about. His sister sat in front of him and rested on her back in front of the fire in the open. He threw the chips into the fire and, as he stood in front of her, he realized that, as a female, she was different from him, a male. A spark flew out of the fireplace and burned her. She was scared. To relieve her pain, the Raven advised her to go to the lodge and conjure for medicine—hildikagegnaa. "If you hear someone calling for you while there, go out towards the voice. If you see there something jutting out of the ground, sit down on it." She did, and heard the Raven's voice, kahkahkah! She was sitting on top of her brother, who was lying half-buried in the sand. Angered, she pulled him out and cried, "Shame!" Truly ashamed, he hid himself underground after having marked his hiding-place. Very soon a son was born to his sister, and his name was Saqayuhl. This is why a little boy is shown on the totem pole in front of the Raven (between his folded wings). As the child grew up he lost his way in the woods and could not be found. This happened at the time when the Raven was travelling all over the island and the coast. One day when he was on the mainland, he met his son after he was quite grown up and showed him how to produce lightning out of one's own body.

Raven and his Son are seen, for instance, on a large totem pole standing in the village at Wrangell, Alaska, and on an argillite pole also showing the Supernatural Snag (narhnarem-tsemaus), in the museum of the University of British Columbia.

3. Near the top of the monument is an important group of figures, the most important in the identification of the pole. This group consists of a large head and face with protruding tongue on the erect body of a person or a quadruped. The tail of a sea mammal is turned up in front of the body, thus revealing the identity of the whole figure, the Killer-Whale. Below the protruding tongue in front of the large body a human face is inserted. Between the sides of the tail and the claws another face is found, that of the Eagle. This heraldic group clearly is meant as a representation of the myth of Gunarhnesemgyet, or a North American variant of the myth of Orpheus. Given in full elsewhere, it is often utilized in crests and carvings on the coast of the mainland south of Skeena River, at Skidegate and Moresby Island to the south (Queen Charlotte Islands), though apparently not on Graham Island and Massett to the north.

It is quite possible that this pole belongs to the southern Haida group rather than to the northern, as surmised by Dr. Newcombe. And it was probably collected by Dr. G. M. Dawson at the same time as the large Haida pole at the National Museum of Canada. Dr. Dawson belonged to the Geological Survey, as its director, and, by training and affiliation, to McGill University. His collections of carvings from the north Pacific Coast are found in both institutions.

## MASSETT GROUP

## Northern villages of the Haidas in 1878 (Dawson) (30: 162, 163).

In Parry Passage there are three village sites, two of which are on the south side, and completely abandoned. The outer or western one of these shows the remains of several houses and carved posts and is called Kak-oh. The second, about half a mile farther East, is named Kioo-sta, and had been a place of great importance. This, as already mentioned, seems to have been Edensaw's place of residence at the time of Douglas' visit, and has probably been deserted for about ten years. It is nearly in the same state as the first mentioned. The houses, about twelve in number, with carved posts, are still standing, though completely surrounded by rank grass and young bushes, overgrown with moss, and rapidly falling into decay.

On the opposite side of Parry Passage, facing a narrow channel between North Island and Lucy Island is the village that Douglas calls Tartanee. It now consists of but six houses, small and of inferior construction; and a single carved post stands a little apart from the village, but it is not very old.



Massett totems

In the first bay east of Klas-kwun Point, between North Island and the entrance of Virago Sound, the *Va-tsa*, or knife village, is situated. Like many of the Haida villages, its position is much exposed, and it must be difficult to land at it with strong northerly and northeasterly winds. This village site is quite new, having been occupied only a few years. There are at present eight or ten roughly built houses, with a few poorly carved posts.

At the time of our visit, in August, 1878, a great part of the population of the northern part of the Queen Charlotte Islands was collected here preparatory to the erection of carved posts and the giving away of property, for which the arrival of the Kai-ga-ni Haidas had waited, these people being unable to cross owing to the prevalent fog and rough weather.

