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“For Future Generations”:
Transculturation and the Totem Parks of the New Deal, 1938-1942

By

Emily Lehua Moore

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in

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in the

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of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Margaretta Lovell, Chair

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Professor Nelson Graburn

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Abstract

“For Future Generations”:
Transculturation and the Totem Parks of the New Deal, 1938-1942

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Emily Lehua Moore

Doctor of Philosophy in History of Art

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Margaretta Lovell, Chair

From 1938 to 1942, Tlingit and Haida Native men enrolled in a New Deal work relief program known as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) worked with the U.S. Forest Service to restore more than one hundred nineteenth-century totem poles in Southeast Alaska. Reversing decades of assimilation policies that had nearly ended totem pole carving in Alaska at the turn of the century, the CCC restored or replicated nineteenth-century totem poles and re-erected them in “totem parks” designed to attract tourists traveling on the steamship route known as the Inside Passage. This dissertation provides the first extensive analysis of this New Deal program, situating the totem parks as “contact zones” where Natives and non-Natives met to negotiate the complex (and often cross-purposed) catalysts of the restoration program: modernist primitivism, New Deal nationalist heritage, and indigenous rights movements of the Indian New Deal. Attending to the carving styles as well as to tourist and government photography of the parks, the project positions the totem parks as a case study for a transcultural model of American art history.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	ii
Introduction: Preserving Poles	1
Chapter 1: Archival Claims	34
Chapter 2: Exacting Copies	62
Chapter 3: Carving Moderns	96
Chapter 4: Decoding Totems	131
Chapter 5: Indigenizing Folk	160
Epilogue: The Legacy of the CCC	186
Figures	191
Bibliography	352

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Introduction: Preserving Poles

In early November 1938, newspapers across Southeast Alaska announced a major new federal initiative to restore the region's "Indian antiquities."¹ Using funding from the Civilian Conservation Corps, the work relief program that had become a hallmark of President Roosevelt's New Deal, the U.S. Forest Service would hire Tlingit and Haida Native men to remove nineteenth-century totem poles from uninhabited Native villages, to repair or replicate the poles, and to re-erect them in "totem parks" close to the tourists' steamship route. Regional Forester B. Frank Heintzleman, the head of the Forest Service in Alaska, explained the rationale of the restoration program:

Southeastern Alaska is known far and wide for the totem poles, community houses, and other outstanding evidences of craftsmanship of its native people. Most of these fine things of an earlier day have now disappeared and new ones are not being built. With Indian permission and Indian assistance, some of the best that remain are now to be salvaged and preserved, under government protection, as historical objects. Painstaking efforts will be made through study of old manuscripts and conference with the older Indians to make the restorations historically accurate to the smallest detail.²

Heintzleman stressed the importance of the federal initiative to the regional tourist economy, arguing that the totem parks would make popular Tlingit and Haida totem poles more accessible to summer tourists, as well as attracting tourists to buy more Native art. Restoration work would provide immediate relief to local Tlingit and Haida men, as well as give young men the opportunity to learn carving traditions from their elders. Further, Heintzleman emphasized the restoration project's relationship to other New Deal preservation efforts, positioning Alaska's totem poles as part of the nation's heritage: "Federal and state governments, patriotic organizations and historical societies are now actively working on the restoration of sites and buildings that have played a part in the native and white history of the country," he wrote. "These distinctive Indian relics in Alaska are also worth keeping as interesting and instructive historical objects. Their preservation is a case of now or never. The few remaining objects will otherwise soon be gone."³

The decision to collect, repair and display totem poles in totem parks as "historical objects" of American history represented radical changes for Tlingit and Haida totem poles in the 1930s. The reasons for—and repercussions of—this act of federal patronage is the subject of this study. Reversing decades of assimilation policies that had virtually ended Alaskan totem pole carving by the turn of the twentieth century, the CCC totem pole restoration project heralded non-Native support for totem pole carving in the 1930s but drastically altered its context of patronage and production. By the close of the CCC program in 1942, more than one hundred totem poles would be removed from uninhabited Native villages, where they had stood as crest markers for clan houses, graves and clan histories on the land (Fig. 0.1), and re-erected in the invented layouts of six totem parks that continue to rank among the most popular tourist attractions in Alaska (Fig. 0.2).⁴ Two-hundred-and-fifty Tlingit and Haida men would be employed in the restoration program, many of them young men learning the art—and stories—of the totem poles for the first time.⁵ And the U.S. Forest Service, the federal agency that managed the timber resources of the Tongass National Forest—the homeland of Tlingit

and Haida peoples in Southeast Alaska and the grounds on which many nineteenth-century totem poles stood—would find itself the unwitting curator of that icon of Native American art: the totem pole.

The New Deal totem parks in Southeast Alaska represent an important moment in the transcultural history of American and Native American art, where Natives and non-Natives met to negotiate a complex act of cross-cultural art patronage. Emerging out of early twentieth-century interests in so-called “primitive arts,” as well as a nationalist impulse to define a unique American heritage, the totem parks benefited from the surge of popularity of Native American art in the 1920s and the aspirations that a small but powerful group of Americans held for Native art in the 1930s. In 1935, René d’Harnoncourt, the general manager of the New Deal’s Indian Arts and Crafts Board and future director of New York’s Museum of Modern Art, voiced his interest in Native art: “I personally believe that the Indian artist has enough to contribute to American civilization to make it worthwhile to spend a great deal of time and effort [on him]. . . . I sincerely believe that Indian art. . . may become a powerful fresh factor in American art.”⁶ Promotions of Native art by the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, as well as exhibits sponsored by private groups in the 1920s and 1930s, helped stir public interest in the potential of Native American art to serve as a distinctive national art form. That interest also helped convince New Deal officials to support one of the largest acts of federal patronage for Northwest Coast Native art in the twentieth century—even in the remote island towns of Southeast Alaska.⁷

In Alaska itself, the totem parks represent a more specific cross-cultural experiment: the cooperative work of Tlingit and Haida Natives and non-Natives employed in the U.S. Forest Service. Since 1909, when seventeen million acres of Southeast Alaska had been set aside as the Tongass National Forest—without any payment to, or negotiating with, the aboriginal peoples who claimed the land—Tlingit and Haida peoples had clashed with the federal agency that supervised the Tongass.⁸ In 1912, Native men from communities across Southeast Alaska established the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB), one of the earliest Native rights groups in the United States, which would actively pursue land claims in the 1930s.⁹ In 1935, the Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska—a new tribal entity supported by federal legislation of the New Deal—won the right to sue the federal government for compensation for the seventeen million acres lost to the Tongass National Forest, threatening Forest Service jurisdiction of lands and resources. The totem pole restoration project of 1938-1942 thus arose in the midst of a hotly contested relationship between the federal agencies and Southeast Alaska’s indigenous peoples. Yet both groups saw their work in the totem parks as benefiting the “future generations” that they cited in the Memoranda of Agreements the two parties signed before restoration work began (Fig. 0.3). How each side understood, negotiated, and influenced their work for future audiences of American visitors and Tlingit and Haida peoples is a major theme of this dissertation, one that offers some insight into the complex transcultural work that the New Deal totem parks required.

The CCC totem parks stand at the nexus of movements in modernist primitivism, New Deal nationalist heritage, and indigenous rights movements of the Indian New Deal. Despite their significance, however, the parks have never been studied in any depth.¹⁰ The lacuna reflects a bias in Native American art scholarship against early twentieth-

century “tourist art,” as well as a lack of transcultural studies of Native art in American art scholarship. Dismissed by a generation of scholars as “gross failures” and “affronts” to the nineteenth-century poles they were intended to reproduce, the CCC totem poles have been glossed in diachronic histories of the totem pole.¹¹ Art historians of Northwest Coast Native art have favored “classical” carving of the late nineteenth century or the “Renaissance” of classically-inspired art in the 1960s, terms that frame art of the early twentieth century as a Dark Age of “tourist arts” on the Northwest Coast.¹² Rejecting this framework, I shift the analysis of the CCC totem poles from a diachronic to a synchronic one, placing the totem parks at the center of the dynamic historical matrix of the Indian New Deal. I take seriously the poles that Native peoples carved for the CCC, framing some of the first formal analysis of early twentieth-century carving in Southeast Alaska. And I work to restore the complex cultural negotiations that the parks demanded of Tlingit and Haida communities—as well of as their non-Native sponsors—as the project evolved from 1938 to 1942. Over the course of these four years, the CCC established six totem parks in southern Southeast Alaska (Fig. 0.4): Totem Bight (0.4.1) and Saxman (0.4.2) parks near Ketchikan; Hydaburg (0.4.3), Klawock (0.4.4) and Kasaan (0.4.5) parks on Prince of Wales Island; and Shakes Island in Wrangell (0.4.6), where the CCC restored an existing Tlingit clan house and added several local totem poles to the island’s display. The CCC also restored poles in a totem park that had been established in Sitka in 1902 (0.4.7) and carved new totem poles for the state capital in Juneau (0.4.8). A total of 121 poles—repaired, replicated, and a few newly carved—emerged from the CCC workshops, as well as three clan houses in Kasaan, Wrangell, and Totem Bight. Few of the CCC poles have been closely considered before, and no study has situated the totem parks fully in their New Deal context. This dissertation seeks to fill that gap and to begin to restore the totem pole’s complex role in the New Deal totem park as a national monument, a tourist attraction, *and* a crest object for Tlingit and Haida peoples.

The Turn to Preservation

Carved and painted arts of Native peoples on the Northwest Coast fascinated visitors to the region since the eighteenth century, when Europeans first arrived seeking furs and other resources. Although interior house posts in Native houses were frequently carved in the eighteenth century, large exterior totem poles were rare on the northern Northwest Coast until the mid-nineteenth century, when the fur trade provided the wealth and stimulus for Native people to commission ever more elaborate and impressive poles.¹³ By the late nineteenth century, villages like Old Kasaan were “forested” with totem poles that stood in front of community houses and beside graves, marking the crest lineages of the families and individuals inside (Fig. 0.5).

Contrary to popular belief, totem poles were never worshipped. The animal and spirit figures that populated their columns depicted not gods but the crest entities that ancestors had encountered in mythic times and earned the right to claim as identifying symbols.¹⁴ Like heraldic coats of arms, crests identified Tlingit and Haida individuals by representing the multi-partite lineages to which each individual belonged. Tlingit and Haida peoples are matrilineal and exogamous within two moieties, Raven and Eagle (the latter formerly known as Wolf among the Tlingit).¹⁵ A child inherits the moiety of his or her mother and marries a person from the opposite moiety. For the Kaigani or “Alaskan” Haida, who migrated to Southeast Alaska from the Haida homeland in Haida Gwaii (the

Queen Charlotte Islands) in the late eighteenth century, moieties are divided into lineages, and sometimes further into houses.¹⁶ For the Tlingit, moiety is divided by membership in a particular clan, and within the clan, a house.¹⁷ For example, Thomas Ukas, a Tlingit carver for the CCC at Wrangell, was from the Gaagaan Hit (Sun House) of the Kiks.ádi clan, which belonged to the Raven moiety. Each person has the right to display the crests that identify his or her moiety—Raven or Eagle—as well as the other crests that identify her clan or lineage, and house. Thus Thomas Ukas could claim the raven as his moiety crest, the frog as his Kiks.ádi clan crest, and the sun (usually depicted as a raven with a sun around its head) as his house crest. In addition, other crests can be claimed by descent groups and individuals over time.¹⁸ Any or all of these crests might appear on the regalia these individuals wear—or on a totem pole he or she commissions or is commemorated by.

In the nineteenth century, there were several types of totem poles among the Tlingit and Haida.¹⁹ Mortuary poles—which, among the Tlingit, stored the cremated remains of an elite person in a niche in the pole's shaft; or, among the Haida, in a bentwood box on a platform the pole supported—usually displayed the crests of the deceased individual. Similarly, memorial poles marked graves or commemorated the deceased with the depiction of his or her crests, although the poles did not actually house the remains. Frontal poles, which the Haida centered on the outside wall of their clan houses, identified the lineage of people that resided in the house; house posts, shorter poles that stood inside the clan or lineage house at four corners to support the roof beams, displayed the crests of the house family. Finally, heraldic or story poles depicted stories or events important to the history of a clan or lineage. For example, the Bear up a Mountain pole in Wrangell told of a time when the Naanyaa.aayí clan was saved from a flood by a brown bear that led them to higher ground (Fig.0.6). The paw tracks up the side of the pole and the bear perched at the top acted as a mnemonic device to recall a significant history for the Naanyaa.aayí people, and the encounter that led to their adoption of the brown bear as a clan crest.²⁰

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Tlingit and Haida peoples sought employment and education opportunities in new towns in Southeast Alaska, they left many of their totem poles in their former villages. However, they did not consider these villages “abandoned” and still spoke of their totem poles as their personal property.²¹ In Tlingit the word for this property was *at.óow*—“owned or purchased thing.”²² The English translation captures the aspect of ownership that is fundamental to Tlingit and Haida relationships to their regalia and art—ownership that was a primary duty of guests invited to a potlatch to witness and legitimize.²³ But the translation does not relay the animated aspect of *at.óow* that was of fundamental importance—that totem poles and other crest objects could act as kinds of living beings, vessels for ancestors that were commemorated in the crests. For the Tlingit and Haida, totem poles were “sacred and tangible links to their ancestors and clan histories.”²⁴ Linking living clan members to this deep lineage of ancestors, the totem pole represented a continuous lineage of people on Tlingit and Haida land—a view that stood in direct contrast to the Forest Service's notion of the totem pole as an abandoned ruin in the Tongass National Forest, as we will see.

The New Deal's interest in preservation heralded major changes to the ontology of the totem pole, both in Native practice and in non-Native opinion. Traditionally,

Tlingit and Haida cultures had not worked to preserve their poles from the inevitable decay of Southeast Alaska's temperate rainforest, where rainfall could reach thirteen feet in a single year.²⁵ Allowing old poles to decompose, however, was not due to Native indifference, as so many non-Natives assumed, but to cultural protocols for honor: little prestige was gained from maintaining a pole when a new one could be commissioned and erected at a potlatch. As with other crest objects on the Northwest Coast, totem poles were markers of both identity and wealth, displaying their owner's identifying crests as well as his or her wherewithal to commission an expensive art form. Commissioning several totem poles over a person's lifetime served to increase the patron's rank, a crucial aspect of a society where rank and social standing were continually negotiated.²⁶ Preserving totem poles thus represented a radical change to Tlingit and Haida practice—a change that stirred up controversy within Native communities in the 1930s and continues to be contentious today.²⁷

For non-Natives as well, the preservation of totem poles represented an about-face after decades of having discouraged totem pole carving. The American purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867 coincided with a pronounced turn to assimilation efforts in federal Indian policy, and totem pole carving was widely condemned.²⁸ Protestant missionaries, who mistook the poles' crest figures for gods they believed the Natives worshipped, decried the poles as heathen objects and convinced many converts to burn, chop up, or otherwise destroy their totem poles.²⁹ Although the potlatch was never officially banned in Alaska as it was in Canada, government officials discouraged this foremost ceremony of Northwest Coast cultures and with it the usual context for the erection of totem poles.³⁰ By the first decade of the twentieth century, few new totem poles were being carved in Southeast Alaska.³¹ Native peoples themselves had begun to see totem poles as a barrier to their quest for American citizenship, as residents of the new village of Hydaburg revealed in a 1912 petition to President William Taft:

We the undersigned Natives of Hydaburg, Alaska, hereby declare that we have given up our old tribal relationships; that we no longer recognize chief or clan or tribal family...and that we have discarded the totem and recognize the stars and stripes as our only emblem. . . . We therefore believe that we have fulfilled all requirements necessary to citizenship in the United States, and we respectfully request the Congress of the United States to pass a law granting us the full rights of citizenship.³²

Yet at the same time that assimilation policies pressured Natives to abandon totem pole carving, non-Native interest in preserving existing totem poles was growing. In 1898 Albert Niblack, a U.S. Navy officer stationed in Southeast Alaska, wrote that "something should be done to save the totem poles for future generations."³³ Totem poles were already popular with tourists to Alaska, and regular steamship travel brought more visitors to remote Native villages with a "Totem Tour" beginning in 1884 (Fig. 0.7).³⁴ Totem poles also gained national and international notoriety in World's Fairs, where they were first displayed outside the Northwest Coast: the 1876 U.S. Centennial in Philadelphia was the first to introduce totem poles to east coast audiences, followed by the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Although the public at these Fairs found the poles "grotesque" and "evidence of the barbaric nature of American Indians," museum officials in charge of the fairs wanted to ensure that the monuments were preserved.³⁵

In 1922, the Bureau of American Ethnology sent anthropologist T.T. Waterman to Southeast Alaska to study the predicament of Tlingit and Haida totem poles. Waterman's report, "Observations Among the Ancient Indian Monuments of Southeastern Alaska," published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1922, sparked a great deal of interest among members of the U.S. Forest Service.³⁶ Noting the decline of totem pole carving among the Tlingit and Haida—who, "under the influence of the whites, learn to despise these monuments of their past"—Waterman wrote: "No work could be better than to preserve, somewhere in Alaska, at least one house, with its totem poles and carvings complete."³⁷ It would be another two decades before Waterman's hopes for preservation were realized, but it was clear that such interest built momentum for the CCC totem parks.

Since 1904, when it began supervising natural resources in Southeast Alaska, the U.S. Forest Service had wanted to restore totem poles in the Tongass National Forest.³⁸ However, it was not until the New Deal pledged a massive infusion of public monies into conservation and relief work that funding was available for such a project. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) provided the initial funds for the restoration project at Sitka, granting \$42,878 to the project in 1938. But it was the Civilian Conservation Corps, or CCC, which eventually funded most of the labor for the totem parks, beginning with an allotment of \$127,492 in 1938.³⁹ As the hallmark program of President Roosevelt's New Deal, the CCC was designed to tackle two major problems of the Great Depression: finding employment for young men and conserving natural resources from drought, disease and other threats that had plagued the nation's forests and agriculture in the 1930s.⁴⁰ President Roosevelt had explained the program's goals in his inaugural address of 1932, when he urged Congress to

create a civilian conservation corps to be used in simple work, not interfering with normal employment [i.e. private enterprise], and confining itself to forestry, to the prevention of soil erosion, flood control, and similar projects. . . . The type of work is of definite, practical value, not only through the prevention of great financial loss but also as a means of creating future national wealth. . . . More important, however, than material gains will be the moral and spiritual value of such work.⁴¹

It may seem odd that the restoration of totem poles was grouped with soil erosion and flood control, but the location of most poles on Tongass National Forest land included them under the umbrella of forest restoration. Further, as Neil Maher notes, by the late 1930s the CCC had shifted its focus from increasing natural resource productivity on public land to developing recreational opportunities that encouraged Americans to visit the great outdoors.⁴² Visitation to national parks skyrocketed in the 1930s as relatively inexpensive vacation options for Americans during the Great Depression: in 1935 total attendance numbered a little more than six million people; by 1941 it had nearly tripled to sixteen million.⁴³ The New Deal totem parks belonged to a larger national movement to encourage tourism to parks in the United States and to build the infrastructure that would support a tourist industry.

Initially, Native Americans were not eligible for enrollment in the CCC, but a separate "Indian Division" was established in 1933 at the request of the Office of Indian Affairs (an agency which would not change its name to the Bureau of Indian Affairs until 1947).⁴⁴ The CCC-ID differed from regular CCC camps in that Native enrollees lived at home and went to work as day laborers, rather than moving to work at a rural camp. CCC-ID enrollees could also be married and older than the 18-25 age limit imposed on

non-Native CCC enrollees.⁴⁵ In Alaska, the CCC-ID was even more unusual. Because the territorial director of the CCC maintained that Alaska Natives had other forms of relief available to them during the Great Depression, Alaska Natives were not allowed to enroll in the CCC until 1937—only after extensive lobbying for this right by the Alaska Native Brotherhood.⁴⁶ On April 13, 1937, Congress extended the CCC-ID to Alaska with an executive order “authorizing an increase to 600 enrollees, 50% of which were to be native.”⁴⁷ The CCC totem pole restoration project began the following year.

“The Boondogliest of Boondoggles”

The Forest Service’s request for CCC funding to restore Alaskan totem poles raised many eyebrows in 1938. Although the CCC had been one of the most popular programs in the early years of the Depression, jokes about “shovel leaners” and the wastes of government spending had become so prevalent by the late 1930s that in 1939 the American Federation of Actors agreed to ban jokes at the expense of the WPA.⁴⁸ In 1937 Ernest Gruening, then the Director of the Department of Interior’s Division of Territories & Island Possessions, and future governor of Alaska, asked Regional Forester B. F. Heintzleman if the Forest Service would be interested in applying for funding from the Works Progress Administration to restore totem poles.⁴⁹ Gruening later recounted a difficult visit with Harry Hopkins, director of the Works Progress Administration, in Washington, D.C.: “It took a little doing to persuade [Hopkins] to agree to grant the application. The notion of restoring totem poles brought broad smiles to WPA officials. Wasn’t this the boondogliest of boondoggles, they wanted to know?”⁵⁰

“Boondoggles”—a term for the unnecessary work that critics saw as the New Deal’s legacy—was a watchword for federal spending by 1938.⁵¹ Given these suspicions, why did New Deal officials agree to fund the restoration of totem poles in Alaska?

Multiple cultural and political factors contributed to federal support for Native totem pole carving in the 1930s. One important factor was modernist primitivism, an aesthetic movement of the early twentieth century characterized by non-Native interest in “primitive” cultures as correctives for modernity’s perceived spiritual, economic and aesthetic fatigue.⁵² Disillusionment with western “progress” narratives, especially following the mechanized destruction of World War I, catalyzed a new interest in Native (and other “folk” and “primitive”) peoples as sources of redemption for western culture. “The races called by us inferior have qualities that are priceless to human society,” wrote archaeologist Edgar Lee Hewett in 1922. “In the discovery, recognition and culturation of the special abilities in the less powerful races lies our soundest insurance against spiritual decline and extinction by way of our own violence.”⁵³ Rejecting the industrialism and consumerism of the east coast, American artists and writers traveled to the Southwest, where they found a striking desert landscape and Spanish and Native cultures with distinctive histories separate from Europe’s. Artist colonies grew in Taos and Santa Fe with umbilical cords to patrons in eastern metropolises, where Southwest Native arts were popularized through exhibits, publications and social organizations in New York, Boston, and Washington, D.C.⁵⁴ The rage for the primitive was also reflected in anthropology, with scholars like Margaret Mead championing primitive societies as antidotes to the sexual repression and violence of so-called “civilized” cultures.⁵⁵

If Native art offered primitivists an alternative to the European studio tradition and its trajectory of western “progress,” it also fulfilled a wider cultural desire for a

distinctive American art. Van Wyck Brooks's famous call in 1918 for a "usable past" was a call for the nation to identify traditions from which writers and artists could draw to create a literature and art separate from Europe's.⁵⁶ This desire intensified in the 1930s as Americans, shaken by the Depression and the growing specter of fascism in Europe, sought to restore national confidence in American democracy and capitalism.⁵⁷ Erika Doss has written that the search for national culture was peculiarly linked to *material* culture in the 1930s: New Deal cultural programs hinged, Doss argues, on the ideal "that the nation's soul could be found...in American material and visual arts."⁵⁸ In this context, Native Americans and their material culture began to be heralded as the "most American" of arts in exhibits throughout the 1930s and 1940s. In 1931, *The Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts* at the Grand Central Art Galleries in Manhattan was hailed by reviewers as "the first truly American art exposition;" "the cry for 'American' art has been answered," wrote another critic.⁵⁹ In 1941, the exhibit *Indian Art of the United States* opened at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, positioning Native objects as a national art form even in its title. Writing the foreword for the exhibit catalogue, Eleanor Roosevelt affirmed Native art's place in the search for a national culture:

At this time, when America is reviewing its cultural resources, this book and the exhibit on which it is based open up to us age-old sources of ideas and forms that have never been fully appreciated. In appraising the Indian's past and present achievements, we realize not only that his heritage constitutes part of the artistic and spiritual wealth of this country, but also that the Indian people of today have a contribution to make toward the America of the future.⁶⁰

Roosevelt's foreword also affirmed that interest in Native art stemmed from the highest ranks of the New Deal administration, indicating the support that Native art forms would enjoy during the Depression.

While 1930s exhibits like *The Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts* displayed primarily Native arts of the Southwest, Northwest Coast Native art also its followers. Arts of indigenous peoples in British Columbia and Alaska were particularly popular with Surrealists, who saw in the transformation motifs of masks and totem poles corollaries to their own interests. In 1939, Wolfgang Paalen traveled to Southeast Alaska to study totem poles and later devoted an issue of the Surrealist journal *Dyn* to Alaskan arts.⁶¹ Structuralist anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, who was active in Surrealist circles in New York City, wrote in 1943 of his awe for totem poles displayed at the American Museum of Natural History.⁶² Totem poles were also crucial elements to exhibits of Native American art in the interwar period, filling a totem hall at the 1939 San Francisco World's Fair and standing in front of MoMA for *Indian Art of the United States* in 1941 (Fig. 0.8). Writing of the MoMA pole, which was carved by CCC carver John Wallace in Alaska, critic Jeanette Lowe stated that the raven, killerwhale and devilfish crests the pole depicted "may strike the eye, more accustomed to such fauna in the world of Surrealism, as symbols of the unconscious mind."⁶³ Northwest Coast Native art thus struck a powerful chord with surrealist discourses already established in the New York in the 1930s and were welcomed as evidence of American roots for modern art. As Max Weber told MoMA director Alfred Barr, the Alaskan art on display at the 1941 show was a sign that "we have the *real* Surrealists right here in America."⁶⁴

The Indian New Deal

The interest in Native America in the interwar period was not just a cultural phenomenon; it also affected federal Indian policy. When Roosevelt took office in 1932, he appointed as his Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier, a man who was as romantic about Native Americans as he was earnest in his desire to improve federal policy toward them. A lawyer and social worker who became involved in Native land claims in the Southwest, Collier viewed Native Americans as the “seeds in a soul forest” that offered salvation to the white race, which he considered “shattered—physically, religiously, socially, and esthetically shattered, dismembered, directionless.”⁶⁵ If Collier was a romantic, however, his hope that Native cultures would thrive in the twentieth century drove him to overhaul assimilation policies of previous administrations and work to give Native peoples more leverage over land, self-governance and civil liberties within their own communities. In 1934, Collier helped pass the Wheeler-Howard Act, also known as the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), a series of sweeping reforms to federal Indian policy that came to be known as the Indian New Deal.⁶⁶ The Act abolished the allotment of Native lands under the Dawes Act of 1887, restoring communal land ownership to Native tribes and allowing Native peoples to buy and sue for lands lost to allotment. It transferred power away from federal Indian agents that had served as intermediaries between the federal government and its Native “wards,” allowing Native communities to incorporate as chartered villages under their own town councils; it also allowed these IRA councils to establish and enforce local ordinances, budget federal funds, hold title to property, and form corporations that could profit from resources on Native lands.⁶⁷ On the cultural side, the Wheeler-Howard Act closed many government boarding schools and returned Native children to their families, operating day schools in local communities instead; it affirmed religious and civil liberties, lifting restrictions against dancing, traditional arts, and Native languages. While some of the reforms were imperfect, reflecting a degree of paternalism toward Native peoples or ignorance of their own self-governance practices, the Indian New Deal is still recognized among the most wide-ranging reforms to federal Indian policy.⁶⁸ These were reforms designed, to use the popular parlance of the day, to “give the Indian a place in modern life.”⁶⁹ Collier was adamant that Native people could enjoy the full benefits of modern society without having to assimilate into it, arguing that Natives should be able to retain their traditional lifestyles and practices if and as they chose to, while at the same time availing themselves of modern technologies and a fair slice of the economic pie.

One development of the Indian Reorganization Act was the formation, in 1935, of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board (IACB). A research and consulting agency, the IACB had a mandate “to promote the economic welfare of the Indian tribes and the Indian wards of the government through the development of Indian arts and crafts and the expansion of the market for the products of Indian art and craftsmanship.”⁷⁰ The IACB embarked on a two-pronged approach to improving the market for Native art. On the production side, the IACB experimented with technical procedures to develop items suitable for contemporary use, offering advice and grants to Native arts cooperatives to develop products; it also funded workshops taught by experienced Native artisans in Native communities. On the consumption side, the IACB studied how best to market Native objects to American consumers, working to educate the American public on the

diverse range of Native arts and developing “hallmarks of genuineness” to help consumers avoid spurious claims to the “Native made.”⁷¹

Managing the IACB was René d’Harnoncourt, another crucial figure for North American Native art in the 1930s. An Austrian whose family had lost its wealth in the first World War, d’Harnoncourt traveled to Mexico in the 1920s as a free-lance artist, where he became fascinated by folk art and by the Mexican revolution’s embrace of *mestizo* culture. He began working for the Mexican government creating exhibits of Mexican folk art that would improve U.S. opinion of its southern neighbor.⁷² In 1933, he moved to the United States to join his American fiancée; in September 1936, he was hired as the IACB’s general manager.⁷³ D’Harnoncourt quickly established himself as an innovator for the display and marketing of Native American art. Working to elevate the reputation of the Native-made from “curiosities” and tourist trinkets to high quality art forms that would provide a reliable income for Native artists, d’Harnoncourt emphasized the aesthetic qualities of Native objects. He drew comparisons between Native traditions and modern art, noting that the “careful balance of design and color,” and the “close relationship between function and form are what bring Indian work so near to the aims of most contemporary artists.”⁷⁴ He also conducted market research to improve the market for Native arts, and he designed several ground breaking exhibits to overhaul American perception of Native American art forms.

It was d’Harnoncourt who most successfully articulated the hope of the nation’s Native arts promoters that Native American art be adopted as American art. Continuing his work with Mexican folk arts, d’Harnoncourt encouraged Americans to think of Native art as an American folk art that would ground Americans in their “native” past and provide a national heritage distinct from Europe’s.⁷⁵ Folk art was another “primitive” art that enjoyed great popularity in the 1930s, with modern art dealers displaying Shaker chairs and paintings by colonial limners next to modern paintings that appeared to have a similar interest in planarity and geometric form.⁷⁶ Drawing on this popularity, d’Harnoncourt offered Native American art as another lineage for American modernism. The totem pole played a key role in d’Harnoncourt’s work to champion Native art as folk art, although it would prove difficult to incorporate into modern aesthetics and national histories for reasons that this dissertation will explore.

Appropriation & Transculturation

In discussions of the CCC totem pole restoration program, the Alaskan totem parks are often framed today as government appropriation of Native heritage.⁷⁷ Scholars have argued that the restoration of totem poles paid lip service to honoring Native cultures but served primarily to benefit regional and national boosterism.⁷⁸ They point to the radical recoding of the totem pole as a monument for tourists in parks that were said to benefit Native peoples, but that generated profits for a tourist industry dominated by non-Natives. These arguments, which focus on the re-packaging of Native heritage for private profit, parallel the pattern of deterritorialization and recoding that Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari described as a defining characteristic of capital, that “ever-expanding operation of decoding in which ritualized or collective inscriptions upon organs or objects dissolve, leaving a world of privatized matter subject to infinite exchange.”⁷⁹ The deterritorialization of totem poles—their removal from the “ritualized inscriptions” of the

graves, clan houses and other structures rooted in Native cultural patterns—uprooted the poles and allowed them to be recoded as consumable commodities for tourists in ways that did not always benefit Native people.

Certainly there is merit to these arguments. Appropriation was celebrated in the earliest example of a permanent totem park in the United States, when a Tlingit totem pole stolen from Alaska was erected in 1899 in Seattle’s Pioneer Square (Fig. 0.9).⁸⁰ Vacationing in Alaska earlier that summer, businessmen from the Seattle Chamber of Commerce decided to present a “souvenir” to the City of Seattle, known as the “Gateway to Alaska” since the Klondike Gold Rush of 1897.⁸¹ In a self-described “raid” on Tongass Village, the businessmen chopped down a totem pole memorializing a woman from the Kinninook family and brought it back to Seattle, where it was erected in the downtown’s Pioneer Square.⁸² At the dedication ceremony on September 3, 1899, William J. Lampton read a poem in which the totem pole revealed in its new status as a city monument:

I am the only Civilized totem pole On earth,
 And civilization suits me well...
 While all the others of my kind
 Are slowly settling On their stems
 Among the salmon scented Silences
 Sequestered from the sight of man,
 Here in Seattle’s surging scenes
 I stand, incomparable, And swipe the admiration Of mankind
 As Caesar swiped the world,
 And for the first time In a hundred years I’m having fun...
 For centuries I hid my light Beneath a bushel, now
 It gleams and glistens Where its rays will meet
 A million eyes...
 So here’s farewell to all my past
 And welcome to the things that are;
 With you henceforth my die is cast,
 I’ve hitched my wagon to a star.
 And by the Sacred Frog that hops, And by the Bird that flies,
 And by the Whale and by the Bear, I’ll sunder all the ties
 That bound me to the ancient creed Which holds my people flat
 And I will be a Totem pole
 That knows where it is at.⁸³

Lampton’s poem celebrated the deterritorialization of the Tongass pole from Tlingit culture and its recoding as a civic monument for the city of Seattle. “Sundering all the ties” to the “ancient creeds” that had hobbled its Native owners, the totem pole gloried in its new legibility (for non-Natives) in the downtown square. Although the City of Seattle did not profit from the totem pole per se, it did profit from its position as the departure point for tourists to Alaska; recoded as a city monument, the totem pole is still known today as “the Seattle Pole.”

Appropriation was less virulent in the next permanent totem park established in the United States. In 1902, Alaska Governor John Brady added totem poles to an existing park in Sitka, then the capital of the district of Alaska.⁸⁴ Unlike the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, Brady obtained the poles for his city park with the permission of Native

owners who had some say in their presentation. In 1900, after Brady promised a school for the village of Kasaan (a promise Brady would keep), Chief Saaniheit of Kasaan presented the governor with four house posts, a sixty-foot house frontal pole, and his personal cedar canoe—all of which Brady placed on an open lawn at the opening to the Sitka park (Fig. 0.10). In a letter explaining his intentions for his gifts, Saaniheit wrote: “I want them marked presented to the white people of Alaska by Soneheart Chief of the Hyda Indians Kasan Bay Prince of Wale Island,” adding that “these are to be transported to the government park at Sitka and to be erected and remain there as memorials to my people.”⁸⁵ Although a radical new setting for Haida crest objects, Saaniheit’s donation to Brady and the Sitka park actually furthered Haida protocols of gift-giving as a sign of respect for the receiver and prestige of the donor; also traditional, the totem poles were intended to commemorate Haida people. In the next few years, Tlingit and Haida leaders donated seven more totem poles for the Sitka park; these poles were also displayed at Brady’s Alaska Pavilion at the St. Louis and Portland World’s Fairs in 1904 and 1905, respectively. There the poles served as a “unique attraction” for Brady’s booster efforts to attract tourists to the Alaska Pavilion and settlers to the district of Alaska; after the Fairs, they returned to the Sitka park as attractions for summer tourists.

Canada also turned to totem parks as touristic boosters and instruments of government outreach to aboriginal people. Between 1926 and 1927, the Canadian government worked to restore totem poles in First Nations villages along the Skeena River, reorienting them to be seen from the route of the Canadian National Railroad.⁸⁶ Like the totem parks in Alaska a decade later, these poles were restored by Native men hired by the federal government, although it was not a work relief program like the CCC. Leslie Dawn has argued that the government initiated the program largely to break the resistance of bands like the Gitksan Tsimshians to assimilation measures and to pressure them to accept land settlements in British Columbia. Infiltrating the village with a work program to restore totem poles, the government proceeded to frame the poles for tourists on the railroad as monuments of “former Indian customs” banned by the 1884 Act that had outlawed the potlatch in Canada. The totem parks thus advanced the state discourse of the “vanishing Indian” assimilated into the Canadian society and worked to empty the totem pole of meaning as “testimony to [the Gitksan]’s own territorialization of the region.”⁸⁷

Dawn contrasts the Canadian emphasis on assimilating First Nations peoples in the 1920s with contemporary American movements for American Indian revival. He points to the work of American elites in the Southwest to champion Native American dancing, religion and land claims, like the Taos Society of Artists’ lobbying for Native dance rights and John Collier’s work to defeat the Bursum Bill’s threat to Pueblo lands.⁸⁸ Dawn also contrasts the work of Canadian anthropologists like Marius Barbeau, who had been trained in an English tradition of anthropology that emphasized cultural evolutionism and racial hierarchies, with American anthropologists like the German-trained Franz Boas and his student Ruth Benedict, whose influential works on the idea of “culture” as a shared set of beliefs and practices helped popularize cultural relativism, as opposed to racial hierarchy, in the United States in the 1930s.⁸⁹

None of this is to say that the Alaskan totem parks were free of racism or the imbalances of power that typify the colonial encounter. But it is to begin to situate the parks in their own historical context, one informed by the complex movements of New

Deal heritage preservation, Indian New Deal civil rights, and American modernist aspirations for Native art in the 1930s. The isolation of scholarship on the New Deal totem parks in an “area studies” context of Northwest Coast Native art has failed to adequately contextualize the parks in these larger national movements and has obscured the reasons that Tlingit and Haida peoples participated in—and, indeed, *directed*—restoration programs for their totem poles.

Appropriation takes on a different slant when we remember that it was not Native American culture alone that New Deal programs targeted in the 1930s. The search for a “usable past” worthy of preservation extended across ethnic groups—everything from Armenian and Turkish tapestry weavers in Los Angeles to Scotch-Irish woodworkers in Appalachia to Hispanic arts of the Southwest.⁹⁰ In 1942, Alfred Kazin described the cultural work of the 1930s as a “drive toward national inventory...to tag and index and literally possess the country.”⁹¹ The federal government played a key role in this inventory, as responsibility for managing “heritage” shifted from a Victorian model of the hereditary elite to an increasingly professional-managerial class in the 1930s.⁹² In 1933 the management of all national parks, monuments, military parks, national cemeteries and various memorials was consolidated under the National Park Service, part of a movement that John Bodnar has called the government’s work to establish a “national public memory” and a collective narrative for the nation.⁹³ The American public was also keenly interested in this national memory: when the Park Service solicited proposals from individual communities for sites that could be preserved as “historic sites to the nation,” the response was so overwhelming that President Roosevelt had to tell Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes to limit the number of sites established to keep down costs.⁹⁴ This outpouring of public interest in identifying and preserving the nation’s history was part of what Warren Susman has described as the complex effort to seek and to define America as a culture and to create the patterns of a way of life worth understanding. The movement had begun in the 1920s and by the 1930s it was a crusade. . . . It was to continue throughout the decade in the most overwhelming effort ever attempted to document in art, reportage, social science and history the life and values of the American people.⁹⁵ The New Deal totem parks were part of this complicated effort to identify a collective sense of the nation’s past. Framing the totem parks as the black-and-white appropriation of Native heritage for private profit loses sight of these motivations and of a larger national desire for an “American art” that the totem parks helped to answer.

Positioning the New Deal totem parks as an act of federal seizure also ignores the active role that Tlingit and Haida peoples took in *participating in* and *directing* the transfer of their totem poles from their former villages to the towns where they themselves lived. Men like Paul Morrison and Charles Brown, figures anthropologists would recognize today as “cultural brokers,” actually lobbied for the transfer of totem poles from national forest land to contemporary Native townsites, likely because it allowed Native peoples to maintain title to the poles.⁹⁶ Elders like John Wallace and Thomas Ukas seem to have altered crests for the New Deal totem parks to maintain their roles as legitimate lineage markers; further, they seized the opportunity of government support for their work to pass on carving and oral traditions that had previously been condemned. Ignoring the work of these men to ensure that the totem parks served Native cultural needs fails to recognize the important *cultural* reasons—rather than simply

economic ones—that motivated Native peoples to participate in the New Deal restoration program. Bill Anthes has argued that Native Americans are too often cast as the “objects” of modernizing forces rather than the subjects who understood and acted upon the complex opportunities afforded by modern life—particularly, in the art world, of the potential of their art to circulate in communities beyond their own use.⁹⁷ Indeed, the actions of Native subjects in the CCC restoration project worked to market totem poles for non-Natives even as they used the parks for their own cultural needs; they established a precedent for economic and cultural use of the totem parks that continues to this day.

When I began my research on the New Deal totem parks, intent on uncovering the appropriations and injustices that attended this most radical recoding of the totem pole, I was surprised to learn that so many Tlingit and Haida individuals supported the parks and recalled their family’s work in them proudly. Many stressed the importance of work relief for their communities during the Depression, but more so they emphasized the impact of a restoration project at a time when Native culture was not supported in Alaska—when signs that read “No Dogs or Indians Allowed” appeared in many restaurant windows and movie houses were segregated throughout the territory.⁹⁸ While it is important to note that an earlier generation may have felt more ambivalent about the totem parks—and indeed, as I cite throughout this dissertation, there was a great deal of controversy about the preservation of poles in the 1930s—it is also important to acknowledge that the overwhelming majority of Tlingit and Haida people that I interviewed in the early twenty-first century view the totem parks as cultural and economic resources that are central to their own communities. In this dissertation I try to highlight Tlingit and Haida statements about the New Deal totem parks, drawing out period commentaries from Forest Service correspondence, consulting Alaska Native Brotherhood minutes and records, and including interviews from contemporary Tlingit and Haida people whose families worked on the CCC totem pole restorations. Scholars have neglected to consult the living memory of Tlingit and Haida peoples who witnessed and even worked in the CCC totem parks and have glossed their active work to ensure the parks were authentic sites for the display of their clan crests.

The research that I have conducted over the past three years points to a complex relationship between Natives and non-Natives involved in the CCC restoration project, one that was hobbled by botched communications, mistrust, racism, and colonial imbalances of power—yet which also attested to a cross-cultural commitment to cooperate on a difficult and far-reaching project. Rather than a pious account of postcolonial criticism and the appropriation of Native heritage, then, I ground my analysis of the New Deal totem parks in a more complex relationship of transculturation, one where Native people drew from the difficult opportunities presented by the totem parks to further their own cultural needs, and where non-Natives drew from Native cultures to further their own search for a distinctive American past. The concept of transculturation was popularized by Mary Louis Pratt in her book *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992). Pratt resurrected Cuban sociologist Fernando Ortiz’s 1940s argument that marginalized peoples actively select and invent from—rather than passively accept (acculturate)—the cultures of their colonizers. Transculturation also recognizes the borrowing of dominant groups from their subordinates and calls attention to the new amalgam of culture that results in “contact zones” where such groups meet. This view of cultural exchange has been enormously productive for scholars of Native

American art, as it frees Native objects from the binaries imposed by the acculturation paradigm—traditional/modern, authentic/inauthentic, Native use/tourist kitsch—and legitimates their new, multivalent roles as they circulate outside of Native communities. Recent work by Ruth B. Phillips and Elizabeth Hutchinson exemplify the use of transculturation to reassess the place of Native objects in American art history. My work takes its cue from these scholars; however, where their analysis leaves off at the turn of the twentieth century, I push the transcultural model into the 1930s and 1940s—a period condemned in acculturation paradigms as the nadir of Native American art making.⁹⁹ Positioning the New Deal totem parks as contact zones where tourists, federal agents, settlers and Tlingit and Haida peoples met, I reconsider the totem parks’ complex work to display the totem pole as most Americans—and many Native Americans—encounter poles today.

Although the word was not used as such, transculturation was official policy for the Indian New Deal. Collier consciously sought to replace the assimilation policies of the nineteenth century with policies that allowed Native Americans to decide what aspects of non-Native culture they would adopt. René d’Harnoncourt put Collier’s philosophy this way: “The present administration is now cooperating with the various tribes in their efforts to preserve and develop those spiritual and artistic values in Indian tradition that the tribes consider essential. At the same time, the administration makes every effort to help them realize their desire to adopt from the white man such achievements as will make it possible for them to live successfully in a modern age.”¹⁰⁰ While this emphasis on living in a “modern age” can strike us now as paternalistic, we must remember that the Indian New Deal had to counter a century of progress narratives that saw the Indian as “dying out” or “vanishing.” Affirming the modernity of Native peoples was a necessary rhetorical strategy to combat American perception of Indians as moribund or even extinct. It also worked to acknowledge that Native peoples *wanted* access to opportunities, especially economic opportunities, in the United States.

Transculturation also informed the New Deal’s approach to so-called “tourist arts,” a much-maligned category in Native American art studies that will become a central focus of this dissertation. Condemned as both commodified and non-traditional, “tourist art” trespassed on the constructs of authenticity that were sacred to the west’s idea of the “primitive”: that its arts would be made for internal use (i.e., for religious ceremonies within the “primitive” community) and not with an eye for sale; that its arts would adhere to “tradition”—in materials, motifs and technology—rather than change with time and the availability of new materials or techniques. Commodification of art broke modernist standards of “art for art’s sake” and primitivist standards of internal use; it also threatened the difference of the “primitive” both temporally and substantially, as it signaled her participation in contemporary markets (negating her premodern or separate status) and her contact with the west (tarnishing again her claim to difference).¹⁰¹

Since the 1970s, scholars have begun to reclaim tourist art as intelligent indexes of cross-cultural catering.¹⁰² But it is important to remember that the New Deal also constructed tourist art—and the tourist—as positive forces. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes praised tourism as the most “democratic means of knowing the nation,” arguing that it served “the tremendously important function of bringing men together, of broadening horizons and of narrowing prejudices.”¹⁰³ The citizen role of the tourist doubled in his role as a consumer. Lisbeth Cohen has argued that the Depression was a

turning point for American consumer culture, when Americans were encouraged to abandon earlier ethics of saving in favor of spending as part of their citizen's duty.¹⁰⁴ In this context, tourists were not a nefarious "private" interest attempting to appropriate totem poles for the nation; they were "the people," that New Deal moniker for the American public, who, with some progressive education in the arts and a sense of ownership in American history, could replace the government as the long-term patrons for contemporary Native American art.¹⁰⁵

If the New Deal constructed a very different role for the tourist, it also reevaluated the commodity status of "tourist arts." The Federal Art Project encouraged the commodification of contemporary American art with events like a National Art Week, where Americans of all budgets were encouraged to "translate our interest in American creative expression into active popular support expressed in terms of purchase."¹⁰⁶ Although Native arts were outside the purview of FAP programs, the Indian Arts and Crafts Board operated with a similar mission to educate Americans about Native art and to encourage them to buy these art forms that were "truly of America."¹⁰⁷ Indeed, the IACB worked to adapt Native art forms to American taste precisely to better sell them, viewing altered forms not as "denigrated" or "inauthentic" but as part of a purposeful strategy of transculturation to better shape Native arts for contemporary use. In 1938, d'Harnoncourt traveled to Alaska, literally bringing the IACB's transcultural marketing recommendations to the New Deal totem parks and to the model totem poles sold to accompany them.

Transculturation was a defining theme for New Deal Indian policy and Native art practice in the 1930s, which is why I turn to it as an analytical framework for this dissertation. However, it is also important to recognize the limits of intercultural exchange during the Depression. Erika Doss has written that the 1930s embraced an idea of a "collective citizenry," "imagining all-America (sic) as a confident country of diverse and discrete communities and states."¹⁰⁸ Yet many minorities and localities continued to be barred from full inclusion in this official vision of the nation state; similarly, their specific—and often contested—relationship to that nation state was often glossed. Jonathan Harris notes that the New Deal's quest for a common national narrative was "reluctant, however unconscious, to accommodate cultural differences on their own terms and within their own histories"—a reluctance that would be highlighted in the case of the New Deal totem parks.¹⁰⁹ Forest Service officials were slow to learn or even acknowledge Tlingit and Haida protocols surrounding totem poles, working instead to frame the poles as American heritage that tourists would admire and support as a national art form. Moreover, Native American history and art would never be fully integrated into American narratives of identity, with Euro-American tourists continuing to distance Tlingit and Haida peoples as racially Other and their material culture as "curiosities." If I turn to transculturation, then, to draw out the complex exchanges at work in the New Deal totem parks, I also want to highlight the inequalities—and limits—of such intercultural exchange as it played out in Alaska in the 1930s and 1940s.

Terms: Art, Artist, Preservation/restoration

In this study, I have chosen to use "art" as the default term for totem poles and other objects made by Tlingit and Haida peoples. The choice reflects both my own

approach to Tlingit and Haida totem poles through the lens of art history—a lens which I believe is useful for understanding the peculiarly visual shift of the totem poles in the New Deal totem parks—as well as an important semantic shift underway in period language. Promoters of Native American objects in the 1930s labored to replace “artifact” with “art” in the discourse surrounding these objects, focusing the public’s attention on the aesthetic qualities of the Native-made and in the process removing the objects from the ethnographic context in which they had usually been displayed. The 1931 Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts at Grand Central Art Galleries in Manhattan billed itself as the first exhibition of “Indian art as art, *not* ethnology.”¹¹⁰ D’Harnoncourt’s exhibits of Native objects in the 1939 San Francisco World’s Fair and the 1941 MoMA show exchanged dioramas and other ethnographic display traditions for the white pedestals and spotlighted rooms of modern art galleries. Ever conscious of ways to improve the market for quality Native American objects, d’Harnoncourt emphasized “art” over “craft” or “artifact” to elevate the profile of the Native-made and to better align it with the modernist aesthetics that were then sweeping interior decoration.¹¹¹

Two caveats should be made about the art moniker, however—as well as a note about the idea of the “artist.” Importantly, while Tlingit and Haida peoples appreciated fine carving and paid handsomely for quality materials and workmanship for their crest objects, they did not privilege the inanimate, physical identity of these objects as the word “art” often suggests; more important was the intangible role of crests to serve as animate-able links to ancestors and lifeways.¹¹² “Art” was also not a term that the Forest Service tended to use for totem poles, preferring “poles,” “sticks” and other monikers familiar to the forester. Nor did the Forest Service refer to CCC carvers as “artists,” preferring laborer designations of “semi-skilled workman” or “skilled leader” that corresponded with the New Deal’s construction of the artist as *worker*. When George Biddle, an artist-turned-businessman in Washington, D.C., lobbied Roosevelt for the creation of the Federal Art Project, he urged the President to treat artists “as the famer or bricklayer,” and to provide the artist work as for any other trade.¹¹³ In this context, the artist was not the avant-garde recluse who worked in opposition to society, but a worker who sought to participate in—and needed the support of—a larger community. The emphasis on social cohesion of many New Deal arts programs is often forgotten by critics of New Deal art, who condemn post office murals, public sculpture, and the totem poles restored for public parks based on modernist principles of aesthetically exceptional form, rather than evaluating these objects for the social relationships they engendered. Jonathan Harris has shown how the teleology of modernism—which culminated in the “triumph” of American abstract expressionism in the 1940s—led to a writing of American art history that purposefully “forgot” the more socially- and politically-oriented practices of New Deal art projects in the 1930s.¹¹⁴ Restoring the goals of social cohesion to the New Deal’s art programs is especially important for the totem pole restoration program in Alaska, since the program sought to ensure that Native carving traditions were passed on to “future generations.”

Another set of terms that should be clarified is “preservation,” “restoration,” “conservation” and “revival.” These were key words in the 1930s and 1940s, part of a worldwide movement, as Tey Marianna Nunn writes, on “‘reviving’ and ‘preserving’ traditional ‘handicrafts’ and folkways—cultural elements thought to be in danger of disappearing because of industrialization and rapidly encroaching civilization.”¹¹⁵ The

terms were often used interchangeably, but there were nuances that distinguished them. Whereas revival operated on the premise that a culture and its arts were dead or so moribund that it would require study to reconstruct them, preservation assumed that a culture had enough practitioners left to record what was known of the traditions for future practice.¹¹⁶ Native art preservation projects sponsored by the Indian Arts and Crafts Board included hiring Blackfeet Indians to learn quillwork designs from the few remaining elders versed in the form. On another level of preservation, the Index of American Design preserved images of early American folk art by hiring artists with the hand-skills to draw to make careful reproductions of the objects on paper. Holger Cahill, who oversaw the Index, wrote that “the basic directive of the whole WPA program was a maintenance of skills... The Index, in bringing together thousands of particulars from various sections of the country, tells the story of American hand skills.”¹¹⁷ Thus preservation extended to the body, and to the maintenance of skills at risk of deterioration through disuse in the Great Depression.

“Restoration” was the Forest Service’s choice word for the totem pole project in Southeast Alaska.¹¹⁸ C.M. Archbold, the District Ranger based in Ketchikan who oversaw the majority of the CCC’s operations, titled an article he wrote for *The Alaska Sportsman* to explain the New Deal totem parks to the public “Restoration.” The Forest Service filed its correspondence relating to the totem parks under the heading “Totem Pole Restoration”; the word also appeared repeatedly in *The Wolf and the Raven*, the major publication the Forest Service sponsored to document the poles in the New Deal parks. As I detail in Chapter 1, restoration was in keeping with the Forest Service’s mission to manage the active use of national forests, rather than preserving them in a wilderness state. Restoration thus implied a more active human presence focused on the improvement of resources, whereas conservation usually denoted the choice *not* to meddle with the natural ecology of a place—or, in the case of objects, to retain as much as of the object’s original state as possible.¹¹⁹

An important question here is whether or not the totem pole restoration program was also intended as a *cultural* restoration program—that is, whether art was considered synechdotal to a more holistic cultural revival. Efforts to “restore” Native art are often accused of mere “symbolic restitution,” a superficial commitment to restoring one (commodifiable) aspect of Native culture rather than more difficult restorations of land, resources and civic rights.¹²⁰ In policy, the Indian New Deal supported these deeper needs, with the Wheeler-Howard Act working to restore Native land claims, cultural and religious rights, as well as self-governance. But if Collier looked to the Indian New Deal for the holistic revival of Native American cultures, the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and, I believe, the Forest Service’s totem pole restoration program, focused on the narrower and more practical issue of art as economic restoration for Native communities. The original question put before the 1934 Committee on Indian Arts & Crafts, which would eventually become the IACB, was “How can the *economic welfare of the Indians* be advanced by the Government, in cooperation with the Indians through arts and crafts, without loss to the vitality of Indian art, and without damage to the integrity of Indian life?”¹²¹ While culture was acknowledged here, the question focused on art as a means to economic wellbeing; it was this question that would become the primary focus of d’Harnoncourt in his work for the IACB. Similarly, the Forest Service program emphasized the economic relief that the restoration program would provide to Native

men, as well as the potential for long-term sales of Native art at the totem parks. The agency was less concerned with reviving the cultural practices surrounding totem poles, such as potlatching, clan ownership and the legitimate display of clan crests to the public; indeed, the omission of such practices would cause many problems for the totem pole restoration project. However, if the Forest Service itself did not support cultural revival as much as object restoration, Tlingit and Haida peoples found ways to make the totem pole restoration program advance a larger cultural revival that was more in line with Collier's aspirations. They did this by intervening in the planning and establishment of the New Deal totem parks, and by using the sites for their own cultural transmission—turning a restoration program into a cultural revitalization program for their own communities.

Chapter summaries

This dissertation aims at a critical analysis of the New Deal's totem pole restoration program; as such, it is not a continuous narrative of the project's timeline. However, I have ordered the chapters in such a way that the process of the restoration project should become clear to the reader, beginning with the Forest Service's initial work of surveying nineteenth-century totem poles in Native villages to the final work of attracting tourists to the newly established totem parks.

Chapter One, "Archival Claims," examines the radically different conceptions of the totem pole held by the Forest Service and Tlingit and Haida peoples to ask how the two groups agreed to cooperate on the restoration project. To identify totem poles for restoration, the Forest Service compiled an archive of photographs of nineteenth-century totem poles *in situ* in Native villages, creating a public document that framed the poles as imperiled natural resources on public land that was the federal government's responsibility to restore. At the same time, however, Tlingit and Haida communities pursuing land claims under the Indian New Deal cited the totem poles as evidence of their ancestors' lasting presence and ownership of land in Southeast Alaska. Given these radically different claims for the meaning of the totem pole, how did the New Deal totem parks become sites of cooperation between the Forest Service and the Tlingit and Haida? I examine the transcultural work required for the two groups to cooperate, emphasizing the cultural, as well as economic, reasons that Native peoples agreed to the restoration project—and how they actively worked to make the parks legitimate sites for the display of their clan crests.

In Chapter Two, "Exact Copies," I consider the problem of replication as a restoration strategy for totem poles in the New Deal parks. Because many nineteenth-century poles were too decayed to be restored by the 1930s, the Forest Service resorted to replicating their crests on new poles carved by the CCC. Forest Service officials (and art historians, for that matter) were continually frustrated by the CCC's failure to achieve "exact copies" of the nineteenth-century poles—in no small part because Tlingit and Haida peoples had a different approach to replication than the Forest Service's emphasis on the physical copies alone. Citing one of the most contested objects of replication in the CCC project—John Wallace's version of the Howkan Eagle—I offer a new reading of the replica that highlights how the Haida artist made the sculpture "authentic" to Haida understandings of crest objects even in the context of a government-sponsored totem

park. I also analyze the fate of the original poles in light of Tlingit and Haida notions of “regeneration” in contrast to the Forest Service’s emphasis on object preservation.

Chapter Three, “Carving Moderns,” turns more boldly to the individual carvers involved in CCC carving sheds and to the poles they created. It is here that I attend most closely to a formal analysis of CCC totem poles and their relationship to the nineteenth-century models they were intended to replicate or restore. Continuing the work of Native American art scholarship to recover the identities and styles of indigenous artists, I introduce the lead carvers at four of the CCC camps: Charles Brown in Saxman, Thomas Ukas in Wrangell, George Benson in Sitka, and John Wallace in Hydaburg. Analyzing what is known about these individuals as well as their carving styles, I consider how these men operated as Native moderns, choosing to embrace the transcultural opportunities offered by the CCC totem parks even as they championed their own cultures and built lasting monuments of crest display.¹²²

The last two chapters turn from the production of totem poles for the New Deal totem parks to their presentation for, and reception by, their primary audience—non-Native tourists. Chapter Four, “Decoding Poles,” considers the strategies the Forest Service used to make totem poles legible for audiences unfamiliar with their crest stories. Long an enigma for non-Natives, and increasingly unfamiliar to young generations of Tlingit and Haida people, the crest stories of totem poles were recorded by Forest Service officials and later published in a book titled *The Wolf and the Raven: Totem Poles of Southeastern Alaska* (1949)—a book which continues to be one of the most popular guides to totem poles in Alaska today. I also examine Forest Service architect Linn A. Forrest’s designs for the totem parks themselves, tracing their layouts to the organizing principles of the World’s Fair, the civic monument, and the picturesque English park—sculptural landscapes that were already familiar to American tourists and that worked to recode the totem pole from a curiosity to a venerable American monument.

Chapter Five, “Indigenizing Folk,” examines the reactions of tourists to the totem parks and begins to gauge how successful the parks were in improving the market for Native art. Although the completion of the parks was cut short by the outbreak of World War II, tourist visitation to the parks grew rapidly in the late 1940s, as well as sales of model totem poles in the region. I use amateur tourist photography and professional advertising of the totem parks to trace a shift in popular understandings of the totem pole in the 1940s, asking if the parks were successful in convincing American visitors to view the totem pole as part of their national heritage. I also consider why Native art failed to be accepted as an American folk art as René d’Harnoncourt and the Indian Arts and Crafts Board had worked to effect.

A brief epilogue considers the transcultural legacy of the CCC totem parks—both for the non-Native tourist industry and for Tlingit and Haida peoples who have continued to use the parks for their own cultural needs.

¹Articles included “Indian Antiquities S.E. Alaska to be Preserved by Forest Service,” *Wrangell Sentinel*, 11/4/38, p. 1; and “Totem Poles on West Coast May Be Moved: Forest Service Party Leaves Today to Make Arrangements,” *Ketchikan Chronicle*, 11/15/38, p. 1.

² Heintzleman, quoted in “Indian Antiquities S.E. Alaska to be Preserved by Forest Service,” *Wrangell Sentinel*, 11/4/38, p. 1.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ketchikan Visitor’s Bureau Study, “Top Alaskan Attractions” (2008); see also Aldona Jonaitis and Aaron Glass, *The Totem Pole: An Intercultural History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), p. 78.

⁵ The numbers of CCC enrollees and numbers of poles restored by the CCC were reported in Lawrence Rakestraw, *A History of the United States Forest Service in Alaska* (Anchorage: U.S. Department of Agriculture, June 2002 reprint), p. 106.

⁶ D’Harnoncourt quoted in W. Jackson Rushing, “Marketing the Affinity Between Native Art,” in *The Early Years of Native American Art History* Janet Catherine Berlo, Ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), p. 199.

⁷ Although I have not yet been able to confirm the total expenditure on the CCC totem parks, calculations based on the allotment requests in Forest Service correspondence approaches upwards of \$300,000 expended from CCC funds alone (approximately \$4.5 million dollars today). This does not count the Forest Service’s own budget for salaries, materials and boat time diverted from usual timber operations to the totem pole restoration project. I know of one other major federal project for Northwest Coast Native art in Alaska, the Southeast Alaska Indian Cultural Center established in Sitka in 1969, but this budget does not begin to approach the outlay for the CCC totem parks during the Depression.

⁸As I detail in Chapter 1, the Tongass National Forest was made up of forest reserves that had been established prior to 1909. In 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt had established a smaller reserve called the Alexander Archipelago Reserve; more land was added to the reserve and by 1909 it was designated the Tongass National Forest. See Donald Craig Mitchell, *Sold American: The Story of Alaska Natives and Their Land, 1867-1959* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1997), pp. 161-163.

⁹ For a history of the ANB’s defense of Native land claims, see Peter M. Metcalfe’s article, “The Sword and the Shield: The Defense of Alaska Aboriginal Claims by the Alaska Native Brotherhood” (Juneau: Tlingit Readers, Inc. 2010). For an early history of the Alaska Native Brotherhood, see Philip Drucker, “The Native Brotherhoods: Modern Intertribal Organizations on the Northwest Coast,” *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* no. 168. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1958).

¹⁰ The most complete documentation of the CCC restoration project appears in Lawrence Rakestraw’s *A History of the United States Forest Service in Alaska* (1981), which provides a useful overview of the totem pole preservation project. The role of the National Parks Service in the restoration project appears in literature for the Sitka National Historic Park, including Andrew Patrick’s *The Most Striking of Objects: The Totem Poles of Sitka National Park* (2002) and Marilyn Knapp’s *Carved History: The Totem Poles and House Posts of Sitka National Historic Park* (1980).

One of the earliest art historical articles to examine the CCC totem parks was Aldona Jonaitis's "Totem Poles and the Indian New Deal" (*The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* IX:2 [1989]). Jonaitis's work has been essential for establishing a critical history of the totem pole and for the movements that led to the CCC parks' establishment; however, hers is not an in-depth study of the parks. Her early work also followed a general modernist trend of dismissing the aesthetics of the CCC restoration project as "crude carvings that displayed no understanding of the formal rules governing traditional two-dimensional art [and] were made worse by equally crude applications of paint" (pp. 244-245). In more recent work, co-authored with Aaron Glass, Jonaitis takes a transcultural approach to the totem parks that is less critical of their aesthetics, although analysis of the parks is still limited to a section in a chapter on tourist arts (*The Totem Pole: An Intercultural History* [2010] pp. 90-94).

Other books to mention the CCC parks within a diachronic history of totem pole carving include Edward Keithahn's *Monuments in Cedar* (1963); Polly Miller and Leon Gordon Miller's *Lost Heritage of Alaska: The Adventure and Art of the Alaskan Coastal Indians* (1967); and Edward Malin's *Totem Poles of the Pacific Northwest* (1986), the latter which harshly condemned the parks "as gross failures...an affront to the past, an injustice to the artists who originally created them, and unworthy of the funds that had been poured into producing them anew" (p. 174). Less judgmental, Robin Wright discussed some of the Kaigani Haida totem poles restored by the CCC for the Hyaburg totem park in her book, *Northern Haida Master Carvers* (2010: 317-318). Two scholarly analyses of the clan houses restored by the Alaskan CCC are Judith Ostrowitz's chapter on the Chief Shakes House in Wrangell (*Privileging the Past: Reconstructing History in Northwest Coast Art*, 1999), and Alison K. Hoagland's analysis of the three CCC clan houses in "Totem Poles and Plank Houses: Reconstructing Native Culture in Southeast Alaska" (1997).

The most recent work on the CCC totem parks is Jennifer McLerran's discussion of the restoration project in her book *A New Deal for Native Art: Indian Arts and Federal Policy* (2009:207-223). McLerran is the first scholar to reject modernist criticisms of the totem parks' aesthetics and to recontextualize the restoration project in New Deal goals of social cohesion. She writes: "Coller and d'Harnoncourt were not interested in establishing a continuous link with an ancient past, nor were they interested in restoring native arts and crafts to a presumably universally recognizable superior aesthetic level. For them, the true value of such work lay in its social utility. Consequently, in terms of its organizers' goals, the project was successful" (2009:223). McLerran thus began to restore a New Deal context to the CCC totem parks. However, her discussion of the New Deal totem parks was limited to fifteen pages, and as such could not provide an in-depth analysis of the restoration program.

¹¹ Malin, p. 174.

¹² Although I problematize these terms in this dissertation, I have chosen to use "classical" at times to refer to the highly stylized Northwest Coast formline and carving traditions of the mid- to late-nineteenth-century. This choice is in keeping with standard terminology in Northwest Coast Native art studies (see, for example, Steven C. Brown, *Native Visions Evolution in Northwest Coast Art from the Eighteenth Through the Twentieth Century* [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998], pp. 99-139) and also

overlaps with CCC carver's interests in "old-time" and "geniune" work that they admired by their forefathers (see, for example, the terms used by Charles Brown in Chapter 3). For a discussion of the "Renaissance" of Northwest Coast Native art, including the problems of terms like "classical," see the chapters on "Revisiting the Revival" in *Bill Reid and Beyond: Expanding on Modern Native Art*, Karen Duffek and Charlotte Townsend-Gault, Eds. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004), pp. 113-208.

¹³ For an overview of the early history of the totem pole, see Aldona Jonaitis and Aaron Glass, *The Totem Pole: An Intercultural History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), pp. 18-20.

¹⁴ For example, the Teikweidi Tlingit clan claims the Brown Bear as its crest because its ancestor, the hunter *Kaats'*, married a brown bear; similarly, the Kiks.ádi Tlingit clan claims the frog as their clan crest because of an ancestral encounter with a frog. For more on the adoption of clan crests among the Tlingit, see George Thornton Emmons, *The Tlingit Indians*, Edited with additions by Frederica de Laguna (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), pp. 31-34.

¹⁵ In the early twentieth century, George Thornton Emmons wrote that the old moiety division among the Tlingits were known as the Wolf and the Raven, with some northern Tlingits using "Eagle" in place of Wolf. However, today it is more common to hear "Eagle" as the opposite of Raven throughout Tlingit country. See Emmons, p. 22. Kalervo Oberg also wrote about the transition from Wolf to Eagle among the Tlingit: see Oberg, *The Social Economy of the Tlingit Indians* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980 reprint [1973]), p. 40.

¹⁶ Margaret Blackman notes that Haida lineages differed from Tlingit clans in that fission of large groups into smaller groups is complete; for the Tlingit, in contrast, multiple houses can still belong to the same original clan. She also notes that the Kaigani Haida of Southeast Alaska, unlike the Haidas of Haida Gwaii in British Columbia, sometimes identified themselves as from a particular house, which may be the influence of Tlingit descent structures in the region. Margaret B. Blackman, "Haida: Traditional Culture," *Handbook of North American Indians*, William C. Sturtevant, General Ed., Vol. 7: Northwest Coast, Wayne Suttles, Volume Editor (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1990), pp. 248-249.

¹⁷ Sergei Kan, *Memory Eternal: Tlingit Culture and Russian Orthodox Christianity through Two Centuries* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1999) p. 5. Many of the kinship patterns outlined here continue to be observed by contemporary Tlingit peoples. Moiety and clan, for example, are still evoked during personal introductions; exogamy between the two moieties is still enforced for those who seek to claim clan leadership positions. See Nora Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, *Haa Shuká, Our Ancestors* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987), p. 26.

¹⁸ Crests could be gained through warfare, as repayment for a crime or gift owed by the opposite moiety, or through other encounters that earned a lineage or individual the right to claim a crest. For example, a Naanyaa.aayí clan leader in Wrangell gained the name "Shakes" and the killerwhale as a crest when he defeated a Nisga'a chief named We-shakes, who gave the Tlingit leader his own killerwhale hat and canoe as tribute. See E.L. Keithahn, "The Authentic History of Shakes Island and Clan," (Wrangell: Wrangell Historical Society, 1981 reprint [1940]), p. 3; see also Swanton, "Story of the

Naanyaa.aayí Crests,” *Tlingit Myths and Texts* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 39 [1908]), p. 231.

¹⁹ Although scholars have proposed more accurate terms for totem poles over the years—such as crest poles, mortuary and story columns—I have chosen to use the common term “totem poles” throughout this dissertation. For more on totem pole types, see Robin K. Wright, “Totem Poles: Heraldic Columns of the Northwest Coast,” University of Washington Digital Collections.

²⁰ This story is recounted in John R. Swanton, *Tlingit Myths and Texts* Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 39 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), p.

²¹ As I discuss further in Chapter 1, Tlingit and Haida peoples were deeply disturbed by the government’s use of the word “abandonment” to describe their move from former villages. As linguists have noted for the Tlingit language, homeland was an inalienable concept; villages might be vacated as clans sought seasonal resources or better protection from weather or warring clans, but claims to land were never relinquished. See Thomas F. Thornton, *Being and Place Among the Tlingit* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), pp. 44-47.

²² Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, *Haa Shuká*, p. 25. To my knowledge, the Haida do not have an equivalent term to *at.óow*, although they do consider crest objects their property as well as tangible links to ancestors. See Margaret B. Blackman, “Haida: Traditional Culture,” p. 252.

²³ Objects brought out at a Tlingit potlatch by the host clan could only be claimed as that clan’s *at.óow* if there were witnesses from the opposite moiety present to confirm the clan’s right to claim that object. These witnesses had to be paid by the host clan for their services as legal witness; hence the meaning of *at.óow* as “owned or purchased thing.” The need for opposites as witnesses furthered the Tlingit and Haida emphasis on “balancing” moieties and ensured that moieties made legitimate claims to crest objects, stories and other prerogatives. For more on “balancing” moieties at Tlingit potlatches, see Sergei Kan, *Symbolic Immortality: The Tlingit Potlatch of the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), pp. 218-220.

²⁴ Rosita Worl, “Standing with Spirits, Waiting,” in *The Harriman Alaska Expedition Retraced: A Century of Change, 1899-2001*, Thomas Litwin, Ed. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2005), p. 32.

²⁵ For one report on Ketchikan’s rainfall, which reached a record of seventeen feet in 2005, see “Alaska town nears all-time precipitation record,” *USA Today*, 12/28/2005, p. C1.

²⁶ Viola Garfield, the University of Washington anthropologist whom the Forest Service would later hire as a consultant to the CCC restoration project, tried to explain the custom in several publications. “Once a pole was set up,” she wrote in *Meet the Totem*, “nothing could be done to it by the owners without hiring outsiders [from the opposite moiety] to do the repair work and giving a potlatch-feast to get recognition for it. A new pole was considered more valuable than an old one that had been repaired or repainted.” Viola Garfield, Draft for “Meet the Totem.” Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections, Box 2, File 11.

²⁷ Although preservation is far more accepted today, there are still elders who feel that totem poles and clan houses should not be preserved beyond their natural life cycle. See the Epilogue for a longer discussion of this issue.

²⁸ Ramona Skinner has noted the conjunction between Alaska's purchase in 1867 and President Ulysses Grant's "Peace Policy" with Native Americans in 1870. Grant's plan for fewer wars with Native Americans was predicated on Native assimilation into American culture: removing children from Native families to attend government boarding schools, dividing communal lands into single-family ownership, and discouraging Native languages and ceremonies. See Ramona Skinner, *Alaska Native Policy in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 34.

²⁹ Viola Garfield noted in *The Wolf and the Raven* that John Wallace had chopped down his father's totem poles for use in a boardwalk in the village of Howkan in 1890s following his conversion to the Salvation Army. See Viola Garfield and Linn Forrest, *The Wolf and the Raven: Totem Poles of Southeastern Alaska* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1949), p. 10.

³⁰ Although Alaska did not officially ban potlatching as British Columbia did in Canada, early governors of the U.S. territory pressured chiefs to discontinue the practice as "un-American" and wasteful. For example, Alaska Territorial Governor John Brady agreed to allow Tlingits in Sitka to organize a "Last Potlatch" in 1904, but only so that debts among clans could be repaid and the cycle of potlatching ended. For scholarship on the Tlingit potlatch, see Sergei Kan, *Symbolic Immortality: The Tlingit Potlatch of the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993).

³¹ Although some carving of house posts and other objects probably continued in remote Tlingit communities, especially in conservative northern villages like Klukwan, commissions for large exterior totem poles waned in the twentieth century in major Tlingit communities like Sitka and Wrangell. The Panting Wolf house posts carved for the Kaagwaantaan clan for the 1904 potlatch in Sitka, for example, were framed along with the potlatch as the "last" of these clan practices to occur in Sitka. Similarly, Haida carver John Wallace told Viola Garfield that he could not make a living carving totem poles as his father had in the nineteenth century. As a teenager, Wallace was commissioned to carve a grave monument in 1884 but could not find enough commissions to support his work thereafter; he turned to commercial fishing for his living. See Viola Garfield, Hydaburg/Klawock II notebook, Box 10, Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections.

³² Quoted in Margaret Blackman, *Window on the Past: The Photographic Ethnohistory of the Northern Kaigani Haida* (National Museum of Canada, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper 74, 1981), p. 35.

³³ Quoted in C.M. Archbold, "Restoration," *Alaska Sportsman* March 1939, p. 16.

³⁴ For a history of steamship travel to view totem poles in Alaska, see June E. Hall, *The Lure of Alaska: A History of Tourism in the Great Land* (Juneau: Alaska State Museums, 2007), pp.10-11.

³⁵ See Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), p. 30.

³⁶ Heintzleman noted the catalyst of Waterman's article in a letter to Viola Garfield: "As you know, the Alaska branch of the Forest Service (Flory, Merritt and I) had wanted to

do the totem pole job ever since Waterman's study in Southeast Alaska in 1922, but never had the funds before CCC days, and couldn't get any other agency to undertake it." Heintzman to Garfield, 3/28/49, Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections, Box 1 Folder 8.

³⁷ T.T. Waterman, "Observations Among the Ancient Indian Monuments of Southeastern Alaska," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, 1922 Vol. 74 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1925), p. 129.

³⁸ Although the Forest Service proper was not established until 1905, its predecessor, the Division of Forestry, oversaw Southeast Alaska's forest reserves established in 1904; Lawrence Rakestraw notes the interest of Regional Forester W.A. Langille to preserve totem poles in the Tongass that same year. See Rakestraw, *A History of the United States Forest Service in Alaska* (Anchorage: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture-Alaska Region, June 2002 reprint [1981]), p. 98.

³⁹ Edward L. Keithahn, *Monuments in Cedar: The Authentic Story of the Totem Pole* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1963), p. 116. I am still trying to determine the total expenditure of CCC funds over the course of the four-year project; see Footnote 7.

⁴⁰ For a study of the CCC's work to combat the results of natural disasters in the 1930s, including the Dust Bowl and flooding in the Tennessee Valley, see Neil M. Maher, *Nature's New Deal: The CCC and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁴¹ Quoted in Otis et al 1986:6.

⁴² Maher, pp. 70-75.

⁴³ William Tweed, Laura Souliere, Henry G. Law, *National Park Service Rustic Architecture, 1916-1942* (National Park Service, Western Regional Office, Division of Cultural Resource Management, February 1977), p. 45

⁴⁴ Calvin W. Gower, "The CCC Indian Division: Aid for Depressed Americans, 1933-42," in *Minnesota History* 43:1 (Spring 1972), pp. 3-13. Although the BIA is the more familiar name for this federal agency, I have chosen to use Office of Indian Affairs to keep with contemporary usage.

⁴⁵ Neil Maher writes that the age limit for the CCC was intended not to interfere with employment opportunities for male breadwinners of established families. See Maher, p. 82.

⁴⁶ According to Ramona Skinner, Charles Flory, the director of the CCC in Alaska, felt Natives did not qualify for the CCC because they were the responsibility of the federal government in a long-term ward relationship, not short-term emergency relief (Skinner, *Alaska Native Policy in the Twentieth Century*, p. 34). The ANB frequently mentioned this discrimination at its meetings, such as this example that appears in the minutes from the 1935 ANB Grand Camp Convention at Wrangell: "William L. Paul moved, Larry Jackson 2nded, that the Grand President protest to secretary of Agriculture Wallace protesting Charles Flory's discrimination against Indians in CCC work. Jackson said he personally knew of this fact in Angoon. Walter McCall said the situation in Ketchikan was the same. The motion carried unanimously." Minutes of the Alaska Native Brotherhood Convention, 1935 (Wrangell, Alaska), Mss 7, Box 2 Folder 11, Walter A. Soboleff Papers, Sealaska Heritage Institute Collections.

⁴⁷ John Autrey, “Remembering the CCC Carvers,” unpublished manuscript, U.S. Forest Service, Ketchikan office.

⁴⁸ Nick Taylor, *American Made: The Enduring Legacy of the WPA When FDR Put the Nation to Work* (New York: Random House, 2008), p. 438.

⁴⁹ Apparently there was some contention about who would be recognized as the instigator of the parks. Heintzleman told Garfield there was some contention about who would be recognized as the instigator of the totem pole restoration program. Writing of her book, *The Wolf and the Raven*, Heintzleman told Garfield: “The introduction gives the Forest Service and me considerable credit for initiating the totem pole restoration project, which may not please the Governor [Gruening]. A few years ago he protested to me over an article in *Fortune* (or was it Jean Potter’s book) on this point. Said he initiated it and told me how hard he worked on Harry Hopkins to get the money which I had requested for the project from WPA. I explained to him that the money he said he helped us to obtain was for clearing the land and erecting the community house at Mud Bight. Everything else was done by the CCC, which in Alaska was handled exclusively by the Forest Service. We alone sought and obtained approval of the totem pole project from the head of the CCC in Washington. Also, as you know, the Alaska branch of the Forest Service (Flory, Merritt and I) had wanted to do the totem pole job ever since Waterman’s study in Southeast Alaska in 1922, but never had the funds before CCC days, and couldn’t get any other agency to undertake it. I mention this as Gruening may write you about it.”

3/28/49 letter from Heintzleman to Garfield, University of Washington Special Collections, Viola Garfield papers, Box 1 Folder 8:

⁵⁰ Ernest Gruening, *Many Battles: The Autobiography of Ernest Gruening* (New York: Liveright, 1973), p. 259.

⁵¹ “Boondoggles” became a favorite anti-New Deal term during the Alderman trials on improper spending of FERA relief funds. Robert Marshall, a craft teacher employed by the Federal Art Project, explained to the jury that he taught boondoggles, which “was a term applied back in the pioneer days to what we call gadgets today—to things men and boys do that are useful in their everyday operations or recreations about their home.” Although intended as a useful term, “boondoggle” soon became the code name for government spending on work of thin value, as in the *New York Times*’ headline: “\$3,187,000 Relief is Spent Teaching Jobless to Play: Boondoggles Made.” See Taylor, p.167.

⁵² See especially W. Jackson Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde: A History of Cultural Primitivism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999) and J.J. Brody, *Indian Painters and White Patrons* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971); also Michael Leja *Reframing Abstract Expressionism: Subjectivity and Painting in the 1940s* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 49-119.

⁵³ Hewett, quoted in Meyn, p. 8.

⁵⁴ For the eastern connection of many Southwest artists and cultural brokers, see Elizabeth Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism and Transculturation in American Art, 1890-1915* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), pp. 17-50.

⁵⁵ Margaret Mead’s most famous work, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), explicitly encouraged the repressed west to learn from the sexual freedom of Samoans.

⁵⁶ Van Wyck Brooks, “On Creating a Usable Past,” *Dial* 64 (April 11, 1918).

⁵⁷ Kazin, quoted in Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images As History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1990), p. 248. Warren Susman has also written that Americans were fixated on defining an American culture in the 1930s. “To seek and define America as culture typified the decade,” he writes, noting that the “American way of life” became a stock phrase as the nation attempted to identify the characteristics of a culture being tested by economic strife at home and fascism abroad. Warren I. Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2003), p. .

⁵⁸ Erika Doss, “American Folk Art’s ‘Distinctive Character’: The Index of American Design and New Deal Notions of Cultural Nationalism,” in *Drawing on America’s Past: Folk Art, Modernism and the Index of American Design*, Virginia Tuttle Clayton, Elizabeth Stillinger, Erika Doss, and Deborah Chotner, Eds. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2002), p. 64.

⁵⁹ Quoted in Molly H. Mullin, “The Patronage of Difference: Making Indian Art ‘Art, Not Ethnology,’” in *The Traffic in Culture: Refiguring Art and Anthropology*, George E. Marcus and Fred R. Myers, Eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. 166.

⁶⁰ Eleanor Roosevelt, “Foreword,” *Indian Art of the United States*, Frederic H. Douglas and Rene d’Harnoncourt (Arno Press: Museum of Modern Art, Reprint Edition 1969 [1941]), p.8.

⁶¹ Amy Winter, *Wolfgang Paalen: Artist and Theorist of the Avant-Garde* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003).

⁶² Claude Lévi-Strauss, “The Art of the Northwest Coast at the American Museum of Natural History,” *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 24 (September 1943), pp. 175-182.

⁶³ Lowe quoted in W. Jackson Rushing, “Marketing the Affinity of the Primitive and the Modern: René d’Harnoncourt and ‘Indian Art of the United States,’” in *The Early Years of Native American Art History*, Janet Catherine Berlo, Ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), p. 207.

⁶⁴ Weber, quoted in W. Jackson Rushing (1992), p. 207.

⁶⁵ John Collier, “Does the Government Welcome the Indian Arts?” *American Magazine of Art* 27:2 (1934), p. 11.

⁶⁶ For reprints and analysis of the various iterations of the Wheeler-Howard Act, including the bill that was finally passed on June 16, 1934, see *The Indian Reorganization Act: Congresses and Bills*, Ed. Vine Deloria, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002).

⁶⁷ See Graham D. Taylor, *The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism: The Administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1934-1945* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), p. 20.

⁶⁸ Several scholars have criticized the Indian Reorganization Act for requiring uniform village charters that ignored a diverse range of governance traditions in Native cultures. See, for example, Taylor, pp. 64-91.

⁶⁹ The phrase appeared repeatedly in *Indians at Work*, a New Deal newsletter distributed to “Indians and the Indian Service” by the Office of Indian Affairs. See, for example, Collier’s editorial about the Wheeler-Howard Act in the July 1, 1934 edition, p.1. The Indian Arts and Crafts Board also used the phrase in its literature: Frederic Douglas and

Rene d'Harnoncourt, *Indian Art of the United States* (New York: Arno Press, 1969 reprint [Museum of Modern Art, 1941]), p. 9.

⁷⁰ The mandate is reprinted in Robert Schrader, *The Indian Arts and Crafts Board: An Aspect of New Deal Policy* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), p. 106.

⁷¹ Susan Labry Meyn, *More Than Curiosities: A Grassroots History of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and Its Precursors, 1920-1942* (Lexington, KY: Lexington Books, 2002), p. 83; see also Schrader, pp. 100-101.

⁷² For an overview of d'Harnoncourt's work in Mexico, see McLerran, pp. 35-41.

⁷³ Schrader, p. 127.

⁷⁴ Frederic Douglas and René d'Harnoncourt, *Indian Art of the United States* (New York: Arno Press for the Museum of Modern Art, 1964 reprint [1941]), p. 184.

⁷⁵ For a review of the nationalist bent of early American modernism, see Wanda Corn, *The Great American Thing: Modern Art and National Identity, 1915-1935* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

⁷⁶ For example, Edith Halpert paired folk paintings with paintings by Charles Sheeler and other modernists in her Downtown Art Gallery in New York starting in 1931. See Wanda Corn, *The Great American Thing: Modern Art and National Identity, 1915-1935* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 318-321.

⁷⁷ In 1989, Aldona Jonaitis wrote that the CCC restoration project "served ultimately to create the image of an Indian art captured, caged and controlled by non-Indians. . . . The appropriation of the totem pole by the White dominant society altered the artworks themselves in unforeseen but very real ways" (Jonaitis, "Totem Poles and the Indian New Deal," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* IX, 2 (1989), p. 238.) In more recent work co-authored with Aaron Glass, Jonaitis has revised her view of the totem parks as representing more of a middle way between "the conflicting poles of assimilation and welfare, between art appropriation and appreciation" (Aldona Jonaitis and Aaron Glass, *The Totem Pole: An Intercultural History* [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010], p. 17). But other scholars have continued to read the parks as appropriative sites. Jennifer McLerran writes in 2009 that the CCC totem parks were "the U.S. government's attempts to appropriate the indigenous monumental art of Alaska to nationalist ends," framing the CCC totem poles within her larger dissertation framework of Native art as a "natural resource" exploited for non-Native gain. See McLerran, p. 200.

⁷⁸ For example, Aldona Jonaitis and Aaron Glass write that the government totem parks in Alaska and Canada carried out a cynical project of "saving [totem poles] from indigenous indifference in the purported name of future generations. . . but for the immediate benefit of. . . civic, state, provincial and federal tourist initiatives." Jonaitis and Glass, p. 94.

⁷⁹ I am quoting David Joselit's summary of Deleuze and Guattari's thesis in *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983). See Joselit, *Infinite Regress: Marcel Duchamp, 1910-1941* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1998), p. 97.

⁸⁰ Although totem poles had appeared in a park-like setting in the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago, their display was temporary. To my knowledge, the Seattle Pole in Pioneer Square is the earliest permanent totem park in the United States.

⁸¹ Alan J. Stein and Paula Becker, "Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition," *The Seattle Times*, May 17, 2009.

⁸² In 1940, the *Ketchikan Chronicle* reprinted a *Seattle Times* article about the heist of the "Seattle pole" by members of the Chamber of Commerce who were on vacation in Alaska: "Someone in the party conceived the bright idea of bringing back a souvenir of the trip that could be presented to the city of Seattle.

"The captain stopped the boat at Tongass island and a committee of eight was appointed to 'make a raid.' They took the largest totem pole from a temporarily deserted Indian village and upon the return of the party to Seattle it was repaired and presented to the city. Unveiling ceremonies took place in Pioneer Place on October 17, 1899.

"Meanwhile, a storm of criticism developed in Alaska. The whole matter was considered a joke in Seattle. The law firm of McClure and McClure, pretending to represent an Indian, filed suit for \$20,000 against the eight men who stole the pole.

"The suit having served its purpose of amusement here, the matter was soon forgotten until a federal grand jury in Alaska indicted the eight men. The latter sent a representative to Alaska, who returned with George and William Kinnonook, native brothers, who declared they were two of the descendants of an Indian princess who had been drowned when her canoe capsized and she was the person commemorated by the totem pole.

"The case was finally settled by payment of \$500 to Father Duncan at Metlakatla with the request that part of the money be used to erect a marble monument to the princess at the place from which the pole had been stolen and the rest distributed among her surviving relatives." "Noted Stolen Totem Returns from Seattle: Pioneer Place Trophy will be copied by Saxman CCC Workers" *Ketchikan Chronicle* 1/22/40.

⁸³ Lampton, quoted in Aldona Jonaitis, "Northwest Coast Totem Poles," in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, Ed. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), p. 111.

⁸⁴ As a missionary for the Presbyterian Church, Brady had come to Alaska in 1878 but had left preaching to become a businessman in Sitka; he was appointed Governor of the District of Alaska in 1897. Although he supported the assimilation of Southeast Alaska Natives into Protestant culture, Brady was more respectful of Native people than many non-Natives at the time: he worked to honor requests from Native leaders for local schools and employment opportunities, and he helped draft a petition to President Theodore Roosevelt asking for legal citizenship for Natives in 1903. It was likely this display of respect that convinced Tlingit and Haida leaders to gift Brady the totem poles and other pieces of valued property they had refused to previous private collectors. For more on Brady's collection, see Victoria Wyatt, "A Unique Attraction: The Alaskan Totem Poles at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904," *Alaska Journal* 16 (1986), pp. 15-18.

⁸⁵ Saaniheit quoted in Andrew Patrick, *The Most Striking of Objects: The Totem Poles of Sitka National Historic Park* (Anchorage, AK: U.S. Department of Interior, 2002), p. 59.

⁸⁶ For an analysis of the Skeena River parks, see Leslie Dawn *National Visions, National Blindness: Canadian Art & Identities in the 1920s* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2006), pp.182-204.

⁸⁷ Dawn, p. 183.

⁸⁸ Dawn, pp. 155-157.

⁸⁹ Ruth Benedict published the extremely popular *Patterns of Culture* in 1934, arguing that different cultures adhered to different “personality” traits or patterns that defined the morality and actions of individuals within those cultures. The Zuni were characterized by an Apollonian restraint; the Kwakwakaw’wakw, in contrast, by a kind of Dionysian rapture. Benedict’s argument furthered the cultural relativism of her mentor, Franz Boas, who advocated for anthropology that studied peoples according to their customs rather than their race, as was typical of evolutionist paradigms in British anthropology. For more on Franz Boas’s cultural relativism, see Timothy Thoresen, “Art, Evolution and History: A Case Study of Paradigm Change in Anthropology,” *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 13 (1977), pp.107-125.

⁹⁰ For the range of objects collected by one New Deal program as a “usable past” for American design, see *Drawing on America’s Past: Folk Art, Modernism and the Index of American Design*, Virginia Tuttle Clayton, Elizabeth Stillinger, Erika Doss, and Deborah Chotner, Eds. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2002).

⁹¹ Kazin quoted in Trachtenberg, p. 248

⁹² See James S. Miller, “Mapping the Boosterist Imaginary: Colonial Williamsburg, Historical Tourism and the Construction of Managerial Memory,” *The Public Historian* 28:4 (Autumn 2006), p. 56.

⁹³ John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 6.

⁹⁴ Bodnar, p. 182.

⁹⁵ Warren Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984) pp. 157-158.

⁹⁶ For an extensive analysis of Native title to the totem poles on townsite land, see Chapter 1.

⁹⁷ Bill Anthes, *Native Moderns: American Indian Painting, 1940-1960* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), p. xxi. Similarly, Ron Hawker has argued that First Nations artists in British Columbia participated in the discourse about art “because the discourse opened up the possibility for asserting a historically-recognized presence, in part countering the more overt racism of everyday life in Canada, and certainly developing a useful public relations outlet.” Ronald Hawker, “Accumulated Labors: First Nations Art in British Columbia, 1922-1961” (Ph.D. Dissertation, History of Art and Visual Theory, University of British Columbia, 1998), p. 226.

⁹⁸ It was not until 1945 that the territorial legislature passed the Alaska Equal Rights Act that ended legal segregation and discrimination against Alaska Natives in the territory. See Terence Cole, “Jim Crow in Alaska: The Passage of the Alaska Equal Rights Act of 1945,” *An Alaska Anthology: Interpreting the Past*, ed. Stephen Haycox and Mary Childers Mangusso (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996), pp. 314-335.

⁹⁹ Consider, for example, Marjorie Halpin’s assessment of the period: “Northwest Coast Indian culture reached a low ebb in the 1920s and 1930s, except in Southern Kwagwiltl villages where strong artists continued to produce fine pieces for traditional purposes. Elsewhere the art virtually died, although model totem poles and other curios, nondescript in style and poor in workmanship, were made for tourists” (*Totem Poles: An Illustrated Guide* [Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981], p. 15).

¹⁰⁰ Douglas and d’Harnoncourt, *Indian Art of the United States*, p. 10.

¹⁰¹ For an insightful overview of these issues, see Ruth B. Phillips, “Why Not Tourist Art?: Significant Silences in Native American Museum Representations,” in *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 28-46.

¹⁰² For the opening salvo of the reevaluation of tourist art in anthropology and art history, see Nelson Graburn, Ed. *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1977). Other key works include the essays in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, Eds. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999) and, for Native North American art, Ruth B. Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art of the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999).

¹⁰³ Ickes, quoted in Michael Berkowitz, “A ‘New Deal’ for Leisure: Making Mass Tourism During the Great Depression,” in *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Cultures, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Fulough, eds. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), p. 205.

¹⁰⁴ See Lisbeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Knopf, 2003), p. 24.

¹⁰⁵ Victoria Grieve explains that one goal of the Federal Art Project’s was to “create a domestic market for art by redefining it as a commodity within economic and intellectual reach of all Americans” (Grieve, *The Federal Art Project and the Creation of Middlebrow Culture* [Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009], p. 6). A related New Deal project was the Indian Arts and Crafts Board’s work to educate American tourists to improve the domestic market for Native American art.

¹⁰⁶ Roosevelt quoted in Grieve, *The Federal Art Project*, p.154.

¹⁰⁷ The phrase was Eleanor Roosevelt’s, which she wrote in the foreword to René d’Harnoncourt’s IACB-sponsored exhibit catalogue, *Indian Art of the United States* (p. 8).

¹⁰⁸ Doss, p. 65.

¹⁰⁹ Jonathan Harris quoted in Doss, p. 67.

¹¹⁰ Quoted in Mullin, p. 166.

¹¹¹ Elizabeth McGoey, “Staging Modern Domesticity: Art and Constructed Interior Displays in America, 1925–40,” paper delivered at the National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C. April 20, 2011.

¹¹² See Chapter 1 for an in-depth discussion for this issue.

¹¹³ Biddle quoted in A. Joan Saab, *Art for the Millions: Art and Culture Between the Wars* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), p. 16.

¹¹⁴ Jonathan Harris, *Federal Art and National Culture: The Politics of Identity in New Deal America* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

¹¹⁵ Nunn, p. 4.

¹¹⁶ Alaska Forest Service employee Harry Sperling used the term “revival” in this sense in an article about the CCC totem pole project: “The art of totem carving among Alaskan Indians, after nearing extinction, is now rapidly coming to life.” However, he favored the word “restoration” in the rest of the article. Sperling, “Alaskan Indians Revive Art of Totem Pole Carving,” *Indians at Work* (March 1940) pp. 23-25.

¹¹⁷ Cahill quoted in Saab, p. 76.

¹¹⁸ C.M. Archbold, "Restoration," *Alaska Sportsman* March 1939, p. 14-16.

¹¹⁹ Interestingly, this definition of restoration for the natural environment also worked for the built environment: when John D. Rockefeller Jr. wanted to "restore" Williamsburg, Virginia, he sought to "free it entirely from all alien or inharmonious surroundings as well as to preserve the beauty and charm of the old buildings and gardens of the city and its historical significance." Active human intervention in the town of Williamsburg would be required to remove buildings that conflicted with the colonial era objects Rockefeller sought to "preserve." Rockefeller quoted in David Gebhard, "The American Colonial Revival in the 1930s," *Winterthur Portfolio* 22:2/3 (Summer/Autumn 1987), p.117.

¹²⁰ Several scholars have noted the "symbolic restitution" of art projects for Native peoples. Ruth Phillips asks: "Does the growing popularity of collaborative exhibits signal a new era of social agency for museums, or does it make the museum a space where symbolic restitution is made for the injustices of the colonial era in lieu of more concrete forms of social, economic and political redress?" (Phillips quoted in James Clifford, "Looking Several Ways: Anthropology and Native Heritage in Alaska," *Current Anthropology* 45:1 [February 2004], p. 22). However, James Clifford writes: "Heritage is not a substitute for land claims, struggles over subsistence rights, development, educational and health projects, defense of sacred sites, and repatriation of human remains, but it is closely connected to all of these struggles. What counts as 'tradition' is never politically neutral...and the work of cultural retrieval, display and performance plays a necessary role in current movements around identity and recognition" (Clifford, p. 8).

