THE GROWTH OF TOTEM POLE CARVING

EARLY RECORDS

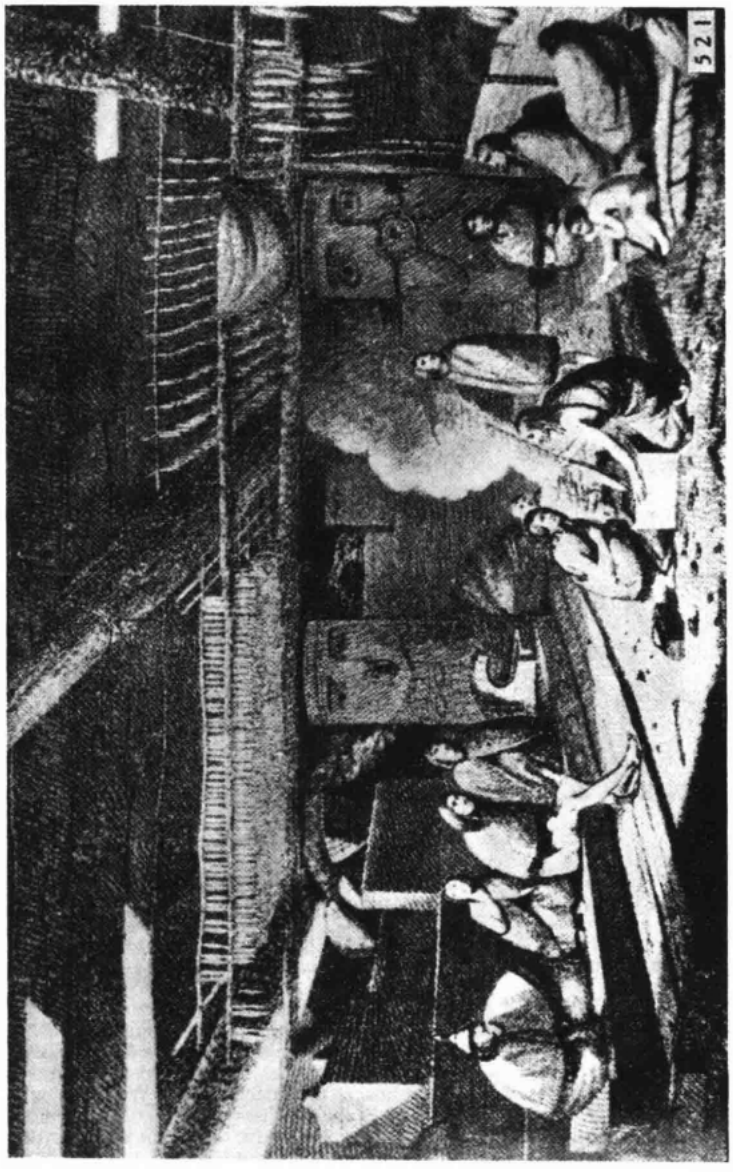
I. Early Travel and Exploration

Raising a totem pole among the Kaigani Haidas

1. In 1778–1779, Captain James Cook (27) gave the following description of a Nootka house which he visited on the western side of Vancouver Island:

> Amidst all the filth and confusion that are found in the houses, many of them are decorated with images. These are nothing more than the trunks of very large trees, four or five feet high, set up singly or by pairs, at the upper end of the apartment, with the front carved into a human face, the arms and hands cut out upon the sides, and variously painted; so that the whole is a truly monstrous figure. The general name of these images is Klumma; and the names of two particular ones, which stood abreast of each other, three or four feet asunder, in one of the houses were Natchkoa and Matfeeta. Mr. Webber's view of the inside of a Nootka house in which these images are represented will convey a more perfect idea of them than any description. A mat by way of curtain, for the most part, hung before them, which the natives were not willing at all times to remove; and when they did unveil them, they seemed to speak of them in a very mysterious manner. It would seem that they are, at times, accustomed to make offerings to them; if we can draw this inference from their desiring us, as we interpreted their signs, to give something to these images, when they drew aside the mats that covered them.

2. In 1785–1787, Captain George Dixon (40), who visited the country of the Tlingits and the Queen Charlotte Islands, makes no mention of



Interior of a Nootka house (Captain Cook)

totem poles or other large carvings, yet he speaks of masks and small ornaments.

3. In 1785–1787, de la Pérouse (37) also explored the same coast, observed and described their customs, discussed their use of metal, but failed to mention large wooden carvings.

4. In 1787–1789, carved house pillars were mentioned by Haswell (55), in "Voyage round the World in *Columbia Rediviva* and sloop, 1787–1789" (from a transcript in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria):

> The sides of the houses are perpendicular. . . For ornaments they have pillars supporting the poles carved into the shape of human faces with distorted features, beasts, and imaginary animals. The frame poles are usually painted (p. 47f).

5. In 1788 and 1789, John Meares (71) observed Nootka carvings in the same neighbourhood:

> Three enormous trees, rudely carved and painted, formed the rafters, which were supported at the ends and in the middle by gigantic images, carved out of huge blocks of timber.
>
> The trees that supported the roof were of a size which would render the mast of a first-rate man-of-war diminutive, on a comparison with them; indeed our curiosity as well as our astonishment was on its utmost strength, when we considered the strength that must be necessary to raise these enormous beams to their present elevation; and how such strength could be found by a people wholly unacquainted with mechanical powers. The door by which we entered this extraordinary fabric was the mouth of one of these huge images, which, large as it may be supposed, was not disproportioned to the other features of this monstrous visage. We ascended by a few steps on the outside, and after passing this extraordinary kind of portal, descended down the chin. . . .
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> In most of their houses they have, as has already been observed, certain huge idols of images, to whom we never saw them pay any mark of common respect, much less of worship or adoration. These misshapen figures occupied, as it appeared, somewhat of a distinguished and appropriate place, wherever we saw them; but they seemed to have no exclusive privilege whatever, and shared the common filth of those who lived beneath the same roof with them.
>
> . . . He continued to inform us that the people killed the old man, and took his canoe; and that from this event they derived their fondness for copper. He also gave us to understand that the images in their houses were intended to represent the form and perpetuate the mission of the old man who came from the sky.

6. In 1790–1793, John Bartlett of Boston in "A Narrative of Events in the Life of John Bartlett of Boston, Massachusetts, in the years 1790–1793, during Voyages to Canton and the North-West Coast of North America" (91: 287–343), gave the following description of Kiousta on Graham Island, Queen Charlotte Islands:

> We went ashore where one of their winter houses stood. The entrance was cut out of a large tree and carved all the way up and down. The door was made like a man's head and the passage into the house was between his teeth and was built before they knew the use of iron. . . .

(Page 804. A rough drawing reproduced from *Bartlett's Journal.*)

7. In 1791–1792, Etienne Marchand (70) explored the north Pacific Coast and described the house of a chief in the country of the Kwakiutls or the Tsimsyans on the main coast:

> What particularly attracted the attention of the French, and well deserved to fix it, were two pictures, each of which, eight or nine feet long, by five high, was composed only of two planks put together. On one of these pictures is seen represented, in colours rather

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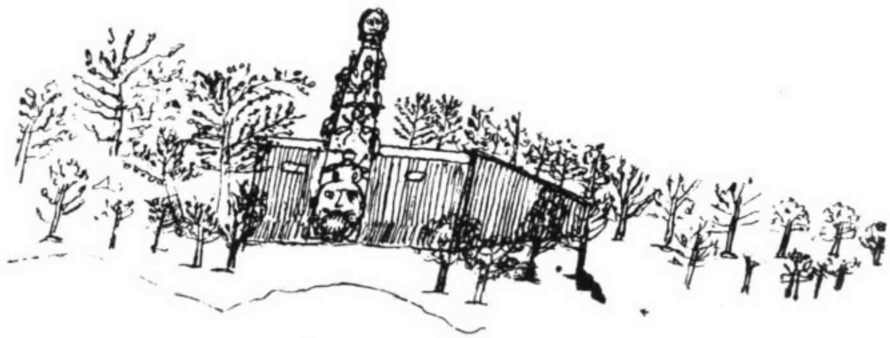
thay nknowd the youse of Iron the Ente with Clear wt



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House-front totem presumably at Kyusta (Bartlett)

lively, red, black, and green, and different parts of the human body, painted separately; and the whole surface is covered with them. The latter picture appears to be copy of the former, or perhaps it is the original; it is difficult to decide to which of the two belongs the priority, so much are the features of both effaced by age. The natives gave Captain Chanal to understand that these pictures are called Caniak in their language; and this is all that he could get from them.

