Rudolph Walton: One Tlingit Man's Journey Through Stormy Seas
Sitka, Alaska, 1867-1951

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In

The Faculty of Graduate Studies

Department of Educational Studies

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Abstract

The history of contact with Europeans for Native Americans and the Tlingit people in particular has been well documented as one of extreme pain, suffering, and injustice. It was "survival time" for the Tlingit and very difficult choices had to be made. The life of one Tlingit man, Rudolph Walton, born in Sitka, Alaska in 1867, illuminates this critical time in the history of the Tlingit people.

This dissertation is an exploration of the interplay between competing cultures and interests and it is a quest to understand who Rudolph Walton was and how his life and the choices he made are connected to the larger historic themes and cross-cultural issues in Alaska Native education and religious life. In addition to providing a look at history and at cultural change through an individual's life, choices and experiences, this dissertation is also about the connection between my ancestors' choices and the impact those choices had on the survival of a people. It is at once a macro view and a micro view of the impact of history on Indian people.

After the purchase of Alaska by the United States traditional Tlingit life changed forever. The Tlingit were forced on a daily basis to balance demands and pressures made by various Christian religious groups and the U. S. government. They also had to contend with the prejudice of the average American citizen.

Most Native American history has been limited to the use of records written by Europeans and Americans. Our understanding of that history is limited because the voice of the Native American is rarely heard. This dissertation fills a gap in the history of Southeast Alaska through an examination of the life of Rudolph Walton. The life of Mr. Walton is important because he left us with a unique set of documents which help us to understand the difficulties he had to face as a Tlingit man during a critical time in the history of Southeast Alaska.

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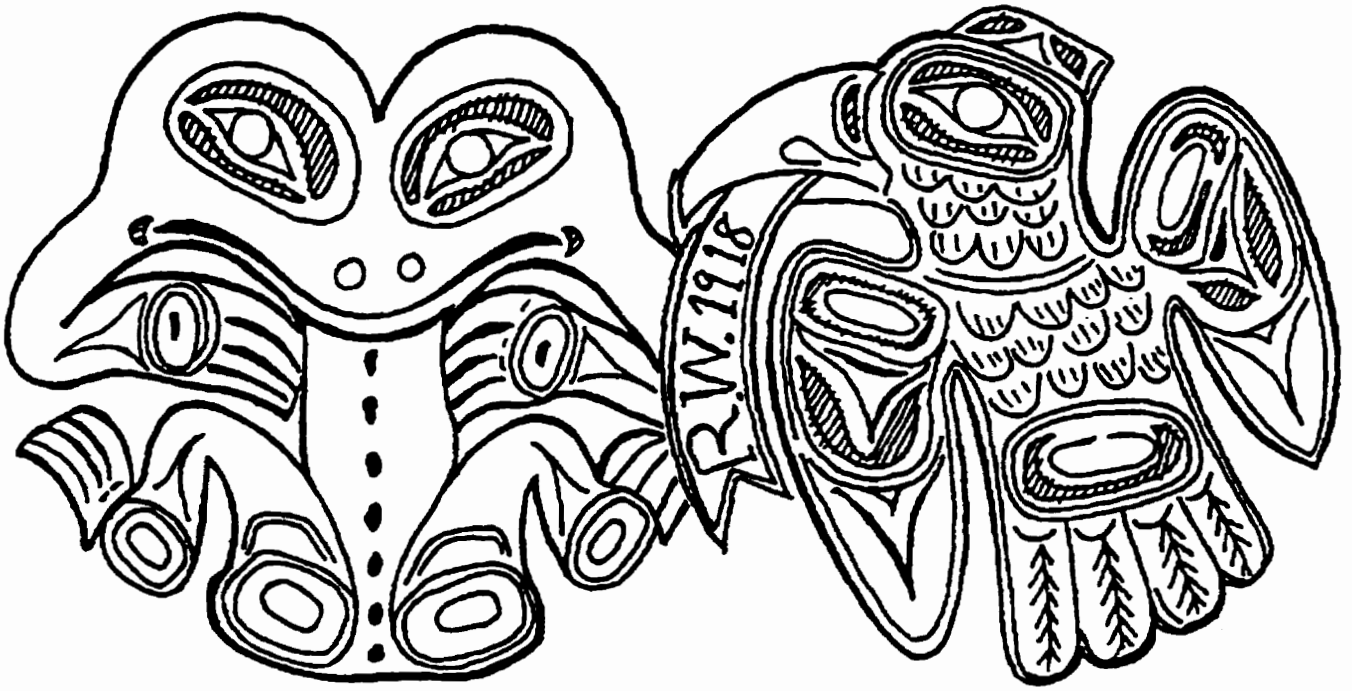
Acknowledgement

This dissertation would not have been possible without the assistance of many people. The most rewarding and profound aspect of this research has been the involvement and encouragement of my committee, family and friends. I wish to thank all of those people. I would especially like to thank three elders, Mrs. Rachel Walton Kasakan, Mr. James Wilbur Walton and Mr. Bertrand H. Wilbur. These elders were my inspiration to continue whenever I became tired and overwhelmed by the enormity of the task. This is a story about their parents and it is about a struggle I never really understood until I became involved in this research.

The Great Being saith: Regard man as a mine rich in gems of inestimable value. Education can, alone, cause it to reveal its treasures, and enable mankind to benefit therefrom.

- Baha'u'llah



Tlingit Kiks.adi frog and raven design taken from a silver snuff box made and designed by Rudolph Walton of Sitka, Alaska, USA in 1918.

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August 15, 1997

Dear Ms. Shales:

I am the recognized leader of the Kiks.adi clan of the Sitka Tlingit, whose crests are the Raven and Frog. I am the caretaker of the Frog Hat of the clan and the leader of the Steel House, one of the eight Kiks.adi houses in Sitka. I am also the clan spokesman.

My Tlingit names are Xwooxaach, Geitl'i eesh, Yadusteix', and Dl'dl'udl'eik.

I hereby give my permission to use the Raven and Frog crests, designed by Rudolph Walton, for the publication of your doctoral dissertation.

Sincerely,

Alfred Perkins
Kiks.adi clan spokesman

Chapter 1 - Introduction

I was six years old when my grandfather, Rudolph Walton - known in the Tlingit community as Kaawootk' or Aak'wtaatseen (Ah-ta-tsene) died in Sitka, Alaska, in 1951. The strongest image that I have of him is of a warm, spring day when three of my cousins and I were running on the grass and playing in his yard. It was one of those rare days when the sun shone brightly in Southeast Alaska, making the grass seem especially green and the sky bright blue. I remember it as a wonderful, carefree day.

I stopped running and peeked through the door of my grandfather's workshop, a small wood-frame shed behind his house on Baranof Street in Sitka. I just stood quietly in the doorway and watched him carve the works of art that he created in wood, silver and gold. He knew I was there, but we didn't speak. I just watched, as he bent over his workbench, carving. There were tools and wood shavings around him and partly finished works in progress. One lamp hung over his workbench to light the area.

I remember watching him for a while and then I ran off to play again.

The Daily Sitka Sentinel in Sitka, Alaska, ran the following obituary about the passing of my grandfather on May 21, 1951:

Pioneer Resident, Merchant, Passes Here Friday

> Rudolph Walton, well-known former local merchant, died Friday at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Merle Enloe, following an illness of two months. Born in Sitka on April 13, 1867, he was 84 years of age at the time of his passing. He married Daisy Jackson in Sitka on Dec. 24, 1885 but his wife died within a few years and he then wed Mary Charles on August 3, 1905.
>
> For many years until he disposed of his business in 1920, Mr. Walton was the proprietor of a store known as Rudolph Walton & Son on Front Street. From then until poor health forced his retirement in 1934 he was known for his fine work as a silversmith. He also fished during the summer season operating the Escapade, the Biorka.

> Mr. Walton was one of the original students at Sheldon Jackson School and for many years an active member of the Alaska Native Brotherhood here having been a charter member of the group in 1913. He was also a charter member and elder of the First Presbyterian Church of Sitka in 1887.
>
> Under the auspices of the A.N.B. a service was conducted at 1:30 p.m. yesterday at the ANB Hall, followed by funeral services at 2:30 p.m. at the First Presbyterian Church with Rev. Elwood Hunter officiating. Interment was made at the City Cemetery. Surviving are five children: William and James Walton, Mrs. Nick Kasakan, Mrs. John Lawrence and Mrs. Merle Enloe of Sitka and nineteen grandchildren...[1]

Our family always knew that Grandpa was a well-respected man in the Tlingit community and that he was a well-known Tlingit artist. We also knew his art was in museums around North America. We knew he kept diaries most of his life, for after he passed into the next world, we would read them from time-to-time. And we knew he was one of the first Tlingits to attend the Presbyterian mission school, Sheldon Jackson School. As a family, we took it all for granted and didn't think about those things very much. Things familiar don't seem exceptional.

What we didn't understand about our Grandpa were the forces of history that affected his life or how his life affected history. The life of Rudolph Walton influenced not only the lives of his family members, but an entire tribe, town, and territory.

What I found through researching my grandfather's life is that Rudolph Walton navigated his way through a very stormy sea. The background of events that framed his life as a child, a young man, and an adult were treacherous times, fraught with danger for the Tlingit people. They were times of great change - times when the very survival of the people was at stake.

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[1] Anonymous. "Pioneer Resident, Merchant, Passes Here Friday." *Daily Sitka Sentinel*, May 21, 1951, 1.

Rudolph Walton negotiated those seas in a unique way worthy of study. He was grounded in his Native customs and culture. He was charged, however, with carrying forward that culture at a time unparalleled in the history of his people.

This research, then, is a quest to understand who Rudolph Walton was and how his life and the choices he made are connected to the larger historic themes and cross-cultural issues in Alaska Native education and religious life.

It also tells us about the historic relationship of Alaskan Natives and the legal and justice system. It is about the conflicts between all those influences in Sitka, Alaska, at the turn of the century: the Russian Orthodox Church; Presbyterian missionaries; American government officials; the Tlingit people; and the newly arrived American traders and gold seekers.

My connection with my grandfather continued after he died. I always felt Grandpa was with me as I grew up, whenever I felt troubled it was as if he was at my shoulder helping me through life's trials. I continued to feel his presence while researching his life, struggling to come to grips with my own understanding of his life and times, and throughout the writing of this dissertation.

The process of writing this dissertation has been extremely difficult, enlightening, and invigorating. The difficulty has been in trying to understand the history I was reading through my grandfather's eyes and in trying to come to grips with the tragedies my people experienced. My challenge was to evaluate his choices not based on either the prevailing concepts or judgments of my time or upon the prevailing historical theory placing my people as passive victims of American oppression.

It was an enlightening journey to come to the understanding, based on an analysis of my grandfather's life, that the issues of his time cannot be viewed in black or

white. I didn't begin with the intent to find fault with anyone for what happened to the Tlingit people; I didn't know what I would find. Much of what I found in my research was offensive and appalling. But I also found things that surprised me and were positive. I came to realize that my grandfather and the elders of his time made decisions that were difficult, but had to be made to assure a better future for our people. Through this research I gained more respect for my grandfather and came to appreciate and understand those who tried to help the Tlingit people through times of great trial.

In writing this dissertation, historical documents are used to compare and contrast individual perceptions of the same event or events. Most historical documents I found in my research about the lives of indigenous peoples were written by those who came to America from Europe. The documents reflect the attitudes and prejudices of the times and cultures of those who wrote them. They do not give a clear picture of what life was like for my grandfather or his contemporaries, nor do they reflect an understanding of Tlingit life or the traumatic effects contact with Europeans had on indigenous peoples. Thus, little has been written from the perspective of the Tlingit or other indigenous groups about the difficulties they faced during a time of rapid change.

A unique set of documents, my grandfather's diaries written from 1900-1941, were available to me. Those diaries and oral histories gathered from family and tribal members, along with my own knowledge of Tlingit culture, traditions, and values, helped me understand the events that shaped how Rudolph Walton and other indigenous people of his time coped with the rapidly changing world. They provided a map to understanding how Mr. Walton and his contemporaries made decisions to negotiate complex situations involving the legal, educational, national and religious interests of three competing cultures. The complexities, conflicts and consequences of those decisions were perhaps only fully understandable to the Tlingit, those caught in the middle of these competing interests.

While this dissertation follows the education protocols of a university, the research process also involved a differing set of protocols, those of my Tlingit culture. Throughout the process of gathering information for this dissertation, I involved family, friends, Tlingit elders, and experts in Tlingit culture. I kept everyone informed of the very exciting information I was finding. I asked their opinions about the conclusions I began to draw from preliminary information. They served as sounding boards and rudders to give direction to my journey. Through this process of research and sharing, they all became active participants in this research.

My research began by studying the currents of history that were part of a world-wide process of change beginning when the first Europeans came to the Americas. I wanted to understand what was happening on a global scale and what the world was like in the late 1800s. I then focused specifically on the world of Southeast Alaska for the same time period.

It is through the process of researching this subject that by the end of my project I began to understand the meaning of T. S. Eliot's poem:

> We shall not cease from exploration
> And the end of all our exploring
> Will be to arrive where we started
> And know the place for the first time.
> Through the unknown, remembered gate . . .
> And the fire and the rose are one.[2]

1-2. Point of thesis

This dissertation fills a gap in the writing of Alaskan history as it relates to the Native Alaskan, and the Tlingit people in particular. It tells "the rest of the story" through one Tlingit man's life from the time of the purchase of Alaska by the United States from

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2 Eliot, T. S. *Four Quartets*. 11th printing ed. London: Faber and Faber, 1944, 43-44.

the Russians in 1867 to the 1940s. It answers the question of how the world affected the life of one family whose patriarch was born a Tlingit in Sitka, Alaska, in 1867.

This dissertation is also about the process of change. It reviews the cycles of change and explores how one man negotiated his life path through the choices he made. It also explores the impact of education and religion on that process of change.

In addition to providing a look at history and at cultural change through an individual's life, choices and experiences, this dissertation is also about the connection between my ancestors' choices and the impact those choices had on the survival of a people. It is at once a macro view and a micro view of the impact of history on Indian people.

The macro view is a historical picture of events and trends obtained through the reading of secondary sources and archives around North America. The reading of these sources helped me understand the context in which world events affected the lives and education of Native Americans. It explored the historical picture from first contact with Europeans to modern times. The micro view explores that same time period from the perspective of one man in Southeastern Alaska.

In looking at the microcosm of life in Southeast Alaska through the life of my paternal grandfather, Rudolph Walton, we can understand the larger historical picture more clearly. In addition, we are forced to look at the impact of historical events not on a group of Native people, but on one man. Indeed, my research began as a historical study of Sheldon Jackson School, but increasingly, I realized that through Rudolph Walton's life the picture of a whole person emerged and that example helped me to understand the larger issues involved. Most research looking at Native people from outside the culture homogenizes the individuals into a cultural pot where they are anonymous. This research seeks to explore the culture from a different point-of-view.

Because I am a member of the culture I seek to explore, as a descendant of the key subject of my research, the picture painted here provides a very different view than prevailing work. Rudolph Walton is a real man, whose real life experiences, struggles and pain can be understood because a body of writing exists that details those experiences. Both historical documents written by Rudolph Walton himself and documents recorded by major figures in Alaska's history are available to give shape and substance to the real man.

Shortly after the United States of America bought Alaska from Russia in 1867, American Presbyterian missionaries sought to bring a Christian education to Native Alaskans by starting a mission school in Sitka, Alaska. This dissertation shows the positive and negative impacts religion, formal Western education and Western culture had on Alaska Natives.

Rudolph Walton was one of the first students at Sheldon Jackson School, the most influential mission school in Alaska. This dissertation shows how the religious, literacy and language education he garnered at Sheldon Jackson School affected his life. It is an exploration in understanding how Mr. Walton used that education to make choices that influenced how his people coped with the myriad of changes brought by the Americans.

By using historical documents to compare and contrast individual perceptions of the same events, this dissertation seeks to provide a holistic picture of those events on both the Alaska Natives and the newly arrived Americans. The comparing and contrasting of these historical documents forces a picture to emerge that illuminates the conflicts.

Rudolph Walton's life is one of Tlingit adaptation to the arrival of strangers into his traditional lands. For the Tlingit, the arrival of the Russians to their shores in 1741,

was comparable to the impact of man landing on the moon. Both events created a shift in a culture's world view and signaled a paradigm shift in an individual's relationship with that world. The lunar landing and the first photos of the earth taken from the moon began the process of understanding that the earth is a global community. For the Tlingit meeting those first Russian explorers, the impact was no less dramatic.

Paradigm shifts of this magnitude are significant and very difficult periods of history. The people involved in a paradigm shift rarely are able to fully understand the significance of those events and changes. This dissertation looks at the dramatic paradigm shift contact with Europeans brought to the Tlingit and seeks to understand both the positive and negative aspects of that contact. It also illustrates how the Tlingit were active participants in carrying forward their culture into modern times.

In this research Rudolph Walton emerges as a strong character in the ebb and flow of history. He lived through the most critical time in the collective history of his people, surviving the vicissitudes of the times with integrity and wisdom, proving the triumph of the human spirit over ignorance and hatred. His patience and courage has provided an example for his people to follow for many generations to come.

This research confirms the research of Oscar Kawagley, who stressed the importance of understanding Native American spiritual beliefs and values. Kawagley made this point in his discussion of the Yupiaq world view:

> The Western educational system has made an attempt to instill a mechanistic and linear world view in indigenous cultural contexts previously guided by a typically cyclic worldview. The "modern" view tends to be oriented toward the manipulation of the world's resources (including the people) to make political, social, and economic "progress," with the presumed end result being an advanced quality of life (Berger, 1976). . .

> Most indigenous people's world views seek harmony and integration with all life, including the spiritual, natural, and human domains .[3]

The integration of the spiritual, natural, and human domains is not the spirituality we tend to think of as the "New Age" movement, but the understanding that Black Elk, an Oglala Sioux medicine man, expressed when he said:

> The first peace, which is the most important, is that which comes within the souls of men when they realize their relationship, their oneness, with the universe and all its Powers, and when they realize that at the center of the universe dwells *Wakan-Tanka*, and that this center is really everywhere, it is within each of us. This is the real Peace, and the others are but reflections of this. The second peace is that which is made between two individuals, and the third is that which is made between two nations. But above all you should understand that there can never be peace between nations until there is first known that true peace which, as I have often said, is within the souls of men.[4]

This dissertation will demonstrate that Rudolph Walton and the Tlingit elders of his time navigated their way through the stormy seas. Guided by their traditional moral and spiritual values, they took an active role in shaping their own destiny.

1-3. Summary of research methods and process

The history of Native American education can be looked at in various ways. One approach is from a linear and chronological view using mostly North American historical documents. An example is a case study approach using Euro-American generated documents to study a particular school for Native Americans over a particular time period. Another approach is to study Native education using ethnographic interviews

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3 Kawagley, Angayuqaq Oscar. "A Yupiaq World View: Implications for Cultural, Educational, and Technological Adaptation in a Contemporary World." Ph.D. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1993, 1-2.

4 Brown, Joseph Epes, ed. *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953, 115.

which illustrate the rich diversity of material available by using oral histories. This dissertation uses a linear or chronological approach using historical documents as well as oral history. I also have used a thematic approach by dividing areas of interest into separate chapters.

I used the following historical research techniques identified by Walter Borg and Meredith Gall.[5]

1. **Identifying a problem or topic:** The dissertation began as a study of the Tlingit who were educated in Sitka, Alaska by Presbyterian missionaries between 1878 to about 1940. That period seemed logical because the American mission-school system in Alaska began in the 1870's and by the late 1940's or by the end of World War II times had changed and the new generation of Tlingit no longer had to attend mission schools. All my aunts, uncles and grandparents who went to school before World War II attended mission-schools; after the war many of my cousins and I did not.

2. **Searching for and recording relevant sources of historical evidence:** I searched the U.S. National Archives, Presbyterian and Sheldon Jackson School historical archives, the Alaska State Historical Library, and various other libraries for primary and secondary sources of historical evidence. My purpose was to gain a broad understanding of the background and previous research on my subject. I also looked for gaps in the research as well as found new information and materials from personal documents and oral history.

3. **Evaluating the evidence for authenticity and validity:** Borg and Gall state that researchers need to be critical of documents which may be genuine or may be forged. They refer to the evaluation process as historical criticism. The two parts to the criticism

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[5] Borg, Walter R., and Meredith D. Gall. *Educational Research.* 5th ed. New York: Longman, 1989, 806-837.

process are called external and internal criticism. External criticism asks questions about the historical material such as: Is it genuine, an original copy and who wrote it and why? Where was it written and under what conditions? Is it a variant source? Internal criticism is an evaluation of the accuracy and worth of the document. The researcher must ask who wrote the document and is it probable that the circumstances happened in the way described by the writer. Was the writer a competent observer, under stress, was the writer an eyewitness? I reviewed family papers and original documents in various archives and have no doubt that the documents are authentic. I used my own judgment as to the accuracy and worth of the documents and the circumstances which they described.

4. **Synthesizing historical facts into meaningful chronological and thematic patterns:** The organization of historical research has no standard format, but can include facts in a chronological order with each section containing discrete time periods to cover the lives of individuals, institutions and movements or the research can be organized into themes or topics. I have organized my research in basically a chronological order using themes to organize larger topics.

The researcher must then evaluate and interpret accounts which are necessarily subjective and attempt to discover what really happened. Borg and Gall say that all accounts of historical events are subjective, but they are not all necessarily biased or prejudiced. They define bias or prejudice as "a set to perceive events in such a way that certain types of facts are habitually overlooked, distorted, or falsified."[6] I took into account the fact that there was no way to know exactly what happened in any particular account, but that all parties who either wrote various accounts or participated in them had their own perceptions about what happened, including members of my own family. I

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6 ibid., 823.

tried to see situations through the eyes of the persons reporting them, understanding that each account was necessarily subjective and probably biased in one way or another. According to Catherine Marshall, Gretchen Rossman[7] and Richard Jaeger [8] the researcher must avoid the imposition of modern thought patterns on an earlier era. Borg and Gall[9] define this concept as "presentism." It is the tendency to interpret past events using concepts and perspectives that originated in more recent times. I concentrated on using background information from several different sources and compared and contrasted that information with institutional and historical documentation.

Another methodological concern stated by Jaeger[10] is causal inference. He defines causal inference as a "confusion of correlations and causes." Borg and Gall[11] define it as the process of drawing conclusions that one set of events were caused either directly or indirectly by another set of events. Both of the above warn the researcher to be aware of assumptions about causative factors when trying to explain history. Furthermore, Jaeger[12] says that one cannot infer intent from consequences and that direct evidence is needed of intent at the time of the event in question.

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[7] Marshall, Catherine, and Gretchen B. Rossman. *Designing Qualitative Research.* 2nd ed. Newbury Park: Sage Publications, Inc., 1995, 90.

[8] Jaeger, Richard M. *Complementary Methods: For Research in Education*. Washington, D.C.: American Educational Research Association, 1988, 69.

[9] Borg, *Educational Research*, 825.

[10] Jaeger, *Complementary Methods*, 69.

[11] Borg, *Educational Research*, 828.

[12] Jaeger, *Complementary Methods*, 70.

Borg and Gall[13] also caution that it is critical to use precise definitions of terms and to avoid vagueness in historical research. For example, I will use James Banks' definition of a paradigm. He defines it as a "conceptual model that serves as a cognitive map to organize experience so that it has meaning and is comprehensible to the observer."[14] This definition is especially useful to organize for this study the "civilization-savagism" paradigm.

Jaeger says that "there is no successful paradigm in educational history today" and that "it is all the more important that each (historian). . . be critically alert and independent."[15] He also says that historians have always used techniques from other disciplines.

I was interested in the conflicts and impact that the mission-schools had on the lives of the people. I do not foresee problems with external criticism because I believe that there is sufficient authentic documentation to support my research. The internal criticism which asks if the data is accurate and meaningful to the topic is a strength of this research because it includes information that has not been brought to light before. I feel that the strength of my methods will be the documentation, the oral histories, my own experience with the mission-school system and my understanding of Tlingit culture.

I explored numerous and diverse types of information in order to achieve my research objectives. That information included diaries written by my grandfather from 1900-1904, 1910-1914, 1919, 1927-1931, 1937-1941. Although I was unable to confirm the exact reason for missing years in the diary sequence, fires in the family home may

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13 Borg, *Educational Research*, 827.

14 Banks, James A., and Cherry A. Banks, eds. *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1989, 291.

15 Jaeger, *Complementary Methods*, 71.

have destroyed some of the diaries. The information I used also included oral histories, audio tapes, newspaper clippings, photographs and historical documents from the Presbyterian Historical Society, United States Federal Archives, Alaska State Library, Sheldon Jackson College Stratton Library, City of Sitka records and library, Sitka Historical Society, Sealaska Heritage Foundation, the Alaska State Museum, the University of British Columbia libraries, and the Tongass Historical Museum. Family members, the Bertrand H. Wilbur family, and friends also provided documents and photographs.

Although somewhat non-traditional for educational research, even artifacts made by my grandfather provided assistance with the research process. My grandfather's carved wooden, silver and gold and other objects of art in the Alaska State Museum, Sheldon Jackson Museum and personal or family collections, all provided additional corroboration of written documents.

The process of doing this research brought into sharp focus the cross-cultural conflicts Western education presented to Rudolph Walton and still presents to First Nations' students today. American Indian culture, and in particular Tlingit culture, is holistic in its view of the world and it is extremely difficult to put that world view into a logical, linear format, such as writing a dissertation requires.

The writing process requires reference to oneself and one's family, which is in conflict with traditional Indian values prohibiting one from speaking of oneself or one's family, as that is viewed as boasting. Traditionally, it is acceptable for others to speak of one's accomplishments, but it is not appropriate for any person to speak of such things themselves.

Another example of a strongly held Native American value is the belief that the community is more important than the individual. Western cultures generally place more

value on the individual than the community. As a result this research has been more of a community effort rather than an individual effort because the Native American emphasis on the importance of community is so strong, and because the process of the research affected so many people within my family and community.

In addition, the actual writing of the dissertation itself provided focus to the cross-cultural issues First Nation's students still face in the Western educational system. In order to succeed in the system, one must still violate many cultural norms and values. For example, the expectation that the writer of a dissertation take the position of an "expert" or "authority" is a violation of traditional cultural values. I struggled with this conflict throughout the process of writing this dissertation. By including family and community in the research process, however, I felt more comfortable and culturally appropriate, despite the foreign aspect of writing the dissertation itself.

The importance of the work was my motivation to somehow negotiate my own pathway through these conflicts. I made the conscious decision that completing the work outweighed the violation of cultural norms. I also consciously chose to involve friends, family members and tribal members in the process of research, writing and evaluation throughout the entire period on which I worked on this project. In doing so, I felt more involved in a community than an isolated event and I felt there was more integrity in the research. Including others in my work enabled me to be more in integrity with my Native values throughout the process and I felt much more comfortable as a result. While exploring my grandfather's historical pathway through a time of change, I was struck by the similarity between his struggle and my own.

In addition, in order to complete this process, I had to come to grips with the fact that the subject matter this dissertation deals with in part comes in conflict with widespread public assumptions about Native American history. The concepts of

oppression and victimization of Indians by missionaries and other Europeans during the period of first contact is a widely held belief by both Native Americans and Western historians.[16] Although there is extensive literature on oppression and victimization, this dissertation will not deal with that issue. My research into the life of Rudolph Walton provides a different focus on Native American history.

An honest look at the life of Rudolph Walton brought me to the conclusion that the Native people of his time were very much active players in their own destiny and that there were non-native individuals who were key to the survival of the Native people. There were people who were sincere in their efforts to help the Natives, even though they did not fully understand the culture, beliefs and values of the Native communities they served. I struggled with the conflict brought by the sincerity and positive results of the efforts of people who were obviously limited in their understanding of my culture and who clearly at times lacked respect for it.

The tremendous loss suffered by the Native people after contact provided a stark contrast to some of what I came to understand through my research. The background of disease, loss of language, loss of culture and blatant prejudice and injustice toward the First Nations peoples is very real. How then could there be positive impacts amidst such horrific conditions? Like the legacy of the holocaust, the efforts of sincere individuals are difficult to focus on amidst such death and destruction. But like those who hid and

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[16]Beal, Merrill D. *I Will Fight No More Forever: Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce war.* New York: Ballantine Books, 1963; Deloria, Vine Jr., ed. *Of Utmost Good Faith*. Bantam Book Edition ed. New York: Bantam Books, 1972; Jaine, Linda. "Industrial and Residential School Administration: The Attempt to Undermine Indigenous Self-determination." 2, no. 2 (1991): 37-47; Locust, Carol. "Wounding the Spirit: Discrimination and Traditional American Indian Belief Systems." 58, no. 3 (1988): 315-330; and Paul, Daniel N. *We Were Not The Savages: A Micmac Perspective on the Collision of European and Aboriginal Civilizations*. Halifax, NS: Nimbus Publishing Ltd., 1993.

steered Jewish people to safe passage, there were those who served to help the Native peoples find passage through difficult times. Like Oscar Schindler, a far from perfect savior of the Jews, there were people who were lights in the darkest period of Native American history. People whose legacy could not be fully realized during their own lifetimes. This research sheds light on some of those individuals and their lasting legacy.

1-4 Explanation of chapters and sequence.

I organized my information into chapters beginning with an introduction to Rudolph Walton, the point of my dissertation, followed by a discussion of historical and ethnographic research methods in Chapter One.

Chapter Two is a discussion of the family and tribal background of Rudolph Walton as well as his place of birth, Sitka, Alaska.

Chapter Three is an overview of the historical background of U. S. government and Native American relations and the policies and the historical background which set the stage for missionaries to come to Alaska and for the Tlingit to accept their help.

Chapter Four is a discussion of the life of Rudolph Walton, the coming of the Presbyterians to Alaska, Native education and Sheldon Jackson School.

Chapter Five is a discussion of Rudolph Walton's life after he completed his course of study at Sheldon Jackson School. It includes his marriage and life in the Model Cottages, his work as a policeman, merchant, hunter, artist and fisherman.

Chapter Six discusses the Walton family's connection to the Wilbur family and the Presbyterians of Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. It also discusses the continuing relationship between the two families after Dr. B. K. Wilbur left Sitka in 1901.

Chapter Seven discusses a turning point in Rudolph Walton's life, his conflicts with the Presbyterian Church, the U. S. government, the U. S. judicial system and conflicts within the Tlingit community itself.

Chapter Eight is about the Davis vs. Sitka School Board court case. The Davis Case involved the education of Mr. Walton's two step-children as well as other Native children of "mixed blood."

Chapter Nine discusses the historical background that led up to the forming of the Alaska Native Brotherhood. It discusses the goals of the ANB and the impact it had as the first Native organization that went beyond tribal boundaries to initiate collective action in the pursuit of Native rights in Alaska. Mr. Walton was a charter member of the Sitka ANB and participated in its activities including the building of the first ANB Hall in Sitka.

Chapter Ten discusses the conclusions which are drawn from this research.

The Epilogue discusses the continuing relationship between the Walton and Wilbur families.

Chapter Two - Rudolph Walton: Family, Tribe and Place

2-1 Story of the rocky shore/stormy sea.

At our prayer-meeting at the ranche last Tuesday evening, Chief Annahootz, in whose house the meeting is held, arose and spoke in Thlinket for several minutes, I was curious to know what he said, and on my way home I asked Peter what A. said. Peter answered, "Annahootz spoke a parable." Hoping it may interest you I sent it along.

A long time ago there was a large Russian ship, with a great many people on board. It got caught in a terrible storm. The winds blew very, very hard, and great waves dashed against the ship, and the passengers very much afraid. Pretty soon the winds blew so hard that they carried the great mast away, and the water came in. Then all the people cry because they thought they would all perish. It was very dark, and the people said if they could have a light they might do something - get the water out of the ship. Then all the people look for matches, but could find none. Then all the people cry because they have to perish. Finally, one old man found some, and put them into his hat. Then the old man said, "What are you looking for? What you cry for? " "Because we to perish. Can't find any matches to make a light." The old man said, "Don't cry I have some." He took off his hat and gave them some. Then all the people glad. They stop crying, make a light, get water out of the ship, and were saved. Now, the poor Indians were like the poor people in that ship in that storm, ready to perish with no light. Mr. A like the old man with the matches in his hat, and Jesus was the match. He is the light, Mr. A preach the Gospel unto us. All the Indians ought to hear and do what he say. The Russians never teach us anything about God; they left us to the dark.

I wish you could have seen the blind old orator as he stood there by the blazing fire in the corner of the room, while the Indians listened as they crouched in their blankets, looking like weird shadows on three sides of the great room.[17]

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[17] Austin, Alonzo E. "Alaska." *Presbyterian Home Missionary*, Feb. 1886, 41, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA (hereafter cited as PHS).

2-2 Rudolph Walton's family

Michael Coleman in *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930* went "beyond analyses of government and missionary policies and practices" to examination the complex interactions that ensue when cultures meet. He explored the responses of Indian children at a variety of schools in the last three centuries and demonstrated that tribal peoples were more than merely passive victims of white civilization. He said that "Indian men, women, and even children were active historical agents, who worked, with varying degrees of success, to adapt white institutions such as the school to their own needs." Coleman stated that although historians are aware of policies of forced assimilation upon Indian peoples, we still know relatively little about how Indians themselves saw things and by using their autobiographies he sought to contribute to the new Indian history.[18]

I strongly agree with Coleman that we know little about what Indian peoples saw and felt about the immense changes that were going on in their lives during the periods of forced assimilation. Documents and records from white institutions only give part of the picture, the voice of the Native American is rarely heard in that context.

Coleman was surprised to learn how closely the Indian students' memories coincided with what missionaries wrote in their reports to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. Although the students' recollections and attitudes toward the mission school were quite different from those of their teachers, they agreed on many issues related to mission school life such as "the regimentation, the curriculum, the varied responses of pupils, even on particular events." Coleman made the point that "each

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[18] Coleman, Michael C. *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930.* Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993, *x-xi*.

tends to validate the other: the contemporary correspondence of a number of teachers, and an account written decades later by an ex-pupil."[19]

My grandfather, Rudolph Walton, kept diaries about daily activities most of his life. Five of those diaries have survived to this day. The diary for 1900 to 1904 seems to contain the most interesting information and details. However, I feel all the diaries are important because they contain information about daily life and events which can be corroborated and compared to documentation available from the newspaper articles, reports, journals and the diaries of missionaries, government officials and others who witnessed or were involved in the various events mentioned in my grandfather's diaries.

American Indian Children at School does go beyond the analysis of government documents and does examine the interplay of cultures, but it covers so much ground that one never gets a sense of a whole person or how a life was affected by schooling. Rudolph Walton's diaries give life and understanding to events which otherwise could only be understood from the point of view of those who recorded events and whose documents are available to us today. Those documents were written almost exclusively by members of the culture who believed it was their job to remake the Tlingit into faint reflections of themselves. I say faint because subsequent evidence shows that no matter how hard Indian people tried to accommodate the changes demanded of them, it never seemed to be enough.

Rudolph Walton did not write lengthy entries into his diaries, but what he did write gives us a different view of events than those recorded by others who were present at the time. His diary entries illuminate events which otherwise would and could be only understood from the perspective of people outside the Tlingit community.

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[19] ibid., xi.

It is difficult to be absolutely certain about some of the information about my grandfather's family because there is often confusion over the use of Russian, English and Tlingit names. It is also difficult because there were errors in various records such as marriage, birth and death certificates. These errors had to do with dates, and the use of several Russian, English and/or Tlingit names for one person or the same names for several people. Tlingits were often given birth names which were taken from a certain ancestor whose spirit was believed to be reincarnated in the child. Tlingits also had ceremonial names or titles which were passed down from one generation to the next, therefore several or many persons had the names Katlian and Annahootz.[20] There is also confusion because the same name may have been spelled differently in various documents.

A good example of the problems inherent in the Russian, Tlingit and English naming was in a Russian Orthodox Church document. Hieromonk Anatolii Kamenskii wrote a report to his bishop in 1902 describing a meeting the St. Michael Indian Brotherhood had with "Foma (Thomas) Kichkau Bennet." Foma is a Russian first name, Thomas is an English first name, Kichkau is a prominent Tlingit Kiks.adi name, and Bennett is of course an English last name.[21] It is very likely that when Mr. Bennet was in the company of Russian Orthodox people he was called Foma Bennet, and when he was in the company of the Protestant English speaking community he was called by the name Mr. Thomas Bennet. My aunt, who remembers Mr. Bennet, said that he lived nearby and that her parents often spoke about him. She said that in the Tlingit community he was called by the name Kichkau.

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[20] Kan, Sergei. *Symbolic Immortality: The Tlingit Potlatch of the Nineteenth Century*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989, 71.

[21] Kamenskii, Archimandrite Anatolii. *Tlingit Indians of Alaska*. Translated by Kan, Sergei. Edited by Marvin W. Falk. 2nd ed. 1985, Volume II, *The Rasmuson Library Historical Translation Series*. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1906, 147.

What we do know is that Rudolph Walton, who was also known by the Tlingit names Kaawootk' and Aak'wtaatseen (or as Rudolph spelled his name, Ah-ta-tsene), was born on April 13, 1867, into the Raven moiety of the Sheet'ka<u>k</u>waan or "inhabitants of Sitka." The Tlingit word *kwaan* means the inhabitants of a place, therefore in this case Sheet'ka<u>k</u>waan means Sitka, Alaska.[22] He was of the Kiks.adi clan, and a member of the Tin.aa Hit or "Copper Shield House". Kaawootk' means "Little Bead" in Tlingit. Rudolph's other Tlingit name was Aak'wtaatseen (Ah-ta-tsene) which means in English something like "Lively-frog-in-a-lake."[23] Kaawootk' was Rudolph's everyday name and Aak'wtaatseen was most likely his ceremonial name given to him on a special occasion, perhaps after his participation in a traditional ceremony like the "Peace Dance."

Wallace Olson explained how the Tlingit organized society by using a few basic principles. He said that Tlingit relationships are traced according to a matrilineal system. Lineage is inherited through the mother's side of the family. Men were always the official spokesmen for a house, but women exerted a great deal of authority and influence that was normally exercised behind the scenes.[24] This view was confirmed by my father who told me many stories about his mother, Mary Walton, and the influence she had on events in the Tlingit community.

The Tlingit people were divided into two moieties. One half of the people belonged to the Raven moiety and the other half belonged to the Eagle or Wolf moiety.

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22 Kan, *Symbolic Immortality*, 23.

23 Swanton, John R., ed. *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians*. Edited by W. L. Barre, *Landmarks in Anthropology*. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1908, 421.

24 Olson, Wallace M. *The Tlingit: An Introduction to Their Culture and History*. Auke Bay, AK: Heritage Research, 1997, 34.

Tlingits also were identified by the clan, family, or house group to which they belonged. Each moiety had about 30 clans under it. Each clan had its own story about its origins and owned certain crests or designs. Olson used the example of a clan which owned the story of the origin of the killer whale and therefore had the right to use the killer whale as its crest.[25]

Members of each moiety were considered socially to be brothers or sisters; in other words members of the Raven moiety might consider other Ravens as their brothers or sisters. And Eagles could consider all other Eagles to be their relatives.

Clans often lived in different *kwaans* or locations; some clans had up to three or four *kwaans*. Every member of a Tlingit community knew exactly how they were related to other members of the community and were able to trace their ancestors back through their mother.

Every Tlingit community had winter houses which had names. A person was known by the house to which they belonged. Members of the house were all related through their mother's lineage or by marriage.[26]

According to Presbyterian Church records the Walton family was baptized on September 7, 1884. The record lists the members of the family baptized on that day as Mr. Walton, Mrs. Ida Walton, Rudolph Walton, Delia Walton and Nettie Austin Walton.[27]

Mr. Walton or Rudolph's father, a member of the Kaagwaantaan clan and Xoots Hit or "Brown Bear House", is listed in Presbyterian records with the Tlingit name Gun-

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25 ibid., 35-36.

26 ibid., 37.

27 "Session Records of the Sitka Presbyterian Church 1884-1907." Sitka: Sitka Presbyterian Church, 201 and 251, (PHS).

nah-heen which in translation means as "Strange (other) Waters," his English name is given as Mr. Walton.[28] However, on Rudolph Walton's death certificate his father's name is listed as Kaw-hieen Walton. Mr. Walton was probably known by both names.

Dr. B. K. Wilbur, a Sheldon Jackson School physician and friend of Rudolph's, describes in his journal the death of Gun-nah-heen. He noted in his journal that while he and Rudolph were camping on Kruzoff Island "I remembered that it was on this very island that Rudolph's father was killed by a bear, but as he was hunting bear they did not blame the bear. I was not hunting bear but I could not tell one that as I could not speak to him in Thlingit and I doubted if the bears on Kruzoff would understand English."[29] Dr. Wilbur did not say when Mr. Walton was killed, but Presbyterian records show a Mr. R. Walton was removed from the rolls of the church in 1891. There is an "x" before his name which was the indication that the person removed from the rolls had died.[30] Also, in the cemetery behind Sheldon Jackson School there is a grave which is situated near other Walton family members which bears the following inscription: "WALTON/ Kon-na-hil/ Dec. 5, 1891." My great-grandfather very likely had several Tlingit names and I believe that the grave is his.

According to Sitka Presbyterian records, Rudolph Walton's mother's English name was Mrs. Ida Walton, her Tlingit name was Doos-uch. Mrs. Ida Walton and Rudolph Walton belonged to the Raven moiety, Kiks.adi clan and the Tinaa.hit or

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28 ibid., 201 and 251.

29 Wilbur, Dr. Bertrand K. *J. A. M. (Just About Me):Medical Missionary to Sitka, Alaska 1894-1901*. Unpublished excerpts about Alaska from Vol. I-III. Princeton Junction, NJ: Dr. Ross Wilbur, 1975., 324, Sheldon Jackson Stratton Library (hereafter cited as SJSL).

30 "Session Records of the Sitka Presbyterian Church," 152.

"Copper Plate House."[31] Tlingit houses and clans of opposite moieties were continually linked in marriage, so that one was expected to marry into his or her father's house or clan.[32] In this case my great-grandfather was Kaagwaantaan and my great-grandmother was Kiks.adi.

Rudolph recorded in his diary on October 12, 1902 that his mother was ill and that they were taking care of her. On October 14th, he wrote that she was "very sick all the time." And on October 15th, he wrote that "My mother she was very sick again she have truble [*sic*]." On October 19th he wrote "I hear that my mother died this morning. We are all very sorrow for her She was very good." Her grave is near Mr. Walton's in the Presbyterian cemetery near the Sheldon Jackson School. The gravestone bears the inscription "Mrs. Ida Walton, Oct. 19, 1902." The Presbyterian Sessional Records also note that Rudolph Walton was absent from the October 19, 1902, Sunday meeting of the Presbyterian Native Church. It was recorded that "The death of Elder Walton's mother this A.M. prevented his attendance."[33]

Rachel, Rudolph's grandmother (I don't know if this was a paternal or a maternal grand-parent) who lived with him for a number of years, became a member of the Presbyterian Church on November 14, 1885, along with her former slave, Betsy.

There was an interesting article about Rachel and Betsy in the May 1886 issue of the *Presbyterian Home Missionary*. The article is entitled "Sitka Alaska":

> We received seventeen into our church at our last Communion on profession of faith. One of them a white sailor. Another was Rudolph's grandmother, who left the Greek church to join us because she said "she learned something with us." An old Indian woman who was formerly her

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31 ibid., 201 and 251.

32 Kan, *Symbolic Immortality*, 24.

33 "Session Records of the Sitka Presbyterian Church," 58.

> slave, and who now lives with her from choice also united with us. Rudolph's grandmother said she was glad to have her slave go with her to heaven.[34]

A "Betsy" is listed as removed from the church rolls in April 1888 with an "x" beside her name indicating that she had died. Rudolph wrote in his diary on August 11, 1902 that "I stay in camp at Red brup [*sic*] Bay, I move my camp, My grandma died at Sitka. I am very sorrowful day." A headstone in the Sitka Presbyterian cemetery behind Sheldon Jackson School near other Walton family members' graves bears the inscription "Rachel, August 1902." I believe that this is the grave of my great-great-grandmother, Rachel. The first Rachel in our family.

Presbyterian records list Rudolph's two sisters only by their English names and note they joined the church on September 7, 1884 along with the rest of the family. They were also of course members of the Raven moiety, Kiks.adi clan and the Tinaa.hit or "Copper Plate House." There is a notation next to the name Nettie Austin Walton that she died on December 24, 1884. There was also a notation next to Delia Walton's name indicating that she married James Jackson.

Presbyterian marriage records note that James Jackson and Delia Walton married between January and September 1885. The exact date is not given, but it may be because the Jacksons are listed just below a couple married on January 25, 1885, and they may have been married on the same date. The date for the marriage listed just below the Jackson's name is September 25, 1885.[35]

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[34] Austin, Alonzo. "Sitka, Alaska." *Presbyterian Home Missionary*, May 1886, 101, (PHS).

[35] "Session Records of the Sitka Presbyterian Church," 201, 251 and 271.

James Jackson's Tlingit name was Annahootz, a Kaagwaantaan chief's name. According to my father, James Walton, Delia Walton's Tlingit name was Sxlawan. She was also known as Susie (Walton) Jackson. A newspaper article written in September 1892 recalled a meeting by Mrs. Harriet Lawrence Wilbur, who was visiting from Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, with Rudolph's wife, mother and children as well as with his sister, Susie and her husband, James Jackson.[36]

In the February 1885 issue of the *Presbyterian Home Missionary* under the title "Sitka Indian Training School" there is an article which I believe is about the Walton family. My grandfather was a resident in the "Home" and a student in the Presbyterian mission school. Also, his entire family joined the Presbyterian Church together in September 1884.

