Sophia's Return: Unangax̂-led Ways of Doing History and Rematriation of Stolen Relations in Alaska's Pribilof Islands

By

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Abstract

This dissertation performs and demonstrates how Unangax̂ ways of doing histories *with*, *by*, and *for* Unangax̂ serve as a radical and relational methodology that centers Unangax̂ concepts, analytics, ethics, and protocols, and as a method for uplifting Unangax̂ cultural and linguistic resurgence. I am uniquely positioned to do this work as an Unangax̂ woman and tribal member who is supported by higher education institutions and resources. This work centers around a rematriation project for my great aunt Sophia Tetoff and my attempts to more fully understand the historiographic and structural inequities that enabled her to be stolen away from her home community on St. Paul Island, Alaska, carcerated in a Church-run (Jesse Lee Home) and government-run (Carlisle Indian Industrial School) Native American boarding Schools, and allowed to perish and interned in a children's cemetery over four thousand miles away from her Peoples. Chapter 2 addresses Unangax̂ values and practices of self-determination despite the gradual Russian, European, and American incursions, with a specific focus on the emergence of a specifically Unangax̂ articulation of Russian Orthodox Indigeneity. Chapter 3 reconsiders some key moments in Unangax̂ history through an Unangax̂ lens to better understand colonial, imperial, capitalist, and racist structures imposed by Russians and Americans on Unangax̂ Peoples, lands, waters, and more-than-human relatives. Chapter 4 looks more closely at how these structures operated within Church- and government-run Native American boarding schools in the United States from the 1890s to 1970s, specifically through documents relating to Sophia's kidnapping and carceration. In Chapter 5 I offer a hybrid narrative: a fictionalized telling of Sophia's journey interpolated with details of my community-led rematriation project and processes.

Throughout this research, I pay close attention to evidence of and discourse surrounding crimes of genocide against stolen Indigenous children. The first part of my conclusion places my project into conversation with a growing international reckoning with the role of church- and government-run boarding schools in crimes of genocide against Indigenous children. More specifically, I explain why I take issue with uses of the phrase "cultural genocide." I discuss how we should think and discuss what happened to thousands of Indigenous children who were stolen from their homes, and who never made it home again. I argue that is not enough to call this a cultural genocide, but rather genocide, full stop. To more fully situate Unangax̂ Peoples in relation to global human rights discourse, I interweave tribal and community histories with terminologies and languages outlined across numerous international legal movements including: the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP); the Convention on the Rights of the Child (OHCHR); the Genocide Convention, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, (ICESCR); Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery; the Slave Trade; Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery (1956); and the United Nations Universal declaration of Human Rights (UNHR). The second part of this conclusion discusses the significance of emerging traditions of Unangax̂-led research with and through the works of fellow Unangax̂ scholars who earned research doctorates. Our collective work is contributing to Unangax̂ futurities on our own terms. I also reflect on the implications of rematriating stolen relations for home communities.

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Kadamax̂tilix [Introductions]: A Preface

In the summer of 2021, I traveled with my sons to the infamous Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania to rematriate my great aunt Sophia, whom serves as my primary muse for the dissertation that follows. It is important to reiterate at the outset that this dissertation is an Unangax̂-led research in relationship with, by, and for Unangax̂ that aims to document colonial educational structures imposed upon Alaska Natives in particular, and Unangax̂ specifically. Unangax̂ survivance and resurgence is best explained through Unangax̂ culture, language, and values, protocols which typically begin with a proper Kadamax̂tilix [introduction]. The purpose of the longer-form introduction is to situate who I am, where I am from, and the knowledges and projects that animate my work.

Qam Agalaa. Ayagachuchax̂ asaxtakuking. Unangax̂ akuking.

My name is Lauren Peters, and I am an Unangax̂ woman of Unangam Tanangin [Lands of the Unangan], the archipelago stretching between the Russian Kamchatka Peninsula and the lands we call Alaxsxa (also known as Alaska), which today is the northernmost and westernmost part of what is now the United States. I am an enrolled member of Unaagix Tanax̂ Amix̂ (the Aleut Community of St. Paul Island). I call myself Ayagakuchax̂, which means little woman in an endearing way. My mother was called Little Girl, a name she disliked, and didn't translate well into English. The entire village of Agdaag̊ux̂ (also known as King Cove) would call my mother Little Girl, even though she was the teacher in town and should have been treated with the highest amount of respect. I am taking back that name translated properly into Unangam Tunuu, which maintains the endearing tone for which it was intended.

My fifth great grandfather on my mother's side was from Kodiak Island. In 1812 he, his wife, and child were sent to Metini/Fort Ross in Northern California by the Russian American Company (RAC) where he became the first blacksmith in California. After he died in 1825, his wife and son were sent to Tanax̂ Amix̂, three hundred and fifty miles north of the Aleutian archipelago, to slaughter fur seal for the RAC.

My mom was born on Tanax̂ Amix̂ (also known as St. Paul Island, Alaska) in 1934. My mother's father was born on Uĝnaasaqax̂ (also known as Unga Island) and helped raise his five siblings. My grandfather who had come to Tanax̂ Amix̂ from Unalaska as a summer worker and stayed to marry my grandmother, had petitioned the American agent to install indoor plumbing which was denied. The agent claimed that we would drain all the lakes on the island and be left with no water to drink. My grandfather then asked to leave Tanax̂ Amix̂ with his family to move in with his mother in Belkofsky, near Agdaaĝux̂. It is my theory that he was allowed to leave

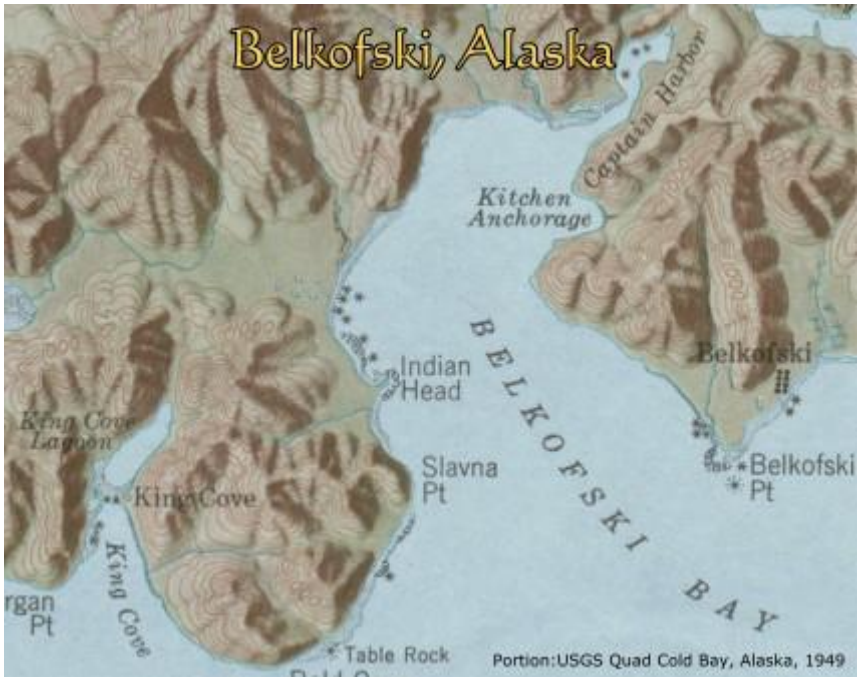


Figure 1. USGS Map of Belkofski[1]

[1] http://unimak.us/belkofski.shtml

because my mother was born a girl and would never become a sealer and that he came from Unalaska. His mother was from Nikolski, considered the longest continuously inhabited place on earth. Her husband Snapper inherited a fox island by marrying my great grandmother. He promptly lost it gambling. At least three generations of his family show up in the records at the Methodist boarding school knows as the Jesse Lee Home (est. 1890). My grandmother was very fashionable; the photo below is of from around 1933 in a flapper dress standing in between the government issued homes on Saint Paul island. This may have been the dress she wore to the dance when my grandfather fell in love with her. Notice she is wearing a triple strand of walrus ivory beads. My great grandfather Neon Tetoff was a famous ivory Carver. There is an article about him in Popular Mechanics magazine. He had taken apart a clock to create a lathe so as to make every tiny extra piece of his ivory carvings into beads which he sold for a dollar per piece.[2]



Figure 2. Photo of author's grandmother (ca 1933)

[2] Popular Mechanics. United States: Popular Mechanics Company, 1922.

My great aunt Sophia may have been the first, but certainly not the last member of my immediate family carcerated in government-run Native American boarding schools. My grandmother on Tanax̂ Amix̂ had little education but read voraciously. Since Agdaaĝux̂ only offered education to eighth grade, my mother and all nine of her younger siblings were sent over one thousand miles away to Mt. Edgecumbe High School, a public boarding school. This was my grandfather's decision, as he valued higher education. Although Mt. Edgecumbe has been and is still considered an excellent school, students did experiences cultural losses. For example, my mother was fluent in Unangam Tunuu, Russian, Norwegian, and English when she arrived at Mt. Edgecumbe. After graduation, she could only speak English.



Figure 3. Photo of Agnes Larsen in 1954 (credit Robert Kennedy 2016)

My mom became the first person from Agdaaĝux̂ to go to college and the first to become a teacher. After graduating college, my mom then taught at the Wrangell Institute, an Alaska Native boarding school, which was considered one of the most horrific schools in Alaska. I have heard stories from survivors about what she must have witnessed, but she never spoke of it. However, she was deeply affected by her time there, as was evident in how she raised my brothers and I, and how I then raised my sons. She was hyper aware of sexual abuse and social stigma and worked hard to ensure we were safe and proud of our heritage.

My dad's family has enjoyed American-style poverty since before the American Revolution. In 1938 at age four he and his mother, two "dust-bowl Okies" from Nebraska, drove out to California in a Model A Ford. My grandmother picked fruit for work, which led the family across the state: he started school in 1940, and by 1942 he had already attended eight elementary schools before settling in Richmond, California. He went with his mother to the fruit cutting sheds during the day where he estimated he ate fifty apricots each day. Ship building needs for World War II swelled his class from twelve students to two hundred forty four students in just one year. His mother worked in the Kaiser shipyards in the office and later as a "Rosie the Riveter." She noticed that the men made more money than the women. She notoriously fired herself as a woman and rehired herself as man to earn a living wage. After high school, my dad worked in the Standard Oil refinery and went to school with Huey Newton, who founded the Black Panthers. Dad discovered that the Air National Guard was hiring pilots if they had two years of college. He applied and flew for the air National Guard and then for United Airlines, pulling his family out of poverty for the first time in over 200 years.

My mom met my dad in Reno, Nevada where she was earning her bachelors degree in history and married in 1961. I was born in the Summer Of Love in the San Francisco Bay area in

between the assassination of Martin Luther King and Bobby Kennedy. I was my mother's third born, and only girl, and my mother was harassed by hordes of hippies who chastised her for having three children during a time of protest against over population of the Earth. My brothers were light of skin and my middle brother had blonde hair. All of our birth certificates listed us and my mother as White. With my arrival, however, put an end to her passing as Non-Native as my skin was brown as a nut and my eyes nearly black. As a very young child, I learn to say my brown skin was because I was an Aleut and the Aleutian Islands I could show using my hand as a state of Alaska with my thumb as the peninsula.

By age 4, now living in Seattle area, I was the proud owner of 100 shares of original Aleut Corporation stock complements of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. As I grew, I would ask after my dividend check I was told that it was going into my college savings. Imagine my disappointment when it was time to leave for college to find that that account never existed. And imagine my further disappointment when I realized my dividend checks were about $50-$100 per year.

As a youth, I was happiest, when either playing baseball, or being with my cousins. At least once a month, the aunties would drop all of us cousins with either another auntie, or with grandma and grandpa. We were expected to entertain ourselves and stay outside all day. In the winter time, we ran a hose down the driveway to make a ramp for inner tube sliding into the street. In the spring the boys went fishing while the girls ran around in the deep, dark forest delightfully terrified of Ichabod crane. In the summertime, we rolled smoke bombs from grandpa's house on top of N. 71st St. all the way into Green Lake. For us girls it didn't matter if we got caught, grandpa only punished the boys. The oldest cousin was nine and the youngest was four. Grandpa would give the nine year old a dollar and the rest of us a quarter, and we'd run all

over Seattle coming home finally from the little pink store with candy necklaces and bubblegum cigarettes thinking ourselves quite sophisticated. One year, my father discovered that he was terribly ill, and only had a few months to live. It turns out he was allergic to pine pollen so back to California it was for my brothers, mom, and I.

Two federal policies dramatically affected my childhood. The first was Title IX and the second was the Title VII, also known as the Indian Education Act. I grew up in a neighborhood of boys, so Title IX meant to me that the boys had to let me play sports with them. Little League, soccer, and downhill skiing were my specialties. I was strong enough in Little League as a 12-year-old to make it to the majors only the second girl ever to do so. The next year as a 13-year-old I was the same size as I was your before but the boys had all grown. Being slid into by a 6 foot tall 13 year old boy had lost its appeal, so I finally switched to high school softball. My high school soccer team didn't have a girls version so again they had to let me play. When my coach says, give me a kiss and I'll let you play made me reconsider my sports choices.

Even if I could hide my brown skin, my elementary school and title VII the Indian Education Act would not let me forget that I was Indian. My mother always emphasized that we are not Native American, not Indian. We were Aleut, which was neither on the American, nor the Asian continent. We were also far from being Arctic being closer in latitude to Vancouver, British Columbia. My mother, brothers, and I would often make pilgrimages to Metini/Fort Ross to learn Unangax̂ histories from my mom. Yet in elementary school once a month a woman with long straight blonde hair would come to my classroom and announce it was time for Indian school for me. All the other kids would raise their palms and say how as I walk out the door. When I got to the classroom with the blonde lady, she would tell me that my people lived in teepees and hunted buffalo. When my seven year old self told her that my people were from

Alaska were there weren't teepees nor buffalo she would tell her colleague, "the poor kid doesn't even know where she comes from." After a year or so of going to these classes the blonde lady came to my door very excited. She had a special treat for me that day, she said. When I got to the multipurpose room where our classes were, she had a full sized Teepee and a buffalo rug. This was too much for me and I turned on my heel and left and wouldn't go back. However, for the rest of my educational career, the kids from that class all called me Indian and would say "How" when I pass them in the hallway or on the playground. On my first day of college, I thought I would have a fresh start and leave all this behind. I went to my first meeting at Mills College with my counselor who was the head of ethnic studies. She told me that she chose me especially because she never met a real life Aleut, and she wanted me to take over organizing the powwow. I didn't bother to tell her that we weren't powwow people, I stood up and left the office and did without a counselor for my undergraduate career.

As a young adult in my 20s, I was most proud of being able to always hustle a job. I graduated from Mills College in 1990 in the midst of a strike which would've allowed men into a women's college. I worked as a picture framer, I volunteered for the March of Dimes, I worked in sports for the Giants, the A's and the 49ers I was in the 1989 World Series earthquake at the top of Candlestick Park, I sold soap for Crabtree and Evelyn. I worked in finance for Oracle, and in sales for United Airlines. At 25, I thought I should be established in my career and in relationships . Instead, United Airlines laid me off. I then swore that if I was going to get laid off at an airline, it should be at least as a pilot. I moved onto my brother's couch and started flight school in Oakland, bartending at night and flying by day. Flying felt like freedom. Within a few years I was flying for United Express on the East Coast experiencing extreme seasons including thunderstorms hurricanes and nor'easters.

1999 was the year of highs and lows. In February my mother died and I was married within a week. Within a few months I was pregnant and flying. A few months later I jumped out of my seat in the cockpit to avoid dropping a mouse into my lap and tore up my knee badly enough that I couldn't fly anymore. Then Mitch, my husband was hired by United Airlines and we moved back to Vacaville from the East Coast. My first son Andrew was born seven weeks early. In September 2011 I had two young sons, one of whom was a newborn, when the towers were hit. One of them was my husband's company planes.

In 2002, we moved to the country and my husband was laid off from United. Shortly thereafter he was hired by the Vacaville Police Department and ironically I became a cop's wife. My husband had married a fellow pilot but unbeknownst to him I could bake bread, make my own cheese, grow and preserve our food. So the major pay cut was offset by me raising our own food including chickens. It was during these years life that I felt my Alaska Native training really came into fruition as an adult and I taught it to my children as well.

In 2002 I received a letter from my cousin Aquilina on Tanax̂ Amix̂ [Saint Paul] island. She called me out by naming five generations of my relatives and asked how I was going to be a good ancestor. My first thought was how can I be a good ancestor when I'm so far away from my people? But I kept her challenge in mind. Over the next 20 years I documented how much California and Alaska had in common. In 2011 I was offered a full scholarship to San Jose State University in the Master Librarian and Information Science Department. I used this time at San Jose State to develop a grant writing program and historical research at Fort Ross State Historical Park at Metini.

For the past fifteen years I have been actively engaged in researching histories of Indigeneity and human rights in the North Pacific. My deep interest in the theories and realities

of racial capitalism, especially in relation to colonial dispossessions of land and life within Indigenous communities, stems from my training as an economist at Mills College. My ongoing research into the WWII era Funter Bay internment camps amplifies the particularities of Indigenous Peoples's experiences with racialized forms of capitalist exploitation, which I argue played a central role in the relocation and containment of Unangax̂. I traveled extensively from California to Alaska to build relationships with Unangax̂ kin across the region currently known as the Aleutian Islands. I developed connections with leaders at the Anchorage-based Aleut Pribilof Islands Association (a non-profit organization dedicated to improving the health and wellbeing of Unangax̂ communities) and the Alaska Native Heritage Center, as well as archivists at the Alaska State Museum in Juneau and the special collections at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks. I am currently working with an Unangax̂ Elder to publish his memoirs as a child at the Internment camp in Funter Bay.

In 2013 I was appointed as the Alaska Native Advisor to Fort Ross Conservancy, with whom I collaborate on public history projects that amplify the presence of Indigenous Peoples at the Fort Ross State Historic Park in Northern California. Fort Ross, established on Kashia Pomo lands called Metini, served as the southernmost post of the Russian American Company, and although this enterprise relied heavily on the enslaved labor of Indigenous Peoples from what is now known as Alaska and California, our presence had been erased and silenced from official historical narratives. From a graduate level grant writing course taught by Patty Wong, as part of my MS in Library and Information and Science degree from San Jose State University, I led a grant-funded project to establish Alaska Native Day (AND) at Fort Ross in 2014, an annual celebration and initiative to educate the public about the presence and histories of Alaska Native Peoples on these lands and waters. This gathering has since expanded to highlight the density of

Indigenous Peoples brought to this region during the Russian colonial period. Fort Ross became a multicultural neighborhood home to numerous enslaved Indigenous Peoples including: Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians); Alutiiq, Supiaq, Unangax̂, Haida, Tlingit, and Dena'ina (Alaska Natives); Sakha (Siberian Yakuts); and Kashia Pomo (California Indians). To counter narratives of absence, I write grants for and curate presentations, workshops, and performances by Knowledge Holders from each of these Nations. Additionally, I co-founded a group called CALaska, an intertribal collective of diasporic Alaska Native Peoples living in Northern California. We practice traditional art and culture at Russian events as a means of refuting our historic invisibility from Park narratives and materials. I have authored a chapter for the book Fort Ross and the Sonoma Coast; a brochure for park visitors; and content for the park website and curriculum for an inclusive virtual classroom in the 4th grade California history program. I have presented my research at two academic conferences and I have been invited to give guest lectures in four university and museum contexts.

On our second Alaskan Native Day we invited the Anchorage Unangax̂ dancers who stood with their feet in the Ocean on the beach and ask permission from the Kashia to come up on their land. We said we did you harm and we are sorry we overfished your waters it wasn't our choice but still is harmed you and we apologize. The Kashia a said to us thank you for teaching the Russians that killing us wasn't the best way to colonize. You died so that we could live and we thank you for that. Then we walked together up to the top of the bluff into the dance circle and danced together for the first time in 200 years. Since then we have done other firsts at Fort Ross including dancing inside the fort and building the first nigalax or open skin boat in and launching it at the beach for the first time in 200 years.

The contacts and family that I made during the celebrations let me down several paths. The first was expanding my contacts at culture camps and corporation meetings in Anchorage where I met relatives who lived through the Aleut Evacuating during World War II. And secondly introduced me to Bob Sam the Tlingit Elder who keeps track of Alaska Native people who are buried elsewhere, including our children at Carlisle Indian Industrial School like my aunt Sophia.

In 2016, I was appointed by President Obama to serve on the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) Committee, where I developed an interest in the human rights of the dead, especially the rights of Indigenous Peoples who died in captivity in U.S. government-run residential schools and internment camps. My contributions to the NAGPRA subcommittees culminated with two published reports: "Report to Congress'' and "Ethical Recommendations to the Department of the Interior."

In 2019 I was working on Unangam Tunuu [Unangax̂ language] projects with Tanax̂ Amix̂ community members to create a remote learning version of their in-person curriculum, which was soon thereafter canceled due to the pandemic. This telephonic program overcomes the barriers of location: my teachers are high school students in Sitka at boarding school, overseen by adult administrators in Tanax̂ Amix̂, and I am in Northern California; and technology: Tanax̂ Amix̂ does not have the internet bandwidth for video conferencing.

In the fall of 2020 I began my doctoral coursework in the PhD Program in Native American Studies at the University of California, Davis as a means to braid together my commitments and responsibilities to Unangax̂ Peoples, language, culture, and histories. I completed additional coursework to earn a designated emphasis certificate in Human Rights to bolster and emphasize truths addressed in this dissertation concerning Alaska Native children

carcerated in government institutions. My work demonstrates how the rematriation of stolen children back into their home communities can serve as a core project of decolonization. It is my hope that this project, and other emerging projects like it, will provide models and data for other Indigenous communities to work toward restorative justice for the hundreds or thousands of stolen children buried across the 408 United States government-sponsored Native American Boarding School cemeteries. In all the darkness surrounding stolen children, I marvel in how meaningful Sophia's short life was and how many people she has touched. In many ways, Sophia reintroduced me and my sons to the island where my mother was born.

Qagaalakux̂ [Many Thanks]: Acknowledgements

The University of California campuses are located on unceded Indigenous lands.

The University of California Davis resides on Patwin lands.

This dissertation and my life's work is built on relationships as a Unangax̂ living in the lower 48. We are used to being the only, the only Unangax̂ in your town, the only Unangax̂ in your school. It can be a lonely existence. When I co-founded Alaska Native Day at Metini Fort Ross in 2014, lonely Alaska Natives gathered first by a few and then by the dozens. We created our own cultural group called CALaska, where we created drums and paddles, shared food and stories, but mostly created community so that we are no longer alone. Our community expanded until we are again part of the active California Alaska connection that has existed since time immemorial.

My paddle journey to this dissertation has been long and there are many people to thank:

Much appreciation goes to the Native American Studies Department at UC Davis for creating a space for expressing Indigenous worldviews. A special acknowledgment to Dr. Jessica Bissett Perea, my major advisor and recently appointed Associate Professor of American Indian Studies at the University of Washington (previously Associate Professor of NAS at UC Davis). She is an Alaska Native compatriot who cast her line for me and waited seven years before reeling me in. She goes above and beyond for all of our students making them look brilliant. She is a magnet for North Pacific Indigenous Peoples entering the academic world, and the University of Washington is lucky to have her. I would also like to recognize my dissertation committee: Dr. Elisabeth Middleton Manning, Professor of Native American Studies and Yocha Dehe Endowed Chair in California Indian Studies, and Dr. Keith D. Watenpaugh, Professor and

Director of the Human Rights Studies Program, who guided and directed my pathway through the Designated Emphasis Human Rights coursework.

Many organizations have sent funding so I could complete this degree. I'd like to thank the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Health Policy Research Scholars for their generous support. I was also a recipient of the Mellon Foundation Public Scholar and Racial Capitalism Scholars Fund. The Aleut Foundation has been my supporter for nearly 30 years as I have grown my certificates and degrees. The Tanadgusix Corporation of Tanax̂ Amix̂ [Saint Paul] has also been a generous benefactor. Finally, the Agnes Larsen Darnell Memorial Scholarship named such to keep my mother's name alive and supports Aleuts in higher education has contributed toward this dissertation and degree.

Gunalchéesh/Haw'aa to my SE Alaska Native friends. To Bob Sam (Tlingit) who keeps track of all the Alaskan Natives who have gone missing especially the children. To Robert Kennedy (Haida) thank you for your mentorship and for your in depth knowledge of Alaskan ships.

Qagaasatxin [thanks to you] to my Pribilof Island family. Firmly anchored in Unangax̂ values and language, this research is heavily influenced by Leo Merculief from Anĝaaxchalux̂ [St. George Island] who writes his history so that the younger generation of Unangax̂ can learn from his traditional upbringing. Aquilina Lestenkof was my point person on Tanax Amix for Sophia's return and she is also my cousin and Pen Pal with whom I've corresponded for over 20 years. To Mayor Jacob Merculief, Vice Mayor Brenda Jones, and George Pletnikoff Jr., thank you for sharing your island with me. To the Saints Peter and Paul Church and the Aleut Community of Saint Paul Island, thank you for folding Sophia back into *her* church and into *her* land.

Thank you to Jennifer Ritch-Smith and Dr. Evelyn Meier for being my hands and to my biggest fan and father Larry Lee Darnell. . To my sons, Andrew and Lucas for their endless listening to all things Unangax̂. The greatest thanks goes to my husband, my love and my rock Mitch for your care and patience.

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Agnes Larsen Darnell, my teacher and my inspiration.

Notes on Naming and Terminologies

A goal of this dissertation is to privilege Unangax̂ histories, language, and worldviews with, by, and for Unangax̂. In doing so, however, care must be taken to respect the names that Unangax̂ call themselves within the community and in person. When the villages incorporated in the 1960s, and when the Alaskan Native Settlement Claims Act was enacted in 1972 the Unangax̂ people of the Aleutian and Pribilof islands chose the name Aleut Corporation, Aleut Pribilof Islands Association, and Aleut Foundation. The people on Tanax̂ Amix̂ chose the name for their community/Tribe to be the Aleut Community of Saint Paul Island.

The people of the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands have always called themselves Unangax̂. The institutions that were named by the community as Aleut, I honored their decision to use the name of their choosing. Whenever possible, I use the place name in Unangam Tunuu [Unangax̂ language].

The confusion lies within the Russian history as Russians called all Alaska and coastal people Aleut and it is entered into historical record as such. But as for names we call ourselves the Aleutian Island people call themselves Unangax̂. The Kodiak Island people called them selves Sugpiaq. Other coastal people identify themselves buy their own Nation's name. However some people still called themselves Aleut regardless of their history which causes confusion and hardship today

Chapter 1 Introduction – Finding Sophia: Alqumaan [Relevance] and Hingamal [Methodology]

In 2017 I received a phone call from Tlingit Elder Bob Sam. He asked me if I knew that fourteen Alaska Native children were buried at the Carlisle Industrial Indian School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. His question shocked me because I thought only "lower 48" American Indian children were sent there. Yet it turns out that Carlisle handily took children from families across the US colonies; as far north as Alaska and as far south as Puerto Rico. Bob then asked me to find the families of five girls from Kodiak's Woody Island Baptist Orphanage and three from the Aleutians. The first name he gave me was Sophia Tetoff, my grandmother's aunt from Tanax̂ Amix̂ [St. Paul Island], where my mother was born. I contacted my Aunties, the eldest living relatives that I knew. They had not heard of Sophia. I contacted the Aleutian Pribilof Island Association and the St. Paul Tribe, who looked her up in the genealogy books; they couldn't find her. No one knew of these girls' existence. They seemed to be lost to time. I began to pour through genealogy books and censuses. I knew my great grandfather, Neon, had thirteen siblings. I found three more from his father's Kuril Island-born second wife, Fekla. The two oldest were Irene and Sophia, born in 1884 and 1886, respectively. Another boy died in infancy. Further digging found that the parents were both dead by 1895; we know their widowed mother Fekla died of tuberculosis.

Instead of being absorbed into their large family, Irene (12 years old) and Sophia (10 years old) were handed over by the US Department of the Interior to Methodist Missionaries, who took the girls aboard the *Homer*, an Alaska commercial company steamship, on the last voyage out of St. Paul Island in 1896. Yet this was done so on one condition: the Russian

Orthodox Priests were promised that the girls could continue practicing their faith. The Methodist Missionaries brought the girls to the Jesse Lee Home on Unalaska. The girls would never see their island home again. On September 27, 1900, sixteen-year-old Irene Tetoff died of tuberculosis while under the care of the Methodist school and was controversially buried in the Protestant graveyard.[3] On July 9, 1901, Sophia was then sent 4000 miles away to Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Sophia's trip from Unalaska to Carlisle began by ship aboard the *Portland* and then transferred to a train. It is estimated that Sophia's journey by ship and train would have taken nearly one month to complete. Sophia arrived at Carlisle on July 26, 1901, aged fourteen years. She was only four foot six and eighty pounds; because of her small stature they incorrectly wrote her age as 12 years old. Eight months after her arrival, she joined the "outing program" as a domestic servant to white families in New Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. Boarding school outing programs were meant to assimilate the students while extracting a wage for their labor. She came back sick from her last post and died of consumption a year later. She was buried in Carlisle's first cemetery where she has been moved at least once.[4]

Alqumaan [Why / Relevance]

This dissertation centers research and activism I have undertaken to locate my great aunt Sophia in the Carlisle cemetery, to rematriate her remains back home to Tanax̂ Amix̂, and to tell her story using Unangax̂ perspectives and terms of engagement. This work privileges Unangax̂-

[3] At this time an epidemic was sweeping across Alaska, referred to as the "Great Sickness" that came with the 1899 Yukon Gold Rush, which brought tuberculosis, influenza, measles, and smallpox. Some villages we absolutely decimated, losing between 25 and 50 percent of their residents. See Hudson, Raymond. *Family after All: Unalaska, 1889-1925*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Walnut Creek, CA: Hardscratch Press, 2007: 119.

[4] Carlisle Records

led ways of doing history as a means to identify and name the many structures of colonialism, capitalism, imperialism, and racism that enabled the United States Government and its agents to steal Indigenous children and incarcerate them in Native American Boarding Schools. This work has necessitated grappling with devastating truths about genocidal policies enacted by the US government against Native American Peoples, especially children, while also insisting on shifting historiographic attention to our stories of survivance and resurgence. The purpose of this work is to humanize our stolen children, to offer some history of how and why colonial governments and agents came into Alaska to take our children, and to argue for the importance of documenting rematriation processes to help Native families locate and access their lost children.

The goals for my dissertation research are twofold. First, my work aims to generate new histories told *with*, *by*, and *for* Unangax̂ Peoples, not "on" or "about."[5] This work requires naming and documenting structures of colonialism, capitalism, imperialism, and racism and their interrelated processes of enslavement, encarceration, and genocide imposed on Tanax̂ Amix̂ specifically, and across Alaska and the United States more broadly. Over time these structures and processes have systematically placed Unangax̂ Peoples in particular, and Native American Peoples more broadly, into the lowest rung in a settler capitalist economy. Settler capitalism is a colonial structure that benefits from the dispossessing Native Peoples of their lands, languages, and lives.[6] The presences and resurgence of Native American Peoples remain an inconvenient truth for colonial, capitalist, imperialist, and racist structures and their attendant worldviews.

[5] Riffing with Atalay, Sonya. *Community-Based Archaeology: Research with, by, and for Indigenous and Local Communities*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

[6] See Speed, Shannon. "Structures of Settler Capitalism in Abya Yala." *American Quarterly* 69, no. 4 (2017): 783–90. See also Reséndez, Andrés. *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016.

Unangam Tanangin (also known as the Aleutian Islands and Pribilof Islands) were colonized twice. First by non-settler visitors and explorers from Russia and Europe, and then later by settlers from the United States. All sought to extract resources from Unangam Tanangin and to exploit labor from Unangax̂ Peoples. The Russians sought furs — sea otter, fox, and fur seal — using Unangax̂ sea hunters. And after nearly exterminating all of these beings, including Unangax̂ Peoples, they sold Alaska to the Americans in 1867, who, in turn, continued the exploitation of the existing fur industries alongside new fishing industries, also using Unangax̂ and other Alaska Native labor. In the Pribilofs, not much changed under American rule. Unangax̂ remained captive, forced to slaughter thousands of fur seal against their will for US government profit.

To date, most research narratives and dominant history on or about Unangax̂ Peoples or Unangam Tanangin are largely Russian, European, and American centric.[7] Almost all references in English are translated works, or modern takes on translated works. The best reference from this time is Russian Orthodox Priest Father Veniaminov's translated journals, "The Notes on the Unalashka District," which is a ten-year ethnography of the Unalaska Islands arranged by subject.[8] Almost all Unangax̂ and Sugpiaq research are translated and interpreted by Lydia Black, who is Ukrainian by ethnicity and lived on Kodiak Island for many years. Her work, "Ivan Pankov, the Architect of Aleut Literacy," is one of the only works of hers that doesn't seem heavily Russian biased.[9] Moreover, American era research, including dictionaries, are based on visitors who spent less than a year, or maybe days or weeks on the islands. Major

[7] This situation is thankfully changing, and I will discuss recent emerging research by Unangax̂ scholars in the conclusion.

[8] Veniaminov, Ivan. *Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District*. Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press, 1984.

[9] Black, Lydia. "Ivan Pan'Kov-an Architect of Aleut Literacy." *University of Wisconsin Press* 14, no. 1 (1977): 94–107.

primary sources are US government agents based on the Pribilof Islands, the Alaska Commercial Company (ACC) on Unalaska, the North American Commercial Company (who took over for the ACC), the Harriman Expedition papers (including John Muir, and Edward Curtis, among others). Dorothy Jones did several reports for congress including *A Century of Servitude* (1981) and *A History of the United States Administration in the Pribilof Islands, 1867-1946* (1976), which are the two most complete collections of printed primary documents.[10] Fredericka Martin's book, *Before the Storm* (2010) is a diary set in 1941-42 on St. Paul Island and paints daily life on the island.[11] There are also several NOAA books that highlight genealogy records on the Pribilofs.[12]

The significance of Native American ways of doing history is its intentional refusal of imperial and capitalistic Eurocentric philosophies regarding extractive and hierarchical relationships to the earth and all things upon it.[13] Instead, writing histories *with*, *by*, and *for* Native American Peoples intentionally recenters Indigenous philosophies of relationality, responsibility, and reciprocity to all beings.[14] Native ways of doing history amplifies what

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[10] Jones, Dorothy Miriam. *A Century of Servitude: Pribilof Aleuts Under U.S. Rule*. University Press of America, 1980.

[11] Martin, Fredericka. *Before the Storm: A Year in the Pribilof Islands, 1941-1942*. Fairbanks AK: University of Alaska Press, 2010.

[12] Lindsay, Betty A., and John A. Lindsay. *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*. Limited ed. NOAA Technical Memorandum NOS ORR 18. Seattle, WA : Washington, DC: NOAA Ocean Service, Office of Response and Restoration ; G.P.O, 2009; Lindsay, John A., and Karla Sclater. *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: An Annotated Bibliography*. Seattle, Wash.: U.S. Department of Commerce, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, National Ocean Service, Office of Response and Restoration, 2009.

[13] Chang, David A. *The World and All the Things upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016.

[14] My emphasis of "with, by, and for" references Atalay, Sonya. *Community-Based Archaeology: Research with, by, and for Indigenous and Local Communities*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Regarding Indigenous values, see: Manuel, George, and Michael Posluns. *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality*. Minneapolis ; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2019; Deloria, Vine, Jr. *God Is Red: A Native View of Religion.* Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 2003; Louis, Renee Pualani. *Kanaka Hawai'i Cartography: Hula, Navigation, and Oratory*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2017. Archibald, Jo-Ann. *Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body, and Spirit*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008. Tuck, Eve. "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities." *Harvard Educational Review* 79, no. 3 (2009): 409–28; Atalay, *Community-Based Archaeology,* 2012; Bissett Perea, Jessica, and Gabriel Solis. "Asking the Indigeneity Question of American Music Studies." *Journal of the Society for American Music* 13, no. 4 (2019): 401–10.

Opaskwayak Cree scholar Gregory Younging identifies as "the Indigenous voice," or truthful stories that reflect Indigenous realities as experienced by Indigenous Peoples.[15]

As an Unangax̂ historian, I engage with densifying our narratives through relationships,[16] storytelling,[17] reframing the enemy's words,[18] connection, and celebrating survivance.[19] I listen to Elders still connected to the old stories and language. I seek out stories in Unangam Tunuu [Unangax̂ language], as well as translated and hybrid language works, to frame our resistance with cleverness and humor. I pour over documents from the Russian and American era written in the enemy's language and reframe them in our vision and lived realities. We bring home our lost children, mourn our dead properly, and celebrate their lives, as we celebrate surviving both colonial eras as a living culture. In that, we can see our futurity as Indigenous broadly and Unangax̂ specifically.[20]

The second and more significant goal for my research is to counterbalance the aforementioned damage-based histories of Native American boarding schools by engaging the desire-based materiality of Indigenous-led decolonization projects.[21] For nearly three hundred years, Unangax̂ children have been taken by Russian and American institutions and agents. First, our children were taken by the Russians as hostages to gain passage to nearby island communities. Then our children were taken by the United States as part of a larger land

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[15] Younging, Gregory. *Elements of Indigenous Style: A Guide for Writing by and about Indigenous Peoples*. Indigenous Collection. Edmonton, Alberta: Brush Education, 2018.

[16] Akins, Damon B., and William J. Bauer. *We Are the Land: A History of Native California*. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2021.

[17] Archibald, *Indigenous Storywork*, 2008; Archibald, Jo-ann, Jenny Lee-Morgan, and Jason De Santolo, eds. *Decolonizing Research: Indigenous Storywork as Methodology*. London: Zed Books, 2019.

[18] Harjo, Joy, and Gloria Bird. *Reinventing The Enemy's Language: Contemporary Native Women's Writings of North America*. NYC: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998.

[19] Tuhiwai Smith, Linda. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books, 2021.

[20] Deloria, Philip Joseph. "Unfolding Futures: Indigenous Ways of Knowing for the Twenty-First Century." *Dædalus - Journal of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences* 147, no. 2 (Spring 2018): 6-16.

[21] For more on the distinction between damage-based and desire-based research see Tuck, Eve. "Suspending Damage," 2009.

dispossession project for personal and financial gain. This dispossession project often violently separated families and was masked under the auspices of "educating" the children in government-sanctioned and church-operated Native American boarding schools.

Boarding schools were incredibly successful at realizing colonial and racist assimilationist polices, which targeted Native American languages, cultures, and lives. Yet as Diane Hirschberg's research shows, survivor experiences fall along a range. She explains how the experiences of student survivors of Alaska Native boarding schools is complex and differs with institution and personal situation. Boarding school students themselves realize how that upbringing affected their home lives. Some say that their experiences helped them live in the Non-Native world while others could not return home, having lost the ways to live an Indigenous life. Others enjoyed the close companionship that they grew statewide that helped create the Native leaders in Alaska today. Some never learned how to raise their own children, having never had that experience as a child. Many adopted their children away, believing what they were told that Native people raise their children wrong.[22]

I will focus on the intricate web between high-ranking government officials and their involvement in these schools. It will show that the Comity agreement that divvied Alaska into different Christian denominations was based on resource extraction availability, and the child labor needed to extract such wealth who were removed from their families for years and housed under the auspices of schools. This labor, in addition to the ability to sign their name to contracts and understand English enough to take orders, along with assimilation into the capitalist culture at the lowest rung, was the goal of these schools. The structure of these educational models was

[22] Hirschberg, Diane. "'It Was Bad or It Was Good:' Alaska Natives in Past Boarding Schools." *Journal of American Indian Education* 47, no. 3 (2008).

deliberate. It sought to enrich the politically connected rulers, some who would go on to higher office and further power.

My Unangax̂-led rematriation project demonstrates that physically returning our children who died in these government-sponsored schools is a means of decolonization. The importance of ceremony and proper mourning for our lost people cannot be understated. We observe this in communities who have returned their children home and see the longing and disconnection when a child is still missing. The time these children have been missing is immaterial. Furthermore, doing this work with, by, and for our communities is a means of empowerment and healing.

Today, seven generations after these initial atrocities, Tribes and Indigenous families have become strong. We control our own schools run by our own people, allowing for certification in specialized areas such as language and culture. We are bringing our children home who died in these "boarding schools." There is a movement and momentum towards getting our Land Back and rewriting our history, teaching others that this is a structure of violence, a structure of genocide, enhanced and continued through these deliberate structures of education. There are resources, both federal and local, set aside for Missing and Murdered Indigenous Relatives (MMIR). Unangax̂-led projects of restorying our histories with and through our voices and by rematriating stolen children, long dead, from government sponsored cemeteries and museum collections. Taken together, I argue that these projects serve as material examples of Unangax̂ sovereignty and decolonization, and help to advance restorative justice for our Peoples.

Hingamal [How / Methodology]:

This dissertation performs and demonstrates how Unangax̂ ways of doing histories *with*, *by*, and *for* Unangax̂ serve as a radical and relational methodology that centers Unangax̂ concepts, analytics, ethics, and protocols, and as a method for uplifting Unangax̂ cultural and linguistic resurgence. I am uniquely positioned to do this work as an Unangax̂ woman and tribal member who is supported by higher education institutions and resources (as outlined in my Preface). This research centers around a rematriation project I co-designed and co-facilitate with my home community for my great aunt Sophia Tetoff. Along the way, numerous questions have been raised about the context and circumstances of her specific journey. In this way, my dissertation is driven by a series of interrelated research questions including, but not limited to:

- what were Unangax̂ cultural lifeways like on St. Paul in the nineteenth century? Why would ten and twelve year old Unangax̂ girls agree to conditions of continuing to practice Russian Orthodoxy when taken from their home village? What is gained from a more nuanced understanding of Russian Orthodox Indigeneities as a form Unangax̂ self-determination via religion and literacy? (Chapter 2)
- what were some pivotal moments in Unangax̂ that witnessed the gradual incursions of colonial, imperial, capitalist, and racists structures imposed by Russian, European, and American visitors and settlers? And how does centering Unangax̂ perspectives and logics shape how we understand these histories today, in general and in relation to Sophia's journey more specifically? (Chapter 3)
- what structural inequities existed in the late nineteenth century education systems that enabled Sophia to be stolen away from her home community on St. Paul Island, Alaska, carcerated in a Church-run (Jesse Lee Home) and government-run (Carlisle Indian Industrial School) Native American boarding Schools, and allowed to perish and interned in a children's cemetery over four thousand miles away from her Peoples? (Chapter 4)
- what does a community-led rematriation project want/desire and need/require? How can we document these practices to help rematriate more murdered and missing Indigenous children home? (Chapter 5)
- what if the ongoing global reckoning with murdered and missing Indigenous children during the boarding school era was framed as genocide? And how can emerging traditions of Unangax̂-led research contribute to a Unangax̂ futurity and justice for our stolen relatives? (Chapter 6)

To begin answering these questions requires an attention to gathering relevant and respectful research methodologies. I will briefly describe some of the important sources and scholars I am thinking *with* and *through* via five constellations: (1) Unangax̂ Ways of Being, Knowing, and Doing; (2) Unangax̂ Fluid Normativities; (3) Remapping the North Pacific through Storywork and Density; (4) Resurgence and the Possibilities/ Limitations of the United Nations; and (5) Community-Based Rematriation and Decolonization.

(1) Unangax̂ Ways of Being, Knowing, and Doing

Unangax̂ ways of being, knowing, and doing are rooted in our lands and waters through our relationships with the land, sea, plant life, and more-than-human animal life. With these relationships come responsibility for the generations of all of these life forms in our collective futures. These lands and waters have sustained Unangax̂ for more than nine thousand years, through responsible ecological management honed by thousands of years of what Yup'ik scholar Angayuqaq Oscar Kawagley would call science-based observations.[23] Our knowledge of what is safe and edible is learned through our sense of smell, taste, and observation taught by elders in the field, in what performance studies scholar Diana Taylor explains as "embodied" learning.[24] While outsiders felt distress, saw desolation, and experienced scurvy, despite being surrounded by plentiful nutrition, we know that our treeless lands are rich with abundant sea life that can be gathered at low tide and harvested from the ocean, and plant life dug as roots, picked as berries and flowers, and collected as sea grass and Putchkie [wild celery]. Our medicines and food come

[23] Kawagley, Oscar Angayuqaq. *A Yupiaq Worldview: A Pathway to Ecology and Spirit*. Waveland Press Inc, 2006.

[24] Taylor, Diana. *Performance*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2016.

from the land and sea, responsibly harvested, and taken with respect and gratitude. Our lands, waters and people are intertwined.

(2) Unangax̂ Fluid Normativities

Unangax̂ are defined through their "grounded normativity" and "Indigenous internationalism," terms theorized by Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg scholar, writer and artist Leanne Betasamosake Simpson. Simpson explains grounded normativity as "the procedure of building life everyday through relations with land, our spirituality, emotional and physical connections." And grounded normativities are centered by Indigenous internationalisms, which Simpson explains as "a series of radiating relationships with plant nations, animal nations, insects, bodies of water, air, soil, and spiritual beings in addition to the Indigenous nations with whom we share parts of our territory. *Indigenous internationalism isn't just between peoples. It is created and maintained with all living beings*."[25] With these strengths, Unangax̂ are resilient in both occupational eras, including today.

Unangax̂ lived experiences called grounded or fluid normativity, are woven through their environment. The plants and animals that we live and are dependent upon, our Elders' knowledge, our worldviews, and our language shape our values that we have lived with for over 9000 years. Some of our culture has been sleeping for a long time, but we are welcoming back into the light and enjoying seeing our young children find that world to be normal. Within just a few generations, we have survived the genocide that are boarding schools and are thriving in higher education in the academies built to suppress and override what it is to be Unangax̂.

[25] Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*. Indigenous Americas. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017; emphasis added.

At their core, my research methodologies center Unangax̂ ways of being, knowing, and doing. My approach builds on the generative Indigenous-led and Indigeneity-centered research by scholars working *with*, *by*, and *for* Indigenous Peoples[26], and embraces practices of "ethnographic refusal"[27] to avoid replicating harmful narratives perpetuated by many existing anthropological and historical works *on* or *about* Unangax̂ Peoples and Tanax̂ Amix̂. Following Angayuqaq Oscar Kawagley and Linda Tuhiwai Smith's work – who explain how Yuuyaraq (the way of the human being) and Kaupapa (principles and ideas that inform action) research stem from and center Yupiaq and Māori worldviews, respectively.[28] My work uplifts Unangax̂ worldviews that flow from our lands and waters and as practiced by our Peoples, now and since time immemorial. The Unangam Tunuu phrase for our values and worldviews is Unangam Angagingin. These values include taking care of each other, the land, and nature, to know your family history, and to have respect for those who came before us and for the coming generations that we don't see yet. It is with these Unangam Angagingin that I approach this research and bring our family members home to their land and waters that have sustained us always.

(3) Remapping the North Pacific through Storywork and Density

Located neither on the Russian nor American continents, but rather as string of jewels floating between the two, Unangam Tanangin [Unangax̂ Islands] are positioned as the center of our world. My methodologies are also informed by a hemispheric view of Indigenous studies that is anchored in Unangam Tanangin, radiates outward across the North Pacific (to include the Sakha of Siberia, the Ainu of the Kuril Islands of Japan and Russia, Kamchatka, the Pacific

[26] Atalay, *Community-Based Archaeology*, 2012.

[27] Simpson, Audra. "On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, 'Voice' and Colonial Citizenship." *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue*, no. 9 (2007).

[28] Kawagley, *A Yupiaq Worldview*, 2006;Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 2021.

Islands, and the west coast of North America) and beyond into continental Indigenous territories.[29] The North Pacific, however, remains particularly significant since these communities are all places the Russian American Company forced Unangax̂ to move and work. This practice of remapping unsettles the imperial and colonial geographies by refuting how those geographies organize land, bodies, social, and political landscapes.[30] Specifically focusing on Unangax̂ ways of doing history further shifts the geographic center north and west, questioning if the people of the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands are Native "Americans" at all. Remapping establishes Unangax̂ as the sovereign and refigures Europeans and Americans as "other" and counter-sovereign as they work against our self-determination and sovereignty.[31]

I also draw from Jo-ann Archibald's Storywork methodology, for which she identifies seven core principles: (1) Respect, (2) Reverence, (3) Responsibility, and (4) Reciprocity as ways to become "story ready"; and (5) Synergy, (6) Inter-relatedness, and (7) Holism as ways to make meaning with and through stories.[32] Unangax̂ stories relate the right ways to live, recant our histories, use humor, and more. Similar to our North Pacific relatives, we understand how our islands, waters, and peoples are fluid, moving around the great ring of fire.[33] Historically, the Russians came to the Aleutian Islands in the 1700s and remarked on how it was difficult to create a census, because Unangax̂ are so mobile in their swift hunter's iqyan and in the larger transporting nigilax. Our knowledge, shared through storywork tell of visitations between the

[29] Forbes, Jack D., Carl N. Gorman, Kenneth R. Martin, and David Risling. *Handbook for the Development of Native American Studies*. First Edition. University of California, Tecumseh Center, Native American Studies, 1970.

[30] Goeman, Mishuana R. *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013.

[31] Karuka, Manu. *Empire's Tracks: Indigenous Nations, Chinese Workers, and the Transcontinental Railroad*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019.

[32] Archibald, *Indigenous Storywork*, 2008.

[33] Diaz, Vicente M. "Sniffing Oceania's Behind." *The Contemporary Pacific - University of Hawai'i Press* Vol. 24, No. 2 (2012); Teaiwa, Katerina Martina. "Choreographing Difference: The (Body) Politics of Banaban Dance." *The Contemporary Pacific* 24, no. 1 (2012): 65–94.

Hawaiians and Unangax̂.[34] Likewise, Haida and Tlingit stories relate long voyages to and visits with Ainu of the Kuril Islands near Japan, whose houses and clothing mirrors their own. There is reason to assume that they followed the Aleutian chain and took hospitality and trade with each other on the way. My dissertation research will take into account such songs and stories shared amongst Unangax̂, Haida, Tsimshian, and Tlingit as a means to demonstrate how North Pacific Indigenous Peoples' rich and dense relationalities unsettle narrow colonial stereotypes and expectations.[35]

(4) Resurgence and the Possibilities/Limitations of the United Nations

Glen Coulthard and Leanne Simpson embrace the notion of grounded normativity as a relationship with the lands, waters, nature, and peoples outside of the Non-Indigenous world.[36] It is a place where we do not seek permission from or acknowledge the existence of colonial norms. Returning stolen children reclaims this power from the colonists, past and present. Unangax̂ histories are further complicated by competing and ongoing layers of Russian and American Colonialism, which in many ways has altered our spirituality, politics, foodways, and sought to extinguish our bodies and being either through Russian brutality, indifference, and neglect, or American attempts of assimilation and erasure through boarding schools, outlawing our cultural practices, and attempting to eliminate our languages. The language used in the United Nations Conventions will be used to frame the crimes against Unangax̂ during the

[34] Archibald, *Indigenous Storywork*, 2008; Archibald et al, *Decolonizing Research*, 2019.