Another description of a similar house elsewhere is also from his pen:

This door, the threshold of which is raised about a foot and a half above the ground, is of an elliptical figure; the great diameter, which is given by the height of the opening, is not more than three feet, and the small diameter or the breadth is not more than two; it may be conceived that it is not very convenient to enter the house by this oval. This opening is made in the thickness of a large trunk of a tree which rises perpendicularly in the middle of one of the fronts of the habitation and occupies the whole of its height: it imitates the form of a gaping human mouth or rather that of a beast, and it is surmounted by a hooked nose, about two feet in length, proportioned, in point of size, to the monstrous face to which it belongs. It might, therefore, be imagined that, in the language of the inhabitants of North island of Queen Charlotte's Isles, the door of the house is called *the mouth*.

Over the door is seen the figure of a man carved in the attitude of a child in the womb, and remarkable for the extreme smallness of the parts which characterize his sex; and above this figure, rises a gigantic statue of a man erect, which terminates the sculpture and the decoration of the portal; the head of this statue is dressed with a cap in the form of sugar-loaf, the height of which is almost equal to that of the figure itself. On the parts of the surface which are not occupied by the capital subjects are interspersed carved figures of frogs or toads, lizards and other animals; and arms, legs, thighs, and other parts of the human body: a stranger might imagine that he saw the ex voto suspended to the door-case of the niche of a Madonna.

The habitations are, in general, painted and decorated in various ways; but what was particularly remarkable, in that which the French visited, was a picture somewhat like those which they had seen in the sort of redoubt erected in the small island of the strait,

which occupied the head of the apartment, as is seen suspended in the drawing-rooms in Spain, over the Estrado, the picture of the Immaculate Conception. Surgeon Roblet has described this production of the fine arts of the North West Coast of America. 'Among a great number of figures very much varied, and which at first appeared to me,' says he, 'to resemble nothing, I distinguished in the middle a human figure which its extraordinary proportions, still more than its size, render monstrous. Its thighs extended horizontally, after the manner of tailors seated, are slim, long, out of all proportion, and form a carpenter's square with the legs which are equally ill-made; the arms extended in the form of a cross and terminated by fingers, slender and bent. The face is twelve (French) inches from the extremity of the chin to the top of the forehead and eighteen inches from one ear to the other; it is surmounted by a sort of cap. Dark red', adds he, 'applegreen, and black are here blended with the natural colour of the wood, and distributed in symmetrical spots with sufficient intelligence to afford at a distance an agreeable object.'

We see, in the small islands which would scarcely be thought habitable, each habitation with a portal that occupies the whole elevation of the forefront, surmounted by wooden statues erect, and ornamented on its jambs with carved figures of birds, fishes, and other animals; we there see in a sort of temple, monuments in honour of the dead; and, what undoubtedly is no less astonishing, pictures painted on wood, nine feet long by five feet broad, on which all the parts of the human body, drawn separately, are represented in different colours; the features of which, partly effaced, attest the antiquity of the work.

8. In 1790, in The Diary of the Voyage by [Manuel] Quimper (108), we read:

Huiquinanichi lives in a great house adorned with columns of huge figures which hold up three large pine timbers, as long as ninety feet and thick in proportion. The entrance is a figure, the mouth of which is a door.

A human-like figure drawn in 1790 in a Nootka house

In the following "Extract of the Navigation by Pantoja" (108: 159), we find a better description of the same houses:

Their houses are built of nine, ten, twelve, and up to fifteen wooden posts, on which the corresponding beams are laid. Over these are plenty of boards which protect them from the continual rains. They are of different sizes, the larger being thirty to thirty-five yards long and the fronts ten to twelve wide. Inside are some large posts on which are painted with red ochre the physiognomy of some dead *talli*, which signifies 'chief' or 'captain.'

In the "Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana" (108: 292, 293), we find:

We then saw [at the village of Beaver Cove or of Cheslakees] a great village in the form of an amphitheatre on a hill, surrounded by a pleasant meadow and close to a rivulet. It was arranged in streets and presented an agreeable view to seaward as the houses were painted in various colours and ornamented with good designs. It was the best we had come across since that of Tetacus. In this populous tribe, which as far as we could gather is that of Nuchimases, the luxury produced by the extensive trade it has with European nations and its continual traffic with that of Nutka is manifest. Here our

Indians redoubled their efforts to the commanders to induce them to go to their dwellings. When they were convinced that we were resolved not to lose time, they went to their village and returned immediately, to the number of about fifty in some canoes, to exchange sea-otter skins and some woven blankets of bark and grass, with coloured work forming the border, very symmetrical and in good taste.

9. In 1790–1793, according to Hoskins in Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America and China (MSS.), are found the two following paragraphs:

Their head villages are neatly and regularly built. The houses end with pitched roofs. In front is a large post reaching above the roof neatly carved but with the most distorted figures; at the bottom is an oval or round hole which is either the mouth or the belly of some deformed object. This serves for a doorway. Near those head villages they have fortified towns or villages which they call "touts," to which they retreat when invaded by a more powerful enemy. These are built on the most natural fortifications and much improved by art. They endeavour to have only one means of access, and this by a wooden pole with notches cut in it to admit the toe by which they ascend. When they are all up, the pole is hauled after them. . . .

Page 107 (N. Queen Charlottes):

I went to view two pillars which were situated in the front of a village about a quarter of a mile distant from our vessel on the north shore; they were about 40 feet in height carved in a very curious manner indeed, representing men, toads, etc. the whole of which I tho't did great credit to the natural genius of these people; in one of the houses of this village the door was through the mouth of one of the before-mentioned images; in another was a large square pit with seats all round it, sufficient to contain a great number of people.

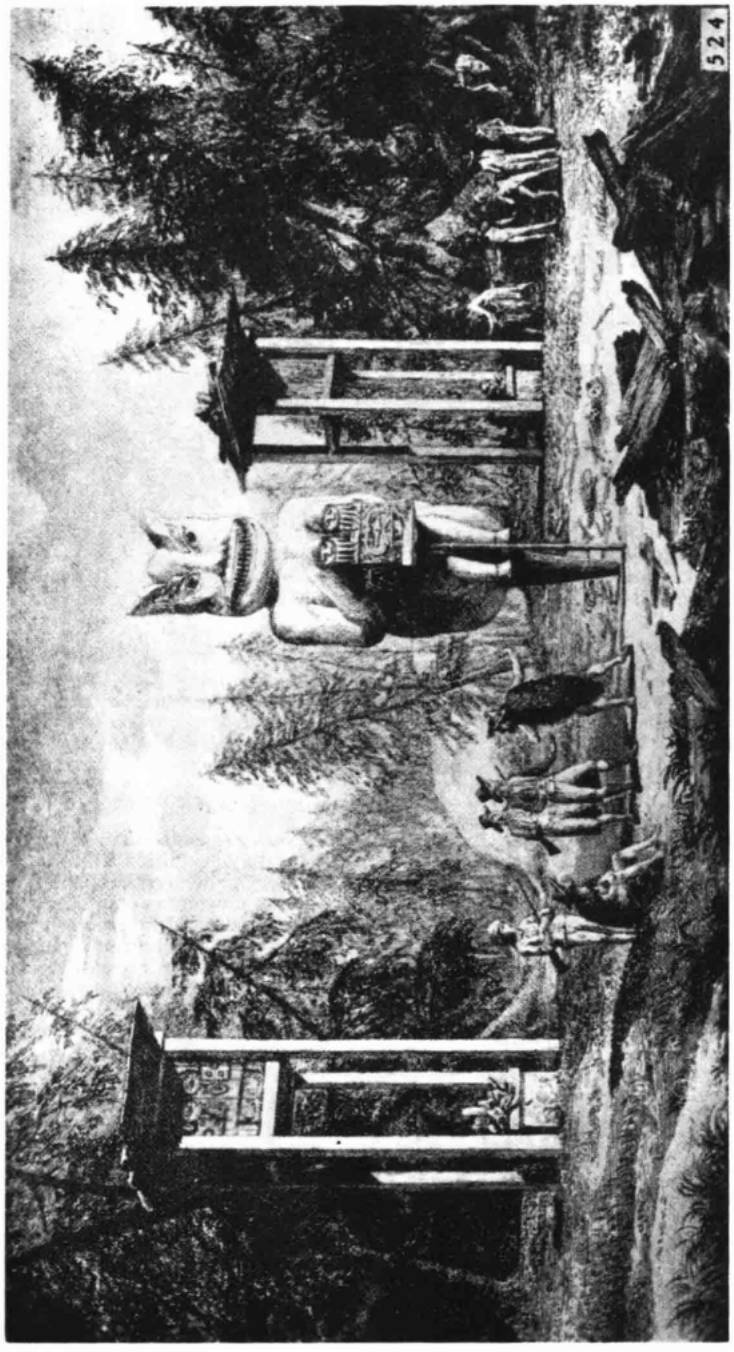
10. In 1791, Captain Joseph Ingraham,[1] master of the Brigantine *Hope of Boston*, wrote:

Many of the natives [on the Queen Charlotte Islands] had on blue jackets and trousers which from their appearance it was evident they had possess'd but a short time, these they inform'd us they got from Capt. Douglas. After the Vessel was fast I went in the boat accompanied by Cow to view two pillars which were situated in the front of a village about a quarter of a mile distant from our vessel on the north shore. They were about 40 feet in height carved in a very curious manner indeed — representing men, toads, etc., the whole of which I tho't did great credit to the natural genius of these people. In one of the houses of this village the door was through the mouth of one of the before-mentioned images. In another was a large square pit with seats all round it sufficient to contain a great number of people. . . On the top of this rock, altho' not above 50 feet in diameter, are a number of trees and bushes shading the remains of several Chiefs or those of their families. At low tide it is inaccessible without a Ladder. . . I found on it 2 houses of oblong square form, the top slanting to shed rain. Each of these Houses were full of boxes containing the remains of the dead. The boxes were made in the neatest manner, carved and decorated with sea otters' teeth. I wish'd much to examine the inside of one of the boxes but did not, as Cow begged me not and I did not wish to hurt his feelings. Before one of the Houses was 4 images resembling the human form and otherwise curiously carved . . . .

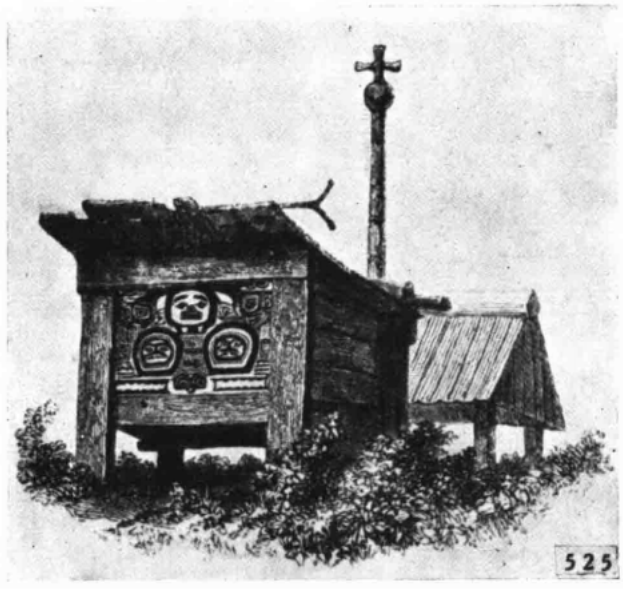
11. In 1790–1795, Captain George Vancouver (106) made the following observations about the West Coast country between the Skeena and Vancouver Island:

Accompanied by some of the officers, Mr. Menzies, and our new guest Cheslakees, I repaired to the village, and found it pleasantly situated on a sloping hill, above the banks of a fine freshwater rivulet, discharging itself into a small creek or cove. It was exposed to a southern aspect, whilst higher hills behind, covered with lofty pines, sheltered it completely from the northern winds. The houses, in number thirty-four, were arranged in regular streets; the larger ones were the habitations of the principal people, who had them decorated with paintings and other ornaments, forming various figures, apparently the rude designs of fancy; though it is by no means improbable they might annex some meaning to the figures they described, too remote, or hieroglyphical, for our comprehension.

[1] The Ingraham journal, quoted to the author by Mr. B. A. McKelvie, is said to be preserved in MS. form at the Library of Congress, Washington. A photostat copy is available at the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, in Victoria.



A mortuary pole at Yakutat, 1792



Graves and carved post in Alaska

Nootka houses were also visited and described by Vancouver, as follows:

In the evening we passed close to the rock on which the village last mentioned is situated; it appeared to be about half a mile in circuit, and was entirely occupied by the habitations of the natives. These appeared to be well constructed; the boards forming the sides of the houses were well fitted, and the roofs rose from each side with sufficient inclination to throw off the rain. The gable ends were decorated with curious painting, and near one or two of the most conspicuous mansions were carved figures in large logs of timber, representing a gigantic human form, with strange and uncommonly distorted features.

The construction of the Nootka houses, especially with respect to their inside, has been so fully treated by Captain Cook as to preclude any material addition from my pen; yet it is singularly remarkable (although particularly represented in Mr. Webber's drawing of the village of Friendly Cove) that Captain Cook should not have taken any notice whatever in his journal of the immense pieces of timber which are raised and horizontally placed on wooden pillars about eighteen inches above the roof of the largest houses in that village; one of which pieces of timber was of size sufficient to have made a lower mast for a third-rate man-of-war. These, together with the large images, were at that time supposed to denote the habitation of the chief, or principal person, of the tribe; and the opinion then formed has been repeatedly confirmed by observations made during this voyage. One or more houses in many of the deserted villages, as well as in most of the inhabited ones we had visited, were thus distinguished. On the house of Maquinna were three of these immense spars; the middle piece was the largest, and measured at the butt-end nearly five feet in diameter; this extended the whole length of the habitation, which was about a hundred feet long. It was placed on pillars of wood; that which supported it within the upper end of the house was about fifteen feet in circumference, and on it was carved one of their distorted representations of a gigantic human figure.

Lieut. G. T. Emmons (47: 283) remarks:

Vancouver's only mention of totem poles was at a small village in Fitzhue Sound, and of painted house fronts here and in Johnstone Straits, and while the natives claim that their villages had such ornamental features before the advent of the white man, yet they must have been of rare occurrence.

12. Jacinto Caamano (1792), in his cruise around the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1792, described the arts of the Haidas (25).

Although Caamano gave extensive descriptions of the various ornamental arts of the Haidas, his only references to the native house and, incidentally, house decorations are the following:

Their houses, built of boards, are spacious, clean, and well kept. They are protected against the attacks of possible raiders by large wooden towers standing on steep rocks, and, for such occasions are provided with a couple of pretty good brass swivels, some muskets, long bows, darts, and daggers. Ordinarily, however, they carry none of these weapons; except the spears used for killing the nutria, of which they always take a sufficient number with them in their canoes (p. 221).

As the chaplain, master, surgeon, and botanist wished to land in order to visit a pretty large river that discharged near the village, I gave them the cutter. They were, however, no sooner ashore, than Jammisit accompanied by several more came to meet them, inviting them into their houses. Our people accepted and were entertained with a dance, decorated with feathers, and presented with various trifles, together with a dagger for me. At the same time, the Indians intimated that if I should visit them, it would give them great pleasure, and a grand fête would be arranged in my honour (p. 285).

The moment that I placed myself on the deerskin, these six fellows hoisted my 150-pound carcass onto their shoulders and carried me at a run across the shingle and up the pretty steep slope leading from it to the village, whither they brought me at a surprising speed. To pass through the narrow doorway of the chief's house, over which was painted a huge mask, it was necessary to make a litter or hammock of the deerskin. Two of the strongest of the Indians did this, with the other four assisting as best they could, while I was shrinking myself into as small compass as possible (though my bearers were careful enough) to avoid being bumped against the door posts. Once inside, I tried to get on my feet, but this they would not allow before bringing me to the place prepared for my seat, which was to the right of the entrance (p. 289).

