



Ed. Note: This *Bulletin* includes items excerpted from the CIHS's copy of the 16 April 1910 issue of *Canada, an Illustrated Weekly Journal (Canada Weekly)*, a publication that was directed mainly at a U.K. readership with trade and commercial interests. Looking back from 2024, these articles or snippets offer the reader an opportunity to reflect on what aspects of Canada's immigration story were of public interest at the time.

## Evolution of Policy on Oppressed Minorities and Political Prisoners

Raphael Girard

Programs to bring immigrants to Canada primarily for humanitarian reasons have never been focussed exclusively on Convention refugees. The primary objective of the 1951 Geneva Convention on refugee status was to define whom governments would have an obligation to protect from forced removal to their countries of nationality or regular residence.<sup>1</sup> It was not designed to enable governments to identify those who needed to be resettled through transportation to another country. Some refugees are not welcome in the country where they have found first asylum and have to be resettled elsewhere as a means of providing them with protection, but they are a minority. Conversely there are many groups who do not strictly meet the Convention definition but are subject to the same threats to their wellbeing as Convention refugees and also need to be resettled from where they reside.

In the early post World War II period, humanitarian programs were delivered without any distinction between who was and who was not a Convention refugee, since the law did not distinguish between the two. With the development of the 1951 Convention, however, countries acquired international legal obligations toward Convention refugees, and although the coming into effect of the Convention placed no restraints or obligations on Canada's humanitarian resettlement programs, the government decided that the policy on immigrant selection needed to be clarified.

Canada did not immediately accede to the 1951 Convention, but Cabinet was quick to approve the usage of the Convention definition of refugee when selecting refugees for resettlement. Even then, however, the shortcomings of so doing were evident. Since the Convention in its narrowest application only provided protection to Eastern Europeans displaced by events occurring before 1951, Cabinet also authorized the selection of escapees from the East Bloc countries arriving after 1951 who in theory, although probably not in practice, were vulnerable to refoulement. No special regulation was needed since selection criteria were entirely administrative.

The policy to redefine the longstanding practice of reaching out to people in trouble beyond the scope of the refugee Convention was reviewed in depth immediately after Canada ratified the Convention in September 1969; by then the Convention had broadened its European focus and through the New York protocol of 1967 extended protection to all refugees throughout the world. In July 1970, Cabinet considered a memorandum from Manpower and Immigration

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Canada whose stated purpose was to: “establish a refugee program which will admit refugees who have good prospects of settlement in Canada, without regard to geographic origin”. The memorandum noted that while Canada’s immigration policy had been placed on a universal basis with the introduction of regulatory changes in 1962, the selection of refugees for resettlement in Canada had, with minor exceptions, favoured persons of European origin. It was time to change.

The memorandum then went on to address what it called Oppressed Minorities. Citing examples such as, “Jews and Armenians in Arab states, some Christian sects in Turkey and a variety of persons in Communist countries”, the memorandum noted that religious and ethnic communities in Canada often request special consideration for members of such groups. However, because such people are not prepared or able to move to another country where they could claim refugee status, they do not fall under the 1951 Convention, which requires that they be outside their country of citizenship or habitual residence. Cabinet was told that singling out such groups by creating a special program risked drawing unfavourable attention to them and could worsen the conditions for those left behind.

The solution, as set out in subsequent Cab. Doc. 1116/70 of 16 September 1970, was as follows:

As regards oppressed minorities: provide for the selection of members of oppressed minorities on the basis of the norms of admissibility (point system) set out in the Immigration Regulations and on the understanding that the inability to meet selection requirements notwithstanding, examining officers have the discretion to admit such applicants when the information available indicates that there is sufficient private and/or government assistance available to ensure the applicants successful establishment in Canada.

At this stage, there was no specific mention of political prisoners, but the Oppressed Minority policy established firmly in Canadian practice the possibility of extending resettlement to oppressed people who could not avail themselves of the protection of the refugee convention because they were still in their country of citizenship or habitual residence. Nevertheless, in 1971 the department issued instructions regarding a more universal approach to the selection of Convention refugees subsequent to the Cabinet decision (*Operations Memorandum 17*), but it provided no further direction on oppressed minorities. The implication here is that the department was comfortable if visa officers dealt conclusively with Convention refugees who were either presented or presented themselves spontaneously as candidates for resettlement, but insofar as oppressed minorities were concerned, any response would continue to be controlled by the department itself and only actioned in specific circumstances approved by the government.

The first test of the Oppressed Minority policy was the Ugandan Asian expulsion. At the outset, confusion reigned. If there was ever a movement that fit neatly the Oppressed Minority concept, it was the Ugandan Asian community expelled by Uganda’s President Idi Amin. The expulsion of Asians of Indian origin was announced on 5 August 1972, and they were given 90 days to depart. On 22 August, Cabinet initially decided that no special measures were warranted. Normal immigration criteria would apply, and 3,000 would be admitted. It was allowed that if the number who qualified fell below 3,000, the Minister had the authority to “invoke the policy of ‘Oppressed Minorities’ ... allowing for the admission of otherwise unqualified applicants deemed capable of successful establishment with such special assistance as deemed necessary”.