[35] Andersen, Chris. "Critical Indigenous Studies: From Difference to Density." *Cultural Studies Review* 15, no. 2 (2009): 80–100; Bissett Perea, Jessica. *Sound Relations: Native Ways of Doing Music History in Alaska*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2021; Deloria, Philip Joseph. *Indians in Unexpected Places*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004.

[36] Coulthard, Glen Sean. *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Indigenous Americas. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014; Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, 2017.

Russian and American eras. However, Unangaŷ continue to survive and thrive. Grounded normativity can be used interchangeably with Unangam Angagingin as Unangaŷ communities work towards decolonizing language, relearning foodways, and cultural practices such as weaving, song, and dance. Bringing our children home continues this reclaiming of what is ours. Revitalizing Indigenous epistemologies upholds Simpson's and Coulthard's framework of resurgence.

In *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* (1974), Secwepemc activist and author George Manuel explains self-determination as respecting the rights of Indigenous Peoples to freely pursue economic, cultural, and social development, to live closer to the land and waters, and to shake off the poisons of the colonial world to regain community wellness, language, and culture.[37] My intention is to honor the human rights of our enslaved and carcerated ancestors by facilitating their return home. Overall, using the United Nations Human Rights Charters as a framework for explaining this exploitation of land and resources, including children, I argue that many articles of UN conventions were violated. I am encouraged by legendary Pawnee civil rights attorney and activist Walter Echo-Hawk's work at the intersections of Indigenous law and human rights, especially his sustained attention to the wealth of possibilities offered via global or transnational perspectives and approaches to these issues, such as those articulated in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007).[38] My work will consider United Nations frameworks to define genocidal practices as defined by the Genocide Convention, the

[37] Manuel and Posluns, *The Fourth World*, 2019. In 1975 Manuel formed the UN-affiliated World Council of Indigenous Peoples.

[38] See Echo-Hawk, Walter, and Anaya James. *In the Light of Justice: The Rise of Human Rights in Native America and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Wheat Ridge: Fulcrum Publishing, 2013. See also *UN General Assembly, United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples,* 2 October 2007, A/RES/61/295. https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/declaration-onthe-rights-of-indigenous-peoples.html.

United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, the UN Declaration of the rights of Indigenous peoples, and the Rights of the Child.

(5) Community-Based Rematriation and Decolonization

One of Tuhiwai Smith's "twenty further projects" for decolonization that is close to my work and heart is number sixteen: "Finding and seeking justice for the disappeared, the missing, and the murdered."[39] I work with Missing and Murdered Indigenous Relatives (MMIW or MMIR) on the tribal, state, and federal level. As a cultural bearer and keeper of knowledge about our missing children, I have a responsibility to find and return our children lost in boarding schools or other government institutions, a project of rematriation and decolonization by literally (not metaphorically) reuniting land and bodies and thus bringing long overdue justice to our People.[40]

Bringing a child home is Hingamal: a performance; a doing. Returning a stolen child who was lost to family and tribal memory is a community affair. Unangax̂ island communities rely on consensus to maintain peace in remoteness. Yet such doings require time to develop relationships and protocols. In Atalay's *Community-Based Archaeology* she discusses how research *with*, *by*, and *for* any community requires establishing long-term relationships.[41] As my Unangax̂ colleagues recently explained, this takes time and requires following protocols of visiting.[42] I have been meeting and corresponding with the community and cultural leaders for over twenty years establishing trust and relationships with them. Even within the umbrella term "Unangax̂,"

[39] Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 2021.

[40] Tuck, Eve, and K. Wayne Yang. "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (September 8, 2012).

[41] Atalay, *Community-Based Archaeology*, 2012.

[42] Tuck, Eve, Haliehana Stepetin, Rebecca Beaulne-Stuebing, and Jo Billows. "Visiting as an Indigenous Feminist Practice." *Gender and Education* 35, no. 2 (February 17, 2023): 144–55.

each community is unique and carries its own ways of being, knowing, and doing.[43] In what Leanne Simpson would call "radical relationality."[44] In 2017, I asked the Unaagin [Aleut Community of St. Paul] if they wanted me to bring our great Aunt Sophia home from Carlisle Indian School where she was buried in 1906. At first, they were hesitant. I allowed them the space to think and discuss what that would mean to the Church and community. In the end, they agreed. Legally, I had the right to bring her home, but it was important that she was welcomed. This method is sustainable and benefits the community because it is doing the work the community needs and wants. It takes away the ego from the researcher and uplifts the community's values including religion, government, philosophies, and culture. An Elder told me recently that there is no traditional ceremony for bringing home a relative who, even in death, was carcerated by the invaders. Sophia was the first to return in her community, for Unangax̂, and for Alaska Natives. So, in this situation, performance as ritual becomes law that can set precedence. "The performance continues to work long after it's over.[45]

[43] Bissett Perea, *Sound Relations*, 2021.

[44] Simpson, Audra. *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life across the Borders of Settler States*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014.

[45] Taylor, *Performance*, 2016.

Dissertation Structure as Umgachx [Basket]



Figure 4. Photo of an Unangax̂ basket from Attu

Unangax̂ weaving is some of the finest in the world. Prepping for a basket weaving takes the better part of one whole year. First ryegrass is gathered From the hillside in late summer when it has reached about five or 6 feet tall. While cutting the grass, the gatherer should give acknowledgment and thanks to the grass for giving itself to the gatherer so that a basket can be woven with consent. The grass is then wrapped in burlap and stored in a dark place, and then it must be turned every other day or mold will form and it will be ruined. The outer leaves of the grass are removed until just the finest in inner grass remains. The weaver then discards the outer blades.

The format of this dissertation follows a similar creation-research trajectory as Unangax̂ weaving in concert with Unangax̂ protocols.[46] To even start weaving requires rooting and routing ourselves through culture a Unangax̂. So to more fully situate myself, my Preface: Kadamax̂tilix [Introductions] follows Unangax̂ protocols to account for the Peoples and places to whom I am responsible, and my various life experiences and pre-dissertation projects that have brought me to this current work. Kadamax̂tilix is a practice that uplifts the many Unangax̂ ways of being (ontologies), ways of knowing (epistemologies), and ways of doing (methodologies) that are imperative to this Unangax̂-led and Unangax̂-centered research.[47]

My Acknowledgements: Qagaalakux [Many Thanks] offers gratitude to the many individuals and institutions that have supported my gathering journey and shared information and resources with me. I have been collecting information informally for about thirty years, and more formally over the last ten years through both my position as the Alaska Native advisor to Metini/Fort Ross in Northern California and as a graduate student at San Jose State University and the University of California, Davis. While gathering resources I also took time to practice culture by learning to carve chagudax [hunting hats], learning to speak Unangam Tunuu, visiting with Elders, attending Aleut Corporation meetings and arranging Pacific Northwest Aleut Corporation picnics, and even building my own Iqyax [kayak]. I have been carefully sorting through this information and seeking out clarification from culture bearers as I travel back-and-forth between Northern California and Alaska.

[46] For more on theorizing Indigenous research as baskets and other "exquisite vessels" see Washuta, Elissa and Theresa Warburton. *Shapes of Native Nonfiction: Collected Essays by Contemporary Writers*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2019.

[47] Bissett Perea, *Sound Relations*, 2021 and Bissett Perea, Jessica. "Introducing [Our] Peoples, Places, and Projects: Indigelogical Ways of Doing Global Music History." *Journal of Musicology* 40, no. 3 (2023): 255–67, Forum on Centering Discomfort in Global Music History (2023): 255–67.

With positioning and gratitude established, Umgachx weaving then starts with strands of grass as fine and think as silk threads. Expert weavers twine so tightly that their baskets can hold water. Decorations and embellishments add both beauty and strength, just as personal stories add density and complexity to this dissertation. My own experience with Umgachx weaving found that the bottom of a basket, typically the size of a quarter, took more than three hours to complete. This introductory chapter serves as the base or foundation of my dissertation-as-Umgachx, offering the core story and purpose of this work: to center Sophia's return as a means to generate Unangax̂-led ways of doing history and rematriation of stolen relations in Alaska's Pribilof Islands. Here, I set out the core arguments, methods, and terms of engagement that will inform the chapters that follow.

The body of the dissertation-as-Umgachx are linked to the base in that each of the four core chapters seek to address questions circling Sophia's journey story. Chapter 2 uplifts Unangax̂ values and ways of being, knowing, and doing since time immemorial, and in concert with our initial encounters with Russian visitors, primarily Orthodox missionaries, through the late nineteenth century. Here I will spend time explaining the lands and waters, languages and cultural practices that animate the past, present, and future of Unangam Tanangin and describe the Unangax̂-led co-development of writing/literacy on the Islands. Key to Unangax̂ practices of self-determination is our distinct articulation of a Russian Orthodox Indigeneity. Chapter 3 reconsiders four key moments in Unangax̂ history — the Russian occupation and American occupation, and World War II internment through returning and rebuilding Unangax̂ communities — as critical threads for understanding the wide scope of Sophia's story through an Unangax̂ lens, and to better understand colonial, imperial, capitalist, and racist structures imposed by Russians and Americans on Unangax̂ Peoples, lands, waters, and more-than-human

relatives. Chapter 4 traces my attempts to better understand the specific colonial machinations of individuals and structures behind US boarding schools in relation to Sophia's journey (via archival documents) after she was taken from Tanax̂ Amix̂ to the Jesse Lee Home, a Methodist-run boarding school on Unalaska, and then transferred to the government-run Carlisle Industrial Indian School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Chapter 5 narrates an end or new beginning for Sophia's journey — her rematriation (disinterment and reburial) back home on Tanax̂ Amix̂ — and reconsiders some opportunities and challenges facing community members doing this work.

The conclusion chapter relates to the lid of an Umgachx. Ever practical and beautiful, Unangax̂ basket lids fit snugly to keep its contents safe. Each basket is precious to its owner some of them taking years to make. They might contain nourishment for the body and the soul or prized possessions which hold stories. The Conclusion emphasizes how the histories contained within this dissertation serve as a bridge between the past the present and are to be shared with the future. These stories, contained in though weaving of the basket itself, secured with the lid, hold the teachings and the values passed on to Unangax̂ youth as a continuance since time immemorial to the present and given to our children who are the future. Throughout this research, I pay close attention to evidence of and discourse surrounding crimes of genocide against stolen Indigenous children. The first part of my conclusion places my project into conversation with a growing international reckoning with the role of church- and government-run boarding schools in crimes of genocide against Indigenous children. More specifically, I explain why I take issue with uses of the phrase "cultural genocide." I discuss how we should think and discuss what happened to thousands of Indigenous children who were stolen from their homes, and who never made it home again. I argue that is not enough to call this a cultural genocide, but rather genocide, full stop. To more fully situate Unangax̂ Peoples in relation to

global human rights discourse, I interweave tribal and community histories with terminologies and languages outlined across numerous international legal movements. The second part of my conclusion discusses the significance of emerging traditions of Unangax̂-led research with and through the works of fellow Unangax̂ scholars who earned research doctorates. Our collective work is contributing to Unangax̂ futurities on our own terms.

Whereas some might say that Tanax̂ Amix̂ is home to the largest concentration of Unangax̂ survivors of Russian and American slavery, genocide, expulsion, and carceration, I aim to demonstrate with the remainder of this dissertation that despite these darknesses our resurgence continues to expand and grow our community's light. In this way, I aim give back to my community, find justice for our murdered and missing Indigenous relatives, and promote healing for Unangax̂ specifically, and all Alaska Natives who have been affected by structures of boarding school violence.

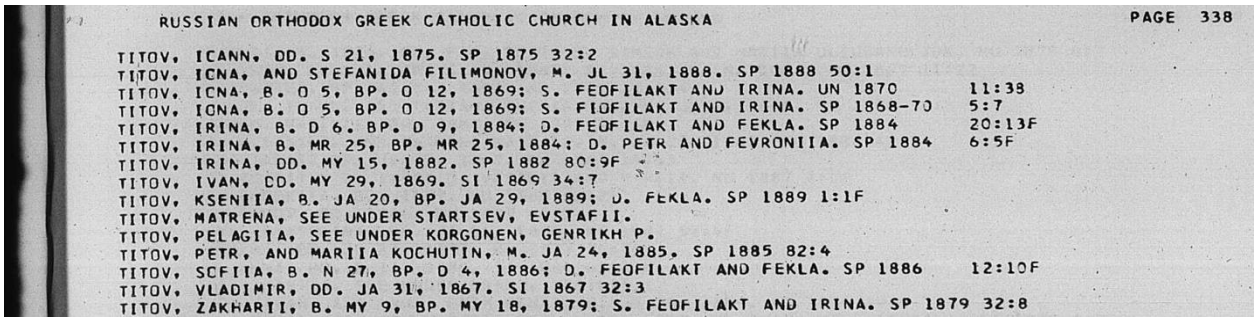
Chapter Two – Angalilgi-lix [to enlighten]; Haxsaasax [to learn]: Unangax̂ Ways of Self-Determination Since Time Immemorial

Tuman tangax̂ agliisax̂txin - Take care of the water
Tuman alaĝux̂ agliisaax̂txin - Take care of the sea/ocean
Tuman tanax̂ agliisax̂ txin - Take care of the land
Manachin ilam axtalakan agliisaachin - Do not do anything to excess[48]

For over 500 years Russians and Europeans have famously waged war after war under the premise that the world would be a better place if Christianity ruled. Believing white Christian supremacy as a God-given right, colonizers and imperialists codified laws that legitimized the stealing of Indigenous lands and the killing and enslavement of other human beings. As the so-called 'victors,' they assumed that the Peoples they oppressed would adopt their language and customs.

Sofia Tetoff was born on Tanax̂ Amix̂ on November 27, 1886. At the time Sophia was orphaned and taken to the Methodist Jesse Lee Home in 1896, the priest on Saint Paul Island, she and her sister Irene argued for their right to continue practicing their Russian Orthodox faith. Given the common histories we are told about Indigenous spirituality and religion — that Indigenous worldviews and Christian worldviews are deeply incommensurable — then why would ten and twelve year old Unangax̂ girls care so much about holding onto an "outside" religion?

[48] Citation for source: https://www.qawalangin.com/unangan-values



RUSSIAN ORTHODOX GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ALASKA PAGE 338

TITOV, ICANN, DD. S 21, 1875. SP 1875 32:2
TITOV, ICNA, AND STEFANIDA FILIMONOV, M. JL 31, 1888. SP 1888 50:1
TITOV, ICNA, B. O 5, BP. O 12, 1869; S. FEOFILAKT AND IRINA. UN 1870 11:38
TITOV, IONA, B. O 5, BP. O 12, 1869; S. FIOFILAKT AND IRINA. SP 1868-70 5:7
TITOV, IRINA, B. D 6. BP. D 9, 1884; D. FEOFILAKT AND FEKLA. SP 1884 20:13F
TITOV, IRINA, B. MR 25, BP. MR 25, 1884; D. PETR AND FEVRONIIA. SP 1884 6:5F
TITOV, IRINA, DD. MY 15, 1882. SP 1882 80:9F
TITOV, IVAN, DD. MY 29, 1869. SI 1869 34:7
TITOV, KSENIIA, B. JA 20, BP. JA 29, 1889; D. FEKLA. SP 1889 1:1F
TITOV, MATRENA, SEE UNDER STARTSEV, EVSTAFII.
TITOV, PELAGIIA, SEE UNDER KORGONEN, GENRIKH P.
TITOV, PETR, AND MARIIA KOCHUTIN, M. JA 24, 1885. SP 1885 82:4
TITOV, SOFIIA, B. N 27, BP. D 4, 1886; D. FEOFILAKT AND FEKLA. SP 1886 12:10F
TITOV, VLADIMIR, DD. JA 31, 1867. SI 1867 32:3
TITOV, ZAKHARII, B. MY 9, BP. MY 18, 1879; S. FEOFILAKT AND IRINA. SP 1879 32:8

Figure 5. Sophia and Irene's birth record from the Saint Paul church (Titof Family records Saint Paul)

While on the surface Unangax̂ ways of being, knowing, and doing appear incommensurate with Russian Orthodox worldviews, I will explain the roots and significance of understanding how and why Russian Orthodox Indigeneities in Tanax̂ Amix̂, specifically, and across Unangam Tanangin more broadly, came into being. This goals for this chapter are twofold. First, I will address the significance of Unangax̂ worldview or logics: who we are and to whom we are responsible (ontologies), where we come from and what we know (epistemologies), how and what we do (methodologies), and what value (axiologies).[49] By centering our ancestral Unangax̂ values, my goal for this research is to create policies that support and enable other individuals and communities to bring their children home from boarding school cemeteries and other government run institutions. Second, to better understand the context into which Sophia was born, I will also place ancestral Unaagix [Saint Paul Island People] worldviews alongside the emergence of a specifically Unangax̂ articulation of Russian Orthodox Indigeneity, following encounters with visiting Russian Orthodox priests and

[49] For more on Indigenous logics, or Indigelogics, see Bissett Perea "Introducing [Our] Peoples, Places, and Projects," 2023.

missionaries starting in the late eighteenth century.[50] These Unangax̂-Russian articulations illustrate the roots and densities of modern day Russian Orthodox Indigeneities. I will discuss examples of Unangax̂ orthography and literature that demonstrate how the incorporation of Russian Orthodoxy into Unangax̂ was done so on Unangax̂ terms, and is a core example of both Unangax̂ survivance and self-determination.

Taken together, this approach considering ancestral Unangax̂ values alongside present day Unangax̂ Peoples demonstrates how we remain culturally rooted in practices of self-determination and grounded normativity, what Leanne Betasamosake Simpson calls an Indigenous knowledge system based upon the procedure or practice of living on and in relationship to their land [waters].[51] This chapter is heavily indebted to the work of two Elder Unangax̂ knowledge keepers: Leo Merculief from St. George Island, and Ilarion Merculieff from St. Paul Island.[52] Both Elders are firmly anchored in Unangax̂ values and language, and they have documented their histories so that the next generations of Unangax̂ can learn from their traditional upbringings. Building from Leo and Larry's work, this chapter will trace Unangax̂ ways of teaching and learning both before and after contact with Russian Orthodox priests.

Unangam Tanangin, Unangax̂, and Unangam Tunnu

Before turning to Unangax̂ values, it is crucial to properly orient us in the lands, waters, tribes and languages of Unangam Tanangin.

[50] I use the term articulation in the manner of Stuart Hall, who emphasized its always implied and co-present double meaning as both 'giving voice to' and 'connecting.' See Clifford, James. "Indigenous Articulations." *The Contemporary Pacific* 13, no. 2 (Fall 2001): 486–90.

[51] Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, 2017.

[52] I will return to the significance of the one "f" and two "f"s later in this chapter.

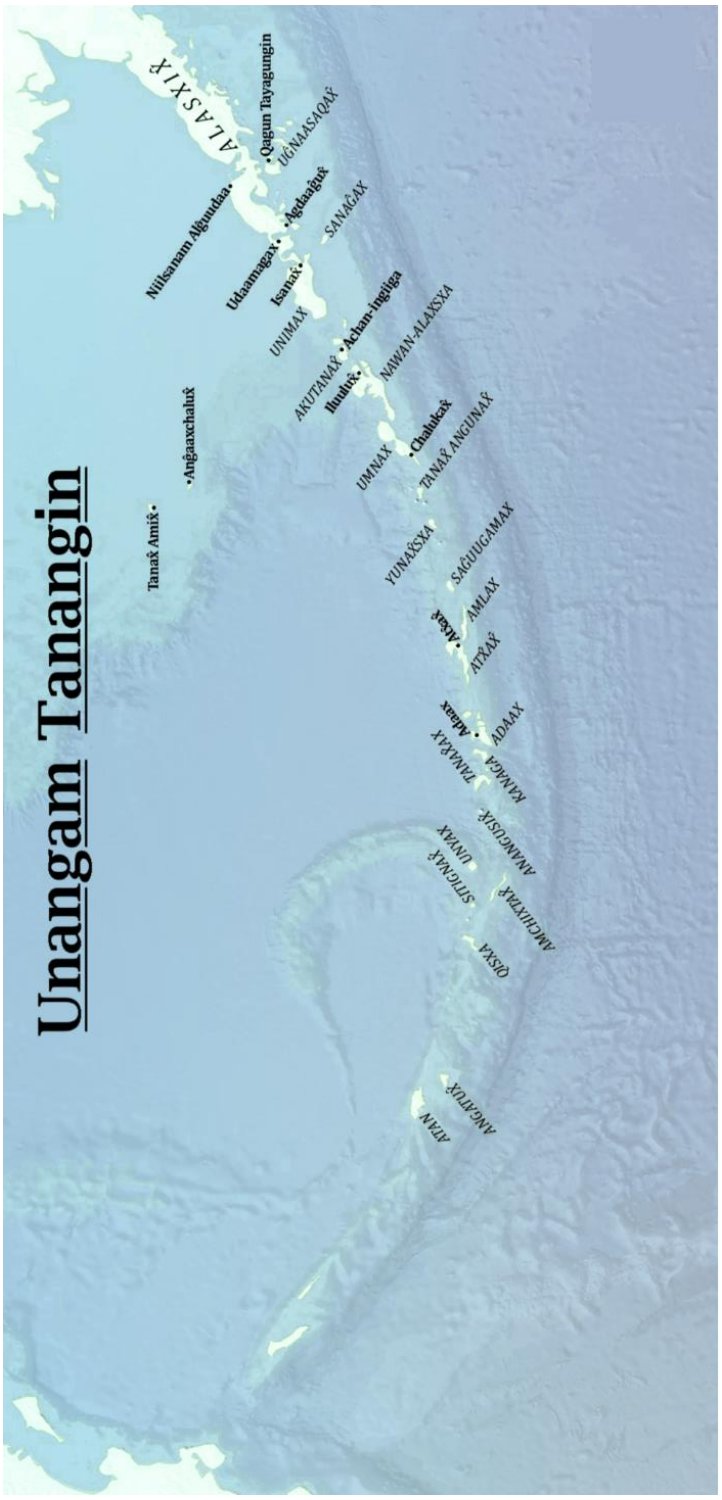


Figure 6. Unangam Tanangin Map from the Decolonial Atlas[53]

[53] Map by the Decolonial Atlas' Jordan Engel, with support from Roxana Kashatok, Aquilina Lestenkof, Crystal Dushkin, Lauren Peters, Josephine Shangin, Sally Swetzof, Anna Melovidov, Millie McKeown, Liza Mack,

Unangam Tanangin and Unangax̂

Unangam Tanangin [Lands of the Unangan] (6 above) is an archipelago about one thousand miles long, extending east to west between the North Pacific Ocean and what is now known as the Bering Sea.[54] These islands and waters are the center of the Unangax̂ universe, and they shape our worldview.[55] Calling ourselves Unangax̂ [Peoples by the shore or coast], we see Unangam Tanangin as a string of floating jewels touching neither Alaxsxa [the mainland, referring to Alaska] nor Russian's Kamchatka Peninsula.

Tanax̂ Amix̂ (also known as St. Paul Island) is the northernmost jewel of Unangam Tanangin, located about 300 miles from Alaxsxa, and is near the same latitude as Sheet'ká [Sitka, Alaska].[56] Adaax [Adak], the southernmost jewel, is closer in latitude with p'áləc'əs (also known as Victoria, Vancouver Island, British Columbia). Largely ice-free year around, one might call Unangam Tanangin the St. Tropez of the Arctic. Unangax̂ have lived on and across Unangam Tanangin consistently since time immemorial, or for 9000 years, depending on who you ask.

Ed Philemonof, and Evan Gardner. Accessed November 15, 2023. https://decolonialatlas.wordpress.com/2017/09/13/unangam-tanangin/

[54] The Sea was renamed for Danish explorer Vitus Bering, who was working for Russia at the time he explored the sea in 1728, and who died on what is now called Bering Island on his second voyage in 1741.

[55] Kawagley, *A Yupiaq Worldview*, 2006.

[56] A note on my use of parentheses versus brackets. I will use parentheses to include additional information. Square brackets will be used after Indigenous language words for English language explanations of the preceding Indigenous language work.

Unangam Tanangin Tribes



Figure 7. Map Detail of Unangam Tanangin Tribes

The map above shows the names of the eight different tribes of the Aleutian Islands before first contact in 1741. 1) Qagaan Tayaĝungin translates to People of the East. 2) Qigiiĝun, a directional qiĝI, meaning northeast but not far away. 3) Qawalangin, from qawa is also a directional that points to the east. 4) Akuuĝun translates to "those over there to the side." 5) Niiĝuĝis derives from "na" meaning west, the official separation of the tribes. 6) Naahmiĝus is the "people of the western region, whose language differed from the Niiĝuĝis. 7) Qax̂un is the people of this region, perhaps from the word "Qax̂" meaning food or fish. 8) Sasingan may be derived from the stem sa, meaning outside or seaward.[57] Notice that there are no tribal names on the Pribilof Islands of Tanax̂ Amix̂ and Anĝaaxchalux̂ to the north, nor Bering and Copper islands to the far west, nearest to Russia. These islands were populated by Russian slavers.

[57] Jochelson, Waldermar. *Unangam Ungiikangin Kayux Tunusangin, Unangam Uniikangis Ama Tunuzangis: Aleut Tales and Narratives*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, 1990.

Eventually the people of the chain would call the Pribilof Islanders, Unaagin – from "un" a directional meaning north or "up there". Tanax̂ Amix̂ [land of mother's brother] and Anx̂aaxchalux [sound of the wind] populations came mostly from Unalaska Qawalangin. Copper Island was populated by Attu's Sasingan and Bering Island by Atka's Naahmiĝus. At first Russian contact in 1741, there were about 20,000 Unangax̂ . By 1764, the Akuuĝun Unangax̂ were gone. This is especially hurtful as this is where our origin stories come from. By 1820, only about 2000 Unangax̂ remained, killed by disease, starvation, and violence at the end of Russian muskets. In WWII, the Attuans were taken as prisoners of War by the Japanese. The twenty-five Sasingan who survived the war were repatriated to Atka Island, some children were left at a Russian Orthodox orphanage in Seattle, and some never returned. A fierce battle was fought on Attu and returning after the war was thought not safe by the US government although in truth, it is more likely that the government did not want to be bothered with the expense. It is documented that Non-natives, especially the US government, treated Unangax̂ as if we were children, despite surviving for nearly 10,000 years without Eurocentric heteropatriarchy.[58]

[58] Vinkovetsky, Ilya. *Russian America: An Overseas Colony of a Continental Empire, 1804-1867*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, 137

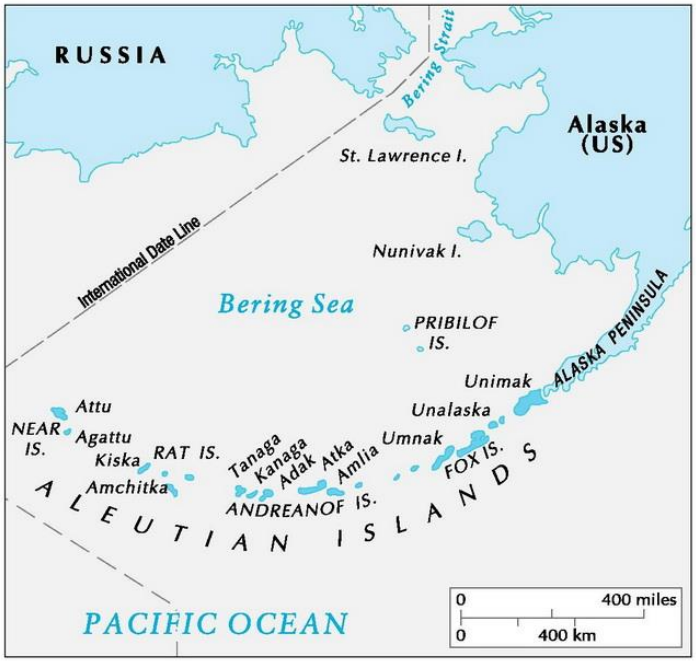


Figure 8. The Aleutian Islands as they are named in English

The islands and waters of Unangam Tanangin are also known as the Aleutian chain, a name for the archipelago that stems from "Aleut," an appellation bestowed on Unangax̂ by Russian explorers who began arriving in 1741.[59] Tanax̂ Amix̂ is one of five islands referred to as the Pribilof Islands in the middle of the Bering Sea (Figure 2).[60]

Aleut is a name that continues to cause confusion and hardship today as our Peoples negotiate an often complicated process of finding or asserting our identities as Unangax̂. This name persists on both the Aleutian Islands and Pribilof Islands. In the Alaska Native Claim

[59] Aleut is a name that continues to cause confusion and hardship today as our Peoples negotiate an often complicated process of finding or asserting our identities as Unangax̂. The name Aleut is also likely are derived from "aliat," meaning "island" in the Luorawetlan language of mainland Siberia. See https://decolonialatlas.wordpress.com/2017/09/13/unangam-tanangin/.

[60] Russian navigator Gavriil Loginovich Pribylov is credited with having discovered Anĝaaxchalux̂ and Tanax̂ Amix̂, and renamed them St. George and St. Paul, in 1786 and 1787. The former was named for the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, on the day of which the island was first encountered by the Russian explorer Gavriil Pribylov; the latter was probably named for the ship sailed by Pribylov. See Chisholm, Hugh. *"Pribilof Islands". 1911 Encyclopedia Britannica*. 11th edition. Cambridge University Press, 1910: 313.

Settlement Act of 1972, the people of the Aleutian Islands chose the name Aleut Corporation. When incorporating in 1966, the Pribilof Islands people chose to call themselves the Aleut Community of Saint Paul Alaska.

Unangam Tunnu Dialects and Loan Words

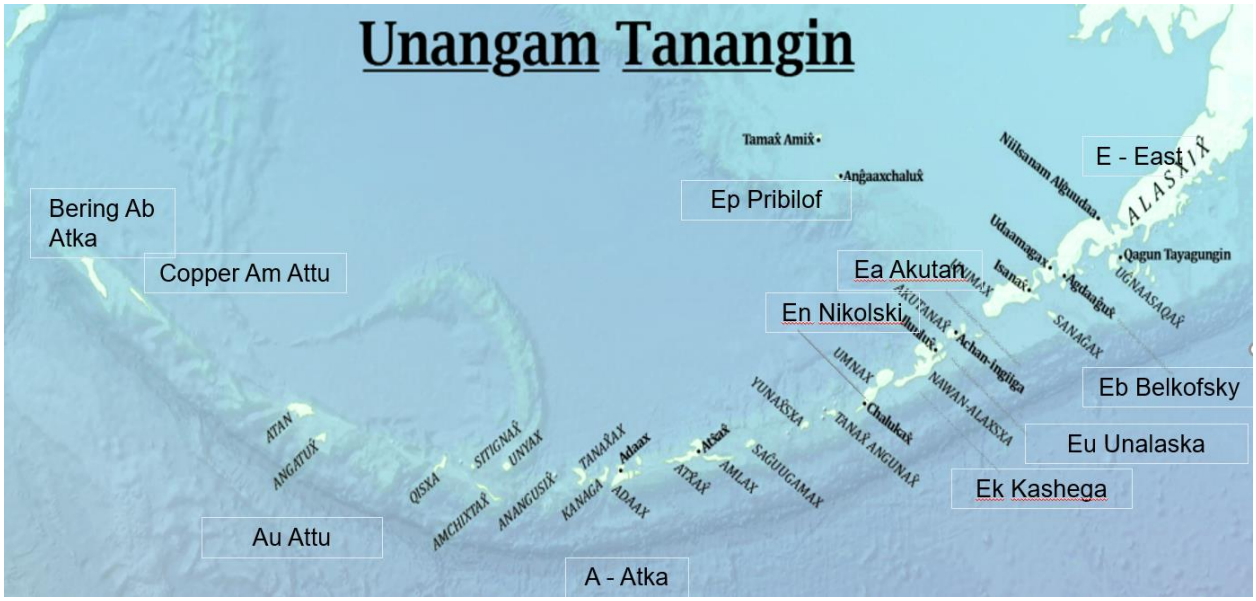


Figure 9. Map Detail of Unangam Tunuu Dialects

This diagram shows the eleven post-contact dialects of the Aleutian Islands and their categorization by Bergsland from east to west. Unangam Tunuu was spoken about halfway up the Alaskan Peninsula where it then changed into Sugpiaq to the southeast with Kodiak Island and Yupik to the north in the Bristol Bay region. Dialects were, east to west, E – East, Eb – East of Belkovsky/King Cove, Ea – East of Akutan (including Akun Island), Eu – East of Unalaska, Ep – East of the Pribilof Islands, Ek – East of Kashega, En – East of Nikolski (Umnak Island), A – Akutan, Au – Attu, Ab – Atkan from Bering Island, and Am – Attuan of Copper Island (Mednyy). In 1950, three distinct dialects were still spoken and most preschool children on Atka

were monolingual Unangam Tunuu speakers. Today, we divide the dialects into east and west. The main difference between the two are the words “no” which are Kuuguu in the east and Naanaa in the west and the endings for nouns. Both dialects use -x̂ ending for one, -x for two, but the ending for 3 or more is -n in the east and -s in the west. Examples are Unangax̂ for one person, Unangax̂ for two people, and Unangas (west) or Unangan (east) for three or more people. Additionally, the west dialect has more ancient word usage (1994). The Pribilof Islands were known for using many Russian loan words, but there has been an effort lately to re-Unangax̂ and standardize language across the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands through culture camps and language immersion camps, using the Bergsland dictionary as the main, most complete reference.[61]

The arrival of Russians in 1741 and the continuance of the Americans after 1867 caused much language loss and adaptation of loan words. On Copper Island, one of the nearby Islands, the language evolved to mix Unangax̂ verbs and Russian nouns. The opposite is true on the Pribilof Islands where Russian nouns with Unangax̂ endings are used with mostly Unangax̂ verbs. Because the Russians and Russian American Company moved Alaskan coastal sea fur-hunters from the Kuril Islands north of Japan, across Alaska, and down to California, some Kashia Pomo words found their way into both Russian and Alaska Native languages. Since American occupation, Unangax̂ languages have incorporated English and some other European loan words as well.

[61] Bergsland, Knut. *Aleut Dictionary: Unangam Tunudgusii*. Fairbanks, AK: Alaska Native Language Center, 1994.

English	Pribilof	Adak	Russian	Kashia
Sister	sistraχ̂	Uhngiχ̂	sestra	
Brother	braataχ̂	huyuχ̂	brat	
Aunt	tutkaχ̂	Niχ̂	tetya	
Apple	yaablukaχ̂		yabloko	
Cream	kriimaχ̂		Krim	
Bread	xliibaχ̂		khleb	
Butter	masalaχ̂		maslo	
Vest	silitiχ̂		zilet	siliti
Wheat	sinicaχ̂		pshenitsa	sinicca
Wheat gruel	kasaχ̂		kasa	kasa
Murre (bird)	sakitaχ̂		sakitaq	
Chocolate	chakalaataχ̂			
Coffee	kuufyaχ̂			
Tea	Chaayuχ̂		Chai	
flour	alugaχ̂			
Fry bread	alaadaχ̂			
Guest/to visit	guustiχ̂			
Jam	jamaaχ̂			
Lemon	limuunaχ̂			
Milk	mulukaχ̂		moloka	
Number	nuumiraχ̂			
Potato	kartuufilaχ̂ (German)			

Table 1. Russian/English borrow words[62]

The term Eskimo-Aleut (as in the "Eskimo-Aleut language family") it is itself an ethnic slur on the Indigenous peoples of Alaska. The word Eskimo has been referred to as peoples of the arctic from what is known now as Alaska across Canada to Greenland. Its etymology varies, but may come from the French word, Esquimaux (plural) or from an Algonquian word, such as Abenaki askimo (plural askimoak), Ojibwa ashkimeq, traditionally said to mean literally "eaters of raw meat," from Proto-Algonquian ``ask- "raw" + "-imo "eat" (Etymology). It conjures

[62] Eugene Buckley, "The Kashaya language during the Russian period," paper at the Annual Meeting for the Society for the Study of Indigenous Languages of the Americas, January 7, 2016. Accessed November 6, 2023: https://www.ling.upenn.edu/~gene/papers/Buckley2016_kashaya_russian.pdf

stereotypic visions of people thought to only dwell in igloos and who have 70 words for snow. The descriptor, Aleut, origins are unknown but was used widely by the Russians who were too busy killing sea otters, extinguishing sea cows, and exterminating Unangax̂ (Aleutian Islands), Sugpiaq (Kodiak and upper Alaskan peninsula), and other coastal Alaskan peoples (Dena'ina, Chugach, Eyak, and others) to learn our names. People in these regions began to self-identify as "Aleut" and many do not know the origins of their own people today, thus erasing their Native past and severing ties to culture and belonging. Sugpiaq on Kodiak and upper Alaskan peninsula have adopted the variation Alutiiq to differentiate themselves from Aleutian Islanders. Sugpiaq language follows the Eskimo branch of language and is distinctly different from Aleut. Sugpiaq speakers and Yupik speakers to the north of Sugpiaq territories, which include Kodiak Island and the upper Alaska Peninsula, can understand each other, whereas Sugpiaq and Unangax̂ of the Aleutian archipelago cannot.

While my work seeks to uplift Indigenous naming protocols and priorities through the use of Unangax̂ and Unangam Tanangin, I will also use Aleut and Aleutian Islands throughout, especially when and where it is common for community members to do so. Please know that this interchangeability is intentional and meant to capture a density of terms of engagement used with, by, and for Unangax̂/Aleut Peoples.

Unangax̂ Values and Ways of Learning and Teaching

Unangam Tunnu	English
Ugigdada	Share
Tutada	Listen
Adluudag̈ig̈ulux	Don't lie
Agitaasiin sismida	Help others
Igilnaag̈natxin	Don't be greedy
Kadaan axtaag̈anax̂txin	Don't get ahead of yourself
Agitaasitxin ix̂amnaasada	Be kind to other people
Maamin ax̂tanatxin madada	Don't make promises quickly & keep those you make
Ludakiimin axtax̂ samtaax̂txichin	Respect elders including parents, teachers, and community
Slax̂, agadax̂, tugidax̂, kayux sdan tunum manginulux kuga ig̈adg̈ulux	Don't talk bad about the weather or the sun, the moon, or the stars
Ang̈ag̈iisanatxin ang̈ag̈im agitaasingin agachan liidalix ang̈ag̈iisada	Live like you want people to see you live
Tuman tangax̂ agliisax̂txin	Take care of the water
Tuman alag̈ux̂ agliisaax̂txin	Take care of the sea/ocean
Kayutuux̂txin	Be strong
Txin ugutada	Be happy
Agitaasiin samtasaax̂txin	Respect your peers
Chxadalgaax̂txin	Don't steal
Txin anguynix̂tag̈ulux	Don't be boastful
Adux̂tanaan akidada	Pay your debts
Agitaasiin matanangin imin giduxîisalagada	Don't be envious of what belongs to another
Ang̈ag̈ix̂ ix̂amnax̂ ix̂talix kayux ix̂amnax̂ manaa imin ugutaasalix aax̂txin	Admire one who does well by honest means
Ig̈ayuux̂txin, ang̈im atxag̈ingin agachan madada	Do the things you know are right
Agitaasaan adaan tunum ix̂amnanginulux ig̈adg̈ulux	Don't slander another person
Manachin ilam axtalakan agliisaachin	Do not do anything to excess
Tuman tanax̂ agliisax̂ txin	Take care of the land
Tunuun ugunux̂talakan ang̈ag̈iix̂txin	Don't forget your Unangan language
Qaqamiig̈ux̂	Subsistence

Table 2. Unangax̂ Values[63]

[63] Source: https://www.qawalangin.com/unangan-values

Unangax̂ values stem from two places: knowledge of how to live successfully and adapt to an unforgiving environment over millennia that is constantly in flux, both environmentally and politically. And, for the past 200 years, from the teachings of the Russian Orthodox Church, sometimes thought of as Unangax̂ Orthodox Church. Adapting to the political landscape over the past two hundred years has ensured continued survival of about ten percent of the original population of the Aleutian Islands. This list of values is called, The Right Way to Live as an Unangax̂. Table 2 (above) shares twenty-seven Unangax̂ values, a detailed list of how to be and live as a good human being in Unangax̂ culture.

Leo explains that Unangax̂ Peoples, tribes, and bands all learned our values in traditional ways from our Elders, leaders and the earth, wind, water, and sky. Our Indigenous peoples' classroom consisted of our environment and villages. The Western Aleut word for education, Angalilgi-lix is to enlighten; the Eastern Aleut word, Haxsaasax, is to learn. In traditional education according to Ilarion, children were not corrected or chastised for the first four years of life. Instead, they were allowed to run free and learn about the world through experimenting and failing. The entire village raised each child, sometimes living at a neighbor's house as much as his own. At age four, Ilarion was placed with his latux̂ [grandfather]. They slept in the same bed, hunted and fished together, and prayed together. From his latux̂ he learned the values of Unangax̂ society. "Tutuutax̂," Listen. Words are superfluous and would diminish the fullness and richness of experiencing in appreciative silence. At age five, Ilarion made a special connection with an adult mentor. This mentor became his Aachaa and guided him, teaching him traditional values, how to be a man, ethics, reverence for life, and relationship to creation. As he aged, Ilarion was expected to watch, listen, learn, and help. Very few words were spoken. A child is

shown the same respect as an adult, the only distinction being that a child has less life experience.[64]

Unangax̂ wisdom centers on the whole. Intelligence is found in the body, mind, and spirit. A Unangax̂ criticism of non-indigenous researchers is that outsiders focus on a single question without asking about context in relationship. The Elder knows the researcher is only focused on what he sees and will respond in a manner that acknowledges the question but leaves the substance out. As hunters, Unangax̂ are profoundly connected to the animals that sustain them and can feel in their souls the animals giving its life to make his life possible.[65] Girls and women are valued as equals to men and as life givers, more connected to the spiritual world. Girls learn by observing their mothers and aunties. Girls and women in their sacred and powerful moon time would be separated so that everyday living and the hunt would not be disrupted. If a person embodied both genders s/he was considered spiritually advanced as there is no duality in the spirit world.[66]

In every list of Unangax̂ values, the first two are always Ugigdada [Share] and Tutada [Listen]. Ugigdada is the most important action in Unangax̂ worldviews. Ugigdada brings the sharer wealth and status. The man who lands the sea mammal gets first choice of who in the village gets which cut of meat. The choicest bits are given to the Elders as an honorific. Sharing creates a strong and healthy community. It also creates a power imbalance in the sharer's favor. By giving away the spoils, the others in the village have a debt to repay, therefore creating a society of reciprocity as a gift economy.[67] Another important value is "Tutuda," [Listen]. Words

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[64] Merculieff, I. *Wisdom Keeper: One Man's Journey to Honor the Untold History of the Unangan People.* Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2016: 25-28

[65] Merculieff, *Wisdom Keeper*, 2016: 27-35

[66] Merculieff, *Wisdom Keeper*, 2016: 6

[67] Kimmerer, Robin Wall. *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge and the Teachings of Plants*. Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 2013.

are superfluous and diminish the fullness and richness of experiencing in appreciative silence. Tutuda is important because it allows the silent to listen and learn. It is also necessary to those sharing a small space. Children are expected to be silent and observe the craft of their elders. This watching and learning can go on for years until the Elder is confident the young person can move ahead without wasting resources. The teacher is usually quiet as well, asserting her work in silence.[68] Sharing a small space in the Ulax̂ [house] could be disruptive with talking. A warning signal might be missed putting the entire village in danger should the air be filled with chatter. In this small space, eye contact is also considered invasive. Looking and talking must be invited in, not asked for. A child might sit in silence in the vicinity of the person she would like to speak to or observe, but must wait hours, days, months, or years to be permitted into that circle. This waiting in silence is also used today when Guustilix [visiting] for tea. A visitor might sit in silence time after time for years before being offered a conversation. Pushing in, asking, or breaking the silence is considered rude and will result in a longer or permanent shunning. Gustaalix [Visiting] is a temporal practice in Unangax̂ society which transfers relationships and knowledge from the past to the future. "Stories invite and invoke relationships. Visiting embodies Unangax̂ praxes of relationality. As an embodied practice, visiting as a medium to transfer Unangax̂ knowledge carries them across generations and time and space, while remaining grounded in Indigenous feminist cosmologies."[69]

Visiting and communicating were key values of ancestral Unangax̂ life since time immemorial. Before the Russians and Europeans arrived, the Aleutian Island Unangax̂ as well as the Kodiak Island Sugpiaq communicated through drawings. Scholars explain how so-called "preliterate" groups used paintings, carvings, and tattoos to communicate prowess as hunters,

[68] Vold, Vivi, personal conversation, 2023. See also Merculieff, *Wisdom Keeper*, 2016: 25-28.
[69] Tuck, et al., "Visiting as an Indigenous Feminist Practice," 2023: 144–55.

kinship, spirituality, or they communicated a person's location or family situation. These visual communications were also methods for recording history, stories, and songs; keeping accounts, sending bills and letters; making maps, providing signatures; and doing everything else that literate groups used writing systems for.[70]

Women's facial tattoos served three purposes: to show kinship, marriageability, and for boasting. Chin tattoos, almost universal amongst all American Pacific Coastal peoples, conveyed that the girl was of marrying age, that is, that she had reached her first menses. One to three vertical lines were tattooed through threading a line covered in soot just under the skin in a vertical line. It was done in a private women's ceremony during her menstrual confinement, usually about forty days (two menstrual periods).[71] These lines could be added to as bragging points when children were born or to show pride in her husband. Cheek tattoo patterns were specific to her matrilineal line of descent. These could be circles with dots (spiritual passages), peaks showing mountains, sideways s-curves meaning waves, or any meaningful marks that showed who her family was. A woman could travel to any island and know who she could or could not marry. Additional decoration of her person, through beads or dentalium, conveyed wealth and status.

[70] Hinton, Leanne, and Kenneth Hale. *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*. Elsevier, 2001.

[71] Veniaminov, Ivan. *Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District*. Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press, 1984. 210

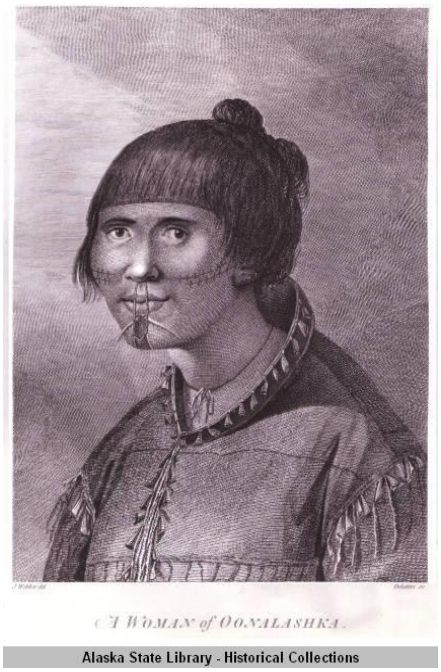


Figure 10. "Woman of Unalaska"[72]



Figure 11. Chagudax four Unangaŝ visors: One Chiefs visor adorned with Ivory carvings, two long visors and one short visor.[73]

[72] John Webber; from Cook, James A. (Captain) 1728-1779, A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean
[73] https://br.pinterest.com/stefanielune/artcraft/

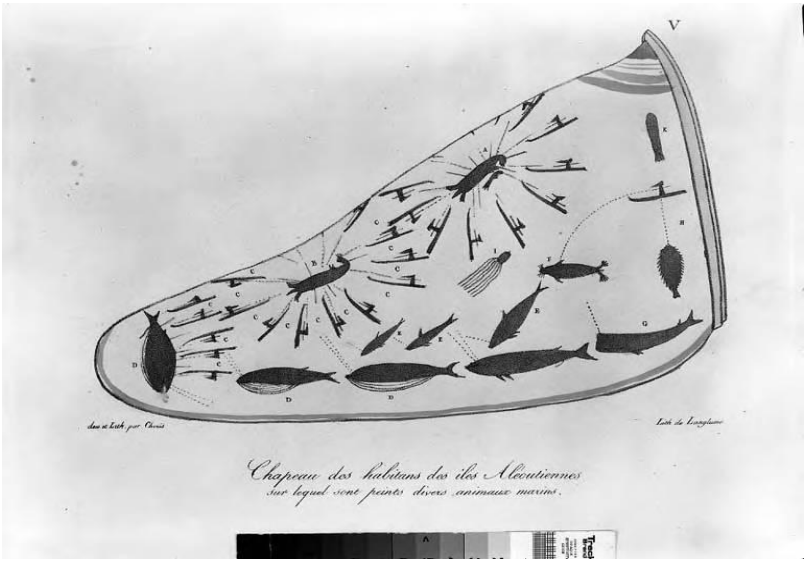


Figure 12. triangular closed Chiefs hat with painting of hunting scene[74]

Men's status rested on the ability to feed his tribe. Wealth was measured in what he could give away. He displayed his status when hunting through his headwear – a carved wooden bentwood hat called chagudax̂. The hats were made of driftwood, scraped thin, and bent into shape by steaming or boiling. Size and shape of the chagudax̂ was indicative of status and prowess. A small, short visor was for the beginning hunter. As he became more adept, he could upgrade to a longer visor and add decoration such as descriptions of successful hunts or sea lion whiskers. Elaborate triangular visors were only worn by the Chief in the village and cost three slaves – the same amount for a full iqyax̂ (kayak). It was important to show the sea mammal how great a hunter he was by decorating it colorfully, adding carved ivory animals and spirit people, so that the animal would feel honored and give itself to him. The top of the chagudax̂ was often

74 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Painted_Aleut_hunting_hat_from_the_Aleutian_Islands,_Alaska,_between_1816_and_1817_(AL%2BCA_8209).jpg

decorated to look like a bird's face to camouflage the hunter's face. The hats had a ridge down the center of the inside which gave strength to the thin carved hat and served as a sighting tool. When tipped up, the inside caught sounds and funneled them down to his ears. In a pinch, the hat could be used as a paddle.



Figure 13. Sketches of petroglyph rubbings containing transformations of man and whale[75]

Another means of communication was through pictographs and petroglyphs. The volcanic, rocky Aleutian and Kodiak Islands are rich with coastal rock carvings. Many of these are faces, spirals, and sea mammals. Whale carvings are thought to be carved by whale hunters, a revered group of men who hunted the most dangerous sea mammal. Some of these show the transformation that took place between whale and hunter, acknowledging the confluence of man, beast, and spirituality.

