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File No. 1023-005

Joint Review Panel  
444 Seventh Ave. SW  
Calgary, AB T2P 0X8

Attention: Anne-Marie Erickson  
Secretary to Joint Review Panel

Dear Sirs/Mesdames:

**Re: Northern Gateway Pipelines Project –Evidence of Gitxaala Nation  
File OF-Fac-Oil-N304-2010-01**

Further to the Hearing Order of the Joint Review Panel with respect to the filing of evidence, please find enclosed a Report and CV of Susan Marsden.

Yours truly,

Janes Freedman Kyle Law Corporation

Per: <original signed by>

Rosanne M. Kyle  
RMK/ejr  
Enclosures

**THE GITKXAALA, THEIR HISTORY, AND THEIR TERRITORIES  
(PORCHER ISLAND, BANKS ISLAND, PITT ISLAND AND ADJACENT ISLANDS)  
REPORT SUBMITTED TO JANES FREEDMAN KYLE LAW CORPORATION  
DECEMBER 2011  
BY SUSAN MARSDEN**

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## PREAMBLE

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I have been asked by the Janes Freedman Kyle Law Corporation on behalf of Gixaala Nation to provide:

- “an introduction to who the people of Gitxaala are, contextualized along the northwest coast and focusing on what Gitxaala people themselves have said, including through oral histories”;
- “an overview of the territorial ownership and use established within Gitxaala culture and how Gitxaala culture defines the authority of individuals to speak about territory”,  
and while doing so:
- “limiting your [my] analysis to the geographical area between Porcher Island (and surrounding islands) and the south ends of Banks and Pitt Islands”

The structure of the report is as follows:

- in the first section after the Introduction, section 2 (2.1-2.5), I address the Gitkxaala in the context of the Tsimshian and other Northwest coast nations and provide an overview of the Tsimshian legal system as it concerns territorial ownership, and of the role of the adawx in this system and its relevance to this report.
- in section 3 (3.1-3.5) I present a summary of the history of the founding peoples of Gitkxaala. It is the adawx, which are each owned, told, and perpetuated by the lineage leaders, that tell the history of their lineage and together these histories tell the history of the tribe, the region, the nation and other nations. They tell, among other things, the lineage’s place of origin, its migrations, the villages it has populated, its trade alliances, its rise to prominence or its fall, and its experiences of war and natural disasters.
- in sections 4, 5 and 6 (4.1, 5.1-5.3, and 6), I provide a summary of the later lineages that joined the early Gitkxaala during two important periods of migration.
- in section 7, I address Ts’ibasaa’s rise to prominence, as his leadership of the Gitkxaala was central to more recent history, first when Ligeex rose to prominence among the northern Tsimshian and Ts’ibasaa was his counterpart among the southern Tsimshian, and later during the contact process when his influence spread further south and up Douglas Channel.
- in Sections 8 through 11, I provide an overview of the territories of the Gitxaala in the geographical area between Porcher Island (and surrounding islands) and the south ends of Banks and Pitt Islands: section 8, Porcher Island & Adjacent Islands; section 9, McCauley Island & Petrel Channel; section 10, Banks Island; section 11, Pitt Island. In each case the smaller islands that are adjacent to the major islands are included.

A note about the Sm’algyax orthography: the orthography currently in use among the Tsimshian was introduced by John Dunn who has spent most of his career working on the language and with the Tsimshian. As a result there are no competing orthographies among the Tsimshian. Marie-Lucie Tarpent, a linguist who works with the southern Tsimshian at KITASOO and with the NISGA’A, has contributed significantly to the understanding of the language and the importance of morphemes (the component words that make up most words). Most of the words in this report are from primary research materials written in the international linguistic orthography and have been rewritten in the current orthography by the author. Every effort has been made here to write the language as consistently and as faithfully as possible.