The crisis became more urgent. Cabinet met a week after the operation started and decided to drop the requirement that candidates meet normal immigration selection. Future communications with the team in Kampala stressed the humanitarian nature of the operation and the need to process as many applications as possible, focusing on stateless people with connections to Canada and communities that had given up their British colonial status who had no alternative place to go. In the space of some three months, more than 6,000 people were transported to Canada.

The issue of political prisoners first emerged with the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile in 1973 and the installation of the Pinochet regime that ruthlessly cracked down on the left-wing movement which had brought Allende to power. Canadian church groups, led by the Inter-Church Committee for Human Rights in Latin America, petitioned the government to bring victims of oppression by the Pinochet regime to Canada, some of whom had been imprisoned simply because they spoke out against the coup d’état. Apart from the 6,000 Ugandan Asians who had been brought to Canada in 1969, Canada had not resettled many non-European refugees nor those fleeing persecution by right-wing governments. Refugee policy was more influenced by the Cold War and the perceived limitation on basic human rights in communist countries. The problem for the government was less about bringing prisoners to Canada than it was about bringing anybody fleeing a U.S.-supported right-wing regime that professed to be anti-communist. The government’s response to the churches was slow, probably in the hope that over time, the problem would go away. It did not. The campaign led by New Democratic Party spokesmen David Lewis and Andrew Bruin, supported by Reverend Floyd Honey, representing the churches, kept up the pressure. Their actions and sympathetic media eventually brought the issue to the floor of the House of Commons.

The government finally agreed to launch a small resettlement effort for Chileans affected by the coup in 1973, authorizing the admission of up to 5,000 people including 100 political prisoners. Although a visa office was established in Santiago to deliver the program, early results did little to satisfy the churches. Operating a humanitarian immigration program from within a country where pressures for emigration were strong posed all kinds of administrative issues, not the least of which was the identification of which dissenters actually needed resettlement in Canada. Nevertheless, whether it was acknowledged or not, this program fell under the rubric of the Oppressed Minority policy, since none of the candidates for resettlement still in Chile were Convention refugees based on that fact alone.

Prisoners in fact were the most obvious candidates, but Canada had no experience dealing with people in physical confinement. Within the department, the discussion about prisoners focussed on who could meet the requirements of the law which, in the language of the *Immigration Act 1952*, excluded those convicted of crimes involving "moral turpitude". Spokesmen for the churches argued that kidnappers, aircraft hijackers, and those seeking the overthrow of a despotic government through the force of arms to promote a political end, should be included given that these offenders sought no personal gain through their activities. They pointed to Nelson Mandela who they argued should certainly be liberated from prison, even though he had participated in the killing of a senior political figure in South Africa.

Manpower and Immigration Canada did not want to become involved in interpreting the motivation for offences that had led to criminal convictions, particularly those involving violence and in some cases, the loss of life. It settled on a formula which would compare the substance of the charges or convictions against the Canadian criminal code. Where an offence did not correspond to an equivalent offence in the Canadian criminal code, the prisoner could be considered for resettlement. Where the offence would be a crime in Canada, the prisoner would be prohibited from immigrating to Canada. In short, Canada agreed to resettle prisoners charged and/or found guilty of having committed acts which could be considered legitimate dissent in a democracy.

Between 1973 and 1978, Canada continued the humanitarian resettlement program for Chilean dissidents, including some who at the time of their application to come to Canada were imprisoned but would be released from captivity if they immediately left the country. In 1976 and 1977, the manager of the immigration program in Chile managed to negotiate the release and safe passage of approximately a hundred political prisoners and their families. In that year, the program for prisoners was increased to 200 from Chile and was extended to Argentina with an allocation of an additional 100 places for prisoners.

With the passage of *Immigration Act 1976* and its coming into force on 1 April 1978, the delegation of the power to Employment and Immigration Canada (EIC) to define the norms for the selection of immigrants was rescinded and retained for parliament through the establishment of admissible classes in the Act and in the Regulations. EIC could no longer devise humanitarian resettlement programs or any other program by administrative fiat as had been permitted when *Immigration Act 1952* governed immigration to Canada.

The 1976 Act created an admissible class for Convention refugees, and through section 6(2) it provided regulation-making authority for other humanitarian classes that could be designated. On proclamation of the Act on 1 April 1978, however, no designations had taken place but three resettlement programs were underway, including Eastern Europeans, Chile/Argentina, and Indochinese. Operational difficulties cropped up almost immediately. Having to test the Convention eligibility of each Vietnamese applicant prior to determining admissibility was very cumbersome and sharply reduced productivity. Jewish migrants from the Soviet Union refused to advance claims to refugee status because they considered the term itself objectionable. Chileans and Argentinians were clearly not Convention refugees since they were still in their own countries.