[75] Steffian, Amy F., and Sven D. Haakanson. *Giinaquq like a Face: Suqpiaq Masks of the Kodiak Archipelago.* Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2009.



Figure 14. Pictograph on wood, from Hoffman (1882)[76]

Other pictographs told stories, communicated homeowner's location, or sent a message. When a person left their homes, often they would leave a piece of driftwood over their Ulax̂ [home] opening depicting where they were and how long they would be gone. They would use symbols like those above to convey which direction they went and by what means. This series can be interpreted as: I went this direction by paddling and slept one night on an inhabited island. Then, I continued to an uninhabited island and slept again before hunting seals with my spear and another person with a bow and arrow. Then we paddled back home by kayak.

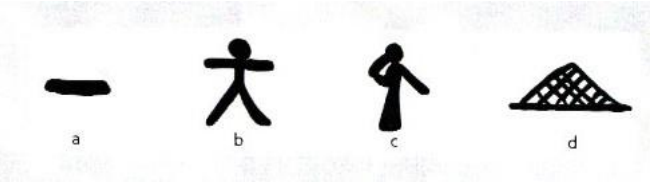


Figure 14. Pictograph on wood[77]

This drawing was on a board pointing to a house. The line is thought to be a kayak. It may mean that I left by kayak. The outstretched arms denote 'nothing' and the hand on the mouth equates to eating or food. And the hatched triangle is universal for house. So this means,

[76] Illustration by Eric Carlson and Alexandra Painter. See Steffian, Amy F., ed. *Igaruacirpet: Our Way of Making Designs*. Kodiak, Alaska: Alutiiq Museum and Archaeological Repository, 2018.

[77] from Hoffman (1882); Illustration by Carlson and Painter in Steffian, *Igaruacirpet*, 2018.

"There's nothing to eat in this house." Or it may tell visitors that these people do not have any food to share or are starving.

While the Pribilof Islands are rightly felt as an unforgiving environment, their universal draw can be tied to the ways in which the islands are uniquely rich in resources. To begin, they are known as the largest fur seal rookery in the world. They were never meant to be populated year-round by human beings, but that's not to say that Unangax̂ didn't know about them. Iaaqudaadan, the young male seal [Callorhinus ursinus, meaning Seabear] was good for eating. Historically, if a hunter showed proper respect, a fur seal might give himself to the hunter so that the hunter's family could survive. The pelt, if kept whole, could be filled with valuable seal oil. The fur pelt could be used for bedding or clothing. The intestines cleaned and dried could be made into waterproof clothing. The neck and throat were also waterproof. The sinew could be dried and separated for strong sewing material. The meat was part of their staple diet on the island. That which could not be used in a practical sense would be used for ceremony or decoration. For example the scapula bones would be used as noisemakers.

Beyond Extraction and Extinction: Stories as Archive and Method

The following stories are included in this dissertation because there are examples of how Unangax̂ values uplift Unangax̂ Peoples during periods disrupted by Russian, European, and American structures of colonialism, imperialism, capitalism, and racism. Using Archibald's storytelling as a methodology, the following five stories — three Unangax̂ and two Russian — demonstrate both the incommensurable abyss between Unangax̂ and Russian values, but also the importance of consensus, humor, Indigenuity, and self-determination in Unangax̂ communities. Unangax̂ begin and end each story with Iganayii [It is said]…

An Unangax̂ Discovery of Tanax̂ Amix̂

Iganayii…Iĝadagax̂ (Unangax̂), father of an Unimak chief named Akaxĝnikax̂, while at sea hunting, in his iqyax̂ was carried away by a storm. As it was impossible for him to approach his home shore he was forced to commit himself to the mercy of the wind and did so for three or four days before being carried to this island. Here he remained and lived hunting various animals. In the spring, during clear weather he saw the peaks of Unimak and decided to put out to sea. He safely reached his native Unimak, bringing many sea otter tails and mordki. Iĝadagax̂ named the island Amix̂.… Tanax̂ Amix̂, (in English "Land") *called* "Mother's Brother." He would tell stories of this place. His brother Chaĝnachx̂ilax̂ and his son, Chief Akaĝnikax̂ passed these stories on. It is said that Iĝadagax̂ would say that anyone who goes to Tanax̂ Amix̂ would carry a longing to return to it. Early St. Paul Islanders would point out the location of the dwelling of Iĝadagax̂. Sarychev reports that he heard the word Amix̂ in an ancient song which the Aleutian Islanders were either unable or unwilling to explain.[78] Iganayii…

Concerning the Islanders

Officially, Catherine the Great asked that the Russian fur hunters treat the Americans well. The Russians, saying, "The Lord is high above and the Tsar is far away," only thought about the riches the fur trade could bring them. As was happening all over the world, as the Europeans brought disease and violence to the previously isolated island peoples, the Russian presence was devastating for the Alaskan people. It is estimated that in 1741 at first contact, the Aleut people numbered about 16,000. By 1800, there were about 2000 people left. Most now "worked" for the Russian American Company under any rules the Russians would invent.

Legally, the RAC had no authority over the Aleuts. 1779 ended the fur tribute to the Tsar. There is no mention of the Aleuts in the 1799 charter. The 1821 statutes had a section titled, "Concerning the Islanders" that allowed use of the Aleuts in case of utter necessity. This statute was considered an improvement on current conditions for the Aleuts and conquered Alaska Native people. So, in 1821, 22 years after the foundation of the RAC and 89 years after Bering first sailed in Alaskan waters, were the Aleuts officially beholden:

1. "The Aleuts are forbidden to absent themselves anywhere without special permission of the authorities, but in the time they have free from the Company's work, they are allowed to engage in fishing along the shores they inhabit, and that only for their own subsistence and for that of their families."
2. "The Aleuts between the ages of 18 and 50 are under obligation to serve the Company as hunters, it being understood that the Company had the right to call up for service no more than half of the workers within the aforenamed age groups."
3. "The Aleuts are forbidden to sell as well as to give away furs except to the company."

[78] *Tanam awaa…Nation's Work. https://tanamawaa.com*

4. “The Aleuts are under obligation to sell to the Company the animal skins processed by them at a priced fixed by the governing board.”
5. “In place of cash, they are under obligation to accept…either merchandise at the Company store or Company stamps.”
6. “The Aleuts are forbidden to enter into any barter or commercial relations with anyone except the Company, even though the object of those relations is not the fur trade at all.”
7. “The colonial administration has the right to utilize the Aleuts to prepare the provisions of fish and fowl both during the hunting season and the rest of the year and does not have to pay them any special remuneration.”
8. “The company has the right or obligation to prevent the growth of luxury among the Aleuts, such as the use of bread, tea, and similar items.”[79]

Survivance with and through Unangax̂ Values

Iganayii…Unangax̂ lived on the islands between Russia and Alaska for over 9000 years. Here was everything they needed. They lived within the Earth in Ulax̂ [underground housing], which kept them warm and out of the constant wind. Everything they needed to eat was given from the sea or the land. All their tools, clothing, and sea vessels were made from things that they could scavenge or hunt within their islands. Their villages were small so as not to upset the balance of nature. They drank only water.

In 1741 The Russians came. They couldn’t see our paradise. They called our treeless islands barren, and our underground homes barbaric. They were sick with scurvy while bringing with them poisons such as tobacco, sugar, gunfire, and alcohol. They also brought disease, disrupting Unangax̂ lives forever. They hunted the sea cow to extinction and the sea otters and Unangax̂ almost to extinction. Within about 50 years, 90% of all sea otters were gone as were 90% of all Unangax̂ from their islands. Their goal was to extract as much wealth from the islands in fur seals, sea otters, fox pelts and any other kind of fur they could sell to the Chinese for a vast fortune. The Russians used Unangax̂ superior hunting skills and knowledge of how to survive, to the detriment of Unangax̂. Contrary to settler colonialism, the Russians took what they wanted and moved on to Kodiak island, South Central Alaska, and then down the coast all the way to California. In doing so they killed many of the Indigenous people.

Almost immediately, Unangax̂ started fighting back against Russian domination. A group of women who were taken to the Kamchatka peninsula during a berry picking expedition ran away. In 1762, about one generation after the Russians first arrived, the people of the land and waters around Unalaska island called the Fox Islands, stopped warring with each other and organized themselves against the Russian invaders. Each village chief carried eight splinters of wood in his pocket. Each night he would destroy one sliver of wood, during which time all the people would make nice with the Russians. The morning after the last splinter was gone, the villages attacked all at once, killing most of the Russians, and sinking four ships. As a testimony to their cooperation, Russian

[79] Okun′, S. B., and Б. Д. Греков. *The Russian-American Company*. Edited by B. D. Grekov. Translated by Carl Ginsburg. Russian Translation Project Series of the American Council of Learned Societies. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951.

remains such as coat buttons were found in the refuse heaps at Nikolski in the 1970s, a secret kept over 200 years. In 1764, the Russians returned, this time with canons which destroyed many villages in the Fox islands. Iganayii…

Fort Ross Chronicles: The Wreck of the Il'men

On June 2, 1820, Kirill Khlebnikov, traveler and writer, was travelling from Russian American Company headquarters in Sitka to California's Ross outpost on the brig Il'men. On the 18th, caught in a dense fog, the Captain decided to moor for the night. The ship was about 60 miles north of Fort Ross, carrying 63 persons, including 21 women and children.

Shortly after midnight, the anchor broke loose, throwing the Il'men against the shoals. Water began to pour in from the stern, the rudder unhinged, and the mainmast snapped in two. A Hawaiian crewmember that could swim jumped into the water to try to pull the boat ashore but the ship held fast.

The Captain gave the order to save the women and children. Then he asked Khlebnikov to collect the important papers. The crew began organizing the men to offload the ship. Khlebnikov noticed the men drinking rum from his private keg. He snatched the keg out of their hands and poured the rest out on deck. "Anyone who has been in a similar situation can believe me that they heaped abuse upon me and, perhaps assuming that obedience under such circumstances was out of place, showered me with the vilest of oaths." (p.43)

Over the next few days, 74 men helped unload and transfer the cargo to a more hospitable bay. There were "30 from the Il'men, 12 Aleuts already with us, 12 (Aleuts) who arrived in baidarkas, and 20 (Aleuts) who arrived in a baidara." On the morning of the 24th, "the promyshlenniks left with their families." (p.47) "The baidara had been loaded with 400 puds (14,444 pounds) in addition to the 10 men and 24 women and children who were taken as passengers." (p.48-49)

The Aleut workers unloaded the cargo and ship's parts for the next few weeks.

"They unloaded the whalebone and iron from the ship, dug the topsails and yards out of the sand, and carried half the iron down to the water, where it was taken across the bay on two sloops. The Aleuts worked very hard the whole time, and they even took cables left over from the day before when they crossed the hill to go eat lunch where the(ir) boats were moored. Without their help all our efforts would not have sufficed to move even half that much cargo such a distance on such a hot day.

"…The grass had become unbearingly hot and cut the men's feet. I tried to carry an iron bar weighing two puds (72 pounds) the whole distance and was exhausted. Imagine how tired the poor men were who went there and back six times in one day! The Aleuts complained that their feet were bleeding and asked for something to cover them. Not having any footgear, I gave them some leather that had been on this ship which they then made into shoes and fastened them with cord." Each round trip was 3000 steps and took 51 minutes.[80]

[80] Okun′ and Греков, *The Russian-American Company*, 1951: 49-50.

Provisioning the workers was a full time job. In addition to their exhausting work, the Aleuts hunted for meat for the Russian crew as well as for themselves. The Aleuts didn't eat with the Russians instead returning to their iqyan (kayak) flotilla for meals. "…Each [Russian] man was given one pound of meat from freshly killed game and one pound of rusk from the ship's provisions as a daily ration. The Aleuts were given peas from time to time." (p.50) Khlebnikov understood how lucky he was to have a competent food provider shipwrecked far from civilization. "As a reward for his outstanding diligence and zeal as a hunter, I gave the Aleut Timofei five arshins (140 square inches) of Flemish cloth…"[81]

Unloading the ship took the rest of June and into July. On July 3, 1820, about a month after leaving Sitka, Khlebnikov left Cape Barro de Arena and sailed the final 30 to 40 miles to Fort Ross. "The big baidara with 18 oars, carried a cargo weigh about 600 puds (21,666 pounds), the small baidara, with ten oars, about 200 puds (7200 pounds), and the badairka and the ships boat 150 puds. (5400 pounds).[82]"

Burisax, Burisan Chacidax, [Boris Cover Your Boris]

Iganayii…You could feel their eyes, the overlords and their administrators who wanted to know everything. Burisax (Boris) grew up with this, never feeling totally free. He felt this oppressive intrusion on Unangan lives, our families, and our space.. The Russian American Company controlled all essentials of Unangan lives. They only promoted Creoles, some we trusted because of family connections, others not so much.

Through hunting skills Burisax learned from boyhood, he knew how to approach animals without detection and when detected how to approach slowly in an ever-tightening circle, never looking directly at animals or birds. Through wind, rain and fog an Unangax̂ hunter can pick up a call and tell if it is a warning, distress, or friendly call for a mate. His senses were keen.

Many overlords had become quite good at learning Unangam Tunuu yet there was more to our beautiful language. The body language, the tone and slight movement of our head, eye contact or not, were all learned from childhood. Unangam Tuunu with no prefixes and many suffixes demands a conveyance of context that differs from village to village. To fully understand our Unangax̂ conversation takes a while and is best mastered when living among our people.

Burisax's father and grandfather tried in vain to tell him that fighting the relationship we had with the Russians was not worth his energy. The Russians had the power; they controlled the fur seal harvest.. Burisax always listened to his father and grandfather respectfully however his stubbornness would not release him from an inner drive to do something more.

His father told him that his anger is not healthy. His intentions to take up a fight for his people without a positive outcome would be very difficult in the closed society of St. George Island. Nobody from the outside world knew who we were or what we did.

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[81] Okun′ and Греков, *The Russian-American Company*, 1951: p 52.

[82] Khlebnikov, K. T., and L. A. Shur. *The Khlebnikov Archive: Unpublished Journal (1800-1837) and Travel Notes (1820, 1822, and 1824)*. Rasmuson Library Historical Translation Series. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1990: 54-55.

Burisax learned over time to channel his anger more towards irritation and almost acceptance of these bosses, although his irritation would flare up from time to time. His wife would help him get redirected.

Unangan were captive in the Pribilof Islands; where could Burisax go if he got into trouble? Unangan Families needed food and goods that were issued by overseers, meager as they were.

Why did the administrators want to know everything? First, they had moved our people from our underground home *Ulax* near Starya Artil Rookery, where we stayed warm and healthy *Ugnaasa-lix ama Kaangu-lix,* to overcrowded houses that would catch the wind broadsides, houses that require driftwood for fuel. A limited supply of driftwood from distant Garden Cove and Zapadni, 5 miles to the southwest became a burden to haul for stoves.

To the bosses, strong Unangan backs could accomplish whatever they ordered. Later, tons of coal to keep warm and for cooking *Una-lix* became inefficient and expensive. The Russian's paranoia drove them to keep close track of us, *Chasavaya-x* Unangan people. Sickness and disease followed from inadequate, damp, cold and crowded houses. The administrators were not concerned for Unangan comfort, health, or death rates.

In the killing fields they came under the eyes of the lords watching every operation from roundup and driving seals to clubbing, sticking and skinning. The seal had to be skinned completely by hand efficiently, requiring strong backs and skillful hands. The foreman and administrator must account for every skin; all counts must match. The agent watched for any discrepancy from loading and unloading at the saltery, processing and shipping afterward.

To maintain trust and control, the Russians named a Creole to act as "Chief", a watcher of their own blood, a man who is the son of a Russian man and Unangax̂ woman, a well-trained administrator entitled to comforts, good food for his family and the occasional brandy in the evening. Prior to moving Unangan to the Pribilof Islands, tradition determined who would become Chief of our village. Now to the exclusion of the best hunter, fisherman, storyteller, elder with wisdom and provider, fur treasures for Catherine the Great to Alexander II can only be entrusted to blood kin and well-trained administrators.

Burisax over time observed the watched and the watchers, always careful to maintain his distance and not make eye contact. Burisax made a few dry runs alone to the berry fields walking and picking berries, at one point he noticed a boss with a telescope. He would have to pick a clear day and time when he would be watched. He told his wife *Ayagaq* about his prank; she was worried about retribution and for his safety. *Adaluusa-lix Malgangin Atxi-lix, Laakaayam Dalqulgaq Liidakux, Angagig Usu Txin Qaalaa-six.* Stop trying to fool or deceive; You are like a foolish boy; Everybody will make fun of you. Burisax saw things differently. *Angagim ama Haxsa-lix. Tuku-x Igaxta-lix? Kugu*. Everybody will understand. I am not afraid of the boss. Ayagaq looked at Burisax for a moment, turned and walked away.

She was not amused. Burisx was always a strong willed Unangax̂; perhaps that's why she married him. *Tayagu-x Diikanaxtax , Tuku-x Ichada-x Tugigida-x Machida-lakan.* That man is mischievous; mooning the Boss is bad. *Alunaslakag*. This is not funny.

The next day she spoke to Burisax about this kind of *Kikagna* dirty behavior. This is *Kusu-lix ama Ayagina-lix* offensive and shameful. That is not the reason for this Burisax replied; then what is it?-she shot back. Knowing how persuasive his wife could be, he left quietly.

When that day came, Burisax purposely left his berry bag home and took a slightly different route to the foothills. Confident he was being tracked by telescope, Burisax meandered about, over a hill out of sight and coming back into view then disappearing behind some rocks. He picked two high points that would give the spies a clear view when he dropped his pants. For him this was always the ultimate, however juvenile. He felt that he was representing the whole village in making his statement, although all villagers would not have approved of Burisax representing them in this way. If someone knew besides his wife, they would break down under questioning by the bosses.

On the first knoll he hesitated as his heart started to race. Burisax talked to himself quietly and said this is important, calm down, breathe. He faced away from the village, dropped his pants and bent over briefly, giving the telescope a full moon, careful about showing nothing more.

Burisax went over the hill out of sight and reappeared down a draw, confident that the spy had seen him. Knowing that the observer was trying to relocate him, Burisax stood up and walked to the second knoll and pulled his pants down for Act II, same routine. A hiker in the flat just below Burisax had a clear enough view and yells "*Burisax Burisan Chacidax*!" Boris, cover up your Boris*!* Burisax stood, pulled his pants up and disappeared over the hill.

Burisax knew there would be consequences; there was always the possibility of physical punishment or jail. Physical punishment seemed unlikely as Burisax was one of the best seal skinners in the village, second only to his cousin Ivan. They were two of the fastest seal skinners and cleanest, leaving no nicks in the valuable pelts and saving most of the blubber.

There could be other retributions for his family such as limiting food and clothing or taking away privileges. He had discussed his plan to do something defiant with his wife short of all the details. She was a strong woman; she assured him the family could deal with consequences.

Burisax's following days at work brought cold stares from his bosses as he could sense that they were more distant than usual. Surely, his immediate boss had been an observer.

His wife asked when he returned home was it worth it, such an act worse than a prank? Burisax responded that is not why I did it. Why then she asked? He said that their watching was so oppressive to him, so disrespectful of our people. The bosses were taking away part of our freedom.

As things turned out, word gets around fast and Burisax became a sort of cult hero with occasional chants of "Burisax Burisan Chacidax!" *Boris Cover your Boris!*

Iganayii…[83]

[83] from an old tale by Leo Mecurlief, shared by permission,

As seen in Unangax̂ Elder Moses Dirks' *Aleut Tales and Narratives*,[84] stories are not always straightforward, but act as parables for Unangax̂ values. Starting in the 1770s, the Russians moved hundreds of Unangax̂ from their Aleutian Island homes to the Pribilof Islands to hunt fur seal. Unangax̂ were forced to slaughter and deblubber thousands of fur seal each year. "Concerning the Islanders" and "The Wreck of the Il'men" describe the contract and conditions under which Unangax̂ Peoples worked under the Russian American Company, which operated from the Kurile Islands north of Japan throughout the North Pacific and South to both Hawaii and Northern California. As "Concerning the Islanders" explains, the RAC considered Indigenous peoples to be beasts of burden without need of nutrition, compensation, or even basic clothing like shoes.

In contrast, stories of Unangax̂ stories told with, by, and for Unangax̂ that describe Unangax̂ values — such as "An Unangax̂ Discovery of Tanax̂ Amix̂," "Survivance with and through Unangax̂ Values," and "Boris Cover Your Boris" — are examples of Unangax̂ survivance *in spite of* the myriad colonial, imperial, capital, and racist structures designed to enslave and assimilate them through these colonial eras (see Chapter 2). Unangax̂ stories also demonstrate how Unangax̂ were/are aware of their mistreatment and the inhumane violations of their human rights during both the Russian and American occupational eras. "Boris Cover Your Boris," an oral history collected by Leo Mecurlief from St. George Island during the Russian occupation, shows independence of mind and will, a healthy, defiance, and humor both as a weapon and a survival tactic. Though as many Indigenous storytellers assert, it is not my place to

[84] Jochelson, Waldemar, Knut Bergsland, and Moses Dirks. *Unangam Ungiikangin Kayux Tunusangin, Unangam Uniikangis Ama Tunuzangis: Aleut Tales and Narratives*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1990.

tell you the meaning of these stories, but for you (the reader/listener) to make meanings *with* and *through* them.

Chief Ivan Pankov and the rise of Orthography and Orthodoxy on Unangam Tanangin (1804-1867)

I uplift Unangax̂ survivance and leadership by introducing Ivan Pankov, Chief of Tigalda Island, who championed for Unangax̂ and Sugpiaq human rights against the ongoing Russian brutality which was, by now, fully sanctioned by the Tzar. Despite successful revolts in 1762, Russian vengeance took its toll on Unangax̂ with nearly 90% of the population destroyed by the late 1700s. The era that followed is considered the Romantic Height of Russian Expansion by Russian historians. The Russian American Company had by now expanded violently through Kodiak Island and had established headquarters at Kodiak and New Archangel (Sitka) in Southeast Alaska, with their southernmost outpost in what is now Northern California bordering Spanish conquest missions. The Russian Empire spanned from the Kuril Islands north of Japan to California, trading from China to Hawaii and beyond. However, the question of how the 10% of Unangax̂ survived leads me to believe that the violence was not uniform across the 1000 mile archipelago. A parallel group of merchants traded peacefully and intermarried with Unangax̂. These men carried the Russian Orthodox faith and, as laypersons, were able to baptize adults and children. Some of these children were taken aboard ships as godchildren to the merchants.

Pankov serves as one such example of an Unangax̂ youth trained aboard Russian ships and in Russian schools. He would return as a man to assume his chiefdom fluent in both Russian and Unangam Tunuu, and literate in Russian. As an Elder, Chief Pankov invited Russian Orthodox Priest Father Veniaminov and his young family to Unalaska Island in July of 1824;

they stayed for 13 years.[85] In 1826, he and the village of Unalaska built the Aleutian Island's first Russian Orthodox Church and established the first bilingual school in Unangam Tunuu and Russian, teaching mostly scripture. Within a few years, most people in that area were literate in Russian and Unangam Tunuu.

Unlike in other situations where the Church inserts itself into a community uninvited, Veniaminov came at the request from Chief Pankov who served as one of his main sponsors. Together, Pankov and Veniaminov would create the first bilingual bible. Veniaminov's elder by two decades, Pankov as "master speaker" became his guide, his translator, and his tutor in Unangam Tunuu.[86] They developed a mutual respect and a deep friendship. Using Russian as the source language and Unangam Tunuu as the object language they first translated the Gospel of Matthew, omitting two verses: Mathew 7:17 which reads, "Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit;" and 7:19, "Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire." As no trees exist in the Aleutian Islands, they could not agree on how to make sense of these passages. The villagers would discuss the passages then Pankov and Veniaminov would make corrections, thus simultaneously commensurating Russian and Unangam orthography and Orthodoxy.[87]

By 1828, the Lord's Prayer was translated into Unangam Tunuu and was used in church. It is thought that Unangam spiritual messages were encoded into the Lord's Prayer by shamans and passed through the generations.[88] Also at this time, reading and writing Unangam Tunuu was

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[85] Bergsland, *Aleut Grammar*, 1997.

[86] Samuels, David W. "Bible Translation and Medicine Man Talk: Missionaries, Indexicality, and the 'Language Expert' on the San Carlos Apache Reservation." *Cambridge University Press*, August 9, 2006; Black, Lydia. "Ivan Pan'Kov-an Architect of Aleut Literacy." *Arctic Anthropology* 14, no. 1 (1977): 94–107.

[87] Hanks, William F. *Converting Words: Maya in the Age of the Cross*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010; Innokentiĭ, and S. A. Mousalimas. *Journals of the Priest Ioann Veniaminov in Alaska, 1823 to 1836*. Rasmuson Library Historical Translation Series. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1993.

[88] Merculieff, I. *Wisdom Keeper: One Man's Journey to Honor the Untold History of the Unangan People.* Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2016: 11/

beginning to be taught in the Unalaska school. By Easter 1831, the two men had finished translating the Gospel. In 1840 the first edition was published and was residing in the Church at Unalaska. It has a silver cover decorated with miniature icons on enamel insets. Its title page, as well as the first 1826 Catechism, lists the "Toion Ivan Pankov, an Aleut Chief" next to Father Veniaminov and it is read from every Easter.[89] Lydia Black remarks that "Veniaminov never intended Pankov's name to be forgotten….I believe it is no exaggeration to say that Ivan Pankov, Chief of Tigal'da was instrumental in creating Aleut literacy and making Orthodoxy the 'Aleut Church'."[90] Pankov and Veniaminov's translation of the Lord's Prayer:

Guuspudam Kamgaasii
Tumaniin Adaŝ, haman akuŝtxin Inim kungin.
Asaan, amchugasaadaaŝta.
Angaliin, haqaaŝta.
Anuxtanaŝtxin, malgaaŝtan Inim kungin kayux tanam kugan.
Qalgadam anuxtanaa ngiin aqachaa wayam;
kayux tumaniin adun ngiin ignida;
hamakun tuman kayux malgaligiin ngiin aduĝinan ignidakun.
Kayux tuman, suglaŝta chiĝunax Txin.
Taĝa, adaluudam ilaan, tuman aĝichaa.
Angaliin, Kayuun, kayux Alĝunaasiin,
Adam ngan, kayux Lilaagan ngan,
kayux An'gigan angaliĝadigaasadagan ngan;
wayam awan usugaan awan tamadaga inanaaĝnaĝulux
Amiin[91]

Veniaminov spent over a decade collaborating with the Islanders and helping create a bible in Unangam Tunnu. He also kept an ethnographic journal full of observations and interviews. One of these entries wrote about the Unimak Islanders who were noted to be fierce and hostile and resistant towards Christianity. The easternmost island in the Aleutian chain, It

[89] Innokentiĭ, and S. A. Mousalimas. *Journals of the Priest Ioann Veniaminov in Alaska, 1823 to 1836*. Rasmuson Library Historical Translation Series. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1993.
[90] Black, "Ivan Pan'Kov-an Architect of Aleut Literacy," 1977.
[91] Tanam Awaa has been translated both as "Our Community's Work" and as "Our Nation's Work."

was also thought to be the largest populated of all the islands with about 12 villages, with 12 to 30 Ulax [semi underground Longhouses] that were up to 50 Sazehen in size [About 350 feet long]. The Russians heard from other Islanders about their violent nature and decided to make war against them, annihilating almost completely entire settlements. However, other villagers fought back, killing most of the Russians. The ones that survived died of scurvy over the winter. The Islanders considered the Russian ship to be under a shamanistic spell and burned it completely. Some black powder on the ship exploded and killed other islanders. Disease and epidemic further reduced the numbers on the island. As of the 2000 Census, about 60 people live on the island in the village of False Pass.[92]

Russian Orthodoxy and Unangax̂ Education and Literacy

Unangax̂ literature was born from generations of goodwill between the Chief of the Krenitsyn Islands (including Akun, Akutan, and Tigal'da) and two Russian traders: Stefan Cherepanov and Dimitrii Pankov. Archival records tell us about two voyages by Cherepanov (1759–1762 and 1768–1773) and three by Pankov (1758–1763; 1770–1774; I780–1786). If we compare their peaceful voyages to the violence on other islands at the same time periods, both men proved themselves to the Islandars as fair traders and astute diplomats. In 1762, the Fox Islands had an Unangax̂ uprising, killing many Russians and sinking several ships. This was met two years later by their near annihilation with Russian cannon fire on the Native residents of those islands. During the same time, Cherepanov and Pankov were trading successfully with islanders in the nearby Krenitsyn region.[93] Stefan Cherepanov married into the Akutan Qigiiĝun

[92] Note on the islands of the Unalaska district page 70.
[93] Black, "Ivan Pan'Kov-an Architect of Aleut Literacy," 1977.

and is my fifth great grandfather. Today, the last name has evolved into Tcheripanoff and many still live on Akutan Island.

Both Cherepanov and Pankov practiced Russian Orthodoxy. There were several similarities between Orthodox Christianity and Unangam spiritualism including the importance of greeting the rising sun each morning, belief in purification by water, the idea of Creator, the existence of three worlds, and naming practices. In the first two beliefs, Unangan faced the rising sun first thing in the morning while immersing himself in the ocean or gathering water for his family. He would open his mouth to swallow the wind and light. Washing and holding his wet hand high, he let the water drip down his body. Striking the water, he said, "I am not asleep. I am alive. With thee I greet the life-giving light, and with thee I should always live."[94] Similarly, an Orthodox Russian Priest prays in the mornings facing towards the east saying, "Having arisen from sleep, we fall down before Thee, O Blessed One, and sing to Thee, O Mighty One, the angelic hymn: Holy! Holy! Holy! art Thou, O God; through the Theotokos, have mercy on us."[95]

In the Church, laymen can baptize others and did so with Unangax̂ in the Aleutian Islands. At a baptism, the newly anointed would take on a new name. The first name was customarily a saint's day that was near, and the last name would be the Russian man's name that did the baptizing. Gavrill Pankov may have been one of these newly baptized Unangax̂. His son, Ivan Pankov, was most likely the godson of Dimitrii Pankov and is thought to have joined him at age eight on his last voyage to the Aleutian Islands. When Pankov returned as an adult to take his rightful place as Chief of the Krenitsyn islands, he was well educated, literate, and spoke Russian without an accent.[96] He was a champion for Unangax̂ rights and led a protest regarding reduction

[94] Veniaminov, *Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District*, 1984: 211.

[95] "Orthodox Church in America," OCA.org; Daley, Robert. "Unangan Orthodox Christianity: Conversion Through Similarity." Dominican University of California, 2019.

[96] Black, "Ivan Pan'Kov-an Architect of Aleut Literacy," 1977.

and human rights violations towards Unangax̂ Russian citizens in 1791.[97] He was gifted ornate robes that he wore when speaking to Russian authorities, singling himself out as the leader of Unangax̂.[98] The support of the Church against Russian tyranny further endeared Unangax̂ to Orthodoxy.

During the Russian occupation of the Aleutians and Pribilof Islands, religion and education were inextricably connected because the Russian Orthodox church provided the only formal schooling.[99] Richard Dauenhauer explains how because competency in two languages was stressed, it should come as no surprise that Aleuts had the first bilingual schools in Alaska."[100] In 1819, St. Paul Aleuts built their first church, Ionann Veniaminov and locals built a church in 1824 on Unalaska Island, and in 1833, St. George built a church.[101] Referring to St. Paul village in the 1830s, Veniaminov wrote: A large part of their leisure they put to good profit educating themselves and teaching their children the Russo- Aleut letters with such success that almost every man in St. Paul in recent times is able to read.

Veniaminov published ten years of notes in 1841 that document his work in and emphasis on education, literacy, and bilingual education in Aleut and Tlingit communities. He lobbied the Tsar for additional publication support for books in Alaska Native languages. In 1845 at the New Archangel Seminary in Sitka opened with fifty-four students, twenty-three were Alaska Native. Later, Siberian Native literacy successes surpassed the Russians living there. A Russian-American Company report in 1857 confirmed Veniaminov's observation of St. Paul: The knowledge of reading and writing has spread so much among the Aleuts of the Fox and Pribilof

[97] Hanks, *Converting Words*, 2010.
[98] Innokentiĭ and Mousalimas, *Journals of the Priest Ioann Veniaminov in Alaska*, 1993: xxiii
[99] Jones, Dorothy. *History of United States Administration in the Pribilof Islands 1867-1946*. Prepared For Indian Claims Commission Docket Number 352 And Docket Number 369, 1976: 26.
[100] Dauenhauer, Richard "Conflicting Visions in Alaskan Education. Occasional Paper No. 3," 1980: 6-9.
[101] Jones, *History of United States Administration in the Pribilof Islands*, 27.

Islands that in some of the places all with the exception of little children can read books in the Aleut language.[102]

Naming Traditions in Russian Orthodox Indigeneities

Unangam Tunuu is the language spoken by the people of the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands of Alaska, including the two Near Islands within the Russian government's control, Bering and Copper Islands. As explained earlier, before Russian contact in 1741 the Islanders did have a written language through drawings and a physical language through gestures. Because of this, many loan words can be found in the Near and Pribilof Islands. Further colonization provided loan words as far away as today's California. The language was written down in the mid-1800s by the Chief of Akutan, named Ivan Pankov, and a traveling priest. By this time, the Aleutian Islandars had become Russian Orthodox and most Unangax̂ were bilingual. The similarity of Orthodoxy and Unangam spiritual practices as well as the importance of names and naming practices were instrumental in spreading literacy and Orthodoxy in the Aleutian Islands. Although customs have changed with the introduction of western culture, names are still important and valuable to Unangax̂ today.

So, another reason that converting Unangax̂ to Russian Orthodoxy may have been straightforward was the value received by bestowing of additional names. There is ethnohistorical evidence regarding the importance of names in Unangax̂ culture. Additional names, given in baptism or after life events, were believed to hold power.[103] Names would be bestowed at birth and would be added to as the child grew. Names could signify a deed, a change

[102] Jones, *History of United States Administration in the Pribilof Islands*, 27-28. Veniaminov, Notes on the Islands; Martin, 229

[103] Black, Lydia. *Russians in Alaska: 1732-1867*. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Fairbanks, 2004: 224.

in status, a desired character, or to shame a person into changing his character. Bergsland cites that ancient name-giving happened on the 40th day after birth.[104] However, that is most likely a Christian custom. Jesus is said to have his humanity taken to heaven on the 40th day after his resurrection. In the Orthodox Church, name days happen today on the 40th day after birth and after death, mourning ends on the 40th day.[105]

Ancient naming practices are unclear. Merck, a naturalist on the Billings expedition, wrote in 1790 that names were given at the time of birth by an elder male who chose a name out of nature. (Bergsland,1998. 58). Veniaminov wrote in 1840 that a child was given a derivative of his mother or father's name. In one case, Aaluxˆ (laughter) had a son named Ayagaxˆ Aaluchxˆinaxˆ (caused the woman to laugh) and a daughter named Ayagam Aaluucha (women's way of laughing).[106] A name can change as victories are won: Kanaaxˆ tukulinaxˆ "Killed the Koniaq Chief;" or times of failure: Ayagangin suqaxˆ "His women were taken."[107] They could also signify a trait or physical imperfection. To be known as Qatxayuux, "Sad Penis," must have been a low point in a man's life for sure.[108]

Unangaxˆ had more than one name and names would change based on everyday occurrences. For example, sons were not brought up by their fathers. They were raised by their Amixˆ, their mother's brother. In 1910, midwife Marfa Golodova of Unalaska said that a boy's Amixˆ would give him a name that would make him angry. It was the job of the Amixˆ to make the boy brave, control his emotions, and become a good hunter and provider for the village.[109]

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[104] Bergsland, Knut. *Aleut Dictionary: Unangam Tunudgusii*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, 1994.

[105] oca.org

[106] Bergsland, Knut. *Aleut Grammar: Unangam Tunuganaan Achixaasixˆ*. Alaska Native Language Center Research Papers. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska Fairbanks, 1997: 59.

[107] Bergsland, *Aleut Grammar*, 61.

[108] Bergsland, *Aleut Grammar*, 312.

[109] Bergsland, *Aleut Grammar*, 59.

Storytelling often used naming to teach a parable. Aayguuĝuxˆ [Incompetent] overcame his fears and went to sea, becoming an able hunter.[110] These stories ended with "hixˆtal iĝanaĝii" (Atka dialect) and italixˆ iĝaanayii (Eastern dialect) He said, it is said.[111]

The importance of bestowing names is still prevalent today in the Church and as nicknames. Children are given everyday names at birth and when baptized they take a church name. Sometimes a nickname that is given as a child sticks throughout her life, or even the lives of her children. Grown men and women have nicknames in English and in Unangam Tunuu like Bubbles, Big Shot, Anagaa [Big Belly], and Pooh. My mom's nickname was Ayagakuchaxˆ [Little Girl]. In Unangam Tunuu calling someone "little" by adding -ada or -kucha is an endearment or a politeness. For example, Kukaxˆ, grandmother, becomes Kukaadaxˆ or Kukakuchaxˆ. My mother did not feel that this endearment translated into English. She was the oldest of eight, the first from her village to go to college, and the first Unangaxˆ school teacher in King Cove, Alaska. Being called "Little Girl" was humiliating to her and the reason she ultimately left the village in the 1950s. When I went to King Cove with her in 1989 when she was 55 years old, elders came rushing out to meet us crying, Little Girl! In 2016 while visiting with elders in Anchorage, they called me "Little Girl's Daughter," Ayagakuucham asxinaa. Not to be left too long in the proverbial well a la Tikki Tikki Tembo, I call myself Ayagakuchaxˆ, dear little woman, in my mom's honor, reasserting the intention of the endearment and refusing the English translation.

[110] Bergsland, *Aleut Grammar*, 247.
[111] Jochelson et al., *Aleut Tales and Narratives*, 1990.

How many F's?

When the Americans took over the Pribilof Islands after the 1867 illegal transfer of Alaska from Russia to the US, just two short years after the Emancipation Proclamation, the Americans found themselves the proud owners of two slave islands, St. Paul and St. George, collectively called the Pribilofs. The American government set out to standardize Russian spelling of names in a phonetical way that made sense to Americans. Titov became Teetoff and then Tetoff. Merculiev became Merculief and so on. Sometimes the inscriber would use one 'f" or two "ffs". Since many names are the same or similar between the two islands, mail became problematic. Airmail began on November 1, 1948 for St. Paul and St. George Islands. Sometimes the plane would land, but other times, a mail drop from a flyby would be the delivery method. By the time the mail was sorted, many of the letters and parcels were delivered to the wrong island. The islands, while looking close together on a large map, are sixty miles apart. Boat service would stop after 'freeze up' of the Bering Sea and months might go by before the mail made it to the right island. As a result, the US government again changed the spelling of the islanders' names. If the name ends in one "f" the person is from St. George. If two "ffs" then he is from St. Paul. Hence my family name, Tetoff (FWS).

Conclusion: What happens when we put Unangax̂ Peoples, places, and projects at the center?

Conventional narratives surrounding Russian Orthodox histories in Unangam Tanangin — which are predominantly written by Russian or other European visitors — are clear examples that could benefit from placing Unangax̂ Peoples, places, and projects at the center.[112] I write "visitors'' because the Aleutian Islands were not "settled." The common narrative that Veniaminov "gave" Unangax̂ a written language is wholly inaccurate. It is more accurate to say that the visitors extracted the valuable fur pelts from marine and land mammals and then moved on.

The Aleutian islands is one place in the world where Christianity was not forced on the Islanders. One history written by a priest who stayed for a few years was called, "Notes on Unalashka District '' by Ivan Veniaminov, 1823-1834 (1984). It shows how European hubris assumes the opposite of what took place between the Orthodox Church and Unangax̂ in writing our language. The Church was never imposed on Unangax̂ . Veniaminov was invited to Unalaska by a literate Unangax̂ Elder named Ivan Pankov. The two formed a fast friendship and worked together to translate the Orthodox bible into Unangam Tunuu. Veniaminov is credited for "giving" Unangax̂ a written language when, in fact, the opposite is true. How could Veniaminov have written down a language that he didn't know? Pankov, however, literate in Russian and fluent in Unangam Tunuu, gave Unangax̂ and Veniaminov a written language. Without Unangax̂ historians pushing back at the idea of a European savior, this false narrative will continue.

Unangax̂ have lived on the Unangam Tanangin archipelago since time immemorial and through living their values they have persisted despite Russian, European, and American

[112] Riffing on themes of center and periphery, see Bissett Perea and Gabriel Solis, "Asking the Indigeneity Question of American Music Studies," 2019.

structures of colonialism, imperialism, capitalism, and racism. Written pictorial communication existed in the Aleutian and Kodiak Islands well before orthography. However, Unangam orthography and Orthodoxy in the Aleutian Islands developed together, each dependent on one another. Pre-Orthodoxy, Russians treated Unangax̂ and Sugpiaq as slaves and were not interested in written communication, perhaps due to illiterate Promyshlenniki [fur hunters]. With Orthodoxy came a civilized push back against the Russian tyranny co-existing with the first bi-lingual Unangax̂-Russian literates. Orthodoxy brought new names and naming practices amongst Unangax̂, a valued practice which continued into the American era and exists today. It was in this mutually respectful environment that Pankov shared his bilingualism with Veniaminov. Their friendship was the reason that Unangam Tunuu was written down in Cyrillic. But to be very clear, Unangax̂ Chief Pankov gave the written Unangax̂ word to Veniaminov, not the other way around.

In Alaska and beyond, Indigenous Peoples are in a time of the reawakening of language, culture, arts, dance, belief, values, and knowledge systems. Those doing research in Indigenous communities need to be honest about their motivations and their positionality. Historically, many researchers and people of power twisted words, so they can hold onto the land and collections, even when their collections are of human beings. Entering into research or ethnographic observations without perspectives from the community can inadvertently do harm. Those researching in community with, by, and for the People that they are learning from, whose motivation is only to share knowledge and to give back, will have the best results attaining that goal. Those using language and Linguistics as their medium are at an advantage, as much of that research is done in relationship and in story. No longer are Native Peoples standing by to be erased with a stroke of a pen. Indigenous Peoples such as the Unangax̂ are stronger than words

and are here today in great numbers fighting back against 500-year-old prejudice that continues to harm.

So whereas the quiet humility of Unangax̂, and the emergence of a specific Unangax̂ articulation of Russian Orthodox Indigeneity, may have appeared on the surface as respect for and subordinance to the structures of white Christian supremacy, this chapter has demonstrated how Unangax̂ systematically and strategically maintained their culture, language, and worldviews in deep and sustainable ways. When Russian Orthodoxy was introduced Unangax̂ made it their own, combining their literacy in Russian with their fluency in Unangam Tunuu. And even contrary to the quiet humility that Unangax̂ are known for, we have also shown over the centuries that we are proud, defiant, and will defend ourselves with any and all available tools. In this early Russian era, actual weapons were used in an attempt to rid the islands from the violent Russian hunters.

I argue that Russian Orthodoxy and eventually Orthography is prevalent in Unangam Tanangin today because of these two disparate scenarios: the violent decimation of 90% of Unangax̂ on the one hand, and the peaceful adoption or intermarriage of 10% of Unangax̂ into Russian culture, including accepting the Orthodox Church. And since many Tanax̂ Amix̂ [St. Paul] villagers descend from this latter community of survivors, the earliest Church was built on Tanax̂ Amix̂ in 1821, about 50 years after the resettled population and with it, literacy in Russian and Unangam Tunuu continued. The first American contract awarded on the Pribilof Islands, to profit from the fur seal industry, was the Alaska Commercial Company in 1870. They were awarded a 20 year contract. Part of this contract stipulated that only Unangax̂ be allowed to slaughter for sale and that the ACC look after the welfare of Unangax̂, including an education for children, eight months of the year. Despite the intention of the US government to make US

citizens of the Pribilof Islanders, they continued to speak Unangam Tunuu in the home, Russian at church, and to live with Unangax̂ values and ways of life.

It is said that history is written by the victors. It is assumed that those survivors who are conquered are assimilated and acculturated. In so few instances do those in power look past their own hubris to see that the culture, language, and worldviews are still very much intact in those without power. Unangax̂ deference and humility are survival tactics playacted on a stage not of our making. The next chapter addresses how later, under the Russian-American company, Unangax̂ resorted to sneaking out to hunt to support their meager diet. The American occupation introduced newer weapons: petitions and litigation, which were utilized successfully, even though the restitutions took decades. I will continue in the next chapter to rely heavily on Unangax̂ voices to show our continued defiance to Russian and American occupancies.

Italix̂ iĝaanayii [She said, it is said].

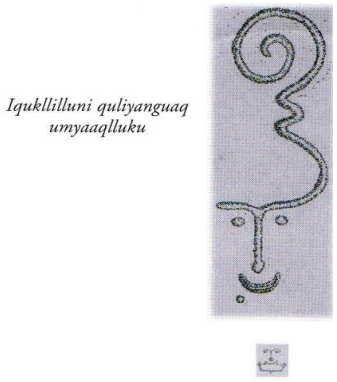


Figure 15. “This is the end of the story: Remember it.”[113]

[113] Steffian et al, *Igaruacirpet Our Way of Making Designs*, 2018.

Chapter Three. Aman Uslanix [At that time (in history)]: Revisiting Key Moments in Unangaŝ Histories through an Unangaŝ lens



Figure 16. A Form line painting of Raven Carrying the Sun by Israel Shotridge[114]

> A beautiful white raven lived a long time ago. Before there were stars in the sky a moon or even the sun the people lives in darkness. Raven knew that a greedy chief kept the stars, the moon, and the sun in am beautiful Bentwood carved boxes. He changed himself into a baby and tricked his grandfather the chief into giving him the three boxes. He opened the first box and stars flew out of the house into the sky. He opened the second box and a beautiful full moon lifted itself in the sky and glowed on the people and the land. He opened the third box and a huge bright sun shone but was too heavy to lift itself into the sky so Raven turned himself back into a white raven and flew the sun as high as he could into the sky burning himself black in the process. This is how Raven became black and gave the stars the moon and the sun to the earth.[115]

[114] https://www.hcn.org/issues/49.17/books-following-the-path-of-the-mythical-raven

[115] Williams, Maria. *How Raven Stole the Sun*. First edition. Tales of the People. New York: Abbeville Press, 2001.

St. Paul Island was considered the largest fur seal rookery in the world, and as early as the 1770s Russians forcibly relocated Unangax̂ families from their Aleutian Island homes and brought them three hundred miles north to St. Paul to club and kill fur seals for their pelts. Following the United States' 1867 purchase of Alaska from Russia, the US Department of the Interior (DOI) operated and leased the Pribilof Islands fur seal industry to the Alaska Commercial Company, and then the North American Commercial Company, complete with two islands full of captive Unangax̂ workers; this despite the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation and 1865 ratification of the 13th Amendment that freed enslaved Black Peoples. St. Paul was set up like a company town, but the Unangax̂ residents were not US citizens. They were wards of the state.[116] The DOI was charged with directly supervising the killing of the fur seal and the care, or lack thereof, for Unangax̂ Peoples. Unangax̂ men harvested fur seals. Unangax̂ women took care of their sealing husbands. Unangax̂ boys were raised to become sealers by age 14. And Unangax̂ girls would marry into the sealing industry; our young women only needed enough education to perform all the domestic duties needed to support sealers and life in the village. All together, Unangax̂ workers became known as Slaves of the Harvest. And since this was a for-profit enterprise, the DOI viewed women, especially widowed women and orphaned girls, as a burden and a drain on profits.[117] So when in the late 1870s the opportunity to offload orphans such as Irene and Sophia at religious boarding schools presented itself, all financed by the US government, the agents in charge eagerly agreed as a means to increase their profits.

[116] Unangax̂ were not completely free of US government intervention until 1983, a point I will return to at the end of this chapter. Even today, the Fish and Wildlife Service controls most of the island outside the village sites on St. Paul and St. George, as well as Attu, one of the westernmost islands at the end of the Aleutian chain.

[117] Though some Unangax̂ widows did become designated as heads of the household, as was the case for Leo Merculief's great grandmother Vassilisa (Galanin) Merculief. However, St. George Island Census records show that her eldest son Evan became the Head of Household when he turned sixteen years of age, as policies for payment for sealing work and who made official household decisions were involved.

As part of Unangaŝ values, also expressed as Tanam Awaa [our community's work], one or more of Irene and Sophia's thirteen step siblings or other extended family members would have taken in or adopted them. So what there the conditions of possibility and inequity that made it possible for Methodist Missionaries to take these girls away from their families and homes forever? This chapter looks to history to determine how to understand how inequities came to be? What policies and government actions shaped these inequities? And who voted for and championed them?

While a complete telling of Unangaŝ history is outside of the scope of this project, it is important to Sophia's story to narrate four significant periods of Unangaŝ space-time via four interrelated stories.[118] First, while chapter two explained the many consonances between Unangaŝ ways of being, knowing, and doing and Russia's Orthodox religion and emphasis on literacy and documentation, I want to address more fully some of the dissonances causes by the administrative aspects of Russia's occupation (1784-1867). Second, I will revisit aspects of the transition to a United States occupation following Russia's so-called 'sale' of Alaska to the US (1867-1940s). Third, I will outline the years surrounding the World War II internment of Unangaŝ Peoples (1942-1949). And lastly, I want to address some of the opportunities and challenges Unangaŝ have faced through the long processes of returning home and rebuilding community.

Jo-ann Archibald writes, "History is mostly about power. It is the story of the powerful and how they became powerful, and then how they use their power to keep them in positions in which they can continue to dominate others."[119] Moments and encounters that play out across the

[118] Please refer to Appendix B for a more complete timeline of important historical events during the American Period (1867 to present day)

[119] Archibald et al., *Decolonizing Research*, 2019.

stories in this chapter, and also throughout this dissertation, demonstrate Unangax̂ resilience, resistance, and defiance of forced oppression, and a refusal to acculturate and assimilate into Russian, European, and American norms. Whether publicly or privately, Unangax̂ individuals and communities found ways to strategically hold onto their culture, language, and values. Any features of Russian, European, and American culture that Unangax̂ did accept, they incorporated the features on their own terms and made them their own. Just as Raven's story in the epigraph, I am opening this box of conventional histories on and about the Aleutian Islands and Pribilof Islands and laying them out, this time through an Unangax̂ lens with, by, and for Unangax̂ Peoples, as a means to shine light on Unangax̂ truths.