¹²¹ Quoted in McLerran, p. 79 (my emphasis).

¹²² Originally I had hoped to have an Appendix ready for this dissertation that listed all of the Tlingit and Haida workers enrolled in the CCC camps. While this Appendix is not yet complete, pending more research and interviews with Tlingit and Haida families, I hope to one day offer a list of enrollees who participated in the totem pole restoration project to honor their contributions and to credit specific areas of work to individual men.

Chapter 1: Archival Claims

In the fall of 1937, U.S. Forest Service District Ranger C.M. Archbold began compiling a series of photographs for Forest Service archives, photographs that depicted nineteenth-century totem poles *in situ* in Native villages in Southeast Alaska (Fig. 1.1). Traveling to the uninhabited Haida village of Sukkwan, and later to Klinkwan, Howkan, and several uninhabited Tlingit villages, Archbold worked to fulfill a request from Regional Forester B. Frank Heintzleman for “a report, including photos where possible, of the poles, grave houses, etc. that best lend themselves to restoration.”¹ Congress had mandated Native hire for the Civilian Conservation Corps in Alaska in April, and the Forest Service was beginning its long-awaited project to restore totem poles in the Tongass National Forest.² The photographic survey was the first step in the CCC’s totem pole restoration project—and the first step in redefining the totem pole for the purposes of a totem park.

Regional Forester Heintzleman had requested the photographs in September. He outlined his initial plan for a CCC project in a memo to his assistant, Harold Smith:

Among the Indian CCC projects to be undertaken this winter in the Southern Division, I wish you would include the restoration of some of the more outstanding Indian totems (and perhaps gravehouses if such are present) in the abandoned Indian town of Sukkwan near Hydaburg. Such restoration should, of course, include permanent foundations, chipping away of decayed wood and substituting new pieces of wood where this is necessary, painting, clearing away of brush and debris, building paths to make the poles, etc. accessible.³

Heintzleman added that no work should be done “until the Indian owners, in writing, agree to our doing the work and promise to retain ownership and location of the poles for at least ten years.” He instructed Smith to work with the Office of Indian Affairs to identify the Native owners of poles, and he asked Smith to send Archbold to Sukkwan to photograph the poles that “best lend themselves to restoration.”⁴ Interestingly, as the memo made clear, Heintzleman did not envision moving the Sukkwan poles to a separate totem park, but proposed paths and permanent foundations for the poles *in situ*. His memo also revealed a forester’s interest in timber restoration: the clearing away of brush and debris, the chipping away of decayed wood. For Heintzleman, as for many non-Natives involved in the totem pole restoration project, villages like Sukkwan were “abandoned” Indian towns that now belonged to the Tongass National Forest, public land that was the Forest Service’s responsibility to restore.

Archbold’s photographs for his report on the Sukkwan site illustrate this forester view (Fig. 1.2). The two poles he found “worthy of restoration” are pictured with as much beach in the frame as carving, the cropping emphasizing the disheveled landscape surrounding the poles and visually enacting his caption’s proposal to “cut back” the poles’ rotten tops. Images of the village graveyard outnumber those of totem poles, with captions highlighting the need for “clean up” to increase “usable ground.” A row of totem poles appears in three-quarters view with a garden in the foreground, highlighting not the carving but the backs of the poles overgrown with vegetation (Fig. 1.3).

But a second set of photographs offset this picturing of ruins. The second page of Archbold’s report included a photograph of the modern village of Hydaburg, where the cluster of single-family houses contrasted with the silhouettes of three totem poles and

the white gravehouse on the point at Sukkwan just across the strait (Fig. 1.4). Archbold also included a photograph of Hydaburg mayor Paul Morrison, a Haida man who traveled with Archbold to Sukkwan to identify totem poles and to discuss the Forest Service's proposed restoration project (Fig. 1.5). Archbold was taken with Morrison; he noted in his caption that Morrison was "a very intelligent Native," and commended his idea to cap restored totem poles with copper sheeting to delay future rot.⁵ Archbold also reported that Morrison had proposed establishing a central totem park at Hydaburg, rather than restoring the Sukkwan poles *in situ*. "This suggestion was his own idea," Archbold wrote, "and he mentioned that since Hydaburg is made up of natives from all three of the villages [where the poles stood] that permission for moving the totems could be easily secured."⁶ Hydaburg had no totem poles in 1938, having been established in 1911 when residents of Sukkwan, Klinkwan and Howkan left their clan houses to establish a central, "modern" village that would turn its back on the old ways.⁷ Yet as Morrison indicated, Hydaburg residents still had "an interest" in their poles.⁸ This interest was a radically different one from the Forest Service's, however: as this chapter seeks to show, Native peoples viewed their poles as living markers of their lineage on the land, land that was not "the Tongass National Forest," but Native land from time immemorial.⁹ It was a radically different notion than the Forest Service's view of totem poles as ruined objects to be restored, and Morrison's work to establish a totem park in his own community worked to mediate these differences for the totem pole restoration project.

This chapter examines the competing claims of the totem pole archive—both as Forest Service photographs taken of the poles and as Tlingit and Haida crests that claimed the land—to understand how the two sides came to cooperate on the New Deal totem parks. The Forest Service photographs, which have not been extensively published before, operated within two distinct discourses of federal survey photography. The first, stemming from a nineteenth-century tradition of photographing Native ruins that was codified by the 1906 American Antiquities Act, framed Alaska's totem poles as imperiled resources requiring federal protection. The photographs argued that Natives had abandoned their poles and that the Forest Service could restore these resources threatened by natural—not social—threats of decay. The other discourse, launched by the Indian New Deal and fueled by the propaganda needs of federal relief programs, emphasized the government's role in "rehabilitating" the Indian for a modern economy; it highlighted the cooperation of Natives and federal agents toward this goal. Appended to manila cards labeled Form 8-D-8 in the Forest Service's headquarters in Juneau, these photographs assumed the new entity of the archive—what Alan Sekula has called a "territory of images"—that recast the totem poles within the archive's own parameters of meaning (Fig. 1.6).¹⁰ Pressed between image after image of rot and dilapidation, the totem pole was transformed from a living Native clan crest into a ruin for which the federal government was responsible. It became an imperiled resource on federal land—the Tongass National Forest—overseen by the Forest Service and subject to the same efforts of resource conservation that the agency oversaw in forests across the nation. These photographs were part of the radical transformation that the totem pole would undergo in the CCC restoration project. They were a step toward deterritorializing the poles, removing them from their context in Native villages and re-coding them in a new context that was the archive itself.

At the same time, however, the totem poles acted as their own kind of archive for Tlingit and Haida, staking a very different set of claims to those made by the Forest Service photographs. For the Tlingit and Haida, the totem pole was not a ruin, but a lasting testament to their ancestors' presence on and claim to the land—land that was not the “Tongass National Forest,” but Native land from time immemorial. A key issue for the New Deal totem parks is that Tlingit and Haida communities participated in and even directed the Forest Service in the totem parks' creation at the same time that they were fighting the agency for aboriginal title to the Tongass National Forest.¹¹ Empowered by the Indian New Deal and Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes's interest in settling Native land claims, Tlingit and Haida peoples actively pursued their claims to the Tongass during the 1930s and 1940s, the very years that the totem pole restoration project was underway. Paul Morrison was one of many Native men who cooperated with the Forest Service on the totem pole restoration project at the same time that he pursued land claims in the Tongass, and one of many Native leaders who worked to shape the New Deal totem parks to serve his own community's needs. The *cultural* reasons, rather than simply the economic ones, for which Morrison and other Native leaders agreed to cooperate with the totem poles restoration project have not been closely considered before. How did the two sides work past their vastly different approaches to the totem pole—as ruin to be restored on federal land and as enduring clan crest that staked aboriginal title to that land—to create six totem parks in southern Southeast Alaska?

Claiming the Tongass

Conflict over aboriginal title in the Tongass was not new in the 1930s—nor would it be settled until 1971, when Congress passed the landmark Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.¹² Congress had made no treaties with Alaska Natives when it bought Alaska from Russia in 1867. The 1884 Alaska Organic Act guaranteed that Alaska Natives “would not be disturbed in the possession of any lands actually in their use or occupation or claimed by them”—but it provided no legal means for Natives to secure title to their lands, saving that for “future legislation.”¹³ Meanwhile, the federal government continued to claim lands in Tlingit and Haida territory. In 1891, concern about the depletion of North American forests resulted in the Forest Reserve Act, which authorized the President to set aside wooded public lands for management by the Department of the Interior.¹⁴ In 1902, Theodore Roosevelt set aside several islands in Southeast Alaska as the Alexander Archipelago Reserve; more were added in 1907, and the same year the reserve was re-designated a “national forest” and named after the southern Tlingit *kwáan* (the winter village area associated with the clans whose houses stood there) of Tongass.¹⁵ In 1909, Roosevelt extended the forest's boundaries to encompass seventeen million acres, nearly the entire archipelago of Southeast Alaska. The Tongass became the nation's largest national forest—without resolution of, or compensation for, Tlingit and Haida claims to the land.¹⁶

Jurisdiction over the massive new forest went to the United States Forest Service, an agency created in 1905 to “calculate and secure an economical use of the [nation's] existing timber.”¹⁷ The product of conservation movements for American forests, the Forest Service was still committed to timber development; its 1905 handbook, “The Use of the National Forest Reserves,” emphasized the agency's doctrine of “use.” The Forest Service worked to restore the health of the national forests and guard against fire, rot and

other natural threats, while at the same time managing permits for private companies and individuals to conduct logging, grazing and recreation. Where conflict arose over use of the national forests, Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot advocated a utilitarian approach of “the greatest good for the greatest number in the long term”¹⁸—an equation that did not always behoove minorities like Alaska Natives.

In fact, the Forest Service frequently clashed with the Tlingit and Haida over land use in the Tongass. By 1923 the Forest Service had leased 140 islands inside the Tongass to non-Native fox farmers, a lucrative fur business that pushed many Natives out of their family fish camps and turning traditional smokehouses into fox pens. More permits were granted to non-Native homesteaders and trappers, so that land and rivers that individual families had used for generations were suddenly off-limits.¹⁹ Henry Denny, Sr., a Tlingit Teikweidi man from Saxman who worked for the CCC, reiterated a common complaint when he testified for a 1946 interview on land claims: “My people owned the area at the mouth of the Unuk River. I have used that area all my life, and before me, my father and uncles hunted and trapped and fished in that area. Now, however, it is closed to me because there are homesteaders in there. This homesteader tells me he has wolf traps out, and makes me go away.”²⁰ The repercussions of “going away” would prove disastrous for early Native land claims: without evidence of “continued use” of ancestral lands, Natives could not fulfill the requirements for aboriginal title.²¹

Further, the Forest Service actively opposed Tlingit and Haida claims to the Tongass. Aboriginal claims threatened the Forest Service’s long-range goal to develop a pulp industry in Southeast Alaska, as the uncertain land title jeopardized the fifty-year logging contracts pulp companies wanted before they would agree to invest.²² The Forest Service was also haunted by the proposals of their federal rival, the Department of the Interior, to establish Native reservations in Alaska—thereby withdrawing more land from the Department of Agriculture’s oversight.²³ Between 1938 and 1941, the very years of the CCC totem pole restoration project, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes approved forty-four village constitutions that would have created a network of Native reservations in Alaska. While these reservations were ultimately rejected, they loomed as a major threat to the Forest Service during the CCC period. Regional Forester B.F. Heintzleman was appalled by Ickes’s plan,²⁴ his second-in-command, William Chipperfield, decried Ickes’s intentions: “He wanted to give it [the Tongass National Forest] all to the Indians!”²⁵

Meanwhile, Tlingit and Haida people had begun to pursue title to their land collectively. In 1912, men from Native communities across Southeast Alaska met in Sitka to establish the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB), one of the earliest Native rights groups in the United States.²⁶ While its initial platform focused on citizenship for Alaska Natives, aboriginal claims became the Brotherhood’s priority in 1929, when the ANB Grand Camp voted to hire Tlingit lawyer William Paul to pursue their legal options.²⁷ In 1935, President Roosevelt signed an act allowing the Tlingit and Haida to sue the federal government for compensation for land lost to the Tongass National Forest.²⁸ The Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska was established in 1939 as the federally-recognized tribal government that would negotiate the land settlement. It would take until 1959 for the U.S. Court of Claims to decide that the Tlingit and Haida deserved compensation for land lost to the Tongass, and until 1968 for the Court to decide a price: seven and a half million dollars, less than ten percent of the eighty million that the Tlingit

and Haida had requested.²⁹

The photographs *in situ*

It is against this background of land claims and the often antagonistic relationship between the Tlingit and Haida and the U.S. Forest Service that the totem pole restoration project—and the Forest Service photographs—must be understood. The archive of images depicting deteriorating totem poles provided the inventory necessary for the CCC's restoration project, but it also made claims about the government's right to intervene in the totem poles' fate. Framing the poles as ruins that Native peoples had abandoned on federal land, the Forest Service photographs worked to justify immediate federal attention to deteriorating poles. They focused on the natural—rather than social—threats to the poles, divorcing the poles from contemporary Native claims to the Tongass and advertising the Forest Service's unique ability to assess and restore such threatened timber. At the same time, the photographs of Native people cooperating with the government project worked to assuage any misgivings of tension between the federal agency and the Tlingit and Haida.³⁰

Federal survey photography had long worked to identify resources for economic development, almost always on land claimed by indigenous peoples. Native Americans learned that the camera was a suspect tool early on. In 1858, H.L. Hine, the photographer for a Canadian expedition to Saskatchewan, wrote of the Ojibwa's forceful objections against his photography: "They knew this was the way the white man wanted to get rid of the Indians and take their land."³¹ In the United States, the four "Great Surveys" of the American West in the 1870s sought to pinpoint resources on land claimed by numerous Native nations. Included in the surveys were many photographs of Native ruins that easterners hailed as resources for the U.S.—not economic resources, necessarily, but heritage resources that the young nation could claim as a history to rival Europe's.³² Martha Sandweiss has shown that photographs of Native ruins in the Southwest provided the U.S. with roots for a "deep history" of its own, but they also complicated that history's narrative of Manifest Destiny and the convenient theory that Indians were "vanishing" in the face of a modernity with which they had no skills to cope. On the contrary, the impressive cliff dwellings at Mesa Verde and the astronomical savvy of the Hovenweep towers presented evidence for Native competence and even brilliance.³³ In the early nineteenth century, theorists like Noah Webster dismissed this complication by arguing that the ruins belonged to a race that had no connection to contemporary Natives; similarly, many surveyors chose to publish images of ruins with photographs of landscape rather than with photos of contemporary Natives. As Sandweiss argues, this separation was a concerted effort to link the ruins to an American past rather than to an Indian one, and thus to avoid complicated questions about the loss of land and rights for Native peoples.³⁴

Although the New Deal would work to restore the claims of Native Americans to land and to a contemporary place in history, the rhetoric of ruins still informed the Forest Service photographs of totem poles in the 1930s. This was partly due to the fact that such rhetoric underwrote the legislation that had charged the Forest Service with care for poles in the Tongass National Forest. The 1906 American Antiquities Act required federal agencies that stewarded public land to create an inventory of "monuments and ruins" on those lands and to provide recommendations for their preservation. Enacted following the

looting of several sites in the Southwest, the Antiquities Act worked to protect Native heritage in the American landscape; as many scholars have argued, however, it also “suggested that professional archaeologists—not native peoples themselves—were the best stewards” of a heritage the nation was now claiming as its own.³⁵ Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot issued Order No. 19 in November 1906, requesting that Forest Service officers “report specifically on each ruin or natural object of curiosity” in their respective forest reserves.³⁶ For the Tongass, forester F.E. Olmsted recommended monument status for the totem poles and community houses at Tuxekan Village and Old Kasaan. Olmsted reiterated the trope of Native indifference to a heritage the government would have to ensure when he urged that “the poles be preserved *in situ* rather than be removed to another place, even though the Indians had lost interest in them.”³⁷

A few years later, in a survey of the Tongass in 1915, Chief Forester Henry Graves compiled what appears to be the first photographic album of a survey in the Tongass (Fig. 1.7).³⁸ The rhetoric of ruins appears throughout the handwritten captions: “picturesque graves” on the shoreline, “deserted villages, the houses fallen.”³⁹ Although the indexical presence of Natives riddles the photographs—cedar bark stripped from trees, grave markers still tended in villages—Native people appear nowhere in the album. Graves’s own body stands beside the massive trunks of spruce trees and on a ladder propped against one of the totem poles, providing human scale and the assurance of government surveillance of these “national treasures” of the Tongass. Yet the Native villages themselves are stressed as abandoned, the photograph of Cat Island described as “a narrow strip of land, about a quarter of a mile long and a few hundred feet wide. A deserted Indian village, the houses fallen, but with many interesting totem poles still standing.”⁴⁰

Archbold’s photographs of totem poles in the late 1930s continued this rhetoric of ruins. Clan houses peek out of the forest at Old Kasaan, a village whose residents had decamped to a fish saltery and mine at New Kasaan in 1904.⁴¹ The sturdiness of the house’s frontal pole—in this case, Chief Skowl’s baptismal pole, made to commemorate his baptism into the Russian Orthodox Church—is undone by the skeletal frame of the house itself nearly consumed by the forest (Fig. 1.8). Villages appear as rows of decaying stumps, their poles no longer marking individual clan houses or acknowledged graves but counted as part of the forest: “Tree Growing Through Totem” (Fig. 1.9). More photographs appear of the backs of poles, a choice to emphasize the mossy, tilting posts rather than any glimpse of their carving (Fig. 1.10). A photograph from Old Kasaan, “Portion bottom of totem pole sea monster, Old Kasaan,” focuses on the carving, but positions the sea monster off-center, half the photograph subsumed by bracken (Fig. 1.11). The shaft of the pole still boasts the incised lines that counted the impressive number of potlatches the memorialized person had hosted in his (or possibly her) lifetime, and the horizontal ribbing in the sea monster’s ears offer a distinct marker of Kasaan’s local style.⁴² But Archbold cut off most of the pole in the photograph and purposefully allowed the forest to cover half the photo. The margin on the left is just enough to suggest the presence of another pole, this one tilting ominously toward the sea monster.

The emphasis on natural threats to the totem pole in Archbold’s photographs suppressed the social reasons for the totem pole’s demise. In an article titled “Restoration,” published in *The Alaskan Sportsman* in 1939 to explain the totem pole

restoration project to the public, Archbold noted a ribbing he'd taken from younger members of the CCC: "They jokingly reminded me that the missionaries moved the Natives away from their old villages, totem poles, and customs as a first step in educating the younger people. Now the Forest Service wants to move the totem poles back to the Natives!"⁴³ Although discussed in jest, the young men made a crucial point in emphasizing the social reasons for which totem poles had deteriorated since the nineteenth century: missionaries' condemnation of the poles as heathen "old ways," government pressure to stop potlatching, and the disintegration of many Native villages for economic and educational opportunities in larger towns. The Forest Service's photographs downplayed these causes in favor of the natural threats that the agency was adept at fixing.

Archbold relied on several strategies to "make legible" the natural threats to totem poles, and to vouch for the Forest Service's unique qualifications to tackle them.⁴⁴ To illustrate a narrative of decay, he appended earlier survey photographs of totem poles next to his own on the same archival card, providing a visual measurement of the totem poles' rate of deterioration.⁴⁵ One archive card, for example, pairs a 1921 photo of the Ebbits pole at Old Tongass Village with Archbold's 1938 photo of the same pole, clearly showing the pole's declining angle over the course of seventeen years (Fig. 1.12).⁴⁶ Archbold also compiled photographs from the Smithsonian and other archives for Forest Service comparisons, like an 1890 photograph of Old Kasaan that depicts the village's impressive array of clan houses and totems. (Fig. 1.13) The strong verticality of the poles and their placement before the clan houses contrasts strikingly with the haphazard angles of the poles—and the single roof beam of a remaining clan house—in the photograph Archbold took fifty years later (Fig. 1.14).

Captions also helped to convey the narrative of the totem pole's imperiled state.⁴⁷ In a 1939 report of the Sitka National Monument, the totem park John Brady had established in 1902 and which the CCC would help restore, Assistant Regional Forester Charles Burdick submitted "prints of the pictures with comments on each" to "determine [the] feasibility of rehabilitating the poles to prolong their life as much as possible."⁴⁸ Working to appease the National Park Service, Burdick had carried out a systematic survey of poles in the Sitka park, nailing a numbered aluminum tag to the back of each pole. His report assessed individual poles in an equation of aesthetics vs. rot: No. 391 (the Mosquito Legend pole) has "intricate carving," but, because of the "great amount of decay," it was "doubtful if it can be saved."⁴⁹ The captions directed a reading of the photograph in forester's terms of timber restoration, quickly turning a classic tourist shot of the two poles at the entrance to the park into a pessimistic assessment of the wood's stability (Fig. 1.15). Beside a detail of the Raven/Shark pole, Burdick wrote: "This pole may be too far gone for saving."

If the photographs argued that the poles required immediate attention, they also proclaimed the Forest Service as the right agency to provide it. Archbold's photographs frequently advertised the Forest Service's ability to care for the aging poles, depicting Forest Service employees inspecting and surveying the poles in Native villages.⁵⁰ The photograph labeled "Howkan pole, left FS employee" contrasts a precariously tilting totem pole with the assured verticality of a Forest Service official (Fig. 1.16). A similar photo pictures an employee offering a reassuring brace to a backward-leaning Howkan Eagle (Fig. 1.17). Even the Forest Service's *Ranger* boats, which would eventually tow

the totem poles from villages to the CCC camps, appeared in photographs to vouch for the agency's technological resources (Fig. 1.18).⁵¹ Such photographs positioned Forest Service officials as knowledgeable experts who appreciated Native heritage *and* had the skills and technology to restore it.

It is not that these photographs lied. After fifty or more years of standing in the rainforest of Southeast Alaska, many of these totem poles were deteriorating, and the Forest Service did know of strategies to restore the physical properties of wood. But in its emphasis on the poles as ruins, the Forest Service archive silenced the claims that Tlingit and Haida people made for the totem poles as vital markers of their clans' lineage on the land. The rhetoric of the poles in "abandoned" Indian villages continued a kind of frontier myth of uninhabited lands that obscured an active Native presence on and legal struggles to that land.⁵² There is little indication in these photos of living Tlingit and Haida peoples who were, at that very moment, claiming the poles as something besides the ruins of an abandoned life.

Crest claims

Totem poles acted as their own kind of archive for the Tlingit and Haida in Southeast Alaska. This archive was maintained both as a physical presence in the totem pole itself, as well as through an oral tradition that the totem pole elicited—stories recorded in an archive of the mind passed down through generations. The Haida word for the tall exterior poles that stood in front of lineage houses is *gyaa.aang*, which, translated figuratively, means "man standing up."⁵³ The word suggests the relationship between a totem pole and the humans it "stood up" to represent: the crests of the frontal pole identified the lineage that lived inside the house, as well as the ancestors whose encounters with the crest animals gave the lineage its distinctive crests. The Tlingit word for totem pole—*kootéyaa*, which some have translated as "carved thing that tells a story"—also highlights the relationship of totem poles to living human beings.⁵⁴ The totem pole relied on a story teller who had the knowledge—and the right—to publicly relay the stories of the crests the pole displayed. In speaking this story, which was passed down through the generations of the clan, the storyteller linked herself to a deep line of ancestors: to the relative who commissioned the pole and/or who was commemorated by it; to the archetypal ancestor whose encounter with an animal or entity earned that entity's image for his lineage's crest; and to the mythic time of Raven, who formed the land and created Tlingit and Haida people to inhabit it.⁵⁵ Thus, even though exterior totem poles were a relatively recent manifestation on the Northwest Coast, their depiction of long-standing crest stories meant that they encapsulated the mythological, the ancestral, as well as the personal; through the elicitation of these stories, they allowed the storyteller to draw deep relationships with lineage, ancestor, and place.⁵⁶

Indeed, a fundamental difference between the Forest Service's view of totem poles and those of the Tlingit and Haida was that for the latter, totem poles were not just things—they were vital links to ancestors. In the Tlingit language, totem poles could become clan treasures known as *at.óow*, "owned or purchased thing." *At.óow* designated tangible and intangible treasures that had been commissioned, gifted, or otherwise earned from the opposite moiety and presented at potlatches to witnesses who affirmed the clan owners' right to those treasures. In the sacred ritual of the potlatch, as Thomas Thornton notes, "*at.óow* become more than mere images or representations.

Through mediation in expressive ritual forms such as oratory, song and dance, *at.óow* have the power to evoke and make present the spirit of those things they resemble and encapsulate.⁵⁷ Activated by the storyteller, totem poles linked present generations to ancestors and to the stories of their clans. It is why Tlingits speak of their poles as living beings, as “sacred and tangible links to their ancestors and clan histories.”⁵⁸ In the Tlingit teachings of *haa shuká*, totem poles become part of a belief system that brought the past into the present and connected the present to the future. Tlingit scholars Nora and Richard Dauenhauer explain the term *shuká*, which is used to mean “ancestor” but which carries a far richer sense of identity and time:

The concept is two directional. It means, most literally, “ahead.” It refers to that which has gone before us in time—predecessors, those born ahead of us who are now behind us. It also refers to that which lies ahead, in the future...It includes all types of *at.óow* as well as all human ancestors. Therefore, the term *shuká* embraces the narratives themselves, the *at.óow* and ancestors within them, and the ancestors who told them.⁵⁹

Haida peoples had a similar concept embedded in their word for ancestor, *Iitl' Kuníisi*.⁶⁰ This multi-directional view of ancestors or heritage meant that totem poles served as vessels for enduring lifeways that had been established by ancestors in the past, that continue to inform the ways of the present and that would guide the ways of the future. The English term “reincarnation” is often used to approximate this idea of recurring time and ancestral continuance, although it does not fully capture the contemporaneous meaning of time understood by the Tlingit and Haida.

The view of the totem pole as a tangible link to ancestors and to clan histories on the land since “time immemorial” could not have contrasted more with the Forest Service’s portrayal of totem poles as ruins on abandoned land. Indeed, the concept of “ruins” was alien to Northwest Coast cultures that did not rely on preservation for the perpetuation of its crest arts, but rather chose the prestige of re-commissioning new objects when the old ones deteriorated. Viola Garfield, the University of Washington anthropologist hired as a consultant for the Forest Service restoration project, tried to explain this logic to a non-Native public: “Once a pole was set up, nothing could be done to it by the owners without hiring outsiders [members of the opposite moiety] to do the repair work and giving a potlatch-feast to get recognition for it...[Besides, a] new pole was considered more valuable than an old one that had been repaired or repainted.”⁶¹ Allowing old poles to decay, then, was not a sign of Native indifference, but in keeping with Native *interest* in accruing prestige by commissioning new markers of wealth and clan identity.⁶²

The Tlingit and Haida also held a very different view of what the Forest Service called the “abandonment” or “desertion” of their former villages. The seasonal nature of Tlingit and Haida subsistence life had always entailed moving between fish camps and winter villages; even the winter village sites, where the massive cedar houses stood, changed if circumstances required.⁶³ Further, the Tlingit term *kwáan* designated not just the winter village but the larger land base and waterways controlled by clans living in the village, providing a broader area of “homeland” than the village itself.⁶⁴ As linguists have noted for the Tlingit language, this homeland was an inalienable concept.⁶⁵ Like family members and body parts permanently connected to a person, one’s home *kwáan* could not be depossessed and did not take the possessive suffix *-i*. “Abandoning” land was thus

nonsensical to the Tlingit and Haida, and the government's continual use of the word deeply disturbed their understanding of their relationship to place.⁶⁶

In the 1946 land claims interviews conducted by anthropologist William Goldschmidt and Office of Indian Affairs attorney Theodore Haas, many of the same Tlingit and Haida men who had carved totem poles for the CCC referenced ancestral totem poles in connection with places they claimed for subsistence. Seeking to prove their "continual use and occupancy" of these lands as required for aboriginal title, these men cited totem poles as evidence of their people's deep history in the land. Walter Young, who carved with the CCC at Kasaan, stated: "There used to be a fort at Chasina Point which belonged to the Haida people of Kasaan. The Haida people lived there a long time. There was a house and totem pole there from old times."⁶⁷ George Lewis, who had worked with the Forest Service in Sitka, testified that "there were several forts throughout the Sitka Territory. There are two on Redoubt Bay, one on either side; another fort and village, Kasdaxeixda.aan, had about nine tribal houses. This was a village with totem poles and permanent homes."⁶⁸ In their report on land claims for the Department of the Interior, Goldschmidt and Haas would cite the Sockeye pole restored by the CCC at Klawock (Fig. 1.19) as an explicit record of land title, noting that "the property, a salmon stream at Deweyville, on the western shore of Prince of Wales Island, is represented by a face at the lower end of the pole... At the top of the pole is a brown bear, which identifies the clan to which the owners of the stream belong."⁶⁹ Totem poles thus served as evidence for Native land claims in federal archives, even though the Forest Service did not recognize Native title to the land.

"A good, worthwhile project"

Given the radically different views about totem poles and the rights to land in the Tongass, why did the Forest Service and the Tlingit and Haida agree to work on the totem pole restoration project? How did they agree to move forward on a project "for future generations" when present generations disagreed on fundamental aspects on the meaning of poles and claims of Native people to the land?

The terms to which the Forest Service and the Tlingit and Haida agreed were enumerated in the Memoranda of Agreement that both parties signed before restoration work began (see Fig. 0.3). The MOAs were legal documents drawn up by Heintzleman and Linn Forrest, following Heintzleman's emphasis that Natives agree "in *writing*" to the restoration program; they spelled out the roles of each party as well as the radical changes the restoration project posed for Tlingit and Haida totem poles. It is worth printing an example of an MOA here in full, this one for totem poles claimed by several descendants of Old Kasaan:

Memorandum of Agreement

WHEREAS, the Haida Indian families residing at the Village of Kasaan, Alaska, hereinafter known as the parties of the first part, own a number of totem poles located at the National Monument at Old Kasaan Village in Skowl Arm, and now have a desire to see these poles moved and repaired at New Kasaan and held there until decision has been made by the Indians as to where the poles will be erected. Such site to be a publicly owned site whether National Forest Service land, open public land or town site land, to always remain publicly owned land so that the totems may have proper care and be preserved for the benefit of future generations:

AND WHEREAS, the Forest Service U.S. Department of Agriculture, hereinafter known as the party of the second part, can do this restoration work through the Civilian Conservation Corps, or some other form of public relief work, NOW WITNESSETH:

1. The parties of the first party hereby agree to having the party of the second part move and repair the totem poles from Old Kasaan National Monument.
2. The party of second part agrees to move all poles at Old Kasaan worthy of restoration and such parts of other poles as can be saved and repaired, to a site near New Kasaan where they will be repaired and help until decision has been made as to a new location for erecting them. This work to be done by Indian labor and totem pole carvers through the Civilian Conservation Corps or some other form of public relief work.
3. The party of the second part agrees to furnish all labor, tools, equipment and materials necessary for the project.
4. Both parties of the first part and the party of the second part agree that the poles will eventually be erected at some site selected by the parties of the first part, which site must be and will always remain publicly owned land, whether in National Forest land, open public land or town site land.
5. The parties of the first part further agree that all poles so moved and repaired by the party of the second part will hereafter be considered as community property of the residents of Kasaan, and that at no time will any of such poles be disposed of by sale, gift or otherwise, and that said poles will be protected against harm of whatever nature.

October 24, 1938[signed] The Frank Family by Julius Frank; The Young Family by Walter Young, Edw. Young, Robert P. Young and indecipherable; The Thomas Family by Jacob Thomas; the Peele Family by James E. Peele

Witnesses: [signed] C.M. Archbold; Linn A. Forrest

The Memoranda of Agreement outlined five fundamental changes to the ontology of the totem pole. Rather than being allowed to naturally decay, totem poles would be *preserved*, through restoration or replication. Second, this work would be *patronized* not by the pole's owner but by the U.S. government; this patron would hire not a professional carver from the opposite moiety, but a CCC crew of *mixed lineage* and training.⁷⁰ Fourth, poles would be *relocated* from Native villages, removing them from the clan houses and gravesites where they had stood in direct relationship to the owners whose crests they represented, to be re-erected in the invented context of a totem park (in 1938, Kasaan had not yet determined the site for its totem park, hence the ambiguous location in this MOA). Finally, in legal terms, at least, Native owners relinquished title to their poles and handed them over as *communal property* of the village, divorcing totem poles from clan or lineage ownership, as well as from the claims of individuals belonging to those lineages. This last requirement smacks of appropriation, but it was a federal requirement for every CCC and WPA restoration programs that public monies be spent on public property; the Forest Service could not restore privately owned poles with CCC funds.⁷¹ All of these requirements were radical changes that Native people had to grapple with if they accepted the totem pole restoration program.

It is important to recognize the extent to which Tlingit and Haida communities did grapple with the CCC's proposals. Moving poles to be preserved as community property in government-sponsored totem parks broke so many protocols of ownership and "balance" between moieties that many elders initially rejected the project regardless of

the economic benefits it would reap. Archbold reported from Saxman that he “had to give the Natives their good time in which to sign the agreement” after “some agitation” had arisen among several elders at Saxman; his note of the “lengthy discussion” that occurred between elders is one to which I return momentarily.⁷² Many elders did not want to lose the memorial function of totem poles placed on or associated with grave sites: Sidney Dennison, the District Ranger for Wrangell, wrote to Heintzleman that he was having a difficult time securing permission to restore a memorial pole (the Old Fisherman Pole) that the Forest Service admired because “the only conditions under which they [the Native owners] would permit its removal would be for us to carve a similar marker to replace it.”⁷³ Moving poles also risked resurrecting old feuds that divided the community. Viola Garfield reported that James Arbour of Klawock refused to tell her the stories of several Tuxekan poles because “there was bitter feeling among the people when the question of bringing the poles [from Tuxekan to Klawock] came up. He said there were people here who knew the stories of debts and insults and knew who was meant and it nearly caused trouble and they wanted to forget all that old war.”⁷⁴ Given the internal nature of controversy in Tlingit and Haida communities, these notes in Forest Service correspondence likely only represent the tip of the iceberg of the debates the restoration program provoked.⁷⁵

Despite such serious misgivings, however, the establishment of six New Deal totem parks by 1942 attests to the fact that the majority of elders eventually agreed to the totem pole restoration program. The question is, why? Scholars have assumed that economic need drove Tlingit and Haida communities to accept the radical terms of the totem pole restoration program during the Great Depression, and certainly work relief was a critical motivation. When asked why her father, brother and uncles had participated in the CCC project at Kasaan, Julie Coburn answered plainly: “Because they needed jobs!”⁷⁶ Heintzleman himself had noted that Archbold’s success “in having the Indians donate their poles free of charge” to the restoration program in the southern division was “apparently...due to the fact that he has been able to offer work to the Indians on the restoration job.”⁷⁷ Statistics bear this out: a 1937 study of Ketchikan’s Native population conducted by the Ketchikan Indian School revealed that the majority of families (96 out of 139 surveyed) earned between \$500 and \$1,000 a year—this compared to the national average of \$1700, which was already considered low because of the Depression.⁷⁸ Twenty-five families lived on \$300 to \$500 a year and six on less than \$300; only one family earned more than \$3000 annually.⁷⁹ Given these incomes, the CCC wages would have helped significantly: in 1939, each CCC enrollee earned \$2 a day for his work; a head carver, the highest rank for Native employees, earned 70 cents an hour, or \$5.60 per day.⁸⁰ The fact that the Indian CCC in Alaska had a special provision to allow enrollees to work only in the winter season was a further boon, as the CCC’s winter wages would have supplemented, rather than replaced, the fishing jobs many Native men took in the summer.

In fact, a downturn in fisheries jobs for Native men in the late 1930s seems to have made relief all the more urgent. The proliferation in the early twentieth century of fish traps—large, floating structures owned largely by absentee owners and hung with nets at the mouths of streams to catch salmon returning to spawn—devastated salmon stocks in Southeast Alaska and cut deeply into commercial and subsistence fisheries for Alaska Natives.⁸¹ Tlingit and Haida men lost more fisheries jobs to non-Natives who

came to Alaska in the mid 1930s fleeing the Depression in the continental United States.⁸² So harsh was the blow to Native fishing communities in the summers of 1937 and 1938 that at least one Haida community *requested* a totem park for the relief work it offered. In a series of letters in late August 1938, Kasaan resident Raymond Jones wrote that a downturn in trapping would exacerbate the poor fishing his community had already experienced:

The fishing season has just come to an end. The people of this village have not earned enough to keep them through the coming winter. There is a desperate need for relieve [*sic*] this winter.

The natives of this village have never called for relief work unless there is a real need for it. We did not ask for a CCC camp last year because nearly all the men folks were planning to trap fox fur. The people have always depended a lot on the trapping season. This year there will be no trapping.

If there is any way that you could help us, we will appreciate it very much. Mr. Leonard Allen of Ketchikan suggested that the totems at Old Kasaan be repaired. He believed that the Parks department [the National Park Service, which oversaw the National Monument at Old Kasaan] would allow the Forest Service, through the CCC, to do the repairs. This is a good worthwhile project, and we wish the Indian Office would look into this idea...I tell you truly there is desperate need for any kind of work here.⁸³

Jones repeated in another letter that the CCC totem pole restorations would be “a worthwhile project, and anyone that could help to preserve those old totems will be doing a great thing. The natives that own those totems would repair them and do it well. Could you please look into this idea?”⁸⁴ The following month, Archbold visited Kasaan and affirmed that the village had a great need for relief work, with 22 of 28 men unemployed. Kasaan also harbored the only remaining Haida clan house in Southeast Alaska—Chief Saaniheit’s Whale House, built around 1880 one mile northwest of New Kasaan—and its restoration would provide the Forest Service with the unique opportunity, as Archbold noted, “to get all of the details for reconstructing a large building.”⁸⁵ The project was thus symbiotic for the Forest Service and the Haida, providing the Forest Service with an “authentic” Haida house to restore and the Kasaan community with work it desperately needed.

If economics played a key role in Tlingit and Haida support for the CCC totem parks, however, what has not been recognized is the extent to which Native people were motivated by the *cultural* opportunities the parks could afford. Work relief alone cannot explain Native cooperation in a project that broke so many protocols of ownership, “balance” between moieties, and other long-held customs; the parks had to have some cultural legitimacy for the display of Native crest objects themselves. The “lengthy discussion” among Saxman elders to which Archbold had referred in his letter to Forest Service headquarters is an important example. In interviews with Dr. Priscilla Schulte in the 1990s, Tongass Teikweidi matriarch Esther Shea remembered the elders gathering in Saxman in September 1938, “sitting with their opposites” according to protocols of balancing moieties, to discuss the moving of totem poles from the old villages.⁸⁶ Shea recalled each clan leader giving a speech, acknowledging the radical changes proposed by the Memoranda of Agreement that “had never been done before.” And yet the elders agreed to have the poles moved from the older villages to Saxman for restoration to

“fulfill their duties as uncles to train their nephews”—apparently a reference to teaching the next generation the stories of their clan poles.⁸⁷ This reason is critical: in a matrilineal society, where boys were traditionally sent to their mothers’ brothers to be raised, the duty of the uncle to pass on clan knowledge was paramount. The fact that the elders viewed the Saxman totem park as an opportunity to fulfill these duties—even in the twentieth century when most families lived in single-family homes and nephews lived with their parents—testified to the transcultural work of the totem pole restoration program. With totem poles no longer being carved, and traditional opportunities for passing on clan knowledge changing, the elders would draw on the new possibilities presented by the government restoration project to continue old customs of teaching. To break with tradition and preserve the poles was, in the new reality of the twentieth century, to continue the tradition of preserving clan knowledge.

Indeed, close attention to Tlingit and Haida use of the CCC totem parks reveals that Native leaders worked to make the parks legitimate sites for the display of totem poles to memorialize the dead, to proclaim clan identities, and to erect markers of ownership and prestige. The memorial function of the parks was affirmed when the town council of Klawock voted to name their totem park the “Tuxekan Memorial Park,” commemorating the village from which the most of the Klawock park’s poles had been transferred, but also legitimizing the new site’s function to memorialize their former village and their dead.⁸⁸ Other totem parks built on their memorial function by adding marble grave stone markers—modern versions of memorial totem poles—from older gravesites.⁸⁹ Archbold noted that “Mr. Jacob Thomas asked that as a special favor this headstone [of Paul Jones] be brought to Kasaan and included in the exhibit of Old Kasaan totem poles in honor of the memory of the man who selected this English name for himself and an expanding family.”⁹⁰ Similarly, the descendants of a Teikweidi man memorialized by a marble bear requested that this marker be moved from Cape Fox and included next to the totem poles in the park at Saxman (Fig. 1.20).⁹¹

The desire to have one’s own clan crests included in the totem parks was another indication that the parks were viewed as culturally legitimate—even important—new sites for the display of clan identity. Several families petitioned to have their clan poles included in the totem parks, even if the Forest Service had not originally slated their poles for the parks. At Hydaburg, Archbold wrote that Adam Spuhn and Charles Scott had reversed their previous refusal to move their poles from Klinkwan and now wanted “to have their family poles included in the Totem Park.”⁹² In another case, Archbold noted “a request through Peter Kyan from his father George Kyan, asking that we take their pole and add it to the Saxman group. This request has been repeatedly made and most recently today.”⁹³ The pole, the famous Chief Kyan pole erected in Ketchikan in the late nineteenth century, had been relocated to the Pioneers of Alaska Hall in 1924 with the permission of the Kyan family (Fig. 1.21).⁹⁴ The fact that the family now wanted it included in the Saxman park is especially interesting given that the Kyans were Tongass people, and their traditional land in the area that had become downtown Ketchikan; the transfer to Saxman would have entailed removing a pole from their own lands to a community populated largely by descendants from another *kwáan* of Cape Fox.⁹⁵ Ultimately the Pioneer Hall was successful in using this argument to keep the Kyan pole downtown—“the pole belongs to Ketchikan and not to Saxman,” the Pioneer secretary wrote to the Forest Service in April 1939—yet the episode highlighted the legitimacy of

the totem park in the eyes of the Kyan family, who accepted the mixing of *kwáans* at the Saxman park and viewed it as a more desirable site to display their clan crests than the non-Native context of the Pioneer Hall downtown.

So interested were some families in having their poles displayed in the parks that they worked to anticipate legal matters that might jeopardize their pole's inclusion. Explaining the two sets of signatures at the bottom of an MOA for a killer whale marker at Kasaan, a typed note by a Forest Service official stated:

Mr. Jacob Thomas claims that under a tribal law which has been upheld in the courts he is the owner of the killer whale carving. Under modern law the Young family have a claim because their father erected the carving. Both Youngs and Thomas want the carving restored and Thomas verbally withdrew his claim to effect this. The above memorandum is included with that of the Young family to satisfy all possible requirements.⁹⁶

In other words, to assure that there would be no legal problems for the U.S. government to restore the pole, the families were willing to acknowledge both English and Native inheritance laws. While Tlingit and Haida inheritance would have passed a pole down through the mother's line, English patrilineal inheritance would recognize the claimants through the father's line. Jacob Thomas was willing to withdraw his matrilineal claim to the pole to ensure that there would be no question that the pole could be restored—a measure of how far this Haida man was willing to go to ensure his lineage's pole was included in the Kasaan park.

Yet if Tlingit and Haida people were willing to accept many of the stipulations required by the Forest Service, many continued to assert control and ownership over the poles once they stood in the totem parks. The Memoranda of Agreement had stipulated that totem poles restored with CCC funds be erected on public land and be considered "community property," effectively divorcing them from clan ownership. However, as the above examples make clear, Native people still viewed the poles as their own lineage symbols and spoke of them as their property. Paul Morrison, the mayor of Hydaburg, stated that John Wallace's copy of the Howkan Eagle in the Hydaburg Totem Park "is a copy of the original Howkan Eagle and belongs to me being my family totem."⁹⁷ Although his letter recognized his promise in the Memoranda of Agreement not to sell or otherwise dispose of the pole, he clearly still considered the replica his family's crest. The desire to find some way to assert or retain this ownership of clan poles, despite the legal ranglings of the MOA, is evident in the fact Morrison and several other Native leaders pressured the Forest Service for totem parks on Native town site land, where Natives had clear title.⁹⁸

Scholars have often assumed that the Forest Service sought to establish central totem parks in large towns along the steamship route.⁹⁹ But as Heintzeman's memo on the Sukkwan poles made clear, in some cases the Forest Service planned to restore poles *in situ*, and in many cases the park locations were not predetermined at all. Archbold's 1937 report on the Sukkwan poles emphasized that it was Morrison, the Haida mayor of Hydaburg, who advocated for a central park at Hydaburg. At first the Forest Service rejected this suggestion: "If totem poles have to be moved to central locations," Assistant Regional Forester Charles Burdick wrote in response to Archbold's letter, "they should be centralized at one of the larger towns where more tourists stop. This, however, is not the intention of the rehabilitation work by CCC. The location of the poles at their

original locations is preferable.”¹⁰⁰ Eventually, however, Native pressure for central town site parks won out at Hydaburg—and at all but two of the CCC totem parks. At Kasaan, for example, the Forest Service reported that local Haidas “favored publicly-owned town site lands within their present village of New Kasaan, which stands some 15 miles from the Old Kasaan Monument. . . . There seems to be no sentiment to re-erect the poles at the Old Kasaan Monument”¹⁰¹—nor, as another memo noted, would Kasaan residents agree to move their poles to a central park at Ketchikan.¹⁰² Residents of Saxman also proposed town site land for their totem park, intervening in the Forest Service’s suggestion that the poles be erected further afield.¹⁰³ Archbold told Juneau headquarters: “The natives of Saxman agree upon the site and consent to moving their totems only to the village of Saxman.”¹⁰⁴ As at Kasaan, then, Saxman Natives refused to move their poles to any site that was *not* on town site land.

The importance of this insistence that the New Deal totem parks be located on Native town site land has been overlooked, but it was critical to Tlingit and Haida people’s ability to maintain some degree of title to their poles. Totem parks on town site land satisfied the Memoranda of Agreement’s stipulation that restored poles be erected on public land—and yet it was also land with clear Native title. Tlingit and Haida communities were keenly aware of land title in the 1930s, as the possibility of reservations and Native-directed resources in Alaska became a hotly debated topic of the Indian New Deal. The Indian Reorganization Act advocated increased local control over property and resources, shifting say over such matters from non-Native agents of the Office of Indian Affairs to town councils incorporated under the IRA. These IRA councils, headed by local Natives, worked to have greater say over local matters, and it is likely that they knew that totem parks built on Native town site land would clear Native title to the poles; in contrast, if they were left *in situ* on Tongass National Forest land, Native title would still be contested with the Forest Service. Acting Forester C.L. Forshing noted as much in 1938 when he wrote that any poles restored from Old Kasaan “will be looked after by the Indian Service or town council, if within the boundaries of an organized Indian town, or by the Forest Service if on National Forest land.”¹⁰⁵ The distinction must have been key to Native leaders like Morrison who were organizing for land rights issues against the Forest Service in the 1930s and 1940s. Indeed, only the totem parks at Sitka and Totem Bight did not have Native title, and both of these were established without regard to specific Native communities.¹⁰⁶ The work of Native leaders to secure the totem parks on town site land was a clear sign of Native intervention to ensure that parks were more than just an economic project—but that they would also be cultural sites where Native peoples could still lay claim to their poles.

“Cooperating in ‘grand style’”

Although the Forest Service may not have understood all the reasons that Native people agreed to the totem pole restoration project, the agency hailed their cooperation in a second set of photographs for the agency’s archives—as well in the press and in a newsreel, to which I turn in a moment. In contrast to the ruinous framing of the photographs of totem poles in Native villages, photographs of the parks built by the Indian CCC appear ordered, the vegetation beat back to provide clear paths for the designated park (Fig. 1.22). Poles are vertical and assured, solid cribs built around their bases (Fig. 1.23). Even in the precarious images of totem poles being erected, ropes and

triangular braces assure that the angle of the rising totem pole is temporary, bound for assured verticality; the captions assure that a pole that “broke loose” will eventually “continue upright” with the cooperative work of the CCC and the Forest Service supervisors (Fig. 1.24).

At first the two sets of photographs in the Forest Service archive may seem at odds: the one populated by totem poles bereft of humans, left to rot on the land; the other filled with Native peoples actively cooperating in their restoration. Yet both served an important documentary function of the New Deal, arguing for the need for a federal restoration program on the one hand and for the cross-cultural cooperation to achieve it on the other. Photography had become a major mode of propaganda for the New Deal relief projects, the most famous of which was the Farm Security Administration’s images that worked to justify aid for destitute farmers fleeing the Dust Bowl.¹⁰⁷ As another agency in the Department of Agriculture, the Forest Service surely knew of the FSA photographs and likely took a cue from their success. Heintzleman even issued a series of “shooting scripts” akin to those written by FSA Director Roy Stryker, calling for particular—even staged—photographs for Forest Service records. In one memorandum, for example, he asked Ketchikan photographer Otto Schallerer for a photo of carvers at work “shown as using only native tools” rather than some of the modern tools that were used in the initial roughing stages. Another directive—“Take photo of pole with three eagles in the branches, holding a canvas back of the pole to screen the house,” a reference to the Kashakes House in Saxman—ironically sought to edit from the image the only clan house in the village that still had its attendant totem pole in 1939.¹⁰⁸

Documenting the cooperation of Native people on the restoration project was also important to New Deal claims for intercultural unity. As Jonathan Harris has written of the Federal Art Project: “The strength and vitality of a national culture would be found . . . in exactly the diversity of roles and identities unified by a common bond of citizenship. . . . The Project attempted to reconstruct the meaning of ‘art and ‘artist’ in such a way that whatever else it might mean it also included being a citizen, a loyal member of the nation state.”¹⁰⁹ Forest Service photographs show Natives peoples cooperating with government on heritage restoration, portraying Natives and non-Natives as collective citizens working toward a common goal. In a photograph from Wrangell, for example, C.M. Archbold leans back from a desk in his swivel chair, smiling and pointing his pencil at Wrangell head carver Joe Thomas and Naanyaa.aayí clan leader Charles Jones as they met to present a model totem pole Thomas had carved for Chief Forester Ferdinand Silcox of Washington, D.C. (Fig. 1.25).¹¹⁰ (The third man on the right, Charles Hawkesworth, was the Alaskan head of the Office of Indian Affairs, another federal player in the CCC project.) Other photographs to picture joint cooperation on national heritage preservation included a series of images of the finial to the “Lincoln Pole,” an interesting pole from Tongass Island that I discuss further in Chapter 4 (Fig. 1.26a,b). The so-called Lincoln figure became one of the most photographed totem poles in the Forest Service archive; one image was even made into a postcard depicting Charles Brown and another CCC carver looking up reverently at the President (Fig. 1.27). Although this pole actually had nothing to do with Abraham Lincoln, as we will see, it was popular in the Forest Service archive precisely because it read as such a clear symbol of the intercultural effort to preserve “American history.”

In addition to the photographs, the Forest Service praised Native cooperation in the press. Archbold told readers of *The Alaska Sportsman* that the “Indians are cooperating in ‘grand style’ in this project of restoring the ancestral monuments.”¹¹¹ In November 1938, Heintzleman told a Wrangell newspaper that “the Indians so far approached with regard to this project, have offered the best possible cooperation. For example, the owners of the remaining restorable poles at Old Kasaan and Kasaan, have consented to the repair work and to the erection of the poles in an attractive setting adjacent to their community. The heirs of Chief Son-i-hat have cheerfully agreed to the restoration of a large and magnificent community house erected by this chief in 1880 on a site a short distance north of Kasaan.”¹¹² In fact, private letters in Forest Service correspondence showed that James Peele of Kasaan had remained opposed to the restoration of his father’s house, and that Heintzleman and Linn Forrest had courted him with framed copies of Smithsonian archive photographs that depicted Peele’s father with the original Whale House.¹¹³ Archbold’s own letters noted strife with Native elders at Saxman over the restoration project; and Viola Garfield, as already mentioned, had written of problems as well.¹¹⁴ These difficulties were kept internal to Forest Service correspondence, however; publicly, the Forest Service emphasized an official narrative of cooperation.

The Forest Service also touted its cooperative relationship with Tlingit and Haida peoples in an eleven-minute newsreel titled *Timber and Totem Poles* (1949).¹¹⁵ Although it used footage shot during the totem pole restoration program (Fig. 1.28), this newsreel was not actually produced until 1949—after the interruption of World War II and in a very different moment of federal/Native relationships than the Indian New Deal. In 1947, the Tongass Timber Act had paved the way for fifty-year pulp contracts and extensive logging in the Tongass National Forest; because Tlingit and Haida title to the Tongass was still being contested, however, private corporations like Ketchikan Pulp Company worried about their investment in logging operations on contested lands.¹¹⁶ *Timber and Totem Poles* seems to have been a public relations effort on the part of the Forest Service to assure non-Natives of the working relationship the agency had with Tlingit and Haida peoples—using footage from a cooperative project that had taken place nearly ten years before.

The photographs, press releases and newsreel muffled the testy relationship that remained between Tlingit and Haida peoples and the U.S. Forest Service even as they collaborated on the totem pole restoration program. Despite differences in opinion, however, the idea of the totem parks did eventually win out. Economics, of course, played a key role in Native agreement to the restoration project. But it was also the work of Native leaders to ensure that the parks were culturally legitimate sites for crest objects that helped ensure the success of the New Deal totem parks. In an age when new poles were not being carved, and when the Forest Service honored few Native claims to history on the land, Tlingit and Haida leaders and elders may have viewed the parks as a new opportunity to practice old customs using the government program. Availing themselves of the Forest Service’s belief that the poles were ruins needing restoration, the Tlingit and Haida could bring their poles to their new village sites, honor their ancestors and clan crests and retain some ownership of poles on Native town site land.

Ironically, then, it was in part because of the shared archival interest in preserving the poles (or, for the Tlingit and Haida, preserving the *meaning* of the poles) that the

Tlingit and Haida and the Forest Service could agree on the restoration project. The Forest Service's acknowledgement of Native ownership of the poles, as well as the Tlingit and Haida's active participation in directing the shape of the totem parks for their own needs, allowed the parks to become a place where the conflicting claims of the totem pole archive could be reconciled enough to move forward. It was one of many tenuous compromises that would need to occur over the course of the next four years.

¹F.B. Heintzleman to Harold Smith, 9/9/37, RG 95, Records of the U.S. Forest Service, Correspondence Relating to Activities of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1937-1942 National Archives and Records Administration—Alaska Pacific Region, Anchorage, Alaska. Archbold's travel itinerary is documented in his 10/4/38 report to Heintzleman: in October 1937, he visited the village of Sukkwan; in late September and early October 1938, he visited the Tlingit villages of Cape Fox, Village Island, Cat Island, and Old Tongass Village.

² The Indian CCC was established in 1933 as the Indian Emergency Conservation Work (IECW), but it did not exist in Alaska until 1937. William Paul requested that the CCC hire Natives, but Charles Flory, AK director of CCC, refused at first because he felt Natives were the long-term ward responsibility of the federal government, and therefore ineligible for short-term emergency relief. Following a protest by Paul and several other Natives, Congress extended the IECW to Alaska in 1937. See Ramona Ellen Skinner, *Alaska Native Policy in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), p. 34.

³ Heintzleman to Harold E. Smith, 9/9/37.

⁴ Heintzleman to Harold E. Smith, 9/9/37.

⁵ Archbold to Heintzleman, 10/27/37.

⁶ Archbold to Heintzleman, 10/27/37.

⁷ See the Hydaburg charter quoted in the Introduction.

⁸ Archbold to Heintzleman, 10/27/37.

⁹ Although tall, exterior totem poles had not been used to mark ownership of place for Tlingit and Haida peoples until the middle nineteenth-century, when totem poles proliferated with the fur trade, crests objects had long been associated with rights and privileges that included claims to property and land. For example, Tlingit and Haida peoples point to petroglyphs as evidence of their presence on the land "since time immemorial"; totem poles became modern versions of crests that attested to their ancestor's history on the land.

¹⁰ In the archive, Sekula writes, "the possibility of meaning is 'liberated' from the actual contingencies of use. But this liberation is also a loss, an abstraction from the complexity and richness of use, a loss of context." Sekula quoted in Eric Breitbart, *A World on Display: Photographs from the St. Louis World's Fair* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), p. 5.

¹¹ An exception is the recent but brief discussion of the CCC parks by Aldona Jonaitis and Aaron Glass, who note that the restoration project must be seen in the context of unresolved aboriginal claims: "It was the rare individual who acknowledged the irony of

denying Natives sovereignty for their land...all the while celebrating the very monuments displaying ancestral claims to crests that frequently function as validations of indigenous land title” (Jonaitis and Glass, *The Totem Pole: An Intercultural History* [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010], pp. 80-81). Peter Metcalfe has noted that the emphasis on land in the phrase “land claims” neglects the importance of waterways—ocean, intertidal zones, rivers and lakes—to Tlingit and Haida claims for fishing rights (Peter M. Metcalfe, “The Sword and the Shield: The Defense of Alaska Aboriginal Claims by the Alaska Native Brotherhood,” [Juneau, Alaska: Tlingit Readers, 2010], p. vi). I share Metcalfe’s preference for “aboriginal claims” in this text.

¹² The discovery of oil in Prudhoe Bay in 1968 hastened the need to resolve the question of aboriginal title in Alaska. ANCSA extinguished Alaska Native title to lands in exchange for several thousand acres and \$962 million that was distributed to thirteen regional Native corporations and 200 village corporations. For an excellent, if oppositional, assessment of the history and effects of ANCSA, see Thomas R. Berger, *Village Journey: The Report of the Alaska Native Review Commission* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1985).

¹³ Ramona Ellen Skinner points out that Congress abolished treaty-making with American Indians in 1871, just four years after the Alaskan purchase. The 1887 Dawes or General Allotment Act, which worked to subdivide land held collectively by Native tribes into individual, single-family plots, made the resolution of land claims for collectively-owned tribal lands even more difficult. See Skinner, *Alaska Native Policy in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), pp. 4-10.

¹⁴ The Department of the Interior’s General Lands Office oversaw the early forest reserves, but a fledgling agency in the Department of Agriculture, the Division of Forestry (est. 1881), was charged with the scientific oversight of the reserves. In 1905, management of the nation’s forests was given wholly to the Department of Agriculture’s newly established U.S. Forest Service. Competition between the Interior and Agriculture Departments would continue for dominance over public lands, especially after the 1916 creation of the National Park Service in the Dept. of Interior. See Harold K. Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service: A History*, Second printing (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977), p. 13-109.

¹⁵ Daniel B. Montieth, “The Tongass--The Ubiquitous Name, the Forgotten Tribe: An Ethnohistory of the Taanta K̄wáan People” Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Michigan State University, 1998.

¹⁶ Donald Craig Mitchell, *Sold American: The Story of Alaska Natives and Their Land, 1867-1959* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1997), pp. 161-163.

¹⁷ Harold K. Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service: A History* (2nd printing, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977), p. 18.

¹⁸ Pinchot quoted in Steen, p. 18.

¹⁹ Mitchell, *Sold American*, p. 228.

²⁰ Denny quoted in Walter R. Goldschmidt and Theodore H. Haas, *Haa Aani Our Land: Tlingit and Haida Land Rights and Use*, Thomas F. Thornton, Ed., Second printing (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000 [1948]), p. 162.

²¹ The definition of aboriginal title as the “continual use and occupancy” of land had been established by the Marshall Act of 1832. In 1945, Judge Richard Hanna famously ruled

that the Tlingit and Haida had “abandoned” title to lands and fishing sites when they had not “resisted” non-Native encroachment on those areas, effectively punishing Natives for non-violence. This stance would not be overturned until the 1959, when it was ruled that the Tlingit and Haida did deserve compensation for the Tongass—including those lands that had been permitted to non-Natives. See Goldschmidt and Haas, p. xx-xi.

²² Mitchell, p. 323.

²³ For a discussion of the rivalry between the U.S. Forest Service and the National Park Service, see Steen, pp. 113-128.

²⁴ Mitchell, p. 323.

²⁵ Chipperfield quoted in Lawrence Rakestraw notes, 8/28/71, Juneau, Alaska. Rakestraw Collection, H90-02, Alaska Polar Regions Archives, University of Alaska Fairbanks.

²⁶ For an early history of the Alaska Native Brotherhood, see Philip Drucker, “The Native Brotherhoods: Modern Intertribal Organizations on the Northwest Coast,” Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 168. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1958).

²⁷ See Peter M. Metcalfe, “The Sword and the Shield: The Defense of Alaska Aboriginal Claims by the Alaska Native Brotherhood” (Juneau: Tlingit Readers, Inc. 2010). While Metcalfe emphasizes the ANB’s role in pursuing land claims, Donald Mitchell argues that Alaska judge James Wickersham was the one to spearhead the idea to sue the government for land lost to the Tongass National Forest. Wickersham had watched the successful land claims in Washington state and knew of the profitable lawyer retainer fees for successful cases; he worked on the Tlingit and Haida claims case but eventually withdrew from the case because of conflicts with William Paul. See Mitchell, p. 229.

²⁸ In March of 1933, Anthony Dimond, Alaska’s non-voting delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives, introduced a bill to authorize the Tlingit & Haida to file a lawsuit with the U.S. Court of Claims for compensation for the Tongass National Forest. This bill was helped a year later by the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, which sought “to conserve and develop Indian lands and resources; to extend to Indians the right to form business and other organizations; to establish a credit system for Indians; and to grant certain rights of home rule for Indians.” See Thomas R. Berger, *Village Journey: The Report of the Alaska Native Review Commission* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1985) p. 126.

²⁹ Thomas F. Thornton, “Introduction: Who Owned Southeast Alaska? Answers in Goldschmidt and Haas,” in Walter R. Goldschmidt and Theodore H. Haas. *Haa Aani Our Land: Tlingit and Haida Land Rights and Use*, Thomas F. Thornton, Ed., Second printing (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000 [1948]), p. xx.

³⁰ On the appropriation of Native resources by another federal agency, the National Park Service, see Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) and especially Theodore Catton, *Inhabited Wilderness: Indians, Eskimos and National Parks in Alaska* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997).

³¹ Quoted in Carol Williams, *Framing the West: Race, Gender and the Photographic Frontier in the Pacific Northwest* (Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 55.

³² Martha Sandweiss, “The Necessity for Ruins: Photography and Archaeology in the American Southwest,” in *The New World’s Old World: Photographic Views of Ancient*

America, May Castelberry, Ed., Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), pp. 252.

³³ Sandweiss, "The Necessity for Ruins," pp. 252-253.

³⁴ Sandweiss's example is the 1877 *Descriptive Catalogue of Photographs of North American Indians* that came out of Ferdinand Hayden's survey with photographs by William Henry Jackson. See Sandweiss, "The Necessity for Ruins," pp. 252-253.

³⁵ Sandweiss, "The Necessity for Ruins," p. 80. Many scholars argue that the Antiquities Act was the beginning of Native patrimony being redefined as federal property subject to the regulations and supervision of federal agencies. See Richard Hill, "Reflections of a Native Repatriator," in *Mending the Circle: A Native American Repatriation Guide*, Barbara Meister, Ed. (New York: American Indian Ritual Object Repatriation Foundation, 1996), p. 85; or Kathleen S. Fine-Dare *Grave Injustice: The American Indian Repatriation Movement and NAGPRA* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), p. 62.

³⁶ Pinchot, "Forest Reserve Order No. 19, Prehistoric Ruins and Natural Objects, November 21, 1906. RG 95, Records of the U.S. Forest Service, Box 1.

³⁷ Rakestraw, *History of the United States Forest Service*, p. 29.

³⁸ RG 95 Records of the Forest Service, Region 10, Alaska; Historical Photograph Files 1906-1994, Album, Vol. 1, Box 12.

³⁹ RG 95, Album Vol. 1, Folder 3.

⁴⁰ RG 95, Album Vol. 1, Folder 3.

⁴¹ 1904 was the end of a several-year exodus from the village of Old Kasaan; as early as 1880 Haida residents had begun to move to New Kasaan to work for a fish saltery and mine there. See Frank Norris, "A Victim of Nature and Bureaucracy: The Short, Sad History of Old Kasaan National Monument," paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Alaska Historical Society, October 7, 2000, Ketchikan, Alaska, p. 3.

⁴² See Robin Wright, *Northern Haida Master Carvers* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), p. 177.

⁴³ C.M. Archbold, "Restoration," *The Alaska Sportsman* (Ketchikan, Alaska: March 1939), p.17.

⁴⁴ The phrase is Robin Kelsey's, denoting his argument that the archive works to "make legible" the tenets of a particular argument the archive serves. See Robin Kelsey, *Archive Style: Photographs and Illustrations for U.S. Surveys, 1850-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), p.10.

⁴⁵ For the use of historical photographs, see John C. Ewers, "Artifacts and pictures as documents in the history of Indian-white relations," in *Indian-White relations: A Persistent Paradox* (1976).

⁴⁶ Such before and after shots were part of a long-standing Forest Service genre of assessing timber health. A later version, like the 1967 *Photo Identification Guide for the Land and Forest Types of Interior Alaska*, utilizes several of the same strategies as Archbold had employed: photographs with terse captions, Forest Service employees at work assessing the forest, and before and after photographs of fires and subsequent restoration efforts to document the health of timber. See, for example, Karl M. Hegg, *A Photo Identification Guide for the Land and Forest Types of Interior Alaska* U.S. Forest

Service Research Paper No. R-3, 1967 (Juneau, Alaska: Northern Forest Experiment Station, 1967), p. 37.

⁴⁷ Of captions in albums of the American West, Sandweiss notes: “Such words were critical; they shaped and gave very specific meanings to landscape pictures that might otherwise support any number of speculative interpretations.” Martha A. Sandweiss, *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 186.

⁴⁸ 3/2/39 memo for files from C. Burdick.

⁴⁹ In 1905, when the totem poles returned to Sitka from the St. Louis and Portland World’s Fairs, Brady hired the local photographer E.W. Merrill to repair the poles and erect them in the Sitka park. Merrill, in turn, hired several local Tlingits to work on the repairs, using funds from the Department of the Interior for their pay and materials. See Sharon Bohn Gmelch, *The Tlingit Encounter with Photography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2009), pp. 136-137.

⁵⁰ Robin Kelsey has argued that Timothy O’Sullivan’s survey photographs of the 1870s “represented the West as a place demanding the special strengths of each survey” for which the photographer worked: for Clarence King’s 1872 survey of the 40th Parallel, O’Sullivan focused his photographs on the strange terrestrial formations that the civilian geologist King could interpret, while for Wheeler’s 1873 survey of the 100th Meridian, O’Sullivan depicted rifle-wielding Apaches that necessitated the general’s Army background. See Kelsey, p. 109.

⁵¹ Although it does not appear in the photographs, the Forest Service’s Forest Products Laboratory in Madison, Wisconsin also lent itself to the agency’s restoration specialty. The FPL was a national center for the study of preservation techniques of wood (techniques and chemicals on which the CCC restoration project, as we will see, would draw considerably); frequent appearance in Forest Service correspondence indicates its status as a scientific means for timber management, which was extended to the totem poles.

⁵² This genre follows what Martha Sandweiss has called the “oddly asocial” depiction of the American West in U.S. survey photography. See Sandweiss, *Print the Legend*, p.182.

⁵³ See Robin Wright, *Northern Haida Master Carvers*, p.6. As Wright notes, this translation came from Viola Garfield’s interview with John Wallace in December 1941.

⁵⁴ This translation comes from Roby Littlefield, Tlingit language instructor for the University of Alaska, Southeast, Sitka campus. Personal communication during Tlingit language course, Fall 2010.

⁵⁵ Frederica De Laguna, *Under Mount St. Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit*, Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1972), p. 141.

⁵⁶ As Thomas Thornton writes, “the country is for the Tlingit individual a ‘living, age-old family tree’ that continues to grow and resonate through his or her own being and dwelling on the land...[He] aspires to continue to fish for sockeye in the same locale where his ancestral relative was taken by the giant red salmon at Chilkoot Lake and to dwell in the same landscape that his ancestor, Raven, helped create through various deeds” that name the landscape’s features (Thornton, p. 106).

⁵⁷ Thornton, *Being and Place Among the Tlingit*, pp. 38-39.

⁵⁸ Rosita Worl, “Standing with Spirits, Waiting,” in *The Harriman Alaska Expedition Retraced: A Century of Change, 1899-2001*, Thomas Litwin, Ed. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2005), p. 32.

⁵⁹ Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, Eds., *Haa Shuká, Our Ancestors* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987), pp. 28-29.

⁶⁰ Dr. Rosita Worl related the Haida term to the Tlingit teachings of *Haa Shuká* in an email to Sealaska Heritage Institute subscribers: “Haida: *Iitl’ Kuntisi* : Our Ancestor. We maintain strong bonds with our ancestors whom we honor through our lives and in our ceremonies. We also have responsibilities to our future generations, and we must ensure that we protect our land and culture for our children and grandchildren and those who will follow them.” Worl, personal communication, 12/28/10.

⁶¹ As Viola Garfield noted, “a new pole was considered more valuable than an old one that had been repaired or repainted.” Viola Garfield, draft for “Meet the Totem,” Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections, Box 2, File 11.

⁶² Clans often commissioned new crest objects when the old ones were beyond service, like a new hat (Tlingit *shak.iát*) when the old one grew too fragile to wear. The old hat was still brought out at potlatches to attest to the “heaviness” of the crest object (its age and the number of times it had been brought out in former potlatches, indicating its great prestige). See, for example, Frederica de Laguna, *Under Mount Saint Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. 7, Part I, 1972), p. 458.

⁶³ William Paul, for example, traced the relocation of one Tlingit clan’s “permanent” village from the Nass River to Prince of Wales Island to Cat Island to Tongass Island as the clan sought renewed resources or refuge from attacks by other *kwáans*. See William Paul, “The True Story of the Lincoln Pole” *Alaska Journal* 1:3 (Summer 1971), pp. 2-16.

⁶⁴ Thomas Thornton writes that *kwáan* derives from the Tlingit verb “to dwell.” He calls it a “unit of social geography” that “marks Tlingit individuals as inhabitants of a certain living space consisting of the total lands and waters used and controlled by clans residing in a particular winter village.” See Thornton, *Being and Place Among the Tlingit*, p. 44.

⁶⁵ Thornton, *Being and Place Among the Tlingit*, p. 46.

⁶⁶ Tlingit and Haida peoples were careful not to use the word “abandoned.” When a federal judge in land claims hearings in 1944 asked whether the Tlingit village of Tuxekan had been abandoned in 1902, Charles Webster Demmert stated: “We did not abandon it. We just simply moved away.” Testimony from Charles Webster Demmert, 9/18/44 Viola Garfield papers, Klawock/Hydaburg II notebook, Box 10, Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections.

⁶⁷ Young quoted in Goldschmidt & Haas, p. 174.

⁶⁸ Lewis quoted in Goldschmidt and Haas, p.142.

⁶⁹ Goldschmidt and Haas, p.16.

⁷⁰ Traditionally, to preserve the “balance” between moieties that was fundamental to Tlingit and Haida cultures, a person who wanted to commission a totem pole sought out a professional carver from the opposite moiety of his own. Thus a person from the Eagle moiety would seek out a Raven carver, and visa versa.

⁷¹ Assistant Forester Holbrook explained the requirement: “It is my understanding the restoration of totem poles and community buildings will only be done where they can be

placed on publicly owned land and will become Government property, but dedicated to the use, enjoyment and benefit of the community. Individual ownership of the poles or community buildings would be extinguished. . . .It would clearly be impossible for the Government to undertake this work on poles or houses to remain in private ownership” (Holbrook to Archbold, 9/27/38).

⁷² Archbold’s full comment contained a racist remark about the “agitation started by several squaw men at the village” (Archbold to Regional Forester, 11/5/38). In contrast to this early statement, however, Archbold seems to have become more respectful of and interested in his Tlingit and Haida colleagues over the four years of the restoration program; indeed, by 1940 it was Archbold who advocated that the Forest Service provide higher pay for lead carvers at all of the New Deal totem parks and publish names of Native owners on the signage for individual totem poles. The shift in Archbold’s writing over four years is one example of improved relationships between non-Natives and Natives in Alaska that the New Deal totem parks seemed to have engendered; this was striking to me as a researcher reading the letters of several Forest Service employees over the course of the restoration project.

⁷³ Dennison to Regional Forester, 2/12/40. Dennison noted this was “the grave totem back of the Union Oil tanks,” which I believe is the Lone Fisherman Pole.

⁷⁴ Viola Garfield, 12/4/41 entry in Klawock Hydaburg Notebook I, Box 10, Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections.

⁷⁵ Dr. Rosita Worl, for example, has spoken of the tremendous controversy that the New Deal project caused by moving totem poles for preservation, and notes that the idea of “preserving” poles continues to trouble some Native people today. Worl, personal interview, 9/20/11, Juneau, Alaska.

⁷⁶ Julie Coburn, personal interview, 2/19/11, Anchorage, Alaska.

⁷⁷ Heintzeman to District Ranger, Petersburg, 11/28/38.

⁷⁸ Per-capita GDP data from “MeasuringWorth: What Was the U.S. GDP Then?” Online. Accessed November 16, 2011.

⁷⁹ Leonard C. Allen & Emma S. Frey, “Socio-economic Survey of Indians at Ketchikan, Alaska,” Ketchikan Indian School, April 9, 1937. Tongass Historical Museum archives.

⁸⁰ Harold Smith to C.M Archbold, 2/19/40. In September 1940, a memo from Harold Smith for Forest Service files noted that “Congress and the Budget Committee seem ot have settled the question of increased wages for totem carvers. Without limited finances frozen by objects of expenditure, we will be unable to provide funds for these semi-skilled positions. This simply means that carving will have to be done by enrollees, if done at all. It is possible that such men as Jim Peele and John Wallace will refuse to accept enrollee pay, but if they take that attitude, there is nothing we can do about it. . . . We had hoped to be able to pay head carvers at least 70 cents per hour, but with only \$85,000 for salaries we are already facing the possibility of reducing, rather than expanding our overhead positions.” Smith to District Ranger, Petersburg, 9/30,40.

⁸¹ The impact of fish traps on Southeast Alaska’s salmon fisheries, for Natives and non-Natives, is analyzed in numerous studies. See especially Steve Colt, “Salmon Fish Traps in Alaska,” Report for the Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Alaska, Anchorage, January 11, 1999.

⁸² The Office of Indian Affairs in Alaska noted in 1937 that “opportunities for [Native] employment [in the fisheries] have diminished alarmingly since the beginning of the Depression in 1929 due to competition from the large and increasing number of white workers from the continental United States.” Commissioner Heath quoted in Alison T. Otis et al, *The Forest Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-1942* (Washington, DC: U.S. Forest Service, August 1986), p. 67.

⁸³ Raymond Jones to Hawkesworth, 8/27/38.

⁸⁴ Raymond Jones to Hirst, 8/27/38.

⁸⁵ Archbold to Regional Forester, 9/23/38.

⁸⁶ Priscilla Schulte, “Totem Pole Parks and Tourism: Exploring Cultural Boundaries” Sharing Our Knowledge Clan Conference, Sitka, Alaska March 22, 2007. Note that Archbold had also mentioned this gathering of elders: “After much discussion these old natives together with all Cape Fox natives present voted favorably to allow the Government to move their totem poles to Saxman. They also agreed on a lot for the government park.” 9/24/38 letter from Archbold to Regional Forester, Juneau.

⁸⁷ Shea quoted in Schulte, n.p.

⁸⁸ Resolution #39-5 “A Resolution Reserving All of Lots 1, 2, 3, 4, and on Block 40 within the Incorporate Limits of the City of Klawock, Alaska, For the purpose of establishing a park for restored totem pole project, and naming this reserved area the Tuxekan Memorial Park,” copy in RG 95, Box 2, Folder 2.

⁸⁹ Garfield explained in *The Wolf and the Raven* that “when wood carving began to decline, marble monuments were sometimes used in place of wooden memorial columns. A wooden model of the desired monument was sent to a marble cutter, usually in Victoria or Seattle, and a copy made. Such monuments may be seen in many villages on the Northwest Coast.” Garfield and Forrest, p. 29.

⁹⁰ 2/17/39 “Memorandum of Agreement” signed by Jacob Thomas, Witnesses: Raymond Jones, Julius Frank. The note further explains: “Paul Jones was a Haida man who took his name in honor of Paul Jones of Naval fame, and who is the forebear of all of the Jones now residing in Kasaan.”

⁹¹ Garfield included this bear marker in *The Wolf and the Raven* and explained its history there. Garfield and Forrest, p. 29.

⁹² Archbold to Regional Forester, 2/27/41.

⁹³ Archbold to Thompson, President of Igloo No. 16 of Pioneers of AK, 4/19/39.

⁹⁴ In April 1939, B. Fitzwilliams, Secretary of the Pioneers of Alaska, wrote a letter to explain how the Pioneers of Alaska obtained the Kyan pole: “...We find, looking through our past records, that we are unable to locate any written agreement of the transfer of the Kayan Pole from the Kyan family to Igloo No. 16.”

“City records show that in 1920 lot 11 block 18 had a lot with totem pole and house; this was sold to Ingersole Realty Co. of Ketchikan by a member of Kyan family; lot transferred to W.A. Thompson—then W.I. Collings of Ketchikan; 1924 Collings razed the house and wanted to get rid of totem pole, so he gave it to Pioneers of Alaska and at considerable expense the pole was moved to its present location. Since that time the Igloo has kept it in a fair state of repair, which would seem to justify the wish of the members of the Igloo to keep it in its present location.

“We sincerely hope that the descendants of the Kyan family will see fit to waive any traditional rights to the pole inasmuch as the pole belongs to Ketchikan and not to Saxman.” B. Fitzwilliams, Secretary of Pioneers of Alaska, to Archbold, 4/29/39.

⁹⁵ For a history of the Tongass people, see Daniel Montieth, *The Tongass: The Prolific Name, the Forgotten People: An Ethnohistory of the Taantaakwaan Tongass People*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, 1994.

⁹⁶ C.R. Snow to Archbold, 2/17/39.

⁹⁷ Morrison to Indian Service, Juneau, 2/28/40.

⁹⁸ Under the Wheeler-Howard Act, town councils could “hold title to all individual property given to the tribe or property transferred to the tribe by the federal government,” which included Native town sites. See Graham D. Taylor, *The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism: The Administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1934-1945* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), p. 20.

⁹⁹ See, for example, Jonaitis, “Totem Poles and the Indian New Deal,” p. 243.

¹⁰⁰ Burdick to Archbold, 11/8/37.

¹⁰¹ Acting Forester [C.L. Forshing] to Arno B. Cammerer, Director of National Park Service, 10/25/38.

¹⁰² Archbold told Heintzleman that restoration work on the Whale House and other totem poles at New Kasaan “would have to be done at the present site because Mr. Peele and the other natives do not wish to have any of their totems moved to Ketchikan” (Archbold to Regional Forester, 9/23/38).

¹⁰³ Originally the Forest Service had debated whether to erect Tlingit poles from Cape Fox, Tongass Island and other southern Tlingit *kwáans* along the beach at Saxman or at a “Primitive Indian Village” that the Forest Service proposed as of kind of model aboriginal village at Mud Bight, north of Ketchikan (Archbold to Regional Forester, 9/24/38). Instead, residents at Saxman proposed a totem park on town site land upland from the beach, where most of the residents’ houses stood with ready access to their fishing boats. Archbold praised the hillside that the elders had proposed above Greenwood Avenue (now Tongass Avenue) because it “rises on a grade of over fifteen percent so... a row of totem poles here would be very noticeable from steamers in the Channel” (Archbold to Regional Forester, 9/24/38). He also noted that the town site park would be better than Mud Bight to expedite restoration work, since the CCC workers lived nearby; the locality would also be advantageous to future sales of local art to tourists.

¹⁰⁴ Archbold to Regional Forester, 9/24/38.

¹⁰⁵ Acting Forester [C.L. Forshing] to Arno B. Cammerer, Director of National Park Service, 10/25/38.

¹⁰⁶ As mentioned in the introduction, Sitka’s totem park had been created by John Brady using mostly Haida poles from southern Southeast Alaska. Totem Bight was planned as a model “Primitive Indian Village” from the start with a mixture of Tlingit and Haida poles that no single town site could claim.

¹⁰⁷ Rex Tugwell, the Undersecretary of the Department of Agriculture, feared the press would “not be kind” to his Farm Security Administration (FSA), so he hired Roy Stryker to compile a “pictorial source book on agriculture” that would demonstrate the need for relief for agriculture and farmer families in America. Stryker researched social workers’

illustrated journal *The Survey* and successor *Survey Geographic (1921-1948)*, also *Pageant of America*; he studied with muckracker photographer Lewis Hine on how to read photographs; and he extolled J. Russell Smith's geography text *North America*, which was a model for didactic captions. Stryker then sent a team of photographers out across the country to take photos of migrant workers, deserted farms, and town life that showed the need for or successes of the Farm Security Administration. The FSA photographs have become some of the most well-known of the Depression era, and they were a powerful force in justifying Roosevelt's relief spending on migrant families. See Beverly W. Brannan and Gilles Moran, *FSA: The American Vision* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2006), p. 10.

¹⁰⁸ Heintzleman to Archbold, 11/23/40.

¹⁰⁹ Jonathan Harris, *Federal Art and National Culture: The Politics of Identity in New Deal America* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 9.

¹¹⁰ Archbold noted that the model pole Heintzleman had requested that Thomas carve for Chief Forester Silcox was ready in May 1939 (Archbold to Forestry, 5/26/39). It was surely to showcase in Washington, D.C. the unique totem pole restoration work that the Forest Service was conducting in Alaska.

¹¹¹ C.M. Archbold, "Restoration," *The Alaska Sportsman* (March 1939), p. 17.

¹¹² Heintzleman quoted in "Indian Antiquities S.E. Alaska To Be Preserved by Forest Service," *Wrangell Sentinel*, November 4, 1938.

¹¹³ In 1950, Viola Garfield noted that Archbold had told her: "the new Kasaan project was at a stalemate when Frank [Heintzleman] hit upon the idea of suggesting to Jim Peele that they would copy the old picture he had of his father with the pole and? house he took to L.A. [unclear reference]. Frank and Arch personally paid Schallerer [Otto Schallerer, a professional photographer in Ketchikan] to make the enlargement that I saw in Peele's house. They also paid for the framing of the picture. When it was presented to Peele he consented to turn over the Sonihat house, site [and] poles to the FS but insisted that his son also sign. (This was a good precaution since the son was really entitled to it as grandson and member of his grandfather's lineage.)" Viola Garfield, 3/7/[50?], entry in Ketchikan Notebook, Box 10, Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections.

¹¹⁴ See Footnote 39.

¹¹⁵ *Timber and Totem Poles*, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, 1949. 16 mm color newsreel. National Archives and Records Administration, Motion Picture, Sound and Video Records Section, Special Media Archives Services Division, College Park, MD (ARC Identifier 817789/ NLR Number PI-154 1-A). The re-discovery of this newsreel is one of the finds of my dissertation research. After seeing images of film crews at the New Deal totem parks in the Forest Service's historical photographs, I inquired around Alaska for possible locations of a film. Bruce Pelham of the National Archives and Records Administration in Anchorage suggested I look into the Motion Picture Division of the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, where I finally found this newsreel in March 2011. I have since shown it at conferences in Juneau and Sitka and am trying to re-publicize the CCC footage.

¹¹⁶ See Mitchell, pp. 161-163.

Chapter 2: Exacting Copies

In early 1941, John Wallace, an eighty-three-year-old Haida master carver at the CCC camp in Hydaburg, began to carve a copy of the Howkan Eagle, a late nineteenth-century grave marker and eagle effigy that stood in the Haida village of Howkan (Fig. 2.1). A monumental carving that boasted a breast of meticulously patterned feathers, the Howkan Eagle was greatly admired by Forest Service employees; Linn Forrest, the Forest Service architect who designed the layout for the totem parks, had slated the pole for the center of the park at Hydaburg.¹ Because the original carving was too decayed to move, Wallace had agreed to carve a copy for the Hydaburg park—a copy he insisted he could do by memory.² Yet when Forest Service officials in Juneau saw a photograph of Wallace with his replica (Fig. 2.2), they balked at Wallace’s claim to have copied the original pole. Linn Forrest wrote immediately to Archbold in Ketchikan: “The eagle carved by John Wallace ... carries his own ideas and we do not regard it as a copy of the Howkan Eagle.”³ This was a mild statement compared that of Regional Forester B. Frank Heintzleman, who still fumed over the incident eight years later: “Every time I look at that bogus Howken [sic] Eagle which the Indian John Wallace carved for us, I think more of the idea that it should be chopped into fire wood. I had seen the original pole in its original setting at Howken and considered it the most impressive of all the poles. As Wallace was so well acquainted with the original, I can’t understand why he disobeyed instructions to duplicate it exactly.”⁴ So offensive was Wallace’s Eagle that Linn Forrest refused to allow it in the Hydaburg park. He instructed the CCC foreman at Hydaburg to make Wallace try a second time, this time as told: “The next totem to be carved should be an exact copy of the Howkan Eagle. If necessary please take Mr. Wallace down to Howkan to inspect this pole in order to get an exact duplicate. On each inspection trip watch closely to see that he is making a true copy.”⁵ It was only when Wallace complied with these orders that a third version of the Howkan Eagle was erected, in early 1942, in the Hydaburg totem park (Fig. 2.3).

The “exact copy” was a primary strategy of the Forest Service’s totem pole restoration program, as well as one of its most problematic. Replicas were not the first choice of Forest Service officials, who shared with the larger art world a preference for the “old” and the “original” in Native art—terms which were then, as they are today, conflated with the “authentic.”⁶ Forrest assured a Wrangell newspaper that “our policy in all this totem work has been to restore rather than copy the original totems. Only when a pole is completely decayed or destroyed beyond hope of restoration do we carve an exact replica.”⁷ But the soggy fate of wood in Alaska’s temperate rainforest often made repairs impossible: while forty-eight poles were restored in the CCC projects, fifty-four were judged unsound and had to be replicated.⁸

The anxiety the Forest Service felt over replication was understandable. Few Forest Service officials were knowledgeable about Northwest Coast Native carving; until June 1940, when University of Washington anthropologist Viola Garfield was contracted as an unpaid “collaborator,” the Forest Service had no advisor either.⁹ They were strangers in a somewhat familiar land, speaking of totem poles in lumber terms of “board feet” and “cedar sticks,” marveling at the girth of the nineteenth-century trees that formed the poles as much as at the carving. Nor could the Forest Service always rely on their Tlingit and Haida workers for expertise. John Wallace and a handful of other carvers

were the exceptions among the CCC enrollees, most of whom belonged to a younger generation that had never learned the art.¹⁰ Many knew wood as boat builders and carpenters, but few had learned the deft movements of the wrist that sent the finishing adze springing across the face of a cedar log, or the angle required of a knife to cut the arc of an ovoid's cap. With no other instructors on hand, the original, often withered poles, supplemented by a few early photographs that offered better details, were the only real templates for the totem pole restoration project. No wonder the emphasis the Forest Service placed on the original pole, and the responsibility the Forest Service felt for an accurate copy. "I cannot stress too strongly," wrote Regional Forester Heintzleman, after a CCC enrollee mistook paint for preservative and painted a replicated pole pink, "that careful instructions and constant supervision must be given to our workmen engaged in this really scientific restoration of Indian relics. It must be made clear to the Indians that only such work is to be done as we authorize and direct, and that under no circumstances are they to go ahead 'on their own.'"¹¹

If the Forest Service aimed for a "scientific restoration" of the older poles, however, one must question their approach. What, after all, constituted the exact copy when nineteenth-century materials were no longer available? Was the physical appearance what mattered in the original—and did it matter to the Tlingit and Haida? How exact could a copy be if it was carved by an individual hand? John Wallace's version of the Howkan Eagle was only one of the instances that exasperated Assistant Regional Forester Charles Burdick, who reminded all CCC foremen that "the idea is to make an exact duplication of poles which are duplicated and not allow carvers any individualism in their duplication work."¹² Yet one must wonder what the Forest Service expected of the Tlingit and Haida men under their supervision, especially when they were largely untrained. Would the federal agents allow for any stylistic nuance—and if not, how had they expected to keep it out?

The question of the copy also came down to culture, and to the authenticity of an object copied when its cultural context was not. For all of the emphasis it placed on creating an exact duplicate of the totem pole itself, the Forest Service paid little attention to replicating the cultural protocols in which the making, raising and tenure of a totem pole were traditionally enmeshed. Unaware and sometimes knowingly dismissive of these protocols, the Forest Service's approach to physical replication conflicted with the emphasis the Tlingit and Haida placed on the intangible aspects of a crest object—its history as a lineage crest and its "legitimate display" in ceremonies like the potlatch—rather than the crest's particular avatar.¹³ John Wallace's claim to copy the Howkan Eagle by memory was not a claim to eidetic recall, but to his familiarity with the meaning of the crest as a grave marker belonging to a high-ranking man of the Eagle moiety. His copy would provide a worthy physical support for the Eagle crest and work to retain its meaning as a grave marker even in the radically decontextualized space of a totem park. Yet Wallace's approach to replication, which I will term "regenerative" replication for its emphasis on generating a new body for the everlasting aspects of the crest, could not square with the Forest Service's emphasis on "preservative" replication, which privileged the preservation of physical appearance over anything else. The difference between regenerative and preservative copies was fundamental; never fully translated between the Forest Service and the Tlingit and Haida, replication became one of the most contested issues in the totem pole restoration project.

Mistrusting the Modern

The pressure the Forest Service placed on the copy's fidelity to the original stemmed from the belief that the original was the repository of cultural authenticity—an authenticity that contemporary Tlingit and Haida carving presumably lacked. In November 1938, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution A. Wetmore responded to Heintzeman's request for advice on the proposed totem pole restoration project by urging the Forest Service to hire a trained ethnologist as a kind of guard. "If the work is begun it will probably be found that there are not more than half a dozen Indians available capable of doing the necessary carving and work," Wetmore wrote. "It would be a mistake, in our opinion, to let these men work without supervision as they might easily bring in some modern ideas that would replace the older motifs that it is desired to keep."¹⁴ Assistant Regional Forester Charles Burdick also privileged the authenticity of the original poles, going so far as to hazard proportions: "I believe it highly desirable to preserve as much of the old poles as possible even if the larger portion of the work is new as a job completed in this way, 40% original and 60% new, would still be of historic value and interest that the original pole had while a pole 100% new, even though carved by a native, would not have the same amount of interest for tourists or others."¹⁵ Burdick's percentages, which privileged the smallest amount of the "old" over contemporary carving, echoed Wetmore's letter by betraying two suspicions of the CCC restoration project: mistrust of "modern designs" and of the modern Natives that made them.

The preference for the old and the original had a long history in non-Native framing of Native art.¹⁶ "Salvage anthropology"—that effort to find and record the last vestiges of Native cultures before they were consumed by modernity—had catalyzed late-nineteenth-century scholarship and collecting of Native American art; on the Northwest Coast, well into the twentieth century, salvage anthropology took the pace of a frenzied "scramble" for the oldest artifacts left in Native hands.¹⁷ By 1938, the year the Forest Service embarked on its totem pole preservation project, anthropology—as well as federal policy—had changed its approach to Native Americans, emphasizing living and unique cultures that could and should have a place in modern America.¹⁸ Yet in the market for Native art, old continued to trump contemporary. So important were older designs that many collectors in the 1920s and 1930s commissioned *copies* of nineteenth-century art forms rather than buy original objects made by twentieth-century Native artists.¹⁹ Similarly, projects to "revive" Native art forms in the 1930s, such as the Zuni pottery project at the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe, collected "authentic" Native designs from the nineteenth century for twentieth-century Natives to copy.²⁰ The assumption was that acculturation had tainted the authenticity of Native art and the ability of contemporary Natives to design works on par with their ancestors—a kind of "imperialist nostalgia" for an Indian art unsullied by the colonial encounter.²¹

Of course, the replication of the "old" was not restricted to Native art during the New Deal. The Index of American Design, a project launched by the Federal Art Project, preserved colonial bedspreads and Pennsylvania Dutch weather vanes in such exacting watercolors that the artists employed in the program complained they had been given a role better suited to the camera.²² But if preservation projects like the Index and like those for Native art were intended as evidence of an authentic lineage for American design and

modern art in the future, objects made by folk and Native peoples had to remain “traditional.”²³ Figures like John Sloan and Mabel Dodge Luhan promoted Native arts in part to develop an American modernism distinct from Europe’s, but their intention was never that Native artists would draw on traditional designs to create a new American modernism—that would be the job of non-Native artists. Native artists themselves were expected to continue to produce “traditional” designs, replenishing a wellspring from which an authentic modernism could rise.²⁴

In its work to retain the features of classical totem poles in the twentieth century, the Forest Service went to great lengths to secure exact replicas. Key to this effort was the decision to move fragile totem poles from Native villages to the CCC carving sheds, where the old pole could be laid beside the replica for consultation (Fig. 2.4). Photographs in the Forest Service archive give some idea of this Herculean process: to remove a corner pole from its house site at Klinkwan, the Hydaburg CCC crew first laid down a rough track of logs over which the original pole could be dragged, carved-side up, down the beach (Fig. 2.5a,b).²⁵ There the crew would wait for high tide to load the pole onto a waiting barge; poles were also towed behind *Ranger* boats in salt water to the CCC camps. On arrival at the totem park site, poles had to be unloaded again at high tide, dragged up the beach by hand and stacked on racks until there was room for them in the carving shed. The entire move was done by hand with the help of a fifteen ton Beebe hoist; so labor-intensive was the effort that one foreman estimated that ten percent of all labor at his camp “was expended in transporting material the last hundred yards” from the high tide line to the site of the totem park itself.²⁶ Transport also risked damaging the original poles, as Archbold revealed when he noted that sixteen Haida poles brought to Hydaburg were “in fair shape” after being dragged overland by hand-tools.²⁷ Only if poles were too fragile to move did the Forest Service dispatch a *Ranger* boat to bring a lead carver to the pole *in situ*, where he could make sketches and photographs to aid the process of replication.²⁸

Once in the CCC carving shed, the original pole was laid out for carvers to study. If the pole was sound enough to hold repairs, CCC crews worked to save it, removing rotten areas of cedar and inserting newly carved pieces of cedar into the pole (Fig. 2.6). Bolts and nails were used to secure the cores of aging poles, with Heintzleman emphasizing that the iron heads should be countersunk and covered with cedar plugs so as not to be visible on the outside.²⁹ The CCC also experimented with pouring marine glue and even cement into the cracks of old poles in an attempt to bind their parts together, although unfortunately this would prove more damaging to the cedar than natural decay.³⁰

If an original pole could not be restored, CCC crews were tasked with preserving its details in a replica. The old pole was laid next to the new log in the CCC shop, and crews set about transferring details. Claude Morrison, one of the CCC carvers in Hydaburg, remembered using calipers to copy measurements from an old pole onto the new, which lay on skids not three feet away.³¹ Following the apprentice traditions of the Northwest Coast, only lead carvers carved the final details of a figure (see chapter 3). Apprentices could rough out the main figures with an axe or ship adze, but it was the lead carver who carefully penciled in details of the figures and who did the final carving of their features.³² In this way the Forest Service worked to ensure that the most skilled carvers were responsible for the final appearance of the poles.