To provide continuity for the programs that had been authorized before the passage of the new Act, EIC devised an Order in Council in November that designated three additional humanitarian classes pursuant to section 6(2). The self-exiled class covered Soviet Jews and other Eastern Europeans; the Indochinese designated class did away with the need to test each applicant for Convention eligibility; and the Latin American designated class (LADC) applied to persecuted Chileans and Argentinians still resident in their own countries, including those in prison. The core definition of the LADC was simply the Convention definition minus the requirement to be outside one's country of nationality or habitual residence. While it included no specific reference to political prisoners, the countries in Latin America to which the class could be applied were listed in an annex to the Regulations.

In 1982, Lloyd Axworthy, as Minister of Employment and Immigration, accepted representations from the Inter Church Committee for Refugees to reach out to Salvadorans affected by the civil war in that country. The churches asked the government to provide resettlement opportunities for opponents of the d'Aubuisson regime who might require resettlement. This raised the issue of designation again. While those Salvadorans in exile in Honduras and Costa Rica

could be considered Convention refugees, the preferred target group consisted of prisoners in jail in El Salvador convicted of non-violent offences that were political in nature. These people did not meet the Convention definition, and so the Latin American designated class would have to be amended since the only two countries to which it applied at that time were Chile and Argentina.

Rather than simply add El Salvador to the list in the LADC—a regulation that only covered internally oppressed persons in Latin America and did not specifically mention political prisoners—the minister agreed to ask the Governor in Council to approve a much broader regulation that would be applicable to oppressed minorities in any country who, apart from the fact that they were still in their own countries, would otherwise meet the definition of Convention refugee; and in addition, provision would be made for political prisoners from any country but with clarification in the Regulation itself as to the circumstances of imprisonment that would qualify individual applicants for recognition. This did not mean that all such people would have to be accepted to come to Canada, but when the government decided it did want to bring a number of such people to Canada from a specific area, the regulatory framework would be in place and would only need to be amended by inclusion of the country to which the new initiative would apply.

The criteria for determining which political prisoners would be eligible to be resettled were further clarified to reflect the original intent:

The program is accessible to nationals of the enumerated countries who remain in their country of origin.

84. Applicants must either meet the Convention definition of a refugee (excluding the requirement to be outside their country of origin), or as a direct result of acts that in Canada would be considered a legitimate expression of free thought or a legitimate exercise of civil rights pertaining to dissent or to trade union activity, have been

- (i) detained or imprisoned for a period exceeding 72 hours with or without charge, or
- (ii) subjected to some other recurring form of penal control....

In the aftermath of the passage of the Order in Council giving expression to Minister Axworthy's policy, 294 persons, which included prisoners and a few dependants, were brought to Canada from El Salvador for resettlement in southwestern Ontario. When Chile and Argentina are added, the total number of prisoners brought to Canada through the three programs was slightly less than 500. While that number might seem small relative to the overall intake of refugees and oppressed minorities, visa officers reported that Canada's interest in political prisoners in these countries benefited many others and led to the early release of even more who chose to remain in their own countries. Further, the impact of the Political Prisoners and Oppressed Persons regulation went far beyond El Salvador. Through this regulation, Employment and Immigration Canada was provided with an instrument that gave it a great deal of flexibility in responding quickly to emerging international crises and gave clear expression to Canada's Oppressed Minority policy that complemented our outreach to Convention refugees.

**Note**

<sup>1</sup> A refugee is any person, who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

## The Canadian Immigration Historical Society's **ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING AND DINNER**

**When:** 17 October 2024 – Drinks at 5:30 pm, Dinner at 6:30 pm, Meeting at 7:30

**Where:** Royal Canadian Legion, 330 Kent Street, Ottawa

**Tickets:** \$50 per person (includes dinner – cash bar)

**Payment to be made by 7 October 2024:**

Interac e-transfer: [info@cihs-shic.ca](mailto:info@cihs-shic.ca)

Or by cheque: Please tell us you are coming, and mail cheque to PO Box 4401, Station E, Ottawa, ON K1S 5B4

# La Société Historique de l'Immigration Canadienne tient notre **ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE ANNUELLE ET DÎNER**

**Quand** : le 17 octobre 2024 – Boissons : 17h30, Dîner : 18h30, et Assemblée : 19h30

**Où** : Légion royale canadienne, 330 rue Kent, Ottawa

**Billets** : 50\$ / personne (dîner inclus – bar payant)

**Paielement à effectuer avant le 7 octobre 2024** :

Virements Interac : [info@cihs-shic.ca](mailto:info@cihs-shic.ca)

Ou par chèque : veuillez nous informer de votre présence par courriel et envoyer le chèque à CP 4401, Succursale E, Ottawa, ON K1S 5B4

## **Hearts of Freedom: The Canadian Southeast Asian Refugee Historical Research Project**

Peter Duschinsky

In CIHS *Bulletin* 105 of June 2023, I wrote in my update about the Hearts of Freedom (HOF) project that it was reaching its culmination. Alas, I was overconfident. This is a project that continues to keep on giving. Mike Molloy and I, now both octogenarians, continue to work on it.