The village just within the narrow entrance to Virago Sound, from which these people are moving, is called Kung. It has been a substantial and well-constructed village but is now rather decayed, though some of the houses are still inhabited. The houses arranged along the edge of a low bank, facing a fine sandy beach, are eight or ten in number, some of them quite large. The carved posts though not very numerous are, in a few instances, elaborate.

About the entrance to Massett Inlet there are three villages, two on the east side and one on the west. The latter is called Yan, and shows about twenty houses new and old, with thirty carved posts. The outer of these, on the east side, at which the Hudson Bay Post is situated, is named Ut-te-was, the inner Ka-yung. The Ut-te-was village is now the most populous, and there are in it about twenty houses, counting both large and small. Split cedar planks have been carried away from some, leaving only the massive frames standing. Of carved posts there are over forty in all. As in the northern part of the islands generally, these differ considerably from those of Skidegate and other southern villages.

The styles of the northern posts are somewhat more varied. The short, stout form, with a signboard-like square made of split planks at the top, is comparatively rare. Some of the Massett posts are merely stout poles, with very little carving, and at this place a thick, short post with a conical roof was observed, of a kind not seen elsewhere. At the south end of the *Ut-te-was* village is a little hill, on which the houses both here and beyond appear to be considered to form a distinct village, though generally included in the former. The remaining Massett village (*Ka-yung*) is smaller than this one and was not particularly examined.

Just east of Tow Hill and on low ground on the east bank of Hi-ellen River, a few much-decayed carved posts and beams of former houses are still standing, where, according to the Indians, a large village formerly existed.

## Tian and Hippah Island.

There are good totem poles at Tian, a deserted Haida village on the west coast north of Hippah Island, but south of Frederick Island (according to Albert Jones, of Skidegate, in 1947). These poles were rotting away when seen 10 years before.

An Inside Pole of Edensaw at Kyusta, described by J. R. Swanton (97: 128. Plate V, figure 2).

In addition to the main house-pole, the greatest chiefs had an inside pole. This was placed in the middle of the rear part of the house, the seat just in front of it being that always reserved for the highest rank. One of these inside poles is represented in Plate V, figure 2. It stood in another house of Chief Edensaw, called One-that-canhold-Crowds, which he occupied after his people moved from Kyusta to Kung in Naden Harbour; but it was copied from a still older one in a house belonging to this family at Tlielang River.

From the bottom up, the figures are: a frog, hawk surmounted by the figure of a young hawk [M.B. Thunderbird] wearing a dance-hat; raven with two frogs in its mouth; and grizzly bear. All of these, except the grizzly bear, the presence of which was not explained, were claimed as crests by the Stastas. Although the hawk (skiamsm) [Thunderbird] was owned by several Raven families, it is said that when the original pole was put up at Tlielang, this family was also possessed of it.

Kyusta village on the northwest tip of the Queen Charlotte Islands was one of the most frequently visited Haida villages during the early period of the sea-otter and China trade; it was described in a few of the Voyages of the sea captains. Here are a few remarks about it by Alfred Adams of Massett (1939), who was born in 1876: "When I was just a baby, only a



A Massett pole



Grave poles in ruins near Massett

few people were left at Kyusta (before their complete removal to Yan and Massett to the east). There used to be a grave there, the front of which was beautifully carved. The whole of it was 8 feet or 10 feet high. The graves at Kyusta were right in the village. Several houses still stood there in the 1880's. One I remember was the Fairy House (skilnas). It belonged to Albert Edensaw. There is a legend about the Fairies belonging to Edensaw's group. Another house farther west belonged to the Tsihlendzaws of an Eagle clan, in the lead of the Stastas before the rise of Edensaw. An explorer who came there long ago was Captain Douglas, who exchanged his name for that of the Indian head-chief. This chief, who obtained the name of Douglas, belonged to the family that was later to have Edensaw as its head-chief."

Yakun village. The former Haida village of Yakun on the northwestern end of the Queen Charlotte Islands, according to information recorded in 1939 from Alfred Adams of Massett (born in 1876).