When the original pole could not offer the details necessary for reproduction—its contours worn down by wind and rain, or entire sections lopped off by rot—the Forest Service turned to photographs and local memory.³³ Archbold found a photograph of the Secretary of State pole from Tongass Village, which was too fragile to move to the Saxman CCC camp for replication, in the 1927 Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution and gave it to carver Charles Brown to study.³⁴ Linn Forrest consulted early twentieth-century photographs of the Whale House from New Kasaan to determine the appearance of the corner poles before they had decayed.³⁵ Of course, the photographs were problematic in that they fixed a particular moment in an object's history for replication. The Howkan Eagle, for example, appeared in T.T. Waterman's 1922 Report for the Smithsonian Institution with a missing beak and no other accoutrements (see Fig. 1). Yet John Wallace and other Haida peoples remembered the earlier appearance of the grave marker when it had been surrounded by carved wooden coppers and two land otter figures—features that did not appear in the Waterman photograph but which were confirmed in earlier photographs that the Forest Service, at the time, did not have (see Fig. 2.17).³⁶

More details were supplied by Native memory. “Notes relative to the original construction and reconstruction of Chief Sonihat's Whale House, New Kasaan, Prince of Wales Island,” was Linn Forrest's six-page report following an interview with James Peele, the sixty-year-old son of Chief Saaniheit who remembered the building of the original Whale House and who would lead the re-creation of his father's house in the Kasaan totem park.³⁷ Using these notes, and his own study of the existing house, Forrest drew up detailed plans for a replica (Fig. 2.8). Even more extensive were the journals of C.R. Snow, a non-Native foreman for the CCC who oversaw the building of the clan houses at Kasaan and Totem Bight. In hefty albums that paired handwritten text with photographs he took himself, Snow documented the construction of the houses, recording tools, methods and even Haida terminology used in the process (Fig. 2.9).³⁸ Snow's interest in authentic reproductions of classical building methods led him to listen carefully to the memories of the Haida men under his supervision, and he frequently wrote to his own superiors in Juneau requesting them to reconsider designs in accordance with these sources. Writing of the purlins on the Whale House, which in Linn Forrest's elevation extended beyond the roof line, Snow noted that “old timers, particularly Joe Jones who claims to have worked on several houses at Old Kasaan, say that the poles did not project beyond the shakes at all in the case of dwellings; that only smoke houses were thus roughly finished...The older men feel that the irregular roof finish now in Whale House is a reflection of the quality of workmanship in their old dwellings and would like to see it changed.”³⁹ The note not only revealed Snow's careful attention to Haida memory and his willingness to act as an intermediary between his Native workforce and Forest Service headquarters in Juneau; it also showed the desires of the Haida elders to make the restored Whale House a “good showing” of their ancestor's building methods.⁴⁰ It was a strong example of the mutual effort that Natives and non-Natives made to achieve authentic reproductions in the New Deal totem parks.⁴¹

Finally, as the Smithsonian Institution had recommended, the Forest Service sought the help of an anthropologist to ensure the authenticity of its restorations. After a lengthy search, the agency contracted with Viola Garfield, a professor of anthropology at the University of Washington, as their volunteer “collaborator” in June 1940.⁴² A student

of Franz Boas at Columbia, Garfield was familiar with classical Tlingit and Haida carving; she had based her dissertation field work on the Tsimshian of New Metlakatla, near Ketchikan, and she had led summer tours to totem pole sites in Southeast Alaska for the University of Washington. Garfield also shared Boas's wariness of "degenerate design" in Northwest Coast Native art and frequently confronted CCC carvers about discrepancies between originals and their copies.⁴³ Of the Murrulet pole at the Klawock park, Garfield wrote: "The man on the original has his hands clasping his knees. On the copy his hands rest on top of his knees. In the original the shaft above him is square. In the copy they made the shaft round." Yet when Garfield called lead carver Walter Ketah's attention to these changes, "he said yes he just made them different. Hands on knees or clasping knees all the same thing."⁴⁴ Julius Frank, who had worked for the CCC at Kasaan, also objected to Garfield's suggestion "that figures were not always copied by CCC exactly. He said they did them just as on the originals without any changes."⁴⁵ Garfield seemed surprised that the carvers did not see "obvious" differences; the carvers seemed just as surprised that she worried about such small details. It was a hint that Natives and non-Natives in the CCC project approached replication from vastly different angles; but even Garfield, with her background in Northwest Coast ethnography, would condemn the changes rather than considering the reasons for their difference.

Missing Materials

The efforts the Forest Service made to secure authentic replications should dispel accusations that the agency was indifferent to the nineteenth-century poles in their care. Over and over again they worked to adhere to the design and execution of the original poles. "Improvements" to original designs were not permitted: Burdick flatly rejected a foreman's suggestion to "make a more outstanding pole" by adding a lower figure to the bare shaft of the Secretary of State pole in Saxman.⁴⁶ Power tools suggested by one foreman eager to speed up the initial roughing out of logs were also rejected because they were not in line with an "ancient Indian art"; as Division Supervisor Harold Smith explained, such tools also risked "commercializing the job" in the eyes of tourists.⁴⁷ Even alterations intended to extend the life of the wood—preserving the preservation project, as it were—were dismissed as inauthentic. Rejecting a suggestion that the sill boards of the reconstructed Whale House at Kasaan be altered to prevent water damage, Assistant Forester Wellman Holbrook wrote: "Admittedly better joints and types of construction could be followed but in this instance of authentic reconstruction we believe it best to follow the natives [sic] original methods as far as possible."⁴⁸

Despite all of these efforts, however, the Forest Service often found itself short of the perfect replica. One major obstacle to replication was the lack of nineteenth-century materials. The massive timbers favored for classical poles had been the "pick of the country," as one ranger put it, and were difficult to find by the 1930s.⁴⁹ The narrower poles necessarily changed the replications: John Wallace complained to Viola Garfield that the timbers the Forest Service gave him to carve were too narrow, and that he had to alter or delete figures in his replicas.⁵⁰ Some poles could not be replicated at all. After two years searching for a sixty-five foot tall, five-foot diameter solid red cedar trunk in the Tongass, and even soliciting help from the Olympic National Forest in Washington state, the Forest Service was forced to raise a copy of the Saaniheit pole in Sitka made from two logs joined together in a concealed seam—and even then the pole only reached

fifty feet.⁵¹

Another obstacle to replication was the lack of traditional Native paints—an issue that became one of the most criticized aspects of the CCC’s totem pole restoration project.⁵² At first, the Forest Service had attempted to recreate Native paints, seeking pigment sources and even experimenting with bindings made from fish eggs. Linn Forrest spent several months researching the literature on Native paint and trying recipes of his own.⁵³ *Ranger* boats took Tlingit and Haida men who remembered old sources of pigment to find them, but the sources were often no longer extant.⁵⁴ It also became clear that the quantity of binder needed for more than one hundred poles in the CCC projects would be nearly impossible to recreate traditionally: according to one CCC member at Sitka, Peter Nielsen, it had been the work of six women to chew herring eggs to make enough binder for two house posts carved for a potlatch in Sitka in 1904.⁵⁵ By the spring of 1939, the Forest Service had to abandon its hope of using traditional Native paints and settle for commercial ones instead.⁵⁶ Forrest sent samples of Native paint colors to a paint company in Chicago in an attempt to match the hues; the company even developed a special blend called “totem pole green.”⁵⁷ Yet the commercial paints still struck critics as too bright to be authentic. Many complained that the use of yellow, white and brown on the totem poles departed from the traditional triad of black, red and bluegreen on the northern Northwest Coast; there were also criticisms that the poles were more heavily painted than classical poles, which tended to limit painted areas to a few features—black for pupils and eyebrows, for example, or red for lips and nostrils.⁵⁸

Several points should be made about the CCC paint scheme. First, it was not the paint that caused the peculiar shine of the CCC poles, but the use of preservative and varnish that the Forest Service added to better preserve them.⁵⁹ Instructions in the Forest Service files show that restored and replicated totem poles were first coated with Permatox seal and, after they were painted, with two coats of pentraseal varnish—chemicals that had been recommended to the Forest Service by the Forest Products Laboratory in Madison, Wisconsin, a laboratory for wood preservation established by the Department of Agriculture.⁶⁰ Although the Laboratory promised that “the result is a dry, paintable surface that is not discolored,” the preservatives made the paint look glossier than the Forest Service had anticipated. Still, the agency must have felt that preservation of the wood warranted the finish in the short-term. (The varnish was also a better solution than another option the Forest Products Laboratory had proposed: to coat the poles in creosote!⁶¹)

The quantity of paint on the CCC poles also arose from the new emphasis on preservation. In November 1940 the foreman at Klawock wired Juneau with an urgent telegram: “KLAWOCK TOTEM CREW CONFUSED ON PAINTING STOP PERATROVICH STATES FORREST INSTRUCTED THEM TO PAINT ENTIRELY ALL OLD POLES FOR PRESERVATIVE AND FINISHING PURPOSES STOP[...]THEY NEED INSTRUCTION[...]CAN FIND NO INSTRUCTIONS HERE STOP.”⁶² A response from Juneau followed the next day—“DO NOT PAINT ENTIRE POLES STOP PAINTING TO FOLLOW ORIGINAL COLORS WHERE POSSIBLE STOP.”⁶³ This directive, which was repeated elsewhere in Forest Service correspondence, made it clear that the Forest Service did not endorse all-over paint for the CCC totem poles.⁶⁴ However, as the Klawock case makes clear, the agency had not provided detailed instructions on how to paint the poles; the order to “follow original

colors” on the old poles was hazy at best, since not all of the poles retained enough paint to clearly copy.⁶⁵ The result, admittedly, was that CCC totem poles in almost all of the parks presented a more festooned and glossy appearance than their classical counterparts probably ever had (Fig. 2.10).

It is important to acknowledge, however, that the CCC claimed to have followed the original paint scheme as far as possible, and that, in some cases, they may not have strayed as far from the original paint as critics have charged.⁶⁶ Forrest’s research on Native paints listed five colors: black, red, bluegreen, yellow and white.⁶⁷ The last two colors were an addition to the triad of black, red and bluegreen that is usually allowed for the northern Northwest Coast, but there is evidence that these colors appeared in the *southern* region of Tlingit territory and among the Kaigani Haida in Southeast Alaska—areas that have not been extensively studied by art historians.⁶⁸ Garfield noted in *The Wolf and the Raven* that “occasionally white, obtained from baked clam shells, was also used” among the Tlingit and Haida in this region.⁶⁹ White was also a common color on Kwakwaka’wakw poles to the south—as was yellow—and may have carried over onto poles among the Kaigani Haida and southern Tlingit.⁷⁰ The original Howkan Eagle, for example, was said to be “painted black with yellow beak and feet, and blue around its eyes.”⁷¹ As I detail in Chapter 3, nineteenth-century poles in Wrangell probably featured white paint as well.

There is also evidence that classical poles in southern Southeast Alaska did not restrict their paints to facial features alone, but that entire bodies of figures were sometimes painted. Photographs by Eadwaerd Muybridge of Tongass Village and Fort Wrangell in 1868 show totem poles with heavily painted figures: in the Tongass photograph, for example, the human figure on the pole to the right features body and face paints that clearly differ from the wood of the rest of the pole (Fig. 2.11). The sea lion figure on the top of the pole in the background was also completely painted. While color in nineteenth-century black and white photographs is notoriously misleading, the differences in hues between figure and post in the Muybridge photograph confirm that some figures on mid-nineteenth-century totem poles were painted in full, even if the color cannot be identified.⁷²

The only paint without clear precedent on the CCC totem poles, then, is the brown (sometimes pinkish brown) color that often appeared on the bodies of figures, such as the bear on John Wallace’s replica of a nineteenth-century house post for the Hydaburg park (see Fig. 2.10).⁷³ Apparently this brown coloring was the “brown stain” that Forrest listed on a Paint Chart of paint recipes that he posted in each CCC carving shed.⁷⁴ The brown stain, which contrasted with the red, blue green, black and white *colors* that Forrest also listed on the paint chart, was apparently intended to match the cedar of the pole and act as a further preservative, rather than appear as a separate color. Yet even for this odd hue there may have been some precedent in earlier carving from southern Southeast Alaska. In explaining the white figure of the Master Carpenter that he carved on a pole at Totem Bight, John Wallace told Viola Garfield that “a halo of bright light shone around” the Master Carpenter, “hence he is painted a light color instead of dark as an ordinary human being would have been painted.”⁷⁵ An example of a darkly painted human figure appeared on a totem pole that Wallace and/or his classically-trained father had carved in 1876 for the Centennial International Exposition in Philadelphia (Fig. 2.12; for an image of the complete pole see Fig. 3.56). This pole, which I discuss further in the next chapter,

is still well-preserved in the National Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C.; there it continues to show an all-over brown paint applied to the bodies of the figures, a paint the museum claims has not been re-touched.

Examples like these argue for a reevaluation of the CCC's paint scheme. While it is unclear to what extent classical poles in southern Southeast Alaska were painted, and in what exact colors, there is evidence that the poles presented a brighter and more lavish appearance than "rich pewter" and "weathered hues" that contemporary critics preferred—descriptions that illustrated primitivist desires for Native art more than the appearance of newly erected totem poles in the nineteenth century.⁷⁶ The CCC's replication of classical paint schemes was certainly not perfect, but it may not have been as deviant as critics have contended.

Uncultured copies

More than paint or any physical aspect of replication, where the Forest Service diverged most from the model of classical totem poles was in its approach to them as free-floating objects. The agency frequently ignored the cultural protocols in which totem poles were key players—sometimes out of ignorance of Tlingit and Haida customs, but other times even after being warned of its missteps. In Wrangell, for example, Linn Forrest insisted that the CCC re-carve a pole known as the "Three Frogs" pole, a ridicule pole commissioned by a local chief in the late nineteenth century to shame another clan for an unpaid debt.⁷⁷ Although the debt had since been repaid and the pole removed, Forrest wanted to re-carve the pole to complete the set of Shakes Island poles he had seen in a nineteenth-century photograph, and thus to achieve a "faithful reproduction of...the finest Thlinget group consisting of house and poles in Southeastern Alaska."⁷⁸ Yet erecting a ridicule pole after a debt had been repaid was a blatant breach of Tlingit protocol—and it called into question the "authenticity" of poles whose crests no longer signified the reality of Tlingit clan relationships.⁷⁹

The most infamous case of cultural missteps in the CCC restoration program was the Baranof pole at Sitka. This pole, which commemorated the famous peace forged at Sitka in 1805 between Russian Governor Alexander Baranof and the Kiks.ádi Tlingits, was a new pole carved for the CCC at the request of the local Kiks.ádi clan.⁸⁰ Following the CCC's restorations of the mostly Haida totem poles in Sitka National Historic Park, Kiks.ádi leader George Lewis asked the Forest Service to pay for a new totem pole that would be relevant to Tlingit history in Sitka—another sign of Native initiative to make the restoration project relevant to local needs.⁸¹ Linn Forrest, who was in Sitka at the time, refused to give the Kiks.ádi \$1500 to have the pole carved themselves; however, knowing that several Tlingit men were still enrolled in the local CCC, Forrest told Lewis "that if they [the Kiks.ádi clan] cared to present a drawing we would attempt to have the totem carved" under the aegis of the CCC.⁸² Forrest also arranged to have the Baranof pole stand in an open field downtown—a field now called "Totem Square"—rather than in the Sitka National Historic Park.⁸³ There the pole would herald the Native Arts & Crafts Building the Forest Service had planned for a space nearby, and its new design would not conflict with the nineteenth-century poles that had already been restored in the Sitka totem park.

The real trouble for the Baranof Pole arose with its carvers. George Benson, a Tlingit carver whose work I analyze further in the next chapter, submitted a design for the

Baranof pole as Forrest had requested (Fig. 2.13). Benson's sketch revealed his knowledge of Northwest Coast formline design: the ovoids of the figure's eyes were pinched carefully in the corners, the U-forms of the ears nicely peaked. Benson placed the Russian governor, balding and peering forward, on the top; beneath Baranof stood a black bear, symbol of the Russian nation.⁸⁴ Between the legs of the bear peered the Kiks.ádi warrior K'alyaan, clutching the blacksmith hammer with which he had battled the Russians in 1804. Raven, crest of the Kiks.ádi's moiety, followed K'alyaan; then came the double eagle crest of the Russian crown, this time rendered in the Russian style after the peace medal Baranof had given to the Kiks.ádi in 1805.⁸⁵ At the base, Benson placed a brown bear—a Tlingit crest—holding the Kiks.ádi clan crest of the frog. The design was masterful, showing Benson's alacrity in switching between crests of the Northwest Coast Native art and those of the Russian invaders. Because of the way it was carved, however, Benson would later say he was embarrassed to be associated with the design at all.⁸⁶

Benson submitted his sketch to the custodian at the Sitka National Historical Park, who in turn delivered it to the Forest Service. Contrary to Kiks.ádi hopes, however, the sketch was never given to Sitka carvers to complete. Learning that Benson was busy constructing a sea wall downtown and soon would be bound for a job with the Coast and Geodetic Service, Linn Forrest decided to have the pole carved by the CCC camp at Wrangell, where work could begin on the carving immediately.⁸⁷ No doubt Forrest saw this as a matter of simple expediency; as it turned out, it was a serious faux pas. Wrangell and Sitka Tlingits had feuded since the early nineteenth century—culminating in the Sitka Kaagwaantaan's massacre of visiting Naanyaa.aayí Tlingits from Wrangell in 1852—and by 1941 the enmity had not subsided.⁸⁸ When word reached the Kiks.ádi that their pole was being carved in their enemy *kwáan* at Wrangell, they were furious, and threatened to “deface, chop and burn up the pole” if the Forest Service erected it in their town.⁸⁹ John Brillhart, the Forest Service division supervisor in Sitka, wrote to Juneau to urge Forrest to keep the Wrangell pole away from Sitka and let the locals carve their own. But Forrest dismissed the warning, noting that “the totem is well carved, follows Mr. Benson's drawing in detail and will be a credit to both the authors of the story and the carvers.”⁹⁰ Brillhart tried again, telling Forrest that the Tlingits felt the Forest Service had stolen Benson's design by redirecting it to Wrangell, but Forrest still would not budge.⁹¹ In October 1941, Assistant Regional Forester Harold Smith wrote to Brillhart to say that the pole would be erected as planned:

After discussing this matter further with you and talking it over with Linn Forrest I have decided that the only thing we can do is to go ahead and erect the pole when the time comes. I do not anticipate any serious trouble but, in order to smooth the way as much as possible it would be a good idea for you to discuss the matter with the Indians and explain to them that we had no intention of stealing their story but, on the other hand, thought they loaned it to us for the purpose of copying.⁹²

Here the conflicting approaches to the copy emerged in full. The Forest Service, operating on the belief that a copy was a copy, failed to understand the Tlingit protocols that went far beyond the physical replication of Benson's sketch. The story that Benson had depicted belonged first and foremost to the Kiks.ádi, whose ancestors had fought the Russians and to whom Baranof had personally given his oath of peace. Forrest's belief

that the Wrangell carvers could “follow Mr. Benson’s drawing in detail” did not outweigh the blatant trespass the Forest Service had allowed the Wrangell carvers to commit in depicting Kiks.ádi *at.óow*, which was considered stolen if another clan used or referenced it without permission.⁹³

To make matters worse, the Wrangell carvers did *not* follow Mr. Benson’s drawing in detail. In a blatant snub to their rivals in Sitka, the Wrangell CCC ignored the clear marking of a shirt collar on Benson’s sketch of Baranof and depicted the Russian governor *au natural*—apparently down to the genitals. (A flat wooden patch, inserted at an unknown date, quickly replaced the offending parts.⁹⁴) In a carving coup, the Wrangell carvers had derailed Benson’s laudatory history of the Kiks.ádi Tlingit and transformed it into a kind of ridicule pole.⁹⁵ Understandably, the Kiks.ádi were livid; amazingly, the Forest Service remained oblivious. On March 8, 1942, as the Forest Service prepared to erect the pole downtown, Andrew P. Hope, leader of the Kiks.ádi clan in Sitka, submitted a formal letter to Office of Indian Affairs Commissioner Claude Hirst in a last attempt to keep the pole off of Kiks.ádi land. Hope’s letter deserves to be quoted in full:

Dear Mr. Hearst [sic]:

The members of the Keeks-sady clan of Sitka came to me, asking me to raise objection to the Totem Pole now being erected at Sitka New Park in front of Federal Building. Their objection is that it does not represent the true story of the Pease [sic] made between the Keeks-sady and Baranoff. They tell me that the CCC head promised the Sitka Indians would make the totem pole so they drew up a plan for the proposed totem and were asked to show it to the CCC office. They did so by one George Lewis. It seems that since George Lewis showed the plans, it was copied or a similar pattern was made and a totem was ordered from Wrangell and is now here. The clan maintains that only truth or facts are placed on totems.

This totem pole made at Wrangell is not made as it would have been if it was made by the people that know about story the Sitka or Keeks-sady clan. For instance, Mr. Baranoff is placed at top of pole naked [sic], dishonoring the great man who was in charge at the time of war and pease. Other figures are misplaced. The double eagle (a seal) given to the Keeks-sady in the pease cermiony [sic] as a guarantee that they will forever have pease is now in the Alaska Museum at Juneau was to be placed on the totem as now common eagles are on totem mixing the story.

Therefore the Keeks-sady clan deems it best that the totem pole made in Wrangell which is being now erected in Sitka, be moved away from Sitka and another one be made here by the Keeks-sady clan who know the story and from the plans they have, to be erected in Sitka.

It is the wish of this clan that your office will take it up with the proper departments to correct this situation.

/s/ ANDREW P. HOPE⁹⁶

Hope’s letter asserted Tlingit protocols for carving the Baranof pole. In effect, he asked the Office of Indian Affairs to intervene in the Forest Service’s justification of the copy—that the physical replication of Benson’s design mattered most—and instead to reassert Tlingit protocols for the copy, which privileged “the legitimate display” of *at.óow* above

anything else. Hope discussed the blatant physical departures from Benson's original design—no doubt he hoped the Forest Service would understand the offense of Baranof's stripping—but his real concern was that the pole misrepresented Kiks.ádi *at.óow*, that it did not tell “the true story.” Amazingly, Hope did not call for the complete destruction of the pole, only that it be “moved away” from Sitka—a tempered request given Tlingit history of destroying offensive crests of other clans.⁹⁷ Despite these pleas, however, Hope's letter and the wishes of the Kiks.ádi community were never answered: the Baranof pole still stands in Sitka today (Fig. 2.14).⁹⁸

The case of the Baranof pole showed the extent to which the Forest Service was willing to ignore cultural protocols bound up in a totem pole's making. The agency's approach to replication as a copy of the original's physical features ignored Tlingit and Haida emphasis on the enduring aspects of a crest, as well as the protocols of legitimate crest display. These were precisely the aspects of Haida crest art that John Wallace would assert with his copy of the Howkan Eagle.

Wallace's Eagles

In their guidebook for the CCC totem poles, *The Wolf and the Raven*, Viola Garfield and Linn Forrest publicly condemned John Wallace's carvings for failing as physical reproductions. Of Wallace's Thunderbird and Whale house post, Garfield wrote: “The copy is inexact and poor. The shape and angle of the wings are wrong, and the shape of the beak was altered...The whole carving is stiff and lacks the vitality and feeling of arrested motion achieved by the carver of the original.”⁹⁹ Wallace's Howkan Eagle was similarly disparaged, the author writing that “the result is obviously not a copy, and...only remotely resembles the original. The reproduction of the Chilkat blanket design on the front is entirely out of keeping with wood-carving traditions and would never be used except on a woven blanket.”¹⁰⁰ Forrest ordered the first offending copy removed from Hydaburg completely; he shipped it to the Primitive Indian Village at Totem Bight near Ketchikan, a park intended for new and invented designs.¹⁰¹ Clearly, measured by the Forest Service's standard of replication, Wallace's Eagle failed its mandate, evincing the “modern ideas” that the Forest Service had been warned to keep off the poles. But what if Wallace's Eagle were measured by a different standard than physical replication? What if the relationship between “original” and “copy” was not one of mirror image—indeed, not even one couched in such terms?

Wallace, we must remember, was one of the few CCC enrollees who had extensive carving training; his “own ideas” were some of the best informed in the totem pole restoration project. Wallace's father was *gid k'wáajuss* (Dwight Wallace), a Kaigani Haida carver well-respected for his classical work, and a carver who trained his son to follow in his footsteps.¹⁰² In a two-page autobiography typed by his daughter, Wallace recounted his father's insistence that he preserve the traditions of Haida carving:

When I came back from Wrangell [where he had tried to convince a preacher to take him to the Native school in Sitka], I ran away again to Massett B.C. [British Columbia]. I wanted to have an education as I knew education was a good thing to have. After I went to school for a year at Massett my father came after me and took me away. His idea was for me to become an artist, he use [sic] to tell me that later in my life I would make money from carving totem poles. He didn't want them to lose the art of carving among the Haidas. When he took me away

the second time from school I gave up hopes in trying to get an education and took my father's order in carving totem poles.¹⁰³

It is significant that carving stood in tension with Wallace's yearning for education from the very start: the cultural pressures to assimilate were already working in the 1880s against his training in traditional Haida culture. By the late nineteenth century, Haida prestige was less equated with the commissioning of totem poles than with the glass windows and clapboard siding that indexed the individual's ability to buy industrial goods; in this environment, Wallace found he could not make a living as a professional carver.¹⁰⁴ After his father's death, Wallace turned to commercial fishing for his livelihood. He grew increasingly alarmed by the drinking and gambling that had overtaken the Haida communities on Prince of Wales Island, and turned to the strict rules of sobriety and order of the Salvation Army. Wallace became a kind of lay minister in the church, and later, with an organization known as the "Christian Endeavor," set about converting Haida peoples to Christianity. He became known as the "Father of Hydaburg" for his efforts in 1911 to relocate residents of Howkan, Sukkwan and Klinkwan to the new town of Hydaburg, where he devoted much of his adult life to providing the educational and economic opportunities that would allow Haida peoples to compete in an economy increasingly dominated by non-Natives. In all of this, there was little room for totem pole carving. Wallace may even have destroyed totem poles—in one infamous case, his father's poles were chopped up to create the foundation posts for a boardwalk at Klinkwan.¹⁰⁵ It was not until the 1920s, when Wallace was in his seventies, that he found private patronage again for the skills his father had taught him as a teenager.¹⁰⁶

Despite the hiatus in his carving career, however, Wallace stood out as one of the most knowledgeable carvers living in Southeast Alaska. René d'Harnoncourt, the general manager of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, was so impressed with Wallace's work when he met him on a tour of Alaska in 1938 that he invited Wallace to carve a totem pole at the Indian Arts and Crafts Board's Indian Pavilion at the 1939 World's Fair in San Francisco.¹⁰⁷ Two years later, d'Harnoncourt featured Wallace's totem pole at the entrance to the Museum of Modern Art in New York for the IACB-sponsored exhibit, *Indian Art of the United States*. D'Harnoncourt praised Wallace for being interested in the "old style work," which he found rare in Southeast Alaska in the 1930s.¹⁰⁸ D'Harnoncourt's collaborator, Denver Art Museum curator Frederic Douglas, also championed Wallace's knowledge, taking careful notes of his carving practices at the 1939 Fair.¹⁰⁹ Certainly, then, Wallace was skilled and respected in his time. While his art did not have all classical features of his father's work, he was one of the most knowledgeable carvers alive in 1938—and his Howkan Eagle, despite the Forest Service's protests, proved his skill.

A close comparison of the eagle grave marker from Howkan with Wallace's first version affirms the eloquence of Wallace's design. In this analysis I will not use the term "original" or "copy" to refer the various eagles, terminology that replicates the Forest Service's physical approach to replication. Wallace probably referred to his version as the Howkan Eagle, but for clarity's sake I will distinguish between the Howkan Eagle (Fig. 2.15a) and Wallace's Chilkat Eagle, the first version that depicted the Chilkat blanket across its front (Fig. 2.15b). The Hydaburg Eagle designates Wallace's second version that Linn Forrest ordered for the Hydaburg park (see Fig. 2.3).

In the physical sense, Wallace's Chilkat Eagle departed from the Howkan Eagle

on multiple fronts. Wallace traded the feathers on the Howkan Eagle's legs for a series of striations, the knees no longer gathered up against the body but extending straight down into a pedestal—an effect which further elongates Wallace's Eagle in comparison to the stouter, more contained Howkan bird. Wallace did preserve the elegant curve of the brow, the classical U-forms and rigid outline of the ears; he also included the crowns of the nostrils that sweep upward from the upper beak. But in his most blatant departure from the Howkan Eagle, Wallace replaced the feathered breast—rounded as if by inner breath, and layered carefully with scalloped feathers—with a flat, featherless chest that featured the curious Chilkat blanket. What compelled this dramatic change?

The Chilkat blanket was an expensive piece of ceremonial regalia worn by high-ranking individuals on the Northwest Coast (Fig. 2.16). Like most ceremonial art in the region, it served as crest art, displaying animals or other crests that identified an individual and his lineage. In this sense, the use of a colorful Chilkat blanket on a copy of the Howkan Eagle was actually in keeping with the meaning of the grave marker of a high-ranking Haida man. Tricia Brown has noted that the Howkan Eagle in the nineteenth century was “painted black with yellow beak and feet, and blue around its eyes. It had been adorned with copper plates and abalone shells, powerful markers of the wealth of an individual.”¹¹⁰ A photograph from 1899 confirms this appearance: the bird's wings were overlaid by wooden panels painted to look like coppers, hammered sheets of a metal that was highly valuable on the Northwest Coast (Fig. 2.17). The Forest Service apparently did not have photographs that showed these early accoutrements; by the time of the CCC, these symbols of wealth had decayed or been removed and the Forest Service did not have them as examples to copy. Yet Wallace's choice to include a Chilkat blanket—another symbol of wealth on the Northwest Coast—restored this aspect of the Howkan Eagle on his copy for the Hydaburg totem park. The Chilkat blanket was often draped over house posts or totem poles to display additional crests (Fig. 2.18). Wallace carefully arranged the Chilkat blanket on the eagle's body to recall the position of a blanket on a human: although the eagle wears the blanket across its chest rather than its back, the central panel of the Chilkat blanket covers the core of the eagle's body, while the side panels drape over the wings as they would human arms (Fig. 2.19). In rejecting the feathered breast, then, Wallace cleared the perfect space for the pentagonal Chilkat blanket and restored an aristocratic marker to his copy of the pole for the Hydaburg park.

The position of the Chilkat blanket on Wallace's eagle recalls another Haida custom that further anchored the eagle in Haida culture. Although Garfield and Forrest may have been correct to note that Chilkat blankets had not been depicted in classical wood carving, Chilkat blankets had appeared draped across gravehouses in the nineteenth century, indicating the deceased's identity as well as his high status (Fig. 2.20).¹¹¹ Chilkat blankets frequently appeared on Tlingit grave houses in Southeast Alaska; they were also known on some Haida mortuary poles, like Skidegrate the Great's pole in Haida Gwaii (Fig. 2.21). The frontal spread of the Chilkat blanket across these grave structures, with all three of the blanket's panels fully in view, harkens to the appearance of Wallace's blanket across the Howkan Eagle. Wallace's inclusion of the Chilkat blanket on his version of the Howkan Eagle thus worked to doubly root the carving in terms of its original meaning: both as a crest of an elite Haida man, and as a grave marker that memorialized his death.

In a 1941 interview with Viola Garfield, Wallace asserted his desire to create a

copy of the Howkan Eagle that was appropriate for the new space of the Hydaburg totem park. In a key passage, Garfield's notes revealed Wallace's approach to replication:

Mr. Wallace said the original eagle was round headed and he didn't like it, also it had feathers and he wanted to give it Chilkat blanket instead so did so. He wanted to show his experience to the people that's why he made things different and better looking....He said, 'different space, make it different.' He has insisted over and over that each pole or design presents different problems, hence the artist handles it differently, which is certainly logical.¹¹²

Although Garfield would later reverse her approval of Wallace's logic in her critique of the Chilkat Eagle in *The Wolf and the Raven*, it is fortunate that she recorded Wallace's explanation here. Wallace insisted that differences in appearance were allowed—even demanded—for crest objects made to inhabit a new and different space than previous versions. The artist was free to design the crest as he saw fit—to improve on it and make it “better looking.” The underlying message was that it was not the physical appearance of a crest object that mattered, but its ability to properly signify in the space where it was displayed.

Wallace's addition of the Chilkat blanket to assert his prowess as an artist—his desire to “show his experience to the people” by making the Hokwan Eagle “better looking”—is bolstered by the fact that the blanket depicted was modeled on Wallace's own. In the same interview in 1941, Garfield noted that Wallace had “used the same design for the Chilkat as he used on his own painted blanket.”¹¹³ This “painted blanket” was actually a piece of canvas that Wallace had painted with Chilkat-like designs and to which his wife had sewn a knitted border to give the appearance of woven mountain goat wool.¹¹⁴ Wallace appears wearing this blanket in a photograph from a 1940 potlatch that local Haida clans organized to celebrate the erection of totem poles at the Hydaburg totem park (Fig. 2.22). While the blanket's design is not fully visible in the photo, the three faces on the top border of the central panel match the blanket on the Chilkat Eagle. (Garfield noted that there were minor changes to the designs on the side panels, but she affirmed that the design was based on Wallace's own.) Wallace also gave Garfield the same interpretation of the design on his canvas blanket as for the blanket on the Chilkat Eagle: in *The Wolf and the Raven*, Garfield quoted Wallace as saying that the designs on the eagle carving were “symbolic of mountains, clouds, and creatures that live in the mountains,” which matched his explanation for the designs on his painted canvas blanket given in a separate interview.¹¹⁵

The inclusion of his own blanket design on the Chilkat Eagle was a gutsy and interesting move. The Howkan Eagle belonged to the Yeiltatzie family and not to Wallace directly; perhaps a family relationship or membership in the same Eagle moiety justified Wallace adding his own crest design to the effigy crest.¹¹⁶ Yet it is also interesting to speculate that the Chilkat blanket may have served as Wallace's signature—the definitive mark of the Western artist that Wallace may have learned from private commissions from east coast patrons or in his work at the 1939 World's Fair. Tourists at these fairs often wanted the artist's signature—that stamp of authenticity for western art which, ironically, had no place in most Native art.¹¹⁷ Did Wallace appropriate this tradition of artistic signature by placing his Chilkat blanket on the eagle for the federal totem park in Hydaburg, signaling both his identity as a Haida artist and as one versed in art practices from Outside?

The Chilkat blanket may have represented yet another affirmation for Wallace's identity as an artist: in anchoring the Eagle within the iconography of Haida grave art, it linked the Chilkat Eagle to a genre that Wallace associated with his father—more precisely, with his father's pride in Wallace's work as a Haida carver. Grave art was the only type of Northwest Coast Native art that Wallace discussed in his short autobiography: "One thing I think the white man never saw yet and that [is] the cave coffin that they used to put prince and princess [Haida aristocrats] in when they die. Only the greatest artist used to make those coffins. When I made a coffin my father was real proud of me."¹¹⁸ The "coffin"—probably a bentwood box used to store the cremated remains of the deceased person—was not a grave marker like the Howkan Eagle, yet Wallace's Eagle did carry the connotation of grave art that his father had privileged as the greatest works of Haida carving. At eighty-three years of age, after a life turned away from the carving traditions his father had hoped he would continue, Wallace may have designed the Chilkat Eagle as a kind of tribute to his father's wishes, re-asserting himself as an artist of Haida grave art to fulfill his father's hopes for his career.

With the Chilkat Eagle, Wallace asserted a Haida approach to replication. Rather than a "degradation" of nineteenth-century classicism in twentieth-century Haida art, Wallace's Eagle was an eloquent assertion of Haida artistry within the Forest Service's restoration program, one that sought to retain the Eagle's role in Haida culture at the same time that it asserted Wallace's renewed role as a Haida carver. Wallace's decision not to copy the Howkan Eagle exactly represented a refusal, or at least a strategic evasion, of the duty to provide the Forest Service with a copy of a crest that the federal agency—and by extension, the U.S. government—could not legitimately claim; at the same time, his choice to layer it with a Chilkat blanket retained some context for the Eagle marker removed from its original grave.¹¹⁹ Wallace translated his father's nineteenth-century training into the twentieth-century context of a park where he insisted that Haida crests still had Haida meaning. It was a clear sign that, contrary to his father's fears, the art of totem pole carving had not died among the Haida.

Regeneration vs. preservation

One last matter of the copy awaits our scrutiny, and that is the fate of the original. This fate came to national attention in 1966, when Katharine Kuh, then the arts editor for the *Saturday Review*, published a damning article titled "Alaska's Vanishing Art." In it she condemned various Alaskan entities—including "certain government agencies [with the "naïve belief"] that copies can replace originals"¹²⁰—for the declining vitality of Alaska Native arts and the draining of art from the newly minted state. Despairing of the lack of progress since her visit to the territory twenty years earlier, when she had been commissioned by the Office of Indian Affairs to assess the state of Indian arts and crafts in Alaska, Kuh aired some of the findings she had written for the OIA's confidential report. For example, four years after the end of the CCC program at Kasaan, Kuh had found "lying around the floor of the forest totally unprotected and in deplorable condition...several of the old original poles which were brought from Old Kasaan. Why the Forest Service has allowed this to happen at each site where the C.C.C. worked is beyond understanding."¹²¹ Even worse was the realization that some originals were not extant at all: Kuh reported her horror at "the public servant who assured me that 'nothing had been thrown away but the originals.'"¹²²

The neglect and even purposeful destruction of nineteenth-century poles at the hands of the CCC blackened the eye of the Forest Service and sullied the reputation of the New Deal totem parks.¹²³ While Kuh's article inflated the damage at times, there was no denying that the Forest Service had failed to establish a consistent policy to preserve the original poles (Fig. 2.23).¹²⁴ In February 1941, Archbold had specifically asked Heintzleman the question: "What should we do with those old poles which were moved but were too far gone to repair and copies were made?" Archbold himself proposed preserving the 'outstanding figures' of the old poles for placement in a museum; the rest, too fragile to preserve, could be destroyed.¹²⁵ A response from headquarters in Juneau came the next week, but it was an ambiguous letter from Assistant Forester Charles Burdick, agreeing that Archbold should preserve the important portions of originals and gain the consent of Native families to burn the rest.¹²⁶ It was not until the end of the CCC program, in April 1942, that Heintzleman himself sent a clear directive to all division offices: "All parts of old totems which were removed from their original sites and used as models should be preserved until further notice." He ordered that the poles should be stacked off the ground with stockers to allow for air circulation; he also emphasized the care needed to keep pieces together for identification. "No pieces, regardless of the stage of deterioration, should be destroyed," he affirmed.¹²⁷ But by then it was too late for most of the nineteenth-century poles.¹²⁸ Loyd Bransford [sic], a Forest Service employee in Klawock, reported on the situation plainly: "We have been following a practice of destroying all original totems as soon as replicas were completed. This was in accordance with the general desire to get them out of the way and was not against the wishes of the original owners. In addition we forestalled a storage problem and a moving job, where some owners might have demanded the totems returned."¹²⁹ No response from Heintzleman appears in the Forest Service correspondence. In any case, by the spring of 1942, there was little that could be done in way of remedy.¹³⁰

Why had the originals met this fate? It was not that the Forest Service ignored the significance of the nineteenth-century poles—as we have seen throughout this chapter, the old poles were of utmost importance as models for the copies. But that was precisely it: relying on the copy as a means for preservation, many Forest Service employees must have felt that once the details of the pole were recorded, the deteriorated pole was no longer needed. Archbold said as much when he explained the destruction to Heintzleman: "They [the original poles] were in no shape to preserve and once copies were made, they had served their purpose and to keep them indefinitely would create quite a problem."¹³¹

Archbold's logic would infuriate critics like Katherine Kuh, yet significantly, it echoed a Tlingit and Haida approach to preservation and replication. Destroying the old poles once they had been replicated paralleled the Native tradition of allowing totem poles to deteriorate after they had "served their purpose" at a potlatch; crests would be perpetuated not through preservation but by commissioning new carvings to replace the old. Viola Garfield frequently had to explain this logic to non-Natives who complained that Native peoples allowed their totem poles to rot. "Once a column is set up," she wrote in the popular text *Meet the Totem* (1951), "it is not kept in repair, since the owners receive no further glory by maintaining it. If they have the resources they may order a new carving and they may make mention of the old one at the dedication.... Many older people do not feel that the carvings should be preserved beyond the natural life of the

wood.”¹³² Garfield emphasized that the culture of conspicuous consumption on the Northwest Coast was at odds with the preservation of single objects, especially in a temperate environment where preservation was often futile.

Yet there were other ontological discrepancies between preservation in a western sense and a Tlingit and Haida approach to the perpetuation of crest objects through the “regeneration” of physical bodies. In an oral culture, knowledge could not be “preserved” in the western sense; it could not be recorded in written texts where the intricacies of its story were encoded for future reading. While totem poles and Chilkat blanket designs could act as mnemonics for stories—jogging the memory, as it were, and perhaps even providing a narrative structure for recounting those stories—they still relied on a living storyteller to bring forth the full story of their crests. The transmission of culture required the regeneration of knowledge in living individuals within each generation. Indeed, regenerative transmission was in keeping with Tlingit and Haida concepts of spiritual reincarnation. When the body died, the soul was soon reborn into a child of the same clan or lineage as the deceased, thus continuing the life of the clan.¹³³ The ancestor was not duplicated, per se, but the soul itself returned into a new body, helping to pass on knowledge or talents that would benefit the clan.¹³⁴ Notions such as these differ greatly from Christian eschatology: here, the soul was a singular entity, belonging to one individual and none other, which would be reunited with the body at the Resurrection. Thus the Christian emphasis on “preservation” of the deceased’s body by burial was done in order to assure that the soul could return to its own body with Christ’s second coming.¹³⁵ For the Tlingit, in contrast, bodies were traditionally cremated, the ashes placed in bentwood boxes and stored in the gravehouse or niche at the back of a mortuary totem pole; the soul, meanwhile, journeyed to *s’igeekáawu aani*, a non-corporeal village where spirits lived—and then returned to the living village via reincarnation.¹³⁶

Objects of *at.óow* had a similar disposition: the crests they represented were eternal, prerogatives of the clan that would continue through the multiple generations of physical bodies made to represent them. These physical forms were not identical to the last—there was no need for that (and no real way to assure it with the materials—mostly wood—available in a temperate rainforest). What mattered was that the crest was given a “worthy” physical support, which perhaps recalled the last, but which served in any case to make manifest the intangible crest stories so integral to clan identity. It was a notion that was a far cry from preserving a singular object as a prized “original”—and begins to explain, perhaps, why the Forest Service’s request for exact duplicates of totem poles in the CCC restoration project failed so often to materialize.

The language of several Tlingit and Haida carvers enrolled in the CCC suggest that concepts of regeneration informed their work. John Wallace’s quote of his father’s concern that Haida art would “die” if Wallace himself did not continue the tradition is one example of the regenerative need for living bearers of culture. In an interesting quote that I analyze further in the next chapter, Charles Brown, the lead carver from Saxman, used the language of regeneration to stress the importance of passing along the *stories* of totem poles to a new generation: “The story of our father’s totems is nearly dead, but now once again is being brought to life... The old carvers will not have died in vain. May these poles help to bring about prosperity for our people.”¹³⁷ Joe Thomas, one of the lead carvers at the CCC camp in Wrangell, also emphasized his desire to pass on the stories of

totem poles through generations via his cooperation with the CCC restoration program:

I wish to speak just a little bit to the government—brief. I would be sorrowful if I die with these stories. They are my grandfather’s stories but now I tell them out. Now I feel happy that the government asks me these stories while I am living. Of course I know I’m going to die sometime but my work is not going to die so I’m glad I’ve given my work so others can see. That is all I have to say.¹³⁸

Thomas sought another bearer of his forefather’s stories before he passed, and seemed to accept a government book as such a bearer. Both Thomas and Brown acknowledged that the restoration of the poles themselves would help revive the stories—yet it was the stories evoked by the poles that were highlighted as the location of knowledge.¹³⁹

Without a living person who knew the story of a totem pole—and who could pass that story on to the next generation—the physical object had little meaning.

Ironically, then, it was in the destruction of old poles that the Forest Service came closest to a Tlingit and Haida approach to replication as a means to regenerate, rather than preserve, crest objects of an older generation. The Forest Service’s emphasis on replicating the exact physical features of the old body conflicted with Tlingit and Haida artistic prerogatives to change the body in future iterations, yet its acceptance of the copy as a legitimate crest object in itself endorsed a Tlingit and Haida worldview. Destruction of original poles once they were replicated was one of few places where negotiations of replication in the New Deal totem parks met in the middle, underscoring the transcultural work of Natives and non-Natives to understand the nature of replication from each other’s view.

One last example highlights the transcultural shifts involved in negotiating ideas of replication in the New Deal totem parks. In 1940, Paul Morrison, the Haida mayor of Hydaburg and a claimant to the Howkan Eagle, wrote to the Office of Indian Affairs asking about his legal right to *copyright* the Howkan Eagle. “An understanding exists between the Forest Service and myself that the totem is not to be sold but this does not protect against individuals making copies of the totem,” Morrison wrote. “I should appreciate knowing if I can copyright the totem and the procedure necessary.” Significantly, Morrison was speaking about copyrighting John Wallace’s *copy* of the Howkan Eagle—the first copy with the Chilkat blanket that Linn Forrest would later move to Totem Bight.¹⁴⁰ The note revealed that Morrison still considered Wallace’s version as his family’s clan crest and that he sought to retain rights over future replications of that crest—a continuation of Haida protocols of exclusive clan rights to crest objects that Morrison now sought to ground in U.S. law. Morrison’s question went as far as the Solicitor’s Office for the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C.; the solicitor responded that he doubted that Morrison would qualify for copyright on a totem pole now owned by the U.S. government, but he encouraged him to contact the patent office directly.¹⁴¹ It is not clear whether Morrison followed through on this option, but the incident highlighted another aspect of transculturation in the New Deal totem parks. Like the assertion of Tlingit and Haida approaches to replication in the totem pole restoration project, Morrison’s request was also a clear sign that replicated crests in the New Deal totem parks still had meaning among the Tlingit and Haida.

¹Garfield and Forrest praised the Howkan Eagle in *The Wolf and the Raven* as “one of the most stately and impressive of the southeastern Alaska sculptures.” Viola E. Garfield and Linn A. Forrest, *The Wolf and the Raven: Totem Poles of Southeast Alaska* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961 [1949]), p. 97.

²A memo from Linn Forrest to C.M. Archbold in July 1940 stated: “Mr. Wallace assures me that it will not be necessary to bring the old Eagle from Howkan to be used as a model.” Forrest to Archbold, 7/12/40. Record Group 95: Records of the United States Forest Service, Correspondence Relating to Activities of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1937-1942, National Archives and Records Administration—Pacific Alaska Region (Anchorage), Box 2, File U (CCC) Improvement, General, Indian and Totem Restoration.

³Forrest to Archbold, 10/3/41.

⁴Heintzleman to Garfield, 3/28/49. Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections, Box 1, File 1.

⁵Archbold to Bransford, 10/6/41.

⁶For a discussion of the relationship between “old” and “authentic” in Native art, see Judith Ostrowitz, *Privileging the Past: Reconstructing History in Northwest Coast Native Art* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), pp. 3-18.

⁷Forrest to Lew M. Williams, Wrangell Chamber of Commerce [and owner of the *Wrangell Sentinel*], 3/20/41.

⁸These numbers were reported in Edward Keithahn, *Monuments in Cedar: The Authentic Story of the Totem Pole* Enlarged and Revised Edition (New York: Bonanza Books, 1948), p. 177. Keithahn was an instructor at the Wrangell Institute at the time of the CCC project and documented the work of the CCC in Wrangell; he later served as the director of the Alaska State Museum in Juneau. My count of repaired and replicated poles, gathered through Viola Garfield’s notes at the University of Washington, seems to confirm Keithahn’s numbers, although information is no longer available for every pole in the CCC project. See Appendix A: Totem Poles and Clan Houses in the CCC Totem Parks.

⁹Regional Forester Heintzleman relied heavily on Viola Garfield for knowledge of Tlingit and Haida totem poles. For example, although Archbold had initially dismissed the Secretary of State pole at Tongass Village as unworthy of restoration, Heintzleman learned from Garfield that the pole had been written about in several anthropological articles and told Archbold: “Apparently this pole is of exceptional interest and I suggest we make a special effort to duplicate it” (Heintzleman to Archbold, 11/18/40). Archbold also made an effort to educate himself about totem poles, writing to the Washington Academy of Sciences in Madison, Wisconsin to request a copy of Marius Barbeau’s 1939 article, “The Modern Growth of the Totem Pole on the Northwest Coast” (Archbold to Washington Academy, 3/9/39) and compiling books that Garfield recommended for the Forest Service library. Linn Forrest’s study of Northwest Coast design is apparent in his designs for totem poles for the CCC parks, and, later, in the carving he designed for the door of his own home in Juneau.

¹⁰Viola Garfield and Linn Forrest wrote in the introduction to *The Wolf and the Raven*: “Only a few of the men who worked on the project had had any previous carving experience, though most of them had worked on houses and boats and were therefore

familiar with woodworking tools.” Garfield and Forrest, p. 10.

¹¹Heintzelman to Archbold, 4/19/39.

¹²Burdick to Archbold, 2/18/41.

¹³Scholarship on the crest designs of the Northwest Coast has shown that the physical appearance of the crest was secondary to the intangible clan prerogatives bound up in that crest, such as the right to tell its crest story and to display it at a potlatch. Further, artists had the right to alter the physical appearance of new iterations of the crest object. Steve Brown writes that “typically, in the whole [Northwest] coastal area, the intent of a traditional native ‘copy’ is to duplicate the crest images involved, not the object’s literal appearance. Each artist is free to interpret the prescribed figures in his own individual way.” Steve Brown, “In the Shadow of the Wrangell Master,” *American Indian Art Magazine* 19:4 (Autumn 1994), p. 77. For a Kwakwaka’wakw example of altered replicas, see Ira Jacknis’s discussion of Mungo Martin’s replicated house for the Royal British Columbia Museum in Jacknis, “Authenticity and the Mungo Martin House, Victoria, B.C.: Visual and Verbal Sources,” *Arctic Anthropology* 27:2 (1990), pp. 1-12; also Jacknis, *The Storage Box of Tradition*, p. 154.

¹⁴A. Wetmore to A. Cammerer, 11/14/38.

¹⁵Burdick to Wyckoff, 3/29/39.

¹⁶For the old as the desiderata of Native art collectors, see Ira Jacknis, *The Storage Box of Tradition: Kwakiutl Art, Anthropologists, and Museums, 1881-1981* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002), pp. 40-43.

¹⁷Douglas Cole famously described the nineteenth-century’s collecting “scramble” in *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985).

¹⁸The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, for example, signaled a sea change in federal policy toward Native Americans, abolishing the pro-assimilation policies of the 1884 Dawes Act (which were predicated, in part, on the belief that Natives were a dying race and the vestiges of their culture were best assimilated into a Christian, farming lifestyle) and establishing Native self-governance through tribal councils. However, nostalgia for the traditional Indian belied the “forward-looking” emphasis of the new federal policies: John Collier, the Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the spearheader of the reforms in the Indian New Deal, was a romantic primitivist, intent on Native cultures as the last bastions of “communitas” that he felt the modern world had destroyed. For a brief overview of Collier’s career, see Jennifer McLerran *A New Deal for Native Art: Indian Art and Federal Policy, 1933-1943* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009), pg. 43-48. For the limits of Collier’s Indian Reorganization Act, see Graham D. Taylor, *The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism: The Administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1934-45* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980).

¹⁹For his collection of Zuni art at the Brooklyn Museum, for example, Stewart Culin commissioned copies of 75 dolls and 23 masks based on old models, rather than buy original works by contemporary Zuni artists, because he believed these more representative of Zuni culture than modern hybrid works. See Diana Fane, “New Questions for ‘Old Things’: The Brooklyn Museum’s Zuni Collection,” in *The Early Years of Native American Art History*, Janet Catherine Berlo, Ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), pp. 62-87; also Karen Lucic and Bruce Bernstein, “In Pursuit

of the Ceremonial: The Laboratory of Anthropology's 'Master Collection' of Zuni Pottery," *Journal of the Southwest* 50:1 (Spring 2008), p. 15.

²⁰For an interesting twist on such claims to authenticity, see Lucic and Bernstein, p. 36.

²¹Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations*, No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring, 1989), pp. 107-122.

²²The preliminary manual for artists employed by the Index of American Design emphasized similar aspects of "exact duplication" as the Forest Service did to Tlingit and Haida carvers: "strict objectivity, accurate drawing, clarity of construction, exact proportions, and faithful rendering of material, color and texture so that each Index drawing might stand as a surrogate for the object." See A. Joan Saab, *For the Millions: Art and Culture Between the Wars* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pg. 77. Saab also notes that the camera was not allowed because the Index sought to "preserve hand skills" involved in the making of American design just as much as the designs themselves.

²³Virginia Tuttle Clayton, for example, notes that the administrators of the Index were dedicated modernists, not antiquarians, and that they "wanted to assemble visual resources for artists and designs to use in creating a distinctly American modernism." See Virginia Tuttle Clayton, Elizabeth Stillinger, Erika Doss, and Debora Chotner, *Drawing on America's Past: Folk Art, Modernism, and the Index of American Design* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art: 2002), pg. 2.

²⁴For a similar case in Canada, see Leslie Dawn's chapter on the 1927 exhibit, "Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern," in *National Visions, National Blindness: Canadian Art and Identities in the 1920s* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006).

²⁵This pole matches the description that Robin Wright provided for one of two corner poles at Duncan *ginaawan*'s house at Klinkwan. By the 1930s, according to Viola Garfield's notes, Adam Spuhn had inherited this house and claimed the corner pole. See Wright, *Northern Haida Master Carvers* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2003), pp. 177-178.

²⁶Snow, "The Building of Whale House II, December 1938," unpublished journal and photographic album, copy in the Tongass Historical Museum, Ketchikan, Alaska. Snow noted that it took an entire day for a crew of five men to move a large timber to the clan house site with the help of a fifteen-ton Beebe hoist.

²⁷Archbold praised the Hydaburg CCC for their "fine work bringing 16 poles to Hydaburg...especially... since they were in fair shape after this handling." Archbold, memo for files, 4/1/39. RG 95, Box 2.

²⁸The Howkan Eagle is one example; another is Charles Brown voyaging to Tongass Village to sketch the Seward Pole, as reported in "New Totem Pole Will be Carved," *Ketchikan Chronicle*, 2/1/41.

²⁹Heintzleman to Archbold, 2/24/39.

³⁰In 1969, a report by the Alaska State Museum of Southeast Alaska's totem poles noted that the use of cement and marine glues in the CCC period had irreparably damaged poles, since these materials were abrasive to the inner structure of the pole as it swelled with moisture over the years. See Wilson Duff, Jane Wallen and Joe Clark, "Totem Pole Survey of Southeastern Alaska," (Juneau: Alaska State Museum, October 1969).

³¹Claude Morrison, personal interview, 2/1/2009, Hydaburg, Alaska.

³²One newspaper account, for example, stated that Saxman's lead carver Charles "Brown will draw out a rough design on a stripped red cedar log at the Saxman workshop. Then his crew of native carvers will go to work to make a full-size replica of the ancient pole at Tongass." "New Totem Pole Will be Carved," *Ketchikan Chronicle*, 2/1/41.

³³One of Viola Garfield's first tasks as the Forest Service's collaborator was to compile a list of books heavy on illustrations of Tlingit and Haida poles. Her list, annotated to educate the Forest Service on what was clearly a foreign literature, betrayed the paucity of models available for their replications: of the seven books she listed, only two were specific to Southeast Alaska. Her list read in this order: Franz Boas, *PRIMITIVE ART* (Oslo 1927); Pliny Earle Goddard, *INDIANS OF THE NORTHWEST COAST* (AMNH, Handbook Series No. 10, 1924); George T. Emmons, *ART OF THE NORTHWEST COAST INDIANS* (Natural History, Vol. 30, No. 3, May-June 1930); A.P. Niblack *INDIANS OF SOUTHERN ALASKA AND NORTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA* (Report of the U.S. Nat'l Museum for 1888, Washington, D.C., 1890); Marius Barbeau, *TOTEM POLES OF THE GITKSAN, UPPER SKEENA RIVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA*. (Bul. 61, Anthropological Series No. 12, National Museum of Canada); John R. Swanton *TLINGIT MYTHS AND TEXTS* (Bul. 39, Bureau of American Ethnology 1909); John R. Swanton, *SOCIAL CONDITIONS, BELIEFS AND LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIPS OF THE TLINGITS* (Twenty-sixth annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, D.C.). Garfield to Archbold, 6/14/40. Correspondence, Box 2.

³⁴Heintzleman to Archbold, 11/18/40.

³⁵Forrest to Snow, 2/23/40.

³⁶Wallace and several other Haida men told Garfield that the land otter figures by the Howkan Eagle were particularly frightening when they were children. Viola Garfield, Hydaburg/Klawock Notebook II, Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections. For more on B.A. Haldane, see Mique'l Askren, "From Negative to Positive: B.A. Haldane, 19th C. Tsimshian Photographer," Master's Thesis, Department of Art History, Visual Art and Theory, University of British Columbia, 2006.

³⁷Forrest, Memorandum for Forest Service Files, 11/22/38.

³⁸Snow's records are copious and still scattered across southern Southeast Alaska. "The Building of P.I.V. [Primitive Indian Village] Center House," now at the State Parks Office at Totem Bight in Ketchikan, chronicles enrollee attendance and day-by-day building progress of the clan house, a rare insight into the actual building methods. "Whale House and Totems," two binders of which are in private hands in Ketchikan, records with photographs the building of the Whale house at Kasaan and the totem poles. Copies of both are now in the Tongass Historical Museum, Ketchikan, Alaska. Lee Wallace of Saxman kindly shared the journal of Walter Aikens, CCC foreman at the Hydaburg camp, titled "Creation of An Alaskan Totem Pole, 1941 Style." This is yet another journal of a CCC employee that documents the work of enrollees at a CCC totem park; while it does not contain old stories, the journal is evidence that many non-Natives involved in the CCC program took great interest in the totem pole preservation project.

³⁹C.R. Snow to Archbold, 2/16/40.

⁴⁰Snow's complete note on the purlins read: "Old timers, particularly Joe Jones who claims to have worked on several houses at Old Kasaan, say that the poles did not project

beyond the shakes at all in the case of dwellings; that only smoke houses were thus roughly finished. The purlins they say, were all cut off flush with the shakes and were boxed in by a board nailed to them underneath and a verge board nailed over ends of shakes, purlins and to edge of under board...It is suggested that you check this by referring to photographs of old Haida houses (Thinklet houses might be different), and that if above described construction was characteristic of Haida houses of about 1880-90 that it be incorporated in Whale House instead of present roof finish. The older men feel that the irregular roof finish now in Whale House is a reflection of the quality of workmanship in their old dwellings and would like to see it changed.” C.R. Snow to Archbold, 2/16/40.

⁴¹ For example, although Snow had already begun work on the roof of the Whale House, “upon learning [from the ‘old timers,’ as he referred to elders elsewhere in his letter] that in old houses all rafters touched Z.K.G.’s [“zance ka geet”—Snow’s anglicized version of the Haida word for roof beams] and that bolsters were not used, construction of roof has been suspended pending the decisions above requested” (Handwritten memo from Snow to Archbold, 12/11/39, pg. 5, Target 4 Box 2). Linn Forrest seems to have okayed this change, siding with Native tradition; in another case, however, when James Peele suggested tall corner poles for the Whale House were a Haida tradition, Forrest rejected it because the Saaniheit house at New Kasaan did not have tall corner posts in photographs.

⁴²Heintzleman detailed Garfield’s contract in a letter to Dr. Erna Gunther, the chair of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Washington: “The U.S. Forest Service has been engaged during the past two years in restoring old historical Indian totems and community houses and much research has necessarily been done on the history, legends, and myths of the Indians of Southeastern Alaska. Additional material of this nature should now be collected and the whole prepared in a Government publication in order to insure its preservation. I would like to formally request that your department consent to the appointment of Dr. Viola E. Garfield as ‘Collaborator’ in the Department of Agriculture for the preparation of this publication.

“Dr. Garfield will serve without salary and will be headquartered in Seattle. Her transportation expenses will be borne by the Government and she will receive a per diem of \$5.00 per day while ashore and not subsisted by the Government; \$3.00 per day while on commercial steamers and she will receive no per diem while on Forest Service boats where all subsistence is furnished” (7/2/40 letter from Heintzleman to Erna Gunther, University of Washington, Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections). Some details of this contract were later amended, however, particularly that the university was required to pay her living expenses, while the Forest Service “to furnish transportation and subsistence on our small boats for local trips to surrounding Indian villages” (8/26/40 telegram from Heintzleman to Garfield, Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections).

⁴³As her journals made clear, Garfield shared Boas’s wariness of “degenerate” designs in Northwest Coast Native art. For Boas’s fears that traditional Northwest Coast Native art was “degenerating” with contact with western art forms, see Aldona Jonaitis, *A Wealth of Thought: Franz Boas on Native American Art* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), p. 26.

⁴⁴Viola Garfield notebooks, Klawock/Hydaburg I, Box 10, Viola Garfield papers,

University of Washington Special Collections.

⁴⁵Viola Garfield, March 13, 1950 interview with Julius Frank, Ketchikan, Viola Garfield Notebooks "Ketchikan," Box 10, University of Washington Special Collections.

⁴⁶Archbold to Heintzleman, 2/5/41. Correspondence, Box 2, File U (CCC) Improvement, General, Indian and Totem Restoration.

⁴⁷Smith to Archbold, 1/31/40. Correspondence, Box 2.

⁴⁸Holbrook to Snow, 2/23/39. Correspondence, Box 2. However, it is important to note that some "modern" devices were employed in CCC reconstruction. C.R. Snow's journal notes that "spikes and drift bolts were used wherever they would strengthen and increase the durability of the structures" in the reconstruction of the Whale House (Snow, "Whale House and Totems," n.p., Tongass Historical Museum); the C.C.C. also pioneered the use of soaking poles in preservatives and placing copper or iron caps on the tops of totem poles, practices which are still used for totem pole preservation today.

⁴⁹4/19/39 telegram from Archbold to the Juneau, RG 95, Box 1.

⁵⁰Of the Bear Tracks pole at Hydaburg, for example, Garfield noted that Wallace complained "he had too small a timber for this pole and didn't like it." Similarly, he noted for the Master Carpenter pole at Mud Bight that "some of the small faces were left off because the stick was smaller." Viola Garfield papers, University of Washington Special Collections, Box 10, Hydaburg/Klawock I Notebook.

⁵¹The dimensions listed for the original Saaniheit pole were impressive for a tree from the northern rainforest: "59'-0"-Height above the ground line; 6'-at least this height below ground; 5'-width of face (inside sapwood) at base; 3'-6" thickness of face (inside sapwood) at top; 2'-6" thickness at top." Heintzleman to Archbold, 3/4/40.

Correspondence, Box 1. Forrest and Heintzleman were keenly disappointed that they had to resort to a 50'-copy made of two conjoined poles, so much so that even when the fifty-foot copy was completed they continued to hunt for a single tree in the hopes of making a second, "exact" copy.

⁵²In 1989, Aldona Jonaitis criticized the CCC project for its "crude carvings that displayed no understanding of the formal rules governing traditional two-dimensional art [and which] were made worse by equally crude applications of paint" ("Totem Poles and the Indian New Deal," p. 245). Contemporary observers also criticized the CCC paint job. As early as July of 1939, the National Park Service wrote to Forest Service officials in Juneau to request an investigation into the type of paint used on Sitka's restored poles, noting that several visitors had complained it was "too shiny" (7/12/39 telegram from Holbrook to Chipperfield). Writers as far away as Illinois questioned the "historical precedent" for the bright colors and copious quantity of paint on the CCC poles (7/22/43 letter from J. Monaghan, Illinois State Historical Library to Archbold).

⁵³Holbrook noted Linn's research on paints in a letter to all District Rangers: "In Mr. Linn Forrest's memorandum of November 22, 1938, he makes the following statement regarding colors used by the Indians.

"The green paint was obtained by grinding a small stone which was found on the bench with salmon eggs which had been chewed with cedar bark. This seems to have produced one of their most permanent colors.

'A lighter green was produced by permitting copper to corrode in urine.

'Yellow came from boiling a variety of tree moss, and black in the same manner

by using hemlock bark.

‘Red was produced the same as the darker shade of green, a small red stone being ground with the salmon eggs serving to produce the binder.

“While we will probably find it more convenient to use commercial paints and stains, the information quoted above may be of interest to you.” Holbrook to Division Directors, 2/16/39.

⁵⁴In March 1939, for example, the *Ketchikan Chronicle* reported that “four Indian CCC enrollees returned to Ketchikan last night from Cape Fox where they have been gathering rocks for the making of primitive paints to be used in restoring totem poles” (“CCC Indians Get Rocks for Totem Paint: Expedition Returns from Cape Fox Aboard St. Anna,” *Ketchikan Chronicle*, 3/14/39). However, one week later, the same newspaper reported that the crew would “have to use white man’s paint for bluish and green coloring. They used to get copper rock near Tree Point, pound it up and derive a paint of unusual lasting qualities by mixing the rock powder with crushed salmon eggs and juice obtained from chewing hemlock bark. This spring an expedition went to the old rock site. It was gone. Some prospector had blasted and shipped all the rock away” (“Totem Work Progresses at Saxman: Skilled Craftsmen Complete Carving on Seven Poles,” *Ketchikan Chronicle*, 3/28/39).

⁵⁵In 1926, Peter Nielsen had interviewed Jim Jacobs, an elderly carver in Sitka who had carved the Multiplying Wolf house posts for the Kaagwaantaan potlatch in Sitka in 1904. Jacobs had hired six Native women to make the paint binding for the Multiplying Wolf posts, and he explained to Nielsen in detail the ratios and kind of dried trout eggs with spruce pitchy roots to make the binding (RG 51: Totem Poles: History and Documentation of Sitka National Historical Park Box 2 Folder 21 Sitka National Historical Park).

⁵⁶A telegram on March 8, 1939 from Archbold to the Juneau headquarters stated: “HAVE HAD LITTLE SUCCESS OBTAINING NATIVE INGREDIENTS OTHER THAN SALMON EGG OIL stop BELIEVE NECESSARY USE CERTAIN COMMERCIAL COLORING BASE” (3/8/39 Archbold to Forestry, Juneau).

⁵⁷Linn Forrest recorded the formula in a letter to Walter Aikens: “The following formula is for lead and oil paint and is used as a basis for all colors: 25# White lead paste, 1 gal. boiled linseed oil, 1 quart of drier. To this a small amount of turpentine may be added to thin the paint although I have usually added more linseed oil and drier in about equal portions when thinning was necessary. In mixing colors such as bluegreen, red, etc. I use the colors in the cans which are pure color pigment, not paint, by thinning them with linseed oil and then adding them to the above white lead paint. Use only a small amount of white lead paint and add the thinned pigment to it. If the paint tends to be slow in setting (24 to 48 hrs is the usual time) add more drier. If the paint dries too rapidly, however, it will tend to “alligator” or check. In this case use less drier” (Linn Forrest to Walter Aikens, 12/30/40).

⁵⁸Ira Jacknis (2002:162) has noted the “anthropological ‘recreation’ against...all-over enamel painting” for a totem pole preservation program at the Royal British Columbia Museum in the 1950s, which took some lessons from the CCC restoration program in Alaska. Wilson Duff, a student of Viola Garfield who oversaw the Canadian program, felt that replicated poles should be left relatively unpainted and that “their appearance

would be improved by further weathering.” See Jacknis, *The Storage Box of Tradition*, p. 162, 169.

⁵⁹Archbold explained as much when he wrote: “The paint used gave a dull finish. But when we applied several coats of pentraseal varnish the poles had a glossy finish for the first year.” Archbold to Monaghan, 8/9/43.

⁶⁰The Madison Laboratory recommendations were quoted in a Forest Service memo circulated to all district rangers: “...we believe that about the best treatment you can give the repaired totem poles (before painting) is to soak them for an hour or more, without heat, in one of the new “window sash” preservatives...A preservative that should be suitable is 2-chlororthophenylphenol, which is also sold as ‘permatol D-concentrate.’ It can be obtained from A.D. Chapman and Co., 7 South Dearborn St., Chicago... When the wood is seasoned a few days after treatment, the solvent naphtha evaporates, leaving the 2-cholororthophenylphenol in the wood. The result is a dry, paintable surface that is not discolored.” Wellman Holbrook, memo for Forest Service files, 2/16/39.

⁶¹The Forest Products Laboratory noted: “If it were not for the dark color and the unsatisfactory paintability of creosoted wood we would recommend hot and cold bath treatment of that preservative, or even repeated brushing with it. The discoloring effect of the creosote could be considerably decreased by diluting it about 50 percent with kerosene and letting the precipitate that is formed settle out. Treatment with this solution would be less effective than with straight creosote but it would undoubtedly have some value.” Wellman Holbrook memo for Forest Service files, 2/16/39.

⁶²Archbold to Forestry, Juneau, 11/27/40.

⁶³Holbrook to Forestry, Ketchikan, 11/28/40.

⁶⁴Another example came in November 1939, when a disgusted Heintzleman reported an “appalling error” on the part of James Peele of Kasaan. Peele, “without permission, went ahead and stained to a pink color portions of four totem poles and the upright bear figure at Kasaan that were intended to be left in the natural color.” Heintzleman reported that Mr. Peele’s pink paint was apparently an attempt at preservation: Peele “explained this off color by saying his intentions were to match the natural wood color but that the necessary pigments were not on hand. The reason for painting these originally untreated areas was to preserve the wood” (Heintzleman memo for Southern Division, 11/17/39). Peele was forced to adze off all the offending paint and start again.

⁶⁵Hydaburg CCC Carver Claude Morrison twice told me that carvers could “make out” some of the paint on the old poles and carefully tried to match the paint in their restoration efforts. He also said that they painted only parts of the poles, not the entire poles as was done later (Morrison, personal interview, 1/1/09, Hydaburg, Alaska). This latter statement is unclear, however, since many of the poles appear entirely painted in period photographs.

⁶⁶Interestingly, Garfield, who had noted the “restricted paint colors” of classical poles, defended the CCC paint scheme in the *Wolf and the Raven*: “The artistic native style of decoration was followed strictly,” she wrote (Garfield and Forrest, p.9). It is unclear how she defended this statement given the all-over paint of many of the CCC poles.

⁶⁷See footnote 53 for Forrest’s original paint research.

⁶⁸To date, most art historical scholarship on Tlingit art has focused on northern Tlingit art, as in Aldona Jonaitis’s classic *Art of the Northern Tlingit* (Seattle: University of

Washington Press, 1986). Similarly, Kaigani Haida art is under-studied in comparison to that from Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands, Canada).

⁶⁹Garfield and Forrest, p. 9.

⁷⁰Tlingit master carver Nathan Jackson has stated that yellow was introduced with boat paints, where it was used to paint the boom or sometimes hull, and was then used on totem poles. Nathan Jackson quoted in Tricia Brown, *Silent Storytellers of Totem Bight State Historical Park* (Anchorage: Alaska Geographic Association, 2009), p.17.

⁷¹Tricia Brown, p. 25.

⁷²For analysis of color in nineteenth-century black and white photographs, see Bill Holm, “Old Photos Might Not Lie, But They Fib a Lot about Color,” *American Indian Art Magazine*, 10.4 (1985), pp. 44-49; and “Old Photographs: Sometimes You Just Can’t Believe Your Eyes,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 51:2 Special Western Art Issue (Summer 2001), pp. 30-35.

⁷³The original house post was carved by Dwight Wallace, John Wallace’s father. See Robin Wright, *Northern Haida Master Carvers* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), p.193.

⁷⁴An example of Forrest’s paint chart, which included recipes for the proper mixture of colors, appears as a memo from Loyd Bransford to Archbold, 3/21/40. Bransford noted that Forrest had posted this paint chart on the paint cabinets at Saxman, Klawock and Hydaburg.

⁷⁵Viola Garfield papers, Klawock/Hydaburg II, Box 10, University of Washington Special Collections.

⁷⁶For example of this romantic view of classical poles, see Adelaide de Menil and Bill Reid, *Out of the Silence* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1971).

⁷⁷For a history of the Three Frogs pole, which ridiculed the Kiks.ádi for allowing three of its women to marry Naanyaayi slaves, see Edward L. Keithahn, “The Authentic History of Shakes Island and Clan,” Wrangell Historical Society 1981 reprint [1940], p. 9.

⁷⁸Forrest to Lew Williams, Editor of the *Wrangell Sentinel*, 5/20/40.

⁷⁹Forrest knew he was acting against Tlingit wishes in insisting that the Three Frogs Pole be remade. In a 1983 interview with two Juneau-based architects who were restoring the Shakes Island clan house for the first time since the CCC, Forrest recalled being “told by the locals I would get in trouble because it [the Three Frogs pole] showed an unpaid debt....They predicted trouble, but no problem ever came of it.” “Linn Forrest, Sr., Recalls CCC Project,” Interview with Richard Ritter and Paul Voelckers, October 31, 1983, Juneau, Alaska. File in Wrangell Public Library. Another shame pole in Saxman still causes controversy. Although some members of the clan the pole shames wants to “pay off” the debt and have the pole removed, many in the community oppose the destruction of this pole because of its great tourist appeal. Cara Wallace, personal communication, 3/14/09.

⁸⁰For the most complete history of Russians and the Kiks.ádi, see *Anóoshi Lingít Aani Ká, Russians in Tlingit America: The Battles of Sitka 1802 and 1804*, Nora Marks Dauenhauer, Richard Dauenhauer, and Lydia T. Black, Eds. *Classics of Tlingit Oral Literature*, Vol. 4 (Seattle: University of Washington, 2008).

⁸¹Most of the poles in the Sitka National Historical Park had been brought from Haida villages, and local Tlingits had little relationship to them. Thomas Thornton noted that

even in the 1980s, most Sitka elders made no mention of the National Park poles, but that they were proud of the newer poles commissioned with Sitka (and especially Kiks.ádi) history. See Thomas F. Thornton, "Traditional Tlingit Use of Sitka National Historical Park," (National Park Service Report, 1998).

⁸²Forrest to Hirst, 3/14/42. The allowance for a new pole may seem surprising, given the Forest Service's predilection for nineteenth-century poles, but there was some precedent for it: Forrest's plan for all-new poles at the Primitive Indian Village slated for Ketchikan, for example. The Kiks.ádi's pole also had the support of Alaska's National Park Service director, Frank Been, who defended it to a skeptical Heintzleman: "In view of the nature of the monument, and the fact that the work will be done by natives according to their own ideas, the proposal may have merit. The addition may seem modern to us, but to succeeding generations might be a very appropriate part of a totem display" (Frank Been to Heintzleman, 3/8/40).

⁸³See Been's letter to Heintzleman, 3/8/40.

⁸⁴G.T. Emmons notes that the Tlingit never used the black bear as a crest, only the brown bear (*xúts*), so this bear likely referred to the Russian national symbol. See Emmons, p. 202.

⁸⁵The double-eagle seal was apparently a reference to the real brass medallion which Baranof gave to the Kiks.ádi in 1805 and which was stored at the Alaska Museum in Juneau. It may have been Benson's intention to re-appropriate this medal for the Sitka pole itself, but the Forest Service insisted it remain in the museum; the carving on the wood replicated the seal.

⁸⁶Garfield noted in a photo album of the Sitka pole that Dr. Frederica de Laguna, an anthropologist at Bryn Mawr College well-known for her work on the Tlingit, told her that in 1954 George Benson had told De Laguna that he was "embarrassed" to have his name on bronze plaque in front of Baranof pole because "it had a mistake on it." Viola Garfield Photo Album, Vol. 11 (Sitka), Viola Garfield Photograph Collection, University of Washington Special Collections.

⁸⁷Forrest to Claude Hirst, 3/14/42.

⁸⁸Sergei Kan discusses the history of hostilities between the Sitka Kaagwaantaan and the Naanyaa.aayí of Wrangell, clans which were both members of the Tlingit Eagle/Wolf moiety. After decades of raids and skirmishes, the Naanyaa.aayí apparently initiated a peace settlement in 1851, but when they were invited to Sitka in February 1852, they were ambushed by the Kaagwaantaan in a Sitka clan house. It is unclear why this feud extended to the Kiks.ádi of Sitka to fuel their hostility toward Wrangell, but apparently the problems between the two *kwáans* spilled over into other local clans. In any case, the C.C.C. carvers in Wrangell belonged to clans with no direct role in the Kiks.ádi's history with Baranof and the Russians in Sitka, and certainly had no claim to the history depicted on the Baranof pole. For the history of the 1852 massacre, see Kan, *Memory Eternal: Tlingit Culture and Russian Christianity Through Two Centuries* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), pp. 138-139.

⁸⁹John H. Brillhart to Harold Smith, 7/28/41.

⁹⁰Linn Forrest to Harold Smith, 8/19/41.

⁹¹Brillhart included a memo from National Park Service custodian Ben Miller to explain the situation. Benson had submitted his sketch of the Baranof pole to Miller at the

National Park, trusting that it would be sent to Sitka Tlingits for carving. When Mr. Heath, a Forest Service official from Juneau, visited Sitka, Miller showed him the design, and Heath asked to make a copy for Linn Forrest to see in Juneau. Heath also asked Miller about the story behind the figures on Benson's sketch, and as Miller relayed the story to him, noted the figures in the margins (on a copy?) of the sketch. Heath took the sketch to Juneau to make a copy and returned the original to Sitka; however, a copy or version of Benson's sketch was sent to the C.C.C. camp at Wrangell, without ever consulting George Benson or the Sitka Tlingits. John Brillhart to Harold Smith, 9/11/41.

⁹²Harold E. Smith to John Brillhart. 10/2/41.

⁹³The "legitimate display" of *at.óow* is of central importance to Tlingit ceremonialism.

See, for example, Judith Ostrowitz, p. 22.

⁹⁴Anne Sutton, "Top man on a totem pole could get his clothes back," *USAToday*. June 7, 2008. http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2008-06-07-3923207711_x.htm. Accessed October 10, 2008.

⁹⁵Interestingly, a lead carver at the Wrangell CCC stated that they had made mistakes in carving the Baranof pole. Thomas Ukas, a lead carver at Wrangell, gave his history of the pole to Viola Garfield in 1950: "Tom says the timber was divided into figures by Joe Thomas who got the bottom ones too large and the top fig. too short. He also said that the carving was started by men at CCC shop in Wrangell. They made many mistakes. Tom was finally brought in and he and Joe Thomas finished it. He says that the pole is not good, too many mistakes and the carving done too fast." 3/4/50 interview with Thomas Ukase in Wrangell notebook, Box 10 of Viola Garfield papers, University of Washington Special Collections.

⁹⁶Andrew P. Hope, Sitka, to Claude Hirst, Indian Office, Juneau, 3/8/42.

⁹⁷The anthropologist Frederica de Laguna noted that, well into the twentieth century, "possession of the same crest, or attempts to claim it, . . . provoke[d] bitter hostility [among the Tlingit]" (1972:453), writing elsewhere that clans "might be as jealous of their own way of rendering the crest as if the crest itself were their exclusive prerogative" (1972: 453). De Laguna cited the 1901 case of the Liuknax.adi house in Sitka, where a rival Kiksadi member, whose clan also claimed the frog as its crest, hacked off a newly carved frog on a Liukanax.adi house post. Members of both clans, De Laguna noted, were outraged that the new American laws would have imprisoned the Liuknax.adi members who wanted, in rightful revenge, to shoot the Kiksadi ax-man for his affront (1972:288). Frederica de Laguna, *Under Mount Saint Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. 7, Part 1).

⁹⁸As I discuss in the epilogue, the City of Sitka raised a restored Baranof pole in November 2011 by Tommy Joseph; the new pole gives Baranof his clothes.

⁹⁹Garfield and Forrest, p. 97.

¹⁰⁰Garfield and Forrest, p. 97.

¹⁰¹The totem poles at Totem Bight, or the Primitive Indian Village as it was originally called, would not be copies of old ones, but new designs, as indicated in a handwritten memo by Forrest: "The carvers, especially at Saxman, will have opportunities to display their creative abilities on the new poles for the Primitive Village." However, the PIV was never finished, being cut short with the sudden end of the CCC program in 1942 as the U.S. entered World War II. Wallace's Chilkat Eagle was not erected for some time: in

1946, when Katharine Kuh visited the park for her report on the status of Southeast Alaska's carving, she found eleven CCC poles uncovered on the beach on skids, including Wallace's Eagle (Kuh, "Confidential Report on the Preservation of Indian Art in Southeastern Alaska," 1946, Part I, pg. 9.) I have not yet learned when the Howkan Chilkat Eagle was erected at the park; today it stands at the park's entrance just off North Tongass Highway.

¹⁰²For more on *gid k'wáajus*, see Robin Wright, *Northern Haida Master Carvers* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), pp.193-204; see also my Chapter 3.

¹⁰³John Wallace, "Autobiography of John Wallace" (1931). Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections, Box 5, File 4.

¹⁰⁴For a discussion of changing material indexes of wealth and prestige among the Haida, see Margaret Blackman, *Window on the Past: The Photographic Ethnohistory of the Northern Kaigani Haida* (National Museum of Canada, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper 74 [1981]).

¹⁰⁵Garfield stated that Wallace had participated in this destruction at Klinkwan. See Garfield and Forrest, p. 7.

¹⁰⁶Robin Wright notes that Wallace was commissioned to carve several fourteen-foot canoes in the 1920s by patrons on the east coast. It is unclear how these patrons learned of Wallace's work. See Wright 2001, p. 314; also Chapter 4 in this dissertation.

¹⁰⁷For an overview of d'Harnoncourt's exhibit at the 1939 World's Fair and at the 1941 MoMA show, see W. Jackson Rushing, "Marketing the Affinity of the Primitive and the Modern: René d'Harnoncourt and 'Indian Art of the United States,'" *The Early Years of Native American Art History*, Ed. Janet Catherine Berlo (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), pp. 200-205.

¹⁰⁸D'Harnoncourt, "Report on Trip to Alaska," 1938, RG 435-Records of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Alaska Division, Folder 2, National Archives and Records Administration, Anchorage.

¹⁰⁹A copy of these notes by Frederic Douglas are in the Tongass Historical Museum, Ketchikan, Alaska.

¹¹⁰Tricia Brown, p. 25.

¹¹¹See Cheryl Samuel, *The Chilkat Dancing Blanket* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), p. 36.

¹¹²6/19/41 interview with Wallace, in Viola Garfield's Hydaburg/Klawock I notebook, University of Washington Special Collections.

¹¹³6/19/41 interview with Wallace, in Viola Garfield's Hydaburg/Klawock I notebook, University of Washington Special Collections. Garfield noted that the bear claws were replaced by formal designs and there were other minor changes, but that the design was based on Wallace's own.

¹¹⁴Garfield's complete description of Wallace's canvas blanket is as follows: "Mr. Wallace's Chilkat blanket (Mr. Aiken has a good picture of it): White, yellow, blue and black can be distinguished by shades in the photograph. This is a mountain in the middle, two large eyes and round nostrils, teeth in wide mouth. Clouds on a fine day sit on it and means good weather. Two dark faces above (square) and dark clouds rain clouds when the sky is partly clear but it rains. Two dark figures in border (like faces and beaks) are also dark clouds on a sunny or partly clear day. 'Little bit rain.'

“Center section is the whole mountain. Face in the base of center section represents a house and the animals that live in the mountain. The whale’s tail represents the whale brought by Thunderbird to the mtn top to eat. The bear claws on the sides also represent animals living on the mountain.

“On either side section are faces. These represent long clouds around the mt. side. When these enlarge and cover the mountain top there will be rain.

“This blanket is a piece of canvas painted. The fringe is soft cotton yarn like a floor mop and Mrs. Wallace knitted the black, yellow and white border and crocheted a white line between the bands. The borders were then sewed on the canvas very neatly. From a short distance it looks like a real Chilkat blanket.

“The whole center is divided horizontally into three sections. Top is 3 “clouds,” middle is the mtn and lower the animals and their homes in the mountain top. The dark cloud faces are the only meaningful designs in the side sections. The rest is filled with formal designs.” Viola Garfield, 6/21/41, Klawock/Hydaburg Notebook I, Box 10, Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections.

¹¹⁵Garfield and Forrest, p. 97.

¹¹⁶Robin Wright has generously shared her research on Kaigani Haida lineages with me, but we have still not determined John Wallace’s relationship to the Yeiltatzie family. I have not been able to learn more from Hydaburg families yet either.

¹¹⁷The most famous case of touristic desire for Native artist’s signatures is that of San Ildefonso potter Maria Martinez. Knowing that tourists sought signatures on art work, a trader encouraged Martinez to begin to sign her pots; once she started, demand for signed pots leaped greatly. However, the singular demand for Maria’s signature depressed opportunities for other potters in her pueblo, which Martinez regretted; she began signing pots made by any of her cousins in San Ildefonso. See Richard L. Spivey, Maria Montoya Martinez, and Herbert Lotz, *The Legacy of Maria Poveka Martinez* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2003).

¹¹⁸John Wallace, “Autobiography of John Wallace,” (1931), p. 2.

¹¹⁹Nathan Jackson, for example, a master Tlingit carver who lives in Ketchikan, discussed his own refusal to replicate Tlingit crests for museums that did not have the right to those crests, instead providing the museum with new work that recalled the older work without duplicating it. “If you’re wanting the original to remain original,” he explained, “then you had that kind of feeling about it. I assume that perhaps John Wallace’s feeling about that was the same.” Jackson, personal interview, 4/27/09, Ketchikan, Alaska.

¹²⁰Kuh, “Confidential Report on the Preservation of Indian Art in Southeastern Alaska,” Part I, July and August 1946, pg. 1.

¹²¹Katharine Kuh, “Confidential Report,” p. 24.

¹²²Katharine Kuh, “Alaska’s Vanishing Art,” *Saturday Review* (Oct. 22, 1966), p. 28.

¹²³Claude Hirst, the Director of the Office of Indian Affairs in Alaska, wrote to Heintzleman warning him that if these accusations were true, it “represented the destruction of irreplaceable relics and the Forest Service would be justifiably and harshly criticized.” Hirst to Heintzleman, 4/1/42.

¹²⁴In a 1971 report on the Forest Service’s CCC program, Lawrence Rakestraw, a professor of history at the University of Alaska contracted to review the Forest Service

program (probably in response to Kuh's criticisms), noted several inaccuracies in Kuh's article (Rakestraw, "A History of the Forest Service Role in Totem Pole Restoration and Preservation," Report for the U.S. Forest Service, Alaska Region," [1971]). For example, contrary to her claim that the Forest Service went ahead without any archeological or anthropological expert, Rakestraw pointed out the Forest Service's early efforts to secure professional help and their contract with Viola Garfield. Kuh was also incorrect to claim that every CCC camp had destroyed the original poles—many were stored, as in Sitka, and some in Klawock and Totem Bight. I have not yet determined what percentage of the original poles that were replicated survived.

¹²⁵Archbold to Regional Forester, 2/11/41.

¹²⁶Burdick noted that the poles were Government property, since the Native owners had signed over their title with the Memoranda of Agreements; however, since "these old totems undoubtedly have a personal value to many of the Natives which possibly we do not fully appreciate," he did not want to jeopardize the Forest Service's relationship with Natives by destroying the poles against their will. Burdick urged Archbold to negotiate with families "so that it would be satisfactory to them to have the decayed pole destroyed" but maintained that no poles should be returned to Native families. Burdick also agreed that outstanding figures should be saved, but suggested that they remain in the Forest Service parks, such as the display at the Primitive Village at Totem Bight. See Burdick to Archbold, 2/21/41 .

¹²⁷Heintzleman to Archbold, 4/7/42.

¹²⁸Heintzleman's directive did come in time to save some original poles. At Klawock, six nineteenth-century totem poles went into storage (Lloyd Bransford to Archbold, 5/9/42). Kasaan had some original poles that Kuh remarked seeing in the woods in the late 1940s. Saxman still had the original Seattle Pole (cut into four sections by the City of Seattle when shipped back to Alaska), as well as the original Giant Oyster totem; both of these were moved to the woods behind the clan house at Totem Bight for storage, despite Archbold's protests that the money to move them was better spent on the war effort (Archbold to Heintzleman, 10/19/42). It is unclear what happened to these original poles after 1950. One pole—the Giant Oyster pole?—was bought by the Denver Art Museum, possibly after Kuh's article had alerted curators that there were nineteenth-century totem poles in the woods at various totem parks (Archbold to Frederic Douglas).

¹²⁹Bransford to Archbold, 5/1/42.

¹³⁰It seems that Heintzleman did not know that the CCC was destroying original poles. On April 8, 1942, nearly a month before he received word from Bransford that the Klawock camp had destroyed most poles, Heintzleman assured Claude Hirst of Juneau's Office of Indian Affairs that rumors of destroyed originals at the CCC camps were not true. "I have read with much concern Mr. Beatty's letter to you of March 26 as to the disposition of those old totem poles," he wrote to Hirst. "...All original totems of which copies were made have been retained regardless of their condition and even though the carved figures may be almost illegible from decay. They are stacked where they can be used for reference by anthropologists and others interested. No totems have been destroyed or burned" (Heintzleman to Hirst, 4/8/42). In a memorandum for Forest Service Files, however, C.M. Archbold stated that Heintzleman's assurances were not true. "Both Hirst of the O.I.A. and Heintzleman had been contacted [about Kuh's

accusations] and answered that the old poles were being taken care of and were under cover. This is not the case. At both Hydaburg and Klawock the natives themselves cut up the old poles and burned them for fire wood as the copies were completed. They had absolutely no sentiment attached to the old poles” (Archbold, memorandum for files, 8/31/42). Whether Heintzleman knew about the destruction or not, he had not established a clear policy at the outset of the restoration program for the fate of the old poles.

¹³¹Archbold to Heintzleman, 10/19/42.

¹³²Viola Garfield, “Meet the Totem,” p. 6. Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections, Box 2, File 11.

¹³³Sergei Kan writes, “Theoretically, every Tlingit was believed to be a reincarnation of a member of the same lineage, or, at least the same clan. An elderly or dying person could announce through whom he or she wished to be reborn.” Kan, *Symbolic Immortality: The Tlingit Potlatch of the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), p. 109.

¹³⁴Kan notes that it was often by talents, or certain characteristic gestures, that families would recognize the reincarnated soul in the child. However, the child was considered its own person, not a replicated ancestor. See Kan, *Symbolic Immortality*, p. 109.

¹³⁵For a discussion of the individual’s unique soul and body in Christian theology, see the entry for “soul” in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, E. A. Livingstone, Ed. (Oxford University Press, 2006).

¹³⁶Kan, *Symbolic Immortality*, p. 115.

¹³⁷Brown quoted in Rakestraw, p. 102. For more on Brown’s quote and its relationship to Tlingit eschatology, see my discussion of Brown in Chapter 3.

¹³⁸Joe Thomas to Forrest 9/11/39, quoted in memo by Linn Forrest for Heintzleman, 11/16/39.

¹³⁹Tlingit and Haida peoples today continue to emphasize regeneration when they speak of cultural transmission. Haida elder Dolores Ivins spoke of language revitalization at the Alaska Native Language Summit this way: “So many of our words were buried but now they are getting new life” (Ivins, 3/7/09, Ketchikan, Alaska). Similarly, Tlingit elder Rosa Miller remembered her mother crying when she asked to learn her clan songs: “She said, I’m just so happy the songs are not going to die with me.’So now even my great-grandchildren know the songs. At least I know the songs are going to be handed down.” Miller quoted in *Sisterhood: The History of Camp 2 of the Alaska Native Sisterhood*, Kimberly L. Metcalfe, Ed. (Juneau: Hazy Island Books, 2008), p. 86.

¹⁴⁰Morrison’s letter dated February 28, 1940 (before Wallace carved the second Eagle) makes it clear he was discussing Wallace’s first copy of the Howkan Eagle: “This is a copy of the original Howkan Eagle and belongs to me being my family totem,” he wrote. 2/28/40 letter from Morrison to Indian Service, Juneau.

¹⁴¹George W. Folta, the Solicitor, wrote that to qualify for copyright the “applicant must be the creator, designer or proprietor of an article such as this and [the article could] not be in the public domain.” He guessed that Morrison’s signature on the Memoranda of Agreement agreed that the Howkan Eagle would now be considered community property of the village of Hydaburg and the property of the U.S. government. George W. Folta to Office of Indian Affairs, Juneau, 3/13/41.

Chapter 3: Carving Moderns

Katherine Kuh's criticism of the Forest Service's "'naïve belief' that copies can replace originals" belied a modernist's privileging of art as exceptional form over the New Deal's approach to art as a means for social cohesion.¹ Jonathan Harris has shown how the teleology of modernism—which culminated in the "triumph" of American abstract expressionism in the 1940s—led to a writing of American art history that purposefully "forgot" the more socially- and politically-oriented practices of New Deal art projects in the 1930s.² This modernist revision has influenced Native American art history as well, with many art historians following Kuh's lead in dismissing the CCC parks because they failed as aesthetically-exceptional forms. Judgments that the CCC produced "crude carvings that displayed no understanding of the formal rules governing traditional two-dimensional art [and] were made worse by equally crude applications of paint" have become the standard art historical line on the New Deal totem parks—one that makes no mention of the social goals of the CCC or of the range of carvings these workers created.³

This chapter argues that the CCC totem poles deserve a fresh look, both on a formal level and with an eye to the social goals of the New Deal art programs out of which they were carved. Like totem poles in the nineteenth century, aesthetic quality in the CCC varied widely, and if some poles betray their makers' hiatus from—or introduction to—the complex conventions of Northwest Coast carving, others are surprisingly accomplished. The blanket dismissal of the CCC totem poles as twentieth-century tourist art has allowed historians to gloss over the individual differences in the poles and the styles of their makers—styles and individuals which I seek to recover, even slightly, in this chapter. The identification of artists and their work may seem passé in art history today, but it remains an important task for scholars of Native American art, where makers have often been subsumed in western art scholarship by categories like "Tlingit" or "Haida."⁴ I also consider regional differences *within* Tlingit and Haida carving regions that account for some features of CCC poles—poles which originated in southern Southeast Alaska, a region overlooked in scholarship that favors northern Tlingit art and Canadian Haida (rather than Alaskan, or Kaigani Haida) carving.⁵

Besides reconsidering the aesthetics of the New Deal totem parks, I also assess the restoration program in terms of its stated goal of using art for social cohesion, analyzing how the parks worked to support the transmission of Tlingit and Haida culture. George Biddle, the artist/lawyer who helped start the Federal Art Project in 1935, urged President Roosevelt to treat artists "as the farmer or the bricklayer," and to provide work that would give these men a meaningful part in American life.⁶ The goal of social cohesion in New Deal art programs for Native Americans was even more pronounced, with the Indian Arts and Crafts Board championing the continuation of traditions condemned by previous decades of assimilation policies.⁷ The IACB's work to hire Native elders to teach arts and crafts to Native children is one example of this New Deal effort to use the arts for cultural transmission; the CCC's hiring of elders to train young apprentices in the tradition of totem pole carving is another.