> Sabbath and prayer-meeting-services are well attended, even though it rains. The readiness with which these poor men and women lift up their voices in prayer and supplication would shame many praying circles of more light and privilege.
>
> Frequently two persons rise at the same time to offer prayer, and the meetings are now long enough to give a opportunity to all who wish to take part.
>
> Among those who were received into the church were a whole family: father, mother, a son, who is in the Home, and two daughters. These persons interest me very much, and give promise of being a credit to our Mission.[37]

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[36] Jackson, Sheldon, et al., eds. *The North Star Dec. 1887 to Dec. 1892.* Facsimile Reproduction ed. Seattle: The Shorey Book Store, 1973, 229.

[37] Austin, Alonzo E. "Alaska." *Presbyterian Home Missionary*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, Feb. 1885, 44,(PHS).

2-3 Rudolph Walton's tribe

The Coastal Tlingit, a northern pacific maritime culture, into which Rudolph Walton was born occupied the Northwest coastal area of North America between 55 and 60 degrees North Latitude. The climate of the Northwest Coast is cooled in the summer and warmed in the winter by prevailing westerly winds that blow in from the ocean. The weather of the area is determined by two atmospheric pressures cells, and along most of the coast the moisture comes in from the west and falls as rain on the western slopes of the outer ranges of mountains. Baranof Island, where the town of Sitka, Alaska is located, can receive as much as 300 inches of rainfall a year.[38]

The environment of Southeast Alaska contained an abundance of food and resources for the Tlingit. The majority of food for a subsistence economy came from the five species of salmon and many other types of seafood. The Tlingit also utilized land resources as the forests of southeastern Alaska provided timber for housing and canoes. An abundance of animals such as deer and bear were also easily available. The Tlingit also gathered many species of berries and greens for food.

Settlements were along shorelines and rivers and each regional group or kwaan had permanent winter dwellings. The largest villages were on major rivers and were important trade routes to the interior of Alaska and the Yukon. Tlingit families traditionally moved to fish camps in the summer, returning to their winter settlements in the fall.[39]

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[38] Suttles, Wayne. "Environment." In *Northwest Coast*, edited by Wayne Suttles. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonain Institution, 1990, 18-29.

[39] ibid., 18-29.

As has been previously noted, Tlingit society was organized into exogamous matrilineal clans and the clans were organized into two moieties, the Raven and the Wolf/Eagle. Each moiety contained about thirty clans and within those clans there were one or more *hit* or house groups. In addition to belonging to a moiety and a clan, each Tlingit belonged to one of about twenty regional or territorial groups called kwaans. Each kwaan had well defined territory which it owned and within that territory clans and houses owned specific sites for fishing and hunting etc. Clans and houses were the property owning units within the society. Clans owned such things as material objects, crests, names, titles, dances and songs.

House groups were the basic economic unit of society and ranged from ten to about forty people. The houses were formed around a group of matrilineally related men and their spouses and children. Individuals in the house groups had rights according to their clan membership, but important possessions like large canoes and resources were owned communally. House groups also did such things as resolve disputes or give potlatches as a group.

Social rank was an important feature of Tlingit society. Houses as well as clans were ranked based on the ability of a group to successfully accumulate wealth and display it competitively in such activities as the potlatch. Members of the highest ranked clans were highly regarded and respected; they constituted a "noble" class.

The higher-ranking house groups were closely related through marriage. The eldest male in a house group was usually its ceremonial leader and if it was a high ranking house the "master" of the house was considered a noble. The "masters" of the houses and clans settled disputes within and between clans and their decisions were final.[40]

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[40] Olson, 1997, 34-37.

2-4 Rudolph Walton's place of birth

The town of Sitka where Rudolph Walton was born in 1867 is located on the western side of Baranof Island in Southeast Alaska at 57 degrees 3 minutes North latitude and 135 degrees 39 minutes West longitude. It is built on the shore of Sitka Bay about 10 miles from open ocean and is encircled by mountains. It has a good harbor, protected from the open ocean by a series of islands. The harbor is deep and sufficient for large ships.

Robert N. DeArmond described Sitka in his book about Lady Jane Franklin's visit to Sitka in 1870. He wrote that the United States had been in Alaska for about two and a half years by 1870 and most of the Russians who had been there had returned to their homeland or moved to the San Francisco area, where there was a large Russian immigrant community.

DeArmond described Sitka as a town built of logs with two distinct parts. On the northeast shore of town and outside the American garrison is the Tlingit community known as the Ranche. Ranche is a term the Russians brought back from California and was adopted by the Americans. The Tlingit community was a row of old-style traditional community houses made of hewed logs and roofed with bark. The community houses were built on the beach just above the high tide line. These houses were removed ten years later and replaced by frame houses. In 1870 the Tlingit community was separated from the main part of Sitka by a high wooden stockade. The stockade which began at the beach and ran to the foot of Swan Lake had three armed blockhouses, with guns pointed at the Tlingit community.[41]

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41 DeArmond, R. N., ed. *Lady Franklin Visits Sitka, Alaska 1870: The Journal of Sophia Cracroft, Sir John Franklin's Niece*. Anchorage: Alaska Historical Society, 1981, xix.

Inside the stockade were about 125 various types of Russian buildings built from logs and huge timbers. About a dozen of these buildings were two stories high. Sitka was dominated by two large structures, the Russian governor's house and St. Michael's Cathedral. The town had two schools, three churches, eleven stores and about eleven saloons.[42]

The economy in 1870 in Sitka was supported primarily by the payroll from government activities. The Russian government contributed a small sum per year for the maintenance of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Army was supporting about 136 indigents at that time, or about one-third of the total civilian non-Native population.[43]

The population of Sitka included about 1,200 Tlingits and about 390 non-Native civilians, of which about 32 people had been born in the United States. With the military and their families, the total white population numbered about 600. According to DeArmond it was very likely that few people on either side of the stockade which divided Sitka were able to speak English.[44]

Changes in Alaska during the next ten to fifteen years were rapid and they were related to the non-Native development of fisheries and gold mining. American Christian missionaries also began establishing new missions and settlements. Commercial exploitation of the natural resources of Alaska caused a depletion of those resources for Native subsistence activities.[45]

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[42] ibid., xxi.

[43] ibid., xxvi.

[44] ibid., xxviii.

[45] Hinckley, Ted C. *The Americanization of Alaska, 1867-1897.* 1st ed. Palo Alto: Pacific Books, Publishers, 1972, 110-138.

The increasing population growth in Alaska also put increased pressure on Native Alaskans and their cultures. The government sought to enforce compliance with American laws and missionaries sought compliance to new religious and cultural values. The establishment of mission schools was one of the major forces of change for the Native people during the late 1800s and in the early 1900s.

One of the most influential change agents of the latter part of the 19th century was the mission school established by Sheldon Jackson in Sitka in 1878. The mission school's goals were to Christianize, civilize and educate Native children.[46] By 1900 most Tlingit were Christians and involved to a degree in the cash economy of the Americans. However, declining economic conditions for the Tlingit caused some important Tlingit leaders to think that the education offered to their children by the churches was a key to survival.[47]

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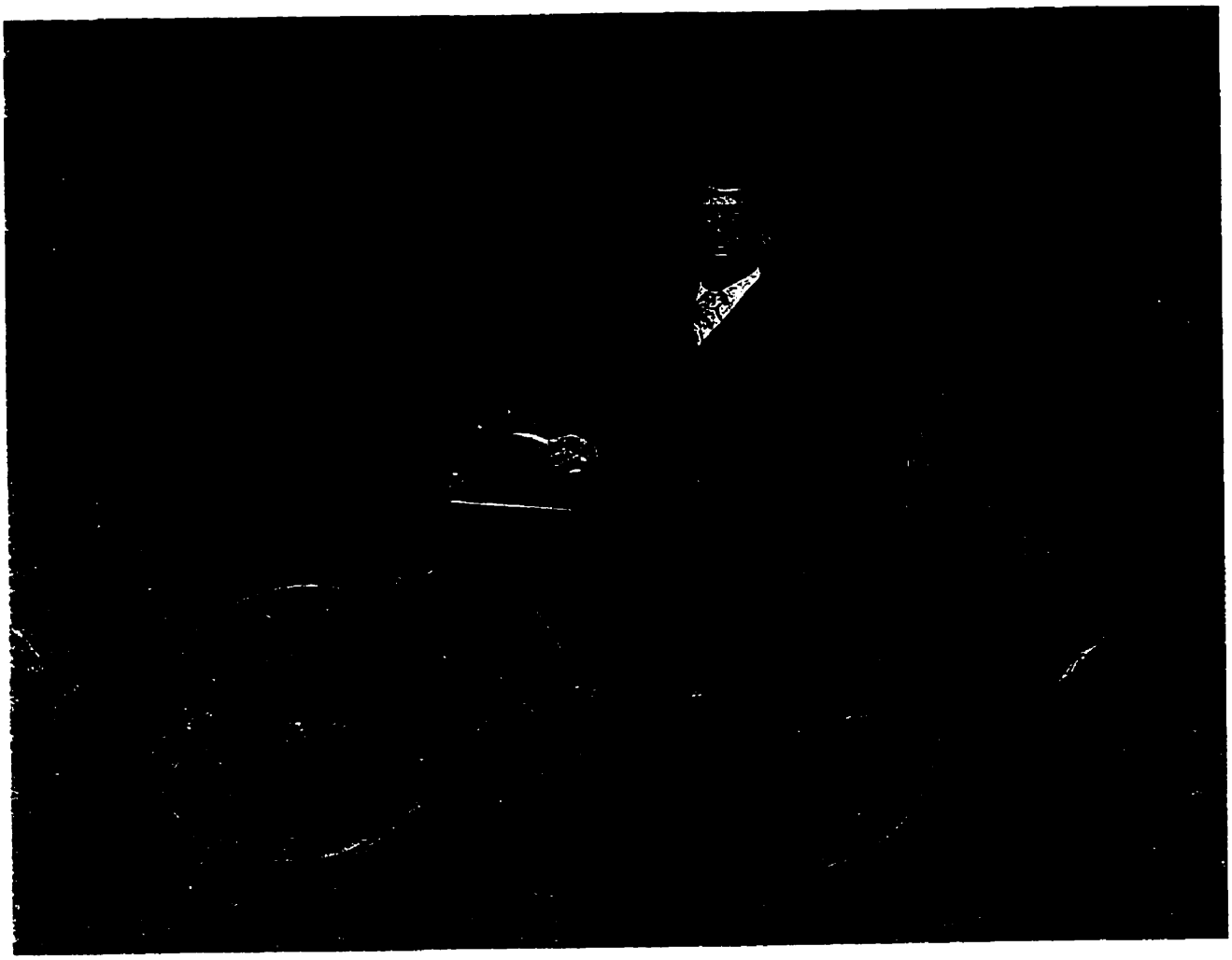
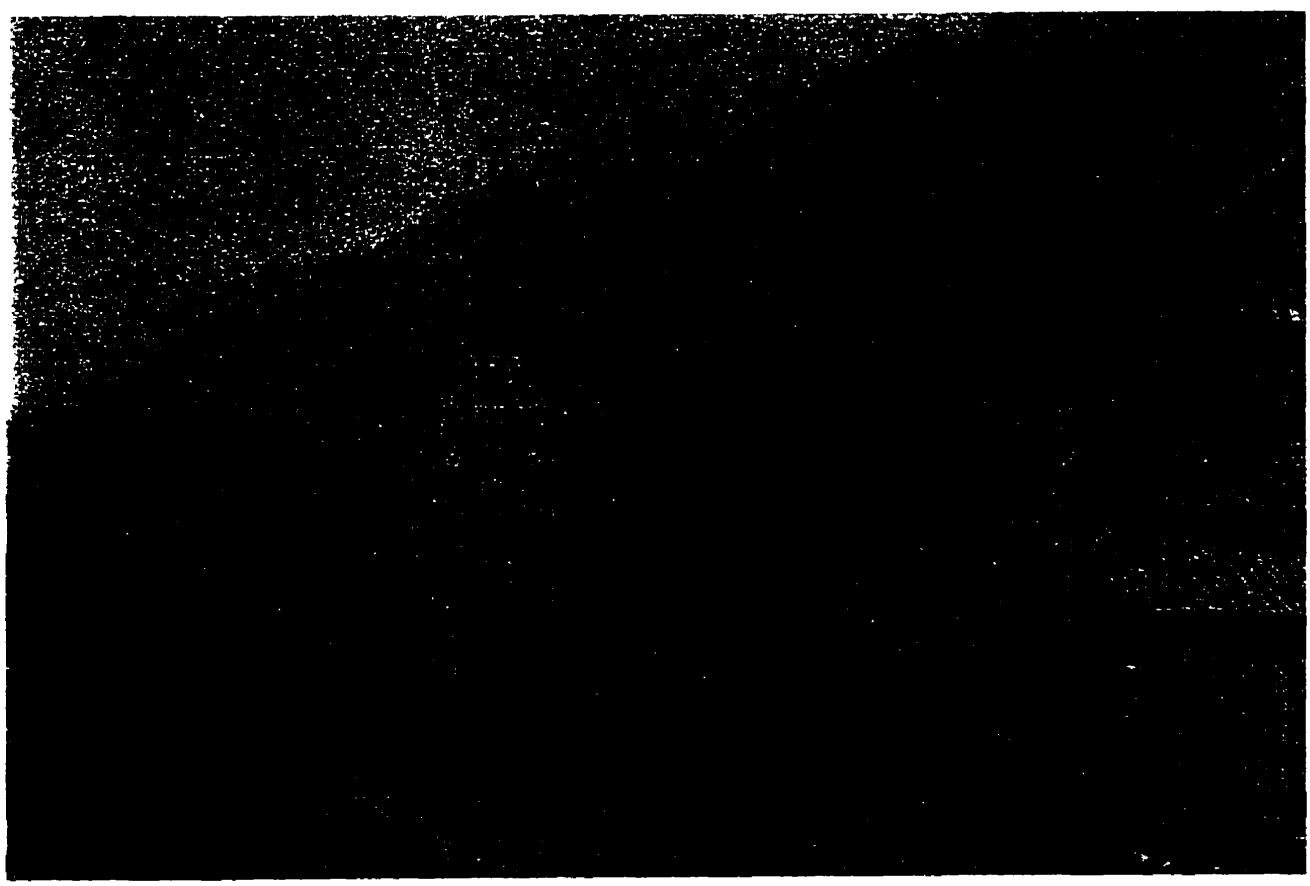
[46] ibid., 143-172.

[47] Austin, "Alaska," *Presbyterian Home Missionary*, Feb. 1886, 41.



1. Rudolph Walton circa 1901 (with a bicycle he purchased from James Jackson for $19.00 on October 5, 1900). (Photo courtesy of the Tongass Historical Society, THS 71.7.14.10.)



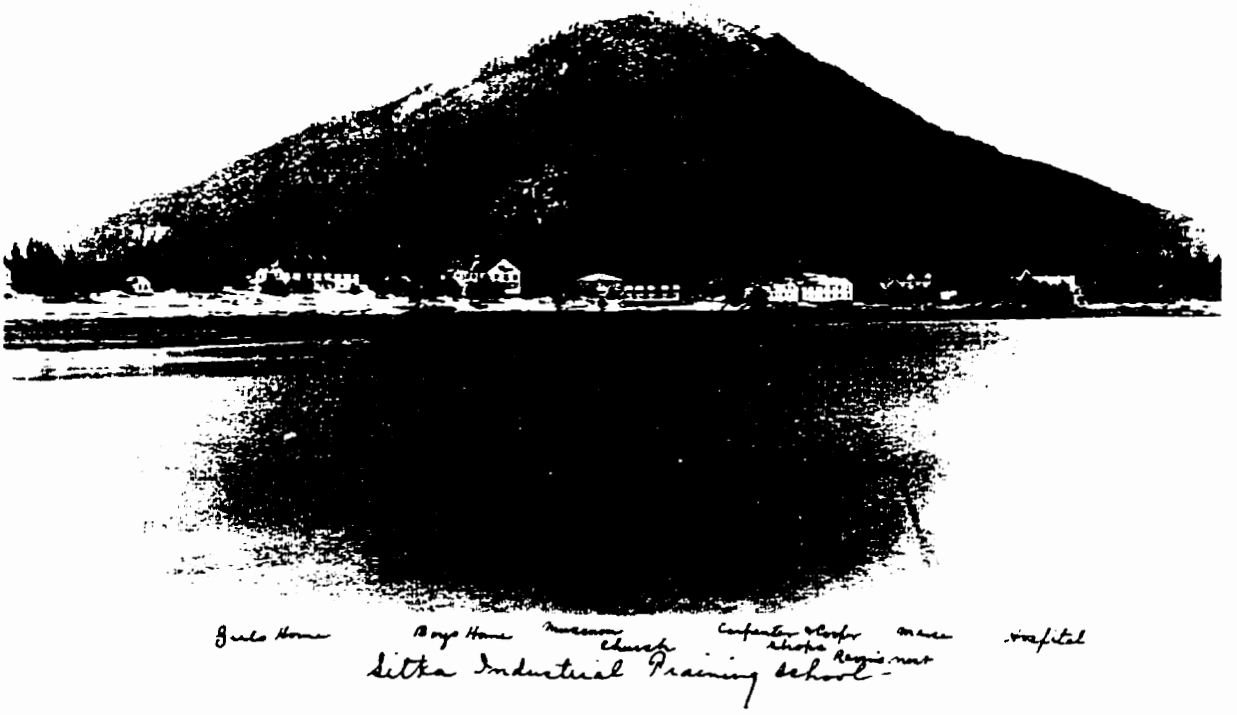
2. Main street in Sitka, Alaska circa 1900. Storefront sign advertises "Rudolph Walton Maker of Native Jewelry" store (first building on the right). (Private Collection)

3. Group photo, taken in the Presbyterian Church in Sitka, Alaska. Mr. Rudolph Walton is sitting in the center of the front row. Mrs. Mary Walton is in the front row, 2nd from the left. Date unknown, perhaps circa 1940. (Photo from the Walton family collection)

Liberty Street, Sitka from the wharf.

Sitka from Castle Hill.
Show Sisters in distance

4. Top photo: Sitka, Alaska viewed from the wharf, circa 1900.
5. Bottom photo: Sitka, Alaska viewed from Castle Hill, circa 1900.
(Photos from the Wilbur family collection)



6. Top photo: Sitka Industrial Training School, circa 1900.
7. Bottom photo: Russian Orphanage and public school in Sitka, Alaska, circa 1900.
(Photos from the Wilbur family collection)

Chapter Three: U. S. Government Policies and Christian Missionaries

3-1 An overview of U. S. government policies and the missionary movement

The history of interactions between the aboriginal peoples of the Americas, and the Europeans who came to the Americas is one of conflict and pain on the one hand, and courage and determination on the other. The history of Indian-White relations cannot be viewed in black and white terms; for the task of understanding the process by which the indigenous peoples of the Americas were replaced by Europeans as owners and occupiers of the Americas is a complex one. It is important to understand the world view of diverse groups of people as well as the history of contact in order to understand more clearly what happened in the Americas including Alaska.

European and American policies towards the Indians of North America evolved over time from first contact. They developed through a process of trial and error and were the result of the particular culture's view of the Indians and the land the Indians occupied. European nations used the "doctrine of discovery"[48] as a justification for claiming lands in the Americas, but their reactions to the land and the indigenous peoples differed. American and British policies evolved as a result of occupying and using the land; whereas French, Spanish, and Russian policies reflected their interest in exploiting the riches they found in North America rather than in occupying the land. The development of French policies toward the North American Indian was strongly influenced by the French ability and willingness to adapt to the environment and to learn from the Indians. The French were more occupied with exploration and the fur trade than colonizing the land. They were also very active in establishing allies and Catholic missions among the Indians.

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[48]Leed, Eric. *Shores of Discovery: How Expeditionaries Have Constructed the World.* New York: Basic Books, 1995.

In contrast, British and American policies reflected their view that the Indians were temporary residents of land that was not being used to its fullest, and could be acquired by the use of contracts or treaties. If the land desired could not be thus acquired, then it was taken through wars of conquest. Indians were also exploited as trading partners or as allies in wars with other European powers, such as the French and Spanish. Indian tribes on the East Coast of North America often sided with the British during the Revolutionary War. When the colonists won the war, the British ceded Indian lands to the Americans without consulting their former allies. In the Treaty of Paris (1783) the British ceded to the United States Indian lands to the boundary of the Mississippi River.

The antagonisms engendered by the Revolutionary War greatly influenced U.S. policies towards the Indians. The main goals of American policies under the Articles of Confederation were to acquire Indian lands and, secondly, to establish peace with the Indians. The policies were failures because the Confederation had weak powers, and conflicts with states did not allow the government to implement its policies. The pressures for settlement of new lands to the West also triggered violence and hostility from the Indians. In an attempt to reduce conflict, the government reverted to the policy of obtaining land by purchasing it through treaties.[49]

American policies in this early period under President George Washington and the Secretary of War Henry Knox were greatly influenced by the idea that America had a moral choice to uphold.

> A policy of peace and purchase was moral and cheap; a policy of war and conquest was immoral and dear. The choice was plain. What was ignored was that a policy of peace and purchase was probably incompatible.

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[49] Horsman, Reginald. "United States Indian Policies, 1776-1815." In *History of Indian-White Relations*, edited by Wilcomb E. Washburn, 29-39. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1988.

> Knox's suggestion for fair purchase and for negotiating with the Indians more on a basis of equality did not mean that he considered it possible that the Indians could retain lands desired by the United States. Even when firm boundaries were established by treaties, and the Indians given the right to retain the land on their side of the line as long as they wished, it was assumed that future cessions were inevitable. As White settlement crowded up to the boundary lines game would diminish, the Indians would be reduced in number, and those surviving would be willing to sell their land for small sums. [50]

This was the beginning of American government policy for civilizing the Indians. It was hoped that if the Indians led a civilized life as herders and farmers, they would need much less land to live on and would be content with benefits of civilization and progress. These benefits were to be bestowed upon the Indians paternally, as a father to a child. In government terms that paternal relationship evolved into a legal relationship that of a guardian to a ward. In Christian or missionary terms that meant that Indians would be led firmly, but kindly by the hand into the modern world. If force was needed to accomplish this task, that would also be used when necessary.

According to Francis P. Prucha, Indian policies between the War of 1812 and the beginning of the Civil War were built upon the first twenty-five years of the existence of the United States. He suggests that the overriding concern of the government during that time was the expansion of white settlement and civilization. The belief was that expansion of the country should not be hampered by hunter-gatherer cultures which did not fully utilize the lands and its resources. Military and government forces were used in the interest of the United States to enforce laws and treaties without regard for the welfare of the Indian people. Prucha states that the main points of federal Indian policy at that time were as follows:

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[50] ibid., 32.

1. Protecting Indian rights to lands reserved for them by setting definite boundaries for the Indian country, restricting Whites from entering the area except under certain controls, and removing illegal intruders;

2. Controlling the disposition of Indian lands by denying the right of private individuals or local governments to acquire land from the Indians by purchase or by other means;

3. Regulating the Indian trade by determining the conditions under which individuals might engage in the trade, prohibiting certain classes of traders, and actually entering into the trade itself;

4. Controlling the liquor traffic by regulating the flow of intoxicating liquor into the Indian country and then prohibiting it altogether;

5. Providing for punishment of crimes committed by members of one race against the other and compensation for damages suffered by one group at the hands of the other;

6. Promoting White standards of civilization and education in the hope that the Indians would be absorbed into the general stream of White society.[51]

The emphasis of different elements of these Indian policies changed over time, but by 1860 when the United States extended across the entire continent, treaties had provided for smaller and smaller enclaves for the Indians where they could be kept away from Whites. Education and agriculture training were supposed to enable the Indians to survive in those enclaves.

There had been efforts on the part of reformers to provide education and training for Indians from colonial days and these were continued in the 1840s and encouraged by some government officials. Christian missionary schools were established with hopes of "a great moral and social revolution among the tribes" and the prognosis that they would soon be self-sufficient, prosperous and happy.[52] Education for Indian children in

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51 Prucha, Francis Paul. "United States Indian Policies, 1815-1860." In *History of Indian-White Relations*, edited by Wilcomb E. Washburn, 40-50. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1988, 40.

52 ibid., 47.

manual labor type schools was continued, and in a generation they were supposed to become self-supporting individuals who could then become part of the general population. Like Carl Schurz, the Secretary of the Interior under President Hayes, many people of the day believed in "the ability of the Indians to move down the path to white civilization and citizenship," but that "nothing is more indispensable than the protecting and guiding care of the Government during the dangerous period of transition from savage to civilized life."[53]

It was also assumed at that time that the Indians were at a lower stage of development than the rest of the country, and that they would benefit if they were assimilated and civilized. Indian policy rested on three basic principles derived from the belief that America was a deeply religious society. The first principle was that mankind was created by God as described in the Christian Bible. Second was the belief that Indian people were culturally inferior to Whites, but capable of being civilized and Christianized. Third, it was considered the duty of Christians to help Indian societies to transform just as the Europeans had evolved culturally over a period of centuries.[54] The main instruments of this transformation were instruction in agriculture and education in Christian schools.

The November 23, 1869, report of the Board of Indian Commissioners also states that:

> The legal status of the uncivilized Indians should be that of wards of the government; the duty of the latter being to protect them, to educate them in industry, the arts of civilization, and the principles of Christianity; elevate them to the rights of citizenship, and to sustain and clothe them until they can support themselves. . . schools should be established and teachers

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53 Prucha, Francis Paul. *The Indians in American Society.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, 22.

54 ibid., 8-10.

> employed by the government to introduce the English language in every tribe.

The report goes on to state:

> The teachers employed should be nominated by some religious body having a mission nearest to the location of the school. The establishment of Christian missions should be encouraged, and their schools fostered. The pupils should at least receive the rations and clothing they would get if remaining with their families. The religion of our blessed Saviour is believed to be the most effective agent for the civilization of any people.[55]

When the Civil War broke out in 1861 attention was drawn away from Indian affairs, but serious problems remained.[56] By then however, the main features of federal Indian policy had been established. Indians would cede most of their lands and move onto reservations.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the Annual Reports to the Secretary of the Interior in 1858[57] declared that the only alternative to the extinction of North American Indians was a:

> ... policy of concentrating the Indians on small reservations of land, and of sustaining them there for a limited period, until they can be induced to make the necessary exertions to support themselves.[58]

Thus, the reservation system became a permanent policy of the United States. The reservations were initially large enough for the Indians to farm and raise stock, but gradually they became smaller and smaller. The November 23, 1869, report of the

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55 Prucha, Francis Paul, ed. *Documents of United States Indian policy*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 1975, 133.

56 Prucha, "United States Indian Policies, 1815-1860," 50.

57 Prucha, *Documents* (citing: Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, November 6, 1858), 92.

58 ibid., 94.

Board of Indian Commissioners urged the collection of large numbers of Indians on a number of adjacent small reservations, so that in the future the larger reservation might enter as a state of the union. It recommended that the Indians should be taught the advantages of individual ownership of property and that the land should be given to them in severalty. The report also recommended that the treaty system should be ended and that existing treaties should be annulled.[59] Thus, the treaty system was ended in 1871.

By the 1890s a national government school system for Indians had been established; the Indians had been subjugated and confined to reservations. However, many humanitarian groups began to agitate for major reforms in federal Indian policy. In 1876 Congress made the first annual appropriation for Indian education. Boarding schools were started in Hampton, Virginia in 1878, in Carlisle, Pennsylvania in 1879, and in Forest Grove, Oregon in 1880. These schools were followed by Chilocco in Indian Territory (Oklahoma), Genoa in Nebraska, and Haskell in Kansas.[60] According to Prucha humanitarian groups wanted the Indians to rid themselves of tribalism with its communal emphasis and adopt Western individualism. In order to accomplish this the reformers had a three-part plan:

> 1. The reservation (which they correctly perceived to be the basis of tribal community life) must be broken up and the land allocated in severalty to individual Indians in parcels of 80, 160, or 320 acres;
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> 2. The individual Indians must be made subject to white laws and ultimately accept the rights and duties of American citizenship; and

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[59] ibid., 133.

[60] Hagan, William T. "United States Indian Policies, 1860-1900." In *History of Indian-White Relations*, edited by Wilcomb E. Washburn, 51-65. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1988, 59.

3. The Indian children must be educated in English-speaking schools, not only in the three R's but in vocational skills and in patriotic citizenship.[61]

In 1887 the Dawes Severalty Act broke up the reservations and divided them into allotments with the surplus land sold by the government for white settlement. As owners of private property "the Indians were supposed to adopt the Puritan work ethic, demand legal protection of their rights, and support education for their children."[62] In addition, Indians received citizenship when they received their allotments. According to Prucha what the Dawes Act actually accomplished was to multiply the number of dependent Indians that the government had to deal with, resulting in the total wardship of the Indian people.[63]

What the government did not understand was the tremendous difficulty involved in making the transition from hunter-gather societies to a market economy. Indian communities and economies had been destroyed and the Indians were impoverished. While Indian populations dwindled to about 350,000 in 1850, the population of the United States had grown to about twenty-three million.[64] Traditional forms of leadership and community life collapsed in the face of unrelenting pressure. Whole populations had been destroyed by war and epidemics. The market economy that was supposed to bring prosperity to the Indian people only insured that traditional food supplies of wild game had disappeared. Thus the net result of federal Indian policies included poverty, dependency, despondency, and the abuse of alcohol.[65]

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61 Prucha, *The Indians in American Society*, 22-23.

62 ibid., 23.

63 ibid., 24.

64 ibid., 32.

65 ibid., 32-54.

Congress during this time was unwilling to provide funds for the commitments it had made to the Indians through treaties for education. Government officials relied on church groups to provide education for Indian children. Various Christian denominations provided educational facilities and faculty for Indian day and boarding schools. Contract schools for Indian students were supported in part by tuition payments made by the federal government. Education for Indians was supposed to provide an economic transformation. According to Prucha "acquisition and accumulation of goods were to be substituted for reciprocal sharing and generosity."[66]

Boarding schools tore children away from their families and immersed them in white civilization. Indian education meant a continuous assault on tribal customs and languages. It was meant to assimilate the Indians by inculcating white civilization and cultural patterns. School curricula did not build on the Indian student's heritage, but was designed by white educators to give Indian students a white child's education. It is little wonder then that much of what the students were to learn made little sense to them. Education which was to lift Indian people up to the level of white civilization left many students in a kind of limbo; they were not accepted in white society, but they did not know their own heritage as well. The result was more dependency, poverty, and despondency.[67] "The Great Father in 1920 was still the guardian of thousands and thousands of dependent Indian wards."[68]

Thus, for most part of the nineteenth century and for the first two decades of the twentieth century, Indian policy was one of assimilation and acculturation into the mainstream of American society. The Indians for their part had various responses to

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66 ibid., 47.

67 ibid., 50-54.

68 ibid., 54.

these pressures; they resisted, withdrew and/or became passive.[69] After 1920 according to Prucha the country went through a period of ambivalence about federal Indian policy. The erosion of Christian American values allowed a new kind of pluralism to develop after 1920. Science and technology and ideas about social freedom "bred a devotion to scientific method and led to disillusionment with religion."[70]

Concern for the Indians underwent a marked shift in keeping with the changes in American society. The old philanthropic, benevolent approach, which saw as the highest good for the Indians the absolute imitation of their white Christian advisors, was challenged by a social science approach that aimed at cultural understanding and at a secular solution to Indian problems. It was the anthropologist now, not the missionary, who was at the cutting edge of Indian-policy reform.[71]

Some people retained the strong assimilationist attitude, but others sought to bring about "Indian reform." Reformers wanted to rehabilitate the Indians economically and spiritually. They wanted to restore the pride of the Indians in their cultures and heritage. They also wanted to reestablish tribal governments. The Indians who were supposed to be a vanishing race which numbered only about 240,000 in 1900 grew to about 360,000 by 1950.[72]

In a few decades, federal policies regarding Indian education periodically swung back and forth. Around 1930 the Bureau of Indian Affairs began to advocate

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69 ibid., 55-56.

70 ibid., 56-59.

71 ibid., 60.

72 ibid., 57.

bilingualism, Native teachers, and the elimination of boarding schools.[73] In 1933 President Franklin Roosevelt appointed John Collier as his new Indian commissioner. Collier was a reform minded commissioner, who tried to change federal Indian policy and the Dawes Act of 1887 with new legislation.

The new legislation was called the Wheeler-Howard bill and called for Indian Self-Government; in effect it was meant to turn back the clock and reinvent autonomous Indian communities based upon communal living. It promoted education, land reform which was to return lands to tribal ownership, and it established a Federal Court of Indian Affairs to settle legal problems the Indian communities had.

Much to Mr. Collier's surprise he faced resistance to his reforms not only from Congressmen, but from Indians as well. The reason Indians opposed the Wheeler-Howard legislation is because the situation had changed and many Indians had become acculturated and did not want to lose what they had. Amendments were made to the bill and in 1934 the Indian Reorganization Act to conserve and develop Indian lands and resources; to grant certain rights of home rule and to provide vocational education for Indians was passed by Congress.[74]

After World War II the United States became more conservative; this previous period of reform, where the thrust was to encourage Indian cultures, was followed by a period in the 1950s, which called for "termination" of the policies that Collier had inaugurated. Termination meant the end of the special relationship and responsibilities the federal government had as guardian of the Indian people and the end of funds for

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[73] Darnell, Frank. "Education Among the Native Peoples of Alaska." *Polar Record* 19, no. 122 (1979): 435.

[74] Prucha, *Documents of United States Indian Policy*, 222-228; and Prucha, *The Indians in American Society*, 62-66.

federal programs. Indian and white activism opposed and halted the policy of termination because it was felt that the Indians would be set adrift without federal help.[75] Nevertheless, federal policies began to revert back toward assimilation of Indians, the elimination of bilingualism and the use of boarding schools.[76] These policies did not change again until the 1960s under the administrations of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

If a federal Indian policy of complete dependency and assimilation did not work, and if termination was not an acceptable federal policy for Indian people, then what was? In the 1960s federal officials thought they had the key in economic development. This was the decade of the "Great Society" of President Lyndon Johnson and the civil rights movement.[77] Federal policies under the Great Society began to address the issues of righting civil wrongs and the promoting a pluralistic society. Frank Darnell also notes that in the 1960s there was a widespread demand by Native groups for changes in Native education programs. Kelly states that there were two main trends in federal Indian policy after the 1960s that extend to the present day. Those trends include huge increases in funds for programs such as health and education; and the growth of pan-Indian organizations that emphasized Indian self-determination through control over programs which affected Indian communities. Funds for these programs that previously were under the Bureau of Indian Affairs began to come under Indian control.[78]

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75 Prucha, *The Indians in American Society*, 68-72.

76 Darnell, "Education Among the Native Peoples of Alaska," 435.

77 Prucha, *The Indians in American Society*, 72-77.

78 Kelly, Lawrence C. "United States Indian Policies, 1900-1980." In *History of Indian-White Relations.*, edited by Wilcomb E. Washburn, 66-80. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1988, 78-80.

Thus, the history of Indian-White relations in the United States from colonial days to the present was one of federal policy by trial and error. The policies the government did try to implement were primarily driven by two factors: the desire to acquire more Indian lands for white settlement and the desire to civilize the savages who occupied those lands through a Christian education. American Indian policies were a reflection of the climate in the United States at the particular time in history that they were developed. In other words, Indian policies evolved along with the country. When America was young and had plenty of room to expand, the government just kept on moving the Indians westward. When the United States had expanded to cover the continent from sea to sea, the Indian policies began to reflect that, and Indians were removed to smaller and smaller islands of land called reservations. During colonial times when the colonies were the most vulnerable, the various Indian tribes were treated as nations with whom the Americans could make treaties as one nation would to another. Later, when America obviously had the upper hand and the tribes were decimated, the tribes were viewed as wards of the government, or dependent peoples who needed a firm guiding hand.

Some humanitarian groups were appalled at the treatment of the Indians at the hands of the federal government. At the time it appeared as though the Indians of America would go the way of the buffalo, become extinct. These reformers tried to help the Indians by pressing for a way to improve the life of the Indians. They thought they knew what would help and brought about some reforms in federal Indian policy. However, most of these reforms were implemented from the point of view of the reformers. It seemed that nobody asked the Indians what they wanted or thought they needed.

The results of all these policies and the swings from one end of the spectrum to the other were pretty much the same; the Indians lost their land base and were

restricted to life on smaller and smaller reservations. Education for Indian children meant they had to give up their language, culture, religion and economic way of life, and accept without question the culture and values of a Christian America. It is no wonder then that the Indians became impoverished, dependent and despondent.

While the government was trying to deal with the "Indian problem" through trial and error another group was interested in the fate of the North American Indians. The 1800's was a time of great excitement for Christians around the world and a great missionary movement began to bring the Christian message to all of mankind. In order to understand the background of these missionaries it is important to understand the religious and social context of the times. This spiritual revival is important not only because it inspired the home and overseas missionary programs, but also because it explains the religious and intellectual background of those who went forth to preach the Gospel to the world and to educate the heathen. It explains also how the missionary movement of the 1800's set the stage for Indian education in North America for decades.

The period of the early 1800's to the early 1900's was called 'the Second Great Awakening" because it was a period of millennial and evangelical excitement in the Christian world.[79] The "Second Great Awakening" inspired and compelled people to leave their homes for far and inhospitable lands to bring the message of Christianity to lost souls. As Phillips states:

> The missionary spirit -- in common with the whole evangelical movement of the first years of the nineteenth century -- was deeply steeped in the millennial ferment of the turn of the century. It would be difficult to understand the urgency behind the drive to convert the world in a single

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79 Phillips, Clifton Jackson. *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810 -1860*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969, 4.

> generation without pondering . . . the belief that the years were hastening on toward the millennium prophesied in Scripture.[80]

It was this spiritual fervor which sent Christian missionaries to the far corners of the world to convert the heathen. Throughout the world these missionaries adopted a similar method to civilize and Christianize the people they met - education. Thus, the foundation of the educational systems that the Christian missionaries brought to Alaska at the turn of the century were not unique, they simply reflected the beliefs and values which were part of a worldwide Christian movement.

3-2 Missionaries set the stage

Russian Orthodox, Presbyterian, Moravian, and Roman Catholic missionary groups have been involved with Alaska Natives from first contact to the present day. The Russian Orthodox Church started the first missions in Alaska. Protestant, Roman Catholic and other missionaries followed the Russian Orthodox clergy to Alaska after the United States bought Alaska from Russia in 1867.

Although Russian Orthodox missions and schools were the first in Alaska, they have received the least attention from historians, partly because most church records were not written in English and because the Orthodox were in conflict with and undermined by the Protestant Americans who came to Alaska after 1867.[81]

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80 ibid., 6-10.

81 Oleksa, Michael. *Alaskan Missionary Spirituality.* Edited by John Farina, *Sources of American Spirituality.* New York: Paulist Press, 1987, 21-23; and Dauenhauer, Richard L. "Conflicting Visions in Alaskan Education." *Center for Cross-Cultural Studies* University of Alaska-Fairbanks Occasional Paper No. 3 (1980).

The Russian Orthodox role and mission to the Native peoples is reflected in a report written by Hieromonk Dionysius in 1901:

> Our foreign missions, then, are distinctly not of a political nature. But neither do they aim at a cultural character. They do not understand their tasks in the sense of propagating European culture . . . European culture and civilization are by no means, as so many fancy, wholly an outgrowth of Christianity. European culture owes to Christianity only the little that is really noble and lofty in it . . . that mixing of spiritual goals with cultural aims . . . must lead to most deplorable results.[82]

According to Reverend Michael Oleksa, a Russian Orthodox priest and historian in Alaska, the Orthodox Church practiced a more humane approach to the needs of the Native population in Alaska than did some of the other missions. In a letter to the editor which was published in the *Juneau Empire* on June 2, 1992 he stated that:

> Historically, Eastern Orthodox missions have sought to enhance promote and fulfill the cultural expressions of nations, providing not only worship but schooling in the language of the people, sometimes devising the first alphabets and publishing the first books in a particular language. Acceptance of both the faith and of any European cultural forms were voluntary, never forced . . .The Orthodox view of mission required that these cultures be respected and blessed, not demeaned and cursed.[83]

Thus, the basis of Orthodox Church educational programs according to Rev. Oleksa was the fundamental attitude that the Native peoples could and should develop and grow through their culture and Christianity. Orthodox clergy developed Native lay leadership, bilingual educational and literacy programs, and advocated the protection of Native rights and customs.[84]

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[82] ibid., 280.

[83] Oleksa, Rev. Michael J. "Letter to the Editor: "Not all missionaries worked to eliminate Native culture"." *Juneau Empire*, June 2, 1992.

[84] Smith, Barbara. *Orthodoxy and Native Americans: The Alaskan Mission.* Vol. 1, *Orthodox Church in America, Historical Society Occasional Papers.* Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1980, 22-27; Dauenhauer, "Conflicting Visions," 1-9.

When the Americans took control of Alaska, this role and mission brought the Orthodox Church into direct confrontation with the Protestants. The Protestants perceived their role and mission in a radically different way than the Orthodox Church perceived theirs. Unlike the Orthodox Church, which encouraged bilingual education, the Protestant Americans demanded that the Native peoples learn to speak English; and opposed the teaching of Russian and Native languages.

The Presbyterians saw their role as agents of change and, from the beginning of their contact with Alaska Natives, viewed education as an "intense campaign to assimilate Indians through schooling." David W. Adams discussed "the deep meaning of Native American schooling" using the concepts of individuation, citizenship, the Protestant ethic and the paradigm of "civilization-savagism." He stated the goal of Protestant mission schools for Indians was to instill the belief that through education and a moral Christian life, they could become "civilized."[85] In other words, the Native people were to change their ways and move from a savage state to a civilized one through education and the Christian religion. In order to accomplish their goals, the missionaries saw a need to destroy the clan-based life of the Native people, and with it the authority and foundation of Native American society.

The rise of modern individualism and capitalism according to Alex Shoumatoff came from the Protestant teachings of Luther:

> Although "Luther himself hated the economic individualism of his age and fiercely attacked it in his pamphlets," Bronowski and Mazlish write, ". . . the result of Luther's divorce of man's inner life from civil activity was to free economics from ethical and religious constraints and to foster economic as well as religious individualism." Specifically, the Reformation went hand in

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85 Adams, David Wallace. "Fundamental Considerations: The Deep Meaning of Native American Schooling, 1880-1900." *Harvard Educational Review* 58, no. 1 (1988): 1.

> hand with what has come to be called the "Protestant work ethic," which helped provide the spiritual basis for capitalism.[86]

Individuation, a criterion of a civilized and Christian life, was accomplished by insisting that the Indian people move from clan houses into single family dwellings (individuation). The Native people were to change from a clan-based, sharing and matrilineal society to a Protestant work or labor, acquisition, consumer and patriarchal society. The movement into a capitalist economic system, which valued the work ethic, education and single family dwellings, also meant that the Native people needed less land in order to live. The government could then take the land from the Native people with a clear conscience, since the Native people no longer needed a large land base. The combination of religion, economics, and education justified the seizure of Native lands. In essence it was a trade: education and life for the Native people, and the land and resources for the white people.

The goals of Protestant education were therefore, quite different from the Russian Orthodox Church's goals. The "Americanization" of Native children included citizenship, patriotism, and most of all to have gratitude for all the benefits of living in a "civilized" society. In Protestant America, therefore, Native lands and resources were freed to fuel the capitalist economic system.

The American Protestants, along with other policy-makers in the 1800's believed that the Native peoples of North America had to become educated and "civilized" or they were simply "doomed to extinction."[87] In other words, the Native peoples must change their ways and move from a savage state to a civilized one through education

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86 Shoumatoff, Alex. *The Mountain of Names: A History of the Human Family.* New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1985, 121.

87 Adams, "Fundamental considerations," 1.

and the Christian religion. Weatherford quotes Thomas Carlyle in his book, *Savages and Civilization: Who Will Survive* stating that:

> The three great elements of modern civilization; gunpowder, printing and the Protestant church.[88]

The most powerful of the Protestant churches in Alaska were the Presbyterians, and the most influential of the Presbyterian missionaries in Alaska was Dr. Sheldon Jackson, who became Alaska's first General Agent of Education in 1885. Dr. Jackson recruited young college-educated missionaries from the East Coast of the United States to come to Alaska as missionaries and teachers. Together they exerted a profound impact on the education of Native Alaskans. In order to facilitate the mission work among Alaskan Natives, Dr. Jackson and other leaders of Protestant churches made an agreement to divide Alaska into spheres of Protestant influence.

Sheldon Jackson realized that Alaska was too large for the Presbyterian Church to tackle single-handed. He distrusted the Roman Catholics and considered the Russian Orthodox religion inferior. However, he welcomed help from other Protestants, and ensured that they all cooperated rather than competing in their missionary efforts.[89] As Flanders notes:

> In 1880 the Protestant Federal Council of Churches began dividing up the district of Alaska into missionary territories that partially endure today. The Presbyterians were given the North Slope and the southwest, the Moravians, the Bethel area, the Congregationalists, Cape Prince of Wales, and the Episcopalians, the Yukon River. The presence of the Russian Orthodox Church, the oldest Christian group in Alaska, was ignored, and

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88 Weatherford, Jack. *Savages and Civilization: Who will survive?* New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1994, 137.

89 Tower, Elizabeth A. *Reading, Religion, Reindeer: Sheldon Jackson's Legacy to Alaska*. Anchorage, AK: Elizabeth A. Tower, 1988, 21.

other denominations were left out.[90]

American Presbyterian missionaries sought to bring a Christian education to Native Alaskans by transplanting an idea already in use from Texas to Alaska, the boarding school. The solution to the Indian problem:

> ... existed across the Mississippi Valley to the Kingdom of Hawaii to distant China: establish a boarding school that would isolate the native youth from the 'barbarism of their parents' world' and transform them into progressive models of nineteenth-century Caucasian society.[91]

Hydaburg, Alaska, provides an example of Presbyterian and government policy. In 1880 Presbyterian missionaries were permitted to stay in the Haida village of Howkan and in 1881 the first mission school was established. The Haida are another Northwest Coast Native tribe whose traditional lands were located South of Ketchikan, Alaska and include the Queen Charlotte Islands in British Columbia, Canada.