A note on the spelling of Gitkxaala: this word has been translated as Git – people of; k – place; xaala – calm waters, or calm passage. It conveys the identity of the people as belonging to a place and describes the geography around

their central village. As many of the words in this report refer to places, the morpheme “k” is found throughout, often at the beginning of a word. This morpheme is found more often among the southern Tsimshian than among the northern and interior Tsimshian.

Modern spellings of key places are difficult to standardize as the use of the barred l (ł), makes typing challenging, and underlining a letter and adding an umlaut (double dots above a letter) almost impossible. For example the “x” in Gitkxaala should probably be underlined, Gitk<sup>ł</sup>xaala. It is for this reason that there are often several spellings for a word that is in common use.

This report draws extensively from several voluminous primary sources, those listed in the bibliography by Marius Barbeau, William Beynon and Wilson Duff. These sources are an almost unique collection of information from the chiefs, matriarchs and elders of Northwest Coast First Nations. The author has worked with these sources for over 40 years.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

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The purpose of this report is twofold: first to provide an overview of the history of the Gitkxaala and their territories, and the cultural context in which territorial ownership is embedded and by which it is validated; and second to bring to light the relationship of the Gitkxaala to their land from the ancient past through to the present. In order to accomplish the former it is necessary to first describe the greater context, namely the identity of the Gitkxaala among other Northwest Coast peoples, and especially among the other tribes and regions of the Tsimshian, and then to examine how territory is acquired, acknowledged and retained among the Tsimshian. [1]

Since knowing when and how territory was acquired is a necessary requirement of proof of ownership, a brief outline is provided of the histories and the origins of each of the Gitkxaala house groups. This section was very difficult to compose as it was necessary to attempt to convey simply an extraordinarily complex and detailed body of information. All adawx (lineage histories) are interrelated, as each one is only one group's experience of a past shared with others at different times and places. It is only by examining the totality of extant adawx that one can confidently relate the history of one group and the chronology of their shared past. [2]

In addition, over the last few decades efforts have been made to date key events in adawx with archaeological research and, in the case of very recent events, written documents. It is unfortunate that no significant archaeological dating has taken place in Gitkxaala territory to establish a full timeline for specific sites and therefore the timeline of events in adawx. The oldest dates at Laxkiaan and Ts'uwaanlm Galts'ap, for example, and a sequence of dates at Kts'm'nlaagan and Wilhalga'amiilga Midiik, would contribute greatly to the understanding of the antiquity of the events in Gitkxaala adawx. Fortunately the dating of major events in the shared history of the Tsimshian and Gitksan allows one to extrapolate in some cases to the Gitkxaala. [3]

The adawx also provide a history of a group's defence of their territory and of the legal means they used to include new peoples from time to time in their tribes. Thus both migration and invasion play a large part in the adawx. It is also important to remember that in the modern period, every protest, every negotiation, every concerted effort to conserve the ecology of the territories, and every method to access the benefits from them, constitute defence and stewardship of their territories and make up part of a group's proof of ownership. This process with Enbridge is yet another example of their efforts to ensure the health of their territories and the preservation of their culture, which is inextricably intertwined with them. [4]

In the section relating to the Gitkxaala's relationship to their territories, the information has been organized intentionally by territory. Associated with the proof (within the Tsimshian legal system) of title, it is necessary to demonstrate intimate knowledge of the territory, a knowledge encapsulated in the names of areas and sites and detailed in descriptions of the ecology. This substantiation of ownership is strengthened by another order of information, namely accounts of the wealth of flora and fauna on the territory, which until recently completely sustained the group, site specific methods of harvesting and species specific conservation methods. Ownership is not however undermined in any way if other groups use the territory as long as it is with the permission of the chief and the use and duration is specified. And conversely proof of use does not constitute proof of ownership. [5]



This format, namely organizing information by territory, allows for the inclusion of information on such subjects as conservancies and other ecological and political work, taking place concerning the territories. It can also be considered open-ended as new information or archaeological work and scientific studies comes to light over time. [6]

