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The Growth of the Russian Orthodox Church in America: Influences during the Tenure of Bishop Tikhon

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The Growth of the Russian Orthodox Church in America:
Influences during the Tenure of Bishop Tikhon

The Growth of the Russian Orthodox Church in America:
Influences during the Tenure of Bishop Tikhon

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in History

By

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This thesis is approved for recommendation to the Graduate Council.

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Abstract

Bishop Tikhon Bellavin spent eight years serving as the head of the Aleutian and North American Diocese for the Russian Orthodox Church. During this period the Diocese underwent structural changes that have had a lasting impact on the church. Tikhon was the right Bishop to lead these transformations because, as this thesis argues, he was educated in new theological thoughts and practices. He was forced into these decisions by the following major changes in the United States: a massive increase in immigration from Eastern Europe containing Orthodox parishioners, settlement of these parishioners predominantly on the east coast, a change in Federal subsidy policy towards missionary contract schools, and Tikhon's desire for an autonomous diocese.

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Special thanks are extended to Professor Trish Starks for guiding me through this thesis. Additional thanks are extended to Professor Alessandro Brogi and Professor Donald Kelley whose classes directed my research into new areas of exploration. Lastly, my gratitude to Natalia Shchegoleva who provided years of linguistic training that enabled translations used in this work.

Dedication

To Amanda and my supportive family.

Table of Contents

I. Introduction.....	1
II. Chapter 1 – Bishop Tikhon and the Orthodox in America: Change of Culture and New Leadership.....	14
III. Chapter 2 – Demographic growth in the United States’ Orthodox Population under Bishop Tikhon.....	33
IV. Chapter 3 – The Restructuring of Orthodox Education in America and its Effects upon Bishop Tikhon’s Mission.....	61
V. Conclusion.....	84
VI. Bibliography.....	89

List of Figures

Figure 1 - Russian-Jewish Immigrants arriving to the United States 1899-1910.....	45
Figure 2 - Reported Eastern Orthodox Church Members 1906 and 1916.....	46
Figure 3 - Estimated Russian Orthodox 1899-1906.....	48
Figure 4 - Estimated Russian Orthodox 1907-1916.....	48
Figure 5 - Total Polish and Ruthenian Immigration from 1899-1907.....	57
Figure 6 - Combined Population Increases.....	57

Introduction

Tikhon Bellavin is known for his career after he was elected to be the first restored Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church in 1917, and historical literature on Tikhon is predominantly focused on his time as Patriarch from 1917-1925. The position of Patriarch was not new to the Russian Orthodox Church, but it had long been dormant. When Peter I eliminated the position after the death of Patriarch Adrian on October 18, 1700, no new Patriarch would be appointed for over two hundred years.¹ Peter's substitution for the Patriarch was an administrative leader, appointed by the Tsars, named the Ober-Procurator of the Holy Synod.

Not surprisingly, the appointment of Tikhon to the long-abandoned post of Patriarch in the period of massive upheaval from 1917-1925 has overshadowed information about his earlier administrative posts. Missing from the historiography on Tikhon is the important influence that he had on the Russian Orthodox Church in America during his tenure as bishop from 1899-1907. During this period, the church in America went through a period of rapid and unprecedented growth, and changed considerably. As this thesis argues, while it has been neglected in his general histories, Patriarch Tikhon's leadership was essential to the fostering of this growth. The church grew because of the flexible way in which Tikhon reacted to the situation in America. As this thesis details, Tikhon facilitated the growth of the Russian Orthodox Church in America through his reaction to immigration of East Europeans, diocese organization, federal policies, seminary education, and oversight from abroad.

Tikhon's early years are poorly detailed. He was born January 19th, 1865 in the rural town of Toropetz.² Christened Vasily Ivanovich Belavin, Tikhon was raised in a Russian Orthodox household and had two brothers. Toropetz was a town with an agricultural economy

¹ James Cracraft, *The Church Reform of Peter the Great* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971), 113-130.

² Jane Swan, *The Biography of Patriarch Tikhon* (Jordanville, NY: Holy Trinity Monastery, 1964), 1-3.

and a devoted Russian Orthodox population. Tikhon entered into religious education in his hometown. In 1878 he entered the Pskov Seminary and in 1884 was selected to enter the Academy of Divinity at St. Petersburg at the age of 19.³ Priest A. Roshestvensky recalled in his memoir that Tikhon garnered a reputation as a gentle and religious person. This earned him the nickname “The Patriarch.”⁴ Roshestvensky continued that the Academy had a student-funded library, which was managed by a student-appointed librarian. The library contained primarily secular books as the Academy’s library contained only religious materials. When school authorities removed the appointed librarian students protested, but the Rector appointed Tikhon, whose popularity with his fellow students ended the conflict.⁵ Roshestvensky says Tikhon finished his studies at the theological academy without being ordained and took a job as an instructor at the Pskoff Seminary.⁶ He entered Pskoff at the age of twenty-six and then took his monastic vows and was given the name Tikhon, in honor of St. Tikhon of Zadonsk.⁷

This early period of Tikhon’s career developed his character as a church leader. He was educated through an evolving Russian Seminary system that ignored the Slavophile policies of Ober-Procurator Pobedonostsev. Ober-Procurator Pobedonostsev, a strict Slavophile, was known for his religious campaigns to convert Eastern Europeans. He believed the Russian Orthodox Church had nearly perfected Christianity. His final push for Uniate converts in the Kholm region of Poland occurred as Tikhon was appointed as the Bishop of the region.⁸ Tikhon developed a

³ *ibid.*, 6.

⁴ A. Roshestvensky, *His Holiness Tikhon Patriarch of Moscow and All the Russias: A Memoir* (New York: MacMillan, 1923), 6.

⁵ *ibid.*, 7.

⁶ *ibid.*, 8.

⁷ “His Grace, Bishop Tikhon (Belavin) of Moscow Patriarch and Confessor of Moscow Enlightener of North America,” last modified May 1, 2015, <http://oca.org/holy-synod/past-primates/tikhon-belavin>. Older biographies on Bishop Tikhon have not included this information.

⁸ Robert F. Byrnes, *Pobedonostsev: His Life and Thoughts* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1968) 194-196. Uniates are eastern-rite Catholics. During this period, they recognized the authority of the Pope, but held to their own liturgy and Bishops.

positive relationship with the Uniates, which gave him considerable leverage in the contentious region. His biographers describe Tikhon as a humble and giving man.⁹ It was this trait that helped him work in his next posting.

In 1899, Ober-Procurator Pobedonostsev appointed Tikhon to Bishop of the Aleutians and Alaska. He returned to Russia in 1907 and served as Bishop of Yaroslavl, Vilna, and Metropolitan of Moscow. He would hold this position until appointed Patriarch in 1917. Tikhon's Episcopal See was the largest of the Russian Orthodox Church. It consisted of Alaska, Canada, Hawaii, and the Continental United States. He arrived in the United States on the cusp of rapid growth by the Orthodox Church. Despite the size of his bishopric, this growth developed primarily in the contiguous United States. Instead of growth, in Alaska Tikhon found the historic capital of Russian Orthodoxy in disarray, its clergy disillusioned, and its schools embattled by external missionaries. To understand how Tikhon worked through the issues of his administration both in Alaska and in the lower forty-eight, requires a closer look at the major influences during this period.

Existing historical studies of Tikhon are largely theological in nature and do not use an interdisciplinary approach. To counter these problems, this study includes works by anthropologist, political scientists, and linguistic specialists. By using these materials this thesis can better describe the complex relationship that developed between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Native Alaskans. The people whom Tikhon ministered were a diverse mix culturally, socially, and ethnically. To provide a better historical approach, all of these factors must be considered. This inter-disciplinary approach is also useful in discussions of the growth of the Orthodox community in the rest of Tikhon's territories.

⁹ A. Roshestvensky, *His Holiness Tikhon: Patriarch of Moscow and of All the Russians*, tran. H.P. (New York and Toronto: MacMillan, 1923), 1-31. Roshestvensky was Tikhon's first biographer. Most modern biographies reference him heavily.

The first chapter discusses how Tikhon developed into the type of leader that could aid the American Diocese through this period of growth and change. Metropolitan Innocent's appointment as Metropolitan of Moscow in 1868 marked a change of culture within the Russian Church Seminaries. Innocent had worked as a missionary in the American See influenced his thought on how missionary work should be practiced. Tikhon entered the Theological Academies and adapted to this new culture. This ran counter to the church Administrator Pobedonostsev's approach. The Ober-Procurator became engrossed in the management of the church and ignored the theological seminaries that trained Tikhon. This lack of oversight allowed for Tikhon and his predecessors to work inclusively in America during a period of major growth.

The first chapter thus challenges the existing historiography by providing further information on the context of Tikhon's training and what may have influenced his attitudes and approach to cultural and institutional change. One of the first historians to publish about the Russian Orthodox Church during Tikhon's tenure was John Shelton Curtiss. In his work *Church and State in Russia; the Last Years of the Empire, 1900-1917* Curtiss catalogues the changes in policies of the church up to the 1905 and 1917 Revolutions.¹⁰ He details the guidelines that the Church, and particularly the Ober-Procurator Konstantin Pobedonostsev, enshrined to insure the dominance of Russian Orthodoxy in the Empire. Curtiss' writings focus on the bureaucratic nature of the Church and less on the cultural development of the priest that passed through the Seminaries. Historian Robert Byrnes's biography of Konstantin Pobedonostsev provides information on the formative years of the strict and unbending Slavophile.¹¹ His work explores Pobedonostsev's development of policy and interactions between the Church administration and Imperial Court. Byrnes's study also furnishes explanations about the Ober-Procurator's positions

¹⁰ John Shelton Curtiss, *Church and State in Russia; the Last Years of the Empire, 1900-1917* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), 1-425.

¹¹ Byrnes, *Pobedonostsev His Life*, 1-480.

on Russian Orthodoxy as the perfected religious institution. Byrnes' top down approach to Pobedonostsev does not explain the cultural development within the Academies under his administration. Bishop Innocent's time in the Russian Colony is often glossed over by historians. Church historians have provided the biographical details, but with limited analysis.¹² This thesis uses a collection of translations by Michael Oleska of Innocent's correspondence to provide an interpretation of his development as a missionary and eventually leader within the Church hierarchy.¹³ None of these works have given enough contexts for Tikhon's work.

The second chapter examines the influence of Eastern Orthodox migrants entering the United States. Historical studies on this topic offer a cursory survey of the immigrants who entered the church. Some limit discussion to the ethnic Russians who identify as Orthodox. Other studies provide figures as to the size of the Orthodox population, but not enough details as to how their sums were formed. As this chapter will show, the diversity of the church included more than ethnic Russians. It included Greeks, Serbians, Syrians, and the Uniates of Carpathia. This chapter uses data from census and immigration reports, cross-references these reports, and provides evidence of the scale of growth. This data has been absent from previous historical discussion on the growth of the American diocese and affirms accounts reported by Tikhon and newspapers during this period.

In addition to numbers, understanding American immigration policy is important because it explains how so many Russian and Eastern Europeans were able to enter the United States during Tikhon's tenure. Erika Lee and Judy Young's work *Angel Island: Immigrant Gateway to*

¹² Leonid Kishkovshy, "Archbishop Tikhon & the North American Diocese 1898-1907," in *Orthodox America, 1794-1976: Development of the Orthodox Church in America* (Syosset, NY: The Orthodox Church in America Department of History and Archives, 1975), 21-23.

¹³ Michael Oleska, *Alaskan Missionary Spirit* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2010), 1-406.

America explores these policies as applied at the San Francisco Immigration Station.¹⁴ Russian migration to the United States initially had been through San Francisco. Lee and Young describe how exclusionary legislation targeted those emigrating from Asia, specifically China, while enabling migrants from other European countries. The authors' focus turns towards the immigration station and does not fully return to the policy element. Political Scientist Desmond King furthers the exploration of immigration policies at the beginning of the twentieth century. He argues that literacy tests instituted during the First World War aimed to reduce the number of immigrants entering the country. King does not explore reasoning for the diminished numbers outside of policy decisions. This thesis provides alternative explanations for diminished Russian immigration figures.

Historians Susan Wiley-Hardwick and Eva-Maria Stolberg describe why Russians move east. Eva-Maria Stolberg outlines how the building of the Trans-Siberian Railroad coupled with the onset of the Russo-Japan war provided a means for peasants to migrate to the east coast of Russia.¹⁵ She contends that these peasants, disillusioned from the war, boarded ships bound for America. Susan Wiley-Hardwick's *Russian Refugee Religion: Migration and Settlement on the North Pacific Rim* bolsters Stolberg's study. Hardwick discusses the migration of Russians out of eastern Siberia to the western coast of the United States.¹⁶ Her work provides the details on what happened to these immigrants once settled into their American lives. She documents, specific to the West Coast of the United States, how the development of religious regions occurred. The two studies only view Russian migration as occurring out of Siberia. Their data shows that most of

¹⁴ Erika Lee and Judy Yung, *Angel Island: Immigrant Gateway to America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 1-394.

¹⁵ Eva-Maria Stolberg, "The Siberian Frontier between 'White Mission' and 'Yellow Peril,' 1890s-1920s," *Nationalities Papers* 32, no. 1 (March 2004): 165-183.

¹⁶ Susan Wiley Hardwick, *Russian Refugee Religion: Migration and Settlement on the North Pacific Rim* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 1-222.

the migration during Tikhon's tenure occurred on the eastern seaboard. Neither Stolberg nor Wiley-Hardwick addresses the ethnic make-up of the immigrant population, but this is vitally important in terms of Russian migration.

Determining how many Orthodox migrated to America is a complicated task. Jerome Davis conducted an early analysis of the number of Russian immigrants entering the United States.¹⁷ In his work, Davis focuses strictly on those ethnic Russians who entered the United States and reported themselves as Russian Orthodox. Davis' study is an incomplete picture of who were represented under the Russian Orthodox Church. By examining only those ethnically Russian, the study eliminates a large portion of the diverse church Tikhon managed.

The complication in uncovering how many Orthodox migrated is due to the number of Jewish migrants who emigrated from Eastern Europe during Tikhon's tenure. Benjamin Nathans' *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* explores the Pale of Settlement, which housed Russian Jews in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁸ Nathan's work on Jewish migration ends with their departure from Russia. This thesis provides the answer as to where some of these migrants landed.

Another group of immigrants discussed throughout this thesis are the Uniates. The history and the historiography of the Uniates are contested. They are an Eastern-rite Catholic religious entity. In Eastern Europe they found themselves fought over by the Roman Catholic Church of the Hapsburg Empire and the Russian Orthodox Church in Imperial Russia. C.M. Hann's ethnic study on the Uniates best describes the group as having "no simple congruence

¹⁷ Jerome Davis, *The Russian Immigrant* (New York: MacMillan, 1922), 1-213.

¹⁸ Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 1-402.

between the Uniate religion and the embryonic nation.”¹⁹ Hann’s study is the least contentious because of his understanding of the regional placement of the Uniates. Generally in the historiography on the Uniate, an author falls under the category of pro-Catholic, pro-Orthodox, pro-Hungarian, pro Carpatho-Ruthenian, or pro-Polish. Iu. Polunov’s article, “The Religious Department and the Uniate Question, 1881-1894,” argues that the Russian Orthodox were the aggressors in the grab for Uniate converts.²⁰ His essay, along with Ludvik Nemeč’s, “The Ruthenian Uniate Church in its Historical Perspective,” make the case that the Uniates were traditionally Catholic and that campaigns by the Russian Chief Procurator Pobedonostsev forcefully took converts.²¹ Julianna Puskas suggests that the Uniates were a regional ethnic group of the Austria-Hungarian Empire.²² Her book, *From Hungary to the United States (1880-1914)*, examines the diverse ethnic migrations out of Austria-Hungary. She contends that this migration was economically based and that those who left, Uniates included, were from Austria-Hungary. Conversely, Atanasii Pekar argues in, “Historical Background of the Carpatho-Ruthenia’s in America”, Uniate’s migrated from modern Ukraine and that this group was ethnically Ruthenian.

All of these authors attempt to categorize the Uniates in a way that benefits their perspective religious, ethnic, or nationalistic group. This thesis takes a different approach with the Uniates. It does not argue over their origins or religious affiliations. Instead, it provides evidence that some Uniates did convert to Orthodoxy in America. It then postulates from immigration figures a potential amount of immigrating Uniates that may have converted to Orthodoxy.

¹⁹ C. M. Hann, “Religion and Nationality in Central Europe: The Case of the Uniates,” *Ethnic Groups* 10, no. 3 (1993): 202.

²⁰ Iu. Polunov, “The Religious Department and the Uniate Question, 1881-1894,” *Russian Studies in History* 39, no. 4 (Spring 2001): 77-86.

²¹ Ludvik Nemeč, “The Ruthenian Uniate Church in its Historical Perspective,” *Church History* 37, no. 04 (1968): 365-388.

²² Julianna Puskas, *From Hungary to the United States (1880-1914)*, ed. F. Mucsi, trans. Maria Bales and Eva Palmay (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1982), 1-225.

The growth of the church is an important factor in the discussion of misrepresentation of the Orthodox in Chapter three. The growth of the church influenced Tikhon's administrative restructuring after a lengthy altercation over education. A school system, created by the Russian-American Company and the Orthodox Church, stretched across the Aleutian Islands and eastward towards Sitka. After the purchase of the Russian Colony, American educators ignored this system. The General Agent for education, Sheldon Jackson, misrepresented the scale and abilities of the Russian school system in order to receive government subsidies for his Protestant missionary schools. After the period of contract schools ended, Tikhon chose to reorganize the Diocese and pursue a new mission for the See.

Historians have also not adequately discussed the relationship between Native Alaskans and the Russian Orthodox Church. Anthropologist Sergei Kan's *Memory Eternal: Tlingit Culture and Russian Orthodox Christianity through Two Centuries* provides discourse on the relationship between the Tlingit population in southeast Alaska and the Russian Orthodox Missionaries.²³ He suggests that the nature of the associations between the Russian, Tlingit, and Creole provides answers into Tlingit conversion to Christianity. Kan's work focuses specifically on the Tlingit and provides no information on the other Native groups that converted to Orthodoxy. This thesis builds upon Kan's work and incorporates more on the diverse groups Tikhon worked with.

Chapter three concludes with a discussion on this historiography of Russia-America. The prevalence of American Historians writing about a Russian subject caused an unbalanced and suspect history of the colony. Specifically, historians Ted Hinckley and Stephen Haycox have written volumes that exclude Russian Orthodox sources because none have been translated for their use. Stephen Haycox's most recent work, *Alaska an American Colony*, is currently the

²³ Sergei Kan, *Memory Eternal Tlingit Culture and Russian Orthodox Christianity through Two Centuries* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 1-665.

required textbook for education majors in Alaska.²⁴ In the five chapters devoted to Russian Colonial history the church is mentioned five times. This absence of the church influence and education of Native Alaskans creates inaccuracies in cultural and social history. This chapter will connect the pieces that they have missed and provide a better representation.

This thesis will conclude with Tikhon after his American tenure. His time in America provided him with a new set of skills. He learned that to survive during a turbulent period of world history, he needed to embrace diversity, to minister where new populations of Orthodox resided, and to delegate responsibilities as needed. Tikhon would use these skills to lead a divided church in Russia that had continued to ebb and flow in areas of church policy until his appointment as Patriarch.

²⁴ Stephn Haycox, *Alaska an American Colony* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 37-146.

Methodology

It is the overall goal of this thesis to provide an historically researched study on the influences on the Russian Orthodox Church in America during the tenure of Bishop Tikhon. He is renowned in the Orthodox Church and has been the topic of many theological papers. Academic historians have not sufficiently explored Tikhon and his formative years in Alaska. This thesis goes beyond religiously influenced scholarship by utilizing primary sources from the Russian Orthodox Church and substantiating their materials using non-religious primary sources or a predominance of academic secondary scholarship.

To answer the overarching questions of why and how Bishop Tikhon grew the Russian Orthodox Church in America, this thesis uses both Russian and American primary sources. The Alaskan Russian Church Archive Records houses the personal correspondences of Bishop Tikhon. These letters, reports, telegrams, and notes provide information as to the concerns of the parishioners in Tikhon's diocese. The *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik (Russian Orthodox American Messenger)* was also used to document Tikhon's actions. This newspaper, published by the Orthodox Church, offers reports from field ministers, official reports, and recommendations from Bishop Tikhon and his travel logs as he navigated around the United States and Alaska. The *Viestnik*, an Orthodox Church publication, detailed one side of the conflict between the Orthodox Community and Protestant groups in Alaska. The *Viestnik* published correspondences between local clergy in Alaska and the non-Orthodox missions. The paper regularly published correspondences between Bishop Tikhon and Rev. Sheldon Jackson, General Agent of Education in Alaska.