A complete formal analysis of all 121 totem poles repaired, replicated or invented by the CCC workshops must await another study.⁸ This chapter examines a sampling of those poles carved by four lead carvers on the CCC totem parks: Charles Brown of

Saxman, Thomas Ukas of Wrangell, George Benson of Sitka, and John Wallace of Hydaburg. The attention given to these lead carvers is not meant to denigrate the work of other CCC enrollees, all of whom deserve credit for the creation of the totem parks. However, most enrollees in the restoration project worked on preparatory tasks rather than the final carving; following the apprentice tradition of the Northwest Coast, the CCC reserved the final carving of totem poles for the lead carvers at each camp.⁹ The prestige of the lead carver was reflected in the pay scale: while most CCC enrollees were classified in the “laborer” category and paid \$2/day, “head carvers,” rated as semi-skilled or skilled workers, were paid up to 70 cents/hour, or \$5.60/day.¹⁰ It is these carvers that I focus on in this chapter, studying what is known of their lives and paying close attention to their work in both replicated and newly created poles. My aim here is to provide some of the first visual analysis of interwar carving by the principal carvers in Southeast Alaska and to assess their carvings’ relationship to the classical poles of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that Kuh and other art historians privileged as model forms.

If I relate these carvers to their classical predecessors, however, I also want to highlight the role of the CCC carvers as Native moderns. The term is Bill Anthes’s purposeful convolution of the traditional/modern binary so often imposed on Native art: where Native art is required to be “traditional,” judged for its faithfulness to a supposedly unchanging set of conventions, modern art is new, rebellious, judged for its innovation. Anthes focuses on twentieth-century Native artists who painted in cubist, surrealist or other modern art styles to analyze how these artists negotiated a double standard; however, he used the broader sense of the term “modern,” as defined by Marshall Berman, to designate any person who works to become a subject—rather than object—of modernity.¹¹ It is in this latter sense that I want to focus on the CCC carvers discussed in this chapter. Although none of these carvers trafficked in “modern” styles per se, they each worked to be their own agents in a modernity represented, in part, by the peculiar opportunities presented by the CCC. When Charles Brown worked to collect and to translate stories behind Saxman totem poles, or when John Wallace decided to sell his poles at the 1939 San Francisco World’s Fair, each man showed his knowledge of and his interest in participating in a contemporary art world outside his Native community. These carvers recognized that a totem pole was no longer solely an object of traditional and ceremonial use within their own communities, but that it was admired by non-Natives as an *art work*—“a portable object and carrier of culture and identity that would pass from the local to the wider world,” as Anthes puts it.¹² The lead carvers discussed in this chapter helped to frame their totem poles as art works, translating their work for outside markets and cooperating with government agencies to promote their art for outsiders. At the same time, however, these carvers used the modern opportunity presented by outside interest in their poles—a government program fueled by national interest in Native arts that would pay them to carve, to learn and to teach—to assure a continuing tradition among their own people. Approaching the four carvers here as Native moderns frees us to consider the complicated balancing act these artists performed, judging them not solely by their adherence to nineteenth-century carving styles, but by what choices they made as they used a “traditional” art to act in a modern world.

Charles Brown

The primary lead carver at the Saxman and Totem Bight camps was Charles W. Brown (Fig. 3.1).¹³ Thirty-nine-years old when the totem pole restoration project began, Brown was one of the youngest lead carvers in the CCC, yet he was knowledgeable about Tlingit culture and became an important Native liaison for the U.S. Forest Service. Viola Garfield said she preferred Brown over “any other informant” and told the Forest Service they “had a treasure in this man.”¹⁴ Indeed, Brown would prove instrumental to the Forest Service’s efforts to restore and document southern Southeast Alaska’s Tlingit totem poles, both as a carver and as a cultural broker who could translate—literally and figuratively—between Tlingit and Forest Service desires for the parks.

Brown was born on April 16, 1899 in Ketchikan.¹⁵ Through his mother, Annie John, he belonged to the Ch’áak’ Hít (Eagle House) of the Neix.ádi Saanya K̄wáan (Neix.ádi clan from Cape Fox Village); through his father, William Brown, he was Taanta K̄wáan Teikweidi yádi (“child of” the Brown Bear clan from Tongass village).¹⁶ Despite his status as a carver and cultural authority during the CCC period, Brown was a boat builder by trade and was initially discouraged from learning about his culture, spending some of his youth away at boarding school.¹⁷ Yet he spoke fluent Tlingit and seemed eager to absorb the knowledge passed on to him by his father and maternal uncle, another high-ranking Tlingit man who established the Eagle Claw House (Ch’áak’ X’oosi Hít) at Cape Fox.¹⁸ In a 1964 interview at the Robert Lowie Museum (now the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley), Brown spoke of his interest in Tlingit culture: “I wished I’d had lived it [traditional Tlingit life] so I could use it today.”¹⁹ He noted that his interest had begun in childhood, and that studying Tlingit objects in museums “is just like opening a book to me.”²⁰ The CCC restoration program in the 1930s seems to have offered Brown an early opportunity to delve into his Tlingit heritage, both as a carver and as a researcher of the clan stories embedded in the poles.

Brown impressed the Forest Service with his interest in Tlingit culture early on. In a letter from June 1940, Viola Garfield urged C.M. Archbold to lend Brown a copy of John Swanton’s *Tlingit Myths and Texts*, a compilation of traditional clan stories the Smithsonian anthropologist had collected at the turn of the twentieth century in Sitka and Wrangell.²¹ “If you plan to have [Brown] do recordings on myths in connection with the poles, he should have this,” Garfield wrote, adding that “that Corser book he was trying to use is a disgrace.”²² The book she referenced—Reverend H.P. Corser’s *Totem Lore of the Alaskan Indians*—was actually one of the more reliable publications on Alaskan totem poles, although it focused primarily on poles in Wrangell.²³ However, the fact that Brown had a copy of the book at all revealed that he had sought out literature on Tlingit poles on his own, perhaps to use as a model for structuring transcriptions of totem pole stories in Saxman. In a testament to his interest in Tlingit history, Brown would solicit, record and translate numerous stories of southern Tlingit totem poles that were eventually published in *The Wolf and the Raven* (see chapter 4). Indeed, Garfield wrote in a private letter to Linn Forrest that “Mr. Brown deserves as much mention as either of us [for authorship of the book] since he has done so much research and actual writing of stories.”²⁴

Brown’s interest in Tlingit culture must have been fueled, in part, by his father, William H. Brown, despite the latter’s initial discouragement of his son’s interests (see Fig. 3.1). A Taanta K̄wáan Teikweidi man born January 1870 in Ft. Tongass, William

Brown was a high-ranking Tlingit who was well-versed in traditional protocols and the material culture necessary to carry them out.²⁵ In the Lowie interviews, Charles Brown noted that his father's Tlingit name translated as Chief Crying Wolf and listed among his possessions two Chilkat blankets, two clan hats, a raven rattle and a thirty-eight-inch copper shield, the highly valuable form of which was tattooed onto the back of William Brown's hand.²⁶ Charles also noted that his father owned totem poles from Tongass Village, a fact that is born out by a totem pole that once stood in Ketchikan's City Park. In 1931, William Brown and several other Tongass Tlingits had agreed to allow the American Legion to move seven totem poles from Tongass to Ketchikan, where they were repaired and erected in the downtown park.²⁷ A plaque now in a private collection in Ketchikan shows Brown's name was listed beside the "Climbing Bear" totem, likely indicating his ownership of this Teikweidi pole (Fig. 3.2).²⁸ By the time of the CCC, then, the elder Brown was already accustomed to the idea of "totem parks" and totem pole restoration. In fact it could have been William, and not Charles, that Archbold referenced in February 1939 when he noted the work of "a Mr. Brown" to convince Saxmen elders to allow the Forest Service to move their totem poles from Cape Fox and other villages to Saxman for restoration in the totem park.²⁹

William Brown was also skilled as a carver, and would pass along his knowledge to Charles even as he carved for the CCC himself. Forest Service correspondence credits the senior Brown with the final adzing of a pole known as the "Seattle Pole," as well as the completion of a pole for the Governor's mansion in Juneau.³⁰ A photograph of the former pole on a ship bound for Seattle gives an idea of William Brown's skill: the even strokes of the finishing adze across its surface index the hand of a carver with some experience (Fig. 3.3).³¹ In July 1940, three months after the completion of the Seattle pole, the Forest Service transferred an incomplete pole from Juneau to Saxman for William Brown to complete. The pole, slated for the Governor's Mansion in Juneau, had been begun by Charlie Tagook, a Tlingit carver originally from Haines.³² It is not clear how much of the pole Tagook had already carved when Brown took over the job, although Forest Service correspondence notes that Linn Forrest "went over the design with Mr. Brown at Saxman and discussed additional figures to be carved."³³ Within six weeks, the pole was completed and shipped back to Juneau, where it still stands beside the Governor's Mansion today (Fig. 3.4).

The Governor's Mansion pole highlights a southern Tlingit painting style that distinguished William Brown's work—and that would come to distinguish Charles Brown's painting for the CCC as well. While it is difficult to pinpoint which figures William Brown carved on the Governor's Pole, the paint applied to the completed pole is certainly Brown's and features several motifs prominent on classical southern Tlingit poles. The cheeks of the human figures on the Governor's Pole feature U-forms and split-U's that have gracefully tapering points, tracing a steady hand and possibly the use of a stencil (Fig. 3.5). Similar U-forms would become a hallmark of Charles Brown's totem pole figures, including the cheeks of a bear on the Pole at the Point that he designed for the park at Totem Bight (Fig. 3.6). Importantly, U-forms on the cheeks of human figures are not common on other, northern poles carved or replicated by the CCC; however, they do appear on a totem pole pictured in Eadweard Muybridge's photograph of Tongass Village in 1868 (Fig. 3.7). The U-forms also feature on the cheeks of human figures that the CCC replicated from other southern Tlingit poles, like the Man Wearing a Bear Hat

from Cat Island, near Tongass (Fig. 3.8). The prevalence of these designs, which perhaps referenced face paints used in ceremonies or simply served as the painter's decoration for the blank space of the cheek, suggests that they were common to southern Tlingit totem poles. A Tongass man like William Brown would have seen these designs on totem poles growing up; Charles Brown's use of these U-forms on the CCC poles would also trace this classical southern lineage.

Indeed, C.M. Archbold noted in an internal memo for the Forest Service that "Old Mr. Brown is a good carver...and has given Charles Brown most of his information."³⁴ Like his father's work, the younger Brown's work for the CCC is marked by his careful attention to southern Tlingit traditions as well as classical techniques. Following the careful modeling of some of the best nineteenth-century poles, Brown took pains to create rounded facial forms and subtle relief work on his poles for the CCC. Rather than simply painting the U-forms on the cheeks of the Man with the Bear Hat post for Totem Bight, for example, Brown carved their outlines in delicate relief, leaving the designs raised not more than a few centimeters above the shaft of the pole (Fig. 3.9).³⁵ He tapered the tips of U-forms and split-U's to a graceful point and was always interested in the elegance of the line. Other carved features typical of Brown's work include eyelids that turn down noticeably at their outer points, rather than simply converging in the corner. A compass point is often visible at the center of the eye, indicating that Brown used the tool to achieve a perfect circle for the iris (Fig. 3.10).³⁶ Perhaps most distinctive is Brown's handling of the cheek ridge that folds around the mouth of his human and animal figures. Instead of following a single curved line, as on many CCC poles (Fig. 3.11), the cheek ridge in Brown's designs makes a distinctive dip off the nose and then flares out to encompass the figure's mouth (Fig. 3.12). The mouth itself is usually slightly open, with very little chin.

The deference Brown showed to classical totem poles from southern Southeast Alaska is apparent in his approach to the replication of nineteenth-century totem poles for the CCC.³⁷ As noted in the previous chapter, Brown took Forest Service *Ranger* boats to visit classical totem poles *in situ*, making sketches and photographs that he would use to replicate the poles in the Saxman carving shed.³⁸ Sketches and photographs were common aids in replication, but it is significant that Brown used these aids when older carvers like John Wallace maintained replication could be done by memory. Brown's careful copying of the original may have deferred to the Forest Service's desire for an exact replica, but it is also likely that Brown *wanted* to reproduce the older totem poles in detail for his own edification. As a member of a younger generation that had not received traditional training like John Wallace, and as one who was intensely interested in Tlingit art and culture, Brown may have seen replication as his own apprenticeship with master carvers from the classical age.³⁹

Indeed, Brown seems to have used his study of older poles as templates for the original poles he later designed for the CCC. An example of this approach is Brown's replication of the "Seattle Pole," a pole which became the model for a new pole he designed for the park at Totem Bight. The "Seattle Pole," as noted in the introduction, earned its name after a group of Seattle businessmen stole it from Tongass Village in 1899 and erected it in Seattle's Pioneer Square (see Fig. 0.9).⁴⁰ The original pole had been erected in the mid-nineteenth century as a memorial to a Tongass woman who drowned on the Nass River.⁴¹ The topmost crest of the pole featured Raven, identifying

the drowned woman's moiety, followed by crests associated with stories owned by the woman's Raven clan. (Although one cannot "read" totem pole crests in a certain order, the topmost crest typically identifies the lineage of the totem pole's owner, and crests are often listed downward from there.) Viola Garfield identified these crests, from top to bottom, as "a woman holding her frog child, her frog husband, Mink, Raven, Whale with a seal in his mouth, and finally, a mythological being, Raven-at-the-Head-of-Nass, also called Grandfather-of-Raven." Although Garfield did not venture to explain the relationship of these crests to the drowned woman, figures like Raven-at-the-Head-of-the-Nass probably recalled the site of the woman's drowning and at the same time the well-known story of how Raven stole light from his grandfather at the beginning of time (hence the slender moon in Raven's beak at the top of the pole).⁴²

After a vandal's fire damaged the pole in downtown Seattle in November 1938, Viola Garfield—who was not yet connected with the CCC restoration program—wrote to the Forest Service to ask for help repairing it. Eventually, the Forest Service decided to bring the old pole back to Alaska in order to replicate it at the CCC camp in Saxman, where several carvers were descended from the family that had owned the original pole.⁴³ Charles Brown supervised the replication process, and it is clear that he worked to adhere closely to the original (Fig. 3.13). Small details like the mink face at the side of the killerwhale's mouth and the peaked eyebrows on the Raven-at-the-Head-of-the-Nass figure at the bottom were faithfully reproduced (Fig. 3.14).

Brown later drew on the design of the Seattle pole for a new totem pole he carved for Totem Bight. The Wandering Raven pole, which served as frontal pole for the Haida-style clan house at the park, drew on several of the figures Brown had carved a year earlier on the Seattle pole replica: Raven appears at the top, followed by mink, frog, a human holding a killerwhale, and, at the bottom, a Raven-at-the-Head-of-the-Nass figure with a woman's face on his chest (the labret in her lower lip indicates her gender) (Fig. 3.15). In a change from the Seattle Pole, Brown added a bentwood box beneath the feet of the top raven figure, perhaps to clarify that the story was Raven Stealing the Box of Daylight—a story referenced in the Seattle Pole and one that Brown would have known well from his own research on southern Tlingit poles.⁴⁴ He also used pegged, extended wings for the Raven-at-the-Head-of-the-Nass figure at the base of the Wandering Raven pole, departing from the Seattle Pole's use of wings that folded across this raven's chest.

Brown's use of outstretched wings for the Raven-at-the-Head-of-the-Nass figure on the Wandering Raven pole raises another important point about southern Tlingit carving. Aldona Jonaitis and Aaron Glass have argued that wings on many twentieth-century totem poles quoted two immensely popular Kwakwaka'wakw Thunderbird House posts from Alert Bay that featured thunderbirds with outstretched wings (Fig. 3.16).⁴⁵ They trace this motif through tourist brochures and model totem poles produced as trinkets, showing the popularity among non-Natives of totem poles with wings, and suggest the Kwakwaka'wakw posts as the origin for most twentieth-century totem poles with wings.⁴⁶ While the Kwakwaka'wakw posts were surely influential for twentieth-century totem poles, it is important to note that there were several examples of nineteenth-century totem poles with appended wings in Tlingit territory in southern Southeast Alaska. The Sun/Raven pole, originally from Tongass, featured appended wings, as did several eagle posts from Tongass (Fig. 3.17). A Forest Service photograph of the original Proud Raven Pole, also from Tongass Village, shows grooves carved into

the raven's side to accept the attachment of wings (Fig. 3.18). This pole was said to be carved by a Tsimshian artist from Port Simpson; closer to Kwakwaka'wakw territory, he may have brought the extended wing motif with him into Tlingit territory.⁴⁷ In any case, appended wings were an established motif in southern Tlingit carving, and Brown's use of them for the Wandering Raven pole was in keeping with the classical work from his father's home village.⁴⁸

If Brown's attention to classical Tlingit carving traditions argues for a closer look at the aesthetics of his work for the CCC, the Tlingit carver also deserves attention for advancing the New Deal's goal of art used for social cohesion. Brown's reputation as a motivator and mediator is still remembered by Tlingits in Saxman today: as his great-nephew, Willard Jackson, remembered, Brown was someone who "put a lot of strife to rest."⁴⁹ Jackson recounted a family story that Charlie would gauge the cooperative attitude of CCC enrollees loaded on a bus for work at Totem Bight. If the men were not positive and ready to work for the day, Brown would tell the bus driver to turn around.⁵⁰ Similar references to Brown's motivational abilities surface in Forest Service correspondence during the CCC period. In February 1939, Archbold sent to Juneau three pencil drawings of Pennock Island totem poles drawn by "Assistant Leader Charles W. Brown" so that blue prints could be made: "There is quite a lot of interest being shown by the men from Saxman," Archbold wrote about Brown's drawings, "and by tracing and printing these drawings, we can further the interest and get more work accomplished."⁵¹ The letter suggests that Brown's work to learn about his area's totem poles inspired others in his community; his example motivated CCC enrollees to learn about the crest designs behind southern Tlingit poles (and probably the crest stories as well, since Brown was actively recording these stories from Native elders).

Brown's interest in the New Deal totem parks as an opportunity to learn about his own culture's carving heritage, as well as to advance cultural renewal for his Native community, is key, I believe, to interpreting an original totem pole that Brown designed for Totem Bight. The "Pole at the Point," which stood on a point in front of the clan house plainly in view of passing steam ships, was the tallest, most prominent pole at Totem Bight (Fig. 3.19). Topped by the unusual figure of a shaman, the pole featured the crests of a halibut, two land otters, a winged eagle, a human holding a salmon, a man holding a frog, another frog, a cormorant, a raven, a halibut and finally, at the bottom, a bear. In the *Wolf and the Raven*, Garfield and Forrest listed stories for two clusters of figures on the pole: near the top, the eagle and the man holding the salmon "recall the story of the chief's nephew who fed eagles," a well-known Tlingit story of a boy who was abandoned by his clan but regained wealth when eagles brought him food to thank him for feeding them.⁵² Garfield and Forrest also identified the bottom group of cormorant, raven, halibut and grizzly bear as a reference to one of the adventures of Raven.⁵³ These stories were transcriptions of Tlingit stories that Brown himself may have collected and used to develop a design for this original pole.

Yet one critical figure on the Pole on the Point that Garfield and Forrest do not interpret is the shaman at the very top (Fig. 3.20 a, b, c). This is a crucial figure to the totem pole, and it is clear that Brown lavished much attention to its carving and painting. The shaman's mouth is characteristically Brown, with the flaring cheek ridge around the slightly parted mouth. In a departure from his characteristic U-forms for the cheek designs, Brown carved elongated U-forms that appear as rays (or tears?) streaming down

the shaman's cheeks; he etched the outline of these rays with a thin knife before painting the design red (Fig. 3.19b). The land otter staff the shaman holds is also intricately carved, with tiny, angled teeth and the tell-tale compass point at the center of an eye a half-inch in diameter (see Fig. 3.10). Brown etched the outline of the skeletal bear crest on the shaman's apron and carved vertical strands of hair across the raised horizontal bands that signified the unkempt crimp of the shaman's long hair. It is a masterful carving, arguably one of the most compelling figures on a totem pole designed by the CCC.

The shaman on Brown's 1940 totem pole is also highly unusual: *ixt'* did not appear on classical Tlingit totem poles, since they were not clan crests and besides were considered too powerful to be depicted for laymen eyes.⁵⁴ Shaman figures had appeared on Haida argillite carvings in the late nineteenth century, but only after small pox epidemics and an overwhelming tide of cultural change had shaken Haida confidence in shamanic power. Many art historians have argued that the appearance of shamans in argillite thus marked a turning point in Haida culture, where Haidas saw their shamans as curiosity figures that could be sold to outsiders.⁵⁵ However, Brown's portrayal of the shaman on the Pole on the Point does not present him as a curiosity. The placement of the shaman on the top of the pole—often a place reserved for the main moiety crest of the totem pole's owner—signals his importance. Further, he is depicted with all the accoutrements of a shaman's power: his bear claw headdress; his long, unkempt hair; his fringed apron painted with the skeletal bear crest; and his staff depicting a land otter, a powerful animal considered a shaman's spirit helper.⁵⁶ The shaman's half-closed eyes suggest he has summoned all of these powers: the shaman is in a trance, seeking a vision.⁵⁷

In traditional Tlingit culture, the shaman was a crucial figure. Although known primarily as a healer, he was also a culture bearer, responsible for the traditions, medicines, songs and protocols that ensured what Allen Wardwell has called the "spiritual equilibrium" of his community.⁵⁸ Such a role may have paralleled Brown's interest in acting as a culture bearer himself, or at least symbolized the level of cultural knowledge to which he aspired. It is interesting that the shaman on the Pole on the Point stands on a halibut, which Garfield and Forrest identified in *The Wolf and the Raven* as a shamanic animal, but which was also the unique crest of Brown's Neix̄.ádi clan.⁵⁹ Another Neix̄.ádi crest, the bear, anchors the base, although the pole does not contain the third crest of the beaver to complete the identifying trio of Brown's clan crests. Importantly, the totem pole carver and the shaman had much in common in Northwest Coast thought: both sought out visions by fasting, seeking medicine, and removing themselves from the company of other people.⁶⁰ Both served as culture bearers, knowledgeable in the stories and ways that would serve their people.⁶¹

More likely than a self-portrait, though, Brown may have placed a shaman on the Pole on the Point as a marker of Tlingit vision and cultural renewal that he associated with the restoration of totem poles in the New Deal totem parks. One of the few statements the Forest Service publicized of a Native person speaking about the CCC totem parks was this remark by Brown: "The story of our fathers' totems is nearly dead, but now once again is being brought to life. Once more our old familiar totems will proudly face the world with new war paints. The makers of these old poles will not have died in vain. May these old poles help bring about prosperity to our people."⁶² It is

unclear when Brown spoke these words—perhaps it occurred at a totem pole raising or dedication of the park at Saxman—but it is revealing of his view of the CCC restoration program. The comparison of newly painted poles to war paints casts the poles as kinds of warriors, as if they were battling for Tlingit culture to return to life. The quote also points to the pole's memorial function, honoring the ancestors who had carved the poles as well as the ancestors commemorated in the stories the poles portrayed. The idea of a reawakening or revivification of ancestral knowledge suggests that Brown viewed the restoration of totem poles as a means to bring back old teachings and culture bearers that would rejuvenate Tlingit culture—and, he hoped, prosperity for his community.⁶³

The shaman on the Pole on the Point could not have appeared in classical Tlingit carving, but on a pole in 1939 it was a bold statement of Brown's hope for renewed cultural power. The shaman may have signaled Brown's belief that contemporary Tlingit culture was again free to draw on its traditions, that it could, through careful study and perhaps spiritual aid, reacquaint itself with the strength of cultural knowledge. The shaman's vision remains inward, guarded for himself and for the Tlingits he would serve; yet he also stands prominently in view of the passing steam ships on the point of an invented totem park. The shaman thus spoke eloquently of the transcultural context of the CCC totem poles, knowingly on display for non-Natives yet referencing the clan knowledge of local indigenous peoples. Brown's inclusion of the figure on a totem pole broke with tradition, yet it depicted a traditional figure that could be summoned for a new kind of role on a totem pole in the twentieth century.

Charles Brown did not continue to carve totem poles after the CCC closed in June 1942. The market for totem poles was not strong enough to compete for Brown's skills as a fisherman and respected boat builder; he opened his own boat shop, Charles Brown and Sons, in May 1942.⁶⁴ However, Brown remained interested in the art and continued to work as a cultural broker explaining Tlingit art and culture to non-Natives. After he moved to San Francisco in the 1960s, Brown consulted with Frank Norick and Larry Dawson on Tlingit collections at the Robert H. Lowie Museum, now the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, at the University of California, Berkeley. A number of recordings on the collection stemmed from this work, continuing Brown's legacy as a recorder and keeper of Tlingit stories.⁶⁵ He died in 1970 in San Francisco.

Wrangell: Thomas Ukas

The CCC camp at Wrangell had two lead carvers: Joe Thomas and Thomas Ukas.⁶⁶ Here I focus on Thomas Ukas because more information is available for him (Fig. 3.21)—and for his father, Yíika.aas, or William Ukas, who had carved the Raven Totem and other highly respected totem poles in Wrangell (Fig. 3.22).⁶⁷ Documentation on the latter's art work allows for another comparison of a nineteenth-century classical artist with the twentieth-century work of a carver for the CCC. It also offers an important opportunity to reassess the painting of CCC totem poles, one of the most criticized aspects of the Forest Service's restoration project, as we saw in the last chapter.

Thomas Ukas (December 28, 1887-d. 1973/75?) was born in Wrangell in 1887. A Raven of the Kiks.ádi clan, Ukas was trained early as a keeper of clan stories, traveling to study with elders and repeating the stories back word for word after he had heard them.⁶⁸ Thomas also studied wood and metal carving with his father, William Ukas, from a young age. Art historian and artist Steve Brown, who studied the elder Yíika.aas's work,

believes that the young Tom Ukas painted the flat formline design on the *Kéet Yakw* (Killerwhale Canoe) that his father carved for Chief Shakes around the turn of the century.⁶⁹ At Yíika.aas's death, Ukas inherited the elder man's impressive set of hand-made carving tools, which he would later use to carve totem poles for the CCC.⁷⁰

Ukas worked various jobs in his life, including the role of freight hauler up the Stikine River in his youth; by the time of the CCC, however, he was primarily engaged in commercial fishing and reluctant to take a carving job.⁷¹ In a tape recording he made of the stories of the Shakes Island poles, Ukas noted that Charlie Jones, who would be named Chief Shakes VII in 1940, approached him in 1938 to ask for advice on carving new totem poles for Shakes Island. Ukas told Jones he was busy fishing and could not afford to work for CCC wages; however, Jones and the CCC foreman eventually prevailed on Ukas to carve.⁷² This process is significant: it means that Ukas did not enroll in the CCC for economic reasons, but rather because of cultural pressure from other Tlingits who wanted his expertise in the Wrangell totem park. Jones likely sought out Ukas to carve new poles because of his strong training in traditional Tlingit stories.⁷³

One example of Ukas's own design in the Wrangell park is the heraldic Eagle Pole, sometimes called the Na-chee-su-na pole, that greeted visitors at the end of the boardwalk to Shakes Island (Fig. 3.23).⁷⁴ Here Ukas drew on his training to reference two traditional stories with related crests. The figures in the upper portion of the pole—an eagle, a man, and a seal—represent the story of three Kilisnoo Tlingit men who drowned after tearing a seal away from the eagle that had rightfully caught it; the bottom portion references the creation of the killerwhale.⁷⁵ Ukas smartly designed the pole so that the three human figures perform a double entendre, alluding both to the three drowned men for the Kilisnoo story, as well as the three attempts of the carver Na-chee-su-na to create a killerwhale. The adzes in the laps of the bottom two figures perform this double entendre, so that the humans can also be read as carvers—a reference to Na-chee-su-na's three tries to carve a killerwhale from spruce, red cedar, and, finally, yellow cedar, when the figure came to life.

Steve Brown wrote that Thomas Ukas “could not be said to have the well-honed, consummate skills of his father,” and it is true there is a different quality to the younger artist's work.⁷⁶ Illustrative of a common difference between CCC-era and classical carving, Ukas's figures tend to be less deeply carved than his father's. The Raven Pole, for example, made by Yíika.aas in 1895, is carved so deeply that there is no distinguishing between shaft and figure; the figures constitute the entire pole (Fig. 3.24). In contrast, the figures on Ukas's Eagle Pole for the totem park at Wrangell are so shallow as to appear glued to the shaft of the pole, which remains uncarved. It is interesting that the geometrical, low-relief figures typical of Ukas's carving—and indeed, typical of many CCC-era totem poles—share an aesthetic profile with Art Deco styles prominent in WPA sculpture in the 1930s; whether Art Deco influenced Native carvers in this period or whether Native carvers influenced Art Deco is an issue that deserves future study.⁷⁷

If Ukas's work in the 1930s departed from his father's deeply carved classical lines, however, Ukas retained some of his father's stylistic traits, particularly the tell-tale style of creating deep trigons at the corner of the eyes. Brown wrote that “the eyelid lines of [Yíika.aas's] figures do not meet in the pointed ends usually seen in Tlingit and other Northwest Coast work, but terminate beside each other where they meet the hollowed

ends of the eye socket.”⁷⁸ This distinctive eye shape is visible in a fragment of the original Kiks.ádi Sun Pole carved by Yíika.aas, now at the Wrangell Museum (Fig. 3.25). It also appears in Thomas Ukas’s work, like the bottom human figure and the killerwhale of the Eagle Pole on Shakes Island (Fig. 3.26). While Thomas tended to connect the eye lines slightly more than his father, the similarity is telling of the lasting impact of Yíika.aas’s training.

Perhaps most significant in the relationship between Ukas’s work and his father’s is the case study it offers to reassess the paint palette used by the CCC. Ukas himself told Forest Service officials that, traditionally, “the natives made only three colors”⁷⁹—the black, red and green-blue that have been extensively documented in Northwest Coast art history.⁸⁰ Yet the very poles that Ukas created for the CCC were brightly painted with the commercial paints that the Forest Service eventually resorted to for the restoration project. A color photograph from August 1941 shows the restored Kadashan Poles on Shakes Island entirely coated with paint, including brown, yellow, and white paints that were not part of the triad Ukas had listed (Fig. 3.27). Why did the Forest Service depart from their original intention to adhere to the limited color they maintained was “traditional” for classical nineteenth-century poles, and why did carvers like Ukas allow these paints on their poles?

While there is no denying that the CCC departed from classical paint and palettes, there is evidence that some totem poles in the nineteenth century—including those by Yíik.aas—were more heavily painted than might be expected. Yíik.aas’s poles appeared covered in paint in a 1868 photograph by Eadweard Muybridge (Fig. 3.28). Two photographs by Winter and Pond, a photography studio based in Juneau, also show two Yíik.aas totem poles shortly after they were erected: the Kiks.ádi Sun Pole, c. 1895 (Fig. 3.29) and the Raven Pole in 1896 (see Fig. 3.24).⁸¹ These black and white photographs do not reveal color, of course, but the even saturation of areas like the mountain figure at the top of the Kiks.ádi Sun Pole, or the beaks and wing designs of the ravens on the Raven Pole, strongly suggests that Yíik.aas painted these areas white. Further, there appears to be a dark, possibly black, paint that coats the bodies of the ravens, bear and human figures on both poles. While black was part of the traditional Tlingit color triad, the use of the color to cover the entire bodies of these figures—rather than just the eyes and eyebrows—points to an important example of all-over paint on a pole by a classically-trained, nineteenth-century carver.

If the black and white photographs do not clinch my argument, a color watercolor sketch of the Raven Pole by American artist Theodore Richardson confirms Yíika.aas’s expanded color palette and paint. Richardson, a Minnesotan who spent summers sketching in Alaska from 1884-1896, and again from 1902-1914, made a watercolor sketch of the Raven Pole, probably before 1897 (Fig. 3.30).⁸² Richardson depicts Yíik.aas’s pole as broadly painted with more colors than the usual black-green-red triad. A grey-white paint appears on the beaks of the ravens, on the sun halo around the second raven’s head, and on the wings of the third raven—exactly the places that appear whitest in the Winter and Pond photographs of the pole. There is also a brown/red hue on the chest figures of the top two ravens, as well as the human figure on the bottom of the pole. This color may be the natural wood of the totem pole, yet it differs from the brown-grey that Richardson used for the base of the pole and for the backside of the second raven, where Yíik.aas presumably left the wood unpainted.⁸³

Further evidence for the expanded color palette of Yíik.aas's Raven Pole comes from a model that Thomas Ukas made of the pole in the mid-1960s (Fig. 3.31).⁸⁴ Ukas knew the Raven Pole well, for it was carved partly in his honor: Yíika.aas had erected the pole in an 1896 potlatch as a memorial for Thomas's older brother, and in celebration of the coming-of-age of Thomas and his sister, Louise. The three ravens on the pole represented the three Kiks.ádi/Raven children of Yíika.aas.⁸⁵ In the mid-1960s, Thomas carved a model of the Raven pole for the Wrangell post office, where an interpretive sign notes that Ukas was "very particular about the authenticity of the colors."⁸⁶ Significantly, the paint on Ukas's model correlates with the palette shown in Richardson's turn-of-the-century watercolor of Yíika.aas's Raven pole. The wings of the various Raven figures and the third Raven figure at the bottom are painted entirely black; the beaks and sun halo of the raven are painted white. The human figures on the raven chests appear fully red as in the brown-red of Richardson's watercolor.

All of this evidence suggests that, in the Wrangell case at least, the paint used by the CCC may have been faithful to nineteenth-century poles remembered by local carvers. This should not be overstated; certainly the CCC in general applied far more paint to its poles than has been documented on most classical totem poles, and Ukas himself stated the traditional colors were limited to three. However, it is important to allow for some variation of what is considered "classical" or "traditional." The silvery patina of weathered wood that has come to dominate modern views of nineteenth-century totem poles is the product of time, not necessarily the hand of classical artists. Like the brightly painted colors of Greek art that are now known only as white marble, some classical totem poles may have been far more colorful than modern viewers realize.⁸⁷

Ukas was one of the few CCC carvers trained by a classical artist in a traditional apprenticeship. The fact that the CCC allowed him to continue this work—and to pass it on to other apprentices—is of considerable importance, especially on the grounds of social cohesion that the New Deal championed for its art projects. Ukas himself stated that the CCC provided him with the first opportunity to carve a large totem pole.⁸⁸ It also allowed him to pass on the stories in which he had been groomed, acting as a cultural bearer at the same time that he was carving. Ethel Lund, Ukas's granddaughter, remembered the CCC carving shed at Wrangell as a "happy place" where her grandfather told stories of the poles and learned more stories from other carvers.⁸⁹ The carving shed was a site that celebrated Native heritage at a time when such sites were few in number, and it provided a milieu for Ukas's knowledge to blossom. Ukas's fellow Tlingits sought out this knowledge, urging him to return to carving for the Wrangell park. His expertise was also recognized by non-Natives in the Forest Service and the Wrangell community. On the 1940 Wrangell Potlatch stationary, for example, Ukas was the only Native person listed as the head of an organizing committee: he was the head of the "Ceremonial Committee" and must have acted as a point person between the Tlingit community and the non-Native committees eager to include traditional protocols in the Wrangell Potlatch. Long after his work with the CCC, Ukas continued to be interviewed for the stories of the poles of Shakes Island and to act as a cultural bearer for the Kiks.ádi clan of Wrangell.⁹⁰ He was still carving at his death in 1975.⁹¹

Sitka: George Daniel Benson

The primary lead carver at the CCC camp in Sitka was George Daniel Benson (who later went by George Benson, Sr., to differentiate himself from his son, George William Benson).⁹² Benson designed the Baranof pole in the Sitka and later worked as a demonstration arts teacher for the Indian Arts and Crafts Board in the 1960s. He thus stands as one of the tangible links in the CCC between the “classical” and the “Renaissance” periods of Northwest Coast Native art carving.

George Daniel Benson was born January 27, 1900 in Yakutat; with Charles Brown of Saxman, Benson was the youngest of the lead carvers in the CCC (Fig. 3.32). A Raven of the L'ooknaḡ.ádi (Coho) clan, Benson's Tlingit name was Lkheináa.⁹³ His father was Daniel Benson of Yakutat; his mother was originally from Sitka. After his mother's death, George was sent to the Russian Orphanage in Sitka; he also lived for some time with the family of “Sitka Charlie,” or Charlie Bennett, *hit s'aati* of the Kaagwaantaan clan. Benson returned to Yakutat as a teenager to fish, but in 1920 he resettled in Sitka for his arranged marriage to Mary Williams. Benson worked as a fisherman, boat builder, trapper, hunter, and as a janitor for Mt. Edgecumb Hospital; during the CCC period, he helped to build the retaining wall in downtown Sitka to fill Totem Square and later built military bases at Japonski, Charcoal and Alice Islands.⁹⁴ Benson was a member of the Russian Orthodox Church and of the Alaska Native Brotherhood Camp 1 in Sitka.⁹⁵ By the time he worked for the CCC, he was deaf, although it is unclear when or how this occurred.⁹⁶

It is also unclear where Benson received his training as a wood carver. Benson's grandson, David Galanin, remembered his grandfather saying that he had learned to carve from a Haida man, but Galanin never learned who this was.⁹⁷ Benson may also have learned something from his time with Charlie Bennett, who carved model totem poles in the early twentieth century and who may have had training as a classical carver (Fig. 3.33).⁹⁸ However he learned, Benson's skills were quickly recognized by Forest Service officials. In December 1940, when the Forest Service was seeking a carver for a new pole to commemorate Sitka history, Linn Forrest wrote a memorandum for National Parks Service officials who “may not be familiar with Native carvers,” suggesting “that Benson, who is now on the [CCC] rolls, is very good.”⁹⁹ It seems that local Tlingits also recognized Benson's talents, since the local Kiks.ádi either asked for or agreed to Benson as the designer of the Baranof pole requested by the clan.

Of the totem poles at Sitka National Historical Park, Benson is credited with carving the replicas of a pole known as the Waasgo Legend Pole (Fig. 3.34) and, with John Sam, the Frog/Raven pole (Fig. 3.35).¹⁰⁰ Both of these poles were Kaigani Haida poles collected by Governor John Brady from Haida clan leaders on Prince of Wales Island. The Frog/Raven pole is actually a misnomer, as the original depicted a raven with three bears (Fig. 3.36). Art historian Robin Wright has identified the original as Edwin Scott's frontal pole to his Dogfish House at Klinkwan.¹⁰¹ After Brady collected the pole, it journeyed to St. Louis for the 1904 World's Fair, where a crew of Tlingit and Haida men that Brady had hired for repairs gave the raven figure a new bulbous beak and removed the bear between the raven's ears (Fig. 3.37).¹⁰² At some point, another crest on the pole was changed: the small climbing bear at the top was replaced with a downward-facing frog. Wright believed this change occurred in the 1940s when George Benson and John Sam replicated the original pole for the CCC.¹⁰³ However, the small frog was already visible on the pole in a photographic report from February 1939 prepared by

Forest Service officials in advance of the restoration project (Fig. 3.38).¹⁰⁴ It also appears in the hazy photographs of the pole at the 1904 Fair (Fig. 3.39). Rather than a mistake by the CCC, then, it seems likely that the same crew that removed the bear figure from the raven's ears for the St. Louis exposition also replaced the top bear with a frog—a move in keeping with an apparent desire to remove the upper bear crests from a pole that featured a raven and thus to correlate crests according to Tlingit tradition. (The bear is a Raven moiety crest for the Haida, but it is Eagle for the Tlingit.)¹⁰⁵ Whatever the explanation for this change, the fault should not go to George Benson. His replica, co-created with John Sam, was faithful to the “Frog/Raven” pole that stood in the Sitka park in 1939.

Benson's replication of the Waasgo Legend pole was also faithful to the pole that he found in the Sitka park, although it shows more evidence of his personal style. Richard Feldman has identified the original Waasgo pole as one by *gid k'wáajuss*, John Wallace's father, carved for Yeiltatzie at Koingalas, Alaska in the late nineteenth century (Fig. 3.40).¹⁰⁶ This pole also traveled to the St. Louis Fair before being returned to the Sitka park, where it may have been repaired by a crew of Tlingit carvers hired by the first park custodian, Elbridge Merrill.¹⁰⁷ At some point prior to the CCC restorations, the upper portion of the pole was cut off: while the original pole at Koingalas was crowned with two Haida watchmen, the 1939 Forest Service report shows the pole in Sitka ends with the mother-in-law figure holding circular puffin-beak rattles, several figures down (Fig. 3.41).¹⁰⁸ Benson's replica, now housed in Totem Hall at the National Parks Service's Visitor Center in Sitka, also ends in the mother-in-law crest. His pole appears narrower than the original, probably because the massive timbers available in the nineteenth century were harder to find in the 1930s. Partly as a consequence of the narrower pole, Benson's figures appear elongated, with more space between them than *gid k'wáajuss*'s. The frog above the human figure near the base, for example, is framed by ample negative space, whereas in the original it is wedged between the arms of the raven figure above.

Several stylistic markers that would distinguish Benson's work in the 1960s are already apparent on the Waasgo replica. Rather than the flat lower eyelids of the figures on Dwight Wallace's pole, the eyelids on Benson's replica curve to cup the circle of the iris. The eyelid itself is a thin line that rises in sharp relief from the eye socket and pinches closed at its corners. These pinched corners become even more apparent in Benson's later work, as seen on a model Waasgo pole that Benson carved for the Indian Arts and Crafts Board in the 1960s (Fig. 3.42). Interestingly, this eye style also characterized the work of Benson's one-time foster parent, Charles Bennett; it is seen on a model totem pole Bennett carved around 1930 (see Fig. 3.33). Benson also tended toward a distinctive mouth for his human figures: a downward crescent shape with wide upper lip, slightly open, as visible on the human figure on the Waasgo pole (see Fig. 3.34). This mouth would also appear on the K'alyaan figure on Benson's sketch for the Baranof pole, and on his work for the IACB in the 1960s (Fig. 3.43). Eyebrows with corners were another Benson hallmark. These corners are apparent on a model bear pole that he carved for the IACB, but also on the sketch of the black bear figure for the Baranof pole in 1939 (Fig. 3.44).

The style Benson established with the CCC, and especially his interest in Kaigani Haida totem poles, informed his carving in the 1960s as a demonstration aide for the Indian Arts and Crafts Board's Native arts program in Sitka. This program, which was

the predecessor of the well-known Southeast Alaska Indian Cultural Center, was established in 1962 by the IACB as part of its continuing efforts to encourage Native art traditions. Benson worked as a demonstration aide and teacher for the program from 1964 to 1968, and was instrumental in shifting the program's focus to teaching Northwest Coast Native art traditions at the Sitka National Historical Park.¹⁰⁹

In 1965, with the completion of a new Visitors Center at the entrance to the Sitka National Historical Park, Benson moved into a wing dedicated to Native art demonstrations. A photograph from this period shows Benson carving a model pole beside a completed model of the Waasgo pole, which was an exact replica of the replica Benson had carved for the CCC (Fig. 3.45). The model Waasgo pole, along with more than a dozen other of Benson's model poles now in the Indian Arts and Crafts Board collection at the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C., confirms the importance of Benson's CCC training for his work in the 1960s. While the model of the Waasgo pole is the most direct link, quotations of other Sitka poles also surface in the IACB collection. For example, two breasted female figures—one with a raven and a bear base (Fig. 3.46) and the other with a large-eyed figure sporting tentacles (Fig. 3.47)—recall the female figure on the Lakich'inei pole from the Sitka park (Fig. 3.48).¹¹⁰ The large-eyed figure below the female is similar to the lake figure at the base of the Waasgo pole (Fig. 3.49), and the tentacles also feature on the Mosquito Legend pole (although that replica was credited to Frank Kitka, Benson had surely studied it in the Sitka carving shed) (Fig. 3.50). Interestingly, Benson also carved several bird effigies that the IACB collection identifies as "Raven" and "Eagle," but that harken to Kaigani Haida grave monuments from Prince of Wales Island. One model is strikingly similar to the thunderbird and whale monument that John Wallace replicated for the park at Totem Bight (Fig. 3.51 a, b), while another recalls the Howkan Eagle (Fig. 3.52). While neither pole was connected to the CCC park at Sitka, the parallel to Benson's work is important, especially given the artist's apparent interest in Kaigani Haida totem poles.¹¹¹ Did this interest stem from the Haida carver that Benson cited as his teacher? Or could Benson have meant that his teacher had been the Kaigani Haida poles that he spent two years repairing and replicating for the Sitka CCC, and perhaps other Kaigani poles that he studied in connection with these restorations?¹¹²

If Benson's link to classical Haida carving is not fully clear, what is clear is that he passed on the knowledge he had gained in restoring Kaigani Haida poles to a new generation of Native carvers in Southeast Alaska. Indeed, Benson is an example of a CCC carver who directly influenced the "Renaissance" of Northwest Coast Native art in the 1960s. This movement, which included artists like Bill Reid in British Columbia and Bill Holm in Washington state, is widely credited with rekindling classically-inspired Northwest Coast Native art after a supposed "dark age" of early twentieth-century carving.¹¹³ Benson's example shows that there were artists learning and keeping alive classical traditions even in the 1930s; his relative youth during the CCC allowed him to pass on the knowledge he gained in the New Deal restoration program as a demonstration teacher in the 1960s. The Indian Cultural Center in Sitka was an important site for training a generation of "Renaissance" artists in Southeast Alaska, and Benson's work there is remembered by many artists today.¹¹⁴ Benson's grandson, David Galanin, now a master carver in Sitka, began his training at the Indian Cultural Center in the 1970s; Benson's great-grandson, Nicholas Galanin, is now an artist of international repute.

Benson himself continued to carve into his old age. At age eighty-four, the Tlingit carver designed a canoe for the Centennial Celebration of the Alaska Purchase from Russia. It is now on display outside Centennial Hall in Sitka, not far from Totem Square where Benson's Baranof pole still stands.

Hydaburg: John Wallace

We have already met the lead CCC carver at Hydaburg, John Wallace, as the carver of the Howkan Eagle; here I want to provide a more comprehensive overview of his work. Due to his participation in the Indian Arts and Crafts Board exhibit at the 1939 World's Fair in San Francisco and the 1941 Museum of Modern Art show in New York, Wallace is the best known of the CCC carvers; however, to date there has been no close analysis of his work. Art historian Robin Wright chronicled Wallace's biography and compiled a list of carvings by him, but her interest was primarily in Wallace's father, *gid k'wáajuss* or Dwight Wallace, and she did not provide any formal analysis of the younger Wallace's carving.¹¹⁵ In this section I analyze Wallace's relationship to his father's work, as well as investigating other poles the younger Wallace carved for the CCC. I also build on the earlier example of the Howkan Eagle to highlight the ways that Wallace, while hailed as *the* tradition bearer of the CCC, acted as a Native modern.

John Wallace (1858-1951) was born in Sukkwan, Alaska to a line of Kaigani Haida (or Alaskan Haida) totem poles carvers (Fig. 3.53). John's mother was from the village of Sukkwan; from her lineage, John was *sralálaandas* Eagle.¹¹⁶ Wright notes that Wallace was given the name Giauda (or Gaowdaul) after his paternal grandfather, who was one of the earliest Haida carvers to migrate from Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands) to Alaska.¹¹⁷ John's father, *gid k'wáajuss* or Dwight Wallace, from Klinkwan, was also an accomplished carver whose poles stood in numerous Kaigani Haida villages (Fig. 3.54).¹¹⁸ A pole known as the "Old Witch Pole," now at the State Building in Juneau, is a good example of *gid k'wáajuss*'s style: monumental Haida figures carved with broad, flat noses, and distinctive eyes with a relatively flat lower eyelid (Fig. 3.55). The iris itself is incised as a circle directly into the plane of the inner eye, rather than being carved in relief (Fig. 3.56).

As discussed previously, *gid k'wáajuss* hoped his son would continue the art of Haida carving and took John as his apprentice. No objects are confirmed from this apprenticeship period, but a totem pole at the National Museum of Natural History is likely the work of a young John Wallace under his father's tutelage (Fig. 3.57).¹¹⁹ Commissioned for the 1876 World's Fair in Philadelphia by James Swan, who was collecting Northwest Coast Native art for the Smithsonian's exhibit at the Fair, the heraldic pole depicts the story of a shipwrecked man who battled land otters in order to be kept from transforming into one himself.¹²⁰ At the top, the shipwrecked man, wearing the skin of his dog as his disguise, holds an enemy land otter. He is followed by a bear with a human figure in his lap, followed by another bear holding a land otter at the bottom. These figures and story are very similar to a heraldic pole that *gid k'wáajuss* had carved at Sukkwan prior to the World's Fair commission (Fig. 3.58)—a pole that John Wallace would later copy for the Totem Bight park, and parts of which he would use on the Four Story pole, now in Juneau (Fig. 3.59). The triangular shape of the canoe prow of the shipwrecked man, for example, appears in the middle of both *gid k'wáajuss*'s

Sukkwan pole and Wallace's Juneau pole; both poles also feature the man holding the land otter (*gid k'wáajuss's* pole at the top and Wallace's at the bottom).

But if the subject of the 1876 pole suggests *gid k'wáajuss's* involvement in its carving, the style of this pole is distinct enough that both Robin Wright and Steve Brown suspect the hand of a young John Wallace, who would have been seventeen or eighteen when the pole was commissioned.¹²¹ Neither art historian explained their reasons for this attribution, but it is true that the 1876 pole displays many of the features that would come to characterize the younger Wallace's work. The human figures have pointed, narrow noses, far more aquiline in profile than the flatter noses seen on *gid k'wáajuss's* poles (Fig. 3.60a). The eyelids, especially the undereye, curve more prominently than *gid k'wáajuss's*. Attention to fingernails and toenails, seen on this pole, would also mark John Wallace's later work (Fig. 3.60b); in the 1876 pole, even nipples were pegged carefully into the figure of a man holding a land otter (see Fig. 3.60a). Most interesting is the peculiar cheek crease on the right side of the mouth of this figure. This crease, which is not apparent on any of *gid k'wáajuss's* work, would become a prominent feature on Wallace's twentieth-century human figures, like the smile on the Master Carpenter on the pole at Totem Bight (Fig. 3.61). It revealed Wallace's relative naturalism in depicting the human mouth.

One of the earliest carvings confirmed as John Wallace's is the single-fin killerwhale grave monument from Howkan (Fig. 3.62). Wallace carved this figure around 1880 for Moses Kul Kit as a memorial to Kul Kit's uncle, head of the Brown Bear House.¹²² In this early work, there is little that forecasts the distinctive stylistic markers of Wallace's later carving—perhaps because there are no human figures depicted. What is significant, however, is that the grave monument possesses the massive, monumental feel of nineteenth-century Haida carving for which *gid k'wáajuss* and other classical Kaigani Haida carvers were known. Wallace's work for the CCC was often contrasted with this monumentalism: Garfield and Forrest, for example, described the original Howkan Eagle as “one of the most stately and impressive of the southeastern Alaskan sculptures,” whereas they implied that Wallace's copy was not.¹²³ However, the killerwhale monument, as well as the 1876 World's Fair totem pole, confirm that Wallace had carved monumental sculptures in his youth. Rather than discredit his work for the CCC, it is important to remember that his work in the 1930s was necessarily changed by the smaller diameter of logs available to carve. The narrower poles “pinched” Wallace's carvings and created a more elongated presence than the monumental style that Wallace had been capable of creating in the nineteenth century.

Wallace's carving took a long hiatus after the killerwhale grave monument of 1880. As we learned in the last chapter, Wallace could not find a market within his Haida community to support himself as a carver; for most of his life, he made a living primarily as a fisherman.¹²⁴ But in the 1920s, when Wallace was approaching his seventies, he earned commissions for several fourteen-foot canoes from private collectors on the east coast of the United States.¹²⁵ Wallace also returned to carving totem poles in the 1930s, with a commission in April 1931 from Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur for two six-foot totem poles for his office in Washington, D.C. When the new Interior building was completed in 1938, the poles were moved to frame the entrance of the corridor to the Secretary's office, where they still stand today (Fig. 3.63).¹²⁶ These poles show the distinctive style of Wallace's twentieth-century carving: the aquiline noses,

attention to fingernails and bellybuttons, and especially the cheek creases on the human figures (Fig. 3.64). The heavy paint would also characterize Wallace's work for the CCC.

Wallace carved another totem pole in 1937, and it was this pole that seems to have launched his relationship with René d'Harnoncourt (Fig. 3.65). D'Harnoncourt saw the 45-foot pole at the Waterfall Cannery on Prince of Wales during his tour of the Alaska territory in May 1938, and was so impressed that he traveled to Hydaburg to meet Wallace in person. In his report on Alaska Native art for the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, d'Harnoncourt praised Wallace and his brother-in-law, Sam Davis, as being "exceedingly interested in carrying on the old-style work," although he noted that they had "lost the steadiness of hand demanded for the purposes and have adopted an indiscriminating method of painting their work, which of course may be a concession to the taste of the white client or trader."¹²⁷

Because of Wallace's link to the "old style work," d'Harnoncourt invited Wallace to San Francisco to serve as a demonstration artist for a major exhibit of Native American art that the Indian Arts and Crafts Board was preparing for the 1939 World's Fair.¹²⁸ Here Wallace was championed as a tradition bearer of the Indian New Deal—and of d'Harnoncourt's hope that Native artists would make a living from their art. In the courtyard of the IACB's Indian Exhibition Building, Wallace and his son Fred worked for two months carving a totem pole commissioned by the IACB (Fig. 3.66). This pole would stand on display in the building's courtyard, and would later mark the entrance to the Museum of Modern Art for the IACB exhibit *Indian Art of the United States* in 1941 (Fig. 3.67). The demonstration of totem pole carving was intended to attract visitors to the pavilion and call attention to the labor required to create this massive work of art; however, the process was also carefully noted by IACB officials as a means to record the work of a traditional carver.¹²⁹ Frederic Douglas, the curator of Native American art at the Denver Art Museum and d'Harnoncourt's collaborator for the IACB exhibit, made careful notes about Wallace's process, including the time it took him to execute various steps. A typical section of Douglas's six-page manuscript reads as follows: "2/25 9:30, Fred worked on raven's head with axe, deepened notch 1 (see drawing above) and roughing in top of raven's wings. John cut notches 4 and 5 below 3, laying out the space for rest of figures. He laid out the major masses of the figures in pencil using a ruler to check distances."¹³⁰ Douglas included drawings beside his typed notes, showing the development of notches into figures on the pole and the use of measurements to ensure the pole was properly rounded. He also noted various comments Wallace made about the pole, both in story and style, as he carved.¹³¹

If federal officials celebrated Wallace as a tradition bearer, however, several were less comfortable when Wallace asserted his ability to participate in a modern economy. Although the IACB officially endorsed Native artists selling their work on a national art market, members of the Forest Service and the OIA objected to Wallace's sale of two nineteenth-century totem poles at the 1939 World's Fair. In February 1940, a few months after the Fair had closed, officials in Alaska learned that Wallace had left two totem poles in San Francisco, in the care of d'Harnoncourt, with the hope that a museum would buy them.¹³² Office of Indian Affairs director Charles Hawkesworth wrote to Heintzleman: "...it seems Mr. d'Harnoncourt has in mind now selling these totems to institutions in the States. We are particularly anxious to have these two poles returned to Hydaburg and placed in the Totem Park.... If these poles are, as I am led to believe, the

former Yeltatie [poles] from Howkan, they are the best poles in the Territory outside of the Sitka National Monument and they should be permanently kept in Alaska.”¹³³

Hawkesworth also suggested that, if indeed the poles were Yeiltatie’s from Howkan, they belonged to a different family and Wallace was attempting to profit from an illicit sale.

Wallace was greatly offended by the accusation that he was selling another lineage’s totem poles. He wrote to Hawkesworth at the Office of Indian Affairs: “I believe you’ve known me long enough to believe that I would not take some one else’s property.”¹³⁴ He stated that the two totem poles he was selling were not Yeiltatie’s from Howkan—which, in fact, he was in the process of replicating for the CCC park in Hydaburg—but were poles from Sukkwan that he owned. (As other Hydaburg residents wrote to attest, the poles had been Wallace’s mother’s brother’s poles, and therefore, by the inheritance rules of matrilineal moieties, they were Wallace’s.¹³⁵) Wallace further justified the sale using the Forest Service’s language of originals and replicas: “They were so rotten that they were not worth returning to the Totem Park. They are even worse than some which are now being discarded for replicas. If Mr. Archbold [the District Ranger] wishes, I will carve two replicas of those which I am selling.” Finally, he concluded his letter with an appeal to his own right to use totem poles for his livelihood: “I never seined for ten years, and carving is the only way I make a living.”¹³⁶

The argument between Wallace and the Office of Indian Affairs belied something of the double standard the Indian New Deal made for Native artists: although artists were supposed to cater to the modern market to make a living from their art work, it was often within the confines of what federal officials deemed “traditional.” Hawkesworth’s suspicion that Wallace did not own the poles was a misunderstanding of Haida property rights, but it was also a means to justify his discomfort with Wallace’s decision to sell poles on his own. In a letter to Wallace, Hawkesworth wrote: “It was not contemplated by any of us that those two outstanding, really famous poles should permanently leave the Territory. They should be placed in the new Totem Park at Hydaburg, now being made by the CCC crew. You, being the Father of Hydaburg, should be even more anxious to have those poles returned from the Fair and set up in the new Totem Park than anyone else. Will you therefore write me indicating your willingness to have that done, providing there will be no expense connected with it.”¹³⁷ Hawkesworth’s appeal to Wallace as the “Father of Hydaburg” was an appeal to his role as a tradition bearer—a role that Hawkesworth seemed to wish Wallace would stick to rather than act as his own agent on the national art market.¹³⁸ It revealed the kind of “pervasive romantic primitivism” that Jennifer McLerran has criticized for hobbling the Indian New Deal: positioning Native artists as tradition bearers hindered their efforts to be recognized as modern agents who sought to participate in the American economy.¹³⁹

In the end, Wallace won his argument with Hawkesworth. Importantly, he was aided by several Forest Service employees who had worked at Hydaburg and who argued that federal officials had no business interfering in Wallace’s disposal of his own property.¹⁴⁰ The two poles sold in 1941 to the University of Pennsylvania Museum; later the land otter pole from Sukkwan went to the Denver Art Museum.¹⁴¹ As promised, Wallace carved a copy of this pole for the CCC; it was erected at Totem Bight in 1941.

One of the last poles that Wallace carved for the CCC provides a powerful conclusion to his work for the government parks. Completed and erected in June 1941,

the Master Carver pole was slated for the park at Totem Bight, where the Forest Service gave Wallace full license to create a design of his choosing (Fig. 3.68).¹⁴² Significantly, then, after the Forest Service had questioned his authority to sell his poles, as well as after the debacle of the Howkan Eagle, Wallace chose to depict the story of the Master Carver (sometimes called Master Carpenter), who taught the Haida how to carve. Wallace recounted the story for Linn Forrest and Viola Garfield, who transcribed it in *The Wolf and the Raven*:

Long ago the Haida did not know how to carve, and Master Carver came and taught them. When he came he wore a carved and painted headdress, and a blanket shirt woven of mountain goat wool, richly ornamented with designs. His body was tattooed with crest figures. A halo of bright light shown around him, hence he is painted a light color instead of dark as an ordinary human being would have been painted. On his finger nails were human faces, each with a different design and expression.

When Master Carver appeared to the Haida he told them, ‘Tonight something will happen. Go to bed as usual and pay no attention to anything you may hear. Don’t look until you are sure that the sun is up.’ During the night the people heard chopping but they covered their heads and restrained their curiosity as he had instructed them. In the morning they saw that the corner posts of the house had been carved and the partition at the back of the house had been painted with animal and human figures. They went outside and there were three carved poles in front of the house, one in the center and one at either corner. The whole front of the house was covered with carved and painted figures. The people were amazed, for these were the first carved and painted figures they had ever seen. They studied everything carefully and tried to copy what they saw.

Master Carver came again and instructed the men. Each day he pointed to one of the faces on his nails and explained the experience behind it. Thus, lesson by lesson, he taught the Haida the secrets of carving. He urged them to study and gave them directions for the different kinds of medicines and training necessary for successful work.¹⁴³

Wallace made no attempt to be subtle in his statement here. After the scandals of the 1939 Fair and the replications of Howkan Eagle, Wallace asserted a story that confirmed his role as a tradition bearer, perhaps even equating himself with the Master Carver. As recounted in the story—and as he had done for his Howkan Eagle—Wallace painted a woven Chilkat designs on the Master Carpenter (this was a Chilkat tunic, however, not a blanket like the Howkan Eagle wore). Viola Garfield noted that the Master Carpenter’s fingernails were too small for the individual faces described in the story, so Wallace created a necklace to display them instead. The Master’s hands meet prominently beneath the necklace, the rows of fingernails paralleling the rows of ten faces in the necklace above (see Fig. 3.60).

Garfield also noted that Wallace topped this pole with the Eagle, his own moiety’s crest. He included the beaver and bullhead, which Garfield wrote were also Eagle clan symbols for the Haida.¹⁴⁴ The inclusion of a raven and other Raven moiety crests on this pole followed a uniquely Haida custom of including crests of the opposite moiety on a totem pole, usually symbolizing the commissioner’s spouse or his children.¹⁴⁵ In this case, however, the double moiety crests could also be read as Wallace’s interest in

teaching all Haida people the traditions of Haida carving. The coppers beneath the bear figure—symbols of wealth that “increased with its age and the number of times it changed hands”—were symbolic of traditions passed down and the accrued wealth of Haida knowledge over time.¹⁴⁶ Wallace wanted to serve as a tradition bearer for his people, akin to the Master Carver. The story he told with this pole is one of social cohesion—how the Haida would learn to carve through a teacher who asked for their trust, confidence, and careful study—and it confirmed Wallace’s ability to draw on traditions at the same time that he asserted his role as a carver in the twentieth century.

“Accumulated Labors”

The blanket dismissal of CCC totem poles in Northwest Coast Native art scholarship has overlooked the variety and the accomplishments of early twentieth-century carving in Southeast Alaska. While not all CCC poles were masterpieces, neither were they all “lifeless” as critics like Kuh have contended. Some were made with a closer eye to nineteenth-century classicism than art historians have allowed. Some were also intelligent assertions of a transcultural present, drawing on traditional figures and stories to make bold new statements about the realities of Native life in the twentieth century. The totem poles of the New Deal parks should inspire closer study of their aesthetic variety—a variety, we should remember, that also marks totem poles of the classical era.

It is also important to assess the totem parks by New Deal goals of art for social cohesion. The lead carvers examined in this chapter all worked to pass on their knowledge to future generations of Native peoples, and to strengthen Native culture through knowledge of crest stories and carving traditions. John Wallace preached this lesson with the Master Carpenter pole, and taught his son, Fred Wallace, and the many CCC apprentices under his supervision in Hydaburg, the traditions he had learned in the classical apprenticeship of his youth. Thomas Ukas passionately shared stories of Wrangell poles and clans with other Wrangell Tlingits, making the Wrangell carving shed itself a site for cultural continuance. Charles Brown undertook his own careful study of Tlingit crest stories and carving, inspiring other Tlingit men to work for the CCC; George Benson taught the lessons he had learned restoring classical totem poles in the 1930s to a generation that led the “Renaissance” of Northwest Coast Native art in the 1960s. Yet if these men all showed concern for passing on knowledge within their communities, they also took advantage of the opportunity for their art to circulate outside. They were Native moderns working in a transcultural context, seeking to learn from and pass on knowledge to non-Natives interested in their arts.

The CCC carvers formed a tenuous link between classical traditions of the nineteenth century and the “flowering” of those traditions in the 1960s. I have argued here that there were artists in the 1930s and 1940s who were keenly interested in classical design principles and who sought to learn those principles during their work for the CCC. Writing of the Canadian counterpart to this study, Ronald Hawker has argued that carvers of the 1960s “Renaissance” may have produced a more prolific classical art than earlier twentieth-century carvers, yet they benefited from the “accumulated labors” of interwar carvers who continued to practice the art in times of slim opportunity.¹⁴⁷ The CCC carvers also worked to keep traditions alive in the 1930s, and their work directly benefited the classical Northwest Coast Native art that flourished a few decades later.

¹Katherine Kuh, "Confidential Report on the Preservation of Indian Art in Southeastern Alaska," Part I (July and August 1946), p. 1. Tongass Historical Museum, Ketchikan, Alaska.

²Jonathan Harris, *Federal Art and National Culture: The Politics of Identity in New Deal America* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 3-5.

³Aldona Jonaitis, "Totem Poles and the Indian the New Deal," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* IX, 2 (1989), pp. 244-245.

⁴Following the foundational work of Bill Holm, for example, scholars at the University of Washington like Robin Wright and her students have devoted their work to recovering the identity and oeuvre of Northwest Coast Native artists. See, for example, Robin Wright, *Northern Haida Master Carvers* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001).

⁵Tlingit art scholarship has favored the conservative northern *kwáans* of Southeast Alaska, as evident in Aldona Jonaitis's *Art of the Northern Tlingit* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986). Kaigani Haida carvers in southern Southeast Alaska have also received less attention than their counterparts in Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands) in British Columbia to the south, leaving the arts of this region relatively unstudied.

⁶Biddle quoted in A. Joan Saab, *Art for the Millions: Art and Culture Between the Wars* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), p. 16.

⁷Revival of older Native art traditions was a central focus of the IACB and other federal offices during the New Deal. For example, the Education Division of the Office of Indian Affairs published the *Indian Handcraft Series* from 1940-1945 to assist in the revival of quillwork, painting and pottery for the western Sioux, the Iroquois, Ojibwa, and Pueblos. See Jennifer McLerran, *A New Deal for Native Art: Indian Arts and Federal Policy, 1933-1943* (Phoenix: University of Arizona Press, 2009), p.124.

⁸See Appendix A for the provenience of individual poles in the CCC parks.

⁹Claude Morrison, for example, remembered his work at the Hydaburg camp was principally to remove bark from newly-felled logs and to hollow out the heart wood in preparation for carving; it was lead carver John Wallace who finished all of the totem poles at the CCC workshop (Claude Morrison, personal interview, Hydaburg, Alaska 2/1/2009). Similarly, Julie Coburn remembered that her father, Louis Jones, split planks and adzed all the boards in the Whale House at Kasaan, but did not work on the totem poles themselves (Julie Coburn, personal interview, Anchorage, Alaska, 2/19/2011).

¹⁰These rankings and wages fluctuated, however, according to the budget Congress allocated for the CCC. In February 1940, C.M. Archbold noted that "Jim Peele [the head carver at Kasaan, was] reduced from carver wages to assistant leader wages at the beginning of the fall and winter term after staying on all last summer at carver wages of 70 cents per hour.... This was done at the insistence of Mr. Burdick [Assistant Regional Forester, US Forest Service]. I had asked for a carver at 70 cents an hour at Saxman, Kasaan, Hydaburg and Klawock, as well as out at Mud Bay but Mr. Burdick claimed the carving could be done with leaders and assistant leaders and that at Wrangell and Sitka it was being done this way. I talked like a "Dutch uncle" to get carver wages for Charles Brown at Saxman and managed to get this one position set up but Peele had to be reduced. For myself, I believe that the 70 cent rate is none too much for a head carver at every totem project. For 40 hours per week he would only make \$28.00 and by working Mondays and Fridays inclusive would not benefit from leave" (Archbold to Harold

Smith, 2/19/40). John Wallace must have had his wages reduced as well, because he complained in early 1940 that he was not being paid as much as other CCC workers (e.g. Charles Brown); Forest Service correspondence clarified that he was rated as an assistant leader at \$36.00/month, although they hoped to raise his wage to skilled labor with a new budget (3/25/40 letter from Holbrook to Office of Indian Affairs). However, in September 1940, a memo from Harold Smith for Forest Service files noted that “Congress and the Budget Committee seem to have settled the question of increased wages for totem carvers. With limited finances frozen by objects of expenditure, we will be unable to provide funds for these semi-skilled positions. This simply means that carving will have to be done by enrollees, if done at all. It is possible that such men as Jim Peele and John Wallace will refuse to accept enrollee pay, but if they take that attitude, there is nothing we can do about it. . . . We had hoped to be able to pay head carvers at least 70 cents per hour, but with only \$85,000 for salaries we are already facing the possibility of reducing, rather than expanding our overhead positions” (Smith to District Ranger, Petersburg, 9/30/40). It is unclear if Wallace, Peele and other head carvers were reduced to enrollee pay of \$2/day in 1941 or if they were paid at a higher rate.

¹¹ Bill Anthes, *Native Moderns: American Indian Painting 1940-1960* (Durham: Duke University Press), pp. xx-xxi.

¹² Anthes, p. xix.

¹³ William Andrews was listed as the lead carver in June 1940, and William Brown later acted as lead carver when his son was out fishing. However, Charles Brown acted as the lead carver for the majority of the projects and was certainly credited by the Forest Service as being the primary contact in Saxman and Totem Bight.

¹⁴ Garfield quoted in 6/17/40 letter from Archbold to Heintzleman.

¹⁵ In a recording of an interview conducted at the Lowie Museum on June 12, 1964, Charles Brown stated that he was “sixty-five-years old, born in Ketchikan” (Charles Brown Recordings, 24-323 Tape 1, Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, UC Berkeley). I have used this statement to corroborate a 1948 BIA census that listed Brown’s date of birth as 16 April 1899, rather than a 1939 BIA census that listed 16 Apr 1900 at Portland Canal. For the census data, see Roots Web Tlingit-Haida-Tsimshian Ancestry online, <http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=klea&id=I5012>, accessed 6/30/2011.

¹⁶ Brown stated that he was from “the Eagle House” in the 1964 interview at the Lowie Museum (Charles Brown Recordings, 24-323_2); Viola Garfield also noted in 1940 that Charles Brown was “Eagle from Cape Fox” (Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections, Box 5, File 3 “Notes”). Brown’s mother’s name is derived from his birth certificate listed on Roots Web (see above).

¹⁷ In the Lowie interviews, Brown stated that his father “didn’t want [him] to have anything to do with this culture” and that the elder Brown encouraged both of his children to seek a western education (Charles Brown Recordings, Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, 24-323_3). As an example of Tlingit traditions his father did not want his children to continue, Brown recalled a potlatch his father had hosted in Saxman: “My father invited Kasaan, Wrangell, Ketchikan—three villages. And everyone’s got to have something. . . . All gifts for the

gratitude of him [the guests] for coming. They don't come alone...they bring the whole doggone family. Goes on for three, four days, until the man that paid off probably only got his shoes left. He don't save himself *nothing*. That's why my father didn't want me to have anything to do with...he wanted us to have some sort of education. My sister become a good teacher—she got two degrees and three scholarships. She done well. So, he didn't want me to have anything to do with it. But it's just natural, from my childhood I hear what goes on and seeing these things is just like opening a book to me” (Charles Brown Recordings, 24-324_2). Brown did not identify the boarding school he attended, although it seems he returned home in the summers and possibly on other vacations.

¹⁸ Brown twice identified his maternal uncle in the 1964 Lowie interviews: “[When the Eagle House got too big], my uncle moved out and he put on a ceremonial potlatch, and he called his house Eagle Claw House. And the four corner posts of his house are holding up those big timbers. The whole thing is carved and it's carved in the form of a claw” (Charles Brown Recordings, 24-323_2).

¹⁹ Charles Brown Recordings, 24-323_3.

²⁰ Charles Brown Recordings, 24-324_2.

²¹ See John R. Swanton, *Tlingit Myths and Texts* Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 39 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1908).

²² 6/14/40 letter from Garfield to Archbold, RG 95, Box 3.

²³ H.P. Corser, *Totem Lore of the Alaskan Indians* (Ryus Drug Co., 1900). Corser was a Presbyterian minister in Wrangell and worked with Chief Kadashan to record the stories of Wrangell poles.

²⁴ 5/2/41 letter from Garfield to Forrest, Box 2, Folder 12, Viola Garfield Papers.

²⁵ Roots Web lists this information based on the death certificate from the First Judicial District, Ketchikan, AK dated 14 Jan 1942. “William H. Brown,” Roots Web online, Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian Ancestry, as of 6/30/2011.

²⁶ Charles Brown Recordings, 24-323_1. Brown also noted that his father had his Teikweidi Crest, a brown bear, tattooed onto his chest (24-323_4).

²⁷ The seven totem poles became known as the “ball park totems” because of their proximity to the baseball fields near Ketchikan's City Park. Once erected in the park, these poles were repaired by a non-Native man named Heinrich Brunner. See 1/6/40 letter from Heintzleman to Archbold.

²⁸ The plaque for the pole reads “Climbing Bear, 1882, Wm Brown.” The pole depicted the Teikweidi story of *Kaats'* and his brown bear wife, who climbed a mountain in mourning when her husband was killed. The date 1882 is likely the date it was erected at a potlatch in Old Tongass. Brown would have been too young in 1882 to have commissioned the pole, and it is unlikely that he carved it himself, since it was tradition to commission a carver from the opposite moiety as the clan owner (in this case, a Teikweidi person with the right to the *Kaats'* crest). More likely is that his name appeared on the City Park plaque because, as the inheritor of the Teikweidi pole, he owned it and could give permission to the American Legion to move it from Tongass to Ketchikan. My thanks to Mary Ida Henrickson for sharing with me the City Park plaque she now has in her personal collection.

²⁹ 3/17/39 letter from Archbold to Heintzleman. Archbold also credited Andy Moses with this work to convince elders to allow the poles to be moved.

³⁰ Linn Forrest, “The Governor’s Totem,” *The Alaskan* 2:2 (January 1941), p.14.

³¹ Viola Garfield credited William Brown for the “final adzed texturing to the pole. Chief helpers were James Starrish, Robert Harris, William Andrews and James Andrews, all native Tlingit craftsmen, some of them closely related to the lineage to which the pole belongs.” Viola Garfield, “The Seattle Totem Pole,” pamphlet published by the University of Washington Extension, 1940; Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections, Box 2, File 14.

³² Tagook was fired from the job in mid-April after repeated complaints from a Forest Service employee that he had come to work intoxicated. See 4/18/40 “Memorandum for the Files” by Linn Forrest, RG 95, Box 2.

³³ Forrest to Archbold, 7/12/40.

³⁴ 2/19/40 memo from C.M. Archbold to Harold Smith.

³⁵ In the 1964 interviews at the Lowie Museum, Brown emphasized carved—rather than simply painted—details as a mark of fine craftsmanship, or what he called “genuine carving.” Of a model pole in the Lowie’s collection, for example, Brown stated: “If it was a genuine carving...all of these feathers would have been accentuated—carved, not just painted” (24-325_3). Examples of such incising work in classical poles include the Shakes House posts from Wrangell, considered masterpieces of nineteenth-century carving by the Tlingit artist Kadjisdu.axtc, which feature hand figures incised into the wood and a voluminous modeling of the figures’ facial structure. See Steve Brown, “In the Shadow of the Wrangell Master,” *American Indian Art Magazine* (Autumn 1984), p.11.

³⁶ The compass was frequently used to create eyes in Northwest Coast Native art. See Bill Holm, *Smoky-Top: The Art and Times of Willie Seaweed*, Thomas Burke Memorial Museum Monograph 3 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983).

³⁷ Although he was among the most faithful to the original of the CCC lead carvers, Brown did change some details of crest figures in his replications. Brown himself told Garfield that the original blackfish pole from Tongass did not have a face on the fin, but for his replica for the Saxman totem park “he obtained permission from the owners to add the face to ‘make it look better.’” Garfield actually approved of this face—she noted it was “entirely typical of the way in which such blackfish figures were often decorated,” and indeed, the face had appeared on the killerwhale figure on the original Seattle pole that Brown had replicated in 1940, which is perhaps where he got the idea for the face. Viola Garfield, notes in photo album, Vol. 7 (Saxman), Viola Garfield photograph collections, University of Washington Special Collections.

³⁸ “New Totem Pole Will be Carved,” *Ketchikan Chronicle*, 2/1/41.

³⁹ In the Lowie interviews, Brown discussed the difficult work of replication in relationship to classical, or “old-time,” work. Looking at classical bowl carved with a sea lion in the Lowie’s collection, Brown said: “It’s real old-time. An expert—a guy who knows how to carve. He doesn’t have to think or guess, he just go to work and make it [sic]. When a guy is working free-hand, you know that yourself, if you’re doing it free for yourself [you can go ahead/work assuredly?], but where you take the trouble to try to copy the other guy, that’s where the difficulty is. It doesn’t look right. And this is genuine, made by an expert” (Charles Brown Recordings, 24-325_3). Brown seemed to

be differentiating the assured work of a master carver with the halting attempts of a student, even as he pointed to the practice of replication as a study aid.

⁴⁰ For a history of the Seattle pole, see Aldona Jonaitis, “Northwest Coast Totem Poles,” in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, Ed. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 110-112.

⁴¹ Viola Garfield, “The Seattle Totem Pole,” Pamphlet published by the University of Washington Press, Extension Series, July 1940, p. 1.

⁴² Viola Garfield provided a full account of the crest stories associated with the Seattle Pole in a pamphlet she wrote to accompany the erection of the CCC’s replica (“The Seattle Totem Pole,” the University of Washington Press, Extension Series, July 1940, pp. 5-7). It was later published in book form as *The Seattle Totem Pole* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980).

⁴³ A lengthy and interesting debate followed Garfield’s request to repair the Seattle pole. Worrying over the ethics of replicating a stolen pole, Heintzelman proposed repatriating the Seattle Pole to Alaska and replacing it with the Baranof totem that Sitka Tlingits had rejected for their own town square: “My thought is that the totem stolen by members of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce many years ago from Tongass Island should be returned at this time in a formal ceremony to the Kyan family, or such other family as can show ownership of the pole. This would be equivalent to the return by Northern States of Southern battle flags to the Southern States from which they were taken during the Civil War, a practice which has become quite common in the past few years. I will also suggest that the City of Seattle ask one of its Congressmen and one of its Senators, to introduce a bill into Congress, permitting the Forest Service and the CCC in Alaska to carve and present to the City of Seattle an appropriate totem pole to replace the one being returned by the City.

“I am inclined to think that we should offer Seattle the very large pole which we have had carved by Wrangell Indians. If for any reason this pole isn’t satisfactory we, of course, could have another carved either in Wrangell or Ketchikan.” 8/18/39 letter from Heintzleman to Archbold, RG 95, Box 2.

⁴⁴ The story of Raven taking the form of a human child and stealing the sunlight from his grandfather’s bentwood box is well known, and was said to have occurred on the Nass River in Tsimshian and southern Tlingit territory. It is the first story in Swanton (1908), pp. 3-21.

⁴⁵ Jonaitis and Glass, *The Totem Pole: An Intercultural History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), pp.104-108.

⁴⁶ Jonaitis and Glass, p. 104.

⁴⁷ Garfield and Forrest, p. 55 ; see also William Paul, Sr. “The True Story of the Lincoln Totem,” *The Alaska Journal* 1:3 (Summer 1971), p.6.

⁴⁸ Garfield noted as much in an unpublished paper: “among the Southern Tlingit [which she listed as covering Stikine, Tongass and Cape Fox] separately carved wing pieces occur, [whereas we] don’t see that in Haida or northern Tlingit work.” Viola Garfield, “Columnar Carvings of the Tlingit and Alaska Haida,” Paper written for AAA Christmas meeting, Toronto, 1948 Box 1, Folder 16 “Speeches and Writings” Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections.

⁴⁹ Willard Jackson, personal communication, 4/24/09, Ketchikan, Alaska.

⁵⁰ Some might credit Brown's mediation skills to his identity as a Neix̄.ádi man. The Neix̄.ádi belonged to a third phratry that was an exception to the general moiety division of Raven/Wolf among Tlingits; it was unique to southern Southeast Alaskan Tlingits and may have arisen out of contact with the neighboring Tsimshian, who had four phratry divisions rather than two. Although its crests included the Eagle, the Neix̄.ádi clan was considered part of the Raven moiety and could "go between" the two moieties. See Kalervo Oberg, *The Social Economy of the Tlingit Indians* (Seattle: University of Washington, Reprint edition 1980 [1933]), p. 23. In his comments on Oberg's thesis, Tlingit historian and attorney William Paul made the correction that the "Neix̄.ádi are of the Raven clan, although it is true they use the Eagle as their emblem." See Oberg, p. viii.

⁵¹ Archbold to Regional Forester, 2/17/39.

⁵² Garfield and Forrest, p. 83.

⁵³ Garfield and Forrest, pp. 86-87. Tricia Brown noted that the human figure holding the frog referenced a third story of a woman who married a frog. Interestingly, this story was recorded by John Swanton, and Brown may have learned the story by reading Swanton's book as Garfield had recommended. See Tricia Brown, *Silent Story Tellers: The Totem Poles of Totem Bight State Park* (Anchorage: Alaska Geographic Association, 2009), p. 33.

⁵⁴ Allen Wardwell notes that art associated with shamans "were articles of great power that could not be looked at casually or even exposed unless under the proper controlled situations." Wardwell, *Tangible Visions: Northwest Coast Indian Shamanism and Its Art* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1996), p. 5.

⁵⁵ See Carol Sheehan, *Pipes That Won't Smoke, Coal That Won't Burn: Haida Sculpture in Argillite* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1981).

⁵⁶ Wardwell, p. 7.

⁵⁷ In the Lowie interviews, Brown detailed a shaman's vision as told to him by his father; he also noted that it was while the shaman was in a trance that his *yeik'*, or spirit helpers, went to work at whatever it was that the shaman was trying to understand or accomplish. Charles Brown recordings, 24-323_4.

⁵⁸ Wardwell writes: "Although healing was the prime occupation of shamans, their weighty obligations to assure the spiritual equilibrium of the community, provide communication with the nonhuman world, and to maintain ancient traditions brought many other responsibilities. In general, they were called on to bring about a successful outcome to events that could not be controlled through conventional and rational means." Wardwell, p. 4.

⁵⁹ Garfield and Forrest stated in *The Wolf and the Raven* that the halibut appeared on this pole as a shamanic animal (p. 83). However, the halibut is also a crest of the Neix̄.ádi clan. Compare the list of clan crests in Kalervo Oberg, *The Social Economy of the Tlingit Indians* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973 [1933]), pp. 136-138.

⁶⁰ Several descriptions of professional carvers seeking visions are recorded in Northwest Coast anthropology. In 1949, anthropologist Marius Barbeau recorded Alfred Adams's memories of the Haida carver Albert Edward Edenshaw: "I understand that he got medicine—drinking medicine and he would fast and got his imagination and his conception of different stories and legends....When he got to the big tree, he could see all

the figures on the tree he visualized them that he was to put on [sic].” Alfred Adams as recorded by Marius Babeau in 1947, quoted in Wright, *Northern Haida Master Carvers* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003). p. 141. See also Franz Boas, *Primitive Art* (New York: Dover Publications, 1955 [1927]), p. 156.

⁶¹ In the Lowie interviews, Brown spoke of the knowledge carvers had to have about clan crests and stories: “An expert carver [knows?] each tribe and each man where he comes from. [When someone wants to commission a dish showing his clan crests], all he’ll say is, “...carve me a little dish.” And [the carver] will go to work on it. He’s not going to ask the owner [to delineate the design]. He’s supposed to know, he’s in that line of work to know.” Charles Brown Recordings, 24-324_2.

⁶² Brown quoted in Lawrence Rakestraw, *A History of the United States Forest Service in Alaska* (Anchorage: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Alaska Region, June 2002 reprint), p. 102.

⁶³ This was also in keeping with the regenerative ideas of Tlingit eschatology, which Brown discussed in the 1964 interview at the Lowie Museum: “People a long time ago, they didn’t believe in death. Well, how in the heck is that? But he [a person] don’t die [sic], was never considered dead...because a man with good spirit never dies. To your family and your grandchildren, you’re not dead. Every time they find something what you have done years ago, there you come alive again, see. . . . You look in your history book, you find Abraham Lincoln is just as much alive today and doing better work than when he was alive—that’s the way they looked at it. Washington is still with us. Kennedy’s dead, but what he said...the words that he spoke will ring for a long, long, time. So Kennedy will never die, and so on.” Charles Brown Recordings, 24-323_3.

⁶⁴ The June 28, 1942 edition of *Alaska Fishing News* mentioned the opening of the Charles W. Brown and Sons Boat Shop.

⁶⁵ The Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology has three tapes of Brown discussing Tlingit objects in the museum’s collection with Larry Dawson and Frank Norick. These are listed in the Hearst Museum as Catalogue “24-323 through 24-325. Descriptive comments concerning museum specimens by Charles Brown (Tlingit) recorded at Lowie Museum in June 1964.”

⁶⁶ Wyckoff identified Thomas and Ukas as the “carvers” at Wrangell and noted their strong work: “Judging from the skill they have shown in carving a new totem I believe they are competent to do any work we want of this kind” (Wyckoff to Heintzleman, 2/21/39). Linn Forrest also turned to Thomas and Ukas for stories behind the poles, indicating his identification of these two as the knowledgeable carvers of the camp (Forrest to Sid, 6/13/40).

⁶⁷ Steve Brown speculates that the flat formline design on the Kéet Yakw canoe of Chief Shakes was partly the work of a young Thomas Ukas, since it is much freer in design than the conservative formline work typical of the elder Ukas. See Brown 1984, p. 84.

⁶⁸ Ukas discusses his training in a series of recordings (Thomas and Harry Ukas Family Recordings, MSS 3, Sealaska Heritage Collection). Ethel Lund, Ukas’s granddaughter, also emphasized his training in my interview with her in Juneau on September 7, 2011. She noted that Thomas’s sister, Louise, was also carefully groomed, learning the dances and songs of the clan.

⁶⁹ Brown, "In the Shadow," p. 84. Brown suspected another's hand for this design because the elder Ukas had rarely applied design to the flat areas of his work and "seems to have been willing to compromise the old, conservative formline tradition in certain ways and adopt a much freer approach to the flat designed areas" for the Killerwhale Canoe.

⁷⁰ Ethel Lund, Ukas's granddaughter, now has this set of tools at her home in Juneau. Lund, personal interview, 9/7/2011, Juneau, Alaska.

⁷¹ Ukas quoted in Marlys Mattila, "Tom Ukas Continues 50 Years of Totem Carving," *Alaska Southeastern Log* (December, no year printed on article).

⁷² Thomas & Harry Ukas Family Recordings, MC 33, Item #1; Special Collections Center, Sealaska Heritage Institute, Juneau, AK.

⁷³ Ukas indicated in the same oral history that Joe Thomas was responsible for restoring older poles through replication, while Ukas designed new totem poles for the Wrangell park based on old stories: Joe Thomas "was supposed to carve totems, which he never did [before the CCC?]. He was going to copy off another totem, would've all look the same" (Thomas & Harry Ukas Family Recordings Collection, MC 33, Box 1, Item 1; Special Collections Center, Sealaska Heritage Institute, Juneau, AK). However, Forest Service correspondence makes it clear that Thomas designed new poles as well: a 9/18/41 memo from Burdick to Forrest stated: "Inasmuch as [Joe] Thomas designed these poles and did not merely copy them I wonder if it would not be feasible to place such a plate on them [a name plate designating Thomas as the designer]." It is not clear which poles Thomas designed; possibly the Gonadaket pole at the back of Shakes Island was one.

⁷⁴ E.L. Keithahn referred to the pole as Na-chee-su-na, after the name of the man who created the killerwhale. See Keithahn, "The Authentic Story of Shakes Island," Wrangell Historical Society 1981 reprint [1940], p.10.

⁷⁵ Thomas Ukas recounted the story of the pole in an oral recording made in the 1980s: see Thomas & Harry Ukas Family Recordings Collection, MC 33, Item #1; Special Collections Center, Sealaska Heritage Institute, Juneau, AK. For another version of the story, Keithahn, "The Authentic Story of Shakes Island," Wrangell Historical Society 1981 reprint [1940], pp. 9-11.

⁷⁶ Brown, "In the Shadow," p. 84.

⁷⁷ Jennifer Marshall has noted the interest of American sculptors in Native American carving traditions in the 1930s as sculptors sought to return to what they perceived as the "honest and direct" work of carving as opposed to the decorative (and often out-sourced) work of casting. She examines the popularity of Proctor and Gamble's soap carving contests in this period and notes that contestants were encouraged to look at Inuit ivory carvings as examples of "essential forms" and "honest carving" as models for their own work (Jennifer Jane Marshall, "Clean Cuts: Procter & Gamble's Depression-Era Soap-Carving Contests," *Winterthur Portfolio* 42:1 [Spring 2008], pp. 67-68). However, Tlingit and Haida carvers in Southeast Alaska may also have been influenced by Art Deco motifs as they appeared in newspapers, magazines and movies that circulated in Alaska at the time.

⁷⁸ Brown, "In the Shadow," p. 82.

⁷⁹ Wyckoff to Regional Forester, 2/21/39.

⁸⁰ See, for example, Bill Holm, *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1965), p. 26. Holm established that for two-dimensional designs, paint was limited to black for the primary formlines, red for secondary formlines, and blue-green for tertiary spaces. Other parts of figures were left unpainted.

⁸¹ Thomas Ukas recalled the 1896 potlatch at which this pole was erected; it was a memorial for an older brother who had died and also a celebration of the coming-of-age of Thomas and his sister, Louise (hence the three raven figures as the three Raven/Kiks.adi children of Yíik.aas). Thomas & Harry Ukas Family Recordings, MSS 3, Item 2, Sealaska Heritage Institute Special Collections.

⁸² Richardson spent the summers of 1897-1902 in Europe, so this Alaskan sketch could either come from the 1896 potlatch at Wrangell when the pole was first dedicated and freshly painted, or sometime after 1902, when the pole was a decade or more old. In either case, it suggests more paint on the totem pole than the limited colors considered “classical” in the Bill Holm sense. For a chronology of Richardson’s summer travels, see Michael S. Kennedy, “Theodore J. Richardson,” *Alaska Journal* 3 (Winter 1973), p. 35.

⁸³ Of course, these interpretations depend on trusting Richardson’s palette. Yet my study of Richardson’s other watercolors show a consistent palette for reds, greens and browns, and a general depiction of Southeast Alaska’s grey atmosphere.

⁸⁴ Yíik.aas’s Raven Pole was not included in the CCC totem park at Shakes Island. It stood in its original location until 1978, when it blew down in a winter storm. In 1997 it was replicated for a nearby Kiks.adi totem park by Steve Brown and Wayne Price as part of the Wrangell Totem Pole Project. Interpretive Sign, Ukas Pole, U.S. Post Office, Wrangell; see also Brown, p. 82.

⁸⁵ Ukas recounted the 1896 potlatch where the Raven Pole was erected in an oral history he recorded in the 1970s. He stated that his father had not wanted his children tattooed to mark their coming-of-age, so Yíik.aas had offered the pole as marker instead. Thomas & Harry Ukas Family Recordings, MSS 3, Item 3, Sealaska Heritage Institute Special Collections.

⁸⁶ Interpretive Sign, Ukas Pole, U.S. Post Office, Wrangell.

⁸⁷ There is other evidence that the CCC made an effort to duplicate paints from older poles. Hydaburg CCC Carver Claude Morrison twice told me that carvers could “make out” some of the paint on the old poles and carefully tried to match the paint in their restoration efforts. He also said that they painted only parts of the poles, not the entire poles as was done later (personal interview, Feb. 1, 2009, Hydaburg, Alaska). This latter statement is unclear, however, since many of the poles appear entirely painted in period photographs.

At Sitka, head carver Peter Nielsen also had training in making paints. In 1926, Nielsen had interviewed Jim Jacobs, an elderly carver who had carved the Multiplying Wolf house posts for the Kaagwaantaan potlatch in Sitka in 1902 [1904?]. Jacobs had hired six Native women to make the paint binding for the Multiplying Wolf posts, and he explained to Nielsen in detail the ratios and kind of dried trout eggs with spruce pitchy roots to make the binding. See RG 51: Totem Poles: History and Documentation of Sitka National Historical Park Box 2 Folder 21 Sitka National Historical Park.

⁸⁸ Thomas & Harry Ukas Family Recordings Collection, MC 33, Box 1, Item 1, Sealaska Heritage Institute Special Collections.

⁸⁹ Ethel Lund, personal interview, Juneau, Alaska, 9/14/11.

⁹⁰ Ethel Lund has a scrapbook full of newspaper articles in which her grandfather was interviewed on various aspects of Wrangell history, attesting to his role as a cultural bearer.

⁹¹ Interpretive sign, U.S. Post Office, Wrangell, Alaska.

⁹² Harold Bailey had been a lead carver, but he was in poor health and could not work full-time after the Sitka restoration project was transferred from the WPA to the CCC in July 1940 (6/7/40 telegram from Tate in Sitka to District Ranger, Juneau). Peter Nielsen is also mentioned in Forest Service correspondence as a lead carver; Frank Kitka is credited with replicating another pole. Dr. Herman Kitka, son of CCC carver Frank Kitka, remembered that George Benson was the lead carver when his father worked for the CCC at Sitka. Personal interview, 7/29/09, Sitka, Alaska.

⁹³ These crests, along with a Sea Pidgeon, appear on a wood panel carved by Will Burkhart in honor of his grandfather, George D. Benson, at the Southeast Alaska Indian Cultural Center in Sitka. My thanks to Harold Jacobs for sharing the correct spelling of Benson's Tlingit name.

⁹⁴ Pamphlet provided by the family of George Benson to accompany the wood panel carved by Will Burkhart in honor of Benson, Southeast Alaska Indian Cultural Center, Sitka, n.d.

⁹⁵ "Charles W. Brown," Social Security Death Index, accessed online at Rootsweb: Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian Genealogy of Alaska, 11/28/11.

⁹⁶ An early memo from Linn Forrest referred to Benson as the "skilled, deaf carver" that Forrest had heard praised by Parks Service officials in Sitka. However, it appears that Benson played for a mandolin band in Yakutat as a teenager, so he must have lost his hearing in his twenties.

⁹⁷ David Galanin, personal communication, 9/29/11.

⁹⁸ An advertisement in the *Sitka Sentinel* listed a 16" totem pole "carved by Charlie Bennet in the late 1800's or early 1900's. He was known as Sitka Charlie and was the second person known as Annahootz. He was spokesman for the Wolf House and this Tlingit name was Xaatsookwaa of Yaay Hit (Whale House)." *Sitka Sentinel* (June 26, 2009). The image of Charles Bennett's totem pole is Fig. 52 in Michael D. Hall and Pat Glascock, *Carvings and Commerce: Model Totem Poles 1880-2010* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), p. 92.

⁹⁹ 12/2/40 memo from Forrest for Chipperfield, RG 95 Box 2.

¹⁰⁰ Marilyn R. Knapp, *Carved History: The Totem Poles and House Posts of Sitka National Historical Park* (Anchorage: Alaska Natural History Association, 2005 [Sixth Printing]), p.18.

¹⁰¹ Wright 2001, p. 190.

¹⁰² For an overview of Brady's work with a Native crew at the St. Louis World's Fair, see Victoria Wyatt, "A Unique Attraction: The Alaska Totem Poles at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904," *Alaska Journal* 16 (1986), pp. 14-23.

¹⁰³ Wright 2001, p. 193. Curiously, however, Wright's book includes a photograph from 1910 showing the totem pole with the small frog already installed prior to the CCC.

¹⁰⁴ 2/18/39 United States Department of Agriculture FOREST SERVICE Totem Poles Sitka National Monument, Box 1, Folder 1.