Just as very little academic research has focused on the territorial ownership system of individual First Nations, also very little attention has been given to their economies<sup>1</sup>. Certainly there has been discussion on the “seasonal round”, but very little in depth research on the complexity of ecological knowledge, methods of conservation, and harvesting and preservation technology, nor on the changing nature of trade over time. Also, in keeping with the academic approach to peoples and cultures, which seeks to generalize as much as possible, there is little inclination to go beyond the ‘ethnographic’ period, nor to examine regional differences. [7]

Research on the period of the Tl̓ngit invasion into Tsimshian territory has shown that the economy of the northern Tsimshian changed significantly over time.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the Tsimshian economy varies significantly from region to region. Unfortunately, assigning the seasonal round of the northern Tsimshian to the southern Tsimshian, or simply ignoring the southern Tsimshian economy altogether, appears to have been the normative academic approach, and as a result there is a paucity of resources on which to draw in writing a report such as this. There is almost no comprehensive documentation in the public domain, for example, on the stone fish traps that are found all along the coast, and no record of the transition from fish trap harvesting to other forms of salmon fishing. Nevertheless, there has been significant work<sup>3</sup> on the role of traditional economies in the modern period and the recent *2011 Gitxaala Use Study* gives a comprehensive overview of the current and recent economies and shows the unquestionable relationship of the Gitkxala to their territory in the modern period. [8]

While the modern period can be said to have begun with the fur trade and the industrial salmon fishery and to have seen rapid change from one resource extraction industry to another, earlier eras also saw change, although at a dramatically slower pace. The year round habitation in, and use of, each lineage’s territory in the earliest period was followed by the establishment of shared use areas for certain abundant resources, for the winter feasts and halaayt ceremonies, and for defence. None of these uses changed the underlying ownership of the territory in which they took place. Later Laxklaan, the site of the winter ceremonies, became a shared winter village. Now Laxklaan is a year-round village from which people travel to their territories for a wide variety of economic activities. [9]

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<sup>1</sup> I am referring here to indigenous economies prior to the fur trade period.

<sup>2</sup> Marsden 2001

<sup>3</sup> For example, McDonald 1994, Menzies 201, Menzies and Butler 2001 and 2008

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## 2. THE TSIMSHIAN

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### 2.1 THE TSIMSHIAN AND THE OTHER NORTHWEST COAST NATIONS

The Tsimshian are one of three closely related but distinct Northwest Coast nations, the others being the Nisga' and the Gitksan. The Nisga', Gitksan and Tsimshian share the underpinnings of many political, legal and social institutions, and their people speak mutually intelligible languages. Their combined territories encompass the Skeena River watershed, most of the Nass River watershed, the lower Douglas Channel and its tributaries, and all the coastal areas from Aristabal Island to the islands and inlets at the mouth of the Nass. [10]

The nations in the interior immediately to the north of the Nisga', Gitksan and Tsimshian are the Tsetsaut and Tahltan, Athapaskan nations whose institutions are quite distinct and whose people speak entirely different languages. Their territories encompass most of the Stikine River watershed and a portion of the upper Nass River. The Tsetsaut have now been effectively absorbed into the Tahltan nation. To the north, on the coast is the Tlingit nation and to the west on Haida Gwaii, the Haida. While each of these nations is distinct in territory, language and social and political institutions, their people nevertheless each belong to one of four clan groups and have common ancestry with many of the house groups of the Nisga', Gitksan and Tsimshian. [11]

To the east of the Nisga', Gitksan and Tsimshian are a number of Athapaskan nations beginning with the Wer'suwet'en and the Sekani. These nations also have a legal system that includes rights to territory. The nations immediately to the south of the Tsimshian are the Haisla and Heiltsuk. Their social and political organization is almost wholly different from that of their northern neighbours, as are their legal and land tenure systems. The people of these nations are not members of the Northwest coast clans and share only very ancient common ancestry with some of the house groups of the nations to their north and west. [12]