Russia's Discovery and Depletion of the Pribilof Islands

Many European 'discoveries' began with a rumor. There was a rumor that the Pribilof Islands were once found by a chief blown off course in a storm (see "An Unangax̂ Discovery of Tanax̂ Amix̂" story in Chapter 2), and the Russians felt the need to find the islands for themselves. And so it was in 1786 that Gavriil [Gerasim] Loginovich Pribylov, after hearing the tale of Iĝadagax̂, blindly sailed north from Unalaska into the Bering Sea until he finally bumped into an island that the locals called Angaaxchalux, which Pribylov renamed as St. George, after his ship. The beaches on Angaaxchalux were covered with northern fur seal. The following summer, in 1787, on the morning of June 29 [Ss. Peter and Paul Day on the Julian calendar], the promyshlenniki (fur hunters) on St. George Island saw land on the northern horizon. On that same day perevodchik (foreman/manager) Efim Ivanovich Popov left St. George Island, transported in an open boat, and, arriving safely on the island that Unangax̂ called Tanax̂ Amix̂,

named it Saints Peter and Paul Island. Supposedly forty men, twenty Russian and twenty Unangax̂, remained on the islands to hunt for two years, 1786-87. Soon thereafter, Unangax̂, whom the Russians called Aleuts, primarily from Unalaska and Atka islands were brought to both St. Paul & St. George Islands on a seasonal basis to provide the manpower for the large-scale sealing operations. Shortly after, more men were brought from Atka and St. George Island to St. Paul Island, where five or six rival traders posted themselves on the north shore, near and at Maroon Itch and Veseloe Misto (Jolly Place). Other settlements were founded at Polovina (Halfway) which is the location of the village named Vostochnoe (eastern); at Zapadni (west) [This area called Maanax supposedly for Banya, (steambath)]; at Novastoshnah (recent growth), now identified as Northeast Point. The Novastoshnah settlement was by Webster Lake. Lincoln Bight at Chmagnaadax̂, ("to chase," "round up" in iqyan), and Lukanin were also occupied with little if any historic record.[120]

The Russian explorers followed this pattern exploiting Unangax̂ labor to kill as many of the fur seals as possible for their valuable pelts that they sold to the Chinese market. Upon depleting this population, just as they did the sea otter and the sea cow, they repeated this behavior from the Kuril islands north of Japan along the Kamchatka peninsula, to the Aleutian islands south, central and southeast Alaska, all the way down to Northern California. Within ten years, the Russian's unscrupulous energy of all the rival sealing settlements drove out and nearly eliminated the seals and sea otter by 1796. About a dozen years after coming to the Pribilof Islands, the Russian Government organized its competing hunting parties into a single Russian-American Company (RAC), and in 1799 the whole territory of Alaska passed into the hands of the absolute power vested in the RAC. Early in 1799 the competing traders were turned away,

[120] Chmagnaadax̂ is sometimes spelled Tsummanah and presently people, in error, pronounce it 'Tasmania.'

and Alaska, including the Pribilof group, passed under the control of a single man, the despot Alexander Baranov. By 1812,The Russian- American company controlled hunting territories from the Kuril islands between Japan and the Kamchatka peninsula, north and east along the Aleutian islands to S. East Alaska and as far south as Fort Ross in northern California. The people on St. Paul were all drawn together for economy and warmth living in subterranean Ulax in the single settlement Vostochn at Polovina. Over the next few decades, Seal populations fluctuated. Conservation efforts included not hunting female seals and limiting the number of young male seals taken, often to the detriment of the locals who use the young seals for food. By 1825, the present village site-Gavanskoe (Harbor) became the main village site on Saint Paul, to take advantage of a protected harbor to load and offload goods. Gavanskoe was already established before 1825. It had a wooden chapel dedicated to the Apostles Peter and Paul built in 1821. Thus began a single village site on the island.

In 1841 the Russian-American company closed Fort Ross on Metini land in California. Much of the wood from the Fort was sold to John Sutter in Sacramento. Many Russian-American company workers who are Alaska Native were sent to the Pribilofs, including Melovidov and his Kashia wife and child, and Ivan Titov, son of the first blacksmith in California, originally from Kodiak Island, who worked at Fort Ross. Melovidov's daughter married Henry Wood Elliott. The Moonin ranch near Fort Ross was renamed the Munez ranch.

The arrival of Russian travelers sent by the Tsar, to discover a possible island in the north Pacific, landed these Europeans on the Unangam Tanangin, causing the earth to shift irreversibly for Unangax̂. In their greed for the pelts of the sea otter, they forced the expert Unangax̂ sea hunters to kill massive amounts of the sea mammal. In doing this, the Russians brought disease, slavery, starvation, rape, and dislocation. The Russians called all seaside dwellers along these

islands and into south Alaska “Aleuts,” a name which erased or changed many individual tribal names. Within forty years, the Russians had eliminated nearly 90% of Unangax̂ and an equal percentage of the sea otter. Many other men were dislocated in hunting artels [Russian dominated hunting parties], sometimes leaving the elderly, women, and children to starve or unprotected from the violent promyshlenniki [fur traders]. The Russians moved Unangax̂ without care for their survival from the Kuril Islands to Hawaii and California, even relocating entire villages to previously unoccupied islands that were ill-equipped to sustain life year-round. Two of these islands were found by overhearing a rumor of islands crawling with fur seals. Named the Pribilofs for the navigator who followed the storyline, St. George was seen, followed by St. Paul Island.

The Russians and Europeans see the world as terra nullius (land that can be inhabited but is not owned by anyone) a world made for them to extract resources and use indigenous peoples as their own personal workforce. They see the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands as a path towards wealth. Backed by the Papal Canon, these oppressors continue to scrape the world clean of its other inhabitants without seeing that this is unsustainable. Unangax̂ instead work to keep our lands and waters, healthy so that they will provide all of us with food and drink far into the future. I argue that these are stories not of assimilation and passivity, but of pride, defiance, and a knowledge of the world far beyond their islands.

By the early 1800s, Russia’s expansion along with the Napoleon Wars cause them to go deeply in debt. The Russians decided to sell Alaska to the American Government. This illegal transfer took place, despite the Russians never having seen most of the land that they sold, and the fact that this land had been occupied since time immemorial. The 1867 Treaty of Cessation, signed just two years after the Emancipation Proclamation freed the Southern blacks from

slavery, bought the US two islands full of the captive workers of Saint George and Saint Paul Islands of the Pribilofs.

Treaty of Cessation & US Continuation of Colonial Capitalism

After first contact in 1741, the people of the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands were slaves to the Russians. Unangax̂ on St. Paul and St. George Islands were brought there by force. The Russian American Company remained in control of the Islands until 1867 at the Treaty of Cessation, when the United States officially inherited the two Pribilof Islands full of captive workers just two years after the end of the Civil War ended slavery via the Emancipation Proclamation and ratification of the 13th Amendment. Called Slaves of the Harvest, the Pribilof Island people were forced to hunt, harvest, blubber, and salt fur seals to ship to tanneries. These furs were worn by the wealthiest people around the world. Article 3 of the Treaty of Cessation allows those who remain in Alaska defines the status of inhabitants of the territory: "They, with the exception of uncivilized native tribes, shall be admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States and shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion."

In 1867 Alaska was purchased from Russia by the United States of America for $7.2 million with the Treaty of Cessation. Russia retained the Komandorski (Commander) Islands. Transfer took place in Novo-Arkhangelsk/Sitka on October 18, 1867, under loud protest from the local Tlingit who sang and drummed their displeasure in their canoes at the base of Baranof mountain. The ACC bought out the Russian American Company's stores and continued the exploitation of Aleutian islanders along the Aleutian chain and in the Pribilof Islands with a 20

year contract with the US government. The Pribilof Island lease stipulated that the company hire the Unangan and provide them with food, housing, and education.

Properties of the Russian-American Company, including buildings and seal skins on Pribilof Islands, were sold by Prince Maksutov (Governor of Russian-America) to Hutchinson, Kohl & Company, which became the Alaska Commercial Company. One partner of the company was captain Gustave Niebaum, a Finnish-born Russian citizen who became an American citizen after the transfer. Niebaum negotiated to buy Prince Maksutov's ship, and he accompanied Niebaum to the Pribilof Islands. Niebaum filled his new ship with seal skins. Within a few years, ACC Captain Niebaum of the ACC brought $10 million from the fur trade in Alaska to California where he purchased what became Inglenook Vineyards from William Hastings, the first Supreme Court Justice of California who made his money by exploiting California Indians and codifying California Native slavery and genocide.[121]

Figure 2 and Figure 3 illustrate what the Russians thought they were selling America in 1864, versus what the Americans bought in 1867:

[121] Monahan, Sherry. *California Vines, Wines and Pioneers (American Palate)*. Cheltenham, UK: The History Press, 2013; Akins and Bauer, *We Are the Land*, 2021; Lindsay, Brendan C. *Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846-1873*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012.

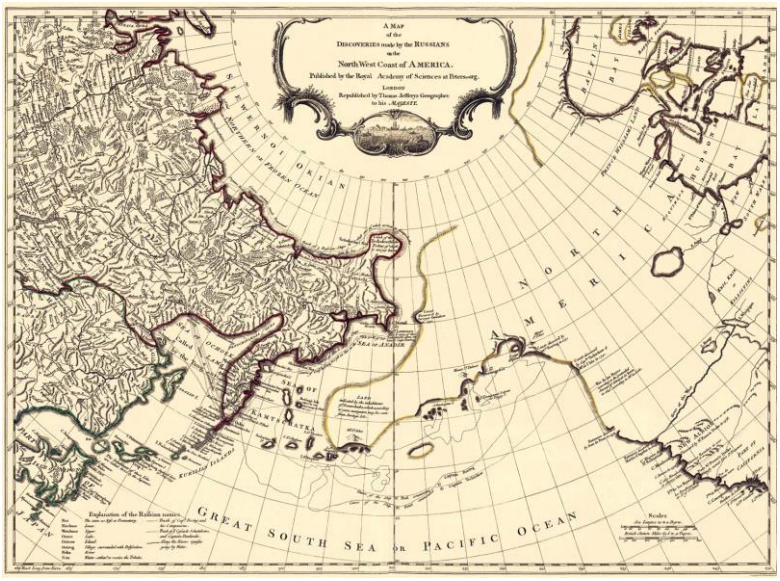


Figure 17. Russian Map of Alaska (ca. 1864)

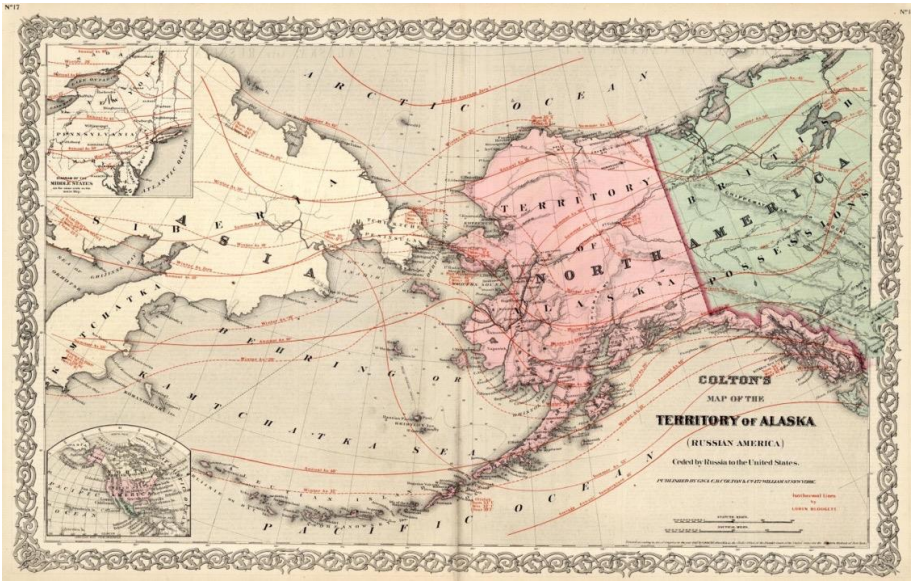


Figure 18. American Map of Alaska (ca. 1867)

The Americans would have four different administrators. From 1867 to 1869 Unangax̂ went without provisions or any laws to protect the seals. This was at a time of instability when it seemed no one was in charge, and Unangax̂ had to fend for themselves on two small islands, which were never meant to sustain human life year round.

In 1868 President Ulysses S. Grant declared the Pribilof Islands as a Reserve for the northern fur seals. Daniel Webster came ashore on St. Paul Island in April as an employee of Williams & Haven, of New London, Connecticut. He took charge of sealing, which began on behalf of his firm at Novastoshnah, now Northeast Point. Hutchinson, Kohl and Company were the only other party present at this time. This was the first *irregular* sealing ever done upon this island since 1804. Webster said that he [Williams & Haven] and Hutchinson, Kohl and Company took over 75,000 young male seals at Northeast Point alone that summer of 1868 and only stopped work because their men were not only physically exhausted but had used all of their salt and had no way to save skins. Fur seals never again came down upon the southern slope of Hutchinson's Hill after the sealing season of 1868 closed. Webster was in charge of the work at Northeast Point until 1890 when he conducted sealing on St. George Island. Dan Webster died and is buried on St. George Island.

On July 27, 1868 the US government passed a law that prohibited the killing of fur seals, while at the same time, ignoring the welfare of Unangax̂ people. During this time rogue fur traders killed 240,000 seals for their skins. On March 3, 1869, the US prohibited killing seals and declared the Pribilof Islands to be a "Special reservation for Government purposes." The Islanders petitioned the government for proper care and compensation. Kohl and Havens, the company that purchased the assets from the Russians upon their departure, remained on the island so as to position themselves to exploit conditions for the first lease.

In the American era, the Alaska commercial company paid a rent to the American government and sold the furs for profit. The operation was overseen by the Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS). The priority was the fur seal. Unangax̂ were an afterthought, and then an annoying necessity when laws were passed that only Unangax̂ could harvest the fur seal. Unangax̂ men were paid a pittance and were dependent of the benevolence of the government agent. Alaska was purchased with the Pribilof fur seal islands in mind as a source of great wealth that would eclipse the purchase price of $7.2 million. Even before the first survey was completed regarding the sale of Alaska from Russia in 1867, the Alaska Commercial Company was given the rights of commerce in the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands. The ACC bought out the Russian American Company's stores and continued the exploitation of Aleutian islanders along the Aleutian chain and in the Pribilof Islands. Within a few years, ACC Captain Niebaum of the ACC brought $10 million from the fur trade in Alaska to California where he purchased what became Inglenook Vineyards from William Hastings, the first Supreme Court Justice of California who made his money by exploiting California Indians and codifying California Native slavery and genocide.[122]

The first US government agent visited Saint Paul Alaska in 1869. His name was the Honorable Vincent Colyer. He was the United States Special Indian Commissioner on the Indian tribes and their surroundings in Alaska territory. His main job was to discover which Indigenous tribes of Alaska were "civilized." Civilization would mean being granted the rights of an

[122] Monahan, Sherry. *California Vines, Wines and Pioneers (American Palate)*. Cheltenham, UK: The History Press, 2013; Akins, Damon B., and William J. Bauer. *We Are the Land: A History of Native California*. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2021.;

Lindsay, Brendan C. *Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846-1873*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press Nebraska Press. "Murder State." Accessed October 29, 2021.

American citizen. Colyer was impressed with the Saint Paul Aleuts. He spent two days on the islands. In his report he writes,

> As we were walking down to the shore to embark, a number of Chiefs and headman of the Aleutes (sic) began to gather around me and… ask me about our form of government and whether it was true that all men were free and equal and whether they would be allowed to vote for the president. I said yes, I hope so.[123]

This was an important inclusion in his report because it showed that the Pribilof people were very aware that they were not free and yearned to be citizens with all the rights that come with that. Coupled with oral histories of Aleuts playing tricks on the Russian overlords paints the picture of defiance, pride, closeted sovereignty, and self-determination that could not be found in Washington from reading a report.

In actual practice, however, the civilized group included only the remaining Russians in Alaska, Creoles who had lived in Alaska prior to its sale, and the Natives who lived outside their own tribes and acquired the customs of 'civilized people.' Then, the following year, Congress declared the Pribilof Islands a special Government reservation and prohibited persons from landing there without special Government permission from the Secretary of the Treasury.[124] Thus, creating a captive workforce. Other than acting as harvesting bosses, the leasing company did not have any influence over the locals. That task was taken on by the Fish and Wildlife Service agent (FWS) who used the position as his personal fiefdom. "The Government agents are required to see that the Natives are kept in subjection and that they perform their duties toward

[123] Vincent Colyer, Report of the Honorable Vincent Colyer, United States Special Indian Commissioner, on the Indian Tribes and Their Surroundings in Alaska Territory, from Personal Observation and Inspection, 1869, House Exec. Doc. No. 1414, 4lst Cong., 2nd sess., 1869, p. 1032. (E-31).

[124] Jones, *History of United States Administration in the Pribilof Islands*, 34. Fur Seal Fisheries, (1889), p. 153. (E-25)

the lessees, protect the seal rookeries, particularly from any interference, either from the lessees, their employees, the Natives, or any person visiting the islands."[125]

At about the same time the Honorable William S. Dodge, former mayor of Sitka, wrote in favor of citizenship for the Aleut people. His reasons for granting citizenship to Aleuts: 1) Because in the 1867 Treaty of Cessation it is clearly defined that the Russian government observed care and securing *all but the savages* the right to (Russian) citizenship; and 2) the Aleutian population are of Asiatic origin. The Asiatic race is always classed among the civilized nations." In the end, defined by who was given the right to return to Russia, the "civilized" group included only the remaining Russians in Alaska, Creoles (a Russian social standing) who had lived in Alaska prior to its sale, and the Natives who lived outside their own tribes and acquired the customs of civilized people."[126] In other words, based on these two men's observations of Alaska Natives over a short period of time, and despite their recommendations, policy was confirmed from four thousand miles away in Washington DC, that Unangax̂ should not have any civil rights as Americans. Instead, they became "wards of the state."

Political ties had allowed commercial companies to negotiate uninterrupted management of the Pribilof Islands from 1870 to 1909. Unqualified agents including Henry Wood Elliott, a touted defender of the fur seal (NOAA DVD) had their own personal interests in mind. Elliott received compensation from The Alaska Commercial Company. ACC was doing business with pelagic sealers, counter to U. S. Government fur seal conservation efforts. Mr. Elliott denied this, despite records that clearly documented his ties to the ACC.

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[125] Jones, *History of United States Administration in the Pribilof Islands*, 44 Fur Seal Fisheries, (1889), p. 153. (E-25)

[126] Aleut Pribilof Islands Association History: https://www.apiai.org/departments/cultural-heritage-department/culture-history/history/

From 1870 to 1889 The Kohl brothers contracted with the Secretary of the Treasury under the Alaska Commercial Company Which obtained monopoly control of the fur seals of the Pribilof islands and thus of the world. The Alaska Commercial Company lease stipulated that the company hire the Unangan and provide them with food, housing, and education. However, The agents In charge were given no instructions regarding food, clothing, and services To meet the needs of Unangax̂. Agents have absolute control over the island's personnel and fur seals Which Governor Alfred Peter Swineford Called "rather arbitrary and oppressive." The Pribilof Islands become a restricted area to designated personnel which created two islands of captive workers and their families, who required permission from the government agent to leave the island to marry. And their rights were limited as "wards of the state," a designation normally used for orphan children or those without the mental capacity to make decisions on their own behalf. The Pribilof Islanders were denied their rights as US citizens. The sealing quota was 100,000 pallets per person and Natives were required to shop at the Company store. Treatment of the Unangax̂ was harsh. In 1880 the resident physician on St. Paul stated that the annual death rate on the island per 1,000 was 58, compared to13 in the United States. The average life span on St. Paul was 14 years compared to 40 years in the US. Also in 1880, St. Paul sealers went on strike because the Treasury Agent stopped the sale of sugar to the people. Treasury Agent Otis threatened to send in Unalaskans as strike-breakers and the strike ended.

From 1890 to 1909 the North American Commercial Company (ACC) obtained the second lease of the Pribilof Islands, By this time the seal herd was drastically depleted and killing was capped by the agents at 25,000. The herd had decreased from 2 million in 1882 to about 900,000 seals in 1890. Because of diminished profits the North American Commercial Company was reluctant to spend money to improve the life of Unangax̂.

From 1910 to 1946 the US Government decided to directly operate the fur seal harvest, thereby establishing total control of island affairs and Unangax̂ society by the Federal Government. In 1942 the Government removed the Islanders for the duration of World War 11 and sent them to Southeast Alaska where 10% of them would perish. This time away from the Pribilof Islands exposed the Islanders to the extreme conditions that they were living under. It also introduced them to the Alaska Native Brotherhood, who would help them organize to fight for their rights on the islands when they returned. With many islanders wanting to join the War also challenged and removed their status as wards of the state, which essentially had treated Unangax̂ like orphaned children without any rights.

The health and well-being of Unangax̂ meant little compared to the profit created by the first seal's demise. The death rate for Unangax̂ was more than four times that in the US and the average lifespan on Saint Paul was only 14 years. Despite these hardships, Unangax̂ on Saint Paul and Saint George remained strong and defiant, sometimes going on strike, sometimes petitioning the US government, and eventually winning the right to become politically sovereign and ridding the US government from the fur seal industry altogether. The second timeline of World War II, two evacuations of Unangax̂ and their incarceration in southeast Alaska, paints a picture of extreme patriarchy and racism and making decisions on the Aleutian Islanders' behalf, resulting in the death of many. However, it was this exposure to life outside the islands that introduced them to the Alaskan native brotherhood, and what a fair wage is for a day's work, And it allowed them to rid themselves at least temporarily from the title of "wards of the state." The women were also able to prove that Unangax̂ community was still a matriarchy by creating a petition to the US government which protested their treatment and living conditions. And finally this timeline shows the hard fought restitution from both the forced incarceration in World War

II, and also the long-term abuse and starvation imposed on the St. Paul people by the American Government, such as in the corned beef case.

1899. The Harriman expedition

St. Paul Elder Ilarion Merculief had complained in his book, Wisdom Keepers, that outsiders focus on a single question without asking about context. Ilarion wrote that the researcher is only focused on what he sees and will respond in a manner that acknowledges the question but leaves the substance out.[127] Such was the case with the next prominent visitors to St. Paul from the Harriman Expedition in 1899. Funded completely by Edward Harriman, this family vacation grew to include 126 researchers traveling to Alaska aboard the SS George W. Elder. Among his passengers were William Healy Dall, George Bird Grinnell, John Muir, Edward Curtis, C. Hart Merriam, and R. Swain Gifford. The partial party spent less than a day on St. Paul Island. Many published their botanical, photographic, and/or ethnographic findings. These accounts painted a picture of what Alaska is to those in the lower 48 and around the world. This surely influenced those in Washington DC when considering policy for their new territory of Alaska.[128]

These ethnographic testimonies had a strong effect on those Indigenous people of Alaska. People from the lower 48 were sold that Alaska was either America's Icebox or the Last Frontier. Those not dissuaded by the former felt challenged by the latter. For the next several decades adventurers came to Alaska to dig up Indigenous bones for their collections such as Ales Hrdlicka (known to Alaskan locals as 'Hard Liquor') for the Smithsonian Institution. Together

[127] Merculieff, *Wisdom Keeper*, 2016.
[128] Harriman Expedition: www.Pbs.org/harriman

with William Healy Dall, of the Harriman Exposition fame, Hrdlicka sailed between Kodiak and Attu collecting human remains that still reside in the Smithsonian Institution today. The Smithsonian was eventually sued by the community of Larsen Bay, Kodiak, for Hrdlicka digging up recently buried human remains in front of a grieving widow.[129]

The Stolen Attuan remains still reside in the Smithsonian because of the continuing ethnographic observations by non-Native outsiders making policy decisions on Alaska Natives' behalf.[130] At the onset of World War II, the Department of the Interior sent a survey team to Alaska to determine its strategic importance. Many now-famous names traveled around Alaska and then would meet up for dinner parties in Anchorage as they discussed Alaskan Natives' upcoming fate during the War. Linguist John Peabody Harrington, is known for his extensive research on California languages.[131] Lesser known is his fieldwork in Alaska. Harrington was on St. Paul Island, Alaska from October to December 1941 the same time as Nurse and Linguist, Fredericka Martin; DOI Special Agent to Alaska, Dr. Ruth Gruber; and fluent Unangam Tunuu speakers, Unalaska Chief Ivan Yatchemenoff, Father Makery Baranoff, and Alexandra Gromoff (known to family and friends as Alice Tu). He took field notes and later compared them to Jochelson's and Veniaminov's earlier work. His write ups are in the form of field notes, narratives, and manuscripts containing language and language documentation, linguistics, ethnobotany, ethnozoology, and geographical names. However, he relied heavily on Non-Natives for botanical and cultural information from the Harriman Expedition.

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[129] Bray, Tamara, and Thomas Killion. *Reckoning with the Dead: The Larsen Bay Repatriation and the Smithsonian Institution*. Washington: Smithsonian, 1994.

[130] US Department of the Interior *Report: Final order dismissing the appeal of the village of Attu*. VE #74-19. 1974.

[131] John Peabody Harrington Papers | Contents | *SOVA: Smithsonian Online Virtual Archives*, sova.si.edu/details/NAA.1976-95?t=W&q=Unangax̂#ref12321.

Subsistence as defiance

Leo shares that Life on the Pribilof Islands was largely an artificial existence. Almost all food was barged in by the government. Workers had fresh meat and plenty of booze the locals ate canned beef and were short on calories each week. It was necessary for the local men to augment their diet with local foods, such as Sea lion. Locals who made sure they always knew where the American overseers were. About 100 years hence Burisax's village descendants were mindful of the watchers. Workers knew the viewing angles from government homes. Cottage A, the Agents home, was the most critical.

Subsistence hunting and fishing is critical to nutrition as government food issued for the week most always fell short of family needs by several days. An adolescent might be invited by his uncle to check out the rookery in spring to see if the first of the few bachelor seals have arrived near the rookery. With no backpack or guns, they appear to be out for a walk headed west just past Cottage D the teacher's home and the barn immediately to the west. The time of the day was critical for enough light to locate a seal for a few meals and return near dark.

His uncle carried a short club and skinning knife under his heavy coat. Killing a seal and wasting a valuable pelt was against the law as was possessing a fur seal pelt. Luckily, they noticed a two year old male sleeping. Mercifully and quickly, it was over, with thanks to God and the animal for this bounty. The foxes would make short work of the remaining carcass. The pelt is buried under heavy rocks to prevent the foxes from dragging it out into the open. Both returned at dusk carefully making their way home past the watchers who were settled in with a cocktail and nutritious food shipped in just for them.

Two teens continue to develop their hunting and fishing skills despite the watchers who could be watching to see if they are carrying a rifle or donning a hunting pack. Although

cumbersome for carrying meat they bring along two large gunny sacks and a small game backpack under one boy's coat. They walk casually, meandering as if out for a short hike. Both boys wore heavy coats and hip boots which should have drawn some attention for a hike as Hip boots are a bit clunky. Not visible, inside the hip boots are broken down parts of a .22 Hornet rifle. Finally, out of sight of the village, they reassemble the rifle. A larger more powerful rifle would be desirable, however, walking with a heavier rifle would have been clumsy. This small but powerful rifle would call for perfect aim.

No one else is visible to the East. The government watchers are located on the other side of the village. The boys were experienced watchers, as good as the bureaucrats. Older villagers could have stopped these young Unangan and started asking questions. Both would likely be reprimanded and told to go home.

Arriving at Sea Lion Rock, they approach slowly. The Large outcropping was bare. Still, they approached by crawling forward slowly on their hands and knees. Stopping periodically is necessary to avoid detection, should a sea lion's head break the surface for a look see while our young hunters are in motion. The boys stop as they reach their desired position for the best shot and in good range. A light fog is starting to form over the water, a brisk breeze picks up from the north as both hunters scan out at the water. Their eyes begin to water as they stare hoping the fog does not set in and prevent a successful hunt. A small chop kicks up on the Bering Sea. Then suddenly, "there it is, did you see it? I'm not sure; oh yeah he dove and surfaced briefly, I saw him."

Our young Unangan hunters would abandon this hunt if the sea lion is too old and large. The meat would be tough. Waste is counter to Unangan culture. This sealion is young, takes longer looks, dives repeatedly and zig zags to get a good look at the Rock and surrounding area.

He is a wary one. The boys are excited, remain motionless and quietly whisper “c’mon c’mon.” Finally, he surfaces and places his front quarters on the Rock, slides back into the water and repeats the same. At last, he makes his way onto the rock, slowly moves high enough, looks around then pauses momentarily. Those shot fines it’s Mark. It’s over and the boys give their traditional thanks to a higher power as they have been taught. They must move quickly as the tide is filling in the small Channel between the beach and the Rock. The knives move expertly as both were quite skilled.

Our young hunters carry all the meat they can, at times making periodic relays as they return to the village. Dusk is moving in. The remaining carcass at Sea Lion Rock provides food for the foxes that will make their way onto the Rock by the dozen when the tide turns. Many foxes roam freely on the island in the fox farming years. There will be little waste. This meal will help keep their coats in premium condition for the fox fur export market.

Upon returning there was the expected scolding but not from Grandfather who remained silent. Was he trying not to smile? Hard to tell. Sea Lion is Unangax̂ meat of choice. The reprimands continued as our young hunters nodded. “You’re not to do this again; you’re too young to be using these guns without an adult around.” How come nobody noticed you? More respectful nodding and knowing to keep their mouths shut, they understand more scolding would be forthcoming in the future. From the cliffs, the magnet for Unangan boys will come Murre eggs; from Kitusilox and the first arrival of seabirds prime for the dinner table and freezing, means sneaking out of the village at 4 AM with nobody watching, hopefully.[132]

It is important that we remember in 1867, two years after the Emancipation Proclamation freed the southern Black Slaves, Russia sold Alaska to the American government, including

[132] Leo Merculief personal correspondence 2022, used with permission.

these two islands full of captive fur seal hunters. The Americans continued to hold the Pribilof Islands people captive under their control until 1983. In 1983, the American Government abruptly pulled out of Saint Paul and Saint George, leaving the people without any source of income. This caused great distress and for the first time in Pribilof history there were suicides on the islands.

Unangax̂ People on the island were divided. The young people were very angry. The Elders turned to their traditional knowledge and decided that there had to be consensus to move forward. The older people wanted to negotiate. The younger people wanted to leave the American government. At an impasse with the younger folks, finally the Elders agreed. They all marched up to the Coast Guard station and announced that they were seceding from the American government and declaring war. Before the astounded Coast Guard Officers could reply, the elders said, and now we surrender, leaning on humor to diffuse tension as an Unangax̂ value. Everyone had a good laugh, went back home, and were able to move forward as a community. Consensus is an Unangax̂ value. Returning to these values as a framework for Unangax̂ life, with, by, and for Unangax̂, saved this community. The suicides ended as the community came together to support each other. The angry young people became the leaders of the community today. Iganayii. Larry I Merculieff, wisdom keepers

Like the greed and plunder at Unangax̂ expense, Tanana scholar-poet Dian Million equates Indigenous trauma with the rise of neoliberalism. This trauma interrupts the Indigenous goal of self-determinization. She uses an Indigenous feminist critique of this violence and pushes back against the medicalization of trauma. She instead looks towards the ultimate goal of decolonization and the health benefits that would occur by utilizing Indigenous healing practices

and storytelling traditions as methods to this aim.[133] Glen Coulthard (Yellowknives Dene) proposed rejecting the movement to be *recognized by* the nation state and instead seeks *emancipation from* the nation state.[134] Instead, he focuses on alternate politics that revalues, reconstructs, and redeploys indigenous cultural practices based on self-recognition. The Pribilof Unangax̂ employed this action when it was clear that the American government would be abandoning the fur seal industry under pressure from People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), Greenpeace, and declining fur seal populations. Using self-determination, decolonization, consensus, and humor as cultural practices that uphold the health of the community.

The Aleutian Islands and Pribilof Islands have always been for the US government their own secret society. In what some considered the end of the earth the government felt that they could act out their secret economic desires in a place where they would never be caught. They created a special reservation that allowed the fur seal and the puffin to come and go as they wished but carcerated and entrapped the indigenous peoples. They created media blackouts so that writing about this racial capitalism and immorality became illegal. Then, just as Hannah Arendt writes about the trial of Nazi Eichmann in the banality of evil which speaks to the evils Hidden in bureaucracy, these activities codified into laws that conveniently did not mention the Unangax̂ Peoples, rather created these laws around the slaughter and commerce surrounding the fur seal (See Appendix A).

[133] Million, Dian. *Therapeutic Nations: Healing in an Age of Indigenous Human Rights*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014.

[134] Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 2014.

World War II Aleut Internment

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese military bombed Pearl Harbor. In Hawaii six months later, On June 4, 1942, the Japanese bombed both Midway atoll, north of Hawaii, and Dutch Harbor on Onalaska. A glance at the map reveals the Aleutian Islands as steppingstones between the Asian and American continents. It wasn't long before the Japanese attack had captured 40 Unangax̂ on Attu Island, killed the radio operator, who was the husband of the school teacher, and took the school teacher and Unangax̂ as prisoners of war. Prior to these events, Alaska Defense Commander General Simon Bolivar Buckner, Jr., who led all Alaskan war efforts from his post at the Alaska Command Center on Unalaska Island, was contemplating whether or not to evacuate all Aleuts from their homes in the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands. Despite his dislike of races intermingling with his army personnel, he was against evacuation because he knew it would permanently disrupt Unangax̂ lives. The following narrative offers an Unangax̂ perspective of significant World War II events as they unfolded across the Aleutian Islands, the Pribilof Islands, and south east Alaska.

General Buckner became increasingly frustrated with the many and varied branches of government that controlled the Aleuts, which at that time included the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA; later renamed the Bureau of Indian Affairs), the Department of the Interior (DOI), the Territory of Alaska, the Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS), The Indian Health Service (IHS), the Territorial Governor, the Territorial Department of Public Welfare, the Federal Security Agency, The Director of Education, the Navy, the Alaskan Indian Service, and the National Resources Planning Board. General Buckner had divided his camp on Dutch Harbor from the Unangax̂ Community of Unalaska as much as he could with sturdy fencing, a move that would have made his father and grandfather proud seeing as they both who fought for a segregated South. To

Buckner, the Aleuts were underfoot, dirty degenerates, and a distraction. The Army needed the island's resources that should go to his soldiers and would improve billeting opportunities. President Roosevelt issued two Executive Orders: EO 9066 allowed the internment of civilians. EO 9081 then gave General Buckner complete control of Alaska.

Since Alaska was still a territory and lines of jurisdiction over Unangax̂ were unclear, Bruckner was not alone in his frustrations over how to determine who exactly had the authorization to make the decision regarding evacuating Unangax̂ Peoples. Yet three women ultimately influenced their bosses to go ahead with the evacuation: Margaret Quinn, an Indian Health Services nurse who strongly encouraged Buckner to remove Unangax̂ from Unalaska; Special Agent Dr. Ruth Gruber, a Jewish woman from New York hired by Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Department of the Interior; and Fredericka Martin, a village nurse, linguist, and the wife of the doctor on St. Paul.

Gruber and Martin were on Saint Paul at the same time just before World War II had a large influence with the Department of the Interior. Secretary Ickes specifically hired Gruber to travel to Alaska and report back about the Indigenous People. He conveyed the stakes to her as follows:

> The war will teach people that Alaska is the shortest route for our planes to ferry guns and butter to Europe. And at the Bering Strait, we're just 3½ miles away from Russia. That's why we have to populate it fast. Populating Alaska is a wartime priority.[135]

After her tour of Alaska, Gruber spent time in Anchorage attending many dinner parties with Smithsonian grave-robber Ales Hrdlicka, General Buckner and his wife, who were Antebellum darlings, and other influential governmental people. Buckner would soon be running the war

[135] Geoghegan, Richard Henry, Fredericka I. Martin, and Innokentiĭ. *The Aleut Language: The Elements of Aleut Grammar with a Dictionary in Two Parts Containing Basic Vocabularies of Aleut and English*. United States Department of the Interior. Washington: United States Department of the Interior, 1944.

from Dutch Harbor, Unalaska, where he separated the Aleuts from the army personnel with a barbed wire fence, so that they didn't have any relations. These people discussed Alaska Natives' fate during the war over cocktails and made decisions on their behalf. Gruber shows her bias and racism as she wrote that she "would like to see doctors and nurses come to Alaska, who want to help the Native people, especially those whose lives are being destroyed by alcoholism and the white man's diseases." One of the recommendations that Gruber made to Ickes and the DOI was to evacuate all Aleutian and Pribilof Islands Peoples for the duration of the war.

Fredericka Martin's role demonstrates how even those who work with culture and language within the community and seem to be advocates for the tribe could also hold ulterior motives. Martin lived on St. Paul Island in 1941-42 as the nurse and wife of Dr. Berenberg. She was a frequent letter correspondent with RH Geoghegan, who was writing a grammar and dictionary translation from Russian texts, and who gifted her his lifetime research upon his death. Martin edited and wrote the preface for his dictionary, using Unangax̂ Alexandra Gromoff (Alice Tu) as her live-in translator. In it, she shows her intentions that seem disingenuous as the champion of Unangax̂ that she claims to be (St. Paul named their water springs in her honor).

> "This study is a practical handbook for travelers; for government personnel, physicians, and public health nurses; and members of the Army, Navy and Coast Guard who are stationed at Aleut Communities. *Interest displayed in their language by non-Aleut Americans will tend to break down the Aleuts' natural reserve*" (emphasis added).[136]

She goes on to praise Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes (and later Ruth Gruber) for encouraging this Aleut-English dictionary, and for "leading the Aleuts gently from a decaying past and are beginning a revival of group pride among the Aleuts which will flower ultimately to the benefit of all Americans." In this forward, Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, is called a "champion of American minorities." At the time this dictionary was published, Ickes had

[136] Geoghegan et al., *The Aleut Language*, 1944.

removed 881 Unangax̂ from the Aleutian and Pribilof islands and sent them to these Southeast Alaska island prisons where are they had already been for two years, causing nearly 80 deaths, mostly elderly language experts. This fact particularly angered my Elder friend, Leo Merculief, who grew up on St. George Island, was fluent in Unangam Tunuu, and helped Alice Tu with many of her translations (but, like Alice, was never credited). He was a prisoner during WWII as a child, a direct result of Ickes and Gruber's policies which Martin is praising here.[137]

The Japanese bombing on June 3rd and 4th which destroyed the Unalaska hospital and killed 25 of Buckner's men, spurring him to make a decision: all Aleuts 1/8 blood quantum or more will be removed from the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands immediately.[138] He dispatched the Delerof, a salmon seiner, and the Oriole to accompany her on the way to the Pribilof Islands. However, it wasn't until late July, weeks after the bombing and with relatively little action happening around Alaska, that the Unalaskans were removed.[139] They would be sent to Wrangell, Alaska and then to nearby Burnett Inlet Cannery to wait out the war.

June 14, 1942 began as a beautiful Sunday afternoon on St. Paul Island. Mary B could see the baseball game playing in the center of town while she prepared their Sunday meal. She decided that they would eat outside on the rare cloudless day. Suddenly, she heard shouting and looked up to see two ships anchoring off the East Landing. Soldiers were coming ashore. Her husband ran up to her and said, "the Japs are coming! We only get one bag and we will leave as soon as we can get ready!"[140] Each person carried one bag of what was most important to them. Someone packed the altar from the Church. Others brought their fine Russian China. One

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[137] Geoghegan et al., *The Aleut Language*, 1944.

[138] Golodoff, Nick. *Attu Boy: A Young Alaskan's WWII Memoir*. Fairbanks, AK: University of Alaska Press, 2015.

[139] Kohlhoff, Dean. *When the Wind Was a River: Aleut Evacuation in World War II*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995.

[140] Tanam Awaa – Nation's Work. Accessed February 24, 2022. https://tanamawaa.com/.

disassembled and brought an outboard motor. They loaded onto a nigilax [open skin boat] and rowed out to the *Delarof.* The white government workers, medical staff, and clergy were shown to their cabins. Unangax̂ were put down in the hold. 477 men women and children were sent down into a place designed for tons of fish, stinking of slurry and diesel, with only one toilet between them. Their destination and duration away from home were unknown.[141]

Days later, floating somewhere in the North Pacific Ocean, the destination or St. Paul Islanders remained uncertain and the situation becoming increasingly dire below decks on the Deleroff. A woman was in labor, but the two doctors and two nurses would not go into the hold to attend to them, citing filth and disease. Most of Unangax̂ by now had severe flu from allowing soldiers on board in Unalaska. Numbers of Unangax̂ held below decks had increased by about one hundred as the Atka villagers joined them. The priests did attend to them but returned above decks to their clean private rooms. Last rites were offered. The baby died and was given to the sea, the first of many.

Meanwhile, upstairs sipping hot coffee, the despotic government agents were whining about the possibility of losing their cushy jobs. In Sheldon Jackson's 16th Annual report on introduction of domestic reindeer into AK, 1906, the General Agent worked from about June through August and had a grand home on the island. The lesser agents also had homes and expenses paid for while on the island. In 1886, the General Agent for SPI and SGI made $3650 plus travel expenses - almost $108,000 in today's dollars. The first assistant made $2950 - $87,000, the second and third assistants made $2190 - $64,000.[142] Nurse Frederika Martin wrote

[141] Kohlhoff, Dean. *When the Wind Was a River: Aleut Evacuation in World War II*. Seattle, WA: Univ of Washington Press, 1995.

[142] Senate, United States Congress. *Sixteenth Annual Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer Into Alaska, by Sheldon Jackson, LL. D., General Agent of Education in Alaska, 1906. May 20, 1908. -- Ordered to Be Printed*, 1908. (1906, 82)

while onboard, "Those lowly little civil service employees…were suffering such acute terror lest the evacuation mean loss of employment that it made me ashamed for them."[143]

Arrival at their destination brought little relief. Do you know what a tree is, one child was asked? Sure, a tree is a stick with grass on it, he answered.[144] The novelty of seeing trees, which do not exist on the Aleutian Islands, wore off quickly. Each person was given a mattress, a thin blanket, and some food. The Pribilof people were dropped at an abandoned cannery and mine in Funter Bay. The Atkans were taken to another site near Angoon. Journalist Joseph Driscoll admired the children as they sang God Bless America as they sailed away. "Somehow it was rather touching to hear the little aborigines singing their heads off before breakfast to prove that they were just as patriotic, just as Rotarian, as the rest of us."[145] Both were about a day's boat ride to Juneau, on an island with the highest population of bears per square mile in the world. There was no running water, save a spicket that froze, no sanitary services for the Aleuts, and very little food. Eventually an outhouse was built over the beach where the clams were dug to supplement their meager rations. The good food, of course, was sorted out by the white agents. Unangax̂ survived on mostly macaroni, what they could catch, and intermittently by the Angoon Natives providing some fresh meat.[146]

After surviving a brutal winter, the government complained of the cost of their upkeep and separated the men from the women, sending the men back into a war zone to slaughter fur seals. After much protest, the men were told that the furs were to support the war effort (a lie) and that those who didn't comply would never be allowed home again (empty threat). Unangax̂

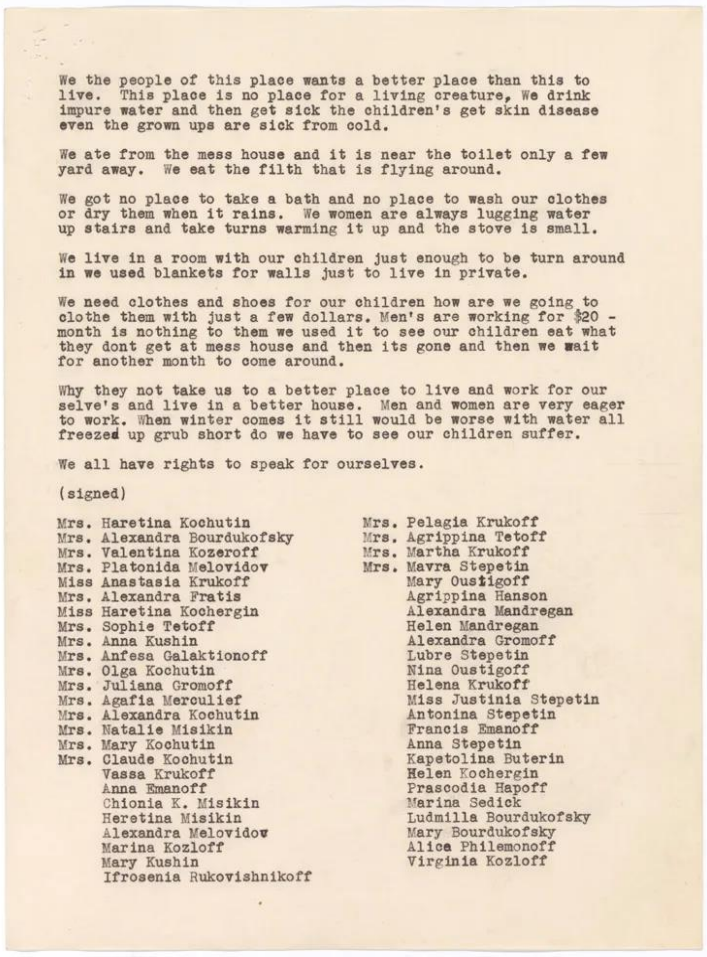
[143] Stein, Gary. "A Transportation Dilemma: Evacuation of the Aleuts in World War II." Paper presented at Alaska Historical Society meeting in Fairbanks, 1982.

[144] Driscoll, Joseph. *War Discovers Alaska*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1943.

[145] Driscoll, *War Discovers Alaska*, 1943.

[146] Mobley, Charles M. *World War II Aleut Relocation Camps in Southeast Alaska*. Anchorage: National Park Service, Alaska Region, 2012; Stein, "A Transportation Dilemma," 1982.

women, including my great grandmother Agrippina Tetoff, wrote a petition protesting the action (Figure 19 below; Agrippina's signature is the second from the top in the right column). This petition to the US Government demonstrates the full force of an Unangax̂ matriarchal system, which led the government to declare that Pribilovians were not wards of the state, but full US citizens. Upon returning, some moved into Juneau to work, finding the wage for washing dishes to be much higher than for clubbing seals. Others went into the Army and were sent to help in the Aleutian campaign and others.



We the people of this place wants a better place than this to live. This place is no place for a living creature, We drink impure water and then get sick the children's get skin disease even the grown ups are sick from cold.

We ate from the mess house and it is near the toilet only a few yard away. We eat the filth that is flying around.

We got no place to take a bath and no place to wash our clothes or dry them when it rains. We women are always lugging water up stairs and take turns warming it up and the stove is small.

We live in a room with our children just enough to be turn around in we used blankets for walls just to live in private.

We need clothes and shoes for our children how are we going to clothe them with just a few dollars. Men's are working for $20 - month is nothing to them we used it to see our children eat what they dont get at mess house and then its gone and then we wait for another month to come around.

Why they not take us to a better place to live and work for our selve's and live in a better house. Men and women are very eager to work. When winter comes it still would be worse with water all freezed up grub short do we have to see our children suffer.

We all have rights to speak for ourselves.

(signed)

Mrs. Haretina Kochutin
Mrs. Alexandra Bourdukofsky
Mrs. Valentina Kozeroff
Mrs. Platonida Melovidov
Miss Anastasia Krukoff
Mrs. Alexandra Fratis
Miss Haretina Kochergin
Mrs. Sophie Tetoff
Mrs. Anna Kushin
Mrs. Anfesa Galaktionoff
Mrs. Olga Kochutin
Mrs. Juliana Gromoff
Mrs. Agafia Merculief
Mrs. Alexandra Kochutin
Mrs. Natalie Misikin
Mrs. Mary Kochutin
Mrs. Claude Kochutin
Vassa Krukoff
Anna Emanoff
Chionia K. Misikin
Heretina Misikin
Alexandra Melovidov
Marina Kozloff
Mary Kushin
Ifrosenia Rukovishnikoff

Mrs. Pelagia Krukoff
Mrs. Agrippina Tetoff
Mrs. Martha Krukoff
Mrs. Mavra Stepetin
Mary Oustigoff
Agrippina Hanson
Alexandra Mandregan
Helen Mandregan
Alexandra Gromoff
Lubre Stepetin
Nina Oustigoff
Helena Krukoff
Miss Justinia Stepetin
Antonina Stepetin
Francis Emanoff
Anna Stepetin
Kapetolina Buterin
Helen Kochergin
Prascodia Hapoff
Marina Sedick
Ludmilla Bourdukofsky
Mary Bourdukofsky
Alice Philemonoff
Virginia Kozloff

Figure 19. Unangax̂ Women's Petition at Funter Bay to the US Government[147]

[147] Library of Congress

After Gruber gave her recommendation to the Department of the Interior, she thought nothing more of it. A few years later while visiting in Juneau, she learned that the same Aleutian and Pribilof Islands People were at a camp nearby and asked to visit them. Upon arrival in Funter Bay, she saw the miserable conditions that Unangax̂ were in and remarked, "Oh, I have seen what a refugee looks like!" and felt bad for a little while. In her book, *Inside of Time: My Journey from Alaska to Israel*, she called this Alaska decision Gruber's Folly.[148] Ten percent of the 881 Unangax̂ that she recommended to incarcerate, died at these camps because of Gruber's Folly.

After the war Fredericka Martin is known for taking her complaint about the treatment of Pribilof islanders all the way to the United Nations. The UN reprimanded the United States. She became a champion for those affected by the holocaust in exile.[149]

Between ***July 6-13, 1942.*** 160 people were removed by the US Army from Unalaska Island to Wrangell Institute In southeast Alaska aboard the USAT Columbia. These included the villages of Nikolski, Chernofski, Akutan, Kashega, Biorka, and Makushin. On July 26, 1942 111 people from Unalaska Village were evacuated to Wrangell Institute SS Alaska then to CCC Ward Lake for smaller villages, and Unalaskans to Burnett Inlet cannery. These orders removed those with 1/8 Unangax̂ blood quantum and more which separated wives and children from their fathers. On Attu, after an entire summer under Japanese control, on Sept 14, 1942 40 Unangax̂ and the white school teacher we're taken prisoners of war from Attu to Kiska then onto Japan on The Osada Maru. In all, 881 Americans were removed from their homes during World War II by the US government and 41 by the Japanese military.

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[148] Gruber, Ruth. *Inside of Time: My Journey from Alaska to Israel*. New York: Open Road Media, 2004.
[149] https://www.archives.gov/files/research/japanese-americans/justice-denied/aleuts-page-317.pdf

Rebuilding Homes and a Pathway to Freedom

Unangax̂ euphoria at the idea of returning to their island homes was short lived. Between. Between May 4-13, 1944 more than four hundred Unangax̂ United States citizens began their return from Funter Bay to Unalaska then the Pribilofs aboard the USAT William L Thompson. This was far fewer than the 577 waffles that were taken by the US army from their homes just two years prior. Many Unangax̂ would never return having joined the Alaska Territorial ,Guard, moved away, died, or found work that paid much more then clubbing seals for the US government. Some would distinguish themselves in the military such as Army general Jake Lestenkof of Saint George. On board the William L Thompson, anchored off Saint George Island, four year old Leo Merculief lay ill in his bed on board for days. For the second time since he left the island the priest gave him last rites as he was not expected to survive. Once on shore, they walked to their homes only to find their village had been ransacked and trashed by the US soldiers, including the church.