On the way, I noticed four more houses similar to the one in which we had been entertained. This was about fifty to fifty-five feet in length, and thirty to thirty-five in breadth, with walls and roofs of well-fitted planking. In the middle of the roof was a louver or skylight, placed so as to admit plenty of light, and serving also for the exit of smoke from the hearth (on which a fire is constantly burning), but at the same time keeping out the rain. It was cleaner than I had expected to find and at some time must have been much larger, as around and above it stood heavy forked posts with cross timbers (p. 293).

13. About 1792, the entrances to Nootka houses at Opatsat or Clayoquot were described, apparently by Boit (in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXII, 303, as quoted by F. W. Howay—Cf. The Sea, the Ship, and the Sailor, by Captain Elliott Snow, p. 339), as follows:

Every door you entered was in resemblance to a human and beast's head, besides which there was much more rude carved work about their dwellings, some of which were by no means inelegant.

14. In 1816, Camille de Roquefeuille (39) described the houses of Massett, Queen Charlotte Islands, and those of Nootka, as follows:

At Massett, under the guidance of a man named Tayan. . . .

The huts composing the four villages on the two sides of the entrance are better built and in better order than those of the north. There is something picturesque in the whole appearance of this large village; it is particularly remarkable for the monstrous and colossal figures which decorate the houses of the principal inhabitants, and the wide gaping mouths which serve as a door . . . . (pp. 87, 88).

At Nootka, the size of Macouna's hut (p. 95).

The colossal and monstrous figures already mentioned were the principal decoration of this Indian dwelling (p. 96).

The Indians call by the name of *tche-ha* the shed which serves as a burying-place of the great chiefs of Nootka only. At the entrance of the shed there are five rows of wooden statues, rudely carved, extending to the other extremity, where there is a kind of cabinet decorated with human skulls. Several of the statues wear the distinctive features of a man

and even have natural hair. Opposite the entrance there are eight large whales made of wood, placed in a line, on the back of which skulls are systematically arranged. . . Lastly, they set up his statue, as a monument to his honour. . . (p. 101).

15. About 1824, Capitaine Péron (117a) observed:

A Cape Flattery (*Kwakiutl*) habitation is here described, but without a mention of wood carvings (pp. 299, 300). The same remark applies to the large village of Tatascou (p. 303).

"Ces Indiens paraissent avoir quelques dispositions au dessin; sur la plupart de leurs pirogues ils avaient figuré avec une espèce de chaux des poissons, des oiseaux, et des animaux terrestres" (p. 304).

At Nootka, a pirogue of 50 feet in length "était ornée de sculptures grossières figurant le soleil et des serpents d'une longueur démesurée" (p. 306).

The habitation of Out-cha-chel is called "palais de ce prince." No carving is mentioned.

16. In 1829, according to Edward L. Keithahn (p. 116), the Rev. Jonathan S. Green observed "busts" and "carved masts" at Kaigani during his several visits in 1829. He perhaps did not know that his countryman, Captain Roberts of the "Jefferson," helped raise a totem pole in this same village thirty-five years earlier. Competition between the traders was keen, and the Indians made the most of it. On this occasion (1794), the Captain and his crewsmen planed, sanded, painted, and erected the totem pole at the request of a local chief, the pole being raised with the aid of two spare topmasts and the necessary tackle.

II. Comments by Later Observers

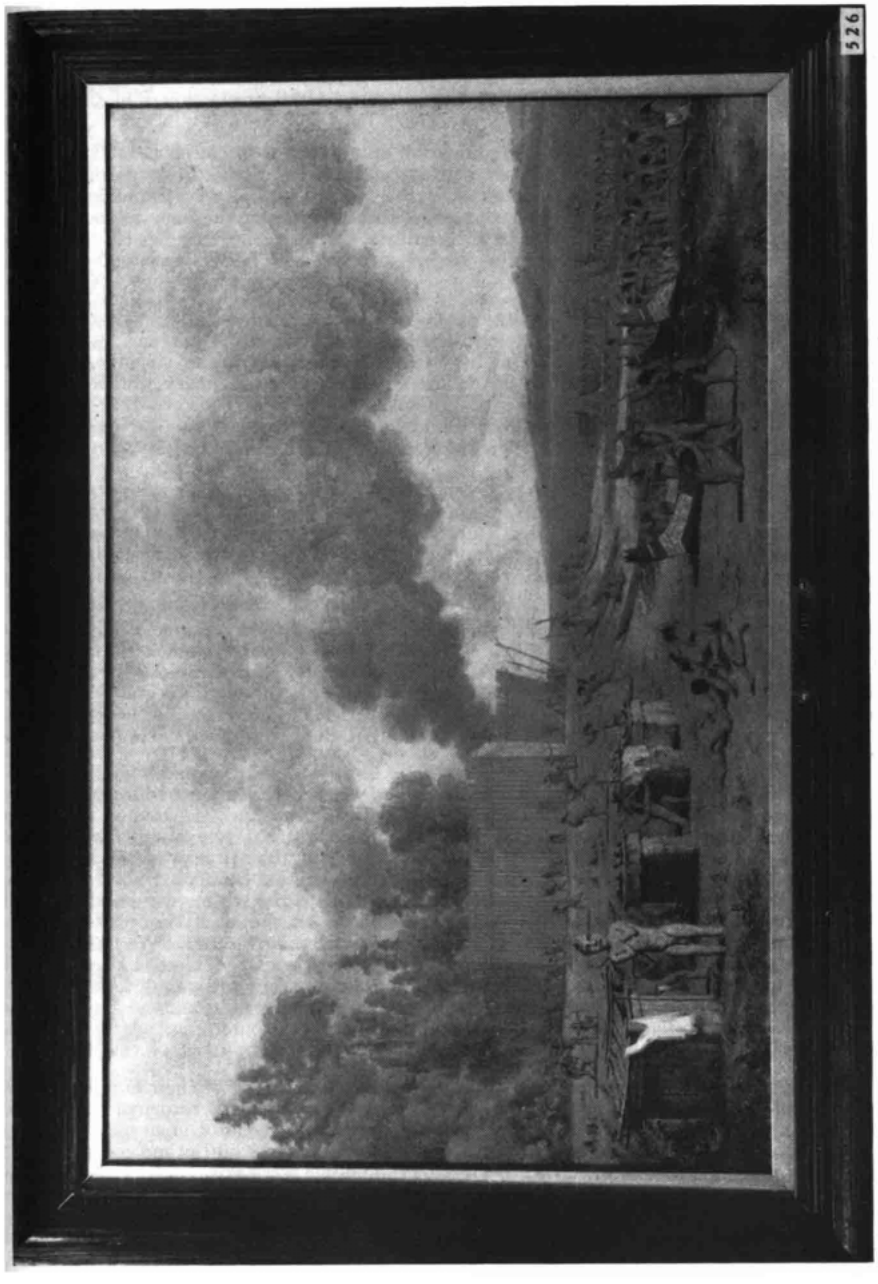
17. In 1862, totem poles among the Haidas and the Tsimsyans were described by James Deans (33).

I paid a visit to Fort Simpson, one of the northern trading-posts. During a stroll through the Indian village, outside of the fort, I was astonished at the amount of carvings and paintings on the houses and tall columns, to be seen everywhere. This visit was made in the summer of 1862, extending up into Alaska, where I also had a chance to look over the carved columns. Early in the spring of 1869 I visited the home of Hidery proper, Queen Charlotte Islands. While there I discovered that every village on these islands was full of paintings and carvings and that there were various sorts of columns, also dead houses, with strange looking animal carvings on them.

18. From 1870 to 1880, the progress of the arts and crafts during the earlier decades was described by James Deans:

In the three closing decades of the last century, when these islands were first visited by Europeans, these columns were found in every village visited. In 1883, if I remember aright, I was shown a part of a tall column on North Island, one of the Queen Charlotte group. This column stood in front of a chief's house in 1770. At the time of my visit, excepting this column, nothing remained of this village but the outlines marking the sites of the houses, and if the roots of a spruce had not entwined the rotten remains of the column it would long ago have disappeared.