Before contact, the name each nation on the Northwest Coast used for itself was *the real people* and each nation had unique names for the nations around them. Some of these are still in use - for example the name of the Tlingit came from the Tsimshian name for them - L̓ingit, while the name of the Nisga' appears to have evolved from a name in the Tlingit language. Now each nation has only one name recognized throughout the Northwest Coast: Haida, Tlingit, Tahltan, Tsetsaut, Gitksan, Nisga', Tsimshian, Haisla, Heiltsuk, Haida, Sekani, and Wet'suwet'en. [13]

### 2.2 THE TSIMSHIAN

The Tsimshian socio-political institutions, like those of the Nisga' and Gitksan, include the house, tribe, region and nation, and, cross-cutting these, the lineage (a network of houses of common ancestry) and the clan. The house, or house group, is a matrilineal kin group and the fundamental political and land owning unit in Tsimshian society, and it bears the name of its chief or headman. Within tribe, region and nation, houses share economic and political concerns and a common geography. Their economic and political integration is expressed in their annual round of economic activities and in intermarriage and feasting. This integration is extensive at the tribal level and increasingly less so at the regional and national level, where the ties between tribes, and between regions, are formed primarily by the leading chiefs. [14]

The combined territories of the houses in a tribe (village) compose a watershed or similarly discrete geographic area. Among the Tsimshian, these tribes (villages) are the Gitando, Gitzaxlaa, Gits'iis, Gitwilgyoots, Gitlaan, Giluts'aaw, Gitnadoiks, Ginaxangiik and the Gispaxlo'ots (the northern Tsimshian); the Gitkxala, Gitk'a'ata and Gidestsu (the southern Tsimshian), and the Gits'ilaasu and Gitsmgeelwn (the interior Tsimshian). [15]

The combined territories of the tribes in a region tend to have more in common geographically than those in the neighbouring regions. Among the Tsimshian there are three regions: the northern Tsimshian whose territories span the lower Skeena River and the mainland coast from the mouth of the Skeena River to the mouth of the Nass River; the southern Tsimshian, whose territories include several islands south of the mouth of the Skeena and in Douglas Channel, as well as a number of watersheds along Douglas Channel; and the interior Tsimshian (also called the Canyon Tsimshian) whose territories include the Kalum River watershed and a section of the Skeena River watershed stretching east and west of the canyon at Kitselas. [16]

Cross-cutting these socio-political and economic divisions of tribe, region and nation is another order of relationships between houses. Each house is part of a lineage, or network of houses, sharing a common ancient heritage. The houses in each network trace their origins through the matrilineal line to a common ancestral group. They also share a common history which tells of the migrations of their ancestors and in some cases their dispersal across the Northwest Coast. Each of these lineages is part of a larger exogamous matrilineal group, the clan, within which everyone is considered kin. The four clans among northwest coast nations are the Killerwhale (Gispwudwada), the Eagle (Laxskiik), the Wolf (Laxgibuu) and the Raven (Ganhada). [17]

The Gitkxala are one of the three southern Tsimshian tribes. The southern Tsimshian are quite distinct in many ways from the northern and interior Tsimshian; their language, for example, has different sounds and there are some differences in grammar and vocabulary. The economies of the three regions also differ in that there is an important riverine component in the economy of the northern and interior Tsimshian, while the southern Tsimshian have a predominantly marine economy with coastal areas and off-shore islands, as well as inlets and channels, being the primary focus. It is important to emphasize that while all the combined territories of each of the three regions are approximately the same size, there are nine northern tribes, three southern tribes and two interior tribes and therefore the tribes of each of these regions cannot be considered equivalent one to the other. [18]

### **2.3 THE TSIMSHIAN AND THEIR TERRITORIES**

The inalienable and exclusive title of each house to its territories and resources lies at the foundation of Tsimshian society. This title is entrenched in a complex legal system which validates the acquisition and inheritance of house territories and regulates rights of access and resource use. [19]

Membership in a house is inherited through the matrilineage, with all members of the house inheriting rights of access and resource use in the house territories. Membership in a house is formalized in a feast, by the taking of a name. With a name one acquires rights to use specific areas in the house territories; these are allocated by the chief and announced by him in the feast. The chief manages or governs all aspects of the territory and is responsible for ensuring both the well-being of the house and the health of the territory. [20]