The *Viestnik* told one side of the educational conflict. To balance the discussion, this thesis used government reports, Congressional studies, and surveys. In addition, non-Orthodox

newspaper archives were used to describe church activities, church administrative structure, and court trials over education. These sources included *The New York Tribune*, *The Arizona Silver Belt*, *The San Francisco Call*, and *The Minneapolis Journal*. A common thread through all of the accounts from 1899-1907 was the rapid growth of Orthodox Church membership and church construction in these regions. These stories are relevant in the discussion of Eastern Orthodox immigrating during Tikhon's tenure. They document Tikhon working with and administering to Greeks, Syrians, Serbians, and Uniates.

Federal document collections from the Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Immigration are integral to the demographic discussion of chapter 2. The Decennial Census of the United States provided population and geographic disbursement information in the United States. Census data from 1890 and 1900 show an increase in Russian immigration. Between 1900 and 1910 the Russian immigration numbers increase substantially from 400,000 in the 1900 census to 1.5 million in 1910. The census helps correlate geographical and parishioner population changes reported in the *Viestnik*. The census does not provide details on demographics of who had migrated from Russia during this period. A special report on religious activity in the United States by the Bureau of the Census in 1906 further complicates these statistics. The number of Russian Orthodox reported in this survey was much lower than the population figures suggest.

To clarify the census numbers requires the Bureau of Immigration's Annual Reports. An important distinction occurred in the reporting in these studies. The country of previous residence was cross-referenced with each ethnicity that entered the country. Beginning in Annual Report of 1899, the Bureau of Immigration considered Jewish immigrants as a race. In doing so, their reported migration was categorized in a way that allowed for geographic emigration

identification. This is important for Russian immigration figures as it allows for the extraction of ethnic Russians from total populations. The bulk of chapter two engages this data in a new way creating unique charts, which provide concrete figures to substantiate claims in the *Viestnik* and newspaper accounts of a growing Russian Orthodox body.

Some theological sources have been included in this study. Historians have not examined certain historical figures of the Orthodox Church that had an impact on Tikhon. Nor have church historians thoroughly researched these same individuals. In these instances, this thesis has used the limited existing materials. This is especially the case concerning discussions of Tikhon's predecessor, Bishop Nikolai.

This thesis holds two primary payoffs. First this thesis provides an historic approach to the Russian Orthodox Church in America. Church historians have done their best to provide the story of the Orthodox Church in America. Contemporary church historians have built their research from articles and books created within the Church. In doing so, modern interpretations on the history of Orthodoxy in America have become muddled. This study provides a new interpretation on the events that precipitated major changes within the church structure that have lasted until today.

Secondly, it aims to open a door in historical writing on the influence of Russian Orthodoxy in cultural and social history of America. Tikhon is the best-documented Orthodox figure during this time period. By utilizing new sources about him this thesis shows how he was able to manage a diverse flock and adapt the church for future growth. It also shows that Tikhon's past experiences were influenced how he worked with the different types of Orthodox parishioners under his Diocese.

Chapter 1 – Bishop Tikhon and the Orthodox in America: Change of Culture and New Leadership

The Russian Orthodox Church in America at the turn of the twentieth century was poised for change. Its membership grew while federal education policies affected how the church operated. Instituting change was not simple and required a different type of leader. The church needed a leader who was willing to implement cultural changes to move the church forward. It necessitated a head that understood that the church in America needed to operate independently from the church in Russia. As this chapter argues, Bishop Tikhon possessed the necessary background and had the required qualities. He was educated in Russia at a time when the Slavophile Ober-Procurator Konstantin Pobedonostsev managed the church, but Tikhon did not develop the same practices mandated by Pobedonostsev. The theological seminaries in Russia that trained him evolved their methodology apart from Pobedonostsev. Bishop Innocent, who preceded Tikhon in the Russian colony, developed a new approach to convert Native Alaskans. After his elevation to Metropolitan of Moscow, Innocent adapted the culture of the Theological Academies and educated Tikhon's generation in this new way. To achieve his legacy, Tikhon rejected the practices of Pobedonostsev and embraced the ideals set forth by Bishops Innocent.²⁵ Tikhon set upon a path that restructured the diocese's administration, created a system of seminaries that educated the next generation of theologians, and built a bureaucracy that allowed his multi-national and multi-lingual See to operate autonomously from the Russian Church.²⁶

²⁵ Church scholars refer to Bishop Nikolai (Ziorov) as Bishop Nicholas.

²⁶ Leonid Kishkovshy, "Archbishop Tikhon & the North American Diocese 1898-1907," in *Orthodox America, 1794-1976: Development of the Orthodox Church in America* (Syosset, NY: The Orthodox Church in America Department of History and Archives, 1975), 82-101.

Prior to coming to America in 1899, Tikhon had influential experiences in his education and administrative positions that would inform his later tenure as bishop. In 1891 Tikhon was transferred to the seminary in Kholm, Poland and appointed Rector. The citizens of Kholm had a history of mass conversion by Roman Catholic, Russian Orthodox, and especially Catholic Uniates.²⁷ Ober-Procurator Pobedonostsev waged a conversion campaign to bring the Uniates under the Orthodox Church. Tikhon's gentle disposition was a good match that brought them into the Orthodox religion. His popularity in the local community grew. Tikhon was known for his stewardship and hospitality to all who would come and listen to him preach.²⁸ His administrative abilities and knowledge of Orthodoxy garnered the attention of the Church Administration. At the age of thirty-two Tikhon was appointed Bishop of Lublin, Vicar of the Kholm Warsaw Diocese.²⁹ He was the youngest member of the Episcopate. Within eleven months of his first appointment as Bishop, he was made head of the Aleutian and Alaskan Diocese.

Tikhon's attitude and practices in Poland were representative of a change in culture within the Orthodox Theological Academies. One of the earliest instigators for transformation within the Orthodox Church was the former head of the Alaskan See, Bishop Innocent. His elevation to Metropolitan of Moscow and his influence over Theological thought was founded in his time spent in the Colonial See. The diocese floundered in its early years as the initial group of missionaries rarely made it to their post.³⁰ The mission in Russian-America gained momentum after Bishop Innocent arrived in 1824.

²⁷ *ibid.*, 8-9.

²⁸ Swan, *The Biography*, 8.

²⁹ Editorial "The Right Rev. Bishop Tikhon". *The Russian Orthodox American Messenger* 3, no 2. (1899): 49.

³⁰ Dmitry Grigorieff, "Metropolitan Innocent: The Prophetic Missionary," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (1977): 18-19.

Prior to his selection as head of the See, Bishop Innocent worked in the colony as Father Veniaminov.³¹ In his formative years in Russian America, Father Veniaminov worked on the island of Unalaska. There he constructed a church, school, and orphanage with financial backing of the Russian-American Company.³² Veniaminov sought to convert the native population through education. This notion ran counter to the popular idea of conversion through benefits.³³ He instructed educators to use a different approach in the tutelage of the natives. He was opposed to the use of corporal punishment in the classroom.³⁴ Unlike Pobedonostsev's Russian-only curriculum, Father Veniaminov believed that scripture and enlightenment should be done in the native tongue.³⁵ This required Veniaminov to create alphabets for several native languages.³⁶ He understood that the longevity of the church in North America depended on the inclusion of new dialects.³⁷ Multi-lingual education was a behavior adopted by the next generation of missionaries, such as Tikhon, in Alaska.

The death of his wife in 1839 allowed Father Veniaminov to take monastic vows. He took the name Innocent.³⁸ In December of 1840 Ober-Procurator of the Holy Synod, Count Nikolai Protassov, decided the population of Orthodox in Russian-America was sufficient enough to warrant its own diocese.³⁹ Protassov appointed then Archimandrite Innocent to head

³¹ David Nordlander, "Innokentii Veniaminov and the Expansion of Orthodoxy in Russian America," *Pacific Historical Review* 64, no. 1 (1995): 23.

³² Grigorieff, "Metropolitan Innocent," 20.

³³ Paul W. Werth, "The Limits of Religious Ascription: Baptized Tatars and the Revision of 'Apostasy,' 1840s-1905," *Russian Review* 59, no. 4 (2000): 46-497.

³⁴ *ibid.*, 20-21.

³⁵ *ibid.*, 22-23.

³⁶ Antoinette Shalkop, "The Russian Orthodox Church in America" in *Russia's American Colony*, ed. Frederick Starr (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987), 205.

³⁷ David Nordlander, "Innokentii Veniaminov," 30.

³⁸ Henceforth, Veniaminov will be referred to as Innocent

³⁹ Shalkop, "The Russian Orthodox Church," 195-197.

the new See. In 1840 an *ukaz* issued by the Protassov moved the episcopal seat to *Novo-Arkhangel'sk* and promoted Innocent to Bishop.⁴⁰

Ethnographer Sergei Kan's study of the relationship between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Tlingit's of southeast Alaska describes in detail how the inclusive practice began.⁴¹ Innocent first tested his approach with the Aleuts of Unalaska after he received instruction from Siberian tutors. Kan explains that when he arrived at Unalaska Innocent did not know the Aleut language. With assistance Innocent learned and created a written language. Innocent then listened and learned about the Aleuts' religious habits. Kan argues that he then explained his religious work in comparison and demonstrated that his were more appropriate. Kan does make clear that Bishop Innocent believed that conversion and eventual baptism was to be voluntary and never forced.⁴²

Innocent reported a similar example of this in a report on the condition of the See.⁴³ The native Koloshi was a shamanistic tribe and believed those baptized by the Russian Church became slaves.⁴⁴ Elders of the tribe prevented the Russians from proselytizing in the village. An outbreak of chicken pox decimated the tribe in 1836. After the failed attempts by shamans to cure the people, the tribe asked for help from the Russian Church. The church provided a doctor who vaccinated the remaining tribe. Innocent claimed that this action taught the younger villagers that the Church did not intend harm. The younger generation of natives then began to explore the Orthodox Church.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, 196.

⁴¹ Sergei Kan, *Memory Eternal Tlingit Culture and Russian Orthodox Christianity through Two Centuries* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 89-93.

⁴² *ibid.*, 92.

⁴³ Robert Nichols and Robert Croskey trans., "The Condition of the Orthodox Church in Russian America: Innokentii Veniaminov's History of the Russian Church in Alaska," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 63, no. 2 (1972): 47-48.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 47.

Bishop Innocent wanted the church to expand. In 1845 he opened a seminary in New Archangel to educate new indigenous clergy in Orthodoxy.⁴⁵ These new priest would remain in the colony to train future clergy. In addition to the seminary, Innocent established a primary school system to instruct youth.⁴⁶ Under Bishop Innocent's leadership the Diocese enjoyed a steady period of growth. Parishioners included men and women from the Russian-American Company, native converts, and a creole population that grew from the mixed company. Parishes were established along the Aleutian Islands, Kodiak and as far west as Novo-Archangel.⁴⁷ Innocent departed in the late 1850's and a period of stagnation began. The costs associated to operate smaller parishes with trained creole clergy were high. Bishop Innocent did not forget his former See. He rose to the highest position in the Russian Empire, Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna in 1868.⁴⁸ Innocent served in this position until his death in 1878.⁴⁹ As Metropolitan, he established the Russian Imperial Missionary Society, which funded the Alaska mission. In 1868 Innocent wrote to the Ober-Procurator with suggestions on how to restructure the American Diocese after the sale of the colony.⁵⁰

Antoinette Shalkop argues that after Innocent returned to Russia a separation between church administrators and their local clergy slowed the church expansion. She describes the divide as over the disciplinary actions taken by both the church officials and Russian-American Company that were applied across the classes of clergy.⁵¹ She explains that Russians made sin a public matter. Higher-ranking clergy received assistance to cover their errors. Lower ranked

⁴⁵ Nordlander, "Innokentii Veniaminov," 31.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 32-33.

⁴⁷ Shalkop, "The Russian Orthodox Church," 196-217.

⁴⁸ Nordlander, "Innokentii Veniaminov," 33-34.

⁴⁹ Constance J. Tarasar and John E. Erickson ed., "Diocese of Kamchatka, the Kuriles and the Aleutians Bishop Innocent (1840-1858)," in *Orthodox America, 1794-1976: Development of the Orthodox Church in America* (Syosset, NY: The Orthodox Church in America Department of History and Archives, 1975), 16.

⁵⁰ Michael Oleska trans., "Letter from Archbishop Innocent Veniaminov to the Ober-Procurator of the Holy Synod, 1868," in *Alaska Missionary Spirit* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Press, 2010), 251-252.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, 209-212.

creole clergy had their transgressions made public. The Russian-American Company worked with the church to make confession mandatory and thereby exposed misbehaviors. After the sale of the colony in 1867 the practice of forced confession ended. The sale of Alaska in 1867 from Russia to the United States slowed the growth of the Orthodox Church. The Russian consulate had been established in San Francisco. Consulate officials and diplomats requested the church meet their religious needs. The decision was made to move the administrative offices and then bishopric from Sitka to San Francisco.⁵²

The bureaucratic nature of the church marked 1880 entrance of a new Ober-Procurator Konstantin Pobedonostsev.⁵³ Ober-Procurator Pobedonostsev controlled the Holy Synod.⁵⁴ Pobedonostsev became associated with the Imperial Court when he was appointed as instructor to the Grand Dukes Vladimir, Nicholas, and Alexander.⁵⁵ Pobedonostsev considered himself a Slaovophile and often exposed his students to the ideals of Slavism.

Pobedonostsev was an intellectual with western interests. He translated volumes of works from many different languages.⁵⁶ Historian Robert Byrnes noted that despite the breadth of topics and languages Pobedonostsev studied, he did not read works beyond his generation of scholarship. In his later years, he did not expose himself to writers such as Joseph de Maistre nor Edmund Burke.⁵⁷ Byrnes further suggests that his prejudice towards Germany left Pobedonostsev ignorant of works by Friedrich Nietzsche and Heinrich von Treitschke. Byrnes points out the intellectual deceitfulness Pobedonostsev practiced in his translated works. Byrnes

⁵² *ibid.*, 200-202.

⁵³ Robert Byrnes, *Pobedonostsev: His Life and Thought* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968) 165-210.

⁵⁴ John D. Basil, "Konstantin Petrovich Pobedonostsev: An Argument for a Russian Stat Church," *Church History* 64, no. 1 (1995): 44-46.

⁵⁵ Warren B. Walsh, "Pobedonostsev and Panslavism," *Russian Review* 8, no. 4 (1949): 316-317.

⁵⁶ Robert F. Byrnes, "Pobedonostsev's Conception of the Good Society: An Analysis of His Thought after 1880," *The Review of Politics* 13, no. 2 (1951): 172-174.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, 173.

found numerous examples of translations that Pobedonostsev distorted the meanings or omitted pages that did not fit his beliefs.

Pobedonostsev wanted the Russian Orthodox Church to operate at its best and did not believe there could ever be perfection in church society.⁵⁸ He understood that changes at times needed to be made, but he wanted as few deviations as possible. Byrnes suggests that Pobedonostsev saw the Russian Church as the most perfected version of Orthodoxy and thus major changes would bring an end to flawlessness. Pobedonostsev viewed the church as an equalizer of society.⁵⁹ The church was a collective in which no individual should be elevated above another in worship. He viewed the elevation of priests by other denominations as absurd. Pobedonostsev held that to obtain a good society, the church and state must remain in union. This allowed the Tsar to become one with his people when they worshiped together.

Pobedonostsev's Slavophile tendencies held that the church must be entirely Russian. Historian John Basil's study of Pobedonostsev's church demonstrates that the Ober-Procurator failed to notice changes that occurred in theological thought from within his own academies.⁶⁰ This is important when examining the individuals that influenced Tikhon's thoughts on the Russian Church. Pobedonostsev's lackadaisical approach to the theological academies allowed for ideas initiated by Metropolitan Innocent to penetrate Tikhon's generation of religious leaders. These new ideas were constructed in environments outside of the Imperial Court's purview where Pobedonostsev resided.

Tikhon is not the only example of a Bishop that received this new form of instruction. Others adapted these methodologies as Orthodoxy began to spread eastward in the United States. Several of Tikhon's predecessors demonstrated similar models of inclusiveness. In 1891

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, 176-177.

⁵⁹ John D. Basil, "Konstantin Petrovich Pobedonostsev," 47-48.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, 49-50.

Archbishop Vladimir was noted for his acceptance of Uniate Parishioners that converted to Orthodoxy.⁶¹ The Uniates in America would compose one of the largest Eastern Orthodox groups that the Russian Church guided. Church historians noted Vladimir was talented both linguistically and musically.⁶² This allowed him to translate liturgies into English and perform the chants melodiously.⁶³

Tikhon has overshadowed the investigations of the work of his predecessor, Bishop Nikolai.⁶⁴ Church historians have recently begun to examine his work. Church Historian Matthew Namee delivered a paper at the St. Vladimir's Seminary Conference in 2009, which provided details into the complex relationships Bishop Nikolai maintained with other Eastern Orthodox groups during his tenure.⁶⁵ Namee argued that a Serbian Orthodox priest, whom Nikolai had ordained, wanted greater autonomy from the Russian Church. Nikolai and the priest approached the Metropolitan of Serbia and ask that the Serbian Churches in America be under the care of the Serbian Orthodox Church. This request was denied due to the lack of infrastructure support. Namee also discusses the interactions with the Greek Orthodox.

Namee's overarching argument is that unity among the Orthodox sects in America was more independent of the Russian Church than previously reported, but his source materials contradict this claim. Namee used both the *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik (Russian Orthodox American Messenger)* and the book *Orthodox America, 1794-1970*. Both of these sources, as this study has shown, indicated a cordial relationship between the Russian Church and Eastern

⁶¹ Keith S. Russin, "Father Alexis G. Toth and the Wilkes-Barre Litigations," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 16, no. 3 (1972): 128-149.

⁶² Church Historians refer to those who have worked and printed while working for the Orthodox Church of America.

⁶³ Constance J. Tarasar and John E. Erickson ed., "Archbishop Vladimir (1888-1891)," in *Orthodox America, 1794-1976: Development of the Orthodox Church in America* (Syosset, NY: The Orthodox Church in America Department of History and Archives), 30-31.

⁶⁴ Church historians identify Bishop Nikolai as Bishop Nicholas; Academics have used his Cyrillic spelling.

⁶⁵ Matthew Namee, "The Myth of Past Unity and the Origins of Jurisdictional Pluralism in American Orthodoxy." Paper presented at the annual St. Vladimir's Seminary conference, Yonkers, NY, June 2009.

Orthodox Sects. Namee also cited historian Brigit Farley's work on Father Michael Andreades.⁶⁶ This historical work also contradicts Namee's argument. Farley explains that Father Andreades came from a wealthy Greek family. He studied at the Saint Petersburg Theological Seminary and worked in the Russian Church. Farley points out that Andreades embodies the change in priorities of the Russian Church. Andreades worked directly with the diverse populations of Eastern Orthodox that found themselves without priests.⁶⁷ He worked for ten years throughout the Northwest holding services in Seattle and Portland to both Russian and Greek congregations.

Archimandrite Anatolii Kamenskii furthers the argument that the Russian Church had adapted itself to be more inclusive and not just in terms of language use. In one example, a letter had been sent to Bishop Nikolai requesting his advice on a cultural matter.⁶⁸ A native reader for the local church had died. The church wanted to give to the widow a blessed icon from the church. Fr. Vladimir Donskoi explained that clan tradition would pass the sacred item to the wife's non-Orthodox family. The brothers of the deceased, who were Orthodox, requested that Nikolai advise them on this culturally sensitive matter.

In his larger work on Tlingit culture and the Russian Orthodox Church, Sergei Kan provides further examples of the church's openness toward native needs. Kan opens a chapter discussing Father Vechtomov who was responsible for a large conversion movement among Tlingit clans in Sitka.⁶⁹ He explains that when Vechtomov came to Sitka, he took time to meet with Clan Elders to hear their needs. The clans had been exposed to Orthodoxy, but at that time

⁶⁶ Brigit Farley, "Russian Orthodoxy in the Pacific Northwest The Diary of Father Michael Andreades, 1905-1906," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 92, no. 3 (2001): 129-130.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 130.

⁶⁸ Anatolii Kamenskii, *Tlingit Indians of Alaska*, trans. Sergei Kan (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1985), 110.

