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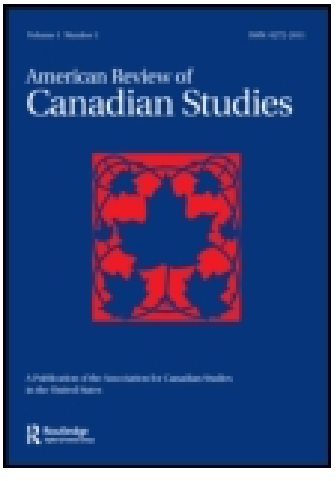

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Ideological Migration and War Resistance in British Columbia's West Kootenays: An Analysis of Counterculture Politics and Community Networks among Doukhobor, Quaker, and American Migrants during the Vietnam War Era

Kathleen Rodgers[a] & Darcy Ingram[a]
[a] University of Ottawa
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Ideological Migration and War Resistance in British Columbia's West Kootenays: An Analysis of Counterculture Politics and Community Networks among Doukhobor, Quaker, and American Migrants during the Vietnam War Era

Kathleen Rodgers and Darcy Ingram

University of Ottawa

This paper addresses migration, war resistance, and counterculture activity in the West Kootenays region of British Columbia during the 1960s and 1970s. Through a combination of perspectives including S.N. Eisenstadt's discussion of "multiple modernities," it reveals an ongoing pattern of alternative, values-based migration we refer to as "ideological migration." Most immediately associated with the influx of thousands of young Americans who came to the West Kootenays during the Vietnam War, this pattern, in fact, began much earlier, first with the arrival of the Doukhobors beginning in 1908, and subsequently in the 1950s with the development of a community of American Quakers at the north end of Kootenay Lake. From there, we show how common experiences of marginalization along with with shared values of pacifism, war resistance, community-building, and self-sufficiency facilitated the arrival of this new group, and with them the entrenchment in the region of a vibrant counterculture identity.

Keywords: counterculture; war resisters; draft dodgers; migration; pacifism; multiple modernities

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Tensions in American society reverberated across Canada as thousands of young, educated, urban, middle-class Americans made their way north during the 1960s and early 1970s. Propelled by conscription, the Vietnam War, the New Left and counterculture movements, and a general sense of disillusion, these men and women represented not so much America as a slice of American society, one that was highly critical of that nation but that also held onto its broader ideals regarding liberalism, egalitarianism, and democratic participation.[1] While some of these migrants ended up in the nation's largest cities, others made their way to small towns and rural communities. Such individuals and their stories can be found throughout Canada, but few regions felt, or continue to feel, the impact of this migration as British Columbia's West Kootenays.[2] The reason for this, we argue, rests in a unique constellation of factors. Unlike most American migrants to rural and small town Canada, this particular group arrived in a region in which there were already present two alternative migrant communities—the Quakers and the Doukhobors. Drawn there for comparable reasons, these groups fostered this new wave of American migrants, helping them to attain the means by which they might survive and establish themselves until their population reached the critical mass it needed to accomplish these things on its own. Central to the American newcomers during their initial years of arrival and settlement, this somewhat surprising alliance of marginalized immigrant groups

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facilitated the establishment of a highly resilient counterculture haven in the region, an enduring pattern of dissent, and a more general diffusion of the alternative values and repertoires they shared.

Our analysis of this migration centers on two related issues. The first is historiographic. As a mountainous and heavily forested region with little arable land, British Columbia has long been shaped by its resource extraction industries and the transportation networks that have been built to facilitate them. Combined with more general processes of urbanization, industrialization, and labor that have been unfolding in the province since the latter half of the nineteenth century, this has resulted in a historiography that emphasizes the province's transformation to modernity in terms of industrial capitalism and the western resource frontier. This framework has proved extremely effective not only in political and economic analyses, but also in its ability to address many of the concerns raised in other fields. With regard to migration, for example, it has proved crucial in its capacity to grapple with the complexities and tensions associated with the economic "pull" factors that helped draw to the region successive lines of fur traders, gold and later hard rock miners, naval suppliers, forest and fishery workers, railway employees, agricultural settlers and laborers among others. Generalized too far, however, this framework inevitably falls short. Ruth Sandwell and others recently noted this tendency with regard to the near absence of "rural" analyses of the province, due partly to the marginal place of those agriculture-based economies typically associated with the concept.[3] Others have similarly decentered political and economic considerations by emphasizing power relations associated with, among other things, colonialism, race, religion, law, gender, and the environment in the province's history. In a similar sense, the case we present suggests that the framework described above may very well obscure some of the subtleties at hand. For what drew the American migrants to the West Kootenays was not the region's economic opportunities, but rather the region's *failure* to deliver in these terms. Inasmuch as the West Kootenays' remoteness, its stagnant economy, and its small population base created the conditions through which this group of migrants could escape and potentially rebuild their lives in terms that better matched their worldview, it was precisely these factors that gave the region value in their minds. In this way, their migration also reflects markedly different pull factors from the universities, the economic prospects, the social and material infrastructure, and the hope for a familiar urban vibrancy that drew many American migrants to Vancouver and some of Canada's other cities[4] As such, this particular migration underscores in British Columbia a persistent search in the province's rural regions for the "good life"—a sense of well-being and satisfaction that defies conventional measures of success based on capitalist-inspired forms of economic prosperity and material wealth. Put to good use in Tina Loo's analysis of the West Kootenay communities displaced by the construction of the Columbia River's Arrow Dam in the mid-1960s, it reflects a determination to build such lives in British Columbia that has arguably been strongest in the province's numerous intentional communities—among them Norwegians who migrated to the Bella Coola Valley from Minnesota and to Quatsino from North Dakota in the 1890s; the Danes at Cape Scott and the Finnish community of Sointula on Malcolm Island at the turn of the century; the West Kootenay's Doukhobor and Quaker communities, and more recently the counterculture and the back-to-the-land movements of the 1960s and 1970s.[5] In this sense, our analysis contributes to a broader exploration, reflected in the works of Loo, Arn Keeling, Robert McDonald and others, of the "multiple modernities" at work in the province.[6]

The seemingly obverse set of values that drew this group of Americans to the West Kootenays underscores a related theoretical conundrum. With regard to social sciences

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literature, the two fields most prepared to grapple with the context in question are those of migration and social movements. Yet while both offer considerable insight into the events that unfolded, neither present a framework that adequately addresses the intersection of politics and migration at hand. In part this is because these particular migrants were affluent, they were well educated, their qualifications were readily recognized, and they spoke the same language as the majority in most of the regions they entered. Unlike most immigrants, they thus had the potential to blend into what John Porter described in 1965 as Canada's "vertical mosaic" at the highest levels.[7] As such, they are not easily categorized. While for some migration was a direct response to conscription, they were not really exiles or political refugees in the conventional sense, and the participation of large numbers of women further complicates Vietnam-era links to desertion and the draft. Nor do they present the kind of ethnic parameters typically discussed in migration literature, or the economic contexts that might peg them as part of a "brain drain" between the two nations.[8] Similarly while their political contexts speak directly to the interests of social movements theorists, their migration complicates any attempt to define them in these terms. Part of the American baby-boom generation whose activism has gone a long way toward defining social movements during the last five decades, they were thoroughly immersed in the politics of that era. In this sense, and as a number of recent studies of Vietnam-era migrants in Vancouver and Toronto reveal, their migration was part of their generation's rejection of American politics in Vietnam, its global military role in the Cold War, its ongoing racial divide, its increasingly hollow sense of material affluence, and a range of other issues.[9] Accounting for their move, however, remains problematic from this perspective. Though such migrants are often interpreted with regard to their integration into the urban counterculture milieu as a means of unpacking Leftist politics in Canada, flight and evasion are not typically the starting point for a discussion of "politics by other means" in the context of 1960s America. In short, the American migrants who came to the West Kootenays are not easily integrated into the broader paradigms advanced by social movements theorists nor those that deal with migration; they stand somewhat apart from current explorations of Vietnam war resisters' experiences in urban Canada; and they cut against many of the broad themes in the historiography of British Columbia. This, however, is what makes them worth studying. Rather than fitting them awkwardly into half a dozen complementary theoretical and historiographic models, we consider that this movement of people and politics amounts to a values-based migration, and that these individuals are best understood as "ideological migrants." In addition to helping to explain this particular group, our approach offers a means to discuss other migrants whose experiences are informed by similar ideological perspectives, but who are more commonly interpreted with regard to ethnic or religious parameters or in terms of utopianism. This is readily apparent in the case of the American migrants' ties to the Doukhobors and the Quakers, both of which have carried considerable ideological baggage with them for centuries. The fact that these three groups, despite readily apparent differences among them, found common ground on what each perceived to be issues central their ethical vision of the world, speaks in turn to something more profound. With regard to those alternative or "multiple" modernities that challenge the "homogenizing and hegemonic assumptions of [the] Western program of modernity," it amounts to something we refer to by way of a local description as the "long tradition."[10] By this we point beyond the history of these communities and the aspects of antimodernism they share in order to underscore the networks, the exchanges, and the accumulation of knowledge that have taken shape through the efforts of marginalized individuals and groups to separate themselves from the many problems (violence, militarism, social stratification, the loss of community and