First, I would like to make a minor correction to that article: by the end of 2020 there were 173 (not 175) oral history interviews completed, of which 143 (not 145) were interviews with former refugees who have made their lives in Canada. The rest of the interviews were with Canadians—politicians, officials, sponsors and ordinary Canadians—who facilitated their overseas acceptance, journeys to Canada, and subsequent settlement in Canada. Eleven interviewees declined to share their interviews with the public, meaning that there are 162 interviews available to interested viewers on the HOF [website](#).

According to Mondy Lim, the project's media coordinator and website creator, the website received an average of approximately 4,000 visitors per month in the past year. Feedback from members of Southeast Asian communities in Canada, as well as students and researchers, is that the website, including the interviews, is mostly accessed for personal, study, and research purposes.

Dr. Stephanie Stobbe's travelling exhibition, *Hearts of Freedom: Stories of Southeast Asian Refugees*, continues its journey across Canada. As this article is being written, the exhibition is on display at York University in Toronto, where Mike Molloy is providing support. An opening of the exhibition took place in Winnipeg in January 2024, where Molloy and Duschinsky made presentations to a large audience in a Manitoba museum hall while outside the temperature was a balmy -17C. It was exhibited earlier this year at the Senate of Canada for ten days: on 2 May 2024, former Prime Minister Joe Clark and Mike Molloy gave speeches in the presence of invited dignitaries. At various venues, including Edmonton, Calgary, and Hamilton, Molloy and Duschinsky (not always together) were presenters and panel members for both the travelling exhibition and the documentary film *Passage to Freedom*.

Presentations of the film usually accompanied the travelling exhibitions, but this was not always the case. In October 2023, Mississauga's Vietnamese community and Montreal's McGill University and months later the Metropolis Conference in Montreal, made freestanding presentations of the documentary to large audiences. In May 2024, *Passage to Freedom* was nominated in the research category at the Yorkton Saskatchewan Documentary Film Festival, the largest festival of this type in Canada. Our film did not win, but the nomination was a major honour.

A year ago, after three years of hard work, we finalized the draft manuscript of our book *Hearts of Freedom: Stories of Southeast Asian Refugees* (note the changed title). The authors thought that following the mandatory peer reviews the book would be published this past spring (2024). We were naïve. Months later the peer reviews came back. They recommended publication, but they also recommended major changes. After months of additional hard work, the peer



L-R: Peter Duschinsky and Michael J. Molloy at the Vietnamese Boat People monument, Mississauga, Ontario, 2 October 2023. (Photo courtesy of Phan Dam.)

reviewers were satisfied and enthusiastically recommended publication of the revised manuscript. More work followed, getting the book into its final shape. The manuscript is now ready. Last week, the contract was signed by the authors and forwarded to McGill-Queen's University Press. The final manuscript will be sent to the publisher on 1 October 2024, and it will be published in 2025.

The last months of work on the book were particularly hard. Here, the role of HOF project co-ordinator Ginette Thomas should be highlighted. In meeting after meeting with Mike Molloy and me, she helped to find solutions to difficult technical problems. As well, the steady support of Emily Andrew, senior editor at McGill-Queen's University Press, has been essential in getting over the final hurdles before the book was ready for publication. A week ago, the manuscript was forwarded for professional translation, preparing the book for eventual publication in French.

What remains to be done? Southeast Asian communities from coast to coast, especially the Vietnamese Canadian community, are aware that a book based on stories of their personal experiences is being published. As observed through meetings with them across Canada, they look forward to the book's publication. Publicity will be important and will need to be done continuously until the book is actually published. The 50th anniversary of the fall of Saigon occurs on 30 April 2025. We hope that the book will be available as close as possible to this date.

Four of the major results of the HOF project—website containing the interviews, documentary film, travelling exhibition, and book—have either been completed or are almost completed. Based on these products, the project now needs to create educational materials so that Canadian students can learn about this important part of Canada's immigration history. Ginette Thomas has agreed to co-ordinate the creation of these educational materials.

To tell the truth, Mike and I are becoming a bit tired, but being involved in this important project has been a pleasure and an honour.

### **Manitoba Province**

Copied from *Canada, an Illustrated Weekly Journal*, No. 223, VOL. XVIII, of 18 April, 1910, page 47.

*(From Our Own Correspondent) Winnipeg*

There is an unprecedented rush of population into the West. Whatever the spring had been, there would have been a big rush this year, but the early arrival of good weather has undoubtedly helped to bring many people here in March who otherwise would not have come until April or May. The settlement is particularly great from the Old Country, and the immigration authorities look for more than 100,000 farmers from the States this year. The West needs all who will come. So early as this, the cry for farm help has been sounded and there is a dearth of labour to get the crop of 1910 seeded. If 10,000 farm labourers were to come into the West at once, all would be employed and there would be none too many to meet the needs of the farmers in their seeding operations. The high prices and good crops of the past few years have promoted wheat growing to such an extent that every man with land at his disposal will plant every acre that labour and skill in farming work can bring under crop.