⁶⁹ Sergei Kan, *Memory Eternal*, 245-248.

not committed through baptism into the church. The first request was for the Orthodox School to be reopened for their children.⁷⁰ Many of the native children received instruction from the Presbyterian school, which mocked their religious practices. Vechtomov obliged the request and twenty students attended the school. Kan argues that this act was viewed as a sign of respect towards the Tlingits and further solidified the relationship between natives and the Orthodox.

When Tikhon arrived at his home in San Francisco, the See faced several problems. A new population of Eastern European Orthodox was immigrating to the east coast. Federal education policies had ended an era of contract school systems, which removed a potential revenue stream for the diocese. Tikhon and his predecessor Nikolai felt as though the diocese was being attacked in its traditional home of Alaska. The situation had gotten dire enough that Tikhon's predecessor, Bishop Nikolai, had begun sending petitions for help. Nikolai lobbied the Russian Ambassador for assistance.⁷¹ A collective of church members appealed to the President of the United States.⁷² Internally, the church faced a divide between clergy and the administration. After the headquarters of the See moved from Sitka, the clergy in the former colony felt abandoned.

Local clergy were unhappy when the church moved the diocese headquarters to San Francisco. Library Scientist Antoinette Shalkop argues that a rift had grown between the church administration and the local, village clergy after the sale of Alaska. They charged that the Imperial Court and the Church administration, "washed its hands," of those living in the former colony.⁷³ Shalkop's narrative is an incomplete representation of the state of the church and its administration after the sale of the colony. She contends that properties no longer belonged to the

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, 246.

⁷¹ Anatolii Kamenskii, *Tlingit Indians*, 132-133.

⁷² *ibid.*, 134-136.

⁷³ Antoinette Shalkop, "The Russian Orthodox Church in America," in *Russia's American Colony*, ed. Frederick Starr (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987), 200-201.

Imperial Government, which administered the Russian Church. She asserts that Russians who remained would become citizens of the United States and they would no longer receive the same financial support as before. Shalkop fails to provide enough evidence to support these claims. According to the treaty of the sale of Alaska local priests retained ownership of the buildings, chapels, and land.⁷⁴ The American Diocese continued to receive funds from the Holy Synod through Tikhon's tenure.⁷⁵

Anthropologist Sergei Kan examined the town of Sitka after the transfer of Alaska to the United States. He explains that the social strata of the region evolved as the Russians, Creole, and Native populations mixed with the influx of white pioneers.⁷⁶ Kan explains that most of the workers from the Russian-American company chose to return to Russia after the sale. A few remained to pay off the shareholders of the company. They survived on odd jobs, government relief, and criminal activities. Many creole women turned to prostitution as a means of income. The denigration of the remaining Russians and Creoles led to a decline in church attendance numbers.⁷⁷ In Sitka, a census of Orthodox members found nearly half had not been fulfilling the church duties.⁷⁸ Kan explains that the church had lost importance in the eyes of the Creole population. The lack of respect by white pioneers led to the looting of St. Michael Cathedral. Kan argues by the end of the 1870's the social strata of the town of Sitka placed Natives on bottom, Russians and Creoles in the middle, and whites on top.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ U.S. President, Message to Congress, "The Transfer of Territory from Russia to the United States," Executive Document 125, (January 28, 1868).

⁷⁵ Constance J. Tarasar and John E. Erickson ed., "Archbishop Tikhon & the North American Diocese 1898-1907," in *Orthodox America, 1794-1976: Development of the Orthodox Church in America* (Syosset, NY: The Orthodox Church in America Department of History and Archives), 97.

⁷⁶ Kan, Sergei, *Memory Eternal*, 174-181.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, 177-179.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, 178.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 180.

Tikhon used a different approach to combat this problem and repair the rift between the clergy and the administration. Tikhon approached the Alaskan mission with much more attention than his predecessors. In his 1899 inaugural address he brought specific greetings to the Aleutian Islands and Alaska and gave thanks to his predecessors the monks of Valaam and Bishop Veniaminov.⁸⁰ Tikhon wanted to reestablish a connection with the clergy and acknowledged, “I come to this country for the first time, knowing it but little, while ye have labored here long before my coming.”⁸¹ It did not take long for Tikhon to journey from San Francisco to Sitka. He gave his first address when he entered St. Michael’s Cathedral Church.⁸² His message touched on the history of the church in Alaska, the endurance of its clergy and parishioners, and outsider’s influence on the diocese. Tikhon traveled in Alaska extensively during his first months in America.⁸³ He traveled westward and stopped along the Alaskan panhandle in Juneau and Sitka. He then proceeded to the Kenai Peninsula to Kenai, Ninilchik, and finally to Kodiak. By year’s end he had traveled the Aleutian chain and stopped in Unalaska.

Tikhon’s visitation to the Orthodox parishes in Alaska marked the beginning of a progressive period of Diocese reforms. He instituted changes aimed at including other Orthodox sects into the church, restructuring the Administration and church activities, and demonstrating his desire for the church to become open to new ideas. Tikhon expressed these ideas through the *Russian Orthodox American Messenger (Viestnik)*. Published on a bi-monthly basis it provided to its subscribers sermons, letters, proposals, and stories of missionary work. One of Tikhon’s

⁸⁰ Tikhon, “Rech’ ego preosviashchenstva preosviashchenneishago Tikhona episkopa Aleutskago i Aliaskinskago, pre vstuplenii na Arkhiereiskuiu kaoedru,” *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik*: 3, no. 2 (1899): 50-53.

⁸¹ *ibid.*, 52.

⁸² Tikhon, “Rech’ ego preosviashchenstva...”, 394-395.

⁸³ Tikhon’s travels are well documented over many issues of the Church Messenger. Alexander, V, “Puteshestvie ego preosviashchenstva preosviashchenneishago Tikhona episkopa Aleutskago i aliaskinskavo,” *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik* 4, no. 4 (1900): 98-100.

first proposals discussed the need for the church to do more for the Native Orthodox in Alaska.⁸⁴ He was concerned with delivering food and supplies in addition to spiritual guidance from the church. Tikhon documented aid provided by the Society of Jesus, a missionary society sponsored by the Catholic Church. He viewed this as an example the church should follow in offering aid to those who were not Orthodox. He concluded the proposal by asking the church to form its own aid society. In this example, Tikhon tried to get the diocese to view itself as part of the larger community. If the Catholic Church provided aid to Orthodox Natives, then the Orthodox Church should be able to do the same. The creation of a separate aid society marked a change in the financial structure of the church. The church had historically been provided an annual allotment from the Imperial Government for the cost to run the mission schools.⁸⁵ As tensions rose prior to the 1905 Revolution, Tikhon made efforts to ensure the Church had other sources of income to support its growth. Tikhon expanded a practice used by his predecessor to establish native brotherhoods and sisterhoods.⁸⁶ The groups were comprised of Orthodox natives. They were self-funded organizations that relieved the church of the financial burden of native outreach. Members paid dues and made donations to the societies to cover expenses normally paid by the church.

Tikhon emphasized his desire for the church to be more active in their communities. To do so he rewarded the village faithful that volunteered in their localities. He proposed an incentive system to be set up in the parishes of Bielkovo, Unalaska, Nushagak, and Kenai where

⁸⁴ Tikhon, "Ego preosviashchenstva preosviashchenneishavo Tikhona episkopa Aleutskavo i severo-Amerikanskago, skazannaia im v kaoedral'not' sobore v pervoe voskresen'e no vozvrashchenii iz Aliaski, 23 Iunia 1900g," *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik* 4, no. 16 (1900): 318-319.

⁸⁵ Several reports document the allotment. See Committee on the Territories, *Organization of Alaska* (Washington D.C., 1889), 1-12.

⁸⁶ Anatolii Kamenskii, *Tlingit Indians*, 113-116.

literacy programs had been established.⁸⁷ The literacy school were set up and run by local parishioners to aid others. The parishioners had all volunteered their time to help others in their population. Tikhon openly extolled parishioners to practice this behavior.

Tikhon believed the church had not adequately provided for its female student population.⁸⁸ He noted the lack of a female orphanage school within the diocese. Tikhon argued that native women that attended the Church wanted their children educated in Orthodoxy, but that the only educational option was non-orthodox. Tikhon proposed establishing a new women's school and asked the Deans of Unalaska and Sitka for their recommendations on a new facility.

Tikhon wanted to send a message to the parishes in Alaska that they would not be forgotten as the church proceeded eastward. On the 60th anniversary of Bishop Innocent's arrival as head of the See, Tikhon opened the Innocent Archives in Sitka and created a museum out of Innocent's former homestead.⁸⁹ He also expressed interest in expanding the museum to include local arts and Alaskana. This was the first physical structure Tikhon built after his appointment. The message secured the Alaskan clergy as an important part of the diocese's history.

Tikhon printed his correspondences and views on interactions with other Orthodox Communities. In a travel article, Tikhon described a Christmas service he attended with a newly ordained Syrian Deacon.⁹⁰ The service was held in New York and was attended by more than a

⁸⁷Tikhon, "Ofitsial'nyi otdel", predlozhenie ego preosviashchenstva, preosviashchenneishago Tikhona, episkona Aleutskago i severo-Amerikanckago, severo-Amerikanskomu dukhovnomu pravleniiu, ot 1 Noiabria 1901 goda, za No. 141," *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik* 5, no. 22 (1901): 471.

⁸⁸Tikhon, "Ofitsial'nyi otdel", predlozhenie ego preosviashchenstva, preosviashchenneishago Tikhona, episkona Aleutskago i severo-Amerikanskago, severo-Amerikanskomu dukhovnomu pravleniiu, ot 17 Noiabria c.e. No. 62," *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik*, 4, no. 23 (1900): 479.

⁸⁹ Tikhon, "Ofitsial'nyi otdel", predlozhenie ego preosviashchenstva, preosviashchenneishago Tikhona, episkona Aleutskago i severo-Amerikanskago, severo-Amerikanskomu dukhovnomu pravleniiu," *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik* 5, no. 14 (1901): 305.

⁹⁰ Tikhon, "Puteshestbie ego preosviashchenstva preosviashchenneishago Tikhona episkopa aleutskago i Aliaskinskago," *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik* 4, no. 4 (1900): 71-81.

thousand parishioners. Tikhon uses familiar adjectives when describing the Deacon. He was charitable, pious, patriotic, and Christian. This description allowed Tikhon a method to break down the wall between Russian Orthodox and the other Eastern Orthodox. Church historians have recently argued that the American diocese was less inclusive.⁹¹ Tikhon's actions and written text demonstrate the opposite. He uses similar adjectives to describe him when he spoke about the Eastern Orthodox clergy.⁹² He knew that these groups needed the guidance of the Russian Church. Tikhon received a request from the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society for assistance during their Palm Sunday week.⁹³ The appeal, while vague in the request, asked for help from his clergy and parishioners either financially or spiritually. Tikhon obliged the plea and made the letter public for his parishioners to decide.

Tikhon took steps to create a larger collection of American Theological Seminaries.⁹⁴ The first of these schools had been established in San Francisco. It had an unsuccessful history in California. Tikhon moved the seminary first to Minneapolis and then to New Jersey.⁹⁵ The 1917 Russian Revolution ended relations with the American Diocese and caused a temporary shut down of the seminary in 1922. This seminary failed to accomplish Tikhon's objective to begin a system of seminaries in his lifetime. It helped set the parameters for all future seminaries in North America.⁹⁶ The seminary closed in 1923. A church Sobor was held in 1934 and chose to reestablish the school in Yonkers, New York. A Church Sobor was called in 1937. Church

⁹¹ Matthew Namee, "The Myth of Past Unity and the Origins of Jurisdictional Pluralism in American Orthodoxy." Paper presented at the annual St. Vladimir's Seminary conference, Yonkers, NY, June 2009.

⁹² "The Right Rev. Bishop Tikhon," *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik* 3, no. 2 (1899): 49. This article was published only in English.

⁹³ Tikhon, "Offitsial'nyi otdel", imperatorskoe pravoslavnoe palestinskoe obshchestvo. – 12 Fevralia 1903 g, napechatat' b eparkheal'not' vechnik c" priglasenie" dukhovenstva u prikhozhan" pomoch'dobromu be'lu. ego preosviashchenstva, preosviashchenneshago Tikhona, episkona Aleutskago i severo-Amerikanskago," *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik* 7, no. 6 (1903): 94.

⁹⁴ Constance J. Tarasar and John E. Erickson ed., "Educational Activities 1860-1900," in *Orthodox in America 1794-1976: Development of the Orthodox Church in America* (Syosset: The Orthodox Church in America Department of History and Archives, 1975), 77.

⁹⁵ "St. Vladimir's Seminary, 1938-1958," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 2, no. 3 (1958): 2-3.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, 4.

leaders decided that it was the responsibility of local parishes to fund local seminaries and parochial school. This was the crux of Tikhon's original plan. He wanted a seminary system that was independent of Russian financial assistance. He knew that the school system that was established in Alaska could be duplicated with a local parishioners' financial support.

Tikhon made structural changes to the Orthodox Church administration. His first two years of travel provided him an understanding of the immensity of his See. Tikhon returned to St. Petersburg in 1903 and brought his concerns to the Holy Synod.⁹⁷ First, he requested the See be renamed to represent the actual size of the See. It would be called the Diocese of the Aleutians and North America. Second, Tikhon requested a vicariate be created for Alaska. Lastly, Tikhon asked that a second vicariate be established in New York. These two positions enabled Tikhon to build up the seminary system that the Diocese lacked while allowing the church to continue to operate normally. The Holy Synod agreed and appointed Bishop Innocent (Pustynsky) to the Alaskan position and Bishop Raphael as the head of Brooklyn.⁹⁸ Tikhon was then elevated to Archbishop of the See.

The adaptation of Russian Orthodox texts into the English language was a cornerstone of the American mission. Tikhon agreed with this philosophy as was evidenced in his discussions with Sheldon Jackson.⁹⁹ In one area Tikhon chose to do the opposite. The *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Vestnik* (*Russian Orthodox American Messenger*), created by Bishop Nikolai, was originally a bilingual publication. When Tikhon arrived to America he continued the tradition of a bilingual paper. In 1903 the *Viestnik* became predominantly a Russian-language paper. This

⁹⁷ Constance J. Tarasar and John E. Erickson ed., "Reorganization," in *Orthodox America, 1794-1976: Development of the Orthodox Church in America* (Syosset: The Orthodox Church in America Department of History and Archives), 92-94.

⁹⁸ "Vazhnoe obyitie v istori pravoslavnoi Amerikanskoi missii," *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Vestnik* 7, no. 1 (1904): 5-7

⁹⁹ "Ego preosviashchenstva, preosviashchenneishago Tikhona, episkola Aleutskago i Aliaskinskago, s general'nym agentom po narodnomu obrazovanii v Aliaske," *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Vestnik* 4, no. 4 (1900): 81 – 85.

particular change came as Tikhon restructured the church administration. English supplements were made available for a two-dollar fee per issue. Current inflation calculations estimate that this was approximately forty-seven dollars in modern finances. These supplements were brief and offered mostly liturgies.¹⁰⁰ For an administrator who attempted to be more inclusive this was a peculiar maneuver. Philologist Carl Buck, a political scientist of the period, wrote on the topic of language and nationality. Buck argues that language is tied to a nationalistic tendency.¹⁰¹ He uses Europe as an example. Despite each nation's connected histories, they all kept individualized languages. Buck notes that historically, the relationship between the church and nation was also tied to language. He argues that the church was often responsible for the preservation of language for the populace. This may offer a reason for Tikhon's decision to change the *Viestnik*. The Russian Orthodox Church had been vested in language preservation. The first written Russian language, Old Church Slavonic, was created in the church.¹⁰² The church maintained control over written language for several centuries until the increased pressure to westernize in the seventeenth century.¹⁰³

It is not entirely clear to church historians whether Tikhon viewed the change as a means to retain a Russian national identity for the church in America. They argue that Tikhon was flexible in terms of language use.¹⁰⁴ Individual parishes found themselves comprised of different nationalities. Services were initially held in either the predominant tongue or multi-lingual. Tikhon paid to have service books translated into English to aide in the multi-language churches.

¹⁰⁰ Archival information on the English supplements was very limited. In the eight years of records used in this study only three supplements made were available in the Library of Congress Archive.

¹⁰¹ Carl Darling Buck, "Language and the Sentiment of Nationality," *The American Political Science Review* 10, no. 1 (1916): 48-49.

¹⁰² B. O. Unbegaun, "The Russian Literary Language: A Comparative View," *The Modern Language Review* 68, no. 4 (1973): ix-xx.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, xxi-xxiii.

¹⁰⁴ Constance J. Tarasar and John E. Erickson ed., "Archbishop Tikhon & the North American Diocese 1898-1907," in *Orthodox America, 1794-1976: Development of the Orthodox Church in America* (Syosset: The Orthodox Church in America Department of History and Archives), 97.

This seemed a reasonable solution, as English was the predominant language of the country. It would seem, counter to Tikhon's attempts to Americanize the Russian Church, that the *Viestnik* did represent the Church's heritage and national identity. Archivists at the Orthodox Church in America advise patrons that the archive of this periodical is almost exclusively in the Russian language.¹⁰⁵ The longevity of the *Viestnik* wholly in the Russian language is no better a symbol of the Church's Russian past. In a way, Tikhon used the language of the church as a method of modernity. He would allow for church services in America to be conducted in English, but if a parishioner wanted to read the church's newspaper they were to learn the language of the church. This enabled to parishioner to become closer to the Russian church. This was Tikhon's principal mission as head of the See.

Bishop Tikhon entered the United States as head of the Diocese of the Aleutians and Alaska. As he began his work, he learned of the enormity of the problems confronting the church. He also foresaw the expansion requirements to meet the influx of Eastern European immigrants. Tikhon addressed the need to reconnect with his clergy in Alaska before setting out to redefine how the See's administrative authority operated. He made efforts to recognize the importance of the historical roots of the church in Alaska. He praised clergy for their efforts to educate local natives. Tikhon made plans to care for women parishioners and their children. He created a museum to honor the church's past and placed it in the historic center of the church, Sitka. Once he had reestablished good relations with his Alaskan clergy, Tikhon approached the Holy Synod to restructure the diocese for its needed growth. He split the diocese into two parts to provide better leadership. He appointed two vicariates to head the divisions. When he left, a new diocese had been established and named the Diocese of the Aleutians and North America.

¹⁰⁵ Alexis Liberovsky, e-mail message to the author, December 1, 2010.

Tikhon was able to do this enormous task because of his preparation in Russia. The Ober-Procurator of the Holy Synod, Pobedonostsev, had become too much of an administrator to pay attention to the cultural shift in the theological academies. The seminaries shifted away from Pobedonostsev's Slavophile approach and became more inclusive in the areas of missionary work. Leading this change was the former head of the Alaskan See, Bishop Innocent (Veniaminov). Innocent had worked decades with the Aleut and Tlingit tribes in the Russian colony. He had established new protocols for language use and conversion. The natives took to this approach, which enabled Innocent to expand the church. After Innocent was elected as Metropolitan of Moscow he was able to influence the academies that Tikhon and his predecessors attended. Innocent's influence on Tikhon was seen through Tikhon's leadership skills as the diocese's leader. Tikhon was tasked with administering a church more diverse than Innocent's tenure. Though not all of his goals were accomplished in his lifetime, the church did survive and begin to establish new seminaries.

Chapter 2 – Demographic growth in the United States’ Orthodox Population under Bishop Tikhon

During the years of 1890-1910, a mass of Eastern Europeans and Russians relocated to the new world. Boats filled with migrants from Austria-Hungary, Syria, Greece, Russia, and other Eastern European countries berthed with regularity at the docks of the immigration stations of the United States.¹⁰⁶ Many of these newcomers were Eastern Orthodox Christians who would grow the Russian Orthodox Church during the leadership of Bishop Tikhon. Each group had its own encounter with the Orthodox Church in America and caused Tikhon to make policy changes in order to serve the growing church.

Previous studies on both the increase in migrant population and the Russian Orthodox Church have not adequately shown their link with Tikhon’s actions.¹⁰⁷ In terms of Tikhon and the Russian Orthodox, these studies are inaccurate representations of the Orthodox population in America. Government studies and publication from this time period show the complex religious groupings of Eastern Orthodox Christian that Tikhon came to represent. Through statistical analysis of immigration records, census reports and collective data on church participation, this chapter shows that the growth within the Russian Orthodox Church in America was much larger than previously thought. To understand its overall size requires an unraveling of a knotted rug of immigration files to see which strands formed the variety of Orthodox parishioners. Further, as will be shown collectively throughout this overall study, the amount of Orthodox crossing into the country continued to increase and forced Tikhon to refocus the goals of his mission.