¹⁰⁵ The original Haida pairing of the bear with raven may have confused Tlingit carvers on Brady's repair crew because it represented the reverse of Tlingit crests, and they decided to give a traditional Raven moiety crest, the frog, to a raven pole. John Swanton discussed this reversal of moiety crests, and noted that Haida Eagles were considered to be related to Tlingit Ravens, and Haida Ravens to Tlingit Eagles/Wolves (see Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida* [Leiden and New York: E.J.Brill and G. E. Stechert, 1905. See also Wright 2001, p. 148.]. However, the men on Brady's repair team for the 1904 Fair included William Kinninook, the son of Yeiltatzie, and John Baranovich of Kasaan—Haida men who would have been familiar with the bear as a Haida Raven crest. It is unclear why they would have allowed the crest to be changed to a frog.

¹⁰⁶ Richard D. Feldman, "The Golden Hill Totem Poles of Indianapolis: The Missing Pole from the Brady Collection of Sitka National Historical Park," *American Indian Art* 21:2 (1996): pp. 58-71.

¹⁰⁷ John Brady hired Merrill to oversee the placement of totem poles in the park, and Merrill stayed on as a quasi-custodian. See Sharon Bohn Gmelch, *The Tlingit Encounter with Photography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2008) pp. 136-137.

¹⁰⁸ This truncated version appeared in the 1939 Forest Service report that preceded the CCC restoration project. The typed note beside the pole stated: "No. 380 can probably be repaired," but it must have been too fragile and required a replica instead. "Totem Poles, Sitka National Monument," February 18, 1939, RG 95 Box 2.

¹⁰⁹ Besides being a demonstration arts teacher, Benson was a member of the Sitka camp of the Alaska Native Brotherhood that was instrumental in directing the Native arts program at the National Park. At a meeting of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board in Sitka on February 16, 1968, The ANB presented their ideas for a Southeast Alaska Indian Cultural Center. "They proposed to develop a program that would help the park interpret Tlingit culture and the Tlingit people preserve their traditional art. They asked the board to remove the Eskimo art program from the Sitka center's program. . . . The proposal [submitted by the ANB] revised the agreement between the National Park Service and Board of Indian Arts and Crafts for use of the building to "use by Thlinget [sic] cultures for perpetuation of such art forms appropriate to historic cultures of Southeast Alaska." See Joan M. Antonson and William S. Hanable, "An Administrative History of Sitka National Historical Park" (Sitka: National Park Service, 1987).

¹¹⁰ Robin Wright noted the unusual naturalism of breasted female figures in totem poles by nineteenth-century Kaigani Haida artist Duncan *ginaawan*. While these poles were not part of Benson's restoration project at Sitka, the similarity is interesting given Benson's apparent interest in Kaigani Haida carving. See Wright 2001, p. 177.

¹¹¹ Certainly Benson worked to approximate the Kaigani Haida originals he saw at the Sitka park. In the replica of the Frog/Raven pole, for example, Benson retained the riveted ear panels of the bear figure at the base of the pole—a distinctive Kaigani Haida carving style seen at Kasaan, Klinkwan and other Kaigani Haida villages. See footnote

¹¹² In his autobiography from 1932, John Wallace mentioned visiting a William Benson in Klawock to learn more about the Salvation Army. George Benson Sr. named his son George William Benson. Was there a connection between the Tlingit Benson family in Klawock and Sitka that could suggest a reason that Benson would have known Kaigani Haida carvers on Prince of Wales Island? This is a long shot, but it is also the kind of close family ties that connected the island communities of Southeast Alaska.

¹¹³ For a discussion of the “Renaissance” of Northwest Coast Native art, including the problems of such terminology, see the chapters on “Revisiting the Revival” in *Bill Reid and Beyond: Expanding on Modern Native Art*, Karen Duffek and Charlotte Townsend-Gault, Eds. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004), pp. 113-208.

¹¹⁴ Benson’s teaching is frequently mentioned by Sitka artists interviewed in 1998 as part of the Sitka National Park History project on Project Jukebox, University of Alaska, Fairbanks. Among these artists are Gil Truit, Louis Minard, Tommy Joseph, and Dave Galanin.

¹¹⁵ Wright 2001, pp. 313-318.

¹¹⁶ Wright 2001, p. 197.

¹¹⁷ Wright 2001, p. 313.

¹¹⁸ For a review of Dwight Wallace’s work, see Wright 2001, pp. 193-204.

¹¹⁹ In his autobiography typed for the Secretary of the Interior in 1932, Wallace only spoke of a “grave box”—probably a carved bentwood box used for storing cremated remains—that he carved during his apprenticeship with his father, and which made his father quite proud of his work. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of this box is unknown. See Wallace’s Autobiography, Viola Garfield papers, Notebook 1, Hydaburg, Klawock, University of Washington Special Collections.

¹²⁰ John Wallace told Viola Garfield the story of the pole his father had carved for Sukkwan, which is similar to the World’s Fair pole. See also Wright, p.199-203.

¹²¹ See Wright 2001, p. 209.

¹²² Viola Garfield papers, Notebook 1, Hydaburg, Klawock, University of Washington Special Collections.

¹²³ Garfield and Forrest, p. 97.

¹²⁴ Wallace noted to Forest Service officials that he had stopped seining ten years before the CCC; seining was his primary occupation while a younger man. John Wallace to Hawkesworth, 2/14/40.

¹²⁵ Wright 2001, p. 314.

¹²⁶ “The Tale of the Two Totems,” U.S. Department of the Interior pamphlet, 1963(?). Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur had commissioned the poles in early 1931 to promote interest in the Alaskan territory. The poles, which Wallace titled “The Chief’s Daughter,” and “The Raven,” cost \$90 each, and were delivered to Washington, D.C. ten weeks after being commissioned. It is interesting to note that Secretary Wilbur had originally written to Juneau BIA officials requesting the work of a James Rudolph, a carver who had carved totem poles for the Paris Exposition. However, Rudolph was too old to carve in 1931, and the job was given to Wallace instead. Interpretive sign next to Wallace poles, U.S. Department of the Interior Building, as seen in 2011.

¹²⁷ René d’Harnoncourt, “Report on Trip to Alaska,” May 1938, p. 2 (NARA-RG 435, Box 2, File 630).

¹²⁸ For an overview of d'Harnoncourt's exhibit at the 1939 World's Fair, see W. Jackson Rushing, "Marketing the Affinity of the Primitive and the Modern: René d'Harnoncourt and 'Indian Art of the United States,'" in *The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship & Collecting*, Janet Catherine Berlo, Ed. (Seattle: University of Washington, 1992), pp. 200-206.

¹²⁹ A copy of Douglas's typed notes on Wallace's pole are in the Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Libraries Special Collections, Box 7.

¹³⁰ Frederic Douglas, "Notes on Totem Pole Carved by John Wallace of Hydaburg, Alaska and his son Fred at the San Francisco Fair, 1939." Unpublished manuscript. Viola Garfield Papers, Box 7, University of Washington Special Collections.

¹³¹ For example, Douglas wrote: "3/17 1:30 pm. Fred worked on the lining of the left side of the pole, using adze. 'All Haida poles have frames,' [he said]." Douglas did not explain the reference further, and possibly did not understand it himself. Still, it is clear that he was trying to record as much of Wallace's work as possible.

¹³² D'Harnoncourt's letter explained: "Conversations with Mr. John Wallace during his stay at San Francisco left us with the impression that ownership of the totem poles was entirely in the hands of his clan; and, in the case of the two large poles, in his own hands. We had asked him if, in case the Fair should continue for another year, we could keep the poles as a loan until the dismantling of the exhibit, to which he agreed. Before leaving San Francisco, he had also told us that he could not dispose of the four small poles, but was anxious to sell the two large ones since they were owned by him personally" (D'Harnoncourt to Hawkesworth, 1/13/40, RG 95, Box 2, Folder 1).

¹³³ Hawkesworth to Coan, 2/6/40.

¹³⁴ John Wallace to Hawkesworth, 2/21/40.

¹³⁵ Sam Davis, John Wallace's brother-in-law, wrote a letter to Hawkesworth testifying to Wallace's ownership of the Sukkwan poles (Davis to Hawkesworth, 2/14/40). Robin Wright has also noted that the land otter pole, carved by Dwight Wallace, belonged to Kusqua'I, John Wallace's mother's brother. See Wright 2001, p. 199.

¹³⁶ John Wallace to Hawkesworth, 2/14/40.

¹³⁷ Hawkesworth to Wallace, 2/6/40.

¹³⁸ In the same letter, Hawkesworth made a curious explanation for Wallace's role as a tradition bearer: "The reputation of the Haida people is continuous. You have the mission to fix this reputation in the minds of the Haida people themselves and to those who witnessed the work at the San Francisco Fair." Hawkesworth to Wallace, 2/6/40.

¹³⁹ Jennifer McLerran, *A New Deal for Native Art: Indian Arts and Federal Policy, 1933-1943* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009), p. 1.

¹⁴⁰ For example, District Ranger C.M. Archbold wrote to the Indian Service teacher stationed in Hydaburg, Mr. Coan: "I do not believe that we care to enter into any discussion over the sale of the poles since I believe Mr. Wallace has every right to dispose of them as he sees fit." Archbold to Coan, 1/27/40.

¹⁴¹ Wright 2001, p. 199.

¹⁴² Garfield and Forrest, p. 91.

¹⁴³ Garfield and Forrest, p. 91.

¹⁴⁴ Garfield and Forrest, p. 90.

¹⁴⁵ Garfield and Forrest, p. 90.

¹⁴⁶ Garfield and Forrest, p. 91.

¹⁴⁷ Ronald Hawker, “Accumulated Labors: First Nations Art in British Columbia, 1922-1961” (Ph.D. Dissertation, History of Art and Visual Theory, University of British Columbia, 1998), p. 226; see also Hawker, *Tales of Ghosts: First Nations Art in British Columbia, 1922-61* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2003).

Chapter 4: Decoding Poles

In the last two chapters of this study, we turn from the CCC's production of totem poles to their presentation and reception in the New Deal totem parks. One of the major tasks of the New Deal totem parks was to make totem poles legible for non-Native visitors—a tall order given the aura of mystery that surrounded poles and the purported reluctance of Native people to reveal their stories. As late as 1938, the year the CCC restoration project got underway, a two-part article in *The Alaska Sportsman* magazine titled “The Indian Won't Tell” complained that Natives “never fail...to further mystify those who seek information” on totem poles in Southeast Alaska. The author, L.L. Bales, quipped: “When asked about the totem poles, the older Natives apparently do not understand the English language, and the young people skillfully avoid the questions by giving evasive answers.” Bales guessed at Native reluctance to reveal the stories—traditions “they had been taught from childhood and could see no wrong in any of them” were kept quiet to avoid ridicule by “the all-powerful white man”; still, Bales bemoaned the fact that non-Natives were barred from learning the authentic stories behind the poles.¹

Bales's lament echoed a long refrain in literature on Southeast Alaska's totem poles. The poles' “grotesque figures” had perplexed visitors since the eighteenth century, giving rise to numerous misinterpretations. The most common explanation—that the figures depicted gods the Natives worshipped—hastened church condemnation of totem pole carving in the late nineteenth century and severely hampered its practice by the turn of the twentieth.² Other interpretations revealed convoluted attempts at decoding Native crests. As one article strained to explain: “If a frog is shown on the breast, head down, it indicates the figure got rid of the evil spirit [with which he had been afflicted by an enemy or witch] and recovered; should no frog be visible, he died from the effects of the presence of the strong evil spirit in his stomach which the medicine men had been unable to drive out.”³ By 1883, an exasperated Eliza Scidmore, a writer for *The New York Times* and twice-tourist to Alaska herself, wrote that “the truth about these totems and their carvings never will be quite known until their innate humor is civilized out of the natives, but meanwhile the white man vexes himself with ethnological theories and suppositions.”⁴

If Scidmore and Bales decried what they perceived as the purposeful obfuscation of totem poles stories by Native storytellers, however, Native people also worried about inaccurate information disseminated about their poles. Writing in 1939 to photographer C.L. Andrews, Sam Davis, John Wallace's brother-in-law in Hydaburg, complained about Bales's article in *The Alaska Sportsman*: “Why do men try to write such stuff. If it is worth writing it worth finding out [sic]....If Indian won't tell they have reasons and I find out most of them don't know” the stories behind the poles.⁵ Davis suggested other reasons that Native people might refrain from interpreting totem poles, such as the fact that non-Natives rarely offered to pay for a telling that was traditionally remunerated among cultures on the Northwest Coast.⁶ Crest stories for Tlingits were *at.óow*, “owned or purchased things,” and therefore belonged to specific clans and could not be repeated by individuals without permission. If there were cases of Native people refusing to tell stories of totem poles, then, it was often because of cultural protocols against sharing stories; surely there were examples of Natives purposefully diverting attention from tales

they did not feel non-Natives were entitled to hear. By the 1930s, however, as Davis's letter revealed, many elders worried that even Tlingit and Haida people did not know the stories behind their own clan poles, and that ignorance explained their reluctance to tell the stories.⁷

Davis's sentiment was reiterated by CCC enrollees in Sitka, who urged the Forest Service to preserve the stories behind the totem poles along with the crest objects in the totem pole restoration project. Chief Naturalist Earl Trager of the Sitka National Historic Park reported the CCC enrollees' suggestions in a letter to his supervisor in March 1940, which is worth quoting in full:

These Indians stated that there are very few old members of the tribe who can tell authentic stories of the totems. Many of the younger men are willing to explain the totems to tourists and writers for a price but much of their information is not accurate....Mr. Bailey [Harold Bailey, the first carver hired for the restoration project at Sitka] told me that a few of these Indians have been spoiled by writers who had paid them as much as a thousand dollars to furnish data about totems which were used in books. These men said that if the Government would set up a project to learn the true story of the totems for publication as an authentic Government document, they are certain that these older men who can accurately interpret the stories of the various totems would be willing to do so, providing they could be paid regular wages such as those received by the CCC employees in the area for the time they spend furnishing the data. This appears to be a worthy project and one which would add a great amount of interest to the area for the average visitor. The outstanding totem pole stories could be contained in a small publication together with photographs which I am sure could be sold at a reasonable price to the visitors to the area.⁸

The Tlingit request for a government publication that collected the "authentic stories" behind the totem poles restored by the CCC underlined the importance that Native peoples placed on the meaning of the totem poles, rather than their physical preservation alone. Although it is hard to say how Sitka Tlingits would have known the stories of the mostly Haida poles in the Sitka National Historic Park, it is probable that some knew the crest histories better than others; in any case, these elders were wary of storytellers who sought to profit from inaccurate information. They urged the government to add the preservation of stories to the CCC's job of preserving physical objects, so that both tourists and younger Native people would know the authentic histories of the poles.

This chapter examines two key efforts of the CCC totem parks to decode the totem pole, both for non-Native audiences and for Native people unfamiliar with crest stories. The publication in 1949 of *The Wolf and the Raven: Totem Poles of Southeast Alaska* offered one of the first reliable accounts of the totem poles restored or replicated in the CCC parks, pairing descriptions of the poles with stories collected from Native elders.⁹ Credited to Viola Garfield and Linn Forrest, *The Wolf and the Raven* enumerated stories for poles in four parks: Saxman, Ketchikan, Totem Bight, and Klawock. The book was fundamental to interpreting the enigmatic totem pole for visitors and Natives alike; its connoisseurial commentary on the carving styles also worked to create the "knowledgeable public" that the New Deal sought for American—and Native American—art.¹⁰ Yet if *The Wolf and the Raven* worked to decode the totem pole, it also worked to recode it, framing the totem pole stories as "American heritage" without fully

crediting its Native collaborators. Now in its twenty-third printing, *The Wolf and the Raven* continues to sell more than a thousand copies a year and remains one of the top-selling guides to totem poles in Southeast Alaska.¹¹

While *The Wolf and the Raven* is the most well known of the New Deal's efforts to render the totem pole legible, the totem parks themselves performed a crucial role in the physical decoding—and recoding—of the totem pole for a twentieth-century audience. Although no study has considered the totem park layouts before, close analysis of the totem park designs by Forest Service architect Linn Forrest highlights the parks' work to present totem poles in familiar touristic landscapes, drawing on models of monumental sculpture displayed in public parks and the "Indian village" popularized by World's Fairs. Rehearsing these "disciplines of viewing," the totem parks walked tourists unfamiliar with Northwest Coast Native cultures through familiar contexts of graveled pathways, interpretive signage and Native performances.¹² These contexts worked to re-code totem poles from esoteric clan crests in remote Native villages to consumable monuments of American heritage, following what Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari have described as the "deterritorialization and recoding" of objects in capitalist networks of exchange.¹³ Yet if the New Deal totem parks worked to better present totem poles for the tourist market, Tlingit and Haida peoples retained their claims to their crests by re-appropriating the parks for their own uses, maintaining a legitimate context for crest display even in the midst of tourist spectacles. This chapter begins with an analysis of the visual work of the totem parks to re-territorialize the totem pole as American heritage before moving on to the more explicit decoding of totem poles stories in *The Wolf and the Raven*.

Picturesque Poles

The removal of totem poles from the spatial configuration of Native villages to a cleared lot on Native townsite land necessitated inventing a new logic for their presentation. Given the importance of the totem park layout—its total reconfiguration of totem poles for the tourist eye—it is surprising that no study has attended to Forest Service architect Linn A. Forrest's designs for the parks themselves. A comparison of the parks reveals that Forrest followed two primary paradigms: a formal park with poles arranged symmetrically around a central axis, as at Saxman and Hydaburg, and to a certain extent at Klawock; and a park with more serpentine pathways, with the poles lining trails that wind along the forested coast line at Sitka, Kasaan and Totem Bight. As I will show, these paradigms belong to a lineage of French and English landscape traditions, traditions that had been made familiar in America by architects like Andrew Jackson Downing and Frederick Law Olmsted, and traditions that Forrest would have studied as a graduate student of architecture. As established "disciplines of viewing" landscape and sculptural objects therein, public park designs provided Forrest with a useful template on which to model the CCC totem parks, helping to re-code the totem pole as a picturesque monument.

Forrest was surely familiar with French and English landscape design before he began work for the CCC totem parks. As a student of architecture at MIT and the University of Oregon, he would have received training in the history of landscape architecture; after graduation, he was awarded a traveling fellowship to Europe, where he

may have had the opportunity to study examples of French and English gardens firsthand.¹⁴ Certainly his interest in landscape design is apparent in his early work as the Regional Architect for the U.S. Forest Service's Pacific Northwest Division, where he designed the landscape plan for Timberline Lodge on Oregon's Mt. Hood.¹⁵ Forrest completed the initial survey of the Timberline site in the spring of 1936 and produced a colored line drawing titled "Landscape Plan, Mt. Hood Timberline Lodge," now on display in the Timberline lobby (Fig. 4.1). The drawing reveals Forrest's attention to the siting of the lodge against the mountain, with tentative ski routes traced in an effort to anticipate traffic flows and visibility of the lodge from various approaches.

Forrest also completed the final drawings for Timberline Lodge itself, learning from other architects the principles of the "rustic architecture" style favored by the National Park Service in the 1930s. Eschewing straight lines and seeking "naturalistic" modifications to the landscape that retained the land's prominent features, rustic architecture belonged to a lineage of British landscape design that had influenced the layout of national and urban parks in the United States. A 1935 park manual defined "rustic" as a style which, "through the use of native materials in proper scale, and through the avoidance of rigid, straight lines, and over-sophistication, gives the feeling of having been executed by pioneer craftsmen with limited hand tools. It thus achieves sympathy with natural surroundings, and with the past."¹⁶ The National Park Service adopted these principles for its parks in the 1930s, publishing them in a manual titled *Park Structures and Facilities* for the scores of new architects hired during the Great Depression to meet growing visitor needs in the national parks.¹⁷ The principles of rustic architecture—and of English landscape design, as I will show shortly—were thus familiar in American parks in the 1930s, and a ready model for Linn Forrest when he began to design the New Deal totem parks in 1938.

In contrast to the English picturesque model, Forrest based three other totem parks on an alternative landscape paradigm, that of the formal French garden. Enshrined in André Le Nôtre's garden-park at the chateau of Versailles (Fig. 4.2), the seventeenth-century French garden was characterized by formal, symmetrical planning around a central axis that aligned with a central, elevated viewpoint from the chateau, where royalty could take in the sweep of the garden at a glance. French gardens featured "symmetrical parterres of variegated pattern to be seen from the windows [of the chateau]; the avenues radiating in goose-claw pattern and opening on far-distant prospects." They had "long alleys, shaped trees, gushing fountains, still pools and canals... statuary and ornaments," the latter which often alluded to classical literature.¹⁸ Subsuming the natural landscape beneath a master plan of hedges and gravel paths, the French garden was characterized by its symmetrical formality and siting for an elevated view.

In the United States, the French tradition had less of an impact on public parks than it did on the monumental centers of cities and capitals, such as Monument Avenue in Richmond, Virginia, or the National Mall in Washington, D.C. These "monumental cores" had been influenced by the 1893 Court of Honor at the Chicago World's Fair, where American architects followed French paradigms of "formal axis planning organized by canals, sculptural focal points, and highly coordinated neoclassical architecture" (Fig. 4.3).¹⁹ The success of the Court of Honor led to the City Beautiful movement in the United States and widespread urban attempts at monumental cores—a

ready model, then, for arranging clusters of tall totem poles in arrangements that would be familiar to Americans.²⁰

The parks at Saxman and Hydaburg, and to a certain extent the park at Klawock, harken most to the formal symmetries of French gardens. Forrest designed the park at Saxman in two parts: a long avenue lined on either side by totems, known as Totem Row, which led to a semi-circular park at the top of the hill, where paths radiate from the central “hub” in goose-foot pattern (Fig. 4.4). Forrest’s careful siting of the fourteen poles along Totem Row—placing pairs like the Eagle & Beaver poles, the Tired Wolf house posts and the Beaver posts across the road from each other—reinforced the symmetry of the row and its strong axis toward the semi-circular park above. Forrest also placed poles at the entrance to the Row that would attract tourists’ attention, like the intricately carved Sun Raven pole at the bottom northeast corner.²¹ Totem Row leads both literally and perspectively to the semi-circular park at the top, where seven more totem poles circle the outer “spokes” radiating outwards from the tallest totem pole in the park, the Ebbitts Pole. In another quotation of park architecture, Forrest provided two staircase entryways into this semi-circular park, one framed by two bear house posts and the other by two ravens (Fig. 4.5).²² While these crests represented the two moieties of the Tlingit (the bear being an Eagle moiety crest and the raven a Raven moiety crest), Forrest played a double entendre with the crests by quoting the sentinels of marble lions or urns at the gateways to urban parks and thus greeting tourists with a familiar entry way to a public park.

At Hydaburg, Forrest also planned a formal, central-axis park high on a hill above the waterfront (Fig. 4.6). Here his careful siting of the poles is revealed in his attention to the optics of the site. When a foreman realized that Forrest’s plan for a rectilinear park did not take into account the uneven grade of the southeast corner, Forrest opted “to optically correct” his design, pinching in the outside right perimeter of the park to follow the natural grade of the site and to preserve the appearance of strong rectangular lines (Fig. 4.7).²³ Unlike Saxman, where Forrest oriented the poles toward a viewer approaching the park from Totem Row, the Hydaburg park is more self-contained, its poles angled inward toward a viewer already standing inside the park. Forrest reinforced this sense of enclosure by lining the outer perimeter of the park with the tallest free-standing totem poles, while the four shorter house posts and the Howkan Eagle form a smaller, inner circle at the center of the park (Fig. 4.8). The visitor wishing to see the front of the house posts and Howkan Eagle must walk into this enclosed space, circling the stone seal that lies in the center of the park. Again Forrest provided a staircase entryway framed by two bear house posts, creating the familiar entrance to a park whose gravel pathways followed the strict formation of a grid (Fig. 4.9).

The parks at Saxman, Hydaburg and Klawock follow another convention of the French garden: situated high on the hillside, they afforded a “prospect view” for a viewer standing at an elevated point some distance away. In the French garden, this point would have been the royal’s bedroom window at the chateau; in Southeast Alaska, it was the deck of the steamships where tourists stood to view the landscape on their cruise to Alaska.²⁴ Steamship brochures from the 1940s advertised the elevated view their decks provided: “From start to finish of your vacation in America’s own Alaska...be prepared for some of the most thrilling and spectacular scenery you will ever see from the deck of an ocean steamer. It is as though you stood upon a great and limitless stage while

invisible stage hands changed the scenes to please your every fancy.²⁵ The view *from* the stage, rather than from the audience below, emphasizes this elevated perch; it is also apparent in illustrations the brochure used to picture the tourist's platform (Fig. 4.10). Such a position allowed what Norman Bryson has described as the "activity of the gaze": "a prolonged, contemplative look regarding the field of vision with a certain aloofness and disengagement, across a tranquil interval."²⁶ Like the French royalty gazing out across their garden, the tourist could stand on the steamship deck and fancy herself a kind of sovereign, the totem park laid out for her viewing pleasure.

In contrast to the French model, Forrest's designs for the other totem parks belonged to the picturesque tradition of English parks, which, as mentioned previously, Forrest would have known from his work with rustic architecture. The English picturesque tradition developed as a "naturalistic" (though man-made) approach to landscape design in the eighteenth century, partly as a national rebellion against the formal French garden.²⁷ The publication in 1782 of William Gilpin's *Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales etc., Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty*, marked the vogue of the picturesque landscape in England and spawned a large tourist industry to the private estate gardens of the English countryside, where the tourist's ability to identify picturesque qualities affirmed her taste and education.²⁸ Defined by Gilpin as a landscape "capable of being illustrated by a painting,"²⁹ the picturesque landscape incorporated some of the conventions of landscape painting established by Claude Lorraine and other seventeenth-century landscape painters in Italy (Fig. 4.11). Framed by a clump of trees that acted as repoussoir objects, the painted landscape was broken into three distances, with a darkened foreground, a strongly lit middle ground, and a soft, hazy background.³⁰ Landscape architects like William Kent worked to remake their client's estates into actualized versions of these paintings, creating distant views with man-made lakes and rivers that led the eye deep into the landscape, and breaking that view with clumps of trees that cast shadows across the foreground. Frederick Law Olmsted, the American landscape architect who would design New York's Central Park, noted these defining characteristics of the picturesque in a visit to England's Eaton Hill Park: "A gentle undulating surface of close-cropped pasture land, reaching way off illimitably; very old, but not very large trees scattered singly and in groups—so far apart as to throw long, unbroken shadows across broad openings of light and leave the view in several directions unobstructed for a long distance."³¹

The picturesque, meandering qualities of eighteenth-century English landscape design had a lasting influence on the public park in the United States. Rural cemeteries established on the outskirts of cities like Boston and New York presaged the urban park and followed the conventions of the English picturesque: at Mt. Auburn, established in 1831 in Cambridge, the Massachusetts Horticultural Society helped prepare the cemetery's "curvilinear paths, hillocks, ponds and plantings in British style."³² In the late 1840s, Frederick Law Olmsted planned Central Park in New York City according to the picturesque standards he had seen in English parks, with serpentine trails meandering through the park's natural features and past man-made lakes (Fig. 4.12).³³ The popularity of the picturesque also shaped landscape design in America's national parks, with the National Parks Service working to maintain a "naturalistic" look of roadways into Yosemite and Yellowstone.³⁴ Linn Forrest repeated these concepts when he wrote of his design for Timberline Lodge: "The shape of the central lounge was inspired by the

character and outline of the mountain peak. It was our hope not to detract from the great natural beauty of the area. The entire exterior was made to blend as nearly as possible with the mountain side.”³⁵

The tradition of the picturesque informed totem parks in Alaska even before Forrest arrived to design the New Deal totem parks. The park at Sitka, which predated the CCC’s restoration of its poles by four decades, had been laid out to yield picturesque effects (Fig. 4.13). Russian picnickers had widened a Native trail through the forest near Indian River in the mid-nineteenth century, and in 1884, following Alaska’s transfer from Russia to the United States, a team led by Navy Lieutenant Gilman added other trails and bridges in the English fashion.³⁶ Gilman planned serpentine trails that sought out giant spruce trees, unusual local plants and other natural wonders in the forest; he also created several outlooks onto Sitka Sound. The park became immensely popular with locals and tourists alike. Recognizing the picturesque qualities of the park, one traveler in 1886 wrote approvingly that the trails provided views to make “every foot of island...sketchable and a picture in itself.”³⁷ The addition in 1901 of the Haida totem poles that Chief Sanniheit had donated to John Brady added to the picturesqueness of the park—ironically because of the association of totem poles with ruins.³⁸ After more poles were donated to the park, Brady asked local photographer Elbridge Merrill to arrange them in an “artistic manner” along the park’s winding paths (Fig. 4.14). Merrill sought sites that would allow people “to see the ocean, forest and mountains” at the same time that they viewed the totem poles, furthering the picturesqueness of the park.³⁹

Sitka was likely an important model for Linn Forrest’s design for the totem parks at Kasaan and Totem Bight, as both of these parks were also situated outside their respective town sites and could spill into a large, forested area along the shore. Forrest designed the Kasaan park around the original site of Chief Saaniheit’s Whale House, a mile northwest of the modern village of New Kasaan (Fig. 4.15). A fifteen-minute walk along a winding forest trail brought one from the village to the totem park itself; crossing the bridge over a pristine creek, the viewer wound past seven totem poles spaced at various intervals along the trail, eventually arriving at the Whale House, with its soaring totem pole facing Kasaan Bay (Fig. 4.16). With the serpentine paths, the framed views, and the highlighting of natural features like the salmon river, the Kasaan park rehearsed the conventions of the English picturesque (Fig. 4.17). One National Parks Service employee affirmed the picturesque features when he visited Kasaan in October 1940, prior to the park’s completion: “When the carving and painting is completed, the poles will be erected at intervals along the winding path in the vicinity of the tribal house. Against the lush green woodland setting, the effect would be striking.”⁴⁰ He lamented the fact that few tourists would have the opportunity to view the remote site.

Totem Bight, located near Ketchikan, also followed the conventions of the English picturesque (Fig. 4.18). While Forrest had originally planned a model “Primitive Indian Village” for the site—a plan that echoed in name and concept the model villages featured at World’s Fairs, as I discuss below—the outbreak of World War II left the park with only one clan house completed. After the war, the Forest Service erected eleven Tlingit and Haida totem poles that had been carved during the CCC era. Two gravel trails lead through the forest from Tongass Highway down to the shoreline park, where a path winds past the ring of totem poles and up to the clan house set back from the tallest point in the park (Fig. 4.19). The choice to place the clan house high on the point, rather than at

the edge of the beach as was tradition, showed Forrest's desire to attract the eye of passing cruise ships; the siting also framed more spectacular views of the Tongass Narrows for viewers from the clan house itself. With the close-cropped hillside broken by a few stands of trees, the winding trail with the totem poles tucked into the forest or placed in the center of the meadow, and the views out onto the ocean in the background, Totem Bight exemplified the conventions of the picturesque (Fig. 4.20).

One final element in the totem parks that took its cue from the picturesque was interpretive signage. As part of the era's emphasis on historical interpretation, signage had become especially important to public parks in the 1930s: the 1935 manual *Park Structures and Facilities* argued that signs created "outdoor museums" and were "of tremendous value in offering the most complete exposition possible of those things which the parks exists to commemorate or preserve."⁴¹ To ensure that the signs blended with, rather than distracted from, the landscape, Parks Service architects used rustic architectural motifs of natural wood and unobtrusive placement for their signs. "Logs with knots and whorls [are] superior to smooth, clean poles," stated the *Parks Structures and Facilities* manual, and encouraged rough-cut signage in this style.⁴²

The signs for the New Deal totem parks adhered to rustic architecture's principles. In Wrangell, for example, signs identified each totem pole with a classic serif font burned into a cedar board (Fig. 4.21). At Saxman, more elaborate signs were planned, as Archbold had requested, to give "sufficient descriptive data to inform the tourists concerning each totem."⁴³ Forrest's model sign for the Grizzly Bear Entrance totem, for example, paired a line drawing of the pole with text that identified its primary figures and its crest story (Fig. 4.22). Archbold suggested adding a by-line "giving the name of the party to whom the pole was erected and the family who gave the pole to the Government. We made this part of our agreement with the natives." Archbold also wanted the native enrollees of the CCC credited for the restoration work of the pole, and he subtly hinted that Forrest's name should not appear on the signs themselves.⁴⁴ Due to the outbreak of World War II, however, most of these signs were never completed. Only one, made from of a log roundel for the Sun/Raven pole, made it into the park at Saxman; it did not name the Native owners as Archbold had suggested (Fig. 4.23).

Legible Totems: *The Wolf and the Raven*

The interpretative work of rustic signs in the New Deal totem parks was only the beginning of the Forest Service's efforts to decode the totem pole and make its crest stories legible for a non-Native public. Plans to publish interpretations of the totem poles in pamphlet form were noted as early as May 1939, when C.M. Archbold asked Charles Brown to gather "the story and history of each of the poles" that the CCC was restoring at Saxman. Archbold proposed a "mimeographed bulletin" of the stories "to start with" and promised the Saxman community that it would retain copyright to the stories—for which he guessed "there will be quite a sale."⁴⁵ Indeed, private parties had also noted the potential market for an interpretive booklet on the new Saxman park. In April 1940, Archbold wrote to Heintzleman that he had been approached by Roy Anderson and Emery Tobin, the editors of *The Alaska Sportsman* magazine, to collaborate on a publication for the Saxman poles. "Naturally, they would endeavor to sell such a

publication,” Archbold wrote, urging the Forest Service or the Office of Indian Affairs to publish a pamphlet themselves so that the sales would benefit the Saxman community.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, Linn Forrest and Charles Brown were busy recording stories with Native elders. Forrest had taken a special interest in interviewing Natives who remembered the stories of their clan’s totem poles; by June 1940, he had already compiled several stories of Wrangell poles for the Forest Service archives in Juneau.⁴⁷ Viola Garfield later praised Forrest’s tact for “approaching the right people at the right time”; she also noted his patience in developing relationships of trust (relationships which Garfield herself, as a consultant based in Seattle, could not foster as easily).⁴⁸ As we saw in the last chapter, Charles Brown also played a key role in the research, compilation and translation of totem pole stories. A Tlingit man well-respected in the Saxman community, Brown must have been important in convincing Native elders to share their knowledge; he also made the final decisions on which versions of stories to include in *The Wolf and the Raven*.⁴⁹ Garfield wrote in a private letter to Linn Forrest that “Mr. Brown deserves as much mention as either of us since he has done so much research and actual writing of stories.”⁵⁰ Despite this credit, however, Brown would not be named a co-author of the book, as we will see shortly.

Garfield’s own role in recording totem pole stories began in August 1940, when she became the Forest Service’s unpaid collaborator “for the purpose of gathering data on Indian lore for use in Forest Service Recreation Folders.”⁵¹ *The Anchorage Daily Times* reported that Garfield would compile information for publication in “illustrated government bulletins and also in separate illustrated pamphlets applicable to the totems in each village.”⁵² Garfield herself was adamant about the need for interpretive booklets on the totem poles, having noted the misinformation that tour guides were already spreading about the poles in 1940. After bringing a tour group from the University of Washington to the newly opened Saxman totem park in July, Garfield reported with some disgust that their tour guide had insisted “that the beavers on poles are men holding salmon. Some (or many) figures are hard enough to know but there is complete agreement on beavers and anyone should know them, even bus drivers and mere Ketchikan citizens.”⁵³ Garfield promised Archbold that her pamphlet on the Saxman poles would be ready for the “next crop of visitors” the following summer and urged that it become required reading for tour guides to the park.

Because of delays in obtaining all the crest stories—as well as difficulties in securing a publisher, as I chronicle below—Garfield’s pamphlets would not be published until 1949, when they appeared collectively in *The Wolf and the Raven*, a book printed by the University of Washington Press (Fig. 4.24). Part guide book, part oral history, part connoisseurship of Tlingit and Haida carving, the book offered a reliable “reading” of the totem poles in the parks at Saxman, Ketchikan, Mud Bight (now Totem Bight), and Klawock. The exclusion of the Haida parks at Kasaan and Hydaburg, and the northern Tlingit parks at Sitka and Wrangell, was a purposeful choice on the part of Garfield, who felt that “the Haida poles should really be treated separately and in relation to Queen Charlotte Islands and the history of the Kaigani migration to Alaska. Wrangell could properly be handled with northern Tlingit.”⁵⁴ The exclusions also had a practical reason, however, since Garfield was unsatisfied with the information she had for these parks. She was not able to visit Sitka and Wrangell until 1950, and the stories of several of those

poles would be published in 1951 in a popular book titled *Meet the Raven* by a private press in Sitka.⁵⁵

The success of *The Wolf and the Raven* is based largely on its claim to telling the authentic stories of individual totem poles, an authenticity endorsed by the collaborative method with which the book was compiled. Garfield stated in the introduction that “the most complete and best-told versions [of the totem pole stories] as judged by the Tlingit themselves were selected for this publication,” a statement corroborated by Charles Brown’s final editing of the stories.⁵⁶ Labeled figures of each totem pole—sometimes paired with a photograph of the original, if it had been copied—corresponded to the numbered commentaries in the book, providing easy reference for the reader (Fig. 4.25). Garfield added additional information on each pole if it was available: the pole’s original village, the date of its erection, its owner and carver, and sometimes the history of its transfer to one of the totem parks. The stories of the totem pole crests appeared in each section as separated, indented paragraphs within Garfield’s larger commentary—a style borrowed from ethnographies like John Swanton’s *Tlingit Myths and Texts*, which Garfield admired and which helped provide the appearance of “direct transcription” of stories from the Native speaker’s mouth.⁵⁷ Indeed, Garfield noted that translations had been stories adhered to “Tlingit phrasing and narrative style...as closely as possible in an English translation,” another claim to unmediated stories of the totem poles.⁵⁸

Not only did *The Wolf and the Raven* help tourists to “read” the stories behind the totem poles, but Garfield’s stylistic criticism helped them to see the poles with a connoisseur’s eye—an important aspect of New Deal educational programs that sought to create informed art consumers.⁵⁹ Garfield discussed regional differences in Tlingit carving, noting the squared sides peculiar to Tuxekan poles at Klawock, for example, and contrasting the massive, intertwined figures of Haida poles with the elongated, separated figures on Tlingit poles at Totem Bight.⁶⁰ She guided viewers through frank comparisons of CCC replicas and their originals, pairing photographs of the original Thunderbird gravemarker, for example, with John Wallace’s copy like an art history lecture with comparison slides (Fig. 4.26).⁶¹ Garfield also took the opportunity to admonish tourists for their philistine past in regards to Native arts: “The gaudily decorated and brightly painted poles that can now be seen in shops, parks, and some Indian villages are modern innovations,” she wrote; “they are samples of an inferior though often effective style for which Caucasians are responsible.”⁶² She encouraged tourists not to “violate the Native’s artistic conventions” by clamoring for heavy paint and instead to enjoy the beauty of “evenly adzed wood weathered to the tint of rich pewter.”⁶³

If *The Wolf and the Raven* worked to educate its readers on authentic styles and meanings of totem poles in southern Southeast Alaska, however, the book had its own authenticity problems. Garfield herself admitted to “a number of headaches” over some of the stories, particularly in resolving contradictory versions of stories from various interviews.⁶⁴ Some stories of poles had been forgotten, so that Garfield could provide no explanation for the mysterious Pointing Figure pole at Saxman or several mortuary columns at Klawock. Moreover, Garfield found that some Natives were still reluctant to share the stories. Archbold told Garfield that he had not been able to learn more about the story behind the Secretary of State pole at Saxman from the owner, Joseph Starr, “due to his being continually ‘indisposed’”⁶⁵—perhaps because Starr was uncomfortable telling the government that the Secretary of State pole had been erected to ridicule Secretary of

State William Seward for failing to repay the expensive gifts given to him at a potlatch in Tongass in 1868 (a story that Garfield eventually learned, however, as it is referenced in *The Wolf and the Raven*).⁶⁶

A lack of complete information also impeded *The Wolf and the Raven*, as the example of the “Lincoln pole” makes clear. This pole, so-called for the top-hatted figure of Abraham Lincoln at its top, had been erected at Tongass Village in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and replicated by Charles Brown for the Saxman park (Fig. 4.27). Although the pole was known among the Tlingits as the “Proud Raven” pole after the figure at its base, it was the top figure that had caught the attention of most non-Natives, including James Wickersham, a territorial judge based in Juneau. Wickersham’s interest in the Lincoln pole ran deep: by the early 1930s, he was so invested in rescuing it from Tongass that he personally lobbied Ernest Gruening, then the director of the Department of the Interior’s Division of Territories and Island Possessions, to have a steamer stop at Tongass so that Gruening could see the pole for himself. Wickersham also urged Gruening to find funding to restore the Lincoln pole and other poles in Southeast Alaska, helping to catalyze approval of the CCC restoration program.⁶⁷

In 1924, Wickersham had published in *Sunset Magazine* an article on the pole titled “The Oldest and Rarest Lincoln Statue.” In it he stated that the Lincoln pole had been erected at Tongass Island by Chief Ebbits to commemorate the “narrow escape from slavery and death” of the Tongass tribe, whom he claimed had been besieged by an enemy Tlingit clan until they fled, around 1868, to the protection of the U.S. military fort at Tongass Island, guarded by the US cutter *Lincoln*. According to Wickersham, a grateful Chief Ebbits then erected a pole to commemorate Lincoln as the great emancipator of slaves, since the Tongass people had avoided becoming slaves of their enemies, the Kaagwaantaan.⁶⁸

It is unclear how Wickersham came to espouse this story, but it came to be the standard interpretation of the Lincoln pole.⁶⁹ Garfield herself referenced Wickersham’s article in *The Wolf and the Raven*, even though she suspected he did not have the full story. In a private letter to Linn Forrest in December 1940, Garfield said she did not “draw more liberally” on the *Sunset* article because

I feel that the real story of the pole has yet to be written and I made a sort of outline sketch, using only what seemed to me at the time to be accurate. [Wickersham] left out any mention of the figure at the base, for one thing, and that seems to be the most important part of the pole from the native point of view and gives the pole its name. Of course, for such a description as we will publish, the emphasis will have to be on Lincoln and not on Proud Raven. Since the natives refuse to discuss the significance of the face above Raven and the figure on the front of it, we may have to be content with the information we now have and leave the anthropological details for a later ‘scientific’ treatise.⁷⁰

Such a treatise would come in 1971, when William Paul, a prominent Tlingit attorney who had been a child at Tongass Village, published a lengthy article in *The Alaska Journal* titled “The True Story of the Lincoln Totem Pole.”⁷¹ Refuting Wickersham’s article point by point, Paul drew on military records, survey photography and Native oral history to present a very different meaning for the Tongass totem. Paul showed that the Tongass people were already living at Tongass when the U.S. military began seeking a fort site in the area, and that the Tlingit chiefs courted a fort for their village because of

the trade it would provide, rather than fleeing to the fort for protection. In contrast to Wickersham's thesis that the pole commemorated the protection granted to the Tongass people by the USS Cutter *Lincoln*, Paul maintained that the pole was erected around 1883 by Yahl-jeeyi, a Ganaax.ádi man of the Raven moiety, who commissioned it from a Tsimshian artist to commemorate the first sighting of a white man many years earlier.⁷² A commanding officer at the military fort had given the chiefs photographs of President Lincoln, so Paul guessed that the Tsimshian artist had used an image of Lincoln as his model for the white man. The difference between Wickersham's and Paul's story resided even in the names they gave to the pole: while the "Lincoln pole" heroized the U.S. government and Lincoln's emancipation of Tongass slaves, the "Proud Raven" pole emphasized Tlingit pride in spotting the first white man, who happened to be modeled after the American president.

In her own version of the story for *The Wolf and the Raven*, Garfield attempted to piece together the most accurate information she had available in the 1940s. She affirmed that the Tlingits called the totem "Proud Raven" after the figure at its base; she also stated that Thleda, the Tsimshian artist commissioned to carve the pole, was given a picture of President Lincoln to copy for the top of the column. Yet Garfield still quoted from Wickersham's article, writing that the Tongass people "fled to the station, settling on the beach adjoining the parade ground under the shelter of the guns of the *Lincoln*." She also repeated Wickersham's claim that the Tongass chiefs had erected the pole "to commemorate the protection they received" from the cutter *Lincoln*.⁷³ It was an example of misinformation that came to be printed in the best-selling guide; Wickersham's story is still repeated today.⁷⁴

Garfield's inclusion of Wickersham's version of the Lincoln pole story also worked to frame the pole in a patriotic history of American heritage. The praise of Lincoln and the emancipation of slaves in Alaska linked the Tlingit pole to a larger national narrative familiar to tourists (indeed, it was probably a narrative that had appealed to Wickersham, a federal judge). Garfield had stated her own interest in presenting the totem poles as "national monuments": "It would indeed be short-sighted," she told Heintzleman, "to create national monuments of such great historic and public interest as those now completed or in progress in southeastern Alaska and then neglect to secure the information that gives them meaning. . . . It is of the greatest importance historically and from the point of view of the tourist visitor to have this information available in pamphlet or other readily accessible form."⁷⁵ Of course, this work was in line with the New Deal emphasis on interpreting historic sites for the American public. Yet it showed how "local histories," as John Bodner has written, were subsumed by the effort to create a "national memory" that forgot the specificities of original stories.

The most problematic aspect of *The Wolf and the Raven*, however, is that Native people involved in the book were not credited as they had been promised. Originally, the Forest Service had planned to publish individual pamphlets for each park that the local Native-run craft shops could sell, advancing New Deal efforts for Native peoples to profit from touristic consumption of their heritage. How these locally-based pamphlets morphed into a regional book published by the University of Washington Press is not entirely clear. Regional Forester Heintzleman had insisted from the beginning on avoiding the bureaucracy of a federal press and the specter of profiteering from a private press. When he learned that the Alaska Historical Society would not survive the

Depression, however, his hopes for historical pamphlets produced within the territory were dashed; other local non-profits, like the Association of University Women in Ketchikan, also failed to materialize as publishers.⁷⁶ At some point Heintzleman must have accepted Garfield's suggestion that the University of Washington Press publish the totem pole stories in their anthropological series; it was only after Garfield had completed a technical version of crest stories for this series that the editors proposed a more popular book, hoping it might better sell.⁷⁷ Even, then, however, the academic press did not expect much profit from *The Wolf and the Raven*; W.M. Read, the editor of the press, told Linn Forrest not to "worry too much about royalties" because he did not believe the book would recuperate its production costs.⁷⁸ Now in its twenty-third printing, however, *The Wolf and the Raven* exceeded all expectations—a fact that makes its failure to credit its Native collaborators all the more painful.

Indeed, Forest Service officials, as well as Garfield, had assured Tlingit and Haida communities that would retain copyright of their crest stories, and that only they would profit from their sale. After finding her research stymied in Klawock by Tlingits who refused to discuss the stories of the Tuxekan poles,⁷⁹ Garfield wrote to Heintzleman asking for help:

When I was in Klawock last spring Mr. Roy Peratovich suggested that a letter be addressed to the Native Brotherhood in convention explaining the purpose and historic value of my work and calling on the AB [sic] to cooperate fully. I believe that such a letter should come from the Forest Service, reviewing aid given the Indians through the restoration project, the purpose of the restoration and the scientific value of complete information about each pole. Emphasis on the fact that no one can profit financially from the publication of the proposed handbooks might also be made.⁸⁰

While it is true that Garfield did not expect to profit from the handbooks—or even from the book that grew out of them—it is still unfortunate that she and the Forest Service officials involved did not better credit their Native colleagues. Charles Brown was not named as a co-author of the book, nor were individual storytellers even mentioned in the text, as Forrest had done in his notes following interviews and as John Swanton had modeled in his *Tlingit Myths and Texts*.⁸¹ The Sitka CCC's request that Native elders be hired to tell the authentic stories of the totem poles was never honored, and Tlingit and Haida peoples did not directly benefit from the publication of their crest stories. *The Wolf and the Raven* represented an inadvertent appropriation, perhaps, but it was an appropriation nonetheless.

Wrangell's World's Fair

A final example of the New Deal's work to recode the totem pole for tourists—yet one that also highlights Native re-appropriation of the parks for their own cultural practices—is the Wrangell Potlatch that was celebrated in Wrangell on June 3 and 4, 1940 (Fig. 4.28). Earlier that spring, the CCC had completed the reconstruction of the Shark House on Shakes Island, an outcropping in Wrangell's Inner Harbor that had been home to the Naanyaa.aayi clan of Tlingits since the early nineteenth century.⁸² Testing the park's magnetism for the tourists it was intended to attract, the Forest Service, the Office of Indian Affairs, the Town of Wrangell and the local chapters of the Alaska

Native Brotherhood and Alaska Native Sisterhood joined forces to host the Wrangell Potlatch, a two-day festival with all the trappings of a model Indian village at a miniature World's Fair. An organizing committee printed official stationery for the Wrangell Potlatch, Inc., sending invitations to dignitaries across the country (Fig. 4.29). Local businesses prepared exhibits of their products: the Reliance Shrimp Company an "exhibit of shrimp, crab and other aquatic life"; the Bank of Wrangell a minerals exhibit from local sources; and the Boy Scouts a wildflower display in a downtown window box.⁸³ Tlingit members of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Alaska Native Sisterhood rehearsed the "authentic Indian ceremonies" that the Wrangell Potlatch advertised, preparing to name Tlingit elder Charles Jones as Chief Shakes VII. By opening day, June 3, 1940, fifteen hundred out-of-town guests had arrived in Wrangell, more than doubling the local population.⁸⁴ The local *Sentinel* welcomed the auspicious crowd with a full schedule of the day's events and an article that ended with the hopeful proclamation: "Wrangell now takes its bow as Alaska's foremost Tourist Attraction" (Fig. 4.30).

In its celebration of Native performance in a model village setting, accompanied by boosterish displays of local resources and heritage, the Wrangell Potlatch drew heavily on the model of "Indian Villages" popularized by World's Fairs. These Fairs—what Andrew Carnegie called the "national reunions" of the world—began with the Crystal Palace Exhibition in London in 1851 and became a major advertising mechanism for nations to display their resources, inventions and ideologies through the early twentieth century.⁸⁵ As part of the "scientific" presentation of national identity (but also as foil to the modernity and morality of "civilized" societies), World's Fairs often included exhibits of indigenous peoples, featuring model villages that showcased typical architecture and even live performances of Native dances and ceremonies for the visitor's incredulous eye.⁸⁶ At the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, for example, a troupe of Kwakwaka'wakw people from villages near Fort Rupert, British Columbia performed in a Northwest Coast-style village that included a full-scale Kwakwaka'wakw and Haida clan house, as well as two Tlingit totem poles.⁸⁷ Indeed, totem poles had been stock items of American World's Fairs since their introduction to east coast audiences at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia.⁸⁸ In 1904, fifteen totem poles destined for the Indian River park at Sitka stood beside rebuilt Tlingit and Haida houses at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis (Fig. 4.31).⁸⁹ Closer to the time of the CCC, as we saw in the last chapter, totem poles had featured in the 1939 World's Fair in San Francisco, where John Wallace was hired to carve as a demonstration artist in the IACB's Indian Building courtyard.

Although the New Deal totem parks eschewed the evolutionist rhetoric of many nineteenth-century World's Fairs (no "living villages" where tourists could gawk at the daily routines of Native peoples, no plotting of "primitive" groups along a supposed continuum of savage to civilized), they did draw on the popularity of the Fair model to debut their totem parks to non-Native tourists.⁹⁰ Like French and English park settings, the model Indian Village of the World's Fair provided New Dealers with familiar context in which non-Natives could encounter totem poles—as well as a context that furthered several New Deal goals. As a tourist attraction to showcase national resources, the World's Fair model framed the totem pole as an American monument, and the totem park as a federal success story of intercultural unity.⁹¹ World's Fairs promoted consumption of national resources on display—in this case, Tlingit and Haida art—furthering the Indian

New Deal's efforts to expand markets for the Native American-made.⁹² And like goods on display at a World's Fair, the totem poles newly erected in totem parks were recoded in a nationalist rhetoric of "heritage" and "historic attraction." At the Wrangell Potlatch, for example, Mayor Fisk thanked the CCC "for this historic attraction for the town of Wrangell"; on the federal level, Bureau of Indian Affairs Commissioner Claude Hirst and Regional Forester Heintzleman hailed Native cooperation in the U.S. government's restoration project of "this important heritage." Alaska Governor Ernest Gruening cut short a meeting in Washington, D.C. to return to Southeast Alaska in time to provide the keynote address at the evening banquet: "You citizens of Wrangell have undertaken something which can be made permanent and even more attractive in the years ahead. You are keeping alive an ancient culture which should never be permitted to be forgotten."⁹³ The crests of the Naanyaa.aayi and other local clans, these speeches promised, would not rot away into oblivion; instead, with the help of future tourists, they would live on as the proud crests of Native peoples—and as the crests of the town of Wrangell, the territory of Alaska, and even of the United States.

The CCC totem parks drew on several display conventions associated with the model Indian Village at the World's Fair. The Primitive Indian Village, or PIV, as it was frequently called in Forest Service correspondence, was Linn Forrest's version of the model Indian village for the New Deal totem park at Mud Bight, north of Ketchikan. Mud Bight, which would later take on the more alluring name of Totem Bight, was intended to showcase totem poles of "new and invented designs" by CCC carvers and to provide visitors with a chance to experience an authentic Northwest Coast Native village.⁹⁴ A Forest Service pamphlet from 1940 stated that the Primitive Indian Village "will include three Native community houses, numerous genealogical and burial totems, and a Native cemetery which will illustrate the trend from the ancient burial totems to the more modern grave houses."⁹⁵ Like the mixing of Haida and Kwakwaka'wakw houses at the Chicago World's Fair, Forrest's original drawings for the PIV show three clan houses modeled after well-known Tlingit and Haida houses on the Northwest Coast. Building No. 1 quoted a famous Haida house known as Chief Gold's House outside the village of Skidegate in Haida Gwaii (the Queen Charlotte Islands) (Fig. 4.32a,b). Building No. 3 was a Tlingit house with a halibut house front painting that Forrest based on a Neix̄.ádi clan house from Saxman (Fig. 4.33a,b). Because of the outbreak of World War II, only Building No. 2, a Haida-style house with tall frontal and corner poles, was built at Totem Bight, with the house-front painting that Forrest had originally designed modified by Charles Brown (Fig. 4.34a,b). Nevertheless, Forrest's original plans to mix the housing styles, and his quotations of actual nineteenth-century houses, clearly indicated his intention to create the "model village" at Totem Bight.

The totem parks also drew on the World's Fair model of framing a benevolent government that cared for its Native wards.⁹⁶ Signage planned for several of the parks emphasized the government's role in salvaging Native artifacts and in the good relationships it fostered with local Native people.⁹⁷ The location of several of the totem parks next to government Indian schools also harkened to World's Fair models: for example, at the 1904 St. Louis Fair, the BIA school had stood at the top of the "civilized" tribes continuum as a symbol of enlightened Indians who had benefited from the altruism of the U.S. government (Fig. 4.35).⁹⁸ While the proximity of the schools to the CCC parks was somewhat coincidental—the land for the parks was often chosen because

Native families built their houses on the beach, leaving upland areas for other buildings in town—it is still striking that the parks at Saxman, Hydaburg and Klawock are visibly paired with government-sponsored schools (Fig.4.36).⁹⁹

The New Deal totem parks also celebrated a kind of “intercultural unity” touted by World’s Fairs and the popular American Folk Festivals of the 1930s, which “created a portrait of America that celebrated cultural and ethnic pluralism, and blended disparate beliefs into a conflict-free ideology of national unity and progress.”¹⁰⁰ The Wrangell Potlatch hailed the collaboration of Tlingits and non-Natives, with the *Wrangell Sentinel* boasting that the potlatch was hosted by its own “citizens, both white and Indian.”¹⁰¹ Tlingit carver Thomas Ukas appeared as the only Native member (the head of “Ceremonies”) on the list of committee members for the Wrangell Potlatch, Inc.—a significant collaboration given that several Wrangell fraternity clubs banned Natives from membership and even entry into their buildings.¹⁰² Of course, the inclusion of Tlingits in the Wrangell Potlatch was not completely out of racial good-will; Tlingit participation was a necessary mark of authenticity that the Wrangell Potlatch, like so many Indian displays at World’s Fairs, depended on for its success. “The keynote of our program is the authenticity of the Indian ceremonies,” wrote Edward Keithahn, the president of the Wrangell Potlatch, Inc., on the invitations to guests nationwide, “and nothing will be done to make them other than genuine.”¹⁰³ Ukas’s role was to assure the authenticity of Tlingit ceremonies made for a public eye.

Yet if Tlingit peoples were conscripted to perform as spectacles for the Wrangell Potlatch, they also used the occasion to their own advantage. Like many Native Americans who used Wild West Shows and World’s Fairs for their own travel, economic gain and even assertion of cultural prerogatives that countered those of their non-Native impresarios, Tlingits found ways for the Wrangell Potlatch to serve their own needs.¹⁰⁴ The Naanya.aayi, for example, inducted several white businesspeople into their clan, then called on their economic responsibilities as a clan members to help pay for the costs of the potlatch. Linn Forrest personally accompanied a group of Naanya.aayi Tlingits to Ketchikan in order to invite—in person, as was tradition—Tlingits living outside the hosting *kwáan* to the potlatch; he noted that the Wrangell Town Council gave the Naanyaa.aayi “a fair amount of cash” to make the trip and to pay for lodging (which Forrest could only find in a brothel, since no hotels in Ketchikan would house Natives at the time).¹⁰⁵ Another anecdote, remembered by many Tlingits in Wrangell today, suggests that Tlingits poked a bit of fun at their earnest non-Native collaborators. During the ceremony to name Charles Jones as Chief Shakes VII, Tlingit dancers sprinkled eagle down, a traditional symbol of peace, onto members seated in the audience. Especially feathered was Mrs. Ernest Gruening, wife of the territorial governor, who had dressed for the occasion in a stylish black suit. When she began to brush the eagle down from her clothing, the Tlingits rebuked her for removing this symbol of peace, so she kept the feathers, and was apparently quite the sight as she walked around town.¹⁰⁶

Photographs of Tlingit people during the Wrangell Potlatch reveal their pride in displaying their heritage to the public eye (Fig. 4.37). Many agreed to pose for Ketchikan-based photographer Otto Schallerer in traditional regalia, wearing button blankets, masks and Chilkat blankets that attested to pride in their clan crests (Fig.4.38a,b). While Viola Garfield noted that not everyone had their own regalia—many had to borrow things back from Walter Waters, a local shopkeeper who traded in Native

goods—it was still clear that people sought out their own clan crests or made new regalia for the occasion.¹⁰⁷ Some Tlingits paired traditional regalia with contemporary clothing, like a woman (Mary Miyasato?) who delighted in posing in Converse sneakers with her Chilkat blanket and nose ring (Fig. 4.39).¹⁰⁸ Such examples suggest that Tlingits were not catering solely to outside expectations of authenticity, but that they took pleasure in the opportunity the Wrangell Potlatch presented to wear and to dance their regalia for themselves.

The most important assertion of Tlingit protocols during the Wrangell Potlatch was the restoration of the Naanyaa.aayi's chief lineage with the naming of eighty-one-year-old Charles Jones as Chief Shakes VII. Chief Shakes VI had died in 1916, designating Jones as his successor; due to interference by local missionaries, however, Jones was not named the new *hit sáati* of the Naanyaa.aayi Shark House and the succession of Chief Shakes was put on hold.¹⁰⁹ With the restoration of the Shark House during the New Deal and shifting attitudes toward Tlingit culture, however, Jones was asked by Tlingits and non-Natives alike to assume the title of Chief Shakes VII. Significantly, the official ceremony to name Jones as Shakes VII took place not at the dedication of the New Deal totem park at Shakes Island but in an afternoon celebration hosted by the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Alaska Native Sisterhood in the ANB Hall downtown.¹¹⁰ At noon on June 3, Tlingits from the village of Kake rowed Jones, who was wearing Shakes's killerwhale Chilkat blanket, to Shakes Island in Shakes's famous *Kéet Yakw* (killerwhale canoe) (Fig. 4.40).¹¹¹ Dancing and speeches took place in the restored Shark House at the totem park; the party then transferred to the ANB Hall downtown for the "coronation" (Fig. 4.41). Besides easing logistical problems like providing electric light and room for more than a hundred visitors, the ANB Hall also provided Tlingits with their own space apart from the tourist spectacle on Shakes Island. The ANB Hall was the clan house of the twentieth century, the place where Native people gathered for meetings, fellowship and activism; the organization also served as a primary liaison for Tlingit and Haida peoples and the federal government.¹¹² Hosting the naming of Chief Shakes in the ANB Hall, then, the Wrangell Tlingits could ensure that they carried out Tlingit protocols alongside the booster-ish spectacles for the dedication of Shakes Island.¹¹³

The dedications of several other CCC totem parks became opportunities for the affirmation of Native traditions as well. At Klawock, members of the Raven moiety invited the opposite moiety to a potlatch following the raising of the Bullhead and the Fight with the Land Otters pole; Garfield noted that "music, speeches and distribution of gifts appropriately marked the dedication of the new pole."¹¹⁴ Walter Aikens, the CCC foreman in Hydaburg, noted a potlatch in that village in February 1941: "The Eagle clan held a party last Saturday! Many were dressed in the old regalia and danced traditional dances. There was a potlatch and refreshments.... The Bear clan will be having a similar party this Saturday."¹¹⁵ There may have been dedications at other totem parks as well.¹¹⁶ Potlatches such as these evinced Native interest in using the dedications of the New Deal totem parks to reaffirm their own traditions. If the dedications drew from World's Fair and other performative models intended to make the totem parks familiar places for non-Native visitors, then, Tlingit and Haida peoples found ways for these "model Indian villages" to continue Native protocols among Native peoples.

Monuments in Cedar

This chapter has presented appropriations and re-appropriations as part of the transcultural reality of the New Deal totem parks. Decoding the totem pole for the public also entailed recoding it—sometimes in ways that profited private parties, as *The Wolf and the Raven* did, however unintentionally. Recoding the totem poles in terms of national heritage can also be seen as an appropriation, and certainly the New Deal totem parks worked to effect this shift. The nationalist overtones of the World’s Fair model are obvious, but landscape tourism was also a rehearsal in nationalism. As many scholars have noted, for the English of the eighteenth-century, praising the picturesque qualities of the English countryside helped to affirm the distinctive (Protestant, northerly) identity of a country apart from (Catholic, southerly) Italy and France.¹¹⁷ Similarly, visits to America’s national parks in the early twentieth century were touted as part of the “See America First” campaign to redirect tourism from the cultural monuments of Europe to the natural monuments of the American west—what Alfred Runte has called the “scenic nationalism” of the American national parks movement.¹¹⁸ Recoded in this nationalist context of the government park, totem poles underwent that radical transformation from the enigmatic Native clan symbol to the decoded monument of American heritage—or at least this was the hope of the New Deal parks. It is the task of the next chapter to gauge whether or not tourists actually “read” the poles accordingly.

¹ L.L. Bales, “The Indians Won’t Tell,” *The Alaska Sportsman* Part I (October 1938), p. 17.

² For one missionary’s work to condemn totem pole carving, see the chapter “Tearing Down and Building Up,” in S. Hall Young, *Hall Young of Alaska: The Mushing Parson* (Kessinger Publishing, 2004 [1927]).

³ L.L. Bales, p. 30.

⁴ Scidmore quoted in Polly Miller and Leon Gordon, *Lost Heritage of Alaska: The Adventure and Art of the Alaska Coastal Indians* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1967), p. 195.

⁵ S.G. Davis, Hydaburg, to C.R. Andrews, 5/11/39. C.R. Andrews File, Tongass Historical Museum, Ketchikan.

⁶ Davis’s letter reads: “I try to carve Totem poles for living people who come and want to get the history of Poles. But want to hear the storys. After which they don’t [buy] the Pole, so you White is a hard man to be trusted [sic].” Davis was likely making a pointed reference to C.L. Andrews himself, who was asking Davis for information on poles without offering to buy Davis’s carvings or to pay him for his services as an interpreter. S.G. Davis to C.R. Andrews, 5/11/39. Andrews File, Tongass Historical Museum, Ketchikan.

⁷ Similarly, George Ramos, a Tlingit elder in Yakutat, stated in a 1995 interview that he was taught as a child not to tell the stories of another clan, but then his mother-in-law told him that it was “okay because it is getting lost.” He noted several elders told him to share knowledge because otherwise the real stories would not be passed on properly. Ramos,

“Opening the Curtain: Tlingit and Haida Elders Speak About Museums,” video production (Juneau: Alaska State Museums, 1995).

⁸ Frank Been, National Parks Service, Anchorage, to Ben C. Miller, Custodian at Sitka National Historic Park, 3/19/40. Been was quoting recommendations by Chief Naturalist Trager. RG 51 Box 3 Folder 3, Sitka 14609.

⁹ Prior to the publication of *The Wolf and the Raven*, few reliable accounts of Alaskan totem poles existed. Katharine B. Judson’s *Myths and Legends of Alaska* (1911) published some of the raven stories collected by Boas and Swanton, but she did not connect the stories to totem poles. Viola Garfield condemned Reverend H.P. Corser’s *Totem Lore of the Alaska Indians* (1920) as “a disgrace” in a letter to Archbold (6/14/40 Box 2). The Juneau-based photography studio of Winter & Pond provided relatively good synopses of stories behind Wrangell and Sitka totem poles in *The Totems of Alaska* (1915), but the book’s focus was on photography and its scope limited to northern poles. In the New Deal era, Merle Colby’s *A Guide to Alaska: the Last American Frontier* (1939) covered the territory for the WPA’s American Guide Series; because it was written in 1939, however, the guide could only mention the totem pole preservation project’s beginning.

¹⁰ Victoria Grieve described the logic of the Federal Art Project: “If American consumers were educated about art and design, they would become confident and knowledgeable patrons, demanding both aesthetic beauty and good craftsmanship from mass-produced goods.” The Indian Arts and Crafts Board pursued a similar educational platform to educate Americans about Native American art and their responsibility to support these “most American” of artists. See Grieve, *The Federal Art Project and the Creation of Middlebrow Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), p. 6.

¹¹ Royalties from *The Wolf and the Raven* continue to be paid to descendants of Viola Garfield and Linn Forrest. Pat Soden, Director of University of Washington Press, personal communication, 3/5/2010.

¹² “Disciplines of viewing” is Raymond Williams’s term to acknowledge the rules by which a viewing context operates, whether the silent, single-focused viewing prescribed by movie theaters and or the more interactive scanning of sports spectatorship. See the discussion of Williams’s term in Robert Campbell, *In Darkest Alaska: Travel and Empire Along the Inside Passage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), pp. 13-15.

¹³ See my discussion of Guattari and Deleuze in the Introduction. The theorists describe a characteristic of capital as that “ever-expanding operation of decoding in which ritualized or collective inscriptions upon organs or objects dissolve, leaving a world of privatized matter subject to infinite exchange.” Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. *Anti-Œdipus*. Vol. 1 of *Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem and Helen R. Lane (London and New York: Continuum, 2004 [1972]), p. 36.

¹⁴ MIT records show that Forrest was enrolled in the architecture program for eleven weeks in the spring of 1928, but they do not list his course work (Annette Horne-Williams, personal communication 7/7/09). The University of Oregon, where Forrest completed his degree, also does not have transcripts for his time there. However, the sketchbooks from Forrest’s travel fellowship to Europe, now in the private collection of Forrest’s son, Dick Forrest, in Juneau, contain several architectural renderings and

surrounding landscapes. Both Dick Forrest and Lawrence Rakestraw confirmed Forrest's travel fellowship to Europe; see Rakestraw, "A History of The Forest Service Role in Totem Pole Restoration and Preservation, and An Index of Sources for U.S. Forest Service Work in Reference to Totem Poles, 1906-1907" Submitted under contract 910154, Alaska Region USFS [no date], p. 24.

¹⁵ Lawrence Rakestraw lists Forrest as the Regional Architect for the Pacific Northwest Division of the U.S. Forest Service when he worked on Timberline Lodge; however, records at Timberline name Forrest as an assistant architect to the project (wall plaque, Timberline Lodge). Rakestraw noted that "the lodge had a great deal of handcarving and handwrought iron work on it, and building it was a good training ground for the totem pole project. Linn Forrest came to Alaska in 1935, when plans were made to build alpine lodges at Sitka and at Kenai. Instead, he was given charge of the totem pole project." Lawrence Rakestraw, "A History of The Forest Service Role in Totem Pole Restoration and Preservation, and An Index of Sources for U.S. Forest Service Work in Reference to Totem Poles 1906-1907," Submitted under contract 910154, Alaska Region USFS [no date], p. 24.

¹⁶ *Park Structures and Facilities* (Washington: National Park Service, 1935), p. 21.

¹⁷ National park attendance skyrocketed during the later years of Depression as a relatively inexpensive vacation option: in 1935 total attendance numbered a little more than six million people; by 1941 it had nearly tripled to sixteen million. See William Tweed, Laura Souliere, Henry G. Law, *National Park Service Rustic Architecture, 1916-1942* (National Park Service, Western Regional Office, Division of Cultural Resource Management, February 1977), p. 45.

¹⁸ F.R. Cowell, *The Garden as Fine Art* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978), p. 162.

¹⁹ Kirk Savage, *Monument Wars: Washington, D.C., the National Mall, and the Transformation of the Memorial Landscape* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), p.152.

²⁰ For a discussion of the City Beautiful movement, see Savage, pp. 152-155.

²¹ Actually it was Archbold who recommended the Raven Sun pole for this spot, noting that this pole from Pennock Island "is very well carved." Archbold to Regional Forester, 1/5/39.

²² Garfield and Forrest, *The Wolf and the Raven*, p. 13.

²³ Walter Aikens to C.M. Archbold, 11/28/40.

²⁴ Although Saxman was the only park that lay along a main steamship route, Hydaburg and Klawock were intended to attract incoming boat traffic as well, especially as it was hoped that tourism would grow to these smaller communities. See Archbold to Heintzleman, 10/27/37.

²⁵ "The Alaska Line" brochure, Alaska Steamship Co. 1941. H.N. Peterson Collection, University of Alaska Anchorage Special Collections.

²⁶ Norman Bryson, *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), p.94

²⁷ Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Stanford University Press, 1989), p. 4.

²⁸ Andrews, p. 84.

²⁹ William Gilpin, *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape, to which is added a poem, on landscape painting* (London: R. Blamire, 1792), p. 5.

³⁰ Andrews, p. 29.

³¹ Olmsted quoted in Witold Rybczynski, *A Clearing in the Distance: Frederick Law Olmsted and America in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Scribner Books, 1999), p. 87. Olmsted was a great admirer of Gilpin; he famously instructed the employees at his architecture firm to read Gilpin “as a student of law would read Blackstone... as stimulating the exercise of judgment in matters of my art [landscape architecture].” See Gina Crandell, *Nature Pictorialized: “The View” in Landscape History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), p. 132.

³² Rybczynski, p. 82.

³³ Olmsted journeyed to England to visit public parks like Birkenhead Park, designed by Joseph Paxton, who would later design the Crystal Palace for the 1851 World’s Fair at London. Olmsted was greatly impressed that Birkenhead Park “was enjoyed about equally by all classes”—a feature of the public park that Olmsted and others hoped would make the park a site for modeling genteel behavior to the lower classes. See Rybczynski, p. 82.

³⁴ While acknowledging the shared roots of urban public parks and national parks, Alfred Runte nevertheless made this important distinction: “Central Park set a precedent for preservation in the common interest more than a decade before realization of the national park idea. Still, while its debt to the City Park is obvious, the national park evolved in response to environmental perceptions of a dramatically different kind. City parks were an eastern phenomenon, a refuge from the noise and pace of urban living. City dwellers wanted facilities for recreation, not scenic protection per se. Convenient access was of primary concern; a city park could be located anywhere, however distasteful the site.” Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience*, Second Revised Edition (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), p. 4.

³⁵ Linn Forrest, quoted in *Timberline Lodge: A Guided Tour*, 4th Edition (Portland, OR: Mollet Printing, 2005), p. 7.

³⁶ In 1884, Navy Second Lieutenant Gilman, with a party of marines and Tlingits, “constructed additional paths on either side of the stream [Indian River] and bridged it twice.... Both the 1884 traveler and an 1866 successor noted the skill with which Gilman had laid out the paths to display natural features.” Joan Antonson and William S. Hanable, “An Administrative History of Sitka National Historic Park,” Sitka, AK: National Park Service, 1987, n.p.

³⁷ Antonson and Hanable, n.p.

³⁸ Malcolm Andrews has traced the mid-eighteenth-century shift in England from the popularity of the *paysage moralisé*, a landscape imbued with moral lessons to be read by the visitor, to the *paysage demoralisé*, a landscape void of moral lessons and instead valued for its aesthetic effects, its ability to provoke a “mood,” especially with the disheveled, varied effects of the ruin. “Ruins fascinated the picturesque tourist partly because, in spite of Gilpin’s recommendations to separate moral and aesthetic responses, they raised so many questions about the relationship between man and nature, as well as presenting interesting broken lines and varied tints.” See Andrews, p. 49.

³⁹ Andrew Patrick, *The Most Striking of Objects: Totem Poles in the Sitka National Historic Park* (Anchorage: National Park Service, 2002), p. 95

⁴⁰ Victor Cahalane, National Park Service employee, October 21, 1940 inspection of Old Kasaan National Monument. Totem Heritage Center Collections, Box 2, Tongass Historical Museum, Ketchikan, Alaska.

⁴¹ *Parks Structures and Facilities* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service: 1935), p. 24.

⁴² *Parks Structures and Facilities*, pg. 93.

⁴³ Archbold to Regional Forester, 4/22/40.

⁴⁴ Archbold to Forrest, 2/12/42.

⁴⁵ Archbold to Charles Brown, 5/4/39.

⁴⁶ Archbold to Regional Forester, 4/22/40.

⁴⁷ Another memo showed Forrest's continued work to collect stories from Wrangell elders: Burdick told Forrest that "the last time I saw [Joe Thomas] he was quite confidential and wanted to give you the stories of his forebears, particularly his grandfather and great grandfather. Possibly you could get some interesting stories from him." Burdick to Forrest, 9/18/41.

⁴⁸ Garfield to Archbold, 12/30/40. Box 1, Folder 11, Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections.

⁴⁹ See Footnote 25.

⁵⁰ Garfield to Forrest, 5/2/41. Box 2, Folder 12, Viola Garfield Papers.

⁵¹ Heintzleman to Garfield, 8/27/40. Box 1, Folder 8, Viola Garfield Papers.

⁵² "Launch Study of Totem Lore: Anthropologist Named to Record Alaskan Myths," *Anchorage Daily Times* (8/9/40), in Sitka National Historical Park records, RG 51 Box 3 Folder 3.

⁵³ Garfield to Archbold, 7/25/40.

⁵⁴ Garfield to Forrest, 5/2/49 (Box 1, Folder 13, Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections). Garfield's allegiance to tribal boundaries and regional differences revealed her training as a student of Franz Boas, who had emphasized the importance of geographical and clan distinctions in anthropology. Still, it was an interesting contrast with the CCC totem parks themselves, which lumped together poles from numerous villages and even mixed Tlingit and Haida carvings in the same park, as at Totem Bight.

⁵⁵ Although Garfield had originally intended to publish the stories of the Sitka and Wrangell totem poles in a similar academic fashion as *The Wolf and the Raven*, Jack Calvin of the Sitka Press convinced her to write a more popular book that was not specific to these parks: "We have made only a few hit-and-miss notes on your ms. And are going to suggest a somewhat different arrangement of the material. If you don't like our suggestions you can very easily tell us to lump it and whose material do we think this is anyhow. But our suggestions are intended to make the booklet more quickly understandable and more appealing to the tourist who stands quivering, booklet in one hand, crumpled dollar bill clutched tightly in the other, trying to make up his little mind.... You are interested, quite properly, in precise facts. We, on behalf of the tourist, prefer hasty dips into the pool of facts for items of special interest and to pad out some broad and possibly not strictly accurate generalizations. (That metaphor didn't turn out

very well, did it?).” Calvin then suggested eliminating the sections on “what to see in Wrangell and Sitka,” as well as all references to individual poles/pictures in the text. Jack Calvin to Viola Garfield, 3/16/50, Box 7 Folder 7, Viola Garfield Papers.

⁵⁶ Forrest to Garfield, 3/31/41: “Mr. Heintzleman and I have read and revised the rough draft, which you sent us some time ago, and I have also just finished going over the entire booklet with Mr. Brown, at Saxman... Some of the changes have been made to conform to Mr. Browns and other Natives understandings of the stories as compiled in the booklet and originally furnished us by them. In each instance it has been kept in mind that it was their legends and histories which we are portraying.” Box 1, Folder 9, Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections.

⁵⁷ Garfield recommended Swanton’s book for the Forest Service library in Juneau in a letter to Archbold (Garfield to Archbold, 6/14/40). Note, however, *The Wolf and the Raven* did not credit the stories to individual tellers, as Swanton had done and as Forrest had done in his notes. This is likely because Garfield made amalgams of several versions of stories told by different tellers; still, it would have been preferable to credit the individuals and their clans, as is the custom among tribes on the Northwest Coast, where stories are considered property.

⁵⁸ Garfield and Forrest, *The Wolf and the Raven*, p. 12.

⁵⁹ See footnote 10. The New Deal’s work to educate American consumers on Native American art was also apparent in a tour guide written for Alaska by the Federal Writer’s Project. Author Merle Colby encouraged tourists to study the old poles at Shakes Island and other “authentic articles” lest they be duped by Japanese imitations: “If before making any purchase of curios the traveler will spend a few hours examining examples of the Native arts in Chief Shakes’ community house at Wrangell, the Territorial Museum at Juneau, or the Sheldon Jackson at Sitka, he will quickly learn to recognize worthy specimens of Native art in the shops.” Colby, *A Guide to Alaska*, p. xxxv.

⁶⁰ Garfield and Forrest, *The Wolf and the Raven*, p. 93.

⁶¹ Garfield and Forrest, *The Wolf and the Raven*, p. 97.

⁶² Garfield and Forrest, *The Wolf and the Raven*, p. 9.

⁶³ Garfield and Forrest, *The Wolf and the Raven*, p. 57, 9.

⁶⁴ Garfield wrote to Forrest in May 1941: “I have had a number of headaches over some of the pole explanations, notably the Sun and Raven (No. 1) and Bear Entrance (No. 7), because versions and interpretations do not agree. It would take much more research than we can do to judge between them and I prefer to give alternative explanations until a more detailed study can be made. As it stands we would have to choose between the word of two individuals and the choice would be arbitrary.” Garfield to Forrest, 5/2/41, Box 1, Folder 12, Viola Garfield Papers.

⁶⁵ Archbold to Garfield, 12/18/40, Box 1, Folder 9, Viola Garfield Papers.

⁶⁶ Garfield and Forrest, pp. 55-56.

⁶⁷ Gruening noted in his autobiography that Wickersham had repeatedly asked for funding to rescue decaying totem poles in Southeast Alaska and had urged Gruening to stop at Tongass to see the Lincoln pole for himself. “I promised to see what I could do,” Gruening wrote after his stop at Tongass Village. “Later I spoke to Heintzleman about preserving totems and suggested that we make application for the necessary funds from

the WPA. He was keenly interested in the project.” Ernest Gruening, *Many Battles: The Autobiography of Ernest Gruening* (New York: Liveright Publishing, 1973), p. 257.

⁶⁸ James Wickersham, “The Oldest and Rarest Lincoln Statue,” *Sunset Magazine*, February 1924, p. 35.

⁶⁹ William Paul notes the “hearsay” that the story was Wickersham’s invention for a Lincoln Day dinner in Washington, DC in 1920 or 1921, but he could find no newspaper articles to confirm this rumor. See William Paul, “The True Story of the Lincoln Totem Pole,” *The Alaska Journal* 1:3 (Summer 1971), p. 3.

⁷⁰ 12/12/40 letter from Garfield to Forrest, Box 1 Folder 9, Viola Garfield Papers.

⁷¹ William L. Paul, Sr., “The True Story of the Lincoln Totem Pole,” *The Alaska Journal* 1:3 (Summer 1971), pp. 2-16.

⁷² Paul was not sure if Yeil-jeeyi claimed the first sighting of a white man or if it was one of Yeil-jeeyi’s ancestors; he also noted that it was unclear if the white man seen was John Ebbets, a captain who visited the coast in 1802 and from whom a Raven chief had taken the name Ebbits, or an earlier visitor. Paul, p. 11.

⁷³ Garfield and Forrest, *The Wolf and the Raven*, p. 54.

⁷⁴ I heard Wickersham’s version of the story repeated by a tour guide working for a local Ketchikan tour company in the summer of 2009. Since *The Wolf and the Raven* is standard issue for many tour companies in Ketchikan, it is no wonder that the story continues to be repeated.

⁷⁵ Garfield to Heintzleman, 8/12/40, Box 1, Folder 11, Viola Garfield Papers.

⁷⁶ A memo from Heintzleman in Viola Garfield’s papers at the University of Washington provide some record of the search for a proper publisher. In November 1940 Heintzleman wrote to Linn Forrest: “I am making an effort to have the Alaska Historical Society revived, using the curator of the Historical Museum as the Executive Secretary of the society.

“What do you think of having the group sponsor the publication of the booklet by Dr. Garfield and yourself on the Saxman poles. It could arrange for the printing and then sell the supply to the local curio stores for resale to the public. Revised editions could also be easily handled in this way. Again this would give the Society something of interest to work on at the very start. It might also bring the society some revenue. Surely this publication and distribution of the pamphlet by a quasi-public, non-commercial agency would be far preferable to having the job done by a private concern of a Chamber of Commerce.

“If we cannot have the Historical Society put out the pamphlet we may want to try the University of Washington. Dr. Garfield believes the U. will do it.

“I am confident we don’t want the Federal Government to issue the pamphlet except as a last resort. We could not distribute thousands of copies free year after year and of course would have difficulty in arranging for the sale of a Government bulletin by the curio stores. Again, we would experience great difficulty in getting out revisions and additional printing as we accumulated more information and as the stock of pamphlets ran low. The society or the U. could put out a new supply every year if necessary” (11/28/40 memo from Heintzleman for Linn Forrest with cc to Garfield, Viola Garfield Papers, Box 1 Folder 8, University of Washington Special Collections).

⁷⁷ Garfield explained the outcome of the publication format to Forrest in May 1949: “Mr. Heintzelman and I discussed the question of a publisher many times. He preferred having the book done by a non-commercial publisher because of the Park and Forest Service funds which had been expended in collecting the material, and the possibility of criticism if authors and a commercial press profited. The first plan was for the University Press to print it in our anthropology series and I wrote with that in view. Then the publications committee decided that it would have a wider appeal—and sale—than our technical papers, hence recommended the present type of publication, which required extensive rewriting. The revised plan was agreeable to Mr. Heintzleman” (Garfield to Forrest, 5/2/49, Viola Garfield Papers, Box 1 Folder 8, University of Washington Special Collections).

⁷⁸ Read wrote to Forrest: “I wouldn’t worry too much about royalties if I were you, but you should take up with Viola the matter of what your share will be if there ever are any. When you have agreed on the proportion which should go to each of you, please notify me and the distribution will be properly made” (W.M. Read to Linn Forrest, cc to Garfield, 4/27/49, Viola Garfield Papers, Box 1, Folder 8, University of Washington Special Collections).

⁷⁹ In a notebook from 1940, Garfield wrote beneath a long list of “possible informants” in Klawock: “It developed that not one of the above who were in town would or could work. Finally said Forest Service didn’t give them any work [sic], and that to relate the real pole histories open old feuds in the village, also that if I would come back in the winter they would tell histories and anyway a native should write them down!” Box 10, Klawock Notebook, p. 89, Viola Garfield Papers.

⁸⁰ Garfield to Heintzleman, 10/29/41, Box 1, Folder 12, Viola Garfield Papers.

⁸¹ While Garfield may have omitted names because the stories represented an amalgam of versions that she had to edit, multiple storytellers still could have been noted.

⁸² For more on the CCC’s reconstruction of the Shakes House, see Judith Ostrowitz, *Privileging the Past: Reconstructing History in Northwest Coast Art* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), pp. 19-46.

⁸³ “Hundreds of Visitors Arriving Here for Potlatch Next Week,” *The Wrangell Sentinel*, May 31, 1940, pg. 1.

⁸⁴ “1500 Visitors Here to Attend First Potlatch,” *The Wrangell Sentinel* (June 7, 1940), p.

1.

⁸⁵ Carnegie, quoted in Robert W. Rydell, John E. Findling, and Kimberly D. Pelle, *Fair America: World’s Fairs in the United States* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2006), p. 41.

⁸⁶ The literature on indigenous displays at World’s Fairs is vast. See especially Nancy Parezo and Don Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007); and Robert Rydell et al, *All The World’s A Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

⁸⁷ Ira Jacknis, “Northwest Coast Indian Culture and the World’s Columbian Exposition,” in *The Spanish Borderlands in Pan-American Perspective*, David Thomas, Ed., Vol. 3 *Columbian Consequences* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991) pp. 91-118.

⁸⁸ The 1876 Exposition in Philadelphia featured Tlingit and Haida poles collected by James Swan as part of the Smithsonian's presentation on the American Indian. The poles did not meet with great acclaim: one commentator, noting the "fearfully distorted limbs" of totem pole figures, concluded that the poles demonstrated "most conclusively that the moral standards of the aborigines must have been of the lowest possible grade" (qtd in Jacknis 2002:81). For more on the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, see Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985), pp. 20-30; and Ira Jacknis, *The Storage Box of Tradition: Kwakwaka'wakw Art, Anthropologists, and Museums, 1881-1981* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002), pp. 78-80.

⁸⁹ Victoria Wyatt, "'A Unique Attraction': The Alaskan Totem Poles at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904," *The Alaska Journal* 16 (1986), p. 20; Nancy Parezo and Don Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

⁹⁰ For examples of the evolutionist chartings of "primitive" peoples at the St. Louis World's fair in 1904, see Nancy Parezo and Don Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

⁹¹ According to Robert Rydell, World's Fairs were major attempts at defining national unity and values vis-à-vis others during times of national crisis (e.g., the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial reestablished unity after the civil war; the 1930s fairs in face of depression and fascism). See Rydell et al, pp. 20-25. Victoria Grieve has also shown the importance of folk festivals in the 1930s, like the National Folk Festival established in 1934, to "encouraged a seamless, consensus view of American culture that elided differences and tensions in favor of a mythical, nostalgic national unity." Grieve, *The Federal Art Project*, p. 112.

⁹² Robert Rydell has argued that American World's Fairs of the 1930s helped to shift the definition of progress from production to consumption, saving to spending. See Rydell et al, p. 11.

⁹³ Gruening quoted in "1500 Visitors Here to Attend First Potlatch," *The Wrangell Sentinel* (June 7, 1940), p. 1.

⁹⁴ Several memos in Forest Service correspondence discussed a possible name change for Mud Bight, i.e.: "Reference is made to discussion concerning a better name for the area at Mud Bight upon which we are constructing a Primitive Indian Village: The Natives at work on the project suggest that the area be named 'Point Tongass.' Since most of the Indians working on the project are descendents from Old Tongass Village, it is suggested that the word Tongass be used in any name given the area. Some names suggested are: Point Tongass; Tongass Primitive Indian Village; New Tongass Village; Tongass Bight" (Archbold to Regional Forester, 4/10/40). However, the name Tongass was eventually rejected because it would have repeated the use of Tongass for many other place names; "Totem Bight" became the name still in use today.

⁹⁵ "Forest Trails and Drives Near Ketchikan, Alaska," United States Forest Service pamphlet, 69.10.1.4, Archive Box 11, Tongass Historical Museum, Ketchikan, Alaska.

⁹⁶ For examples of the evolutionist chartings of "primitive" peoples at the St. Louis Fair in 1904, see Nancy Parezo and Don Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

⁹⁷ Although the complete set of signs were never made or installed, due to the closing of the CCC program in 1942, correspondence in the U.S. Forest Service files reveals plans for extensive signage that emphasized Native and government cooperation. For example, C.M. Archbold suggested adding a by-line to Linn Forrest's signs for totem poles at Saxman, "giving the name of the party to whom the pole was erected and the family who gave the pole to the Government. We made this part of our agreement with the natives." Archbold also wanted the native enrollees of the CCC credited for the restoration work of the pole. See Archbold to Forrest, 2/12/42.

⁹⁸ Nancy Parezo and Don Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair*, p. 22.

⁹⁹ On the display of model BIA schools at World's Fairs, see Robert A. Trennert, Jr, "Selling Indian Education at World's Fairs and Expositions, 1893–1904," *American Indian Quarterly*, 11.3 (1987), pp. 203–220. Stunningly, Linn Forrest's original plan at Saxman even called for a church at the top of the park on the hill, a design meant to placate the Presbyterian Church that had razed its building to make way for the totem park, yet a design which took on an eerie symbolism of the "civilizing forces"—the school and the church—on which nineteenth-century assimilation policies had relied. For example, Frances Palmer's painting for a Currier & Ives print, "Across the Continent: Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way" (1868), depicts the school, church, library, and railroad—those "civilizing forces" that marked U.S. expansionism and that left Indians to stare at the black smoke of the railroad. Such symbolism arose from the rhetoric of Manifest Destiny, which justified the assimilation or even extinction of Native peoples as an inevitable consequence of U.S. expansion.

¹⁰⁰ Victoria Grieve, *The Federal Art Project*, p. 127.

¹⁰¹ "Potlatch Sponsored by Forest Service, Indian Office, Town," *The Wrangell Sentinel*, May 31, 1940, p. 1.

¹⁰² Fraternities like the Elks and the Moose Lodge banned Tlingits from membership in Wrangell through the 1940s. Tis Peterman, personal communication, 2/4/09.

¹⁰³ Draft letter from E.L. Keithahn, May 10, 1940. Nolan Museum Archives, Wrangell, Alaska.

¹⁰⁴ As Lester G. Moses and others have argued, performances like Wild West shows exploited the spectacle of exotic Indian ceremonies, but at the same time bolstered tribal identity and allowed Native individuals to establish important cross-cultural contacts. See L.G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999).

¹⁰⁵ In a 1983 interview with Richard Ritter and Paul Voelckers, Linn Forrest recalled the following: "They [the Tlingits of Wrangell] wanted it to be a real dedication of the Chief Shakes House so they invited the various Indian tribes—communities [*kwáans*—to come. But we couldn't write a letter and ask them to come. They had to go and invite them in person [as was tradition]. So it was my job to go with the bunch from Wrangell down to Ketchikan to meet them and see that they were taken care of, place to stay and all. Well, it is hard to believe now but at that time there weren't many places that would accept the Natives. You couldn't go to a hotel—they weren't allowed in hotels. That's only back in 1940. So we originally got a place for them to stay, but they had to have money, so they [the Wrangell City Council?] gave them so much cash, I've forgotten how much, but it was a fair amount. I met them and took them to a hotel in Ketchikan

right near the dock, I took them up upstairs to see that they got their rooms alright. I met them and took them up and Holy Mackerel! I'd gotten into a whore house, and I didn't know it. The ladies, there were about 3 of them in lounging robes. I didn't know what to do. So the ladies took them in alright. The next morning I got up damned early. We were down there and I figured we were in deep trouble and we had to get out of there. There was no trouble at all. The Indians were waiting for me when I got there and I was there early." From "Linn Forrest Sr. Recalls CCC Projects," Interview with Minch-Ritter-Forrest Architects, October 31, 1983, Wrangell Public Library Historical Collections.

¹⁰⁶ The story of Mrs. Gruening's eagle down suit is recounted by Glenora Barlow, granddaughter of Chief Shakes VI, in a video documentary of the 1940 Wrangell Potlatch available at the Wrangell Museum, Nolan Center, Wrangell, Alaska.

¹⁰⁷ Viola Garfield to René d'Harnoncourt, 8/8/40. RG 435, Box 1, File 3 Correspondence.

¹⁰⁸ Ethel Lund, who grew up in Wrangell, thought the woman pictured was Mary Miyasato, although she could not be certain. Personal interview, 9/7/11, Juneau, Alaska.

¹⁰⁹ Charles Jones, who was named Chief Shakes VII in 1940, made this testimony in 1939: "When Chief Shakes died in 1916, I was chosen by the people of the Non-ya-ai-ye family to be the new chief. It was the custom, by our tribal law, for the newly chosen chief to pay all the funeral expenses of the late chief, give a feast, and then inhabit the old Shakes community house on Shakes Island.

"I did not know that Chief Shakes had made a will. He often told me, in the presence of witnesses, that it was already decided by the people that I was to succeed him. That will was made secretly, and the man who wrote the will was J.C. Clark, the Presbyterian minister. He was appointed executor of the will. We Non-ya-ai-ye people believe Clark persuaded Chief Shakes to make his will that way but that it was not Shakes true desire to renounce his tribal customs and friends.

"When Shakes died they sent for me. I was at Ham Island. I came right away. The old lady (Mary Shakes, the Chief's widow) told me she was going to leave everything in my hands. She sent out for other Natives to witness this agreement. William Shakinaw and William Tamaree were the witnesses. The Chief was laying there in the house without a coffin, so I bought him a coffin. I got people to dig the grave. I hired people to sit up and watch the body, which is our custom. After I furnished everything and paid for everything, then they ignored me. I am willing to forget these things now, but I want to see the government have the Shakes Island, so that our things will be saved for the future generations." 3/3/39 testimony of Charles Jones, in Forest Service Correspondence, RG 95, Box 2.

¹¹⁰ The *Wrangell Sentinel* noted that the "actual coronation of Kudanake as Chief Shakes will take place at the ANB hall" following the dedication on Shakes Island. "Hundreds of Visitors Arriving Here for Potlatch Next Week," *The Wrangell Sentinel* May 31, 1940, p.1.

¹¹¹ Clarence Jackson of Kake remembered a humorous story about this canoe ride that is still told in Kake. The *Kéet Yakw* had not been in the water for some time: earlier in the twentieth century, the Shakes Family had sold the canoe to Walter Waters's Bear Totem Store in Wrangell, and Waters allowed the Naanyaayi to borrow the canoe for the Shakes Island dedication ceremony. No one bothered to check if it was sound before the dozen rowers got in to paddle Charles Jones across the Wrangell Harbor, and by the time they

got to Shakes Island water was up to the rowers' shins. Clarence Jackson, personal communication, 9/19/11.

¹¹² The ANB served as the primary liaison between Tlingit and Haida peoples and the federal government until 1935, when the Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska was formed as the official tribal liaison. However, some Natives, particularly William Paul, still held the ANB as the legitimate tribal representative, and it continued to play a key role in Tlingit and Haida political life through the first half of the twentieth century. See Donald Craig Mitchell, *Sold American: The Story of Alaska Natives and Their Land, 1867-1959* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2003).

¹¹³ Glenora Barlow, granddaughter of Charles Jones and now an elder herself in the Wrangell Tlingit community, told me that the 1940 potlatch was the first time she had seen her grandfather dance; she also remembered watching him stand on the point of Shakes Island welcoming the canoes from Kake "like the chiefs did in the old days." "So many people came," she said, and it was clear she was proud of the memory. Glenora Barlow, personal interview, 2/12/09, Wrangell, Alaska.

¹¹⁴ Garfield and Forrest, *The Wolf and the Raven*, p. 109.

¹¹⁵ Walter Aikens to Archbold, 2/11/41.

¹¹⁶ Garfield noted to René d'Harnoncourt that Sitka was planning a dedication similar to Wrangell's for 1941, although it is not clear if the event occurred. Viola Garfield to René d'Harnoncourt, 8/8/40. RG 435, Box 1, File 3 Correspondence.