### **Alberta Province**

Copied from: *Canada, an Illustrated Weekly Journal*, No. 223, VOL. XVIII, of 18 April, 1910, page 47.

*(From Our Own Correspondent) Edmonton*

Owing to the great rush which is occurring at the present time into the country to the north-east of Calgary, several immigration camps have been established by the Commissioner of Immigration in that part of the country, and five trusted officers of the Department are in charge of the operations there. Three carloads of equipment for these camps were sent West from that city some weeks ago, and the material has been distributed to the points where it will do the most good.



## Pier 21 Celebrates 25 Years

Gerry Maffre

The CIHS is pleased to congratulate the [Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21](#) upon its 25th anniversary!

For twenty-five years, the museum has pursued and enriched its telling of Canada's immigration history. Through personal stories of newcomers, a wide range of material, public activities and public events, the museum ensures the human phenomenon of migration to Canada is captured and explained.

The museum has [published an article](#) about its anniversary on its website.

CIHS has had a long and close relationship with the museum. One of our late members, Jean Paul Leblanc, was the founding president of the Pier 21 Society. He and Trudi Mitic co-authored the book [Pier 21: The Gateway That Changed Canada](#).

Previous issues of the CIHS *Bulletin* have included several articles about the museum:

- [issue #63](#) page 10: Jean Paul's ode to Pier 21 was re-printed;
- [issue #63](#), page 7: the *Bulletin* issued its own obituary for Ruth Goldbloom, who was a driving force behind the establishment of Pier 21 as a national museum;
- [issue #72](#) page 2: the CIHS reported on Pier 21's Chief Executive Officer Marie Chapman's address to the CIHS's 2014 annual general meeting; and
- [issue #74](#) page 1: the *Bulletin* published a report on the re-opening of the museum in 2015.

### **A Thousand Emigrants a Day**

Copied from *Canada, an Illustrated Weekly Journal*, No. 223, VOL. XVIII, of 18 April 1910, page 39.

During the present month an unprecedented number of emigrants are leaving Great Britain for Canada. In addition to the increase in quantity, the average class of emigrant is better than any who previously left British shores. Those determined to settle in a new country include, according to the *Daily Mail*, such excellent types as the following: —

1. Barrister, age twenty-four, formerly president of the Cambridge Union, has money, of good family, going to Alberta to make a career.
2. Engineer, going to Manitoba to take a share in a building business.
3. Captain, Indian Army retired, £1,000 capital, starting merchant's business in Fort William, Ontario.
4. London hotel manager, with wife and two children; will purchase hotel in Alberta.
5. Young farmer from Berwick-on-Tweed, investing £1,500 in fruit farm in Ontario.
6. Miller, taking half-interest in an Ontario flour-milling business, an investment of £5,000.

Mr. N. B. Colcock, the Ontario Government representative in London, states that among a number of people who recently decided to settle in Ontario was a publisher with an option on 700 acres in Ontario. He is taking £4,000 with him to Canada on April 23, and the rest of his capital of £15,000 will follow him as soon as he can draw it out of his business. A doctor who is also going is spending £4,000 in buying land in the same Province, and is realising £35,000 worth of City property and taking that sum also to Canada.

The average daily rate of leaving is 1,000, and in all about 30,000 emigrants will leave the Old Country for the oldest Dominion, while thousands more are going to Australia and South Africa.

## A Fiftieth Reunion

Gerry Maffre

On Tuesday, 2 July 1974, twenty men and one woman gathered in a boardroom in the former [Bourque Building](#) in Ottawa. We were there to begin our careers as immigration foreign service visa officers with the then Department of Manpower and Immigration. Over the next months, we were trained and primed for that first posting. For most of us, years of overseas and Ottawa assignments followed, while others moved on to different career paths.

Two years ago, the late Bob Shalka and I put our heads together to plan a reunion and to build a contact list with our colleagues. It worked out that in 2024, Tuesday, 2 July was again a most appropriate date to gather. Ten of that 1974 group were able to make it to Ottawa's Petit Bill's Bistro, for a celebratory dinner and toast to Bob.

There was no need for name tags—we all recognized one another! Catching up on families, past experiences, and retirement activities began over drinks. After the meal, each took a few minutes to talk to the whole table about highlights of career and life. We closed down the restaurant and headed home thinking about all we had heard at our reunion. Everyone agreed that it was a very pleasant evening and a chance to reconnect and reflect on the years past.