Mary Boudukofsky recalled decades afterwards that their Saint Paul home had been converted into a gambling club with all of her belongings gone. The walls were full of dark point holes and hundreds of cigarette burns were etched into the rug and linoleum. Anne McGlashen, then of Saint George said "what hurt most is that all of our church artifacts were broken and our gold and silver icons were stolen."[150] Subsistence tools such as wooden dories and outboard engines, fishing gear and others were either missing or destroyed.[151] The armies radio operator admitted to stealing records and the phonograph from one home. He said "we played the records

[150] Kohlhoff, *When the Wind Was a River*, 149
[151] Kohlhoff, *When the Wind Was a River*, 149

over so much we practically wore them out period." most often played was Ella Fitzgerald 's "Tain't What You Do (It's The Way That Cha Do It)."[152]

My great grandfather, Neon Titov was known for his ivory carvings. They were all gone. I am always on the lookout on eBay for any ivory that came from the island during World War II as most are stolen, including the three strands of pearls that my grandmother was wearing (see photo in the Preface). His carved Ivory figurines, and also whole tasks etched with scenes from Saint Paul island and rubbed with island chert, remnants from the many volcanoes there.

Also gone were the meager rights they had had after their rights as citizens were temporarily recognized. They were forced back into their roles as Slaves of the Harvest, with no right to vote, free speech, or to freely come and go as they wished.[153] Despite these continued hardships, Paul Merculief was happy to be home and out of the dark wet forests that he experienced in southeast Alaska, "I was like a young antelope prancing around the village because of grass, the green and wide open spaces that we did not have at Funter Bay."[154]

With knowledge gained from the world outside of the Pribilofs regarding employment practices and civil rights, and with counseling by the Alaskan Native Brotherhood, whose origin stems from Southeast Alaska, St. Paul Islanders began the process of the local freedom movement. In 1948, Unangax̂ began organizing as the Aleut Community of St. Paul Island. In 1950 the Aleut Community of St. Paul Island (ASCPI) established Constitution and By Laws, and Mamant Emanoff, John Misikin, Elary Gromoff, Gabriel Stepetin and George Kocherg became the first council of the federally recognized ASCPI. St. Paul Island launches the Fair and Honorable Dealings lawsuit (Corned Beef Case), suing the U.S. Government alleging that Aleuts

[152] "Tain't What You Do (It's The Way That Cha Do It)" by Ella Fitzgerald with Chick Webb And His Orchestra (Verve Records, 1939).

[153] Torrey, Barbara Boyle. *Slaves of the Harvest*. St. Paul Island Alaska: TDX Corp., 1983.

[154] Torrey, *Slaves of the Harvest,* 149

were grossly underpaid and undernourished. A few small businesses start up-Ice Cream Shop (owned by Elary Gromoff, Sr.), Star's Café (owned by Gabriel Stepetin), Victor's Coffee Shop (owned by Victor Misikin, Sr.), Grace Ann's Café (owned by Mamant Emanoff).

The fur seal industry contributed millions of dollars directly into the US treasury. Bemoaning the government's loss of revenue, Funter Bay men were forced back into a war zone on the Pribilof's in 1943 in the belly of the Delerof to slaughter fur seals for the government. Fearing further losses, the US army repopulated the Pribilof's a full year earlier than the other villages held against their will in southeast Alaska.

The Problematics of Restitution

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, upon hearing of the sad state that he caused by issuing Order 9066, which also interned the Japanese, and Order 9181, giving total power to General Buckner in Alaska, sent a few dollars from his private stash, completely inadequate to address the destruction. It wasn't until the 1980s, fifty years later, that any real restitution was attempted. Many of the Internees had long passed away and many of the others who were deposed by the investigators and Congress had been children at the time. Some of them had inadequate English to speak in detail of their ordeal.

The final Restitution document was called the Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (1983) which covered both the Japanese and Aleut Internments. Final recommendations for the Japanese were:

1) An apology from the Nation for the acts of exclusion, removal, and detention.
2) Pardons for any convictions based on race or ethnicity.
3) Applications for restitution.
4) Official recognition of injustice with education funding for textbooks, etc.

5) $20,000 each to the 60,000 surviving internees affected by executive order 9066.

For the Aleuts, the recommendations were:

1) A fund of $5 million for compensating losses of property and injury
2) $5000 per capita for the few hundred survivors
3) Funds for rebuilding Churches, acknowledging that many items are irreplicable
4) Clearing away wartime debris
5) The island of Attu be conveyed to the Attuans (as long as the Coast Guard can stay).[155]

On ANCSA and Recognition

The villages on Unalaska outside of the village of an Unalaska were not repopulated. Only half of those held on Hokkaido island from Attu survive the war. Some of the children went into an orphanage in Seattle and the government Relocated some people back to Atka. The villagers from Attu were never to see their island home again. All of the villages not repopulated would lose federal recognition of their Indian status under the Alaska native settlement claims act [ANSCA] in 1972. Losing federal recognition caused economic hardship through loss of land and fishing and hunting rights, and loss of access to relatives and remains stolen by the Smithsonian institution. Much of this territory on Attu, and the Pribilof Islands are still control today by the Fish and Wildlife Service. The same Fish and Wildlife Service who controlled the lives the Pribilof Islanders from 1867 until they abandoned the fur seals industry for good in 1983.

Additionally, the wording in federal recognition eligibility, CFR – 2020 – title 43 – volume two, section 2651–2, is a direct result from the settler colonial judgments and one reason why five Unangax̂ tribes lost federal recognition during the Alaska Native Settlement Claims Act

[155] United States. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*. 1983.

(ANCSA) in 1972. In order to be federally recognized as of 2020, tribes must meet the following criteria:

> **(1)** There must be 25 or more Native residents of the village on April 1, 1970, as shown by the census or other evidence satisfactory to the Secretary. A Native properly enrolled to the village shall be deemed a resident of the village.
>
> **(2)** The village shall have had on April 1, 1970, an identifiable physical location evidenced by occupancy consistent with the Natives' own cultural patterns and life style and at least 13 persons who enrolled thereto must have used the village during 1970 as a place where they actually lived for a period of time: *Provided,* That no village which is known as a traditional village shall be disqualified if it meets the other criteria specified in this subsection by reason of having been temporarily unoccupied in 1970 because of an act of God or government authority occurring within the preceding **10 years**.
>
> **(3)** The village must not be modern and urban in character. A village will be considered to be of modern and urban character if the Secretary determines that it possessed all the following attributes as of April 1, 1970:
>
> **(i)** Population over 600.
>
> **(ii)** A centralized water system and sewage system that serves a majority of the residents.
>
> **(iii)** Five or more business establishments which provide goods or services such as transient accommodations or eating establishments, specialty retail stores, plumbing and electrical services, etc.
>
> **(iv)** Organized police and fire protection.
>
> **(v)** Resident medical and dental services, other than those provided by Indian Health Service.
>
> **(vi)** Improved streets and sidewalks maintained on a year-round basis.

In review, things that disqualify a town for being Native are health services, (except for the health services IHS provided by the government) police and fire, streets and sidewalks and flushing toilets. In other words, as of three years ago in 2020, the government insists that a Native village be poor enough that they cannot support basic services as such as police, fire department, sidewalks, streets, hotels, and restaurants. The government insists that Native

villages must be dependent on the government. Additionally, and ironically, because the government removed people from the Aleutian islands, and never allowed them to return, they lost federal recognition, access to their ancestral lands, and any rights to have their ancestors returned to them that were stolen by the US government itself. Many of these lands, including most of Attu, and most of the Pribilof Islands are still controlled by the US, Fish and Wildlife Service, the same entity who enslaved the Aleuts in the first place.[156] Finally, the 10 year limit in populating the home islands were written with the Aleutian islands in mind, knowing that they haven't been on the islands since 1942 when the US and Japanese governments removed them.

As seen in the lower 48, the best result in research happens when members of the Indigenous communities being studied participate. Fluent speakers in Unangam Tunuu are using recordings from 100 years ago to teach current and future Unangax̂ our oral histories. Valdemar Jochelson, a Russian ethnographer known for his studies of the Unangax̂, Koryak, Yukaghir, and Yakut people worked closely with the Aleutian island community. Jochelson collected legends and stories in Unangam Tunuu. This work was edited by Elder Moses Dirks from Akutan who is considered the language expert for the Aleutian islands today. Called Aleut Tales and Narratives, this hefty volume has Unangam Tunuu on one page and English on the facing page. It is helpful to discover rhythms in speaking that were used and to discover traditional stories and ways of thinking. Stories are usually ended with "iganayii"[It is said, he said.] This is one of the first and only books that have our stories written down when we had many language speakers and relatively early in the American era (1909-10). His papers reside in the New York Public Library. Important vignettes include, Malixtin [Presentiments]. These sayings are still prevalent today, mixed with other Russian superstitions, such as your big toe will itch if you are to travel

[156] CFR – 2020 – title 43 – volume two, section 2651–2, https://www.law.cornell.edu/cfr/text/43/2651.4

soon; or your heart will race if you are to receive visitors. (210-211). Original place names are included, such as Chuginadak [Mt Cleveland] (449) and Aglagax^ [a village on Unmak]. There are short storis on menstrual and childbirth customs (134, 138). Stories about how to behave as an Unangax̂ like Aagiigux [Incompetent]; and proof of practices not thought to be Unangax̂ customs, like Inigagim Angaacha [blanket tossing song]. There are stories of revenge, hunting, and tales of warning, and life instructions such as Tuunusaadax̂ [Traditional Instructions], the important story of Tanax̂ Amix̂ [St. Paul Island], and many stories of the transmogrification of man and animal. Like Basso and Webster, Jochelson approached the Unangax̂ in friendship, respect, and reciprocal relationship, eventually gifting the stories to Unangax̂ themselves.[157]

1983 Independence Day

Pribilof Unangax̂ would not regain full rights until October 28, 1983, when the government pulled out of the Pribilofs and the fur seal trade.[158] This day is celebrated every year as Unangax̂ Independence Day. A New York Times article from 1983 quotes President of the St. Paul Village Corporation, Larry Merculieff, regarding the transfer from Russia to the US Government: ‘‘The only change in treatment or status this jurisdictional transfer resulted in was that the Aleuts were no longer Russian slaves. Instead they were American wards placed in a state of servitude and seals were still the first class citizens. Until the 1940’s, the islands were managed as a prison designed to ensure that the captive and able labor force was always present to generate revenues for government coffers from sale of fur seal pelts.”[159]

[157] Jochelson et al., *Aleut Tales and Narratives*.
[158] Merculieff, *Wisdom Keeper*, 2016.
[159] https://www.nytimes.com/1983/05/14/us/us-moves-to-loosen-its-ties-to-pribilof-islanders.htm

Conclusion

Unangax̂ lived in the Aleutian islands since time immemorial. Through oral histories and DNA archaeologists can measure steady habitation back over 9000 years. During the Russian occupation from 1741 until 1867, the Russians moved people temporarily from one island to another in order to hunt otter, fur seal, and any other fur bearing animals for sale mostly to Chinese markets. What is unique about the Pribilof Island people is that many were permanently displaced from their ancestral islands. Many long for reconnection with their home islands. And while the outside commercial companies and countries exploited the Aleutian Island workers in both the Russian and American eras, only in the Pribilof Islands were Unangax̂ held captive with absolute control by their Russian and American overlords. The Americans legislated this control, doling out food, work, quotas, medical care, education, and regulations about how Unangax̂ hunted, how they kept house, and what they did in their free time, without any concrete direction other than to maximize profits of the fur seal industry, at the whim of each individual agent in charge. The Pribilof Islands we're not completely free of US government control until October 28, 1983.

The Aleutian and Pribilof Islands have been continuously occupied for over 9000 years on the western calendar and since time immemorial on the Unangax̂ calendar. Yet, these timelines show over and over again the humerus and patrimony exhibited by the Russian, and American visitors who have come to the islands. Despite living and thriving for millennia, having an abundance of nutrition, and living in a sustainable way, the Russian in American visitors to the silence sought to infuse the land and the people with European values. This often resulted in preventable diseases such as scurvy and making decisions on the Unangax̂ behalf with disastrous results. During the Russian occupation, absolute control by a very small Number of

Russian agents their greedy quest for pelts resulted in the death of 90% of all Unangax̂ and the permanent relocation of hundreds of families to the Pribilof and commander islands. The Americans regulated every aspect of Pribilof islander life including housing which was not able to withstand the hurricane force wins in the bearing sea without enough imported coal to heat the houses. Subsidence hunting was disallowed and foodstuffs we're not plentiful enough to provide for caloric need resulting in sickness and death. Even those with good intentions weaponized the language, sharing it to lower the natural reserve that Unangax̂ show outsiders with the intention of creating easier access by government and business leaders. Throughout this abuse Unangax̂ maintained their culture within their homes and use that culture to survive, eventually learning enough about the enemy's language, legislative practices, and gaining access to these tools so they could create their own laws that represented them as citizens with full rights as such.

Chapter Four – Achixaaluxˆ [School]: On Native American Boarding Schools as Colonial and Imperial Ways of Education

The previous chapters reconsider the myriad inequitable structures of colonialism, imperialism, capitalism, and racism imposed on Unangam Tanangin [the Aleutian Islands], first under imperial Russian forces (1741 to 1867) and later under the United States regime (1867 to the present day). It also engages new and Unangaxˆ-led historiographic work to argue that despite the extractivist structures and oppressive agents that sought to control an enslaved workforce, Unangaxˆ held fast to their culture, language, and values.

This chapter builds on the previous chapter's inquiry into inequitable structures by focusing more closely how these structures operated within Church- and government-run Native American boarding schools in the United States from the 1890s to 1970s. Specifically, I follow documents relating to Sophia's kidnapping and carceration to examine the archived actions of those in charge (e.g., church administrators and government officials), paying close attention to evidence of crimes of genocide against stolen Indigenous children. I bring Alaska Native boarding schools — such as the Jesse Lee Home in Unalaska, the Wrangell Institute in Wrangell, and Mt. Edgecumbe in Sitka — into conversation with the more well-known schools in the "lower 48" — such as Carlisle in Pennsylvania and Chemawa in Oregon.

Boarding School Era

The US as a settler nation has done its best to rid itself of the original inhabitants. Through war, disease, reservations, and dislocation, government policy until 1969 was to destroy or assimilate the Indigenous peoples.[160] After the Indian Wars in the mid-1800s, the new government strategy was to assimilate through education. Thus, the Native boarding school era began. This program coincided with the "purchase" of Alaska as a territory in 1867. Vine Deloria states "Traditionally Indians were seen as the ultimate underclass. Original residents of this continent, Indians stood in the way of the advances of Western civilization and consequently had to be extinguished or neutralized in some fashion if settlement were to proceed at its anticipated pace."[161] Following the mid-1800s Indian wars, attitudes towards the Native population became more paternalist in nature. This idea of neutralization by assimilating Indigenous people through remote residential education and adopting out or indentured servitude instead of annihilation was considered progressive. "American society devoutly believe that the only salvation for Indians could come as a result of cultural uplift. Continued adherence to traditional values, people believed, would only result in death and extinction."[162] Ingrained Christian values that emphasized supporting the poor and destitute contributed to the American newcomers feeling of benevolence towards the First Peoples. William Hutchinson explains that the Americans felt "obligations that were linked to the ideas of manifest destiny, biblical commands to preach all over the world, and "a fitful concern about the Indians."[163] The US

[160] Champagne, Duane, and Jay Stauss, eds. *Native American Studies in Higher Education: Models for Collaboration between Universities and Indigenous Nations*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2002.

[161] Deloria, Vine. *Spirit & Reason: The Vine Deloria, Jr., Reader*. Fulcrum Publishing, 1999: 230

[162] Deloria, *Spirit & Reason,* 163.

[163] Silva, Noenoe K. *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004: 31

government's racial capitalism policies associated with Native boarding schools are still felt by Alaska Natives today.

One of the Euro-centric avenues to civilization was compulsory education. Harvard founded an Indian College as early as the 1640s. The Cornwall School in Connecticut was founded in 1815 with the objectives as "civilizing and Christianizing with an assimilationist" vision. Opukaha'ia, a Kanaka Hawaiian, attended the Cornwall School with enthusiasm, but lost his life in the process – an unfortunate pattern of lung disease at foreign schools that would continue to affect Native peoples for decades.[164] The first schools were funded by private donations from well-meaning organizations and churches, but by 1873 the US government became involved in educating those Native people. "The year 1873 is important because Congress made a special appropriation of $100,000 for Indian education."[165] This first influx of government money would fund the establishment of Carlisle Indian School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Hundreds of other Native boarding schools were to follow, all with the same assimilationist goal as Carlisle, which pride itself on the motto, "kill the Indian to save the man." The main schools Alaska Native students were sent to were regional protestant schools or run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) like the Jesse Lee Home, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Chemawa Indian School, and Mt. Edgecumbe High School..

From Russian to American Schooling on St. Paul Island

After the 1867 Treaty of Cession, US attempts to take over the schooling of Unangax̂ children was initially thwarted by a number of structures jockeying for power. The Russian

[164] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 31
[165] Deloria, *Spirit & Reason,* 162.

Orthodox Church remained in place as a school on St Paul Island and on Unalaska Island, and whose Russian language instruction worked against the efforts of US school instruction in English.

On St. Paul, the companies that harvested the fur seal were expected to provide an education for the children on the Islands. However, profit, not education, was the administrative priority and so most Unangax̂ children continued to speak Russian at Orthodox Church services and Unangam Tunuu at home.[166] For these reasons, US administrators deemed the education program on the Pribilof Islands a failure. After many years of schooling, not a single pupil could write a sentence in English. As explained in Chapter 2, this so-called failure was not due to a lack of intellect or illiteracy. For example, during that same period of time my great grandfather and famous walrus ivory carver Neon Tetoff was translating the Russian bible into the Aleut language. US government agents proposed several solutions for this so-called school problem. One suggested sending all school age children in the Pribilofs to school at the Jesse Lee Home on Unalaska. Another recommended that the US government assume control of the Pribilof Islands schools to counteract the Russian American Company's practice of hiring low quality teachers. One agent's report implied that the Company was more interested in teachers' ability to contribute to the sealing enterprise (as bookkeepers and seal clubbers) than their professional qualifications. There is little to no evidence that the government took any actions to significantly improve the quality of the Pribilof schools at any time.

Part of the agreement to use the Aleuts to harvest fur seal, was that a school was to be maintained for 8 months per year. Its lease also required the Company to provide free education to Pribilof Aleuts. School began in St. Paul in the fall of 1870 but during that and the following

[166] Jones, *History of United States Administration in the Pribilof Islands.*

year, it ran for only about two months, in part because there was no school building. School was taught in the dining room of the Company house. St. George Aleuts responded to the opening of the school with equal fervor. School began there in 1869, taught by a special Treasury Department agent who was Russian speaking. In 1870, the St. George agent remarked about the students' progress: "They are making rapid progress and feel anxious to learn the English language. Even men who have advanced to the age of 30 and 40 attend school and are making rapid progress." The St. Paul Agent on a visit to St. George was equally impressed: "Rendering justice to the zeal and ability of the founder of the school. I cannot refuse a due share of praise to the natural gifts of the Aleutian race and I beg leave to express here my earnest belief that the Aleuts might become as good American citizens as any admitted under the fifteenth amendment to the constitution which reads 'the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude'."[167]

However, the American sealing agents who took over the Pribilof sealing operations continued to have trouble communicating with the Russian and Unangan speaking islanders. As a result, the Alaska Commercial Company (1868-1901) published *The School and Family Russo-American Primer* in 1871, specially published for use in Alaska. The primer's vernacular is awash in "Indian" stereotypes such as drunkenness, gambling, spend thriftiness, laziness, ignorance, etc. It reads:

> Introduction:
> TO THE ALASKANS: From the date of the cession of the Alaska territory by the Emperor of Russia to the United States Government it has been our constant effort to promote your welfare and happiness. If you needed provisions and clothing we supplied you, and if sick gave you medical attention. To keep you warm and comfortable we built you houses, and in every way within our power it has been our intention to improve your

[167] Jones, *History of United States Administration in the Pribilof Islands,* 69.

condition in every respect. And now we publish this book for you and for your children that you may be able to speak read and write the English language, this being the language of the United States of America. We hope you will soon be able to gain a good knowledge of it, for it is only in this way that you can know your rights and duties as citizens, and be able to protect yourselves and families. Besides you cannot be able to be successful or make progress in the new Government until you have learned the new language of the people with whom your future destinies are cast. We entreat you then to be studious and persevering, for this in this course alone can you become true men and good citizens.

THE PUBLISHERS

First lesson:
The Americans work very hard to earn money and instead of spending it on gambling and drunkenness, they build fine houses in which they have good books, fine furniture and every necessity of life. In these homes they live very long, healthy and happy.

From Second Lesson:
…a sheaf of wheat: The farmers get very rich by selling wheat in the various markets. (Whereas the Americans get very rich selling pelts on the backs of local Unangax̂)

Third Lesson regards whiskey:
“Here you see five bottles of whiskey. It is strange that wild men will not drink whiskey, because they say it is fire poison. A great many men drink it and ruin themselves. Whiskey corrupts the people and makes them very bad. Good people never take the poison.” (Reminder, that this is a children’s primer).

Fourth Lesson: About Bears:
Their skins are valuable. Bears do not run after men unless men come too near them. (There are no bears in the Pribilofs, but the entire industry is built around harvesting seal pelts).

Sixth Lesson:
Under a portrait of General Grant, “It may be that some little boy born in Alaska or the Aleutian Islands may yet be a president like General Grant. – Every man in the United States is free. No person is persecuted, exiled, or shot on account of his religion or politics.” (Although, the Aleuts were not considered citizens and were confined to two islands as special reservations where they were denied their basic rights such as voting).

Seventh Lesson:

> "John do you see that beautiful ship coming into the harbor? Yes, I see her…brings to us a great many good things, such as books, clothing provisions and other necessaries of life." (This disregards subsistence living and is ignorant that there wasn't a harbor at the time on St. George Island. It also reinforces consumerism as civilization.)
>
> In closing the Primer editor adds:
> For the past three years we have been urging the merchants and businessmen carrying on trade with Alaska, to do all in their power towards educating and improving the inhabitants of that distant country. Already The Alaska Commercial Company have established schools in St. Paul and St. George Islands. Besides, they have greatly added to the comfort of the inhabitants in more material ways. And now the same company have instructed us to publish the Russo American Primer, with the further view of giving the Alaskans every opportunity of learning the English language, and thus advance their best interests. Speaking for ourselves, our editorial labor on the Primer has been a labor of love; and we send the little messenger to our Alaska friends as a remembrance that they are not entirely forgotten, and with it our hearts best wishes for their future welfare and happiness.
> AGAPIUS HONCHARENKO

In the fall of 1872, a school building was erected in St. Paul and school commenced for an eight-month period. Agent Bryant reported an enthusiastic response by St. Paul students; in 1871 twenty-nine students between the ages of five and eighteen attended school. Bryant was impressed with their rapid progress. After only a few months of school, "all manifested great interest in learning the English language and made good progress; all learned the alphabet, and many were able to read simple sentences.[168] This educational honeymoon was short lived. By 1873, agents reported increasing Aleut resistance to the American school. Agents attributed the resistance to the Aleut parents' fear that "in learning English their children will forget their Russian and weaken their attachment to the Church". In 1871, there were twenty-nine students in school on St. Paul and in 1873, only seven attended regularly, but at the same time, seventeen

[168] Jones, *History of United States Administration in the Pribilof Islands*, 68. Seal Fisheries (1875), pp. 191-192

attended classes taught by Natives, in Russian and Aleut. In St. George about twenty-five students attended the American school in 1871 and in 1873 "only a few (parents) consented to have their children attend, although not regularly. This resistance continued throughout the Alaska Commercial Company period. St. Paul agents between 1877 and 1885 complained that only ten of forty students were attending school until Government agents made attendance compulsory.[169]

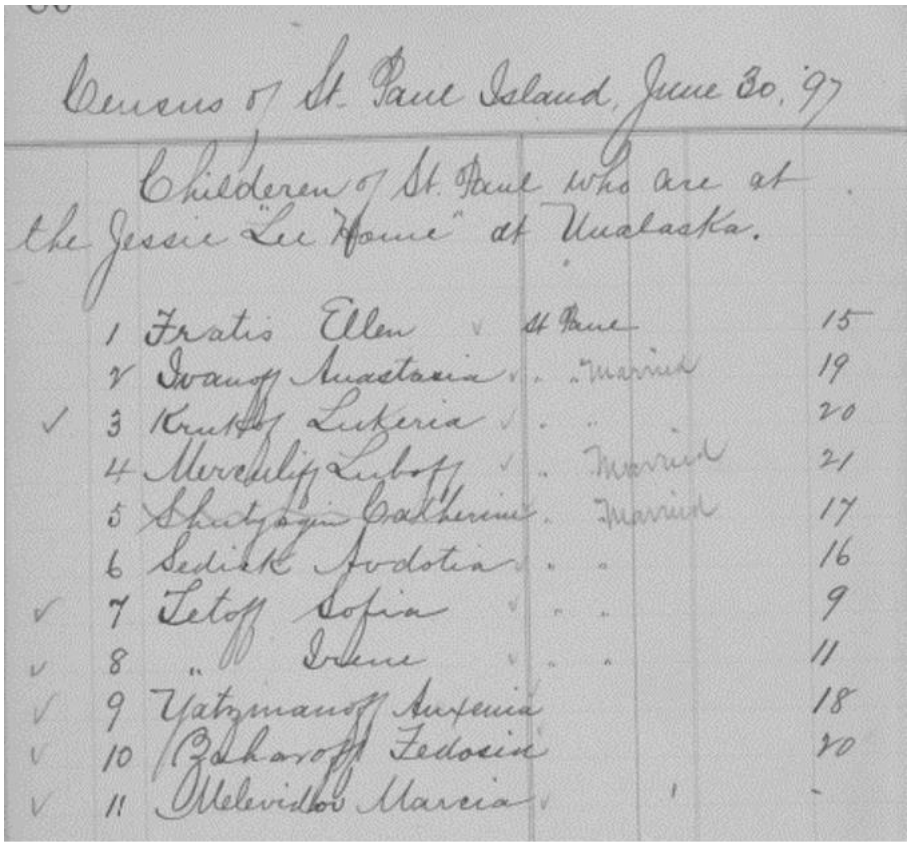
School absences were dealt with harshly. A father who refused to send his son to school was handcuffed and put in the government house cellar with only bread and water for four days. His son was also locked in a closet for that time. Parents were fined 50 cents per day for every absence. A girl who ran away from home and was absent from school was whipped and returned to school. Additionally, Agents thought Church holidays interfered with work during the sealing season and with school attendance: "We can see no reason for any holidays being celebrated during the sealing season and hereinafter, it will not be allowed."[170]

On Wednesday, June 4, 1890 the treasury agent who was in control of all St. Paul Island activities and Peoples wrote in his logbook that he was scheduled to have dinner aboard the *Bear* with Captain Michael Healey and the Reverend Sheldon Jackson. Topics for dinner conversation included the predicament of orphaned Unangax̂ girls being taken to the Jesse Lee Home on Unalaska Island, as well as Pribilof Islanders seeking permission to visit their families on Saint George Island, and Unalaska. Showing his total authority, the agent granted some requests for widows to visit family on Unalaska and denied others the ability to visit friends and family on St. George Island. Captain Healey is given the authority to return all Islanders to Saint Paul.

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[169] Jones, *History of United States Administration in the Pribilof Islands*, 70. Fur Seal Fisheries (1889), pp. 2S2-2S3. (E-2S)

[170] Jones, *History of United States Administration in the Pribilof Islands*, 61-67. Fur Seal Fisheries (1889), pp. 2S2-2S3. (E-2S)


Census of St. Paul Island, June 30. 97

Children of St. Paul who are at the Jessie Lee Home at Unalaska.

	1	Fratis	Ellen	St Paul	15
	2	Ivanoff	Anastasia	Married	19
✓	3	Krukoff	Lukeria	"	20
	4	Merculieff	Luboff	Married	21
	5	Shutygin	Catherine	Married	17
	6	Sedick	Feodotia	"	16
✓	7	Tetoff	Sofia	"	9
✓	8	"	Irene	"	11
✓	9	Yatzmanoff	Anfesia		18
✓	10	Zacharoff	Fedosia		20
✓	11	Melevidoff	Marcia		

Figure 20. St Paul Island Logbook 1897

That summer, St. Paul Island was being visited by passengers of Captain Healy's cutter the *Bear.* On this boat were Rev. Jackson's newest missionaries, Mary and John Tuck. The Tucks were recruiting for the Jesse Lee Home, a girl's school and Methodist mission on Unalaska, about three hundred miles south by boat. The FWS agent was enthusiastic about offloading the girls and saving the expense of their care. After Russian Orthodox Priests received assurances that the girls would be able to keep practicing their faith, the girls boarded the *Bear*, never to see their island home again.

By September 1890, ten orphan girls from St. Paul are forced to go to the Jesse Lee Home on Unalaska. The agent wrote, "The majority of the children sent are the poorest, lowest, dirtiest, and most ignorant on the islands and they could not speak a word of the English

language, and yet, after a term of two years, every one of them was able to write English as well as the average white school child of similar age."[171]

Sophia's Journey from the Jesse Lee Home on Unalaska to Carlisle



Figure 21. St Paul Island girls headed to Unalaska with the Tucks and Healey on the *Bear* (1895)[172]

Figure 21 shows five Unangax̂ girls (sitting in front) aboard Captain Michael Augustine Healy's cutter the *Bear* (Healy is standing in back center with two unidentified teachers), with Methodist Missionaries John and Mary Tuck (standing in back left).[173] These five girls are

[171] Jones, *History of United States Administration in the Pribilof Islands*, 106-107. Quoting Saint Paul island, agent logbook

[172] Hudson, Raymond. *Family after All: Unalaska, 1889-1925*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Walnut Creek: Hardscratch Press, 2007: 32.

[173] The *Bear* was built in 1874 as a steam and sail powered Arctic sealer. Captain Healy "became the nation's first African American commissioned officer; first African American officer to command a U.S. vessel of any kind; first African American to achieve every commissioned officer rank from 3rd lieutenant to senior captain (a

orphans who are being taken from St. Paul Island to the Jesse Lee Home on Unalaska, just like my aunts Sophia and Irene Tetoff were one year later.



Figure 22. The Jesse Lee Home on Unalaska

The Jesse Lee Home on Unalaska was owned by the US government but staffed by the Methodist Church, which sought to overtly work against the Russian Orthodox Church. The Methodist missionaries and administrators fought with both Unangax̂ students' parents and Russian Orthodox Priests regarding the treatment of the students, as well as how students were taken care of in the event of their death.

rank at the time equivalent to today's flag rank); and first African American to sail the Bering Sea and the Arctic." See https://www.mycg.uscg.mil/News/Article/2826863/captain-healys-cutter-bearonce-lost-now-found/

The Home was run by seemingly well-meaning Methodist matrons zealous to turn girls away from Russian Orthodoxy and assimilate them into their Protestant faith. Yet these white women missionaries were no friend to the Indigenous Peoples. Their rise to relative power in the late 19th and early 20th century had been positioned to prop up the supreme power of white heteropatriarchy. These women, who supported the fight for suffrage and women's rights, were simultaneously subjugating Indigenous girls in the boarding school institutions in which they were employed. Their movement to align themselves just beneath white men came at the expense of Indigenous Peoples freedom and lives.[174] The US government controlled Indigenous girls' lives while so-called white feminists upheld colonist practices in Christian homes, orphanages, and schools by way of matrons and fundraisers that supported these institutions.

The Yukon gold rush of 1899 brought with it the "Great Sickness" of 1900: influenza, measles, and smallpox. Some villages lost between 25 and 50 percent of their residents. On September 27, 1900, 15-year-old Irene Tetoff died of tuberculosis at the Jesse Lee Home, now run by the Newhalls. Despite assurances that the Irene and Sophia would be able to continue practicing their Russian Orthodoxy religion, Methodist staff secretly buried Irene's body in the Protestant cemetery while an Orthodox Church service was in session.[175] About Irene's death, the matron Agnes Newhall wrote, "hers was a triumphant death, such as the children had never witnessed, and can never forget… they die well. *It does pay."*[176] As further testament to the controversy, the Russian Orthodox Church placed an Orthodox cross on Irene's grave and the Methodist Church built a fence around her grave that left the Orthodox cross outside the fence.

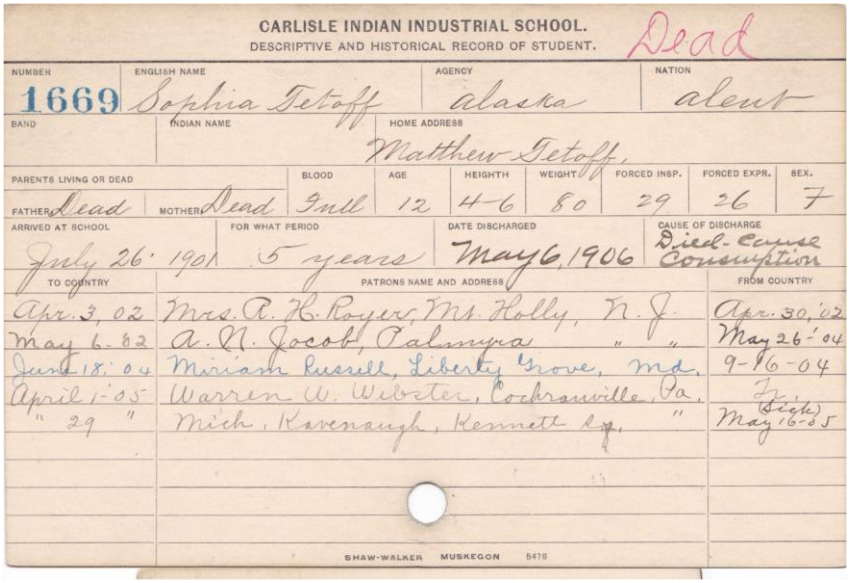
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[174] Goeman, Mishuana. "Indigenous Interventions and Feminist Methods." In *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies*, edited by Chris Andersen and Jean M O'Brien, 187–94. Routledge, 2017.

[175] Hudson, Ray, and Jacquelin Ruth Benson. *Family after All: Alaska's Jesse Lee Home.* Vol. 2. 2 vols. Walnut Creek: Hardscratch Press, 2007.

[176] Hudson, Raymond. *Family after All: Unalaska*.

The Newhalls left Unalaska aboard the *Portland* the following Summer on July 9, 1901. With them were five Alaska Native girls bound for Carlisle Indian School. Among them was Irene's little sister, Sophia Tetoff. The journey by boat and train took almost a month to cross the 4000 miles from Unalaska to Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Sophia's student card notes that she arrived at Carlisle on July 26, 1901, aged twelve years (she was actually fourteen). She was four foot six and eighty pounds (Figure X below). Note that her name is spelled correctly and her tribe is listed as Aleut.



CARLISLE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.
DESCRIPTIVE AND HISTORICAL RECORD OF STUDENT.

Dead

NUMBER	ENGLISH NAME	AGENCY	NATION
1669	Sophia Tetoff	alaska	aleut

BAND	INDIAN NAME	HOME ADDRESS
		Matthew Tetoff.

PARENTS LIVING OR DEAD		BLOOD	AGE	HEIGHTH	WEIGHT	FORCED INSP.	FORCED EXPR.	SEX.
FATHER Dead	MOTHER Dead	Full	12	4-6	80	29	26	F

ARRIVED AT SCHOOL	FOR WHAT PERIOD	DATE DISCHARGED	CAUSE OF DISCHARGE
July 26 1901	5 years	May 6, 1906	Died-Cause Consumption

TO COUNTRY	PATRONS NAME AND ADDRESS	FROM COUNTRY
Apr. 3, 02	Mrs. A. H. Royer, Mt. Holly, N. J.	Apr. 30, 02
May 6-02	A. N. Jacob, Palmyra " "	May 26-04
June 18, 04	Miriam Russell, Liberty Grove, Md.	9-16-04
April 1-05	Warren W. Webster, Cochranville, Pa.	(Sick)
" 29 "	Mich. Kavenaugh, Kennett Sq. "	May 16-05

SHAW-WALKER MUSKEGON 5478

Figure 23. Sophia's Carlisle student card

It not possible to confirm whether Sophia is featured in any archival photos from her time at Carlisle (such as Figure X) because documentation shows that she spent most of her time in "outing programs" as a domestic servant to white families in New Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. These outing programs, like the mill work in Alaska, were meant to assimilate the students while extracting a wage for their labor. As economic and cultural policy with respect to Native Americans, education was meant to "civilize" Indigenous peoples and to instill in them a Western ethic of "hard work,"[177]

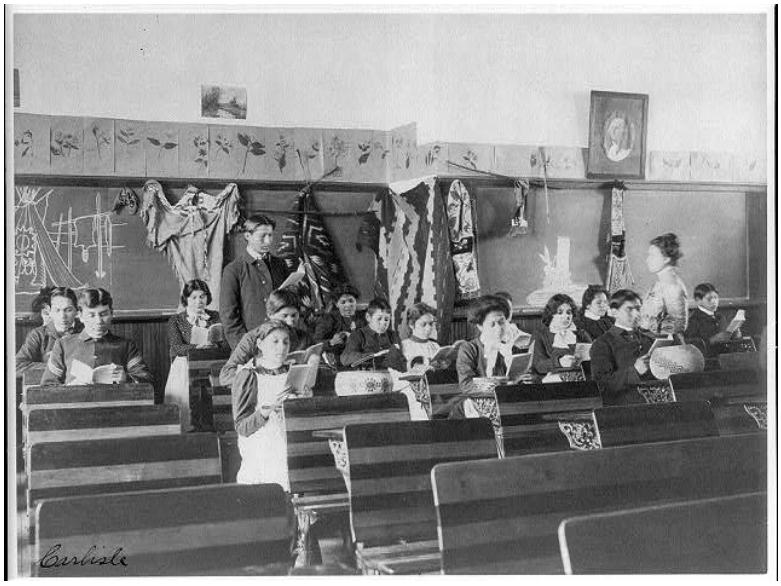


Figure 24. Students read during class at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania in 1901. (Frances Benjamin Johnston/Library of Congress)

[177] Champagne and Stauss, *Native American Studies in Higher Education*, 2002.

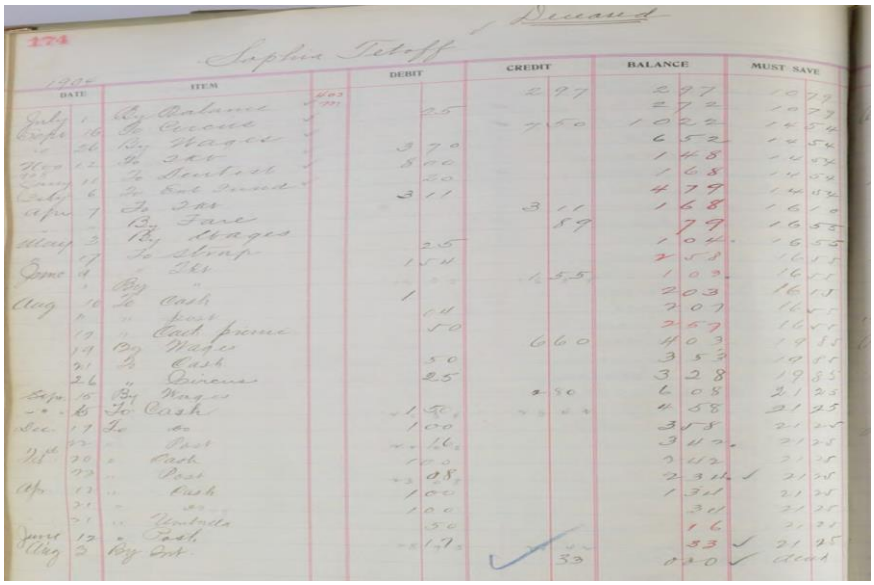
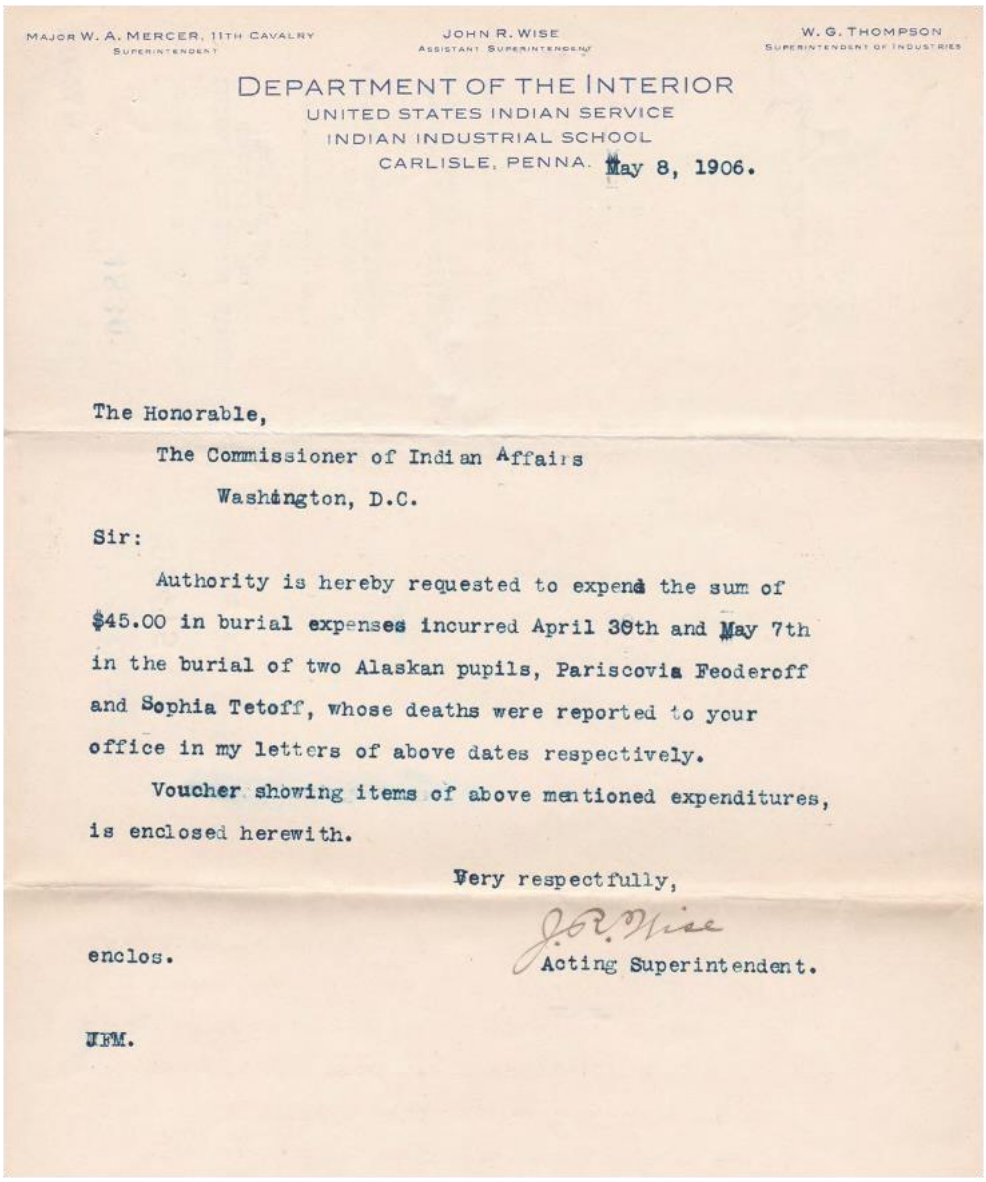


Figure 25. A ledger of Sophia's savings and expenses while at Carlisle Indian Industrial School

At this point she had been at the school for two years. A school ledger (Figure X) shows her balance is over $10 (about $330 today). She paid $8 ($268) to see the dentist. She never again had enough money to go to the dentist. We can see she went to the circus twice. She bought an umbrella a few weeks before she died of 'consumption.[178]' She was buried in Carlisle's first cemetery where she has been moved at least once.[179] The notes about the dentist match findings from an anthropologist's report that she had lead fillings early on and then she died with a mouth full of rotting teeth. She spent an entire year sick in the infirmary with tuberculosis before she died, yet no one took care of her teeth. The high number of kids who died from tuberculosis at Carlisle was many times the death rate from similar diseases from children in the surrounding area at the time.

[178] tuberculosis was commonly called "consumption" in the 1800s.
[179] Carlisle Records



MAJOR W. A. MERCER, 11TH CAVALRY
SUPERINTENDENT

JOHN R. WISE
ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT

W. G. THOMPSON
SUPERINTENDENT OF INDUSTRIES

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
UNITED STATES INDIAN SERVICE
INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL
CARLISLE, PENNA. May 8, 1906.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Authority is hereby requested to expend the sum of $45.00 in burial expenses incurred April 30th and May 7th in the burial of two Alaskan pupils, Pariscovia Feoderoff and Sophia Tetoff, whose deaths were reported to your office in my letters of above dates respectively.

Voucher showing items of above mentioned expenditures, is enclosed herewith.

Very respectfully,

J. R. Wise
Acting Superintendent.

enclos.

JFM.

Figure 26. A Notice of Sophia's Death from the DOI

A notice of Sophia and fellow Alaskan Pariscovia Feoderoff's death was sent from the Department of the Interior to the Office of Indian Affairs to get reimbursed for the funerary expenses. But no notice from Carlisle, the Jesse Lee Home, or Sheldon Jackson was ever sent to

St. Paul. Sophia was listed as 'away at school' in census reports for five years after her 'unknown' death.

Henry Pratt and Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Pennsylvania

After fighting in the American Southwest Indian wars, Lieutenant Henry Pratt sought to create a military-style school for Native students, through which he saw an opportunity to develop an assimilationist program to aid his efforts to "Kill the Indian and Save the Man," his infamous motto. In 1879, he took over the Army barracks in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, choosing this site because of the proximity of the tolerant Quakers and the availability of an abandoned Army building. The Carlisle Indian Industrial School became one of the first government-sponsored, off-reservation Native American boarding schools, and one that would set the mold for others to follow.[180]

Pratt exploited a vision of Indigenous brutality and paganism while using photography as a means of marketing and fundraising for himself and his school. Pratt was actively attempting to kill the culture he was documenting and dismantle the Native away from his previous stereotype.

Interestingly, only one set of Alaska Natives were ever photographed for Pratt's propaganda. The *Bear* brought many orphans to either Sheldon Jackson's schools, the Jesse Lee

[180] Theimer, Kate. *"A Very Correct Idea of Our School": A Photographic History of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School*. Seattle: Kindle Direct Publishing, 2018: 23.



Figure 27. Inupiaq children “before” and “after” photo used for fundraising at Carlisle

Home in Unalaska, and/or to be shipped to Carlisle. In this photo, six children from Northern Alaska are photographed in their fur parkas and mukluks. Only three would survive Carlisle.[181] One of the reasons Pratt may not have used the photos of Unangax̂ of the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands of Alaska, is that they were thoroughly modern people, with fashionable Western clothing and over a hundred years of Christianity behind them (see Chapter 2). Therefore, the contrast in his before and after photos would not hold as much sway for his fundraising efforts. For example, Figure 16 features a drawing of Helen Fratis, of St. Paul Island, Alaska when a Chicago newspaper ran a story about the Orphans being sent from Unalaska to Carlisle in 1898.

[181] Theimer, *“A Very Correct Idea of Our School*,” 92.



Figure 28. Drawing of Helen Fratis in Chicago newspaper from their train ride from the West Coast to Carlisle Indian industrial school[182]

.



Figure 29. Helen Fratis Head stone Carlisle cemetery June 2021. Photograph by author, Lauren Peters

[182] Hudson, *Family After All*. 92

Sheldon Jackson and Missionary Education in Alaska

While Pratt was stealing and carcerating Native children in the eastern US, the Presbyterian Reverend Sheldon Jackson was doing the same in the western US and in Alaska. Moreover, there are direct ties between the public and private lives of these two men: they attended the same Presbyterian Church and were related by marriage, as Jackson's sister was the wife of the Reverend George Norcross, a pastor at their home church, the Carlisle Second Presbyterian Church (all the top families in the community went to the First Presbyterian).[183] Norcross was hired by Carlisle school to perform services for the school, shows up on documents burying the children in Carlisle. Reverend Norcross presided over many of the burials at Carlisle, as the children became weak from overwork, inadequate nutrition, and lack of medical care. Importantly, Pratt and Jackson's assimilationist goals for Native children specifically and Native Peoples more broadly were deeply aligned.

Jackson arrived in Wrangell, Alaska in 1877, looking for new territory to "establish the Protestant Church in Alaska." Diminutive compared to Veniaminov, Jackson was famous for his energy, drive and determination; he hated sin and loved work. Born in New York, he graduated from Union College and ordained in 1858, then started his missionary career in a school for Choctaw boys and in summer 1863 served as a chaplain in the army. He believed that teachers and missionaries were charged with "the general uplifting of the whole [Native] population out of barbarism into civilization." To Jackson, civilization meant, as a minimum, literacy (in English), cleanliness, industry, and Christianity.

[183] Gammage, Jeff. "At Carlisle Indian School Cemetery, a Battle over a Lost Alaskan Child." https://www.inquirer.com, September 6, 2016. https://www.inquirer.com/philly/news/20160907_At_Carlisle_Indian_school_cemetery__a_battle_over_a_lost_Alaskan_child.html.

Jackson aggressively built schools across the west, moving without permission into Alaskan Territory where he became the de facto government, establishing Native Missionary schools in every region. Although Russian Orthodoxy had been firmly established in Alaska since 1794, it was largely confined to the Aleutian and Kodiak Islands in the Southwest. In the 1870s, the American Alaska Territory was an exciting evangelistic opportunity for other Christian denominations. The Presbyterians were among the first to head north, establishing themselves in Southeast Alaska. By 1880, other denominations joined what became known as the Comity Plan, an agreement between the Protestant and Catholic churches to divide the Territory into "spheres of influence" (see figure X below). Jackson took a map of Alaska to New York City and sat down with representatives from the Baptist, Methodist, Episcopalian, and Presbyterian churches. He literally took out a pencil and began circling areas and assigning them to different denominations based on resources and availability of labor, making sure they didn't overlap. Resources included extractable items such as lumber and fur, while labor included children who would populate the boarding schools as a captive workforce.

