Hazel O'Neil's *Doukhobor Daze* and Simma Holt's *Terror in the Name of God: The Story of the Sons of Freedom: Doukhobors*, overshadowed earlier descriptions of Doukhobor women and reframed them in very negative terms. These authors present all aspects of Doukhobor life unfavourably but it is the bodies of Doukhobor women that they are especially critical of. Hazel O'Neil, a former schoolteacher in a Doukhobor community, had a widely published memoir which mocked Doukhobor women's bodies. As O'Neil reminisces: "Nearly all the Doukhobor women are very well upholstered in all sections [...] they are all soft and floppy; and everything, fore and aft, jiggles as they walk. Even their full blouses and voluminous skirts do not conceal the quiverings and lurchings of these regions of their anatomies".³⁹ The negative image of Doukhobor women O'Neil illustrates reframed the nobler image of women in harness collectively pulling a plow or sharing their oral histories with Doukhobor youth. As such, Doukhobor women became more known for a specific physical appearance than the important physical, intellectual, and spiritual roles they had in their communities.

³⁹ O'Neil, Hazel. *Doukhobor Daze*. (Sidney: Gray's Publishing Ltd., 1962), 12.

Simma Holt's work was even more damaging to the public image of Doukhobor women. Holt created a highly sensationalized account of the Sons of Freedom, a small minority of Doukhobors that publicly protested assimilation with nude marches and arson. The trouble with Holt's work was that it was largely inaccurate and generalized Doukhobor life, which mistakenly framed all Doukhobors as religious extremists. Holt attacked Doukhobor women noting that their "lovely bodies, like their minds, soon grow gross and ugly – usually starting in the late teens or early twenties".⁴⁰ As Friesen and Verigin note, "Although Doukhobor critics were polite in their assessments, pointing out that the book was full of inaccuracies, none of their protestations could affect the tidal wave of curiosity that the book aroused in the Canadian audience".⁴¹ Thus Holt's work, in addition to O'Neil's, effectively reframed Doukhobor women as obese fanatics and sadly this image became prevalent. Incidentally, Holt's mistaken illustrations of Doukhobor life were supported by the government and eventually led her to being awarded the Order of Canada. As Image Three (in the Appendix) shows, the Sons of Freedom women are pictured naked, hysterical, and confrontational – everything that a Canadian women was not to be. Furthermore, this negative image of Doukhobor women prevailed over images of Doukhobor men because "women seemed to differ more dramatically from their Canadian counterparts than men did".⁴² In sum, the many positive images of Doukhobor women were obscured by a negative image of overweight naked Doukhobor women, and sadly it is this image that resonated and reframed Doukhobor women.

These Sons of Freedom Doukhobor women were also regularly prosecuted by the state.

The government had imprisoned Freedomite protesters for nude marches and arson but by the

⁴⁰ Simma Holt. *Terror in the name of God: The story of the Sons of Freedom: Doukhobors*. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1964), Photograph Caption, 153.

⁴¹ Friesen and Verigin, *The Community Doukhobors*, xi.

⁴² *Ibid*, 104.

1930s they amended the Criminal Code, which mandated three years imprisonment for nudity in a public place.⁴³ As Woodcock and Avakumovic point out, “Such a savage penalty [...] was a startling revelation of the strength of Canadian prudery”.⁴⁴ By the 1930s the nude demonstrations reached their peak with almost a thousand Freedomite Doukhobors arrested and incarcerated. These Doukhobor women, who were a small minority, were framed as fanatical. As one newspaper reported following the six month incarceration of six women: “They have recovered from the frenzy and wear clothes and eat anything given to them”.⁴⁵ Thus, it was the image of fanatical and overweight Freedomite women that became prevalent and it was these women that were especially prosecuted by the state for challenging traditional Canadian feminine norms.

In conclusion, Doukhobor women have suffered underserved persecution by the media and the government. The Doukhobor people immigrated to Canada to escape the harsh discrimination of the Russian Tsar and the Orthodox Church. However, upon settling in western Canada in 1899, the Doukhobors soon became persecuted by the media and the government for not assimilating into Canadian society. Doukhobor women were especially singled out because they challenged Canadian feminine norms. At first, the media framed Doukhobor women as stoic and physically powerful and reconciled these masculine traits with more acceptable feminine norms such as quietness and calmness. However, this image of Doukhobor women’s bodies shifted as the Sons of Freedom minority came to prominence with their nude marches and arson. Some Canadian authors capitalized on this sensational image of nude Doukhobor women and negatively framed them as obese and fanatical. Sadly, this latter image has obscured all the positive aspects of Doukhobor women and the roles they have in their community. As this essay

⁴³ Woodcock and Avakumovic. *The Doukhobors*, 316.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ *Coleman Miner*. "Doukhobor Women Wise." January 22, 1909: 2.

has shown, Doukhobor women have multiple important roles within their communities, including physically, intellectually, and spiritually. These women worked in the fields, in the household, and in the community centre, while also preserving their unique oral history by teaching their youth. However, these roles did not fit with the feminine roles of the dominant Canadian society and therefore they were persecuted. It is through more recent Doukhobor scholarship such as the work of Ashleigh Androsoff and Julie Rak, which can join with more established Doukhobor works including research by George Woodcock, Ivan Avakumovic and Koozma Tarasoff that the damaging and inaccurate accounts of Doukhobor women can be rewritten and replaced by the many positive roles women held in their societies. Doukhobor women had interesting and varied lives and were vital in the preservation of Doukhobor culture: they deserve to be remembered for these roles.

Appendix

46



Image Two



Image Three



Image One

⁴⁶ Unknown Photographer, *Doukhobor women are shown breaking the prairie sod by pulling a plough themselves*, Photograph, Thunder Hill Colony, Manitoba: 1899. From Library and Archives Canada/C-000681: Doukhobor Collection, Graphic Material.
http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&lang=eng&rec_nbr=3193404&rec_nbr_list=3193404,3629711, (accessed August 2, 2012);

⁴⁷ Unknown Photographer, *Doukhobor Women Winnowing Grain*, Photograph, Saskatchewan: 1899. From Library and Archives Canada / C-008891: Doukhobor Collection, Graphic Material.
http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&lang=eng&rec_nbr=3193407&rec_nbr_list=3193404,3193407,3367664,1716950,3629711, (accessed August 2, 2012).

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⁴⁸ Unknown Photographer, "Confrontation at Perry's Siding", Photograph, British Columbia, 1953. From Mike Culpepper's Blog, *The Doukhobors of B.C., Part Four: Chaos*, <http://shrineodreams.wordpress.com/2012/02/15/the-doukhobors-of-b-c-part-four-chaos/>, (accessed August 15, 2012).

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