Tsimshian law requires that those who speak to the ownership of territory be the chiefs<sup>4</sup> responsible for those territories or be authorized by those chiefs to speak on their behalf. The chiefs today are matrilineal descendants of the generations of chiefs before them who, over many generations, acquired, managed, defended and passed on intact the territories of their houses. [21]

The acquisition of Tsimshian territory is described in *adawx*, or formal oral histories. The *adawx* describe the ancient migrations of the house, its acquisition and defence of its territory and major events in the life of the house such as natural disasters, epidemics and war, as well as the arrival of new peoples and the events surrounding the establishment of trade alliances and major shifts in power. The crests, depicted on housefronts, crest poles and ceremonial regalia also speak to and depict events in the history of the house as described in the *adawx*. [22]

Every generation of Tsimshian chiefs is responsible for ensuring the full transmission to the next generation of the *adawx* and associated prerogatives of their houses through a series of feasts at which these are made public and validated by other chiefs. The formal narration of a house's *adawx* in a feast is followed by the acknowledgment by the chiefs of the guest houses who confirm the veracity of the history and the house's title to its territory. The very existence in the present of Tsimshian *adawx* proves the Tsimshian have declared their *adawx*, their territories and their rights in the feast over countless generations, and that they have been acknowledged by the other houses in their communities and in neighbouring nations. [23]

For Northwest Coast nations, the process of claiming territory, dating back to the earliest post-glacial era, is described as "walking the land" or "surveying" it and includes naming mountains, rivers, lakes and other areas. These names are highly descriptive and reflect a detailed knowledge of the landscape. Once the land was surveyed, the house hosted a feast and announced the group's claim to the territory and its names. The guests of the host, the chiefs of the other houses, acknowledged the claim to the territory, thereby validating the house's ownership of the territory and completing the process of establishing land tenure. [24]

Knowledge of the names of geographical features within the territories and of their historical origins is therefore an element in the proof of ownership within the indigenous legal system. The Tsimshian have described their territory many times, naming its places and identifying its resources to anthropologists, government agents, judges and to royal commissions on aboriginal matters. As well, they developed their own documentary record around a variety of petitions, maps and claims for presentation to government. [25]

Once acquired, rights to territory are inalienable unless the house is unable to produce sufficient wealth to perform its ceremonial responsibilities, or is required to relinquish part of its territory as compensation. If a house dies out, another house that is considered "close" by virtue of sharing a common ancient heritage and common clan and village membership, takes full responsibility for the names, history, and territory of the house. If this house eventually becomes too large, it will divide in two again and re-establish the other house for which it took responsibility. If a house is depopulated to the extent that its members can no longer afford to "bury" their dead, then a related house will do so, and, in return, take over the control and use of part of the house's territory. At such time as the house is repopulated and has repaid the other house in a feast, the territory is returned. [26]

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<sup>4</sup> The word chief is used here to mean both *chief* and *headman*, since to distinguish reliably whether a house leader is a *sm'oogit* (chief) or *lik'agigyet* (headman) is beyond the scope of this report, especially as this status can change from one historical period to another.

There are only two other ways in which territory can be legally transferred to another house. The first is through the system of compensation in which one house relinquishes wealth, names, crests, or territory, to repay a crime committed against a member of another house. Compensation for the accidental death of an individual might involve a gift of material wealth; for the murder of an important chief, it might involve the transfer of territory for the lifetime of the immediate family of the deceased. As with all other legal transactions within Tsimshian society, these transfers of territory are formally presented and acknowledged in the feast. Thereafter they form part of the adawx of the houses involved. [27]