¹¹⁷ Patricia Eyres and Fiona Russell note that in eighteenth-century England, "gardening began to be seen as a patriotic statement, as did the activity of visiting country houses and gardens." See Eyres and Russell, Eds., *Sculpture and the Garden* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), p. 39.

¹¹⁸ Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience*, Second Revised Edition (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), p. 15. I am also referencing Ken Burns's 2009 documentary series for PBS, *The National Parks: America's Best Idea*.

Chapter 5: Indigenizing Folk

The final chapter in this study turns to the end game of the CCC totem parks: the tourist and his interest in Native art (Fig. 5.1). The restoration of totem poles provided temporary work for Tlingit and Haida men, but it was the sale of Native art to tourists visiting the totem parks that New Dealers hoped would establish a long-term economic pillar for Native communities. Regional Forester Heintzleman envisioned shops at the totem parks supporting a robust trade in the Native-made. At Wrangell, for example, Heintzleman proposed leasing the Shark House to the “Wrangell Indians, who would use it as a shop in which to sell to summer tourists the native objects they will make throughout the year.”¹ Noting a similar venture at the Chief Johnson House in Ketchikan, which was slated for use as a “museum and shop to sell Indian handiwork to tourists,” Heintzleman wrote: “I think this is the finest opportunity the Ketchikan natives ever have had to get on a secure economic basis.”²

The reliance on the tourist for a stable market for Native art was a common strategy in Indian Country, but it was also a gamble, since the tourist had historically posed equal parts threat and salvation to Native American art.³ In 1934, a study by the Office of Indian Affairs found that tourists represented up to 90% of the market for Native goods in the United States, yet it noted that this market had failed to provide a sustainable living for most Native artists.⁴ Further, the tourist’s reputed taste for the “gaudy” and the “cheap” debased the very qualities that many non-Natives prized as “authentic” in Native American art—unassuming natural materials, for example, and the “honest” labor of handwork that stood in contrast with the machine-made.⁵ René d’Harnoncourt, the manager of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, bemoaned the fact that Native artists, working to meet “the demands of the tourist trade in the United States and Alaska, have developed new types of products with particularly ‘quaint’ designs and riotous colors.”⁶ He blamed tourist arts for the low regard with which most Americans held the Native-made and asserted that the “most important job” of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board was “to help people realize that Indian arts and crafts are more than just curiosities.”⁷ Embracing the “pedagogy of consumption” that motivated many arts programs in the 1930s, d’Harnoncourt worked to educate Americans on Native art forms and to transform the reputation of Native objects from tourist art to a quality tradition of American design that would be supported as part of the nation’s heritage.⁸

This chapter examines the relationship of the CCC totem parks to the New Deal’s efforts to improve the market for Native art. I consider how marketing recommendations made by d’Harnoncourt and the Indian Arts and Crafts Board were furthered by the New Deal affiliate in Alaska: the Division of Arts and Crafts in the Office of Indian Affairs, which operated the Alaska Native Arts and Crafts Clearinghouse (ANAC) in Juneau. Because World War II interrupted the realization of shops at the New Deal totem parks, the ANAC Clearinghouse became the primary New Deal entity for marketing model totem poles and other goods that Regional Forester Heintzleman had hoped would accompany the parks. ANAC’s records and collection offer insight into the territory’s Native arts market in the 1940s and 1950s, as well as how ANAC worked to implement d’Harnoncourt’s suggestions for improving the reputation of Native art sold in Alaska.

One strategy that d’Harnoncourt employed nationally for making Native arts “more than curiosities” was to advocate their adoption as an American folk art. In his

1941 catalogue for *Indian Art of the United States*, a critically acclaimed exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art that set the stage for a shift in public perception of Native American art, d'Harnoncourt argued for replacing the term "primitive art" with "folk art," the latter which he defined as being "created within a collectively established scope of forms and patterns, and always serv[ing] a definitely utilitarian or spiritual purpose that is accepted by the entire group."⁹ D'Harnoncourt considered folk art an upgrade from "primitive art," since it avoided the implication that primitive art was not "advanced" or that it was located on the opposite end of the time and morality spectrum from "civilized" society; instead, it focused on an art that could communicate broadly within a subculture and could also be contemporaneous with modern life. At a time when Americans were anxiously seeking a national art, folk art also played to the era's identity politics: grounding the nation in its own *Volkkunst* would provide a distinctive national heritage that also offered an indigenous lineage for an emerging American modernism.¹⁰ In the 1930s, art by Native Americans and by non-Native "folk" were both championed as evidence that modernist principles of abstract design and direct expression had roots in America, endorsing a national lineage for modernism that was distinct from Europe's. D'Harnoncourt drew on these discourses to shift public perception of Native American art, positioning Native art as part of a venerable—and still vital—American folk art tradition. Yet his argument would meet many obstacles with the American public, and the figurative, narrative nature of the totem pole presented further challenges to its consideration as a forerunner of American modernism.

The final section of this chapter turns to consider the reception of New Deal efforts like d'Harnoncourt's to improve public opinion of Native American art. Examining tourist photographs of totem poles in the New Deal totem parks and advertisements featuring these poles, I seek to assess how successful the New Deal totem parks were in educating tourists on the Inside Passage to value Tlingit and Haida carving. While the past few chapters have weighted the transcultural work of the CCC parks toward Native adaptations from Euro-American culture—the park layouts, festival presentations and preservation philosophy that the restoration program asked Tlingit and Haida communities to adopt—the questions of this chapter fall on the other half of the transcultural see-saw. Would Americans adopt the totem parks as historic sites of their own American history? Would they claim the totem pole as their own American folk art, and support a robust economy for contemporary Native artists? This was where the work of transculturation hit the bottom line, determining whether non-Natives would agree to adopt from Native cultures objects that were not just trinkets of the "other" but valuable arts of their own national folk.

Losing Curiosity

The obstacles that New Deal officials faced in convincing tourists to value totem poles, including the model poles that Regional Forester Heintzleman hoped would be sold at the Alaskan totem parks, become clear when we realize how deeply entrenched these carvings were in the tourist imagination as curiosities (Fig. 5.2). Molly Lee has shown that nineteenth-century tourists prized Alaska for its "twin savages" of Nature and the Native, both which were billed by steamship companies as exotic and different from American life in the continental United States.¹¹ Totem poles embodied these double interests, made as they were from the enormous cedar trees that grew in Alaska's

rainforest, and symbolizing an exotic Native culture that many Americans continued to think of as “vanishing.” In 1906, Lillie Lockwood’s article in *Sunset Magazine* titled “Goodbye Totem” urged readers to visit Alaska soon because totem arts were dying out; the author also noted that a full-size totem pole “in its original proportions is quite an unmanageable feature in a collection,” so Indians had made model poles to satisfy “the fascination with which the tourist regarded the hideous beauty of their totems.”¹²

Lockwood’s language, which vacillated between appreciation and horror of totem poles, confirmed the status of these model carvings as curiosities for American tourists at the turn of the century. As Christine Guth has shown, curiosity—a term that came to prominence in the eighteenth century and continued throughout the colonial era—served as an umbrella term for objects for which westerners lacked interpretive frameworks to further taxonomize.¹³ Unclear about the original context or use of the object, yet fascinated by its materials, makers and possible histories, eighteenth-century elite in the west compiled cabinets of curiosities as markers of their own encounter with or interest in cultures that had been made newly accessible by exploration, trade and colonialism. The collection impulses of the cabinet of curiosities continued in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the form of “curio shops” where customers could buy a range of items from colonized cultures that were still marked as exotic and “fascinating.” A postcard from the well-known Seattle business Ye Olde Curiosity Shop, for example, pictured model totem poles in front of the shop’s jumble of Northwest Coast baskets, painted *parflêches* from the Plains and Polynesian *tapa* cloth (the shop also was also famous for its display of shrunken heads from Ecuador) (Fig. 5.3).¹⁴

Prior to the New Deal’s intervention, the marketing of model totem poles at curio shops had only heightened their reputation as curiosities. J.E. Standley, the entrepreneur of the Ye Olde Curiosity Shop, hyped totemism in his 1909 brochure titled “History of Totem Poles” as a practice that “embraces forms of Deity, Demon, Myths, Charms, Evil Spirits, Legend and Witchcraft.” He advertised several of his model poles as faithful reproductions of Alaska’s totem poles carved into “prehistoric mammoth ivory” by Native artists, when in fact these poles were often carved from cow bone by Japanese *netsuke* carvers employed by the Takenoya Brothers Company in Japan.¹⁵ Standley offered no explanation about the crest stories of individual poles; many models even lacked key figures of the originals.¹⁶ Haida leader Raymond L. Ready decried such practices to a Seattle newspaper, complaining “that Alaskan Indians who should know better and who should have more respect for their tradition are manufacturing poles out of their imagination, then inventing stories to explain them.”¹⁷ Yet the carvings continued, catering to tourist desire for inexpensive souvenirs of the exotic.

In his work for the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, René d’Harnoncourt would attempt to counteract such exoticizing marketing of Native American art. D’Harnoncourt warned against elaborate symbolic interpretations of Native objects, writing that the mere use of the word *symbol* “has great appeal to buyers of Indian curios, who love to think they can purchase a mystery and a half with every souvenir.”¹⁸ Instead of framing the mystery of Native art, d’Harnoncourt encouraged shops to provide brief, factual accounts that situated the art in its cultural context. He emphasized the need for educated field agents who could work to re-ground “tourist arts” in their origins: “If the advisor is to be able to help the craftsman to find himself again [after making so many concessions in design to tourists], he must first of all be familiar enough with the old regional style to

detect such aberrations and must also be capable of differentiating between them and the sound adaptations that are part of any normal development.”¹⁹ And he encouraged stores not to display Native objects in curio environments, but in art displays that would emphasize their quality and encourage higher prices for Native artists.

Yet if d’Harnoncourt worked against the marketing strategies associated with many “tourist arts,” he was careful not to condemn tourists themselves. Indeed, it is important to remember that the New Deal championed tourism as a pedagogical opportunity; the positive view of the tourist and his consumption of “tourist arts” differed from the disdain with which tourists were often held.²⁰ Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes’s construction of tourism as a means toward “participatory democracy” positioned the tourist as a citizen who, in the act of traveling, learned valuable lessons about his nation and fellow men, and whose actions as a consumer supported the heritage of his country.²¹ This was in keeping with the populism of other New Deal programs for educating Americans on their nation’s arts and heritage. As Victoria Grieve has argued, the progressive use of art for “uplift” in the 1920s morphed in the 1930s with government programs that encouraged democratic participation in the making—and consumption—of American arts and crafts. Emphasizing “widespread education and the redefinition of art as a commodity available to all Americans,” New Deal programs like the Federal Art Project (FAP) built community art centers in rural communities, curated traveling exhibits of fine art and sponsored a “National Art Week” where consumers of every price range were encouraged to buy contemporary American art.²² The intent was not so much to make Americans elite arbiters of culture as it was to create informed consumers who could identify and support a well-made tradition of American design. This “pedagogy of cultural consumption,” as A. Joan Saab has called the educational impulse of many 1930s art programs, embraced the idea that the American public could be educated to support quality American art—an idea that, in Indian Country, translated into a belief that tourists could be educated to support quality art by Native Americans.²³

The New Deal position that the tourist could be educated to support a robust market for American heritage was clearly articulated by d’Harnoncourt in his role as manager of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board. In a 1940 talk, “Indian Arts and Crafts and Their Place in the Modern World,” delivered at the Inter-American Conference on Indian Life in Michoacan, Mexico, d’Harnoncourt discussed his research on the market for Native American art and the strategies he had used to improve it. He identified four divisions of the market for Native goods: the market within the producer’s group (i.e., inter-Indian); the collector’s market for rare items; the souvenir market; and the market for “useful, quality items.”²⁴ While the souvenir market was the best known, d’Harnoncourt maintained that its low prices had failed to encourage artists to produce quality work and had given Native art a poor reputation. Yet the collector’s market had also failed to provide a stable economy for Native artists, as it rewarded a select few and rarely ventured to sponsor new artists. It was the last group—the market for “useful, quality items”—that d’Harnoncourt felt had the most potential for development, and the one on which he focused the IACB’s efforts. As a middle road between rarefied art and the tourist trinket, the useful, quality item included “the table center and the wall hanging that are bought to fill an aesthetic need in the home,” rather than an ethnological specimen made to satisfy a collector or a souvenir to commemorate a tourist’s trip.²⁵ Importantly, d’Harnoncourt maintained that the market for useful, quality goods could be

generated from the souvenir market by educating the consumer: “The education of the buying public to an appreciation of the intrinsic values of Indian handicrafts... actually would remove the customer from the class of souvenir buyers,” he affirmed.²⁶

D’Harnoncourt based his argument in part on a 1934 study by the Office of Indian Affairs’ Committee on Indian Arts & Crafts. While 90% of the market for Native goods in the U.S. was for a souvenir market, the study found that the small market share devoted to more expensive, quality items was supported by consumers who had themselves been tourists—or travelers, as they might have preferred to be called, those whom the committee said had “a contact with the cultural context...that is more extensive than that of the ordinary tourist.” Indeed, the report noted that it was “travel in Indian country [that] developed this interest” and encouraged Native art promoters to help the tourist become better acquainted with the history and arts of their region.²⁷ Following this advice, d’Harnoncourt worked with regional affiliates of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board to educate the public on Native arts, and to find ways to educate tourists on the cultural background of specific art forms *before* they bought these arts. At the same time, d’Harnoncourt launched a nation public relations campaign to educate Americans on the diversity, aesthetic beauty—and American identity—of the Native made.

Two major exhibits stand as d’Harnoncourt’s legacy for shifting public perception of Native American art: the Indian Court at the Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco (1939), and *Indian Art of the United States* at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City (1941). The invitation to devote an entire building to Native art at the San Francisco Fair came in 1937, a year after d’Harnoncourt had taken the reins of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board. Designing the exhibit carefully over the course of two years, and soliciting the finest Native arts that IACB field agents could send from various parts of the country, d’Harnoncourt aimed to reinvent American perception of Native American objects (Fig. 5.3).²⁸ Eschewing the dioramas and crowded display cases of natural history museums, as well as the jumbled exotica of curio shops, D’Harnoncourt opted for sleek, dramatic settings meant to evoke the original contexts of Native objects while highlighting their aesthetic impact.²⁹ The cold blue light of the “Eskimo Hall,” for example, gleamed off the ivory carvings that d’Harnoncourt had carefully arranged on Lucite sheets “to suggest ice and water,” as he noted in the caption to an album he compiled to document the exhibit for the IACB (Fig. 5.4).³⁰ Choice objects from the Northwest Coast appeared in a darkened, cedar-planked room lit by a central fire pit, with the back wall cut away for stairs that climbed into a cavernous “Totem Hall” with seven totem poles looming “in a diffused, gray outdoor light” (Fig. 5.6).³¹ D’Harnoncourt also experimented with sales strategies at the 1939 Fair. Following a well-established tradition of live craftsman demonstrations—which ranged from Native weavers at World’s Fairs as early as 1893 to non-Native “craft” demonstrators at sites like Colonial Williamsburg in the 1930s—d’Harnoncourt featured an Indian Market with Native artisans demonstrating their skills (including John Wallace and his son carving a totem pole in the building’s courtyard, as we saw in the last chapter).³² Displaying some items in the context of a modern gift shop and others as in an Indian trading post, d’Harnoncourt “discovered that almost every fine quality item sold more quickly and at a higher price if it was offered in a gift store environment rather than a curio store arrangement.”³³ This work confirmed for him that the market for Native objects could be improved by

presenting art in a gallery setting and by educating the public on the arts prior to purchase.

The success of the Indian Court at the 1939 World's Fair led to d'Harnoncourt's invitation by the Museum Director's Association to launch a second exhibit on Native American art, this time for east coast audiences.³⁴ In 1941, *Indian Art of the United States* opened at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, using all four of its floors. D'Harnoncourt embraced the setting of the modern art museum, spotlighting single objects on white pedestals, minimizing wall text, and leaving all ethnographic information to the catalogue he co-wrote with Denver Art Museum curator, Frederic H. Douglas (Fig. 5.7). Yet d'Harnoncourt was quick to explain that his use of "high art" displays was not to frame Native objects as an exclusive art of the elite, but rather for the "promotional values" that "fine private and public collections...stimulate in wider demands of the general public."³⁵ Again his goal was to overcome the negative reputation of Native objects as curiosities, encouraging a middle class to view Native arts as "useful, quality items" that could be bought and used in their own interior décor.

The Argument for Folk

It was in the MoMA show that d'Harnoncourt first argued that Native art should be considered an American folk art. In the catalogue for *Indian Art of the United States*, Douglas and d'Harnoncourt wrote: "Traditional Indian art can best be considered as *folk art* because it is always an inextricable part of all social, economic and ceremonial activities of a given society. It creates within a collectively established scope of forms and patterns, and always serves a definite utilitarian or spiritual purpose that is accepted by the entire group."³⁶ The curators rejected the term primitive art as "misleading":

The word *primitive*, in either its literal sense, describing an early stage of development, or its popular sense, implying lack of refinement, only fits certain of the rudimentary and archaic forms of Indian art which can hardly be considered representative. Most Indian art is the result of a long period of development in which capable craftsmen devoted all their inventive skill to perfecting specialized techniques and styles. Some of it reaches a level that compares favorably with the products of any of the great pre-mechanic civilizations.³⁷

D'Harnoncourt and Douglas's distancing of Native objects from the "primitive" in favor of "folk" here followed a larger movement in the 1930s to recover objects with American roots from a forgotten or "primitive" past and to recast them as valuable precedents for contemporary American design—specifically, for American modernism. Elizabeth Stillinger has traced the dismantling of the umbrella term "primitive art" in the 1930s, noting how art dealers of early Americana purposefully replaced the term "primitive" with "folk" in the middle of the decade to help recast these objects in public perception—not as the oddities of a distant past but as the worthy precedents of American modern artists.³⁸ Struck by the outward similarity of "folk" and modernist concerns for planarity, direct expression, and simplified form, modern art dealer Edith Halpert began displaying objects by Shakers and Pennsylvania Dutch beside work by modern artists like Charles Sheeler in her Downtown Gallery in Manhattan in the 1930s. Halpert and her collaborator, Holger Cahill, dropped the term "primitive" in their exhibits in the mid-1930s and turned to "folk art" to frame early American objects as part of an explicitly national past.³⁹ The idea seemed to be that "folk" art would lend itself more readily to

acceptance as part of a national past than “primitive” art, as these objects had been formerly called; in other words, folk connoted a collective “us” rather than primitive “them.”

Indeed, the term “folk” had strong nationalist connotations in the 1930s. Johann Gottfried Herder’s eighteenth-century theories of the *Volk*, still popular in the 1920s and 1930s, posited that the unique character of each nation was best preserved by these non-elite descendants of primitive man.⁴⁰ Living closely to the land, speaking the original language and telling foundational stories in the songs and dances of the nation’s ancestors, the *Volk* preserved the fundamental characteristics of their ancestors and thus, according to Herder, the “soul of the nation.”⁴¹ Folk art promoters in the 1930s drew on iterations of Herder’s theories and even used similar language to champion an American folk. Edith Halpert called folk artists “American ancestors”—not because they painted ancestral portraits, as she explained, but because they were “ancestors of American contemporary painting.”⁴²

Like Halpert and Cahill, d’Harnoncourt and Douglas also sought to revalue Native art forms in terms that Americans would accept as part of their own national past—and as a lineage for modern American art. Arguing against the reputation of “Indian products as worthless knickknacks or as savage relics that belong in scientific collections or trophy rooms,” the curators affirmed the importance of Native American art for contemporary American design in their catalogue for the 1941 MoMA show: “As a matter of fact, Indian art not only has a place but actually fills a concrete need in the United States today. Its close relationship to America, the land, and its unexplored wealth of forms offer a valuable contribution to modern American art and life.”⁴³ The “concrete need,” of course, alluded to the national search for a distinctive American art tradition—a tradition which arts of the nation’s “folk,” positioned here as peoples still deeply connected to the land, provided. D’Harnoncourt echoed Herderian discourses in his discussion of Native aesthetics, positioning Native peoples as land-based folk groups whose art communicated the essence of their place. Of artists of the Northwest Coast, for example, he wrote that they “not only portray men and animals of that region but also convey in form and design the very essence of the gloomy fog-bound coast with its dark forests and its mysterious animation... Indian art from coast to coast actually recreates the land, America, in every one of its countless variations.”⁴⁴ D’Harnoncourt’s land-based argument also linked Native arts to contemporary discourses on American modernism. Wanda Corn has shown that American modernists’ search for the “Great American Thing” in the 1920s and 1930s was often tied to discussions of American soil, with American Regionalist painters like Thomas Hart Benton touting his relationship to rural farmland and Manhattan artists in the Stieglitz circle becoming known as the “soil spirits.”⁴⁵ D’Harnoncourt thus tapped two related discourses of “folk art” and modernism to position Native arts as a valuable American tradition that rooted modernism in the nation’s land forms.

D’Harnoncourt further aligned Native art’s relationship to modernism by designing an entire section of the MoMA exhibit under the rubric “Indian Art for Modern Living.” Here a series of model rooms, arranged in the spare lines that distinguished modern interiors from their jumbled Victorian predecessors, featured Navajo rugs on the floors, Pueblo pottery and Hopi katchinas on the shelves, and Plains hide drums beside the chairs (Fig. 5.8a,b).⁴⁶ The catalogue helped consumers to see the affinity of these

objects with the furniture and modern decor that surrounded them, highlighting the “economy” of Native art and its “careful balance of design and color.” D’Harnoncourt and Douglas further drew on the language of modernism to argue that the “close relationship between function and form are what bring Indian work so near to the aims of most contemporary artists and make it blend with any surrounding that are truly of the twentieth century.”⁴⁷ The pairing of Native objects with modern design also aligned Native objects with American folk art. The model rooms of “Indian Art for Modern Living” quoted well-known displays of modern and folk art that had become popular in New York in the 1930s, like Halpert’s pairings in her Downtown Gallery in New York City and Charles Sheeler’s own home in South Salem, New York (Fig. 5.9). Abigail Aldrich Rockefeller, who consulted with Halpert and Holger Cahill for her own collection of American folk art, also began to display folk art and modern art in her New York townhouse (Fig. 5.10). D’Harnoncourt’s model rooms in the 1941 MoMA exhibit thus drew on a well-established display genre in New York City for rooting American modernism in arts of “American ancestors”—but his chosen group was Native Americans, rather than non-Native “folk.”

The success of d’Harnoncourt’s argument that Native art was American—and even that it was American modern—was attested by several reviews of the 1941 exhibit. One critic called Indian artists “the hundred-per-centers of American art,” adding that beside Native Americans “even Thomas Craven’s roster of Americans [the American Regionalist painters that Craven championed as a critic] acquires an immigrant flavor.”⁴⁸ No less an American modernist than Jackson Pollock would later allude to the Navajo sand painting demonstration at the MoMA show as an inspiration for his famous drip paintings, which he had moved from the easel to the floor to better participate in what he characterized as a shamanic process of painting.⁴⁹

But if d’Harnoncourt succeeded in upgrading the reputation of Native American objects with critics and some museumgoers, his argument that Native arts were American folk art never caught on with a wider public—for reasons I return to later in this chapter. Further, the totem pole presented its own challenges to fitting into a lineage for American modernism. The totem pole’s figurative style bore little resemblance to the sleek lines and abstraction of the kind of modern design exhibited in “Indian Art For Modern Living”; indeed, there were no model totem poles featured in the model rooms or discussed for their affinities with modern art. As noted in the last chapter, John Wallace’s totem pole that stood at the entrance to MoMA attracted comparisons to Surrealism, with one critic praising the pole’s crests as “symbols of the unconscious mind.” Yet Surrealism was not the brand of modernism that d’Harnoncourt emphasized in the 1941 exhibit, likely because its primitivist interests distanced, rather than advanced, the curator’s efforts to make Native arts a familiar folk art relevant to contemporary design.⁵⁰ The question remained, then: could totem poles be marketed as more than curiosities? What marketing strategies were there for an art form that continued to strike MoMA visitors as weird workings of the mind rather than the “useful, quality” items that d’Harnoncourt hoped Americans would adopt for their own homes?

ANAC & The Model Poles

In May 1938, d'Harnoncourt traveled to Alaska at the request of Claude M. Hirst, Director of Education for the Office of Indian Affairs, "to form an opinion of the present arts and crafts situation" in the territory.⁵¹ The previous winter, Hirst had helped establish a Division of Arts and Crafts within the OIA, as well as a clearinghouse in Juneau, that together came to be commonly referred to as the Alaska Native Arts and Crafts Clearinghouse, or ANAC (Fig. 5.11). As the regional affiliate of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and a wholesaler of Alaska Native art, ANAC and its Clearinghouse played a crucial role in twentieth-century Alaska Native art that has not been adequately studied.⁵² Advancing New Deal initiatives to expand the market for Alaska Native art, ANAC worked with Indian Service teachers stationed in Native villages across the territory to identify local arts that could be revived, developed and/or marketed through the Clearinghouse in Juneau. ANAC hired Native elders to teach traditional arts at Indian Service schools, helped establish local cooperatives to stock materials and keep alive techniques, and developed stamps of "genuineness" so that consumers could avoid counterfeit "Native art" made in Japan.⁵³ For its part, the ANAC Clearinghouse focused on marketing the objects that Native artists sent to it on consignment. So as not to compete with private businesses, ANAC did not sell directly to consumers; instead it published a quarterly catalogue of its holdings for retailers across the country, guaranteeing a supply of hard-to-find Alaska Native goods and a consistent level of quality inspected by ANAC's manager. Operations were funded by a two percent mark-up of the artist's price; all other money was returned to individual Native artists, many who lived in remote communities with no external market for their art.⁵⁴

D'Harnoncourt's report on Alaska Native arts and crafts, written for ANAC in May 1938, did not mention the Forest Service's nascent plans for the CCC totem parks.⁵⁵ However, his recommendations would apply to the sale of model totem poles and other goods that the CCC totem parks sought to invigorate, especially as they were marketed to educate tourists on the authentic stories and carving traditions of Tlingit and Haida peoples. Following the market divisions that he would identify in his 1940 speech, d'Harnoncourt noted the presence of internal, souvenir and art markets in Alaska. The conservative Tlingit village of Klukwan in the north still made and valued arts for its own ceremonial uses, while in Sitka a new aestheticism among the younger generations "replaced," in d'Harnoncourt's words, "the purely traditional values of Indian arts and crafts by artistic ones."⁵⁶ In Ketchikan, this replacement of values was "purely commercial," although he did not judge it beyond this note. In fact, d'Harnoncourt recommended that ANAC pursue both "the local tourist market" and a "high-class discriminating market," arguing that the latter was important "to establish a reputation of fine craftsmanship for Alaskan goods and to give the best artists an opportunity to exploit their abilities," yet the former would be the mainstay of the Native art economy. D'Harnoncourt also urged the territory to "educate the public through propaganda" so that even the tourist market would generate higher quality items and provide a better income for Native artists.⁵⁷

Evidence that ANAC worked to change the marketing of model totem poles based on d'Harnoncourt's recommendations lies in a collection of model totem poles at the National Museum of the American Indian. These poles, many of which were modeled on poles in the CCC totem parks, were carved in the 1940s and 1950s and attest to a lively production of model totem poles in Southeast Alaska. Beginning in 1950, the IACB

bought these poles from ANAC for its national collection in Washington, D.C., where they would have stood with other Native arts to showcase the agency's work throughout the United States. Because these model poles replicated those sold in tourist shops on the Inside Passage, the IACB collection of ANAC model poles offers rare insight into the production of model totem poles that followed the establishment of the New Deal parks (Fig. 5.12).⁵⁸

Many of the totem poles in the IACB collection are clearly modeled on totem poles restored by the CCC. A miniature of the Sun Raven pole, for example, carefully recreates the overlapping crest figures of the Teikweidi pole at the Saxman totem park (Fig. 5.13). Although the figures are carved separately and glued onto the shaft, rather than being carved from a single block, the carver took pains to recreate the intertwined arms and legs of the three children of the sun and to capture the delicate curve of Raven's beak and tongue. The fact that the artist included a miniature version of the Forest Service's rustic log sign at the base of the pole confirms that he intended this model to remind the tourist of her experience viewing the totem pole in the Saxman park (see Fig. 4.26).

Other model poles in the IACB collection paint a clearer picture of the poles' targeted audience. The IACB paid \$4.50 for a model of the Kiks.ádi Raven pole in 1958—the equivalent of about \$35 today (Fig. 5.14).⁵⁹ At this price, the pole was not a cheap trinket, but it was not exorbitant either, falling into the middle price range for “useful, quality goods” that d'Harnoncourt encouraged. The unknown artist of the pole limited his work to keep the cost down—crests are painted on rather than carved individually—but it was still made by hand, the paint clean, the pole's profile carved symmetrically and well-sanded.

Enacting another d'Harnoncourt recommendation, ANAC provided a leaflet to accompany the Kiks.ádi pole, explaining its origin in Wrangell and enumerating its individual crests from the top down (Fig. 5.15). The brief text avoided the “elaborate symbolic interpretations” that d'Harnoncourt decried for Native art marketing and focused instead on educating the consumer on the crest stories and history of the pole.⁶⁰ At the bottom of the pamphlet, the ANAC symbol of “genuineness,” which depicted the “Eskimo kayak in the eye design of the Indian carver,” vouched for the authenticity of the story and the model pole.⁶¹

The green base of the Kiks.ádi pole matches the bases of many other model poles from the late 1950s in the IACB collection, suggesting that ANAC may have issued materials and paints to artists from their central warehouse.⁶² This would have been in keeping with d'Harnoncourt's recommendation that IACB field agents encourage artists to return to traditional motifs and materials—and that the agents provide artists with the means to do so. On the later model poles like the Kiks.ádi pole, the triumverate of paint colors—black, red and bluegreen—replace the red and black of the earlier Sun/Raven pole to restore the traditional triad of colors on the northern Northwest Coast. ANAC may even have issued guide books or photographs of totem poles as models: although they are unmarked as such, several poles appear to be based on the Kiks.ádi Sun House pole from Wrangell (Fig. 5.16a), ending in an ill-defined top that nevertheless resembles the “spirit-of-the-mountain” figure of the original pole (Fig. 5.16b). Such hazy interpretations of the original suggest that some artists carving for ANAC did not have

access to, nor know, the local Wrangell pole, and perhaps worked from a photograph or other model issued by this central agency.

The success of ANAC's marketing efforts for model totem poles is suggested by the growth of sales for these carvings in the 1940s, although how much credit for their popularity goes to ANAC versus the New Deal totem parks is impossible to determine. According to ANAC annual reports, total sales for Native handicrafts sold by Southeast Alaskan Indians swelled from \$32,147 in 1938, when ANAC began its records, to \$485,681.00 in 1944.⁶³ Of this total, however, woodcarving represented a small percentage—5% of total sales in 1938 and 12% in 1942—with moccasins and baskets accounting for the bulk of sales.⁶⁴ The fact that woodcarving increased its market share during these years is nevertheless some indication of the growing sale of model totem poles; indeed, ANAC noted in its 1942 report that “Ketchikan and Juneau improved as well as increased their totem productions.”⁶⁵ Most telling is that local sales, as opposed to sales from the ANAC Clearinghouse in Juneau, jumped in towns with totem parks: in remote Hydaburg, where the totem park was relatively finished by the end 1941, local sales of Native art tripled from \$86 in 1938 to \$273 in 1941. Ketchikan, too, grew its local sales of woodcarving from \$6451 in 1938 to \$10,600 in 1941 after the completion of the Saxman park in 1940. These numbers suggest that local sales of model totem poles rose in towns that featured totem parks, even as ANAC helped to educate tourists about the poles and augment their appreciation of Native objects as “useful, quality goods.”⁶⁶

Totem Poles and “Kodak Fiends”

Given the work of d'Harnoncourt and ANAC to improve the market for Alaska Native art, the question remains: did it work? Did American tourists accept totem poles as more than curiosities, and the totem parks as sites of their own national heritage?

At the outset it must be admitted that it is difficult to judge the initial success of the New Deal totem parks with regard to tourist's perception of them. With the entrance of the U.S. into World War II on December 8, 1941, funding for New Deal programs was quickly redirected, leaving several parks unfinished and none with the shops or pamphlets that Heintzeman had hoped would accompany them.⁶⁷ Discretionary tourism to Alaska came to a virtual halt in 1942, with the Navy and the Merchant Marine requisitioning fifteen ships belonging to the Alaska Steamship Company.⁶⁸ Although the influx of military personnel stationed in Alaska actually increased sales of Alaska Native art during World War II, the totem parks in Southeast Alaska did not directly benefit from sales to soldiers, who were posted further north to guard against a Japanese invasion of the Aleutian islands.⁶⁹ The parks would have to wait until tourism returned to the Inside Passage in 1946, and until the 1960s for the boom in major luxury liners to Alaska, to truly test their magnetism for American tourists.⁷⁰

Despite these delays, however, the totem parks did attract tourists in the late 1940s and 1950s—indeed, even while they were being completed (Fig. 5.17). Early indexes of tourists' reaction to the totem parks can be found in journals and personal photograph albums; advertisements and guidebooks also trace shifting public perception of the poles. In this final section of the chapter, we turn more fully to the reception of the marketing efforts of the IACB and ANAC by tourists on the Inside Passage, considering

their experience as cruise ship passengers and the nature of their encounters with the New Deal totem parks.

One of the few indexes we have to gauge tourist reaction to the totem parks in the 1940s and 1950s are personal photographs compiled in tourist albums. Few tourists kept detailed journals of their interaction with the totem parks, yet if they visited Southeast Alaska they were sure to take photographs of the totem poles, that quintessential marker of the region that appeared on the cover of most commercial photo albums (Fig. 5.18).⁷¹ Even before personal cameras were widely available, tourists had bought professional photographs and postcards depicting well-known scenes in Alaska, like the totem poles at Old Kasaan. With the introduction of the Brownie and other inexpensive, mass-produced cameras in the late 1880s, tourists could take their own photographs of these iconic scenes and they embraced the opportunity to wield a camera themselves (Fig. 5.19).⁷² So popular was picture taking on Inside Passage cruises that by the mid-1890s, Alaskan tourist and guide book writer Septima Collis complained that “the Kodak fiends were at work everywhere preserving as best they could the counterfeit presentiments of each other.”⁷³

Many tourists pictured their encounters with totem poles in the New Deal totem parks—yet it is questionable whether these photographs depict the kinds of interactions that New Deal officials had hoped tourists would establish with Tlingit and Haida monuments. The bulk of tourist photos of the CCC totem parks that have been saved in archives and local historical societies picture the parks as personal stage sets, not necessarily for interactions with American history or with works of Native art, but as part of the play and spontaneity that distinguishes vacation travel from the strictures of normative work patterns.⁷⁴ Participatory poses with totem poles—which ranged from innocuous poses like holding hands with totem pole figures to more damaging actions like climbing into totem pole laps—follow in what B. Latour has called an “emphasis on play and ‘out of character behavior, often involving props’ that marked vacation photography.”⁷⁵

Photographs of the CCC parks in this genre are plentiful. One man pictured himself on top of the raven house post at the Saxman park, turning Linn Forrest’s stately park “sentinel” into his own ladder (Fig. 5.20). In Wrangell, a woman posed with her leg draped over the knee of the Gonaqadet figure at the base of the eponymous pole, her other arm looped over its hand (Fig. 5.21). One young woman even perched on the outstretched arm of the Pointing Figure in Saxman, greatly risking the integrity of the cedar (Fig. 5.22). “Holding hands” was a less intrusive, and very popular, means to interact with a totem pole figure (Fig. 23). Finding ways to participate in the story the pole seemed to tell (whether the tourists knew the story or not) was also popular: a man posing with the Giant Oyster pole at Saxman tries to help the boy whose hand was caught in a giant oyster shell (Fig. 5.24); another woman, mimicking the carved figure, posed with her own hand in the oyster’s mouth (Fig. 5.25). Sometimes the totem poles themselves were cast in new roles, like the Pointing Figure at Saxman that became Marge’s accusing “boyfriend” (Fig. 5.26); or the Bear Up the Mountain pole at Wrangell cast mockingly as “Miss Alaska” (Fig. 5.27).

Photographs like these suggest that tourists’ approach to the totem poles in the CCC totem parks was not one of reverence. Unlike sculpture in nineteenth-century urban parks, where monuments depicting generals and other civic leaders were hailed as

instructive displays of values—what Andrew Wycke has called the Victorian monument’s admonishment to “go and do thou likewise”—the totem poles in the CCC totem parks seemed to invite far more play than solemn respect or study.⁷⁶ This levity was not simply a matter of relaxing Victorian standards: tourists at the turn of the century played with—or, in this case, played as—totem poles as well (Fig. 5.28). Significantly, the few photographs I have found of tourists standing solemnly with totem poles were taken when the poles were still tied to Native villages. For example, a 1904 photograph by the Alaska Steamship Company depicts four tourists with the Chief Kyan pole *in situ* in downtown Ketchikan, where it still stood next to Chief Kyan’s house (Fig. 5.29). While the destination of this photo for an official tourist brochure may explain the reserved pose of the tourists, it is also significant that a Native person appears in the original photograph seated on the porch of the nearby house (a person who would be cropped out, along with the rest of the photo’s margins, in the postcard and brochure images made from this same photographic series) (Fig. 5.30). One must wonder if the removal of totem poles to the public space of a park gave tourists license to play with these “monuments in cedar” when fewer Native people were watching.

Yet lest we assume that play with totem poles in the New Deal totem parks confirmed the tourist’s disrespect for Tlingit and Haida cultures, it is important to recognize that play on concepts of “difference” characterizes most touristic encounters. As tourism scholars are quick to point out, modern tourism is predicated on an interest in difference—on the escape that travel offers from one’s normal routine, environment, and social roles and on the opportunity to experience something new.⁷⁷ Further, as Molly Lee has cautioned, there was not a single type of tourist consumer in Alaska; “taste cultures” varied widely, ranging from those who educated themselves about “authentic” Native art to those who were content with (or could only afford) less exacting indexes of Native culture.⁷⁸ One traveler, Mrs. Anita Willets-Burnham, who lectured on her travels to Africa for the Wrangell Women’s Civic Club in 1939, said she was “shocked by the [Forest Service’s] proposed project to build anew the communal house and erect the new totems” on Shakes Island. The newspaper article covering Willets-Burnham’s lecture reported that she felt “the new totem poles were of much value in themselves, but out of place with the old grave totems, erected about the grounds. These are the things that tourists want to see, she declares, the authentic relics of former days, and these are the things that Wrangell should take pride in preserving intact for future generations.”⁷⁹ The incident highlighted the fact that some tourists with extensive interest in Native cultures must have perceived the New Deal’s restorations in the totem parks as inauthentic; they may have avoided visiting the parks or photographing themselves in these sites altogether.

It is also important to remember the limited time with which most tourists had to encounter the New Deal totem parks—and with Alaska Native culture in general. While nineteenth-century tourists on the Inside Passage had been largely upper class, priding themselves on the distinction of an expensive and exotic destination that was nevertheless American, tourists to Alaska in the interwar and postwar period were predominantly middle class, valuing the Inside Passage as a relatively inexpensive vacation package that only took a week to complete.⁸⁰ An ad campaign in 1936 by the Alaska Steamship Company featured in forty national magazines targeted teachers, government employees and other middle-class Americans, emphasizing the smooth sailing, beautiful landscape

views, and camaraderie of fellow passengers—with stops in ports to punctuate what was otherwise an on-board travel experience.⁸¹ Ships usually departed from Seattle, stopping in Ketchikan, Wrangell, Juneau and Glacier Bay, and the gold-mining town of Skagway before returning south, sometimes along the outer west coast to visit Sitka. Stops in the towns were brief, with little time to engage with the local townsfolk or Native peoples. The 1941 photo album of Mildred and Robert Mowrer, which paired personal photographs and postcards with typed, descriptive captions, reveals their short time on shore (Fig. 5.31):

Arrived in Ketchikan about 11:30 A.M. and visited the Indian village of Saxman where we saw the old Indian totem poles and also Ketchikan City Park which was small but very pretty. We walked around the town, did some shopping in the 5 & 10 and bought pictures at Standard Gas Station, leaving around 2:30 PM.

At a stop in Wrangell with two and a half hours to sightsee, the Mowers again mentioned visiting the CCC totem park: “Here we walked about the town, saw an old Indian cabin and many totem poles, also one under construction.”⁸² The fact that these tourists made the totem park a destination was something, given that visiting canneries, shopping, picture taking and exercising all vied for their attention while on shore.⁸³

The limited time in port, as well as the motivations of most middle-class travelers seeking an interesting diversion from their normal routines, begin to explain why tourist photographs with totem poles in the New Deal totem parks do not necessarily show the studied interest in Tlingit and Haida carving that New Dealers had hoped to inspire.⁸⁴ Rather than reading the tourists’ “clowning around” with totem poles as signs of disrespect, however, we should note that the number of photographs tourists took of themselves interacting with totem poles in tourist albums from the 1940s and 1950s indexes the popularity of the New Deal totem parks and the interest tourists showed in visiting these newly accessible sites for Alaskan totem poles.

Indeed, other indexes of tourist exposure to totem poles provide clearer evidence of the New Deal’s success in improving the reputation of these carvings. Images of the totem pole in tourist brochures produced by private steamship companies morphed strikingly in the 1940s from primitive spectacles to more familiar monuments framed as American heritage. In 1936, for example, before the advent of the CCC totem parks, the cover of an Alaska Steamship Company brochure featured the famous (Canadian!) Kwakwaka’wakw thunderbird house post framed by two more nondescript poles and a group of shadowy Indian figures hunched around a campfire (Fig. 5.32). The composition highlighted the weirdness of the totem poles, emphasizing their mystery by framing them with flickering firelight and blocking the viewer’s access with the inward-turning group of Indians. By 1941, however, this frame of otherness had radically changed (Fig. 5.33). The Alaska Steamship Company’s brochure now featured the Wolf pole—restored by the CCC—in the picturesque context of the Sitka totem park, evident by the nearby trail and the rock enclosure at the pole’s base. A white couple enjoys their solitary contemplation of the pole, shrouded by the protective screen of trees. Although the text still refers to the pole as a “grotesque, strangely-colored” figure, it provides an accurate comparison of the crests to family lineages: “Totem poles are best described as family trees. They are not idols of worship, but instead represent the coats of arms of tribe and clans, and serve to transmit traditions and legends among a race with no written language.” The debunking

of the pole as an object of worship was itself a radical change from the 1936 brochure, and one that attested to increased education about totem poles in Southeast Alaska.

The New Deal also seems to have made some headway in framing totem poles as part of the nation's heritage. Signage in the totem parks advertised the federal and state agencies that had invested in them, presenting the poles as monuments worthy of public dollars. For example, a large wooden sign in Saxman highlighted the role of multiple government agencies involved in the making of the park: the CCC work relief program, the U.S. Forest Service, and the Alaska Department of Highways (Fig. 5.34). The same 1941 Alaska Steamship Company brochure discussed above also highlighted government investment in Native arts, noting that "many Alaska Indian handicrafts have been recently revived under government supervision" and assuring a healthy market of Native objects for the tourist to see and buy. A full-page image of a woman basket maker, accompanied by text that praised the "endless countless hours, years of ancestral learning [that] go into the weaving of one Indian basket," furthered New Deal efforts to highlight the quality of Native art work. Some tourists must have noticed such work to frame Native objects as both quality art forms and national heritage, even if they did not photograph themselves with these objects accordingly.

"An American National Art"

In her 1940 brochure to accompany the re-erection of the Seattle Pole, newly replicated by the Saxman CCC, Viola Garfield framed Northwest Coast totem poles in terms that echoed René d'Harnoncourt's message of Native American arts' potential for American design:

Northwest Coast native artists have much to contribute to the development of an American national art. Other living arts, notably those of Mexico and the Pueblos of the Southwest, have been drawn upon by architects, interior decorators, designers, sculptors and artists for the enrichment of American homes. Northwest coast art offers an equally fertile field from which artistic inspiration may be drawn.⁸⁵

Garfield's words were the clearest link between the CCC's restoration of Tlingit and Haida totem poles and d'Harnoncourt's work to convince Americans to value Native American art as a worthy national design tradition. As we have seen in this chapter, the work of the New Deal totem parks to frame totem poles as national heritage, and the marketing efforts of ANAC and the IACB to shift American perception of Native American art forms, seems to have made some progress in the 1940s. As ANAC records showed, tourists did buy more Native art and model totem poles in the 1940s, and much of this was of higher quality—and more accurately marketed—than many model poles sold prior to the New Deal's intervention.

Yet the impulse to retain the curiosity aspect of the totem pole was still strong, as an incident that arose shortly after the Seattle Pole's re-erection revealed. J.E. Standley, the entrepreneur of Ye Olde Curiosity Shop, put so much pressure on the City's Parks Department to paint the restored Seattle Pole with bright enamel paints—in the style of the model poles sold at his own shop—that Garfield personally wrote to scold him for seeking to debase "authentic" Native art.⁸⁶

These natives never have painted their poles in bright colors, using black, brown, red and green as the principal colors. They consider our old pole with the purple

scallops [sic] on the whale's tail and the yellow and blue as an atrocity from the point of view of true native art. The Forest Service...went to considerable trouble and expense to provide us with a pole that was authentic in every detail of carving and painting. . . .I would certainly not like to see our new one, which is a very fine piece of carving, disfigured by bright colors and shiny enamel.⁸⁷

In effect, Garfield's letter sought to preserve the New Deal's work to shift the Seattle Pole from a curiosity displayed in downtown Seattle to a quality art object that would be treasured as an "authentic" monument for the city—and nation. The push and pull here between popular conceptions of the totem pole as curiosity and the New Deal's efforts to establish it as a venerable American art form was clear.

Indeed, the "concrete need" that d'Harnoncourt argued Native art filled as a distinctive national art would never be widely accepted by the American public. The totem pole was a case in point, albeit an extreme one. Totem poles in the 1941 MoMA show were not accepted as part of a modern American design tradition; they continued to be viewed as "weird workings of the inner mind" rather than part of a collective national tradition. Nor were the large restored totem poles in the CCC parks fully accepted as American art forms. As the photographs in tourist albums reveal, these large poles continued to serve as evidence of the tourist's visit "to far and picturesque places"—exactly d'Harnoncourt's definition of a souvenir, which was the market he sought to transcend.

But the exclusion of Native objects from consideration as a folk lineage for American modernism also hinged on the issue of race, and of the uncomfortable relationship between Native American and American history. Wanda Corn notes that a fundamental difference in the language of folk art promoters and "primitive art" promoters was the focus on folk art "being 'ours' rather than 'others.'"⁸⁸ While Pennsylvania Dutch and Scots-Irish Appalachian craftsmen descended from Euro-American stock, Native Americans remained racially other, divorced from what Corn writes was America's "desire for an imagined blood relationship to a national past."⁸⁹ Thus, when a Federal Art Project manager in Washington state asked to include Indian and Eskimo masks in the Index of American Design—a series of drawings that depicted folk objects as fodder for American modernism—folk art scholar and Index supervisor Holger Cahill refused to include the masks unless the manager could prove "American usage."⁹⁰ The separation of Native from American use in this case underlined the racial division on which Cahill insisted. Although Cahill maintained he excluded most Native art from the Index of American Design because it fell under the purview of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Victoria Greive has argued that it was clear that "Native American art was never considered a fundamental source for an emerging American aesthetic," and that the Index "implicitly defin[ed] the 'roots' of American culture as Anglo-Saxon."⁹¹

This racial differentiation flies in the face of the New Deal's official celebration of collective citizenry and the incorporation of all ethnic groups into the nation's motto of *e pluribus unum*. Cultural brokers in the 1940s would also champion a "universal Man," with artists like Adolph Gottlieb hailing the universality of the experience of tragedy and arguing that primitive and modern man expressed similar experiences in their art.⁹² Amy Lyford has questioned how such "humanistic rhetoric muffle[d] recognition of how artistic production had been and continued to be linked to the specificity of race" in early

twentieth-century American art.⁹³ She quotes Meyer Schapiro, who warned about the racialization of American art in 1936:

It is taught that the great national art can issue only from those who really belong to the nation, more specifically, to the Anglo-Saxon blood; that immigration of foreigners, mixture of peoples, dilutes the national strain and leads to inferior hybrid arts; that the influence of foreign arts is essentially pernicious; and that the weakness of American art today is largely the result of alien influences.⁹⁴

Schapiro did not mention Native Americans explicitly in his discussion, perhaps because their identity as the first Americans complicated efforts to view them as alien as other immigrant groups. Indeed, Native Americans fared better than many ethnic groups in the early twentieth century, as non-Native “nativists” fearing rising numbers of immigrants came to see the reservation Indian as a model of American assimilation. The 1924 Indian Citizenship Act, which made Native Americans officially “American,” contrasted baldly with the 1924 Johnson Act that excluded eastern European immigrants from coming to the United States; further, Indians were touted as the star pupils of American identity: the original Americans who had adapted to modern American culture.⁹⁵

Yet Native America could never be fully incorporated into narratives of national identity. To do so would bring up complicated issues of bloody conflict and broken treaties that the U.S. did not want touted as part of its history.⁹⁶ Moreover, the continued sovereignty of tribes as nations—who tenaciously held to their right to be *separate* from the United States—further complicated Native inclusion in American identity. John Bodnar has argued that, in its work to create a collective national memory in the 1930s, the National Park Service purposefully positioned Native Americans as separate from non-Native history: although they were included in the interpretative theme of “original Inhabitants,” Bodnar argues that the presentation of such sites served “to stress just how far the nation had moved civilization beyond the level of the Native American.”⁹⁷ The Native was past, not present in these interpretive sites; he did not contribute to a contemporary American history. Despite all the work of the Indian New Deal to champion the Native as a contemporary American and the Indian Arts and Crafts Board to portray his art as the roots for American modernism, the vast majority of Americans would not accept these narratives themselves.

Coda

Drawing on Benedict Anderson’s argument that the printed word helped “imagine communities” that coalesced as nations, Kirk Savage has argued that monuments function as another means toward an imagined community: a physical presence where that community “actually materializes and the existence of the nation is confirmed in a simple but powerful way.”⁹⁸ The CCC parks did work to display the idea of the American nation as one where a benevolent government brought together diverse cultures with common goals. Like post office murals and other New Deal art projects sponsored across the country, the CCC totem parks worked to visualize the ideals of the New Deal, showcasing the benefits of immediate economic relief while at the same time promising long-term investment in the cultures and heritage of the American nation.⁹⁹

Yet the CCC parks were not sites of national memory in the same way as monuments to the Civil War or the American Revolution. Few Americans had any personal relationship to totem poles before they visited Alaska; nor was Tlingit and Haida

history part of a widely shared narrative of the American nation. To judge by tourist photographs of the parks, tourists still approached the totem poles as curiosities of a markedly different people, more the subject of play than of sites to revere a collective past. These poles remained “symbols of Indianness,” and as such, curiosities of a culture that Euro-Americans continued to value for being separate from their own.

¹ Heintzleman to Rep. Anthony Dimond, 2/11/39. The note of “leasing” the Shark House to Wrangell Tlingits stems again from the CCC requirement that public relief monies be used on government property, so that the Bureau of Indian Affairs would acquire title to the restored Shark House and then lease it to Natives for use.

² Heintzleman to Rep. Anthony Dimond, 2/11/39.

³ For an excellent study of eighteenth and nineteenth-century souvenir arts on the American east coast, see Ruth B. Phillips, *The Souvenir in North American Native Art in the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999).

⁴ U.S. Department of Interior, Committee on Indian Arts and Crafts, *Report of the Committee on Indian Arts and Crafts*, September 1934, John Collier Papers, reel 30, no. 529 (quoted in McLerran, p. 80).

⁵ For a discussion of the authenticity rhetoric that surrounded Native American art, particularly basketry, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, see the introduction in Marvin Cohodas, *Basket Weavers for the California Curio Trade: Elizabeth and Louise Hickox* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997).

⁶ Frederic H. Douglas and René D’Harnoncourt, *Indian Art of the United States* (New York: Arno Press/Museum of Modern Art, 1969 Reprint [1941]), p. 183.

⁷ D’Harnoncourt quoted in Susan Labry Meyn, *More Than Curiosities: A Grassroots History of the Indian Arts & Crafts Board and Its Precursors, 1920-1942* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2001), preface.

⁸ “Pedagogy of consumption” is A. Joan Saab’s phrase for New Deal programs aimed at educating Americans to consume quality American arts. See Saab, *Art for the Millions: American Art and Culture Between the Wars* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), p. 6.

⁹ Douglas and d’Harnoncourt, *Indian Art of the United States*, (New York: Arno Press, 1967 Reprint [1941]), p. 12.

¹⁰ For a review of the nationalist bent of early American modernism, see Wanda Corn, *The Great American Thing: Modern Art and National Identity, 1915-1935* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

¹¹ Molly Lee, “Tourism and Taste in Alaska,” in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, Eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), p. 268.

¹² Lillie Lockwood, quoted in Jonaitis and Glass, p. 72.

¹³ Christine Guth, *Longfellow’s Tattoos: Tourism, Collecting and Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004), p. 91.

¹⁴ See Kate C. Duncan, *1001 Curious Things: Ye Olde Curiosity Shop and Native American Art* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2000), p. 147.

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- ¹⁵ J.E. Standley, "History of Totem Poles" (1909), quoted in Duncan, p. 169.
- ¹⁶ Kate Duncan has noted that "few visitors [to Standley's shop in Seattle] would ever see the real Chief Shakes Pole, located in Wrangell, so they were unlikely to feel cheated if a miniature by that name was missing a few figures." Duncan, p. 181.
- ¹⁷ Ready, quoted in Kate C. Duncan, p. 181.
- ¹⁸ Douglas and d'Harnoncourt, *Indian Art of the United States*, p. 14.
- ¹⁹ D'Harnoncourt, "Indian Arts and Crafts," p. 13.
- ²⁰ Molly Mullin has documented how the promotion of Native arts in the 1920s and 1930s allowed elites in the Southwest to distinguish themselves from the "chewing gum and 'movies'" culture of consumerism that arose after the first World War; in this context, tourists were regarded by many Native arts promoters as the representatives of a crass consumerism infiltrating the Southwest from the east. See Molly Mullin, "The Patronage of Difference: Making Indian Art 'Art, Not Ethnology,'" in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, Eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), p. 186.
- ²¹ Ickes, quoted in Michael Berkowitz, "A 'New Deal' for Leisure: Making Mass Tourism During the Great Depression," in *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Cultures and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Fulough, Eds. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), p. 205.
- ²² Victoria Grieve, *The Federal Art Project and the Creation of Middlebrow Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), p. 83. FAP programs worked to provide public access to contemporary American art through numerous means: the sponsorship of Community Art Centers, which served rural communities with art exhibits and art instruction; a two-year-long radio series entitled *Art in America*, directed by René d'Harnoncourt with an accompanying manual by Holger Cahill for private study; and Art Week, which promoted contemporary American art and the American consumer's ability, no matter what the budget, to support American artists and own original art. The FAP also sponsored the Index of American Design, hiring artists from across the U.S. to identify and draw folk art from its regions to create a national index of American art forms from which future artists could draw inspiration. However, few Native American arts were included in the Index of American Design, as I discuss in this chapter. See Virginia Tuttle Clayton, Elizabeth Stillinger, Erika Doss, Deborah Chotner *Drawing on America's Past: Folk Art, Modernism, and the Index of American Design* (Durham: University of North Carolina, 2003).
- ²³ Saab, p. 5.
- ²⁴ René d'Harnoncourt, "Indian Arts and Crafts and Their Place in the Modern World." Paper delivered at the Inter-American Conference on Indian Life, Michoacan, Mexico, April 5, 1940. Archives of American Art, D'Harnoncourt Papers, Roll No. 2919, p. 4.
- ²⁵ D'Harnoncourt, "Indian Arts and Crafts," p. 9.
- ²⁶ D'Harnoncourt, "Indian Arts and Crafts," p. 8.
- ²⁷ U.S. Department of Interior, Committee on Indian Arts and Crafts, *Report of the Committee on Indian Arts and Crafts*, September 1934, John Collier Papers, reel 30, no. 529 (quoted in McLerran, p. 80).

²⁸ D’Harnoncourt’s ambitions were revealed in his advertisement of the San Francisco exhibit as “the discerning individual’s and the public’s opportunity to discover the native people of the United States” (quoted in Meyn, p. 123).

²⁹ For a detailed analysis of d’Harnoncourt’s display at the 1939 and 1941 exhibits, see W. Jackson Rushing, “Marketing the Affinity of the Primitive and the Modern: René d’Harnoncourt and ‘Indian Art of the United States,’” in *The Early Years of Native American Art History* Janet Catherine Berlo, Ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), pp. 191-236.

³⁰ This album is known as the “IACB Scrapbook,” RG 435 Records of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC.

³¹ D’Harnoncourt quoted in Rushing, p. 203.

³² Leah Dilworth has argued that the demonstration of Native crafts at exhibits of Native peoples was a winning combination of “pleasurable viewing assured by ethnographic authenticity,” and helped to increase sales for Native goods at such venues. See Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), p. 129.

³³ Meyn, p. 143.

³⁴ For the success of the 1939 Fair, see Meyn, p. 145.

³⁵ D’Harnoncourt, “Indian Arts and Crafts,” p. 6.

³⁶ Douglas and d’Harnoncourt, p. 12.

³⁷ Douglas and d’Harnoncourt, p. 12.

³⁸ Elizabeth Stillinger, *A Kind of Archaeology: Collecting American Folk Art, 1876-1976* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), p. 20.

³⁹ Stillinger, p 10.

⁴⁰ Stillinger, pp. 20-23.

⁴¹ Stillinger, p. 6.

⁴² Quoted in Stillinger, p. 20.

⁴³ Douglas and d’Harnoncourt, p. 181.

⁴⁴ Douglas and d’Harnoncourt, *Indian Art of the United States*, p. 15.

⁴⁵ Writing to Sherwood Anderson, Alfred Stieglitz explained his reasons for refusing to sell his work in Europe in order to focus on developing an American modernism: “the Soil was here—the planting was here—the growing where the planting—in the Soil right here.” Stieglitz quoted in Corn, p. 32.

⁴⁶ Elizabeth McGoey, “Framing the Modern in Domestic Model Interiors,” Lecture, National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C., April 20, 2011.

⁴⁷ Douglas and d’Harnoncourt, p. 184.

⁴⁸ Jean Charlot, critic for *The Nation*, quoted in Rushing, p. 218.

⁴⁹ In 1947, Pollock stated in an interview: “On the floor I am more at ease. I am nearer, more a part of the painting, since this way I can walk around it from four sides and literally be *in* the painting. This is akin to the Indian sand painters of the West.” Erika Doss and several other scholars have connected this work to Pollock’s visit at the 1941 MoMA show. See Erika Doss, *Benton, Pollock, and the Politics of Modernism: From Regionalism to Abstract Expressionism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 353.

⁵⁰ For the Surrealist movement's turn to and construction of "primitive" arts as its aesthetic and intellectual "soul mate," see Louise Tythacott, *Surrealism and the Exotic* (London: Routledge, 2003); also W. Jackson Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde: A History of Cultural Primitivism* (Austin: University of Texas, 1995).

⁵¹ D'Harnoncourt, "Report on Trip to Alaska," May 1938. Folder 2, Correspondence, RG 435, Records of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Alaska Pacific Division, National Archives and Records Administration, Anchorage, Alaska.

⁵² For brief overviews of ANAC's history, see Megan A. Smetzer's "From Ruffs to Regalia: Tlingit Dolls and the Embodiment of Identity," in Maureen Daly Goggin and Beth Fowkes Tobin, eds., *Women and Things, 1750–1950: Gendered Material Strategies* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 75-88; or my own, "The Silver Hand: Authenticating Alaska Native Art, Craft and Body," *The Journal of Modern Craft* 1:2 (Fall 2008), pp. 197-220.

⁵³ ANAC's stamps of "genuineness" were the forerunner of the contemporary Silver Hand authenticity program administered by the Alaska State Council on the Arts. See Moore, "The Silver Hand," pp. 203-204.

⁵⁴ The Donald Burrus photographs and papers at the Alaska State Library provide one of the best textual records of ANAC Clearinghouse's work 1940s-1960s. PCA 466 Alaska State Library Archives, Juneau, Alaska.

⁵⁵ d'Harnoncourt, "Report on Trip to Alaska," May 1938. Folder 2, Correspondence, RG 435, Records of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Alaska Pacific Division, National Archives and Records Administration, Anchorage, Alaska.

⁵⁶ D'Harnoncourt, "Report on Trip to Alaska," p. 4.

⁵⁷ In his report on his Alaskan trip, D'Harnoncourt charted the villages he had visited along a continuum of traditional to acculturated. The conservative Tlingit village of Klukwan in the north of Southeast Alaska still made and valued arts for its own ceremonial uses, while in Sitka a new aestheticism among the younger generations "replaced," in d'Harnoncourt's words, "the purely traditional values of Indian arts and crafts by artistic ones." In Ketchikan, this "replacement of values" was "purely commercial," although d'Harnoncourt did not judge it beyond this note. D'Harnoncourt, "Report on Trip to Alaska," p. 4.

⁵⁸ These model poles likely replicated those in local curio stores because ANAC supplied many of these shops with Native art, and because Native artists often sold their poles to local shops *and* to the ANAC Clearinghouse. ANAC records note that several Alaskan curio stores ordered model poles, moccasins and other goods directly from their warehouse; they also noted that artists had sold similar goods to ANAC only when local shops refused to buy their work directly. See "ANAC Artist Registry," the Donald Burrus Papers, Alaska State Library.

⁵⁹ Dollartimes.com computed this amount based on the annual rate of inflation from 1958 to 2011 as 3.93%. www.dollartimes.com/caluculator/inflation Accessed 11/10/11.

⁶⁰ A pamphlet of this sort would have been especially important prior to the 1949 publication of *The Wolf and the Raven*, although I have not been able to confirm that ANAC included pamphlets with model poles in the 1940s.

⁶¹ The symbol was intended to represent the two major Native groups recognized in Alaska at the time: Eskimo and Indian. See Moore, pp. 203-204.

⁶² ANAC did compile raw materials for artists like seal skin and furs; I have not found specific evidence that they compiled paints but the standard palette of 1950s poles in the IACB collection suggests they may have done so.

⁶³ Annual Reports of the Division of Arts and Crafts, RG 435, Box 1, Folder 1.

⁶⁴ Percentages calculated based on the 1938 figures of \$6971.00 for woodworking out of the total Southeast Alaska sales of \$32,147.00; and the 1942 figures of \$13,336.00 for wood carving out of a total of \$485,681.000. Records of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Alaska, Annual Reports of the Division of Arts and Crafts, Box 1, Folder 1, p. 13. National Archives and Records Administration, RG-435.

⁶⁵ Annual Reports of the Division of Arts and Crafts, RG 435, Box 1 Folder 1, p. 13.

⁶⁶ It is important to note, however, that at the outset of the Division of Arts and Crafts' involvement in Native art, many Tlingit and Haida artists criticized ANAC for depressing prices. In its 1939 Grand Camp convention, the Alaska Native Brotherhood resolved that the Office of Indian Affairs should "either abolish the entire department called the Arts and Crafts Department," or change its policies to ensure that revenue was not decreased for Native artists. The resolution read: "Whereas everywhere Natives turn to sell their goods, either moccasins or totem poles, tourists and other buyers point to that certain price list published and distributed by Mr. Virgil Farrell, Supervisor of the Arts and Crafts Department of the Indian Office, wherein the price of these articles are fixed at a minimum price" and "whereas these minimum prices in effect become maximum prices to such an extent that...the Natives [all across Southeast Alaska and the Yukon] testify that *they are now getting less for their goods than before the time when the Arts and Crafts Department was established* [emphasis in original]," the ANB resolved to protest ANAC's interference in the market (Resolution No. 29 at the 26th Annual Convention of the ANB and ANS, RG 435-Records of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Alaska Field Office, Box 2, Folder 3). However, there is no other discussion of this resolution in later ANB minutes; it may be that ANAC responded to ANB concerns, or ANAC may have proven its worth after a few years of being involved in the market.

⁶⁷ Two poles were raised at Klawock in the spring of 1942, leaving half a finished pole in the carving shed. Hydaburg also had an unfinished pole slated for Totem Bight. It was not until after the war, in the summer of 1947, that any of the totem poles at Totem Bight were raised and the gravel pathways of the park completed. See Archbold to Heintzeman, 7/1/47; also John Autrey, "End of Totem Pole Restoration Project," unpublished manuscript for the United States Forest Service, Ketchikan Ranger District.

⁶⁸ Dave Kiffer, "A Steady Boom in Tourism Post WWII," *History of Alaska Tourism*, Part III, Sitnews (Ketchikan, Alaska), December 29, 2010, p. 1. Passenger lists from the remaining steamships show that most travelers during the war years were locals traveling to and from their homes (Alaska Steamship Co. passenger lists, Tongass Historical Museum, Ketchikan).

⁶⁹ A note in the 1943 Annual Report of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board explained that the increase of 73% in dollar sales over the previous year was due to increased demand for Alaska Native goods by soldiers stationed in Alaska, as well as the increase in price of these goods due to decreased supply of raw materials as they were redirected to the

war effort. RG 435, Records of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Box 1, Folder 1, Annual Reports.

⁷⁰ Kiffer, "A Steady Boom in Tourism Post WWII," p. 1.

⁷¹ The limited journals I have found in archives or private collections chronicle the itinerary, food, scenery and incidents with fellow passengers far more than impressions of the totem parks. However, every photo album I have found that documents a trip to Southeast Alaska from 1940 on contains an image of a CCC totem pole.

⁷² For a study of tourist photographs that replicate professional ones, see Frank Goodyear, "Constructing a National Landscape: Photography and Tourism in Nineteenth Century America," Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Art History, University of Texas, Austin, 1998.

⁷³ Septima M. Collis, *A Woman's Trip to Alaska, Being an Account of a Voyage through the Inland Seas of the Sitkan Archipelago* (New York: Cassell Publishing, 1890), p.76.

⁷⁴ Mike Robinson and David Picard write that "the holiday snap, featuring family or friends, communicates a very real sense of playfulness with people pulling faces, standing in ridiculous poses and consciously celebrating the disjuncture with normal work related behaviors." See Robinson and Picard, "Moments, Magic and Memories: Photographing Tourists, Tourist Photographs, and Making Worlds," in *The Framed World: Tourism, Tourists and Photography*, Mike Robinson and David Picard, Eds. *New Directions in Tourism Research*, Dimitri Ioannides, Series Editor (Surrey, England: Ashgate Press, 2009), p. 6.

⁷⁵ B. Latour, "Technology is Society Made Durable," *A Sociology of Monsters: Essays on Power, Technology and Domination*, J. Law, Ed. (London: Routledge, 1991), p.103.

⁷⁶ Terry Wyke, "Marginal Figures?: Public Statues and Public Parks in the Manchester Region, 1840-1914," in *Sculpture and the Garden*, Patrick Eyres and Fiona Russell, Eds. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), p. 93.

⁷⁷ Eric Cohen's defining characteristic of tourism "involves a generalized interest in or appreciation of that which is different, strange or novel" (Eric Cohen, "A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences," *Sociology* 13:2 [May 1979], p. 182). Like the medieval pilgrim who was her predecessor, the modern tourist looks forward to a separation from the mundane schedules of her regular work life for a brief passage into a liminal, separate space—perhaps even a spiritual space where she can experience an "authenticity" perceived lacking in her own life. Dean MacCannell's classic study of tourism posited the search for authenticity as the driving force for modern tourism; he also argues that this authenticity is constantly being thwarted by touristic spectacles. See Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

⁷⁸ Molly Lee, "Tourism and Taste in Alaska," in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, Eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 267-281.

⁷⁹ "Totems Are Priceless Says Artist-Lecturer," *The Wrangell Sentinell*, May 19, 1939, p. 2.

⁸⁰ William H. Wilson notes that the Alaska Railroad in Interior Alaska had a difficult time luring tourists north because of the expense and time required to make the trip; he notes that the Inside Passage tour "remained the most popular tour [in Alaska] for the

price, for time, and for ease of travel.” See William H. Wilson, “Ahead of the Times: The Alaska Railroad and Tourism, 1924-1941,” *Alaska Journal* 7:1 (Winter 1977), p. 20.

⁸¹ Frank Norris, *Gawking at the Midnight Sun: The Tourist in Early Alaska* (Anchorage: Alaska Historical Commission Studies in History, No. 170 [1985]), p. 15.

⁸² Mildred and Robert Mowrer Tourist Photographic Album (1941), University of Alaska Anchorage Special Collections.

⁸³ Another facet of limited experience with Alaskan cultures was steam ship travel itself. Little scholarship has attended to the phenomenological experience of steam ship travel—and its modern avatar, the cruise ship (a few exceptions include George M. Foster, “South Seas Cruise: A Case Study of A Short-Lived Society,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 13 [1986], pp. 215-238; Barbara A. Koth, Donald R. Field, and Roger N. Clark, “Cruise Ship Travelers to Alaska,” in *On Interpretation: Sociology for Interpreters of Natural and Cultural History*, G.E. Maclis and D.R. Field, Eds. (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1984), pp. 95-107.) What little scholarship exists on steam ship travel, however, emphasizes the removed and elevated gaze that these ships frame for their passengers. Slower than trains, and moving through a watery world removed from the land forms that tourists savored as distant “landscapes,” the steamship offered a viewing platform that was particularly suited to the objectifying view that John Urry, following Foucault, has called the “tourist gaze” (Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, Second edition [London: Sage Publications, 2002], p. x). Robert Campbell’s description of steam ships as “scenery machines making pure objects of the view” (Campbell, *In Darkest Alaska: Travel and Empire on the Inside Passage* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007], p. 70) was attested by Alaskan tourist Edward Pierrepont, who wrote of his travels on a steam ship up the Inside Passage: “Each morning our eyes feast on new wonders; for while we are spending nights in sleep, 180 miles farther north in this strange country makes a change of scene” (Pierrepont quoted in Campbell, p. 70) As noted in the last chapter, steamship brochures from the 1940s advertised this elevated view; it also framed the photographs that tourists took of the landscape from the steam ship decks. The particular viewing experience of steam ship travel arguably rehearsed tourists in a more passive encounter with lands and peoples than interactive modes of travel via automobile, say, with frequent stops and up-close views.

⁸⁴ It is important to note that New Deal guidebooks joined forces with the IACB and other New Deal efforts to educate Alaskan tourists on Tlingit and Haida art. Merle Colby’s *A Guide to Alaska: Last American Frontier*, published by the Federal Writer’s Project’s American Guide Series in 1941, voiced many New Deal stances on Native Americans, particularly John Collier’s transcultural position that Native peoples participated in both traditional and modern life. “A Tlingit Indian carves his ‘family tree’ with an adze in a forty-foot totem pole,” Colby wrote, “—but works ‘on the line’ in a cannery buzzing with the best of modern automatic machinery” (Colby, p. 3). Because his book was based on research in Alaska in 1938, when the CCC parks were just getting underway, Colby did not discuss the totem parks per se, although he did mention government programs to restore the poles at Sitka and Kasaan. He must have consulted with the Office of Indian Affairs or the Forest Service, however, because he reported accurately that totem poles’s crests were kinds of “Indian coats of arms,” and even explained the acquisition of crests by an ancestor’s encounter with the crest animal

(Colby, p. 131). He also encouraged tourists to educate themselves on Native art so that they could make quality purchases and avoid Japanese-made fakes: “If before making any purchase of curios the traveler will spend a few hours examining examples of the Native arts in Chief Shakes’ Community House at Wrangell, the Territorial Museum at Juneau, or the Sheldon Jackson at Sitka, he will quickly learn to recognize worthy specimens of Native art in the shops” (Colby, p. xxxv). Despite his use of “curio” in the first sentence, Colby’s emphasis on education and his encouragement that tourists purchase quality *art* furthered New Deal aims.

⁸⁵ Viola Garfield, “The Seattle Totem Pole,” pamphlet (University of Washington Press, Extension Series, July 1940). Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections, Folder 14.

⁸⁶ Correspondence in Viola Garfield’s papers reveals that Standley had written to the City of Seattle’s Department of Parks suggesting that the Seattle Pole, recently replicated by the CCC and erected in Seattle’s Pioneer Square, be painted with bright enamel paints and illuminated at night. A Parks employee wrote to Garfield asking “if it would be too much trouble for you to call or see Mr. Standley and explain the matter of coloring the Totem Pole to him, from the standpoint of the tradition of the Indians” (Department of Parks to Garfield, 8/22/40, Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections].

⁸⁷ Garfield to Standley, 9/4/40. Viola Garfield Papers, University of Washington Special Collections.

⁸⁸ Wanda Corn, *The Great American Thing, Modern Art and National Identity, 1915-1935* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), p. 326.

⁸⁹ Corn, p. 326.

⁹⁰ Grieve, p. 124.

⁹¹ Grieve, p. 125. Two objects credited to Native makers are included in Virginia Clayton’s catalogue of choice objects from the Index of American Design—a Chumash presentation basket (Cat. 24) and Southwestern-style saddle blanket (Cat. 51)—although interestingly both were owned by non-Natives, and therefore fit Cahill’s criteria of “American usage” for inclusion in the Index. See Clayton et al, pp. 120-121 and pp. 174-175.

⁹² See Michael Leja, *Reframing Abstract Expressionism: Subjectivity and Painting in the 1940s* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

⁹³ See Amy Lyford, “Noguchi, Sculptural Abstraction, and the Politics of Japanese American Internment” *The Art Bulletin* 85:1 (March 2003), pp.143. Lyford shows how race continued to be read into Isamu Noguchi’s work in the 1940s despite claims by (white) artists of the same period for a universal man and universal aesthetic. Ann Gibson has also studied the obstacle of race—and gender—to the “universal man” rhetoric of the 1940s. See Ann Eden Gibson, *Abstract Expressionism: Other Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

⁹⁴ Schapiro, “Race, Nationality and Art,” quoted in Amy Lyford, p. 143.

⁹⁵ Anthes, *Native Moderns*, pp. 16-17.

⁹⁶ Shari M. Huhndorf observes the necessity yet complexity of accounting for Native Americans in American history: “How could white Americans tell the story of bloody conquest in a way that justified their presence as well as their privileges?” Huhndorf,

Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), p. 23.

⁹⁷ Bodnar, p. 181.

⁹⁸ Kirk Savage, *Monument Wars: Washington, D.C., the National Mall, and the Transformation of the Memorial Landscape* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), p. 4.

⁹⁹ George Biddle had first suggested a government-sponsored art program to Roosevelt to portray New Deal ideology, citing Mexican President Obregon's sponsorship of muralists to advertise the political vision of post-revolutionary Mexico. Biddle suggested that murals in the U.S. would "visually portray the ideals [of the New Deal] to the nation" and provide a "vital national expression" (Biddle quoted in Tey Marianna Nunn, *Sin Nombre*, p. 4).

Epilogue: The legacy of the CCC

The Civilian Conservation Corps officially ended on June 30, 1942.¹ With the nation embroiled in World War II, Congress voted not to continue the New Deal work relief program and CCC camps across the country closed at the end of the fiscal year. In Southeast Alaska, the CCC worked quickly to leave the totem parks as complete as possible, but time and money were limited. By October 1942 Klawock still had four totem poles waiting to be raised, one of which was in the shop unpainted.² Totem Bight had only one of three clan houses built, and none of its eleven poles were yet erected; Archbold reported to Heintzelman that it would be “quite a project” to complete the park with the Forest Service’s limited budget.³ On top of this, the Forest Service was now seeking work for a very different group of Alaska Natives: the Unungan (Aleut) families who had been evacuated to Southeast Alaska following the Japanese invasion of the Aleutian Islands.⁴ A photograph of Unungan children on a field trip to see the totem poles in Ketchikan’s City Park pointed to a new kind of cross-cultural contact with Tlingit and Haida totem poles, as Alaska Natives from the windswept islands of the Bering Sea learned to cope with the forested lands and art forms of Southeast Alaska (Fig. E.1).⁵

After the war, many of the New Deal totem parks fell into disrepair. By 1945 Saxman’s park was so overgrown that the Forest Service asked local civic organizations to sponsor a clean up.⁶ In 1948, an Alaska Native Service teacher at Saxman wrote to his supervisors in Juneau: “The people of Saxman have had their attention called to the condition of the park several times recently and in the past year. Their attitude seems to be as follows: The park was a Forest Service project under the CCC and not of their own choice; the city of Ketchikan is the chief recipient of any use of the park.”⁷ This was a devastating judgment of the New Deal project, framing the park as an appropriation of Saxman’s heritage and reversing the hopes that Charles Brown and other residents seemed to have for the site in the early 1940s. However, in the 1950s and 1960s, when the Forest Service formally transferred supervision of all totem parks associated with Native communities to Native control, the City of Saxman showed renewed interest in the park’s potential.⁸ One Bureau of Indian Affairs officer reported that, out of all projects that Saxman residents wanted to start in 1961, their “main desire [was] for a building to be used for the sale of goods by the local villagers,” presumably in conjunction with the totem park.⁹ It would not be until 1989 that the City of Saxman opened the Forrest Dewitt Carving Shed for local carvers to work while demonstrate carving to visitors, and not until 1992 that the Native Faces Gift Shop opened next to the park to sell Native art and souvenirs. But the carving shed and the gift shop prospered, and the Saxman Totem Park has now become an economic mainstay for the City of Saxman, with Native-led tours, dance performances and several new rounds of totem pole restoration fueling economic and cultural needs (Fig. E.2).

In fact, the New Deal totem parks have emerged as important cultural and economic sites for Native communities across Southeast Alaska (Fig. E.3). The totem parks at Saxman and Totem Bight consistently rank among the top tourist attractions in the region, and the sale of Native art in these communities is increasing as well.¹⁰ Sitka and Wrangell also have shops associated with their totem parks, and the smaller communities of Klawock, Kasaan and Hydaburg have leveraged their parks for cultural programs that bring Native and non-Native visitors to their towns. As I write this, seventy

years after the close of the CCC, every totem park in Southeast Alaska is actively being used, and successively restored, by its home community:

In Klawock, restorations to the CCC totem park continue with the help of student carvers. Jonathan Rowan, the Native art teacher at the local high school, has used grants from the Forest Service to train high school students to replicate the Klawock park totem poles, many of which have not been restored since the New Deal. After a year studying Tlingit carving in Rowan's art class, one promising student is hired as a paid apprentice for the summer and works with Rowan to duplicate a totem pole for the Klawock totem park (Fig. E.4). Five poles were raised in 2006, five more in 2011. The pole raisings are accompanied by a town-wide potlatch, a Native art market and the invitation of the traditional clan leaders associated with the poles to oversee their erection—a clear sign that local Tlingits still claim and celebrate the poles within their culture (Fig. E.5). Rowan hopes to replicate more poles that once stood in the ancestral village of Tuxekan, placing them along the waterfront in Klawock as would have been tradition; as he says of the project, “it’ll outlast me.”¹¹

The Hydaburg Replication Pole Project began in 2009 as a means to replace the deteriorating totem poles from the CCC era. Each summer, as the finale to the Haida Culture Camp for Haida youths from across Southeast Alaska, new totem poles are raised in the park using grants from federal and state agencies and the work of local carvers (Fig. E.6). T.J. Young and Benjamin Young, grandsons of CCC enrollee Claude Morrison, raised a replica of the Owl/Whale pole in 2009, while their grandfather watched the pole being raised (Fig. E.7). In 2011, the first pole carved by a woman, Toni Rae Sanderson, was erected in the park, with women carrying the pole from the carving shed up the long road to the park while the men sang songs to support them.¹² More poles will be replicated in the coming years.

The Shakes House in Wrangell received restorations to its house posts and screen in the 1980s by carvers Steve Brown and Wayne Price. In 2011, the Wrangell Tribe, working in partnership with the State of Alaska and the U.S. Forest Service, began the laborious work of adzing new planks for the floor, walls and ceiling of the Shakes House—with women constituting the majority of the adz team. The Wrangell Tribe has also built a carving shed near Shakes Island, fulfilling a long-desired need for a space where Native carvers can work and sell their art publicly.

The Organized Village of Kasaan is actively raising matching funds to restore the Chief Saaniheit's Whale House, which has not been repaired since it was built in 1940 (Fig. E.8). The architectural firm overseeing the restorations is MRV Architects, the descendant of the Juneau firm established by Forest Service architect Linn Forrest after he left the Forest Service in the 1940s. In 2011, Kasaan receive a grant from the National Parks Service's Historic Preservation Office to write its preservation plan, and is now moving forward with renovations to its park.

Sitka's park has had several new poles erected under the auspices of the National Park Service. In November 2011, a restored Baranof Pole was re-erected in Totem Square downtown, this time with Baranof sporting a bright red jacket.¹³ And in Saxman, the City received a National Scenic Byways Grant in 2010 from the Federal Highway Administration, and has already replicated several decaying CCC poles on Totem Row.¹⁴

The “emergent authenticity” of the CCC totem parks—their gradual acceptance as authentic sites for the erection and display of Tlingit and Haida totem poles—is clear in

Native use and non-Native interest in them.¹⁵ Indeed, the most lasting legacy of the CCC is the acceptance of the totem park as an authentic context for the display of Northwest Coast Native crest objects. The very methods that represented such a radical recoding of the totem pole in the 1930s have become, to a large degree, *de rigueur* for totem poles today: displaying poles in public parks, preserving poles through restoration or replication, and using the parks as means for economic development in Native communities. In addition, every park is now listed on the National Register of Historic Places, fulfilling Heintzman's hope that the totem parks would be recognized as important heritage sites for American history.¹⁶

While it is true that the majority of the CCC enrollees did not continue to carve after the restoration program ended, several made an impact on an ensuing generation of carvers. Some CCC enrollees, like George Benson, continued to teach their skills formally as demonstration teachers for the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, aiding, as I have already argued, the "Renaissance" of Northwest Coast Native Art in the 1960s. Others must have modeled for their children and extended families an interest in Tlingit and Haida totem pole carving, for a striking number of master carvers in Southeast Alaska have roots in the CCC: Israel Shotridge, a Tlingit master carver out of Ketchikan, is the nephew of CCC carver Charles Brown; Will Burkhart, Dave Galanin and Nicholas Galanin, master carvers originally from Sitka, are the grandsons and great-grandson, respectively, of George Benson; Lee Wallace, a master carver in Saxman, is the grandson of John Wallace. Probably the most famous totem pole carver in the United States, Nathan Jackson, is the great-nephew of CCC carver Charlie Tagook. Jackson continues to carve in the Forrest DeWitt Carving Shed at Saxman, training apprentices and demonstrating his art for visitors who pass through the shed—visitation that has resulted in several commissions for his art.¹⁷ He credits the Saxman totem park for providing opportunities for himself as a young carver and for many other people to make a living through their art.

What has become of the CCC poles in the twenty-first century? Like the nineteenth-century poles that were discarded after being replicated, many of the CCC poles have not survived successive restorations (Fig. E.9). In Klawock, CCC-era poles fill a parking lot near the carving shed where their replicas were made; they are now quickly deteriorating (Fig. E.10). The Visitor's Center at Sitka National Historic Park has saved a few CCC poles in a small exhibit of the New Deal restoration program at the back of its building; Wrangell keeps several poles in a city maintenance building for dry storage. In 2010, Totem Bight State Historical Park received funding to build a small carving and storage building that now houses two CCC-era totem poles: the Land Otter pole by John Wallace and the Man with the Wolf Hat by Charles Brown (Fig. E.11). Park Ranger [name] be restored to stand within the park.¹⁸ It is my hope that many CCC poles will be preserved as records of interwar carving styles and as a worthy period of Tlingit and Haida carving traditions in Southeast Alaska (Fig. E.12).

The use of the New Deal totem parks for apprenticeships, culture camps and potlatches suggests that Native peoples have fully appropriated the government parks for their own uses, often doubling the park's role as an attraction for outsiders and as a site for the internal transmission of culture. Stories about the poles continue to be passed on, and the preservation of poles continues to provide carving opportunities for Native artists. Tourists take photographs of the poles in the parks as distinctive markers of their Alaskan

vacations, and the growth of Native-led tours provides some opportunity for cross-cultural dialogue. If the parks were not immediately successful in their efforts, then, they realized many New Deal goals over time. They provided relief for several Native communities during the Depression, preserved Native objects in sites that were accessible to Natives and non-Native visitors, and offered social cohesion for Tlingit and Haida cultural traditions that continue in the parks today. As their makers intended, the New Deal totem parks have continued to serve future generations.

¹ Alison T. Otis, William D. Honey, Thomas C. Hogg, and Kimberly K. Lakin, *The Forest Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-1942* (Washington, DC: U.S. Forest Service, August 1986), p. 145.

² Archbold to Heintzman, 10/19/42.

³ Archbold to Heintzman, 10/19/42.

⁴ The Unungan evacuee camp in Ketchikan was located at Ward Lake and overseen, in part, by the U.S. Forest Service. Archbold told Heintzman in October 1942 that “no doubt there would be plenty of natives who will need work this winter... We will also have a number of Aleut evacuees who will be in need of employment” (Archbold to Heintzman, 10/19/42).

⁵ Several Unungan individuals commented that the dark, thickly forested islands of Southeast Alaska added to their feeling of imprisonment during the evacuation period. See Karen Hesse, *Aleutian Sparrow* (New York: Margaret K. McElderry Books, 2003), pp. 44-45.

⁶ John Autrey, “End of Totem Pole Restoration Project,” unpublished manuscript for the United States Forest Service, Ketchikan Ranger District, n.p.

⁷ 6/30/48 letter from Reinholt Brust, Acting General Superintendent, Alaska Native Service, Juneau; to Harry Sperling, U.S. Forest Service, Juneau, quoting a letter from ANS teacher at Saxman, Mr. Benedict. Record Group 95, National Archives and Records Administration—Alaska Pacific Region, Anchorage, Alaska.

⁸ Responsibility for the parks was somewhat unclear until this transfer. Archbold wrote in 1945: “We feel that we will have our hands full taking care of Totem Village and the Kasaan park. The upkeep of the totems at the other villages should be considered for native employment in the post war period under the Alaska Native Service” (Archbold to Regional Forester, 10/17/45). It seems that the Totem Bight and Kasaan Parks, both which were on Tongass National Forest land rather than Native townsite land, were retained by the Forest Service until Alaska Statehood in 1959, when Totem Bight was transferred to state control, and the 1970s, when Kasaan’s park was transferred to the Kasilko, the Kasaan Village Corporation.

⁹ 8/8/61 letter from Fred H. Massey, Assistant BIA, to Senator Bartlett, RG 435, Box 2 Folder 110 “Saxman/Juneau Correspondence.”

¹⁰ Ketchikan Visitors Bureau, Visitors Survey, 2008.

¹¹ Jonathan Rowan, personal interview, 5/1/09, Klawock, Alaska.

¹² Benjamin Young, personal communication, 3/17/12.

¹³ Tlingit carver Tommy Joseph, who did the restorations, specifically mentioned his choice to depict the clothing that appeared in George Benson's original sketch. See Ed Ronco, "Controversial Totem Pole Returns to Totem Square," KCAW Radio, November 28, 2011 (online transcript).

¹⁴ "AAHP 'Most Endangered' Listing Helps Leverage Funding for Saxman Projects," *Sitnews* (Ketchikan, Alaska), October 27, 2011.

¹⁵ Master carver Wayne Price, who is overseeing the restorations to the Shakes House in Wrangell, noted the new practice of preserving poles. "It's non-traditional to take these poles down. They usually stay up until they fall back down to the earth. It's a little bit new for us to do something like this. But, when the work is all done on the Chief Shakes house they will be brought back, put up, and they will be rededicated here on this spot." Greg Knight, "Tlingits honor totems at Shakes house," *Wrangell Sentinel* September 1, 2011.

¹⁶ In 1970, Totem Bight and Shakes Island were added to the Register, followed by Klawock's totem park in 1978 and Saxman's in 1979. Chief Son-I-Hat's Whale House and Totems Historic District in Kasaan was added in 2002, and Hydaburg's totem park in 2006. Sitka's totem park had already been included in the National Historic Site established in 1910 to commemorate the battlegrounds of the Russian-Tlingit battle of 1804. All information from the National Register of Historic Places, as accessed online February 20, 2012.

¹⁷ Nathan Jackson, personal interview, 2/17/09, Ketchikan, Alaska.

¹⁸ Mary Kowalczyk, personal interview, 8/7/11, Ketchikan, Alaska.

Figures

NB: At the time of this printing, many of the Forest Service's historical photographs were only available as photocopied images of the originals. I have now located the negatives for most of these images in Forest Service offices at Ketchikan and Craig, however, so I hope to have clearer images for future work.



Fig. 0.1 Howkan Village, c. 1897. (Winter and Pond Photograph, ASL-P87-0050 Alaska State Historical Library)



Fig. 0.2 Hydaburg Totem Park, 1941 (U.S. Forest Service Historical Photograph)

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

WHEREAS, the Haida Indians now residing at Hydaburg, Alaska, hereinafter known as the party of the first part, own a number of totem poles located at Howkan and the old village of Koianglas on Long Island and on small adjacent islands to these villages, and have a desire to see these totems moved, repaired and erected at Hydaburg so that said poles may have proper care and be preserved for the benefit of future generations:

AND WHEREAS, the U. S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, hereinafter known as the party of the second part, can do this totem pole restoration work through the Civilian Conservation Corps, or some other form of public relief work, NOW WITNESSETH:

1. The party of the first part agrees to permit the party of the second part to move part or all of the totem poles remaining at Howkan or Koianglas or on the small adjacent islands to these villages, to a publicly owned site within the townsite of Hydaburg.
2. The party of the first part further agrees that all poles so restored and erected by the party of the second part will hereafter be considered as community property of the residents of Hydaburg, and that at no time will any of such poles be disposed of by sale, gift or otherwise, and that said poles will be protected against harm of whatever nature.
3. The party of the second part agrees to select the poles worthy of restoration from Howkan, Koianglas, or the small adjacent islands to these villages, move and repair them, erect them at a suitable site within the townsite of Hydaburg, and to furnish all labor, tools, materials and equipment necessary to complete the work.