¹⁰⁶ Eastern European refers to Orthodox areas of Russia, Austria-Hungary, Greece, and Poland.

¹⁰⁷ Dmitry Grigorieff, “The Orthodox Church in America an Historical Survey,” *Russian Review* 31, no. 2 (1972): 138-152.

In the eight years that Tikhon headed the Aleutian and North American Diocese the number of Eastern Orthodox in his See grew to 130,000.¹⁰⁸ Eight years after his departure, the church again doubled in size. In 1903, newspaper accounts in New York, Washington D.C. and San Francisco reported the church's growth and expansion.¹⁰⁹ They detailed new church construction projects in New York and Minneapolis.¹¹⁰ Two major changes they wrote on were the move of the Episcopal See from San Francisco to New York City and the appointment of a Coadjutor.¹¹¹ Tikhon made these changes in reaction to the increased growth of the church.

The majority of the Eastern European immigrants were Russians, but not all considered themselves Orthodox. Qualifying the number of Russians who identified as Orthodox requires a closer examination of who left Russia. Greek, Syrian and Serbian Orthodox who migrated to America discovered no foundation for their branch of Orthodoxy. Tikhon integrated these churches into the Russian Orthodox hierarchy creating an inclusive church. Additionally Tikhon built upon his previous experience to work to integrate Uniates into the Orthodox church in America. Upon entering the United States the Uniates chose sides between the Roman Catholics and the Russian Orthodox.

In 1882, the United States began the first efforts to regulate immigration.¹¹² Guidelines in place affected the types of foreigners granted entrance into the United States. The first endeavors aimed to stem the admittance of those who would engage in immoral acts, those who

¹⁰⁸ Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census, *Special Reports Religious Bodies: 1916 Part I Separate Denomination: History, Description, and Statistics* (Washington, DC, 1919) 12, accessed October 21, 2013,

<http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112047070005;view=1up;seq=3>

¹⁰⁹ "Russian Church Plans," *The New York Daily Tribune* (New York, NY), April 3, 1905 p. 2. - This article indicated that the number of parishioners aligned with the Russian Orthodox Church was 400,000.

¹¹⁰ "Russian Church's Plans," *New York Daily Tribune*, (New York, NY), April 3, 1905, p. 2 and "Local Russians See Their Bishop," *The Minneapolis Journal*, (Minneapolis, MN), May 26, 1905, p. 5.

¹¹¹ "Alaska Given a Coadjutor," *The San Francisco Call*, (San Francisco, CA), January 23, 1904, p. 3.

¹¹² Erika Lee and Judy Yung, *Angel Island: Immigrant Gateway to America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 7.

were in a poor mental state or those who would become a burden on the local community. In the subsequent years of 1885, 1891, and 1903 legislation was passed to restrict entry by polygamists, anarchists, and prostitutes. Erika Lee and Judy Yung argue that these laws reflected nativist mistrust towards Asian nations, especially China. They assert that these exclusionary acts were designed to target, detain, and return immigrants from China and Japan. Furthermore, their treatment was worse than other groups passing through the immigration stations including Russian, Austria-Hungarians, Syrians, and Greek immigrants.¹¹³ European access to the United States was more achievable during this period.¹¹⁴ Those arriving possessed the elements that Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans often did not: proper visas, sponsorships, and sufficient funds.¹¹⁵ Eastern Europeans, having supplied the required credentials, spread across the country.

Three different source materials provide the details that explain how many foreigners came to the United States and joined the Russian Orthodox Church. The first is the decennial censuses of 1900 and 1910. The second is a pair of special inquiries prepared by the Bureau of the Census on religious bodies in the United States. This contributes the number of Russian Orthodox parish members and assists in establishing a metric to back date annual increased associations with the church. Lastly, annual immigration studies from the Bureau of Immigration provide details to separate ethnic and religious groups recorded in the decennial and special examinations by the Bureau of the Census. This last report is especially important in terms of Russians entering the United States. As will be shown not all of those reported as coming from Russia were Orthodox.

¹¹³ Ibid., 24-25.

¹¹⁴ Galveston, TX is another station of note. Reports of Tikhon's journey mention the Russian orthodox population and church there "Bishop Tikhon Returns From His Tour of the East," *The San Francisco Call*, San Francisco, CA, June 16, 1901, p. 32.

¹¹⁵ Lee and Yung, 211-213.

The Records found in the Census of 1900 show the Russian-born population from 1890-1900 increased from approximately 180,000 to approximately 425,000.¹¹⁶ Examples of foreign-born reported alongside Russians in the census include those from Germany, Ireland, England, Italy and Poland.¹¹⁷ Within those classifications, but not individually reflected were the Finns, Greeks, Syrians and a variety of smaller Eastern European countries. Thus the 1900 Census does not provide adequate population identifiers, which differentiate those who are ethnically Russian and those who lived in Russia. Its information established a baseline in which population growth for Russians can be determined. This is essential in identifying the number of Orthodox within this total amount.

The Census of 1910 reflects a clearer depiction of the foreign-born Russian population. In 1910 the census report identified which ethnic groups were reported as being from Russia. This included those from Poland. Between the years of 1900 and 1910 Russians had grown to the second largest foreign-born population with an approximate 1.5 million immigrants, an increase of sixty-two percent.¹¹⁸ Countries with other Orthodox immigrants show similar increases such as Austria (1.2 million), Hungary (496,000) and Greece (101,000).¹¹⁹

How large Tikhon's church had grown can be established by examining the individual Orthodox populations that aligned themselves under his leadership. The 1.5 million Russian foreign-born in the 1910 Census did not consist of just Russian Orthodox. Orthodox made up less than a third of those counted in 1910. Emigration out of Russia was comprised of a variety

¹¹⁶ Department of the Interior Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900: Population* (Washington, DC, 1902), Plate 59.

¹¹⁷ Poland was not an independent nation at this time; however, emigrants from Poland are important to estimates of Uniate numbers.

¹¹⁸ Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States taken in the Year 1910 Volume I: Population 1910 General Report and Analysis*, (Washington, DC, 1913), 818-819.

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, 830. Rounded to the nearest hundred-thousandth as calculated by the author.

of religious groups during this historic high. There are several factors that motivated this increase.

Russian immigration from 1880-1914 was influenced by political, social, and economic upheaval. A series of famines struck the country beginning in 1891 and continued intermittently over the next fifteen years.¹²⁰ Newspaper stories document the famines and called for relief to be sent to Russia.¹²¹ The second factor in emigration, bolstered in part by the famines, was the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 and the building of the Trans-Siberian Railroad. Eva-Maria Stolberg argues this point in her article on Russian migration into Manchuria.¹²² Stolberg contends that with the construction of the railroad, more than five million peasants migrated towards Siberia.¹²³ The completion of the railroad sent thousands of Russian peasants into Siberia. Susan Wiley Hardwick's study on eastward migration of Russians to the United States suggests that some of these peasants made the trip from Manchuria to Hawaii before sailing to the mainland.¹²⁴ This period is also marked by the 1905 Revolution, which set the path towards a second Revolution twelve years later. The political, social, and economic turmoil that followed was accompanied by an increase in Russian immigration to the United States.¹²⁵

It would be presumptuous to assume that the 1.5 million Russian foreign-born reported in the 1910 census were all Russian Orthodox. Russian Orthodoxy was the official religion of Imperial Russia; however, other religions existed within the country and according to sociologists' early statistical studies of immigrants to the United States in the 1920s they were

¹²⁰ "The Russian Famine," *Wheeling Daily Intelligence* (Wheeling, WV), February 12, 1892, p. 4.

¹²¹ "Russian Famine Relief," *New York Daily Tribune*, February 10, 1907, p. 3.

¹²² Eva-Maria Stolberg, "The Siberian Frontier between 'White Mission' and 'Yellow Peril,' 1890s-1920s," *Nationalities Papers* 32, no. 1 (March 2004), 165-167.

¹²³ *ibid.*, 166.

¹²⁴ Susan Wiley Hardwick, *Russian Refuge Religion: Migration and Settlement on the North Pacific Rim* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 78-79 and Amir Khisamutdinov, "Russian Settlers in Hawaii in the Early 1900s," *Social Science* 44, no. 3 (July 2013), 28-34.

¹²⁵ For discussions on emigration from Russia in 1905 see Arthur W. Thompsons and Robert A. Hart, *The Uncertain Crusade: America and the Russian Revolution of 1905* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1970), 1-190.

represented in the immigrant groups too. In the case of Russian migrants, Jerome Davis conducted an analysis of those entering up to the 1920s.¹²⁶ Davis' study is narrow in scope and he limits it to those he identifies as Russian Slavs.¹²⁷ He describes, as will be detailed later, the issue of Census figures that combined different ethnic and nationalistic groups under general listings, thus making it difficult to obtain accurate counts. What Davis does demonstrate through his study is that, taken individually, the Census reports cloud the picture of what types of immigrants entered the country at the turn of the twentieth century. This is especially the case in his analysis of the Orthodox Church.¹²⁸ Davis admittedly focused his study on those identified as ethnically Russian. He also branded those as part of the Russian Orthodox Church as only being Russian. This is in contrast to his source materials. Davis produces a yarn in which the Russian Orthodox Church had a dwindling membership that was on a steady decline heading into the 1920s. Davis accurately documented 99,681 under the heading of the Russian Orthodox Church but eliminated the "Eastern Orthodox" from his count. He also ignored the remaining population that the Census Bureau identified as under the authority of the Russian Orthodox Church. This was noted ten years prior in the *Special Reports Religious Bodies 1906*. Hence, a true representation of the religious body Tikhon was charged with ministering is not fully disclosed. This is not to say that a better illustration cannot be surmised from the 1.5 million foreign-born from Russia.

The largest religious group from Russia within the 1.5 million that emigrated was the Russian Jews. The study conducted by the Bureau of the Census titled *Special Reports Religious Bodies 1906* provides statistical information about the Jewish Congregations and the Eastern

¹²⁶ Jerome Davis, *The Russian Immigrant* (New York, NY: The MacMillan Company, 1922), 6-15.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, 8.

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, 91-102.

Orthodox Churches.¹²⁹ The study collected financial and membership data on religious organizations within the United States. One of the methodological hurdles cited in the report was having religious institutions provide accurate membership numbers.¹³⁰ Thus, the 19,111 Russian Orthodox recorded in 1906 is suspect.¹³¹ This voluntary survey does not reflect, nor mention, the increased populations of Orthodox. It also fails to adequately account for the groups of Eastern Orthodox that came under the direct influence of the Russian Orthodox Church. Instead of an exact figure, a range must be created from multiple Census and Immigration sources to more accurately reflect the diverse parishioner figures. To determine the scope of Russian Orthodox within the Russian foreign-born statistics requires several steps. The information found in the Censuses of 1900 and 1910 skewed the numbers of the Russian Jewish population. This stems from the reclassifications of foreign-born from Poland and Russia. In 1900 immigrants from Poland were classified as emigrating from Poland.¹³² Beginning in the 1910 Census foreign-born from Poland were reclassified as from Russia, Austria, and Germany.¹³³ Complicating this matter was the Pale of Settlement and its population of Jews.

The Russian Jews and the Imperial government had a strained relationship. The nineteenth century was a time of oppression for Jews living in Russia.¹³⁴ Pobednostsev, Over Procurator of the Orthodox Church, was dogged in the removal of the Jews via emigration,

¹²⁹ Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census, *Special Reports Religious Bodies: 1906 Part II Separate Denomination: History, Description, and Statistics* (Washington, DC, 1910), accessed October 21, 2013, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433003053380;view=1up;seq=7>, 261.

¹³⁰ Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census, *Special Reports Religious Bodies: 1916 Part I Separate Denomination: History, Description, and Statistics* (Washington, DC, 1919) 12, accessed October 21, 2013, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112047070005;view=1up;seq=3>

¹³¹ It should be noted that the 1906 Special Report excludes Alaska and Hawaii in the study. Alaska had a sizable Russian Orthodox population among the indigenous.

¹³² Department of the Interior Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States taken in the Year 1900: Population* (Washington, DC, 1902), Plate 57-59.

¹³³ Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States taken in the Year 1910 Volume I: Population 1910 General Report and Analysis* (Washington, DC, 1913), 784.

¹³⁴ Dan N. Jacobs and Ellen Frankel Paul, ed., *Studies of the Third Wave: Recent Migration of the Soviet Jews to the United States* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1981), 2. Focused on the 1970s, this source does provide a detailed account of Jewish/Russian relations in Jacobs' introduction.

conversion, or death. The creation of the Pale of Settlement was an attempt to provide a permanent residence for the Jewish population in Russia during a period of intense Russification.¹³⁵ The Pale, located in what is now modern Poland, Moldova, and Ukraine provided both visible and invisible lines of separation between Jews and Russians.¹³⁶ Furthering the tense relations, a series of pogroms was carried out against the Jews subsequent to the assassination of Tsar Alexander II. No direct evidence linked any Jews to the assassination of the Tsar, but the Imperial Government refused to acknowledge Russians murdering their own leader.¹³⁷ Allen Spetter argues that one of the six people tried for the assassination was a Jew.¹³⁸ Following the convictions the Government began encouraging violence against Jews in Russia. Three prominent pogrom periods occurred following the assassination beginning in 1881-2, 1903-6, and 1919-21.¹³⁹ Additionally, the series of famines of 1891-1892 triggered further backlash against Russian Jews.

This period saw the expansion in Jewish migration to the United States.¹⁴⁰ Benjamin Nathans' work describes the emigration of Russian Jews during the first of the pogroms. He characterizes the 1881-1882 pogroms in terms of a lack of support by the Imperial Government for Russian Jews. Nathans maintains that the pogroms were viewed publically as a positive element by all facets of a Russified society. He continues that the discussion of Jewish migration was not neatly divided between Petersburg and the Pale.¹⁴¹ Rather it was viewed as a failure to settle the Jewish populace. Further, Russian nobles did not want to pay the expenses of

¹³⁵ Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 364.

¹³⁶ *ibid.*, 1.

¹³⁷ Jacobs and Paul, 2.

¹³⁸ Allan Spetter, "The United States the Russian Jews and the Russian Famine of 1891-1892," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 64, no. 3(March 1975): 237.

¹³⁹ John D. Klier, "The pogrom paradigm in Russian History," in *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History*, ed. John D. Klier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 13.

¹⁴⁰ William Appleman Williams, *American Russian Relations 1781-1947* (New York: Octagon Books, 1971), 42.

¹⁴¹ Nathans, 187-191.

impoverished Jews leaving Russia. They emigrated regardless and the Census Bureau merged their migratory data with the Russians and Polish immigrants.

Allan Spetter bolsters the case that Jews were part of both migrating bodies. Spetter contends that during the pogroms of the 1880s, 200,000 Russian Jews immigrated to the United States.¹⁴² He explains that the United States, becoming aware of this influx, took measures to inform the Russian Foreign Ministry of their concerns over impoverished Russian Jews arriving in the United States. Their concerns were for the destitute who were unable to receive adequate financial aid from American Jewish agencies.¹⁴³ The destitute were categorized as undesirable and returned to their country of origin. This ran counter to the intent of the aforementioned immigration reforms acts. This was a difficult issue for political figures in the United States. During the Presidential election of 1892 both political parties affirmed their support for the Russian Jews and political pressure was applied to the Russian Imperial Court.¹⁴⁴ Spetter asserts that the Russians ignored or denied any changes documented in the Jewish population. According to the Russian Foreign Ministry there were no Jews emigrating out of Russia. Yet Russian Jews did make their way to the United States in droves. Because of this, their totals must be separated from the population statistics of the ethnic Russians.

The *Special Reports Religious Bodies: 1906* provides basic information about the United States' Jewish Population. Unlike other religious bodies in the report, it does not provide a breakdown of the countries from which Jews emigrated.¹⁴⁵ It acknowledges, but does not quantify, the growing number of Polish and Russian Jews establishing their own communities in

¹⁴² Spetter, "The United States," 236-240.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*, 240-241.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 244.

¹⁴⁵ Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census, *Special Reports Religious Bodies: 1906 Part II Separate Denomination: History, Description, and Statistics* (Washington, DC, 1910), accessed October 21, 2013, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433003053380;view=1up;seq=7>, 258-268 In this example, the Eastern Orthodox Churches are divided by their Nationality.

areas geographically similar to that of the Russian Orthodox. The number of Russian Jews can be quantified using the Bureau of Immigration Annual Reports.

The Bureau of Immigration prepared yearly reports that indicated how many aliens were allowed to enter the United States or returned to their country of origin.¹⁴⁶ Statistics about Jewish migrants allowed into the United States is revealing. Beginning with the 1899 study, classification of an immigrant's "race" states that it would not be determined from their geographical location but rather by their "character".¹⁴⁷ This is significant for the Jewish population when cross-referenced by their last country of residence in the report. This provides the figures of how many Jews from Russia were admitted in that given year. (See Figure 1.) In examining these numbers, an estimate of the percentage of Jewish emigrants from Russia and counted in the 1.5 million foreign-born Russians can be determined.

¹⁴⁶ For the purposes of this discussion, reports from the Bureau of Immigration mentioned within this study are inclusive of Treasury Department, *Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1891* (Washington, DC, 1899) through Treasury Department, *Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1921* (Washington, DC, 1921), accessed online via <http://207.67.203.70/U95007Staff/OPAC/TitleView/CompleteDisplay.aspx?FromOPAC=true&DbCode=0&PatronCode=0&Language=english&RwSearchCode=0&WordHits=immigration%7Cresource%7C%7Cservice%7Cnaturalization%7Creport%7Celectronic%7Cannual&BibCodes=7098280>

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 5. Bureau of Immigration reports referred to Jewish immigrants as "Hebrew".

Figure 1 Russian-Jewish Immigrants arriving to the United States 1899-1910

Year	Jewish Total	Russian Jews	Percentage from Russia
1900	60,764	37,011	61%
1901	58,098	37,660	65%
1902	57,688	37,846	66%
1903	76,203	47,689	63%
1904	106,236	77,544	73%
1905	129,910	92,388	71%
1906	153,798	125,234	81%
1907	149,182	114,932	77%
1908	103,387	71,978	70%
1909	57,551	39,150	68%
1910	84,260	59,824	71%
Totals:	1,037,077	741,256	71%

***Figures taken from Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration years 1899-1910¹⁴⁸**

A significant amount of the total Jewish population admitted in the ten-year span of 1900-1910 was classified as from Russia. These numbers also show that from 1.5 million Russians residing in the United States that approximately seventy-six percent, or 1.14 million, were likely Jewish.¹⁴⁹ To determine which Russians from the remaining twenty-four percent were likely Russian Orthodox requires a comparison between the *Special Report on Religion 1906* and its successive report in 1916.

As documented in the 1906 and 1916 *Special Report on Religious Bodies in the United States*, a significant rise occurred in affiliation numbers of Eastern Orthodox Christians. (See Figure 2) The analyses detailed the histories and current status of each Orthodox body. It also

¹⁴⁸ Russian Jews are defined as Jewish immigrants specifically identified as arriving from Russia within the Annual Reports. They have been extracted from the total Jewish Immigration figures in order to establish the annual percentage of Russian Jewish immigrants. All charts presented in this study are the creation of the author. The figures within them are taken from the reports listed below each.

¹⁴⁹ Seventy-six percent is the ten- year average percentage of Russian Jews admitted. Comparing the historical immigration figures of Russians versus Russian Jewish immigrants, seventy-six percent holds close to the annual admitted totals for both populations.

provided insights into the differences between the Russian, Serbian, Syrian, and Greek Orthodox.¹⁵⁰

Figure 2 Reported Eastern Orthodox Church Members 1906 and 1916

Eastern Orthodox Group	1906	1916	Percentage Increase
Russian	19,111	99,681	81%
Serbian	15,742	14,301	-10%
Syrian	4,002	11,591	66%
Greek	90,751	119,871	24%
Albanian	N/A	410	-
Rumanian	N/A	1,994	-
Total	129,606	247,848	52%

Figures taken from Bureau of the Census Special Report on Religious Bodies 1906 and 1916 Part 2

The Russian Orthodox Church had the single largest increase in parishioners at eighty-one percent. This increase began under Tikhon and is substantiated by census and immigration data. Knowing that the amount of Russians entering the United States was increasing also meant the likelihood that the same might be true for Church affiliations. Applying the eighty-one percent figure against the immigration records of Russians admitted to the United States from 1899-1906 furnishes a sum comparable to those reported in the 1906 study.¹⁵¹ (See Figure 3)¹⁵² This lends credibility to the 1906 study while providing a better average of Russian Orthodox affiliations under Tikhon.