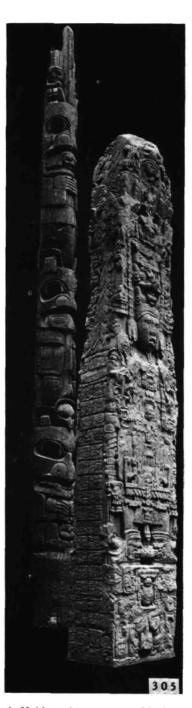
Besides Kyusta there was another northwestern Haida village on the west side of the point. Its name, Yakway, sounds like Tlingit. It belonged mostly to the Tivan Stlinlanaws, who had their headquarters there. Among the most famous warriors here were Kakyæ (a Skidegate word), Rhi, and two others. There is quite a long story about them. Some totem poles still stand there, quite old and beautifully carved. Joshua Moody's family came from there; his people were of high rank. They had moved to Massett. Joshua Moody had become poor, yet he remained very proud. He would not stand an insult from anybody. At Yakun stood a pole, still well remembered by the informant, of a long Finback Whale (blackfish).

The Raven of Klaskun, now standing in the municipal park at Prince Rupert; according to Alfred Adams and William Beynon in 1939.

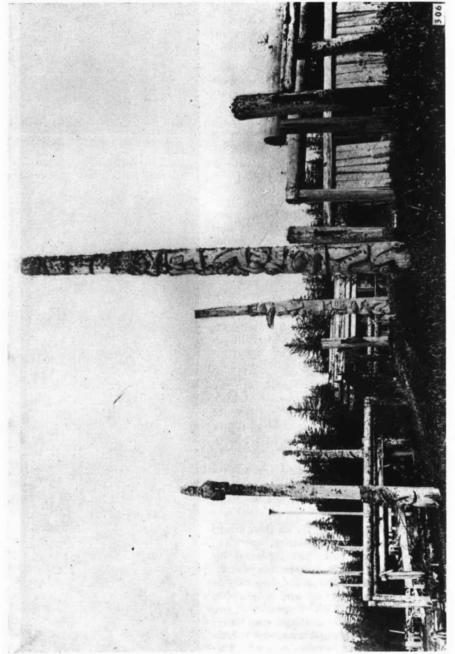
This pole was described as Harry Young's property, or the pole of the Sangkalanos family at Ya'ats or Klaskun, a village at Seven-Miles on the east side of Klaskun, toward North Island, now abandoned. Only one house and one pole were left in this deserted village.

It may have been carved for or by Albert Edward Edensaw, uncle of the better-known carver, Charles Edensaw, as it belongs to his district.

Figures on the pole, as far as they could be identified by the informants, are: (1) Raven at the top (lost, but replaced by William Beynon and a native assistant); (2) A sea monster, perhaps the Sea-dog or Wasco; (3) Beaver sitting and displaying as usual its incisors; (4) The smaller figure in front of the Beaver, perhaps the Bear; (5) Skyaimsem or Thunderbird; (6) Whale from whose mouth dangles a seal. The Thunderbird and the Whale are usually associated, and here the bird, in comparison with the Whale, is smaller than elsewhere.



A Haida pole next to a Mexican column in Chicago, 1916



Totems and house poles on Graham Island

This pole, like the others in Prince Rupert, has been coated with gaudy commercial colours, though presumably unpainted originally.

The Ginaawan Pole of the Middle-Town-People (Haida), described by J. R. Swanton (97: 130. Plate V. Figure 3).

Plate V, Figure 3, is from the model of a pole erected for Duncan Ginaawan, whose mother belonged to the Middle-Town-People and who received his first name from his father, a white man named Duncan. One of the same design formerly stood at Old Kaigani in Alaska. At the bottom is a grizzly bear. The flattened shaft surmounting this, together with the raven standing on top, represents the mythical killer called Raven-Fin. In the original, the eyes and feathers were set with abalone-shells. On the front of the fin there were originally two coppers, but one of these, called Standing-Copper, was afterwards removed and sold for \$275 in cash and \$25 in blankets. The other, which is tied to the model (but not represented in the cut), was called Mountain-Copper. It was of very little value.

Pole at Fox Warren, England (near Weybridge, residence of Mrs. Charles Buxton, England). Sir E. B. Tyler published a short article on it, with an illustration, entitled "On the Totem Post from the Haida village of Massett . . ." [actually it is from Skidegate, a village to the south] (103, 104: 133–35).