HAIDA INDIANS OF HYDABURG, ALASKA

Date January 11, 1939

By Paul D. Morrison

Mark Matthew Charles

Mark Matilda Chasik

Mark Mr. John Bennett

James Edenso

Ben Nathan

Mr. John Bennett

Sam Ojeltatzi

Date January 25, 1939

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, FOREST SERVICE

Signatures and marks witnessed by

By Chas. A. Burdick

act. Regional Forester

Boyd Nakatla

Boyd Nakatla

Sullivan Coan

Sullivan Coan

Fig. 0.3 Memoranda of Agreement for the restoration of totem poles from Howkan and Koiingalas villages for the totem park at Hydaburg, January 25, 1939 (RG 95 Box 2 National Archives and Records Administration, Alaska Pacific Region, Anchorage)

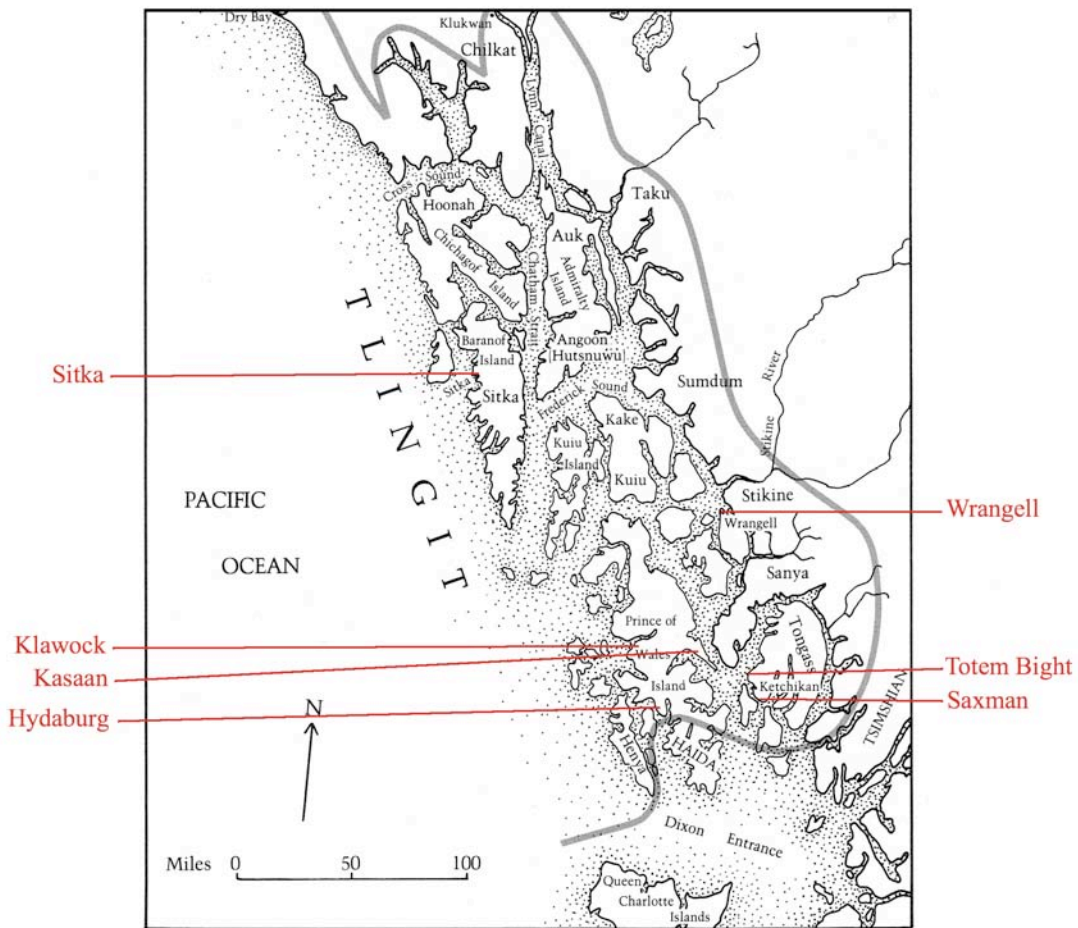


Fig. 0.4 Map of Southeast Alaska, showing locations of CCC totem parks. Note that Sitka’s park pre-dated the CCC but received restorations under the New Deal. (Map adapted from Aldona Jonaitis, *Art of the Northern Tlingit*, 1986)



Fig. 0.4.1 “Primitive Indian Village” at Mud Bight, later known as Totem Bight, 1940
(Otto Schallerer photograph, collection of Jeanne Sande)



Fig. 0.4.2 Saxman Totem Park, c. 1940
(Otto Schallerer postcard, collection of Candy Waugaman)



Fig. 0.4.3 Hydaburg Totem Park, c. 1940. (USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 0.4.4 Klawock Totem Park, known as the Tuxekan Memorial Park in the 1940s. (USFS Historical Photograph)

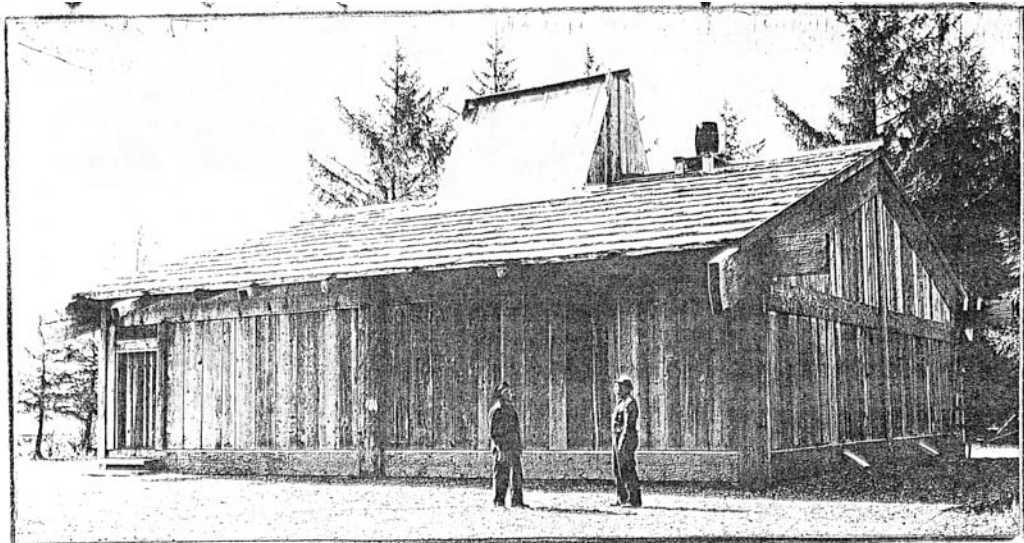


Fig. 0.4.5 Kasaan Totem Park with replicated Whale House, 1940.
(C.R. Snow photograph, Tongass Historical Museum)



Fig. 0.4.6 Shakes Island totem park and replicated Shark House, Wrangell, June 3, 1940.
(USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 0.4.7 Sitka National Historic Park, 1939. (USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 0.4.8 Juneau, showing a CCC pole carved for the Governor's Mansion
(Photo by Ellen Carlee, Alaska State Museum)



Alaska State Library - Historical Collections

Fig. 0.5 Old Kasaan Village, c. 1890. (Alaska State Library-P01-0404)



Fig. 0.6 Bear Up the Mountain Pole (right), Shakes Island, Wrangell, restored by CCC 1938. (USFS Historical Photo)



Fig. 0.7 Tourists at Old Kasaan, c. 1900 (Alaska State Library-P01-0404)

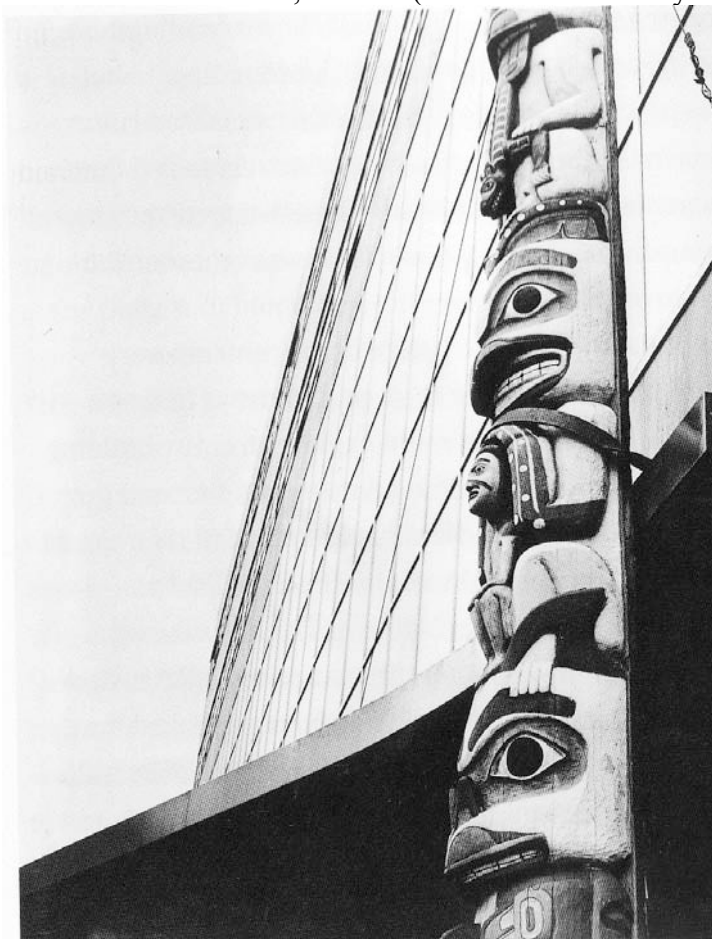


Fig. 0.8 Totem pole carved by John Wallace at the entrance to the Museum of Modern Art for the exhibit *Indian Art of the United States* (1941). (Museum of Modern Art Archives)



Fig. 0.9 Dedication of the “Seattle Pole” in Pioneer Square, Seattle, 1899. (Photo by Anders B. Wilse, University of Washington Special Collections NA 1509)



Alaska State Library - Historical Collections

Fig. 0.10 Haida totem pole and house posts donated by Chief Saaniheit of Old Kasaan in the Sitka Historical Park, 1915. (Clarence L. Andrews Photograph Collection, ca. 1892-1940. ASL-PCA-45 Alaska State Historical Library)



Fig. 1.1 Forest Service employees at Old Kasaan National Monument, 1937. (National Archives and Records Administration, 035-TA-14)

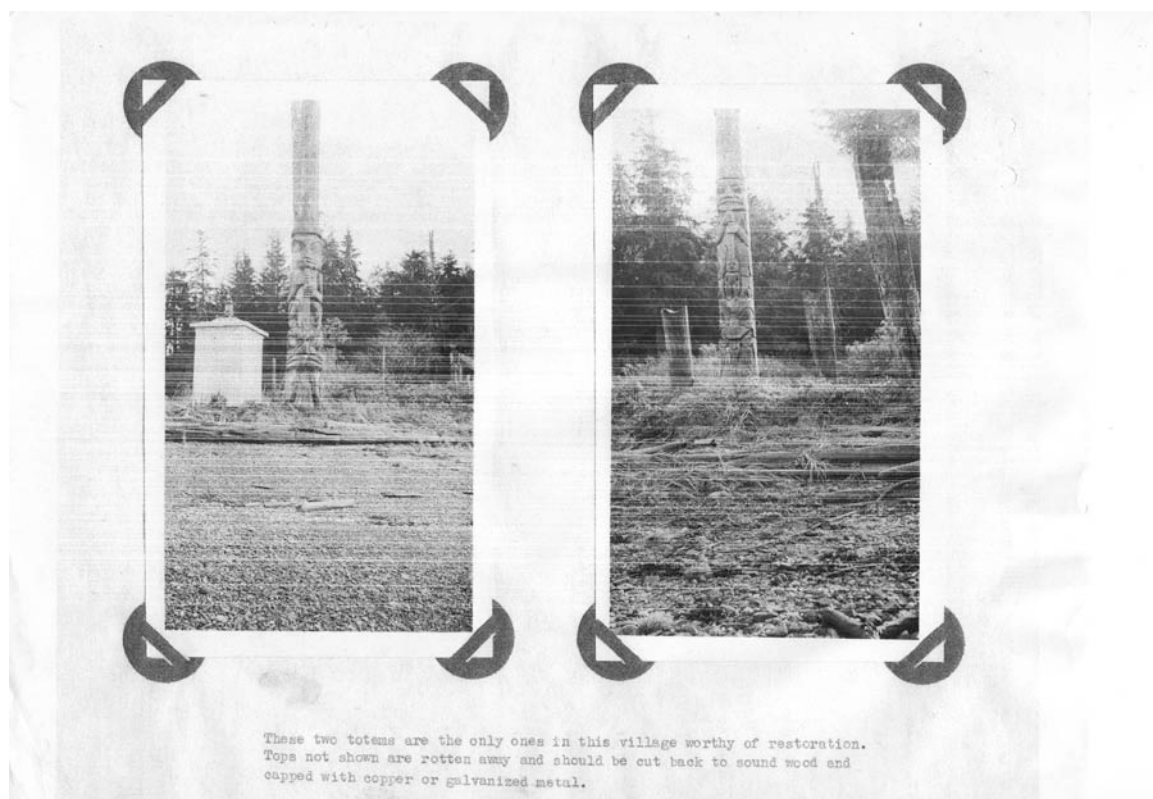


Fig. 1.2 Page from C.M. Archbold's "Report on Sukkwan," 1937 (RG 95 Box 2 National Archives and Records Administration, Alaska Pacific Region)

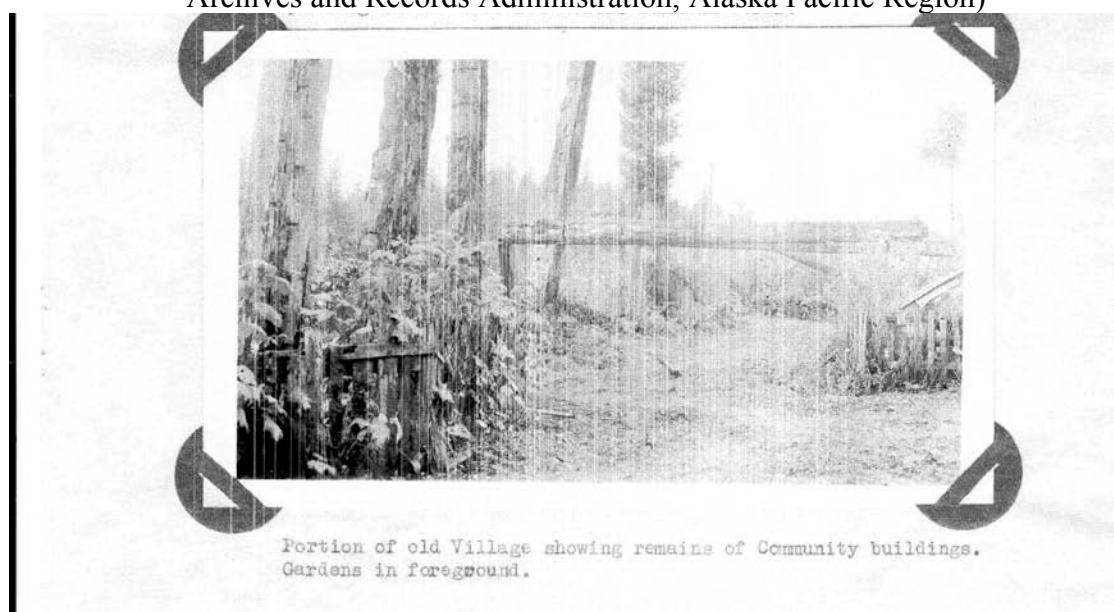


Fig. 1.3 Backs of totem poles in Sukkwan, C.M. Archbold report

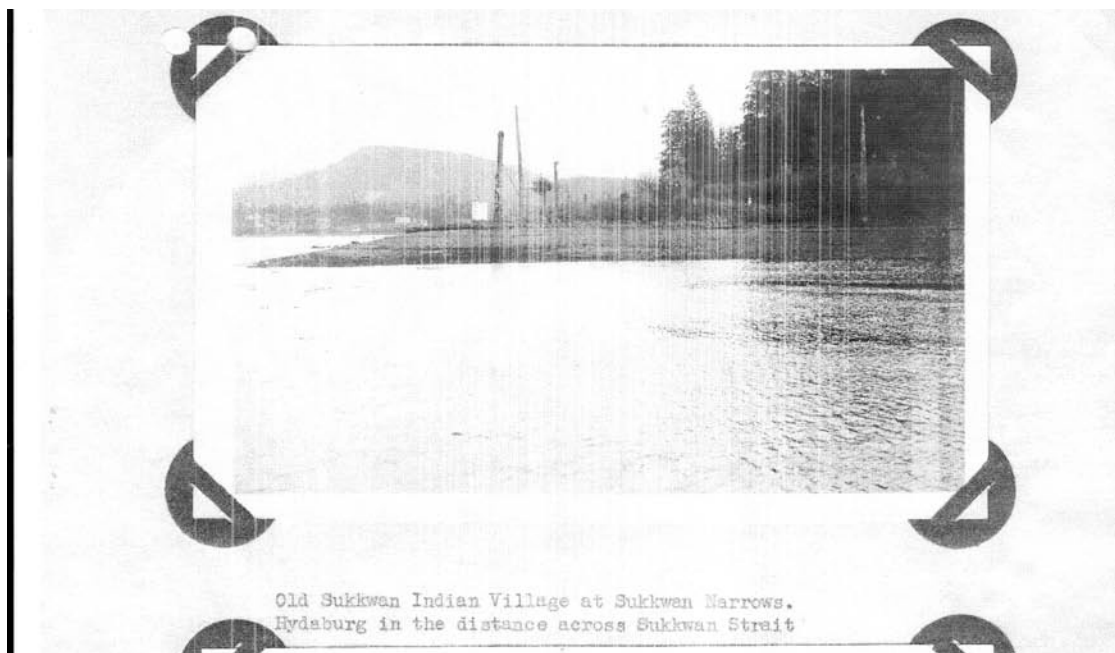


Fig. 1.4 Hydaburg and Sukkwan, C.M. Archbold report

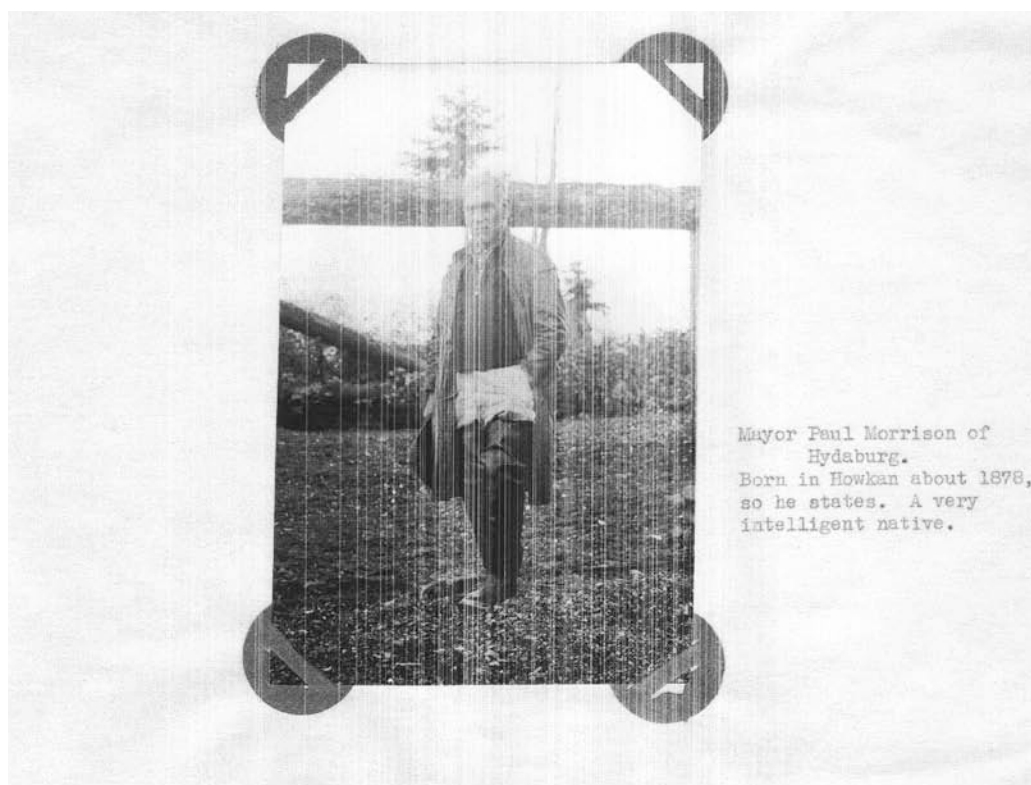


Fig. 1.5 Paul Morrison, Mayor of Hydaburg, C.M. Archbold report

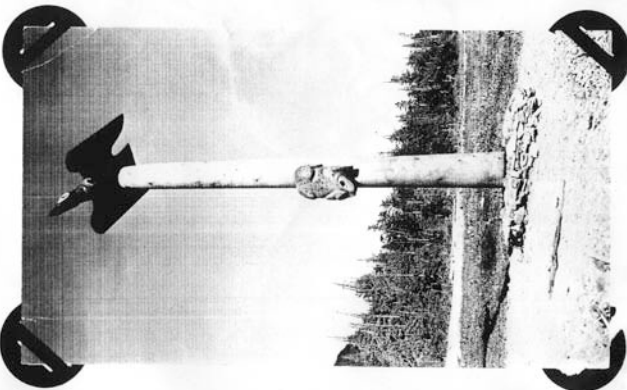
Form B-D-8		UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE		11-2	
No. 384903		FOREST SERVICE			
(Ogden 6-24-34-2,000)		ALASKA DISTRICT			
Forest	Author	Date	Number of Duplicates in stock		
TONGASS	G. E. Archbold	7/6/39			
Locality					
Description					
Thinget "Raven & Frog Pole" - Saxman Indian Village					
			SAXMAN FILE 16 JUN 5 1939		

Fig. 1.6 Form 8-D-8, US Forest Service Archival Card (Totem Heritage Museum)
[note this image shows a pole restored by the CCC, not the original as it stood in village]

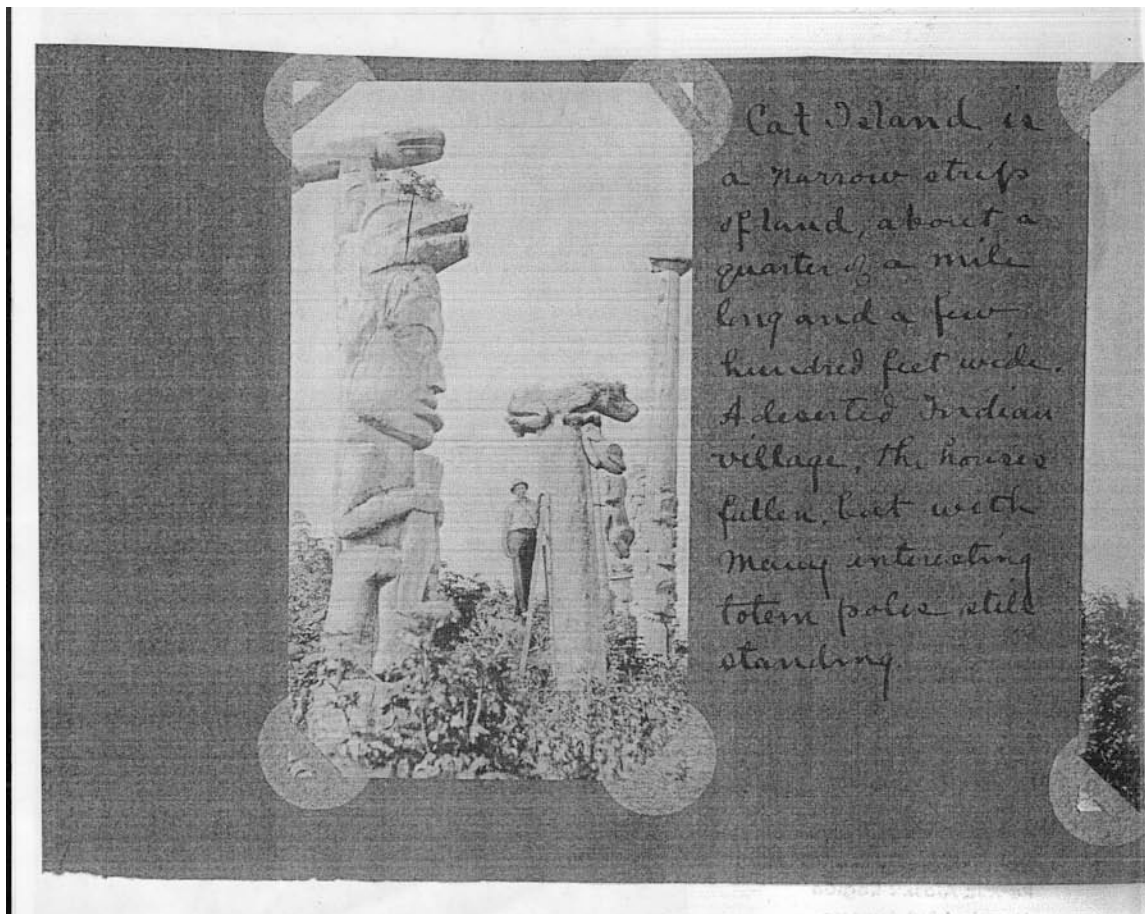


Fig. 1.7 Page from album of Chief Forester Henry Graves's survey of the Tongass National Forest, 1915. (RG 95 Records of the Forest Service, Region 10, Alaska; Historical Photograph Files 1906-1994, Album, Vol. 1, Box 12.)

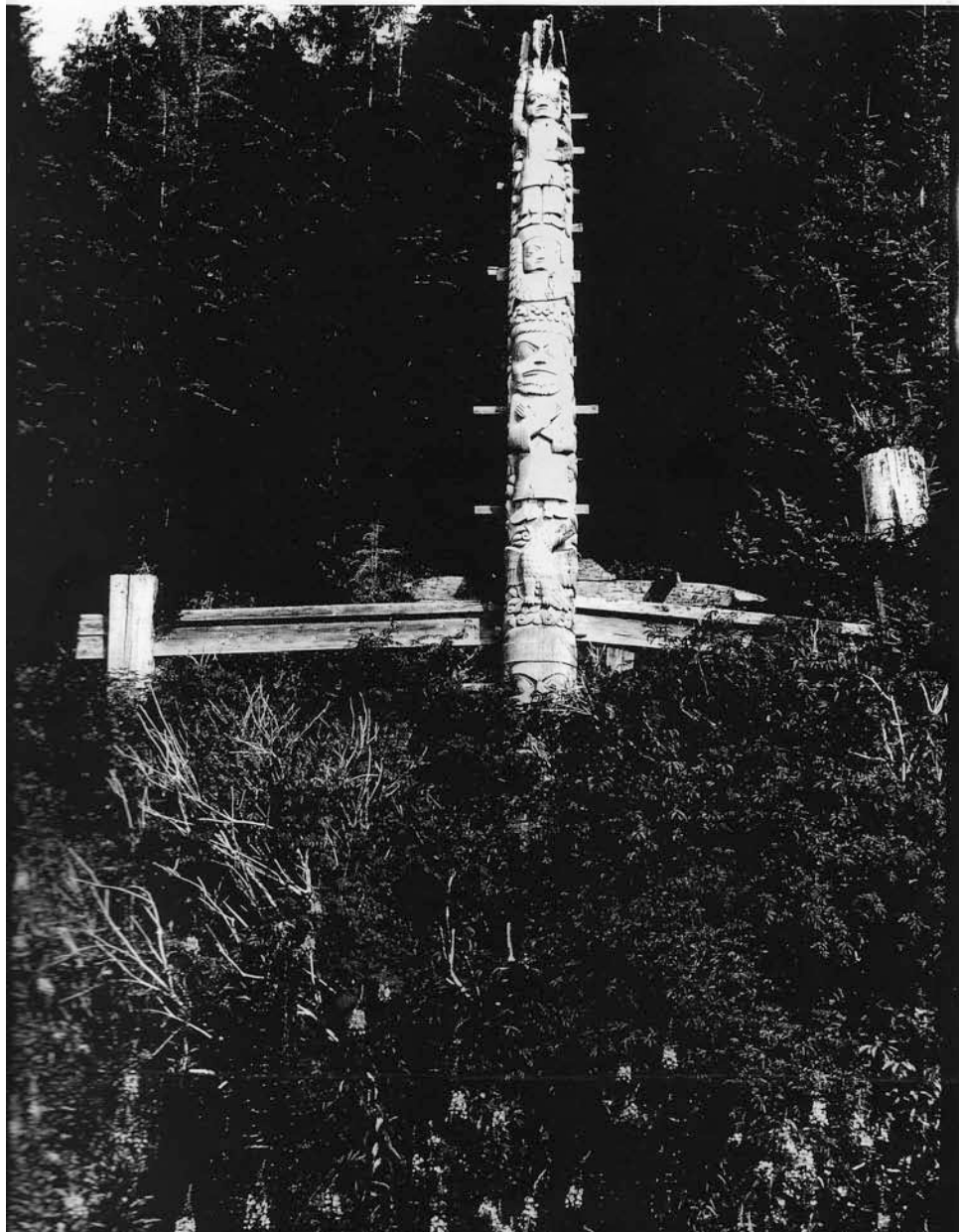


Fig. 1.8 C.M. Archbold, Chief Skowl Pole, Old Kasaan, 1939 (USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 1.9 C.M. Archbold, "Tree Growing Through Totem," Old Kasaan, 1939 (USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 1.10 Untitled photograph, 1939 (USFS Historical Photographs)



Fig. 1.11 “Portion, bottom of totem pole sea monster, Old Kasaan,” 1939 (USFS Historical Photograph)

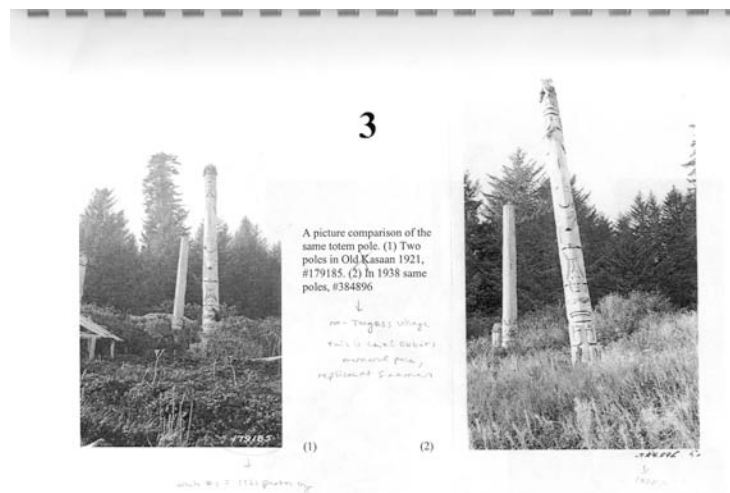


Fig. 1.12 Comparison photographs of Chief Ebbits pole from Tongass Village compiled by C.M. Archbold (retyped and misidentified in 1990s). (USFS Archives)

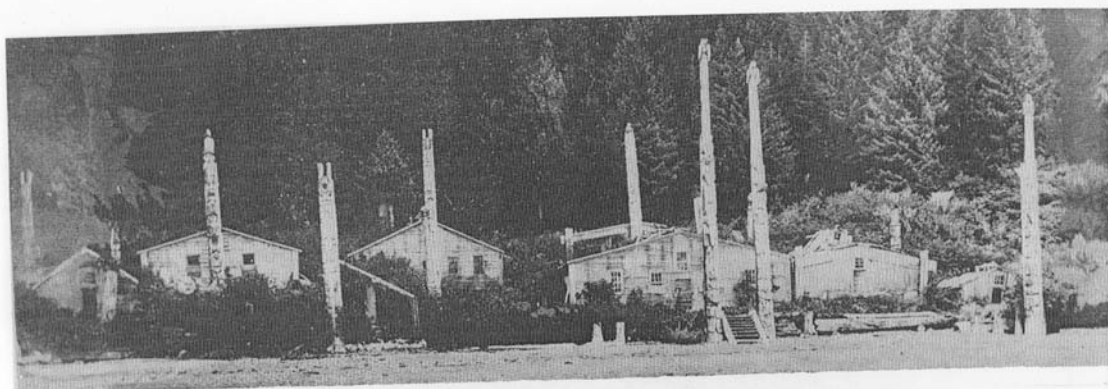


Fig. 1.13 Old Kasaan village, 1890 (Smithsonian photograph in USFS archive)



Fig. 1.14 Old Kasaan village, 1938 (USFS Historical Photograph)



Poles at the entrance
of the Park. No. 380
can probably be repaired.



Showing detail of rot.
This pole may be too far
gone for saving, but the
exact condition cannot be
determined until work is
started.

Fig. 1.15 Charles Burdick, "Totem Poles, Sitka National Monument," February 18, 1939, p. 1 (NARA-Box 2, Folder 6 (CCC) Improvement: Totem and House Restorations, Tongass A Region 10)

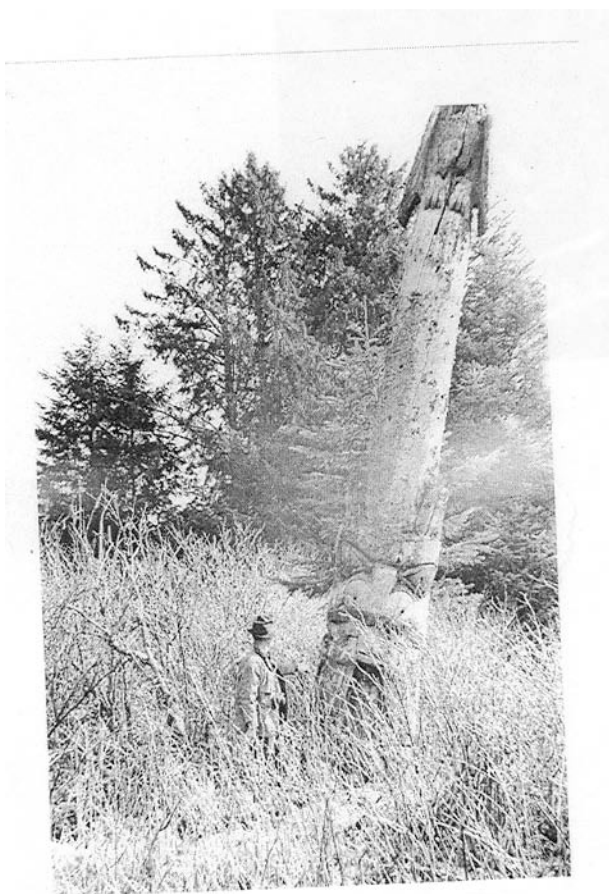


Fig. 1.16 C.M Archbold, "Howkan, FS"



Fig. 1.17 FS employee with Howkan eagle



Fig. 1.18 “Ranger 10 at Old Kasaan Village, 1941” (USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 1.19 Sockeye Salmon Pole, as restored in Klawock Totem Park, 1940.
(USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 1.20 Saxman Totem Park, showing white marble bear headstone placed near totem pole, c. 1940. (USFS Historical Photographs)

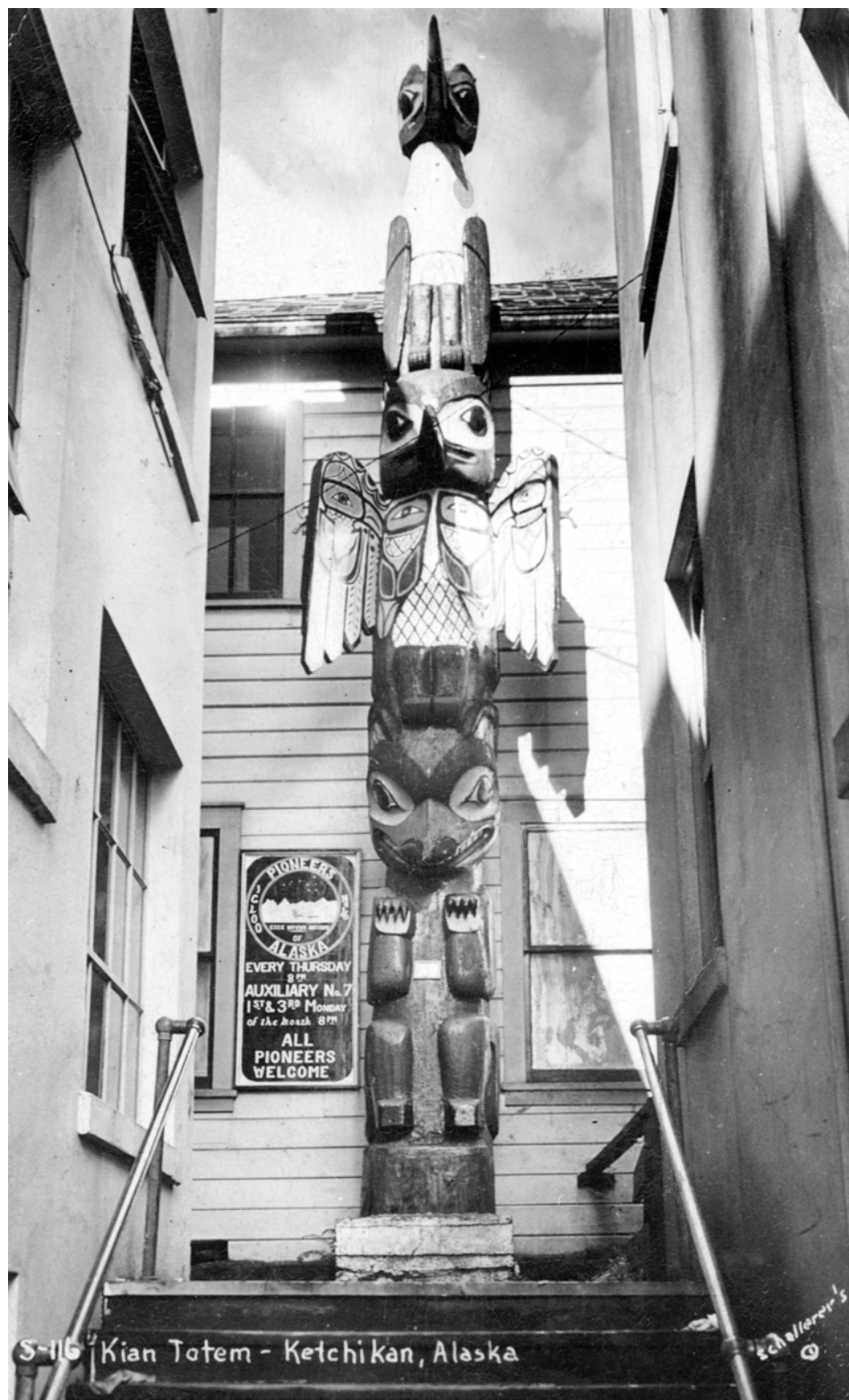


Fig. 1.21 Chief Kyan Pole in front of Pioneers of Alaska Hall, Ketchikan, c. 1930-1940.
(Tongass Historical Museum)

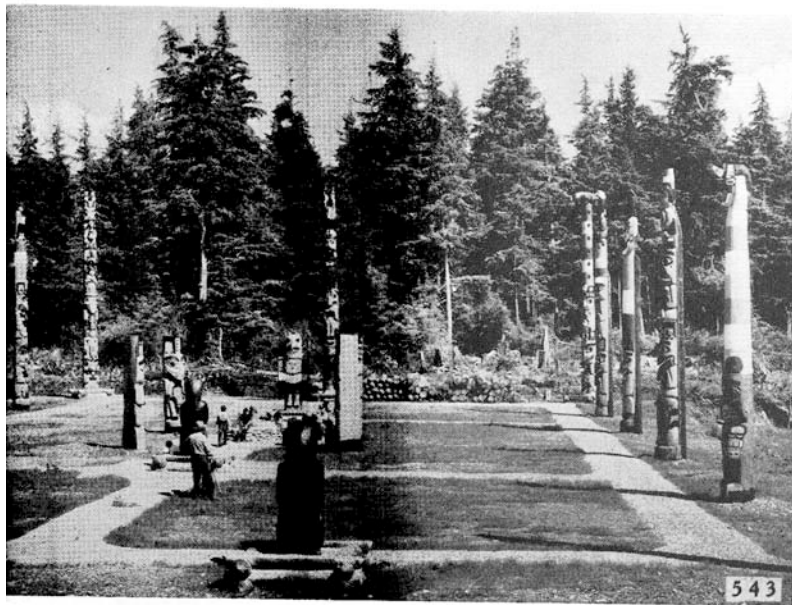


Fig. 1.22 Hydaburg totem park, c. 1940 (USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 1.23 Building cribs for base of poles, Hydaburg totem park (USFS Historical Photograph)

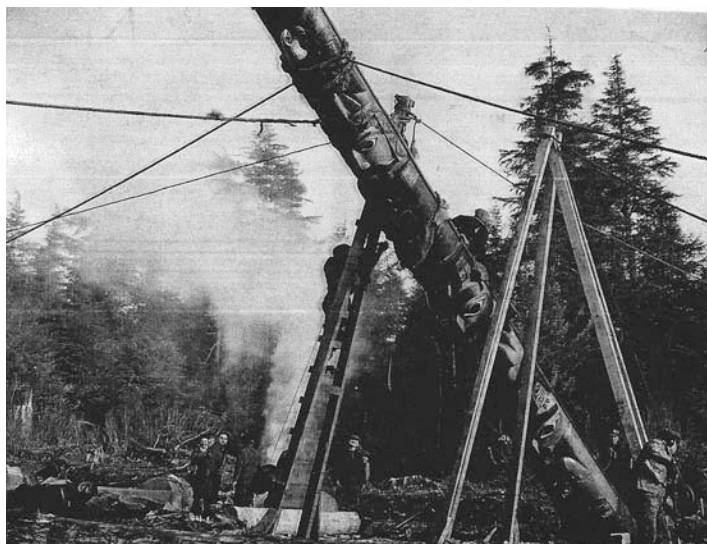


Fig. 1.24 Raising pole, Hydaburg totem park. Caption in Forest Service archive read: "This pole nearly broke loose, but is now continuing upright." (USFS Historical Photograph)

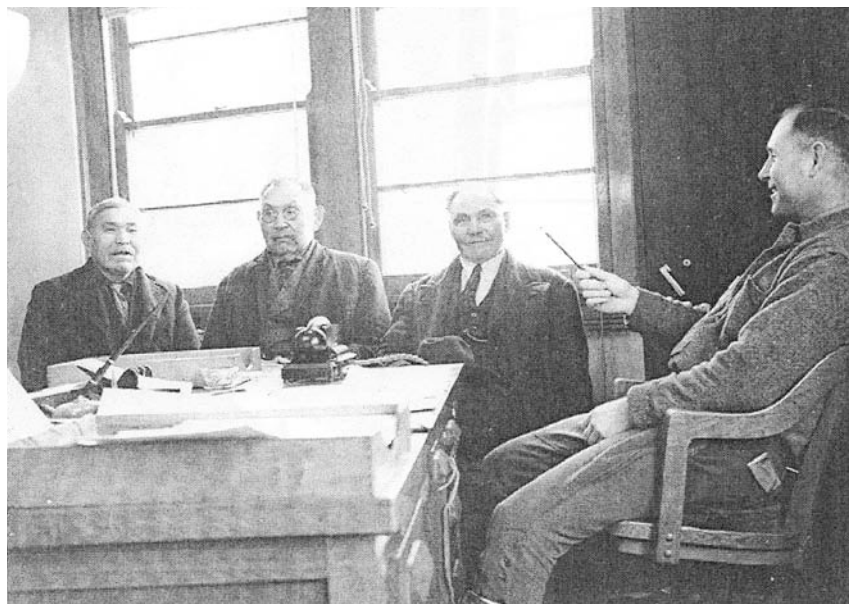


Fig. 1.25 C.M. Archbold (right) meeting with Joe Thomas, Charles Jones and Charles Hawkesworth, Wrangell, 1939 (USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 1.26a Henry Denny, Sr. with original Lincoln pole



Fig. 1.26b C.M. Achbold with original Lincoln figure (USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 1.27 Postcard of “Old Lincoln Totem, Saxman, Alaska,” with James Andrews (?L) and Charles Brown (R) (Otto Schallerer Collection, Tongass Historical Society)



Fig. 1.28 Forest Service film crew filming CCC workers in front of the Mendenhall Glacier, Juneau. (USFS Historical Photograph)

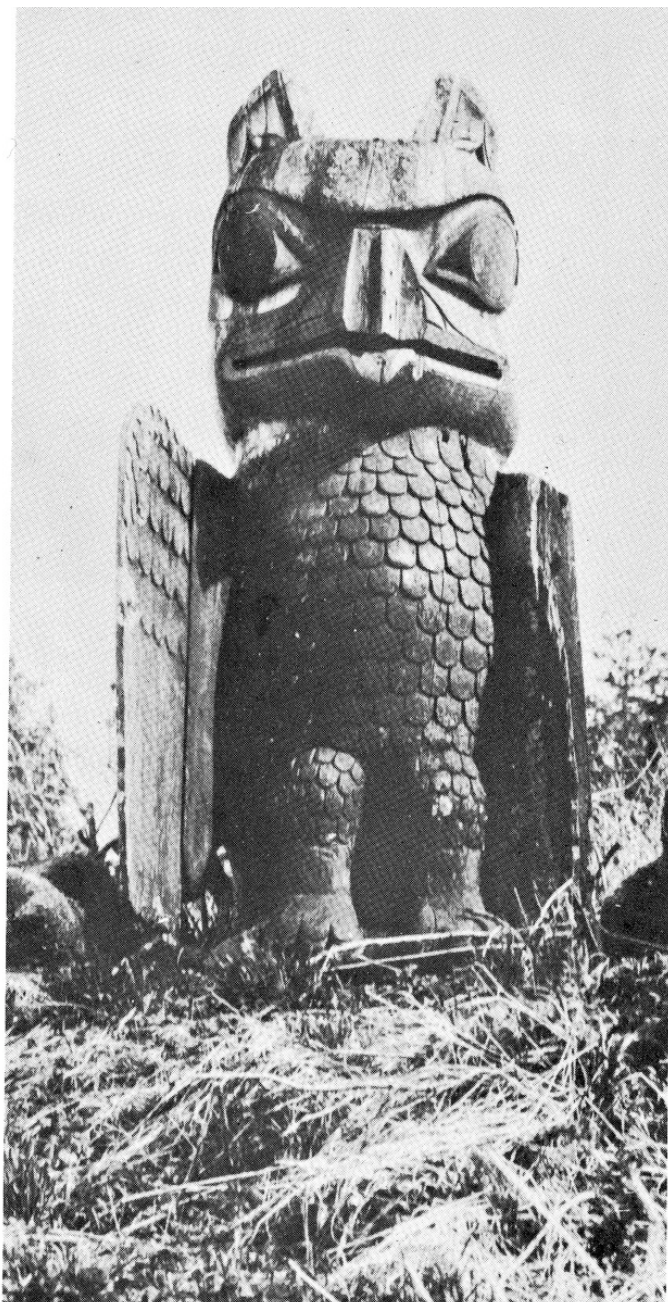


Fig. 2.1 Howkan Eagle, Howkan, Alaska c. 1920s
(T.T. Waterman Photograph, Smithsonian Institution)

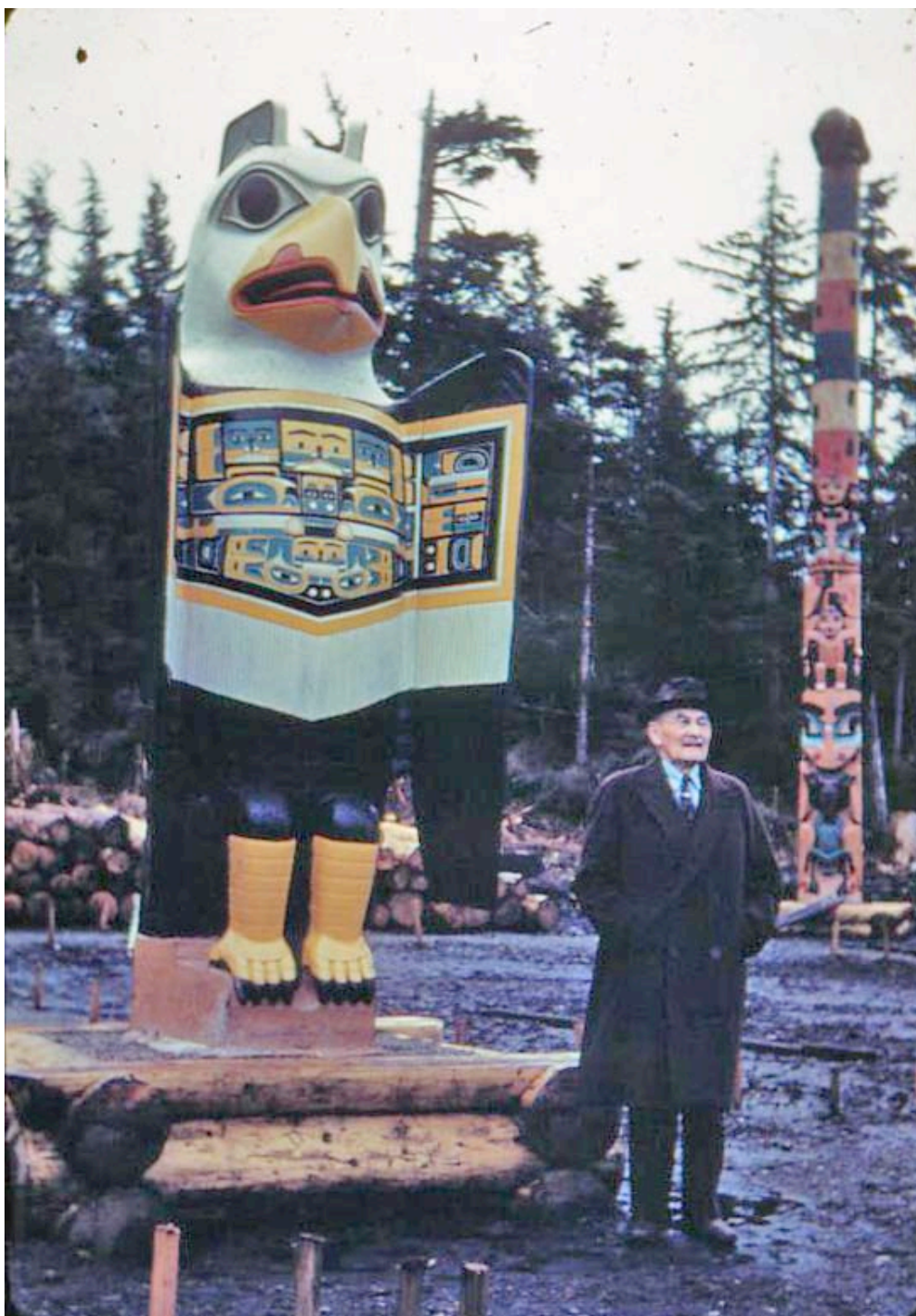


Fig. 2.2 John Wallace standing beside his version of the Howkan Eagle, Hydaburg 1941 (USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 2.3 John Wallace, second version of the Howkan Eagle, 1942. Red cedar, commercial paint. Hydaburg Totem Park (Author photo, 2009)



Fig. 2.4 David Jason, CCC enrollee, smoothing figures on replica next to original pole, Saxman n.d. (USFS Historical Photograph)

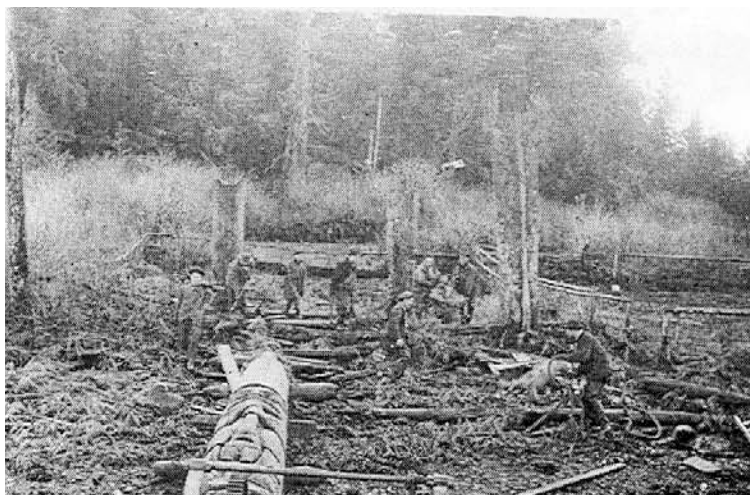


Fig. 2.5 (a,b) Hydaburg CCC crew preparing to drag Adam Spuhn's pole from Klinkwan down the beach (USFS Historical Photograph)

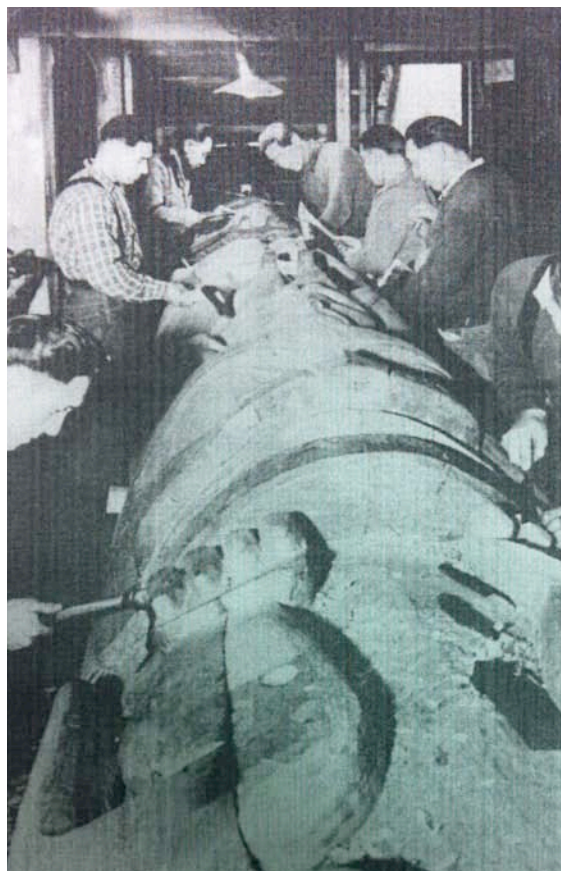


Fig. 2.6 CCC crew at Saxman repairs the Chief Ebbits pole, 1940. Note lighter color of new wood patches inserted into pole to replace rotten areas.
(Otto Schallerer/USFS Historical Photograph)

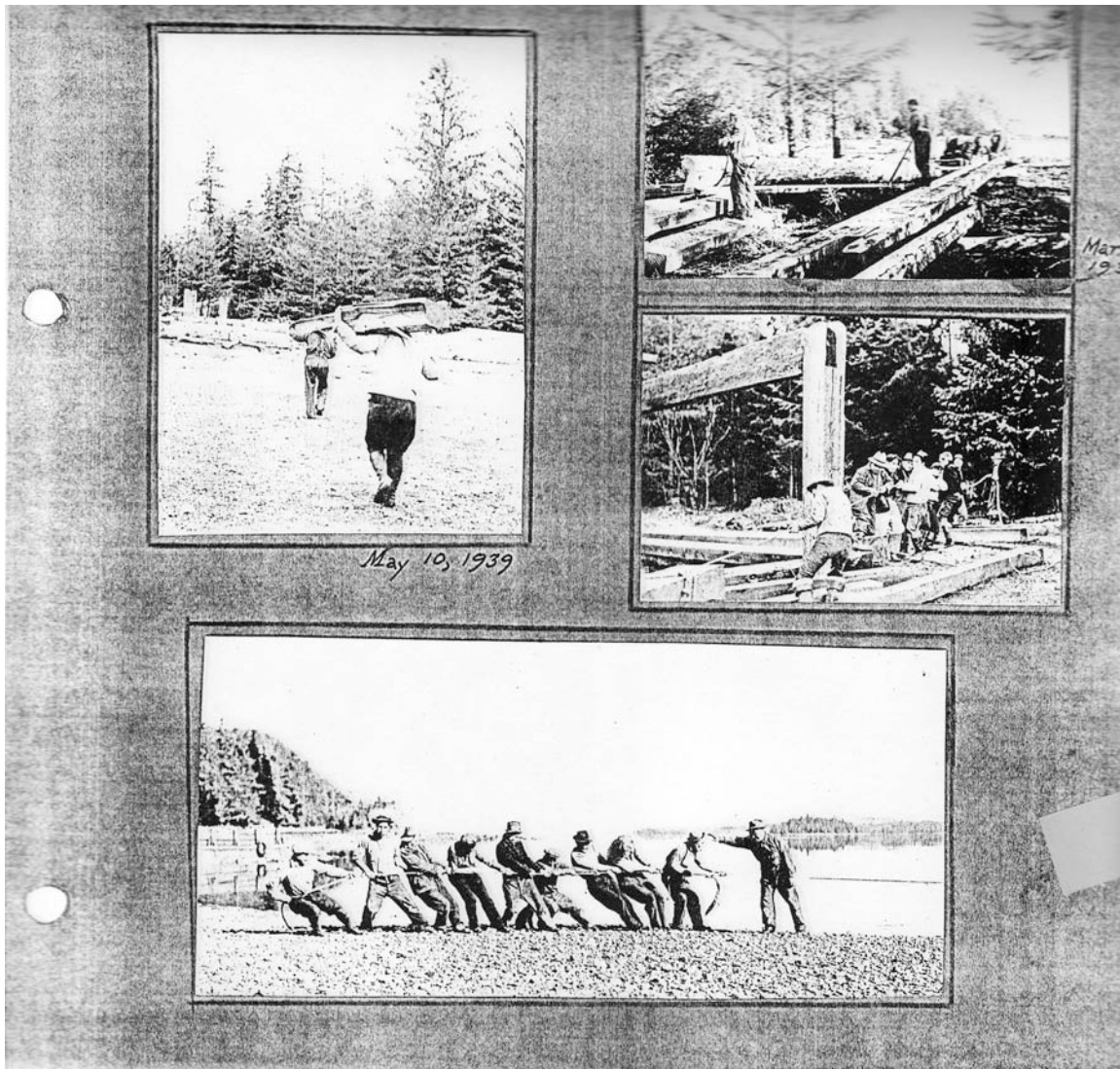


Fig. 2.7 Page from journal of C.R. Snow, foreman for CCC project at Kasaan, with bottom photo showing work to drag barge with poles onto beach by hand (Tongass Historical Museum)

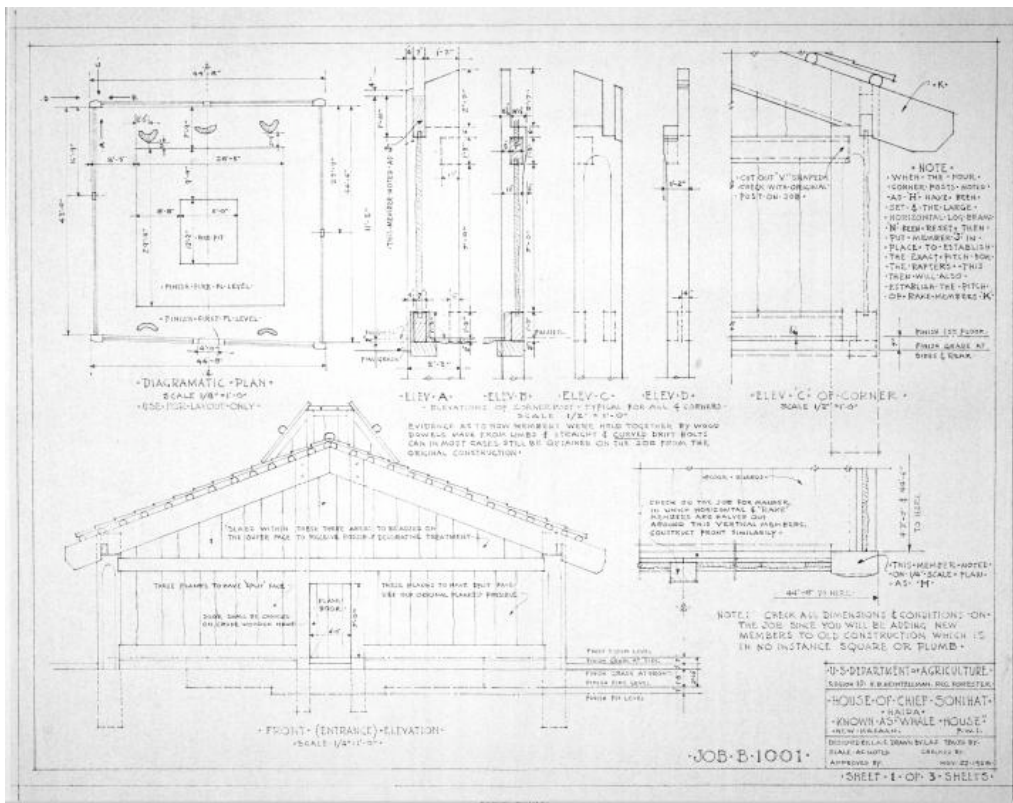


Fig. 2.8 Linn Forrest, architectural plans for restored Whale House at Kasaan (ASL-V1938-0004-1 Alaska State Historical Library)

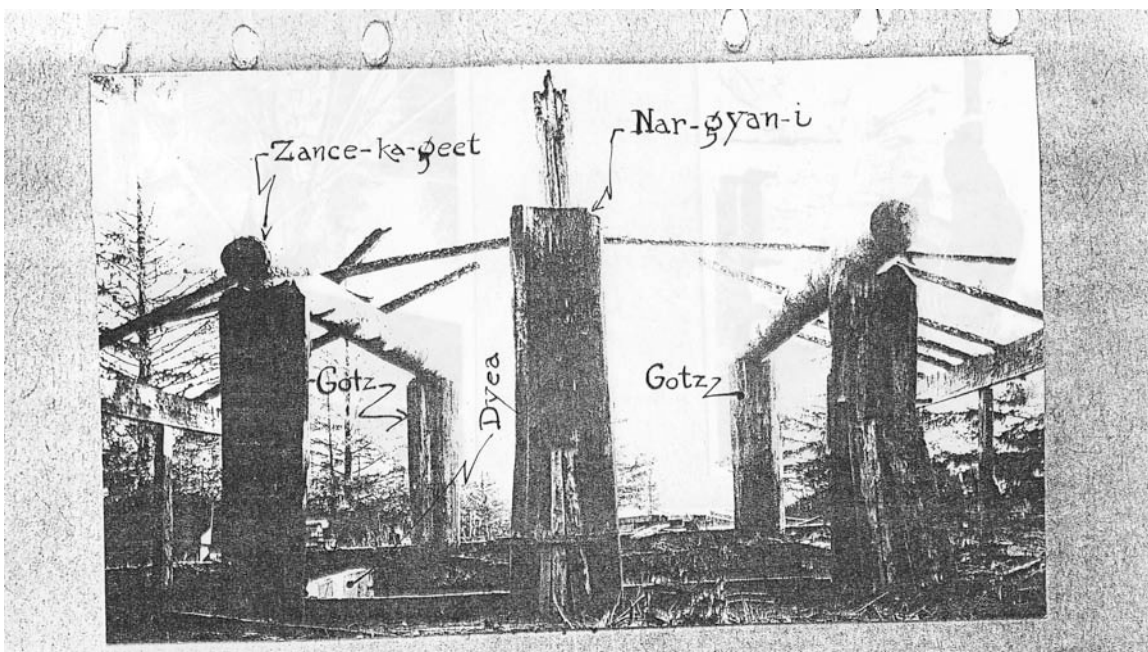


Fig. 2.9 Page from C.R. Snow's journal of Whale House construction at Kasaan, showing his notation of Haida terminology (spelled phonetically) (Tongass Historical Museum)



Fig. 2.10: Replica of Bear House post from Klinkwan in Hydaburg totem park, with two totem poles in background, c.1941. Note the heavy paint and cement bases for the poles. (USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 2.11 Eadwaerd Muybridge, *Tlingits at Fort Tongass*, 1868.
(Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley-490 Series 1, Unit 2)

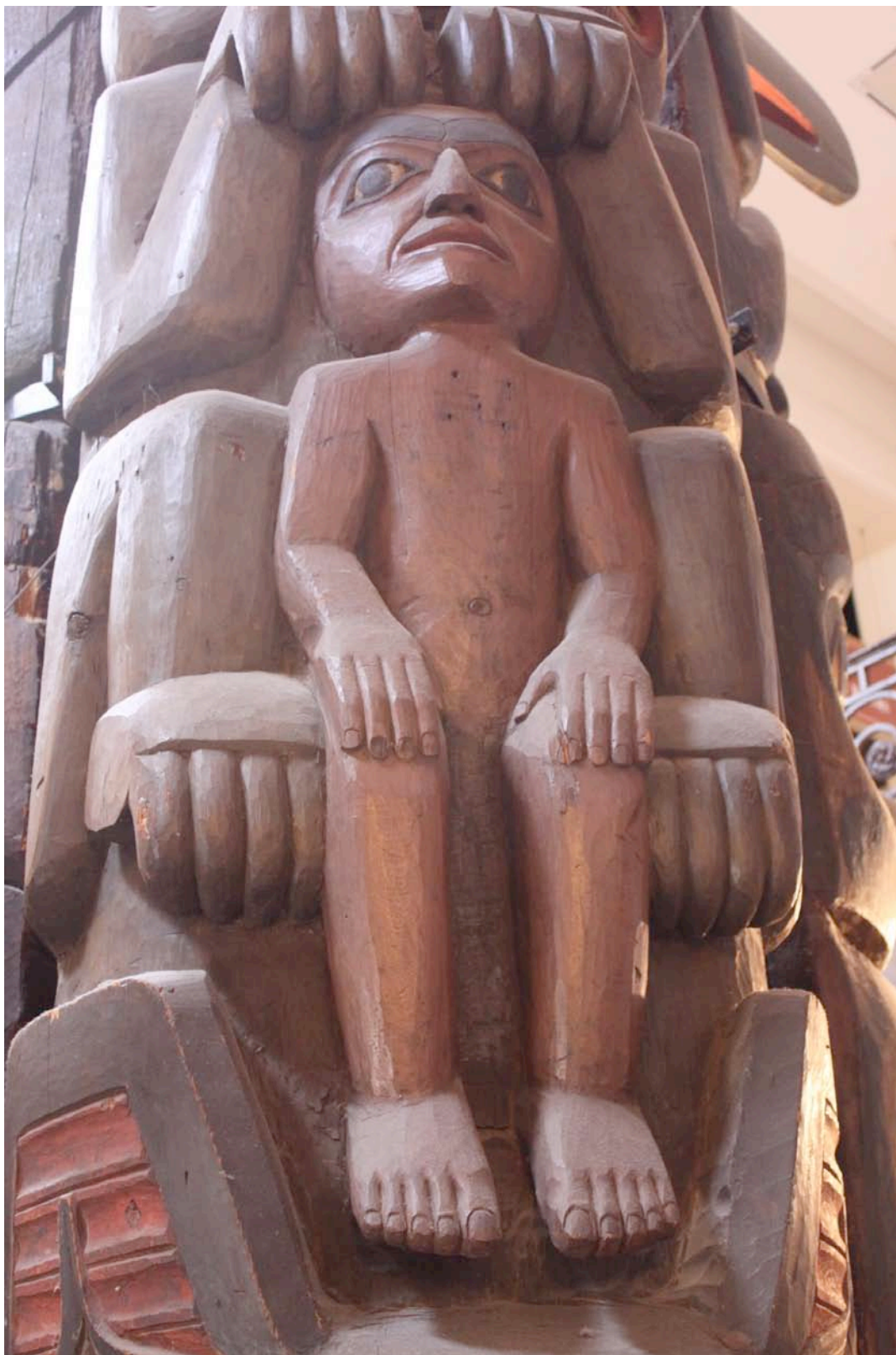


Fig. 2.12 Detail of human figure painted brown on totem pole attributed to John and Dwight Wallace, 1875. (National Museum of Natural History; author photo 2011)



Fig. 2.13 George Benson, sketch for the "Baranof Pole," 1940
(Sitka National Historical Park Archives)



Fig. 2.14 Baranof Pole, Sitka, Alaska. (Author photo 2009)

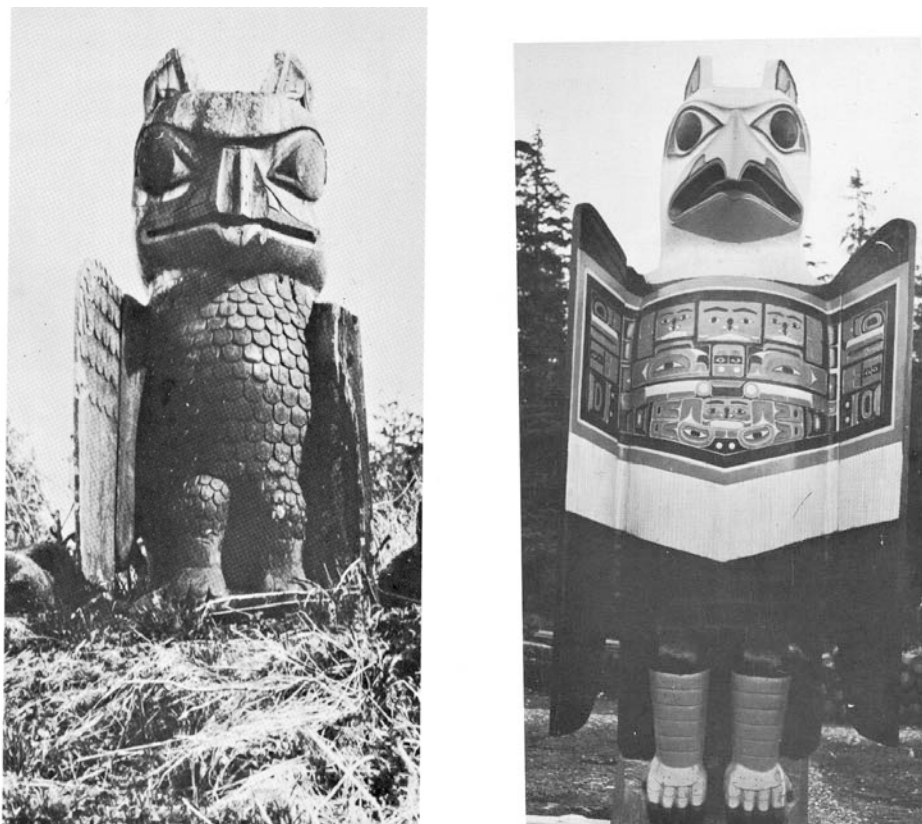


Fig. 2.15 a,b: A: Howkan Eagle as it appeared c. 1920s; B: Wallace's version of Howkan Eagle, 1941 (USFS Historical Photographs)



Fig. 2.16 High-ranking man wearing Chilkat blanket and other regalia, 1903.
(Royal British Columbia Museum)



Property of Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries. PH Coll 273

Fig. 2.17 Howkan Eagle, 1899
(B.A. Haldane photograph, University of Washington PH Coll 273)



Fig. 2.18 Chilkat blankets hung on Panting Wolf house post for 1904 potlatch in Sitka (E.W. Merrill photograph, Stratton Library, Sheldon Jackson College, Sitka M II B6d)



Fig. 2.19: Side panels of Chilkat blanket folded over man's arms; the central panel, which displayed his primary crest, appeared across his back
(Royal British Columbia Museum)

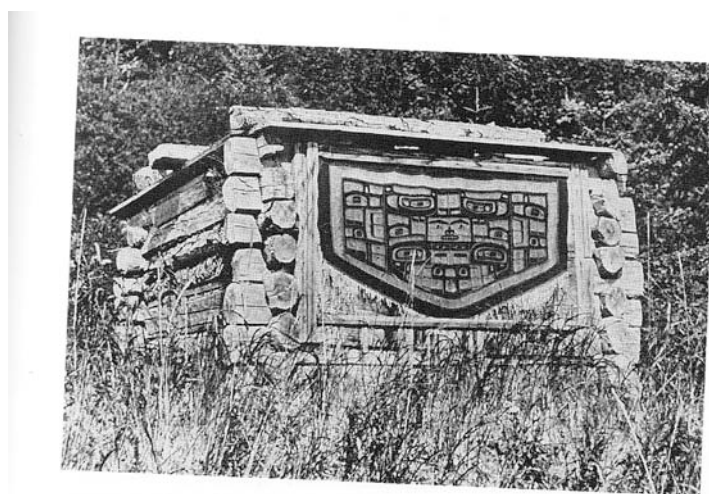


Fig. 2.20 Chilkat blanket on Tlingit gravehouse, c. 1902.
(Image from George Thornton Emmons, *The Tlingit Indians*)



Fig. 2.21 Chilkat blanket displayed on Skidegate the Great's mortuary pole, Haida Gwaii (Royal British Columbia Museum- Neg no. PN5163)

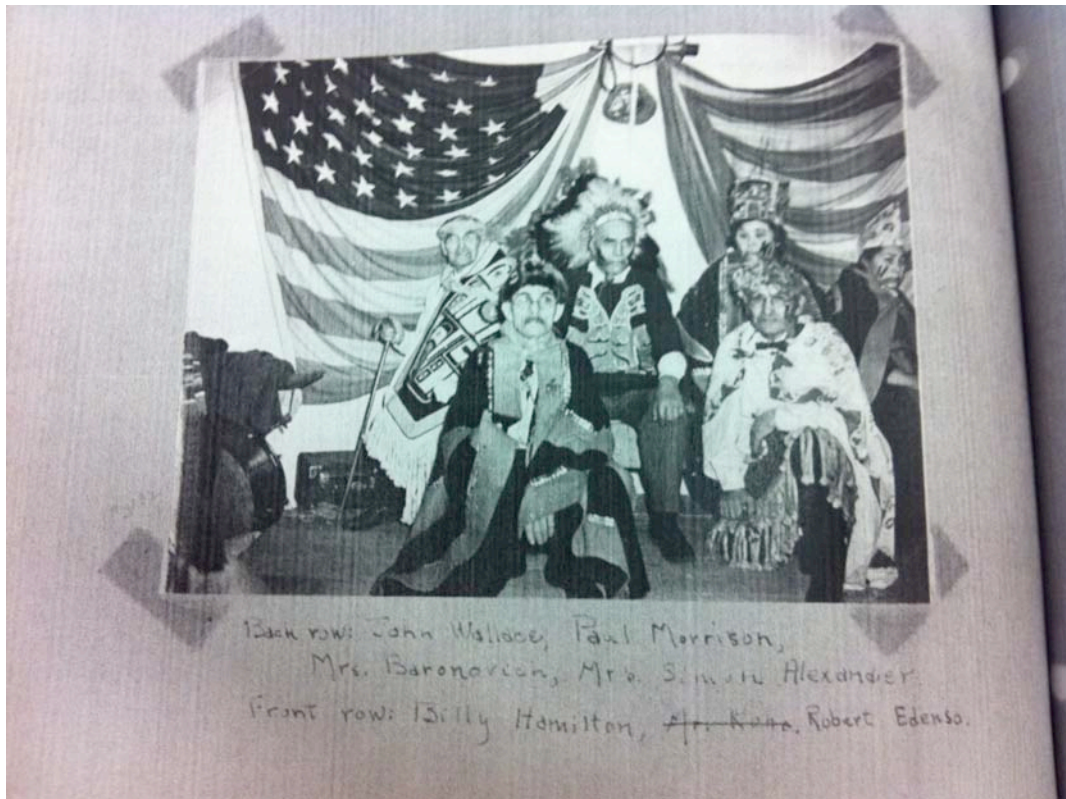


Fig. 2.22 Page from Viola Garfield's photo album showing John Wallace (back left) wearing canvas Chilkat blanket at 1940 potlatch in Hydaburg (Viola Garfield Photograph Collection, University of Washington Special Collections)

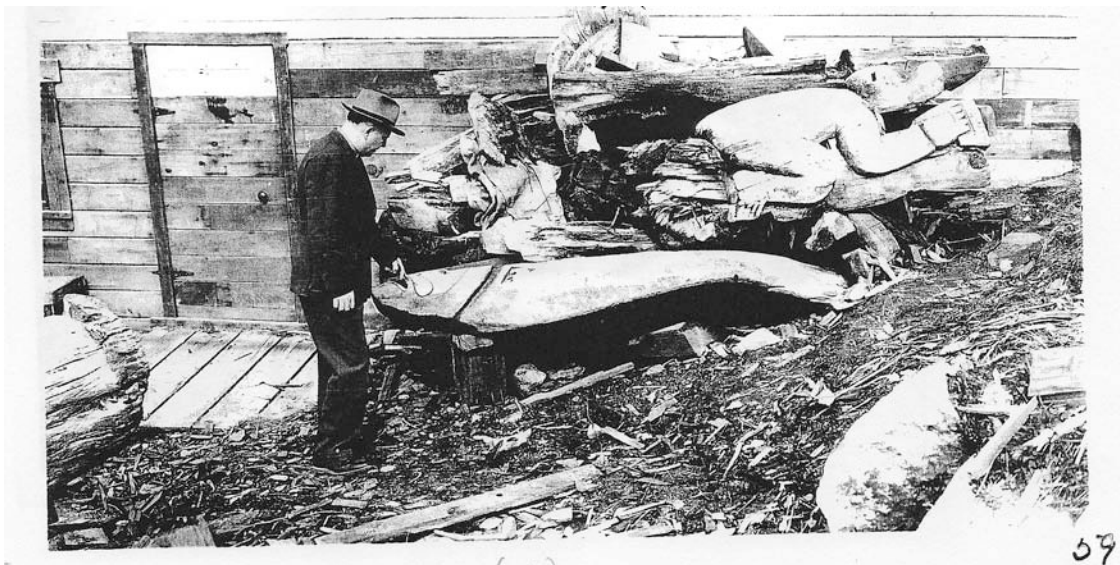


Fig. 2.23 Fragments of nineteenth-century poles stacked outside of Saxman ANB Hall (note lower figure is halibut from Old Tongass Village; upper right is cub from Bear Kaats pole from Cape Fox/Saxman) (USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 3.1 Charles Brown (right) standing with his father, William Brown, and the Lincoln finial from the Proud Raven Pole from Tongass Village, Saxman (USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 3.2 Plaque from City Park, showing William Brown's name listed as the owner of the Climbing Bear pole that had been brought to the park from Tongass Village in the 1920s (Author Photo; collection of Mary Ida Henrickson)

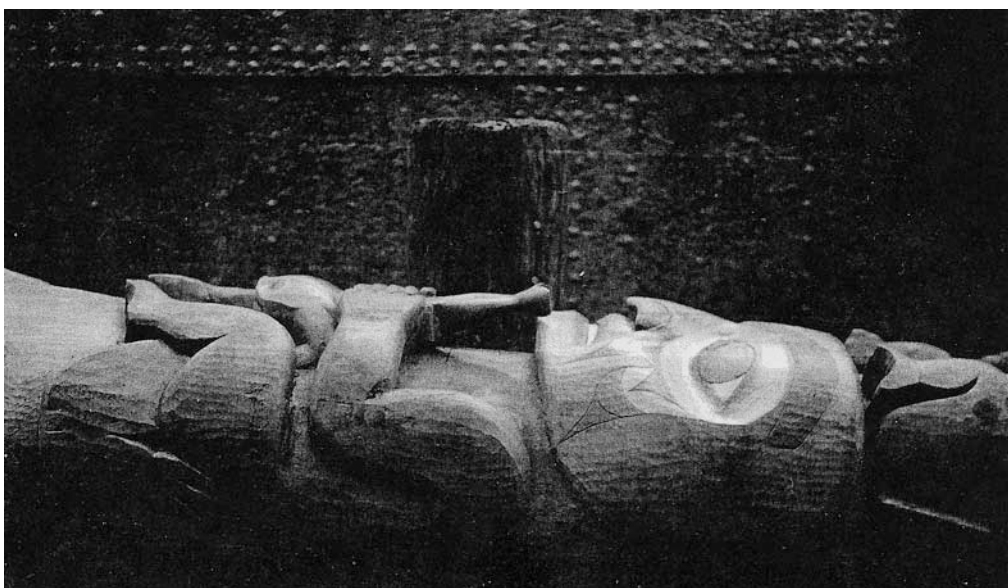


Fig. 3.3 "Seattle Pole" replica awaiting transport to Seattle on board ship, 1940. (USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 3.4 Charles Tagook and William Brown, Governor's Mansion Pole, Juneau, Alaska.
(Photo: Ellen Carrlee, Alaska State Museum, 2009)



Fig. 3.5 Detail of bottom figure, Governor's Mansion Pole, showing U-forms on cheek
(Photo: Ellen Carrlee, Alaska State Museum)



Fig. 3.6 Bear figure from Charles Brown's Pole on the Point, Totem Bight
(Author photo, 2009)



Fig. 3.7 Eadward Mubridge, *Tlingits at Fort Tongass*, 1868. Note totem pole on right with U-forms painted on cheek of human figure.

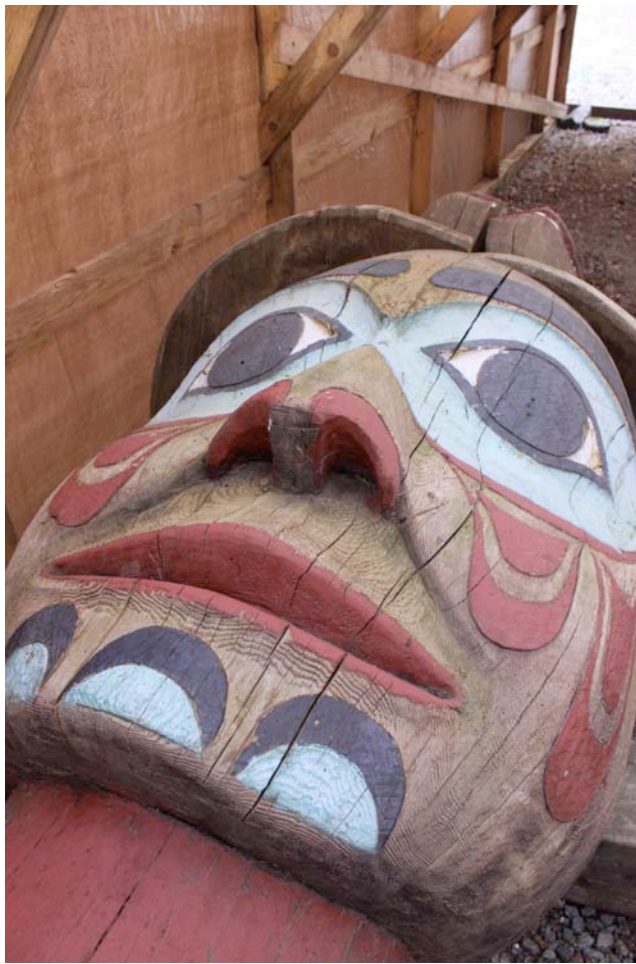


Fig. 3.8 Detail of Man Wearing Bear Hat house post by Charles Brown, replicated from a house post from Cat Island for Totem Bight (Author photo while pole under restoration, 2009)



Fig. 3.9 Detail of Man Wearing Bear Hat, showing U-forms carved in relief



Fig. 3.10 Detail of land otter figure on Charles Brown's Pole on the Point, Totem Bight
(Author photo, 2009)



Fig. 3.11 Detail of land otter totem pole carved by Klawock CCC camp, Totem Bight
(Author photo, 2009)



Fig. 3.12 Detail of the Wandering Raven pole by Charles Brown, showing Raven-at-the-Head-of-the-Nass figure, Totem Bight



Fig. 3.13 “Seattle Pole” replica by Saxman CCC camp, 1940, Pioneer Square, Seattle
(Author photo, 2009)



Fig. 3.14 Detail of Seattle pole replica (Author photo)



Fig. 3.15 Wandering Raven frontal pole by Charles Brown for clan house at Totem Bight, 1940 (Author photo, 2009)



Fig. 3.16 Chief Tlah-Co-Glass house posts, Alert Bay (Kwakwaka'wakw), 1909.
(University of Washington Special Collections NA 2767)



Fig. 3.17 Sun/Raven pole on Pennock Island, where it had been brought from Tongass Village c. 1900 (Tongass Historical Museum)

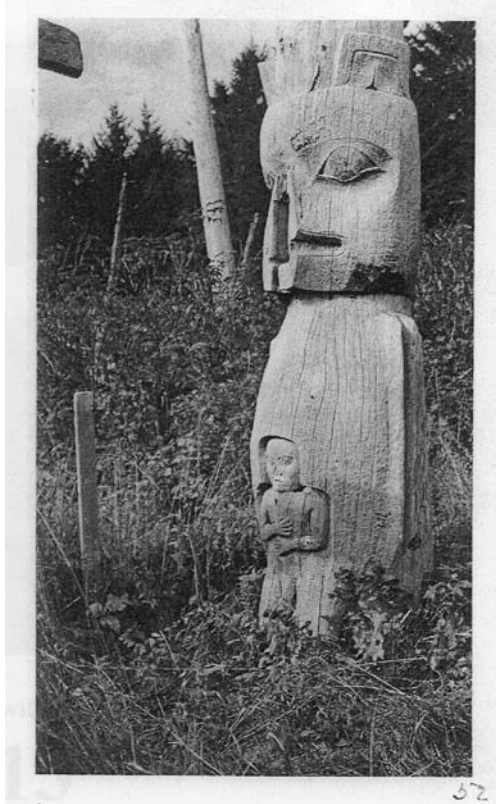


Fig. 3.18 Base of Proud Raven Pole, Tongass Island, as it appeared c. 1938 (USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 3.19 (a,b) Base of the Pole on the Point in its usual position in front of clan house, Totem Bight (Author photo 2009)



b) detail of Pole on the Point down for restoration in 2009



Fig. 3.20 a, b, c Details of Shaman figure from the Pole on the Point:
A (above left): whole figure; B (above right): detail of cheek and hair; C (bottom):
shaman with land otter staff (Author photos, 2009)



Fig. 3.21 Thomas Ukas, Wrangell 1940. (Otto Schallerer photograph, Forest Service Historical Photograph)



Fig. 3.22 William Yukas, Wrangell 1898. (Arthur C. Pillsbury photograph, Tongass Historical Society, Neg. No. 67.1.2.3)



Fig. 3.23 Eagle Pole by Thomas Ukas on Shakes Island, Wrangell
(Author photo 2009)



Alaska State Library - Historical Collections

Fig. 3.24 William Ukas, Raven Totem, 1895. (Winter and Pond photograph, Alaska State Library ASL-PCA-87)



Fig. 3.25 fragment of original Kiks.ádi Sun pole by William Ukas (Nolan Museum, Wrangell-Author photo 2009)



Fig. 3.26 detail of Eagle Totem by Thomas Ukas



Fig. 3.27 Kadashan Poles on Shakes Island after replication by CCC, 1941 (USFS Historical Photograph)

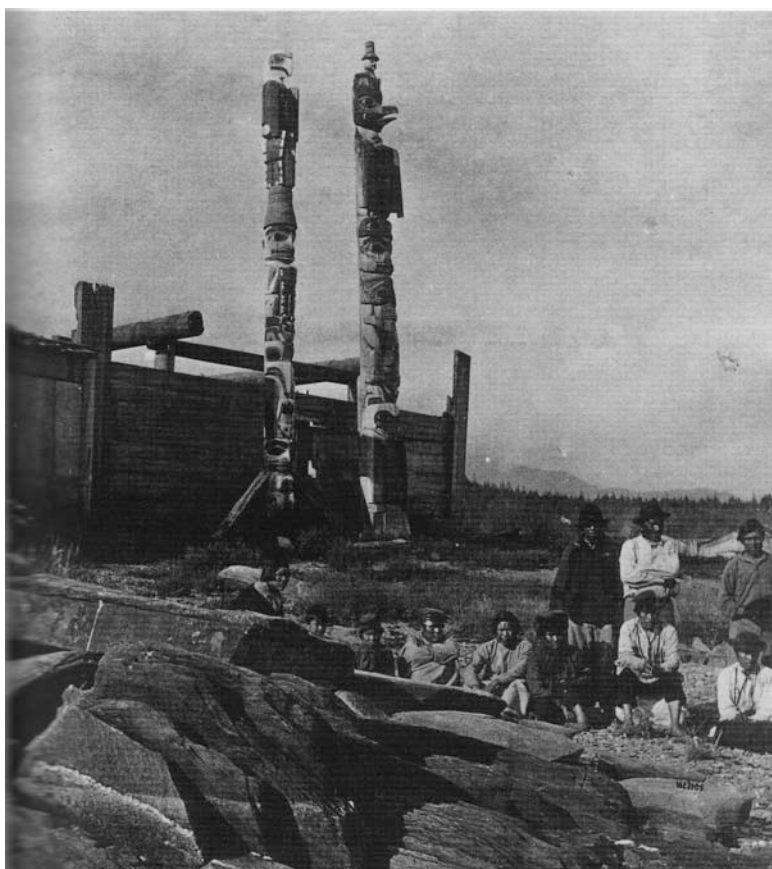


Fig. 3.28 Kadashan's poles, Wrangell 1868. (Eadweard Muybridge photograph, Bancroft Library, University of California neg. no. 1971.055:484)



Fig. 3.29 Kiks.ádi Sun Pole by William Ukas around the time it was erected in 1895, Wrangell (Winter and Pond Photograph, Alaska Historical Library, Neg. 87-128)



Fig. 3.30: Theodore J. Richardson, *The Raven Totem Pole* (before 1897).
Smithsonian American Art Museum, 1985.66.326,784



Fig. 3.31 Thomas Ukas's version of the Raven Pole, Wrangell, 1960s.
(Author photo, 2009)



Alaska State Library - Historical Collections

Fig. 3.32 George Benson, third from left, in Yakutat mandolin band, c. 1915.
(Fhoki Kayamori photograph, Alaska State Library PCA-55)



Fig. 3.33 model totem poles carved by Charles Bennett, Sr. c. 1930 (private collection; Image from Michael Hall and Pat Glascock, *Carvings and Commerce*)



Fig. 3.34 a,b Top and bottom halves of replica of Waasgo pole by George Benson, 1938.
Sitka National Historical Park Visitor's Center (Author photo, 2009)



Fig. 3.35 Frog/Raven pole replica by George Benson and John Sam, 1938. Sitka National Historical Park (Author photo, 2009)



Fig. 3.36 Raven/Bear frontal pole at Edwin Scott's Dogfish house, Klinkwan, 1890.
(University of Washington Special Collections)



Fig. 3.37 Raven/Bear pole in Sitka National Historical Park, with top bear crest changed to frog, c. 1910. (American Museum of Natural History neg. no. 124696)

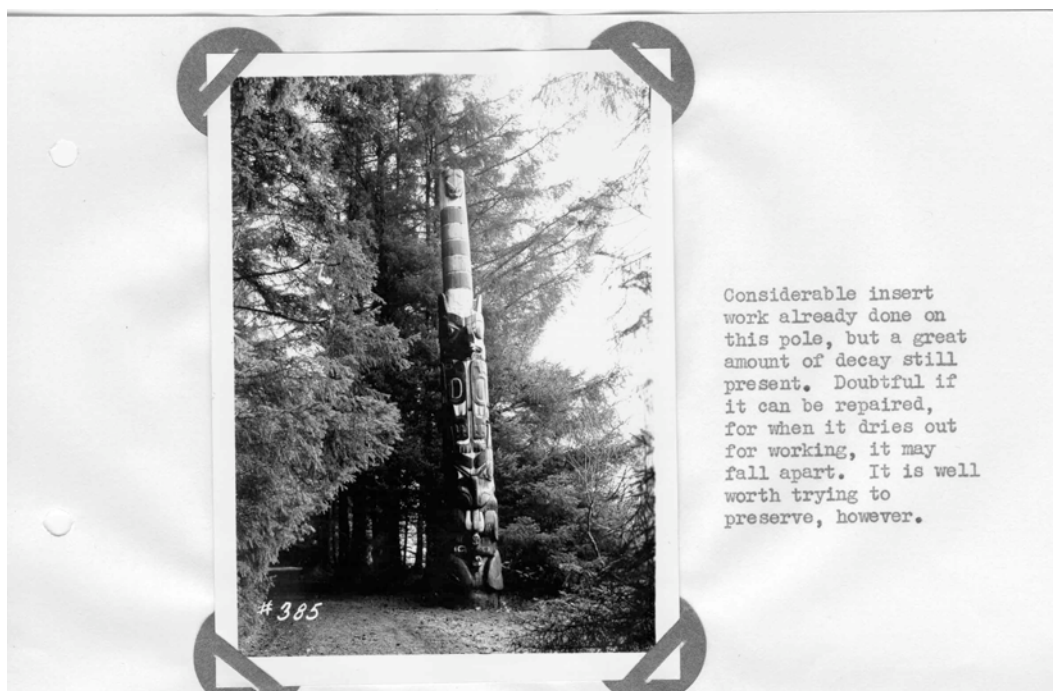


Fig. 3.38 Frog/Raven pole as it appeared in a Forest Service report from February 1939, before CCC restorations (RG 95 Box 2, NARA-Anchorage)



Fig. 3.39 Frog/Raven pole (far left) at the Alaska Pavilion, St. Louis International Exposition, 1904 (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University)



Fig. 3.40 Yeiltatzie's Waasgo pole at Koianglas, c. 1901. (C.F. Newcombe photograph, Smithsonian Institution neg. no. 92-7098)

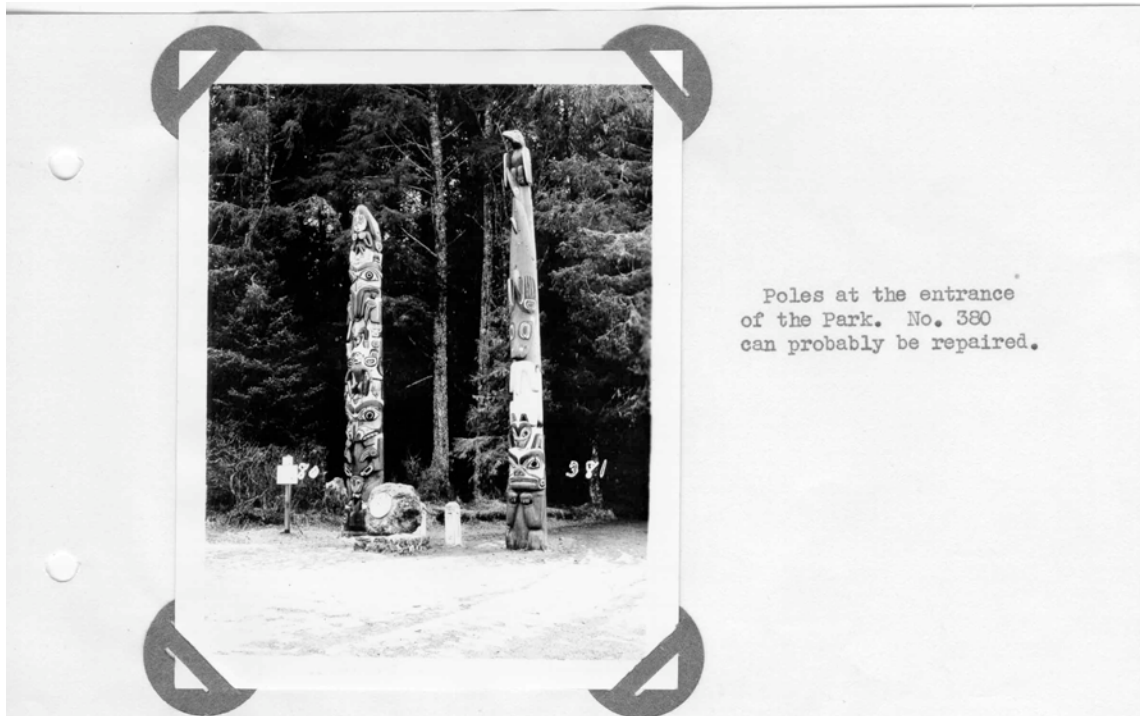


Fig. 3.41 Waasgo pole (left, identified as #380) as it appeared in Forest Service report of February 1939, before CCC restorations (RG 95, Box 2, NARA-Anchorage)



Fig. 3.42 Detail of model Waasgo pole by George Benson, 1960s (Indian Arts and Crafts Board Collection, National Museum of the American Indian-Author photo 2011)



Fig. 3.43 Detail of female figure on model pole by George Benson, c. 1960s for Indian Arts and Crafts Board Collection, NMAI (Author photo 2011)



Fig. 3.44 Detail of bear figure on model pole by George Benson, c. 1960s (IACB Collection, NMAI)



Fig. 3.45 George Benson with his model Waasgo Pole at the Southeast Alaska Indian Cultural Center, Sitka, 1964 (Sitka National Historic Park Collection SITK 968d)



Fig. 3.46 Model pole by George Benson, c. 1960s (IACB Collection, NMAI 259836.000)



Fig. 3.47 model pole by George Benson, c. 1960s (IACB, NMAI)



Fig. 3.48 Lakich'inei pole as restored by CCC, Sitka National Historical Park
(Author photo 2009)



Fig. 3.49 Base of Waasgo pole replica by George Benson, 1940.
Sitka National Historical Park (Author photo, 2009)



Fig. 3.50 Detail of Mosquito Legend Pole as replicated by Frank Kitka, 1939. Sitka National Historical Park (Author photo, 2009)



Fig. 3.51 (a,b) A: Thunderbird/Whale post at Totem Bight, 1990s replica
B: Bird effigy by George Benson c. 1960, on display at the National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C. (Author photo, 2011)



Fig. 3.52 Eagle effigy with base signed by George Benson, IACB Collection, NMAI
(Author photo, 2011)

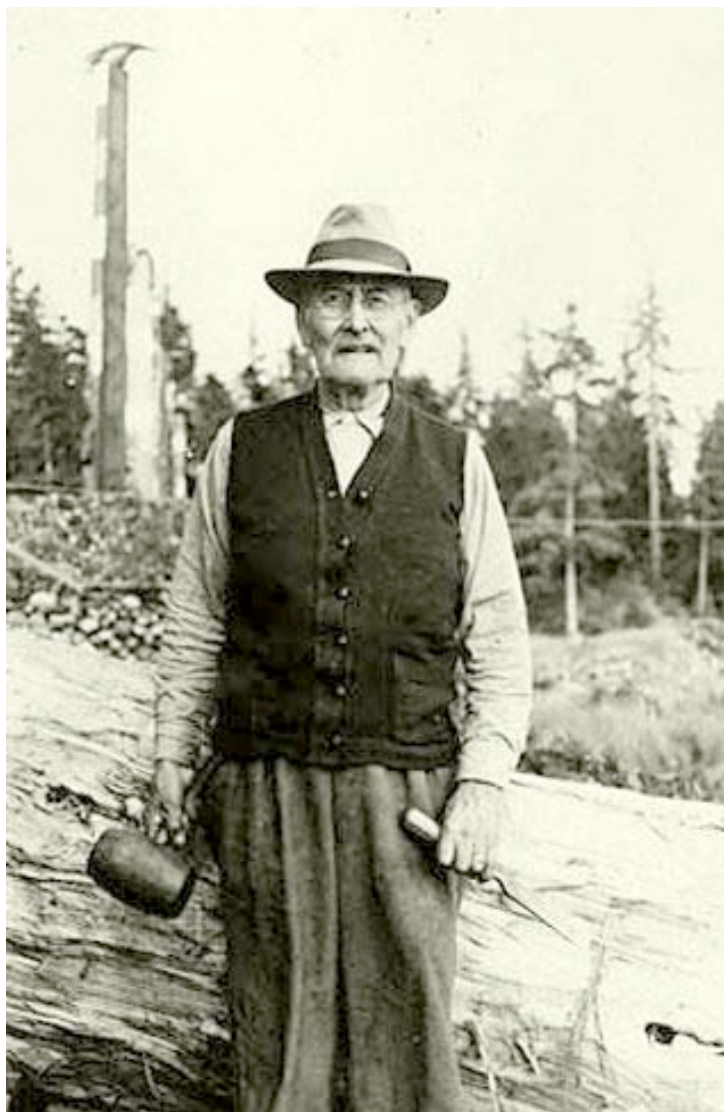


Fig. 3.53 John Wallace, Hydaburg totem park, 1940.
(USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 3.54 Dwight Wallace (right, with Chilkat blanket on lap) at Klinkwan, c. 1900
(Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University)



Fig. 3.55 Dwight Wallace, Old Witch Pole, c. 1880 Alaska State Building, Juneau
(Author photo 2008)



Fig. 3.56 Detail of Old Witch pole



Fig. 3.57 (left): Totem pole commissioned by James Swan for Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, 1876, now at National Museum of Natural History. Likely by John Wallace and/or Dwight Wallace. (Smithsonian Institution cat. No. 54298)

Fig. 3.58: Land otter totem pole from Sukkwan, Alaska, attributed to Dwight Wallace (University of Washington, Special Collections neg. no. 8592)

Fig. 3.59: Four Story Pole by John Wallace, 1940, Juneau, Alaska. Upper portion depicts man who battled land otters like the other two poles. (Author photo 2008)



Fig. 3.60a,b: Details of totem pole commissioned for 1876 Philadelphia Centennial
(Author photo 2011)



Fig. 3.61 Detail of Master Carpenter figure by John Wallace, 1941.
Totem Bight State Historic Park (Author photo 2009)



Fig. 3.62 “Single-fin” killerwhale grave monument carved by John Wallace, c. 1880. Howkan, Alaska. Commissioned by Moses Kul Kit of Howkan as a memorial to his uncle. (Alaska State Library, neg. no. 87-058 6.2)

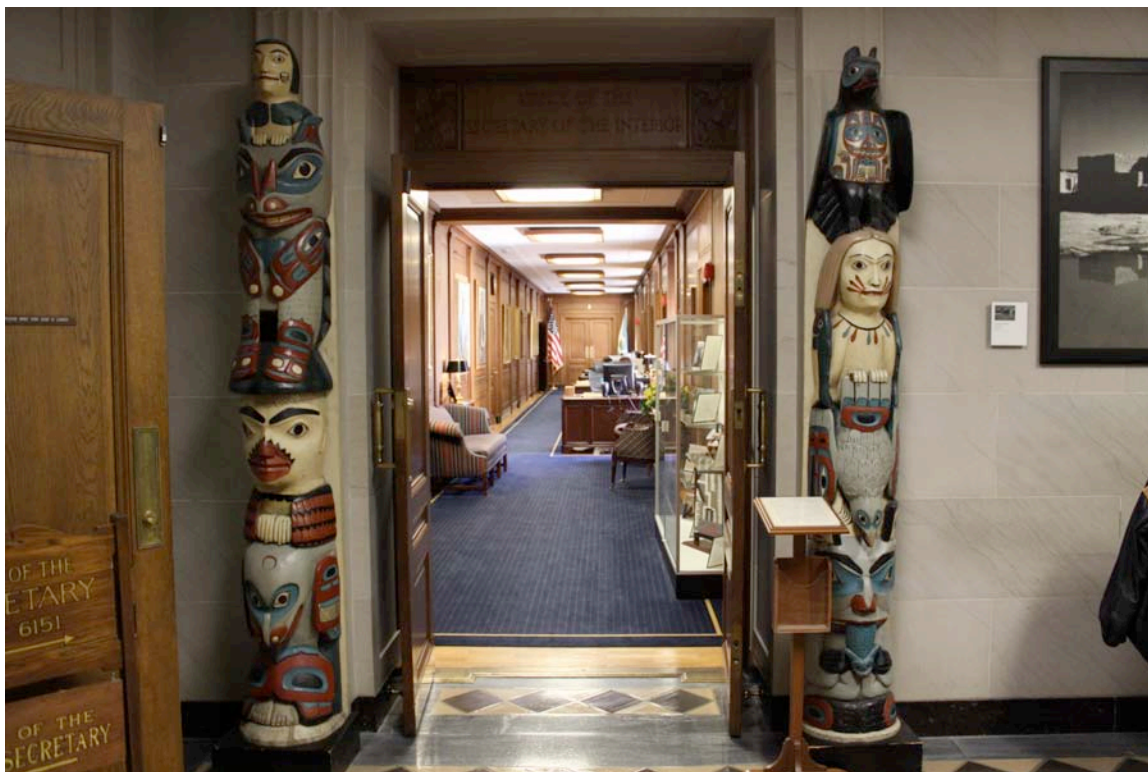


Fig. 3.63 Totem poles by John Wallace at the Secretary of the Interior Office, Washington, D.C. Carved 1931. (L: “Bullhead Totem” R: “Raven totem”) (Author photo 2011)



Fig. 3.64 Detail of figure on Bullhead Totem

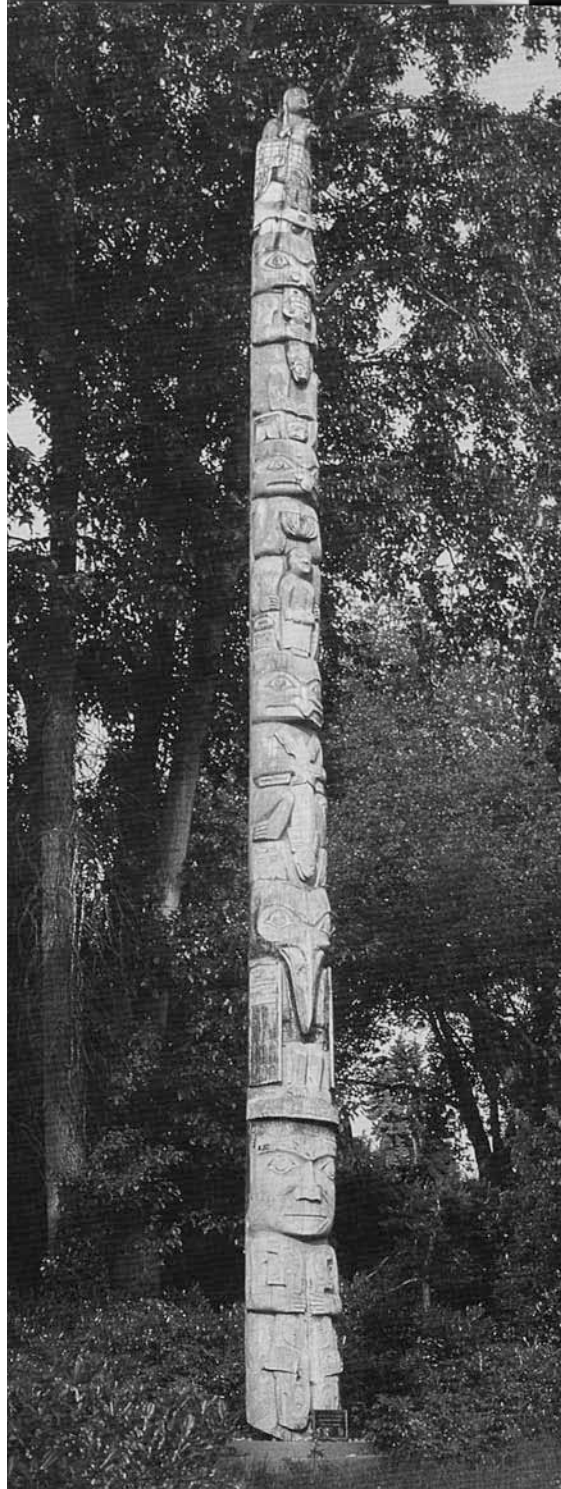


Fig. 3.65 “The Story of North Island” totem pole by John Wallace for Waterfall Cannery (Prince of Wales Island, Alaska), 1937. In 1983 this pole was presented to the City of Seattle as a gift and stands near the Museum of History. (Photo by Robin Wright, 2000)



Fig. 3.66 John Wallace (right) and Fred Wallace in the courtyard of the Indian Building at the San Francisco Golden Gate International Exposition, 1939. (IACB Scrapbook, RG 435, NARA, Washington, D.C.)