¹⁵⁰ Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census, *Special Reports Religious Bodies: 1906 Part II Separate Denomination: History, Description, and Statistics* (Washington, DC, 1910), accessed October 21, 2013, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433003053380;view=1up;seq=7>, 258.

¹⁵¹ Prior to 1899, Annual reports did not break down ethnic groups and country of origin. The numbers provided for those admitted from Russia are significantly higher than years past. This is in part because of the combination of Jewish and Russian entries. Thus it is not possible to use the same metric to obtain as accurate figures on Russian specific passages.

¹⁵² From here on when author refers to the metric, it is in reference to the percentage change between the 1906/1916 Report on Religious Bodies against the Annual Immigration Report's total Russian entry amounts.

The number of Russians entering the United States grew yearly until 1914. Applying the eighty-one percent increase against the years of 1907-1916 results in a larger gap between the calculated result and the membership totals reported in 1916. (See Figure 4)

Figure 3 Estimated Russian Orthodox 1899-1906

Year	Total Admitted Russian Immigrants	Annual Percentage Increase of Admittance	Applied Eighty- One Percent Annual Increase	Reported Russian Orthodox Membership in 1906
1899	1,747	-	1,415	
1900	1,200	-32%	972	
1901	2,033	169%	1,646	
1902	1,544	-25%	1,251	
1903	3,608	134%	2,922	
1904	3,961	9%	3,208	
1905	3,746	-6%	3,034	
1906	5,814	55%	4,709	
Totals:	21,032		19,157	19,111

Figures taken from Bureau of the Census Special Report on Religious Bodies 1906 and Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration

Figure 4 Estimated Russian Orthodox 1907-1916

Year	Total Admitted Russian Immigrants	Annual Percentage Increase of Admittance	Applied Annual Eighty-One Percent Annual Increase	Reported Russian Orthodox Membership in 1916
1907	16,502	184%	13,367	
1908	17,111	4%	13,860	
1909	10,038	-42%	8,131	
1910	17,294	42%	14,008	
1911	18,721	8%	15,164	
1912	22,558	18%	18,272	
1913	51,472	128%	41,692	
1914	44,957	-13%	36,415	
1915	4,459	-90%	3,612	
1916	4,858	9%	3,935	
Total	207,970		168,456	99,681

Figures taken from Bureau of the Census Special Report on Religious Bodies 1916 Part 2 and Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration

The reduction of entries in 1915-1916 was caused by several factors. Beginning in 1913, legislation to restrict admittance via literacy tests made its way through Congress.¹⁵³ The tests commenced an era of eugenic exclusion of foreigners.¹⁵⁴ These tests were instituted during a period of rapid escalation in European migration. The years between 1912 and 1914 saw increased admissions from Russia, Poland, Germany, Lithuania, and Italy.¹⁵⁵ The onset of World War I reduced entries in 1915 and 1916. This falloff was across the board for Europeans.

¹⁵³ Desmond King, *Making Americans: Immigration, Race, and the Origins of the Diverse Democracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000): 166-171.

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*, 295.

¹⁵⁵ King alludes that these particular groups more than doubled. Immigration records indicate this in one year for Russians and Polish. The other groups listed do increase, but not to the extent of doubling. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1912* (Washington, DC, 1912) and Department of Commerce and Labor, *Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1914* (Washington, DC, 1914).

Other groups of Eastern Orthodox Christians entered the United States with the Russian Orthodox. As seen in Figure 2, Greek, Serbian, and Syrian Orthodox are reported in 1906 and 1916 and are relevant to the growth of the church. The Russian Orthodox Church had an established ecclesiastical institution. The Greek Orthodox Church was not far behind.¹⁵⁶ While they remained the most independent of the aforementioned three, the Greek Orthodox often shared in ceremonial and religious ministries with the Russian Church.¹⁵⁷ The Greek Church represented the largest of the four Eastern Orthodox churches. Its membership was more than four times the size of the Russian Church in 1906. Its affiliations slowed approaching 1916 and allowed the Russian Orthodox to nearly catch up.

The two remaining Eastern Orthodox churches, Syrian and Serbian, created an ecclesiastical arrangement bringing them under the Russian Orthodox Church. Creating a parishioner metric based on immigration records for these two groups is more difficult than the Russians. Data on the Serbian Orthodox cannot be used like that of the Russians, because their immigration figures were combined with Bulgarians, Serbians, and Montenegrins. Documentation of Serbian parishioners in the Orthodox Church is found in church archival materials as early as 1898.¹⁵⁸ In 1906, the reported membership of the Serbian Orthodox Church was 15,742.¹⁵⁹ Combined with the Russian Orthodox total, the Serbian Orthodox nearly double Tikhon's congregational responsibility.

¹⁵⁶ Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census, *Special Reports Religious Bodies: 1906 Part II Separate Denomination: History, Description, and Statistics*, (Washington, DC, 1919), accessed October 21, 2013, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433003053380;view=1up;seq=7> , 255.

¹⁵⁷ Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census, *Special Reports Religious Bodies: 1906 Part II Separate Denomination: History, Description, and Statistics*, (Washington, DC, 1910), 258. Accessed October 21, 2013, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433003053380;view=1up;seq=7>.

¹⁵⁸ "Serbiskii zhishel'I b niu york," Personal Correspondences to Bishop Tikhon Belavin, 1898, The Alaskan Russian Church Archives Records, 1733-1938, reel 362.

¹⁵⁹ Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies 1906, Part II Separate Denominations History, Description, and Statistics*, (Washington, DC, 1919) 252, accessed October 21, 2013, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015015400263;view=1up;seq=7>.

The Syrian Orthodox also reported to Bishop Tikhon. This group was relatively small at 4,200 members.¹⁶⁰ By 1916 they had nearly tripled in size. The percentage of Orthodox Syrians entering the United States is smaller compared to the recorded Russian Orthodox percentage. This is due to the dominant Islamic religion of the country.¹⁶¹ Two other Orthodox entities that joined the Russian Orthodox Church and are worth noting are the Rumanian and the Albanian Orthodox Churches.¹⁶² Their congregation numbers are smaller than the traditional Eastern Orthodox under Tikhon, but they demonstrate his inclusive efforts.

Of all of the religious bodies that came under Tikhon's leadership, the Uniates were one of the largest and most contentious. The Uniates were an Orthodox sect that existed in the Eastern European region often referred to as Galicia.¹⁶³ They are considered an eastern-rite Catholic Church that received religious instruction from both the Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches in Europe and America.¹⁶⁴ Uniates existed primarily in the peasant class, which allowed for a preponderance of religious control by the Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches. The Uniate experience in the United States paralleled the past experiences in Eastern Europe.

The Uniate migration is a factor in the Russian Orthodox Church size because of a change of affiliation that occurred in 1891. Father Alexis Toth, a Uniate Priest, was sent to Minneapolis to work under the Catholic Bishop John Ireland. Toth, being of Eastern-European

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*, 265.

¹⁶¹ Frederick Jones Bliss, *The Religions of Modern Syrian and Palestine* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), 313-335.

¹⁶² *ibid.*, 252-258.

¹⁶³ The studies used in the discussion have inconsistently classified Uniates from Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and generally surrounding the Carpathian Mountains.

¹⁶⁴ Adrian Fortescue, *The Uniate Eastern Churches: The Byzantine Rite in Italy, Sicily, Syria and Egypt*, ed. George D. Smith (New York: Fredrick Ungar Publishing, 1957), 1-3.

descent, immediately disapproved of Bishop Ireland's leadership.¹⁶⁵ Ireland, a staunch "Americanist," considered Eastern-Europeans as unwilling to commit to American assimilation. Ireland was opposed to the European policy of the *Unia*. This was an agreement between church hierarchy and the Uniates in Eastern Europe. The *Unia* allowed Uniate churches to use their own liturgy and Bishops.¹⁶⁶ Atanasii Pekar argues Uniates in America failed to receive support from their European church leaders. This pushed Toth and his fellow clergy to convert to Orthodoxy.¹⁶⁷ Father Toth made the decision to convert himself and his congregation to Eastern Orthodoxy and petitioned the Russian Orthodox Bishop Vladimir. The Russian Bishop agreed and brought the Uniate group under the supervision of the Russian Orthodox Church.¹⁶⁸ He suggests that Toth brought an additional 15,000 – 20,000 Uniates to Orthodoxy.¹⁶⁹ Bohdan Procko's work on Uniates claims the opposite. He argues that Russian Orthodox propaganda brought about conversions, but his study does not offer any specific evidence to support either claim.¹⁷⁰

The historiography on the Uniates is contentious because of religious and national issues. C. M. Hann describes the group as having, "no simple congruence between the Uniate religion

¹⁶⁵ Keith S. Russin, "Father Alexis G. Toth and the Wilkes-Barr Litigations", *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, XVI, 3 (1972): 131-133. The debate over how Uniates came to Orthodoxy in America is greatly debated on both side of the theological spectrum. Russin's article, printed in a Russian Orthodox Seminary provides context from an Orthodox opinion. For a Catholic perspective see Bohdan P. Procko, *Ukrainian Catholics in America* (New York: University Press of America, 1982), 136-154.

¹⁶⁶ Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census, *Special Reports Religious Bodies: 1906 Part II Separate Denomination: History, Description, and Statistics*, (Washington, DC, 1909), accessed October 21, 2013, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433003053380;view=1up;seq=7>, 261.

¹⁶⁷ Atanasii V. Pekar, "Historical Background of the Carpatho-Ruthenians in America," *Ukrainskyi Istoryk* 13, no. 1 (1972): 100-101.

¹⁶⁸ Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census, *Special Reports Religious Bodies: 1906 Part II Separate Denomination: History, Description, and Statistics*, (Washington, DC, 1909), 261. Accessed October 21, 2013, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433003053380;view=1up;seq=7>

¹⁶⁹ Russin, "Father Alexis G. Toth," 140.

¹⁷⁰ Procko, *Ukrainian Catholics*, 136-154.

and the embryonic nation.”¹⁷¹ He continues that even the Oxford Dictionary’s definition of the Uniates is biased towards the Catholic viewpoint.¹⁷² Influenced by the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, the Uniates came under the direction of the Roman Catholic Church and were forced to recognize the authority of the Pope. An agreement was reached with the hierarchy, called the *Unia*, allowing the Uniates to follow their own liturgy and retain their own Bishops.¹⁷³

Iu. Polunov argues, on the contrary, that the Russian Orthodox made intense grabs for Uniate loyalty.¹⁷⁴ He suggests Russification efforts of Alexander III forced 250,000 Uniates to convert to Orthodox Christianity in the period from 1880-1895. Polunov specifically points to the Kholm-Warsaw region as an area of mass conversion. Robert Byrnes describes a similar effort in this region by Chief Procurator Pobednostsev who waged the campaign for the Tsar.¹⁷⁵ Tikhon worked as an Inspector and Rector for the Seminary of Kholm before being appointed Bishop near the conclusion of the conversion movement.¹⁷⁶ Tikhon’s biographers contend that the Uniates thought him of favorably during his work in the region and that his reputation remained favorable upon his return to Russia in 1907.¹⁷⁷ The back and forth struggle for converts split the Uniates.¹⁷⁸ The changes in religious affiliations and suppression by both the Catholic and Orthodox churches lead, in part, to groups of Uniates immigrating to the United States.

¹⁷¹ C.M. Hann, “Religion and Nationality in Central Europe: The Case of the Uniates,” *Ethnic Groups* 10, no. 1 (1993): 202.

¹⁷² *ibid.*, 203.

¹⁷³ Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census, *Special Reports Religious Bodies: 1906 Part II Separate Denomination: History, Description, and Statistics*, (Washington, DC, 1909), 261. Accessed October 21, 2013, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433003053380;view=1up;seq=7>.

¹⁷⁴ Iu. Polunov, “The Religious Department and the Uniate Question, 1881-1894,” *Russian Studies in History* 39, no. 4 (2001): 77-85.

¹⁷⁵ Robert F. Byrnes, *Pobedonostsev: His Life and Thoughts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968), 194-196.

¹⁷⁶ “The Right Rev. Bishop Tikhon” *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik* 3, no 2, (1899): 49.

¹⁷⁷ A. Roshestvensky, *His Holiness Tikhon: Patriarch of Moscow and of All the Russians*, tran. H.P. (New York: MacMillan, 1923), 12-13. For alternative views of Uniate conversions see the works listed by A. Pekar, J. Puskas, Iu. Polunov and L. Nemeec.

¹⁷⁸ Pekar, “Historical Background,” 88-103.

Julianna Puskas conducted a study of the emigration from Austria-Hungary that offers another reason for Uniate migration. Puskas reveals that the population leaving the Austria-Hungarian Empire was diverse. These ethnic groups included: Poles, Slovaks, Hungarians, Germans, and Ruthenians. She explains that in the 1870s an initial wave of German bourgeoisie traveled to the United States. Having found gainful employment they sent word back to Europe and encouraged the peasant class to emigrate.¹⁷⁹ Furthering Puskas' discussion is Steven Bela Vardy's work on Hungarian migrants.¹⁸⁰ Vardy extrapolates that from the 1.7 million that left the country, 650,000 were ethnic Hungarians. The remaining population provides a diverse emigrating group in which are found Uniates. Due to this diversity, Uniates were often registered as Russians, Ruthenians, Slovaks, or Hungarians upon entering the United State.¹⁸¹

Jerome Davis attempted to calculate the number of Uniates in 1922.¹⁸² His study begins by defining the two populations. Ruthenians, which Davis later identifies as Uniates, are classified as Little Russians or Ukrainian.¹⁸³ Davis relied on the same source material as his aforementioned work on Russians, yet at times his population figures on Russians do not coincide with each other.¹⁸⁴ For it's part, Davis' work on the Uniates in America does reflect the difficulty of accounting for the Uniate population, but his narrow regional scope makes his figures suspect. He used the same 1916 Census Bureau report on religious bodies to calculate the

¹⁷⁹ Julianna Puskas, *From Hungary to the United States (1880-1914)*, ed. F. Mucsi, trans. Maria Bales and Eva Palmai, (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1982), 28-35.

¹⁸⁰ Steven Bela Vardy, "The Hungarians (Magyars) in the United States," *Ethnic Forum: Bulletin of Ethnic Studies and Ethnic Bibliography* 10, no. 1 (1990): 70.

¹⁸¹ Pekar, "Historical Background," 98.

¹⁸² Jerome Davis, *The Russians and Ruthenians in America Bolsheviks or Brothers?* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1922), 19-27,

[http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.\\$b309250;view=1up;seq=14](http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.$b309250;view=1up;seq=14).

¹⁸³ *ibid.*, preface. An illustration on Page 18 shows a map in which Little Russians lived in a region resembling modern Ukraine.

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*, 21. Davis, for the most part, used the same written work in both studies, but in some instances changed the statistical results for population. Other examples exist in discussion of funding for the Russian Orthodox Church by the Imperial Government.

total number of Uniates in the United States.¹⁸⁵ Davis used only the data sets from the Catholic Church and recounts personal interviews of Russian Clergy that indicated Uniates were leaving the Russian Orthodox Church by the time of his 1922 publication.¹⁸⁶ Davis does not acknowledge that in the same Census reports he cited, that Uniate parishioners were counted with the Russian Church.¹⁸⁷ His personal interviews of Russian clergy are not enough evidence to refute the Uniate parishioners counted with the Russian Church. This is not to say Davis' work should be ignored, but rather it serves as an example of a Catholic bias in the overarching discussion of the Uniates.

The Uniate immigrant numbers are derived by considering from where in Eastern Europe they emigrated, under whose religious authority they were bound, and under what ethnic group they were listed. Based on the aforementioned studies, Uniates were most likely reported as emigrating from Ruthenia and Poland.¹⁸⁸ Immigrants from Ukraine should also be considered, but immigration records for this time period did not list them. A guess as to how many Uniates arrived in the United States can be attempted by exploring the reports and studies conducted on converts.

The number of Uniate converts accepted into the Russian Orthodox Church cannot be determined with available sources, but it does present a tremendous question as to the size of Tikhon's Church. Some Uniate Churches were combined within the total Roman Catholic

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.*, 75.

¹⁸⁶ *ibid.*, 76.

¹⁸⁷ Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census, *Special Reports Religious Bodies: 1916 Part I Separate Denomination: History, Description, and Statistics*, (Washington, DC, 1919), 259-261, Accessed October 21, 2013, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112047070005;view=1up;seq=3>.

¹⁸⁸ See Iu. Polunov, "The Religious Department and the Uniate Question, 1881-1894," *Russian Studies in History* 39, no. 4 (2001): 77-85 and Ludvik Nemeč, "The Ruthenian Uniate Church in its Historical Perspective," *Church History* 37, no. 04 (1968): 365-388 and Larry Wolff, "The Uniate Church and the Partitions of Poland: Religious Survival in an Age of Enlightened Absolutism," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 26, no. 1 (2002): 153-244. Reading on Uniates from Poland advocate heavy influence by Austria-Hungary and Russia. Often these terms are intermixed in their discussions of Polish Uniates.

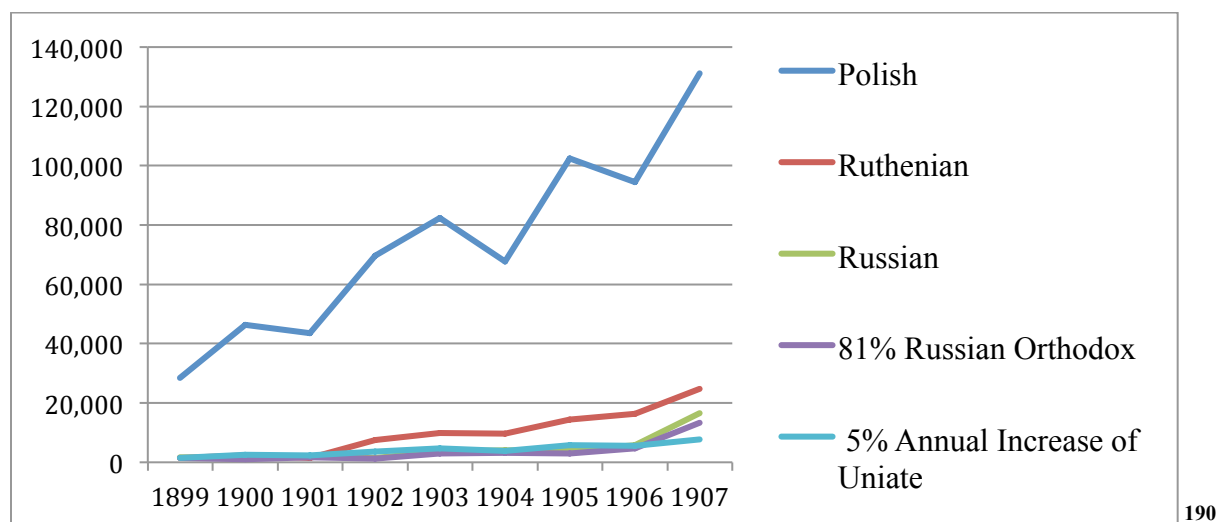
Church recorded in the Special Reports of 1906 and 1916 making it difficult to determine what percentage converted to Orthodoxy.¹⁸⁹ A. Pekar calculated that by 1900 approximately 20,000 Uniates in the United States converted to Orthodoxy. This would represent a figure equal to that of the original Russian Orthodox Church's recorded in 1906. The figure is troubling when compared to population totals from Poland and Ruthenia. 20,000 represent five percent of the 375,000 foreign-born from Poland recorded in 1900. Extrapolating this percentage from immigration records after 1900 suggests an intriguing projection of the total Uniate converts to Russian Orthodoxy. (See figure 5) This figure is by no means an attempt at guessing Uniate conversion figures. Rather, it is a conjecture from which research into this area should continue. Ethnic Russian and Ruthenian admittance figures show a similar increase from 1899-1907. Comparing the estimated Uniate percentage of increase during Tikhon's tenure to that of the Russians and Ruthenian shows a similar increased annual trajectory. (See Figure 6) The Russian Orthodox estimated increase is supported by the *Special Reports on Religious Bodies*. With further research into Uniate church archives, evidence might be found which would substantiate such a projection theory. Substantiating this theory would further the discussion of the size of the Russian Orthodox Church at the turn of the nineteenth century.