In 1911 the Haida communities in Alaska moved to a new site which was named Hydaburg. This move was to accomplish several goals, according to a report sent to the U.S. Department of Interior Commissioner of Education by the District Superintendent W. G. Beattie. The report is dated September 1, 1911:

> I believe the establishment of this town or village under the supervision of the Bureau of Education will benefit these Natives by giving them a good water supply, thus insuring better sanitary conditions, breaking them away from some of the customs of their fathers (such as the power of the maternal uncle or granduncle over the young people) which still retard their progress, teaching them how to govern themselves, eventually establishing industries of their own - such as sawmill, cold storage plant

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90 Flanders, Nicholas E. "Religious Conflict and Social Change: A Case from Western Alaska." *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 8 Supplementary Issue, no. 1984 (1984): 143.

91 Hinckley, Ted C. *Alaskan John G. Brady: Missionary, Businessman, Judge and Governor, 1878-1918.* 1st ed. Ohio: Ohio State University, 1982, 44-45.

for fish, boatbuilding, etc. - and enabling the children to remain in attendance at school the entire school year.[92]

When Hydaburg was established in 1911, the Haida moved from their clan houses into single family dwellings. This move not only symbolized a break with the past, but also effected a change of consciousness. The Haida moved out of a clan-based economic life into a capitalist economic system; and once in that system they did not migrate as much, which made it easier to keep the children in school.

The Moravians came to Alaska in 1884 through an appeal made by Dr. Sheldon Jackson.[93] They were also Protestants and were closely associated with the Presbyterians. Under the plan set forth by Dr. Jackson in 1880 they were given the Kuskokwim and Nushagak valleys in Southwestern Alaska as their area or sphere of influence.[94] They considered these valleys as theirs, even though the Russian Orthodox Church had missions there since the 1700s.[95]

Within two years, the Moravians started schools for the Eskimos of the area. It was noted that adoption of a routine was extremely difficult for a people who did not know the meaning of keeping a schedule. Some of the children found it so difficult that they ran away and some "were whipped for violating the missionaries' moral standards based upon nineteenth-century Euro-American ideals."[96]

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92 Beattie, W. G. "Bureau of Education: Alaska School Service Report." : United States Department of the Interior, 1911, 5, U. S. Federal Archives, Anchorage, AK.

93 Oswalt, Wendell H. *Mission of Change in Alaska: Eskimos and Moravians on the Kuskokwim*. San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1963, 17.

94 Tower, *Reading, Religion, Reindeer*, 21.

95 ibid., 40.

96 ibid., 35.

According to Wendell Oswalt there was considerable conflict between the Moravian missionaries and the Russian Orthodox Church over the role the missions were to play in the lives of the Native peoples of the area. The Moravians saw what they considered to be neglect by the Orthodox Church. Moravian complaints against the Russian Orthodox clergy included the following: Orthodox services were in Slavonic; there was no preaching; Natives could not read the Bible for themselves; there was no teaching of the children; religion had no outward effect upon their lives; priests did not visit; and there was no "vital Xianity taught the people, or practiced by the priests."[97]

Nevertheless, the Moravians were faced with a moral dilemma: "Most of the people they were trying to convert had already been accepted in the Russian Orthodox Church."[98]

Although the Russian Orthodox Church might be faulted for some of the above complaints, many Eskimos remained Orthodox in spite of "vigorous Moravian efforts."[99] In fact it may have been the more relaxed attitude of the Russian Orthodox Church which appealed to the Eskimos:

> Apparently many Eskimos at this time reasoned that if they were going to be Christians it was more convenient to be Orthodox than Moravian. Since the priests put in an appearance only rarely, they did not interfere significantly with the Eskimos' traditional way of life; furthermore, the priests were forgiving and very human in their own behavior. In contrast, the Moravians were always traveling about to encourage, in fact to require, strict adherence to their body of doctrine, and they required faithful attendance at their services. The Russian Orthodox Church had by this time also become identified with aboriginal time in the minds of the people.[100]

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97 ibid., 39.

98 ibid., 38.

99 ibid., 40.

100 ibid., 40.

Therefore, like the Presbyterians who also had conflicts with the Russian Orthodox clergy, "from the very beginning the Moravians engaged in the well-established missionary practice of 'soul snatching,' but this was unavoidable after their selection of the Kuskokwim as their Alaskan area of interest."[101] The depth of the cultural differences between the Moravian missionaries and the Native people is obvious from the statements made by the Moravian missionary, William Weinland:

> Life is to them one prolonged series of sufferings; such as but few could endure, & yet suicide is unheard of among them. They are deeply rooted in their habits & manner of living, & it is a difficult matter to get them to adopt even the most striking & most evidently necessary changes. White men had been living in their midst for half a century, and yet today their mode of living is rude, uncivilized, filthy. Taken as a class, the Yuutes are dishonest, thievish, and their word cannot be trusted.[102]

At first the Moravians did not fully understand the religious and ceremonial life of the Eskimos, but they later took a firm stand against any manifestation of the aboriginal religious life and initiated active steps in its suppression. This policy, with minor deviations, was to become more firmly fixed during subsequent years.

For example, John Kilbuck, a Moravian missionary, wrote to William Weinland:

> You remember the masquerades. At the time we could not condemn them, because we were unacquainted with their nature. Now, however, that we know that they are no more than heathen rites, the one grand religious ceremony of the year, we have condemned them, and seek to suppress them.[103]

Kilbuck later reported that in less than ten years there was no "masquerade" held in six major Kuskokwim villages. However, he states that the process of "undermining the old

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101 ibid., 75-76.

102 ibid., 28.

103 ibid., 76.

led to internal village conflicts of unprecedented proportions."[104]

The circumstances of Moravian missions were somewhat different from that of the Presbyterians, but their aims and goals were very similar. The changes missionaries sought reached deep into the daily lives of people: they involved changes of residence, such as removing young boys from the *kashgee* (a common dwelling); changes in proper Western social behavior in marriage and family life; and adaptation to a new religion and educational system.

The Roman Catholics, the fourth mission group, were left out of the Protestant agreement dividing Alaska into spheres of interest. Nevertheless, as Flanders notes:

> The Catholic Church did not see this division as a restriction on establishing itself in Alaska. In 1886 Archbishop Seghers of Vancouver decided to explore the new possession of Alaska and set out with two Jesuit priests . . . and they started missions in Nulato and Anvik . . . at Holy Cross[105]

The Catholics set up churches and missions in the 1800s in Ft. Wrangell, Sitka and Juneau and in the 1880s along the Yukon River in Nulato, Anvik and Holy Cross. The Sisters of St. Anne and the Jesuits also established hospitals and schools in Juneau and along the Yukon River. Sister Margaret Cantwell, S.S.A., wrote about the difficulties the Catholics and all missionary groups had in teaching a nomadic population in the late 1800s:

> Evangelizing a scattered population that moved seasonally from one camp to another, seemed impossible for the few priests available for the task and caused the Jesuits to resort to a boarding-school concept. Children could come for intensive education along all lines, including - as was then thought essential - a standard of white acculturation. The boarding school would also take care of the orphaned and the needy. Holy Cross, or

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[104] ibid., 78-79.

[105] Flanders, "Religious Conflict and Social Change," 143.

> Koserefsky as it was then called, was the chosen site for the mission school.[106]

In the early 1800s, the Catholic Church, as well as other churches, received government support for their missions; during the 1890s government support for mission schools ended and the trend was toward more secular schools. The Catholics felt, with good reason, that these secular schools were just Protestant schools in disguise. Dr. Jackson, who served as General Agent for Education in Alaska after 1885, found it quite easy to supply the proper missionaries to teach in the various government schools. "Thus, while the schools were supposedly non-sectarian, it was often people associated with a particular mission who filled the teaching positions."[107]

Flanders suggests that the Protestant-Catholic conflict had less to do with religion and more to do with a Protestant dominated America:

> There is some suggestion that the conflict was more complex than one over the conversion of souls, and that nationalism might have played a part. Education in the Lower 48 Indian schools was aimed at imparting Christianity as a way of inducing appreciation for Americanism.[108]

The late 1800s saw Protestant Americans feeling threatened by a growing number of Catholics immigrants from Europe who threatened Protestant dominance of American culture. The focus of the struggles between these two groups was the American school. The Catholic and the Russian Orthodox churches in Alaska were not in a position to dominate Alaskan education in the same way Protestant groups could.

Thus, from whatever angle one wants to look at the history of Alaska Native

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106 Cantwell, Sister Margaret. "Special Testifiers to the Truth - - The Sisters of Alaska." Paper presented at the The Church In Alaska's Past, Anchorage, AK 1979, 78.

107 Flanders, "Religious Conflict and Social Change," 144.

108 ibid., 145.

education, it has been saturated with the imposition of foreign ideals, customs and laws. The Native peoples have had to respond to those attacks on their language, culture, traditions and their lives in a way that allowed them to survive. Alaska Native education, therefore, has been a story of survival.

3-3 Epidemics and survival

As the missionaries were conquering the Natives souls, disease was overcoming their bodies. Catastrophic population losses suffered by the Tlingit and other Native Americans from first contact had important ramifications. It led many concerned people to conclude that if the Indians were to survive, they had to become educated, civilized and Christianized. With this view in mind, governments left the education and the fate of the indigenous peoples in the hands of Christian missionaries. Some of the orphans left behind by the tragedies of the times were rescued by missionaries and educated in mission schools. The choice for indigenous peoples became either education or extinction.

The devastation created in the Americas by epidemic outbreaks of influenza, smallpox and other diseases caused many people to believe that the indigenous peoples were doomed to extinction. For some Americans, extinction was the goal. Ted Hinckley citing Henry M. Field in *Our Western Archipelago* gives an example of the attitudes Mr. Field found on a steamer bound for Alaska:

> Indians are not good for much anyhow. They are lazy, dirty, and shiftless. We shall have to get rid of them some way. But we need not trouble ourselves about it; only let them alone, and they will get rid of themselves. Whiskey will do the business better than fighting. We have only to let whiskey come in freely, and in this way we shall civilize them off the face of the earth. It is only carrying out the law of the fittest, which is the great law of nature. The Indian must go, as other feeble races have gone before

him. It is the will of the Almighty. [109]

According to Robert Boyd before "the arrival of the Europeans in 1774 as many as 200,000 Native Americans inhabited the Northwest Coast culture area, making it one of the most densely populated nonagricultural regions of the world. Within 100 years the aboriginal population had declined by over 80 percent."[110] He further states that:

> Before the arrival of the Euro-Americans the Northwest Coast like the rest of the Americas, seems to have been relatively free of lethal infectious diseases. One summary lists only a dozen important infectious diseases that are probably native to the western hemisphere (M.T. Newman 1976). None of these belongs to the class of high-mortality density-dependent diseases that regularly caused demographic havoc in the Old World. Once smallpox, malaria, measles, influenza, and the others arrived in the Pacific Northwest in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, they caused a population decline of unprecedented dimensions.[111]

Pre-contact Tlingit population is estimated to have been about 14,800. After several smallpox and measles epidemics there were in 1835 an estimated 9,880 Tlingit and by 1890 there were about 4,500.[112] As epidemics and trade weakened and changed social patterns and structures, the indigenous populations of Southeast Alaska began to lose control over their lives.[113]

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[109] Hinckley, Ted C. "Some Biased Observations on the Christian Missionary." Paper presented at the The Church in Alaska's Past, Anchorage, AK, 1979, 39.

[110] Boyd, Robert T. "Demographic History, 1774-1874." In *Northwest Coast*, edited by Wayne Suttles. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990, 135.

[111] ibid.,137.

[112] Boyd, "Demographic History, 1774-1874," 143-144.

[113] Napoleon, Harold. *Yuuyaraq: The way of the human being*, *Center for Cross-cultural Studies*. Fairbanks, AK: College of Rural Alaska, 1991.

Chapter Four– Rudolph Walton and Sheldon Jackson School

4-1 Rudolph meets Sheldon Jackson

It is not clear to my family how our ancestors first came to know Dr. Sheldon Jackson and the Presbyterians. In the back of my grandfather's 1900-1904 diary there is a long handwritten quote. The quote begins with "p 324." I later found, during the course of my research, that the quote is from Robert L.. Stewart's book *Sheldon Jackson: Pathfinder and Prospector of the Missionary Vanguard in the Rocky Mountains and Alaska.*

The passage is about a trip Dr. Sheldon Jackson made by canoe to visit the older Christian missions of the Methodist and Episcopal Churches at Fort Simpson, British Columbia and Metlakatla, Alaska. He wanted to inspect their plans and methods of labor among the Indians. He felt that these missions had been in operation long enough to test the efficiency of their methods. Therefore, in 1879 Dr. Jackson decided to make the trip by canoe, as there was no other way to travel.

By chance, a large canoe came from Chilkat country, loaded with furs and bound for Fort Simpson. He arranged passage with the six Christian Indians from Fort Simpson who were part of the crew. Also among the crew, according to Jackson, there were twelve Chilkat pagans including a chief and a medicine-man or shaman.[114]

Stewart wrote during that trip that Dr. Jackson had a conference "with two of chiefs of the Chilcat tribe, who declared their desire to give up their heathen practices

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114 Stewart, Robert Laird. *Sheldon Jackson: Pathfinder and Prospector of the Missionary Vanguard in the Rocky Mountains and Alaska.* New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1908, 321-324.

and learn the better way, as soon as a teacher should be sent to them." [115]

The following is the quote Rudolph Walton copied into the back of his diary. It represents an exact quotation from Stewart's book.

> Thus the way was prepared, through danger, exposure and unusual hardships for a fuller development of the work in Alaska. A few years later, Sheldon Jackson had the privilege of receiving into the church some of his fellow voyagers of the Chilcat tribe. One of them was accompanied by his son, a lad of ten or twelve years. Afterwards, this boy was educated at Sitka, and Dr. Jackson had the joy of receiving him into the church on confession of his faith. This boy, Rudolph Walton, is a successful manufacturer of native jewelry. He owns a jewelry store in Sitka, and for many years has been an active ruling elder in the native church of that place.[116]

The quote in Rudolph Walton's diary continues with a passage from pages 336 to 338 of Stewart's book. The passage discusses the founding of the Sheldon Jackson Institute. It begins with "One of the most valuable adjuncts of the mission at Sitka was an industrial school for boys, which had been opened in an abandoned building belonging to the government, in November 1880."[117]

Entries in my grandfather's diaries indicate how he may have become aware of this and other books. He wrote on June 26,1930: "J. H. Condit buy a book of Dr. Jackson." And on June 28, 1930 Rudolph wrote:

> . . . We just came in from Lazaria Island, Alaska, by Sheldon Jackson, a book cost me $2.35.

The quote from Stewart's book is also copied in the back of his diary for the years 1927-1931. James H. Condit was the Superintendent of Sheldon Jackson School from

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[115] ibid., 324.

[116] ibid., 324.

[117] ibid., 336-337.

1921 to 1930. So, it seems some books about Presbyterian history were brought to my grandfather's attention by Mr. J. H. Condit. I believe the passages copied into my grandfather's diaries reflected the importance he placed on that historical account and the influence it had on his life.

4-2 The coming of the Presbyterians

The Presbyterians were motivated by the belief that the political, economic, and spiritual destiny of the United States depended upon what happened in the western expansion of the country.[118] Their fervor to convert more people to their faith included a historical emphasis among church members on education.[119]

Presbyterian emphasis on education was noted in an article entitled "Higher Education" published in *Presbyterian Home Missionary*, August, 1882, by the Board of Home Missions:

> Notwithstanding our high regard for the work of Home Missions we think there is no work or interest at the present time that surpasses in pressing importance the subject of education.

The article goes on to quote a Dr. Paxton, in his sermon before the Pan-Presbyterian Council at Philadelphia:

> Another characteristic of our Presbyterianism is its educational character. Our historian Bancroft," he adds, "says that 'Calvin was the father of popular education, the inventor of the system of free schools.' However this may be, it is certain that home education, instruction in the Bible and Catechism, has been a characteristic of our Presbyterian families, and that

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[118]Olmstead, Clifton E. *History of Religion in the United States.* Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960, 238-239.

[119]Spence, Hartzell. *The Story of America's Religions.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1960, 62.

> wherever our churches have gone they have carried with them the school, the academy and the college.[120]

The Presbyterian emphasis on having college educated ministers carried over into their work in Alaska. Of all the missionaries who arrived, the Presbyterians were among the most educated. Therefore, the level of education provided to the Native people at Presbyterian schools was often of a better quality than comparable mission schools of other denominations.

Presbyterian doctrine inherited from John Calvin included the belief in predestination and the "elect" who were men led to salvation to carry out God's plans for mankind. The idea of the "elect" led to a vigorous morality and the application of Presbyterian doctrine and commandments to every detail of life. It was a doctrine of progress and it sought to impose Presbyterian ideals on all of society.[121]

Dr. Sheldon Jackson, perhaps the most notable of the Presbyterian missionaries who arrived on Alaskan shores, exemplified the values of his church at the time. An account by J. S. Brown, an Army private stationed in Wrangell, Alaska, written to his commanding officer stirred Dr. Jackson's interest in the plight of the indigenous people.

Brown wrote to the commander of the military department of the northwest, Major General O. O. Howard on March 20, 1877. The letter was taken to the 1877 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Chicago and given to Sheldon Jackson who published it in a number of church publications. This letter was published in the *Rocky*

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[120] Anonymous. "Higher Education." *Presbyterian Home Missions*, August 1882, 171 (PHS).

[121] Olmstead, 8-10.

Mountain Presbyterian by Dr. Jackson in July, 1877.[122] It set into motion events which would eventually lead to the establishment of Presbyterian missions in Alaska. Jackson appealed to Presbyterians on behalf of the Indians of Alaska and asked, "Who will go?"

> I write to you hoping that you may be able and willing to assist these poor creatures in their endeavors to learn more of the good Saviour of whom they have learned but recently. Since the advent of the traders and miners among them, lewdness and debauchery have held high carnival, and the decimation of their numbers is the result. If a school and mission were established at Wrangell there would, no doubt, be an Indian population of over 1,000 souls located within reach of its benefits . . .Can you not, will you not, make it your business to build up and foster this mission to Alaska? Send out a shepherd who may reclaim a mighty flock from the error of their ways, and gather them into the true fold.[123]

Shortly after they received this message, Dr. Sheldon Jackson and other American Presbyterians began their efforts to send Presbyterian missionaries to Alaska. Mrs. Amanda McFarland and Dr. Jackson sailed to Ft. Wrangell in 1877 and established the first Presbyterian Church and school in Alaska. Mrs. McFarland stayed in Ft. Wrangell alone and Dr. Jackson returned to start a campaign to raise funds for the Alaska missions. Dr. Jackson through the Board of Home Missions arranged in 1878 for the Rev. John G. Brady and the Rev. S. Hall Young to go to Alaska. Rev. Brady was sent to Sitka and Rev. Young was sent to Ft. Wrangell. Soon other Presbyterian missionaries followed.[124]

On March 17,1878, Reverend John G. Brady arrived in Sitka, Alaska. He then went back to Fort Wrangell and spent a month there before going back to Sitka. Brady

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122 Jackson, Sheldon. "Alaska." *The Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, July 1877, 2 (PHS).

123 Lazell, J. Arthur. *Alaskan Apostle: The Life Story of Sheldon Jackson*. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1960, 52-55.

124 Yaw, Leslie W. *Sixty Years in Sitka: with Sheldon Jackson School and College.* Caldwell, ID: Sheldon Jackson College Press, 1985, xvii-xviii.

wrote the following letter to Rev. A. L. Lindsley, D.D. from the ship "California," at sea off Wrangell. The letter sets the tone and thinking of the first Presbyterian missionaries in Alaska:

> Dear Friend -
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> I thought that I should visit Sitka by this trip of the steamer so that you might know how to advise Miss Kellogg. The way is open for her to step right in. I went with Capt. Thorn to call on Rev. N. Mitropolsky, the Russian priest. He is a young man and has a beautiful family . . . I asked where Miss K. might find a safe and quiet place, he said that she might take rooms at his house free of cost . . . They are all clean and tidy and that will be a great comfort to her after teaching dirty Indians all day . . . I inquired particularly of the danger of an Indian outbreak and the people of Sitka have no anticipation of any thing of the kind . . . We may be able to do a years work among the Indians in a month before they scatter . . . If we strike now while things are as they are we may put things in fine shape for lasting work. . . The Russians are in nowise opposed to our coming even Mr. Corcoran, a Catholic merchant welcomed me and said that he would assist from his own pocket . . . After dinner I had the Indian leaders called together and spoke to them thro' two interpreters. I would speak to Geo. Kastrometinoff and he would translate in Russian to an old man who was for many years in the service of the Russian Am Fur Co. and this old fellow would speak and gesture it off in the Indian tongue to Chiefs. Every now and then a chief would give vent to his thoughts in a gesturing and animated speech. I told them my object in coming among them and sang them a couple of hymns. They said that some of the generals had promised them missionaries, but they never came . . . They had a Russian priest once but since the U.S. Gov. had bought the country they had been neglected - that they had all gone into bad ways again but when they learn of God they will give up their bad ways - that they were very glad that I came and that they believed I was their friend - that if they could not learn at school they would make their children go . . . I feel favorably impressed with Sitka and all that I saw of the Indians. They are self supporting and many are rich. The children are as fat and playful as pigs. If we could only separate the Indians from the whites, they would make the most rapid progress in all that is good.[125]

The Rev. John Brady held his first church meeting in Sitka on April 11, 1878, on

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[125]Brady, John G. to Rev. A. L. Lindsley, Jackson Collection, March 17 1878, (PHS).

Castle Hill and with the help of some Indians, an old army barracks was quickly transformed into a Presbyterian Church and school.[126] At Brady's first prayer meeting, he could not understand a word of what one elderly Indian was saying, but was so moved was John by the man's intense and dignified supplication, however, " I could not help crying." [127]

From approximately 1878 to 1885 we know very little of the life of Rudolph Walton. What we do know comes from articles written about him during that time period by other people. We also have diaries and hand written speeches from later periods in his life where he describes that period in his own words. Through those articles and his later writings we get glimpses of what life was like for the man later described as the "oldest pioneer student of the Sheldon Jackson School, Rudolph Walton."[128]

Shortly after he arrived, the Rev. Brady was joined by Miss Fanny Kellogg, and together they opened a school for about 50 Indian students on April 17, 1878. Initial progress was rapid. In a few weeks Brady and Miss Kellogg reported that:

> It is a real pleasure to teach these people, for they are anxious to learn, and take right hold. They have bright intellects. The progress which they have made in the past month is a matter of amazement to me. There are thirteen now reading in the primer, and twenty-five have learned all the large letters. We have but six primers. This want of apparatus retards the work very much. Miss Kellogg has been careful to see that they do not learn in the parrot manner. They are taught the meaning of what they learn.[129]

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126 Yaw, *Sixty Years*, xvii.

127 Hinckley, *Alaskan John G. Brady*, 31-34.

128 Walton, Rudolph. "Sheldon Jackson and Alonzo Austin." unpublished, 1924, 3 (SJSL).

129 Jackson, Sheldon Rev. *Alaska, and Missions on the North Pacific Coast*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1880, 207.

On Sundays Rev. Brady held church services for both Indians and whites. During the summer of 1878 Rev. Brady made several trips to the Tlingit communities outside of Sitka. He recounted some of his experiences in his letters to Sheldon Jackson. He wrote: "the women are comparatively unpolluted and the children are numerous. They have constant communication by canoe with Sitka and Fort Wrangell. We should make this one of our chain of mission stations among the Thlinket speaking people."[130]

Rev. Brady wrote the following letter to Sheldon Jackson on July 9, 1878:

> We came across one of the leading men. He was dressed in citizen's clothes & had a good canoe & three strong men. We took him on board & he showed us some good testimonials which had been given to him without solicitation. The next day he came and brought another leader with him & his son. This gave me an opportunity to speak to them for Shukoff my interpreter was with me. They all knew what was going on in Sitka. After talking to them for sometime They replied they that they been told that there was a God -That they believed that there was but that they knew very little about him. They would be very happy to have some one come & teach them what is right & what God wants them to do. I asked if they would like to have their children go to school. They replied "very much but we are afraid that they can't learn well like the children of Sitka for they are close to white men & hear them but we do not know one word." I assured them that the children would do well for they would have less to draw them away from school. They said that their people wanted to become civilized.[131]

According to Dr. Sheldon Jackson, the school opened by John Brady and Fanny Kellogg in Sitka closed in December, 1878, after only eight months. The school was reopened in April, 1880 by Olinda Austin. Miss Austin's parents, Rev. Alonzo Austin and Mrs. A. E. Austin, were commissioned to Sitka, as Presbyterian missionaries in 1881. The school had approximately 103 day students by 1880. It was divided into two sections. Alonzo Austin taught Russians, mixed races and whites. Olinda Austin and

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130 Hinckley, *Alaskan John G. Brady*, 37-38.

131 Brady, John G. to Rev. Sheldon Jackson, Jackson Collection, July 9,1878, (PHS).

John Brady taught some 60 Indian youth. John Brady left the school in May, 1880, but the day school continued under the Austins.[132]

Some students asked to be allowed to live in the school in the Spring of 1881. The old Russian hospital building was prepared by the U.S. Navy as a school and boys' home that year and named after Sheldon Jackson as the Sheldon Jackson Institute. Although Sheldon Jackson was not living or teaching in Sitka at the time, he was serving as a fund-raiser and advocate for the school and the missions in Alaska while he traveled throughout the United States funded by the Presbyterian Church.[133]

The first students slept on the floor of the new Sheldon Jackson Institute and were responsible for hunting and preparing their own food. This would have been the period when Rudolph Walton first attended the school.

The school building was destroyed by fire in January, 1882 – the year Rudolph later described in one of his talks to students at Sheldon Jackson School. According to a former superintendent of Sheldon Jackson School, W. Leslie Yaw, a temporary dormitory was set up in an old stable, under which the tide rose to within one foot of the floor.[134]

In several handwritten speeches, written in the years following his graduation from Sheldon Jackson School, Rudolph Walton often spoke of the hardships he and the students suffered in order to learn about God and get an education. He praised the work of the Reverend Alonzo Austin when he spoke about those hardships in the early history

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132 Jackson, Sheldon. "Official Historical Statement: The Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in Alaska from 1877 to 1884." Sitka: Presbytery of Alaska, 1884, 5, (SJSL).

133 ibid., 5.

134 Yaw, *Sixty Years in Sitka,* xix.

of the Presbyterian mission in Sitka:

> Rev. Austin was a fathful [sic] sower, and very successful. But not all the times did he have success. He start the school in Sitka, in 1880, a home for the boys, but the home got on fire on the 24th of January, 1882. Mr. Austin and the boys had very, very hard times because the home was destroyed by fire. The boys have no place to stay. Mr. Austin ask the boys if they want to go back to they fathers. The boys answer "no sir, we stay with you," and the brve [sic] boys stay in one of the stables during the coldest winter in January, 1882.[135]

Rudolph would have himself been one of those "brave boys." He ended one of his talks to the students of Sheldon Jackson School with: "Boys and girls of Alaska you be wise to chose the way. . . . to wisdom. This is the advice of the first student of Sheldon Jackson School, Rudolph Walton."[136]

In the winter of 1882 Rev. Alonzo Austin wrote of other hardships they suffered in the *Presbyterian Home Missionary*, a monthly newspaper published by the Presbyterian Church in New York City.

> We had to close our school two weeks in June, on account of sickness; black measles, scarlet fever, and diphtheritic sore throat prevailed to such an extent that nearly all the children in our day-school were sick at home, and eleven of the Home boys were down at one time. . . . Only two of the Indian children have died thus far; several are sick at present, and I fear one or two will not recover. Forty of the Russian children have died, being fully a third of them. Many of them come after me now when their children are sick. . . The father of one of our Home boys died last week from heart disease. One woman is in the last stages of consumption. [137]

The students at Sheldon Jackson Institute worked hard and without supervision at times and in ways we cannot comprehend now:

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135 Walton, *Sheldon Jackson*, 3.

136 Walton, *Sheldon Jackson*, 1.

137 Austin, Alonzo. "Alaska." *Presbyterian Home Missions*, December 1882, 285. microfilm (PHS).

> . . . Mr. Styles has been off with the boys for the past month, getting our winter wood. . . . Mr. Styles left them the day before with a boat load of wood, intending to return the next day to help them, but a favorable wind came up, and the tide being in their favor, they started off, and were on the water all night, rowing in a boat and using a sail on the raft. They wanted to be sure and get back for the Sabbath services. This shows the spirit of the little fellows.[138]

In another account:

> Twenty-three of our Indians went on board of the U.S. steamship to work for a month; quite a number in this way are learning to speak English. Several of them, in this way, have made money enough to build small houses; several have been put up this summer, with two or three windows in each; they are buying cook stove, dishes. etc. This is progress in the right direction, and we do all we can to encourage them.[139]

Dr. Jackson campaigned across the United States to raise funds for a new building and the Women's Executive Committee for Home Missions also began raising money and sending materials to assist the efforts.

In September, 1882, Dr. Jackson came to Sitka to select a new location for the school and to supervise its rebuilding, which would now be known as the Industrial Home for Boys. There were approximately 271 students at that time. Some were day students and some boarded at the home. That same year John Brady donated 160 acres he had claimed as a site for the new school.

Another excerpt from the *Presbyterian Home Missionary* depicts what life was like for the students at that time, including Rudolph Walton.

"ALASKA," A.E.Austin's Report, Sitka, December 1, 1883

> . . . Saturday evening we were much alarmed by one of the girls who gave the alarm of fire; we thought at first the roof was on fire. The older boys

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138 ibid., 285

139 ibid., 285.

were promptly on hand, Archie, John and Rudolph, with the fire-extinguisher, which they have been taught to manage. Miss Linnie provided the girls with water-buckets, and they were very calm, and obeyed orders implicitly. Upon investigation, we found that one of the chimneys was on fire; our happiness was soon restored. . . [140]

Sometime during 1884 members of the Women's Executive Committee for Home Missions visited Sitka. The Women's Home Missionary Society coordinated fund-raising for the Presbyterian mission schools from the beginning of the mission in Alaska. Mrs. Haines, the Secretary of the Committee, later received a letter from Rudolph Walton published in the Presbyterian newsletter that same year. At the time of this letter, the Home Mission Society's main office was in New York City.

Presbyterian Home Missionary
SITKA, ALASKA, SEPTEMBER 11, 1884

DEAR MRS. HAINES: I though I would write to you a little letter this time. We felt so sorry when you left us, we think for the words which people gave us, we learn something from it. I going to try the way the Boston man lives in this world if I can. I praying for you people to get to you home well. I pray for your people who pray for us, so to live nicely in this world. I love to think about you long as I live. When I think about you I feel in my heart that I will see you in my old eyes. I hope all the people that live in every countries have Jesus in their heart and found the way the good people goes, that is all I have to say.
Good bye, good bye, Dear Mrs. Haines I hope you write to me sometimes.
Rudolph Walton[141]

The above letter was written when Rudolph Walton was about 17 years old. At the time the letter was written, he would have completed about four years of formal, Western education. The letter indicates that Mr. Walton had accepted the Christian

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140 Austin, Alonzo E. "Alaska: A.E. Austin's Report." *Presbyterian Home Missionary*, Feb. 1884, 42, microfilm (PHS).

141 Walton, Rudolph. "Letter to Mrs. F. E. H. Haines." *Presbyterian Home Missionary*, February 1885, 45, microfilm. (PHS)

teachings and felt a relationship to the people who had financially supported his education.

Rev. Austin provides the following account of those years, also published in the *Presbyterian Home Missionary.*

> Since the decision of Judge Dawson, remanding the Indian boy Kou-ke-tah, who ran away from the Home, and whose mother tried to keep him in our custody, telling the Indians who were in the court-room at the time that the "Home" was the best place for their children, and that they must stay until their time was up, we have had no trouble with the children or with the Indians inciting them to run away. The school is closed at present, and our gang of boys are off cutting wood, returning every Saturday night with a raft of logs, landing them on the beach in front of the house, while another company are off catching salmon and salting them down for the winter. Last week they put up sixteen barrels; caught at one draw of the net one hundred and fifty two fish, weighting from ten to fifteen pounds each. The boys are very fond of fishing, and they change about from cutting wood one week to fishing the next.
> The Ranch seems quite deserted, so many of the Indians are away working in the mines, drying fish for winter, and tending their gardens, etc.[142]

The Rev. A.E. Austin wrote in 1895 about the organization of the first Presbyterian Church in Sitka. According to his historical account "The first Presbyterian Church (Thlinget) was organized Sept. 7th, 1884–with forty nine members-the result of a precious revival among the scholars of the school."

> Some of their parents were gathered in the Master's fold at this time. Of the thirty-two scholars who united with us at that time, sixteen have passed over to the church triumphant on the other side.[143]

Indeed Volume 12 of the scrapbooks of Dr. Sheldon Jackson contains a

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142 Austin, A. E. "Sitka, Alaska." *Presbyterian Home Missionary*, October 1886, 235, (PHS).

143 Austin, Alonzo E. "First Church Organization." *The North Star*, January 1895, 1 (PHS).

September 7, 1884, list of members of the Presbyterian Church. Many Native members of the church are listed by both their Native and American name. The list included the following with the last name Walton:

Doos-uch	Mrs. Ida Walton (my grandfather's mother)
	Delia Walton (grandfather's sister, also known as Susie)
	Nettie Austin Walton (grandfather's sister, died 12/24/1884)

And listed as a student of the Industrial Home for Boys was Rudolph Walton.

The listing for Rudolph Walton on the Jan. 1, 1885, church membership roll for the Sheldon Jackson Institute was the following with the notation "time expired":

Ko-wood Rudolph Walton Kak-sah-te age 18 [144]

The list of students for May, 1885, does not contain his name again, therefore it seems that Kaawootk' or Rudolph Walton probably attended school from about its inception in 1880 through 1885, or almost five years. He would have been about eighteen years old in 1885.

In 1888, after Amanda McFarland's school for girls in Wrangell, Alaska burned and she and her students moved to Sitka, thus providing the first co-educational institution. Under the supervision of Dr. Jackson, more buildings were constructed including laundry and hospital wards, industrial buildings and eight model cottages were erected, as well as the beginning of the work on what was to become the Sheldon Jackson Museum. [145]

In 1895 the name of the school was changed to the Sitka Industrial and Training

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144 DeArmond, R. N. to J. Walton Shales, personal communication, Jan. 7, 1994.

145 Yaw, *Sixty Years*, xix.

School. The Sitka Industrial and Training School became known as Sheldon Jackson School in 1911 and this is the name that will be used throughout this dissertation.[146]

4-3 The underpinnings of Native education in Alaska

The foundation of Native education in Alaska was laid in the early Indian policies of the United States government and the missionary movement to provide education for North American Indians. The 1867 "Treaty of Cession" laid the foundation for relegating the Alaska Native people to the status of "subjugated peoples." The viewpoint it expressed set the tone for the way in which the American government related to Native peoples for the next century. That viewpoint affected not only Natives in the Lower 48 states, but the attitude toward Native people in Alaska. It became the underpinnings of Sheldon Jackson School. It also sets the stage for the later conflicts between Alaska Natives and the educational and justice systems, conflicts in which Rudolph Walton was to play an integral part.

The language in Article III of the "Treaty of Cession" offers important insight into the American view of the rights of indigenous peoples. It states:

> The inhabitants of the ceded territory . . . with the exception of uncivilized native tribes, shall be admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States, and shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion. The uncivilized tribes will be subject to such laws and regulation as the United States may, from time to time, adopt in regard to aboriginal tribes of that country.[147]

Together, the Treaty of Cession and the 1871 U.S. Appropriation Act, which provided for the termination of treaty making with Indian tribes, relegated the Alaska

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146 ibid., xx.

147 Lautaret, Ronald, ed. *Alaskan Historical Documents Since 1867*. Jefferson: McFarland & Co., Inc., 1989, 3.

Native peoples to the status of "subjugated" peoples by creating through American laws a "father-child," or wards of the state relationship between the American government and Native tribes.

The Russian government had recognized any Native who became a Christian in Alaska as "civilized" and therefore a citizen of Russia. That category included most of the Aleut Natives who became Christian under the period of Russian domination of Alaska, but it also pertained to any Natives. When the United States took over Russia, their view was that almost all of the Natives in Alaska were "uncivilized." This viewpoint particularly affected the Tlingit, because they had not come under Russian domination, nor were they controlled by outside influences.

U. S. government neglected Alaska for about twenty years after the purchase. No provision for education in Alaska was made from 1867 to 1884. Although the municipality of Sitka established and maintained its own public school for children of white residents from 1869 to 1873, missionaries and the Alaska Commercial Company (Pribilof Islands) provided whatever education that was available to the Native people during that period.[148]

Then in 1884 Congress passed the First Organic Act, making education of all children in the District of Alaska the responsibility of the Secretary of the Interior. The Bureau of Education under the Department of the Interior made contracts with different Christian denominations from 1885 until 1894 to provide education in public and "contract schools." Contract schools were run by the churches and primarily addressed Native education.

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148 Barnhardt, Carol. *Historical Status of Elementary Schools in Rural Alaskan Communities 1867-1980*. Fairbanks, Alaska: University of Alaska, 1985 ed., 2; and Getches, David H. *Law and Alaska Native Education.* Fairbanks, AK: University of Alaska-Fairbanks, 1977, 3.

Alaska's First Organic Act established a form of civil government for the District of Alaska with the seat of government in Sitka. Section 13 of the Act made a provision for education:

> That the Secretary of the Interior shall make needful and proper provision for the education of the children of school age in the Territory of Alaska, without reference to race, until such time as permanent provision shall be made for the same, and the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary is hereby appropriated for this purpose.[149]

In 1894 the U.S. Bureau of Education became responsible for all public education when the government withdrew support from "contract" schools. In 1905 Congress passed the Nelson Act, which established public schooling for "white children and children of mixed blood leading a civilized life."

At that time the U. S. Bureau of Education became responsible for the education of Native children. Thus, Alaska, by 1905 had a "dual system" of education. The federal system under the Department of Interior was responsible for Native Alaskan education, and the Territorial system under the supervision of the governor was responsible for the rest.[150]

According to Darnell, from the time of purchase in 1867 to Statehood in 1959, educational programs in Alaska reflected the national educational goal of a single American culture;

> The territorial curriculum had been designed primarily for the non-native population and thus the seeds of discontent on the part of the native people were being sown. All but the last territorial commissioner of education, who served from 1952 to 1958, supported the policy that native education was the responsibility of the federal government. A change in

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149 Lautaret, *Alaskan Historical Documents Since 1867*, 40.

150 Barnhardt, *Historical Status of Elementary Schools*, 2.

> attitude was reflected in new territorial policies in the 1950s when the first serious attempts were made to transfer federally run native schools to territorial control. A number of federal schools were transferred to the territory in this period, further increasing the number of native pupils in a system that in the beginning had been designed for non-native pupils.[151]

During the early period of education in Alaska, however, Dr. Sheldon Jackson, the first General Agent of Education in the state, and other Presbyterian missionaries greatly influenced the course of Alaskan education for both Native and non-Native students. This was possible, because Dr. Jackson and the Presbyterians had the ear of Protestant members of Congress and the President of the United States. In addition they were already providing the majority of educational services for the Native people of Southeastern Alaska.

The Bureau of Education in the Department of the Interior was legally responsible for providing education for Alaska's children from 1885 without regard to race.[152] However, from 1885 the Secretary of the Interior "used his authority and annual appropriations to establish some schools, mostly by entering into contracts with churches and missionary societies."[153] In this way a Moravian school was established at Bethel and schools were operated in the Yukon and Nushagak Valleys, Point Barrow, Point Hope, and Cape Prince of Wales. In addition, the government provided contracts to four existing Presbyterian schools and established new schools at Juneau, Sitka, and Unalaska.

This contract arrangement provided a formal alliance between the government and the mission schools and helped provide financial support for these efforts. In

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151 Darnell, "Education Among the Native Peoples of Alaska." 434-435.

152 Getches, *Law and Alaska Native Education*, 2.

153 ibid., 3; and Barnhardt, *Historical Status of Elementary Schools*, 2.

addition it helped facilitate the missionary work of the Presbyterian Church, by appointing Dr. Sheldon Jackson "a controversial figure in Alaska" as Commissioner of Education.[154]

In 1894 support for contracts with mission schools began to be phased out and eventually withdrawn. Two years later, in 1896, the Department of Interior Appropriations Act stipulated that it was the policy of the federal government to make no appropriation for Indian education in sectarian schools.[155] The following year the Secretary was only allowed to contract with mission societies where "nonsectarian schools can not be provided."[156] Thus, the Bureau of Education maintained only public schools in Alaska after 1894.

In the 1890's gold was discovered in Alaska. The subsequent increase in the non-Native population due to gold rushes led Congress on June 6, 1900, to pass an act granting non-Native communities of over 300 people the authority to incorporate, establish schools, elect school boards, and fund them through taxation. This act had a limited effect on the territory, because so few communities were large enough to incorporate. However, it did give "exclusive supervision, management and control" to school boards and was funded by 50 percent of license fees paid by the business and residents of a community.[157]

The Nelson Act passed by Congress on January 27, 1905, made the governor of the territory the ex-officio superintendent of public schools and provided for the

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154 Getches, *Law and Alaska Native Education*, 3.

155 ibid., 4; and Barnhardt, *Historical Status of Elementary Schools*, 2.

156 Getches, *Law and Alaska Native Education*, 4.

157 ibid., 4.

establishment of schools outside of incorporated communities, thereby creating a dual system of education in Alaska. Section 7 of the Act states:

> That the schools specified and provided for in this Act shall be devoted to the education of white children and children of mixed blood who lead a civilized life. The education of Eskimos and Indians in the district of Alaska shall remain under the direction and control of the Secretary of the Interior, and schools for and among the Eskimos and Indians of Alaska shall be provided for by an annual appropriation, and the Eskimo and Indian children of Alaska shall have the same right to be admitted to any Indian boarding school as the Indian children in the States or Territories of the United States.[158]

4-4 The curriculum at Sheldon Jackson School

Former Sheldon Jackson Superintendent W. Leslie Yaw, in his book *Sixty Years in Sitka: Sheldon Jackson School and College* described the curriculum of the school during its early years. The emphasis of the curriculum was on the three R's, reading, writing and arithmetic, and practical skills, including shoe-making and carpentry.[159]

Rudolph Walton attended the mission school sometime shortly after it opened and when it was in its infancy. The exact date he began attending is not clear, but it was most likely between 1879 and 1880. The first school opened in April 1878 and then closed in Dec. 1878. The school when it was in operation during this period was divided into two sections. Olinda Austin and John Brady taught sixty Indian youths and Rev. Austin taught the Russians, mixed races and white youths. The students asked to be allowed to live in the school in 1881 and that was the beginning of the Industrial Home for boys in Sitka. Yaw notes that there were only six books, and one blackboard to start with; they managed to find more books, benches and other materials. By the summer of

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158 Lautaret, *Alaskan Historical Documents*, 50-51.

159 Yaw, *Sixty Years in Sitka*, xix.

1881 the staff and students had planted trees and a vegetable garden. There also was a dormitory which had thirty beds, a bathroom, kitchen, dining room and a hospital room. The 25 boys in the Home were furnished with blue denim overalls, jackets and two sets of underwear.[160]

The building burned in 1882 and had to be rebuilt, but in the meantime the boys lived in a stable, and Rudolph noted in his talk about the difficulties the students and staff faced in the beginning of Sheldon Jackson School. In the fall 1882 Dr. Jackson selected a new location for the school and supervised the rebuilding of it. In 1888 the school became co-educational and more buildings were added.

Rudolph would have attended the school and lived in the home for boys early in its inception (1879-1880) to December 1885. At that time very rudimentary subjects must have been taught because the students and the staff were also preoccupied with the building of the institution. I believe Rudolph received perhaps four or five years of education at Sheldon Jackson School at the most and while he was receiving that he was also helping to build the school.[161]

Rudolph wrote about the importance of education and the difficulties the first students of Sheldon Jackson School and the missionaries faced the early years of the school in a talk he apparently gave to students in 1926. The Sheldon Jackson Stratton Library has two original hand-written copies of those articles written by Rudolph Walton. The first article is about Sheldon Jackson. Rudolph wrote:

> Sheldon Jackson was the pathfinder and a path maker to Alaska. Childrens have been without schools, just a few schools. The lifes [*sic*] was not complete without education. Dr. Jackson, he was a channel. He opened the way to education, Dr. Jackson start to planting the seeds of

160 ibid., xvii-xix.

161 ibid., xvii-xix.

> educations frist [sic] in 1878. In the beginning of the Sheldon Jackson School, in November 1880, he started to sowing good seeds for the Kingdom of God. This little plants, it start to growing upward high and higher and biger [*sic*] and wider. And on the same plants, the peoples begin to see lights of Jesus and Salvation and edcation [*sic*] and benefits for the poor peoples which were in darkness before. Boys and girls are all invited to get you(r) shares now. The door is open to you. Sheldon Jackson win the fights for you and your children. Sheldon Jackson School is a beautiful plant and full of good edcation [*sic].* It grows like a flowers. It grows in summer and winter. And God himself shined upon it, and blessed it. Boys and Girls of Alaska, you be wise to chose the way to find the way to wisdom. This is the advice of the frist [*sic*] student of Sheldon Jackson School. Rudolph Walton.[162]

The second article written by Rudolph Walton is about the Rev. Alonzo E. Austin.