Example of ID card issued to the 1974 recruits  
(Photo courtesy of Jean Roberge)



L-R: Jean Roberge, Ian Rankin, Derry Foreman, Gerry Maffre, Jack Kleniewski, Mark Robinson, Peter Duschinsky, Gregory Bell, Hector Cowan, Gérard Pinsonneault (Photo taken by our waitress)

### **The Doukhobors in Canada: Once Troublesome Immigrants—Becoming Useful Citizens**

Transcribed from *Canada, an Illustrated Weekly Journal*, No. 223, Vol. XVIII, of 18 April, 1910, page 41.

*For some time after the arrival of the Doukhobors in Canada, fears were expressed that they would fail to settle down and become good citizens of the Dominion. As a matter of fact, the authorities on several occasions had some difficulty with these immigrants. The members of this curious communistic sect, however, now promise to become as useful settlers as any of the immigrants who are making Canada their home. We are glad, therefore, to be able to reproduce a sympathetic account of their customs and mode of life from the pen of an English clergyman who has visited their settlements in Saskatchewan.*

Among the many types of settlers who are now starting life anew on the fertile Canadian prairies—that “melting pot of the nations”—one of the most extraordinary and interesting are the members of the Russian communistic sect



known as the Doukhobors. The name means “spirit-wrestlers”, and the sect, on its formation some years ago, was soon involved in serious trouble with the Russian Government, not only on account of their dissent from the Orthodox Church, but also because of their refusal to render military service. For some time, the authorities sought, by the methods of persecution generally in use in Russia—imprisonment, flogging, and exile—to bend these people to their will. All efforts being in vain, they were given permission to leave the country, and in 1899, 7,363 Doukhobors—men, women and children—sailed from Batoum to Canada. They were eventually joined by various exiles of the sect from Siberia, and now number about 9,000. The Rev. J. Bruce Wallace, M.A., contributes a graphic account of a visit to the Doukhobor colony at Verigin, Sask., to *Brotherhood*, the magazine of the Letchworth Garden City, “In the villages”, he says, “the dwellings erected in the early poverty-stricken days of their settlement are much smaller and rougher than the newer buildings. The newest represent a standard of comfort considerably higher than what prevails among most of the Canadian homesteaders. The villages are clean, neat, picturesque, with broad roads, and altogether suggestive of good order and prosperity. Each one has a meeting-house, which is the most conspicuous building of the village.

“And—cleanliness being next to godliness—each village has also a public bath-house, where everybody is expected to take a Russian bath (something like a “Turkish bath”) once a week. Of all the foreigners settled in Canada, the Doukhobors, I think, have the highest standard of personal cleanliness. Each village of the Doukhobors is an organized community, with agricultural implements, horses, cattle, dairy, bakery and store, owned collectively. The villagers’ industry is under the management of a headman annually elected. The product of their socialized labour belongs to them collectively, until it is apportioned among the families according to their several needs. When men go outside the colony to work for wages on railway construction or something else, they put their wages into the common fund of the village. No money is used in the villages, nor is there any use for any, for all the families, according to their size, get their bread, milk, vegetables, clothes and other supplies without money from the communal bakery, dairy and stores.

“In addition to the communism of the villages, there is a more comprehensive communism which inter-connects all the village brickworks. There are thus flour-mills, sawmills, flax mills, brickyards and other industrial plants, which, with the products, are the common property of the communist Doukhobors.

“The members engaged in the offices at Verigin, and those who happen to be there on business from distant villages, take their meals together, in Russian peasant fashion, at a long oilcloth-covered table that occupies one whole side of a very large-scale kitchen. Before and after eating they stand for a few moments in silent thanksgiving and prayer. All the meals are pretty substantial, and very much alike. “We eat three dinners a day, except on Sundays”, my young interpreter explained to me; “on Sundays we get only two dinners, because we do not work.”

“Here is a sample bill of fare. First course: Potatoes well boiled, in their skins. Between each two people at the table a spoonful of salt is placed on the oilcloth cover. They peel their potatoes with their fingers, and dab them in the salt. With the potatoes is served a savoury vegetable seasoning, called *kwass*. One bowl of it suffices between two or three people, who dip their wooden spoons into the same bowl. Second course: Soup, of vegetables and milk, with brown wheaten bread. As with the *kwass*, two or three sup the soup out of the same bowl. Third course: Pancakes and jam or syrup.”

Mr. Wallace then goes on to explain that the Doukhobors still have difficulties and troubles. Owing to lack of money to buy land elsewhere, they had to settle on free land, and under the homestead laws of Canada. These laws required settlers to bring a certain amount of land under cultivation annually for three years and upon compliance with all conditions a quarter-section (160 acres) became their own property. But to get the title deeds to this land it was first necessary to become naturalised and take the oath of allegiance to King Edward. This perplexed them greatly at first, and after some years’ consideration they refused to comply. Such a course, they thought, would be to abjure the universal brotherhood. And so they made the sacrifice of their land for conscience sake, and forfeited \$4,800,000 worth of property. They were, however, finally allowed (by the grace of the Government and “during its pleasure”) fifteen acres per head of their population. About a quarter of them have taken the oath of allegiance, and have settled in British Columbia. It is unfortunate too, that a means of education is not yet provided for the children, who are consequently growing up ignorant of English.