connection to nature among them) associated with this program, and to understand themselves as part of a movement that might bring its vision to bear on the world.[11]

The West Kootenays in the 1960s: society, economy, politics

The young Americans who headed to the West Kootenays to evade the Vietnam War, "drop out," or go "back to the land" came to the right place. As in other parts of the province, the mining boom of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century had a considerable impact on the region. By the 1960s, though, that boom was long over. In its stead, the first decades of the twentieth century marked a period in which the economy boasted few gains and the region remained remote and isolated. Agriculturalists including the Doukhobors made some headway on pockets of arable land in the region during this time, aided by Canada's Dominion Lands Act, railway development, and a briefly thriving local orchard industry.[12] Overall, though, the economic picture remained bleak, so much so that when looking for a place to intern thousands of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War, the federal government turned here, placing thousands in isolated and partly abandoned "ghost" towns such as Slocan City, New Denver, and Kaslo. The following decades did the region few favors in terms of economic development. While the legacy of their internment remained after the war to influence the political consciousness of future generations, most of the Japanese Canadians themselves departed, and the towns they inhabited reverted to their partly abandoned status.[13] By this time the orchard industry had fallen victim to a combination of market and environmental forces and had all but collapsed, leaving its former practitioners and their families to abandon the region or find other means of support. For some, the answer lay in W.A.C. Bennett's vigorous promotion of resource exploitation during his tenure as premier from 1952 to 1972, during which time the West Kootenays' industrial profile became dominated by activities such as logging and pulp production. But while the revival of forestry contributed to some growth and industrial expansion, the West Kootenays showed no startling demographic changes. In 1966, the population of the entire region (known as Central Kootenay Regional District) remained at just over 45,000—a far cry from the promise held at the turn of the century, when it boasted some of the province's largest mining towns and the explosion of the local population to over 30,000.[14]

The first American migrants to the region were thus entering a part of the province that offered relatively little in the way of economic opportunities apart from the availability of cheap land, and practically none that complemented their university-based education. Almost 700 kilometers from both Calgary and Vancouver, and too far south of the TransCanada Highway to be easily accessible by tourists, it had the advantage of being close to the American border, but was well off the beaten track, and had remained more or less untouched by the social upheaval that was sweeping the urban areas of North America. Initially, one might expect that the region's longstanding connection to labor radicalism would have bridged this gulf.[15] From the mining ventures of the late nineteenth century and the coalescence of mining and smelting activity around the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company (Cominco) in Trail to the Celgar Pulp mill in Castlegar and the dominance of the Kootenay Forest Products into the 1980s, organized labor has long drawn strength from the region's working class dynamics, and consequently exerted a good deal of political influence. In fact, the development of hardrock mining camps in the Kootenays and the presence of international unions including the "Wobblies" made the region one of the most radical strongholds for the burgeoning socialist movement in British Columbia at the turn of the century.[16] This pattern continued later in the century,

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when the region consistently returned Leftist politicians to office. In 1941, Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) candidate Bert Herridge was elected the provincial legislature; in 1945 he left the party to run as run as an independent "people's CCF" candidate in the federal election, in an alliance with the Communist Party of Canada. Following his election federally he returned to the CCF to win one of only three seats for the party in British Columbia in the 1949 election, and went on to represent the region until 1968 under the banner of the CCF and its successor the New Democratic Party (NDP).[17] For the American newcomers, however, Herridge and his supporters amounted to the "Old Left," the previous generation's working-class, economics-based challenge to the status quo that had been rejected by the "New Left" of the urban, middle-class baby boom generation in its disillusion with the international communist movement as represented by China and the Soviet Union. While a number of links developed between established radical elements in the West Kootenays and the counterculture newcomers, the familiar tensions that plagued the relationship between the "Old" and "New" left in the United States worked to divide these groups along similar lines. Some links were to be made at the Castlegar-based Selkirk Community College, at Nelson's Kootenay School of the Arts, and before it closed 1977, at Notre Dame University, a small postsecondary institution also based in Nelson.[18] Many within the region's mainstream population, however, were unreceptive to the newcomers, and recent controversy over construction of the Arrow dam, which flooded the Columbia River north of Castlegar and displaced 2000 residents in order to regulate water levels for hydroelectric developments in Washington State, ensured a sense of Anti-Americanism throughout the region that did nothing to improve the situation.[19] Thus while many people in the region had long held a rugged sense of independence, an understanding of the good life as it related to living off the land, and an appreciation of rural and small town community that complemented the newcomers' ideals, the politics of the 1960s and the values of the counterculture movement made for an irreconcilable divide, even within the region's left-leaning circles. These negative responses are perhaps best exemplified in correspondence between Herridge and locals, in which he routinely registered his vehement dislike of the values of the Americans, whom he referred to as "ragheads."[20] Such sentiments reverberated throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s in discussions of Yankee draft dodgers," "dissenters," and "first class parasite[s]" that circulated in the region's mainstream press.[21] Fortunately for the newcomers, there were other communities in the region who sympathized with their experience, not the least because of its familiarity.

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The Argenta Quakers

The group of American Quakers that played such a significant role in supporting the draft resistance and establishment of the counterculture in the West Kootenays had itself arrived in the region from California, outcasts of the McCarthy-era politics of 1950s America. Their migration represents but a fraction of the history of a religious group that has for centuries posed far-reaching challenges to the status quo. Since their formation in England in the middle of the seventeenth century and their spread to the United States soon after, the Society of Friends has been involved in many of the progressive social movements of the past three centuries. Noted in particular for their commitment to spiritual equality, pacifism, and social witness, Quakers bear a long history of marginalization and persecution, despite which they have continued to pursue peace and non-violent resistance, from their involvement in the anti-slavery movement during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to their ongoing efforts to oppose war, promote fair trade, and bear witness to

atrocities.[22] These values took on new dimensions in the United States after the Second World War, when Quaker opposition to US foreign policy during the Cold War made them ripe for criticism. Two of the founding members of the Argenta Quaker community, Helen and John Stevenson, had been teachers in California where under state legislation they were required to swear a loyalty oath attesting they had never been associated with communists. Unwilling to do so, the Stevensons like many Quakers during this period decided to leave the United States, and began to search for a place in which they could build a community that better reflected their principles. Like the American migrants who followed, they found that place in the West Kootenays. In 1950 John Stevenson and fellow Quaker George Pollard spent the summer exploring the area around Kootenay Lake. They immediately incurred suspicion on the part of locals, who assumed because of their religious identity that the men were akin to the Doukhobors, around which circled considerable tensions. Despite attempts to lock the group out by raising land prices, Stevenson and Pollard were able to take advantage of the availability of cheap land, and the families pooled their resources in order to purchase 300 acres at 10 dollars an acre in the former mining site of Argenta at the north end of Kootenay Lake.[23]