Rudolph wrote:

> . . . Mr. Austin came to Sitka in 1879, forty seven years ago. Mr. Austin worked for nineteen years in Sitka, among the Thlingets of Sitka. The Sitka peoples have been dieing [*sic*] in darkness, without salvation of Jesus Christ, for many, many years. All man and womans and the poor childrens have been perishing away for nothing, dieing [sic] in darkness, without any hope of salvation. Lifes have been saved by Rev. A. E. Austin. Many, many souls have been saved for the Kingdom of God. Now a great Church in Sitka. A great many thanks to the Board of Home Missions for sending pioneer student of the Sheldon Jackson School.
>
> Rudolph Walton[163]

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[162] Walton, Rudolph. "Sheldon Jackson." , 1926, 1 (SJSL).

[163]ibid., 2-3.

8. Students at the Sitka Industrial Training School (1894). (Photo from the Wilbur family collection)

9. The Boy's Corps at Sheldon Jackson School, with Frank Price as the drummer and Dr. B.K. Wilbur, standing with sword. (Photo courtesy of the Sheldon Jackson College Library, E. W. Merrill Collection, M-IV-435. Reprinted with permission.)

10. Group photo taken in Sitka, Alaska, circa 1906. Rudolph Walton is the man holding a baby in the back row, 2nd from the right. The baby is William Rudolph Walton,the eldest son of Mary and Rudolph Walton, who was born in 1906. Mary Walton is the woman standing in the 2nd row, 6th from the right, she is wearing a light colored blouse and has her hands on the child in front of her. (Photo courtesy of the Alaska State Library, E. W. Merrill Collection, PCA 57-204. Reprinted with permission.)

Chapter Five– Rudolph Walton's Life After Sheldon Jackson School

5-1 Family life begins in the Model Cottages

In June 1883 Mrs. Willard, a missionary woman who was in Sitka for a short time, wrote about Tlingit marriage customs in the *Presbyterian Home Missionary.* She wrote this story about the Presbyterian mission in Sitka when my grandfather was about sixteen years old and still a student at school:

> There are now 24 boys in the Home, whose ages range from eight to seventeen years. Most of them are quick to learn and some show quite an aptness for trades. . . I heard of a council they held alone one night, just after the old Indians had been trying to prevail on Rudolph (who is about sixteen years of age) to become the husband of the old widow of his Uncle Chief, that he might inherit the property.
>
> Rudolph could not be persuaded, and that night there was a very free expression of opinion by all the boys. . . .Several of the boys have selected their wives to be . . . . now that they are in the new house, it is the intention to admit girls also.[164]

According to this story Rudolph had been prevailed upon to marry the widow of his uncle. However, he chose to marry Daisy Jackson, another student at the school and did so in 1885.

The Daily Sitka Sentinel ran this excerpt from the December, 1885, issue of *The Alaskan* on January 12, 1980:

> Two pupils at the Mission were married there by the Rev. Alonzo Austin on Dec. 24. They are Rudolph Walton and Daisy Jackson. Walton has been sponsored at the school by a Bryn Mawr, Pa., clergyman named Walton and has taken his name.[165]

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164 Willard, Mrs. E. S. "Alaska." *Presbyterian Home Missionary*, Vol. XII, No. 6, June 1883, 140-1 (PHS).

165 Anonymous. "From the Past." *The Daily Sitka Sentinel*, January 12, 1980 (ASHL).

Daisy Jackson, a Kaagwaantaan, was born in 1868 to Chees-nea (the spelling of Daisy's father's name on Daisy Jackson Walton's death certificate) and Mary Jackson. My grandfather noted in his diary on February 9, 1901, "I am write to my Father in law Mr. Tom Gees-ne-ah." I am sure that the spelling of these two names is a example of how the name sounds to different people when they transliterate it into English.

The Tlingit name of Daisy Jackson's mother, Mary Jackson, is listed in Presbyterian records as Kah-nok-ku-ga. There is a notation next to her name which says "Daisy's mother (Mary)." Daisy may also have had the Tlingit name, Teensheek. She was the sister of Augustus Bean, the caretaker of the *Gooch Hit* Sitka Kaagwaantaan clan house. Augustus Bean was the cousin of Rudolph's father, Gun-nah-heen.

The Presbyterians had a plan to move their graduates into the adult world. They felt that they needed to protect their graduates from the vices of not only the Tlingit community, but from the rougher elements of the white community as well. They were especially concerned about protecting the young Tlingit women from white males. Therefore, they tried to organize the marriages of their students and the housing of the young married couple after they graduated from Sheldon Jackson Institute.

> Rudolph, the first boy married in the "Home," is working in the mines at Silver Bay. The Superintendent likes him very much, he is so industrious and trustworthy. They pay $2 per day and board. He is saving his money to build a Boston house upon our mission land. We feel that he is a credit to our Institution, and we have others like him.[166]

The *North Star*, a monthly publication of the Presbyterians at the Sheldon Jackson Institute which began publication in December 1887, gives us some important clues about the missionary approved courting process. Whether or not they knew of any

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166 Austin, A. E. "Sitka, Alaska." *Presbyterian Home Missionary*, October 1886, 235, (PHS).

other processes among their students and the Tlingit community regarding the arranging of marriages is not clear.

One article in 1889 gives us a clue as to how the courting between students of the school was controlled. A young man from the school who wished to visit "his girl" sought the permission of the principal of the school to do so. The principal limited the time of the young man's visit with "his girl" to one hour because the young man had been infringing "upon the discipline of the school" by gradually lengthening his visits past the approved time limits. The young man objected and said one hour was "too short; just like one minute." He was able to talk the principal into an hour and a half visit.[167]

In the February 1889 issue of the *North Star* there are two articles which discuss the issue of marriage and housing for graduates of the school. One article described the marriage of two couples from the school and two couples from the Ranch or Tlingit part of Sitka. The two couples from the school would be moving into houses on the "Mission ground" which the boys had helped build and which were partially furnished. The two couples from the Ranch had been married "according to Indian custom" but wanted Rev. A. E. Austin to marry them "Boston style." Rev. Austin also said that, "We are likely to have an epidemic of matrimony this winter, several of the inmates of our Home having all the symptoms now."[168]

The other article is a report about the activities of the Sitka Industrial School. Mr. Kelly, the author and editor of the *North Star,* tried to answer the question "what will become of the boys and girls when they leave school." He said it was a problem "our

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[167] Jackson, *The North Star Dec. 1887 to Dec. 1892*, 94.

[168] ibid., 58.

friends must help us solve." He said the three cottages which had been built and the three new cottages were forming a new village "away from the contaminating influence of uncivilized life." And he said, "We aim to keep the girls in the 'Home' until they get married and then we assist them to begin housekeeping for themselves."[169]

In November 1888, *The North Star* made a plea for funds to build new model homes for the institute's graduates. The article explained that through the efforts of "Home Building" Committee of the Women's National Indian Association that three model homes were being built in Sitka and that three couples were waiting for them to be completed so that they could get married. It described the houses as model cottages which were small two story buildings which the young couple then paid for on the installment plan. The article then went on to explain why it was necessary to encourage the young people to marry upon graduation and move into the model community they were building. The Church they said had taken Native children out of their own homes which were dirty and filled with superstition and placed them in schools, gave them a good elementary education and taught them trades. The purpose of this effort was to lead the students into a civilized way of life. It was thought that it was safer for the young people to marry upon graduation, but that:

> They ought not to be allowed to return to the home of their fathers, for that would both be distasteful to the young people, who have learned better ways, and tend to push them back into the barbarism from which the Missionaries had rescued them.[170]

On March 13, 1889, it was recorded in the *North Star* that two couples were united in marriage by Rev. Mr. Austin and that the "married couples will go to

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169 ibid., 59.

170 ibid., 47.

housekeeping at once in their neat and cozy cottages."[171]

Thus, Rudolph did not marry the widow he reportedly had been prevailed upon to marry but, he did marry a young woman of the "opposite side" or of the Wolf/Eagle moiety, a Kaagwaantaan. Rudolph and Daisy Walton, graduates of Sheldon Jackson Institute, could read, write and speak English when they married.

The Walton-Jackson marriage was not just between two people, it continued Tlingit social custom and was "an alliance between two family lines in opposite moieties." It was a marriage between two people of the appropriate status and lineage and reinforced the bonds between the two lines.[172] It is not clear if church authorities understood this or not. As later events show Tlingit social customs did cause a great deal of trouble for families like the Waltons and the Jacksons.

Governor John G. Brady wrote in 1902 to Rev. George F. McAfee in New York regarding the future of the Sitka mission: "The boys and girls who have married early and who have settled in the cottages have made the best showing, in fact have done and are doing as well as the average whites."[173]

Presbyterian records also show that in 1885 , the same year Rudolph Walton and Daisy Jackson married, James Jackson and Delia (Susie) Walton were married. It appears that Rudolph and his sister, Delia, married a brother and a sister. Both marriages appear to be examples of marrying according to Tlingit custom, in addition

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171 ibid., 66.

172 De Laguna, Frederica. *Under Mount Saint Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit.* Vol. 7:I-3, *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1972, 525.

173 Brady, John G. to Rev. George F. McAfee, Letter from the Gov. of the District of Alaska, March 24 1902 (PHS).

to the fact that the marriages were approved of by the Presbyterian Church as well.[174]

The Walton family seemed to have had a happy life. Rudolph Walton noted in his diaries for January 6, 1900, that, "I stay in home at the cottage a happy Christian home." He also recorded on May 19, 1900, "We have a New Baby in our home. Lucky day New Baby born. Nothing like Christian home Happyest [*sic*]." At the end of 1900 on December 30th he wrote, "Stay in home at Sitka. I went out to see about the canoe. I paid six dollars for it. I have a Rest at home, Happy."

As Rev. Austin noted in January 1895:

> Rudolph Walton, our beloved Elder, is settled in a neat and tidy home, built on mission ground, which he has paid for on the installment plan. He has an interesting family of four children. The two oldest, a boy and a girl, he has recently placed in the Home, showing at least that he appreciates the Home. His Mother and Grandmother live with him; they talk to them in their native tongue, and Rudolph say that the children "get mixed."[175]

The first record about the Walton children is found in church records. Antoinette Walton's baptism is recorded in church records on February 6, 1887.[176] The second Walton infant was Thomas Walton born July 3, 1887, and baptized on August 14, 1887.[177] These two infants were baptized in the same year, however Antoinette was probably born in 1886. The third Walton child was baptized on May 11, 1890; her name was Mary Elizabeth Walton.[178] The fourth Walton infant recorded in church records was

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174 *Session Records of the Sitka Presbyterian Church*, 271. (PHS)

175 Austin, A. E., *First Church Organization*, Sitka: Jan. 1895, 1 (PHS).

176 *Session Records of the Sitka Presbyterian Church*, 255.

177 ibid., 257.

178 ibid., 266.

William Walton who was baptized on January 4, 1891.[179]

The US census records for 1900 indicate that Mr. and Mrs. Walton could read and write English; and that Thomas Walton at age ten was a pupil at the Sitka Industrial Training School. Mary at age eight was listed as attending school. Only William the youngest at four years of age was listed as unable to read or write in English.

These are the four children that I believe are mentioned in an article on "model cottages" written in August, 1895, by Dr. B. K. Wilbur. He first described the model cottage the Walton family lived in and then went on to say that "our hostess, if we ask her will produce her four little ones, clean and neat, bright faced chubby youngsters, two boys and two girls."[180]

Dr. B. K. Wilbur wrote that at that time there were eight model cottages and which exhibited "in part, the fifteen years of effort for the betterment of the condition of the natives." They were, he said, "perpetual arguments in favor of Christianity and education." Each cottage was named after patrons who contributed money toward the building of the cottages. For example there were the Bryn Mawr, Miller, Cobble, and Northfield cottages. Dr. Wilbur wrote that a cottage in Alaska is much like a cottage in Pennsylvania; the real interest is in the people who inhabit the cottage. For instance, the first cottage is called the Miller cottage after Rev. W. H. Miller, D.D. whose Sunday school helped finance it:

> We notice the neat board walk and gravel walks around the side as we approach. A bright faced native woman opens the door and answers our inquiry that her husband is in the shop - a small structure to the right . . . . The room which is a parlor and sitting room, about twelve feet square - carpeted, sofa at one side, rocking chairs, table and book case, as we

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179 ibid., 267.

180 Wilbur, Bertrand K. "The Model Cottages." *The North Star*, August 1895, 1(PHS).

> should find in any comfortable home. Mrs. Walton, for that's our hostess' name talks but little for you are strangers and although she speaks English she has the native shyness of her race. [181]

Dr. Wilbur then described the cottage's furnishings to show that people who inhabited a model cottage in Sitka, Alaska are not much different from people who live in similar homes in the state of Pennsylvania:

> In a small room adjoining this sitting room we find a cabinet with some pretty china and a few odd trinkets treasured by the family. The dining room and kitchen in the rear though less pretentious are neat while up stairs the two bedrooms are furnished with bed steads and the usual furniture. [182]

However, this wasn't a home in Pennsylvania because, "some native basket and bead work will be brought out for you to inspect and to buy if you wish."[183]

Dr. Wilbur wrote that the model cottages were nearly alike with varying degrees of neatness and comfort. They are "all models for the generally wretched and dirty houses in the Indian village." These houses because they are "on the mission grounds are under the supervision of the superintendent of the mission." The "inmates" of these cottages are all Christian Native young men and women who were trained in the mission school, and who were "encouraged to settle here." Dr. Wilbur also said that the majority of the young people were industrious, earnest Christians, self supporting, self-respecting and a living example and stimulus to the other Natives. They were a witness to the power of the gospel.[184]

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181 ibid., 1.

182 ibid., 1.

183 ibid., 1.

184 ibid., 1.

What did it mean that the model cottages were under the supervision of the superintendent of the mission? According to *The North Star and The Northern Light* dated August 1898, it meant that the superintendent of the mission and the Presbyterian Church had a great deal of control over the lives of married adults who lived in homes they helped pay for and build. The list of rules and regulations which the inhabitants of the "Model Cottage Settlement" had to declare they would live by were as follows:

> We, the people of the Westminster Addition to the Village of Sitka, Alaska, in order to secure to ourselves and posterity the blessings of a Christian home, do severally subscribe to the following rules for the regulation of our conduct and town affairs:
>
> 1. To reverence the Sabbath and refrain from all unnecessary secular work on that day; to attend divine worship; to take the Bible for our rule of faith; to regard all true Christians as our brethren;and to be truthful, honest and industrious.
>
> 2. To attend to the education of our children and keep them at school as regularly as possible.
>
> 3. To totally abstain from all intoxicants and gambling, and never attend heathen festivities or countenance heathen customs in surrounding villages.
>
> 4. To strictly carry out all sanitary regulations necessary for the health of the place.
>
> 5. Never to alienate, give away, or sell our land, or building lots, or any portion thereof, to any person or person who have not subscribed to these rules.

The residents of the cottages had to date, sign and have witnesses to their declaration that they would lead a life based upon the declared principles.

The principle that would give the cottage residents the most trouble was the promise to never participate or countenance heathen festivities or customs. A promise that would prove very difficult to keep. Most of the residents and students had one foot in each world; they had strong relationships with their family and kin in the Tlingit

community and they were trying to meet the demands of the Presbyterian missionaries who felt that the Tlingit needed a complete makeover.

The Walton family lived in their cottage from about 1885 through 1904. During that time the family experienced both the joys of life and its difficulties. Rudolph spent his days working as both an artist and a merchant. He also practiced the subsistence lifestyle of his people, which included hunting, fishing, and gathering of seasonal foods. I believe Rudolph moved out of the cottage after his wife died and he remarried. The family moved perhaps because there was a continuing conflict with the Presbyterian Church over Mr. Walton's second marriage. His twenty-two year old son, Thomas Walton, is listed as the occupant of the cottage in the 1910 U.S. census records. In 1910 Rudolph and Mary Walton were listed as living in the Sitka Tlingit village along with their children, Mary aged twenty years, William aged three years, Dora aged eleven years, and Tillie aged nine years.[185] I believe the plot of land where the Miller cottage stood is now the home of Daisy (Daniels) Jones, the grand-daughter of Rudolph and Daisy Walton.

5-2 Rudolph Walton as a policeman

The U.S. Army served as the official United States presence in Alaska from 1867 to 1877. The Army was withdrawn from Alaska to fight the Nez Perce in the south in 1877. Between 1877 and 1879 U.S. Revenue Cutters with cannon served the same purpose. In 1879 the U. S. Navy was sent to Alaska when the white citizens in Southeast Alaska feared the Indians were plotting to attack them.

Victoria Wyatt explained that by 1878 almost all North American Indians in the United States had been forced onto reservations by treaty or by military force. Brigadier

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185 "United States Census 1910." Alaska, Sitka Native Village Sheet 25, and Sitka Cottage Settlement, Sheet 26 (U.S. Federal Archives, Anchorage, AK).

General Oliver Otis Howard who was a special Indian Agent for the U. S. government in 1870 and met with Indian leaders in Southeast Alaska in 1875 was the military leader who fought the Nez Perce in the American Northwest in 1877.[186]

When General Howard was in Sitka he met with Indian leaders and quoted in his report to Congress what Chief Annahootz had to say about the situation of the Tlingit in Sitka. Annahootz said his people were just now beginning to get along with the white people in Alaska, but that there were some injustices that the Tlingit resented. Annahootz also made an interesting comment that indicated his concern for his people. He said that he had "spent sleepless nights thinking for the interest of his people. Wants a good teacher; will build him a school-house."[187]

Later in January, 1880 Chief Annahootz, who was about 60 years old at the time, along with Chief Katlean who was about 40 years old, met with another military leader, Navy Commander Beardslee. It was Commander Beardslee who in order to preserve order created the Native Police force. He supported the Tlingit power structure and appointed local leaders such as Annahootz and Katlean as police officers. Commander Beardslee tried to reduce social conflict as much as possible using the Tlingit system of justice when it did not conflict directly with U. S. laws.[188]

On January 1, 1891 Lyman E. Knapp, Governor of the District of Alaska, appointed Rudolph Walton as a private in the Indian Police Force. Mr. Walton served in that capacity until his discharge on March 31,1898. He received a salary of $10 per

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186 Wyatt, Victoria. "Ethnic Identity and Active Choice: Foundations of Indian Strength in Southeast Alaska, 1867 - 1912." Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1985,25-26.

187 Howard, General O.O. "44th Congress, 1st Section, Senate, Ec.Doc. No. 12." : Secretary of War, 1875, 7(SJSL).

188 Wyatt, "Ethnic Identity," 76-88.

month during the period of his service.[189]

5-3 Rudolph Walton as an artist, merchant, hunter, and fisherman

Rudolph Walton earned his living in many different ways. He lived the life of a subsistence hunter, fisherman, trapper and he carved Tlingit art and jewelry out of gold, silver, wood and ivory. He also owned a store which sold general merchandise along with Native-made arts and crafts.

Mr. Walton worked almost every day of his life. My uncle told me that he worked on his carvings whenever there was a break in the work at camp and when fishing. In the April, 1895, issue of *The North Star*, there is an article by Dr. B. K. Wilbur about Rudolph Walton's jewelry and artwork. He wrote:

> We call attention to the advertisement of Rudolph Walton, a former mission boy. We can state that he is thoroughly reliable and deserves patronage. Gold and silver rings and bracelets are on hand and made to order. Rudolph also makes napkin rings, sugar tongs, sardine and pickle tongs, olive forks, gravy ladles and spoons of all sizes, and a number of patterns, from coin silver. He is constantly adding to his designs. On of the newest and prettiest is a souvenir spoon with Mt. Edgecombe engraved in the bowl and a totem handle. All of the engraving is done by himself and the engraving is in the curious designs common to the Alaskan Indian. Should you visit Sitka you will enjoy visiting his workshop, near the Miller cottage and just beyond the Mission hospital. We can assure you a courteous reception as Rudolph speaks English well.[190]

In the August 1892 issue of *The North Star,* Rev. A. E. Austin wrote a long article about the purpose of educating Indians. He said he was often asked by visitors what the Indian children would do when they left the Presbyterian mission school. Rev. Austin stated that there was an abundance of latent talent in the people and that their skill in

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189 Morgan, T. J. to Lyman E. Knapp, Washington D. C.: Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, April 23, 1891(Alaska State Historical Library).

190 Wilbur, B. K. *The North Star*, April 1895, 2 (SJSL).

making canoes, wood carving, basket weaving and silver smithing proved it. He then wrote about an example of the children's skills and talents exhibited when they left school. Austin wrote that since Rudolph Walton got married, he worked at his trade when he could find employment making about $ 2.50 to $3 per day. I believe his trade was that of a carpenter. When Rudolph could not get work in Sitka, he had to go to Juneau and work in the mines even though he did not want to leave home. Austin went on to say that when Rudolph found so many tourists visiting Alaska eager to purchase curios of various kinds as mementos of their visit, he thought by making items for sale to tourists, he could stay at home and still support his family. Rudolph then decided to make silver spoons of various shapes and patterns. Austin said Rudolph's services were always in demand at a good price after that first summer.

Austin described how Rudolph designed and made his first tools. Rudolph needed an engraver for his work and made one out of old razor, setting it into a lead handle. He also needed something to form the bowl of the spoon, and for this he found a large wheel, some two inches thick made of a very hard wood, lignumvitae. It had belonged to a block from some ship's tackle and with much labor he scooped out of this block, and made molds of different sizes for the bowls of the spoons. Rudolph also made a few punches of different sizes, from an old ax. He had an old iron ladle that he used to melt his silver in and now was ready to manufacture silverware. He did not make plated silverware, but used silver coin and soon found out how much silver was required for different styles.

> The right amount of silver is now melted and poured into a mould cut in a block of wood, this formed a short bar which has to be heated and hammered out several times before it is brought to the required length and shape for the spoon. This is slow work as the silver soon gets cold and brittle and cannot be hammered until it is heated again. The end for the bowl is now placed over the mould cut in the block already mentioned and by the use of the wooden punch and hammer is forced into proper shape. It is now ready to be polished, this is done with file and sandpaper, etc. It is now ready to be engraved with some Indian designs, such as may be

> seen on their totem poles, the bear, wolf, raven, eagle, salmon, etc. . . Some of them have Sitka engraved on one side of the bowl and 1892 on the other. They are really beautiful and just the thing.[191]

Austin said that the demand for Rudolph's silverware grew so much that he could not keep up with the demand even though he worked day and night and that Rudolph made more money in just four months by selling his art than he would normally earn in a year. Rev. Austin also made the point that this was due to Rudolph's education at Sheldon Jackson School, but in addition to that, I believe, it was Rudolph's own ingenuity which enabled him to figure out how to work with silver, gold, ivory and wood and make works of art from those materials. Austin wrote:

> Eleven years ago he was a poor little heathen boy. In that time he has learned our language, learned the carpenter's trade, partially built, and nearly paid for , a neat little cottage on Mission ground. It is comfortable furnished with carpet, stove, beds, chairs, table, etc. . . .He has taken up this new trade and earned as much money this summer as any man in town who works at a trade. He not only knows how to make money, he knows how to save it, he does not invest it in whiskey, nor spend his time in gambling, and because some white men in the Territory with better opportunities have been going down until they are under foot, he does not by word or act try to shove them still further down. [192]

Rev. Austin ended his article with the statement: "Train them and they will find their place and work the same as other people."[193]

Rudolph also made works of Tlingit art for the Sheldon Jackson Museum. Dr. James Condit, Superintendent of Sheldon Jackson School for many years, wrote in *The Verstovian* in October 1926 about the artwork Rudolph made for the Sheldon Jackson Museum.

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191 Jackson, *The North Star*, 1973, 228.

192 ibid., 228.

193 ibid., 228.

> Mr. Rudolph Walton has just completed a very perfect "Bear Feasting Bowl" "Hootz-tsik" for the Sheldon Jackson Museum.[194]

Dr. Condit also wrote in the 1933 *Sheldon Jackson Museum Handbook*, that Walton's carving, the Bear's Nest bowl, contains over 40 insets of abalone and more than 200 pieces of walrus ivory. The maker, Rudolph Walton, wrote the following explanation:

> This is the kind of dish the old hunter used. His name was Kotz. Long time ago he was captured by the Bears and married into the Bear tribe. Later on he had sons and daughters, half men, half bear. This is the kind of dish he used, a Dish in the Bear's Nest.[195]

In 1904 Rudolph Walton carved two Kaagwaantaan Wolf house posts called in Tlingit *Gooch Hit Gaas'* for James Jackson for a potlatch held in Sitka and hosted by the Kaagwaantaan. Governor John Brady borrowed the *Gooch Hit Gaa's* and sent them to be a part of the Alaska exhibit at the centennial celebration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in Portland, Oregon in 1905. Brady wrote the following about the two house posts he was sending to be displayed in Portland to Thomas Ryan, the Chairman of the Alaska Exhibit Commission, on May 3, 1905:

> The two interior totems are the finest of the kind that I know of in the District. They were carved out last year by one of our brightest natives to ornament his own home. The painting is in the native colors - green and black and chinese vermilion which they used formerly in painting their faces. I asked for the loan of these for an exhibit and he very willingly allowed me to take them.[196]

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194 Condit, James H. *The Verstovian*, October 1926, 2 (SJSL).

195 Condit, James. *Sheldon Jackson Museum Handbook*. 1933 ed. Sitka: Sheldon Jackson Museum, 1933, 9.

196 Brady, John G. to Thomas Ryan, May 3, 1905, M340, Roll 11, Frame 456-462 (U.S. Federal Archives, AK Region, Anchorage, AK).

The house posts are now displayed in the Alaska State Museum in Juneau, Alaska. In addition, the Alaska State Museum has a bear hat or *Xoots S'aaxw* which was carved by Rudolph Walton, and a carved seal bowl thought to be made by Rudolph Walton.[197] The museum also has a Kiks.adi frog dance shirt which is believed to have been made for Rudolph to wear at the 1904 Sitka Kaagwaantaan potlatch.

Sergei Kan[198] sent a photograph to me of a carved seal bowl in Dartmouth's Hood Museum collection of Northwest Coast art. It is thought to have been made by Rudolph Walton. The museum catalog number for this piece is 46-17-9576 with the notation that this bowl was probably made by "Rudolf," a Sitka Tlingit. James Walton, Rudolph's son, has identified the piece as one which had been carved by his father.

It is very likely that more pieces of Rudolph's artwork are in other museums or collections of Northwest Coast Tlingit art. For instance the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona has a two carved items which had been attributed to Rudolph Walton or Augustus Bean. James Walton again identified the items as his father's work.

Rudolph Walton also served as a consultant to Lt. George T. Emmons, the well-known U. S. Naval officer and collector of Tlingit artifacts, stories and history. In his diaries, Rudolph wrote on Feb. 24, 1930: "I have been writing to G. T. Emmons." In the book, *The Tlingit Indians: George Thornton Emmons*, edited by Frederica de Laguna, there are several references to a Tlingit artist named "Rudolf" as well as references to a Tlingit named, "Kawootk." In a section on Tlingit art, several pages of pencil sketches of crest animals made by "Rudolf," a Tlingit artist of the Raven clan in Sitka were taken from G.T. Emmons field notebooks and used in the book to illustrate Tlingit crests. In

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[197]Alaska State Museum, Juneau, AK, no. II-B-1799.

[198]Kan, Sergei to Joyce Shales, personal communication, March 30, 1998.

the caption, the artist's name is spelled "Rudolf," but in the sketch itself "Rudolph" is written, probably by the artist. There are also several tables of Tlingit dances, names and funeral ceremonies which were compiled by Emmons from interviews with Rudolph. A note in the book states that Rudolph is possibly the same person as the man called Kawootk, a Kiks.adi Raven. Rudolph's full English name is never used in any of the information which is attributed to him or to interviews Emmons had with him. However, I am sure that the Kawootk, Kiks.adi Raven and "Rudolf" refer to information given to Emmons by Rudolph Walton.[199]

Another anthropologist, R. L. Olson, visited Tlingit communities several times between 1934 and 1954 gathering information about Tlingit life from Tlingit informants. Olson attributed to Rudolph Walton the following information about the origin of Tlingit frog emblems:

> A chief named Nixha'na took his nephews fishing for halibut. One of them hooked something big. It was a giant frog. When they hauled it near the surface a great stream of water flowed into the creature's mouth. They became frightened and cut the line. The frog sank and the fishermen came home.
> That night the chief had a dream. A "man" came to him and said, "Why did you let me go? Why were you frightened? I wanted to give you good luck." Nixhana decided to use the frog he had seen as a crest and had made a carving, painted and inlaid with abalone shell. Then the frog gave him good luck and he became rich.[200]

Newspaper articles or advertisements for Walton's store and merchandise are found in *The Alaskan*. One article entitled, "Tourists Guide to Sitka" dated June 5, 1897 notes:

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199 De Laguna, Frederica, ed. *The Tlingit Indians:George Thornton Emmons*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991, 201, 202, 279, 450-452.

200 Olson, R. L. *Social Structure and Social Life of the Tlingit in Alaska*. Edited by M. A. Baumhoff. Vol. 26, *Anthropological Records*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967, 39.

> Native Jewelry Store. - We especially recommend a visit to this little shop. The proprietor, Rudolph Walton, is a graduate of the Training School and an elder in the native church. He speaks English and what he says can be relied upon as true. The store is located among the front row of houses in the native village.[201]

An example of an advertisement for Rudolph's store, found on the front page of the Sept. 29, 1906 issue of *The Alaskan,* is as follows:

> RUDOLPH WALTON, NATIVE CURIOS. Silver totem spoons and jewelry. Wooden and ivory dishes. Paddles and canoes with Indian painting. All size baskets beautifully designed with vegetable dyes. Repairing watches, jewelry etc. on short notice. Indian dishes from $1 up. Alaska totem poles from $1 up.[202]

In his diaries Rudolph most often mentioned his daily activities which involved his work or how he was earning a living. Typical entries in his diary for 1900 are as follows:

> April 16 - I stay in home at Sitka. I have been working on a silver braclets for sale on a steamers. Very good sale.
>
> Sept. 11 - We stay out in a fishing camp we catch lots of fish again. We stay overnight again in same place. We have a very good (missing).
>
> Oct. 10 - I stay in home at Sitka. I have been working on a gold rings, and some jewelry boxs [*sic*] painting them, fine finishing.
>
> Dec. 5 - I stay in home at Sitka. I have been to camp. I set some traps for otters and minks and have been hunting for deers.

Typical entries for 1903:

> Feb. 27 - I stay in home at Sitka. I have been working in my store. I had Mr. James Jackson in my store. I paid him. H. Moses came.
>
> March 10 I stay in home at Sitka. I have been working on a silver spoons and bracelets just for sale at my store.
>
> June 10- I stay in home at Sitka. I have been working on a silver bracelets.

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201 Anonymous. "Tourists' Guide To Sitka." *The Alaskan*, June 5 1897, 1 (ASHL).

202 Walton. "Rudolph Walton." *The Alaskan*, Sept. 29 1906, 1(ASHL).

I have rent to John G. Brady (note: the Governor of Alaska) my house. $8.00.

Typical entries for 1904 are as follows:

Jan. 10 - I stay in home at Sitka, I have been to church and a meeting. I have been working on my books and accounts.

May 21 - I stay in home at Sitka, I have been working on a wooden totem poles and a wooden paddles.

Other entries included the diverse business activities Mr. Walton was involved in from 1910 to 1919.

March 21, 1910 - I stay in home at Sitka. I have been working on wooden bowls. A fine bowl - two bears.

Jan. 17, 1919 - I stay in store. I work gold bracelet. Money order was to be send to Newark. $3.

Sept. 28, 1919- I stay in store. Home, I put my boat up. Dora went to school. (Note: His step-daughter, Dora Walton graduated from Sheldon Jackson High School in 1921)[203]

Dec. 1, 1919 - I stay in store. I work on bracelet. ANB meeting.

The following entries cover the date March 21 over a five year period, 1927 to 1931:

March 21, 1927- I stay in store, I have been working on a watch repair. I and A. P. Hope start to build a gas boat.

Mar. 21, 1928 - I stay in home at Sitka. I have been working on the wood bowl and watch repairs. Lots of fish eggs now.

Mar. 21, 1929 - I stay in home at Sitka. I have been working on a gold bracelets. for Mrs. A. (note: Augustus) Bean just repair. And I also have been working on a 3 silver bracelet.

Mar. 21, 1930 - I stay in home at Sitka. I have been working on a gas boat "Biorka." I have been cleaning up very good. I fix everything.

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203 Yaw, *Sixty Years in Sitka*, 107.

> Mar. 21, 1931 - I stay in home at Sitka. I have been working on a 16 inch, Two Bear head bowl. I finished the setings [*sic*] on it. Salvation Army meeting.

A typical entry for Dec. 10 over a four year period, 1937 to 1940:

> Dec. 10, 1937 - I stay in home at Sitka. I have been working on a wooden spoons and forks.
>
> Dec. 10, 1938 - I stay in home at Sitka. I have been working on a silver pickle fork for B. K. Wilbur.
>
> Dec. 10, 1940 - I stay in home at Sitka. I have been working on a eagle bracelet.

Mr. Walton also worked on the Sheldon Jackson School and the Presbyterian Church buildings over a long period of time. There is a picture of him in a work party at the Presbyterian Church in the book Leslie Yaw wrote about his sixty years at Sheldon Jackson School.[204] Rudolph also noted in his diaries that he worked on the mission buildings almost every day from September 30, 1910 to December 3, 1910.

5-4 Difficulties to face

The year 1901 was a difficult one for Rudolph Walton. During January and February he was very sick and nearly died. He wrote: "I stay in home at Sitka. I have been very sick Right in the morning about 3 o'clock a.m. I send for Doctor B. K. Wilbur came to see me." Governor John G. Brady in a letter to Captain A. R. Couden on February 22, 1901 mentioned that: "Rudolph Walton came near to dying from pneumonia but was well taken care of in the hospital and brought through."[205]

On December 1, Mr. Walton wrote that his baby was very sick. He wrote about

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204 ibid., 42.

205 Brady, John G. to Captain A.R. Couden, Feb. 22,1901, Brady Papers, Yale University, microfilm, Juneau, AK, Reel #4, pages 198-200 (ASHL).

his sick child all through December and on the 24th he wrote: "I have lost My Baby Died this morning too bad to lost Baby but god will." On Dec. 25 he wrote: "I have been buying a coffin for the Baby." And on Dec. 26: "I have been taking the stone up to the grave 8 men helping on it." Mr. Walton had observed the Tlingit tradition of having the opposite moiety help with the funeral and set up the headstone for the grave.

On Dec. 27: "I stay at home at Sitka Un Happy home We take the Baby and berried [*sic*] the baby." And on Dec. 28 he wrote: "I stay in home at Sitka I have been working on a books I am very sorry for the Baby."

Another difficult year for the Walton family was 1902. On Aug. 11,1902, Mr. Walton wrote that he had heard his grandmother died in Sitka. He wrote: "I move my camp my grandma Died at Sitka. I am very sorrowful day." And on Aug. 19 he wrote that he sent a letter to his mother about his grandmother. This was probably his maternal grandmother whose English name was Rachel. Her grave is near Sheldon Jackson School with the inscription "Rachel August 1902."

In late September Rudolph's mother became ill. Her Tlingit name was Doosh-uch and her English name was Mrs. Ida Walton. After an illness of about a month, on Oct. 19 Rudolph wrote: "I stay in home at Sitka. I hear that my mother died this morning We are very sorrow for her She was very good." On Oct. 20 he wrote that he stayed at home in Sitka and that "I have been geting [*sic*] a coffin for mother, ($) 37.40. We keep the body in her home We are very sorrow." On the 21st he wrote: "I stay at home in Sitka. I have been writing to some friend about my mother being died we are very sorrowful."

Then he wrote that he got Mr. Augustus Bean to help with the burial and that he "paid up all the work mens on my mother burial." Mr. Bean was his wife's brother and the opposite moiety from Mr. Walton. This would be following Tlingit burial practice. Mrs.

Ida Walton's grave is in the cemetery near Sheldon Jackson School; her tombstone has this inscription on it: "At rest, Mrs. Ida Walton, Died: Oct. 19, 1902, Faith is the answer."

By Nov. 9, 1902, things seem to have calmed down and Mr. Walton wrote that he "stay in home at Sitka. I have a Rest my self With the childrens, and Daisy we have a very good time at home." Oct. 18, 1903, is the first hint that something is wrong with Mrs. Daisy Walton. Rudolph wrote: "Mrs. R. Walton she sick." On Dec. 4 he wrote this sad sentence: "I have been calling Doctor for to see Daisy No hope. I Paid him 5.00." And on Dec. 6 he wrote: " I stay in home at Sitka. I have been watching for Daisy she is very sick Baby stay home."

Daisy Jackson Walton died from tuberculosis on July 29, 1904, at thirty-six years of age. Her death certificate shows that she had two living children at the time, Thomas and Mary Walton. I assume the two other children not named had died, but I could not find a record of their deaths.

5.5 Thomas Walton at Carlisle Indian School and Whitworth College

The difficulties Rudolph Walton faced with the death of his wife continued in his life in many ways. The conflict he had in trying to live in two worlds raged not only in his involvements with the Presbyterians and the government, but within his own family as well.

Rudolph's second wife, my grandmother, was angry at Rudolph's insistence that the children go away to mission schools. She felt he was being too hard on them. Going away to school at that time didn't just mean that children were gone from home for a while, but that many children were thrown into unhealthy situations, became ill, and died at school. Our grandmother knew of these situations, and was concerned for the well-being of the children, a concern that led her to leave home in protest.

In 1903 young Thomas Walton, Rudolph and Daisy's eldest son, left home to attend Carlisle Indian School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Rudolph wrote of that day in his diary: "August 23, 1903 Sunday I stay in camp at Hot Springs, Thomas Walton went to school. I have been busy at camp." The October 1908 issue of *The Thlinget* explained a little more about how Thomas Walton and three other young men went to Carlisle in 1903:

> Five years ago, Captain Pratt U.S.A. Superintendent of the Carlisle Indian School, visited Sitka, and on his return took with him four of our boys. They entered Carlisle taking advantage of every opportunity and this summer they have all returned bright earnest young men fully equipped for life's service and not at all spoiled by their education and contact with the whiteman's ways. Paul White is with his uncle finishing his boat shop. Thomas Walton holds a position as clerk in W. P. Mills Co.'s big store in town. William Jackson is working in the mill for the same company, and Alonzo Patton has returned to finish his studies at Carlisle. The criticism so often heard that the education we give these children unfits them for life among their people does not apply in this case, for these four young men have come back and entered right into the lives of their own people and are an inspiration and an uplifting power to them. [206]

While there were benefits to the schooling, it took its toll on the lives of the Tlingit families. Our family has an important story about a love song that my grandfather composed for his second wife, Mary Walton. The story, as it was related to me, explained that there was a disagreement between my grandparents over Rudolph's emphasis on the children's education. According to family lore, our grandmother, Mary, left home due to this disagreement. And according to Tlingit tradition order to get her to come back home, Rudolph had to compose a love song, which he did.

Sergei Kan discussed the Tlingit love song as it relates to the Tlingit memorial potlatch in his book, *Symbolic Immortality*. Kan described the hosts of a memorial potlatch as playing an important part in the ritual performance of "love songs." These

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206 Anonymous, *The Thlinget*, October 1908, 2 (SJSL).

love songs were performed after the initial sad portion of a potlatch was over. The main reason for composing these songs:

> ... was to express one's feelings toward one's sweetheart or spouse. These songs expressed and evoked love, longing, rebuke, appeals for sympathy, and leave-taking. . . Despite the emphasis on one's feelings, the composer/performer never revealed his own personal identity; only his clan affiliation was known. Neither did he single out the object of his affection. The love song always addressed the children. Nevertheless, people who know the composer were often aware of the identity of the addressee. The impersonal nature of the love song allowed it to be used by other members of the composer's clan, long after his death, to address their own clan children collectively or individually. The central cultural theme of the inseparability of the individual and the group and the link between love and social identity was underscored by this important genre of the potlatch performance.[207]

My grandfather composed a love song for my grandmother which was performed at a memorial potlatch. However, the concerns raised by Mary Walton were not unfounded. Rudolph and Daisy's oldest son, Thomas Walton, died of pneumonia while attending Whitworth College in Tacoma, Washington in the fall of 1911 at the age of twenty-four.[208]

The surviving daughter of Rudolph and Daisy Walton, Mary E. (Walton) Daniels, died in Sitka on February 11,1932 from tuberculosis at 43 years of age.[209] (She was survived by her children Daisy, Martha, Elizabeth, Louise, Francis and Charles Daniels, Jr.[210])

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207 Kan, *Symbolic Immortality*, 205.

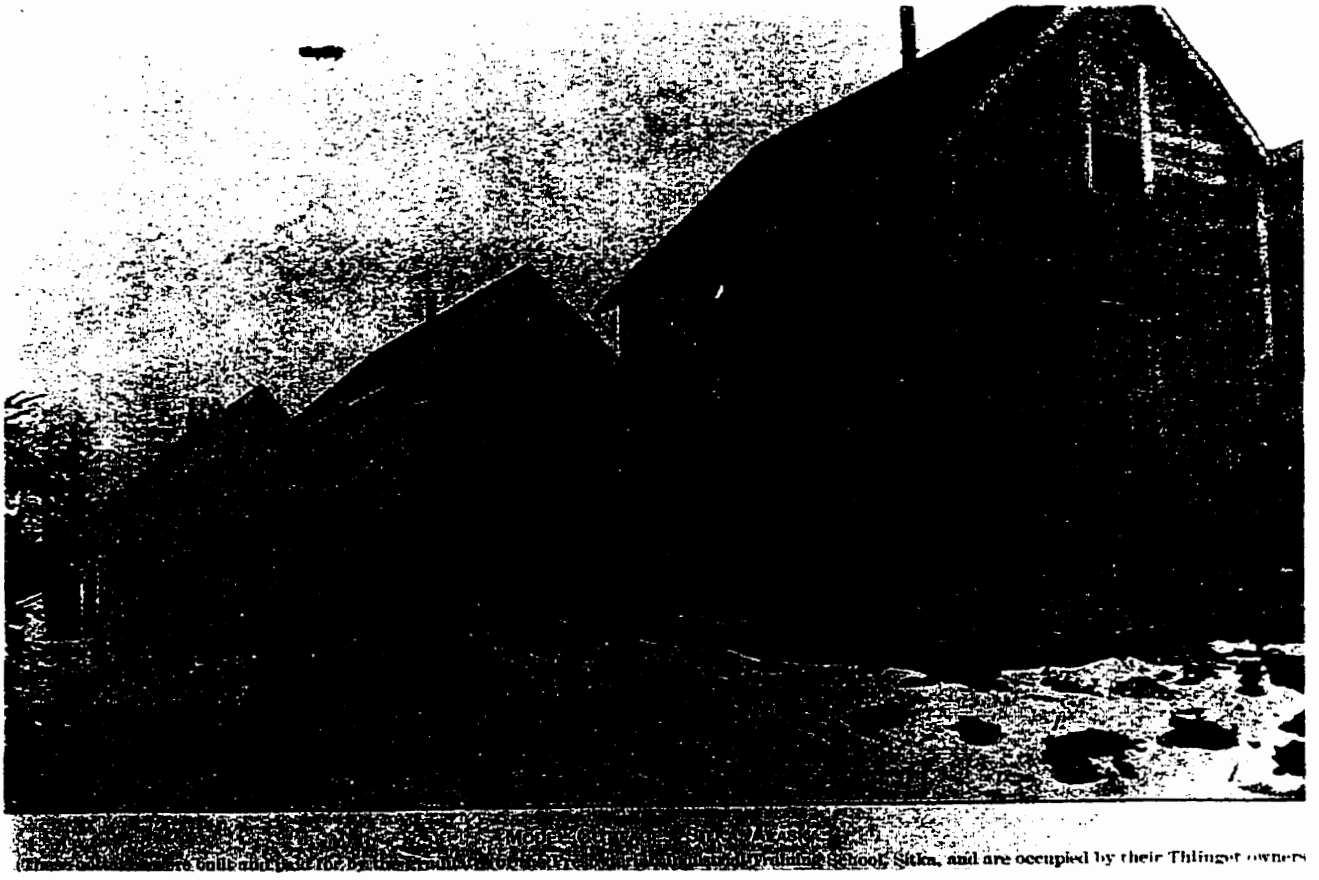
208 Beck, George J. "Thomas Walton." *The Thlinget*, November 1911, 2, Vol. 4, No. 4 (SJSL).

209 "Sitka, Alaska Death Listing for Cemeteries, Pioneer Home and Hospitals." . Sitka: Sitka Public Library, 1986, 15.

210 "Pioneer Resident, Merchant, Passes," *Daily Sitka Sentinel*, 1(ASHL).

11. Members of the Presbyterian Model Cottage Club, Sitka, Alaska, circa 1905. Peter Simpson (founding member of the Alaska Native Brotherhood) is the man in the middle of the back row holding a small girl. (Photo courtesy of the Sheldon Jackson College Library, E. W. Merrill Collection, M-II-343. Reprinted with permission.)