¹⁸⁹ Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census, *Special Reports Religious Bodies: 1906 Part II Separate Denomination: History, Description, and Statistics* (Washington, DC, 1909), 602, Accessed October 21, 2013, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433003053380;view=1up;seq=7>.

Figure 5 Total Polish and Ruthenian Immigration from 1899-1907

Year	Immigrants from Poland	Ruthenian Immigrants	Combined Five Percent Uniate Estimate
1899	28,462	1,400	1,493
1900	46,397	2,332	2,436
1901	43,615	1,551	2,258
1902	69,616	7,533	3,557
1903	82,318	9,843	4,608
1904	67,757	9,592	3,867
1905	102,437	14,473	5,845
1906	94,466	16,287	5,538
1907	131,147	24,801	7,797
Total	666,215	87,812	37,399

Numbers gathers from Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration 1899 – 1907

Figure 6 Combined Population Increases

¹⁹⁰ Figures have been created from the Annual Immigration Reports of 1899-1907 and the Special Report on Religious Bodies 1906 and 1916. Calculations were made by the author. Figures were rounded to the nearest whole number.

Bishop Tikhon had been familiar with the experiences of the Uniate in the Kholm region of Poland. Having ministered to them under Alexander III's Russification policies, he understood the precarious situation in the United States. Works on Tikhon discuss his attitude in Kholm as gentle and hospitable suggesting that Tikhon was aware of the sensitive nature of the relationship between Russian Orthodoxy and the Eastern-Rite Catholics.¹⁹¹

The relationships Tikhon continued to build further document the growth of the Russian Orthodox Church. Tikhon knew that those accepted by Bishops Vladimir and Nikolai were already part of his growing fold. He followed Nikolai's example and fostered an inclusive environment with his clergy. This is documented through written accounts in both Russian and English publications.¹⁹² Newspapers featured articles about church construction, special services, and appointments of non-traditional clergy.¹⁹³ Tikhon's work was acknowledged from coast to coast in cities including San Francisco, Chicago, New York, Pueblo, Mayfield, Wilkes-Barre, Butte, and Anaconda.¹⁹⁴ These stories support the statistical analysis of the growing Orthodox Church. They also document the lack of clergy for new facilities built by the growing communities of Orthodox¹⁹⁵.

Father V. Alexander recounted a trip in which he ministered to several parishioners in the Montana cities of Butte and Anaconda.¹⁹⁶ Based in Seattle, the Reverend traveled first to Butte

¹⁹¹ Jane Swan, *The Biography of Patriarch Tikhon*, (Jordanville: Holy Trinity Monastery, 1964), 8.

¹⁹² "Many Russian Priest to Come," *New York Daily Tribune*, November 17, 1902, p.5.

¹⁹³ "Local Russians See Their Bishop," *The Minneapolis Journal*, May 25, 1905, p. 32. One report in a 1905 article claims that Tikhon had established 150 congregations on the eastern seaboard. See "Active for Greek Church," *The Rising Son*, Kansas City, MO, August 25, 1905, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025494/1905-08-25/ed-1/seq-6/>

¹⁹⁴ "Many Russian Priest to Come," *New York Daily Tribune*, November 17, 1902 and "Local Russians See Their Bishop," *The Minneapolis Journal*, May 25, 1905, p. 32.

¹⁹⁵ Alexander, V, "Iz raporta evo preosviashchenstvu preosviashchenneishmu Tikhonu sviashch v aleksandrova," *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik* 6, no 23, (1902): 500-502

¹⁹⁶ *ibid.*, 500.

and then to Anaconda in November of 1902. He described an Orthodox community in Butte, in which he ministered to Serbian, Greek, and Uniate Orthodox. In the small town of Anaconda he found another group of Serbians that requested religious support. Altogether he estimated nearly six hundred Greek and Serbians plus an unknown amount of Uniate in the two towns.¹⁹⁷ Both towns had the population and funding to support a full time minister. Father Alexander requested Tikhon's assistance, as he was unable to support ministries in both the states of Washington and Montana.

Tikhon had published proposals in the Church Messenger notices that were concerned with the issues of his diverse flock. In one case, complaints were made about Carpatho-Russians' consumption of alcohol on Sundays.¹⁹⁸ Tikhon's response made clear that the church was a "community of sobriety," and that parishioners should lead by example to convince the drinkers to consume less. Tikhon also understood the importance of language use in the church and allowed services to be held in several languages.¹⁹⁹ This encouraged the different Eastern European Orthodox to share in services together.²⁰⁰ These examples further document that the church ministered to multiple types of Orthodox and gives evidence that Tikhon's church was growing.

The growth of the Russian Orthodox Church required Tikhon's administrations to move the headquarters of the See. Historically, Russians had entered the United States from the western seaboard.²⁰¹ After the 1867 sale of Alaska to the United States, most of the Russian

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 501.

¹⁹⁸ "Ofitsial'ny otdel" predlozhenia preosviashchenneyshavo Tikhona, episkopa Aleutskavo i severo-Amerikaskavo. severo-Amerikanskomu dukhovnomu pravleniu," *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik* 5, no 14, (1901): 305.

¹⁹⁹ "Pueblo, Colo." *The Intermountain Colorado Catholic*, Salt Lake City, UT, May 7, 1904, p. 6.

²⁰⁰ "Head of Russian Church Here," *Edgefield Advertiser*, Edgefield, SC, February 8, 1899, p. 1.

²⁰¹ Susan Wiley Hardwick, *Russian Refuge. Religion, Migration, and Settlement on the North American Pacific Rim* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 49-74.

migrants entered the country through the immigration station at San Francisco.²⁰² This migratory change provided the church a reason to transfer the headquarters from Sitka to San Francisco. The new influx of Russians immigrating to the United States at the turn of the century shifted predominately through the east coast.

Population maps in the 1910 Census show that these Russians and other Eastern Europeans predominantly settled along the northern border of the United States and the eastern seaboard.²⁰³ A significant amount settled in the State of New York. Among all the states listed in the 1910 census, New York had the highest percentage of foreign-born from Russia at more than six percent.²⁰⁴ North Dakota was the only other state listed with a population of five to six percent. Also significant was the surroundings that these groups settled. By a factor of nearly five to one, Russian immigrants settled into urban settings.²⁰⁵ This holds true of the other Eastern European communities of Hungarians (three to one), Austrians (two to one), and Greeks (two to one). In cities of New York and Philadelphia, Russians were the leading foreign-born population. In Baltimore, Milwaukee, Newark, Pittsburg and St. Louis Russians were the second leading immigrant group. Susan Wiley Hardwick's study on Russian immigrants on the Pacific Rim documents this similar clustering pattern in particular with Russian.²⁰⁶ She notes that often Russians preferred to remain together to avoid feeling like outsiders. Their strong ties allowed them to create entire communities within these urban settings.

²⁰² *ibid.*, 75-77.

²⁰³ Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States taken in the Year 1910 Volume I: Population 1910 General Report and Analysis*, (Washington, DC, 1913), 803.

²⁰⁴ *ibid.*, 808.

²⁰⁵ *ibid.*, 818.

²⁰⁶ Susan Wiley Hardwick, *Russian Refuge*, 1-10.

Richard Morris also documented these settlement patterns in his study on three different Russian groups.²⁰⁷ Morris studied Old Believers, Molokans, and Russian Pentecostal communities. His work documents the close community bond that these three groups share. The Old Believers preferred rural agricultural communities.²⁰⁸ Molokans do prefer to remain in their smaller communities, but Morris explains that it was not uncommon for younger Molokans to live in larger cities while searching for a life partner. Once a mate had been found, most moved back into their small communities in Oregon.²⁰⁹ Morris devoted a limited amount of research on Russian Pentacostals, but argues that they chose to reside in similar fashion as the Old Believers and Molokans.²¹⁰ This claim is a bit troubling given the sparse research presented on the Pentacostals compared to the other two groups. Regardless, this demonstrates that Russians tend to live in communities of Russians in the United States.

As Russian communities developed, newspapers documented Orthodox Church construction.²¹¹ In Chicago the *Russian Orthodox American Messenger* discussed plan for a new cathedral.²¹² The 1902 consecration of St. Nicholas Cathedral in New York signaled Tikhon's plan to relocate the Episcopal See.²¹³ The ceremony highlighted Tikhon's inclusive personality with different religious groups all invited to the ceremony. The relocation of the Episcopal See to New York was a necessity for Bishop Tikhon as the multitude of Orthodox Christians established themselves on the east coast.²¹⁴ Further, his input and support on the matters of

²⁰⁷ Richard A. Morris, *Old Russian Ways Cultural Variations Among Three Russian Groups in Oregon* (New York: AMS Press, 1991), 10-12.

²⁰⁸ *ibid.*, 197-202.

²⁰⁹ *ibid.*, 275-276.

²¹⁰ *ibid.*, 336-37.

²¹¹ "Local Russians See Their Bishop," *The Minneapolis Journal*, May 26, 1905, p. 32.

²¹² "Torzhestvo zakladki pervavo Russkavo khrama v Chikago," *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik* 4, no. 8 (1902): 170-172.

²¹³ "Consecrated with Pomp," *The New York Tribune*, November 24, 1902, p. 1.

²¹⁴ "Russian Church's Plans," *New York Daily Tribune*, April 3, 1905, p. 2.

church construction in urban areas points to his belief that these numbers would continue to rise in the coming years.

This growth consumed Tikhon such that in 1903 he appointed Bishop Innocent as Coadjutor.²¹⁵ Bishop Innocent served to relieve Bishop Tikhon of the growing workload in Alaska. This enabled Tikhon to concentrate on the massive migration of Eastern Orthodox in the lower forty-eight.²¹⁶ This was of particular importance in the area of educational reform for the church.

The diversification of Eastern Orthodoxy in the United States was a cornerstone of Tikhon's policies on church society.²¹⁷ The survival of Orthodox tradition in America required the Russian Church to adapt to a country in which freedom of religion was a foundation. By combining and sharing their eastern philosophies, the church grew. In doing so, the church gained legitimacy in a heavily Protestant country. Validity would be important in the confrontation in Alaska for the educational rights of the established Russian Orthodox population.

Bishop Tikhon's success in navigating the church through a period of tremendous growth was pivotal to the fruitfulness of the church. As the next chapter will show Bishop Tikhon was perceptive and capitalized on happenstance. While he had no direct influence on the number of immigrants arriving to the United States, he understood the enormity of his See. Geographically it was the largest of the entire Russian Orthodox Church. In order to maintain control he had to relinquish oversight of a region to his Coadjutor. He took the required steps to move the headquarters of the Church to the center of the largest population of Eastern Orthodox in the

²¹⁵ "Alaska's New Prelate," *New York Daily Tribune*, January 25, 1904, p. 2.

²¹⁶ "Alaska Given a Coadjutor," *The San Francisco Call*, January 25, 1904, p. 3.

²¹⁷ In A. Roshestvensky's memoir he also describes Tikhon ministering to Galician Uniates, Syrian, Bulgarian, Serbian and Greek Orthodox.

continental United States. Bishop Tikhon chose not to be a bystander when the pews of his church began to swell. Rather, he took the reins of the church and began to build.

Chapter 3 - The Restructuring of Orthodox Education in America and its Effects upon Bishop Tikhon's Mission

The building of an educational system in America played an important role in how Bishop Tikhon shaped the North American See. How education was handled in Alaska reshaped how the Russian Orthodox Church would function as it moved into the twentieth century. The Orthodox Church did not see education as a form of proselytization. Tikhon, in 1899, held the notion that the educational system established in Alaska represented their legitimacy as an established religion in North America. The financial benefits of missionary contract schools were never extended to the Russian Schools in Alaska.²¹⁸ Federal subsidies were ended in Alaska by 1895. By 1903 Tikhon's thoughts had changed. Tikhon believed the Diocese needed to be more autonomous and sought new methods for church funding. Tikhon would reorganize the See's policies on education. He focused on establishing Seminary schools to help prepare a new generation of priest too minister to the immigrants entering the United States.

In the later years of Tikhon's administration, as this chapter details, the importance of education as a means of legitimacy dissipated because of policy changes from the United States government, new situations inside the Russian Orthodox church membership, and Tikhon's embrace of a different mission. Tikhon held onto the notion of maintaining the Orthodox Schools as long as he could until he made the practical decision to refocus the mission. Tikhon understood that the work of his predecessors in Russian-America had set a new example of what Orthodox education should resemble. This was different from the experiences of the native tribes in Southern Russia and Siberia. It was unlike the Native American experience as well. Other

²¹⁸ Tikhon had reports on education routinely published until the appointment of a Coadjutor. This was to provide alternate reports by the General Agent of Education. See "Ego preosviashchenstva, preosviashchenneishago Tikhona, episkola Aleutskago i Aliaskinskago, s general'nym agentom po narodnomu obrazovahiu v Aliaske," *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Vestnik* 4, no. 4 (1900): 81 – 85.

circumstances hindered Tikhon's efforts to legitimize the Orthodox Schools. Government Officials falsely represented the educational efforts of the Orthodox. Tikhon understood that change would be required to accommodate his growing church.

Up to the 1904 appointment of Coadjutor Bishop Innocent, Tikhon had objected vocally to the treatment of the Orthodox Schools in Alaska. The largest issue was the perception of the church by outside observers. Misrepresentations to Congress about the Church by the General Agent of Education, Sheldon Jackson, further confounded his task.²¹⁹ Jackson provided reports to Congress on the status of the education in Alaska. In his reports, he repeatedly claimed the Russian Orthodox Schools as small, in disrepair, and insignificant. He repeatedly testified that Russian was the only language taught in these schools. Tikhon made efforts to provide information about the Orthodox Schools to Jackson, but these details did not make it into the Congressional reports.²²⁰

Tikhon's response to Jackson's distortions was to publish his own accounts of the Russian Schools. Tikhon asked the Dean of the Sitka School to prepare and publish a report on the Russian Orthodox School system. The state of the organization was documented in a three-part article published in the *Russian Orthodox American Messenger*.²²¹ Dean Antonius began his series of articles explaining the pedagogy of the instruction.²²² The Orthodox School system was divided into two districts: the Sitka District and the Unalaska District. Each contained a number of individual parishes that housed an Orthodox School. These schools were divided into three distinct educational tracts. The highest level of education was obtained in the missionary

²¹⁹ Department of the Interior Bureau of Education, *Education in Alaska*, (Washington, DC 1880) 4.

²²⁰ "Ego preosviashchenstva, preosviashchenneishago tikhona, episkola aleutskago i aliaskinskago, s general'nym agentom po narodnomu obrazovaniyu v aliaske," *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik* 4, no. 4 (1900): 81 – 85.

²²¹ Antonius, "Skoloe delo russoy pravoslavny tserkve v aliaske," *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik* 4, no 6, (1900): 114-122. This report through in Volume 4 no. 6,7, and concludes in 8.

²²² *ibid.*, 114-122 The Report was updated later the same year in Antonius "Skoloe delo Russoy pravoclavny tserkve v Aliaske 1899-1900 uchebnu god" *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik* 4, no 20 (1900): 398-408

school.²²³ This program provided religious instruction for those intending to become local clergy. Parochial schools were established and were similar to the American public schools, but added Orthodox religious instruction. Indian primary schools provided instruction in general hygiene, catechism, practical propriety, and the three R's.²²⁴ In total, the Russian schools in the year 1900 served 787 students in forty-three schools. The largest school in operation was located in Unalaska. In the seven most populated school locations the church also provided housing for the students. At the time of Antonious' report, the Russian system operated sixty-seven of these homes. The roster of instructors included forty-nine teachers. The system stretched from the southeast corner of Alaska to the very last island of the Aleutian chain and north to St. Paul Island.

By comparison, the American school system was smaller in the number of facilities, but enrolled more students. In Jackson's 1898 report on schools he noted twenty-three public schools, seventeen contract schools and 1,286 students.²²⁵ His next report in 1904 had eliminated the contract schools. Public schools now numbered thirty-five and 2,257 students.²²⁶ Jackson had hired thirty-eight teachers.

Tikhon's reluctance to let the Orthodox School system diminish stemmed from the understanding of how education work contrasted from the traditional proselytizing of Russian Orthodox missionaries. The linkage between education and missionary work was more ambiguous in the Russian empire than in North America. Unlike the United States, there were no substantial battles for the pacification of indigenous groups. The Imperial Russian Court viewed

²²³ The terms Missionary, Parochial and Indian Primary School were the names given by the Orthodox Church. The schools, which Tikhon requested government subsidies did not include the Missionary schools.

²²⁴ *ibid.*, 110.

²²⁵ Commissioner of Education, *Explanation of the Policy Pursued in Regard to Industrial Education in Alaska* (Washington D.C., 1898), 10-11.

²²⁶ House of Representatives, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1904 Miscellaneous Reports Part III*, (Washington D.C., 1904) 25-26.

a Christianized populace desirable as it followed Western European ideals.²²⁷ The conversion of their diverse population was a difficult task because of the influence of Islam and Buddhism in distant regions of the country

Studies on the conversion to Orthodoxy demonstrate how the Russian government intervened to bring control of non-Christians in Russia. These policies affected future church leaders and would lead to a shift in church culture in policies in Russian-America. Paul Werth's research in Orthodox apostasy explains the rationale of laws enacted by the Imperial Government to promote Orthodoxy.²²⁸ He argues that laws targeted entire communities to promote Orthodox beliefs and not to an individual. The laws allowed for other religious groups to exist that did not follow the traditions of Orthodoxy. The notion of converting entire communities stemmed from the views of the Ober-Procurator Pobedonostsev. He contended that Orthodox worship was communal and an equalizer of society.²²⁹ Converts to Orthodoxy were forbidden to renounce the religion once accepted.²³⁰ Punishments for apostasy included interment at a monastery, loss of property, and removal of children. By 1870 the Imperial Government allowed for self-ascription of religious identity and local authorities left the matter outside of the courts.²³¹ Werth notes that as the nineteenth century progressed, the laws became difficult to enforce. This was in part due to the number of communities filled with apostates.²³²

Conversion to Orthodoxy was treated as a rise in social status. This was especially the case for Muslim Tatars. Converts received benefits such as freedom from military service and a

²²⁷ Anna Peck, "The Image of Heathens: Archbishop Veniamin Blagonravov's Preception of Religion and Nationality in the Transbaikal," *Sibirica: Interdisciplinary Journal of Siberian Studies* 10, no. 2 (2011): 51.

²²⁸ Paul W. Werth, "The Limits of Religious Ascription: Baptized Tatars and the Revision of 'Apostasy,' 1840s-1905," *Russian Review* 59, no. 4 (2000): 46-497.

²²⁹ John D. Basil, "Konstantin Petrovich Pobedonostsev: An Argument for a Russian State Church," *Church History* 64, no. 1 (1995): 47-48.

²³⁰ Paul W. Werth, "Baptism, Authority, and the Problem of Zakonnost' in Orenburg Diocese: The Induction of over 800 'Pagans' into the Christian Faith," *Slavic Review* 56, no. 3 (1997): 457-458.

²³¹ *ibid.*, 503-504.

²³² Werth, "The Limits," 503-505.

three-year tax break.²³³ Many found that conversion was worth the benefits. To prevent immediate conversion for financial gains, rules were put into place that required adequate understanding of the decision. The Imperial government wanted to ensure converts were genuine and sought proper preparation for the conversion to Orthodoxy. Signed petitions were required by the local clergy and checked by regional bishops to ensure adequate instruction had been followed and that the convert understood the commitment.²³⁴

The conversion of eastern groups in Russia to Orthodoxy was viewed as a form of acculturation. Similar to the Native Americans, they were to end their pagan lifestyle and become modern citizens. Tikhon's approach did not embrace forced conversion. The style of education and conversion Tikhon utilized was much more inclusive and built upon his predecessors. Bishop Innocent (Veniaminov) episcopacy throughout the 1840s laid the framework from which future leaders of the growing Kamchatka and Alaskan Diocese would operate until its eventual separation into distinct spiritual regions.²³⁵ Innocent sought to expand the Orthodox Church in colonial Russia. Following in the tracks of the Russian American Company, he sent missionaries into Kenai, Kwikhpak, and Nushagak.²³⁶ He was a man of considerable influence and brought attention to the work done in Russian America. His detractors accused Innocent of closing the borders of the colony to other missionary groups hoping to proselytize to the natives. For example, when Finnish workers of the Russian American Company requested a Lutheran pastor for their religious needs, the Bishop prohibited their clergy from working with natives.²³⁷

²³³ Werth, "Baptism, Authority," 458.