By 1954, seven families had settled in the community. Well-educated, they shared a commitment to Quaker principles and were looking to establish a spiritually-guided community.[24] They also shared similar concerns over the state of American society, and had been active on various fronts. Among them was Robert Boyd, a former Minister and University of Chicago graduate who had for 15 years attempted to build a life farming in Tracy, California only to lose ground in the face of corporate-based agricultural development in the region. Elmo Wolfe, another University of Chicago graduate and former Minister, oversaw a busy congregation in California before deciding to seek a simpler, rural life. The Rush family, also from Tracy, had worked there to develop an integrated interracial neighborhood as a response to segregation and restrictive residential laws. Behind all of this loomed the Cold War and the ever-present possibility of nuclear warfare. Strongly influenced by Quakers, the anti-nuclear movement played a significant role in these families' decision to move to Argenta. In addition to their belief that Canada offered a less hostile political environment, the families saw the self-sustaining community they were building as a direct response to the threat of nuclear destruction. Guided by the Quakers' strong sense of religion and history, they viewed Argenta not simply as a refuge, but as a site that by its very isolation might survive a global nuclear war, and that could in turn serve as a repository of skills and knowledge that would aid the world in its recovery. As Helen Stevenson explained, "if we have a war places like this will be needed – that we might escape and be able to act like the monasteries did during the Dark Ages."[25] In this way even their apparent retreat was in its own right a form of action.

Mindful of their objectives regarding self-sufficiency and the fact that the region presented few economic opportunities, the Quakers arrived with the express intention to "farm, build, and log together [in order] to integrate the life of the spirit and our economic life so that they become functional parts of the whole life."[26] By 1954 the seven families had established an agricultural cooperative, and the community blossomed as the settlers built homes, farms, a community centre, a school, and a Friends Meetinghouse. Ever-attentive to the need to solidify their economic base, and owing to the fact that many of the residents of Argenta were trained teachers, the community also established the Argenta Friends School, an alternative school that offered spiritually-guided courses to grade 11 and 12 students from across North America.[27] During the next two decades the school was a great success, drawing students from around the world. Indeed, despite their physical isolation, the Quaker residents at Argenta had by no means withdrawn, but

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remained thoroughly a part of the larger Quaker community and its commitments, which in the postwar world of the 1950s and 1960s included extensive involvement in the anti-nuclear movement and, in regard to the United States in particular, efforts to resist the war in Vietnam.

The Doukhobors

The story of the Doukhobors in British Columbia is a well-known one, largely because of the nude protests, arson and bombings associated with the radical sect the Sons of Freedom. As Julie Rak notes, the overwhelming association of this group with mainstream knowledge of Doukhobor history in Canada has meant that "aspects of their history have been neglected or not understood by some outsiders, while some activities of the radical Doukhobors are all too 'familiar' without being fully comprehended."[28] Like the Quakers, the Doukhobors had fled repression that targeted their social, religious and political beliefs.[29] A minority Christian sect that advocated pacifism and communal social life, they were repeatedly subject to forced migration within Russia during the nineteenth century, and were finally forced from that country altogether in 1889 by Czar Nicolas II, who decreed that they must serve in the military and convert to the Russian Orthodox Church. With assistance from Leo Tolstoy, groups including the Quakers, and the promise of land and freedom from military service in Canada, more than 7000 Doukhobors settled in the Canadian prairies in 1899. Following external pressures as well as internal divisions over some Doukhobors' rejection of communal life, as many as 5000 relocated to southeastern BC where they purchased 20,000 acres between 1908 and 1922 that they intended to farm communally.[30] By the 1940s the radical sect the Sons of Freedom, also known as the Freedomites, were actively challenging the assimilationist policies of the Canadian government and the perceived materialism of their own people in an effort to avoid integration into mainstream society. It was in this context that the nude parades, arson attacks, and bombing campaigns targeting non-communal Doukhobors' property, schools, railroads, and other public sites took place. In an effort to deal with these issues, the provincial and federal governments renewed their focus on integration, which led to the forced detention and schooling of Freedomites children in the 1950s, and culminated in the 1960s with the RCMP's formation of the Special Depredation Squad, a counter-terrorism unit better known locally as the Doukhobor Squad or simply the "D-Squad." In this context of mutual distrust, hundreds of Sons of Freedom were arrested and imprisoned during the 1940s, 50s and 60s for violent and nonviolent acts through which they expressed their discontent.[31]

Obscured by this history are the many aspects of Doukhobor life in the West Kootenays that connected them to the American migrants who began arriving in the 1960s, most notably their rejection of materialism, their commitment to communal living, their belief in pacifism, and the fact that they were excellent farmers. Combined with their mutual experience of marginalization and migration, these factors went a long way toward the establishment of common ground with the Americans during their first years of contact, and enabled the groups to overlook the many differences that existed between them. As in the case of the Argenta Quakers, many Doukhobor families ended up providing unsolicited ideological and material support to the first wave of isolated, disillusioned, hopeful, and occasionally desperate American migrants.

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Refuge and resistance: Argenta and the Quakers' response to 1960s America

In 1968, Bob Ploss and his wife Halcyon left Berkeley, California. Part of the Berkeley "Underground Railroad," the couple had been providing a safe-house for US military deserters in the context of the Vietnam War. Shortly before leaving California, Bob looked out of the window of his communal Berkeley home and saw "people across the street wearing hats." Aware that "in those days nobody wore hats except FBI agents and military intelligence," he knew that the "game was up" and hopped on the railroad he had helped develop.[32] Bob and Halcyon's political activities drove them north to Canada but he and Halcyon were also looking to exchange their urban experience for a rural life in which they could grow their own food, build their own home, and become self-sufficient. Bob had received a temporary deferment from the military, so they were not looking to *escape* anything, they were simply looking for a "positive community." They arrived in Vancouver where they quickly met a number of Americans as well as Canadians active in that city's burgeoning counterculture at the office of the Committee to Aid American War Objectors. Here they met someone who told them about the Slocan Valley in the West Kootenays where, they were informed, they would find cheap land and a "community of friends." Within weeks of their arrival in the Slocan Valley, Bob and Halcyon bought 38 acres for $900 and found, quite unexpectedly, that there *were* communities of people already living throughout the valleys that shared similar views on militarism, materialism, collectivism, and the virtues of rural life. What is more, they soon discovered that these people were more than willing to help them find their way.

In fact, Bob and Halcyon's experience was stamped by one of these groups long before they crossed the border into Canada. In their many quiet but powerful ways, the Quakers were pivotal in the anti-war and draft resistance movements of the 1960s. Formerly involved in supporting conscientious objectors during the first and second world wars, and more recently in the anti-nuclear campaigns of the 1950s, the Quaker Service Council, also known as The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), was active alongside the War Resisters League, one of many organizations that counseled draft-age Americans to oppose the war by refusing to participate, if necessary by claiming conscientious objector status or by going to jail. Another Quaker organization, The American Friends Society, produced and distributed to its 5000 subscribers *The Draft Counsellor's Newsletter*, which encouraged all Quakers in their daily lives to counsel men of draft age not to enter the military.[33]

Pacifist organizations also facilitated the travel of American war resisters to Canada. Often referred to as the "underground railroad," the system consisted of a loose network of individuals and organizations that ferried young Americans into Canada and provided them with support and counsel after they arrived. Once inside the country, the anti-draft organizations helped the newcomers to find housing and work and instructed them on how to negotiate their way through Canada's immigration system. Despite the key role of university campuses as mobilizing bases for anti-war activism, churches and other religious groups in both countries were central in these efforts.[34] In Canada, the "Accountability Committee" of the Canadian Council of Churches helped to fund the work of immigrant aid groups, while individual churches supported the anti-war network with money, clothing, and other forms of support.[35] In turn, these churches received money from congregations around the world to support their anti-war efforts. Of particular note was the work of Quaker organizations such as the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (CCCO) and the closely connected network of Quaker Friends Societies, which provided shelter to conscientious objectors and ferried them over the