12. The "Model Cottage" home and workshop of Rudolph and Daisy (Jackson) Walton, Sitka, Alaska. circa 1900. (Photo from the Wilbur family collection)

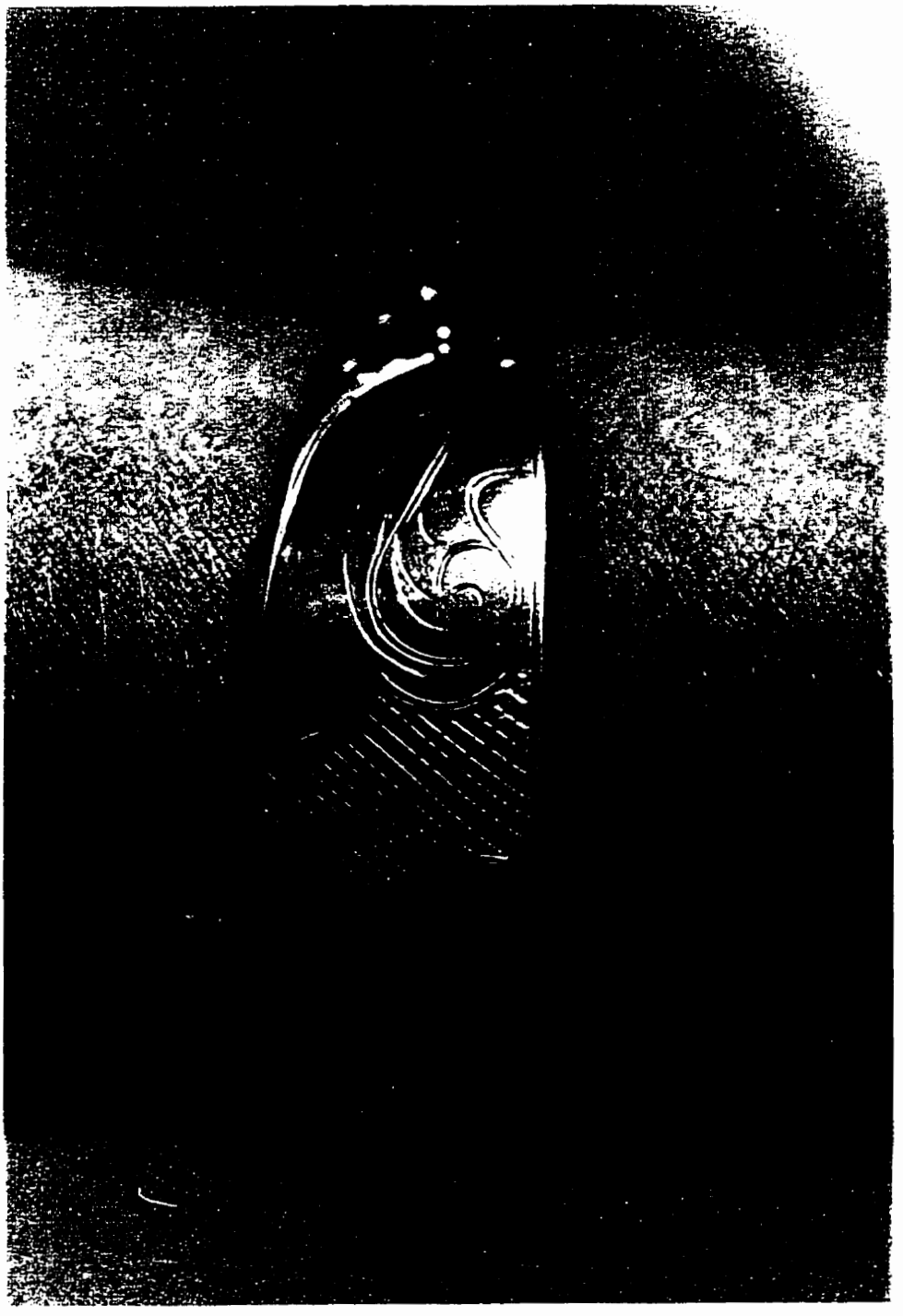


13. The "Model Cottages," Sitka, Alaska circa 1900. The Walton family lived in the first house. The house was named the "Miller House" after the pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Bryn Mawr, PA. Reverend Wm. Miller. (Photo from the Wilbur family collection)

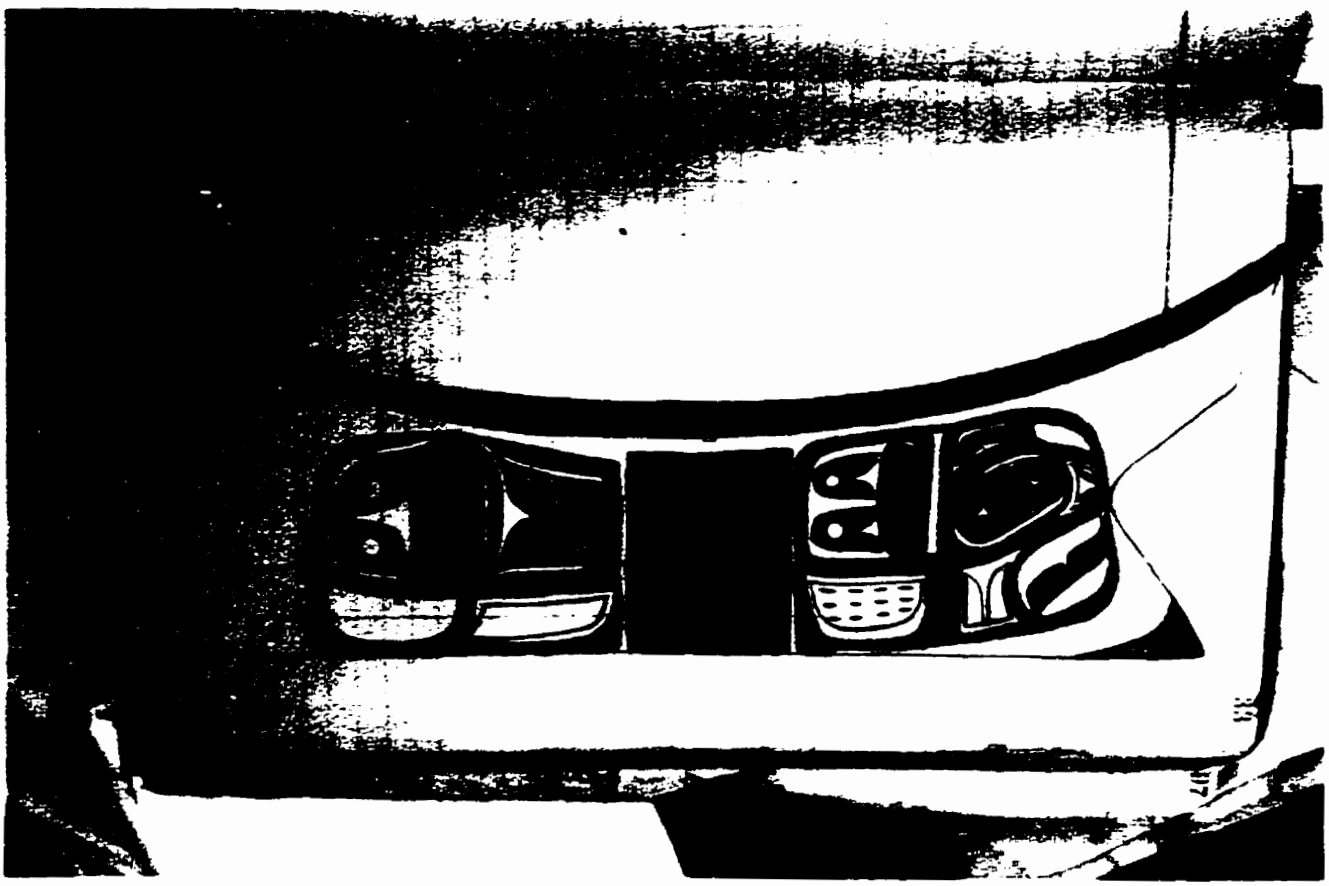
14. Sitka Tlingit Village with Chilcat robe draped over the "Panting Wolf" housepost carved by Rudolph Walton on the Wolf House at the right, circa 1904. (Photo courtesy of the Alaska State Library, E. W. Merrill Collection, PCA 57-140. Reprinted with permission.)

15. Young Tlingit standing beside "The Panting Wolf" housepost carved by Rudolph Walton, 1904. (Photo courtesy of the Sitka Historical Society, General Photograph Collection, PH 1036. Reprinted with permission.)

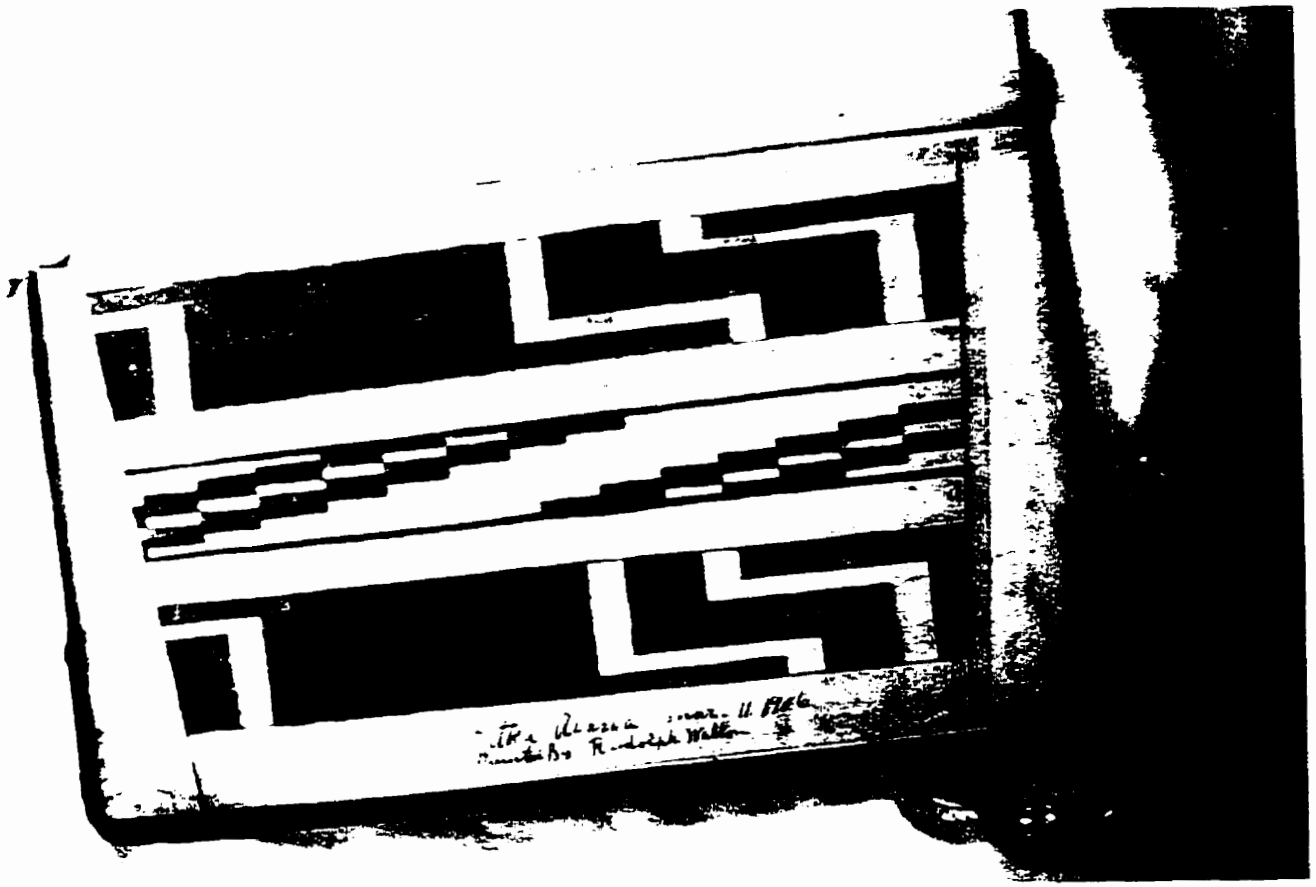
16.Rudolph Walton Tlingit design for paddles circa 1906. (Walton family photos)



17.Gold bracelet made by Rudolph Walton, owned by his granddaughter, Cheryle Enloe of Sitka, Alaska. (Photo from Steve Henrikson's collection)



18. A Rudolph Walton Tlingit canoe design. (Walton family photo)



19. Tlingit basket design painted by Rudolph Walton March 11, 1906. (Walton family photos)

20. Rudolph Walton's designs for engraving spoons. (Walton family photos)

21. Rudolph Walton's 1895 designs for engraved spoons. (Walton family photos)

Chapter Six: The Wilbur connection

6-1 Support from the Presbyterians of Bryn Mawr

Research on the life of Rudolph Walton included the discovery of an interesting relationship that spanned not only his years at school, but his entire lifetime. Something new had emerged out of Rudolph's experience and contact with both the Presbyterians and their educational system. The Walton family developed a lifelong friendship with a Presbyterian missionary family from Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.[211]

I started hearing about the Wilbur family as a child. We were all told stories about our grandfather's friends who used to send huge boxes of chocolate candy to the Walton children at Christmas time. Also, two people in my family are named in honor of the Wilbur family. I believe that there may have been more, but they died many years ago. James Wilbur Walton and Kenneth Wilbur Lawrence are the two living members of my family with Wilbur as part of their English names. Thus, the Wilbur family is part of our family's history.

I found many references to Dr. Wilbur in my grandfather's diaries and became very intrigued by the relationship between the two men. I also learned that Dr. B. K. Wilbur kept a journal about his time in Alaska and that Rudolph Walton was mentioned

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[211]Blackman, Milton V. *Christian Churches of America*. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976, 33.
Note: Our interest is not in Presbyterian theology as it was proclaimed in Pennsylvania, but only as it was perceived and received in Sitka but note: "Throughout most of the colonial era, 95 percent of the church members were Protestants and the majority of these Christians could trace their historical roots back to John Calvin."
And in:
Mead, Frank S. *Handbook of Denominations in the United States*. Sixth ed. Nashville: Parthenon Press, 1975, 217-219.
Note: Presbyterian's have two firm and deep roots: *presbuteros,* and John Calvin and the Protestant Reformation. British and Scotch-Irish became the founders of Presbyterianism in America; and in Philadelphia in 1706.

in them. Dr. Wilbur also wrote many articles about the Presbyterian mission in Sitka in the *North Star*, the Sheldon Jackson School newspaper. I learned from these sources that the relationship between my family and the Wilbur family began long before the two men ever met. It seems to have originated with the Bryn Mawr Presbyterian Sunday school's financial support of my grandfather's education at Sheldon Jackson School in the 1880s.

My family did not know how my grandfather got his English name until we read about it in the August, 1892, issue of *The North Star*, the monthly newspaper published by Sheldon Jackson School in Sitka.

> When it was decided and permission given by the Board, that we might start a boarding and industrial school where the native children might be trained for a life of usefulness, there was a bright rather sober faced little fellow between the ages of ten and twelve years of age attending the day school, who was among the first to enter our home. The Presbyterian church at Bryn Mawr, Pa:, became interested in him and supported him while in the school and named him after the beloved Superintendent of the school of that church - Rudolph Walton. He was a diligent student and made rapid progress in his studies, learned the carpenter's trade, married Daisy Jackson, a graduate of the home, helped to build a cottage on Mission ground, where he lives like a Boston (American) man.[212]

Rudolph Walton of course was not born with an English name. He was born to Doosh-uch and Kaw-Hieen and his name was Kawootk'. I did not know how Tlingit actually got their English names until I came across a couple of articles describing the process. One article was a solicitation for funds in the August 1883 issue of the *Presbyterian Home Missionary*. The article was entitled "Indian Girls":

> What Sabbath-school will furnish $100 to feed, clothe and educate an Indian girl at Sitka, Alaska? The following girls have been received into the Mission Home at that place: Dos-se-yah, Kah-too, She-ik, Susy, Yah-na-kin, Kah-yush, Kuk-chee-chah and Daisy Jackson. Any one adopting one

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212 Jackson, *The North Star*, 225-228.

> of these girls can have the privilege of re-naming her. Address Mrs. D. M. Miller at this office.[213]

Daisy Jackson, one of the girls whose name was on the list, must have kept her English name as it was, because two years later she married my grandfather and she still was called Daisy Jackson.

The articles also reflect a student-patron relationship. The patron donated about $100 a year for the student's expenses and then had the honor of giving the student an English name.[214] According to *The North Star* the Wilbur family of Bryn Mawr made generous contributions to support education at the Sheldon Jackson Institute.[215]

Mrs. Harriet Lawrence Wilbur, the mother of Dr. B. K. Wilbur, made a trip to Sitka and the September issue of *The North Star* published a letter dated August 6, 1892 in which she described her trip. She wrote:

> I need not tell you we had a warm greeting. Rudolph had been there, and his brother-in-law, James Jackson, a fine looking man, waited a little way off to meet us. . . we found Rudolph's mother, his sister Susie - a really attractive looking young woman and the wife of James Jackson.[216]

Mrs. Wilbur also wrote that she visited the home of Rudolph and his wife Daisy.

> We found Rudolph and family awaiting us. Daisy, with her infant daughter, one month old, the two older children and Daisy's mother, who is a widow and lives with them. My eyes filled with glad tears as Rudolph took my two hands in his, and with a look that was far more expressive than words said, "I am so glad." . . . To have listened to Rudolph's voice. . . repays me for the long journey thither, were there no other compensation.[217]

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213 Anonymous. "Indian Girls." *Presbyterian Home Missionary*, August 1883, 189 (PHL).

214 DeArmond, R. N. Personal Communication, March 5, 1997.

215 Jackson, *The North Star*, 227.

216 ibid., 229.

217 ibid., 229.

Mrs. Wilbur brought the greetings from the Bryn Mawr Presbyterian Sunday school; and told the Walton family "how eagerly we listened to the reading of letters from Sitka." She said, "It was so delightful. Not only to Rudolph, but to all who respect and honor him, Bryn Mawr is a household word." From this letter we learned that Mr. Walton hoped "to come east and learn the silversmith's trade."[218] Mrs. Wilbur went on to say that:

> It was a joy to hear Mr. and Mrs. Austin speak of Rudolph as a conscientious, earnest Christian, a helper on whom they leaned and without whom they would scarcely know how to proceed. You know he is an elder in the church . . . In the afternoon we visited Rudolph's sister, mother and James Jackson. They too seemed to feel that they, as well as Rudolph, belonged to Bryn Mawr friends. . .[219]

Mrs. H. L. Wilbur's son, Dr. B. K. Wilbur, wrote in his journal that he saw an announcement on a college bulletin board in Philadelphia in 1893. That announcement is where Dr. Wilbur learned that a physician was needed to run a hospital in Sitka, Alaska. He wrote about his feelings when he applied for that position:

> Our Sunday School had supported a boy at the Sitka Mission School for many years and I had written to him and we had received many letters from Mrs. Austin about him and it seemed as if it was just a friend's place."[220]

Dr. Wilbur felt a connection to the people of Sitka before he left for Alaska. According to his journal, in preparing for a lecture on Alaska for a Christian Endeavor meeting he used "lantern slides largely furnished by Dr. Sheldon Jackson, who frequently spoke at our church and had visited at our home as a guest."[221] The Wilbur

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218 ibid., 232.

219 ibid., 232.

220 Wilbur, *J. A. M.*, 195.

221 ibid., 199.

family also had a relationship with the founder of the Sheldon Jackson School, as well as a personal relationship with people in Sitka.

Dr. Wilbur went through a long application process and was finally accepted for the position by the Presbyterian Home Mission Board on January 23, 1894.[222] Dr. Wilbur wrote that his father was disappointed in his choice, as he would have liked him go into business as a doctor in Philadelphia. However, he was very close to his mother, who encouraged him in his choice and "gloried in having a son to be a missionary."[223]

According to his journal, Dr. Wilbur then began the long process of preparing to move himself, his belongings and medical supplies across the North American continent to Alaska. Although, his mother was happy for him, she knew she would miss Dr. Wilbur very much.[224] Dr. Wilbur was young single 24 year old man and a recent graduate of the Hahnemann Medical College of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania when he left for Sitka in May 1894 as a commissioned medical missionary.[225]

In his journal Dr. Wilbur wrote about his leave taking on the "express for the West."[226] As the train crossed the continent, Dr. Wilbur thought a lot about what a good life he was leaving behind, "On we flew . . . and home and boyhood days and friends of youth were left behind and before me was - - - Alaska."[227] He wrote that he did not

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222 ibid., 198.

223 ibid., 196.

224 ibid.,199.

225 ibid., Forward by Dr. Ross Wilbur.

226 ibid., 202.

227 ibid., 203.

regret his decision, just that he felt a "sense of separation." In his journal entries Dr. Wilbur stated that he had always been sure "of my call," and that the:

> . . . ceaseless opposition to my plans had clarified my convictions and strengthened my determination and there was an abiding assurance of a high purpose and of being set apart for unselfish service: a distinct realization that I was honestly, even tho imperfectly, trying to obey the Master's command when He said, "Go Ye!"[228]

Dr. Wilbur arrived in Sitka in the summer of 1894 and wrote the following in his journal about his arrival in Sitka:

> One of the most happy experiences of those first days was to drop in to the little cottage where Rudolph Walton lived, just across a little lane from the hospital. It was called 'Miller' cottage named after the dear Old Dominic (note: Rev. Dr. William Miller of the Bryn Mawr Presbyterian Church) as our church had contributed much of the money for materials to build it.[229]

Rudolph Walton wrote the following letter to, Mrs. Henry Oscar Wilbur, about the arrival of his friend, Dr. B. K. Wilbur, it was dated June 3, 1894:

> My dearest friend, Mrs. H. O. Wilbur,
>
> I am so glad today. I not help to be glad because to receive my friend Mr. Dr. Wilbur. As I see him face to face I think and remember of all my friends in Philadelphia and Bryn Mawr and I remember what I been praying for to see I seen the answer to my prayer. It is God that help us to see each other. I notice it is hardest thing to do, to leave home and mother and father. And for the mother to see the Child go way from home. But it is for the Lord's sake and his will.
>
> I think today Mrs. Wilbur thinking and thoughtful and praying for her dearest son. But I think again this way, O Mrs. Wilbur, have a hope that her son is in the hand of the Lord and care for him every day.
>
> I hope you do not think too much about your child and son but keep on praying us till we meet again. I heard that Mrs.. A. E. Austin been to your

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228 ibid., 203.

229 ibid., 215.

> house. I notice she tell you about me, and all about Sitka friends. I wish to tell you about my work in Sitka last week. I was out sealing, (for the fur seals as they swim along the coast well off from the land.) and come back with ten skins, and stay in Sitka for to see Dr. Wilbur. I think I go out again next we(ek). I wish you keep on praying for us. I wish you give my love to Mr. Wilbur and Rev. Mr. Wm. Miller and all my friends. I must close with my best love. Baby Wilbur (note: Rudolph's new born child) is well and big kiss from baby. Goodby from Rudolph Walton.[230]

Rudolph and Daisy Walton's son, "Baby Wilbur," must have died at an early age, for this is the only information I have about him. He was obviously named in honor of the Wilbur family. Dr. Wilbur then wrote in his journal the following observation about the letter that Rudolph had written to Mrs. Wilbur:

> When we consider that this man, just a little older than I was, was born in a heathen home under conditions of savage paganism, superstition and shamanism and spent his early boyhood there entering the Mission school, I suppose, when about ten or twelve is it not astonishing that he could write such a letter. And he did write and compose it without help. Yes, it is astonishing until we who believe remember that with God "all things are possible" you recall that Rudolph was the first boy whose school expenses were paid by the Bryn Mawr Sunday School and we had frequent letters from him or about him and for some few years before I went to Alaska, Roudolph [*sic*] and I exchanged letters.[231]

It is not surprising that Dr. Wilbur would find it astonishing that Rudolph was able to write such a letter considering the times. The letter also reflects the understanding Rudolph had about the pain parents suffered when children went far from home. Mr. Walton could express compassion for Mrs. Wilbur's pain at seeing her son off to Alaska despite the fact that the Presbyterians were asking Native children to leave their families to attend school far from their homes. In spite of Dr. Wilbur's obvious lack of understanding of the Tlingit culture, he seemed to have a genuine regard for Rudolph

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230 ibid., 214-215.

231 ibid., 215.

and a sincerity about the importance of his calling.

Dr. Wilbur wrote he struggled to get the mission hospital up and running that first summer in Sitka, but all was not work. Dr. Wilbur wrote about a camping trip he took:

> I went with a party to climb Mt. Verstovia which seemed to rise almost from the hospital yard. Miss Gibson, Mrs. Wade, boy's matron, Rudolph Walton and one or two other boys . . . As we ascended more and more beautiful views of bay and islands and mountains greeted us . . . After supper Rudolph told us Native folk lore . . . We spread our blankets on the dried grass and moss and with only the jeweled sky above us we were soon asleep.[232]

Dr. Wilbur married Anna Dean while on a visit to Philadelphia in June 1898. After a short honeymoon, the young couple traveled to Alaska and arriving in Sitka in July 1898. The first two Wilbur children were born in Sitka. Bertrand Henry Wilbur was born on April 10, 1899 and Harry Lawrence Wilbur was born on January 11, 1901.

6-2 The relationship continues

The relationship between these two young men from different worlds continued as we can see from the following excerpts from Rudolph's diaries:

> April 29, 1900: I stay in home at Sitka. I have been received one fine Watch charm a nice present from B. K. Wilbur. I shall keep it long time.
>
> November 30, 1900: I stay in home at Sitka. I have been working on a Ivory tusk for totem poles. Mr. B. K. Wilbur buy some spoons ($) 5.75. I work on Repair.

Mr. Walton also wrote that Dr. Wilbur treated him when he was very ill and nearly died in 1901:

> January 12, 1901 Sat: I stay in home at Sitka. I have been very sick Right in the morning about 3 clock a.m. I send for Doctor B. K. Wilbur came to see me.

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232 ibid., 232-233.

> January 23, 1901 Wed: I am sick yet. I stay in bed, I feel a little better, I am little stronger by day. Doctor B. K. Wilbur looking after me.
>
> January 30, 1901 Wed: I stay in home at Sitka. I am feel little better every day. I am little stronger Doctor very good to me, and Gibson (the mission's nurse) take care of me.

Governor John G. Brady also noted in a letter to Captain A. R. Couden of the U.S.S. Wheeling on February 22, 1901 that, "Rudolph Walton came near dying from pneumonia, but was well taken care of in the hospital and brought through."[233]

The regard Rudolph Walton had for Dr. Wilbur is obvious, not only in his diary entries, but in the continued connection the two had. It is important to note that if Rudolph had died of pneumonia in 1901, the entire Walton family from Rudolph's second marriage would not be here today. Mr. Walton wrote in his diary about another camping trip he took with Dr. Wilbur:

> June 11, 1900 Monday - I stay in home at Sitka. I and Mr. B. K. Wilbur we start out in a canoe to go after sea gull eggs. I have Mrs. Jackson stay in store.
>
> June 12, 1900 Tues. - We stay on the Island over night B. K. Wilbur have a very time picking sea gull eggs and he cook some for dinner, we pull the canoe up.
>
> June 13, 1900 Wed - I and B. K. Wilbur we start out from the Island to ward Crab Bay We came to Crab Bay. We see Mrs. Paul and Miss Willard sailing, we came to Sitka.

Dr. Wilbur wrote about another excursion in his journal. "Rudolph, my Thlingit brother and I decided to go to St. Lazaria Island."[234]

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233 Brady, John G. to Captain A.R. Couden, February 22, 1901, microfilm Reel 4, pp. 198-200 (ASHL).

234 Wilbur, *J. A. M.*, 323.

> Our canoe was quite old and had belonged to Rudolph's family a long time but as it was red cedar and not spruce it was strong and sturdy . . The craft was about twenty feet long, four feet wide amidships. . . and while it looked big on the shore it seemed very tiny indeed when we were far out on the Pacific. I took the oars at first and with the hospital staff and the convalescents waving from the rocks at our own little cove we were off for a fifteen mile pull across the outer bay.[235]

According to Dr. Wilbur in the enchanting twilight of the Alaskan summer night, the two continued their trip over the great swells of the Pacific. At about ten o'clock in the evening the canoers landed on Kruzoff Island as St. Lazaria Island was not a safe place to go ashore at night. They put up a tent and started a fire, then Rudolph went off to hunt for deer while Dr. Wilbur said he looked for his blankets.

> Again and again I rouse and put my hand out to feel if he has returned but I find his blankets empty . . . I remembered that it was on this very island that Rudolph's father was killed by a bear, . . . It was very lonely. I was not afraid my gun, loaded was at my side but wished Rudolph would come back just the same. It was daylight when he finally came but without a deer, and said we better go before the wind began to blow. A snack of hardtack and chocolate and we were off for Lazaria, two miles away.[236]

The two men climbed the great cliffs of black lava on St. Lazaria Island. They gathered sea gull eggs and cooked some of them for supper. Then Rudolph said, "I get my sleep now." Dr. Wilbur feeling a bit of the cultural differences between them wrote:

> With the sun up at three Rudolph began to stir around. In spite of being so far in advance of most of the Natives, like them, he ate and slept just as the spirit moved him. Such irregular habits did not fit my way of living, <u>at all</u>, and I was likely to get worn out at this rate.[237]

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[235] ibid., 323.

[236] ibid., 324.

[237] ibid., 326.

Wilbur wrote that he thought he could endure the pace for a while longer because the two didn't plan to be gone from Sitka for very long. He wrote that "Rudolph was 'rarin' to go" and did want to stop for breakfast. That this was too much and Wilbur wrote, "I insisted on a snak [*sic*], at least."[238] Dr. Wilbur's journal entries illustrate the cross-cultural differences the two must have faced about the use of time and the cultural issues around food. I am sure there were many such issues for both men.

Wilbur recounted the following incident involving food he said Rudolph began cooking and broke seagull eggs into a frying pan when:

> To my horror I found he had broken in addled eggs as well as fresh ones and there was quite an assortment of embryo chicks to be scrambled. "Why Rudolph, " I said, "You don't eat those." "Why not. They is clean. not anything at all can get in the egg." . . .But I decided to cook my own eggs.[239]

While the men were sea gull egg hunting they met a group of Tlingit men. Later, one of the men from that group fell to his death. "Rudolph," Dr. Wilbur wrote in *The North Star*, "generally so happy, witty, and such good company is cast down and sad."[240] Dr. Wilbur also wrote that according to Tlingit tradition he was responsible for the man's death because he bought sea gull eggs from him. According to Tlingit custom, the dead man's family could demand that Dr. Wilbur pay them a large number of blankets. Dr. Wilbur was worried that the men would drag Rudolph into the problem and he told Rudolph to tell the man's relatives that he, Rudolph, had nothing to do with the matter. According to Dr. Wilbur's journal, Rudolph only translated to the men Dr. Wilbur's words. Dr. Wilbur noted that he never heard any more about the case, but that

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238 ibid., 328.

239 ibid., 326.

240 Wilbur, B. K. "A Trip to St. Lazaria Island." *The North Star*, October 1896, 1-3 (SJSL).

he was not sure that Rudolph hadn't made some settlement with the relatives of the dead man in spite of what Dr. Wilbur said. Dr. Wilbur wrote in his journal:

> In a case like that the friends hounded the alleged debtor unmercifully and their endless talk and demands made life a burden and my pal may have thought that was the easiest way out of it, even tho he had given up the Native customs and renounced his right to be chief by doing it. But he never told me about it if he did make some payment.[241]

It would have been in keeping with Rudolph's character to have paid the debt for Dr. Wilbur without mentioning it to him.

An entry in Mr. Walton's diary for February 15, 1901, indicates that he and the doctor may even have held meetings in Mr. Walton's store, although just what kind of a meeting is not mentioned:

> Fri.: I stay in home at Sitka. I have been to a B. K. Wilbur to my meeting right in the store. I was very busy working on my work.

Mr. Walton wrote in his diary on April 1, 1901, about the arrival in Sitka of Dr. Wilbur and his wife: "Mr. Mrs. Wilbur came to Sitka." And on April 15, 1901 that: "I have been to B. K. Wilbur fir [*sic*] a medicine for the sick man." Mr. Walton was ill again in September, 1901, and wrote the following in his diary:

> Sept. 17, Tues.: I have been sick in bed I can't get up. Right on my back was sick I can not go outside.
>
> Sept. 18, Wed: I stay in home at Sitka. I stay in bed my back very sick Miss Gibson and Wilbur came in to see me Wilbur was a doctor.
>
> Sept. 19, Thur.: I stay in home at Sitka. I have been staying in bed yet I feel little better the Doctor help me and Miss Gibson help me.

Then in October Mr. Walton bought a canoe from Dr. Wilbur, he wrote:

> Oct. 5, Sat: I stay at home in Sitka. I have been working on a Watch repairs. I buy a canoe from B. K. Wilbur I paid him $10.00

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[241]Wilbur, J.A.M., 331.

On November 7, 1901, Mr. Walton wrote what seemed to be a sad entry:

> I stay in home at Sitka. The steamer boat came to Sitka. Mr. B. K. Wilbur went out the same boat going to East.

This was perhaps the last time Rudolph Walton saw his friend, as that was the date Dr. B. K. Wilbur left Sitka for good and returned to his home in Philadelphia. Some eighteen years later Rudolph wrote in the back of his 1919 diary the following address: B. K. Wilbur, H. O. Wilbur & Sons Inc., 231-234 North Third Str- Philadelphia, Pa.

And twenty-two years later on March 29, 1923, Rudolph and Mary Walton's youngest son, James Wilbur Walton, was born. And in 1927 Kenneth Wilbur Lawrence was born to Rudolph and Mary Walton's daughter, Dora (Davis) (Walton) Lawrence. Twenty-nine years later Rudolph made this entry in his diary: "February 12, 1930 Wed-I stay in home at Sitka, I have been writing to B. K. Wilbur and to Mrs. Maggie Kadnaka, at Skagway Mrs. Jennie Young, at Juneau." Thirty-seven years later, in 1938, Rudolph wrote in his diary:

> December 8, 1938 Thur. - I stay in home at Sitka, I have been working on a silver fork for B. K. Wilbur.
>
> December 10, 1938 Sat - I stay in home at Sitka, I have been working on a silver pickle fork for B. K. Wilbur.

Rudolph pasted a picture of the Wilbur family in the back of his diary for the years 1937-1941 with the following notation in his own handwriting beneath the photo, "Our Christmas party, next to me is aunt Rose 87 years old, Mrs. B. K. and a friend then Bert's wife and Bert Dec. 30, 1938."

Two young men from two different worlds formed a relationship that began in the 1880's and endured at least up to the 1940's. The last years we have documentation of the continuing contact between the two families is the photo of the Wilbur family pasted onto the back of Mr. Walton's diary for the years 1937-1941. I believe the length of their

relationship indicated that the two men overcame, as much as was possible in that time period, the cultural barriers of the times. I also believe that despite the difficulties, turbulence and discrimination occurring at the time for the Native people, Rudolph was able to reach out to a middle-class white American, who became his friend. And Dr. Wilbur seemed to be able to move beyond the cultural barriers and prejudices of his time and race enough to garner a true respect and admiration for a Tlingit man. While these two men were bound by the thinking and mores of their time, the connection between them expanded those boundaries. A common perception of the 1990s is that Americans who came to Alaska's shores in order to convert and educate the Native people had only a negative affect upon Native life. As we can see from the life of these two men, the reality of life at the turn of the century was not so simple.

While much of the research data supports the idea of a negative impact of contact, I was surprised by the humanity I also found. My grandfather's life, both at Sheldon Jackson School and after, exemplifies this humanity. In addition, however, the motivation of people like Dr. Wilbur and indeed, the motivation of some of the other Presbyterians seem to have been sincere efforts to assist the Native people. An indication of the respect that the Tlingit community had for the Wilbur family is recorded in a newspaper article and a diary entry Rudolph made on Thursday, Sept. 26, 1901. Rudolph wrote that:

> I stay in home at Sitka. I have been call to a dinner at B. K. Wilbur house. I have been working on Jackson house - $2.00.

The Alaskan on Sept. 28, 1901 recounted what must have been a glorious going away party. The article is entitled, "The Doctor's Pot-Lache." The diary entry Rudolph made for September 26 was much more than just a dinner. Apparently, Dr. and Mrs. Wilbur had invited 150 of their Tlingit friends to a feast. Dr. Wilbur entertained his guests with a great feast, a magic show and the Mission band played for everyone. The article

stated that Dr. and Mrs. Wilbur were to leave Sitka soon and that hearts were full. Many speeches were given, some were serious and some were light-hearted. Annahootz, a prominent Sitka Tlingit leader, spoke at length about the appreciation and gratitude the Tlingit felt for what Dr. Wilbur had done for them. The article went on to say the Tlingit called for three cheers and the room resounded with the Tlingit word for thanks, "goon-ulch-cheesh" three times. Other speakers were: Tah-yurt, Kahnah-goot, Kahwoot (note: Rudolph Walton) and M. Quick. The article ended with the following:

> The pleasures of the evening closed with singing in Thlingit of "God Be With You Till We Meet Again." As the guests departed the hearty handshake and the many God bless your [*sic*] attested to the attachment each for his host and hostess.[242]

The friendship between these two men helped them go beyond the boundaries of their respective cultures. It is an example how complex life and relationships can be between people from completely different backgrounds and how such great barriers can be overcome by respect. This relationship also reminds us of how much we really owe some of the people who came to Alaska to help the Tlingit. We the next generation of Tlingit can also say with gratitude and appreciation, "goon-ulch-cheech" to the descendants of people like Dr. Bertrand K. Wilbur and Governor John G. Brady.[243]

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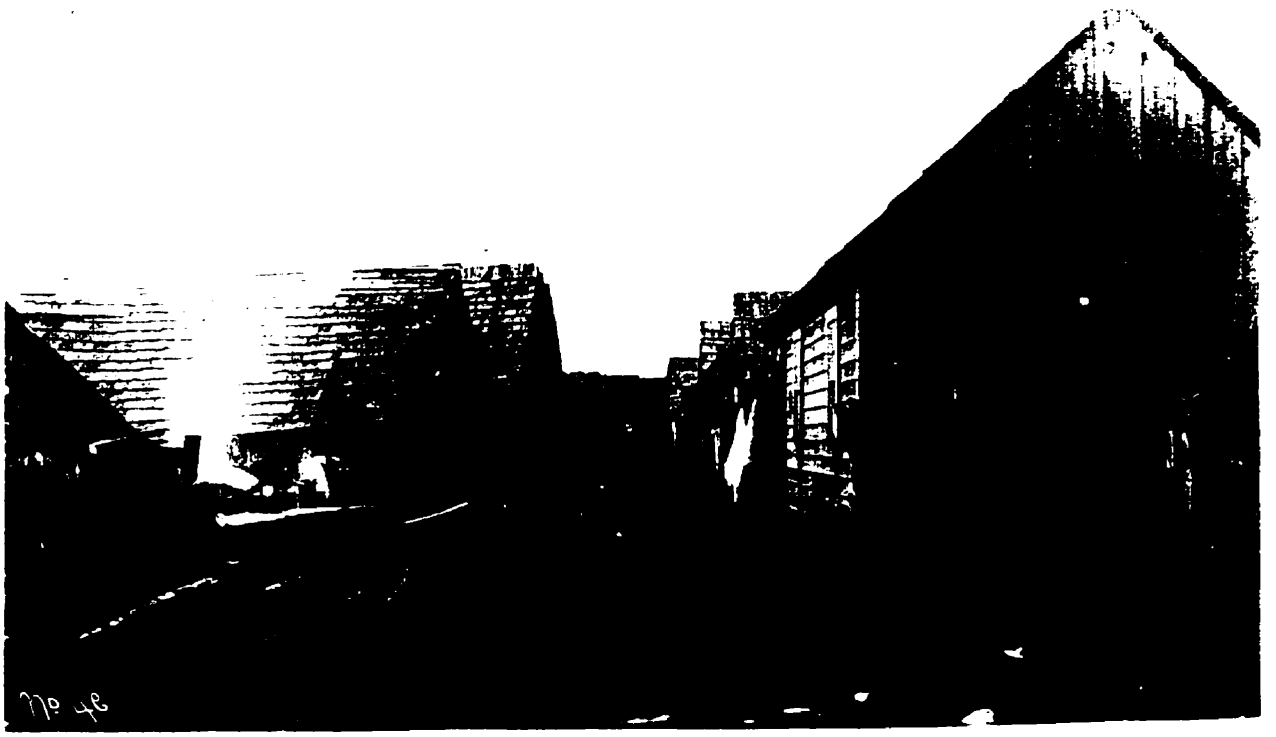
242 Anonymous. "The Doctor's Pot-Lache." *The Alaskan*, Sept. 28 1901, 2 (ASHL).

243Spence, Hartzell. *The Story of America's Religions*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1960, 62.



The Back street -
Sitka, Alaska -

22. The back street of the Tlingit village, Sitka, Alaska, circa 1900. (Photo from the Wilbur family collection)

23. Dr. B. K. Wilbur's office at the Sheldon Jackson School hospital in Sitka, Alaska, circa 1900. (Photo from the Wilbur family collection)

24. The Ms. Esther Gibson, the Sheldon Jackson School nurse, in the drug room at the school hospital. (Photo from the Wilbur family collection)

25. Dr. Bertrand K. Wilbur, circa 1895. (Photo from the Wilbur family collection)

26. The B. K. Wilbur family group photo, circa 1930. Dr. Wilbur is sitting in the center of the second row. Dr. Wilbur's son, Mr. Bertrand H. Wilbur, who was born in Sitka in 1899 is standing 3rd from the right in the 3rd row. (Photo from the Wilbur family collection)

Deer Dance.
a Dance of Peace

27. Deer Dance, Dance of Peace, circa 1900. (Photo from the Wilbur family collection)

28. Sheldon Jackson School Cottage Band, 1904. Thomas Walton is in the front row, standing 3rd from left. (Photo courtesy of the Sitka Historical Society, General Photograph Collection, PH 541. Reprinted with permission.)

Chapter Seven– Rudolph Walton's turning point

7-1 Conflict with the church

Dr. B.K. Wilbur left Sitka in 1901. That year was the start of a period of trying times in Rudolph Walton's life. The death of his child, the death of his grandmother and mother, and the later death of his wife in 1904 were all pivotal to Rudolph's private life. Events occurring outside his home were also changing, providing trying times for Rudolph and for the Tlingit community in the early years of the twentieth century.

Mr. Walton's writings changed considerably beginning in October, 1903, when he noted for the first time that Mrs. Walton was ill. Instead of many happy recountings of camping, hunting and fishing trips, he wrote only that he stayed at home in Sitka and basically worked, there is no mention of family life. The change in the content and style of his writing led me to believe he was broken-hearted over the death of his wife.

In addition, there is no mention in his diaries of the famous potlatch held by the Kaagwaantaan in Sitka in November 1904. A potlatch is a traditional gathering generally held in memory of someone who passed away. It is an important cultural event tied to Tlingit protocol and traditions. The 1904 potlatch was an important event in the Tlingit community of Sitka and the history of the tribe. It is generally considered the last of the very traditional potlatches held in Sitka. Although there is a Kiks.adi dance shirt with the Kiks.adi frog crest on it in the Alaska State Museum with an inscription stating Mr. Walton wore the shirt at the 1904 Sitka potlatch, I do not believe that he attended that gathering. The shirt was made for Rudolph, but he testified a year later during a court case that he did not attend the potlatch and there is no indication in his diaries that he did so. This must have been a difficult decision for Mr. Walton to make, as his participation would have been both an important part of the ceremony and in keeping with traditional protocol. Whether he did not attend due to his grief over his wife's

passing, or due to his relationship with the Presbyterian Church, which frowned on participation in traditional customs, is not known.

Walton's diary for the year 1905 is unfortunately one of the missing years in the sequence of his diaries. Several important events took place in that year. Mr. Walton had been a widow for almost half a year when the Presbyterian Church records for December 20, 1904, note a interesting series of events which ultimately involved Mr. Walton:

> Fred Davis and wife on their own accord appeared before the session to express their contrition for having taken part in the recent potlatch, also to vow before the Session that they are done with "old customs" forever. They will with the Session's approval take their seats at the Lords Table this approaching Communion.[244]

Apparently Mr. and Mrs. Davis participated in the 1904 potlatch and were now trying to repair their relationship with the church. A number of those who participated in the potlatch were severely criticized by the Presbyterian clergy despite the fact that the potlatch was sanctioned by Gov. John G. Brady. Brady had agreed to allow the potlatch to be held because the Sitka Tlingit had promised that it would be the last gathering of its kind. According to Tlingit tradition and custom, that potlatch had to take place in order to keep balance in the Tlingit community. The church, however, had a different point-of-view.

Church privileges were routinely suspended for various infractions of the Presbyterian moral code. Church records indicate that people were examined and accepted into the church or suspended by a church committee referred to in church records as "acting as the Session of the church." Those examined were questioned as to the sincerity of their declared faith or as to alleged violations of church moral codes.

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244 *Session Records of the Sitka Presbyterian Church*, 72-73.

Violations brought before the church committee were drunkenness, adultery, theft and participation in old Tlingit customs, i.e. potlatches.[245]

If the people involved in old customs were also residents of the model cottages and expected to live under the code for cottage residents, the consequences of participation on old customs were particularly severe. The stresses of trying to balance their obligations to their kin, as well as the ones they assumed by becoming residents of the cottages and Presbyterians, were tremendous.

Conflict with the Presbyterian Church intensified when leading Kaagwaantaan who were also church members participated in the 1904 Sitka potlatch. Church records state that those members who participated in the 1904 potlatch were duly notified to "show cause why their names should not be struck from the Roll of Church membership." The church "Session" often voted unanimously to strike the names of Tlingit members who did not come to defend themselves and show cause why they shouldn't be struck from the Church membership rolls. Other Tlingit church members who had participated in the potlatch were considered but no action was taken.[246]

Tragically, Fred Davis died in Hoonah, Alaska, on May 25, 1905, at thirty years of age, shortly after taking part in the potlatch.[247] I do not know what happened to him, but accidents and disease were a common causes of death at the turn-of-the-century. May is a time when people go fishing, so he could have drowned or become ill as a result of spring related activities. He left a wife and two children. Mr. Walton knew Fred

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245 *Session Records of the Sitka Presbyterian Church*, 31.

246 ibid., 71.

247 Information taken from Davis tombstone in old cemetery behind SJC near Indian River, Sitka, Alaska.

Davis, because as he noted in his diary on Oct. 20, 1901: "We have a meeting in Fred Davis house and we singing in Moses."