The second is the peace process after a period of war. Since the Tsimshian legal system defines as illegal the invasion of another nation's territory, war with foreign peoples has always been a result of an invasion into Tsimshian territory. In the case of an invasion, where territory is taken over by invaders, those owning the territory may look to neighbouring tribes (villages) to assist in their defence. Once the invaders are routed, or absorbed into Tsimshian society, those assisting in the defeat of the invaders may receive compensation for their assistance and this may take the form of access to territory. If the group whose territory is invaded is decimated, those defeating the invaders may take the territory of the now extinct group. In some cases when the invaders are from an adjacent nation and are decimated, their territory becomes the spoils of war. These situations are each unique and very complex and they lie behind the greatest number of competing claims or so-called "overlaps". [28]

#### **2.4 THE ADAWX, NORTHWEST COAST NATIONS AND THE TSIMSHIAN**

There are significant differences between the primary sources in which various ethnographers have recorded adawx and other information from Northwest Coast First Nations. Critical to the usefulness of a source in regard to research on the subject of territory is first and foremost whether the right questions were asked, and whether as mentioned above the researcher actually acknowledged the relevance of territoriality to his or her studies. In the many pages of Boas' work, there is almost no reference to territory and very little in Garfield. Fortunately for future generations, Barbeau's research approach, unlike that of Boas and Garfield, differed in three ways: he himself spent many weeks in the field over several years; he was informed about the social and political organization of the nations in question before he arrived; and he carefully trained, and probably listened extensively to, William Beynon. Barbeau was very fortunate to have the assistance of Beynon, who understood the Tsimshian both subjectively and objectively, and more importantly developed an intellectual passion which led to him devoting the greater part of his adult life to recording critical information in the precise words of the chiefs and matriarchs. [29]

Also key to the usefulness of a source is the identification of the person speaking to the researcher. Since no chief or matriarch would speak to this information unless it belonged to his or her house group, Barbeau and Beynon sought out the appropriate house group leaders and then carefully noted their Tsimshian name, house group, and tribe, and if relevant the same information concerning the person who had given them permission to speak. The resulting material is thus authoritative as defined by the Tsimshian legal system. From a researcher's perspective, this key information is critical to any attempt at understanding the Tsimshian and their history. Where there is more than one 'version' of the same events or state of affairs, it is a result of the fact that more than one house group has participated in the historical events in question. [30]

As a result of this approach, in the course of decades of research (between 1915 and 1950), Beynon and Barbeau recorded the formal and public information that defines each house group of the Tsimshian, Nisga', and Gitksan. In addition to the adawx, which are the historical records of each house group, they also recorded the origins, crests,

personal names and key territorial information of each house group in these nations. This additional information is key to understanding the adawx, the social and political organization of the Tsimshian and their territorial system. The territorial information is keyed to maps with hand-written notations. It is important to remember that without a grasp of the Tsimshian language and a consistent system of orthography, none of this information could have been recorded, an achievement in itself. Years later this information was meticulously re-organized by UBC professor Wilson Duff. [31]

All the information in this report, unless otherwise indicated, is from the Barbeau Beynon Fieldnotes, either from their originals or from copies by Wilson Duff. The following are the chiefs and matriarchs who, between 1916 and the 1930s, shared with Barbeau and Beynon the knowledge used in this report: Oswald Tolmie, Nathan Shaw, Joshua Ts'ibasaa, James Lewis, Sam Lewis, Job Spencer, Albert Argyle, Jno. Nelson, Albert Nelson, Henry Collison, George McCauley, Enoch Maxwell, Herbert Wallace, Heber Clifton, and Edmond Patelas. [32]

## **2.5 ADAWX IN THIS CONTEXT**

Adawx, loosely translated as “true tellings”, are an oral record of the origins and subsequent history of a lineage and include accounts of migrations, the claiming and loss of territory, the founding of settlements and alliances, wars, and natural disasters. They have been passed down for many generations from chief to nephew in the form of oral texts that were memorized verbatim as a complete sequence, ultimately to be told and witnessed at feasts over a period of many hours. At the feast they became known in the context of the adawx of all the lineages in the village, the region, the nation and sometimes other nations. Each lineage knew its history therefore not only as a unique and detailed record but also as part of the greater historical record of their people. [33]