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border. Although much of Canada's war resistance efforts were situated in urban centers, the network extended into some of the nation's most remote regions. Given the centrality of Quaker organizations to the movement, it is not surprising that some of the Americans who came to Canada, especially the ones who shared the back-to-the land spirit, came to take refuge among the small community of Quakers in Argenta. Despite having left the US, the Argenta Quakers were never disconnected from the larger, global Quaker community. As regular participants in Quaker Yearly Meetings across North America and adherents to numerous social justice organizations and networks such as Voice of Women, they became a natural stopping point on the Underground Railroad that was actively guiding American war resisters into Canada.[36]

Richard Caniell, one of the first Americans to arrive in the West Kootenays in the 1960s, experienced this railroad first-hand. Although not a Quaker and not subject to the draft, Richard had been active in Civil Rights politics in the 1950s and early '60s. In 1967 he moved to New Denver, BC, out of frustration with American society and to try his hand at living off of the land. Despite living in a community nearly 100 kilometers from Argenta, connected only by a remote and winding mountain road, Richard became friends with the like-minded Quaker families. When the draft resistance movement was well underway and young Americans began to flood across the Canadian–American border, Richard was asked to play a part. Richard recalls his recruitment to the railroad:

> The Quakers in Argenta were older people and I learned that they were accepting guys who were dodging the draft, or deserting the army. What they did was they sent them out to farms in Alberta where they were paid approximately $50 a month, they got room and board and they worked hard but there was a place for them to roost for a while. They said that they were quite overcome by the numbers that were coming. And I said I would love to help. I said I could offer any person two to three [nights' accommodation] and then they go on to you. Three days later they started showing up.[37]

Richard's home soon became the first stop in Canada for many Americans on their way to Argenta. Frightened and paranoid, young draft resisters would arrive at his cabin where Richard would keep them for a night or two, allowing them to eat and to relax. Richard recalls: "So some of these guys were dropping by my door as if there was someone pursuing them just down the road and so I had the pleasure of informing them 'nobody is looking for you, nobody gives a damn.' There's the lake go take a swim, dinner's at 6 o'clock. Many of them were interesting, admirable in their principles." In the following days Richard would arrange for them to be taken to Argenta where the community would help them as they sorted out their new lives in Canada.

Given the variables they encountered at the Canadian border and afterwards, these young migrants had good reason to wonder what they were getting into. While Canada and the United States were clearly on the same side of the Cold War, the northern nation nevertheless bore considerable anxiety with regard to its southern neighbor, and the Vietnam War provoked opposition that extended into the sphere of federal politics. Combined with a nascent English Canadian nationalism, much of which was predicated on fears of American hegemony in areas of foreign policy, economics, and culture, Canadians could be counted on to hold strong views of the United States and its citizens. Thus while sympathy in regard to American conscientious objectors was common, such views were by no means shared by all Canadians, and the American migrant's anti-war contexts were often overshadowed by their counterculture identity, and in turn by varied opinions of the radical politics that were playing out in their own way across Canada. Changes to Canadian immigration policy complicated this situation even further. In 1967,

in a move that formally recognized the fact that the nation's pool of preferred immigrants had run dry, Canada adopted a dramatically different approach to immigration in the form of a points system that opened the door to visible minorities from many parts of the world.[38] Not long after, the Trudeau government helped facilitate the migration of American conscientious objectors to Canada through policy changes that allowed US citizens to apply for landed immigrant status upon crossing the border, rather than having to apply from within the United States.[39] Together these variables made Canada and Canadians an unpredictable lot, and for American migrants the border was typically their first experience of this. While in theory the points system, the longstanding status of Americans as preferred migrants, and the new policies on American landed immigrants should have made their passage into Canada relatively straightforward, such an experience was by no means guaranteed. Despite its systematic appearance, the points system gave border authorities considerable interpretive latitude. Many former Americans in the West Kootenays recall their positive treatment at the Canadian border. One interviewee, for example, recalled a friend receiving points from the border authority for "pluck" in order that she could meet the requirements for landed immigrant status, while another recalled two border guards wishing him luck, one adding that "both of our parents came here from Germany in 1938 and we hope you love Canada as much as we do."[40] Others had very different experiences. Within weeks of the changes to immigration policies regarding Americans, reports were circulating in the Canadian media of the hostile treatment of American migrants at the border, including cases in which Canadian authorities turned away potential migrants by misrepresenting immigration rules, sometimes into the hands of US authorities waiting to pick them up on draft evasion charges.[41]

Mindful of this situation, the Quakers and other anti-war groups monitored border crossings in order to ensure as best as possible the migrants' successful passage. Sandy McElroy, for instance, benefited from this network, arriving in Canada by way of Alberta in 1968 and making his way to the West Kootenays after a brief time in Vancouver. He recalled how Canadian border guards calculated Americans' potential for landed immigrant status on site, primarily by assessing one's level of education, age, and the money in one's pocket. Sandy felt confident that he and his wife were good candidates except that they were penniless. Prior to his departure, however, an anonymous donation of a roll of bills worth five $500, from a Quaker, ensured he would be allowed to enter Canada. Stories among former Americans in the West Kootenays of a similar wad of bills that criss-crossed the border repeatedly as it passed from the hands of Quakers to migrants and back again, to be used to ensure the next individual or group's successful passage, suggest that this was part of a relatively well coordinated strategy. Irene Mock, whose then-husband Jeff Mock had been defended by the American Civil Liberties Union as a Quaker resisting the draft in the state of New Jersey, recalls a comparable situation involving the Quakers' efforts to bring them to Canada once they decided to leave the country:

> At first, we went to California. The FBI visited both our houses, looking to arrest Jeff. They were coming for him and they tried to get him through me because they knew we were together. So I got a call from my mother saying "leave the country, they know where you are, it'll be days before they get there." Carl Oglesby, a sociologist, who wrote a book *Containment and Change,* had a farm in Oregon. We went there in our VW van, making our way up north, and made our way to Bellingham where a group of Quakers were giving sanctuary to people. The Quakers were monitoring the three Washington border crossings in Aldergrove, Sumas, and Blaine in order to assist people to cross. Just days before we were planning to cross officials had done a major seizing of draft resisters at Aldergrove and Sumas, so our contacts said "you go to Blaine." We crossed and we never looked back.[42]

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By 1968 the Underground Railroad to Argenta was bringing a continuous stream of young men and women to fill the vacant cabins on the hillsides of the community. Its work was complemented by that of the Friends School, which became another means of bringing war resisters to Argenta. Jane Adams, for example, ended up in Argenta in 1968 after being hired to work at the school by Argenta resident Betty Polster at a Quaker Yearly Meeting in the United States. Jane and her husband had found out about the Friends School through Quaker acquaintances and when they met with Betty, they outlined their education and that they were looking to avoid involvement in Vietnam. Betty hired them on the spot. Employed as teachers and house parents, they were supported financially, socially, and materially by the Quaker community. To Jane's knowledge they were among the first draft resisters to reach the community. Within a year or two things had changed dramatically. Returning to Argenta in 1970 after exploring Canada for a year, they discovered that the community had become home to a large number of Americans. "The cabins were full," Jane noted. "There were people everywhere."[43] Like Jane, many of the teachers and house parents employed by the school during the late 1960s and early 1970s were Quakers who opposed the war and draft resisters who sought refuge in Argenta.