The death of Mr. Fred Davis was a turning point in my grandparent's lives. Mr. Walton's obituary gives Aug. 3, 1905, as the date Mary Davis and Rudolph Walton were married.[248] Just two months after Mr. Davis' death Presbyterian Church records show that a meeting was held, Aug. 12, 1905, at the church manse with Elders Wells, Beck, Simpson, and Rev. Bannerman and one other person present. Elder Rudolph Walton was there as well. The meeting discussed a serious breach of church moral code:

> It was a common report that Elder, Rudolph Walton, had taken to his house as his wife according to heathen custom and without legal marriage Mary Davis, widow of the late Fred Davis and had so lived with her for two or three days before they were legally married.[249]

Mr. Walton had, according to Tlingit social custom, married the widow of Mr. Fred Davis, Mary Davis. This marriage arrangement between a widow and widower was very appropriate behavior for Tlingits, but considered inappropriate behavior for an elder of the Presbyterian Church, thus causing serious problems for Rudolph and Mary Walton.

According to Tlingit social custom Mary Davis, the second Mrs. Rudolph Walton, was a appropriate second wife for Mr. Walton because she was a widow and a prominent Kaagwaantaan. Rudolph Walton was Kiks.adi, and the Kiks.adi often married into the Kaagwaantaan clan.[250] It was also the custom for the maternal nephew to succeed his uncle when he died and marry his uncle's widow.[251] I do not know who

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248 "Pioneer Resident, Merchant, Passes Here Friday," 1.

249 *Session Records of the Sitka Presbyterian Church*, 77.

250 Olson, *The Tlingit: An Introduction to Their Culture and History*, 1991, 38.

251 Kan, *Symbolic Immortality*, 169 and 172.

exactly Fred Davis was according to this custom, but the marriage was apparently arranged according to "heathen custom" or according to Tlingit tradition which is why the Presbyterian Church officials were so upset about it. They were also probably upset because Mrs. Davis began living with Mr. Walton perhaps after a traditional Tlingit ceremony had occurred but before a Christian ceremony could be performed.

Another aspect of Tlingit marriage custom is that "a widower often receives a younger sister or a niece [sister's daughter] of his deceased wife." Or "sometimes a very old man receives one of the young girls of the same *barabora* to which his first wife had belonged." This arrangement assured that any children from the widower's first marriage would be accepted by the new mother because she would be a close relative and would love and care for them.[252]

According to Olson "most marriages of the upper class were arranged from childhood, but some individuals were allowed to choose their marriage partner." Tlingit marriages were between the two moieties Raven and Eagle/Wolf. Olson also explained that "clans traditionally intermarried with specific clans of the opposite side. These inter-clan alliances continued over several generations and were often used to form political alliances between clans." When the marriage was arranged and both sides agreed a feast was held in honor of the couple and they were then considered to be married.[253]

Therefore, it was possible that Mary Davis was a relative or a member of the same house as Daisy Jackson Walton. I cannot be sure of this relationship, however, because I do not know exactly what the relationship was between all four people. I am

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252 Kamenskii, Archimandrite Anatolii. *Tlingit Indians of Alaska*. Translated by Kan, Sergei. Edited by Marvin W. Falk. 2nd ed. 1985, Volume II, *The Rasmuson Library Historical Translation Series*. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1906, 48-49.

253 Olson, R. L.. *The Tlingit: An Introduction*, 1991, 38.

convinced that there was some relationship between them, however, because of the speed with which the marriage took place and the severe reaction of church officials.

> Elder Walton appeared before the church session. He admitted the offense and left the matter in the hands of the Session as to whether he should (no) longer continue in the office of ruling Elder of this Church. Mr. Kelly and the moderator of the Session were all of opinion that Rudolph Walton should be suspended indefinitely from the Eldership of the Church.[254]

On Sept. 27, 1905, the church held a session meeting. Present were the following members; Elders Beck, Gamble, and Simpson and Rev. Bannerman. The Session "voted unanimously that Rudolph Walton be suspended indefinitely from the Eldership of this Church and that he be so told."[255]

Mr. Walton had been a founding member of the Presbyterian Church and to be so reprimanded must have been difficult to bear. I believe, however, that Rudolph decided to marry according to Tlingit tradition, aware of the consequences it would have on his church standing. He also had obligations to the traditions of his people and apparently in this context, those traditions were honored.

Prior to this time, Rudolph Walton seemed to negotiate the path between his Tlingit community and his Christian faith by picking and choosing which issues and events to become involved in according to their importance. In marrying Mary Davis according to Tlingit tradition prior to a Presbyterian wedding, Mr. Walton indicates his respect for this particular aspect of Tlingit culture. By doing so he knew he was going to be in trouble with the Presbyterians and his calm admission of the offense and his

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254 ibid., 77-78.

255 *Session Records of the Sitka Presbyterian Church*, 78.

leaving the matter up to the Church elders, left him personal dignity in the wake of this conflict.

Another example of the brewing conflict between Tlingit customs and Presbyterian values involved Augustus Bean, a prominent Tlingit man who had also been a Presbyterian for almost twenty-two years. Mr. Bean met with the church session committee on Jan. 5, 1911. He was to be "questioned relative to his participation in an old custom, tombstone-setting-up, on Jan. 3rd." The inquiry was a rather fast response to his "paying those who aided him in potlatch custom" just two days previously.

The minutes state that Mr. Bean tried very hard to "convince the session that he had done no wrong, but instead, convinced them that he was guilty of conduct unbecoming to a member of Christ's Church." The session then voted unanimously to suspend Mr. Bean from church membership until "he shall have shown by his life that he is sorry for his wrong conduct and should confess same before the session."[256]

It is interesting to note how fast the suspension came after Mr. Bean set up the tombstone in question. Mr. Bean had been previously described in the *North Star* as a "well-to-do man, owns a large house in the Indian Village, and his tidy wife keeps it in the best of order." He was also said to be most kind and generous.[257]

Suffice it to say that the "tombstone-setting-up" and paying the "opposite side" process was an extremely important one. Not only that but, Mr. Bean and his family, because of their position in the community, could hardly afford to fail to honor the person who had died. I believe that he and his family knew that and as much as he tried

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256 "Sessional Records of the Thlingit Presbyterian Church." Sitka: Thlingit Presbyterian Church, 1906-1926: 31.

257 Jackson, *The North Star Dec. 1887 to Dec. 1892*, 155.

to explain the importance of honoring the deceased, he could not convince the church that he did no wrong. Mr. Bean felt he did the right thing in honoring his dead kin, but the Presbyterians felt he had to pay a price for it and he was suspended from church membership.

These are just a few of the examples of the difficulty Tlingit people faced trying to live in harmony with the conflicting value systems that influenced their lives. For many, daily life must have felt like walking a tightrope.

There was apparently more going on at the Presbyterian Church relating to Tlingit customs these would examples indicate. A struggle appeared to be going on in regard to the severity of treatment of the Tlingit who took part in traditional customs and ceremonies. Session records for May 16, 1906, report a petition asking the Rev. Bannerman to resign, stating that it was "highly essential to the best interests and the spiritual welfare of the Native Church to have a separation of the pastoral relations." The Rev. Bannerman declared "that under no circumstances would he resign." The Elders however, took a vote, which was unanimous in requesting the resignation of Rev. Bannerman.[258]

Another meeting was held on Nov. 9, 1906 with Rev. Bannerman, Elders: Gamble, Beck, and Kelly at the home of Elder Gamble. The meeting was an informal discussion regarding the welfare of the church with a focus on Native marriages, their customs, the marriage of our members with members of the Russian Church. The conclusion the Church session came to was that "each case arising must be considered by itself."[259]

258*Sessional Records of the Thlinget Presbyterian Church*, 1.

259 ibid., 3.

Rev. Bannerman was relieved of his duties at an annual meeting of the Presbytery in April, 1907. He was replaced by another pastor who stayed only about four months.[260]

All of this was part of an on-going struggle between the old and the new. For example, at a November 1909 meeting of the church session there was a discussion about "dancing." It was decided to do all that could be done to discourage traditional dancing among the Tlingit people. For that reason, a prominent Tsimshian Presbyterian elder, Mr. Peter Simpson, resigned from the Eldership of the church.[261] By November 19, 1911, however, Mr. Simpson participated in another session meeting.[262] And in October, 1912, both Mr. Simpson and Mr. Walton were participating in church session meetings.[263] Exactly when and how the reconciliations happened between these men and the church is not clear. Their names just start reappearing in the church records. It is interesting to note that Mr. Simpson played a very important role in the formation of the Alaska Native Brotherhood in 1912 and that Mr. Walton became a founding member of the Alaska Native Brotherhood in 1914. So, perhaps their personalities played a role in the "battles" they chose to fight when it came to defending their sense of integrity.

Subsequent events in Rudolph and Mary's life together – especially a court case in which Mary's children were barred from attending public school – illustrate the increasing difficulties faced by the Tlingit who chose to live in both worlds. The Presbyterian Church became increasingly rigid in its dealings with Tlingit customs, and the Tlingit community was reaching a point where further compromise of customs and

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260 ibid., 7.

261 ibid., 23.

262 ibid., 34.

263 ibid., 36.

values was no longer tolerable. The Church continued its preaching against Tlingit dancing, language and customs, as well as use of alcohol and adultery.

7-2. Conflict with the government: The Wharf Petition

In the early 1900's a military official in Sitka initiated a requirement that all Tlingit had to carry a pass which stated that they were free from disease. This pass was required for all work on the docks, one of the few places in Sitka where the Tlingits could work for cash. The situation caused great conflict in the Tlingit community. Perhaps part of the problem was due to the irony of the situation, as historically it was the Europeans who brought devastating epidemics to the Native Americans.

According to Hinckley, Marine Captain Joseph Pendleton around 1902 issued a number of restrictions on the movement of the Tlingit in Sitka. Hinckley states that he arbitrarily restricted their movements in areas like the capital grounds, where Native owned boats could be parked on the beach, and even prohibited baseball games. Tlingits were also restricted from the wharf. The reason given for all these restrictions was that smallpox-infected Natives could spread disease among the white population. His policy of restricting possibly diseased persons did not apply to whites.[264]

Robert Fortuine in his book about health and disease in the early history of Alaska states that unhygienic conditions, whether in a traditional Native village or in a European urban slum, contribute "to the prevalence of infectious and parasitic diseases among their inhabitants."[265] He also states, however, a very important point. Pre-contact Native Alaskans suffered from diseases that would be associated with close contact with animals, as well as skin, eye, ear, nose, respiratory tract, gastrointestinal

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264 Hinckley, *Alaskan John G. Brady*, 263-264.

265 Fortuine, Robert. *Chills and Fever: Health and Disease in the Early History of Alaska*. 2nd ed. Fairbanks, AK: University of Alaska Press, 1992, 35.

tract infections.[266] They did not, however, suffer from the kind of serious epidemics that came with contact with Europeans, i.e, smallpox.

Fortuine also examined the history of these epidemics in Alaska. He stated that epidemics caused "death, social disintegration, abandonment of traditional homes, and despair on a scale unparalleled by anything but a major war. Never would the survivors of such overwhelming personal and collective tragedy be quite the same again."[267] Fortuine explained that "epidemic diseases strike suddenly and usually without warning. They are particularly destructive in a population without previous exposure, and therefore immunity to the infectious agent."[268]

Although there are records of many epidemics in Alaska that affected the Native people, such as measles, influenza, and smallpox that came after contact; there were probably also many that went unrecorded. The most feared disease of all was smallpox.

> More that any other disease, smallpox struck terror into the hearts and minds of the Alaska Natives in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was an overwhelming force against which they could find no defense either in their religion or in their tradition. The plague swept through villages like a tundra fire, leaving in its trail dead, dying, and the permanently disabled.[269]

Fortuine describes the smallpox epidemic that swept through Alaska from 1835 to 1840 as one of the most significant historical events in the history of Alaska Native people.

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266 ibid., 59-71.

267 ibid., 199.

268 ibid., 199.

269ibid., 227.

> From Prince of Wales Island to Norton Sound the disease devastated the population, leaving in its wake as many as one-third dead and many of the remainder scarred, blind, or otherwise disabled. Beyond the physical harm, however, smallpox left demoralizing losses of a different kind: the destruction of family groups, communities, religious faith, and in some areas even a way of life. The Alaska Natives were never the same after this catastrophe.[270]

This epidemic first appeared in Sitka in November or December 1835 and first appeared in the Tlingit community in January 1836. Over a two-month period over 300 people died, as many as eight to twelve people a day. By April 1836 the epidemic was virtually over, but 400 Tlingit had died, nearly one half the population. The epidemic spread to other parts of Alaska and finally ended in about 1840.

However, once the epidemic ended the surviving Alaskan Natives found their world in ruins:

> Between one-quarter and two-thirds of their people had died outright and many other bore ugly scars both on their skin and in their minds. Many were prey to secondary infections . . . particularly tuberculosis. Starvation was a grave threat to many families . . . Families were broken up everywhere, with widowers, widows, and children having to find shelter and food. . . . Discouragement and despair were everywhere.[271]

In the period after Alaska was purchased from Russia there were several outbreaks of smallpox, but none were as devastating to the Native population as the epidemic of 1835-1840. During the summer of 1900 smallpox did break out in Alaska as a result of the Nome Gold Rush and in isolated cases in Southeast Alaska. Fortunately the disease was brought under control and did not spread.[272]

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[270] ibid., 230.

[271] ibid., 236-237.

[272] ibid., 239-240.

In light of the history of epidemics which were introduced into Alaska by non-Natives, the requirement by the military to carry passes in order to work on the Sitka wharf must have been a most cruel blow.

Although Hinckley[273] gives 1902 as the time period for the required health certificate for Natives, the following protest was given to Governor Brady on dated September 16, 1901:

> Governor of Alaska J. G. Brady-
>
> We the undersigned Petition to you in behalf of all the Indians of Sitka who are deprived of the privilege of going to the wharf without a pass from the Custom House Officials. Many of the Indians handle freight on board steamers and also upon the wharf. Pasengers [*sic*] come among us and return to the steamers. The white people of Sitka the same. There is not one case of sickness among us and this being the truth we do not feel that we are treated fairly in this matter.
>
> Yours Respectfully,
> Sept. 16th, 1901

The petition was signed by James Jackson, Augustus Bean, Tlan Tech, Rudolph Walton, and Mrs. Jas. Fitzgerald. [274] The 1901 date of this petition places the problems described above a little earlier than Hinckley's description, but at the time of the smallpox scare of 1900-1901.

Rudolph perhaps noted a discussion of these problems among Tlingit leaders in his diary. He wrote on Sept. 10, 1901, just before the date of the petition to Governor Brady that: "We have a meeting in Jackson house not very good meeting. We close it down Right Way." The Jackson house would have been James Jackson's house; Mr.

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273 Hinckley, *Brady*, 263-4.

274 Jackson, James, and et al. "Letter to Governor Brady." In *District Governor's Letters Received 1889-1910*, July-Dec. 1901, RG 101, Series 445, Departmental Correspondence 1899-1901, Nos. 119-131, Alaska State Historical Library.

Walton's brother-in-law and a signer of the petition to the governor. It can be assumed that any meeting the leaders of the Tlingit community held regarding unfair restrictions would be heated ones. Therefore, the subject of the Sept. 10 meeting which Tlingit leaders had which was "not very good" could have been about the restrictions. If the meeting looked like it could have gotten out of control then perhaps the best thing to do was to "shut it down." In any case the meeting was held during the time period that the petition was given to Governor Brady. It is also the only negative comment Rudolph made in his diaries about any meeting.

Hinckley[275] makes the point that the "contradictions and humiliations must at times have been almost unbearable." Yet the Tlingit leadership was learning to use the white man's laws and ways of dealing with problems to try to change what they considered to be discrimination against them. Subsequent events bear this out.

7-3. Conflict with the judicial system: The Horton criminal case

In 1904 Rudolph Walton and eight Tlingit women became involved with the Western judicial system. They approached Governor Brady and petitioned him to help them seek a pardon for a Tlingit man dying in prison. The Tlingit believed the man was being punished for a crime he did not commit and because he was dying they wanted him to be able to come home and see his family before he died far away from home and all alone in the world.

The following information is taken from a letter written by J. S. Easby-Smith, Pardon Attorney for the U. S. Department of Justice in Washington, D. C. on March 1, 1904. The letter to the U. S. Attorney-General was about a petition for a pardon for Mr. Mark Tlanat (or Klanat), a Tlingit man, convicted of second degree murder in 1900. It

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275 Hinckley, *John G. Brady*, 245.

stated that Mr. Tlanat was in poor health and that if pardoned Mr. Tlanat promised he would abide by the law.

According to the letter, the events which led to Mr. Tlanat's conviction started in October 1899. Two white people, Burt and Florence Horton, went camping and fishing south of Skagway, Alaska, and were never seen alive again. In March 1900, a Tlingit man, Jim Hanson, admitted that he and ten other Tlingits had murdered a white man and woman thirty-five miles south of Skagway on Lynn Canal. Mr. Hanson then showed police officers where the bodies were buried. Hanson's explanation for the murder of the Hortons was that he and the other Tlingit men were searching for Mr. Hanson's brother, his wife and child who had disappeared. According to Hanson, the Tlingit found some materials from his brother's boat near the Horton's camp. This evidence convinced Mr. Hanson that the Hortons had killed Hanson's brother and his family. Therefore, revenge was the reason given for the subsequent murder of the Hortons.

Mr. Hanson stated that he shot Mr. Horton and that another Tlingit, named Kichtoo, shot Mrs. Horton. A third Tlingit, named Williams, then killed Mrs. Horton as she lay dying on the ground. As soon as the shooting started Mr. Hanson stated that all the other Tlingit men ran off and took no part in the murders. Hanson stated that only he, Kichtoo and Williams, participated in the murders. It was only due to the confession of Jim Hanson that the crime was discovered and that ten of the men who were present at the murder site were eventually indicted. However, six of the defendants were eventually convicted. Jim Hanson was sentenced to death, Kichtoo and Williams received a sentence of 50 years in prison, Day Kan Teen received a 30 year sentence, Juck Klaine received a 22 year sentence, and Mark Tlanat received a 20 year sentence. However, in 1900 the U. S. President commuted Hanson's death sentence to life in prison.

On March 10, 1903, a request for a pardon for Mark Tlanat was submitted and signed by the prisoner stating that he was ill and had not participated in the murders of the Hortons. Tlanat reiterated that he ran away as soon as Hanson started shooting.

According to the testimony of both Hanson and Tlanat, Tlanat did not participate in any way in the murders. Also, it was reported in the letter that Tlanat was a model prisoner, but that he was ill with tuberculosis and lost eighteen pounds since he had been sent to prison. Tlanat did not want to die in prison, and requested a pardon to go home to Alaska to die.[276]

In his petition for pardon written to the U. S. Attorney for Pardons at the Department of Justice, Mark Tlanat, wrote that:

> My people all in Alaska wants me back with them, and when I get back with them I promise you I will be good and behave myself in the future.
>
> The two Indian Chiefs at Alaska Mr. Jackson and Mr. Augustus Beans, they are my uncles, and they want me to come back to them as soon as possible.[277]

Mark Tlanat also wrote to Governor Brady and asked on Sept. 14, 1903, that he help him get out of prison before he died of consumption.[278] The Governor wrote to The Department of Interior on Oct. 13, 1903 requesting a pardon for Mr. Tlanat stating that a pardon would be an act of mercy that allow the prisoner to come home to die. Gov. Brady went on to state that in his opinion the three young men who were imprisoned along with the three "real" murderers should be freed.[279]

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276 Easby-Smith, J. S. "File V-439, Pardon Case Files, 1853-1946, Records of the Office of the Pardon Attorney, RG 204, U. S. National Archives." , 1904. Tlanat, Mark.

277 ibid.

278 ibid.

279 ibid.

On March 15, 1904, Governor John G. Brady of Alaska wrote to the Department of Justice in Washington D.C. on behalf of the families of the two young Tlingit men who had been convicted of murder and sent to San Quentin and McNeil Island prisons. He wrote that eight women and one man, Rudolph Walton, came to his office with a letter requesting the President pardon Mark Tlanat. Governor Brady also wrote that they were all relatives of the young men. The Governor explained that the six other Tlingits also involved somehow in the murders were let off by General Freidrich and that he felt that the young man should be freed. One young man, Day Kan Teen (or Day Canteen), had already died in prison and the family was afraid that Mark Tlanat would also die in prison.[280]

According to Governor Brady, it was believed that a white man, named Long Shorty, who was then in prison at McNeil Island had killed the Hanson family and that the murder of the Hansons led up to the murder of the Hortons. It involved a Tlingit "idea of retaliation" and that some other innocent whites might be killed in retaliation for Mark Tlanat's death in prison.

Brady wrote that the eight women and Rudolph Walton were very distressed over the death of Day Kan Teen who had died in prison and were asking for his help in obtaining a pardon for Mark Tlanat before he also died in prison. Mr. Jackson and Mr. Bean were both relatives of Rudolph Walton by marriage and that may be the reason he was present at the meeting with Governor Brady.

Unfortunately, Mark Tlanat died in prison before the Governor's letter was sent to the Department of Justice. His request for pardon was apparently misplaced by the

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[280]Brady, John G to James Basby Smith, March 15,1904, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Brady Papers, Box #5, Folder 82.

Department of Justice according to a letter written by T. R. Lyons, Assistant U. S. Attorney on Nov. 11, 1903.[281]

Governor Brady wrote to Mark Tlanat's brother, Dave Tlanat, in Haines, Alaska on March 24, 1904 saying he would write to the prison warden to find out how much it would cost to send Mark Tlanat's body to Haines. He wrote:

> I am sorry the he could not have been pardoned and sent home to die. I asked the President to do so and he turned the matter over to the Department of Justice. They were too slow. [282]

This case is an example where the Tlingit appealed to the Governor for assistance. Governor Brady, Rudolph Walton and the Tlingit women tried to intervene, but were unsuccessful in obtaining Mr. Tlanat's release, he died alone in prison far from his family and his native land. This would not be the last time the Tlingit appealed to Governor Brady for assistance in dealing with the American justice system.

7-4. Conflict in the Tlingit community: The Frog dispute 1901- 03

Clan crests are very important to the Tlingit and would sometimes cause conflicts because more than one clan might claim the same crest. For example, two clans might claim ownership of a crest but their legends of origin would be different. Or the clans might have divided and several of the clans would then claim the use of the same crest. This is the situation that may have happened to the Eagle or Wolf Kaagwaantaan clan; when other Eagle clans claimed the right to use the Kaagwaantaan bear crest.[283]

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281 "Pardon Case File V-439," Mark Tlanot.

282 Brady, John G. to Dave Tlanot, March 24, 1904.

283 Olson, *The Tlingit: An Introduction,* 1991, 27-28.

Although every person in a moiety had the right to use the raven or eagle/wolf as their crest, individuals identified most strongly with their clan and house/lineage. According to Sergei Kan the crest was one of the most important symbols of the clan and its most jealously guarded possession. He quotes Emmons (1907:347) to explain the significance of the crest more clearly: "The totem [crest] is . . . the birthright, as real as life itself. The personal guardian spirit may in extreme cases be destroyed or driven away . . . but no act can ever change the relationship of the Tlingit to his clan."[284]

The crest's importance is indicated by the reverence with which clan objects are treated by their owners. When an object with the crest of a clan on it deteriorated it was burned and mourned as if someone had died. The crest was then transferred to a new object and thus was immortal "surviving its temporary representations, just as man's spiritual components survived the body."[285]

De Laguna notes that the most prevalent clan crests are animals. The value of a crest is based upon the relative importance given them by the more prominent clans. The most esteemed crests now are "the Raven, Frog, Whale, Beaver and Salmon on the one side, and the Wolf, Brown Bear, Killerwhale, and Eagle on the other." [286]

De Laguna described the importance of the Tlingit crest and the history of a conflict between the Kiks.adi clan of Sitka and the L'uknax.adi, who lived in Sitka, but who were from the Yakutat area. Both of these Raven clans claimed the right to use the frog as their crest. The Kiks.adi claimed the use of the frog crest as theirs alone, because they were the first settlers of Sitka and they were the clan which drove the

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[284]Kan, *Symbolic Immortality*, 69.

[285]ibid., 70.

[286]De Laguna, *The Tlingit Indians,* 33.

Russians out of Sitka in 1802. The L'uknax.adi claimed a special relationship to the frog as well and built a Frog House in the Yakutat area. The problem relative to ownership of this crest came when the L'uknax.adi moved to Sitka and built a Frog House there. This angered the Kiks.adi and trouble broke out.[287]

The Dec. 22, 1900, issue of *The Alaskan* ran the story, "Will Bury The Hatchet" about the conflict which arose between the clans in Sitka over the frog crest from the point of view of the local non-Native citizens of Sitka:

> The natives at the ranch held a public meeting at one of their houses a few evenings ago, and after a great pow wow, and many speeches by the leading men of the different clans finally decided to burry[*sic*] the hatchet and thereafter live in peace and enjoy life under the American flag. They have decided to do away with the Frog, Eagle, Crow and other emblems over which there has been a great deal of discussion and much trouble, and allow each person or family to put up as many emblems in front or on top of their house as they desire, but it was thought that it would be best to put up the American flag, obey their countries laws and do away with clans, natives chiefs and the old customs.[288]

According to De Laguna the problem occurred during the winter of 1902-03.[289] Ronald L. Olson wrote that the problem over the frog crest occurred in 1910. His account of events begins about 1910 when the L'uknax.adi of Sitka built a new house and decided to put a frog crest on it. The Kiks.adi, he said, warned the L'uknax.adi not to use the crest, but they did anyway. One night some Kiks.adi men chopped the wooden frog crest up. They were identified and arrested.[290]

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287 De Laguna, *Under Mount Saint Elias*, 288-291.

288 Anonymous. "Will Bury The Hatchet." *The Alaskan*, Dec. 22 1900, 2.

289 De Laguna, *Under Mount Saint Elias*, 288-291.

290 Olson, *Social Structure and Social Life of the Tlingit of Alaska*, 72.

Mr. Walton's diary entries note the trouble over the frog crest was in 1901. The conflict began earlier, but as Mr. Walton, a prominent Kiks.adi, noted in his diary Feb. 5, Tues. 1901:

> I stay in home at Sitka. I feel better then before, but I stay in side.
> The Indians cut up the Frog totem on the fron [*sic*] of the house.

Although this entry might appear to mean that the Frog totem was on the front of Mr. Walton's house, it did not mean that. Although Mr. Walton was a Kiks.adi, he was not involved in the vandalizing of the frog totem on the L'uknax.adi house. Several Kiks.adi men were involved and on Feb. 6 he wrote:

> I stay in home at Sitka. I am feel better then before. The Kicks-sat-ta cut up the frog totem on the house which Tom house.

Mr. Walton had been very seriously ill all through January and was just recovering in early February when he noted the trouble over the frog crest. He did not mention the problem in anyway previous to these two entries.

On Feb. 9, 1901, *The Alaskan* ran this headline: "THAT FROG AGAIN. He Hasn't Croked Yet. Nine Bucks Under Arrest For Disturbing His Peace." The article said that about three years previously at a big potlatch given in honor of the Taku Tlingit by the Sitka people, the "Kluk-na-ha-dee clan - wished to set up as their family emblem a frog." The conflict went before Judge Johnson who kept the case pending and told the Klukna-ha-dees not to set up the frog crest until the case was decided. However, Judge Brown later decided that the courts had no jurisdiction in the matter. Therefore, there was nothing to stop the setting up of a frog crest on the house of the clan chief regardless of the opposition of the Kiks.adi. There was some fear that there would be a riot in the Tlingit community over this conflict but government officials prevailed upon the community saying that they were Christians now, living under the rule of a Christian nation and that they had agreed to do away with old customs. However the article stated

that the warring factions refused to shake hands or make peace and therefore the agreement had no force. However, Indian policemen heard a rumor that the Kiks.adi intended to tear down the offending frog and were on the lookout for trouble. At about 3 a.m. on Feb. 7 about nine members of the Kiks.adi clan chopped up the frog with an ax. The article went on to say that the chief and family of the house where the frog was destroyed was away or there could have been bloodshed over the whole matter. The offenders were quickly arrested and their bail was set at $1,000 each. They could not raise the bail so the men were confined to jail. The article concluded with this sentiment:

> Should these men, the ring-leaders, be given good heavy sentences it will likely have a pretty good effect on the rioting tendencies of the rest of the faction. At all events the trouble is all among themselves and no one outside of the two factions need fell [*sic*] any uneasiness for his saftey [*sic*].[291]

I could find no other references to the frog dispute in the newspapers in 1901. However, Ted Hinckley states that nine of the Kiks.adi men "were found guilty of destroying property; some served brief jail sentences."[292]

However, that wasn't the end of the problem. Mr. Walton wrote about the frog dispute again in early 1903. His diary entries on Jan. 14 and Jan. 15 indicate that he was called to a meeting. On Jan.16 he wrote in his diary that there is "more truble [*sic*] about frog totem. We before the Govener [*sic*], just to be friends." According to Hinckley, Governor Brady often tried to mediate conflicts which erupted in Alaska and in particularly in Sitka.[293] It appears that Governor Brady encouraged the two parties to be friends and settle this dispute.

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291 Anonymous. "That Frog Again." *The Alaskan*, Feb. 9 1901, 1.

292 Hinckley, Ted C. *The Canoe Rocks: Alaska's Tlingit and the Euramerican Frontier, 1800-1912.* Lanham: University Press of America, Inc., 1996, 376.

293 ibid., 332.

On January 17 Mr. Walton wrote that: "We make a peace. We paid 117 Blanket and 29 cash." On Sunday, Jan. 18, he wrote that "I stay in the same house they take us to Tom Ges nea yar(')s house. No dance on Sunday. We have a Rest they take care of us good."

What appears to have happened is the Kiks.adi had a meeting and decided to make peace with the L'uknax.adi . The only way real peace could be established was if it was done according to Tlingit custom and that was to settle the debts owed due to the vandalism and to have a peace ceremony. According to Mr. Walton's diary entry for Jan. 18, 1903 the first day of the ceremony was a quiet one. According to De Laguna:

> The making of peace was equivalent to making a legal settlement that would eliminate all causes for conflict; the original reasons for the fighting and all the ensuing injuries were treated as if they were issues in a case at law. . . Most important of all, making peace involved the holding of a peace ceremony, with elaborate symbolism to testify that grudges were buried.[294]

So in spite of the difficulties Mr. Walton might later face with Presbyterian officials for participating in "old customs," he became part of the peace-making process. He apparently found it an important issue and knew that the issue could not be settled without the Tlingit way of making peace. He wrote:

> Jan. 19, 1903 - Mon. We stay in same house. We have a big dance both side the(y) take care of us very good this is a peace dance.
>
> Jan. 20, 1903 - Tues. - We stay in same house. Three of us as a peace makers. No dance. We are at Rest. they take care of us very good.
>
> Jan. 21, 1903 - Wed. - We stay in same house at Toms house we have a dance all both side have a big dance. They are very kind to us.

Traditionally the peace ceremony involved the exchange of hostages, called peacemakers or peace dancers. These peacemakers were always highly respected

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[294]ibid., 592.

men or women of high rank and were called deer or *kuwakans.* The deer is a symbol of peace because deer do no harm to anyone. The peace hostages were captured in a mock battle and subject to many taboos. They, for instance, have to exhibit peaceful behavior and if accepted as *kuwakans* are treated very kindly. If they are not accepted then the hostages could be killed and the conflict would be continued.[295]

De Laguna describes the peace ceremony as lasting about ten days with eight days of dancing. The *kuwakans* were given new peace names by their captor-hosts and in some cases the person became known by that name rather than their birth name.

> Jan. 22, 1903 - Thurs.- We stay in the same house of Tom. No dance, we all have been rest, they take care of us. We stay in the same house, they very kind to us.
>
> Jan. 23, 1903 - Fri. - We stay in the same house at Tom house. We have a dance, a big dance on a both side. They are very kind to us again.
>
> Jan. 24, 1903 - Sat. - We stay in the same house. We have a big dance both side. I have ready to give away, they are very kind to us.
>
> Jan. 25, 1903 - Sunday - I have been up to see Daisy, she don't day much about me but she give me just a few words and the childrens are (all) right.
>
> Jan. 26, 1903 - Mon. - I stay in my Father-law house. No dance all have Rest. We stay in the same house they are very kind to us.
>
> Jan. 27, 1903 - Tues. - We stay in the same house. We have a Rest, no dance, they are very kind to us all three of us trying to make peace.
>
> Jan. 28, 1903 - Wed - We stay in the same house. We have a big dance, last dance are longer always. They are very kind to us and they take a good care.

On the last night of the peace ceremony the two sides hold a final dance and a feast. The hostages, or peacemakers, are then returned to their homes.

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[295]ibid., 596-597.

> Jan. 29, 1903 - Thurs.- We stay in same house. We stay in the same house till a morning then they change us back to our homes, the last dance.
>
> Jan. 30, 1903 - Fri.- I stay in Sitka at my home. I have been setting some things in Store. I have been up to my home to see my childrens.

De Laguna did an interview with a *kuwakan* in Yakutat who emphasized that after a peace ceremony a *kuwakan* was then dedicated to peace-making:

> Kuwakan? -always. Every time that kuwakan, he's a peacemaker. After he became a kuwakan, he's a peacemaker all the time. . . Every time . . . trouble, . . go over there and make peace. Kuwakan always make it peace."[296]

Mr. Walton seemed very pleased about the peacemaking when he made the following entry in his diary on Feb. 1, 1903:

> Sunday I stay in home at Sitka. I have been Rest my self. Char Kot ke ta came, he talk to us very good about the Peace.

On Feb. 2, Mr. Walton made the following entry that can be interpreted as a dinner in celebration of the culmination of all of the activities. The "masters" he refers to are the heads of all the clan houses. Rudolph may have meant the heads of the Raven clan houses, or he could have meant literally all of the "masters" in Sitka.

> Mon.-I stay in home at Sitka I have been call all the masters to a dinner, one of the Boy cutting his hand by ax I call doctor.

That wasn't the end of the frog problem for Mr. Walton however. Presbyterian Church officials met in session on March 14, 1903, and were "in serious consideration of the offense of Elder Walton and certain church members who had taken part in an old custom dance etc. in connection with the Frog trouble."

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[296]ibid., 599-602.

The church officials were very concerned anytime a church member participated in what they considered as "old customs." Mr. Walton was well aware of this fact as he was present at meetings when other offending church members were called to account for their participation in activities which the church found offensive. Again, I am quite sure he expected a reaction on the part of the church officials.

Presbyterian records state that church officials felt that "Elder Walton ought to be visited with the punishment of suspension from the duties and privileges of Elder for some months; but as notification of this meeting and session had not reached him, and as he had not been heard in his own behalf no action was taken."[297]

Church session members who were present at that meeting were: Elders Kelly, Beck, Gamble and the Moderator Reverend Bannerman. It is interesting to note that although no action was taken because Mr. Walton was not informed of the meeting and could not defend or explain his behavior, George Beck was present. Mr. Walton made the following entries in his diary which make one wonder what really happened:

> February 3, Tues.
>
> I stay in home at Sitka. I have been on a Watch Repair for one of the Mission Boy. Mr. Geo. Beck came to see me.
>
> February 8, Sun
>
> I stay in home at Sitka I call nine people to a dinner. Mr. Geo. Beck ask me to come to a meeting.

I am quite sure that this is the same Mr. Beck who as a teacher and a church Elder who was present at the church session meeting on March 14. Therefore, Mr. Walton may have been aware of the meeting he was requested to attend. He also may have discussed it with Mr. Beck and chose not to attend. What is even more interesting

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297 *Session Records of the Sitka Presbyterian Church*, 61.

is to note what he decided to do just before the meeting date. According to his diary entries Mr. Walton had been home in Sitka from the Nov. 1, 1902 until March 12, 1903. On March 12, just before the meeting, Mr. Walton left Sitka to go camping and did not return home until May 11. I did not find any other references to Mr. Walton's problems with the church over the frog trouble in the Session records after the March 14, 1903 meeting. Therefore, I conclude that this problem blew over with time and that Mr. Walton's strategy worked. He left town for an extended period of time and the issue died down.

I think it is important to note that the issue of crest ownership is an important one to the Tlingit and that Mr. Walton's participation in the peace-making process was an important one. I believe he knew that the only way to really solve the issue was to make peace or resolve the problem in a way that made sense to the Tlingit. Alaskan government officials tried to make peace in a way that made sense to them and that didn't work because it couldn't resolve a problem that was a Tlingit cultural issue. It was a problem that had to be solved in a Tlingit culturally appropriate fashion. Church officials were very upset that an elder of their church was involved in "old customs" over the frog issue; they did not appreciate the fact that the church participants in "old customs" were in fact making peace in the only way they knew would or could solve the problem. In fact church officials wished to punish the peacemakers.

Mr. Walton instead of arguing with the church officials perhaps thought that a cooling off period was the best answer and left town to go camping for two months. Perhaps there are other references to this issue, but I could not find them. I feel fairly certain that the issue did blow over. Mr. Walton continued his relationship with the Presbyterian Church for many years. It was, however, only one of his problems with them over participation in "old customs."

Chapter Eight – The Davis Case

8-1 Conflicts continue

Conflicts between Rudolph Walton's Native culture and traditions and Western culture continued into another area of his life, the education of his children. He was involved in a landmark case that set the stage for significant changes with regard to Indian relations with the government in Alaska. The Davis v. Sitka School Board case involved Mr. Walton's step-children, the children of Mary and Fred Davis, Dora and Tillie Davis. Mr. Walton and his wife wanted the children to attend the Sitka Public School after the school for Native children in Sitka closed due to funding cuts in 1905. Mr. Walton had always stressed the importance of education, and the closing of the Native school was a blow to both him and the Native community.

It is important to understand the history and policies of the United States government with regard to Native Americans in order to fully appreciate the context in which this case took place. This dissertation briefly touched on that history in chapters three and four.

While there were differences in the policies and trends of the U.S. government between the treatment of American Indians in the continental United States and Alaska Natives, overall these policies and trends did affect the governmental and educational relationships that developed in the Alaska. In addition, Presbyterian missionary philosophy and Sheldon Jackson School's educational policies reflected their own values and sometimes the values expressed by the government. The U.S. Supreme Court ruling in the Plessy v. Ferguson[298] case in 1896 legitimized the segregation of the

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[298]Plessy v. Ferguson 163 US 537 (1896) 283.

races in public facilities in the United States. This case reflected a prevailing American view that it was legitimate under the United States Constitution to have separate facilities for "whites" and "non-whites" if they were of equal quality. Separate facilities were however, not necessarily equal. As was noted in Chapter 4, up until the passing of the Nelson Act in 1905, education in Alaska was provided "without reference to race."[299] Thus, when the policy of providing education in Alaska without reference to race changed in 1905 to legitimized segregation in educational facilities, the social rules had changed and the stage was set for conflict.

8-2 The Case of Davis vs. Sitka School Board

There were, however, distinct and important differences between church related policies and government policies. Sheldon Jackson and the Presbyterian missionaries held out to the Native people the promise that if they became "civilized" they would be treated equally in the eyes of the American government. Rudolph Walton, and many of the "pioneer students" at Sheldon Jackson School, who later became leaders in the fight for Native rights, internalized that belief. Many of the choices they made to become educated and Christian were based on the belief that if they adapted to American culture and values, they would begin to be treated fairly by the Americans, and equally by the American system of justice.

The American government did not provide for education in Alaska for the first seventeen years after 1867. Education in Alaska was provided by Christian missionaries. Finally in 1884 the U.S. Congress passed the Alaska Organic Act which provided the Secretary of the Interior with $25,000 to:

> ... make needful and proper provisions for the education of the children of school age in the Territory of Alaska, *without reference to race*, until such

299 Lautaret, *Alaskan Historical Documents,* 40.

> time as permanent provisions shall be made for the same . . . (emphasis added)[300]

Sheldon Jackson was appointed as General Agent for Education and $15,000 was appropriated for education in Alaska in 1885. The Act of June 6, 1900, provided more provisions for civil government and education in Alaska. The provision read:

> The Secretary of the Interior shall make needful and proper provisions and regulations for the education of children of school age in the district of Alaska, *without reference to race*, and their compulsory attendance at school, until such time as permanent provisions shall be made for the same (emphasis added).[301]

Both of these acts provided for education without reference to race, but the Nelson Act passed by Congress on Jan. 27, 1905, established a dual system of education in Alaska and provided for the establishment of school districts for Alaskan communities. This act enabled any community with a population of twenty or more "white children and children of mixed blood who lead a civilized life," the ability to establish a school district. It also put the education of native Alaskans under the control and direction of the Secretary of the Interior with funding provided via annual federal appropriations. Native Alaskans would also have the right to attend any Indian school in the United States.[302]

The order establishing the School District of Sitka was dated January 27, 1905, and the first election of school board members was April 15, 1905. The members elected by the white community in Sitka were: W. A. Kelly, W. P. Mills, and Mrs. George

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300 Case, David. *Alaska Natives and American Laws.* Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1984, 197-198.

301 ibid., 198.

302 ibid., 199.

Stowell.[303] Native people in Sitka were not given the opportunity to vote for school board members.

The key phrase in the Nelson Act which applied to the Davis case was the requirement that Alaskan communities provide for the education of "white children and children of mixed blood who lead a civilized life."[304] The Nelson Act provided for a dual school system in Alaska and as more and more local control was exercised in the administration of school districts, it was only a matter of time before the issues of racism and discrimination in the schools would be raised.

Mr. Walton and other Tlingit very likely considered themselves "civilized." It must have been quite a shock when they sent their children to school and were told they were not welcome. Rudolph Walton and Fred Davis, the biological father of Rudolph's adopted children, were among the first students at Sheldon Jackson School. Their lives should have been stellar examples of "civilized," "Christianized" and "educated" Native people.

The Davis case involved among others, Rudolph Walton and his second wife's two "mixed" children, Dora and Tillie Davis. These two children were enumerated for the public or white school after the Native school closed. However, when they began attending the public school the teacher informed Mr. Walton that his two step-children, Dora and Tillie would not be allowed to attend school with the white and other "civilized" students. The Sitka School Board gave him the following written notice regarding his children. The transcript is taken from official court records dated Jan. 26, 1906. It shows that the Sitka School Board notified Rudolph Walton in writing:

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303 DeArmond, R. N. *A Sitka Chronology 1867-1987 w/ Index*. Sitka, Alaska: Sitka Historical Press, 1993, 252.

304 ibid., 200.

Dear Sir,

The School Board has decided that your children cannot attend the White school while living in the Indian Ranche.

You will please not send them unless granted permission by the Board.

Respectfully,

Mrs. George Stowell[305]

The circumstances which led the Walton family and others to enroll their "mixed blood" children in the newly formed Sitka Public School were related to financial problems in the Alaskan educational system. These problems resulted in the closing of the native school which the children attended.[306] Public school officials had enumerated and received funding for the children who were now refused admittance. The Davis children had attended school for a short time before the teacher told Mr. Walton that she could no longer admit them.

According to a letter written to the Sitka School Board by Governor Brady dated Jan. 27, 1906, Mr. Walton went to Governor Brady to consult with him about the letter he received from the school board about his children. Governor Brady immediately wrote to the school board stating that:

> I am in receipt of a written communication from Mr. Rudolph Walton where he informs me that he is in receipt of a letter from Mrs. George Stowell, Clerk of your board, notifying him that his wife's two little daughters, who are of mixed blood, will not be allowed to attend the public school.[307]

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[305]Boyce and Jennings, Davis v. Sitka School Board: Answer to Second Amended Writ of Mandamus: District Court for the District of Alaska, 1906 (US Fed. Archives, Anchorage, AK).

[306]Anonymous. "More School Trouble." *The Sitka Cablegram*, March 15, 1906, 2 (ASHL).

[307]Brady, John G. to Sheldon Jackson, January 27, 1906, Press Book "Schools." In Letters "Office of the District Governor." Vol. 22:318, RG 101, Box 35, Alaska State Historical Library.

Governor Brady went to state that Mr. Walton believed the children had the right to attend public school according to the Nelson Act of 1905 and that he and Mr. Walton wanted to know by what authority the school board denied the two children the privilege of attending school who:

> ... had been included in the enumeration, which your clerk informed me amounted to one hundred sixteen who intended to attend school in the Sitka School District upon which the requisition for funds was made.[308]

Governor Brady also wrote a letter to Dr. Sheldon Jackson on Jan. 31, 1906, in which he stated that he had sent his resignation as Governor of the District of Alaska to Judge Peelle. He stated sadly that he needed to leave in order to obtain a better education for his children and that he needed to live in a Christian community for a while:

> Right now we are in the midst of contentions in this little town that make us heart sick. The one thing wanting in it all is Christian Charity. In fact we are more truly heathen than the natives. Can you blame us for wanting to get out of it?[309]

Brady told Dr. Jackson that Mr. Kelly resigned from the school board because he could not work with the other board members and retain his self-respect. Governor Brady wrote that the school board maintained that the children who lived in the village were not civilized. He said that Mrs. Stowell, a member of the school board, had served notice on several families stating their children would not be allowed to attend the public school. He went on to write that the significant thing for the Presbyterians was that Mrs. Stowell was wife of an Elder of the Presbyterian Church and that she was the President of the Woman's Missionary Society. Governor Brady said that the refusal of the school

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[308]ibid., 216.