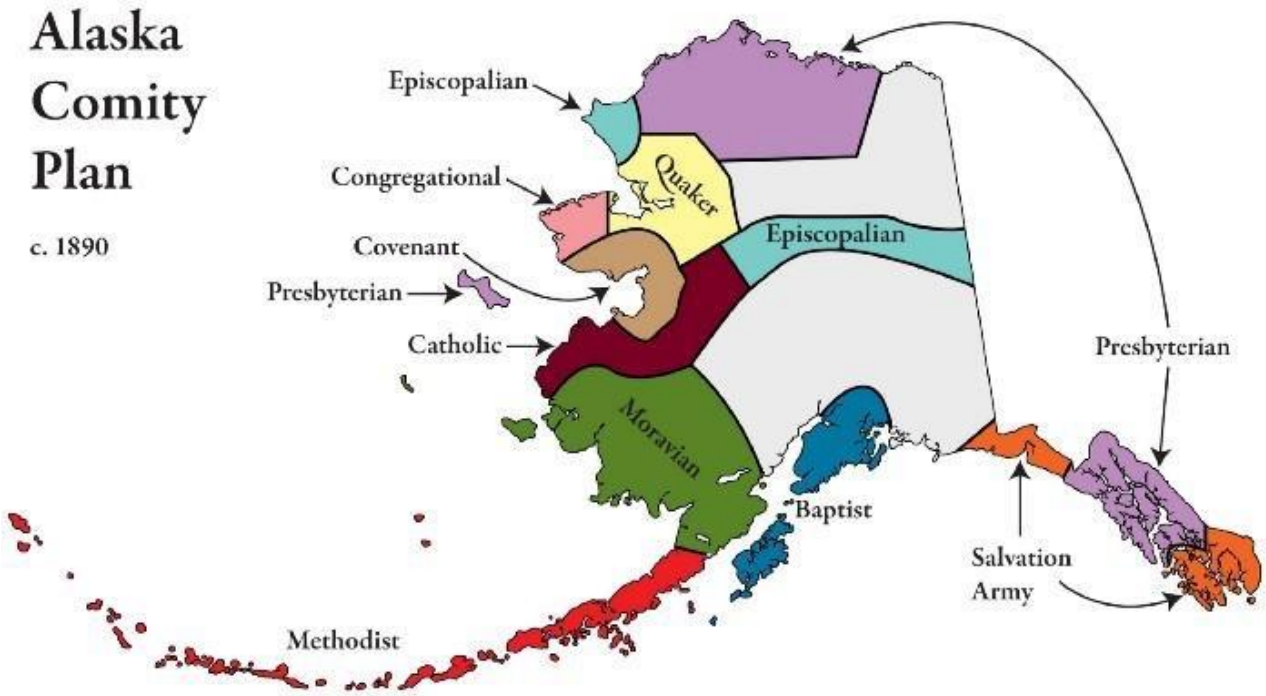


Figure 30. Alaska Comity Plan Map

Without approval from his funding body, the Presbyterian Home Mission Board, Jackson established a Mission School in Sitka and in Wrangel, both in Southeast Alaska. Jackson hired John Brady to run the Wrangel Institute. Brady would go on to become the Governor of the Territory of Alaska. Men like Jackson and Brady aggressively took in and deeded themselves the land rich with resources like timber and fish; Brady gave himself 160 acres of prime Sitka land to founded a mill and cannery. Then would then open a "school," and use school children as laborers in their lumber mills and fish canneries. The children were deeded over to the schools five years away from their families, and school administrators taught them enough English to follow orders and sign their names. Since most of Alaska's boarding schools extracted a range of labor and resources from across the regions, Jackson and Brady's rise demonstrates how these extractive and carceral institutions were very profitable models indeed.

Many church and government agents, including Brady and Jackson, who styled themselves as sympathetic to Natives, saw missionary education as the "mechanism that would at last enable these benighted peoples to achieve civilized enlightenment.[184] Jackson believed in the establishment of mission schools as "Protestant Forts" to protect Native children, and through massive acculturation the Natives could be Christianized. He liked to be called "Rocky Mountain Superintendent," but in 1883 sold his home in Denver and moved to Washington, D.C., a base from which he was very active and quite powerful in Alaskan politics. So powerful that in 1885 Jackson was appointed General Agent of Education for Alaska. Jackson was ambitious and aggressive both in establishing Alaskan missionary schools and in lobbying for their funding in Washington DC. By the mid-1890s, Jackson lobbied Congress to increase his Alaskan budget from $30,000 to $145,000 per year, about 4.2 million dollars by today's standards.[185]

From 1888-1914, Jackson's efforts in concert with the Bureau of Education Commissioner, mandated that Native American boarding school pupils are required to speak and write English exclusively. In a letter from the Rainier hotel in Seattle, dated May 8, 1890, Jackson revealed his true feelings, calling Alaska natives "dirty, low down Eskimos" (See Figure 31 below).[186] His true goal was to eradicate Native languages and cultures and replace them with Anglocentric culture and the English language. Returning to the word Comity, which means an association of nations for their mutual benefit, it is clear that rather than the expressed intent to educate and Christianize Alaska Natives, Jackson and his ilk extracted immense wealth and

[184] O'Connor, Stephen. *Orphan Trains: The Story of Charles Loring Brace and the Children He Saved and Failed*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004: 189

[185] O'Connor, *Orphan Trains*, 184.

[186] Sheldon Jackson letters. The documents in Figure 31 were forwarded to me I believe from Sheldon Jackson's Collection online. The second page without the letterhead at the bottom has a derogatory line in Jackson's own hand.

power through Native American boarding schools, government stipends, church donations, as well as domestic, manual, and farm labor performed by carcerated Native children.

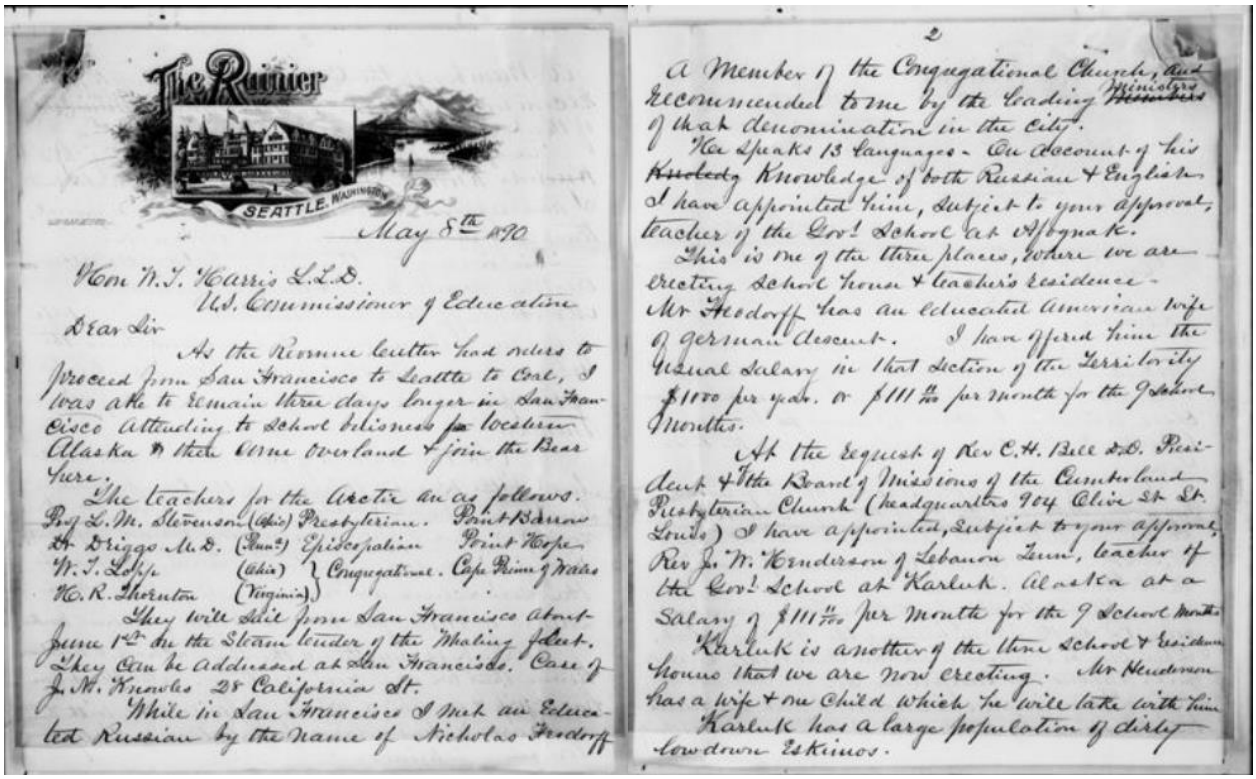


Figure 31. Sheldon Jackson Letters

The first Alaska Native children arrived in Carlisle in 1888. By that time, Presbyterian ministry was aggressive, reaching deep into Alaska Native and First Nations lands and inserting itself into the northern map. Among Jackson's recruits was Tsimshian (Alaska Native) Edward Marsden. Marsden became a Reverend assigned to the Saxman area and involved himself in the Pratt-Jackson-Carlisle project. If a student were found to be either "troubling or promising," they would be sent to Carlisle Indian School, sometimes with Jackson or Marsden delivering the

student himself.[187] Jackson, Pratt, and Marsden's goals were not to have the students raise themselves out of savagery to become ideal, assimilated Americans. While the schools stressed the four Rs – Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and Religion, most of the "education" the students received was either in trades or domestic labor. In Southeast Alaska, where extraction of old growth forests could be manipulated, mills provided for much of the education for the students as well as made a profit for the schools. Not only were these institutions exploiting students for financial gain, the schools were also receiving funding from the US government and from church-based foundations. Jackson began building more schools throughout Alaska, including a Methodist boarding school in the remote Aleutian island of Unalaska. Running orphanages was a lucrative business model as it exploited an untapped resource of Alaska Native labor of an unprotected class of people in a land loosely organized. It was these missionaries that became the de facto government in the Alaska Territory.

Taken together, the theft of Native children, lands, languages, cultures, and lives was as monumental as it was devastating. Church leaders and government agents like Pratt, Jackson, Norcross, and Brady, along with the aid of many others accomplices, were considered progressive at the time of dwindling Indian Wars and used their influence to convince the US Government that assimilation by education was the way to rid the Indians from the land at last. This was not a charitable cause. These men became rich from government contracts, child labor, and church donations.

[187] O'Connor, *Orphan Trains*, 189.

Alternatives to Jesse Lee and Carlisle: Chemawa and Mt. Edgecumbe

An alternate to the Jesse Lee Home was Chemawa Indian School near Salem, Oregon, which opened in the 1870s and is still in operation today. There are a significant number of Alaska Natives buried in their cemetery. Pribilof boys were sent there with the goal of training Aleut teachers and administration clerks for the industry. The Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) paid for transportation and the Bureau of Indian Affairs for school costs. By 1919, the agents were reconsidering this practice. Boys sent to Chemawa were returning dissatisfied with their lot on the islands, comparing it to the relative freedom they experienced in Oregon. Some were considering finding work and staying in Oregon. Others were expecting positions at the FWS out of line with their Native lowliness that the FWS expected. The Chemawa boys were becoming uppity. In 1925 an appropriation was enacted prohibiting the use of its funds for the support or education of any Alaska Native pupil except upon the individual order of the Secretary of Interior. By 1926, no new students were funded but they could go if the parents could afford to send them, which they could not.



Figure 32. Students in uniform At Chemawa Indian training school[188]



Figure 33. Mt. Edgecumbe High School opened in the Naval air station base used during WWII. (The Library of Congress)

[188] https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/chemawa_indian_boarding_school/

Mt. Edgecumbe High School (MEHS) was opened in 1947 in Sitka and run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs under the Department of the Interior. Initially, MEHS provided Alaska Native students in grades 1-12 the opportunity to acquire a traditional education unavailable in rural Alaska. At its peak, MEHS was home to 600 students.[189]

Classes were segregated by sex. In 1954, the yearbook, Taheta, boasted girls' commercial classes in typing shorthand, ditto machine, dictation, filing mimeograph procedures and office machine operation plus nurse and dental assistant training. Additional girls' classes included home economics, home nursing, and sewing. Boys learned industrial woodwork, mechanical drawing, vocational carpentry, machine shopwork, gas and diesel machinery, and boat building. Boys could also learn vocational baking. Clubs included drama, band, chorus, bowling, and of course, the ubiquitous basketball.

In 2021, the demographics per their webpage claim that over 400 students from 111 villages throughout Alaska attend Mt. Edgecumbe. 63 percent of the student body is female, and 37 percent are male. Alaska Native students comprise 79 percent of the student population, 10 percent are Caucasian, and 6 percent are mixed ethnicity. 65 percent of students in attendance meet federal guidelines for free & reduced lunches. 84 percent of 2013 graduates were accepted into a post-secondary university or training programs.

Unlike Carlisle, Chemawa, and Wrangell, MEHS was considered a safe, Native friendly place to be educated. It is one of the only Native schools without a cemetery.

[189] http://mehs.ss13.sharpschool.com/about_us

1900s to Present Day

These missionary schools worked around the separation of church and state by the separation of resources: the government provided the infrastructure (e.g., buildings and budgets) and the churches provided the personnel (e.g., teachers, nurses, and administration). Or, in the case of the Pribilof Islands, the Fur Seal Company was to provide teachers. Forty years after the sale of Alaska, the Pribilof Islanders could speak very little English.

FWS did not approve of the Priest helping at school where any language other than English is studied or taught. Pribilof Aleuts recall that although Russian was taught in some years in the 1930's and 1940's, agents consistently opposed it for fear it would hamper learning English. The inability of the American school to teach the English language was a persistent concern in the 1910 to 1946 period. In 1914, the Bureau prohibited the use of interpreters to increase Aleuts' reliance on English, and the Bureau prohibited the speaking of the native language in the school, a common practice in Alaska Native villages and elsewhere.[190]

Suppression of language use was seen by the islanders as attacks on their religion, culture, and way of life. In 1916, St. Paul Aleuts addressed a petition to the Commissioner of Fisheries in Washington DC protesting the hostility against both the Aleut language and the Russian school. The letter was especially protective of Elders, whose voice is valued in any language. The villagers asked that the Russian school be open after the American school's hours, four days per week and on Saturdays. The petition had little effect:

> We gathered and ta~ked and they all agreed and writing to Washington,
> D.C. This is what we are asking for •••
> Second, in this business we are told not to talk in our own language,

[190] Jones, *History of United States Administration in the Pribilof Islands*, 144. "Wire, H.J. Christoffers to P.L. Manderville, December 2, 1937. Bureau Records, 1923-1946 (Seattle). (E- 570); Menzin, Marion. "The Russo-American Primer: Shaping Cultural Identity." *OAH Magazine of History* 20, no. 4 (2006): 45–50.

> and not to have our own interpreter .•. and in this case our Agent want us to talk just one language, and it is pretty hard from them older men, and for this case we want the interpreter, and the community chief, besides the Government foremen like we used to have before, so as to know what they are talking about and tell what they are saying ••• Fifth, we are keeping our own religion in good order, and think its higher above all things and we want our children to be good, for that case we are asking you for our school (the Russian school) to be here, for our religion and language ••• We are asking for our school to be open four times a week from 4:00 o'clock P.M. to 6:00 o'clock P.M. and also on Saturdays and we know the public school up here is pretty good and our children are getting along very good in english language and we want these other school hours to be going on after the children goes out from the public school to their homes.[191]

As late as the 1940s the Agent pushed for the abolition of the use of the Aleut language in school. Teachers used harsh methods such as washing their mouths out with soap, giving them ill tasting medicines, or generous portions of castor oil for speaking Aleut in school. As late as 1935, my grandmother from St. Paul Island was fluent in Russian, Aleut, and English. Ultimately, English did replace much of young people's Russian and Aleut, however, immersion language camps and early Aleut language education are seeking to reverse that trend.

American schooling was low quality. In one case, the curriculum from one year was unchanged in the next. One person remembers there being only one book in the entire school, Pinocchio, which students took turns reading. His memory was that the teachers were instructed to keep Aleuts ignorant. Several informants expressed the belief that the teachers were instructed by the Seattle office not to teach the Natives anything, just to teach them to say 'yes sir' and sign their names

[191] Community to Commissioner of Fisheries, St. Paul, Alaska, October 10, 1916," Bureau Records, 1913-1946 (St. Paul).

Aleuts' most common complaint about the American school was the arbitrary termination of their education at the age of sixteen until after World War II. Saint Paul nurse Frederika Martin described the effort of sixteen-year-old girls trying to continue their education at home. The girls petitioned for attendance, but the agent refused, giving the reason that the school did not have enough chairs, books, or teachers to accommodate them. As the Bureau discouraged or prevented Aleuts' education beyond the elementary grades offered locally, it deterred them from acquiring the education and training necessary to compete in the economy of the larger society.[192]

Since St. George offered only five grades and St. Paul, six until after World War II, this limited Aleuts' education to a very low level. Several Aleuts told of having asked agents for permission to continue their education after they became sixteen, but the agents said they could have no more schooling, that that was enough for sealers. The FWS goals were not to have the students raise themselves out of savagery to become ideal, assimilated Americans. Education was mandated but its ideals, like everything else on the Pribilof Islands was done to support the sealing industry. The ability of the Aleuts to say 'yes, sir" and understand the task being asked plus the ability to sign their name was enough for the FWS.[193]

Teachers of that day faced the prospect of putting in some additional effort to motivate and innovate in order to comply with island education requirements and budgets for education. Many were not teachers. When reviewing the book *Pribilof Islands The People*, the teachers' skills as outlined in their resumes are not consistent with teaching children.[194] Certification or

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[192] Jones, *History of United States Administration in the Pribilof Islands*, 148-152. Fredericka Martin, The Wind is No River, p. 336, unpublished. Fredericka Martin Personal Collection. (E- 59)

[193] Jones; "St. Paul Agent to Edward C. Johnston, Superintendent, November 24, 1941," Bureau Records, 1913- 1946 (St. Paul). (E- 68)

[194] Lindsay, Betty A., and John A. Lindsay. *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: The People : A Historical Account Told through Illustrated Biographies*. NOAA Technical Memorandum NOS-OR&R. Seattle: U.S. Department of Commerce, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, National Ocean Service, Office of Response and Restoration, 2010: 19.

licensing which came later was not the issue. Many "Teachers" were hired to fulfill duties as treasury agents or administrative tasks tied to the sealing business. The betterment of children was not at the top of their priorities. Goals of the education of tribal communities, According to William Torey Harris, US Commission of Education in 1895:

> Attributes of civilization included a commitment to the values of individualism, industry, and private property; the acceptance of Christian doctrine and morality, including the Christian ideal of the family; the abandonment of loyalty to the tribal community…to become an independent citizen; the willingness to become both a producer and consumer of material goods; and finally, and acceptance of the idea that man's conquest of nature constituted on of his noblest accomplishments.[195]



Figure 34. students boarding a Wien Air Alaska plane at Shungnak, Alaska, to attend schools in Fairbanks or Juneau, ca. 1945–1968[196]

Each fall nearly 600 students from the Alaskan bush were gathered from 40 villages and fishing camps because there were no local high schools. In 1976, twenty-seven teenagers from

[195] Adams, David W., and K. T. Lomawaima. "Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928." *The Journal of American History* 83, no. 3 (1995): 15

[196] NativeVoices https://www.nlm.nih.gov/nativevoices/assets/timeline/000/000/358/358_w_full.jpg

remote Native villages sued and won the rights to be educated in their own towns. Known as the "Molly Hootch Case" for the first plaintiff listed, *Tobeluk vs. Lind* was a landmark case in Alaskan Native education. The plaintiffs brought suit against the State of Alaska, claiming that Native American boarding schools were discriminatory and unjust. Marshall Lind was the head of the Alaska Dept of Education at the time. Since 1998,villages that have ten or more students have state funding for schools.[197] However, some towns have lost their schools in recent years such as St. George Island and Cold Bay. Villages without children become unnatural places and often become extinct.

Americans have been obsessed with reshaping the Native person into their European image for hundreds of years. They have tried killing us outright, sending disease into our communities or with direct violence. They have tried to "Kill the Indian and Save the Man" through boarding schools. They have stolen our children and placed them with Non-Native families. They have taken us from the land where we have thrived for thousands of years and put us into the economy class as the lowest denominator, farming us out under the guise of education. They put us in reservations or in big cities. Most recently the government has used). The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act laws of 1972 created Alaska Native corporations and forced us to practice capitalism where we before practiced balance. Sandy Grande wrote: "The "Indian Problem" is not a problem of children and families but rather, first and foremost, a problem that has been consciously and historically produced by and through the systems of colonization: a multidimensional force underwritten by Western Christianity, defined by White supremacy, and fueled by global capitalism."[198] The Native boarding school system is not a bygone era. Even today, the Bureau of Indian Education (BIE) directly operates four off-

[197] alaskapublic.org
[198] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 19.

reservation boarding schools in four states: Riverside Indian School in Anadarko, Oklahoma; Sherman Indian High School in Riverside, California; Chemawa Indian School in Salem, Oregon; and Flandreau Indian School in Flandreau, South Dakota. Despite all of this, Native people are thriving, a cause to celebrate. Unangam Tuunu is coming back on St. Paul, and the Aleutian islands, thanks to Linguists, teachers and students working in concert.

Conclusion

It was said that Native children were sent away to boarding schools if they were either problematic or promising. The promising children became teachers, lawyers, and doctors. Many of these promising children could play an instrument or were good at sports, like Sac and Fox Olympian Jim Thorpe. Yet as heartening as these particular stories are, they were largely the exception. Most of the children were sentenced to hard labor disguised as education.

In addition to the paternalism and missionary zeal brought to Alaska, the main goal of the school administrators was to extract wealth from the Indigenous people and steal their land. Tuck and Yang discuss this dissociation as dis-location. Education was a convenient way to remove young people from the land and use them as an additional means of racial capitalism. "Missionary education as instruments for executing the policies and interests of the US government reflects the prevailing belief in the power of Western education as a means of acquiring Native lands without the need for payment or mutual treaties."[199] Indeed, the boarding school model gave these men access to free labor, funding from the government and church, plus land and resources to extract and sell.

[199] Champagne and Stauss, *Native American Studies in Higher Education*, 206.

Sophia's life and death at Carlisle Indian Industrial Boarding School happened over a century ago. Yet, Native boarding school trauma is still being felt today. Residential schools were an attempt to dissolve in the students everything it was to be Native. Students were taught to be ashamed of who they were. Linda Tuhiwai Smith says, "The whole process of colonization can be viewed as a stripping away of mana (our standing in the eyes of others and therefore in our own eyes) and an undermining of rangatiratanga (our ability and right to determine our destines)."[200] From a Yupiaq perspective, young people were going away to school and coming back "useless." Western education caused Natives to become "emigrants and exiles from their own language, values, traditions and homeland."[201]

Boarding school damage is multigenerational. My mother both attended and taught at Native boarding schools. A former student at Wrangel Boarding School in 1957, the year my mother taught there, tells of being stolen from his family at age 5, head shaved, hosed down, beaten for speaking the only language he knew, Yupik. He told of adults coming into the dorms after lights out and choosing their victim for the night. My mom would have seen all of this. She never spoke of it. But she was hyper-vigilant of sexual abuse and looked for it everywhere. Eduardo Duran in *Peace, Power, Righteousness* says that "once a group of people have been assaulted in a genocidal fashion, there are psychological ramifications. With the complete loss of power comes despair….At this point the self-worth of the individual and/or group has sunk to a level of despair tantamount to self-hatred. This self-hatred can be either internalized or externalized."[202]

[200] Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 175.
[201] Kawagley, *A Yupiaq Worldview*, 50.
[202] Meyer, Craig A. 2019. "From Wounded Knee to Sacred Circles: Oglala Lakota Ethos as "Haunt" and "Wound"" *Humanities* 8, no. 1: 36.

It is important to acknowledge the damage that these governmental policies continue to impact current Native peoples through genocide, which is defined in part by removing children from their homes. Dakota Scholar Elizabeth Cook-Lynn says, "Today colonizing, unlike slavery, is not a crime anywhere in the world. Even the use of the term contact in the definition of "postcolonial" studies disguises a history of invasion and genocide."[203] Of the ten thousand or so students that attended Carlisle, 186 students from nearly fifty different tribes died and are buried there. It is estimated that over 500 children died in total, some away in the 'outing' program and some sent home to die on their reservations to hide the high numbers of cases of tuberculosis, influenza, and trachoma at the school. One hundred thirty Alaska Natives attended Carlisle. Fourteen died there. The cemetery has been moved twice and some children's bodies have been lost or misplaced. Those who did return home found that they fit in neither with their tribe, having lost the ability to survive off the land, nor with their dark skin in the white man's world. Gertrude Bonnin, original name Zitkala-sa, recalled her first days as an eight-year-old at Carlisle. They dragged "her out from under a bed, tying her to a chair, and then cut her braids with a pair of scissors. She describes this moment as the moment she lost her spirit. After Carlisle, she found herself alienated from her traditional mother and struggled to reconnect with her family for the rest of her life."[204]

The crux of this work explores the structures that the government and Churches created that not just allowed, but deliberately created and normalized this process of stealing Indigenous and Alaska Native children generally, and Unangax̂ children specifically, under the guise of educating them; and to what colonial, imperialist, capitalist, and racist ends these children's

[203] Cook-Lynn, Elizabeth. "Who Stole Native American Studies?" *Wicazo Sa Review* 12, no. 1 (1997): 9–28.

[204] StMu history

education was designed to accomplish. For a very few, especially the academically, musically, or athletically gifted, these children became doctors, lawyers, nurses, and teachers. For most, however, the children performed hard physical labor with only enough literacy and understanding of English to understand what their duties were. Many ran away, died at the schools, or died while being sent away from the schools. Those who were caught and returned were kept in jail cells with child-sized handcuffs. For many who died, their family's religious preferences were refused. Many died from tuberculosis, a slow death caused by negligence. Data will show that, compared to child mortality at the time that Carlisle School was operating, the child death rate in the areas surrounding Carlisle in Pennsylvania was significantly lower than at the school. Since the Boarding school era, the attempts at Indian cultural disruption and assimilation have continued through adoptions, urban removal, foster homes, incarceration, simply taking a child home, orphanages, farms, domestic servitude, and sterilization of girls and women. Research pins this forced sterilization as common through 1977, but a recent Senate report has shown this still happening through 2019.[205]

[205] Baig, Fakiha. "Indigenous Women Still Forced, Coerced into Sterilization: Senate Report," June 3, 2021. https://globalnews.ca/news/7920118/indigenous-women-sterilization-senate-report/.

Chapter Five – Tunusam Sophia [Sophia's Story]: Healing Communities Through Rematriating Stolen Children (2021 – present)

In previous chapters I emphasized how despite Russian, European, and American influences coming into Unangam Tanangin and writing histories on or about Unangax̂, Unangax̂ continued to exercise strategic modes of self-determination to maintain Unangax̂ cultures, languages, histories, and identities (Chapter 2). I documented colonial, imperial, capitalist, and racist structures detrimental to Unangax̂ lifeways (Chapter 3) and more specifically via US church- and government-run Native American Boarding Schools (Chapter 4). All of these contexts set the stage to revisit Sophia's story, which I have chosen to do by opening with a fictional recreation based on the facts that I know of her and her sister Irene and the lands where she was taken. I follow Sophia and her sister, Irene, from a life of abundance on Saint Paul Island, to their kidnapping by Methodist missionaries, and Sophia's journey to Carlisle, Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania.

The story continues as I work to bring Sophia back home to Saint Paul island. I then turn to a discussion of her return and her importance to her community. Here, I will introduce my theorizing of the concept of rematriation through my Unangax̂-led project, a project that aligns with some of the more strict definitions of decolonization, that is the reuniting of Unangax̂ bodies with Unangax̂ lands and waters.[206] I conclude by explaining how this rematriation work conducted with, by, and for Tanax̂ Amix̂ and Unalaska specifically, and for all Alaska Natives affected by these crimes more broadly, will bring justice for our people and serves as an example

[206] See Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor."

of sovereignty and self-determination. Like the laaqudax̂ [fur seal] which returns each year, bringing joy, comfort, and sustenance, so shall the return of our children replenish each of our souls.

"Please Don't Forget Me": Sophia's Story



Figure 35. Fur seal and driftwood on beach next to Saint Paul island Village

St. Paul Island, Alaska, September, 1896

Sophia and Irene Tetoff lay in the tall grass, wild geranium, and [tuutakdax̂] wild celery, called Putchkie on the slope of a waning caldera. Their late mother Fekla, Memory Eternal, had taught them about every plant on the island so they knew that it was too late in the season to snack on the Putchkie. What was in spring a vibrant green crunch was now red indicating that

the celery was now acidic enough to cause facial burns. They picked orange salmon berries each one a mouthful of sweet juice. Growing next to the bushes were delicate purple flowers whose roots were once used to poison whales during a hunt. Life and death here grow in close proximity to one another. Such are the Pribilof Islands of Alaska.

The summer was nearly over. Pink fireweed blossoms grew on tall stalks towering over the girls 4 foot 4 inch frames. The elder Kukax say that the tall flowers meant that a cold winter was coming. Down deep in the grass, the sisters could hide and whisper to each other, their voices being carried away by the constant wind that blows across the treeless island. If they sat up, they would be able to see the men and boys, hard at work, clubbing and stripping the skins of the fur seal fur under the watchful eye of the US government Agent. Today was the last day of the seal harvest and tomorrow is "Homer Gone," when the ship, *Homer,* will take the seal pelts, blubbered, salted, and packed in barrels to a place called North Carolina, four thousand miles away to be processed and then to St Louis, (wherever that is), to be made into coats, muffs, and hats for the fancy people to buy and wear in big cities, (whatever those are). Irene and Sophia, being only girls, and orphans at that, were free to run the hills of their little island, safe from scary far-off lands that they saw in magazines, with those strange looking people with yellow hair and funny shoes.

"Tomorrow's Homer Gone," whispered Sophia to her sister. "Do you think they will have cake? Will there be games? Will Aunt Agrippina fry aladix? Will she make peruk?" Silenced by a look from her sister, sophisticated at age 12, two years older than Sophia, Irene answered, "Most likely, if the men finish early enough to catch a few halibut for fish pie. If we only have frybread, that will suit me just fine." And to have the Agent gone for the rest of the

year until next spring, when the seal harvest would resume, was the best part of Homer Gone, she thought to herself.

The Agent was from Far Away, from the place that sent people with the yellow hair and blue eyes to tell us Aleuts what to do, when to do it, how to do it, and were in charge in every part of our lives, like the Russians before them. The only person who could stand up to them was Father Michael, the Russian Orthodox Priest. But even he was a peacemaker and tried to smooth things out without conflict. Like last year, when the doctor decided that all the boys up to age 14 needed to be circumcised. Father Michael stepped in and negotiated that only new babies would have to be cut, not the working boys that were needed for the harvest, carrying and loading the pelts when they were taken. Even the young boys helped so that they would get used to the clubbing, stripping, and gore of slaughtering thousands of lagudaadax for the white man's profit, some of which would be used to purchase the Inglenook winery in far off California.

The girls needed to return to town before the men to help prepare the evening meal, so they reluctantly made their way through the tall grass towards town, stooping now and then to gather up a handful of moss berries, some of which they carried in their apron and most of which they popped directly into their mouths, the sweet tart goodness staining their lips purple. Homer Gone would allow for lazy afternoons in the berry patches and weekends of putting up the berries into pies and preserves for the winter.

By the time they arrived at house #2, the Titov/Tetoff family home, second only to the priest's house next to the church, their bellies and aprons were full of the little berries. The door opened and a tiny but fierce woman threw out the dish water into the side yard. "Well, I guess we will need to save some berries to dye those aprons purple, not that you girls didn't get a good start on that. Come on in and wash up, we will need to get started on the peruk and pies for

tomorrow's celebration, as well as finish the seal roast for the men's dinner." "Aang, Auntie Agrippina," sang the girls. All the Tetoffs on the island crushed into the same house, however they were only all there to eat and sleep. The men spent the days either in the process of clubbing, stripping, blubbering, and packing seal pelts in the summer, or at the workshop carving ivory, fixing equipment, or just sharing cups of steaming chaiyux or Kuffyux and smoking, swapping lies, and occasionally gambling at the pool hall. Everyone was excited for Homer Gone and the freedom that came with the Agents' departure. Neon Tetoff, the girls' half-brother and Agrippina's husband, was world famous for his ivory carvings, and was looking forward to working on his walrus ivory. He made elaborate animal shapes or cribbage boards and had a plan to rework the broken church clock into a lathe to grind the smaller pieces into beads that he sold for $1 per bead which paid for the fine clothing he liked to buy for himself and his family from the Sears-Roebuck Catalog. The girls lived there before and after their parents died, custom and Agent rule keeping the family under one roof, thus the shock of losing their parents to a flu epidemic brought by the *Matthew Turner* ship from Unalaska the year before was lessened somewhat. Being so close to the church, where their parents were buried, allowed for daily visits and discussions with the departed. Yes, Homer Gone would be a great day indeed.

Winters, California 2017

Lauren was on the couch in her living room, engrossed in Dana Stabenow's latest mystery novel when her iPhone buzzed on the table next to her. Kate Shugak was hanging on a cliff in the last chapter – is Dana killing off her heroine? She was known to do that from time to time. Reluctantly, she peeled her eyes from the words on the page, picked up her phone, and saw the name Bob Sam. "Honey? Do we have anything going on this afternoon? It's Bob Sam." Her husband Mitch looked up from his laptop where he was destroying another planet in the name of

Capitalism, replied, “Your last conversation was like, three hours.” “Yep. Hi Bob!” The long silence on the other end didn’t unnerve Lauren. She knows that talking to an Alaska Native Elder took time and patience. Bob Sam is a Tlingit Elder from Sitka who specializes in Human Rights of the Dead, taking care of graveyards, and was a master storyteller. She decided to walk around the back yard and water her berry plants straining from the 100-degree weather while she waited. After about an hour of Bob speaking slowly and vaguely about how Native orphans were Wards of the State even before Alaska was a state and because of that it was difficult to return their bodies from outside graveyards, he came to the point.

“Did you know that there are fourteen Alaska Natives buried in Carlisle Indian School cemetery?” Long pause. “No – I thought only Plains kids were buried at that school.” Longer pause. “Yeah.” Pause. “I need to find their families. There are five from your region: the Aleutian and Kodiak Islands. Can you help me find the families?” “Yes, I know most of the family names from there. If there are living relatives, I am sure we can find them, or find that there are no living relatives.” “OK,” Bob continued, (long silence as if he was still making up his mind to share this burden with me) “The first name is Sophia Tetoff.” I stopped in my tracks and suddenly felt very cold underneath the hot California sun. “Um…that would be my relative. That’s my family name from St. Paul Island.” I wrote down the other two Unangaŷ [Aleut] names and the two from Kodiak Island.

Learning how to return children from the US Army barracks

In the fall of 2017, I traveled to Minnesota to the Native Boarding School Healing Coalition (NABS) to hear testimonies from Native American relatives affected by the Carlisle Indian Industrial School and to learn how to bring a child home from Carlisle. The first speaker

was Yufna Soldier Wolf who repatriated her relative from Carlisle to the Northern Arapaho's Wind River Reservation in Wyoming for reburial with her family in 2016. She talked about how part of the process involves working with an archaeologist and anthropologist to determine if the body in the grave fits the records. Things didn't go smoothly for her. In her case, they found that the body in the grave did not match the records and they found more than one child in the grave. The trauma of that realization upon the deep trauma of digging up multiple children must have been overwhelming. Through a steady, brave, teary speech, she told us of the process to find the correct child, and of bringing her home. She provided a best practice for the process.

In 1927, about ten years after the school had closed, the Army moved the graveyard from between the stadium where Olympic athlete Jim Thorpe (Sac and Fox) played football and the school dump, to its current location next to the barrack entrance (Figure X below).[207] Yufna cried, tears streaming down her face, for her entire presentation. I remember thinking how brave she was to be able to stand up and cry in front of all those people. I could never do that, I thought, I would be mortified. Later, I began to question this response when I began telling my story about Sophia. I couldn't make it through a ten-minute PowerPoint without springing a leak at best, and full sobs at worst. Why is Yufna brave, while I am weak and embarrassed? Because of her and others who questioned the colonizer's admiration of passiveness and a stiff upper lip, I began to give myself permission to cry in public. It morphed from there when I started questioning the ability for people *not* to cry when hearing about Sophia. Do they have no feelings? Are they monsters? The responses from the Non-Native crowd told me how they admired my storytelling and how moving it was. Then, they would ask, when is my book coming out? There was no responsibility in the minds of the audience, just entertainment. I asked my

[207] After the original cemetery was moved, it was paved over and a large training facility for the Army War College was built over it.

Passamaquoddy Elder about my need to protect my heart against this banality. She said that I need to ask something from my audience for the gift of my story. I will try that next and see how it goes.



Figure 36. The upper left red square is the original cemetery, where Sophia was first buried in 1906. It was between the stadium and the dump. The lower red square is where the Army moved the cemetery in 1927

Next, we listened to an Army representative leading us through the paperwork required to request a child's disinterment. Following Yufna, the Army spoke about the process of filling out an affidavit claiming to be the closest living relative and a separate one saying the rest of the family has no objection to the process. The Army's Pentagon Based lawyer made it very clear that this was a "family" matter and not a Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) matter; the army did not consider the cemetery at Carlisle a collection." It seemed straightforward enough.

Creating community

Armed with information, I called my Auntie Edna and asked her if she knew of Sophia? Her answer was no. I emailed the Tribe. They had not heard of Sophia. Neither had the Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association, the cultural hub for the Unangax̂ people. I called my Auntie back and asked her if she would like to proceed. She did. I contacted a relative of Sophia's and mine still living on Tanax̂ Amix̂, who worked as the Cultural and Language Director for the Island. She presented the idea of Sophia's return at a Tribal meeting, and their first reaction was an overwhelming "NO." The Tribe wrote a response to explain that they felt Sophia had made her pact with God and it would not make any difference where she is buried.

I was prepared to accept the Tribe's response, yet I also felt compelled to learn more. I needed help and I needed to have community unity. I enrolled in a PhD program in Native American Studies at UC Davis. There, I learned of a program supporting human rights, and thought of Bob Sam's campaign for human rights of the dead. I continued traveling to corporation meetings and cultural gatherings in Anchorage and building relationships with more SPI people. I made sure to attend culture camp in Anchorage in June and the Annual Aleut Corporation meeting in October. I went to the Russian Orthodox church in Anchorage, everywhere speaking of Sophia. I became friends with Jacob Merculief, the Mayor of Saint Paul and asked his opinion of Sophia's return; he was supportive, so I asked for his help. I continued to research Sophia's situation and found that she had been moved at least once (the 1927 relocation of the cemetery); another child had been moved at least three times. The second location of the cemetery was next to the entrance to the barracks, an area which was loud due being along a main street with a stoplight with much vehicle exhaust. A fire station was nearby

and screamed its siren as it drove by regularly. The barracks fired off a cannon every night at five pm when taps was played over the loudspeaker. It was not a peaceful place for our children.

I discovered the Dickinson College digital archives online and purchased "Family After All" by Ray Hudson and began to put together Irene and Sophia's story. The Tribe, meanwhile, was researching Sophia from their genealogy and church records. I wrote to Father John at the Orthodox Church on St. Paul Island who began the process of receiving permission from the Bishop. After several years of building community and learning more about Sophia and Irene and the many on the Island who are related to them and learning there were more children from the Island at Carlisle cemetery, the Tribe became open to the idea of bringing a lost child home. My Aunt Edna and I filled out and notarized the affidavits. Everyone was now on board. In 2020, a consensus was reaching with the Tribe and I was put on the schedule to bring Sophia home to St. Paul Island. Then the COVID-19 Pandemic hit and the rematriation process was put on hold.

Researching Logistics and Required Infrastructure

In fall 2020 I began using my time and resources in the UC Davis Native American Studies PhD program to learn more about the infrastructure required to support for this project. I learned that there are significant financial and cultural barriers to doing this work.

Figure 37 illustrates the distances traveled, by Sophia in 1901 and by me and in 2021. Sophia's journey is represented in long dashes, from her home on St. Paul Island to Carlisle, by boat and by trains. My journey is represented in short dashes, from my home near Sacramento, California and the route we took to reclaim her remains at Carlisle and return them to St. Paul.[208]

[208] Routes depicted are approximated and don't necessarily reflect the exact routes taken.

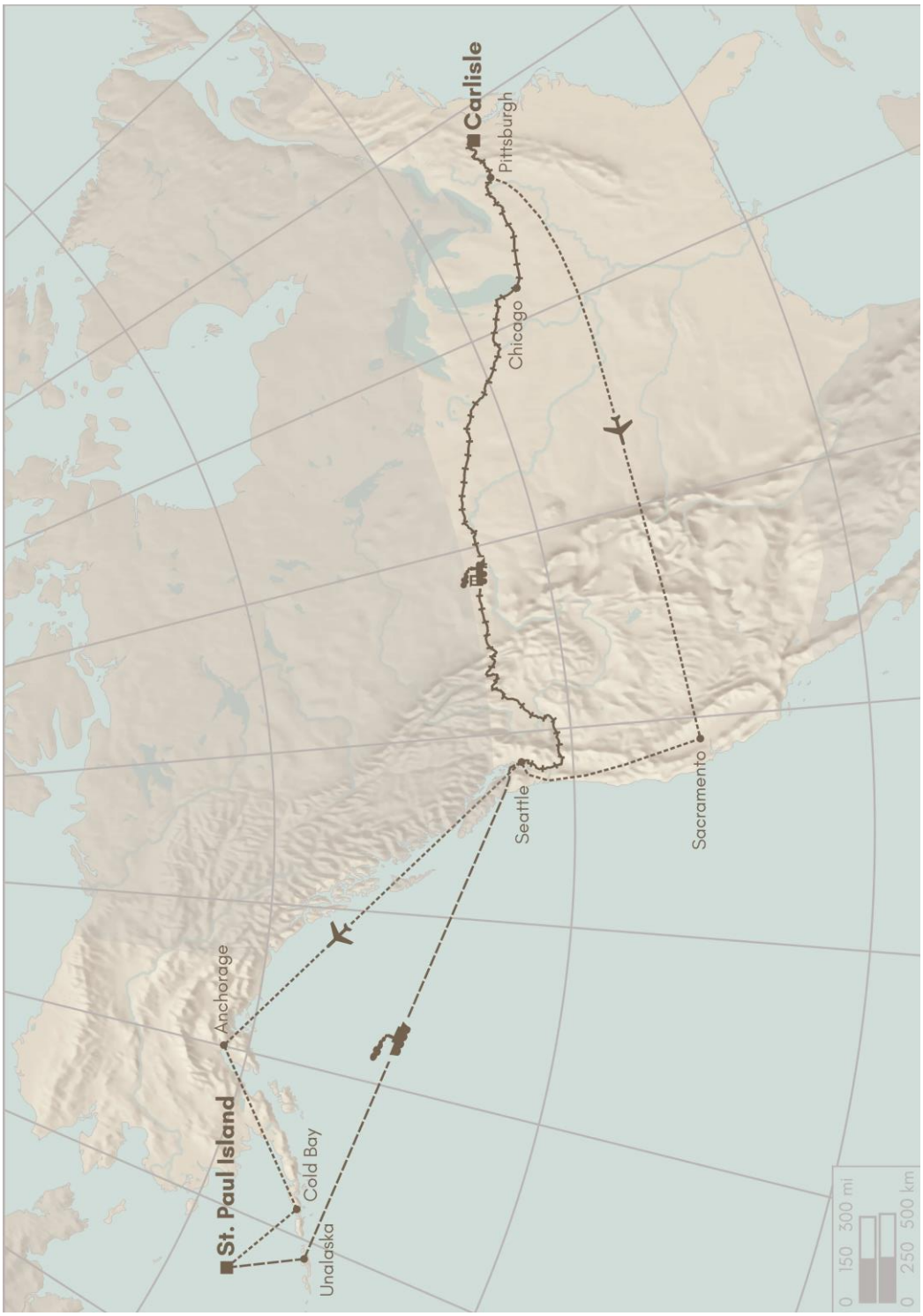


Figure 37. Map of Distances Traveled from St. Paul to Carlisle. (Cartography by Michele Tobias, geospatial data specialist at UC Davis DataLab: Data Science and Informatics)[209]

[209] Map Source: https://www.ucdavis.edu/curiosity/news/uc-davis-family-rematriates-their-ancestor-alaska-native-school#:~:text=The%20quest%20to%20find%20and,for%20Children%20on%20Unalaska%20Island.

Cost. The trip reimbursed travel and hotels to the tune of about $12,000. My total costs were over $18,000, plus costs for notarizing documents and other incidentals. The Army advertises reimbursement but isn't public about the details. I asked a LOT of questions, and those details were clarified with me. I hear that other tribes have sent many tribal members thinking that they would all be reimbursed, only to later find that they have to incur the debt. I learned that the Army only reimburses two family members for flight, room and board to Carlisle, and the return and travel to the home base of the child. That usually means that a group drives from the mid-west, picks up their child, and drives home. For us, this would mean a total of seven flights over three days each way, if the weather is perfect (which is rare).

I specifically only came with Andrew and myself because of the financial restrictions. Still, I had a credit card that I could put our charges on and my trip was spaced out so that I did the Carlisle portion and the SPI portion on two separate months with my first part reimbursed before buying tickets to SPI. Our week on the island was hosted by the tribe with a $350 gift card to the store plus housing. In addition, we were invited to or provided dinner on most nights.

Time, Weather, and Distance. Disinterment is only offered in-between Army War College sessions in June and July. Summer in the Pribilof Islands is a time of preparing for crucial subsistence activities to be able to survive for the year ahead. Halibut and other fishing, seal meat harvesting, caribou harvesting, all happen in the summer and fall, when the animals have fat. Leaving the harvest is not an option for most. One way flight to SPI takes a minimum of three planes and an overnight layover. It took three tries over four days for Sophia's plane to land on SPI due to inclement weather. There are only three flights per week to SPI.

Army Culture and Language. The Army considers family in the nuclear sense, rather than the tribal worldview as a people, not just the immediate personal family. It is unrealistic for

them to think that only two people is a reasonable number to bring our children home. At the very least, that point needs to be clearer to the tribes about how much they will be reimbursed. The Army also needs to be more compassionate when using Army terminology. I was given a schedule for disinterment titled “Execution Schedule.” In our first zoom meeting, the Army members did not turn on their cameras. Being given the flag and medals made me uncomfortable as I did not understand the meaning behind them. I felt like the Army was giving a souvenir to us for Sophia’s stay with them, when they actually meant it as a sign of deepest respect. Having a Native Liaison (translator) for Army speak and culture was key. The Army team at Carlisle, however, is compassionate and professional and understands that these are our children.

Homer Gone, September, 1896

“Where are those girls?” an exasperated Agrippina asked Neon. “They are supposed to help me with the celebration meal. You let them run wild and they don’t show up when they’re needed.” “Hmmm,” replied Neon, who was working on a commemorative cribbage etching of the Homer leaving the island, sailing away into the dawn light from the East Landing, like the whole town turned out for that morning. He looked out for the girls then, but assumed they were sleeping in. He was putting the finishing touches on the waves in the ship’s wake when the door slammed open. It was the head sealer who just returned from closing up the blubbering shop for the winter. “It’s the girls!” He cried. “They’re gone!” An already exasperated Agrippina replied, “What are you talking about, old man?” “They’re gone. They’re Homer Gone!”

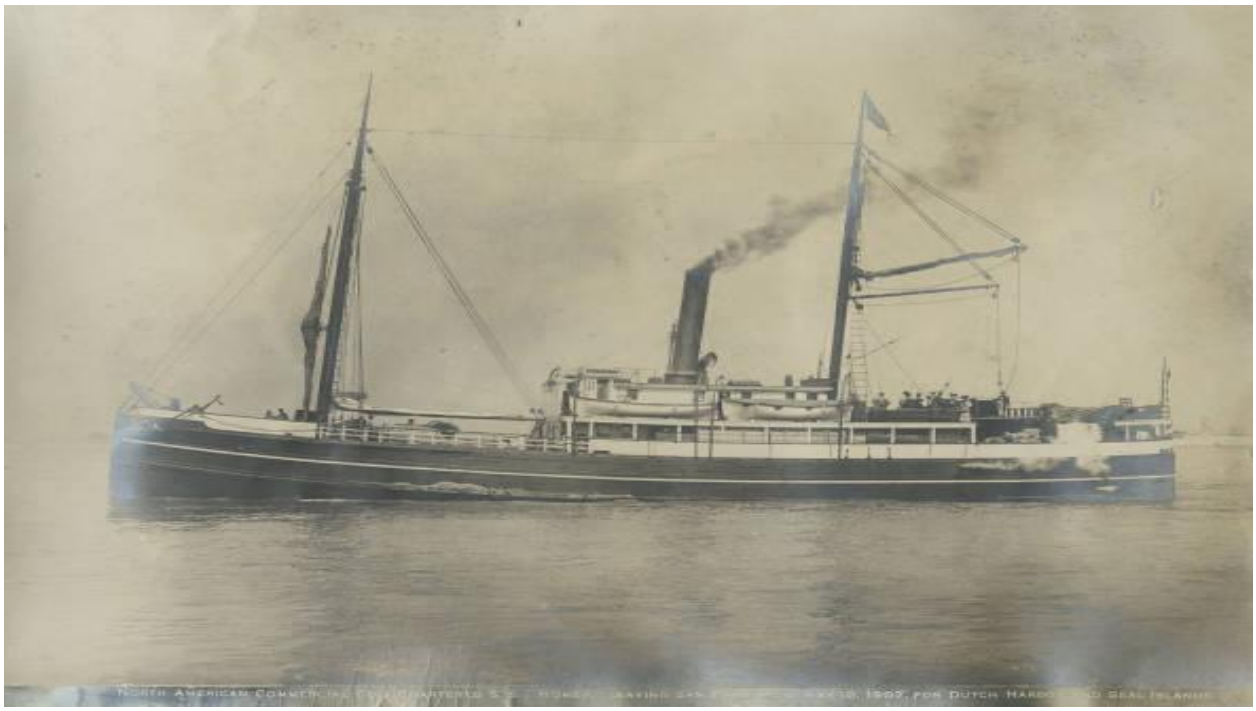


Figure 38. Twin Screw Steamer Schooner The Homer, circa 1895

Two girls, aged ten and twelve, crouched in the small room behind a locked door. One cot and a pisspot were their only companions. They had been there for hours now. It all happened so quickly. The final nigilax was being loaded for the ship, only carrying the white workers leaving the island for the winter. The barrels of salted furs had long ago been rowed to the ship for loading. “Ah, there are the orphans now. See, I told you they would be here as promised.” The Agent in Charge was speaking his strange language to a tall man with a hairy face and a woman dressed in a long light blue dress with a corset and heavy petticoats, making her bottom half look very large indeed. Sophia wondered momentarily if she was shaped like that. Suddenly, two large men grabbed the petite girls and loaded them on the nigilax. Seated on the floor with their mouths gagged by the rough men, they could not see over the side of the deep skin-on-frame

boat, but they could feel the water through the thin walrus skin as the boat was rowed out to the waiting Homer.