Description. This large stately pole now standing "in the beautiful grounds of Fox Warren . . . rises 41 feet from the ground on a foundation of concrete . . . It is understood to have been more than 10 feet longer, but the lower end embedded in the ground was sawn through about the ground-line . . . The front part is carved, the back being hollowed out."

"The carvings from the top down, as seen on the illustration, are: (1) the three so-called Watchmen sitting side by side, with tall "skil" hats on their heads, the man in the centre being larger and taller than the two others; (2) unidentified figure which is either the Killer-Whale holding a small figure, head down, in its mouth and between its hands—possibly the Frog, or Bear-Mother with a cub; (3) Grizzly Bear with a cub on its head and a human being in front of its body between its arms and legs; this may be meant for the Bear Husband with his human wife in front, and a cub on its head or simply Bear-Mother with the two cubs, one a bear and the other a human; under the protruding tongue of the Bear a fringe-like object which may represent a neck ornament or the top of the bear's den; (4) Killer-Whale sitting up, its tail in front of its body and flippers protruding from its mouth. A human head and two hands are seen between its ears, and two smaller human figures are huddled in the ears."

For the quality of its carvings, its size and width, this Haida pole is one of the finest. But it is not a Massett or northern pole, as presumed by Sir E. B. Tyler. Its style of carving, the arrangement of the three Watchmen at the top, the size of the hat surmounted with many cylinders, all point to its belonging to the southern Haida group of Skidegate and the few villages below this central one on the east coast — Cumshewa, Skedans, or Tanu. It is similar to the third pole in the Skidegate row of poles as seen in one of G. M. Dawson's photographs of this village in the early eighties.

Other information. Apparently no information was recorded by the collector, and Sir E. B. Tyler probably only presumed that it came from the northern part of the Queen Charlotte Islands when he wrote: "Among the most remarkable of such villages now standing is Massett... whence the post... was sent over some years since (before 1899) by Mr. Bertram Buxton."

The Pole at the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, England. Its reproductions in colour, as it stands at the museum and as it was found in the row of poles at Massett, are given in *Man* (105); and its origin is explained in an article by Sir E. B. Tyler. Tyler wrote:

This post stood till last year in the remarkable row of such posts in front of the chiefs' houses. . . Its present height, after being sawn across near the ground and set on a base in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, is a little over forty feet, not far from the original height. . . Above all sit the three chiefs wearing the tall chief's hat (ladn skillik). It happened, fortunately, that the two house-posts between which the totem-pole now stands (Journ. Anthr. Inst. Vol. XXVIII, plate xiii) came from the same village, perhaps from the same

house. Thus the story of Hoorts the Bear hugging to death Towats the Hunter appears twice, a good example of Haida totemism, in which the totem-animal represents, not a forefather (for the Haidas say a bear is always re-born a bear), but a mythical creature who figures in the traditions of the family. . . No more posts are likely to be set up at Massett. Missionary influence has impressed on the native mind a sense of such art being a waste of labour.

No other information is given as to the owners, the carver, the significance, and the date of erection. As the pole, however, looks rather new, it is probable that it had been carved in the 1880's, perhaps late in this decade.

Description, myths: (1) The three "Watchmen" at the top, with their heads surmounted by the segmented (skil) hats, are familiar figures on the totem poles of the Haidas, particularly south of Skidegate; (2) Bear-Mother and her two Cubs, head down, one hanging from her mouth, the second farther down her body; (3) Grizzly-Bear, probably the Bear husband, holding his human wife (Hrpeesunt, in Tsimsyan) between his hands in front of him, and, at her feet, the two Cubs, head down; (4) Raven and his son.

A few versions of the Bear-Mother myth, whole or in summary, are given elsewhere in this book. Here is one of its most elaborate and finest reproductions such as were done, at least in miniature form, by Charles Edensaw of Massett and Skidegate.