[309]Brady, John G to Sheldon Jackson, Jackson Collection, Vol. 22:318, January 31, 1906, 3 (SJSL).

board to admit the mixed blood children was a clear violation of the law and that he was arranging for a petition for a writ of mandamus to compel the acceptance of the children. He said the two Davis children were "healthy, well clad and tidy." Governor Brady said he was at a loss to explain Mrs. Stowell's conduct in this and in other matters .[310]

Brady noted that although Rev. Bannerman had married Mr. and Mrs. Walton, he had meddled in the affairs of the Natives and had driven a number of families from the Presbyterian Church to the Russian Orthodox Church. Brady concluded by saying that:

> I am sorry for this state of affairs but the willfulness of Mrs. Stowell and the subservience of Bannerman have really brought it about.[311]

It is interesting to note that it was under Rev. Bannerman where many reprimands of Tlingit Presbyterian Church members who engaged in "old customs" occurred and that by May 1906 a petition was presented by the Elders of the church requesting a change of minister for the Presbyterian Church in Sitka. After what was called a "spirited discussion" the Elders put forth the following resolution and a unanimous call for Reverend Bannerman's resignation:

> That still believing that is highly essential to the best interests and the spiritual welfare of the Native Church to have a separation of the pastoral relations, hence we request Rev. W. S. Bannerman to recognize the propriety of tendering his resignation to take effect three or four months hence.[312]

It is clear from these accounts that there was indeed a great deal of contention going on in the little town of Sitka over the issues of race and "old customs." Hinckley wrote that in 1906:

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310 ibid., 318

311 ibid., 318.

312 "Sessional Records of the Thlinget Presbyterian Church," 1.

> The Brady family exploded when Sitka's public school board sought to exclude from the white public school the children of the mixed blood Tlingit, Rudolph Walton.[313]

Hinckley went on to say that Mr. and Mrs. Walton may have been under a cloud with regards to the Presbyterian Church officials for marrying according to Tlingit custom. As previously noted, however, they were legally married on Aug. 3, 1905 by Rev. Bannerman of the Presbyterian Church and remained married until Mary Walton died on Jan. 12, 1950. However, I am sure that the pressure from the church for the Tlingit to give up "old customs" forever was a painful factor in the Walton family's life.

The plaintiffs in the Davis case sought a writ of mandamus; an order issued by a superior court ordering a public official or body or a lower court to perform a specified duty or remedy a breach of rights or duties. In this case the plaintiffs sought an order which instructed the Sitka School Board to admit the children of mixed blood into the Sitka public school which was called the white school. The defendant was the Sitka School Board and included Mr. W. P. Mills and Mrs. George Stowell. As has been noted, Mr. W. A. Kelly resigned from the school board in disgust and became the attorney for the plaintiffs.[314]

According to court records Mr. Walton was appointed guardian ad litem of the children of three separate families by Judge Royal Gunnison on March 7, 1906.[315] This meant that Mr. Walton had the right to represent all of the children in the case who were

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[313]Hinckley, *The Canoe Rocks*, 402.

[314]Hinckley, *Alaskan John G. Brady*, 354.

[315]Davis v. Sitka School Board Case file #534-A, US District Court Record Group 21, Box 38, 1901-1910, U.S. Federal Archives, Anchorage, AK.

denied admittance to the public school; Dora and Tillie Davis, John and Lottie Littlefield, and Lizzie and Peter Allard.

The Sitka Cablegram wrote on March 15, 1906 that Mr. Rudolph Walton's attorney, Mr. W. A. Kelly, had challenged the decision of the school board not to admit the children of mixed blood and that mandamus proceedings would commence on April 1, 1906. According to the article the school board denied the admission of the children "on the ground that persons living in the native village cannot be considered to be leading a civilized life in the meaning of the law."[316]

The Feb. 15, 1906 issue of *The Alaskan* took the position that race prejudice was the real reason behind the denial of school privileges for the children. After a long discussion of the issues which led up to the Davis case *The Alaskan* went on to state that:

> Among those by this action excluded from the school are the children of the family of one of the first graduates of the Industrial Training school. A man, who because of what that institution has done for him, now wears civilized clothes, eats civilized food, rents a lock box in the post office, orders civilized goods from he states, conducts a mercantile business for which privilege he pays a license to the government, has had the marriage ceremony performed by a minister, hires a man to work out his road tax, places a cash register in his place of business for which he is paying $325. has his building connected with the town water works for which he pays his monthly rate, repairs watches and clocks for the general public and has for years carried a life insurance of $3,000.[317]

The article further states that before Mr. Kelly resigned from the school board, he had secured a concession from the board that children of mixed blood who came from

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316 "More School Trouble," 2.

317 Anonymous. "Race Prejudice: Children of Mixed Blood Denied School Privileges." *The Alaskan*, February 10, 1906, 2.

the Industrial Training school or from the Cottage Settlement would be admitted to school. It further said that:

> In accordance with this decision the clerk of the board has written a note to the merchant whose children had been denied the right to attend the school, informing him that his children could not attend the school while living in the *Indian ranche*.

The unnamed merchant in the article was Mr. Walton. It stated that he owned one of the cottages in the Cottage Settlement and the inference is made that if Mr. Walton moved his family back to the Cottage Settlement from the "Indian ranche" where he and his children lived, they would "be sufficiently civilized to attend the school . . . but by going on a little further he crosses the dead line which robs him of his civilization."[318]

The Alaskan article ends by stating:

> Now what can one think of the narrowness, bigotry and prejudice causing such reasoning but that human prejudice has not changed . . . Here the matter stands and a great principle will be violated and a class of people will be robbed of their rights until some one shall take up their cause and fight it out for them.[319]

A *Seattle Post Intelligencer* article dated Feb. 8, 1906 stated that Governor John Brady and the Sitka School Board had locked horns over the admission of "half-breed children from the native ranche to the public school." The article went on to say that "feeling runs high on both sides, official correspondence has passed between the governor and the board, the town has taken sides, with the majority siding with the board."

The *Seattle Post Intelligencer* [320] gave the following information about the case,

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[318]ibid., 2.

[319]ibid., 2.

[320]Anonymous. "Question of Race in Sitka Schools." *The Seattle Post Intelligencer*, February, 8 1906.

which it stated brought the issue to a head. Miss Cassia Patton, Governor Brady's private secretary and sister-in-law, walked the two Davis children to school where Miss McCaleb, the teacher, refused them entry. The school board gave the teacher "written instructions not to admit the children and they wrote a letter to the father stating that they would not be allowed to attend the public school."

The *Seattle Post Intelligencer* article went to state an interesting piece of information about the school controversy in Sitka. It stated that a large meeting was held in the Indian village where the Tlingit discussed the problem and stated they felt they were being discriminated against. The Tlingit community was trying to find a way to force the acceptance of their children in the public school and end the discrimination. The Seattle Post Intelligencer stated that the Tlingit at the meeting discussed a strategy to force acceptance of the children that included the boycotting of the store owned by Mr. W. P. Mills, one of the school board members. [321]

This information is contrary to some allegations that the Tlingit people involved in this issue did not know about the case, did not have a say in it, or in some way minimized the importance of the case to Tlingit. [322] *The Sitka Cablegram* wrote:

> Rudolph Walton admitted that ex-Gov. Brady and Miss Patton had prompted him to send his children to the public school although he had previously testified that he had acted on his own impulse solely. [323]

In another article in the same issue, *The Sitka Cablegram* questioned the motives of those who opposed the decision of the school board. It asked about Rudolph

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[321] ibid.

[322] DeArmond, R. N. to Steve Henrikson, March 5, 1997, 3.

[323] Anonymous. "School Case Is Heard." *The Sitka Cablegram*, May 17, 1906, 1.

Walton's attorney, "What was Kelly's Real Motive?" and said that only after "the native school had been closed and Rudolph Walton had been instructed what to do that Kelly showed his hand".[324] In other words, the article indicated that Mr. Walton did not understand or could not have seen for himself that he and his family were being discriminated against and needed Mr. Kelly or Governor Brady to point that out to him. In addition, they must have also put Mr. Walton up to challenging the exclusion of his children from public school.

The following information is taken from transcripts[325] of the hearing held before the referee, the Honorable Edward De Groff. Although, such hearings are usually heard by a judge of the court, in this case the court records name a "Referee," namely Mr. De Groff. The testimony was taken at the office of the U. S. Commissioner in the town of Sitka, Alaska at 2 P.M. on May 11, 1906. Mr. William A. Kelly represented the plaintiffs and Mr. W. P. Mills represented the defendants the first day and Mr. H. A. Robinson represented the defendants the second day.[326]

Mr. Kelly opened the testimony with a statement that contains some interesting comments hinting that some old problems had preceded the case. Perhaps Kelly was referring to Mrs. Stowell and the same problems Governor Brady wrote about in his January 31, 1906 to Dr. Sheldon Jackson. Mr. Kelly's opening remarks contained the following statement:

> This case has been thrashed over by the papers while we have been trying it on its merits, and that is all we desire. To be brief, I think there has

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[324]ibid., 2.

[325]*Davis v. Sitka School Board*, Case File #534-A, US District Court Record Group 21, Box 38, 1901-1910, U S Federal Archives, Anchorage, AK.

[326]ibid., 1.

been some animus that has not appeared in any of our papers, and I consider this case arose out of old quarrels more than anything else.[327]

Mr. Kelly did not elaborate on this theme but went on to state that the children in question had been counted in the enumeration when the school board made a request for funding and that they had a right to attend school based on that fact. He also said they had the right to attend school based on the fact that they were mixed blood children of legally married parents who have adopted the ways of the whites. Kelly stated that they were not claiming that all Natives should attend the white school, but that eight of the children in question were American citizens and entitled to attend the white school. Mr. Kelly stated that the case had been tried in the newspapers that claimed that children of mixed blood were unclean and that he left that judgment up to the teacher.

A writ of mandamus legally puts the applicants in the position of having to prove why they have a right to make such an application and that there has been a breach of their rights. It must have seemed to the Tlingit that they, the plaintiffs, were on trial. All the defendants had to do was insinuate that the plaintiffs were unable to bring about the proceeding themselves or had at some time participated in uncivilized behavior or customs. In short the plaintiffs had to prove somehow that they were civilized; the defense did not have to do anything.

Mrs. George Stowell, a white woman and a member of the school board, was questioned by Mr. Kelly. Her testimony is representative of type of answers given by the defense. Mr. Kelly asked the following questions of Mrs. Stowell:

Q - You was member of the School Board.

A - Yes sir.

Q - Was a copy of these papers served on you.

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[327]ibid., 2.

A - I dont know. Mr. Kelly hands witness papers to examine.

A - Yes sir.

Q - I notice you have not sworn to it. Mr. Mills has. Do you subscribe to all it contains. (Reads papers)

Mr. Robinson - Your Honor she is not a defendant in this case.

Mr. Kelly - She was a member of the Board.

Mr. Kelly - Mrs. Stowell, do you subscribe to the papers.

A - I would rather not answer.[328]

Mr. Kelly then asked Mrs. Stowell if she served notice on Mr. Walton and Mr. Littlefield, one of the other fathers. She stated that she only served notice on Mr. Walton. Mr. Kelly then asked her if she was acquainted with the Walton family. Mrs. Stowell replied that she was not. Her reply seems strange since all of the witnesses were living in a very small town and Mr. Walton and his family and Mr. and Mrs. Stowell were members of the Presbyterian Church. Mr. Kelly then asked Mrs. Stowell the following questions:

Q - Are you acquainted with any of the parents of the children mentioned in this complaint, William Allard, George Allard and their families.

A - I know them when I see them.

Q - You ever visited them.

A - No sir.

Q - Do you know where Rudolph Walton was educated.

A - No sir.

Q- Did you know he was educated at the Training School.

A - No I did not.

Q - What were your objections to Davis children going to the public school.

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[328]ibid., 32-33.

Mr. Robinson, the attorney for the defendants, instructed Mrs. Stowell not to answer that question. Mr. Kelly went on to ask more questions of Mrs. Stowell about some previous problem Mrs. Stowell may have had with the plaintiffs. Mr. Kelly asked:

> Q - Was there any enmity back of ruling these children out of school.
>
> A - I beg pardon.
>
> Q - I asked whether there was any enmity in deciding that these children could not attend the public school.
>
> A - No sir.
>
> Q- Now will you state whether there are any half or mixed breeds attending school now.
>
> A - I dont know.[329]

Then Mr. Kelly asked Mrs. Stowell if she had visited the public school and if she knew that the Russian Orphanage was sending half-breeds to school. She said that she had visited the school, but did not know about the children from the orphanage. Mr. Kelly then asked Mrs. Stowell if she had not told them that the orphanage had some half-breeds attending school. Mrs. Stowell answered, "I think not, I dont know what they are." Mr. Kelly then asked her, "You consider Rudolph Walton and William Allard civilized men." Mrs. Stowell answered, "I dont know enough about that." There was some discussion about who consulted who in the case, all of which Mrs. Stowell declined to answer. Mr. Kelly then asked Mrs. Stowell if she knew the Walton children. Her answer was "no." Kelly followed up with the following:

> Q - Then you were hardly acting as a school director in these matters.
>
> A - I was acting entirely on my own judgment.
>
> Q - Then You do not know why you ruled these children out.
>
> A - I refuse to answer.

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[329]ibid., 33-34.

Q - Do you consider any of the natives civilized.

A - I decline to answer.

Mr. Kelly - We will excuse the witness as being utterly useless for this purpose.[330]

Testimony centered around several issues. The first issue to be raised in the testimony in this case was about race or "blood" because the children in the case were supposed to be "mixed." The first witness called in the hearing was Mr. George Allard who was asked if he had been legally married to the mother of his child, Lizzie Allard. Mr. Allard stated he, a former soldier in the U. S. Army, had married the mother of Lizzie Allard in the Orthodox Church and that he supported his daughter after her mother died. He also said that while he worked in a mine, the child was living with her maternal grandmother in the "Indian town."

Mr. Mills, representing the defense for the school board asked the following series of questions of Mr. Allard about the grandmother of his daughter, Lizzie:

Q - Is the old lady a halfbreed.

A - I dont know whether she is or not.

Q - Does she speak english.

A - She can hold a conversation.

Q - You say she lives the life of white people.

A - They have butter.

Q - Do the white people eat seal oil.

A - I have seen some of them around town.[331]

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[330]ibid., 34-35.

[331]ibid., 4-5.

Rev. Father Anthony Kashaveroff, the Russian Orthodox priest, was called to testify and to provide proof that the Allards were legally married. He was also asked about the character of thirteen year old Lizzie Allard who was born on March 27, 1893. Father Kashaveroff was asked the question, "She is a nice civilized girl?" He answered that, "She acts very nicely."[332]

Mr. James Brightman, a white man, was called to testify about the Littlefield family. Mr. Robinson, the attorney for the defense, asked for his assessment of the level of civilization of Mr. Littlefield, a white man, and his family:

> Q - In your opinion is Mr. Littlefield and his family living civilized lives.
>
> A - I should say Littlefield was but his wife and children were not.
>
> Q - Under the circumstances you mean he is somewhat handicapped.
>
> A - Well yes, his wife is a halfbreed indian squaw and he cannot make her anything else.[333]

Brightman's testimony illustrates the feeling that Mrs. Littlefield and children were obviously not living a civilized life because she was a "halfbreed indian squaw." In other words, it was a racial issue, not a "civilization" issue according to the view of Mr. Brightman.

Mrs. John G. Brady, the wife of Governor Brady, was called by Mr. Kelly. She was asked about her teaching experience in Sitka, which amounted to about eighteen years. She testified that Fred Davis had been a student of hers and that she had watched Fred and Mary Davis, the parents of the Davis children grow up. The following

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[332]ibid., 6-7.

[333]ibid., 35-37.

is an excerpt from her testimony regarding the Davis and Walton families. Mr. Kelly asked the following series of questions:

> Q - They had the appearance of being well to do civilized people.
>
> A - They certainly have. I have never heard their civilization questioned until recently.
>
> Q - Mrs. Davis is now Mrs. Walton; has she mixed blood.
>
> A - Her appearance would indicate so and I never heard that questioned until recently. I often heard her spoken of and from what I know from her appearance I would not question it myself that she was a halfbreed.
>
> Q - Nice appearing woman.
>
> A - Yes sir.
>
> Q - Have you ever invited her to your house to be entertained.
>
> A - Yes, and find her as being of very nice appearance and manner and very much of a lady.

Mr. Kelly then asked Mrs. Brady if mixed blood children had always attended the public school in Sitka. Mrs. Brady answered, "Yes, I have been rather closely connected with the school for the 20 years I have been here and children of mixed blood have always attended."[334]

The second issue that occupied much of the testimony was about the lifestyles of the plaintiffs. The question was whether or not the plaintiffs were leading a "civilized" life. With that in mind, the defense made an issue of Mr. Davis' participation in a potlatch some five years previous to the Davis case. An E. W. Merrill photograph of a potlatch with about forty people in it was introduced as evidence that Mr. Davis participated in "old customs" and therefore, uncivilized behavior. I have seen the photograph in question. A copy of the photograph is part of the Davis v. Sitka case file. It would be

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[334]ibid., 8-9.

difficult to identify single person in the photograph including Mr. Davis. The large crowd and the fact that the picture was taken from a great distance make identification difficult. Also, it didn't seem to occur to anyone that Mr. Davis was deceased and no longer had anything to do with the raising of the Davis children. In addition, according to the testimony of the photographer, Mr. E. W. Merrill, the photo was at least five years old.[335] On the second day of the hearing, Mr. Campbell, the Deputy Marshal of Sitka, was questioned regarding the participation of Mr. Fred Davis in potlatches:

> Q - Would you say that the natives who live there permanently (in the Indian community) have severed their tribal relations.
>
> A - I would say they are very much connected with their tribal relations.
>
> Q - Since you have been here they had a potlatch. Did you see any of the people represented in this case in that potlatch.
>
> A - What do you mean.
>
> Q - I mean Wasca Allard or Fred Davis.
>
> A - Fred Davis was in the potlatch.
>
> Q - Did he play a prominent part in it.
>
> A - He did.
>
> Q - What was the conduct of the natives during the potlatch.
>
> A - It was anything but civilized.
>
> Q - In what way.
>
> A - Painted up and following ancient customs.
>
> Q - During the potlatch were there any actions that caused you alarm.
>
> A - It was expected that the old trouble over totem poles would break out.
>
> Q - Was Fred Davis mixed up in that.
>
> A - He was.

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[335]ibid., 41-43.

Q - Did you ever have any conversation with him about it.

A - About the potlatch but not about the totem pole.[336]

The deceased, Mr. Davis, and his participation five years previously in a potlatch was obviously damning testimony, especially with the proof of a photograph.

Mr. Kelly asked Mrs. Brady the following series of questions about the Davis and Walton families:

> Q - Then you consider that Fred Davis and his family and Rudolph Walton have adopted habits of civilized life.
>
> A - I certainly do and might give many signs of civilization.
>
> Q - Give us some of the signs.
>
> A - I see Mr. Walton here dressed in civilized clothing, and I see him at work working in a civilized manner.
>
> Q - What is his business.
>
> A - He is a merchant, an ivory carver and silversmith. I have been around his place of business and find everything in nice shape. . .[337]

The signs of civilization listed here indicate what people of the time considered a civilized lifestyle. Mr. Walton gave many signs of living a civilized life by his work habits. He dressed and worked in a civilized manner. It apparently meant that he dressed in western clothes and ran a business like any other American businessman. It seems civilization could be equated with Western material goods and the absence of "uncivilized" Tlingit traditional social practices like potlatches.

The third issue that came out in the testimony questioned the ability of Mr. Walton to initiate action on his own with regard to the education of his children. He was

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[336]ibid., 52-53.

[337]ibid., 9-10.

called to testify by Mr. Kelly who asked Mr. Walton where he was born, lived and educated. Mr. Walton answered that he was born in Sitka, educated at the Sitka Training School and lived at the "end of the Native town" and that he still owned his house "near the Training School." He also stated that his business was that of a silversmith and that he owned his store. It was established that Mr. Walton in conducting his business, paid his license tax, road tax and his water tax and kept a postal box at the post office. According to Mr. Walton's testimony, he was doing everything humanly possible to live like other Americans including becoming educated and running a business and all that entailed.

Mr. Kelly then asked him about sequence of events that led up to this hearing:

Q - Your children went to Miss McCaleb.

A - Yes sir, one or two weeks.

Q - When the trouble arose what did the teacher say to you.

A - Sometime afterwards I took them up. The teacher did not turn them out but she called me in and said she did not think they can come any more and said she would have to see about that.

Q - Then they served notice on you not to send them, the School Board.

A - The next morning they sent a note not to send them.

Q - Then you went to the Governor and consulted him.

A - Yes sir.

Mr. Kelly then asked Mr. Walton the ages of the children. Mr. Walton responded that they were six and seven years old. There was some more discussion about Mr. Walton's place of business and then Mr. Mills questioned Mr. Walton. He stated that Mr. Walton's children attended the Native school up to the time when the school shut down and then suggested that maybe someone advised him to send the children to the white school. Mr. Walton answered, "No sir, I thought of it myself, I try to do something without

advising me." Mr. Mills then asked, "You did not care whether they went to white school or not." Mr. Walton answered that he only cared that the children received good schooling. The question insinuates that someone had put him up to sending his children to the white school as if he didn't think of it himself when the Native school closed.

Mr. Mills asked Mr. Walton if he wrote a letter to the Governor asking about his rights. Mr. Walton answered that he did. There was some question about the guardianship ad litem of the children in question, which Mr. Walton did not seem to quite understand. Then Mr. Mills suggested that Mr. Walton didn't know anything about it and asked him if "these people ask you to bring this action." Mr. Walton answered no, that they did not. Again, the defense made the insinuation that Mr. Walton was put up to asserting he had the right to send his children to public school. Then the questioning moved on to how Mr. Walton learned about the new law (the Nelson Act).

Q - Did you apply to the School Board before you sent your children to school to know whether they could go.

A - No sir, I did not go to anybody.

Q - You knew about the law.

A - The law changed some time ago.

Q - Who told you the law was changed.

A - I seen it.

Q - You read it.

A - Yes sir.

On the second day of the hearing Mr. Walton was again asked about his life and if he participated in the two recent potlatches and if he made totem poles and how much he money he made from them. He was also asked who his children played with. Mr. Robinson asked:

Q - Do your children play in the native village.

A - Yes sir.

Q - Whose children do they play with.

A - Native children, very good children.

Mr. Robinson then asked Mr. Walton who had given him a copy of the law that he had claimed he read in his previous testimony. Mr. Walton said that the Governor had given him the law. Mr. Robinson:

Q - Did you ask him for this.

A - He gave it to me.

Q - What did he say when he gave it to you.

A - The law has changed and passed.

Q - What else did he say.

A - That halfbreed children could go to school.

Q - I heard you say yesterday that all you knew about the law was what you read, now you say Governor Brady gave it to you.

A - Governor gave it to me.

Q - When he gave it to you did he tell you your children could go to this public school.

A - Yes.

Mr. Robinson went on to ask if anyone else told him his children could go to public school. Mr. Walton replied that Miss Patton did. Mr. Robinson then asked the following series of questions of Mr. Walton:

Q - When you got this note from the School Board saying your child could not go to the public school you wrote a letter.

A - Yes sir.

Q - You have a typewriter.

A - I wrote it with pen and ink.

Q -The letter that went to Juneau was typewritten. Who copied it.

Mr. Kelly - You read and write. You wrote the letter I had it typewritten.

Mr. Robinson - I am examining the witness, please dont interrupt. When I get through you can take the witness.

Mr. Robinson.

Q - Who dictated the letter, who told you what to say.

A - Nobody told me what to say, I know, I have words.[338]

The fourth issue raised by the case dealt with language. Mr. Mills asked if Mrs. Walton spoke English and what kind of merchandise Mr. Walton carried in his store, if he had any clerks and a cash register. Mr. Walton answered that Mrs. Walton spoke a little English and that he kept about $2,000 worth of merchandise in his store, had no clerks, but did have a cash register.

Q - How much did you pay for your cash register.

A - $385.00 laid down here. I have fine things. I don't see what (that) has to do with the school. (Laughter)

Mr. Mills- - Perhaps not, I do; you will let me judge.[339]

The questioning of Mr. Walton centered around issues of language and the amount of material goods Mr. Walton had in his store. Mr. Walton asked what all that had to do with school and it was this that caused laughter in the court. Perhaps they saw what he could not, as Mr. Mills suggested, that there was some connection between the dollar value of his merchandise and the education of his children in a public school. The attitude of Mr. Mills and the notation of laughter in the courtroom suggest a lack of

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[338]ibid., 49-51.

[339]ibid., 14-15.

respect for Mr. Walton and the other plaintiffs. This attitude had to be extremely humiliating to Mr. Walton and the other Tlingit involved in this case.

Another Tlingit witness who testified with the help of a translator was Mary Susie, the grandmother of Lizzie Allard:

> Q - Will you ask witness what her name is.
>
> A - My white name is Mary Susie. My Indian name is - - (Stenographer gives it up, sounds like Kashdacash)
>
> Q - Does she speak any English.
>
> A - No.
>
> Q - Where does this old lady live.
>
> A - In the Indian Village.
>
> Q - Does she play with the indian children. (Interpreter - Who, the old woman?) Laughter.
>
> Q - Do they eat native dishes like seal oil and whale blood.
>
> A - We eat indian provisions and white provisions.[340]

The lack of respect for an elderly woman who did not speak the English language is very evident in this testimony. Ms. Mary Susie surely understood that as well. The obvious lack of respect for the Tlingit witnesses and type of questions asked say much more about the cultural and racial climate in Sitka than anything else the white community could have done. Indeed, it says more about the white community than it does about the Tlingit community. The answers the Tlingit witnesses gave were truthful, dignified and to the point. The questions asked of them were petty, at times mean-spirited and completely without respect for the people involved.

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[340]ibid., 45.

Although the refusal of admission was on Jan. 25, 1906, it wasn't until Jan. 29, 1908, that District Judge Royal Arch Gunnison issued his decision in the Davis case. There is no explanation why there was such a long period of time between the application for the writ of mandamus and the judgment. The judge stated in his findings that there was a clear distinction between a school for white and mixed blood children who led a civilized life and a school for the Natives of Alaska. He also stated that the United States at no time recognized any tribal independence among the Indians of Alaska and that it was clear that they were:

> ... regarded as dependent subjects, amenable to the penal laws of the United States . . . They are practically in a state of pupilage, and sustain a relation to the United States similar to that of a ward to a guardian.[341]

Judge Gunnison's finding went on to state that under the third article of the Treaty of Cession signed on March 30, 1867 between Russia and the United States, the aboriginal tribes of Alaska were classed with the Indians of the states as "uncivilized." And as such they were wards of the nation. The judge went on to state that:

> . . . the mixed blood is presumed to partake of the character of the tribe with which he lives, whether it be civilized or otherwise. Congress, in providing in the law under consideration that "children of mixed blood who live a civilized life" may participate in these schools, must be presumed to have had in mind the above rule, and the fact, upon which the rule is based, that where mixed bloods live among and associate with the uncivilized, they become subject to and influenced by their environment as naturally as water seeks its level. . . only such of the mixed bloods were to be admitted to those schools as had for themselves, or, in cases where they were minors living with parents or guardians, the parents or guardians had, put off the rude customs, modes of life, and associations, and taken up their abode and life free from an environment which retarded their development in lines of progressive living, systematic labor, individual

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341 *Davis v. Sitka School Board*, Case File #534-A, US District Court Record Group 21, Box 38, 1901-1910, U S Federal Archives, Anchorage, AK.

ownership and accumulation of property, intellectual activity, and well-defined and respected domestic and social relations. For the children of those families which preferred the other life, without its attendant responsibilities and obligations to society at large, was provided a system of education under the control of the Secretary of the Interior, more appropriate to their undeveloped mental condition, and through which they could, in view of their surroundings, be better instructed.[342]

The judge also noted that the term "civilized life" was a relative term:

That Congress, by the use of the words "civilized life," had in mind any particular or definite condition to which the "mixed blood," or his parents or guardians, must have attained, cannot be presumed, since the term "civilization" is at best only relative. The standards of civilization which have been erected for to-day will undoubtedly 100 years hence be far behind the vanguard of progress. The courts have wisely never essayed to define it. . . Philosophers and scholars have been satisfied with definitions of what civilization is not. . . Hence each generation must decide for itself what constitutes the civilized life, and each case involving the question of civilization must be decided upon its own merits, free and untrammeled by rules laid down by either philosopher, judge, or encyclopaedian.[343]

The judge wrote that a test of civilization would be applied in the Davis case to ascertain if the plaintiffs met the requirements:

. . . the test to be applied should be as to whether or not the persons in question have turned aside from old associations, former habits of life, and easier modes of existence; in other words, have exchanged the old barbaric, uncivilized environment for one changed, new, and so different as to indicate an advanced and improve condition of mind, which desires and reaches out for something altogether distinct from and unlike the old life. This is far from a completely satisfactory test; but it will, I apprehend, meet the exigencies of the occasion and aid in a just determination of the cause. Having determined upon a test, inadequate though it may be, let us examine the facts as they appear from the testimony, and apply that test to them.[344]

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[342]ibid., 2.

[343]ibid., 3.

[344]ibid., 4.

And as to the Walton family's lifestyle the judge found the following:

> The first group consists of Dora and Tillie Davis. They are aged, respectively, eight and seven years, and are the children of Fred Davis, a full-blood Indian, now deceased, and a woman whom some of the witnesses declare is a full-blood native, while others testify that she has white blood in her veins. None seem to know her ancestry. From the testimony, and from an inspection of her photograph (Exhibit D), I am inclined to believe her to be of mixed blood. Davis and his wife were legally married at Sitka, on December 14,1896. Dora and Tillie Davis, then, were born in lawful wedlock and are of the mixed blood. The mother married again. Her second husband is Rudolph Walton, a full-blood native, and the guardian ad litem of all the plaintiffs in this case. Walton owns a house in the native village, lying on the outskirts of the town of Sitka. The children live there with their mother and step-father. Their associates and playmates are presumably the native children who live in the Indian village. So far as these plaintiffs are concerned, there is nothing to indicate any difference between them and the other children of the Sitka native village, except the testimony of Walton and others as to Walton's business. Walton conducts a store on the edge of the town of Sitka, in which he manufactures and sells Indian curios, and for which business he pays the business license tax required by the laws of Alaska. He rents a box in the post office, and has worked out his road tax in the Sitka road district, when warned out by the overseer. He and his family have adopted the white man's style of dress. All who testified concerning Walton himself speak of him as an industrious, law-abiding, intelligent native. He seems, so far as business matters are concerned, to have endeavored to conduct his business according to civilized methods, even to the installation of an expensive cash register in his store. He speaks, reads, and writes the English language.

But, the judge went to state, the above findings failed to show corresponding progress in the domestic and social relations of the family.

> It does appear that he and his family reside in a house separate and apart from the other natives, and that he clothes and supports his family; but nothing further than that appears. What is the manner of their life? What are their domestic habits? Who are their associates and intimates? These matters do not appear. True, the Waltons are members of the Presbyterian Church; but many natives, for whom the claim of civilization would not be made, are members of churches of the various denominations which are striving to better the conditions in this country. Civilization, though, of course, the term must be considered relative,

> includes, I apprehend, more than a prosperous business, a trade, a house, white man's clothes, and membership in a church. The burden of establishing that the plaintiffs live the civilized life is upon them, and I fail to find in the testimony evidence of a condition that inclines me to the opinion that the Davis children have that requisite.[345]

Considerable emphasis was placed on the fact that the children and the families in question hunted and fished and associated with other Native people. It seems that in denying the petition made by Rudolph Walton, the court "took the view that civilization is achieved only when the natives have adopted the white man's way of life and only associated with white men and women."[346]

Vine Deloria wrote about the Davis case in *Of Utmost Good Faith* and about tensions in Alaska which he said had been going on for nearly a century between Native Alaskans and white Americans. Deloria used the Davis case as an example of the lengths the courts would go to deny Indians their rights. He wrote that, "Sometimes there appears to be no way in which Indian people can qualify for the ordinary rights given to other American citizens."[347] Deloria wrote that:

> Had the Davises lived in any of the western states, the Indian agent would have used them as his brightest prospects for the civilized life. In Alaska, however, the mere trace of Indian blood was sufficient, once and for all, to bar the person from full participation in the normal life of the community.[348]

Deloria was right. The case of Davis vs. Sitka School Board proved that the promises of equality made to the Tlingit by the Presbyterians would not automatically

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[345]ibid., 4-5.

[346]Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, 406.

[347]Deloria, Vine Jr., ed. *Of Utmost Good Faith*. Bantam Book Edition ed. New York: Bantam Books, 1972, 145.

[348]ibid., 145.

happen no matter what they did. The Davis case actually proved that the opposite was true and it clearly illustrated to the Native community that no matter what Western practices they adopted and integrated into their lives, they would never be considered "equal" in the eyes of the American government and people of their time. The Davis case also was a clear indication to the Tlingit that white America would and could use the law to deny them equal rights and protection under the law. Rights that most Americans considered their birthright as citizens.

Also, the benchmark for the acceptance of the Tlingit by the citizens of Alaska changed from merely requiring, education, Christianity and civilization to an additional requirement of the right "blood." The necessity of having "mixed blood" made acceptance a truly racial issue.

After the children were refused entry into the public school, Dora and Tillie Davis Walton began to attend Sheldon Jackson School. In 1917 they were part of the first graduating eighth grade class at Sheldon Jackson School. [349] Tillie Walton died at a young age, but Dora Walton went on to graduate from Sheldon Jackson High School in 1921, she later became one of the first Alaska Native to become a nurse, a vocation she worked at all of her life.[350]

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[349]Anonymous. "Graduating Class 1917." *The Verstovian*, April 1917, 1.

[350]Yaw, *Sixty Years in Sitka*, 211.

Chapter Nine: The Alaska Native Brotherhood

The court's decision in the Davis case made it clear that action by an individual could not change government policy if that policy sought to discriminate against people based upon racial or cultural issues. The Davis case, decided in 1908, as well as other issues like the right of Native Alaskans to citizenship, land, mining, and fishing rights led to this recognition by the Tlingit people and significantly changed the manner in which the Tlingit community sought to deal with the government. By 1912, the Tlingit community in both Sitka and the rest of Southeast Alaska began to organize the Alaska Native Brotherhood, and began working toward collective social action. Though the tenants of the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) were still drawn from the values of Christianity, education and civilization, the shift toward collective action represents a significant and historic change in Alaska Native relationships with the Territorial government and the U. S. Federal government.[351]

Despite the individual prejudice and institutionalized racism that the Davis case represented, Rudolph Walton continued to believe in the importance of education and its value for the Tlingit people. As the history of the ANB illustrates, and the results of the collective action on behalf of Alaska Native rights and land claims bear out, it was those Alaska Natives who were educated, and who understood the Western system, who were ultimately able to effect change. Questions about civil rights, citizenship and civilization set the stage for Alaska Native struggles for education, civil rights, and land title for decades. Native leaders realized that if they were to carry on their struggles for justice and full citizenship they needed to organize. The Tlingit involvement in church sponsored societies or associations taught them parliamentary procedures, and in 1912 nine Tlingit and one Tsimshian organized the Alaska Native Brotherhood.[352]

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351 Olson, *Tlingit*, 1997, 81-83.
352 ibid., 81-83.

The Camp No. 1 of the Alaska Native Brotherhood "camps" was organized in Sitka in 1914 in response to the need for collective action at the local level. Rudolph Walton attended the first meetings of the Alaska Native Brotherhood in Sitka and was one of the founding members of what was to become Camp No. 1.

The Alaska Native Brotherhood's main goals for their members were pro-change, U.S. citizenship and education. Almost all Southeast Alaska Natives participated in its activities.[353] The Alaska Native Sisterhood was formed in 1915. The Sisterhood's goals were similar to those of the ANB.

Native Alaskans did not sign away or relinquish aboriginal rights or title when the United States purchased Alaska from Russia, but as it states in the Appropriation Act of March 3, 1871:

> The withdrawal from non citizen Indians and from Indian tribes of power to make contracts involving the payment of money for services relative to Indian lands or claims against the United States, unless such contracts should be approved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior. . . . the Indians were effectively deprived by this statute of one of the most basic rights known to the common law, the right to free choice of counsel for the redress of injuries.[354]

According to Drucker, all of the men who founded the ANB were Presbyterian church members and were strongly influenced by the missionaries at Sitka Training School (later Sheldon Jackson School).[355] However, other sources show that founding members of the ANB were also associated with the Russian Orthodox Church. Despite

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[353]Case, *Alaska Natives and American Laws*, 334-339.

[354]Cohen, *Felix S. Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, 77.

[355]Drucker, Philip. *The Native Brotherhoods: Modern Intertribal Organizations on the Northwest Coast*. Vol. 168, *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1956, 17.

this close association with the two churches, the ANB was an independent association. The purpose of the organization is stated in Article I of the Constitution of the Alaska Native Brotherhood:

> The purpose of this organization shall be to assist and encourage the Native in his advancement among the cultivated races of the World, to oppose, to discourage, and to overcome the narrow injustices of race prejudice, to commemorate the fine qualities of the Native Races of North America, to preserve their history, lore, Art, and virtues, to cultivate the morality, education, commerce, and Civil Government of Alaska, to improve Individual and Municipal health and laboring conditions, and to create a true respect in Natives and in other persons with whom they deal for the letter and spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and Laws of the United States.[356]

The ANB Constitution, Article X, established the Citizenship, Health and Education committees to pursue the organization's stated goals of full citizenship and equal educational opportunity. It also provided for a scholarship fund to be awarded on the basis of scholarship, character, health, and an indication of leadership potential.[357]

Rudolph Walton's diary entries for 1913 and 1914 make reference to his involvement with the ANB. He writes:

> Nov. 22, 1913 – I stay at home in Sitka. I have been working on a ANB Hall, 3 hours.
>
> Nov. 22, 1914 – I stay in home at Sitka. I have been working on a silver bracelet. I have been out to ANB, first meeting.
>
> Nov. 24, 1914 – I stay in home at Sitka. I have been work on a watch repair. ANB – Second meeting.
>
> Nov. 28, 1914 – I stay in home at Sitka. I have been join ANB.

356*Alaska Native Brotherhood/Alaska Native Sisterhood: Constitution and By-Laws*. Anchorage, Alaska: Anchorage ANB Camp No. 33, Anchorage ANS Camp No. 72, 1968.

357ibid., Article X.

Rudolph noted on Dec. 1, 1919 that he went to an ANB meeting, and on Dec. 4 that the Wrangell people came and all of Sitka (Tlingits) gave a supper for the guests. Mrs. Jackson, Mr. A. Bean, Jim Boyd, Charlie Moses, Mike and Charlie Tlan Tlanteech, Jack Yakwan and the "Kich-Setti" all held dinners for the guests. He noted that on Dec. 25, the ANB held a dinner for everyone. His diary entry for Dec. 29 states that: "I stay in store. ANB meeting. I was appointed for Treasury."

The historic 1929 ANB/ANS Convention in Haines, Alaska – where the organizations "resolved to pursue the Tlingit and Haida land claims" - was attended by Mr. and Mrs. Walton as well. [358]

Rudolph wrote in his diary for Nov.13, 1929, that he stayed home and got his boat, the Biorka, ready for a trip to the Haines Convention. He said Mrs. Rudolph Walton was a delegate to the Convention. On Nov. 15, 1929 he wrote that:

> I stay in home at Sitka. I have been taking a Biorka up to Haines, Alaska to a convention. I take 14 peoples on a gas boat, Biorka, up to Haines, Alaska.

On Nov. 16, 1929, Rudolph wrote that they stayed in James Klanott's house in Haines and that they had arrived there about 11:10 a.m. He wrote that, "We have very good time. We (have) lots of friends at Haines, Alaska." He noted on Nov.18 that "We stay at James Klenatt's (note: probably relatives of Mark Tlanat who died in prison) house at Haines, Alaska doing [*sic*] the convention, sesion [*sic*]. After several days in Haines attending the convention Rudolph wrote on Nov. 25 that, "We stay at Haines, Alaska, sesion [*sic*] seven, last meeting at Haines, Alaska. It is moved that the next convention at Ketchikan, Alaska.

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[358]Christianson, Susan Stark, ed. *Historical Profile of the Central Council: Tlingit and Haida Indian tribes of Alaska*. Juneau: Arctic Mouse Enterprise, 1992, 17.

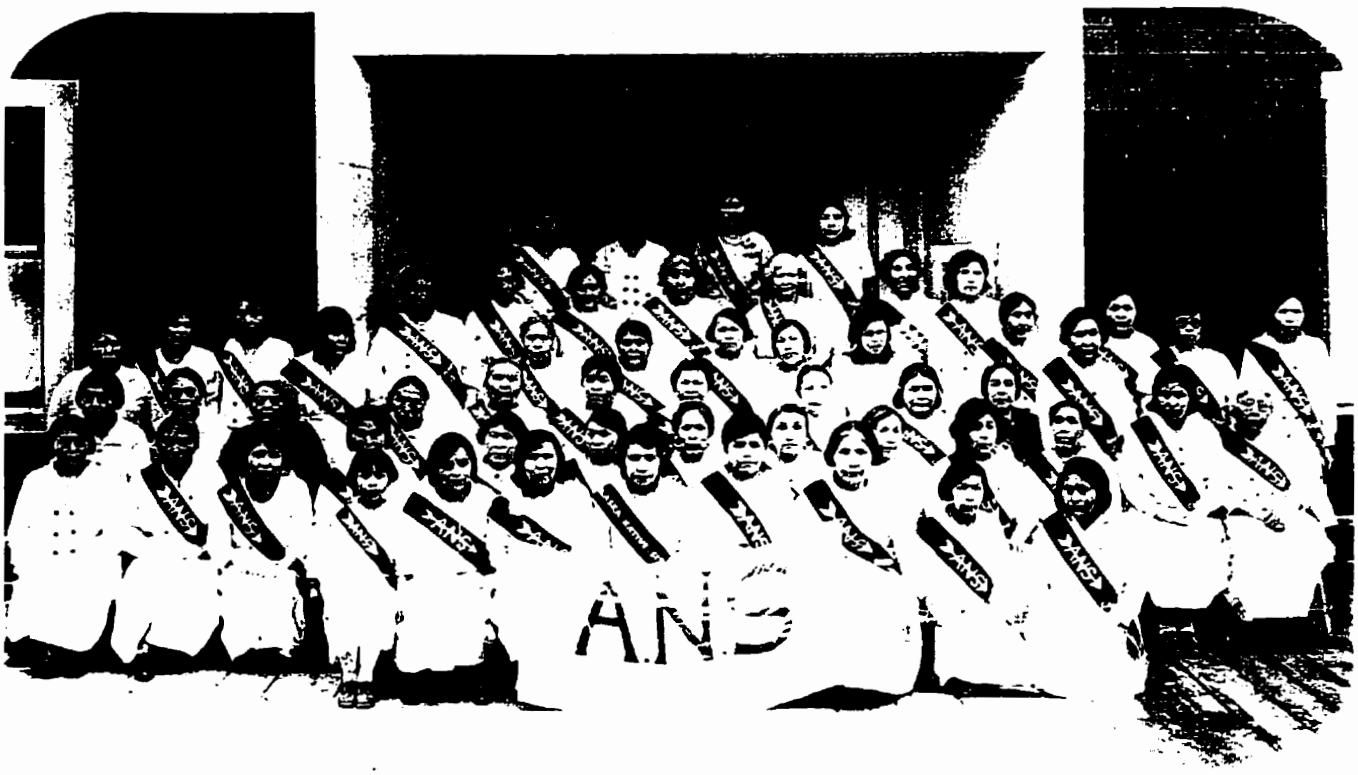
On Nov. 7, 1930, Rudolph noted that his son, William R. Walton left Sitka to attend the ANB Convention in Ketchikan. The torch had been passed to the next generation.

The history of the ANB's fight for land claims involved a long and arduous – and ultimately successful – struggle with the American government. That struggle ultimately led to reparation for Native land claims in Alaska. The 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, the formation of Native corporations, and the history of Alaska were historically tied to that movement.

What is significant about the life of Rudolph Walton is the importance of education in the lives of the founders and early ANB leaders, almost all of whom attended Sheldon Jackson School. As stated earlier, these men used the educational opportunities presented to them to advance the welfare of their people. I am not so sure that people like Rudolph Walton and James Jackson were not deliberately sent to Sheldon Jackson School to learn the ways of the Americans, so they could then use that knowledge to help their people.

In the years following the Davis case and the establishment of the ANB and ANS, Mr. and Mrs. Walton continued to support the efforts of the Tlingit people and the ANB/ANS in their struggle to obtain their civil rights in Alaska. After Mr. Walton retired he continued to financially support the ANB with monthly contributions taken from his retirement funds. Their efforts were rewarded in November 1929 when Judge Harding ordered the case of Irene Jones v. R. V. Ellis settled by issuing a writ of mandamus ordering the Ketchikan School Board to accept Irene Jones, a "mixed blood" sixth grade student. On June 6, 1924, all American Indians and Eskimos were declared citizens of the United States. In addition, through the efforts of Native Alaskans the Territorial Legislature passed an anti-discrimination law in 1945.