During the summer of 1872 I visited a large, newly finished house. Leaning against the wall were several bundles of sticks. Each stick was as thick as a man's thumb and two feet in length. My Indians told me that altogether these bundles contained 5,000 sticks, and that each stick was a tally for one blanket given away, or in all 5,000 blankets. In those days a blanket would cost these people not less than $6 by the bale, representing in cash $30,000 paid away in connection with this house. I told the Indians that was a large amount to pay for such a building, and I could not believe it. To this they all replied that



Watercolour by Paul Kane, Indians of Washington (1845–1848)

it was true. So I said no more, but went and overhauled one of the bundles. The quantity of sticks was correct, if the blankets were. The owner of this house was a skaga or doctor, and was of considerable importance among the various tribes. His name I have unfortunately lost. Instead of a carved column he had a veritable totem post set up about twelve feet from his house. The post, which was quite round, was twelve inches in diameter and at least twenty-five feet in height. Placed on top of it was an image of a man, two feet high, naked, with the privy member erect, very large and out of all proportion. This image was the totem.

Thus I have given the origin and signification of one sort of totem post. In the summer of 1889 I was once more in the vicinity of this house. I found the little garden full of potatoes in full bloom. The house I found about the same. The post with the little image on top was there also, but the sexual part was gone. In answer to my enquiry as to what had become of those parts the Indians with me replied: "Since we became Christians we did not like to see it there. So a number of us loaded our guns with bullets and fired at it until we shot it off."

In those days the power of the chief was absolute; also none but he had columns, because he alone had the means to pay for a fine house and column. Thus matters remained unchanged for generations; but by and by a new day and life began to dawn amongst these people. The traders from China, in the latter part of the last century, and the whalers in the early part of the present one, came amongst them. The Hudson's Bay Company also opened a trading-post at Fort [Port] Simpson, and afterwards the steamer '*Beaver*' visited and traded with the different tribes along the coast. At this stage the men and boys found that by trading with and working for the white people on land and on board the steamer, they could soon get property enough to build houses and to raise columns for themselves, and finally to become chiefs themselves, or at least as rich as chiefs. The women and girls also found out that by prostitution and by various services, such as washing, mending clothes, and such like, they too could become rich, wear a big labret, build large houses, and raise fine columns. They too had equal rights in these things with the men when they had the means to pay for them.

During the few years of the gold fever they were visited by a number of vessels. Two of them were wrecked and their crews made prisoners and afterward taken to Fort Simpson, where they were redeemed by the Hudson's Bay Company. By these transactions they made considerable money, which added to the number of new columns. The gold excitement soon died out, but the natives had then a bad reputation, so no one came near them. At length, being tired of having no visitors, they thought they would see what could be got by visiting others.

So during the summer of 1853, having previously heard that many white people had come to Fort Victoria (as it was then called) and to Nundimo, they decided to visit these places in order to see for themselves. During the summer of that year about five hundred of them, in their large canoes, landed in Victoria, which at that time was but a trading-post of the above company, and the few people there were all connected with it. Seeing so many wild-looking fellows come suddenly amongst them, the whites were badly scared. This led James Douglas, who was then Governor, to send for the chiefs in order to have a conversation with them. They came, and he inquired what they wanted. "We have come," they replied, "to see if we can get something to do, and to trade." "That is all very well, but why so many?" "For protection against hostile tribes," they answered. "Very good," replied Mr. Douglas "but we can not have so many of you here; so get home again as fast as you can. Before you go, come to the store, and you will get something." After receiving goodly presents of blankets and other goods, they all left.

During their short stay they got well posted in the probability of their making money if they returned. So a few weeks after they left, four or five canoes returned quietly. At the first visit the men came in majority; with the second visit the women came. After a few months' stay these women sent home a quantity of blankets and other goods, besides fine dresses. Seeing what had been sent, most of the people were anxious to visit Victoria. During that and succeeding years for the next twenty, they came by canoe, and steamer until there were but few left at home. After staying a while in Victoria they generally went to Port Townsend, W.T.; then to all the lumber mills on Puget Sound and in British Columbia.

These 20 years were famous for two things as far as these northern Indians in general were concerned, and the Haidas in particular. These two things were fine houses and the splendid carved columns. I am sorry to have it to tell that while they were building these

houses and carving these columns, they were at the same time chanting the requiem of the Haida people.

As I have said, the Haida's ambition was to build himself a house and to have a column which would excel all others in the beauty of its workmanship and in that which was distinctively his own. In order to secure this he must have not only his own crest, such as the Eagle or Raven, or Beaver, but he must have the crests of his own or his wife's father and mother, especially if they belonged to any of the gens or orders, such as the Bear, Scongna, Chimbago, and Wasco.

If a Haida was able to have a column longer and broader than his neighbor, it also entitled him to rank high among the people. At first the columns were short and the space to admit carvings limited; so with crests above and one or two old stories, the broadside was covered. Consequently, when they grew larger there was more space to fill up, as well as more new columns. This caused a demand for stories. Everything was taken hold of amongst their own and neighboring tribes — on the islands and mainland; stories handed down through passing ages — stories almost forgotten by the old people, were collected and carved. Thus they went on carving until every family had one or two, and every village was full from end to end, mostly in front, a few being behind and on top of the houses.

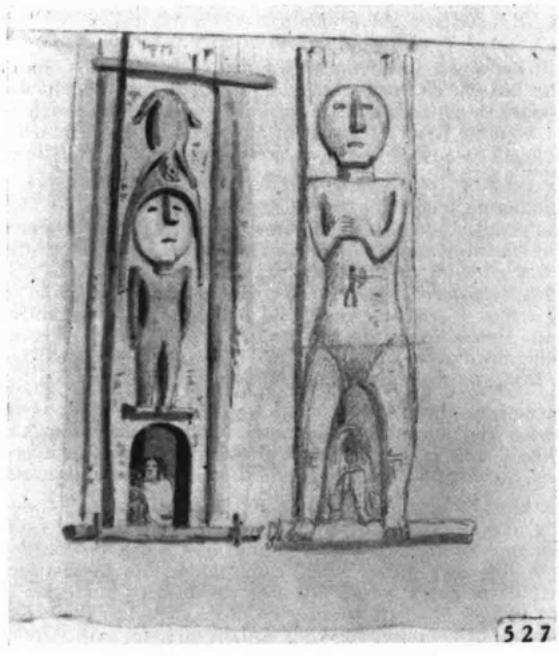
While all this building and carving and striving to excel was going on, funds were wanted to meet the demands of those who were left at home to conduct operations. In order to meet them, mothers, daughters, sisters, and wives prostituted themselves at every opportunity, irrespective of conditions, as long as something could be made to send home.

After a few short years of this kind of life, nature, outraged and exhausted, landed victim after victim in an untimely grave; some far from home, others going home to die, until few were left. As a natural outcome of all this, every column had showed a marked improvement on the one preceding it, but an instance which came under my observation: In 1883 there was a column finished a few years before my visit to Massett, alongside of which, every time I passed, I loved to linger in silent admiration of its carvings, they were so beautiful. Behind it stood the frame of a house, showing equally artistic skill. Under this frame I noticed a rude hut of boards, making a wide contrast between the two. Upon my inquiry I found that the property belonged to a man who had a beautiful wife, or sister, whose charms were such that they could readily bring great earnings to the owner of them. Wishing to have a new house, it was agreed between the two that in order to have it and a column far surpassing anything in the land, he would remain at home and employ the most artistic skill on the work, and she would go down to southern parts and there, by the sale of her charms, would raise the funds with which to carry on the work. She went, and regularly by canoe and by steamer, came a supply of goods and money. The column was carved and set up, and also the house, when suddenly the supply from the South stopped. A few weeks later, word came up that she was dead and buried. Nature, unable to stand the drain on her constitution, gave out and landed her in an untimely grave. Ever after, when I passed this house, I felt sorry when I thought of the life sacrificed in order to bring it to that state of perfection. Her intention was to return when all was finished and have the pleasure of saying, we have a prettier house and column than any in the village. Had she lived she would have stayed, after all was finished, in southern ports until she had made enough to buy one or two hundred dollars worth of goods and provisions; then returned home again; the tribe would have been invited to a house-warming, when most of the provisions would have been consumed and all the goods would have been given away in presents. But she died, and the house remains as a sign of her ruin — its beauty covering a wreck.