At the general meeting of the Doukhobor community, held in Verigin in January, it was announced that the community has in all villages about 400 teams of working horses, valued at \$350 per team; 500 yokes of oxen, valued at \$100 per yoke; 500 milch cows, valued at \$35 each. In addition, there are harness, farm implements, wagons, and sleighs, etc. All of the forty-two villages were in flourishing condition. The lands, buildings, cement and brick plants and threshing machines belonging to the community are valued at \$236,798.

## In Memoriam

### Allen, Ernest (Ernie)

Ernest Allen [passed away](#) in Ottawa in July 2024 at the age of 102. Mr. Allen was a former director in Canada Employment and Immigration Commission's Manpower Employer Services Branch and was responsible for starting Canada's Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program. Before serving with CEIC, he was an RAF pilot during World War II and an RCAF pilot instructor during the Korean War. He was also a skilled golfer.

#### *Remembered by Doug Dunnington*

Ernie Allen from Manpower was on the initial committee with Joe Bissett that established the Seasonal Workers Program. I was the committee's secretary. Ernie was a senior Manpower director, along with Dennis Findlay. Both were great guys, who with all of us were trying to strike a balance between the legitimate need for agricultural workers and our unwillingness to initiate a racist movement.

### Benimadhu, Jennifer

Jennifer Benimadhu was a director of immigration adjudication at Employment and Immigration Canada, former director general at the Immigration and Refugee Board, and a corporate comptroller at Industry Canada. Prior to her retirement, she was a vice-president at the Canadian International Development Agency. She [passed away](#) this summer and her memorial service occurred in mid-September.

### Gray, Paul

Paul Gray, husband of Nadia Gray, [passed away](#) on 9 July 2024. The family held a celebration of his life at Beechwood Cemetery on 10 August 2024.

#### *Remembered by Elsa Amadeo*

When I arrived in Rome in 1974 or thereabouts, I found Paul, the 2IC, awaiting the arrival of his beloved Nadia. It took time—letters flowed, and Paul artfully decorated with cartoon figures the envelopes he mailed much to the amusement and delight of the Italian postal workers. They were collector's items. RIP Paul.

#### *Remembered by Carol Ayliffe*

I was saddened to hear of Paul's passing. My memories of seeing him at our Immigration reunion a few years ago are very vivid. He seemed to me to be the same bright, outgoing, articulate Paul that I had the pleasure of getting to know when we worked together in London in the early 70s. I remember also that Paul was going through a difficult time during this period. I admired his professionalism and determination to be the best that he could be when the chips were down. And, of course, his wit and keen sense of humour: when Paul and Gordon Whitehead were kibitzing around, there was always much laughter!

#### *Remembered by Joyce Cavanagh-Wood:*

Paul was one of that special group of people in my life: the "class of 67". From the outset, I appreciated Paul's jaunty, witty approach to life. He was brainy, but practical. He could synthesize an issue and see the possible fixes to a problem, then he applied his considerable energy to ensure success. Amazingly catholic in his interests, which ranged from art to collecting miniature whiskey bottles, he had all his treasures catalogued and in amazingly good order. A visit to his home is a visit to an art gallery/museum.

Although our careers took us to different geographic areas and I did not see him for years at a stretch, I always knew where he was and that he would eventually return to the beautiful brick home he had restored near Ottawa.

Paul had the great good fortune to meet Nadia early on, and then had the good sense to snatch her up and whisk her into his life. They were for fifty years a brilliant duo. They brought light into the hearts of many. I cherish my memories of Paul and am proud to have called him "friend".

#### *Remembered by Doug Dunnington*

The picture of "Paulie" reminds us immediately of his sense of humour and devotion to Nadia. We so enjoyed his friendship in London, Merrickville, and at our 1968 class reunion. His obituary presents so many different sides of Paul that indicate he was a true Renaissance man.



Paul and Nadia Gray

*Remembered by Charles Godfrey*

I first met Paul at HQ on 9 September 1976. I remember the meeting itself, but I had to look up the date. It was the day of an important hockey game that night between Canada and Czechoslovakia. After a few minutes we discovered we were both old Toronto boys and rabid Leaf fans in a hostile environment—Ottawa. Paul invited me home that night to watch the game. Our sports interests continued thereafter for hockey and soccer, but we developed other co-interests as well. Paul was a great collector of many things. I could not run in his circles with stamps for example. But he did have a description of one area of “collectables”. He said, “everyone collects something from a posting. You collect kids”.

Paul and Nadia always had warm meetings with our kids, who loved them both. They were always invited to family weddings, receptions, a Bar Mitzvah, and celebrations of a new family member.