Once in Argenta, the American migrants discovered the extent to which this community of Quakers shared not only the counterculture's antiwar beliefs, but a wide range of commitments. Central to this was the Argenta Quakers' deep respect for agriculture, a practice that fostered the community's commitment to voluntary simplicity, to reconnecting with nature, and to subsistence production. In this way, the community spoke directly to the burgeoning back-to-land desires of many of the newcomers. Indeed it is little wonder that the American newcomers marveled at this group, whose activities predated the counterculture by well over a decade, and were more easily understood alongside Helen and Scott Nearing, whose writing in the 1950s inspired their generation in this direction.[44] Carolyn Schramm, a back-to-the-lander who came to Canada in 1970 after becoming disillusioned with life in the US, explains how the Argenta Quakers' unique combination of political consciousness and agricultural knowledge served as fertile ground for Americans looking to experiment with going back to the land:

> When I first arrived here I had never anticipated living in such a beautiful place and I had always thought of rural communities as some stereotype of being somewhat unworldly. But Argenta and Johnson's Landing were, and are, extremely worldly. The ways of viewing the world, the interactions, are extraordinary from my point of view. This is partly because of the Quakers that arrived here in the '50s … and then the establishment of the Friends School. The Friends school provided a context for a variety of interesting people to be in the community who hadn't already been attracted here which was huge in terms of a demographic shift. So during the 70s there was a strong sense of community and of people living simply; in the Quaker community there was an emphasis on voluntary poverty, voluntary simplicity and there was a great deal of cooperation and so there was a very strong spirit of community at that time.[45]

The influx of counterculturalists brought to Argenta a new generation of young people willing to carry on the agricultural as well as the political traditions of generations past. At the Friends School, Quakers and non-Quaker locals taught courses on topics ranging from construction, homesteading, and forestry to canning and the use of organic pesticides. Informally, Quaker women passed on their knowledge of vegetarian cooking as well as their gardening and animal husbandry skills. In some cases these were skills the Quakers developed through exchanges with the Doukhobors. Groups of students from the Friends

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School, for instance, were taken to Doukhobor homesteads where they were taught skills including how to make traditional Doukhobor borscht. In 1973 these and other strategies for small-scale agriculture and sustainable living became the subject of a newsletter published by the Argenta Quaker Press, *The Smallholder,* which linked back-to-the-land individuals, families and communities from around the province and elsewhere.

Behind this, the community's role in the war resistance movement, in particular its position as a stop on the Underground Railroad, remained central to the identity it was carving out in the region. Given the steady influx of American migrants, it did not take long for there to develop a group whose collective experience of pacifism and war resistance rivaled that found anywhere on the continent. Longtime Argenta resident and Quaker elder Betty Tillotson exemplifies this identity. As a young woman in southern California Betty heard Mildred Norman, the "Peace Pilgrim," speak at a local Quaker meeting.[46] Betty was inspired by Norman's anti-nuclear and pacifist principles and became a Quaker shortly after. One of the definitive moments in her conversion to Quakerism came when Betty and some of her Quaker friends in Modesto, California, overhauled the ship that became the *Everyman I*, one of a number of anti-nuclear vessels sailed by Quakers into American and Soviet nuclear test zones during the 1950s and 1960s, in her family's backyard.[47] Its crew and their supporters marched from Betty's home in Modesto 150 kilometers to the coast off of San Francisco. Betty was responsible for the children of the families as the crew of the *Everyman I* traveled 15 miles off the coast before they were arrested and tried. As a young Quaker woman Betty continued her work in the context of the Vietnam War, during which she became involved with the CCCO*,* counseling young Americans on university campuses about their options to avoid contributing to that conflict. Though the draft was not a direct threat to Betty or her husband, they nevertheless decided to move to Canada in 1967, after her eight-year-old son, a witness to the struggles of war resistors as she had been during her own childhood, asked "Daddy, which jail will I go to when I get to be 18?"[48] Arriving in Vancouver with their three sons, they quickly immersed themselves in the anti-war movement—Betty worked for the Committee to Aid American War Objectors—before bringing her years of experience to bear on the already vibrant resistance efforts in Argenta in 1972. For Betty and many American newcomers, the connection to Argenta and the Quakers thus went a long way toward establishing a life that reflected their international as well as their intergenerational concerns.

The Doukhobors, 1960s America, and the West Kootenays

When Marvin and Audrey Work crossed the Canadian–US border at Patterson, BC, with a truckload brimming with furniture and belongings, the border guard quickly surveyed their possessions, winked at Marvin and welcomed them to Canada. Marvin was a student from the University of California at Berkeley and when he received his induction notice in the days prior to their trip, he and Audrey hadn't missed a beat—they would go to Canada. Audrey's father was a socialist and a conscientious objector in Holland during World War I and so, already deeply critical of the direction of politics in the country, Marvin and Audrey's decision wasn't a difficult one. But with the induction notice in their minds and their truckload of worldly possessions, they spent three days looking over their shoulder as they drove to the border. In fact, despite their ideological readiness to leave the nation of their birth behind, there were also indications that they were not prepared for the hardships they were about to face. Audrey recalls the day they crossed with great precision: "I had woken up that morning, knowing we were heading into the most remote

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part of the Canadian wilderness and I still didn't know any better than to put on knee-high boots and a mini-skirt. That pretty much sums up how prepared we were to do what we were doing."[49]

Marvin and Audrey exemplified the nature of the exodus; they were looking to leave behind the draft, urban life, and the American Dream – but they were doing it alone and, while determined to make a life in Canada, were largely unprepared for the task. When they drove into the remote mountains of the West Kootenays, they had almost no money. But when they met locals and shared their story they were told that a cabin was available in Glade, a community only accessible by ferry. The cabin was owned by the Lebedovs, a Doukhobor family. It had wood heating, no indoor plumbing and no power but Marvin and Audrey spent two years there, allowing Audrey to finish high school and Marvin, a trained teacher, to find sporadic work. Audrey recounted that there were numerous unassuming ways that the Lebedovs and the neighboring Doukhobor families supported them. "Every Friday" she recalled of Mrs Lebedov, "when I got home from school there would be a pot of borscht on the stove and fresh strawberries. She was very kind. On the weekends she taught me to make bread and all of the traditional Doukhobor meals using food they'd grown." Like the many Americans who were assisted by the Argenta Quakers, migrants like Marvin and Audrey were welcomed by some pockets of the large Doukhobor population throughout the West Kootenays. Though often small, seemingly individual acts of kindness, there was nevertheless a degree of ideological identification in these gestures. As Audrey Work reflects, "They respected that we stood up for our beliefs. I think that was what opened the door." [50]

Unlike the Quakers, the Doukhobors are not widely celebrated participants in global anti-war efforts, and they made no community-wide decision to embrace the Americans who began to arrive in the 1960s. They did, however, share a number of experiences and commitments, including their focus on agriculture, pacifism, and communalism; their resistance to state militarism; and their suspicion of state power in general. Combined with the Doukhobors' international connections and their own longstanding marginalization in Canada and Russia, these experiences and commitments made them natural allies of the dislocated Americans.

In fact, the connection between these groups, while not organized in the same way as that involving the Quakers, was by no means coincidence. Nor did it begin with the arrival of the first American migrants. In 1965, inspired by Students for a Democratic Society's Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP), Canada's Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA) sent fieldworkers into disadvantaged communities across the country in an effort to develop a strategy for social change.[51] One of these efforts was the "Kootenays Project," the goal of which was to encourage Doukhobors to "see themselves as agents of social change."[52] Having left Russia behind in their rejection of militarism, the Doukhobors had never had difficulty seeing themselves as agents of social change, and SUPA's community organizing was in the end a well-meaning but historically naive effort that had little impact. It was, however, one of the Doukhobor's first brushes with the radical youth politics of the 1960s that would soon make their way to the region and stick. Following the Second World War, the Doukhobors drew considerable interest from peace activists, socialists, and academics—so much so that there developed a regular exchange of ideas between some of the region's more ideologically-oriented communal Doukhobor families and pacifist thinkers and spiritualists in the US. Of particular note was the Demoskoff family, who were at the center of efforts to accommodate newcomers in the Slocan Valley. During the 1960s the Demoskoffs came to the attention of the celebrated American Peace activist Ammon Hennacy. Born a Quaker and later a leader in the