The story of the Raven and his son, a part of the Creation myth of the Haidas, was recorded twice by the author at Skidegate in 1939. A brief summary is given somewhere else here, under the heading of *Haida Totem Pole at McGill University*.

The Raven Totem of Massett, now in Jasper Park (Canadian National Railways).

The information recorded in the files of the Canadian National Railways is that this tall pole (presumably the tallest on the Queen Charlotte Islands—it is from 60 to 70 feet high) was secured for the Company in 1919 by Captain Nicholson, who was Manager for the Canadian National Steamship Service. The pole was erected in Jasper Park in the following year.

In file G.270-298, it is stated that "Dr. Newcombe, the Curator of the Provincial Museum, on whom we depended to give us this legend, has informed us that he is unable to do so because he could not get in touch with any of the Massett Indians. . . This pole is called the Raven Totem."

The figures on the pole, which has been gaudily repainted several times (it was at first unpainted), in so far as the author can interpret them, from the top down, are: (1) the supernatural Raven, with, in front of him between his wings, his Son (the episode of the Raven and his Son is retold in this book); Son holds the mask-like face of his mother, the Raven's sister, upside down; (2) Grizzly-Bear Mother, with one of her two cubs, head down, on her head; the other Cub, in front of her body. With this figure of Bear Mother is combined that of the supernatural Grizzly holding the young Indian woman whom he kidnapped; she hangs, head down, from his mouth; (3) the small bird underneath, with its tail over its head, is



Haida totems. (Left) At the Smithsonian Institution. (Centre) Also at the Smithsonian. (Right) A totem now at the Denver Art Museum, Colorado

the Eagle or perhaps the Thunderbird; (4) the face with two prongs over its nose may be the Bullhead, once associated with the Raven; (5) the large figure below the bird presumably is Frog Woman, the mythical Dzelarhons of the Haidas; six small frogs, head down, decorate her forehead; one more frog hangs from her lips; (6) the smaller human figure in front of Frog Woman may be the old Woman in the same myth, who came down with a cane in her hand from the volcano in eruption (the painting here being particularly misleading, as a moustache has been put on); (7) the bottom figures repeat the theme of Bear Mother, her Grizzly Bear husband, and their two Cubs, one of which appears in human form and the other as a small bear.

Who carved the Jasper Pole. The Haida totem pole now standing in Jasper Park was carved by Simeon Stiltæ, a member of the Slinglaanos clan of Yan village, opposite Massett, on the Queen Charlotte Islands. Stiltæ belonged to the Raven phratry. He is believed to have carved other poles now at Ottawa and New York. My informant, Alfred Adams of Massett, who died in 1946, said that he had himself sent one or two short house posts carved by Stiltæ to the American Museum of Natural History. At Yan, added Adams, there was much of Stiltæ's work, "perhaps most of it." He was one of the old-time Haidas, a good man and clean-living. He was one of the old chiefs calling for high respect. He lived on to old age. When Archdeacon Collison arrived here, in the early 1880's, he accepted him, but went on carving just the same. Born in 1876, Adams, then a small boy, remembers him carving large totems and making many masks.

Old Massett formerly was named Place-of-Light-Plentiful (had'aiwes), according to Alfred Adams of Massett (1939).

Situated where the Massett Indian village now stands, it was on the east side of the channel, with Yan on the opposite side. Skyedahlrho was its head chief. Later his rank passed to Chief Weeæ.

**Stihltæ's Pole at Massett,** described by J. R. Swanton (97: 131. Plate VIII, figure 2).

The original of Plate VIII, figure 2, was put up for Stihltæ, chief of the Tcaits-Gitans. At the top is carved a humming-bird, one of the distinctive crests of this family; but of the figure at the bottom the carver himself knew nothing more than that it came, like the humming-bird, from the Tsimshian.

The Qingi Poles and Beams of Massett, including the Beaver post, now at the National Museum of Canada, described by J. R. Swanton (97: 135. Plate XII).

The original of the house represented in Plate XII is entirely destroyed. It belonged to a former town chief of Massett, and the pole represents Qingi trying to preserve his townspeople from the flood along the sides of his dance-hat. Part of a memorial column, with the figure of a beaver on it, appears at the left edge of the picture.