19. In 1874, James G. Swan (96) gave the following description of the Haida carvings:

The first of these carved miniatures that I shall describe is of wood. It is intended to represent one of the carved posts or pillars which are raised in front of the houses of the chiefs or principal men. These pillars are sometimes from fifty to sixty feet high, elaborately carved at a cost of hundreds of blankets; some of the best ones even costing several thousand dollars; consequently, only the most wealthy individuals of the tribe are able to purchase the best specimens.

These pillars are carved out of a single cedar tree, the back hollowed out so as to relieve the weight when raising it in a perpendicular position. They are deeply and firmly set in the earth directly in front of the lodge, and a circular opening near the ground constitutes the door of entrance to the house. The Chimsean Indians at Fort Simpson and the Sitka tribes have this style of carved posts, but they set them a short distance from the front of their



Another watercolour by Paul Kane

An ancient megalithic memorial at the canyon of Gitsalas

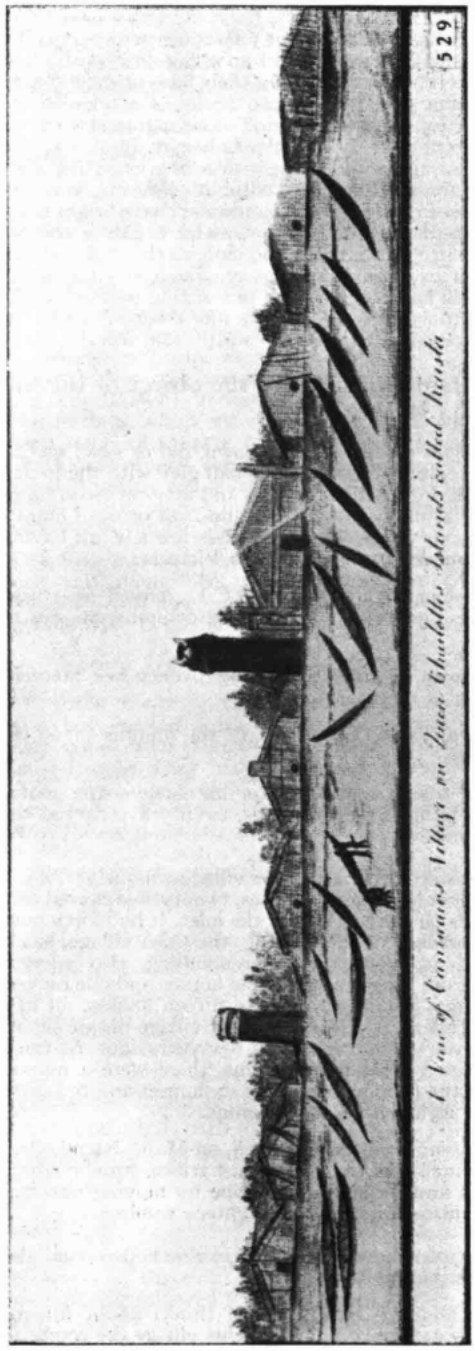
houses.

The figures carved on these posts are the family totems or heraldic designs of the family occupying the house; and as these Indians build large wooden lodges capable of containing several families, the carvings may be said to indicate the family names of the different occupants.

The carvings of the pillars are thought by many persons to resemble Chinese or Japanese work, and in order to satisfy myself upon that point, I showed carvings to a party of very intelligent Japanese who visited Port Townsend several months since. They examined them carefully and critically, and pronounced them entirely unlike anything they had ever seen in their own country. In fact, they seemed as much interested in the specimens as our own people. I have seen similar carvings by the natives of the Fiji Islands, but on the northwest coast they are confined almost exclusively to the Haidas on Queen Charlotte Islands, and to the Chimseans on the mainland. The carvings I particularly allude to are those representing several figures, one above the other, as shown by the sketches and photographs of the carved posts or pillars placed before the entrances to their houses.

20. In the 1860's, the Haida poles as they stood were described by James Deans (34)—

The traveller by any of the steamers on this coast in, I shall say, 1862 would be surprised, as he came in sight of any Indian town, to see the number of tall columns of various heights and forms, standing from end to end of every town, mostly in front of the houses, although a large number often were placed behind. As he drew near, he would be amused to find them carved from bottom to top with figures, which he would naturally take to be runics or hieroglyphics. If he went through the village he would find that a number of these columns had no carvings on them, but instead had a box placed on top; on one side of this box was engraven something resembling the face of a



Cunneaw's Village on Queen Charlotte Islands

human being. At some places he would see a long box resting on two strong cedar posts. At other places he would notice a long pole, like a flagstaff, with a bird on top of it, with a plate of copper either held in its beak or placed in the pole beneath its perch. Often these poles have ropes placed beneath the bird in order to haul up a flag on gala days. Again he would find amongst this motley group others carved from their base upward ten or twelve feet, while the remainder of the column was divided into circles of a breadth of twelve inches. On numbers of these columns, tops as well as sides, were engraved men, women, and children with hats, whose crowns are four of these circles in height. In others, a man is covered with five or more of these circles above his head, with a beaver sitting above his head on the uppermost circle. Most of those columns are without colouring, yet a few are painted with bright colours, having a pleasing effect. The colours used were bright red, yellow, dark green, and black. The houses were always built in a row, with two gables, the main entrance always facing the shore. In the centre of this gable and close to the wall is the principal column in which an oval hole was cut to serve as a doorway. The lowest figure on these columns is a bear, a beaver, or a wolf; all have been carved in a sitting posture. In the lower part of the belly of the object, the entrance or oval doorway was always placed. The average height of these columns may be placed at thirty feet; in width, four feet.

21. In 1884, the Haida villages are the object of the following observations by James Deans (34) —

In the summer of 1884 a census of every town, old or new, was taken, including the number of people, houses, columns, etc. This I shall give with the location of each town or village. The returns give Skidegate thirty houses and fifty carved columns, besides, I think, thirty mortuary ones, and a number of Sathling-un-Nah or dead houses, or tombs behind the village. To-day, 1891, very few old-style houses are left, all having been replaced by modern ones, built from models, from houses in Victoria.

The village of Guneshewa [Cumshewa], Q.C.I., named after its chief Grunshawas town, had eighteen houses and twenty-five carved columns, besides mortuary ones, and dead houses.

Captain Skidanse's town is given as having twenty-five houses and thirty carved columns, besides a number of mortuary ones.

In Captain Clue's town, Tamo [Tanu], Q.C.I., the number given is twenty houses and twenty-five carved columns.

Ninstint's [Ninstinst] town, so called after its chief, is the southmost town on the Queen Charlotte Islands. It had twenty houses, twenty-five carved columns, and twenty mortuary ones, given at date.

In this district of Massett there are three villages, namely: Yan, on the west side of the inlet. At the above date it had twenty houses, twenty-five carved columns. You-te-wuss, the principal village, stands on the east side of the inlet. It had forty houses and fifty carved columns, besides a few mortuary ones. Ka-yung, the third village, has been abandoned for a number of years. It had six or seven columns standing, also a few fallen ones. Yateza, a new village a few miles from Massett, had three houses and one carved column. At Kung, on Naolen or Vrago [Virago] Sound, there were fifteen houses, all in ruins but two, and twenty carved columns Tadens [Dadens] is a new village on an old site. It had seven or eight houses, and one carved column erected a few years ago. At the deserted villages of Yakh and Kioosta, besides a great many tombs, there were a number of columns with very ancient carvings. At the former there were six houses and ten carved columns. At the latter, fifteen houses and eighteen carved columns.

The Gold Harbour Indians' village of Heenii, on Maud Island, Q.C.I. This village was built about 1876 by the remnant of the West Coast tribes, who bought a piece of land from the Skideyats [Skidegate], and formed a new tribe by moving into it. At the above date there was in this village thirteen houses and eighteen tombs.

At the village of Kai-Soon there were ten or twelve houses, and about as many carved columns, besides a number of tombs.

The old village of Chu-att [Chathl] had (I think) about fifteen houses, mostly in ruins, and I believe twenty carved columns. At this village the tombs far outnumber those at any village on Haida Land.