"Well, here we are," sang the funny shaped woman as she opened the door to the girls. "I am Mrs. Tuck and I will be your teacher at the Jesse Lee Home in Unalaska. You two girls are very lucky to be chosen for the school. You will learn to be true Americans, learn English, and give up your Pagan Church for the True Word of God at the Methodist Church. Here is an apple and a slice of hardtack. We should be in Unalaska tomorrow! Of course, the girls understood little of what was being shared with them. They spoke Unangam Tunuu in the house and with each other, and Russian in the Church and Russian School. The Agents had seen no reason to educate the girls, so they did not attend the English-speaking school, which was fine with the girls who would rather be roaming the island and playing with the other girls. Seeing a bit of daylight on the other side of the skirts, Sophia ran past the woman onto the deck. She searched frantically for any sign of her island. It was gone. She and her sister were Homer Gone.

Unalaska Island, 1900

Four years later, fourteen-year-old Sophia was scrubbing the floors of the Jesse Lee Home, a punishment for sneaking into the Russian Orthodox Church. She was always being punished for something: not knowing her catechism, letting a word or two slip out in Russian or Unangax̂ when she couldn't think of the English word, or running away into the hills for blessed solitude. The bustling town of Unalaska was not to her liking. Staying in hard chairs to learn English lessons or the endless scrubbing and washing they were required to do was not to her nature. She longed for the freedom she had on St. Paul Island and was reprimanded more than once for asking when she could go home. "This is your home now," the matrons would answer

her. “You are an orphan and should be satisfied with food and shelter.” She silently wondered why she couldn’t have been satisfied having food and shelter on Saint Paul Island at home.

Irene, on the other hand, was a star pupil. They were thinking of sending her away to become a teacher. She was neat and compliant, never complained when her stomach growled from the inadequate watery mush they were served at breakfast, nor the plain, endless macaroni they were given at dinner. With both girls now fully grown at four foot two inches tall, she didn’t even mind when the census takers wrote down year after year that she was fourteen and Sophia was 12. She had become so thin, that Sophia kept scraps of whatever she could glean off other’s plates while doing the dishes. Irene was in bed with a bad cold, probably caught from a foreigner going through town to the gold mines in the Yukon. It seems like the town had doubled since gold was discovered. She snuck up the stairs to the girl’s dormitory to sneak a bit of apple – a treasure! – to Irene.

When she saw her, sixteen-year-old Irene was blue and still on her bed. She ran to get Mrs. Newhall, who replaced Mrs. Tuck a while back. Mrs. Newhall sat Irene up and gave her a sip of water. “Am I going home?” Irene asked. “Yes, dear, you are going home,” Mrs. Newhall replied. The next morning, Irene died from tuberculosis, a disease of malnourishment and neglect, in Sophia’s arms. Mr. Newhall had the Yupik boy, Adeloot, dig a grave in what would become the Methodist Graveyard on the island. This caused a furor with the Orthodox Church and the other Islanders. Someone from the Church put an Orthodox cross on her grave, Jesus’ lower footrest leaning down to the left pointing to where the man on Jesus’ left was going to go for eternity. The Methodists countered by putting a fence around Irene’s grave excluding the Orthodox Cross. The village was furious. Some withdrew their children from the day school. Sophia could not be consoled. In the end, they sent Sophia to take Irene’s place and shipped her

off to Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, PA, four thousand miles from home. She was fourteen years old.

On July 1, 1901, the *Portland* picked up Sophia and four other girls traveling to Carlisle, PA in the care of the Newhalls. Sophia clung to Annie Vereskin from Belkofsky. They bonded over being Unangax̂ orphans and tried to overcome their fears by declaring that this was a big adventure. Sophia knew that a fellow St. Paul girl named Helen Fratis, was already at the school. They asked questions to an extreme that wore on the Newhalls. When the *Portland* docked at Port Townsend, WA, Sophia looked up at the phone lines and said, "O my!! What for do they have their clothes lines so high?"[210] "Those are telephone lines, girl. Now, children are to be seen and not heard," declared an overwrought Mr. Newhall. Twenty-seven days later, the train pulled into Carlisle Industrial School.

Carlisle, PA 1901-1906

"This is not the child we asked for!" complained Mrs. Burgess to Lieutenant Pratt, the founder of the school, whose motto was "Kill the Indian and Save the Man." "She's hardly over four feet tall, can barely write her name, speaks lousy English, and will never be a teacher!" Called "Man on the Bandstand" behind her back because of her rough, masculine ways, Pratt knew better than to argue with her. "Yes, yes, then send her out into service. Those girls from the Jesse Lee Home are good housekeepers."

Annie Vereskin died at age 11 from diphtheria just nine weeks after reaching Carlisle. Her cause of death was called a "hard cold" in the newspaper, "the Redman and the Helper." Helen Fratis did greet Sophia on her arrival but died at nineteen from tuberculosis on December

[210] Hudson, *Family After All*, 137.

13, 1903, two years later. Her death notice said that her relatives were notified that she was in "delicate health…but as she was an orphan a request was made that we allow her to spend her last days at the school." This is a lie. Helen was not an orphan. She was called "Ellen" at home and had a living father and brother on St. Paul at the time. Sophia was sent to work in four of her five years at the school. The manual labor was called an "Outing," and consisted of farm work, hauling and quarrying stone, and domestic labor. In 1905, Sophia was sent back from an Outing, spent her last year in the school hospital, and died of a disease of neglect: consumption, an overarching name for weakness in the lungs. She was placed in the old cemetery, closest in line to the dump, in an area now paved over for the war college. Those wishing to see Jim Thorpe play football would have to walk through a children's graveyard to the grandstands that were quarried and built by child labor. Sophia was among the last of the children buried in the old graveyard. Others were sent home at signs of sickness, often dying on the train enroute, and lost from data keeping track of those children who died at the school. Carlisle closed its doors in 1918. They were all moved to the new cemetery in 1927.

Carlisle, 2021

A few weeks before going to Carlisle, I was feeling alone and vulnerable. I reached out to National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition (NABS) to discuss how they might be able to support me on this journey. Since Tanax̂ Amix̂ was closed to outsiders due to the pandemic, NABS offered to send out a film crew to Carlisle with a MOU that they would share footage from Carlisle and we would supply footage from Tanax̂ Amix̂.[211] The then-CEO of NABS suggested we schedule a zoom call. I phoned in anticipation of soaking up wisdom and

[211] Tanax̂ Amix̂ has shared footage with NABS. As of this writing, we have not received any footage from NABS.

repatriation advice. Instead, I was confronted about my arranging to have the Russian Orthodox Church do a ceremony at the cemetery. The others on the call were descendants of Catholic Boarding school abuse and were upset that I was allowing the Church to be involved. It took a strong stance on my behalf of my community's wishes. I explained that the Orthodox Church were not the abusers in the Unangax̂ community like the American Churches were. I left the meeting feeling unsupported and defensive. I thought that NABS should have done their due diligence about Alaska Native people and not assume that we were all ubiquitous. I felt that they should have known better before attacking me.

In May Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission announced the discovery of a mass children's grave at Kamloops school. From there, my phone rang insistently for the next six months. With the Rosebud Sioux bringing out nine children just after me, I wasn't expecting the intense journalistic attention I received. By the time we reached Carlisle, I asked the Army for complete privacy and was grateful for the extra steps they took to ensure this. The cemetery is on a main road, but it was wrapped in two layers of black fencing so that the press couldn't get photos. We had an air-conditioned privacy tent to rest in. The staff were sympathetic and didn't proceed to any steps without my explicit approval. They were the best in the world at what they do and understood completely that these are our children. By the end of the process, I trusted them.



Figure 39. In June, Lauren Peters and her son Andrew stand in front of the cemetery in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where they retrieved their ancestor before sending her back to her home cemetery at St. Paul Island, Alaska. (Courtesy of U.S. Army and Peters family)

It was a sweltering June day when my oldest son, Andrew, and I, and Marsha Small, (Cheyenne) stepped off the plane in Harrisburg, PA. I asked Andrew to come with me to be Sophia's witness and champion. As a biologist, I thought he wouldn't be as upset as I would be to witness her person. I knew Sophia well by this time and was too emotional. On the way there, in the plane, I panicked. Who was I to take a child out of the ground? She'd been calling to me for so long and everything seemed so logical that I hadn't taken in the heavy emotions I was feeling. I said to myself, it's too late to turn back now. The community is waiting for her to come home.

Marsha is Cheyenne and is doing the ground penetrating radar project at Chemawa, Oregon, a school cemetery where about 200 Native children, including about sixty Alaska Native children, are buried. She wanted to see the process at Carlisle for herself to bring home her

Cheyenne children. She was also helping me with mixed religious protocols. Sam Torres from Native American Board School Healing Coalition was also there with a film crew to capture the opening ceremony, knowing that once the workers began, filming would stop. Also meeting me there was Beverly Tuck, also from St. Paul Island, who lived nearby. Together with my son Andrew, they were all such a comfort.

The day began with ceremony from Beverly, Sam, and a smudging from Marsha. I told her that the Russian Orthodox priest would put our meager smudging to shame. Father Hojnicki was there with his son and four singers from his church in Mechanicsville, PA. He was a very kind man who would come back for the final transfer ceremony. After that, the workers started in. Each time there was a revelation that needed an answer, they would stop and ask me. Sometimes, I would contact the St. Paul folks for guidance.

It took about four hours for the top of the box to be found. Meanwhile they took out the headstone and eventually destroyed it. On it, she was called Sophia Tatoff, Chukson Tribe. Sophia was only buried about an arm's length down in a box about three feet long and a foot square. The archeologists sifted through every bit of dirt over and in her burial box, finding some plastic buttons, nails and such. They found a standard metal cross on her person that was reburied with her. We were relieved that they found a single child in the box. That isn't always the case. Sometimes they reburied several children together when they moved the cemetery as was in Yufna Soldier Wolf's case.



Figure 40. Current Carlisle cemetery location (1927-present day) next to the current entrance to the barracks



Figure 41. Carlisle Indian School Cemetery, Carlisle, PA, Plot 16A. The gravesite of Sophia Tetoff, marked off and ready for rematriation at the cemetery at Carlisle in June 2021. Shows a marker with her name misspelled and the wrong Native tribe identified. (Courtesy Peters Family)

The entire process took four days. There was time to visit with the children in the cemetery and take a tour from historian Barb Landis. In walking through the cemetery, I noticed that almost all of the children had a misspelling or incorrect name on their headstone. It was almost as if they wanted to make it difficult for families to find them. Of the 186 children who were in the cemetery, thirteen are labeled Unknown. The people in the graves are known, however the Army is unclear who is in which grave. Additionally, there are several children who died during domestic labor outings or on their way home that are not counted.

The Day before the Transfer Ceremony, Mark, my Sac and Fox Interpreter (meaning he spoke both Army and Indigenous Civilian) was explaining to me what to expect at the transfer ceremony over Chesapeake mussels at lunch. Have you ever seen a military funeral? He asked. So, you have seen where they give the widow a folded flag? You will be given that at the ceremony, plus some Arlington Cemetery coins. In shock, I replied, So the government steals my aunt, works her to death, buries her and then moves her body, mislabels her name and tribe on her headstone and the Army gives me a flag and coin as what? A souvenir of her stay with them?! I was furious and didn't trust my tongue. I excused myself and went for a walk. While away, I called my cousin at the Tribe and left a message regarding what their wants are. Later in the day, they said that they would be proud to accept the flag. Again, I was there to represent my Tanax̂ Amix̂ community, so would do as they asked. Mark later explained that the Army had no other language to express their respect to Sophia. This was the highest honor that they could give to her. I thought back to the virtual orientation I was given about what to expect at the cemetery. The Army gave me a schedule that was titled, Execution Schedule. Again, I was shocked at the deafness they showed. But, when I pointed out that the word Execution needed to be removed,

they were grateful and thanked me for my guidance. I would accept the flag and coin from the Army on behalf of Tanax̂ Amix̂ with every grace I could muster.

Now it was time to wait for the anthropologist to do her work. Andrew was allowed in the tent to witness during times that they finished a task or needed a question answered. Andrew reported that the majority of her skeleton was intact. It was very small. They only cleaned her bones with water from the local spring and a toothbrush. No DNA was taken. The final report came the evening before the transfer ceremony. She was petite, maybe just over 4 feet tall, but around age 16-18. Her hips had filled out, so she was past puberty. She had incoming wisdom teeth. She had lead fillings and showed signs of extreme decay in other teeth, probably meaning that she saw a dentist when she first arrived, but her teeth were allowed to rot from neglect on her Outings. She had two spinal deformities. The first was common in people who were under extreme physical stress, like gymnasts, or heavy laborers, and more common in Alaska Native women. Her other spinal defect, a malformation of the spine, was also rare, but also more common in Alaska Native women. Her analysis matched almost exactly to her records. We had our girl!

Andrew returned to the anthropologist tent with the fur seal pelt we call laqudaadax. He placed the pelt inside the box, fur side up, and her muslin-wrapped remains inside the pelt, nestling the cross in with her, and closing the pelt around her. He then nailed the box shut. While he was doing this a tremendous storm blew up with lightning and thunder. The weeping cherry tree in the cemetery, full of our children as nutrients, blew furiously. As soon as she was securely inside the box, the storm blew away.

The next morning, a cold steady rain greeted us. It was a sign that she knew she was going home. Marsha smudged the tent before allowing the others in. Father Hojnicki opened and

closed the ceremony with prayer. I spoke and thanked the workers for their professionalism and especially for their compassion. With body language like a cooked shrimp, I accepted the flag on SPI's behalf. It was heavy. Andrew and I were each given an Arlington Cemetery coin plus another to take to SPI. Andrew was her pallbearer, and she was taken away by the Native owned contractor who would take her to SPI in a few weeks.

I made a last walk through the cemetery. "I have to say goodbye to the kids," I said to the others waiting for me. I told each of the kids buried in the Unknown graves that they were not unknown. As I walked though in my bare feet, feeling the children below me, they called out, "What about me? I want to go home too! Don't forget about me!! Will you take me home?" I reassured them that they are not lost children anymore. The families will come get them. Soon.

Drew and I returned to California.

Sophia's Return to St. Paul: July 2021

Lucas, Andrew and I flew to Anchorage on July third. On June-July, July fourth, we boarded a 29 seat, turbo prop, Ravn Air Dash 8 to SPI. Our first stop was Cold Bay for refueling. I asked to get out to take pictures because my grandfather built that runway. They agreed, but not without some jeering from the crowd. Part of that crowd was Agafon Krukoff's youngest sister, Alexandria, escorting her RO Priest husband, Andrew, to SPI to live out the rest of his days. He had a stroke some years past but was a delight to be around. He told me that I was an angel sent here to bring our children home. I am using that next time my husband gives me a hard time.

The Tribe gave us a house for the week, and we rented a car from Ed. No paperwork, anyone with a license could drive. $500 bucks a week plus gas. Ed met us at the airport and gave us a rundown of the truck. All the check engine lights were on, the seats were mostly duct tape,

and the door was jammed unless you pushed on the sharpie marked ‘push here’ and lifted the handle at the same time. It was about 3 miles into town on a chert-graveled road. He would show us where we were staying in house #57.

No sooner were we in house #57, then the door opened, and a tiny woman came in. “Aang, I’m Brenda, the vice Mayor. Come quickly before they take the food away.” June-July activities were well underway, and our delayed flight made us miss most of it – except the most important part, saved as the finale: the grease pole climb. My boys and I changed into our brand-new winter gear: Salmon Sisters Xtra-tuf boots and winter coats and drove over with Brenda to join the fun. Despite not eating all day, we were too excited to eat and just made plates to bring back later. The locals were eating hot dogs and hamburgers, the halibut and snow crab lay mostly untouched – that was everyday food. Brenda encouraged me to take the last boxes of snow crab and halibut and I did, cracking and freezing it for later.

It is thought that June-July started when the US took over the Alaska government in 1867. For some reason unknown to them, the islanders were given a day off from sealing in the middle of the summer and were told to celebrate the 4th of July. The islanders didn’t really understand that they were ironically celebrating Independence Day as captive people sometime around the end of June and the beginning of July. So, Happy June-July.

Andrew and Lucas joined in the fun with the grease pole challenge. By now it was pouring down rain – straight down – very unusual for the Pribilofs which are known for their severe winds. In Louisiana, severe winds are called Hurricanes. In the Pribilofs, it’s called Tuesday.

The crowds were gathered in their dry cars facing the pole honking with enthusiasm. It was 13 feet tall and the last six feet were covered in a half inch of Crisco. Five teenage boys

were vying for the flag at the top. The prize was $1000 for the winner. I told my boys, hell no, you are not ruining your new jackets with muddy Crisco, so they climbed (if you want to call it that, more like hugged) the pole in their undershirts and, with Lucas, bare chested.

Sophia was due in on Tuesday. The flight was canceled. Then the flight boarded on Thursday, the plane went around. The community had planned for a tea following the ceremony. The food was cooked so we celebrated her at the tribal center which also doubled as the community bar. Wanda had supervised and cooked halibut at least ten delicious ways. It was Lenten week, so there was no red meat. Songs were sung in Unangam Tunuu with gusto. It was a good time. Lucas turned to me and asked, are we related to all of these people? I said, "Lucas, when I think about our family, this is what I see." Finally, Ravn Air chartered a special flight for Sophia on Friday. She landed and was escorted again by Andrew into the back of a truck followed by the rest of the community into town, around the town, and after a brief stop in front of House #2, to the church where she was baptized 126 years ago.

The community came in and decorated her burial box with things that would have been buried with her, had she had a full body. The Lord's Prayer, in Unangam Tunuu was written on her box and icons were affixed to the top. After the two-hour full mass, all of us standing, young and old, the crowd in the church erupted into a spontaneous song in Unangam Tunuu. It hit me full in the chest as a memory and a new experience all at once. It was so beautiful. As they sung, Lucas carried the eight-foot-tall cross into the truck, followed by Andrew carrying Sophia. We drove to the modern cemetery (Post 1905) on the hill facing the town. We had chosen a plot next to a Tetoff relative who died in 1905 and most likely knew Sophia. It was in a corner of the cemetery where many unmarked graves were due to the flu epidemic in 1918. It was remarked that SPI survived the current pandemic and so this burial had past and current history attached to

it. The community buried her together with Unangam Tunuu songs, in her language, in her Church, by her family, in her land, putting her finally to rest.



Figure 42. The steeple of the Sts. Peter and Paul Church on St. Paul Island, where Sophia's final funeral liturgy was held. (Courtesy, St. Paul Island Productions)



Figure 43. A group of worshipers in the Sts. Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island, Alaska, in July. (Courtesy of St. Paul Island Productions)



Figure 44. A group of worshipers join the Peters family as they pray over Sophia's casket at the Sts. Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island, Alaska, in July. (Courtesy of St. Paul Island Productions)



Figure 45. The adorned and identified casket of Sophia Tetoff, in both English and her Native language, is readied for burial at St. Paul Island. (Courtesy, St. Paul Island Productions)



Figure 46. On St. Paul Island, it took Sophia three tries over five days to get in due to weather. When she

did arrive, the entire town greeted her at the airport. We paraded through the town, past the Tetoff family home, and into the Russian Orthodox church.



Figure 47. Singing and drumming Sophia to sleep



Figure 48. Sofia's new grave on St. Paul Island. Photo courtesy of Aquilina Lestenkof



Figure 49. View from where Sophia is now buried at the top of a hill in her birth home of St. Paul Island, Alaska. She overlooks both her house and the Church she was baptized in, as were my grandmother and mother (Courtesy, Lauren Peters)

A Last Word: July 11, 2021



Figure 50. Lauren lying in long grass, wild geranium, and putchkie

Lauren lies on her back in the long grass, wild geranium, and putchkie. She grabs a stalk, carefully seeing that there was no red on the stem, peels, and eats it, enjoying the crunch. The fog has rolled in making the grass, and her, soaked with dew. In the deep grass she can hear little, but if she sits up, she will hear the fur seals barking below in the cove and see the town across the caldera. She talks softly to Sophia, tucked into her new home, and feels peaceful. She passes the upper gate and walks to the bottom cemetery gate, the one nearest Sophia tied down tight while she gets used to her forever home and doesn't try to wander. The town is still asleep when she arrives back at house #57 and she packs up her many fishy gifts for her flight home, leaving Sophia to rest at last.

Of the list of fourteen Alaska Native children buried at Carlisle, the list given to me by Bob Sam (see table X below), we now know that two are in the 'unknown' grave: Henry Rose (Dillingham Area) and Mary Kinninook (Southeast). Henry and Mary's families are aware of where they are – they are no longer lost. There were five Unangax̂ girls buried at Carlisle. Since bringing Sophia home, who led the way, two other Alaska Native girls have come home: Annie Vereskin went home to Belkofsky; and Anastasia Aschwack went home to Kodiak. I am continuing to work to bring Helen Fratias and Parascovia Fiedoff home.

	KNOWN GRAVES	
1	EDWARD ANGALOOK	D39
2	PARASCOVIA FIEDOFF	C4
3	LUCY SPAULDING	E11
4	MABEL STACK HARK (STOCK)	E12
5	ANASTASIA ACHWACK	**HOME**
6	COOKING LOOK (COOKI GLOOK)	C14
7	HELEN FRATIAS (ELLEN FRATIS)	D28
8	FRED HARRIS	C29
9	TOMICOCK	E19
10	LAUBLOCK	A9
11	ANNA VERESKIN	**HOME**
12	SOPHIA TATOFF (TETOFF)	**HOME**
	UNKNOWN GRAVES	
13	MARY KINNINOOK	
14	HENRY ROSE	

Table 3. List of Alaska Native Children from Tlingit Elder Bob Sam (ca. 2017)

Justice for our Missing and Murdered Relatives

During the past thirty years of being an Unangax̂ researcher, I began to see patterns of missing and stolen children. My aunts would tell me of Aleutian Island children who would go home with a person visiting the villages, saying that they would provide for their education, as late as the 1970s. In documents of the WWII forced-Unangax̂ evacuation of islands in 1942, a priest kept a teenage girl as his maid. An entry in Family After All reads, "Went to States with Mrs. Brown."[212] She was ten years old. Even Sheldon Jackson brought a girl home from Unalaska's Jesse Lee Home as his new "daughter." She was 15 years old.[213] In her family history, I am told that they were grateful that Mr. Jackson took the orphan girl who had nowhere to go. However, there is no further family knowledge what happened to this girl after she left the Jesse Lee Home with Mr. Jackson. Sometimes a child would go missing and it was blamed on the "outside men," a term thought to be either sea hunters or boogie men. Orphans were especially susceptible to being taken.

I regularly present my collaborative research project with tribal communities of Tanax̂ Amix̂ and Unalaska to share the impact of returning children who were stolen during the Indigenous Boarding School period (1870-1970) and who died in these government-run institutions. At almost every presentation I am asked "what do you want us to do about it?" I answer that each department and agency — including the Department of the Interior, the Army, the Smithsonian, the Bureau for Indian Affairs, the Bureau for Indian Education, NAGPRA and CALNAGPRA — has their own board of directors, or their own set of policies and rules, and their own budget. I would love to see all the repatriation done under the umbrella of the

[212] Hudson, *Family After All*, 357
[213] Hudson, *Family After All*, 355

Department of the Interior and to create an information and resource hub for Native families and tribes who are compelled to do this rematriative work. Following a presentation I gave to a Catholic archivist in Tucson, we received a call from the Department of the Interior saying that the Catholic archives would be in the same collection as the other institutions listed in the DOI report 2022. The Catholic archivists were surprised and happy. The work continues. This is our challenge: to find the children in the unmarked and marked graveyards of these 408 Native Boarding Schools. To do this will necessitate that the US government, churches, Native American tribes and organizations, and individuals work together to find our children. For this to be successful we need three things: 1) Access to government and church databases with finding aids, 2) Financial resources to support this research, and 3) for each lost child, just one human being who cares about them.

The injustices of stolen and carcerated relations, while dire and ongoing, can be righted by returning our children home. In 2021, amid the ongoing COVID pandemic, my sons and I went to Carlisle Indian Industrial School where Sophia Tetoff was exhumed, declared a match to her school records by a famous forensic anthropologist, and flown home to Tanax̂ Amix̂, to be celebrated, mourned, and laid to rest within her lands. This was a choice made by her community that took over four years of direct work and 114 years since she was first buried at Carlisle and then moved. At Carlisle, Sophia was prayed over by three Indigenous groups and the Orthodox Church. After returning home, villagers from ages four to ninety-four came out to Sophia's church service, her celebration of life tea, and her burial — all to remember Sophia, her sister, and other orphans who were removed and disappeared. The community received her at the Church, decorated her coffin, did the readings, dug the grave, and buried her, all the while doing ceremony through chant, song, prayer, and sermon. Children stopped me on the road to talk

about the girl who was coming home as a good thing. The Tribe put my family up in a house in town and gave us credit at the store. While bring Sophia home, I helped an Elder find his relative who is still buried at Carlisle. Only one other Elder was dismissive as it being unnecessary, yet, he too, came to the service and tea. After Sophia led the way home, two more Alaska Native girls have come home from Carlisle, and more are in preparation to return to Alaska.

In the past few decades, the world has shrunk through the internet. Indigenous Peoples are more connected than ever. We are better able to collaborate to find our missing children. I met Bob Sam, the Elder who told me about Sophia, at Alaska Native Day at Fort Ross and have since built a relationship with him. We kept in touch on social media where he contacted me about Sophia in 2017. I researched Sophia through the Dickinson database on Carlisle. Databases can be accessed more easily without extensive and expensive travel. I am grateful to author Ray Hudson's *Family After All* (2018) and the Dickinson College Carlisle School database for primary and secondary means of research that speaks of Sophia and Irene by name.[214] I contacted others with children in the cemetery over zoom, and shared my knowledge. This led to the first ever Alaska Native Boarding School summit in Anchorage in 2022. These are the in-person and virtual networks that made rematriating Sophia possible. Through these connections, we are bringing our children home, learning our past, and healing trauma so the next generation will not have this burden. Think of all the great things Indigenous Peoples could be doing if we didn't have to spend our time righting past colonial, imperial, capitalist, and racist wrongs. Sophia's life

[214] Future research will focus on Mr. Hudson's list of children by date, name, and number in his book to track down our other Missing and Murdered Indigenous Relatives and add their names to the Alaska Native and Federal MMIR database. I will continue to help bring other children home from Carlisle to Alaska as well as find our Alaska Native relatives that died at other institutions like Chemawa Indian School in Oregon, Morningside Institution in Portland, Oregon, Burlington Orphanage in Vermont, and many others. Research on the Woody Island Baptist Orphanage should be more carefully examined and their children found. Following rumors to other institutions where Alaska Natives were sent and died, and lobbying for increased funding and a national consolidation of information, are tasks that lay ahead of me.

was short but impactful. She is the reason that I chose to enroll in a PhD program. She has united the community who rallied together for her return. And she has shown a path home for more missing and stolen Alaska Native children to return home from Carlisle.

Chapter Six: Kadimadan [Looking Forward]: Rematriation as Decolonization and Researching for Unangax̂ Futurities

This dissertation set out to perform and demonstrate how Unangax̂ ways of doing histories *with*, *by*, and *for* Unangax̂ serve as a radical and relational methodology that centers Unangax̂ concepts, analytics, ethics, and protocols, and as a method for uplifting Unangax̂ cultural and linguistic resurgence. I am uniquely positioned to do this work as an Unangax̂ woman and tribal member who is supported by higher education institutions and resources (see Preface and Acknowledgements). As explained in the Introduction, this work ultimately centers around rematriating my great aunt Sophia Tetoff and my attempts to more fully understand the historiographic and structural inequities that enabled her to be stolen away from her home community, carcerated in a Church-run (Jesse Lee Home) and government-run (Carlisle Indian Industrial School) Native American boarding Schools, and allowed to perish and interned in a children's cemetery over four thousand miles away from her Peoples. Chapter 2 addresses Unangax̂ values and practices of self-determination despite the gradual Russian, European, and American incursions, with a specific focus on the emergence of a specifically Unangax̂ articulation of Russian Orthodox Indigeneity. Chapter 3 then reconsidered some key moments in Unangax̂ history through an Unangax̂ lens to better understand colonial, imperial, capitalist, and racist structures imposed by Russians and Americans on Unangax̂ Peoples, lands, waters, and more-than-human relatives.

Chapter 4 looked more closely at how these structures operated within Church- and government-run Native American boarding schools in the United States from the 1890s to 1970s, specifically through documents relating to Sophia's kidnapping and carceration. In Chapter 5 I offer a hybrid narrative: a fictionalized telling of Sophia's journey interpolated with details of my community-led rematriation project and processes.

Throughout this research, I have been paying close attention to evidence of and discourse surrounding crimes of genocide against stolen Indigenous children. The first part of my conclusion places my project into conversation with a growing international reckoning with the role of church- and government-run boarding schools in crimes of genocide against Indigenous children. More specifically, I explain why I take issue with uses of the phrase "cultural genocide." I discuss how we should think and discuss what happened to thousands of Indigenous children who were stolen from their homes, and who never made it home again. I argue that is not enough to call this a cultural genocide, but rather genocide, full stop. To more fully situate Unangax̂ Peoples in relation to global human rights discourse, I interweave tribal and community histories with terminologies and languages outlined across numerous international legal movements including: the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP); the Convention on the Rights of the Child (OHCHR); the Genocide Convention, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, (ICESCR); Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery; the Slave Trade; Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery (1956); and the United Nations Universal declaration of Human Rights (UNHR).

The second part of this conclusion discusses the significance of emerging traditions of Unangax̂-led research with and through the works of fellow Unangax̂ who earned research doctorates. Our collective work is contributing to Unangax̂ futurities on our own terms. I also reflect on the implications of rematriating stolen relations for home communities. I am thankful for the Community of Tanax̂ Amix̂ for welcoming their child back into their lands.

2021: An International Reckoning with Genocide of Indigenous Children

One century ago, eighty three percent of all Native American children in the United States were sent to a residential or boarding school.[215] According to Canada's 2015 Truth and Reconciliation Commission at least 150,000 children attended residential schools. Many of these stolen children died in custody of the state and were buried in both marked and unmarked graves. The timing of Sophia's rematriation coincided with an international reckoning with the role church- and government-run boarding schools played in the genocide of Indigenous children between the 1870s and 1970s. It is important to rehearse key moments in this timeline here.

On April 2, 2021 the US Office of Army Cemeteries published a "Notice of Intended Disinterment" regarding the planned retrieval of Sophia and nine Rosebud Sioux children from the Carlisle Cemetery in Pennsylvania.[216] In late May 2021 Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc Peoples made a grim announcement: ground-penetrating radar confirmed the presence of the remains of two hundred and fifteen Indigenous children under unmarked graves at the site of the former

[215] Adams and Lomawaima, "Education for Extinction," 27.

[216] Department of the Army, "Notice of Intended Disinterment" (April 2, 2021). Accessed November 19, 2023, https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2021/04/02/2021-06784/notice-of-intended-disinterment#:~:text=SUMMARY%3A,Post%20Cemetery%2C%20Carlisle%2C%20Pennsylvania

Kamloops Indian residential school in British Columbia, Canada.[217] This revelation seemed to shock and horrify non-Indigenous readers, while also validating Indigenous Peoples by bringing our stories out of the darkness and into the light. Indigenous Peoples everywhere have few degrees of separation between themselves or their families and genocidal boarding school structures.

On June 11, 2021 US Secretary of the Interior Deb Haaland (Laguna Pueblo), the first Native American to serve as a Cabinet secretary, responded to the news from Kamloops with her own family's story:

> I am a product of these horrific assimilation policies. My maternal grandparents were stolen from their families when they were only 8 years old and were forced to live away from their parents, culture and communities until they were 13. Many children like them never made it back home.[218]

On June 19, 2021, just hours after my son and I left Carlisle Indian Industrial School cemetery with Sophia's remains enroute to her home on St. Paul Island AK, Secretary Haaland visited the cemetery during a ceremony honoring nine Rosebud Sioux children who had died there and whose remains were being rematriated. She told Native News Online, "We have distinct cultures and languages and communities to this day and so clearly the cultural genocide part didn't work because we're still here. I'm very grateful for that."[219] On June 22, 2021, Secretary Haaland announced the Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative, which directed the Department of the

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[217] The Kamloops Indian residential school was established in 1890 under the leadership of the Roman Catholic church, and closed in 1978. See the CBC's "Remains of 215 children found buried at former B.C. residential school, First Nation says," (May 27, 2021), Accessed November 19, 2023. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/tk-eml%C3%BAps-te-secw%C3%A9pemc-215-children-former-kamloops-indian-residential-school-1.6043778

See also Guardian's "Canada: remains of 215 children found at Indigenous residential school site," (May 28, 2021), Accessed November 19, 2023. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/may/28/canada-remains-indigenous-children-mass-graves

[218] *Washington Post*. "Opinion | Deb Haaland: My Grandparents Were Stolen from Their Families as Children. We Must Learn about This History." June 25, 2021. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/06/11/deb-haaland-indigenous-boarding-schools/.

[219] NATIVE NEWS ONLINE https://nativenewsonline.net/currents/in-the-wake-of-carlisle-exhumation-deb-haaland-says-clearly-the-cultural-genocide-part-didn-t-work

Interior to undertake "an investigation of the loss of human life and lasting consequences of the Federal Indian boarding school system."[220]

On year later in May of 2022, Haaland's office released "Volume 1" of their Investigative Report, which identified 408 Federal Indian Boarding School sites in the United States (Figure X below).[221] Preliminary and ongoing research by government institutions and Indigenous activists using ground-penetrating radar show that most, if not all, of these boarding school sites hold a children's graveyard. Many of the children buried in these school cemeteries were taken against the will of their families and have been lost to Tribes and communities for over a hundred years. This number, 408, is very low, and includes twenty one sites located within what is now known as Alaska. The Alaska Bureau of Indian Affairs has since found twenty more. I have traced dozens of children who were sent out from the Jesse Lee Home in Unalaska directly into domestic labor, into asylums, orphanages, farms, and to other Native American boarding schools, or just taken away and adopted into a white family.

[220] Department of the Interior, "Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative" (June 22, 2021), Accessed November 19, 2023, https://www.doi.gov/priorities/strengthening-indian-country/federal-indian-boarding-school-initiative#:~:text=In%20June%202021%2C%20Secretary%20of,the%20traumas%20of%20the%20past.

[221] Newland, Bryan. "Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative Investigative Report," (May 2022). Accessed November 19, 2023, https://www.bia.gov/sites/default/files/dup/inline-files/bsi_investigative_report_may_2022_508.pdf

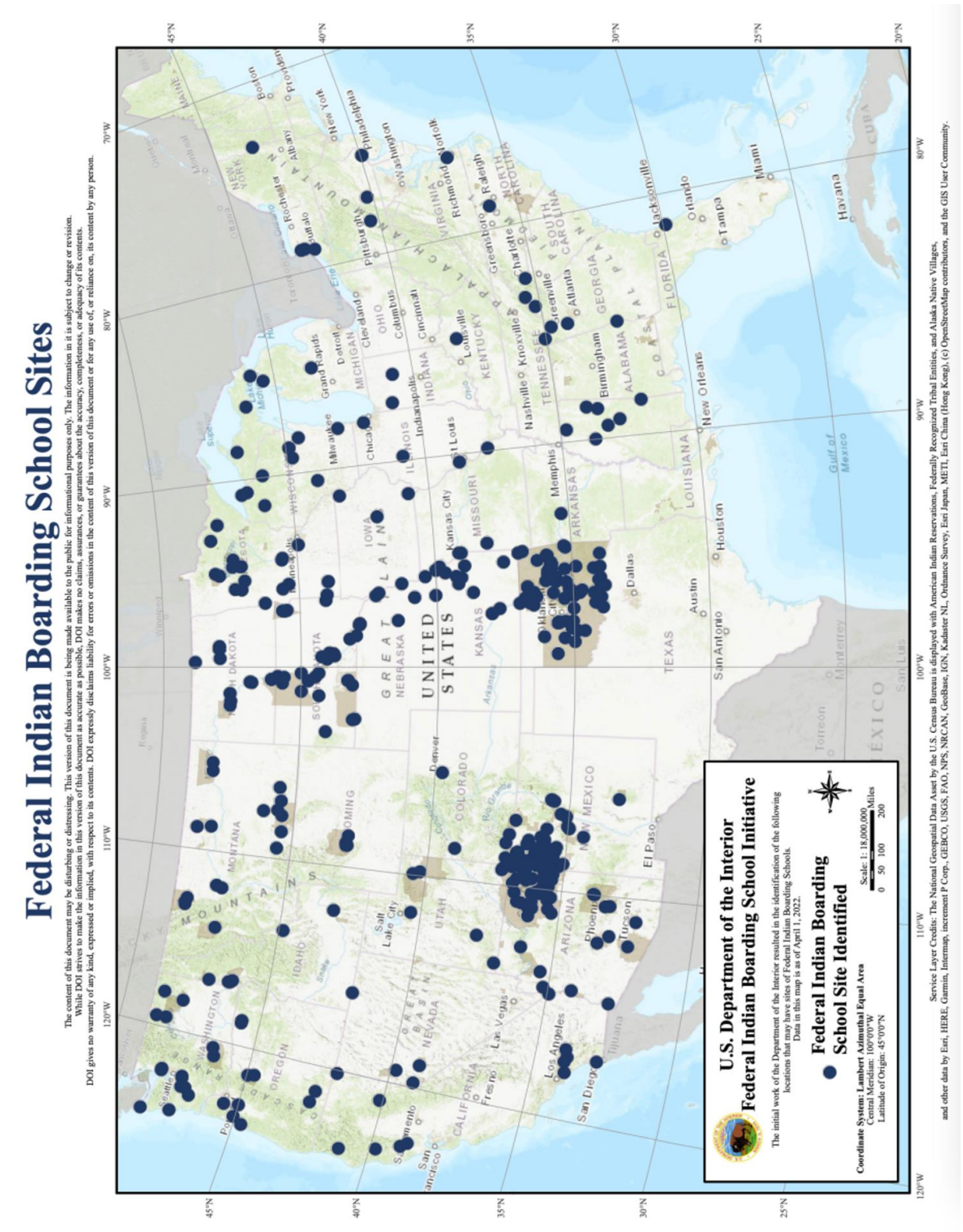


Figure 51. DOI Federal Indian Boarding School Sites Map

I respectfully argue that Secretary Haaland is incorrect and that Indigenous genocide in US boarding schools was quite successful. That does not mean that it was complete. Moreover, I would argue that cultural genocide is genocide. The next section discusses some of the historiography surrounding Indigenous genocide in North America with special reference to boarding and residential schools, the concept of carceral humanitarianism, United Nations 1948 Declaration of Human Rights (UNHR)[222], the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948)[223], and the United Nations Indigenous Declaration of Human Rights (UNDRIP 2007). I also argue that the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child[224] would have done little to help Sophia and the thousands of other indigenous children who were carcerated in Native American boarding schools. Secretary Haaland's own report from May 2022 found 408 Indigenous boarding schools in the US,[225] a number that is very low and will increase when the Catholic schools release their information to the Department of the Interior. As of May 2023, dozens of Catholic archivists have opened their records to Boarding School researchers. Most, if not all these schools have their own children's cemetery.

[222] https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights

[223] https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/documents/atrocity-crimes/Doc.1_Convention%20on%20the%20Prevention%20and%20Punishment%20of%20the%20Crime%20of%20Genocide.pdf

[224] https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-rights-child

[225] Federal Indian boarding school initiative, investigative report, May 2022 https://www.bia.gov/sites/default/files/dup/inline-files/bsi_investigative_report_may_2022_508.pdf

Conceptual Dilemmas of Genocide

> "Once we acknowledge the equality of Indigenous people, we can recognize that atrocities committed against them also constitute genocide."[226]
>
> – Elazar Barkan[227]

Genocide is a polite word created by an international bureaucracy, carefully protecting themselves from being associated with the crime. The word genocide is the bureaucratic process itself. It is clean, unsullied, distanced, untouched, unwitnessed. It leaves out an important, dirty word: Colonization. It represents the greed for land, for resources, for lebensraum, and for elbow room. It's the need to rid the land of its previous residents by annihilation or assimilation, whether slowly or quickly. The idea that the genocide of the Americas was unplanned is absurd. The sheer size of the continent slowed the mass murder, but its intent was constant and self-justified. The invaders knew that the lands they were about to rape were populated by other human beings. They brought weapons so as to clear the land of those who refused the newcomers. The government gave out land grants to those EuroAmericans willing to occupy stolen land. They gave out pieces of paper that rewrote the land in their own image, erasing the current landowners. They learned techniques of defense before setting out to steal other peoples' lands. Techniques such as 'circling the wagons.' The *government* sent armies *with the intent* to clear the land of Indigenous peoples, so that they could occupy it. They categorized the occupants as 'other' so as to be able to justify their sins. The first Americans were called savages, barbarians, or animals. Their homes were called barabaras and their lands empty. Even

[226] Barkan, Elazar. "Genocides of Indigenous Peoples: Rhetoric of Human Rights." In *The Specter of Genocide: Mass Murder in Historical Perspective*, edited by Robert Gellately and Ben Kiernan, 117–40. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

[227] Barkan, "Genocides of Indigenous Peoples," 135.

today's civilians cannot accept that the stolen lands that they reside on were taken through genocide. This is what Benedict Anderson described as "nationalism's enabling paradox: the need to forget acts of violence central to state formation that can never be forgotten."[228]

Historicizing the Concept of Genocide

Raphael Lemkin coined the term genocide as a combination of the Greek word genos, meaning tribe or race, and the Latin, meaning an intentional death such as fratricide or homicide. He outlined 8 fields of the techniques of genocide as political, social, cultural, economic, biological, physical, religious, and moral. Article 2 of the Genocide Convention states that genocide has occurred when acts are committed with *intent* to destroy, *in whole or in part*, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, as such:

> (a) Killing members of the group;
>
> (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
>
> (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
>
> (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
>
> (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.[229]

Secretary Haaland did not take into consideration that genocide can occur without totality, without timeframe, and can be done simply by crippling a group. Lemkin explains, "Genocide has two phases: one, destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group; the other, the

[228] Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, 2016.

[229] UN, 1948. Emphasis added

imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor. This imposition, in turn, may be made upon the oppressed population, which is allowed to remain upon the territory, alone, after removal of the population, and the colonization of the area by the oppressors."[230] Boarding school genocide's crippling effects on those Indigenous boarding school survivors such as Haaland's grandfather. He no longer could live in a traditional manner with his people having lost the skills to survive there, yet he was not accepted widely in the dominant European culture.

Cultural genocide is genocide. It is defined as the destruction in whole or in part of anything that makes a group unique as a group. In determining cultural genocide, Lemkin defined it as "forbidding a language, substituting the dominant culture's education, rigid control of cultural activities, elimination of art of all kinds including national monuments and access to libraries archives, museums, and galleries, and substitution of trade or vocational education for liberal arts education in order to prevent humanistic thinking.[231] This fits exactly the definition and model for Indigenous boarding schools. Boarding school survivors lived through the genocide in the schools. They survived, but genocide still occurred. The term "cultural genocide" was left out of the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and a Punishment of the Crime of Genocide over the objections of imperialistic colonial societies who were obviously guilty of cultural genocide and who gleefully and patriotically spread cultural genocide worldwide as a celebrated value.

Cultural genocide is embedded in the patriarchy. For hundreds of years the white European male has been considered the obvious right holder and everyone else is considered less

[230] Moses, A. Dirk. "Raphael Lemkin, Culture, and the Concept of Genocide'." *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*, 2012, 19–41.

[231] Lemkin. Raphael, Key writings of Raphael Lemkin on Genocide. http://www.preventgenocide.org/lemkin/

than.[232] Even the UN declaration of human rights sets the European white male as the standard to compare against. The Doctrine of Discovery allowed all European men to claim non-Christian lands as theirs. English common law established women and children as property. In the US constitution only landed white men could vote, therefore making all decisions for everyone else. It was a small step to weaponize this power against Indigenous people, stealing their land and removing their children for their personal benefit.

Articles of Genocide could be attributed to Sophia's situation. Pratt's intent to "destroy, in whole or in part, a national ethnical, racial, or religious group is present in his school motto: 'Kill the Indian, Save the Man.'" Support from the US government is spelled out in occupying US Army barracks by the school and in direct US government funding. Specific Genocide markers violated are in Article 2, b) causing bodily or mental harm to members of the group and e) forcibly transferring children of one group to another group.

Literature, Denial, and Debates

An established fact about genocide according to Fenelon and Trafzer, is that it's always denied and that genocide is always accused by an outside entity. For five hundred years, the European settlers have made genocide on Indigenous peoples of the Americas. It has happened over time, by many perpetrators. Additionally, Indigenous peoples have been historically misrepresented, victims of European conquest which includes invasion, culturicide, loss of autonomy, self-determination, and sovereignty, and colonization.[233] Other countries have condemned the US for the Indigenous genocide in this country, and in the case of Armenia, it

[232] Gündogdu, Ayten. *Rightlessness in an Age of Rights: Hannah Arendt and the Contemporary Struggles of Migrants*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015.

[233] Fenelon, James V. "Review of The Haunting Question of Genocide in the Americas, by Alex Alvarez, Gary Clayton Anderson, Jerome Greene, and Thomas Powers." *Great Plains Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (2015): 203–13.

took the US government to make that declaration for genocide. Keith Watenpaugh challenges these deniers in a comparison with Armenian children who experienced similar carceration in approximately the same years as American Indigenous boarding schools were being populated. He writes,

> Indigenous genocide is a consequence of settler colonialism and state centralization; it unfolds over a long period of time with shifts in location, policies, and actors, and turns not just on exterminations, but also on environmental degradation, strategies of starvation, exposure to disease, mass rape, child transfer, and geographical concentration.[234]

Watenpaugh's argument relates to the term, Carceral Humanitarianism was first coined as a euphemism for refugee camps. In Kelly Oliver's 2017 book, *Carceral Humanitarianism: Logics of Refugee Detention*, she writes that "humanitarian aid and human rights discourse are always political and partisan."[235] Such can also be applied to Indigenous boarding schools, which are a type of carceral colonialism, otherwise known as carceral capitalism or racial capitalism. Children were forced to attend these schools against the wishes of their families, where education was defined in manual labor.

In a literary survey by Benjamin Madley, other scholars have claimed that Native Americans rarely, or never, suffered genocide.[236] In 1992, historian James Axtell called "'genocide' . . . inaccurate as a description of the vast majority of encounters between Europeans and Indians."[237] In 1994, religious studies scholar Steven Katz deemed "the depopulation of the

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[234] Watenpaugh, W. E. "Kill the Armenian/Indian; Save the Turk/Man: Carceral Humanitarianism, the Transfer of Children and a Comparative History of Indigenous Genocide." *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 29 (2022): 1–33.

[235] Oliver, Kelly. *Carceral Humanitarianism: Logics of Refugee Detention*. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2017.

[236] Madley, Benjamin. "Reexamining the American Genocide Debate: Meaning, Historiography, and New Methods." *The American Historical Review* 120, no. 1 (2015): 98–139.

[237] Axtell, James. *Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1992.

New World . . . largely an unintended tragedy."[238] Historian Robert Utley asserted that using the term "genocide" in relation to American Indians "grossly falsifies history," since "No more than a tiny portion of the White population of the United States, mainly in the West, ever advocated" the "intentional obliteration" of American Indians "by means of mass physical annihilation."[239] In 2004, historian William Rubinstein insisted that "American policy towards the Indians . . . never actually encompassed genocide."[240] In 2014, historian Gary Anderson added that "Genocide did not occur in America," but "ethnic cleansing" did.[241]

Indigenous Rebuttal

In Yurok/Hupa/Oneida scholar Kaitlin Reed's "We Are A Part of the Land and the Land Is Us," she argues that it's inaccurate to depict the genocides of California Indian people as a historical event rather than as an ongoing process.[242] History tomes by settler scholars like Benjamin Madley's *An American Genocide,* and Governor Newsom's 2019 genocide apology, attempt to contain the state's Indigenous genocides within a certain era, yet as Hupa scholar Jack Norton wrote "American citizens have inherited the patterns of scheme in the business of making America great."[243] This business, Reed emphasizes, is a "business of Indian killing in the plunder of natural resources, justified by white supremacy and manifest destiny."

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[238] Katz, Steven T. "The Holocaust in Historical Context." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* Volume 1, The Holocaust and Mass Death before the Modern Age, no. 87, 3/4 (1994): 424–26.

[239] Washburn, Wilcomb E., and Robert M. Utley. *The American Heritage History of the Indian Wars.* US: Highbridge Audio and Blackstone Publishing, 2021.

[240] Mulligan, W. "War in History." *Sage Publications, Ltd.* 13, no. 3 (2006): 382–84.

[241] Anderson, Gary Clayton. *Ethnic Cleansing and the Indian: The Crime That Should Haunt America*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015.

[242] Reed, Kaitlin. "We Are a Part of the Land and the Land Is Us': Settler Colonialism, Genocide, and Healing in California." *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations* 42, no. 1 (2020).

[243] Norton, Jack. *Genocide in Northwestern California: When Our Worlds Cried*. California: Indian Historian Press, 1979.