## Pole of Weeæ's wife at Massett by J. R. Swanton (97: 131. Figure 1).

The original of Plate VIII, figure 1, was set up for Great-Woman-who-is-talked-about, a woman of the Sand-Town-People and wife of Weeæ, the town chief of Massett, at which place it formerly stood. The figure at the bottom illustrates the cumulus-cloud, usually known as a Cloud-Woman, the small figures around its head



(Left) Massett house post. (Right) Haida totem at Prince Rupert



Haida totem poles at Prince Rupert

representing puffs of cloud. At the top is a flicker (sahlojit). Both were crests used by her family.

The Pole of Qogis, Chief of the Point-Town-People close to Massett (Haida), described by J. R. Swanton (97: 127, Plate V, figure 1).

The original of Plate V, figure 1, belonged to Qogis, chief of the Point-Town-People, and stood in front of his house, Fort-House, on a hill close to Massett. At the bottom, above the doorway of this house, are a frog and a raven. The frog is introduced along with the raven because ravens were said to eat frogs. All the other figures on this pole illustrate the story of the man who married a grizzly bear. The principal figure of this group, clasping in

(Right) Haida totem at Prince Rupert

man who married a grizzly bear. The principal figure of this group, clasping in both hands what looks like a tongue, but was explained as a long labret, and wearing a dance-hat, is the Grizzly-Bear-Woman; below, and held in her embrace, are her two cubs; and still lower down is the full-length figure of another bear, representing her husband. Sitting on top of the dance-hat is still another cub. The carver added, that "hats are always put over a grizzly bear," which probably means nothing more than that it was customary to place them there.

**Pole of Great Breakers,** Chief of Those-Born-At-Rose-Spit, according to J. R. Swanton (97: 124. Plate III, Figure 1).

The original of Plate III, figure 1, belonged to Great-Breakers, chief of Those-bornat-Rose-Spit, who received his name from one of Cape Ball's names. His wife was of the Stastas, and one of her names was Chief-Woman-whose-Voice-is-Sharp. At the top is an eagle sitting upon the head of a beaver. These are the wife's crests. At the bottom a grizzly bear holding her two cubs is rearing in terror at the sight of a frog, of which the Haida supposed grizzly bears to be mortally afraid. The artist has thus introduced a crest and illustrated a story at the same time. Frogs are also said to have been placed upon house poles, sometimes to keep them from falling over.

The Pole of He-whose-voice-is-obeyed of Pebble-Town-People (Haida), described by J. R. Swanton (97: 124. Plate II, Figure 3).

The pole represented by Plate II, figure 3, belonged to He-whose-voice-is-obeyed, chief of the Pebble-Town-People. His wife was Chief-Woman-who-is-the-Daughter-of-Chiefs, of the Pebble-Town-Gitins. At the bottom is a Killer Whale, and above it the moon, both of which were crests belonging to the chief himself. The Raven, which comes next in order, was the wife's crest. Surmounting all is the chief himself, holding a copper under each arm. To put a representation of the house-owner upon his pole was not uncommon, though this is the only model of such a pole that I obtained.



Totems and houses of the Kaigani Haidas on Prince of Wales Island, Alaska. Old Kasaan

The Pole of Kuiyans (Dressed-up), chief of Sand-Town-People (Haida), according to J. R. Swanton (97: 123. Plate II, figure 2).

The original of Plate II, figure 2, belonged to Dressed-up, Chief of the Sand-Town-People, and all the crests on it belonged to his family. These are, from bottom to top, the Grizzly Bear, the Moon, and two figures intended to represent Mountain-Goats. These were often carved like grizzly bears, with the addition of a pair of horns. In the present instance, the latter appendages may have rotted out of the original post. Surmounting all are two "watchmen." Some families had two of these, and some three. In the myths similar figures are mentioned on the house poles of the supernatural beings, which always gave warning when an enemy approached or anything happened that the owner of the pole ought to know. They are not used as crests.



Ruins of Old Kasaan



Old Kasaan



Old Kasaan▲

 $\psi$  Totems in front of chief Skowl's house