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Catholic Workers movement, Hennacy toured North America, meeting social activists and eventually writing the book *One-Man Revolution*, in which he documented social justice movements across the continent. Alongside Hennacy's depictions of Malcolm X and Thomas Paine was Helen Demoskoff, a noted Freedomite who spent 11 years in jail for arson. During the 1960s and early 1970s Helen and her husband Peter supported many draft resisters on the large farm they shared with two other couples. So common was this experience among the American newcomers that the cabin where many of them stayed over the years came to be known affectionately as "the bunkhouse." It was on this property that Hennacy visited the Doukhobors and became aware of the Demeskoffs' work. "On the land near Helen's," Hennacy wrote, "I found young Americans digging gardens and building shacks. They visited Helen while I was there, and she made it plain that they were brothers and sisters."[53]

As in the case of the Argenta Quakers, the rich combination of international and alternative social contexts that developed belie both the remoteness of the region and the supposed isolation of the Doukhobors. One member of the Doukhobor community who was a young man at the time the Americans began to arrive commented on how the Doukhobors fostered these contexts:

> There was a whole kind of commonality that ran through the young Americans and the Doukhobors. The Americans learned how to grow gardens, and they learned how to spend time up in the woods and to build – it was an interesting cultural exchange on a lot of levels, the value system. Pete and Helen Demoskoff were the real ambassadors but an incredible discourse with the young Americans developed from that. The mental intellectual exchange was just incredibly inspiring. The depth of the world that I experienced on that little ranch was phenomenal. Aside from the young draft people coming in the mid-60s, they were connected with people like Ammon Hennacy, the "One-Man Revolution" guy, who opposed nuclear plants and nuclear war. He wound up at the ranch one time. And naturally a lot of our people would show up to listen to him talk. . .. The Maloff family was also heavily connected with the draft movement and would have incredible exchanges on the social level and the cultural level with the Americans. It was like a magnet that little ranch. It had Buddhist nuns used to come out. They had a monk come out. . .. An incredible influx of educated and charged minds that would come in and hit that little place. It was like bombs going off. [54]

It did not take long for word of the Doukhobors' hospitality to spread. As Pat Forsythe explains of her welcome by the Doukhobors in 1967, there was even by then a well-connected network of Doukhobors conscious of the needs of the American migrants:

> In Vancouver in the circle of draft dodger friends there was a man who had just gotten his master's degree with a thesis working with Doukhobors in the Slocan Valley, the Sons of Freedom in fact. He arranged with them that they would look after us and so we were sent to the Maloff household in Thrums and those people had it all sorted out; where we were going to live and who was going to feed us and so we ended up with a family in Slocan Park. The Doukhobor people were wonderful. They came everyday with loaves of bread, carrots from the cellar and they fed us and took care of us. They knew we were war resisters and that's why they did it but they were also just kind. They knew that we didn't have any money left. . .. They took us everywhere, we were just part of their family, they were wonderful.[55]

The newcomers' glowing descriptions of the Doukhobors run counter to the general mood in the region. Among the factors that assisted the Americans was the fact that the already low land prices had in some cases been driven even lower by widespread fears of the Doukhobors. When Eric Clough, a founding member of the New Family commune, went looking for land in south-eastern British Columbia in 1969, he spoke with a BC Hydro

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employee about vacant land in the recently flooded Arrow Lakes district. The employee suggested he look in the Slocan Valley where "everybody is scared to death of the Doukhobors so the land is cheap."[56] In fact, many Americans ended up purchasing their land from these same Doukhobor families, who had held large blocks of land in the region for decades and were willing to make some of it available to them. Upon these and other land purchases by the American migrants, Doukhobor hospitality quickly translated into strong neighborly relations as this earlier generation of agriculturalists passed their skills on to the aspiring but largely naive urbanites. As vegetarians and expert gardeners who retained commitments to natural food preservation, healthful lifestyles and folk medicine, the Doukhobors like the Quakers spoke directly to the counterculturalists' back-to-the-land ideals as well as their anti-war contexts. Former American John Herrmann observed of his early and ongoing relationship to the local Doukhobors who first welcomed him to the region in 1968:

> The Doukhobors in Hills went out of their way to introduce themselves and find out who we were and why we were here. When they found out we were war resisters they went "well that's right up our alley, we were war resisters in Russia, and we were getting killed for it." They were very knowledgeable about what was going on in the world. The basic tenet of the Doukhobor faith is toil in the simple life. … For them it meant be good to people, be non-violent, and that is all I saw from them. They gave us garlic, and 42 years later they're still giving us garlic and my chickens down the hill are still the remnants of what they gave me when we arrived.[57]

The development of these relationships did not go unnoticed. Ever-concerned about the radical elements of the Doukhobors, the RCMP's D-Squad had by this point been paying close attention to the Sons of Freedom for some time. Given the already tumultuous relationship between extremist elements among the Doukhobors and the Canadian state, the arrival in the midst of the Cold War of large numbers of Americans, many of whom were clearly on the political Left, who espoused similar views to the Doukhobors in regard to communal living, anti-militarism, and pacifism, and who seemed to be developing close ties to the Sons of Freedom in particular, aroused considerable suspicion. Eric Clough recounts how members of the RCMP's "D-squad" expressed these concerns:

> Very early in the game, the RCMP came to visit. One fellow came when there were a group of us working putting shakes on the roof and they came and said "oh we just stopped by for a visit. We heard you people were here. We're the Doukhobor squad. The D-Squad. And one of the concerns we have is when you first came here, you lived at the Demoskoffs. Did you know them before?" and we said "no, we didn't" and they said "do you have any affiliation with them now?" and we said "not really, they're friends" and they said "well, we have a concern that being a communal group, you might stir up some up some of the Doukhobors to want to become communal" and we said "that's not our intention. We're just living the way we live."[58]

Combined with the general sense of hostility directed toward these outsiders, such responses on the part of authorities only confirmed the American newcomers' marginal identity in the region. In isolating the Americans in this way, they also linked them all the more closely to their Doukhobor and Quaker counterparts. Indeed by the early 1970s more sympathetic voices in the region were observing in their defense that the American newcomers were "refugees in much the same way and for the same reasons as were the Doukhobors at the turn of the century." and were attempting to reign in expressions of outrage and accompanying discussions of vigilantism.[59]

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Accounting for differences

It is likely in his discussions with the RCMP's D-Squad that Eric Clough deliberately downplayed his group's relationship to the Doukhobors. Eventually, however, the commonalities between the West Kootenay Americans and the groups who offered their assistance were not enough to smooth over the considerable differences that lay between them. Within a few years the American migrants had began to distance themselves from the Doukhobors and Quakers, and vise versa. A key contributor to this process was the presence by the early 1970s of a large enough migrant population to constitute a critical mass of counterculturalists in the region that drew similar-minded young people from Canada and other parts of the world. As a result, "just living the way we live" soon became possible without the assistance of the Doukhobors and the Quakers.

A number of factors played into the development of this critical mass and the separation of these groups. For starters, the Americans who came during the Vietnam era represented not only the counterculture's pacifism, war resistance, communal, and back-to-the-land ideals, but also its alternative views regarding individualism and self-realization, not to mention sexuality, nudity, and drugs. These were not values that meshed easily with the Quakers, for whom traditional family values were paramount. Nor did they go over well with the Doukhobors, who despite their communalism retained many traditional religious values. As one former American stated "when I came to Canada, I was interested in 'free love' and all that. That wasn't exactly what Argenta was about at that time."[60] This conflict did not devastate the relationship between the newcomers and the Quakers but it did inspire many of the Americans who came to Argenta to seek land and community outside of Argenta itself. "It was really a measure of respect," one resident explained, "that many of us decided to separate ourselves from the community of Argenta proper."[61] Some ended up in Johnson's Landing, former mining settlement not far from Argenta in which they were able to purchase cheap land and build a counterculture community without losing their ties to the region or upsetting relations with their Quaker supporters. Still others who stayed in the region migrated further south to communities such as Crawford Bay, or across the lake to Kaslo, Nelson or the Slocan Valley where they found other counterculturalists and began to stitch together a network of counterculture activity and institutions.