²³⁴ *ibid.*, 458-459.

²³⁵ David Nordlander, "Innokentii Veniaminov and the expansion of Orthodoxy in Russian America," *Pacific Historical Review* 64, no 1 (1995): 23-25.

²³⁶ *ibid.*, 26.

²³⁷ *ibid.*, 28.

Bishop Innocent is most known for his progressive policies on evangelizing the locals. He understood that for Russian Orthodoxy to persevere in Alaska native language would be required.²³⁸ Credited with translations of religious doctrine to both the Aleut and Tlingit, Innocent sought to train indigenous clergy to continue the spread of Orthodoxy. To do so, he built the first seminary in New Archangel.²³⁹ The last important aspect Bishop Innocent left for Tikhon was the foundation of a school system for the children of Alaska. An *ukaz* by Tsar Nicholas I engaged the church and made it responsible for the primary education for the region.²⁴⁰ He settled schools in southeast Alaska in the villages of Kenai, Nushagak, Chiniak, Amlia, and New Archangel. Like Innocent, Tikhon took the reins and continued to maintain the church's presence, both religious and educational, in North America.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs had traditionally handled education of Native American tribes. Education of the Native Alaskan population disseminated through the Bureau of Education.²⁴¹ Classification of Native Alaskans was debated in Congress following the ratification of the 1867 purchase of the Russian colony. The passage of the 1884 Alaskan Organic Act required the Secretary of the Interior to establish a school system for the territory. Descriptions sent to Congress of the aboriginal groups in Alaska provided conflicting details about the native tribes.²⁴² These descriptions affected how, what, and who would instruct the natives. One report, by Vincent Colyer, provided information that pushed the improvement of Native Alaskans towards the Bureau of Education. In his 1869 report to the Board of Indian Commissioners, Colyer described the natives of Alaska as more intelligent, adaptable, and

²³⁸ *ibid.*, 30-31.

²³⁹ *ibid.*, 31. New Archangel would become Sitka and Headquarters for the Russian American Company.

²⁴⁰ *ibid.*, 32.

²⁴¹ Stephen Haycox, "'Races of a Questionable Ethnical Type' Origins of the Jurisdiction of the U.S. Bureau of Education in Alaska, 1867-1885," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 75, no. 4 (1984): 156.

²⁴² *ibid.*, 157-160.

industrious than the North American Indians. He continued that many of the natives of Alaska had already begun the acculturation process by working, subsisting, and living like their white counterparts. Thus, from the Federal Government's standpoint, they did not require the same amount of administration as the native tribes of the lower forty-eight. Native Alaskans only needed formal education and less industrial training; hence the Bureau of Education would conduct this work.²⁴³ The change in policy effected how schools were administrated and created the environment that pushed the Russian Orthodox Schools aside to make way for Protestant educators in the territory.

The change within the Native Alaskan schools was rooted in the system established in the continental United States. The Indian reform movement in the United States began as an attempt to bring an end to the wars between the Native American tribes and the Federal Government while complementing the continued western movement of white settlers. Education for the Natives was a cornerstone of the movement. Religious missionaries worked in parallel with this undertaking.²⁴⁴ Under President Grant's "peace policy," Christian Missionary Societies recommend locations, personnel, and curriculum used in the school systems. A Board of Indian Commissioners was established to manage the new native schools. The board was composed entirely of Protestant Laymen.²⁴⁵

The advancement of native education in America found its origins within a group of Christian reformers on the East Coast. Reformers believed that Americanization should include educational opportunities for natives.²⁴⁶ These activists gathered annually at the Lake Mohonk

²⁴³ *ibid.*, 162.

²⁴⁴ Stephen Haycox, "Sheldon Jackson and the Constitutionality of the School Contract System in Alaska, 1885-1894," *The Pacific Historian* 28, no. 1 (1984): 18.

²⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 20.

²⁴⁶ Francis Paul Prucha, *Indian Policy in the United States Historical Essays* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 244-245.

Conference hosted by a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, Albert Smiley. Another board member at the conference, Thomas Morgan presented an outline for schooling young natives at boarding schools.²⁴⁷ These schools would be built and managed by mission societies and funded in part by government contracts.²⁴⁸ Early in his tenure, Tikhon argued that the Orthodox School in Alaska embodied a mission society and should be compensated by the Federal Government.²⁴⁹ Tikhon was too late in expressing his case. The popularity of the contract schools had fallen when it was discovered the Catholic Mission Societies had taken the bulk of the contracts.²⁵⁰ For its part, the Catholic Mission was far better prepared for the educational endeavor. It had at its disposal a teaching staff of priests and nuns. An endowment from a pair of philanthropist sisters funded the mission in addition to awarded government contracts.²⁵¹ The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Oberly, conceded that the Catholic Mission Schools had better facilities and more of them, thus they were the favored recipients of governmental contracts.²⁵² When Thomas Morgan, an ardent opponent of the Catholic Schools, replaced Oberly as Commissioner the climate shifted in favor of the Protestant Missions.²⁵³ By 1890 Congress eliminated missionary contracting.²⁵⁴

The formation of Native American pedagogy in the United States was rooted in two schools of thought, which battled each other for supremacy. Both programs wished to achieve

²⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 246.

²⁴⁸ *ibid.*, 700-707.

²⁴⁹ “Ego preosviashchenstva, preosviashchenneishago Tikhona, episkola Aleutskago i Aliaskinskago, s general’nym agentom po narodnomu obrazovaniyu v Aliaske,” *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Vestnik* 4, no. 4 (1900): 81 – 85.

²⁵⁰ Prucha, *Indian Policy*, 247.

²⁵¹ *ibid.*, 708-709.

²⁵² *ibid.*, 248.

²⁵³ Harry Sievers, “The Catholic Indian School Issues and the Presidential Election of 1892,” *Catholic Historical Review* 38, no. 2 (1952): 129-155.

²⁵⁴ Prucha, *The Great Father*, 694-700.

the same goal: that the natives would become self-sustaining members of white society.²⁵⁵ Educators of Native Alaskans would adapt the principles. Two idealistic men with the ambition of standardizing education founded the Carlisle Indian Industrial School and the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute for Native Americans. The principles of reading, writing, and reckoning along with conversion to Christianity were at the core of the curriculum at both institutions. The Hampton Institute, founded by Samuel Chapmen Armstrong, began as a home to educate southern freedmen.²⁵⁶ Richard Henry Pratt brought the initial group of natives to Hampton. After working alongside Armstrong for a year, Pratt petitioned to turn the barracks of Carlisle into a new native school. Fundamentally these schools used the same principles to develop natives.²⁵⁷ Education was split between classroom work and physical labor. Students dressed in uniforms. They spent half of their time in study and half learning skills and trades that would allow them to fit into civilized society. The difference between Armstrong and Pratt's approaches was in their personal views of natives' abilities to grow and learn.²⁵⁸ Pratt, a true believer of egalitarianism, instructed his students through the principles of universal humanism. He believed that his native students were a product of their environments. If given time and education they could achieve equal status among whites. Conversely, Armstrong was a staunch advocate of racial "types." He held that natives, like African Americans, were evolutionarily behind white society and would take generations to acculturate.²⁵⁹

The differences between the Hampton and Carlisle schools went beyond the founders' ideologies. How their students were prepared for the world beyond the walls of their institutions

²⁵⁵ Jacqueline Fear-Segal, "Nineteenth-Century Indian Education: Universalism versus Evolutionism," *Journal of American Studies*, 33 no. 2 (1999): 324-325.

²⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 326.

²⁵⁷ *ibid.*, 327-330.

²⁵⁸ *ibid.*, 330.

²⁵⁹ *ibid.*, 330.

also had an effect. Because Pratt believed in his universal principle, he encouraged his students to look beyond the rudimentary education they received at his school. Continuing their education was encouraged. Armstrong was opposed to natives engaging in more education. His students were urged to return home to their reservations and instill the knowledge they had acquired at Hampton.²⁶⁰

An interesting aside of the two programs was their thoughts on the preservation of native culture. Pratt the Universalist was profoundly against the inclusion of any native culture or artistic works at Carlisle.²⁶¹ He ardently opposed students returning to their reservations upon exiting Carlisle as they might slip back into native traditions. Armstrong believed in preserving the only true American art and that native culture must be saved, but in an American way.²⁶² Armstrong instructed students to live in a modern native village environment that included contemporary homes and monogamous living. He encouraged his students to return home and demonstrate these principles in their villages, thus perpetuating evolutionary education on the reservations.

Armstrong and his followers continued to open new Hampton pedagogy schools across the country supported by federal funding to educate Native Americans. The fastest means of improving instruction across the country was through the use of missionary contract schools. Protestant missions created many of these schools. This is not unusual. As Stephen Haycox suggests, the height of the use of contract schools coincided with the heyday of Evangelical Protestantism in America.²⁶³ He contends that it was essential for these societies to educate the native populace because the Federal Government could not front the cost to teach an estimated

²⁶⁰ *ibid.*, 330-332.

²⁶¹ *ibid.*, 334.

²⁶² *ibid.*, 334-335.

²⁶³ Stephen Haycox, "Sheldon Jackson," 20.

300,000 native children. Missionary Societies that received the government subsidies, in turn, often raised even more capital to build schools and churches.²⁶⁴ According to Haycox, the tone of education in the boarding schools tended towards the predominant Protestant religion. In Alaska, particularly in the Russian Orthodox Church, these schools became unwarranted competition for students attending the established Orthodox schools. These new boarding schools were the product of Dr. Sheldon Jackson. Jackson followed the Carlisle approach to education. The Orthodox schools, as Tikhon argued, followed a similar curriculum to Jackson's schools.²⁶⁵ In the Americanized schools English was the only allowed language, students wore uniforms and were expected to become Christians. Tikhon followed the example left by Bishop Innocent. He preferred the use of an inclusive method that allowed for use of the native languages along with English and Russian studies. Curriculum, for the most part, was modeled after the American system with the incorporation of Orthodoxy. The vested Russian Schools were not dissimilar to the Government Schools in Alaska. The students that attended these schools were not proselytized to; rather, they were part of communities of Orthodox that had existed.

A common denominator between Tikhon and Sheldon Jackson was the universal humanitarian approach they both reflected.²⁶⁶ Each believed the Alaskan Natives to be equal to their white counterparts.²⁶⁷ Jackson and others argued the natives were far more self-sufficient

²⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 23. In this article, Haycox refutes a work by Richard Dauenhauer, appearing in *The Pacific Historian* that questioned the legality of contract schools. Haycox explains that the *Pacific Historian* work is a shortened version of another work by Dauenhauer. For further information on Dauenhauer's work see "Conflicting Visions in Alaskan Education," Occasional Paper No. 3, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska (Fairbanks), 1980.

²⁶⁵ Antonius, "Skoloe delo Russoy pravoslavny tserkve v Aliaske 1899-1900 uchebny god," *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik* 4, no 20 (1900): 398-408.

²⁶⁶ John Brady was the Governor from 1897-1906 during which Tikhon was in America. References to other governors preceded Brady, but played a continued role in education while Tikhon was in the United States.

²⁶⁷ Stephen Haycox, "Races of a Questionable," 156-163.

than natives of the lower forty-eight.²⁶⁸ Both Tikhon and Jackson did take exception to some of the Carlisle methods. Neither educator approved of sending students away from the village to schools. Both agreed that post-education contact should be encouraged as a form of furthering the acculturation process. Prior to Tikhon's arrival the Orthodox Church found itself entangled in a conflict over whether their schools would be included in the new educational system in Alaska. Many of the participants in this debate interacted with Tikhon upon his arrival to Alaska. These same individuals caused the debate to become too much of a distraction for Tikhon and lead him to restructure the church administration and appoint a single Bishop to work through this issue.

Commissioner of Education John Eaton's appointment of Dr. Sheldon Jackson in 1885 allowed him to proselytize unfettered to the native students under his missionary school system. His detractors in the district, including then Governor A.P. Swineford, found it inappropriate that Jackson continued to serve as both a General Agent and a Presbyterian missionary.²⁶⁹ During his administration Swineford, a supporter for the retention of the Russian School system, documented the valuable efforts of the Russians to maintain a school system after the purchase of Alaska.²⁷⁰ In an address to the Committee on the Territories, Swineford reiterated the history of established and self-sufficient Orthodox schools. He noted that the entire Russian system had been maintained and funded by the Russian government to the amount of sixty-thousand dollars annually. He understood that the existing school system was more beneficial than producing a duplicate system. Swineford is also known for his dedication to establishing a proper system of

²⁶⁸ Stephen Haycox, "Sheldon Jackson," 18-28.

²⁶⁹ Kenneth R. Johnson, "N. H. R. Dawson: United States Commissioner of Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (1971): 178.

²⁷⁰ Committee on the Territories, *Organization of Alaska* (Washington D.C., 1889) 1-12.

laws for the district, especially in terms of property rights.²⁷¹ In the address to the Committee, he devoted nearly half of his attention to the topic.

Land rights were of importance to the Orthodox Church. In 1885 members of the Russian Orthodox Church brought a lawsuit against Jackson. They accused Jackson, John Brady, and Alonzo Austin of cutting down trees on church lands, obstructing a road that lead to the land, and preventing access to buildings on the property.²⁷² Records on the outcome of this suit were not present in the Juneau Archives, so it is unclear how it was settled. Swineford, for his part, was swept up in the politics of Washington D.C. and the newly elected President, Benjamin Harrison, selected a replacement for Swineford.

In 1887 Commissioner of Education, H.N.R. Dawson, sought to resolve the education issue.²⁷³ Dawson took direct control out of the hands of Jackson and placed responsibility with a board consisting of the District Governor, District Judge, and General Agent of Education.²⁷⁴ The plan established local control of education; a cornerstone of Dawson's administration as Commissioner. In as much, Dawson pursued policies in which localities would tax and redistribute funds to level the inadequacies in school funding in a community.²⁷⁵ In his opinion, local control was not just about funding. It was about equal educational experience for all students. Despite the change by Dawson, a political swing in the country placed future Governors in Alaska that were more favorable toward Jackson. Thus the balance of power on the

²⁷¹ *ibid.*, 4-10.

²⁷² Nicholas Schuakoff et All v. Jackson et all, The United States District Court for the District of Alaska (1885) John Brady, at this time was developing the Sitka Trading Company and had not yet been elected Governor. This archive collection at the time of Thesis was held at the Historic Archive of the State of Alaska in Juneau. It was part of the National Archives collection housed in Anchorage Alaska until the summer of 2014. In June of 2014, that archive was closed. Documents pertaining to Alaska History went to the Juneau archive. At the time the author received the documents, this collection had not be catalogued.

²⁷³ House of Representatives, *Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1887* (Washington, DC, 1887) 62.

²⁷⁴ *ibid.*, 179.

²⁷⁵ *ibid.*, 176.

committee remained in Jackson's camp. This included Governor John Brady who sat in office during most of Tikhon tenure as Bishop.

With much cajoling on the part of Sheldon Jackson, John Brady received his appointment as governor in 1897. Brady, for his part, embodied most of the qualities of Dr. Jackson.²⁷⁶ He personally sought to secure a Carlisle School of education for Alaskan Natives.²⁷⁷ Brady had a close relationship with Captain Pratt who publically honored Brady at the Carlisle School.²⁷⁸ Brady worked as an independent missionary in Alaska before starting his own trading company. The formation of a boarding school in Sitka that embraced Protestantism became his mission prior to becoming Governor.

It is not to say that Jackson, or Governor Brady for his part, did not care about the Alaska Native population. Rather, the officials were secure in the belief that the Alaskans should not be placed on reservations like the North American Indians. Instead, they believed Native Alaskans should be educated in industrial training at government-funded schools located in their villages. Part of Jackson's plan included the introduction of reindeer herding to the northern most tribes that often suffered from food shortages.²⁷⁹ Furthermore, Jackson and Brady were proponents of acculturating the village inhabitants and providing them full rights as citizens.²⁸⁰ It was the way in which Jackson set about his plan to educate the natives that drew criticism from Tikhon and others.

Public displays of discontentment by the Orthodox Church did not begin with Tikhon, but rather his predecessor Bishop Nikolai. In an open letter to President William McKinley, Nikolai

²⁷⁶ Ted Hinckley, "'We Are More Truly Heathen Than the Natives': John G. Brady and the Assimilation of Alaska's Tlingit Indians," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 11, no. 1 (1980): 44.

²⁷⁷ *ibid.*, 49.

²⁷⁸ *ibid.*, 50.

²⁷⁹ Reindeer herding will be discussed later, but Jackson's plan was well documented across the country. See "Kris Kringle's Steed for Klondyke," *Los Angeles Herald*, December 5, 1897, p. 35 and "Alaska's Reindeer," *The Florida Star*, January 11, 1901, p. 6.

²⁸⁰ Ted Hinckley, "'We are More Truly,'" 37-55.

presented his case for changes in two areas concerning natives in Alaska. First he was worried about the preservation of subsistence fishing resources for natives.²⁸¹ Secondly, Nikolai charged Jackson with waging a sectarian propaganda campaign against the Orthodox Church in Alaska. In 1899 the accusations against Jackson were further extended when a Grand Jury accused Jackson of misappropriating federal funding for education.²⁸² The Jury, headed by former Governor A.P. Swineford, contended that Jackson had been untruthful in his reports to Congress, that he made false charges against the Orthodox Church in those reports, and that he had mismanaged the educational system. Specifically, the jury claimed that Jackson or his delegate informed parents of children in the Orthodox schools that their children would be taken and placed into military service. The jury also charged he stated the Russian schools refused to teach English.

In 1901 Tikhon picked up where the grand jury left off when he published his correspondences from 1899 with Jackson since his arrival in America.²⁸³ In the exchange of letters, the two men send platitudes to each other and discuss a variety of topics. The publication begins mid accord in which Jackson requested of Tikhon the locations of schools and the names of clergy to be added into his annual reports to Congress. By this time, public sentiment for contract schools had waned, and Jackson informed Tikhon of the shift in federal policy.²⁸⁴ Tikhon's response included the information requested by Jackson. He also continued to dispel false stories that English language was not taught in Russian Schools.²⁸⁵ Tikhon then laid out his case for government subsidies for the Russian schools. As he explained, the Orthodox schools

²⁸¹ Nikolai, "A Letter to President McKinley," *Alaska Mining Record*, 1899.

²⁸² "Protest From Alaska: Grand Jury Scores General Agent of Education," *The Salt Lake Herald* June 12, 1899, p. 2.

²⁸³ "Ego preosviashchenstva, preosviashchenneishago Tikhona, episkola Aleutskago i aliaskinskago, s general'nym agentom po narodnomu obrazovaniiu v aliaske," *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Vestnik* 4, no. 4 (1900): 81 – 85.

²⁸⁴ *ibid.*, 82.

²⁸⁵ *ibid.*, 83.

were located in villages not currently served by government schools. Since they instructed the students in the same methods as the government schools in Alaska, Tikhon felt the United States should have paid them a subsidy and that Jackson, as General Agent, should take up the cause. In the last published response Jackson ignored Tikhon's request and suggested bettering relations between the local Orthodox clergy and instructors sent by Jackson.²⁸⁶

Tikhon continued to publicly announce new instances in which other missionaries confounded the education of students enrolled in Russian Schools. In 1901, a series of articles were published describing the actions of Methodist missionaries in Unalaska.²⁸⁷ In the exchange of letters the Methodist missionaries charged that the Russian church and schools were non-Christian. Dean Kedrofsky accused the Methodist Home of taking children from Orthodox homes located in Unalaska. He claimed that the Matron's home had only recently come under the supervision of the Methodist Church and since then tension existed between the two homes.

In April of 1901, Tikhon had Archimandrite Anatolius publish a piece that discussed the recently published Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1898-1899. In the extensive report, General Agent Jackson prepared a study on education in Alaska.²⁸⁸ Anatolius wrote that the description of the missionary schools in Alaska lacked information on the Russian schools. This was not the case for any of the other missionary groups. In the 1898 budgetary report, Jackson provided information on government subsidies paid to missionary schools in the years leading up to the change in federal policy.²⁸⁹ Beginning in 1891, Jackson paid subsidies to five Missionary groups including: the American Missionary Association, Board of Home Missions -

²⁸⁶ *ibid.*, 84-85.

²⁸⁷ A. Kedrofsky, "Iz raporta ego preosviashchenstvu, preocbiashchenneishemu Tikhonu, blagochinnago sviashchennika ostrova Unalashke," *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik* 5, no. 2 (1901): 33-39.