22. In 1888, A. P. Niblack (78) stated —

Amongst the northern Tlingits these carved columns of all kinds have largely disappeared. At Sitka only the stumps of the ancient ones are now found. Wherever the missionaries have gained influence with these Indians, the totemic columns have gradually disappeared and the old ways been given up. Of the Tlingit villages which have retained many of the primitive customs, Tongass (Tunghaash) is the most representative. Kasa-an stands at the head of the Kaigani, and Skidegate, of the Haida villages in this respect. Wars, epidemics, and emigration have reduced the population to such an extent that former sites have been abandoned, and the Indians are gradually concentrating into a few villages. Graves, ruins, decaying houses, grass-grown village sites, graphically picture the results of the contact of the coast Indians with our civilization.

23. In 1904, Dr. J. R. Swanton wrote (119) —

Most important of all the southern groups of Tlingit were the Stikine. They claim that they formerly owned, besides the Stikine Valley, parts of Kupreanof and Prince of Wales Islands and the coast southward as far as Loring. The last-named district, however, appears anciently to have been the special property of the Foam people (*Rhaihlqoan*), who have moved to Wrangell only in recent years. The Stikine also had exclusive rights of trade with the interior Indians, who were valued for what could be gotten out of them but otherwise looked down upon as a lower race. Formerly the principal Stikine town was *Qahltcatlan*, now called Old Wrangell, some distance south of the present town of Wrangell, and it is claimed that the first carved poles in Alaska were there set up. The Indian town at modern Wrangell was built around a little bay near the northern end of Wrangell Island and on several small islets in the bay.

All of the Wolf families in this place, except the Foam people, above referred to, appear to belong to one group, and among them the most important of Wrangell, as well as of this phratry, were the *Nanyaayi*. Although all these clans are said formerly to have come from the Tsimshian coast,[1] the more immediate migration was southward from Taku.

When house posts were first used at Skidegate (Haida), according to J. R. Swanton (97: 100).

At Pebble-Town they erected a large house, from which they were subsequently called Big-House-People; and from there they moved into Skidegate, where they re-united with the Rotten-House-People. They became the ruling family of Skidegate in a manner already described. Their chief now prefers to be called Skedagits, but he who has the most storied reputation was called Yestagana (or, as the Skidegate people proper call him, Nistagana). Under him, house poles are said to have been first used.

The origin of carved posts, according to a Massett tradition reported on by J. R. Swanton (97: 218).

Some people living in Massett Inlet went to Rose Spit to pick berries. On the way a woman looked into the sea and saw a carved post there. The people looked at it long enough to remember how it was made and, when they got home, carved two posts just like it. At this, however, the supernatural beings became angry and raised a flood, compelling the people to take to their canoes. They threw one of the posts into the sea and put the other on top of a low mountain. Then they began to sing, and the flood fell; but they were changed into birds, called Gyugadaga. The post that they left on the mountain is sometimes seen by those who are going to become rich.

24. In 1909, John W. Arctander explained (2) —

The use of the totem pole never became common among the Tsimsheans, while the Haidas, the expert carvers of the coast, were especially noted for their complex sets of totem poles and were closely followed by the Thlingits.

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[1] Lieut. G. T. Emmons informs the writer, however, that the *Nanyaayi* were an island people and did not come up from the south.

The illustration on a near-by page gives an idea of the forest of totem-poles in a Haida village. At Fort Simpson, the headquarters of the Tsimshean nation, there was never, at any time, more than eight or ten totem-poles, all told. The Tsimsheans, instead, some time painted the animals of their totems on the front wall of their houses, and every household utensil and treasure chest, as well as every box in which the winter food was stored, bore upon it evidences of the family's totem, carved or painted, as the case might be.

As quoted by Arctander, Duncan himself wrote in *The Metlakahtlan*, No. 4. November, 1889 —

It is the ambition of all leading members of each clan in the several tribes to represent by carving or painting their heraldic symbols on all their belongings, not omitting even their household utensils, such as spoons and dishes: and on the death of the head of the family, a totem pole is often erected in front of his house by his successor, on which is carved and painted, more or less elaborately, the symbolic creatures of his clan, as they appear in some mythological tale or legend.

25. In 1913, Mrs. Lewis Shotridge wrote (89) —

With the introduction of steel and iron implements among the tribes of the Northwest Coast, totem poles became numerous. Numbers of them could be seen in front of houses in the more southern villages. But before the modern tools, it is said, totem poles were rare, not only on account of the difficulty in the making — as stone and wood were used for tools — but the desire to keep them strictly distinctive was a reason for their scarcity.

One often hears it said by the older people that originally totem poles were used inside of the houses only, to support the huge roof beams. The carvings and paintings on them were usually those of the family crests. These posts were regarded with respect, very much as a flag is by a nation. Even when the Chilkats had acquired modern tools with which to make totem poles they did not fill their villages with tall poles like some other tribes, chiefly because they wanted to keep to the original idea.

The figures seen on a totem pole are the principal subjects taken from tradition treating of the family's history. These traditions may treat of the family's rise to prominence or of the heroic exploit of one of its members. From such subjects the crests are derived.

In some houses, in the rear between the two carved posts, a screen is fitted, forming a kind of partition which is always carved and painted. Behind this screen is the chief's sleeping place.

26. In 1914, Livingston F. Jones declared (59) —

Whether the Hydahs originated the crest system and totemism, or borrowed them, we have no means of knowing. But there are good reasons for believing that the Thlingets borrowed them from the Hydahs. Those living near them and having the most to do with the Hydahs, have the most totem poles, whereas the farther away you find them from the Hydahs the fewer they have, and the meaner they are. Then, too, the Thlingets are not such skilled totemic workmen as the Hydahs but are mere imitators.

27. In 1945, Edward L. Keithahn published the information (62: 111) that the Haidas say their inspiration for these quaint monuments came from water-logged totem poles that drifted to their beaches in Queen Charlotte Islands from parts unknown, many generations ago.

28. In 1947, Fred S. Johnston, an old-timer, in Alaska since 1897, met by the author at Wrangell in 1947, stated:

The totem poles were unknown here [in Alaska] until the early 1890's [this was true with the exception of some short poles on Shaiks' Island]. I was at Cape Fox in 1921. It was then mostly grown up with weeds, around the remnants of totem poles.

29. Totem poles in Alaska in the 1880's, 1890's, and as late as 1902, according to Edward L. Keithahn (62: 38, 39).

In *The Alaskan* of May 12, 1888, was this item —

The Elder brought from Metlakahtla two old totem poles consigned to Dr. Sheldon Jackson for the Sitka Museum. It seems that formerly the people now living at Port Tongass resided at Port Chester. Fifty years ago a party of Stickeens attacked and

defeated them. The village was burned and the people driven away. The totem poles alone seemed to have escaped the fire. Last summer, when the Metlakahtlans took possession of the place, they found a few still standing. Having no interest in them, the poles were gradually being destroyed. The best two remaining were secured for the Museum.

The Kake natives, always jealous of their tribal institutions, were still carving memorial poles as late as 1895. An item appearing in *The Alaska Searchlight* (Juneau), December 21, 1895, stated:

The Mayflower returned from Kake Tuesday night. The Kake Indians erected a large and elaborately carved totem last Monday in honour of a dead chief and were indulging in the usual potlatch. A large number of natives were present but everyone seemed disposed to be peaceable.

About ten years later a well-meaning missionary, gaining the backing of the village elders, had practically every totem pole in Kake chopped down and burned. The few that survived were destroyed when Kake village burned in 1926.

On February 29, 1896, *The Alaskan* published an extract from a letter by Dr. Thwing of Wrangell, as follows:

This winter there has been a very general feeling of suspense and expectancy in view of the great feast and intertribal dance for which Chief Shakes has been preparing for a year or two. To dignify a living son and commemorate one dead, there has been a new totem pole carved, and the Tongass natives have been called to dance and feast here. These guests arrived February 1st and were received with great honour and much noise.

This is the "Raven" pole, still standing in Wrangell and in good repair despite its roundly fifty years. However, this pole has been repaired and repainted from time to time, a fact that has aided immeasurably in its preservation.

The Mining Journal of Ketchikan, issue of January 18, 1902, gave evidence that totem poles were being carved there after the turn of the century, although it is difficult to determine just which poles are referred to. The item is, as follows:

The natives have about completed a new totem pole, which they intend erecting at the foot of Main Street as soon as the finishing touches can be applied. Another of the same pattern is being built in Indian town.