Similarly with regard to the Doukhobors, the American migrants soon found their embrace of feminism, for example, did not sit well in a community in which women still wore kerchiefs. In fact, Doukhobor support for the Americans was by no means universal, and spoke from the start to differences within the Doukhobor community. By this time the majority group, the Orthodox Doukhobors, had embraced a more integrationist perspective on life in Canada. Like many residents of the region, they were offended by the counterculturalists and held animosity toward those Doukhobors who associated with them. As for the radical Doukhobors connected to the Sons of Freedom, by the 1970s their numbers were falling, they were aging, and many of them wanted to leave the previous decades' tensions behind. This was particularly true of the following generation of the Sons of Freedom, many of whom had been incarcerated as children during the 1950s and who were looking to distance themselves from both their parents' generation and the Americans because of their association with radicalism.[62]

No less influential in this divergence were the newcomers' own evolving contexts. For many Americans who came to Canada, the West Kootenays was only a brief stopping point. Life as a marginalized, foreign, young, and formerly urban middle-class back-to-the-lander was difficult without a supplementary income, and many migrants took advantage of their

education to seek out stable jobs and careers. While for some this entailed leaving the region for larger Canadian and American cities, others stayed and built successful careers. Marvin Work's time in the Lebedov's cabin, for example, gave him the support he needed as he slowly built his career in the region, first as a high school teacher and later at Selkirk College, where he eventually became president. Also supported by the Doukhobors when he first arrived in 1968, John Herrmann recalled how his degree in Geography enabled him to establish himself relatively quickly when a local principal desperate to find someone with postsecondary qualifications of any sort hired him on the spot as a high school teacher.[63] In this way Selkirk College, the Kootenay School of the Arts, and Notre Dame University / David Thompson University College in particular became important vehicles for this transition. Others managed their transition via participation in municipal and provincial politics, the forest industry, and the growing arts community.

In political terms, one of the most important changes came in 1972, when the American draft came to an end, bringing the steady American influx into the region to an abrupt halt. By the time that the 1977 amnesty offering unconditional pardons to draft resistors opened the door for many of the migrants to return, most of the Americans had already made their decision to stay or leave. By this point, those who had stayed and committed themselves to living in Canada had slowly begun to discover each other, and had developed the critical mass and the institutions they needed to make it on their own. While the counterculture migration to the region continued, from this point on migration to the region was not markedly American, but involved young people from across Canada and around the world. For these newcomers, it was no longer the Quakers or the Doukhobors but the counterculture community itself that facilitated their settlement. As the population of counterculturalists reached into the thousands, it began to build a mutually supportive network of its own, establishing newspapers, businesses, community centers, food co-operatives and other institutions, many of which still exist today.

By no means, though, did this mark the end of the relationships among these groups. During the years that followed the Doukhobors and Quakers continued to support the counterculture generation, offering seminars on gardening, canning, preserving, and construction at institutions including the Free School and the Vallican Whole, the counterculture community center built in the Slocan Valley in the early 1970s. In subsequent years, members of the Doukhobor and Quaker communities worked with the counterculture community and its adherents on issues including parks development; social and environmental justice activities, most notably anti-herbicide and anti-logging campaigns during the 1980s and 1990s; ongoing peace initiatives; and community-based endeavors ranging from the Vallican Seniors Housing Project in the Slocan Valley to local watershed associations.[64] Though it is not clear what the coming decades will bring with regard to the Quakers, the Doukhobors, or the more recent American migrants, all indicators point to the ongoing evolution in the region of the long tradition of which they have been part. Together the construction of the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre in New Denver (designed and built by Glenn Jordan, a former American and part of the counterculture influx) to commemorate the internment of the Japanese Canadians; the establishment in 2007 of the Mir Peace Centre at Selkirk College in Castlegar, housed in a former communal Doukhobor home; and efforts on the part of the Sinixt First Nations to contest the legal extinction of their people in Canada and to assert their right to land title in the West Kootenays ensure that legacies of migration, marginalization, and antimilitarism in the region will not soon be forgotten.[65]

How this most recent ideological migration to the West Kootenays will be remembered is less clear. Despite the fact that the Americans who came to the region during this

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period are now in their late 60s and 70s, most are still reticent to make their former American identity known. Instead, they have taken advantage of the ease with which they could slip into Canadian society as a means of shedding the baggage associated with Vietnam and the political, social, and familial implications it had for them, to the point that their former American identities are simply not known even to some of their closest friends—who in some cases are also former Americans.[66] Nevertheless, it seems that the "long tradition" is already making its way via this most recent wave of migrants to the next generation. During the Iraq War, a number of the US military deserters who made their way to Canada ended up in the West Kootenay town of Nelson, BC, where a local chapter of the London-based War Resisters International placed them with families, many of whom had come to Canada from the US during the Vietnam War.[67] Likewise the region continues to be a magnet for individuals committed to counterculture values who have integrated into existing institutions or established their own communes, cooperatives, and community ventures. A simple but telling indication of this process came in September 2007, when a group of local environmentalists comprised mainly of young adults stripped off their clothes at the site of a protest regarding a ski resort proposal in the region of Jumbo Glacier, choosing to "bare themselves for the bears." Explaining the group's actions to the local media following the protest, one participant leapt past the more recent counterculture contexts of such a strategy to refer instead to the Doukhobors' longstanding use of nudity. This form of protest, she remarked, "is a Kootenay tradition."[68] In sum, it seems that the deeper ideological commitments and strategies shared by these groups have endured and will continue to shape the region in the future. Over time, the integration of successive generations—at this point, even the American "newcomers" are now often grandparents—means that many locals can now trace all or part of their family lineage to one of these groups, and that many more move regularly within such circles. In a similar manner, and in no small part via the participation of local Doukhobors, Quakers, and Vietnam-era Americans in the NDP and the Green Party, Leftist politics in the region have evolved from their labor origins to speak much more directly to the alternative visions at hand. Together these circumstances have helped to spread the three groups' basic values regarding pacifism, war resistance, and community activism, all of which has further encouraged the development of a local alternative culture and institutions in which these values are now thoroughly entrenched. While we emphasize here the vibrancy of this particular network over time, our sense is that the West Kootenays speak to a broader pattern of ideological migration, cooperation, and community-building that awaits further analysis.

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Notes

1. On American migration to Canada during the Vietnam War see Hagan, John. 2001. *Northern Passage: American Vietnam War Resisters in Canada*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Churchill, David S. 2004. "An Ambiguous Welcome: Vietnam Draft Resistance, the Canadian State, and Cold War Containment." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 37 (73), 1–26; Churchill, David S. 2012. "Draft Resisters, Left Nationalism, and the Politics of Anti-

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2. Estimates of American migrants to Canada from the mid-60s to the mid-70s vary widely; commonly cited numbers are 250,000 (total); 120,000 (net); and 30,000–60,000 (draft resisters/deserters). Of those, the organizers of the Our Way Home Reunion estimate 14,000 made their way to the West Kootenays. This does not reflect on the number who stayed, but the potential impact of even a quarter of this number of young adults in a region of 45,000 is considerable. BC statistics for 2006 indicate that American-born immigrants comprise 25 percent of the total foreign-born population in the West Kootenays, compared to 5 percent of the provincial total. For a recent summary of Canada-wide estimates see Churchill, "An Ambiguous Welcome," 3–4; See also Jones, Joseph. 2005. *Contending Statistics: The Numbers for US Vietnam War Resisters in Canada*, Vancouver: Quarter Sheaf. On numbers in British Columbia and the West Kootenays see BC Stats 2006 Census Profile for the Central Kootenay, http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/data/cen06/profiles/detailed/59003000.pdf; Our Way Home Peace Event and Reunion, Castlegar BC, 4–8 July 2007: www.ourwayhomereunion.com/home.php.
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6. Eisenstadt, S.N. 2000. "Multiple Modernities," *Daedalus* 129 (1), 1–29. Loo, "People in the Way"; Arn Keeling and Robert McDonald, 2001. "The Profligate Province: Roderick Haig-