²⁸⁸ Anatolius, "Prosveshchenie v Aliaske," *Pravoslavny Amerikanski Viestnik* 5, no. 7 (1901): 142-145.

²⁸⁹ Department of the Interior Bureau of Education, *Explanation of the Policy Pursued in Regard to Industrial Education in Alaska Introduction and Distribution of Reindeer*, (Washington D.C., 1898) 83-155.

Presbyterian Church, Catholic Indian Mission, William Duncan, and the Moravian Missionary Society.²⁹⁰ Most subsidies were between two and three thousand dollars with one exception. The Board of Home Missions - Presbyterian Church received a fifteen thousand dollar subsidy. Jackson, it would be discovered later, was receiving half of his annual income from this society. Over the ensuing years, Jackson included the Swedish Mission Covenant. By the middle of the 1890s, Jackson began to reduce the subsidies paid out but ensured that the Presbyterian Mission received the largest annual subsidy.²⁹¹

Archimandrite Anatolius criticism continued that Jackson made comments to the effect of “ending” Orthodox Churches in Alaska.²⁹² Anatolius asserted that the remark by Jackson was expressed after the publication of Bishop Nikolai’s letter to President McKinley. The Archimandrite did not provide evidence that Jackson actually made this statement. Instead Anatolius claimed that Jackson’s payment of government salaries to specific missionary teachers was evidence enough of his intention to end Orthodoxy.²⁹³ In the second half of the report, Anatolius described the different Protestant missions sent to work against Orthodoxy.²⁹⁴ He pointed out the Presbyterians in South East Alaska, the Baptist in the Kenai region, Methodists at Unalaska, and the Moravians in the Nushagak region. All four areas listed were the location of the established Orthodox schools listed in Hiero-Monk Antonius report of 1900.

These exchanges became the undoing of Jackson’s twenty-plus years stranglehold on education in Alaska. Tikhon was aware that Jackson had delivered to Congress reports in which he lambasted the Russian Church and their schools. In both his 1880 and 1886 *Reports on the*

²⁹⁰ William Duncan, who received a \$2,190 subsidy, was the missionary who worked with the Metlakahtlah native tribe. Duncan helped to relocate the tribe migrated from Canada and settled on an island-renamed New Metlakahtlah. Duncan was a missionary with the Church of London.

²⁹¹ Department of the Interior Bureau of Education, *Explanation of the Policy Pursued in Regard to Industrial Education in Alaska Introduction and Distribution of Reindeer*, (Washington D.C., 1898) 128-129.

²⁹² *ibid.*, 143.

²⁹³ *ibid.*, 144.

²⁹⁴ Anatolius, “Prosveshchenie v Aliaske,” *Pravoslavny Amerikanski* 5, no. 8 (1901): 163-166.

Condition of Education in Alaska, Jackson reported that the Russian Schools had all but died leaving only two operating.²⁹⁵ Both reports are a nearly identical description of the history of the Russian schools with the 1886 report providing a few more specific details about which indigenous groups interacted with the Russian Orthodox.

When Tikhon arrived in America in 1899 most criticism of Jackson had come from the Orthodox Church and its supporters. Newspapers nationally had picked up the story of 1899 Grand Jury trial. By 1905 a federal investigation into the educational activities in Alaska was conducted by Special Agent Frank Churchill.²⁹⁶ The investigation, ordered by the Secretary of the Interior, exposed Dr. Jackson's lack of control over various aspects under his jurisdiction and shed light onto the questionable nature of his administrative decisions. Tikhon could only voice accusations about the unfair nature of compensation and treatment to his schools. Agent Churchill provided documentation relating to the Russian's allegations.

The most alarming issue that Churchill uncovered was that for the twelve years Jackson was employed by the Federal Government as General Agent, he had also accepted financial compensation from the Board of Missions – Presbyterian Church.²⁹⁷ Thus, while Jackson employed teachers, made contracts with mission schools, and purchased supplies for the schools he built (all with federal dollars) the same denominational mission with whom all of the aforementioned parties participated also paid the General Agent. Churchill further noted that funds used by the government to purchase reindeer for loan to these schools had not been reimbursed to the government. He found inadequate bookkeeping, oral agreements, and

²⁹⁵ Department of the Interior Bureau of Education, *Education in Alaska* (Washington D.C., 1880), 1-4. See also Department of the Interior Bureau of Education, *Report on Education in Alaska with Maps and Illustrations*. (Washington D.C., 1886), 20.

²⁹⁶ Department of the Interior, *Reports on the Condition of Educational and School Service and the Management of Reindeer Service in the District of Alaska*, (Washington D.C., 1905) 1-185.

²⁹⁷ *ibid.*, 12.

miscommunications left unaccounted for three quarters of the ten thousand reported deer.²⁹⁸ Churchill continued that Jackson had paid instructors and skilled laborers for jobs that had not been completed.²⁹⁹ In Point Barrow, he documented two school instructors on the government payroll. One of the instructors, Mr. Kilbuck, was to teach in the village of Wainwright. Upon arrival he deemed it too late to begin construction of the school. He traveled north to Barrow to work with Mr. Spriggs. It was found later that two instructor positions were stationed at the Barrow school. Churchill stated that school did not warrant the expense of salaries based on student attendance. Other examples of needless spending occur throughout the investigation. This included additional payments made for school construction in locations that did not have populations to justify one.³⁰⁰ The report points to inadequate documentation and shows that Jackson's superintendents communicated poorly and this led to the disordered record keeping of salaries and construction. The most egregious example was that of a reindeer herd sent to a school on St. Lawrence Island. Continued probing by Churchill, and later supplemented into his original report, found that the school and its reported information had been entirely fabricated. Agent Churchill, throughout his report, made certain to delineate that schools purchased with federal dollars were public schools and not parochial schools purchased for missions.³⁰¹ He continued that moving forward schools paid for by federal dollars should be considered government schools.

Tikhon foresaw the lasting impacts of the Jackson investigations. The shift away from contract schools caused a change in the way Tikhon viewed Orthodox education. Since there would not be any subsidies coming to the Orthodox Schools, there was no point in continuing to

²⁹⁸ *ibid.*, 112. Churchill makes numerous reports on missing reindeer throughout the report.

²⁹⁹ *ibid.*, 46-48 and 112-113.

³⁰⁰ *ibid.*, 52. Churchill uses the example of the Kivalina where existed a pair of reindeer herders and no village.

³⁰¹ *ibid.*, 45-59. Churchill, in his descriptions of the schools, draws close attention with his terminology in how each school is described. They were all purchased with federal dollars and referred to as government schools.

argue the matter. After appointing a Coadjutor Bishop of Alaska in 1903, Tikhon pursued building seminaries on the east coast where larger populations of Orthodox had migrated.³⁰² The seminaries served not only to educate new clergy, but aid in funding the Orthodox Church.

Jackson, for his part, left the position of General Agent in a negative light. In Alaskan folklore, he is a respected icon of education. Historians such as Stephen Haycox, Ted Hinckley, and Richard Dauenhauer have debated the philosophies Jackson imparted through education. They have discussed Jackson's lasting impact on native language and culture. Yet none examine the criminality of his actions or the hypocritical behavior as an ordained minister. Agent Churchill, despite the mountain of evidence he found, even gave Jackson a pass.³⁰³

The question of the constitutionality of contract schools, specifically in Alaska, has divided these scholars. Most notably, scholars debate whether Jackson's support of an English only school system had a lasting effect on native language and culture. Professors Richard Dauenhauer and Stephen Haycox have debated this topic at great length. Dauenhauer, an open supporter of both native culture and Russian Orthodoxy, charged Sheldon Jackson the most damaging individuals for Native Alaskans. He believed the use of contract school were unconstitutional because it violated the separation between church and state.³⁰⁴ Stephen Haycox amiably disagrees that these actions violated the constitution, as does prominent Alaskan Historian Ted Hinckley. Haycox argues that, "The constitutionality of the practice was never tested in the courts... Thus while the system may have offended the constitutional sensibilities of

³⁰² "Alaska Given a Coadjutor," *The San Francisco Call*, January 25, 1904, p. 3.

³⁰³ Department of the Interior, *Reports on the Condition of Educational and School Service and the Management of Reindeer Service in the District of Alaska*, (Washington D.C., 1905), 112.

³⁰⁴ Richard Dauenhauer, "Conflicting Visions," 18.

some, it was not technically unconstitutional.”³⁰⁵ In 2002, Haycox retracted from this argument in a modern work and claimed the schools were, “a clear constitutional violation”.³⁰⁶

These scholars have gone back and forth on the subject, but none have yet adequately addressed the larger issue of Jackson’s overall performance as General Agent and his actions towards the Orthodox Church. This is a concern in terms of the historiography of Alaskan History. The two most prominent historians in the field of Alaskan history are Stephen Haycox and Ted Hinckley. Both have written works that include large sections of Russian-American History. Haycox work *Alaska an American Colony* devotes more than one hundred pages on this time period.³⁰⁷ His source material for the five chapters on Russian-America is predominantly secondary work. Haycox used works by Russian historians and translated in English, but is limited in his primary sources. He tries to encompass the overall history of the colonial period, but provides mostly information on political and economic history.³⁰⁸ The book is devoid of cultural history and under researched in the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church. Ted Hinckley’s work *The Canoe Rocks Alaska’s Tlingit and the Euramerican Frontier 1800-1912* confounds the cultural history.³⁰⁹ Hinckley acknowledges his lack of reading the Russian language and that his work relied on Russian scholars.³¹⁰ His work is vague in discussion on Russian Orthodox interactions with the Tlingit. Hinckley predominantly focuses on the exchanges of Tlingit with Russian-American Company workers. In one example, Hinckley tries

³⁰⁵ Stephen Haycox, “Sheldon Jackson,” Haycox’s article was also printed in a collection of papers from a conference on Alaskan Education. Prof. Richard Dauenhauer and Prof. Ted Hinckley are also featured in the edited work. See Gary Stein, ed. *Education in Alaska’s Past: Conference Proceedings, Valdez, 1982*, (Anchorage: Alaska Historical Society, 1982).

³⁰⁶ Stephen Haycox, *Alaska An American Colony* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 194.

³⁰⁷ *ibid.*, 37-146

³⁰⁸ Gordon B. Dodds, “Review – Alaska: An American Colony,” *Pacific Historical Review* 72, no. 4 (2003): 635-636.

³⁰⁹ Ted Hinckley, *The Canoe Rocks Alaska’s Tlingit and the Euramerican Frontier 1800-1912*, (Lanham, NY: University Press of America, 1996).

³¹⁰ *ibid.*, Preface.

to explain why the Koloshi natives did not attend the church in Sitka.³¹¹ His explanation was provided by a sources not cited which claims the Koloshi were bribed into baptism.³¹² If Hinckley had the translation skills of Michael Oleska, perhaps he would have learned of the relationship of trust that was built over time with the Koloshi.³¹³ Additionally, he takes a negative tone in his discourse on the Russian period. This stems from Hinckley's heavy usage of Hubert Howe Bancroft's history of Alaska as secondary material. Modern historians in the field view Bancroft as unaware and unenthusiastic towards the Russian colonial era.³¹⁴ Both Haycox and Hinckley are selective in what subjects they can write to in terms of Russian-American because they are only able to read the select few works translated by other historians. This is why their works are limited in scope and negative in tendency towards the Russian Orthodox Church.

Historians have overlooked the practices used against Tikhon and the Orthodox Church schools.³¹⁵ They take at face value Government reports and secondary sources, which marginalized the role of Orthodox education.³¹⁶ These same historians argue how Native Alaskans were different from Native Americans, but do not provide an adequate explanation as to why.³¹⁷ The work of the Orthodox Church along side the Russian-American company educated Aleuts and Tlingits in both primary education and trade skills prior to the 1867 sale. Once the colony became a territory of the United States some of the Orthodox educators remained and continued to work begun by Bishop Innocent (Veniaminov). Tikhon arrived at a time of confusion as to the direction the church should take on this matter. After losing the

³¹¹ *ibid.*, 35-38.

³¹² Hinckley's work has numerous examples of quoted text with limited citations.

³¹³ Michael Oleska trans., "Letter from Archbishop Innocent Veniaminov to the Ober-Procurator of the Holy Synod, 1868," in *Alaska Missionary Spirit* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Press, 2010), 251-252

³¹⁴ Stephen Haycox, "Russian America: Studies in the English Language," *Pacific Historical Review* 59, no. 12 (1990): 231-233.

³¹⁵ Stephen Haycox, "'Races of a Questionable,'" 156-163.

³¹⁶ Ted Hinckley, "'We are More,'" 37-55.

³¹⁷ Richard Dauenhauer, "Conflicting Visions," 1-46.

argument for government subsidies for the Orthodox School, he began to reorganize the priorities of the church. The Federal Government took new measures to end missionary contract school and establish government schools for the district. With the mass migration of Eastern Orthodox entering on the East Coast, Tikhon refocused his mission. This shift was marked by Tikhon's appointment of Bishop Innocent (Pustynsky) to manage the Alaskan portion of the See. Theological Seminaries were necessary to build a more independent Diocese. The training of new priest for the continent would become his legacy.

The lasting impact Tikhon left for education was not so much in the physical structures of the schools and seminaries. Rather, it was in how the church would need to reshape itself moving forward. The church needed more clergy and leaders to continue to serve the growing body of parishioners as an autonomous entity. To do that, Tikhon needed to create institutes of learning for that purpose. Tikhon was called back to Russia before he could begin but a few Seminaries. The Russian Orthodox Church in America, after many year of restoration held its own Sobor and started back on the path Tikhon laid out.

Conclusion

Bishop Tikhon's time in North America was marked with change brought on by influences from outside of the Russian Orthodox Church. He took a transformative approach to stabilize an expanding church body. This thesis has provided a better accounting of the actual Diocesan size under Tikhon. Through statistical analysis of census and immigration data, the concrete figures of Russian Orthodox growth are revealed, and this figure is comparable to newspaper and *Viestnik* reports on the scale of Tikhon's flock. He operated a diverse diocese of Russian and Eastern Orthodox. Greeks, Syrian and Serbian Orthodox churches found the structure of the Russian Church's administration helpful as their communities grew. Tikhon also preached to Uniate parishioners who were turned away by their Catholic Bishops. The large number of Eastern Orthodox migrants who entered the United States necessitated Tikhon's move of the headquarters of the See to the East Coast.

More than just overseer of an expanding church, Tikhon sought to make the Russian Orthodox church a recognized force in the United States through administrative reform and by educational standardization. Tikhon was influenced by educational policies enacted in the United States. The Russian-American Company assisted the Russian Church in establishing a system of Orthodox Schools throughout Russian-America. These schools were to educate Native Alaskans in primary education and Russian Orthodoxy. Tikhon's predecessor Bishop Innocent Veniaminov expanded these schools. After the sale of the colony to the United States, the Russian Schools remained and were managed by local clergy. The Federal Government in an attempt to pacify Native Americans sought to create a system of schools. Modeled after the Hampton Institute, Missionary Contract Schools spread across the lower forty-eight. Popularity of the contract schools waned when it was discovered that Catholic Missions had received the

bulk of federal subsidies. The 1884 Alaska Organic act created the policy, which mandated an educational system for the district. The Commissioner of Education appointed Dr. Sheldon Jackson as General Agent for Education. He employed government contracts to build a new educational system in Alaska. Jackson ignored the Russian Orthodox Schools and paid subsidies to missionaries of similar religious mentality. In 1899, when Tikhon had arrived in Alaska, the use of contract schools had ended. Despite this, he insisted that Jackson advocate for the Russian Schools as they serviced villages that the American School system had not yet reached. Tikhon could not devote adequate time to this problem. By 1903 the diocese was rapidly growing. The scale of the See was too large for one Bishop to manage. Tikhon approached the Holy Synod in Russia for assistance. He asked to restructure the administration and add two additional Bishops. One would manage the Alaskan District and the other the East Coast where a large population of Orthodox was amassed. The Synod approved the request, which allowed Tikhon to refocus the mission of the See. The diocese needed to become autonomous and financially self-supported. To accomplish this, Tikhon wanted to build a system of Seminar School to train new clergy. Tikhon was able to establish only a single seminary before his departure. His methodology to build upon this system was later used by later clergy.

Tikhon was not a visionary, but a product of a new philosophical regime created in the Theological Academies in Russia. Tikhon's predecessor Bishop Innocent exemplified the new cultural ideas during and after his stay in Alaska. Innocent broke away from the strict practices like those used by Ober-Procurator Pobedonostsev. The Slavophile Ober-Procurator participated in a period of mass conversions of Uniates and prepared stringent guidelines for the instruction of Russian Orthodoxy. Innocent had applied different techniques in the Russian-Colony. He created alphabets for the different native tribes and preached to them in their own language.

Innocent wanted the natives to accept Orthodoxy if they truly wanted to learn. He was never forceful and instructed his missionaries in the same manner. After he was elevated to Metropolitan of Moscow is when the cultural shift begins to be seen in the Academies. Students that attended these Seminaries and became noted Bishops often display the same tactics used by Innocent.

This thesis has also sought to open a door into the historiography of Alaska. Modern historical works on the region have been created by American Historians. These scholars admit that they do not read the Russian language and thus rely solely on translated works of others. By limiting the scope of their studies they have failed to explore the Russian influence on cultural and social histories that continued well into the twentieth century. If historians choose to base their work predominantly on a subject a multifaceted and intertwined as Alaskan History, they should not shy away from learning a language. This is especially the case when adequate primary sources are widely available.

Tikhon's story does not end with his departure from Alaska. As an Archbishop, Tikhon was placed as head of the See of Jaroslav and Vilna.³¹⁸ He was eventually appointed Metropolitan of Moscow. The outbreak of World War I and the Russian Revolution created disorder within the church. The abdication of Tsar Nicholas II removed the church administrative position of Ober-Procurator. The Orthodox Church in Russia held a Sobor in which Tikhon was elected Patriarch of the Russian Church. This was a position that had been vacant since Peter the Great's refusal to fill the position.³¹⁹

³¹⁸ A. Roshestvensky, *His Holiness Tikhon Patriarch of Moscow and All the Russias: A Memoir* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1923): 12-13.

³¹⁹ *ibid.*, 15-21.

The rise of the Bolsheviks caused great stress on the newly elected Patriarch. After the 1918 Decree of Separation of Church from State Tikhon excommunicated the Communists.³²⁰ The Bolsheviks initially sought to reduce the power of the Orthodox Church. During the years of the Civil War, they did not have the ability to adjust their religious policy. This provided the church time to alter its stance from hostility towards the Soviets to neutrality.³²¹ A famine struck the country in the early 1920s. Tikhon appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury for relief.³²² Tikhon established a Church fund to provide charity and appealed to his clergy and parishioners to give religious items not used in the Eucharist.³²³ The State eventually closed the charity and demanded Tikhon turn over any monies collected. Tikhon complied with the authorities. His decision to withhold sacred items was used against the church in a propaganda campaign.³²⁴

A group of liberal clerics formed The Living Church and aligned themselves with the State leadership. This group formed a council in 1923 and proceeded to strip Tikhon of his authority as Patriarch.³²⁵ Tikhon was placed under house arrest. Western Countries reacted sharply at the treatment of religious leaders in Russia. Two Roman Catholic priests were arrested, tried, and one executed. British authorities threatened to end trade with the country if Soviet officials intended to put Tikhon on trial. The Soviets released Tikhon after he signed a confession of his hostility towards the state. He was reinstated with full authority as Patriarch.

³²⁰ William C. Fletcher, "Reductive Containment: Soviet Religious Policy," *Journal of Church and State* 22, no. 3 (1980): 488-489.

³²¹ *ibid.*, 490.

³²² Charles M. Edmund and R. Barry Levis, "Archbishop Randall Davidson, Russian Famine Relief, and the Fate of the Orthodox Clergy, 1917-1923," *Journal of Church and State* 40, no. 3 (1998): 624-625.

³²³ Dimitry Pospelovsky, "The Renovationist Movement in the Orthodox Church in Light of Archival Documents," *Journal of Church and State* 39, no. 1 (1997): 94-95.

³²⁴ Fletcher, "Reductive Containment," 490-491.

³²⁵ *ibid.* 491.

Patriarch Tikhon died on April 8th, 1925 in Moscow.³²⁶ The state arrested his successors until Metropolitan Sergii changed church policy in July of 1927 to support the Soviet Regime.

³²⁶ “News In Brief,” *Advocate of Peace Through Justice* 87, no. 6 (1925): 372-374.

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