Fig. 3.67 Completed totem pole and house post by John Wallace and Fred Wallace in the Indian Building Courtyard, 1939 (IACB Scrapbook, RG 435 NARA, Washington, DC)



Fig. 3.68 John Wallace, Master Carpenter Pole, 1941. Totem Bight State Historic Park.
(Author photo 2009)

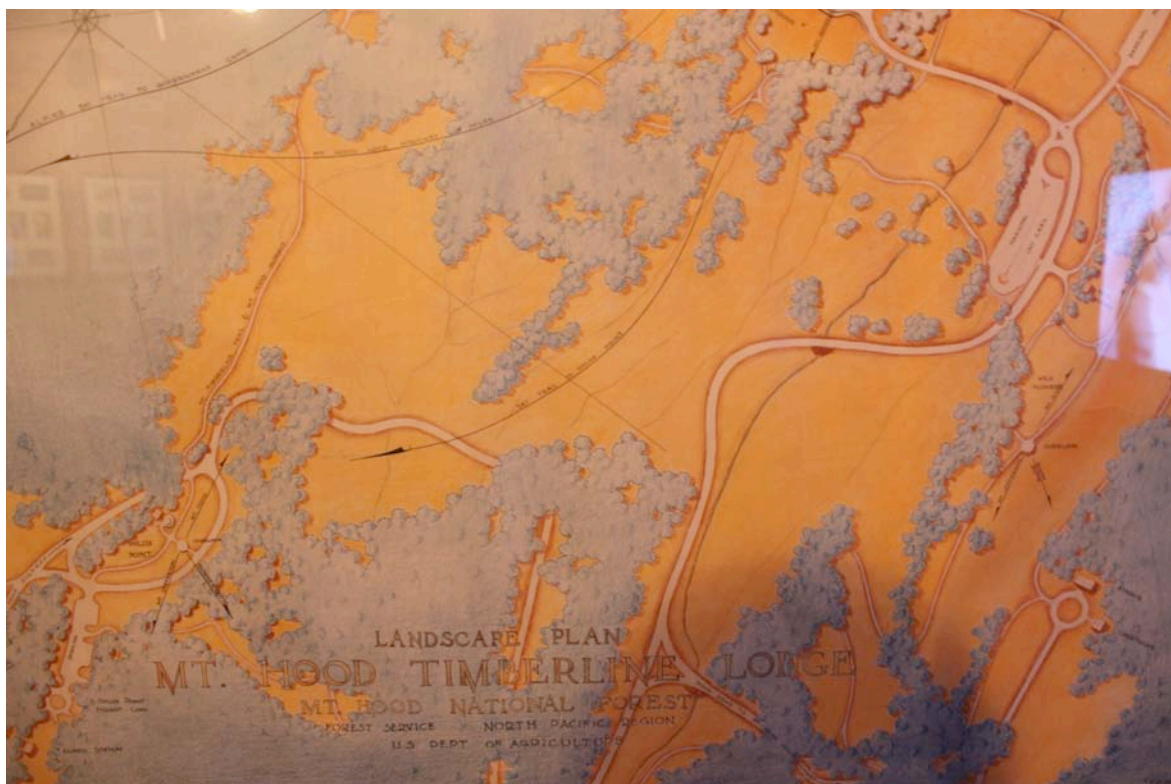


Fig. 4.1 Linn Forrest, "Landscape Plan, Mt. Hood Timberline Lodge," 1937. Timberline Lodge, Oregon. (Author photo, 2009)

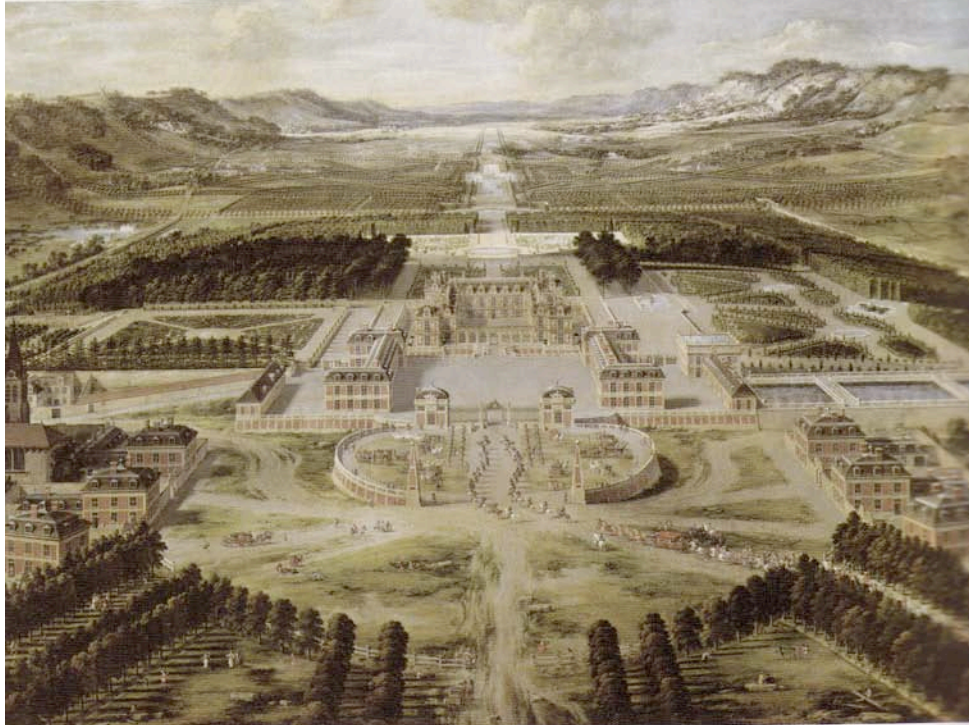


Fig.4.2 Pierre Patet, *View of Versailles*, 1668. Oil on canvas.



Fig. 4.3 Court of Honor, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, Illinois, 1893.
(Image from Robert Rydell, *All the World's A Fair*)

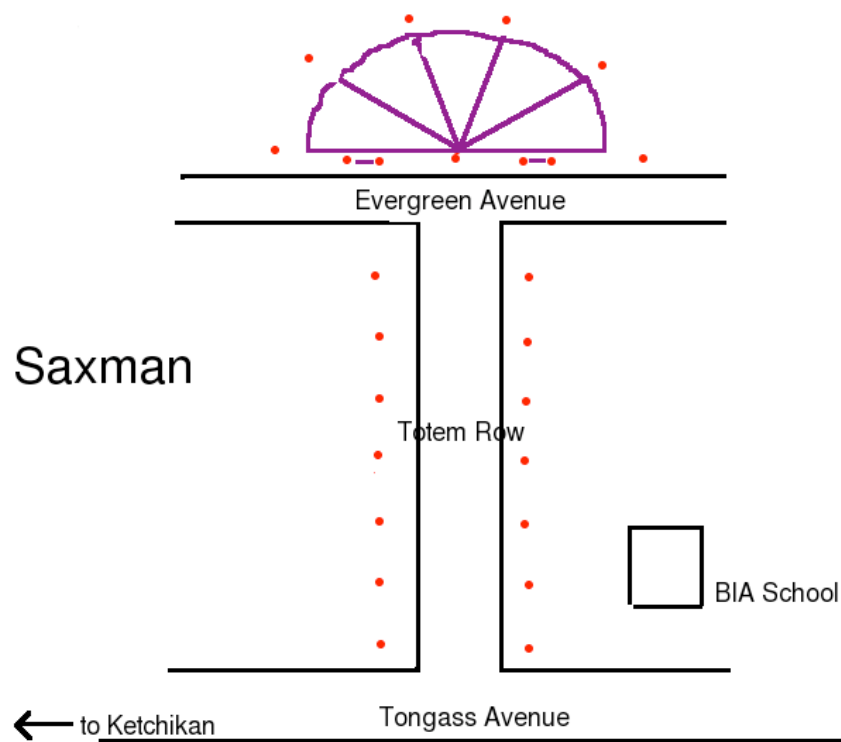


Fig. 4.4 Plan of Saxman Totem Park, with red dots marking location of totem poles and purple lines denoting gravel pathways in 1940. (Author map)

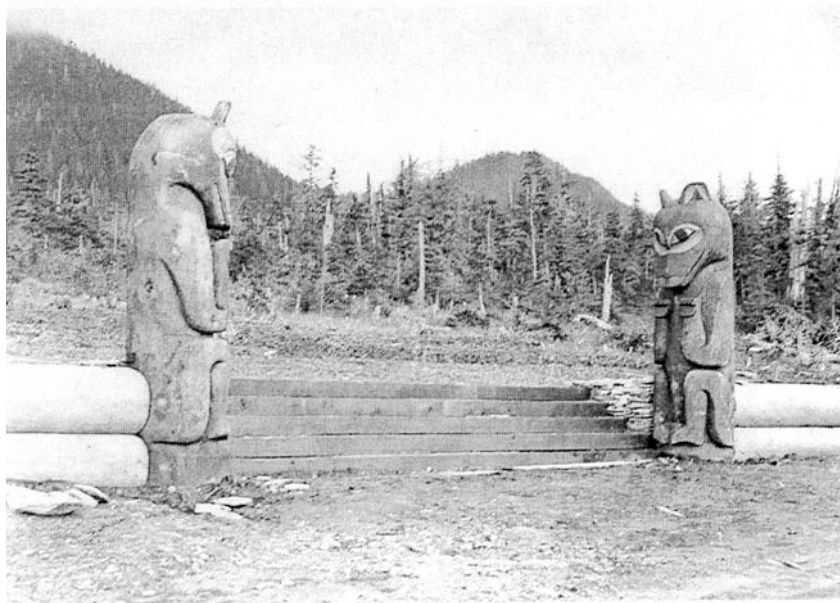


Fig. 4.5 Bear house posts as gate sentinels, Saxman Totem Park, 1940. (USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 4.8 Inner circle at Hydaburg totem park, with stone seal at center
(Author photo, January 2009)



Fig. 4.9 Hydaburg totem park, showing grid pattern for pathways.
(USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 4.10 Alaska Steamship Company brochure images, 1941.
(University of Alaska Anchorage Special Collections)



Fig. 4.11 Claude Lorrain, *Arcadian Landscape*, 1675.



Fig. 4.12 Frederick Law Olmsted, plan for Central Park (detail), c. 1880.
(Image from Witold Rybczyński, *A Clearing in the Distance*)

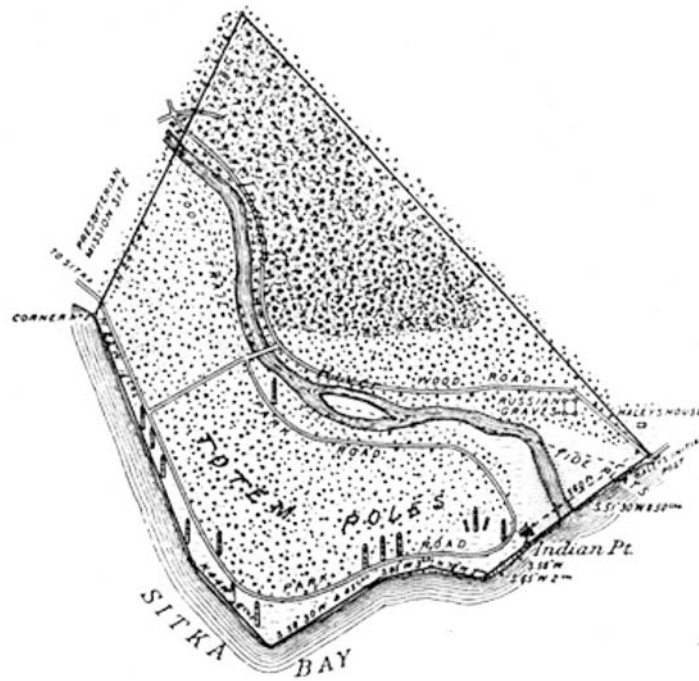


Fig. 4.13 Plan of Sitka National Monument, 1908. (National Park Service)

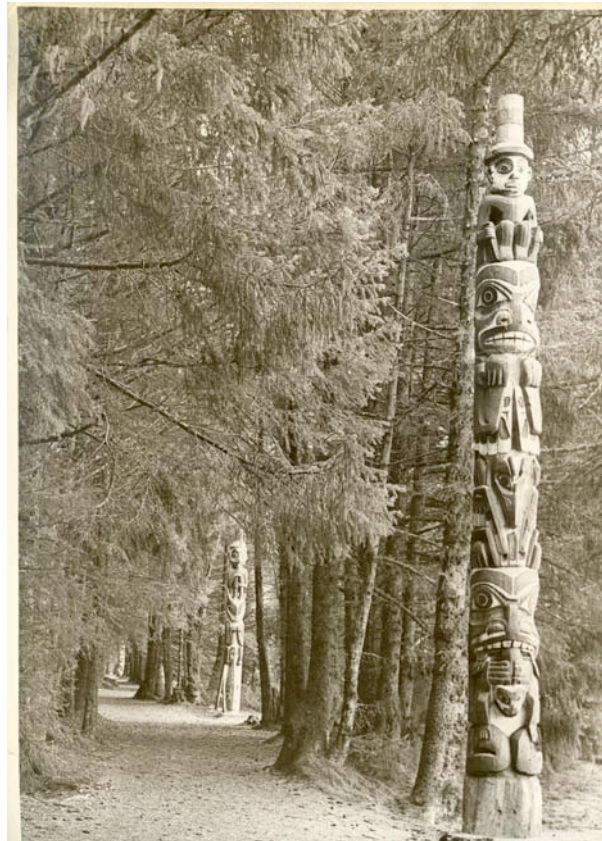


Fig. 4.14 Totem Poles at Sitka National Park, 1932. (Alaska State Library PC405)

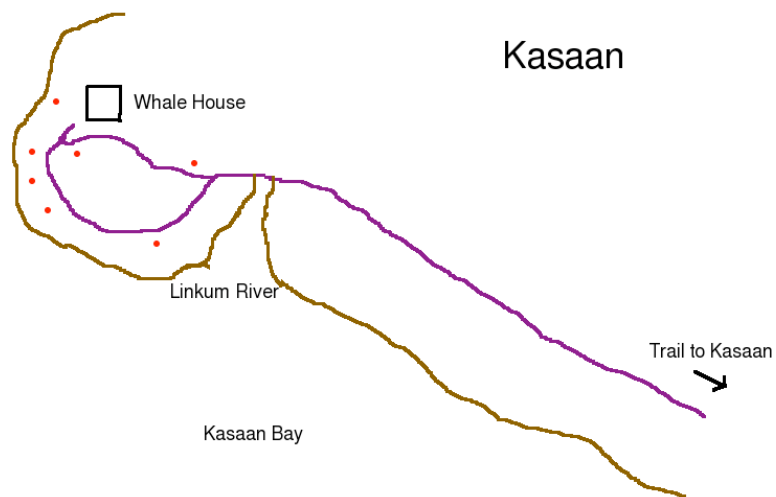


Fig. 4.15 Plan of Kasaan Totem Park. The rough outline of the coastline at low tide is shown in tan. (Author map)

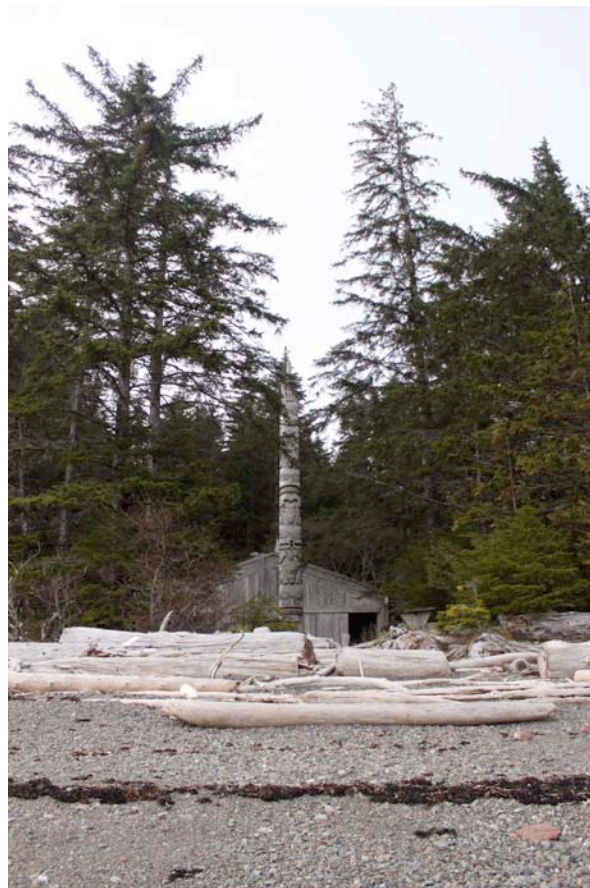
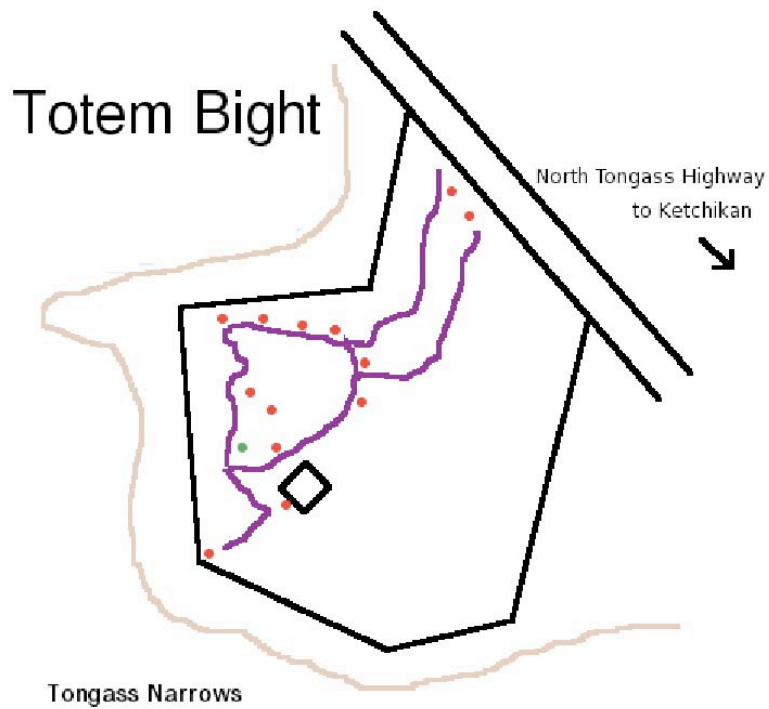


Fig. 4.16 Whale House and totem pole overlooking Kasaan Bay (Author photo, 2009)



Fig. 4.17 Bridge to totem park at Kasaan. (Author Photo 2009)



Tongass Narrows

Fig. 4.18 Plan of Totem Bight Park. (Author map)



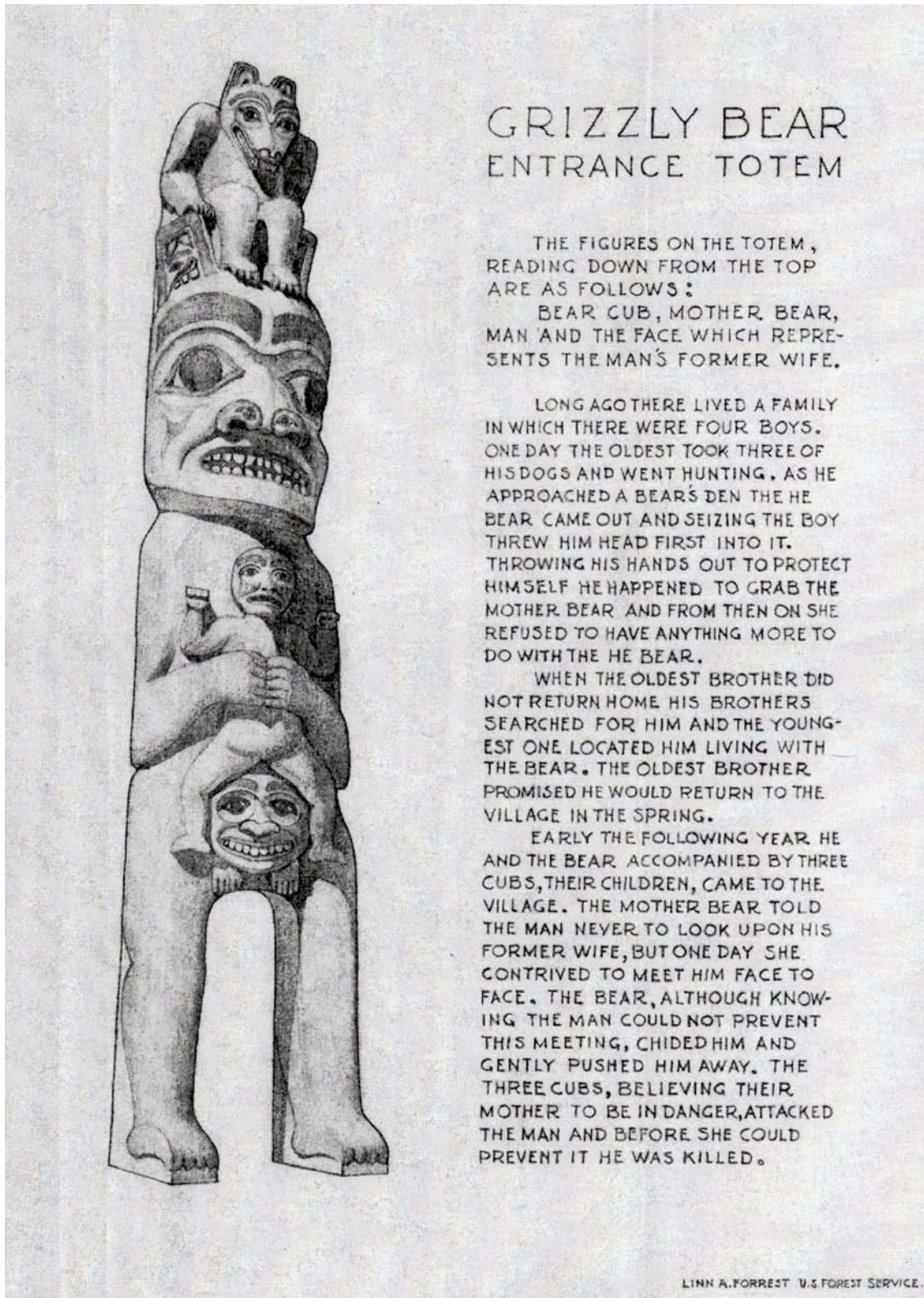
Fig. 4.19 Clan house and Pole on the Point, Totem Bight (Author photo 2007)



Fig. 4.20 Totem Bight, view from clan house down onto park. (Author photo 2009)



Fig. 4.21 CCC-era signage in rustic style at Shakes Island, Wrangell (Author photo 2009)



GRIZZLY BEAR ENTRANCE TOTEM

THE FIGURES ON THE TOTEM,
READING DOWN FROM THE TOP
ARE AS FOLLOWS:

BEAR CUB, MOTHER BEAR,
MAN AND THE FACE WHICH REPRESENTS
THE MAN'S FORMER WIFE.

LONG AGO THERE LIVED A FAMILY
IN WHICH THERE WERE FOUR BOYS.
ONE DAY THE OLDEST TOOK THREE OF
HIS DOGS AND WENT HUNTING. AS HE
APPROACHED A BEAR'S DEN THE BEAR
CAME OUT AND SEIZING THE BOY
THREW HIM HEAD FIRST INTO IT.
THROWING HIS HANDS OUT TO PROTECT
HIMSELF HE HAPPENED TO GRAB THE
MOTHER BEAR AND FROM THEN ON SHE
REFUSED TO HAVE ANYTHING MORE TO
DO WITH THE BEAR.

WHEN THE OLDEST BROTHER DID
NOT RETURN HOME HIS BROTHERS
SEARCHED FOR HIM AND THE YOUNGEST
ONE LOCATED HIM LIVING WITH
THE BEAR. THE OLDEST BROTHER
PROMISED HE WOULD RETURN TO THE
VILLAGE IN THE SPRING.

EARLY THE FOLLOWING YEAR HE
AND THE BEAR ACCOMPANIED BY THREE
CUBS, THEIR CHILDREN, CAME TO THE
VILLAGE. THE MOTHER BEAR TOLD
THE MAN NEVER TO LOOK UPON HIS
FORMER WIFE, BUT ONE DAY SHE
CONTRIVED TO MEET HIM FACE TO
FACE. THE BEAR, ALTHOUGH KNOWING
THE MAN COULD NOT PREVENT
THIS MEETING, CHIDED HIM AND
GENTLY PUSHED HIM AWAY. THE
THREE CUBS, BELIEVING THEIR
MOTHER TO BE IN DANGER, ATTACKED
THE MAN AND BEFORE SHE COULD
PREVENT IT HE WAS KILLED.

LINN A. FORREST U.S. FOREST SERVICE.

Fig. 4.22 Linn Forrest, design for sign for Saxman park, 1939. (RG 95 Box 2, NARA)

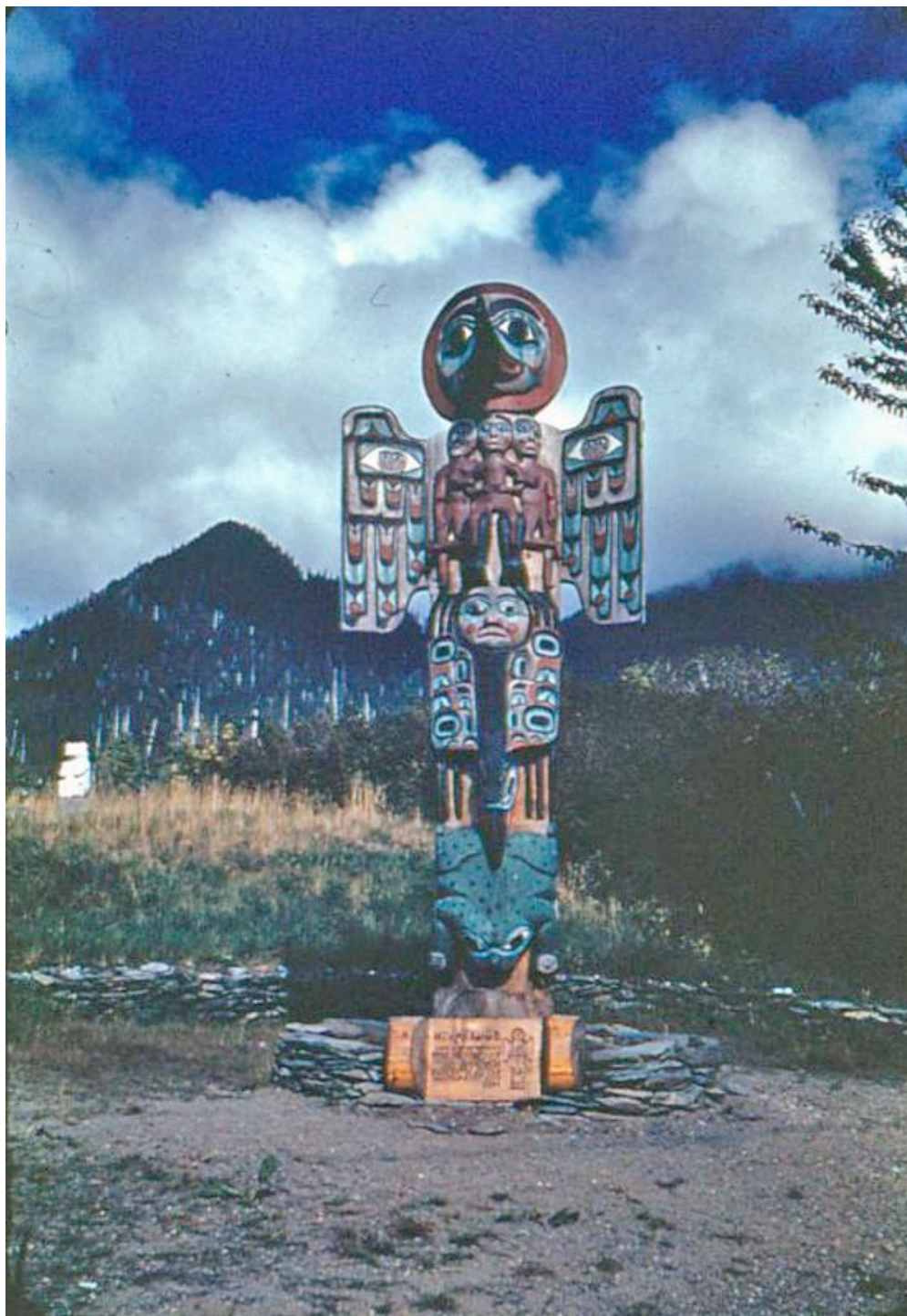


Fig. 4.23 Sun/Raven Pole with log roundel sign, Saxman Totem Park, 1940.
(Otto Schallerer photo, USFS Historical Photograph)

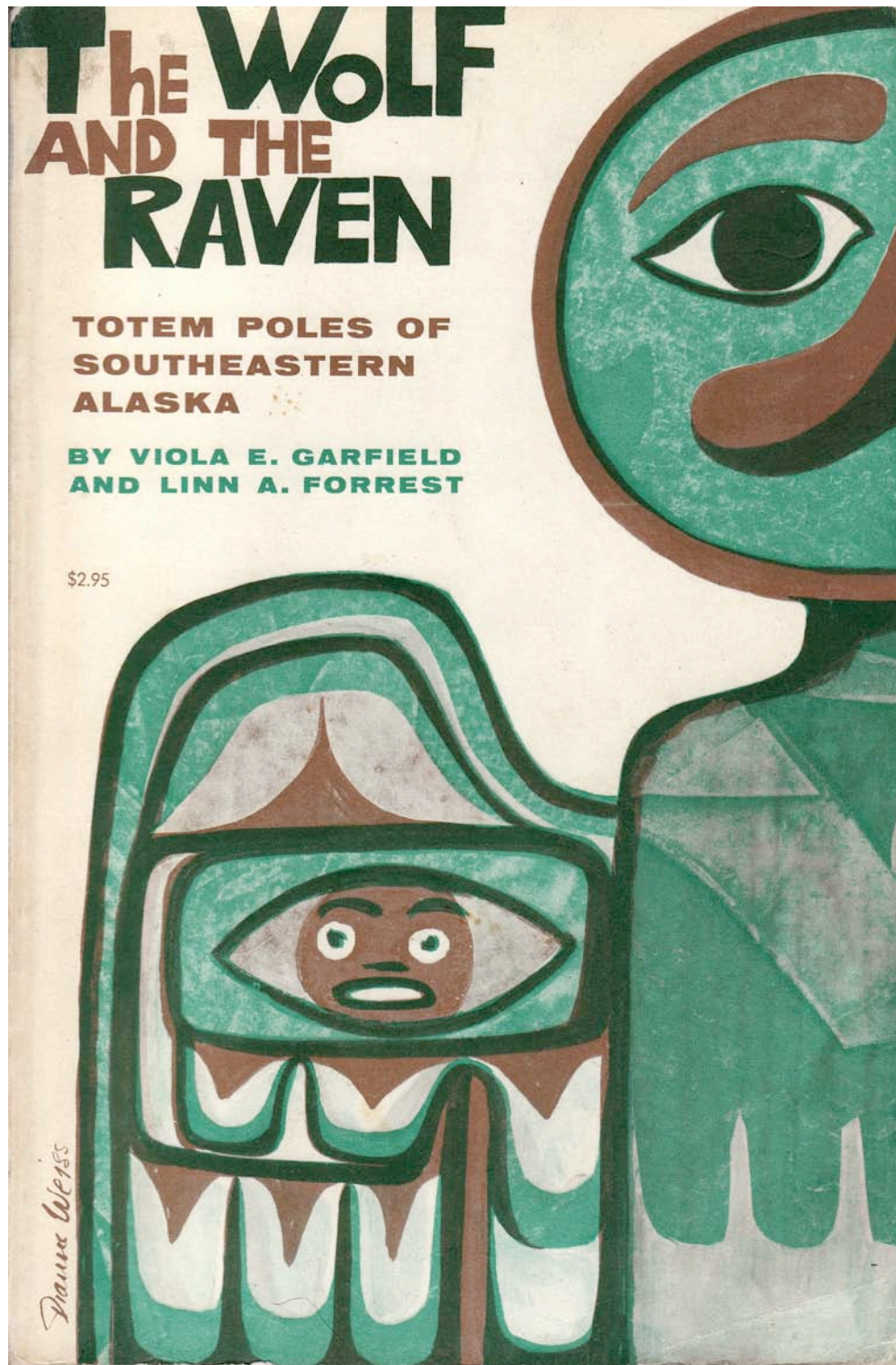


Fig. 4.24 *The Wolf and the Raven* (University of Washington Press, 1941)



Fig. 6. Beaver House Post



Fig. 7. Blackfish Pole

SAXMAN TOTEM PARK

Later someone found a bow and arrow in the hills back of the village and brought them in. The bow was so strong that no one could bend it, and the arrow was skillfully made. While the men were gathered round trying the bow, the small stranger came in and said that he would like to try it. They scoffed that anyone as small as he could bend it and threw it disdainfully at his feet.

Beaver picked up the bow and without any effort bent and strung it, sending the arrow swift and sure through the heart of their chief. Then they knew who had killed the fish. Beaver slapped the water with his tail as he ran off, overturning the whole village and killing most of the people. He then disappeared.

The survivors kept his bow and arrow and spear and took the beaver as their crest in memory both of the invention and the disaster that befell their village.

This story belongs to the Basket Bay Tlingit now living at Angoon. A woman from the old Basket Bay village married a Haida and went to live in his town. Her children had the right to the story, including the right to carve the beaver. However, one of them gave it to his Tlingit grandchild, which was unorthodox. The latter was a member of the group that built the house at Tongass and installed the two Beaver posts now in the Saxman Totem Park. The Basket Bay people maintain that the Haida had no right to give the story away, hence the Tongass had no right to carve the beaver.

The paddle-shaped, cross-hatched tail on each carving symbolizes the beaver. The face represents the joint at the base of the tail. One beaver holds the magic spear; the other the powerful bow and arrow.

THE BLACKFISH POLE

(FIGURE 7)

TWO ADVENTURES of the ancestors of people of Blackfish House of the Wolf phratry are illustrated on this carving. The main section symbolizes the blackfish, or killer whale, from which the

23

Fig. 4.25 Pages from *The Wolf and the Raven*, with explanation of poles and their stories

Fig. 36. Thunderbird and Whale, Klinkwan

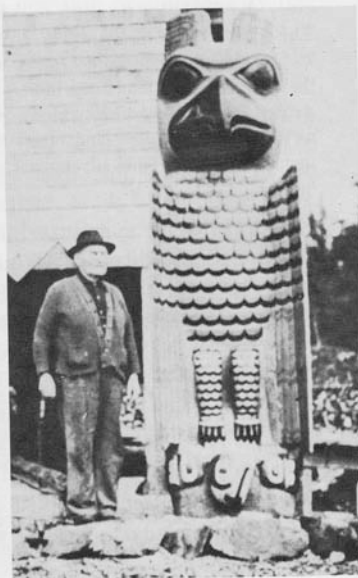


Fig. 37. Copy of Thunderbird and Whale

Fig. 4.26 Comparison images of nineteenth-century poles with CCC poles in *The Wolf and the Raven*



Fig. 4.27 Proud Raven pole, Saxman Totem Park, c.2000. Replica of 1940 pole by Charles Brown, which was replica of nineteenth-century pole from Tongass. (Author photo 2009)



Fig. 4.28 Wrangell Potlatch, opening ceremony on Shakes Island, June 3, 1940, Wrangell, Alaska (USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 4.29 Invitation with Chilkat blanket to Wrangell Potlatch, 1940. (Nolan Museum Archives, Wrangell)

FIRST ANNUAL WRANGELL POTLATCH EDITION 1940 THE WRANGELL SENTINEL

OLDEST CONTINUOUSLY PRINTED NEWSPAPER IN THE TERRITORY

VOLUME XXXVIII, NO. 22

WRANGELL, ALASKA, FRID

MAY 31, 1940

THREE TEN CENTS

Official Program Wrangell Potlatch Monday & Tuesday

FIRST DAY—JUNE 3

10 to 11 a. m.—Dedication of Hill Klane (Shake Community House). Unveiling of new Totem Pole on Shake Island.

11 a. m. to 12 noon—Lunch hour.

12 noon to 2 p. m.—Improvised Chief's inaugural ceremony. Main event of Potlatch starts with arrival of Indian canoe at Shake Island bringing guests to participate with Chief in the ceremony. Following brief ceremony at island, procession will form, led by Indian band, and move in colorful regalia up Front Street from island to Alaska Native Brotherhood hall where actual coronation of Kudanake as Chief Shake will take place, ceremony lasting most of afternoon.

12 noon to 5 p. m. (starting same hours as inaugural ceremonies)—Sports contests for children at school ground for prizes.

40-yard dash—two classes—boys.

40-yard dash—two classes—girls.

Potato race—two classes—boys.

Potato race—two classes—girls.

Back race—three classes—boys.

Back race—three classes—girls.

Three-legged race—two classes—boys.

Three-legged race—two classes—girls.

100-yard dash—two classes—boys.

Girls' bicycle race.

Boys' bicycle race.

Girls' baseball throw—two classes.

Obstacle race.

Ballroom race—two classes—boys.

Ballroom race—two classes—girls.

6 to 8 p. m.—Baseball game.

6 p. m.—Banquet at Wrangell Institute given by Chief Shake for invited guests.

9 to 11 p. m.—Primitive gambling games at ANB hall.

11 p. m. to 2 a. m.—Public dance in ANB hall, sponsored by Alaska Native Brotherhood.

SECOND DAY—JUNE 4

10 to 11 a. m.—Unveiling of Totem Pole at head of Front Street.

11 to 12 noon—Chief's Inaugural Ceremony at Shake Island.

12 to 1 p. m.—Lunch hour.

1 to 2 p. m.—Women's Ceremony in ANB hall (Indian Women's part of Inaugural Ceremony conducted while the men smoke).

2 to 4 p. m.—Dance hours at school grounds.

3 to 4 p. m.—Indian Band Concert on Shake Island.

5 to 8 p. m.—Dance and Contest.

8 to 10 p. m.—Cerebral dance at ANB hall.

10 p. m. to 2 a. m.—Potlatch dance sponsored by Wrangell Potlatch, Inc., where official costume, Potlatch blouse, should be worn.

CHIEF KUDANAKE-SHAKES VII



Chief Kudanake, descendant of the original chieftainship as 'Shake'. He is shown wearing blanket and the original Killer Whale hat which def...

Mayor Fisk Extends Official Welcome To Potlatch Visitors

POTLATCH SPONSORED BY FOREST SERVICE INDIAN OFFICE TOWN

Wrangell Potlatch, June 3-4, 5 sponsored jointly by the U. S. Forest Service, the U. S. Indian Office and the citizens of Wrangell, both white and Indian.

It celebrates completion of a two-year project to re-habilitate Wrangell's famous Totem pole and Chief Shake Community House, the latter having been restored to its original appearance.

The principal attraction on the large and varied program is the actual elevation to full chieftainship of Kudanake, seventh Great descendant of Chief Shake, who, during the ceremony will assume the honorary name of "Shake" and in honor of his illustrious ancestor in the famous "Battle of the Shikine".

Wrangell, emerging from its colorful past as a Hudson Bay outpost, Indian trap Trading Post, Indian town and American Port, now takes its low as Alaska's foremost Tourist Attraction.

On Monday and Tuesday Wrangell is celebrating its first Potlatch. It marks the dedication of restored Shake Island and the elevation of Kudanake to the position of Chief Shake, tribal ruler of the Tlingit people.

Wrangell people, both white and Indian, feel privileged to participate in paying the fitting honor to our fellow townsmen and good neighbor—Chief Kudanake-Shake. We feel grateful to the U. S. Forest Service, which through various agencies has made possible the restoration of our famed landmark—Shake Island. We appreciate the fine work of the Indian Office, the Civilian Conservation Corps and all agencies who have assisted in bringing this project to completion as an historic attraction for the Town of Wrangell.

Therefore, in behalf of the people of Wrangell, I hereby officially designate Monday and Tuesday as Potlatch Days. To the hundreds of visitors who join with us in celebration, I bid welcome. We are happy to have you come. We will make every effort to make your stay a memorable one.

WAS II FISK
Mayor of Wrangell.

CHIEF SHAKES ASSIMILATED

Fig. 4.30 Front page of *The Wrangell Sentinel*, May 31, 1940. (Nolan Museum Archives, Wrangell)

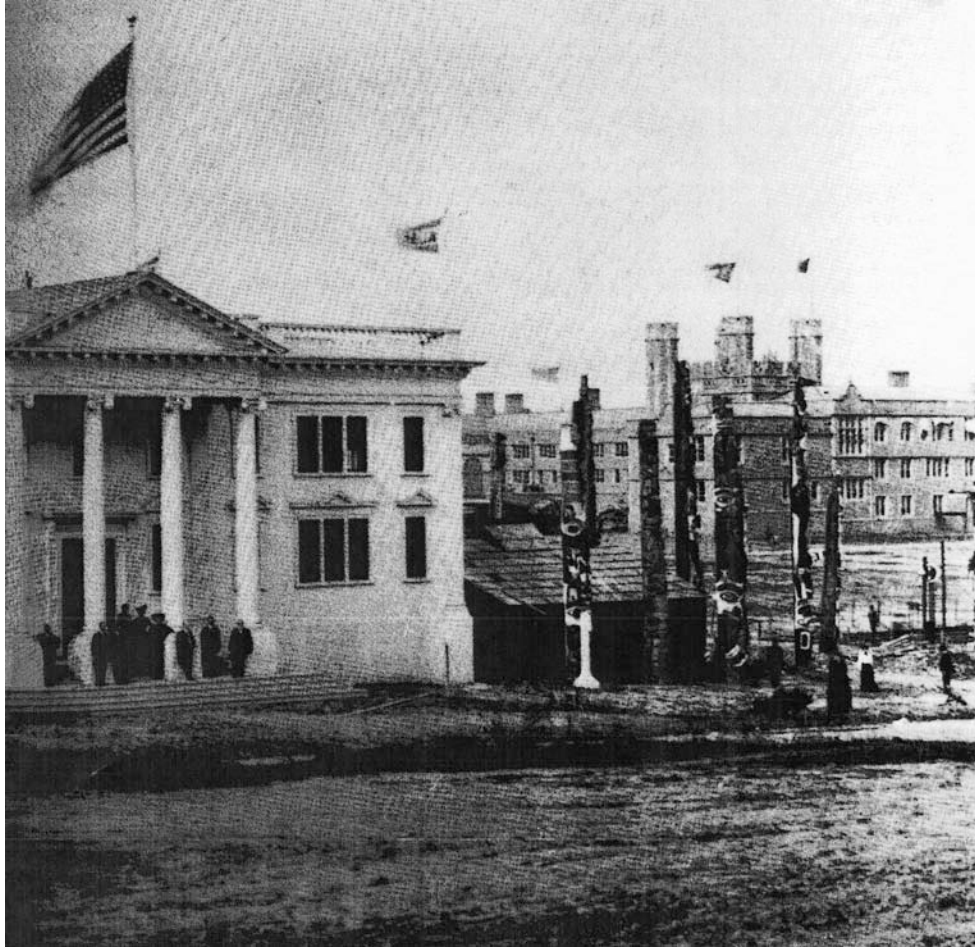


Fig. 4.31 Alaska Pavilion and Haida clan house and totem poles, Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, 1904. (Image from Victoria Wyatt, "A Unique Attraction")

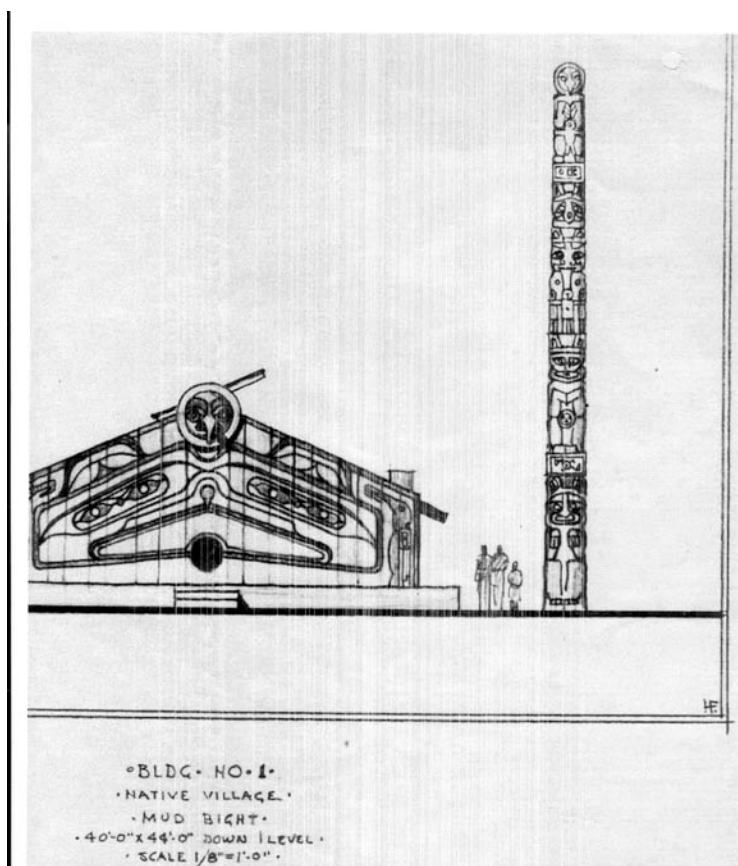


Fig. 4.32a Linn Forrest, elevation drawing for Building No. 1 at Mud Bight (Totem Bight), 1940. (RG 95, Box 3-NARA, Anchorage)



Fig. 4.32b Captain Gold's House, First Beach, Haida Gwaii, late nineteenth century. (Royal British Columbia Museum, PN 9059)

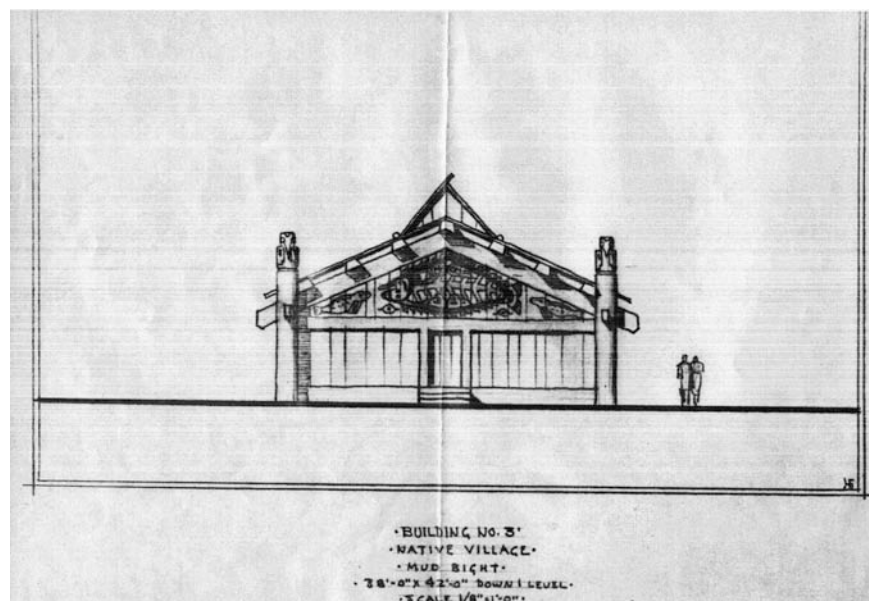


Fig. 4.33a Linn Forrest, elevation drawing for Building No. 3 at Mud Bight (Totem Bight), 1940. (RG 95, Box 3-NARA, Anchorage)



Fig. 4.33b Neixádi Clan House, Saxman, c. 1902. (Tongass Historical Museum 92.2.9.3)

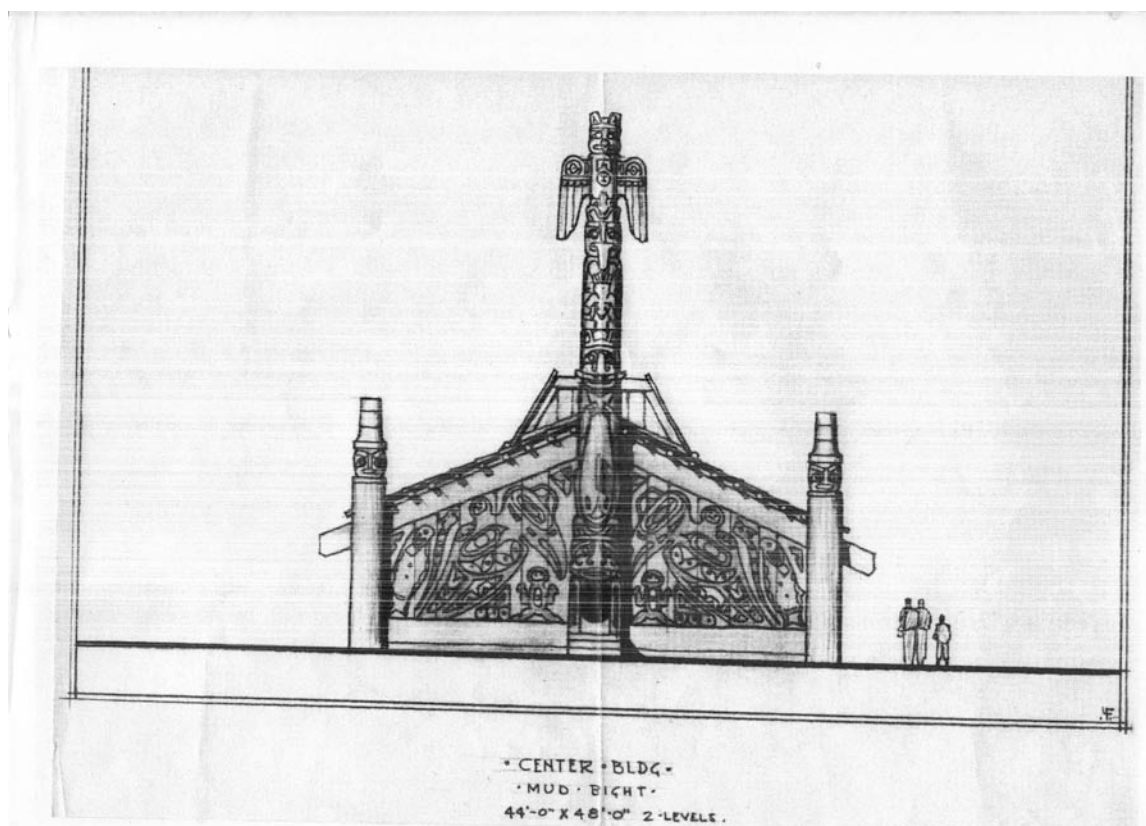


Fig. 4.34a Linn Forrest, elevation drawing for Center Building at Mud Bight (Totem Bight), 1940. (RG 95 Box 3-NARA, Anchorage)



Fig. 4.34b House front painting by Charles Brown, said to be raven, 1940. (Author photo, 2007)

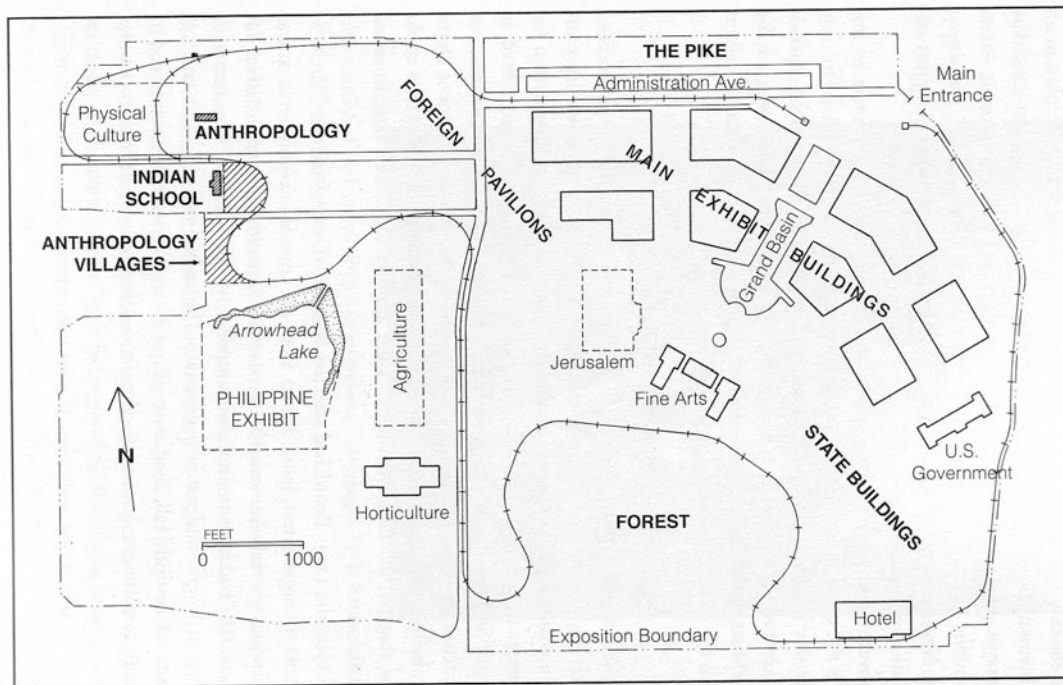


Fig. 1.2. Plan map of exposition. Map by Charles Sternberg.

Fig. 4.35 Plan of St. Louis World's Fair, 1904. Note the Indian School's placement near the Anthropology Villages, which were arranged on a continuum of "savage" to "civilized." (Map from Nancy Parezo and Don Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair*)



Fig. 4.36 BIA School next to Totem Row, Saxman, 1940s.
(Schallerer postcard, Tongass Historical Museum)



Fig. 4.37: Procession of local Wrangell Tlingits in regalia to Wrangell Potlatch (USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 4.38a,b A: Tlingit woman in button blanket and spruce root hat; B: man in Chilkat robe, beaded apron, bear's ears headdress, Wrangell Potlatch, 1940. (Otto Schallerer photographs, private collection)



Fig. 4.39 Mary Miyasato? in Chilkat blanket, attached hair bands and feather duster, and Converse sneakers. Wrangell Potlatch, June 1940. (Otto Schallerer photograph, private collection)



Fig. 4.40 Charles Jones arrives in the Wrangell Harbor in the *Kéet yakw* (killerwhale canoe), paddled by Kake Tlingits, June 3, 1940 (USFS Historical Photograph)



Fig. 4.41 Coronation of Charles Jones as Chief Shakes VII in the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Alaska Native Sisterhood Hall, Wrangell, June 3, 1940. (Linn Forrest Photograph Collection, Sealaska Heritage Institute)



Fig. 5.1 "Sightseeing Tour of Totems," postcard by Otto Schallerer, c. 1950 (Tongass Historical Museum)



Fig. 5.2 Postcard of tourist posing with Kwakwaka'wakw house post in Alert Bay, British Columbia, c. 1920s; back of postcard had handwritten note: "The Curious Things of Canada." (Collection of Candy Waugaman)



Fig. 5.3 Postcard of model totem poles for sale from Ye Olde Curiosity Shop, Seattle, Washington, c. 1910. (Image from Kate Duncan, *1001 Curious Things*)

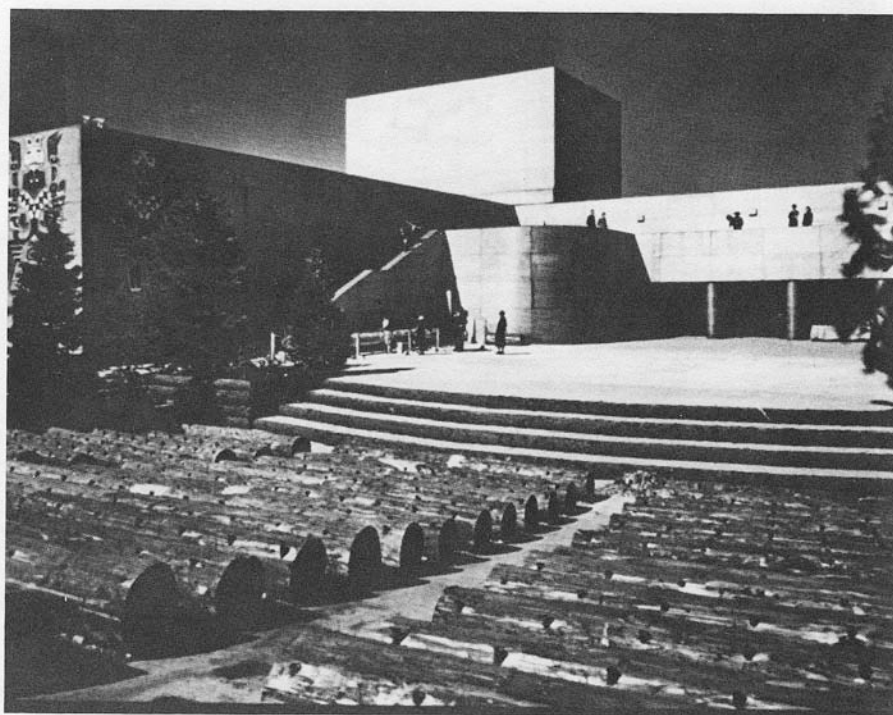


Fig. 5.4 Indian Exhibition Building, Golden Gate International Exposition, San Francisco, 1939. ("IACB Scrapbook," RG 435, NARA, Washington, D.C.)

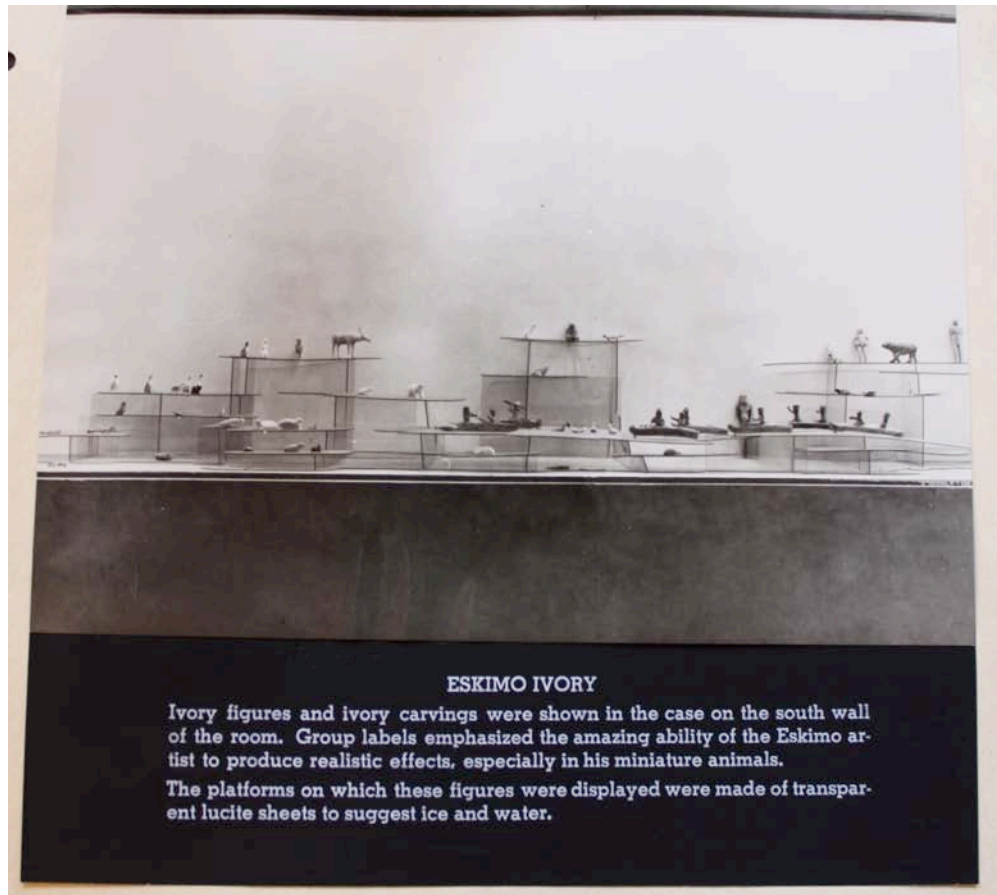


Fig. 5.5 Page from IACB Scrapbook, showing display of Eskimo ivory at 1939 Fair (RG 435, NARA, Washington, D.C.)

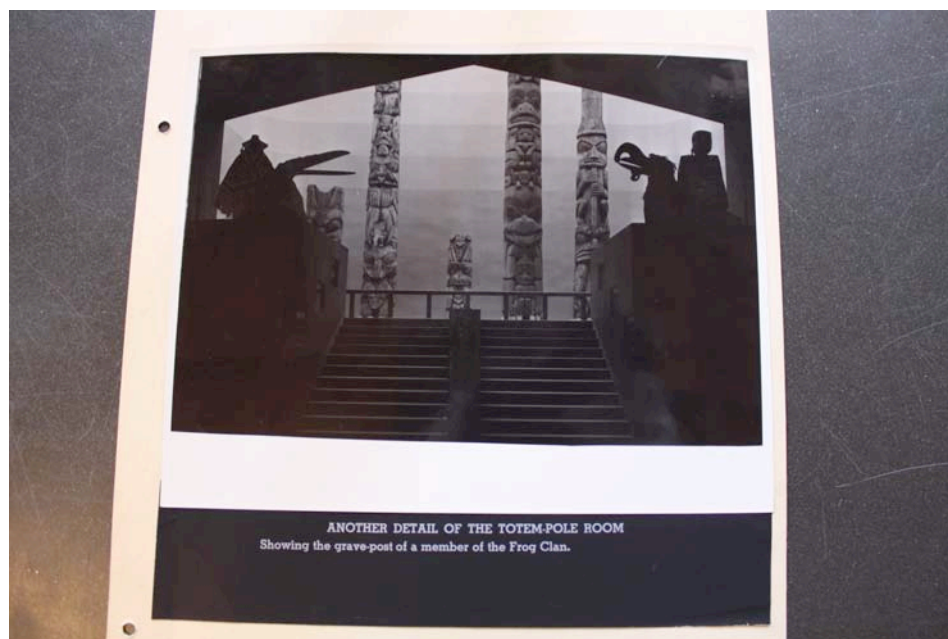


Fig. 5.6 Page from IACB Scrapbook, showing Totem Pole Hall

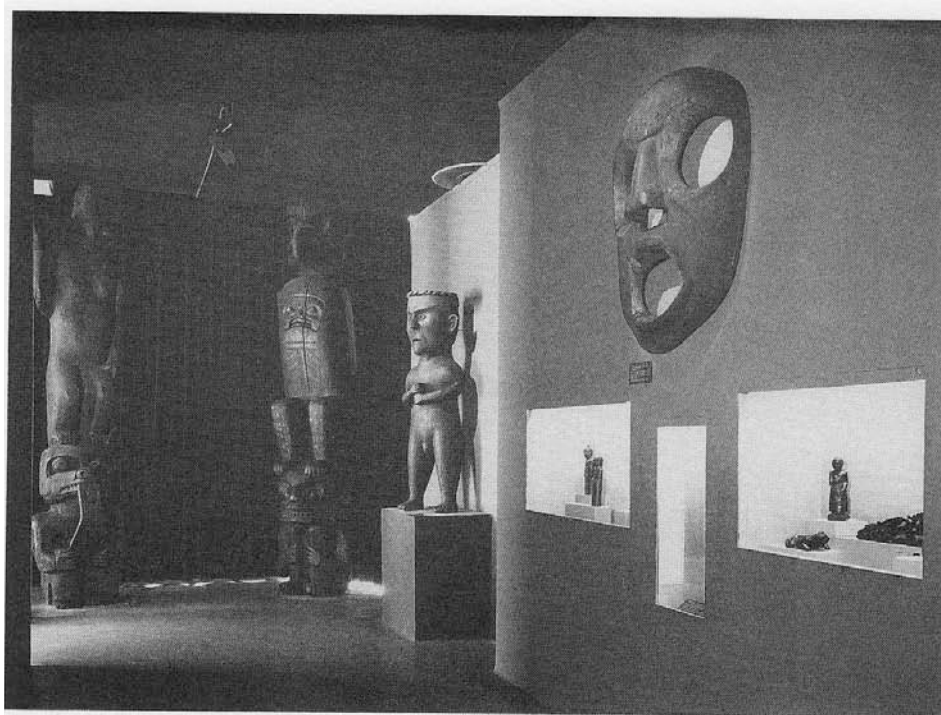


Fig. 5.7 Installation of Northwest Coast Native art in *Indian Art of the United States*, 1941 (Museum of Modern Art Photograph)

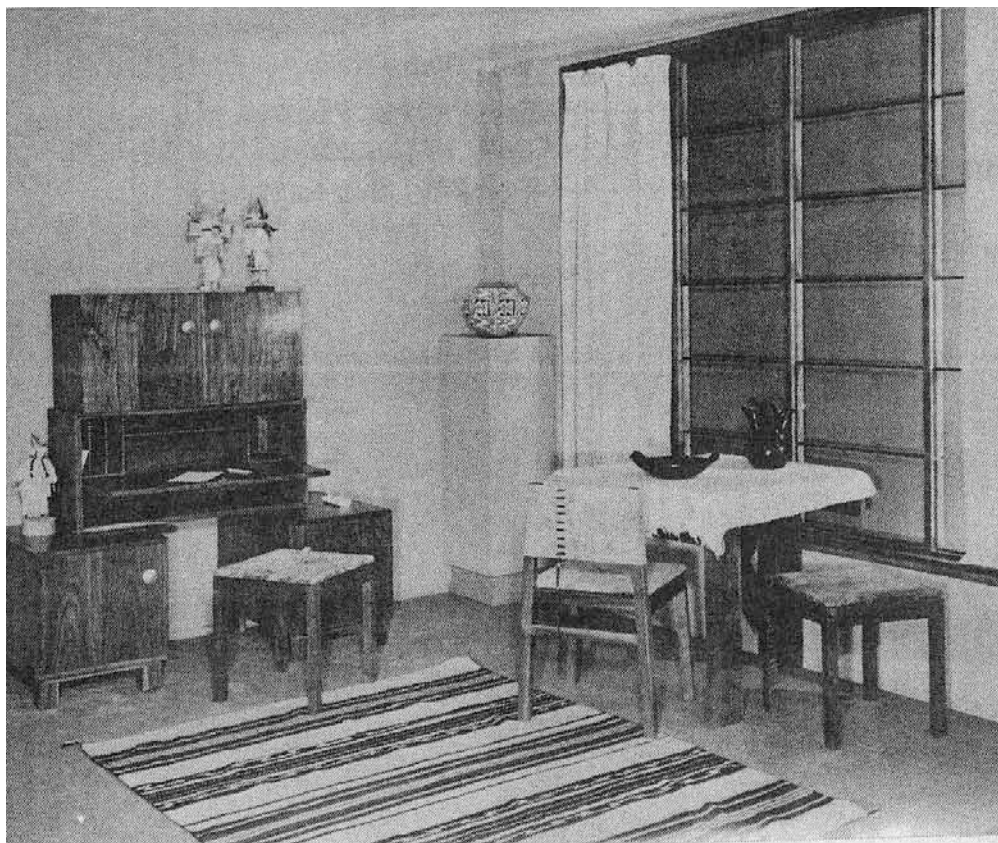


Fig. 5.8a,b Model interiors used by the Indian Arts and Crafts Board to market “Indian Art for Modern Living” (Images from *Indians At Work*, August 1939 in advance of MoMA exhibit)

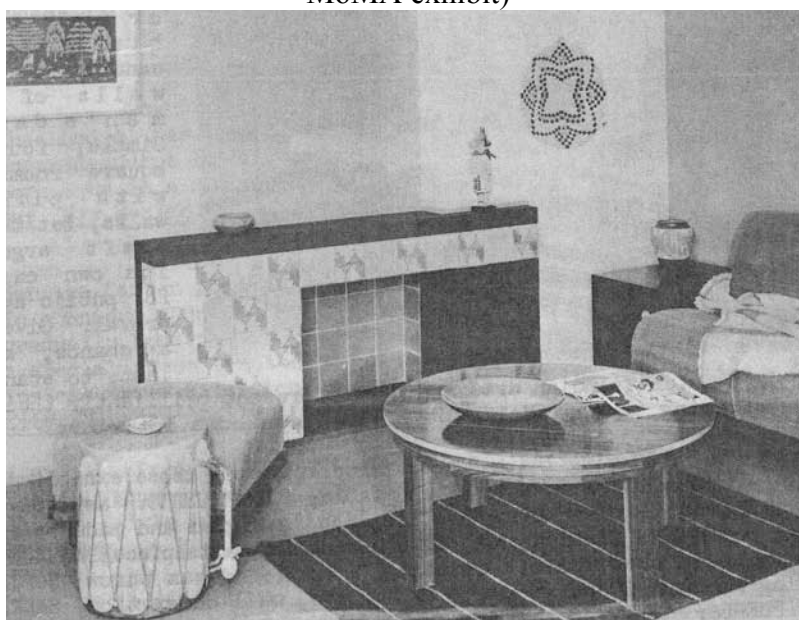




Fig. 5.9 Charles Sheeler, *South Salem Interior*, 1929. Gelatin silver print, 7 5/16 x 9 1/2".



Fig. 5.10 Abby Rockefeller's seventh-floor art gallery, West 54th Street, New York, 1937.



Alaska State Library - Historical Collections

Fig. 5.11 Alaska Native Arts and Crafts Clearinghouse, Juneau c. 1940
(Alaska Historical Library)



Fig. 5.12 Casper Mather and his model totem poles at The Trading Post, Ketchikan, 1950s. Note the model Sun/Raven pole, fourth from left in back, and the model Chief Johnson pole, directly in front of Mather, the originals of which had been restored by the CCC. (Tongass Historical Museum)



Fig. 5.13 Model Sun/Raven Totem Pole, before 1951. Wood, commercial paint, ink. Approx. 3 x 12 inches. (Indian Arts and Crafts Board Collection, National Museum of the American Indian 260642.000)



Fig. 5.14 Model Kiks.ádi Raven Pole, before 1958. Wood, commercial paint. Approx. 2x10 inches (IACB Collection, NMAI 256098.000)

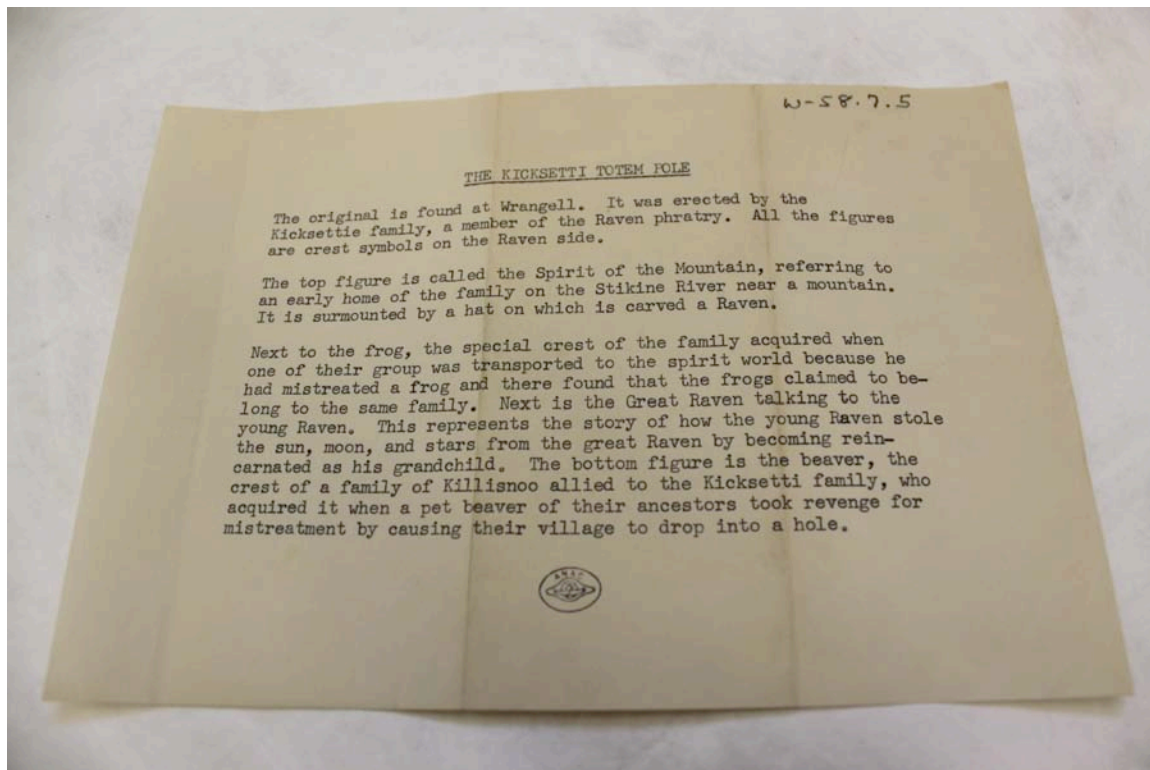


Fig. 5.15 ANAC pamphlet accompanying model Kiks.ádi Raven pole. (IACB Collection, NMAI 256098.000)

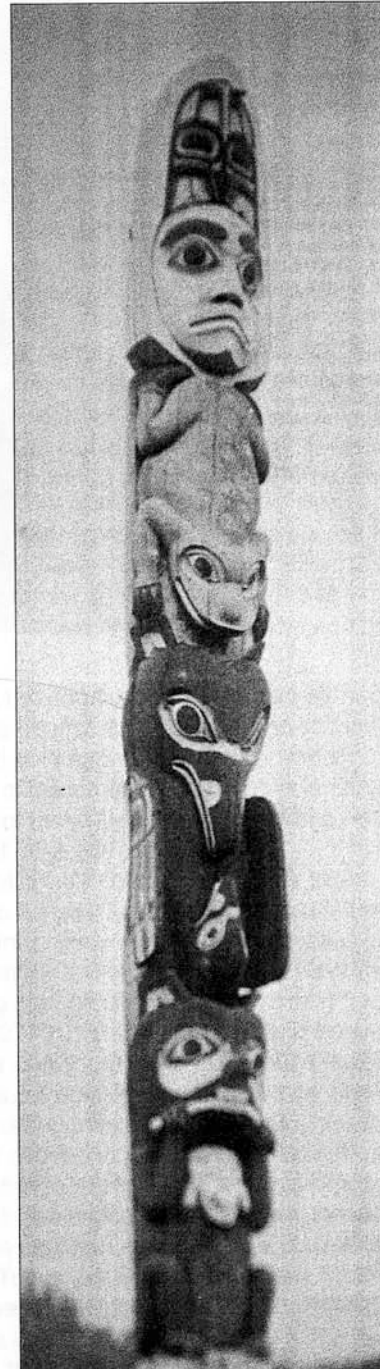


Fig. 5.16a,b A: Two model totem poles based on Kiks.ádi Sun pole of Wrangell, 1950s.
 (IACB Collection, NMAI). B: William Ukas, Kiks.ádi Sun Pole of Wrangell, c. 1895.



Fig. 5.17 Tourists at Saxman watching CCC carvers at work, 1939.
(Tongass Historical Museum 90-2-19-506-6)



Fig. 5.18 Album cover, c. 1938. (Ruth Gordon Tourist Photographic Album, University of Alaska Anchorage Archives and Special Collections)



Fig. 5.19 "Kodakers in Peril Strait, Alaska," 1893. Lantern slide published by Rau.
(Collection of Richard Wood)



Fig. 5.20 Unknown tourist on raven post, Saxman, c. 1940s.
(Collection of Candy Waugaman)



Fig. 5.21 “Alice Foster and one of the Wrangell totem poles,” c. 1940.
(Author collection)



Fig. 5.22 Woman on the Pointing Figure pole, Saxman, c. 1938.
(Published in *The Alaska Sportsman*, 1938)



Fig. 5.23 Unknown Navy officer with Russian bishop figure on Chief Skowl pole, Ketchikan City Park, c. 1920s (Collection of Candy Waugaman)



Fig. 5.24 Unknown man with Giant Rock Oyster pole, Saxman, c. 1938. (Published in *The Alaska Sportsman*, 1938)



Fig. 5.25 Unknown visitor with Giant Oyster totem, Saxman, c. 1940s.
(David Westerburg Album, Tongass Historical Museum)

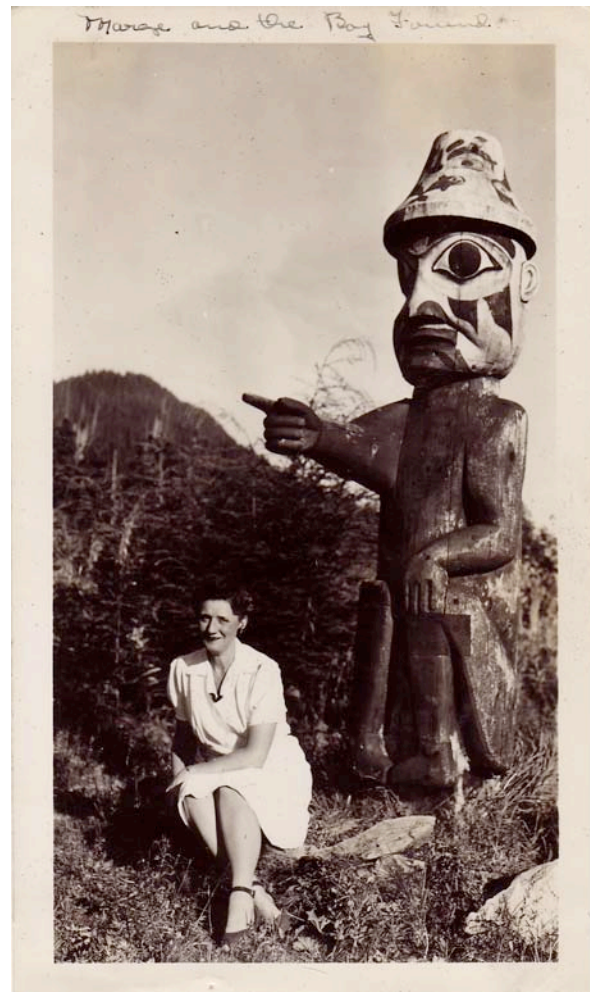


Fig. 5.26 "Marge and the Boyfriend," Saxman, c. 1940.
(Collection of Candy Waugaman)



Fig. 5.27 "Miss Alaska," Bear Up the Mountain pole, Wrangell, July 1939. (Margie Miller scrapbook, Tongass Historical Museum 2007.2.20.1)



Fig. 5.28 "Alaska Totem Poles," postcard c. 1907. (Tongass Historical Society)



Fig. 5.29 Tourists with Chief Kyan Pole, Ketchikan, 1904. Alaska Steamship Company photograph (Alaska State Library P44-03-079)

Fig. 5.30 Colored postcard of Kyan image



WEDNESDAY, JULY 2, 1941

Still on board the Aleutian sailing in a north-westerly direction we viewed the hills, mountains and forests of the inland passage. At noon we came out to the edge of open sea, Queen Charlotte Sound. (Mildred got sea sick.) The fishing smacks and peaceful beauty of many islands and bays, the quite deep waters are unexplainable. You must see it for yourself. After dinner we danced once again to the three piece girl's orchestra and then went to the dining room for a midnight snack. Partly cloudy.

THURSDAY, JULY 3, 1941

Arrived at Ketchikan about 11:30 A.M. and visited the Indian village of Saxman where we saw the old Indian totem poles and also Ketchikan City Park which was small but very pretty. We walked around the town, did some shopping in the 5 & 10 and collected pictures at Standard Gas Station, leaving about 2:30 P.M. Between 8 and 10 P.M. the boat passed through the beautiful Wrangell narrows. For 25 miles we sailed through a very narrow passage way between the mountains. The narrows ended at Petersburg, a beautiful little Alaskan city backed by snow clad peaks, its street lights burning in the twilight. Saw a beautiful sunset about 10 P.M.



Totem Poles at
Ketchikan, Alaska.
Carved by Indians.



Totem Poles near
Park, Ketchikan,
Alaska.

Fig. 5.31 Page from Mildred and Robert Mowrer scrapbook, 1941. (University of Alaska, Anchorage Archives and Special Collections)

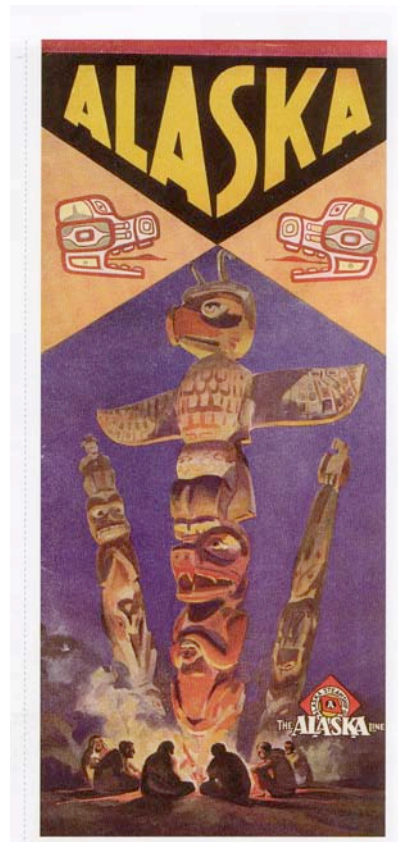


Fig. 5.32 Cover of Alaska Steamship Company brochure, 1936.

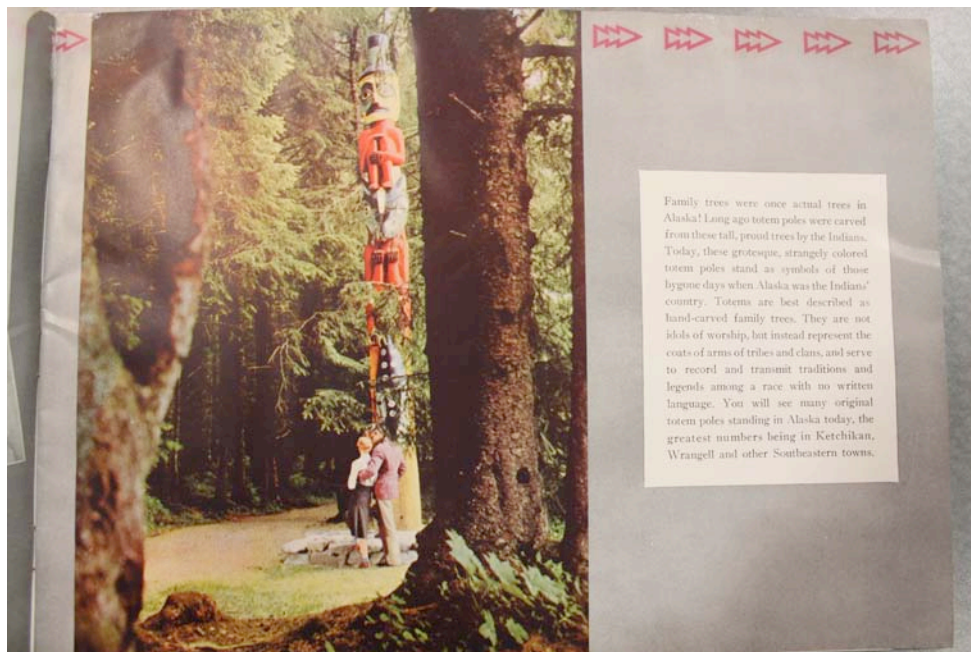


Fig. 5.33 Page from Alaska Steamship Company brochure, 1941. (University of Alaska, Anchorage Archives and Special Collections)

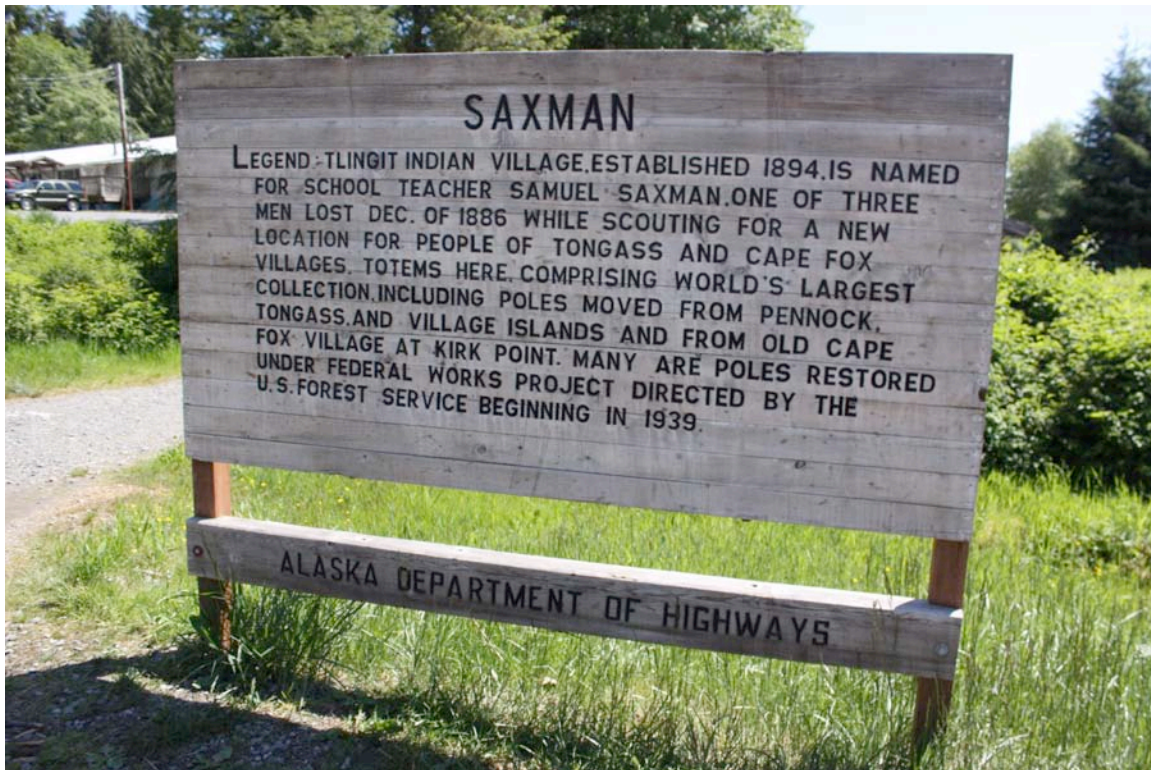


Fig. 5.34 Sign at Saxman Totem Park dating from 1940s. (Author photo, 2009)



Fig. E.1 Unungan evacuees with the Chief Skowl Pole at City Park, Ketchikan, 1942.
(Alaska State Library P306-1105)



Fig. E.2 Gathering for the raising of two replica bear house posts at entrance to Saxman totem park, August 6, 2011. (Author photo)



Fig. E.3 Preparing to raise the newly replicated Owl/Whale pole, Hydaburg Totem Park, July 31, 2009. (Author photo)



Fig. E.4 Jonathan Rowan, Jr., Native arts teacher at Klawock High School, looking up at the band-aid wrappers of all the students who have passed through his Tlingit carving class. (Author photo, May 2009)



Fig. E.5 Artist's Market to accompany the raising of five poles at the Klawock totem park, Alaska Native Brotherhood/Alaska Native Sisterhood Hall, Klawock, August 4, 2011. (Author photo)



Fig. E.6 Benjamin Young (second from left in plaid shorts), grandson of CCC enrollee Claude Morrison; Lee Wallace (in orange shirt), grandson of CCC master carver John Wallace, carrying new pole to the totem park at Hydaburg, July 31, 2009. (Author photo)



Fig. E.7 Claude Morrison (center), 98 years old and the last living CCC enrollee in Southeast Alaska, sitting with daughter and son-in-law in the Hydaburg Totem Park for his grandsons' pole raising, July 31, 2009. Morrison passed away in 2011. (Author photo)



Fig. E.8 Michelle Starr, 16, checks on the bear post outside the Whale House, Kasaan, February 2009. (Author photo)



Fig. E.9 Onlookers at a totem pole raising stand beside the Raven “sentinel” post, the last CCC pole extant in the Saxman totem park, August 6, 2011. (Author photo)



Fig. E.10 CCC totem poles in parking lot, Klawock, May 2009. (Author photo)



Fig. E.11 New carving and storage shed at Totem Bight State Historical Park, with Man Wearing Brown Bear Hat by Charles Brown (L) and Land Otter pole by John Wallace (R) in storage, August 7, 2011. (Author photo)



Fig. E.12 Old and new at the Hydraburg Totem Park, July 31, 2009. (Author photo)

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