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8. Compounding this is the tendency in Canadian immigration historiography to divide the postwar era into a pre-1967 period that focuses on themes related to the early Cold War decades and European migrants and a post-1967 period when issues associated with ethnicity, visible minorities, and multiculturalism policies come increasingly to the forefront – neither of which provide an effective framework for American immigration to Canada during the Vietnam War. A notable exception that bridges this division effectively is Churchill, David S. 2004. "An Ambiguous Welcome: Vietnam Draft Resistance, the Canadian State, and Cold War Containment," *Histoire sociale / Social History* 37 (73), 1–26. For recent efforts to categorize American migration to Canada see Hardwick, Susan. 2010. "Fuzzy Transnationals? American Settlement, Identity, and Belonging in Canada" *American Review of Canadian Studies* 40 (1), 86–103; Matthews, Kim and Vic Satzewich, 2006. "The Invisible Transnationals?: Americans In Canada". In *Transnational Identites and Practices in Canada,* edited by Vic Satzewich and Lloyd Wong, 164–79. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
9. See Gitlin, *The Sixties*; Hagan, *Northern Passage*. Churchill, "American Expatriates,"; John, Resisting the War; Murphy, Journeys to the "North Country Fair."
10. Eisenstadt 1.
11. We are grateful to Myler Wilkinson for the term "long tradition." A longtime West Kootenay resident and an astute observer of the region, Wilkinson was central to the establishment of Selkirk College's Mir Centre for Peace, and has long used the phrase in reference to the region's history of pacifism, war resistance and the search for alternative ways of living.
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14. BC Stats, "Regional District and municipal Census populations, from 1941 to 1986" http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/data/dd/handout/hist_cen.pdf
15. Hak, Gordon. 2007. *Capital and Labour in the British Columbia Forest Industry, 1934–74*. Vancouver: UBC Press; Mouat, Jeremy. 1995. *Roaring Days: Rossland's Mines and the History of British Columbia.* Vancouver: UBC Press.
16. McCormack, Ross. 1991. *Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
17. Retired political scientist and Selkirk College instructor Andy Shadrack provided insight into the history of the CCF/NDP in the region. For details on Herridge see PARLINFO on the Parliament of Canada's website: www.parl.gc.ca; Hodgson, Maurice. *The Squire of Kootenay West: a Biography of Bert Herridge*. Hancock House, 1976.
18. Notre Dame University continued briefly after 1977 as the David Thompson University Centre (DTUC) until that too closed in 1984.
19. Loo, "People in the Way," 167; Joy Parr, 2010. *Sensing Changes: Technologies, Environments, and the Everyday, 1953–2003* Vancouver: UBC Press, 103–135.
20. For Herridge's post-retirement correspondence from 1968-1973 see Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Herbert Herridge fonds, R4859-O-X-E; see for example Herridge, 1972. Letter to Burt Campell, MLA. March 30.
21. "Vallican Recreation Centre Project Rapped" *Nelson Daily News*, July 26, 1971, 4; "Dissension," *Nelson Daily News* 4 July 1973, 4; "Rural Hippies," *Nelson Daily News*, 19 July 1971, 4

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24. Gray, "Seven Families."
25. Gray, "Seven Families."
26. Gray, "Seven Families." See also the case study, "the Delta Co-op of Argenta," at the University of Victoria's Centre for Co-operative and Community-based Economy : http://bcics.uvic.ca/galleria/bc.php?tourtype=1&story=2
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30. Barman, 153.
31. Rak, *Negotiated Memory*; Tarasoff, Koozma J. 2002. *Spirit Wrestlers: Doukhobor Pioneers' Strategies for Living*. Ottawa: Legas; McLaren, John. 2002. "The State, Child Snatching, and the Law: The Seizure and Indoctrination of Sons of Freedom Children in British Columbia, 1950–60." In *Regulating Lives: Historical Essays on the State, Society, the Individual, and the Law,* edited by John McLaren, Robert Menzies and Dorothy E. Chunn, 259–93. Vancouver: UBC Press. On the D-Squad see Holt, Simma. 1964. *Terror in the Name of God: The Story of the Sons of Freedom Doukhobors*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 172–74, 194–206.
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37. Interview with Richard Caniell, July 2009.
38. On Canadian immigration policy see Knowles, Valerie. 2007. *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540–2006*, Rev. ed. Toronto: Dundurn Press; Whitaker, Reg. 1991. *Canadian Immigration Policy Since Confederation*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association. For a discussion of immigration policies and responses to American draft resisters see Churchill, "An Ambiguous Welcome."
39. See Hagan, *Northern Passage*; Socknat, Thomas P. 2007. "Conscientious Objectors in the Context of Canadian Peace Movements." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 25, 61–74, 69.
40. Interview with Judy Wapp, June 2009; interview with Gary Wright, September 2011.
41. "Our Border Men Bar U.S. Draft-dodgers." *Toronto Star* February 3, 1968; Churchill, "An Ambiguous Welcome," discusses this situation in detail, including considerable tensions with regard to the status of deserters.
42. Interview with Irene Mock, July 2009.
43. Interview with Helen James, June 2010.
44. Helen and Scott Nearing, 1954. *Living the Good Life*, Harborside, Maine: Social Sciences Institute.
45. Interview with Carolyn Schramm, August 2010.
46. Known as the Peace Pilgrim, Mildred Norman was a peace activist who traveled the United States on foot for over 20 years speaking at churches and universities.
47. On these voyages see Wittner, Lawrence S. 2010. "The Long Voyage: The Golden Rule and Resistance to Nuclear Testing in Asia and the Pacific." *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 8 3 10: http://japanfocus.org/-Lawrence_S_-Wittner/3308.
48. Interview with Betty Tillotson, July 2010; Greg Nesteroff, 2012. "Argenta Adventure Marks 40 Years," *Nelson Star* October 11

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49. Interview with Audrey Work, July 2009.
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51. See Kostash, Myrna 1980. *Long Way from Home: The Story of the Sixties Generation in Canada.* Toronto: J. Lorimer & Co.; Clift, R. 2002. The Fullest Development of Human Potential: The Canadian Union of Students, PhD Dissertation, University of British Columbia.
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53. Hennacy, Ammon. 1970. *One Man Revolution* Salt Lake City: Ammon Hennacy Publications, 328
54. Interview with anonymous participant, June 2011
55. Interview with Pat Forsythe, August 2009.
56. Interview with Eric Clough, August, 2010.
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60. Interview with anonymous participant, July 2009.
61. Interview with anonymous participant, July 2009.
62. McLaren, "The State, Child Snatching, and the Law."
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64. For an early indication of the broader political activism and organization linking Argenta's Quakers and Vietnam-era Americans see Jenny Clayton's analysis of local efforts to establish the Purcell Wilderness Conservancy: 2011. "'Human Beings Need Places Unchanged by Themselves': Defining and Debating Wilderness in the West Kootenays, 1969–74," *BC Studies* 170, 93–118. For a discussion of a more recent conflict that linked these groups see Bardati, Darren R. 2009. "Participation, Information, and Forest Conflict in the Slocan Valley of British Columbia." In *Environmental Conflict and Democracy in Canada*, edited by Laurie E. Adkin, 103–22. Vancouver: UBC Press.
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66. Henry John observes a similar tendency among US migrants to drop their American identity as a means of integrating into local political networks in Vancouver during the late 1960s and early 1970s; see John, *Resisting the War*; see also Squires, 184–96.
67. Interview with Irene Mock, July 2009.
68. "Jumbo Wild gathering disrupted by 'Friends of Development' protest" *Valley Voice*, September 26, 2007.

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Notes on contributors

Kathleen Rodgers is an assistant professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Ottawa. She is the author of the forthcoming book *Welcome to Resisterville: American Dissidents in British Columbia* (UBC Press, 2014).

Darcy Ingram teaches in the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Ottawa. He is the author of *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflict in Quebec* (UBC Press, 2013). His current research focuses on environmentalism and on the animal rights movement in Canada.