Reed argues that genocide needs to be conceived differently for Indigenous peoples whose world views, religious practices, cultures, and philosophies are inextricably tied to their homelands as well as their responsibilities to their relatives. Water diversions for industrial agriculture that lead to massive fish kills, for example, constitute a form of genocide for Hupa, Karuk, Yurok and other salmon peoples who don't make a distinction between the personhood of humans and non-humans in their epistemology. She argues thus that settler colonialism *is* genocide, and the primary and only serious form of reconciliation, that can truly heal the lingering wounds of the long-denied genocides, is to repair Indigenous relationships to their ancestral lands by returning it and re-establishing Indigenous practices of stewardship. This reclaiming, reestablishing, and returning it's a process that Robin Gray calls rematriation. If genocide defines the patriarchy, so then does rematriation define healing. Rematriation, writes Robin Gray, is an "Indigenous feminist paradigm, an embodied praxis of recovery and return, and a socio-political mode of resurgence and refusal."[244]

On Limitations, Genocide, and Rights of the Child

Some of the key challenges and limitations associated with studying Indigenous genocide, stem from the definer himself, and other powerful men and women from that era that could wipe out an entire Indigenous group with a stroke of the pen. First, Lemkin's defining human collectives as culture seems to be limited to what is considered "high" culture, such as Einstein, Madame Curie, Shakespeare, Museums, Libraries, and Jefferson. Yet in his paper, Yucatán, he considers the Mayans to have undergone a genocide because he considered their cultural heritage "irrevocably lost" despite over 1 million Mayans still speaking their dialect

[244] Gray, Robin. "Rematriation: Ts'msyen Law, Rights of Relationality, and Protocols of Return." *University of Minnesota Press* 9, no. 1 (2022): 1–27.

today and living on the land of their forefathers from time immemorial.[245] University of California, Berkeley, anthropologist, Dr. Kroeber "eliminated" the Ohlone from their traditional lands by saying in his 1925 book that they no longer existed, therefore freeing the land from ownership and stealing it for their own use and profit.[246] The curator from the Kunstkamera in Saint Petersburg repeated that statement in 2019 at a conference in San Francisco as justification why they hold onto Ohlone items in their collection today. This idea of lost culture gives settlers a sense of nostalgia, while relieving them of any guilt in taking the land for themselves and using the Indigenous people as their workforce. Athabascan Professor Dian Million defies the UN's power of recognizing that Indigenous people exist. "Indigenous peoples, preexist nation states and reject nation state authority to grant them a right to political self-determination that they have never relinquished."[247]

The 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child wasn't there to protect Sophia, nor the other thousands of children who were forcibly kept in these Indigenous schools. And even if it were in place, I doubt that Sophia and the other children would have been protected after all. The Declaration of the Rights of the Child says "the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguard to care, including appropriate, legal protection, before, as well as after birth. Article 3 says that the best interest of the child shall be a primary consideration, protection shall be necessary for his, or her well-being, and services and facilities' responsibility for the care or protection shall conform with the standards established by *competent authorities*."[248] In Sophia's case, as in most Indigenous children, the parents' wants and rights were completely disregarded. The authority figures were convinced that they were

[245] Moses, "Raphael Lemkin, Culture, and the Concept of Genocide."
[246] Kroeber, A. L. *Handbook of the Indians of California*. Vol. 8. New York: Dover Publications, 1970.
[247] Million, *Therapeutic Nations*.
[248] Declaration on rights of child

acting in the best interest of the child by taking her away from Indigenous families to be Christianized and taught a bit of English enough to understand how to be part of the labor force at the lowest level. Authorities were making sure that Indigenous children knew where they fit into the world by containing them, shaming them, and beating the language and culture out of them. Watenpaugh writes, "Indigenous genocide encompasses attacks on language, cultural heritage, religion, and non-European forms of political organization."[249]

UNDRIP, Justice for Sophia, and Healing via Teaching about Genocide

The first step towards justice and healing, is to acknowledge that these boarding schools existed, that 83% of all Indigenous children in the US were in one of these boarding schools, and that most of these schools had a children's graveyard. In 2007, the United Nations passed UNDRIP, the declaration of the rights of Indigenous peoples. Article one of UNDRIP says

> Indigenous peoples have the right to the full enjoyment, as a collective or as individuals, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international human rights law.[250]

Further articles explain that includes the right to self-determination, free of discrimination, the right to autonomy yet the right to be part of a Nation. Article 8 states that Indigenous peoples have the right not to be subject to forced assimilation or any destruction of their cultural values or ethnic identities.

Not surprisingly, only four countries did not ratify UNDRIP – Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and the US. As imperialist and colonialist societies and structures, the ramifications of guilt and financial fallout overwhelmed the lawyers. Four years later, they declared their support

[249] Watenpaugh, "Kill the Armenian/Indian."
[250] UNDRIP 2007 https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf

of UNDRIP but did not ratify it in the Senate. Additionally, the UN is still standardizing the white European male as the human beings with the rights that the Indigenous people should be able to share, which assumes that all Indigenous people worldwide wish to live as white European males.[251] And although these conventions spell out legal rights and give language for enforcing those rights, most are non-binding and can't be enforced on a nation state.[252]

Fellow St. Paul tribal member, Dr. Eve Tuck, from the University of Toronto, defines decolonization as the "reuniting of land and bodies." [253]Article one of UNHCR states that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. The Last Rights Project stresses the UN's Article 1 regarding human dignity for the dead and missing. "Every body counts because everybody counts." It is premised on the principle that "until there is a more adequate codification of the law applicable to their human rights obligations with respect to the dead and missing, States remain bound by treaty obligations including the duty to respect human dignity"[254] (2017). As relatives with the ability to ask ourselves if Sophia would like to return home, we argue yes, if she were living, that she would like to return home to her family, island, and church where she was loved but forced to leave by the government. To this end, our family petitioned the US Army, who was in control of her grave and body, to facilitate and pay for the return of Sophia home to St. Paul Island, to be buried alongside her family in the Orthodox Church graveyard. This fulfills Article 10 of the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People which reads

> Indigenous peoples shall not be forcibly removed from their lands or territories. No relocation shall take place without the free, prior and informed consent of the Indigenous

[251] Goeman, "Indigenous Interventions and Feminist Methods."
[252] UNDRIP 2007 https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf
[253] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor."
[254] Last Rights Foundation http://www.lastrights.net/

> peoples concerned and after agreement on just and fair compensation and, where possible, with the option of return.[255]

Sophia was disinterred and returned in June 2021 by her family, in her church, in her language. This is an example of rematriation as decolonization.

Teaching about Indigenous genocide from the perspective of those affected challenges dominant understandings and can shape directions for research and Public scholarship. It is important to understand the first peoples who are still living on their land, to be better neighbors, to celebrate their culture and understand the history of the land we live on, and to understand the genocide of the land we live on. Possibilities to educate the American public about the histories of Indigenous genocide in the US are many. Teaching the duality that yes, there was genocide towards Indigenous people in the US, and despite this, we still exist, is difficult for some, especially since most have been taught from a very early age that Indigenous peoples have been dead since the Indian wars.

Opportunities exist for new directions for research with the government and churches opening databases and forming teams to look for our children in Indigenous boarding school cemeteries, and with rematriating our children who are buried in marked graves. There are new openings to study how bringing our children home affects their community's health. In doing so, government policy can be written to support the Department of the Interior, Tribes, and families' work of finding our children who have been lost for over 100 years.

Opponents to teaching Indigenous genocide in the US say that it's just another attempt at critical race theory, berating and emasculating the White male. However, this silence can be considered continued erasure, what Lemkin called a "sin of omission." Those who continue to

[255] UNDRIP 2007 https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf

resist the story of genocide put proof on the victim, which is a revictimization in the current day. Without any confession or acknowledgement of genocide, there can be no justice or restitution. The victim is held hostage and unable to grieve, leading to rage and traumatization.

There is hope in increasing awareness of Indigenous Boarding schools. The topic has recently made it into mainstream television, opening avenues for conversation. In the Yosemite television series, a defiant Indigenous girl is shown being berated and abused by a school matron, forcing the girl to run away and find her way home. In the series, Alaska Daily, the script is written with and by Alaska Natives dealing with the ongoing problem of missing and murdered Indigenous women in Alaska (MMIW). Task forces have been developed in each state and by the federal government to address MMIW. And for the first time in American history, the Department of the Interior is headed by an Indigenous woman who is looking for our children buried and lost in Indigenous boarding schools.

The US has only just begun this process in Congress. HR 5444 and S. 2907 Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding school Policies in the US Act was being put forward in November 2022. To date, there has never been an accounting of:

- the number of children forced to attend these schools;
- the number of children who were abused, died, or went missing while at these schools; and
- the long-term impacts on the children and the families of children forced to attend Indian boarding schools.

Survivors of the Jewish holocaust in Europe will emphatically declare that they are survivors of genocide. The secretary's grandfather was a survivor of Carlisle Indian Industrial School, yet Secretary Haaland would only claim to be a survivor of cultural genocide. It is noteworthy that only indigenous people use the word survivor when talking about their schooling

experience. Government-funded Indigenous boarding schools had the intent to destroy in whole or in part, many Nations of Indigenous People living in what would become the United States of America. With the mantra, "Kill the Indian to save the man," boarding schools caused serious bodily and mental harm to members of the group, removed 83% of all Native children away from their families,[256] And created conditions to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part, thereby meeting definitions of genocide. Boarding school survivors are survivors of genocide. Secretary Deb Haaland's family are survivors of genocide. My family are survivors of genocide.

And yet, even the softening of the phrase "cultural genocide" seems to have disappeared from the Washington DC Dept of the Interiors narrative perhaps as an example of what Anderson and Walter call "Deficit Indigenes," which blames indigenous peoples behavior for structural issues and often does not account for colonialism.[257] In rematriating our communities the opposite is true. Bringing our children home from boarding school cemeteries Reunites land and bodies, re-claims and regenerates matriarchal storytelling, Reframes our stories from our perspective, and tells our story with our *own* voices.[258] Centering the Unangax̂ experience remembers and honors our stolen children while reinforcing the strength of our community as we celebrate our own survivance.

[256] NABS https://boardingschoolhealing.org/truthcommission/

[257] Walter, Maggie, and Chris Anderson. *Indigenous Statistics: A Quantitative Research Methodology*. Routledge, 2016: 38.

[258] Tuck and Yang. "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor."

Conclusion: The Significance of Emerging Traditions of Unangax̂-led Research

Aquilina Lestenkof is my cousin and is also related to Sofia. We share a great grandfather. Aquilina once called me out by my mother, grandparents, and great grandparents going back four or five generations and asked how I was going to be a good ancestor. This way of thinking affected me profoundly and my first thought was how can I be a good Unangax̂ ancestor while living in California. But I started looking around and seeing all the connections between California and the Pribilof Islands including Fort Ross CA, the seal industry, and the educational system. I begin to wonder if there were many lonely Unangax̂ in California like me. So I founded Alaska Native Day at Fort Ross. Not only did Unangax̂ come who were relatives, but many other Alaska Native Peoples from Sugpiaq, Dena'ina, Tlingit, Haida tribes, and coastal Alaskan tribes. We formed a group called CALaska that practices culture, language, art, and dance, but mostly friendship.

Similarly, this dissertation began in relationship. As of Fall 2023, there are 19 Unangax̂ [Maria Tkachuk is not listed yet] who have earned research doctorates (see Table 4 below). Their backgrounds are varied, as are their chosen disciplines, and they each bring grounded and fluid normativity in their lived experiences as Unangax̂. The Unangax̂ I have highlighted here have influenced me in my studies and those I have a relationship with either through my family or through my academics. They are Eve Tuck, Haliehana Stepetin, Mike Livingston, Tina Woods, Liza Mack, and Denis O'Hearn.

Dr. Eve Tuck is also enrolled in the tribe at Saint Paul Island. She is a Professor of Critical Race in and Indigenous Studies at the Ontario Institute for studies in education at the University of Toronto. Some of her writings that influenced me are: "ANCSA as X-Mark" (2014), where she calls out the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act as a pathway to genocide;

"Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities" (2009), where she invites scholars to move beyond scarcity narratives and instead center an abundance of what Indigenous Peoples want/desire and need/require; "Decolonization is Not A Metaphor" (2012), where she and K. Wayne Yang demand an end to performative uses of decolonization and demand concrete return of Indigenous lives and land; and her most recent piece written with fellow Unangax̂ scholar-artist Dr. Haliehana Stepetin (Akutanax̂ [Akutan]) and others "Visiting as Indigenous Feminist Practice (2022), where the authors explain feminist understandings of working in ethical relation with, by, and for communities.[259] Eve Tuck's mother Beverly kindly traveled to accompany me and attend ceremonies at Carlisle cemetery for Sophia.[260]

Dr. Tina Woods is enrolled in the Saint Paul Aleut community. She received her PhD in 2013 in Clinical Community Psychology and works for Sealaska in Southeast Alaska. Her websites say that Tina Woods is Unangax̂ originally from Saint Paul Island, Alaska, and Chamorro from the Island of Guam. She is a licensed Clinical Community Psychologist with a Rural Indigenous Emphasis from the Universities of Alaska Anchorage, and Fairbanks and Senior Director of Community & Behavioral Services for Central Council Tlingit & Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska (Tlingit & Haida) Tina believes in blending both western science and Indigenous practices with help from teachings from Elders. She combines both lived experience and science when teaching about trauma informed care and believes in prevention rather than

[259] Tuck, Eve. "ANCSA as X-Mark: Surface and Subsurface Claims of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act." *Alaska Native Studies* 1, no. 1 (2014): 240–72. In *Transforming the University: Alaska Native Studies in the 21st Century: Proceedings from the Alaska Native Studies Conference 2013*, edited by Beth Ginondidoy Leonard, Jeane Táaw xíwaa Breinig, Lenora Ac'aralek Carpluk, Sharon Chilux Lind, and Maria Shaa Tláa Williams, 240–72. Minneapolis: Two Harbors Press, 2014; Tuck, Eve. "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities." *Harvard Educational Review* 79, no. 3 (2009): 409–28; Tuck, Eve, and K. Wayne Yang. "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (September 8, 2012); Tuck, Eve, Haliehana Stepetin, Rebecca Beaulne-Stuebing, and Jo Billows. "Visiting as an Indigenous Feminist Practice." *Gender and Education* 35, no. 2 (February 17, 2023): 144–55.

[260] Arvin, Maile, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill. "Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy." *Feminist Formations* 25, no. 1 (2013): 8–34.

reaction to make a difference for future generations by establishing culture and tribal values as the foundation for health.[261] Tina helped guide me when I was feeling the heaviness of talking about Sophia in an academic setting over and over again and helped me come up with a plan to safeguard my mental health while speaking of such heavy topics.

I met Dr. Denis O'Hearn (Tanax̂ Amix̂ [St. Paul]), who received his PhD in sociology in 1988, in Saint Paul Island the week I was bringing Sophia home in 2021. An expert in migration and incarceration, he has created a Unangax̂ Pribilof Islands database at the University of Texas El Paso where he is the Dean of Students. His research of carcerated people has reached Saint Paul and Saint George islands where he is studying the transfer of power From the Russians to the Americans in 1867 and how it affected Unangax̂ who lived there. He has become one of my mentors being interested in the same era on Saint Paul island as I am and we share research leads whenever possible.

Dr. Liza Mack (Agdaaĝux̂ [King Cove]) received her PhD in Indigenous Studies from the University of Alaska Fairbanks. She focuses on political ecology, natural resource management, Indigenous knowledge transfer, and the engagement of Native communities in the regulatory process. She specializes in how regulation and policy affect the Native cultures of Alaska. I value Liza Mack's study and documentary of the no longer populated community of Belkofsky using interviews of people who once lived there. My mother lived there as a child before their family moved to King Cove and I have a grandmother buried there. The population of that village including much of my family, slowly moved over to King Cove where there is a full-time operating cannery. The Taxtama [Belkofsky] and the Agdaaĝux̂ [King Cove] Larsens (my family) and the Mack's are intertwined. My mother's family grew up with the Mack's and my

[261] https://www.alaskapacific.edu/people/tina-woods

mother taught them in the King Cove school as the first Unangax̂ teacher of King Cove. Note in this dissertation documentary, created with, by, and for Unangax̂, the village was not called a "lost village."

Dr. Michael Livingston (Udamaĝax̂ [Cold Bay]) and I have discussed Unangax̂ History, especially information on missing and murdered Unangax̂ people for over 10 years. A retired police officer, he advocates for Unangax̂ to be included in the Alaska Missing and Murdered Peoples database. He is working towards having those Unangax̂ who died in other Indigenous Peoples' territories in Alaska to be listed as Unangax̂ and not the Indigenous Peoples' Territory where they died. Whereas I am advocating for the time when people died in Alaska to be extended to include our stolen children such as Sophia. I appreciate his dissertation topic of using culture as an education practice that bolsters Unangax̂ Youth mental health. There have been several studies in Alaska native cultures in villages that provide access to elders who teach hunting techniques, tell stories, provide art projects, and create a space for you to come together in a safe environment. He writes in his abstract that his study "sought to identify differences in student self-esteem, cultural-historical content knowledge acquisition, attitudes relating to building the 1/6th scale model kayak, differences between quality of models built, and instructional design compliance. In this research he studied two groups of students. The first was a control group of traditional face to face students who were attending culture camps the second experimental group was of online students. Analysis of the data collected showed that both groups self esteem increased. The face to face group scored higher on the historical quiz and had fewer frustration incidents This study indicated that in person cultural practice is important but that some satisfaction can be achieved across vast distances in an online program as well. This is

important as a plane ride from Anchorage can't take 3 to 5 hours and cost thousands of dollars.[262] For several years now in Unalaska an iqyax [skin on frame kayak] race has been planned to benefit Youth suicide prevention. To date, over 60 iqyax have been produced in the islands, at culture camps, and even here in the lower 48. I have personally created an iqyax that will be shipped to Alaska for this race named after my mother Agnes Larsen Darnell and named Achixang [my Teacher].

Dr. Livingston's study underscored the importance a practicing Unangax̂ via the in person technique called Where are Your Keys that had to be modified because of the COVID pandemic, headed by Aquilina Lestenkof, Director of the Aleut Community of Saint Paul Island Cultural Department called Tanax Unaagim Maqaxsigin. A grant was written and approved for an in person intensive language camp for 2020. Then the Covid pandemic hit and all travel was shut down to Saint Paul island. At the time I was taking and Indigenous language course at UC Davis and was seeking out the eastern dialect in Unangax̂ Language instruction. Because there was no bandwidth on Saint Paul island and sometimes very little telephone service, we tried something new. I was here near Davis California, my language teacher was in Sitka, Alaska at the Alaska boarding school that I my mom went to, Mount Edgecumbe High School, and those supervisors doing oversight or in Saint Paul. I was given seven lessons over 10 weeks. Unbeknownst to me the last lesson was being listened to by the grantors. The lesson was successful and Saint Paul was given the grant to continue the where are the keys method in person, online, and on the telephone. This technique has been adopted by the Aleut Pribilof Islands Association in a weekly lesson plan which is recorded and available to anyone at any

[262] "Iqyax: A Case Study Investigation Of The Effect Of An Online Traditional Unangan Sea Kayak Model Course On Self-Esteem Of Five Adolescent Students" by Michael Livingston 2015 https://etd.iri.isu.edu/ViewSpecimen.aspx?ID=220

time. These language and structures are invited to culture camps as well. This exercise cemented my relationship with my student teacher who is now in college under a scholarship in my mother's name.

Unangax̂ Peoples are living their language culture and worldviews on the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands and beyond are thriving and evolving as any live culture will do. Despite this, well-meaning academics and historians write about our "lost villages" and our "extinct language and culture." There were times when we had to hide our children so they didn't get stolen away by well-meaning government officials and Christian Missionaries. Just as we hid our children, we hid our abilities to make baskets, practice our language, and live our values every day. We called this time that we hid what it means to be Unangax̂ away as sleeping. Now that we have regained our political power, much of our land, and created a sustaining economic and political base without fear of retribution. Like Raven shared the sun with all of us, we have brought our language, dancing, art, and ways of living out into the light.

Haliehana Alaĝum Ayagaa Stepetin (Unangax̂, Qigiiĝun)	2023: Ph.D., U California, Davis	Native American Studies
Tracy Stewart (Unangax̂ / Aleut)	2022: Ph.D.: U Alaska, Anchorage	Clinical Community Psychology
Chantel Justice (Dena'ina, Aleut)	2021: Ph.D., U Alaska, Anchorage	Clinical Community Psychology
Liza Mack (Unangax̂ / Aleut)	2019: Ph.D., U Alaska Fairbanks	Indigenous Studies
Sharon Guenther Lind (Unangax̂ / Aleut)	2019: Ph.D., U Alaska Fairbanks	Indigenous Studies
Robert Guenther Snigaroff (Unangax̂ / Aleut)	2019: Ph.D., U Alaska Fairbanks	Interdisciplinary Studies
Bridget Groat (Iñupiaq/ Unangax̂ / Aleut)	2019: Ph.D., Arizona State U, Tempe	History
Michael Iqyax̂ Livingston (Unangax̂)	2015: Ph.D. Idaho State U	Education
Michele Yatchmeneff (Unangax̂ / Aleut)	2015: Ph.D., Purdue U	Engineering Education
Kristen Barnett (Unangax̂ / Aleut)	2015: Ph.D., U Montana	Anthropology
Roy F. Roehl II (Unangax̂ / Aleut)	2010: Ph.D., U Alaska Fairbanks	Education & Mathematics
Jordan Paul Lewis (Unangax̂ / Aleut)	2009: Ph.D., U Alaska Fairbanks	Cross-Cultural Community Psychology
Tina Woods (Unangax̂ / Aleut)	2013: Ph.D., U Alaska (Joint Anchorage-Fairbanks)	Clinical Community Psychology
Cara Burnidge (Unangax̂ / Aleut)	2013: Ph.D., Florida State U	Religion
Alexis Bunten (Yup'ik/ Unangax̂ / Aleut)	2006: Ph.D., U California, LA	Anthropology
Eve Tuck (Unangax̂ / Aleut)	2008: Ph.D., City U of New York	Education
Denis O'Hearn (Unangax̂ / Aleut)	1988: Ph.D., U of Michigan	Sociology
Marvin C McCallum (Unangax̂ / Aleut)	1980: Ph.D., U of New Mexico	Psychology

Table 4. Unangax̂ Men and Women with Earned Research Doctorates[263]

[263] Abbreviated from Sean Topkok and Jessica Bissett Perea's list. See

Also missing are Mr. and Mrs. C. Foster Jones, Teacher and Special Assistant, and the 45 natives of Attu. Their names are listed below.

Men	Women	Children
John Ardemonoff	Barbara Ardemonoff	Sergius Ardemonoff
Peter Ardemonoff	Anne Golodoff	George Golodoff
Garmen Golodoff	Olean Golodoff	Helen Golodoff
Innokenti Golodoff	Angelena Hodikoff	John Golodoff
Lavarenti Golodoff	Anicea Hodikoff	John Golodoff
Metfe Golodoff	Anne Hodikoff	Leonti Golodoff
Metrofan Golodoff	Periscovia Horosoff	Mary Golodoff
Willie Golodoff	Mary Lokanoff	Neca Golodoff
Fedosa Hodikoff	Anicea Prokopeuff	George Hodikoff
John Hodikoff	Julia Prokopeuff	Margaret Hodikoff
Mike Hodikoff (Chief)	Elizabeth Prokopeuff	Martha Hodikoff
Mikey Lokanoff	Mary Prokopeuff	Belarian Prokopeuff
Agafonda Prokopeuff	Martha Prosoff	Fekla Prokopeuff
Alec Prosoff		Stepan Prokopeuff
Mike Prosoff		Agnes Prosoff
		Blademer Prosoff

Figure 52. Missing Residents of Attu



Figure 53. “Baskets and Weavers, Attu Alaska”

For example, the island of Attu has been empty since September 14, 1942, after the Japanese took 40 villagers and the white teacher aboard the ship's name and took them to Hokkaido for the duration as prisoners of war. Only 20 Unangax̂ survived and only about half of them returned to the Aleutian Islands. None of them ever made it back to Attu because the US government didn't see fit to clean up the island of unused and unexploded arsenals and war waste, nor did they feel any compulsion to support these Americans 1000 miles away from mainland Alaska.

And yet, Attu style of weaving was considered the finest in the world with the most warps and wefts per square inch, is being practiced in Anchorage and all along the Aleutian chain during culture camps and also by practicing weavers daily. Unangax̂ culture camps are being held from Atka to Onalaska to Anchorage and even in Seattle and northern California, where hundreds of Unangax̂ adults and youth come together to learn how to build our kayaks, carve hour wooden visors carve masks, sing and dance old songs and to write new ones as a living, breathing, growing evolving culture. But most importantly we spend time together in Fellowship, listening to Elders, eating our food, and growing in friendship in one of the few places in the world that shared Unangax̂ culture can come together and enjoy each other's company. These are also places to meet our relations, creating new family bonds from very old lineages. Be inspired by the Elders that are passing their wisdom on to us and by the growing number a research doctorates that our people are producing.

In closing, I want to conclude the dissertation by reiterating how this research privileges and uplifts Unangax̂ histories and rematriations with, by, and for Unangax̂ as a means of Indigenizing critical Alaska Native histories. This work demonstrates how rematriating children back into their communities is the definition of decolonization and will provide data for other Indigenous communities' restorative justice projects surrounding rematriating the children buried

in these 408 government-sponsored Indigenous Boarding school cemeteries. I hope this research can be used in Secretary Haaland's work and others moving forward with the boarding school discovery and that the US Congress will consider moving all reparations under the umbrella of the Department of the Interior.

APPENDIX A: Legislation on/about the Pribilof Islands

It was important that the US government codify, define, and make a legal the activity that they were participating in on the Pribilof islands. The legislation created couched the Unangax̂ and needs in language that regulated fur seal harvest. For example, in 1870 extensive language was used to ”Protect” the fur seal by creating the first wildlife refuge surrounding the Pribilof Islands. This refuge became a zone that outsiders need permission to enter and Islanders we’re not allowed to exit. The line in the regulation that was to maintain the Unangax̂ comfort, education, and protection was not defined. What that meant was left up to each individual agent whose priority was maximizing profits. This led to starvation rations, overcrowding, and a high mortality rate amongst the workers. It also created opportunities to practice Unangax̂ food cultures such as sea lion and reindeer hunting without the US government Agents’ knowledge.

1870. The Act to Prevent the Exterminations of the Fur Seals

To protect the fur seals, manage the seal harvest, and provide for the Aleuts’ comfort, maintenance, education, and protection. It established the Pribilof Islands as a permanent Government Reservation and with it the US Congress declared Pribilof Islands as the country’s First National Wildlife Refuge.[264]

1911. The International Fur Seal Treaty

In 1911 a Convention was formalized between the United States, Great Britain (On Canada’s Behalf), Russia and Japan for the Preservation and Protection of Fur Seals or the Fur Seal Treaty. In July all pelagic sealing halted as part of an international agreement, the North Pacific Fur Seal Convention.[265] The International Fur Seal Treaty of 1911 abolished sealing on the high seas for fifteen years and continued until 1983. It was the first international wildlife treaty written in the history of the human race. The U.S. Government placed reindeer on both Saint George and Saint Paul Islands.[266]

1951. The Corned Beef Case

Saint Paul residents working in the seal Slaughter filed this case against the government because part of their compensation was paid in food rations including tinned beef while the white residents of Saint Paul and St. George Island received fresh meat. In 1983 $8.5 million was awarded from the 1950 “Corned Beef” lawsuit based on unfair labor practices.[267]

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[264] https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/proclamation-287-prohibiton-hunting-fur-bearing-animals-alaska-and-bering-sea

[265] Signed at Washington July 7, 1911; ratification advised by the Senate July 24, 1911; ratified by the President November 24, 1911; ratified by Great Britain August 25, 1911; ratified by Japan November 6, 1911; ratified by Russia October 22/November 4, 1911; ratifications exchanged at Washington December 12, 1911; proclaimed December 14, 1911.

[266] https://celebrating200years.noaa.gov/events/fursealtreaty/welcome.html

[267] Https://www.arlis.org/docs/vol1/MMS/1987/1164832390.pdf

1966. The Fur Seal Act

This reestablished the Pribilof Islands as a Federal reservation. For the first time, Aleuts of the Pribilof Islands can move freely on and off the islands and are entitled to fair wages and civil service benefits.[268]

1976. The Aleut community of St Paul V. The United States of America

October 22, 1976 Dockets 352 and 369; *Before The Indian Claims Commission,* Green, Truitt, Bretz Wald, Harkrader & Ross; Aleut Community of St. Paul Island v. The United States of America states that Unangax̂ had to work under duress without due compensation. The US tries to cite TSAR law as a defense.[269]

1983. Aleut Independence Day - The Withdrawal of the US Government from the Pribilof Islands Sealing Industry

October 28, "U.S. Government Commercial" fur seal harvest ends. U.S. Government administration leaves the islands marking the first Aleut Independence Day.

1984. US Government Trust Fund established

A Trust fund was set up by the U.S. Government with $12 million provided to St. Paul Island, of which $2 million went to infrastructure and $7 million for the breakwater. Tanadgusix̂ Corporation operates the last commercial Fur Seal Harvest.

1996. Public law 104–91 section 3C Resolution of Federal Responsibilities

On January 6 President Clinton signed Public Law 104-91…Section 3 (c), "Resolution of Federal Responsibilities" was signed into law and began to resolve all claims with respect to– and permit the final implementation, fulfillment and completion of– Title II of the Fur Seal Amendments of 1983; the land conveyance entitlement of local entities and residents of the Pribilof Islands under ANCSA; the provisions of this section of the law and any other matters deemed appropriate.

[268] https://www.congress.gov/89/statute/STATUTE-80/STATUTE-80-Pg1091.pdf
[269] https://casetext.com/case/aleut-community-of-st-paul-island-v-united-states

APPENDIX B: American Timeline: 1874-2021

1874. May 19, 1874 First order by the Treasury Agent forbidding the brewing of *quass* (homebrew) and threatening to stop sugar sales to anyone found guilty of brewing *quass*.

1880. The resident physician on St. Paul states that the annual death rate on the island per 1,000 is 58, against 13 in the United States. The average life span on St. Paul is 14 years compared to 40 years in the United States.

1880. June 22. St. Paul sealers went on strike because the Treasury Agent stopped the sale of sugar to the people. Treasury Agent Otis threatened to send in Unalaskans as strike-breakers and the strike ended.

1881. September 3, 1881 a letter from the Treasury Department arrived from steamer "Richard Rush" with instructions about the disposition of skins of pup seals killed for food. Treasury Agent Otis has already ordered the reduction of harvest of seal pups for meat to 3,000 on St. Paul and 1,000 on St. George.

October 4, 1881. Letter from Treasury Department arrives from steamer "Richard Rush" with instructions about killing pup seals for food.

October 26, 1881. First delivery of food for distribution to people in the Pribilofs to be eaten in lieu of pup meat. Includes 7,400 pounds of "mess beef" (a form of corned beef), 2,160 pounds of lard, 1,500 pounds of butter, 1,115 pounds of dried apples, 44 dozen cans of condensed milk, jams and jellies, and roast beef.

April 1, 1882. Treasury Agent Otis writes from California in his annual report, "If it shall be found that the result of this experiment has proved successful, then I shall recommend that the killing of pup seals be entirely discontinued in the future. It is a needless sacrifice of the seal's life, which, though done under the color of law, ought not to be persisted in." 100,000 seals aged 2-5 were still being killed annually for their fur.

May 30, 1882. Killing of seal pups for food was ordered to be discontinued in St. Paul. Seal pup harvests continued for a time on St. George because the order did not reach them. Treasury Agent Glidden reported, "The Alaska Commercial Company desired that their rights be protected, and that no use be made of these skins which will affect the general market or come in competition with them. If no more are killed the solution is easy, but if, after trial, the seal meat shall again be thought necessary for the health of the natives, and the killing of pup seals be continued, the question of the disposal of the skins becomes important. I desire instructions as to the disposition of the skins on hand, and for the future disposition of any that may be accumulated." Glidden also recommends that lard be supplied in place of condensed milk for food and condensed milk in place of sugar. "The fat of the lard seems to be desirable," he said.

1890. Daniel Webster expressed to Elliot concern regarding the fur seal population… *"There is no use trying to build these rookeries up again so as to seal here, as has been done since 1868,*

unless these animals are protected in the North Pacific Ocean as well as in the Bering Sea." On this point the old man was very emphatic, Elliot stated.

1890. The first girls sail to the Jesse Lee home in Unalaska on the Bear.
June 19, 1890, Captain Michael Healy anchored the revenue schooner Bear at East Landing. On board is the Reverend Sheldon Jackson, who toured the local English-language school. Healy and Jackson had dinner with Treasury Agent Goff and apparently discussed Jackson's plans for a school for orphans in Unalaska.

September 8, 1890. the first six "orphan girls" leave St. Paul aboard the *Bear*, the first island children to be sent to what would become the "Jesse Lee Home." They were Tatiana Shaposhnikoff, Avdotia Sedick, Salome Pahomoff, Nadezda Shaishnikoff, Lukelia Krukoff, and Parascovia Shutyagan.

1895. Irene (age 12) and Sophia Titov (age 10) are taken to the Jesse Lee home in Unalaska aboard the Homer during the "Homer Gone" celebration of the last seal harvest of the season.

1899. the Harriman expedition

1904. Building of the present (2016) Ss. Peter & Paul Orthodox Church began. According to oral history, a/ chapel was built in 1779; a second church was built in 1819.

1907. Present (2016) Ss. Peter & Paul Orthodox Church is completed.

1909. February 27-Walrus and Otter Islands become wildlife reservations.

1910. The Seal population had declined to estimated 133,000 from 3.5-4 million, largely due to pelagic (oceanic) shooting of seals. The Fur Seal Act – ended the private lease system and assigned sole responsibility for the Pribilof Program to the Department of Commerce and Labor.

1911. The baseball diamond was built behind the "native shop" May 29 - where the ball diamond currently [2013] sits.

1911. In July all pelagic [Open ocean] sealing was halted as part of an international agreement, the North Pacific Fur Seal Convention; Convention Between the United States, Great Britain (On Canada's Behalf), Russia And Japan For The Preservation And Protection Of Fur Seals *Or* The Fur Seal Treaty Of 1911: *Signed at Washington July 7, 1911; ratification advised by the Senate July 24, 1911; ratified by the President November 24, 1911; ratified by Great Britain August 25, 1911; ratified by Japan November 6, 1911; ratified by Russia October 22/November 4, 1911; ratifications exchanged at Washington December 12, 1911; proclaimed December 14, 1911.* The International Fur Seal Treaty of 1911 abolished sealing on the high seas for fifteen years and continued until 1983. It was the first international wildlife treaty written in the history of the human race. The U.S. Government placed reindeer on both Saint George and Saint Paul Islands.

1912. Congress declared a five-year moratorium on sealing in the Pribilof Islands, except for seals needed for food by the Pribilof Islands communities.

1918. Fur seal population is healthy enough to resume harvesting with low quotas that gradually increased to a peak of approximately 95,000 in 1941.

1919. Observation tripods and catwalks erected on fur seal rookeries.

1930. Fur seal population is back up to 1.8 million.

June 4, 1942. Indian Service schoolteachers, the Magee's, report 3 Japanese planes over Atka harbor

June 7, 1942. Japanese attack Attu, take 45 Native prisoners, kill the radio operator, and take the teacher prisoner.

June 7-8, 1942. Japanese Invade Kiska and Attu and set up bases. Atka becomes Naval base for PBY bombers

June 12, 1942. Japanese discover PBY base at Atka, strafe Atka village, no casualties
General Buckner orders the Gillis and Hulburt to immediately remove the villagers and burn the village. 62 people sail from Atka and Nikolski to Unalaska aboard the USS Hulbert.

1943. Aleut men were brought back to the islands into an active War Zone to maintain the fur seal harvest.

1944. Rebuilding Homes and a Pathway to Freedom
Pribilof Islands communities return to the home islands from Funter Bay. 35 Aleuts died during the internment. Buildings and belongings are stolen and crashed. Some are used as target practice. The church is in bad shape. Population on St. Paul Island-254; on St. George Island-126.

1945. With knowledge gained from the world outside of the Pribilofs regarding employment practices and civil rights, and with counseling by the Alaskan Native Brotherhood, whose origin stems from Southeast Alaska, St. Paul Islanders began the process of the local freedom movement.

1947. The December census reported 329 Aleuts, 12 Fish & Wildlife Service employees, 9 U.S. Coast Guardsmen, 3 U.S. Weather Bureau employees, and a Russian-born Orthodox priest and his wife.

1948. Organizing as the Aleut Community of St. Paul Island began. Fur Seal population at approximately 4 million. On November 1st the U.S. Post Office was established and biweekly airmail service was inaugurated. The first airmail flight to St. Paul on November 1st contained considerable 2nd class and parcel post, in addition to airmail. Included were letters postmarked October 29 from Chicago, October 28 from Minneapolis, and October 27 from St. Louis.

1950. Constitution and By Laws established for the Aleut Community of St. Paul Island (ASCPI). Mamant Emanoff, John Misikin, Elary Gromoff, Gabriel Stepetin and George Kocherg became the first council of the federally recognized ASCPI. St. Paul Island launches the Fair and Honorable Dealings lawsuit (Corned Beef Case), suing the U.S. Government alleging that Aleuts were grossly underpaid and undernourished. A few small businesses start up-Ice Cream Shop (owned by Elary Gromoff, Sr.), Star's Café (owned by Gabriel Stepetin), Victor's Coffee Shop (owned by Victor Misikin, Sr.), Grace Ann's Café (owned by Mamant Emanoff). Reeve Aleutian Airways is the first commercial airplane to land and begin service to St. Paul Island. Some folks think RAA came earlier, in 1948 or 1949. Fur Seal Population estimated at over two million "again."

1951. For the first time Aleuts owned vehicles bought from contractors that built a U.S. Coast Guard Station.

1953. Reindeer were brought on the M/V Penguin from Nunivak Island. Previous herd was killed by the military during wartime.

1956. First movie theatre --Irish's Theatre owned by "Irish" Stepetin. Present(2016) grocery store built. It was segregated by race.

1958. Fredricka Martin spoke to the United Nations about the treatment of Aleuts. The U.S. Government is reprimanded by the United Nations. She was blacklisted as a communist and lived out her life in Mexico. She is buried in the Saint Paul cemetery. The freshwater springs that supply all drinking water to Saint Paul residents are named after her.

1963. The "Stomp Room" and the "Juke Box Room" were the teenage dancing hangouts in the Rec. Hall.

1964. Rev. Michael Lestenkof became the priest of SS. Peter & Paul Orthodox Church and spiritual leader of its parishioners.

1964. First Unangax̂ legislative candidate Carl Moses was barred by Federal officials from landing at St. Paul.

1965. St. Paul Island students for the first time "as a group" are sent to Chemawa High School (which was a vocational school transitioning to a high school) in Oregon.

1966. The Fur Seal Act reestablished the Pribilof Islands as a Federal Reservation. For the first time, Aleuts of the Pribilof Islands can move freely on and off the islands and are entitled to fair wages and civil service benefits.

1969. or 1970. The IRA Tribal Government of St. Paul won the "Corned Beef Case." It takes over 10 years to get the money.

1971. The City of St. Paul was incorporated and Tanadgusix̂ Corporation was established via the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA).

1973. Animal rights groups harass islanders. Bomb threats on Pribilof Islands. Fur seal harvest stops on St. George Island. Present (2016) St. Paul Island School built.

1974. Local school begins "Aleut classes" in the school. Television begins.

1975. First telephone service.

1978. The Civic Center is built with an EDA grant. In December a fire destroyed St. Paul Island School.

1979. St. Paul hosted the International Fisheries Conference. Japanese Factory Trawler Ryuyo Maru runs aground below Ayagiinax̂ (Tolstoi). Attempts made to protect Salt Lagoon from fuel spill of the wreckage.

1980. Tanadgusix̂ Corporation buys Anchorage International Inn.

1983. $8.5 million awarded from 1950 "Corned Beef" lawsuit based on unfair labor practices. U.S. Government Commercial fur seal harvest ends. U.S. Government administration leaves the island marking the first Aleut Independence Day. Local halibut fishery begins through a joint venture between Tanadgusix̂ Corporation and Tribal Government of St. Paul; a result of the Halibut Act of 1981, which allows for villages North 56 degrees L.

1984. Trust fund set up by the U.S. Government with $12 million provided to St. Paul Island of which $2 million went to infrastructure and $7 million for the breakwater. Tanadgusix̂ Corporation operates the last commercial fur seal harvest. July 4-Local Radio Station KUHB began. 1st breakwater built and washes away in autumn storms.

1985. Father Michael Lestenkof retires as priest of Ss. Peter & Paul Orthodox Church. The first subsistence-only fur seal harvest takes place.

1986. July-St. Paul Island Bicentennial. Possibly the last time a nix̂alax̂ [aka. Baidar] was used, to offload the "Sally J" in the new but not completed harbor.

1988. Public Law 100-383 was signed into law and it provided for an apology and restitution to Aleuts for injustices suffered during WWII.

1989. First crab processing plant set up.

1990. Breakwater finished and dedicated (Harbor Dedication) to the future of St. Paul Island. Docks built. Tanadgusix̂ Corporation builds its first private dock.

1992. St. Paul established a K-12 grade school program and hosted its first 11th grade program at St. Paul Island School.

1993. Unangax̂ dancing was revived. The Unisea barge anchors in the harbor to process Seafood. Central Bering Sea Fishermen's Association and CDQ Programs are established. The Pribilof Islands Stewardship Program begins. Trident Fish Processing Plant was built on Tanadgusix̂ Corporation dock.

1994. Pribilof School District graduates its first 12th grade 'Class of 1994' at St. Paul Island School.

1995. Point Warehouse burned down to the ground in the beginning of July.

1996. On January 6 President Clinton signed Public Law 104-91…Section 3 (c), "Resolution of Federal Responsibilities" was begun to resolve all claims with respect to– and permit the final implementation, fulfillment and completion of–Title II of the Fur Seal Amendments of 1983; the land conveyance entitlement of local entities and residents of the Pribilof Islands under ANCSA; the provisions of this section of the law; and any other matters deemed appropriate. In February the F/V Citrus spilled bunker-C oil, killing thousands of birds. In March the Pribilof Islands Restoration Advisory Board began to guide the cleanup of the Pribilof Islands in accordance with Public Law 104-91.

1998. The Alaska Commercial Company (ACC) returns to St. Paul Island to run a grocery business. St. Paul Road Project takes place. In September the Pribilof Islands Marine Mammal Commission (PIMMC) was formed. In December wind generation began with a single unit set up at the POSS camp. "Petroleum Offshore Supply Support" Camp. Initially built to support oil exploration programs in the 1980s.

1999. In April the doors of a new St. Paul Island Post Office opened for business. In March, Pribilof Alaska Seafood Company (PASCO) was formed. In September The Alaska department of fish and game announced a drastically reduced opilio quota for 2000 fisheries. The Ss. Peter & Paul Orthodox Church pastor's housing was destroyed by fire in December.

2000. The January Opilio fishery is delayed until April. In June the renovation of Ss. Peter & Paul Orthodox Church began. In July Unisea barge left St. Paul Harbor. In September a barge hauls off the last of the debris left by the U.S. Government from its period of administration of the Pribilof Islands which ended in 1983. On November 2, the Barreling Shop/Boxing Shed was brought down as part of the NOAA Clean up Project. Names from beams within are cut out and stored away. In the summer the final tenant moves out of the "Government House." On Sunday December 3, Reeves Aleutian Airways serviced St. Paul Island for the last time. On December 5, Reeves Aleutian Airways discontinued air transport services.

2002. In January a tribal government business complex was placed below the senior citizen center. In November, a group of concerned island, conservation, fishing industry and agency staff representatives met, initiating a process soon after known as the Pribilof Islands Collaborative, in hopes of developing a collaborative – rather than a confrontational – approach to address resource depletions and related ecological changes.

2003. Seaward extensions were added to catwalks on fur seal rookeries to accommodate the decline in numbers of seals. On July 11 visiting ends for Father Michael Lestenkof, Unangax̂ and local spiritual leader for 22 years. July 14 a ceremony blessed the grounds for the new clinic. In August a new local group of musicians "Livewire" made its local public debut. Fall–existing cells at the "Ataqan" landfill are closed and the final one opened for use with a life expectancy of approximately 10 to [at the most] 15 years.

2004. Dredging sediment in Village Cove via a causeway just off of "Little Island'' began in January. On February 18, Aquilina Lestenkof got a facial tattoo becoming the first person on St. Paul Island on record for a traditional facial tattoo. March-Tribes submit their recommendations to the NMFS Northern Fur Seal Conservation Plan. Foundation and skeleton for health facilities began in April and progressed through the year. May-barge arrives with equipment for the harbor dredge project. Camp set up by Public Works facilities to house employees and activities for harbor dredge. April-foundation work began for placement of a wooden water tank on the hill next to 3 cement water tanks. May-water tank being built. Airplane (PenAir Saab) with a bathroom lands on St. Paul on May 24. The Tribal Government of the Aleut Community of St. Paul moves to the facilities on Venia Minor in June. The fur seal declines are very noticeable. The Pribilof Islands experienced unusually warm temperatures and less wind. Dredging the Channel to the Salt Lagoon commenced in August. The Pribilof Islands Collaborative held its second stakeholder meeting, which was its first meeting on the Pribilof Islands. October 28th is the 22nd anniversary of Aleut Independence Day. Marissa J. Merculieff got word that on November 4 she will become the first female Unangax̂ lawyer on St. Paul Island, sworn in to practice in all courts of the State of Alaska. "Ye Old Tavern,'' which was the U.S. Government's office, was used as a tavern for the last time.

2005. March 12, Father Peter Bourdukofsky is "done visiting this land." Work resumes on Health care facilities by SKW??. The Weather Service Office building is renovated. The runway pavement project was initiated and completed. In mid-June, 3 cement water tanks on top of the hill behind "downtown," behind City/Community Hall, were dismantled and removed. Dredging Salt Lagoon through July. Dredging of the harbor in late summer and into September. the US Coast Guard Station is expanded. USWSO began building new housing.

2006. On January 13 a Grand Opening of the Saint Paul Island Health Center celebration took place. The Pribilof School District completed 3 duplexes for staff housing. In June a USCG C1-30 crash-landed on the runway with no human injuries but severe damage to the plane. In the summer the second wooden water tank was erected next to the water tank put in place in 2004. New housing for NWS personnel was completed in late autumn. On December 4th the community ran out of gasoline, with a shipment of twenty 55-gallon drums of gasoline arriving from Unalaska on December 14th at 5 gallons per vehicle. On December 26 and 27, business came to a halt due to snow conditions. Houses 3, 4, 5, 19, 29, 30, 37, 38, 39, 45, 48, 52,[*check on #s*] get new roofs.

2007. Ss. Peter and Paul Orthodox Church 100th anniversary celebration. A cupola was placed on the steeple to mark the celebration. June 16. Janelle Melovidov-Baker was born on St. Paul Island. Fredericka Martin's remains were brought to St. Paul by her daughter Tobyanne and grandson Mario and buried in the cemetery on Sunday July 29.

2008. CBSFA-owned F/V *Saint Paul* makes its debut in the St. Paul Island fishing fleet. Pribilof Islands celebrates 25 years of Aleut Independence. August 19: Sea Breeze Theatre is torn down. Unaaĝim Aχasnikangin presents its dances to its community on August 31 giving St. Paul Island two Unangam aχaa groups. On August 28 and again on September 22, the scent of sulfur permeates the island air.

2009. In October "People of the Seal" documentary was awarded "Best of Category, Non-Fiction Budget greater than $100,000" at the 2009 Montana Cine International Film Festival and nominated in November "Best Documentary Feature" at the 2009 American Indian Film Festival. St. Paul Island Tribal Court's first case. October 13 Unaaĝiχ/Unangaχ Barbara (Kochutin) Lestenkof continues the art of traditional facial tattooing. (See 2004).

2010. January-Installation of observation towers and catwalks on reef fur seal rookeries began, replacing tripods and catwalks first erected in 1919. February 8-USCG shut down St. Paul Island's LORAN-C a navigation and timing system that guided mariners and aviators since World War II. April 13-USCG LORSTA, St. Paul Island Decommissioning Ceremony. April 19, week of: grounded F/V Ocean Clipper removal began from Reef Rookery. May: dredging of St. Paul Island Harbor by Dutra began, with dredged materials placed on vacant lots between the US Post Office and TGSPI building. In May, Safeboat 'Lunaχ' was welcomed to St. Paul Island as its patrol/search and rescue vessel. December-local cell phone service begins. In October the location of the small boat harbor is season-complete. Safeboat 'Lunaχ' is the first boat out of the water via the new small boat harbor ramp.

2011. Three residential units are placed northeast of the Health Center. August 3, 4, & 5: the community celebrates the centennial of the International Fur Seal Treaty of 1911. August 4: the new small boat harbor was dedicated and blessed. August 16: the USCG 600-foot Loran-C tower came down. October 12, St. Paul Island cell phone service was tested from Otter Island where Mac Mandregan, Sr. and Paul I. Melovidov went to the highest point on the island and called and spoke to their family on St. Paul Island.

2012. February 9 the (Unipak) warehouse was built on the site of the fur seal skin-processing plant, burned into the night and the next couple of days and was totally destroyed. Forever gone. Destroyed in this fire was the last standing wall of one of the historic fur seal skin processing plant buildings. May 16 Aquilina Lestenkof and Cara Lestenkof-Mandregan accepted the human remains-crania of two Unangan individuals–in a repatriation ceremony–from the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.

2013. Website with information on Unaagin Unangan was launched: www.tanamawaa.com On June 2: Visit ends for culture bearer Mary Kozloff Bourdukofsky (b. 1.9.1923). August 24: visit ends for culture bearer Ludmilla Bourdukofsky Mandregan (b. 9.15.25).

2015. The first Unangam Tunuu Summer Language Intensive took place on St. Paul Island.

2016. On June 10 the human remains repatriated from the Smithsonian (5.16.12) were buried in the vicinity of the historic village/cemetery site located near Polovina Turnpike. A blessing of

the historic village/cemetery site took place on June 12. On July 12, in the Sts. Peter and Paul Orthodox Church, Deacon John Kudrin (of Atka) was ordained into the priesthood, becoming (likely) the first (known) ordination on St. Paul Island. The second Unangam Tunuu Summer Language Intensive took place. On September 3 the USCG SPAR (WLB 206) "The Aleutian Keeper" docked in the St. Paul Island Harbor. On September 4 a softball game-Team SPAR vs. Team Island All Stars. On September 5, community members were invited onboard the SPAR for tours. Throughout the summer, the St. Paul Island Harbor was dredged. Dredge spoils were placed at the western base of Telegraph Hill. A second Unangam Tunuu Summer Language Intensive took place.

2017. July 17-23 Representatives from Behringa of the Commander Islands, including three youth (two Aleutskye) visit the Pribilof Islands-Polina Avdeenko, Sasha Petrov, Artym Popov, and their chaperone Natalya Formina

2019. February 7- visit ends for eldest elder Haretina Misikin Krukoff (b.10.9.1926). March 1- last flight of PenAir Saab 340 to the island piloted by Captain Ian Thompson. Thereafter, RAVN became the local passenger air service provider. Legal harvests of northern fur seal (NFS) pups and winter/spring hunts of NFS -final rules were published in the Federal Register and became effective on September 27. First legal pup harvest took place on September 30.

2020. The first legal winter/spring hunting of NFS opened on January 1. COVID-19 Pandemic.

2021. COVID-19 Vaccinations began.

2021. Sophia Titov was returned from Carlisle Indian Industrial School cemetery and buried among family in the Saint Paul graveyard.

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