I remember when a group of colleagues was talking about postings. Paul said he would never go to Islamabad. A rumour started (not by me) that Paul wanted to go to ISBAD. Whether he got wind of the rumour or not, Charles Rodgers did in fact post him there, and it was a posting that Paul and Nadia both enjoyed.

Paul and I only served together in one post—Hong Kong—when Paul was in the administration sector, but he visited us in San Francisco, New York, Delhi, and if I am remembering correctly, Manila too. I will miss you, Paul, terribly. The raw emotions that stem from that will hopefully turn to the recollection of fond memories of our 48-year friendship.

*Remembered by William Lundy*

I never served with Paul, so I have no personal reminiscences to provide. But I did succeed him in Islamabad, where Paul was quite active in RATS (Rawalpindi Amateur Theatrical Society), a predominantly British group. Paul helped design and build sets and most importantly created the advertising posters for each production that were put up in the English-speaking diplomatic missions. He was well thought of by the Brits, and we know from common friends that many of them visited him and Nadia when they were retired.

**Pasman, James (Jim)**

James Pasman passed away earlier this year. The Hearts of Freedom [website](#) summarizes his career, which focused mainly on helping refugees resettle in Canada. Notably, he was manager of settlement for B.C. and Yukon Region during the resettlement of Indochinese refugees. The Hearts of Freedom website also includes a YouTube video in which he speaks about his role in this program.

*Remembered by Michael Molloy*

Jim made important contributions to Canada and was deeply respected and well-liked by his colleagues. On a personal level, my wife and I enjoyed our fish and chips with him at Horseshoe Bay when we were “home” every few years.

*Remembered by Stephanie Stobbe (Coordinator/Curator, Hearts of Freedom—Stories of Southeast Asian Refugees Travelling Museum Exhibition)*

I’m sorry to hear that Jim Pasman has passed away. I know we invited him to the Hearts of Freedom Exhibition events in Vancouver in spring 2023. Glad we were able to interview and document his contributions.

**Sutherland, George**

George Sutherland [passed away](#) in May 2024 in Victoria, British Columbia. George was an immigration foreign service officer and visa office program manager. He joined the service in 1978 and worked in visa offices in Athens, Rome, Warsaw, Seoul, Cairo, and Sydney, Australia. In Canada he was the area management advisor at External Affairs and International Trade for several assignments, including the Latin America and Caribbean Branch in the 1980s and the “O-Branch” in the 1990s.

*Remembered by Doug Dunnington*

I had the good fortune of meeting George and Eileen back in 1968 when he and I joined the foreign branch of Immigration. He was the first lad I ever met from Saskatchewan and a most worthy and proud representative. George had a great sense of humor and was known by us as the “Grey Fox”. Unfortunately, our paths never crossed again, but I see his smiling face every time I read something about the Green Riders.

**Taylor, Ian**

In the last issue of the Bulletin, we noted Ian Taylor’s passing, but his obituary had not yet been published. That content is now [available](#) on line.

## Timonin, Ivan

Ivan Timonin [passed away](#) in late June 2024 in Ottawa. In the latter part of his career, he served as director of the Demographic Policy Division in Employment and Immigration Canada, and his final immigration HQ assignment was as a director general. He co-authored several papers with other colleagues, notably the late Chris Taylor. He also served as immigration program manager in Chicago and later in Stockholm.

## White, Roger

Roger White [passed away](#) in Ottawa in late August 2024. He is survived by his wife, Nancy. His career started in Employment and Immigration Canada's Ontario regional office in the 1970s and 1980s. He then moved to NHQ, where he worked in the Communications Branch and in the mid-1990s, he served as press secretary for Citizenship and Immigration Minister Sergio Marchi. A web search in September 2024 in preparation for this notice revealed that some of his statements on behalf of the minister still endure online.

### *Remembered by Gerry Maffre*

Roger and I first connected over the phone—he in immigration communications at RHQ Toronto and I at NHQ. We finally met when we were both sent to Hamilton in the late 1980s to respond to media at the deportation hearing of Mahmoud Mohammad Issa Mohammad.

Roger later joined the NHQ immigration communications team.

Together, and with the rest of the team, we dealt with any number of large and small media issues that regularly assailed the program. Then in the mid 1990s, he agreed to act as CIC Minister Sergio Marchi's press secretary. He stayed with Mr. Marchi when he was later appointed Minister of the Environment.

After that stint he retired to do consultancy work, pursued golf with friends, took up stained glass art, and volunteered at both the food bank and his church. Roger also wrote and published *Tight Corner* in 2011—a crime novel that blends skulduggery in the immigration department and English sports cars. The book is still available on the internet.

During our working years, Roger always proved a valued, reliable colleague whose press background gave him helpful insights in working with journalists. In retirement we reconnected and had good times with our wives on day trips, antique shopping, and dinners. His humour, verbal dexterity, and memory for literary quotes and work and life moments made for good conversation. A colleague and good friend I'll surely miss.



Roger White diligently taking notes, with Minister Sergio Marchi at a UN conference.

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