Chief Johnson's pole was carved at about that time, but there is no record of another of this pattern being carved.

30. The Age of totem poles. What Edward L. Keithahn thinks of the age of totem poles (62: p. 21–33). (The following are merely extracts from an interesting chapter entitled "Antiquity of the Totem Pole".)

That totem poles, however dilapidated, are not necessarily of great age, certainly not prehistoric, may be noted in the case of New Tongass village. Here the poles appear to be as ancient as any on the Northwest Coast, yet we know positively that none was carved there before 1867, the year the village was established. At this site, the "Lincoln" pole was falling apart at the age of fifty years; it was beyond all repair at the age of seventy. The reason for this, besides the rigours of climate, is the fact that, once erected, the Indians never troubled to repaint or repair their finest totems.

The Spanish navigator Maurelle, in 1775, makes no mention whatever of totems of any type being at Sitka at that time. It seems highly improbable that he would have failed to mention such unusual monuments had he seen any, so it is reasonable to conclude there were none at Sitka prior to 1775.

In his article "A Yankee Trader on the Northwest Coast, 1791–1795," Vol. XXI, No. 2, of *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, Mr. F. W. Howay related the exploits of

Capt. Roberts of the Jefferson. While at Kaigani, a Haida village on Dall Island in 1794, the captain had occasion to assist in making and erecting a totem pole. I quote: "To ingratiate themselves and to aid the trade, the captain with the carpenter and some of the crew went to the village to plane and smooth a totem pole. The next day they returned with two spare top-masts and the necessary tackle to raise the pole and set it in position.

Later, Cunneah, the chief, asked Captain Roberts to have the pole painted, which he did. Some days later at Cunneah's request, men were sent to raise and place a carved figure on the top of the totem pole, the figure resembling a toad.

The first good description of a Tlingit mortuary pole comes from the Spaniard, Don Alexandro Malaspina, who saw several at Yakutat in 1792. In his book *Voyage Round the World*, 178–194, is a drawing of a large bear totem holding in its paws a box containing ashes of the dead. His description follows: "We do not know whether the colossal monster which occupies the foreground is an idol or merely a frightful record of the destructive nature of death, but the fact that in its vicinity are various pyres on which bodies have been cremated, inclines us to the first idea. In a casket which lay beneath its claws or hands was a bowl-shaped basket, a European hat, an otter skin, and a piece of board. The height of the monster was no less than ten and half feet (French). The whole was of pine wood and the ornaments on the casket were of shells embedded in the same wood. The colouring was of red ochre with the exception of the teeth, the claws, and the upper part of the head which were painted black and white."

Alexander Mackenzie reported no detached totem poles among the Bella Coola whom he visited in 1793. But he did describe interior house posts which are common throughout the totem pole regions and more widely used than any other carved pole on the Northwest Coast.

In describing a native house, Mackenzie said, in part:

The groundplot of it was fifty feet by forty-five; each end is formed by four stout posts, fixed perpendicularly in the ground. The corner ones are plain and support a beam of the whole length having three intermediate props on each side, but of a larger size, and eight or nine feet in height. The two centre posts at each end are two feet and a half in diameter, and carved into human figures, supporting two ridge poles on their heads, at twelve feet from the ground. The figures at the upper part of this square represent two persons, with their hands upon their knees, as if they supported the weight with pain and difficulty; the others opposite them stand at their ease, with their hands resting on their hips. In the area of the building there were the remains of several fires. The posts, poles, and figures were painted red and black; but the sculpture of these people is superior to their painting.

Captain George Vancouver, who visited the Northwest Coast in 1793–94, described various mortuary poles that he saw. Near Cape Spencer, he wrote:

Here were erected two pillars sixteen feet high, and four feet in circumference, painted white; on the top of each was placed a large square box.

A year earlier, June 1793, at 52 degrees 17 minutes north, on the mainland, Vancouver saw decorated houses and detached totem poles which might not have been mortuaries, in which case they would be the earliest reported detached totem poles other than mortuary. Vancouver's brief description is as follows: "The gable ends were decorated with curious painting, and near one or two of the most conspicuous mansions were carved figures in large logs of timber, representing a gigantic human form, with strange and uncommonly distorted features."

Otto von Kotzebue who was in Sitka in 1825, only twenty years after Lisiansky, apparently saw no totem poles of the mortuary type.

Captain Sir Edward Belcher briefly described Sitka which he visited in 1837 but he, too, made no mention of totem poles.

Jonathan Green, a missionary (from Hawaii) who toured the Northwest Coast in 1829 with the idea of establishing a mission, saw totem poles, probably at Kaigani. He wrote, in part, "They occasionally build a decent house and erect before it a mast or log of wood of great size carved and painted fantastically."

Sir George Simpson visited both Canadian and Alaskan villages and Hudson's Bay Company posts in 1841–42, but made no mention of totem poles encountered except for

mortuaries at Sitka. He did, however, pay tribute to the native artists when he wrote, "they carved steamers, animals, etc. very neatly in stone, wood, and ivory, imitating, in short, everything that they see, either in reality or in drawings. . . ."

The foregoing accounts cover a period of exploration of one hundred years duration and contain about all that has been recorded concerning totem poles in that century. From them we may infer that interior house posts were in general use throughout the entire region before the coming of white men; that the mortuary pole was common in Tlingit and Haida villages; that the exterior house post is Haida in origin, probably originating on Langara Island; that the detached totem pole must be of recent origin, possibly not over a hundred years old — that totem poles in general reached their highest development during the period of white trade and occupation, roughly between 1840 and 1880.

31. The art of the Northwest Coast is recent, according to Edward L. Keithahn (62: 76).

Like the totem poles, the art of the Northwest Coast itself is recent. Many museum pieces in stone and wood reveal that the artist of this region has not always favoured the curvilinear figures he now executes to the exclusion of all others. Food and storage boxes in particular were formerly decorated with plain geometric figures, and red was the only colour employed on them. The women's art as seen in mats and baskets was also formal and meaningless, except that the various designs employed had names. In recent times, however, the native women have been prevailed upon by whites to imitate the men's totemic figures on their baskets.

32. The age of totem poles, by W. A. Newcombe (a review of the author's *Totem Poles of the Gitksan*) (77: 238–243).

In his discussion of the age of totem poles, Mr. Newcombe gives interesting information on the age of a number of totems and Indian villages.

33. Nass origin of detached poles. Detached totem poles originated among Nass River Tribes, according to the Rev. G. H. Raley, now of Vancouver, formerly a missionary among the Hartley Bay Indians.

Alfred Wesley, a Haida slave met at Gitamat about 1895 (he was then 40 years old), thought that the idea of the large totem poles detached from houses went back to the Nass. The Gitamat people were not totem pole carvers in the same sense as the Nass and Skeena tribes were. They had one when I lived there, and there had been others. The one standing was 35 or 40 feet tall. The figure at the top had a segmented hat; below was a Halibut, with a Frog superimposed.

34. Age of the Gitksan poles on upper Skeena River.

See details in a list in the author's museum monograph *Totem Poles of the Gitksan*, pp. 187–191:

At Gitwinlkul (1860–1916), at Kitwanga (1850–1920), at Kispayaks (1850–1905), at Gitenmaks (1840–1900), at Hagwelget (1850–1875), at Qaldo (1860–1870 ?), at Gitsesyukla (1873–1925), at Kisgagas (1885). Some new poles have since been erected at Gitsegyukla, Gitenmaks (Hazelton), and Kispayaks.

III. **In Mythology and Tales,** totem poles are very rarely mentioned. This omission indicates that these emblems do not go deep in the concepts of the past and the casual references to carved poles may obviously have been introduced recently under the strong influence of the art in the last part of the nineteenth century. Such allusions are found elsewhere in this book; in addition, I quote the two following extracts from the myths, and later of the Tlingits, Nos. 35 and 36:

35. The Raven makes a totem pole, recorded by Dr. J. R. Swanton (119a: p. 117):

Raven went to another place, and they said to him, "There will soon be a great feast here," and they asked him to make a totem pole. He finished it, and when they put it up,