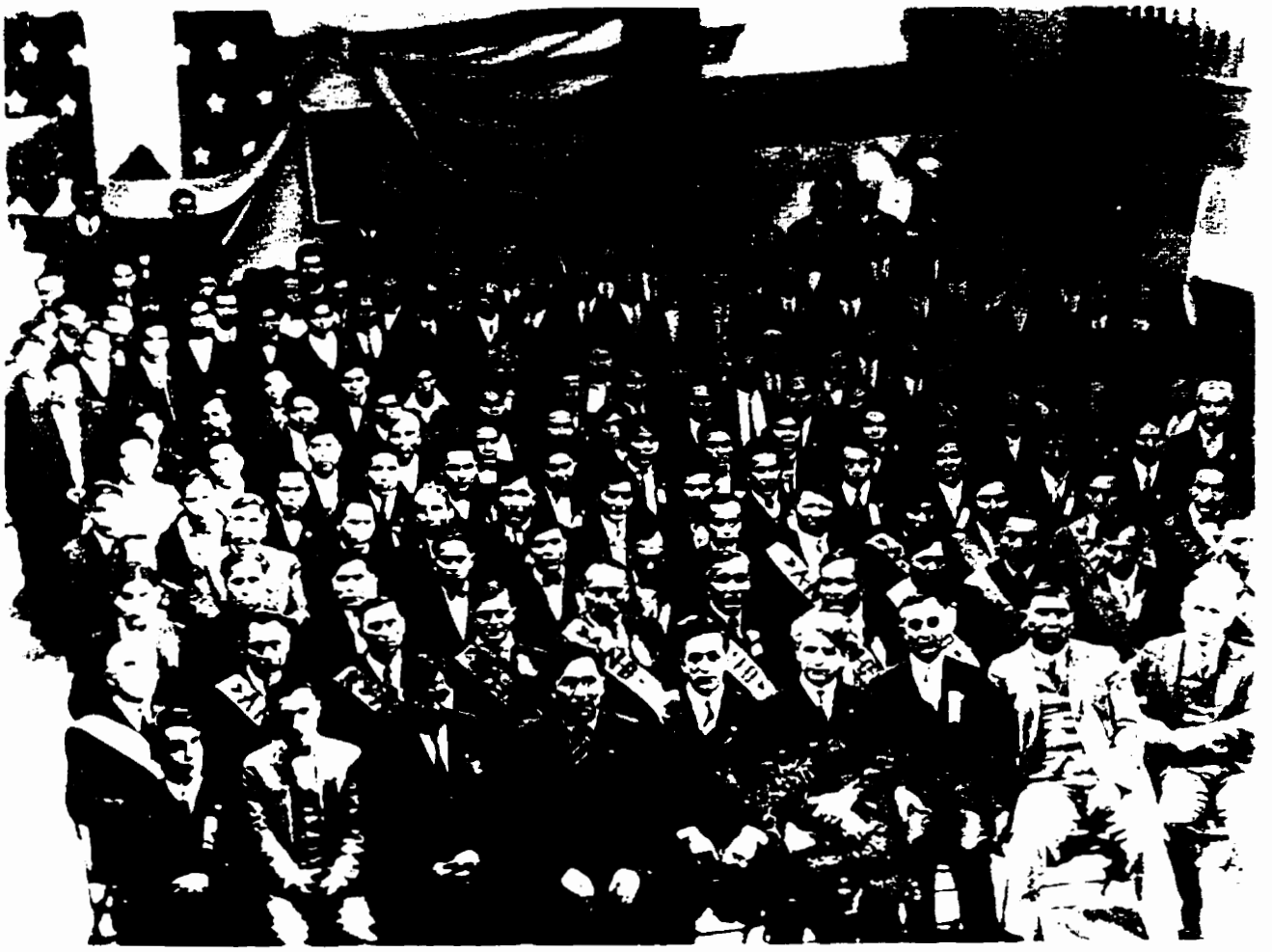
In his later years, Mr. Walton continued to live a mixture of a subsistence and business lifestyle, as just as he had done much of his life. He worked in his store and on his art, hunted, fished and went camping until his failing health would no longer allow him to do so. Almost all of his children graduated from Sheldon Jackson High School, some went on for further training, and many of his grandchildren graduated from Sheldon Jackson College, or other institutions of higher learning.



30. Alaska Native Sisterhood group photo. Mary Walton is standing in the 4th row from the front, she is the third woman from the left. (Photo courtesy of Sealaska Heritage Foundation, Bessie Visaya Collection, courtesy of Rose Miller. Reprinted with permission.)

31. Alaska Native Brotherhood Hall, Camp #1, Sitka, Alaska, June 1971. (Photo courtesy of Sealaska Heritage Foundation, courtesy of R. Dauenhauer. Reprinted with permission.)

32. Alaska Native Brotherhood group photo, Sitka, Alaska, Nov. 1914. Rudolph Walton is standing in the 2nd row, third from the right in the light colored suit. (Photo courtesy of the Sheldon Jackson College Library, E. W. Merrill Collection, M-II-339. Reprinted with permission.)



33. Alaska Native Brotherhood 1929 Convention, Haines, Alaska. Rudolph Walton is the 4th man from the left in the 4th row. (Photo courtesy of the Sealaska Heritage Foundation. Reprinted with permission.)

Chapter Ten - Conclusions

Rudolph Walton's life was a barometer of the social changes the Tlingit had to face in the late 1800s and the early 1900s. He was born at a time critical for the survival of the Tlingit people. Although the Russians brought changes to Alaska, those changes were insignificant compared to the arrival of the Americans. Both Europeans and Americans brought with them epidemics that decimated Native tribes and changed the character of Native villages forever. However, the Americans had a much greater impact on the daily life of the Tlingit and brought with them a whole new set of expectations and laws that were imposed by the force of arms. The Gold Rush and its aftermath brought large numbers of White settlers to Alaska. Salmon canneries and other economic factors depleted food supplies and placed great hardship on Native Alaskans.

In these times of change, Native leaders like Rudolph Walton searched for ways to negotiate a path through stormy seas. They had to make choices that affected not only their own lives and the lives of their immediate family members, but the lives of the Tlingit generations to come.

While many people from outside the Tlingit culture may believe that the Tlingit were adrift in a stormy sea, it is clear from my research that the Tlingit were far from passive in their acceptance of the new ways. Rudolph Walton made many difficult choices in which he attempted to integrate his traditional values with the realities he faced. Rudolph Walton and many others like him became educated in the beliefs and values of the Western world, and used that education, along with their knowledge of Tlingit culture and tradition, to lead us into the New World.

The world they faced and the choice they had to make were easy. Rudolph and his contemporaries knew they would not live to see the equalities and justice they were

striving for, but they repeatedly said what they were doing was for the children, for the future of the Tlingit people. They were very aware of what they were doing, and why they were doing it.

Rudolph Walton's early life showed his acceptance of the Presbyterian Christianity. He was told, and perhaps believed, that if he adopted the "new Christian" ways, he would be treated as an equal with other Americans. But his early life also showed a man who lived in two worlds. He adopted new ways and new beliefs, but he held on to those essential values that had always grounded his people. When the two worlds became farther and farther apart, he was forced at times to chose between two conflicting sets of values. He did so, it seemed to me, with integrity and courage. From the outside it may have appeared that Mr. Walton gave up his culture, but from the inside, it appeared to me, that he was guided by the essential values of his people. The choices he made were for the future and the survival of the community, choices that reflect the essential values of the Tlingit people.

Education was a critical element in the decision-making process for the Tlingit. Skills that Rudolph Walton learned at school were absolutely essential for the leadership role that he and others of his generation were to play in helping the Tlingit survive the perilous times of the late 1800s and the early 1900s. Rudolph Walton could read, write and speak English, skills he learned at Sheldon Jackson School. He also gained an understanding of the American values, culture and laws through his interaction with non-Natives. Thus, he was able to serve as a bridge between the old and the new, between the Tlingit and the Americans because he obtained that understanding,.

Along the path of that education, Rudolph Walton encountered people who came to Alaska with a sincere desire to help the Native people negotiate a pathway. People like Dr. B.K. Wilbur, who exemplified the spirit of service that motivated many of the

early missionaries. I believe that Rudolph Walton saw in Dr. Wilbur and others like him that sincerity and despite their differences these men bridged the cultural gap and became friends.

Rudolph Walton's life, however, was essentially on trial in the Davis Case, despite the education and financial success he achieved, and despite the promise of American justice. The Davis Case along with other discriminatory policies proved to the Tlingit community that they could not protect their civil rights under the American system of laws. The case was an epiphany for some, bringing about the awareness that only collective action on the part of the Tlingit could achieve the goals they set for themselves of equal rights under American law. This understanding led to the formation of the Alaska Native Brotherhood.

For me, studying Rudolph Walton's life has been a similar epiphany. Most of the history of the Native people has been written from the perspective of Europeans and Americans. That history very rarely is written with respect for the Native people and their values. This dissertation shows it is possible to do research about the lives of Native people with respect for all the people involved. I sought to tell the story of the life and times of Rudolph Walton through his words, and the words of others who were involved in historic events. Because I share the Tlingit culture I believe I was in a unique position to interpret the words, actions and intent of Rudolph Walton's writings and actions from an insider's perspective. There are things I found in my research that I feel I could understand at a deeper level because I had more knowledge about the particular situation or because of the stories and values inculcated in me as a child. Someone outside the family and culture would not have had that same advantage.

In addition, I was struck at times by the similarities between my situation and my grandfather's. In meeting the values, standards and requirements of the university, I felt

at times in conflict with my cultural values and traditions. Even writing about my own family member presented a conflict. I sought to overcome that conflict in ways similar to those I feel my grandfather used. I was motivated to continue by coming to understand that I could make the process a collective effort by involving family and community in every step of the research process. In addition, I felt it was important that my own people understand the courage and sacrifices that were made on our behalf by our elders. I myself did not understand this at the outset of my research. I have come to understand much more about Tlingit history and I have a great deal more respect for my elders and those who came here to help the Tlingit survive as well.

I also have a much greater respect for the importance of education. Education enabled Rudolph Walton to do what he had to do. In addition, education has enabled my people to move into a new world and succeed there. Our vision of the world changed with the coming of Europeans to our shores in much the same way as the vision of the world changed at seeing the earth from space. We like the rest of the world have moved from a tribal perspective to a national vision to a global vision. The world has changed for all of us, it has just happened at different times in different parts of the world. A paradigm shift has occurred which provides a new perspective for the all of the people of the world.

Education opens new opportunities and allows understanding to occur. Understanding the life of Rudolph Walton provides a clearer picture of how the Tlingit people steered a course through stormy seas.

Epilogue: Research Reunites the Walton and Wilbur Families

I searched for several years for the family of Dr. Bertrand K. Wilbur because I was very interested in the connection between my family and his. I was also hoping to find more information for my research project, i.e. photographs or letters. However, I was unable to locate them.

On evening after I had more-or-less given up on ever finding the Wilbur family, and when I had decided to leave the office in Vancouver where I had been working on my dissertation and go home, it suddenly occurred to me to try to find the Wilburs once more. I was very tired and had already shut my computer down when this happened. The thought occurred to me to search the Internet for the Wilbur family, so I turned my computer back on. I had searched the net previously, but on that night I decided to search under "Yahoo!" looking in the category "people." I didn't have a first name to enter, so I left that box empty and entered the Wilbur family's last name into the search engine. The program then asked me to enter the name of the city and state I wanted to search. I thought a minute and decided to try San Diego, California. I then hit the search button not expecting to find anything, but to my total amazement the very first name that came up was Bertrand K. Wilbur. I knew that I had at last found the family of Dr. B. K. Wilbur because the spelling of Dr. Wilbur's first name is not a common one and because the middle initial was "K."

I was literally stunned by the connection, and sat at the computer trying to figure out what to do next. The Wilbur's telephone number was listed with their name, so I picked up the telephone and dialed their telephone number. I was so excited, I was almost in tears. An answering machine came on, so I left a message for the Wilbur family to call Vancouver, if they were members of the Wilbur family whose grandfather was a missionary doctor in Alaska at the turn-of-the-century.

I knew it was the right family. After I left the message I just sat in my chair, frozen with excitement and expectation. I then waited for a return telephone call, and in about thirty minutes Suzy Wilbur called. She said, "Yes, this was the Wilbur family whose grandfather was a missionary doctor in Alaska." She said that Dr. Wilbur's son, Bertrand H. Wilbur, lived with them, but that he wasn't home at the moment. Suzy said she was sure he would like to talk to me, and asked me to call them back in an hour.

Suzy Wilbur was very friendly when I spoke to her on the telephone, and seemed as excited as I was. I was thrilled that the reception from the Wilbur family was warm and open to my contact. An hour later I called back and spoke for about twenty minutes to the 98-year-old son of Dr. Wilbur, who told me that my grandfather had helped build the Wilbur family home in Sitka. He also asked me if his father and my grandfather had been camping together, because he recalled being out on a boat with a number of people when he was a small child. At the end of our conversation I promised to send to Mr. Wilbur all the information I had about his family. I sat in disbelief after I hung up the telephone. After five years of searching I couldn't believe that I had actually found the family of Dr. Wilbur. The reconnection with the family seemed to change everything for me, and infused the end process of my research with a new enthusiasm.

I arranged a five day visit with the Wilbur family and left Vancouver, British Columbia for San Diego on Oct. 23, 1997. I rented a car upon arrival and drove to the home of Dr. Wilbur's granddaughter, Betsy Wilbur. I suggested when I talked to Mr. Wilbur by telephone that I would be happy to stay in a motel nearby, but Betsy kindly asked me to stay with her.

When I arrived at her home, Betsy greeted me at the door with a big hug and welcomed me to San Diego. We had a small snack and talked about what we should do next. We decided to go to her brother's home, where her father lived. Betsy's brother is

the Bertrand K. Wilbur, whose address and telephone number I found on the Internet.

We drove to the home of Bertrand K. Wilbur, or Randy as he is called by his family and friends where I met the more members of the long lost Wilbur family. We had warm greetings, but the elder Mr. Wilbur was somewhat distracted because the trailer he lived in had flooded the night before and was water soaked. We went to dinner and got to know a little bit more about each other.

I was someone who just dropped in on this family from out of the blue but, they were warm and hospitable, not at all like strangers. It was more like meeting long lost family members. I was reminded of the scene in "Roots" where Alex Haley exclaims, "I've found you! I've found you, at last!" and felt very comfortable and welcome.

We visited and talked about my research and about the relationship between Dr. Bertrand K. Wilbur and Rudolph Walton. We all seemed to be "blown away" by the experience. It was getting very late so, Betsy and I drove back to her home and immediately went to bed. I was tired and needed the rest. The excitement of it all had worn me out.

The next morning Betsy and I drove back to Randy Wilbur's home to visit with the elder Mr. Wilbur. He was feeling a bit better and brought out boxes which contained photo albums from Dr. Wilbur's Sitka period. Mr. Wilbur, Betsy and I started going through the albums and found pictures of Rudolph Walton and his home and workshop. We also found some very old pictures of Sitka, Sheldon Jackson School and students at the school. We also started going through documents that Mr. Wilbur had saved from Dr. Wilbur's time. It was an exciting day as we found many interesting photos and some interesting documents from the Sitka period, but no letters from Rudolph Walton.

Mr. Wilbur brought out a Tlingit dance shirt and moccasins that were made

in Sitka for him when he was a child of one or two years-of-age. The dance shirt is beautifully decorated with a beaded double headed eagle on the front. He also had moccasins which are tiny and a bit more worn, but well preserved for being almost 100 years old.

Mr. Wilbur told me that he had been given a Tlingit name around 1901 when he was a small child in Sitka. He said that his name was, Ch'aak Aanka'woo, which he was told means something like "Little Eagle Chief." My father, James Wilbur Walton, who is a fluent Tlingit speaker and "master" or head of the Tlingit Kaagwaantaan clan of Sitka told me that Mr. Wilbur's name means something more like "Chief of all the Eagles." He went on to say that the only person who could have given Mr. Wilbur his name was Annahootz, the well known and highly respected leader of the Kaagwaantaan at that time period. Therefore, Mr. Wilbur or Ch'aak Aanka'woo is our most esteemed elder. The name suits him.

On the third day I was in San Diego, I drove to the Wilbur home by myself. When I arrived, Suzy Wilbur met me at the door and said something like, "Joyce, God has His Hand in all of this. Guess, what we found this morning when we were cleaning out father's trailer?" The carpet cleaners were coming and the Wilburs had to remove everything off the wet carpet in Mr. Wilbur's trailer so the workers could pull it up and dry out the floor. I could not imagine what she was talking about.

Suzy took me by the arm and led me to the kitchen where about twenty engraved silver spoons and forks were laid out on the table. Suzy and Mr. Wilbur just stood there grinning at me and then explained what had happened. Suzy said they found the silver in Mr. Wilbur's trailer when they were removing everything, so it could be dried out and repaired. Apparently the silverware was in a small box and wrapped in an old 1980 newspaper when they found it. Mr. Wilbur said he knew they had some silverware from

Alaska, but he couldn't remember what had happened to them. They were as astonished as I was, that just when I came for a visit; they found the silver which had been packed away almost twenty years. A number of the spoons and forks had dates, Sitka, Alaska, and Rudolph Walton engraved on them.

Randy Wilbur found an old friend or acquaintance who agreed to do professional museum quality photographs of the collection for the price of the film. A job which might have cost as much as $1,000 for a professional to do. Another miracle.

That night we all went out for dinner and had a wonderful time visiting. We were all in awe of the fact that after almost 100 years the Wilbur and Walton families were able to renew their friendship. One Wilbur family member commented that it was even more interesting because it was so near the millennium.

The family invited me to go to church with them on Sunday, something I was honored to do. So, on Sunday I went with the Wilbur family to the La Jolla Presbyterian Church. I sat next to the elder Mr. Wilbur and Suzy. I enjoyed it very much and thought a lot about my grandfather and Dr. B. K. Wilbur.

After church we all met at Betsy's house for a brunch where more of Mr. Wilbur's children came to visit with us. We shared a lot about our families and I took some pictures of Wilbur family members reading my grandfather's diaries. I showed them where he talked about almost dying from pneumonia in 1901 and how Dr. Wilbur brought him through. If he hadn't lived through that illness, I suggested to them, none of my immediate family would have been born. It was at this point that some of the elder Mr. Wilbur's children asked me what I thought about having a Walton-Wilbur family reunion. I said I thought it was a wonderful idea. The next question was where did I think would be a good place to hold the reunion. I suggested Port Angeles, Washington, as my cousins and Aunt Rachel (Rudolph Walton's daughter) lived there, and I thought

they would be thrilled with the idea. It is also about half-way between San Diego, California and Sitka, Alaska.

I then called my cousin, Roberta Charles in Port Angeles about the idea, her response was "Of course, when?" We discussed having the reunion in August of 1998, and later set the date for Aug. 18-20, just before a large American Indian Gathering that is scheduled to be held on the nearby Neah Bay Reservation. I said that I had many friends in Vancouver and Russia who were like my family, and that I would like to invite them as well. Everybody thought that was a great idea. Another suggestion was to invite the same television crew to videotape the reunion, that had recently interviewed Mr. Wilbur about his almost 100 years of life experience. We all thought that this was such a wonderful story that it would be of interest to many people.

The next day we met at Randy Wilbur's house and had a great day just visiting. We had in the meantime done various errands like taking old Wilbur photographs to a photo studio to reproduce them. I also went to a copy store and copied numerous photos and documents.

That night more relatives came over to Randy Wilbur's home where we all had a nice dinner together. Before dinner as we were all sitting around visiting, the elder Mr. Wilbur started singing a song in Tlingit. I couldn't believe my ears. He told me that he thought his mother used to sing the song to him when he was a small child as lullaby.

Mr. Wilbur said he believed the song was a Christian hymn which had been translated into Tlingit. He said he believed the hymn was "At the Cross, at the Cross." The moment for me was one of the most astonishing moments of my life and of my visit. Mr. Wilbur sang that song again for me the next day so I could record it. He had tears in his eyes when he sang, I am sure he was thinking of his mother who used to sing that

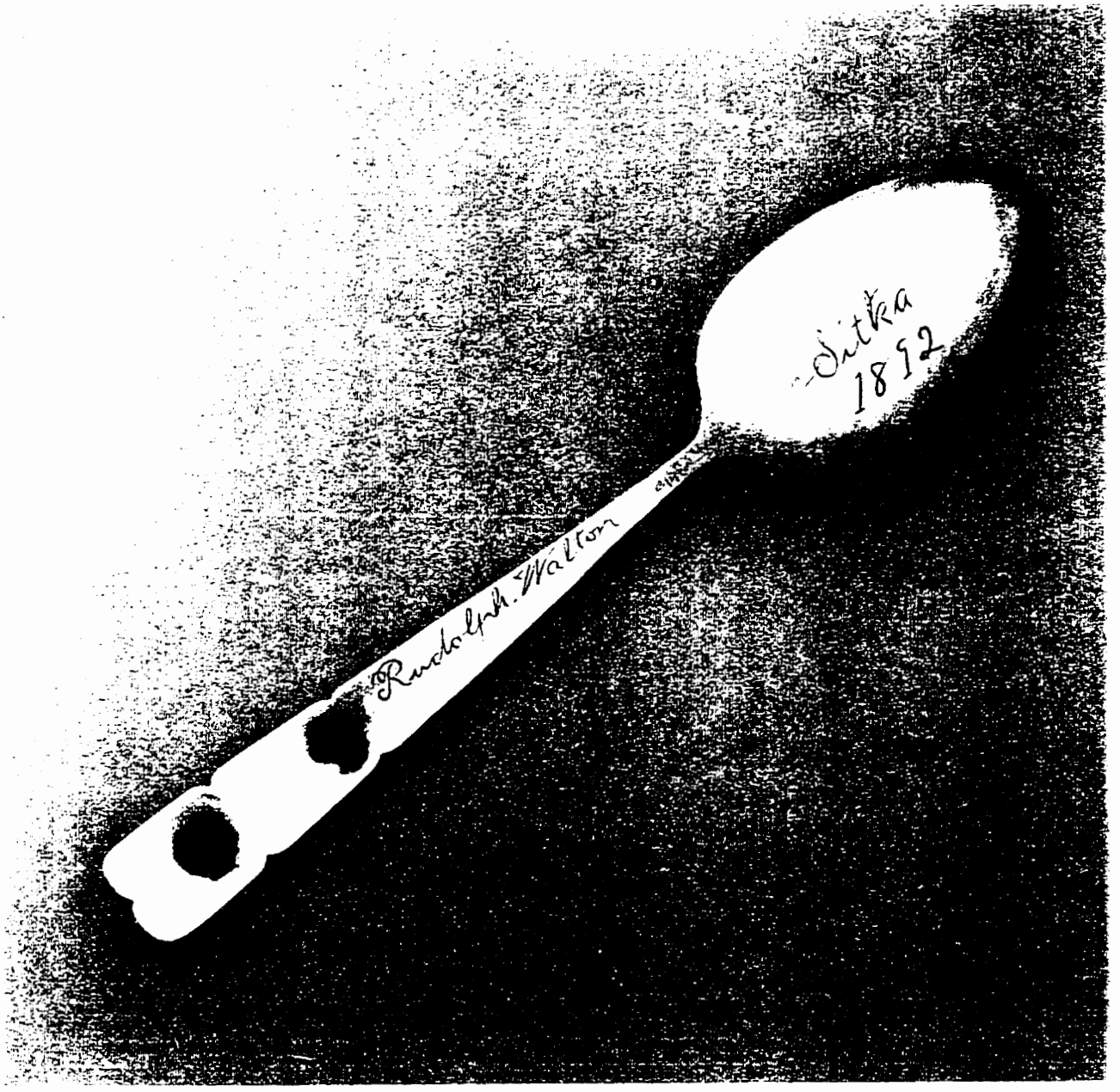
song to him. It was a very moving moment for all of us. I felt that the reuniting of the Walton and Wilbur families was a very special and sacred gift.

I was busy running errands up to the moment I had to leave for the airport. We exchanged e-mail addresses and everybody's telephone numbers as well, so that we could keep in touch and carry on with our plans for the Wilbur-Walton reunion.

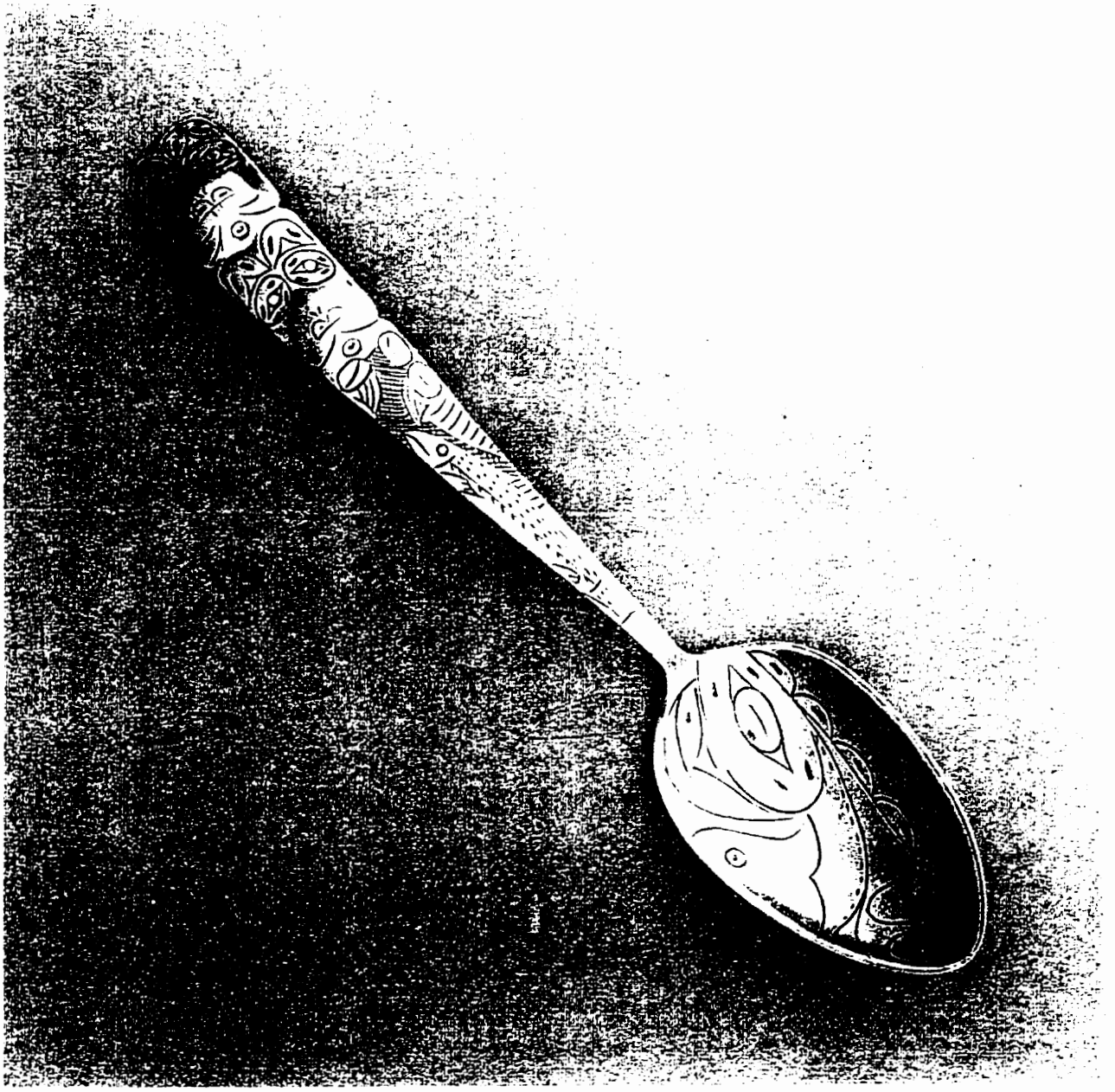
I thought a lot about the meaning of my visit to San Diego on my return flight to Vancouver. I still don't feel like I really know what it all means, but I have no doubt that our families have really reconnected and that all of us feel it is a very special connection. A connection started over 100 years ago when the Wilbur family of Bryn Mawr, Penn. and the Rudolph Walton family of Sitka, Alaska, first became aware of each other. A connection that most likely began in 1880 when the Presbyterians of Bryn Mawr decided to support a Tlingit boy's education at Sheldon Jackson School in Sitka, Alaska.

Perhaps because it all began as a spiritual relationship, the reconnection of the Walton and Wilbur families was not so much a research or intellectual experience for me, but a spiritual one. I firmly believe that my grandfather, Rudolph Walton, and Dr. Bertrand Kingsbury Wilbur had a friendship that lasted all of their lives and after a gap of almost 100 years their friendship has been carried over to another generation. This miracle is a special gift given to all of us by Rudolph Walton and Dr. Bertrand K. Wilbur.

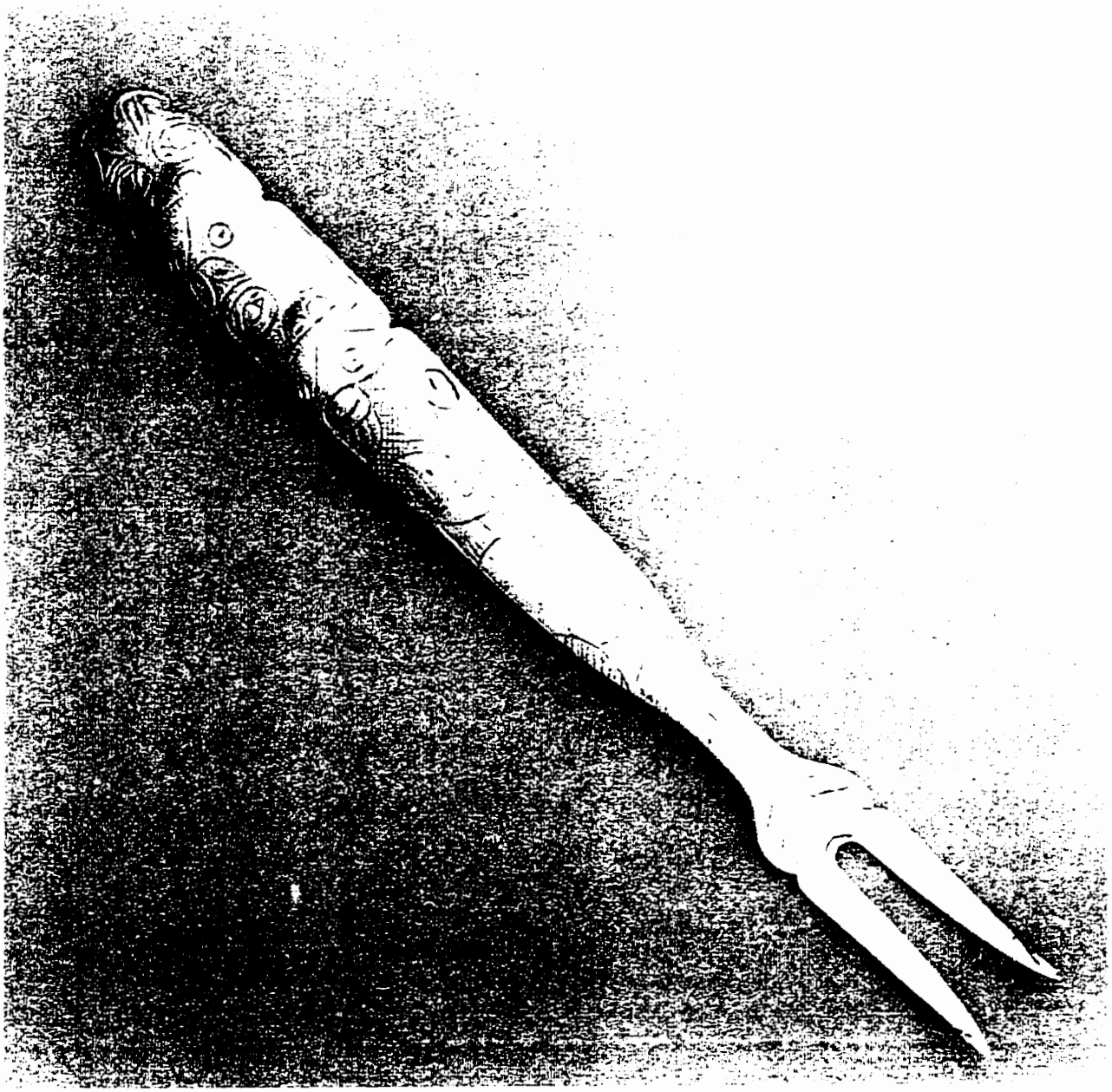
34. Bertrand H. Wilbur, the son of Dr. B. K. Wilbur, and his Tlingit dance shirt made for him when he was two years old in Sitka, Alaska circa 1901. (Henrikson photo collection)



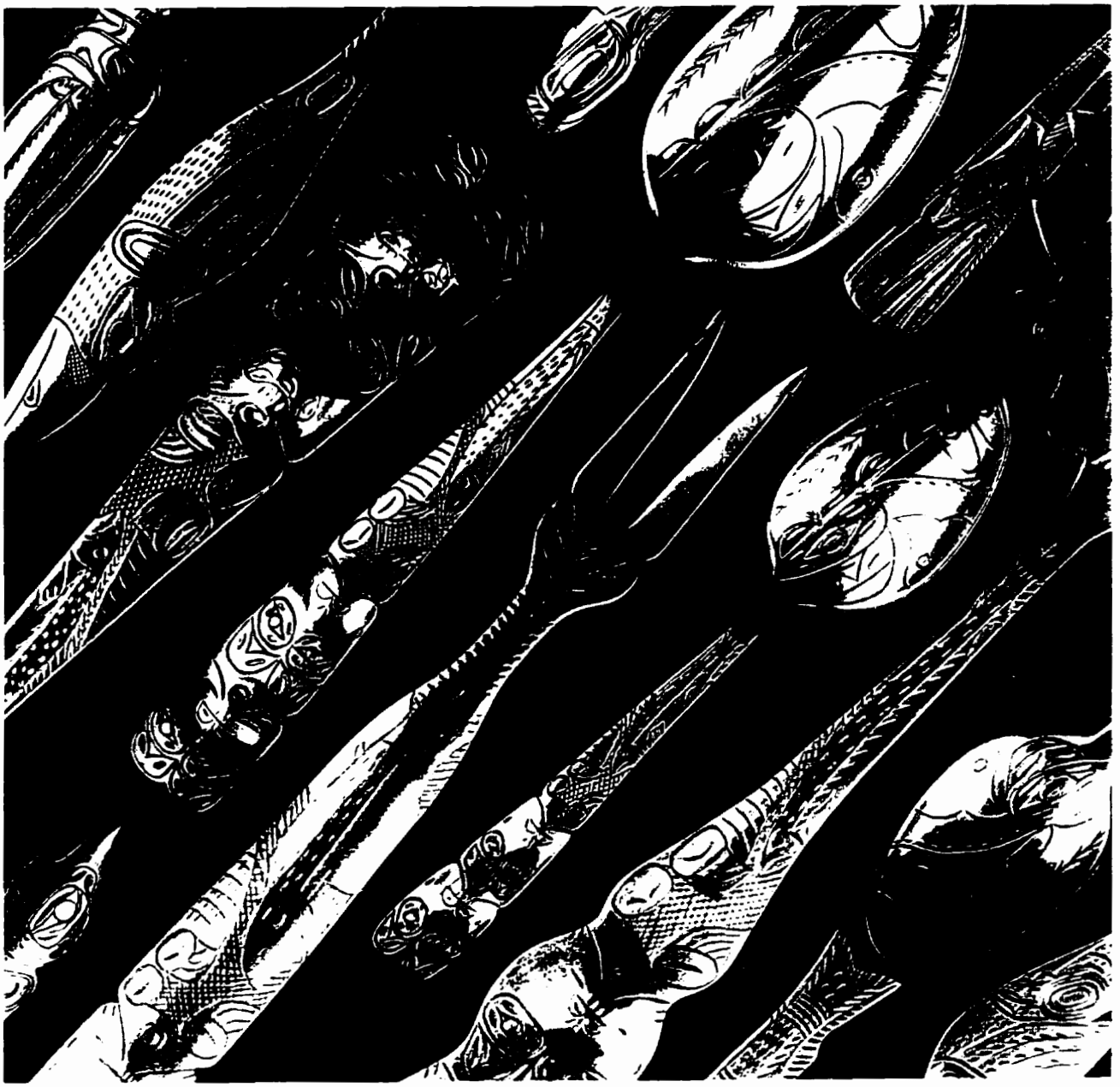
35. Silver spoon made and engraved by Rudolph Walton in 1892 and part of the Wilbur family collection. (Walton family photo)



36. Silver spoon engraved by Rudolph Walton with Tlingit designs and part of the Wilbur family collection. (Walton family photo)



37. Silver pickle fork made for Dr. B. K. Wilbur by Rudolph Walton in 1938, part of the Wilbur family collection. (Walton family photo)



38. Silver made and designed by Rudolph Walton, part of the Wilbur family collection. (Walton family photo)

JANUARY 20

1900 Sat. I stay in home at Sitka. I have been Working on a Silver bracelet and I also Working in the Store. I also doing some Repairs Watches.

1901 Sunday I stay in home at Sitka. I Was very sick. I feel bad all the time, every body think I Was going to die. I came pretty near die.

1902 Mon- I stay in home at Sitka. I have been Working on a Repairs for the Native of Sitka Watch and Clock Repairs.

1903 Tues- We stay in same house Three of us as a Peace makers no dance We are at Rest, they take Care of us very good.

1904 Wed- I stay in home at Sitka I have been Working on a Wooden Totem Pole Ivory Totem Poles and Silver bracelets Watch Repair.

JANUARY 21

1900 Sunday I stay in home at Sitka. I have been Working on a Repairs Watches for the Natives in Sitka. I also doing some Working on the Store.

1901 Mon- I stay in home at Sitka. I feel little better to day God helf me again. I stay in bed can get up. my Children are happy.

1902 Tues- I stay in home at Sitka. I have been Working on a Watch Repair and Clock Repair and silver bracelets and Silver Spoons.

1903 Wed We stay in same house at Town house We have a dance all both side have a big dance. they are very kind to us.

1904 Thurs I stay in home at Sitka. I have been Working on a Silver bracelets and Ivory Carving Watch Repair and I am busy.

NOVEMBER 21

1910 Mon I Stay in home at Sitka, I have been Work on a Mission building 9 hours

1911 Sun I Stay in home at Sitka, I have been Working on a Wooden bowls and Spoon

1912 Thu I Stay in home at Sitka, I have been working on a black older bowls and spoons and forks

1913 FRI I have been stay home at Sitka, I have been Working on a 1 silver bracelet and some spoons

1914 WED I Stay in home at Sitka, I have been Work on a I have been Working on Rooms

NOVEMBER 22

1910 Tue I Stay in home at Sitka, I have been Work on a Mission building 9 hours

1911 Mon I Stay in home at Sitka, I have been Working on a Watch Repair and Clock

1912 FRI I Stay in home at Sitka, I have been Working on a black older Wooden bowls and spoon forks

1913 WED I Stay in home at Sitka, I have been Working on a A.N.B. Hall 3 hour Working

1914 THU I Stay in home at Sitka, I have been Working on a 1 silver bracelets I have been out to A.N.B. to 9 P.T. Meeting

Article 1 — Sheldon Jackson, was The pathfinder and a path maker to Alaska. Childrens have been with out Schools, just a few Schools. The lifes was not complete with out education. Dr Jackson he was a channel, H opened the way to education, Dr Jackson Start to planting the seeds of educations frist, in 1878, In the beginning of the Sheldon Jackson School, In November 1880, ~~was frist planted made by Sheldon Jackson~~, he ~~also~~ started to sowing good seeds for the Kinedom of GoD. This Little plants, it start to growing upward high and higher and biger and wider, And on the same plants, The peoples begin to see lights of Jesus and Salvation and edcation and benefits for the poor peoples which were in darkness before. Boys and Girls are all invited to get you shares now, The door is open to you, Sheldon Jackson win the lights for you and you children. Sheldon Jackson School ~~is~~ a beautiful plant and full of good edcations. It grows like a flowers. It grows in summer and winters. And GOD himself shined upon it, and blessed it. Boys and Girls of Alaska, you be wise to chose the way to shine the glory of find the way to wisdom, The frist Student of Sheldon Jackson School. Rudolph Walton.

41. Rudolph Walton's hand-written article about Sheldon Jackson circa 1926 (SJSL).

Article. 2

Sitka Peoples were in darkness, long, before the light came, Our Fathers and our Mothers Were in darkness too. The Light of Juses Christ came in Sitka in 1878, fourty eight years ago. Mr. John G. Brady, a presbyterian, came into Sitka, with a light in his hands or a Bible in his hands sowing Seeds into the hearts of man and womans and childrens,

Sitka Peoples were in darkness long before Mr. A. E. Austin came to Sitka. Mr. Austin was a Presbyterians. He also was a Sower and sowing seeds, God ansered his prayers and GOD blessed the Same Seeds Which he ~~[illegible]~~ sowed And GoD Shined upon it, A Wonderfut light of Juses. The darkness ~~[illegible]~~ have no more power to over come it. Mr. Austin came to Sitka in 1879, fourty Seven years ago. Mr. Austin worked for nineteen years in Sitka, Among the Thlingets of Sitka. The Sitka peoples have been dieing in darkness, Without Salvation of Jesus christ, for many many years. All man and Womans and the Poor Childrens have been Perishing away for nothing, dieing with out any hope of Salvation. Lifes have been saved, Rev. A. E. Austin. Many many

42. Rudolph Walton's article number 2, page 1 about Alonzo E. Austin, circa 1926 (SJSL).

Souls have been saved for the Kingdom of God. Now A Great many thanks to the Board of Home Missions, for Planting a Presbyterian Church in Sitka. A great many thanks to the Board of Home missions for sending Rev. A. E. Austin, with the good Gospels of Juses Christ.

Rev. Austin was a fathful Sower and very successful. But not all the times his work success. He start the School in Sitka, in 1880, a home for the boys, but the home got on fire on 24th of January, 1882 Mr. Austin and the boys had very, very hard times, because the home was destroyed by fire, The boys have no Place to Stay. Mr Austin ask the boys if they want to go back to they fathers. The boys answer, "no Sir, We Stay with yow," and the brve boys Stay in one of the Stable during the coldest winter in January, 1882. It was very Kind of the Board of Home missions to Send out, Sheldon Jackson, to Rebuild the home for the boys Which have been staying in the Stable, Oldest Pioneer Student of the Sheldon ~~Jackson~~ School.

Rudolph Walton.

or End of Editorial article

43. Page 2 of Rudolph Walton's article about Alonzo E. Austin, circa 1926 (SJSL).

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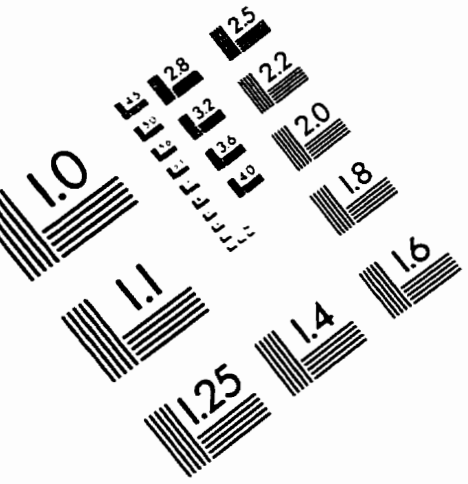

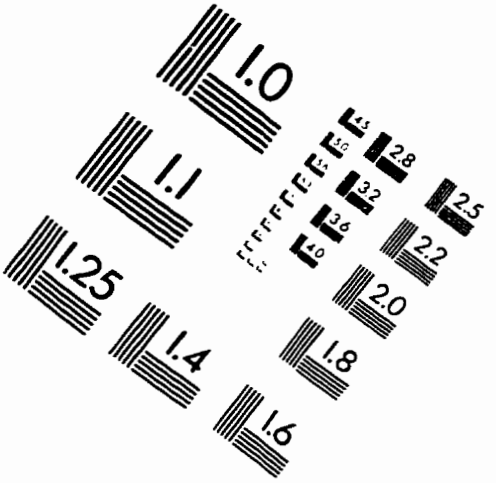

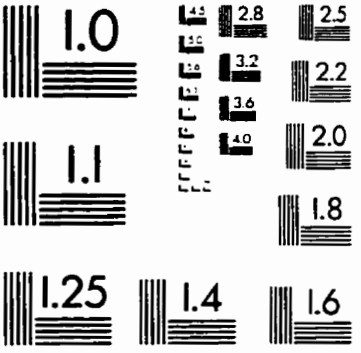

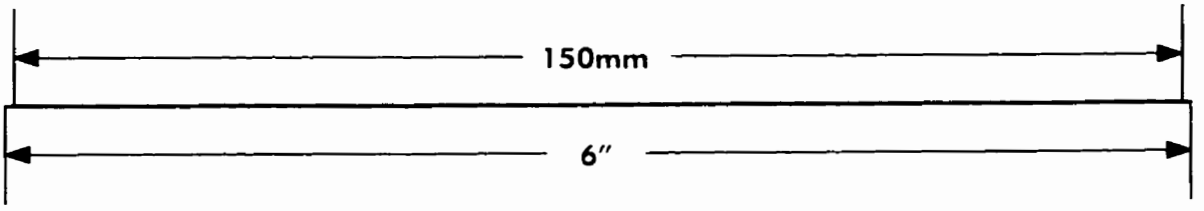

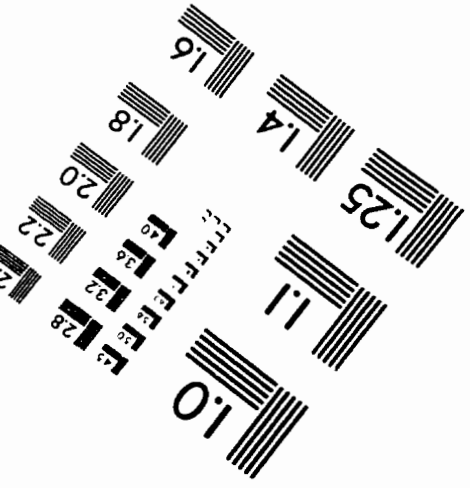

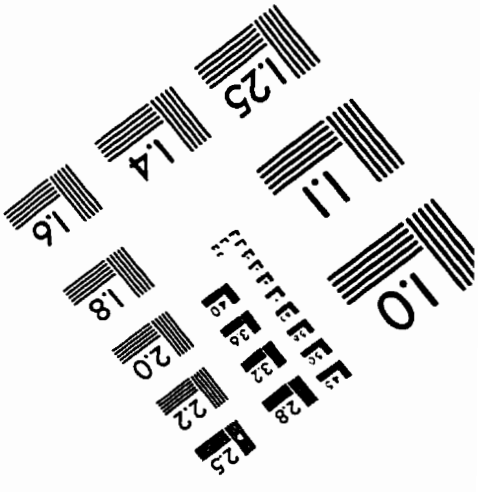

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