Adawx were recorded in writing beginning in the late 1800s with Henry Tate (Boas) but especially between 1916 and the 1950s in the work of William Beynon. They were recorded as brief summaries of many events spanning centuries, long and detailed accounts of a single event, or a mix of both but never in their complete form. As a result anyone seeking to approach this record as a scholar needs to recreate as closely as possible their original form. It is of the utmost importance to examine each adawx record in the context of other adawx and ideally in the context of the full extant body of adawx, including the oral records of other nations. This is what I have tried to do over the last forty years, and especially since hundreds of texts became available in microfilm in the mid 1980s. [34]

How then does one respectfully discuss this immensely important historical record in a modern context? In other writings I have tried to allow the adawx to speak for themselves in their original sequence by composing a narrative of extensive excerpts<sup>5</sup>. This report could not be written in that format but any reading of it should assume it is based in a detailed analysis of many adawx and a context of many more, and out of this analysis an overall chronology that is embedded in the adawx themselves. [35]

There are other contexts that inform any understanding of individual adawx, such as the context of Northwest Coast peoples relationship to what is now called the supernatural or spirit world, and integrated with this the geography of their land. Firstly, a comprehensive knowledge of indigenous geographical concepts is important. Secondly, for those raised in western societies, it is important not to be distracted by cultural elements, such as the supernatural, that can only be imagined with considerable difficulty. Whether the spirits caused a natural disaster or not, the natural disaster still occurred and the adawx are an invaluable record of that event. Alternatively one can embrace

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<sup>5</sup> Marsden 2001, for example

the understanding that if people disrespect the world upon which they depend for life, it will inevitably end in natural disaster. [36]

And finally, while the chronology of events is inherent in the adawx, as they were learned and told in sequence, efforts to date key events in the sequence, especially those experienced and recorded by several lineages, have been made over the last 20 or so years using archaeological, geological and climatological research. The dates given here are a result of that research.<sup>6</sup> [37]

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<sup>6</sup> Archer 1992, Martindale and Marsden 2003, Marsden 2001, unpublished reports and papers for Delgamuukw vs A.G., unpublished reports on sea level dating by Duncan McLaren (UVic), research on-going for SHRCC Research Project: *The Development of a Hunter-Fisher-Gatherer Polity: The Archaeology and History of the Tsimshian Village Complex at Prince Rupert Harbour*, with David Archer, Andrew Martindale, Aubrey Cannon, Kenneth Ames, and research on-going for *Tsimshian Landscapes: Archaeological, Paleo-Environmental and Indigenous Histories in the Dundas Islands*, with David Archer, Andrew Martindale, Duncan McLaren, editors and contributors, UBC Press

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## 3. THE FOUNDING OF GITKXAALA: THE EARLY PEOPLES

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### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The northern Northwest Coast was first peopled as the ice of the last glacial period receded. Even in this early time one can see the defining elements of the first peoples. The people of the Raven, who came into this area from the north but by different routes, identified themselves simply as the Raven people, and their lineages were distinguished by their unique histories. Others first and foremost defined themselves as descendants of a supernatural ancestor and their clan identity evolved from this. This first peopling of the region brought the founding lineages of the Gitkxaala. [38]

### 3.2 THE EARLY WOLF CLAN

Among the first to arrive on the northern Northwest Coast were the people of Ts'oodé, a group with no clan affiliation, who moved up the coast from the south. They ultimately spread throughout the region, becoming lineages and house groups of the Wolf clan. From this people came the Wolf clan lineage that first claimed and occupied Gitkxaala lands and helped found the Wolf clan houses of Gitkxaala. [39]

As with most very ancient adawx – the first of many layers of history - the history of this early Wolf Clan at Gitkxaala has to be pieced together from the adawx of all the tribes across the Northwest Coast where members of this lineage settled. These earliest adawx often describe the founding of the lineage by a supernatural ancestor by which the lineage then identifies itself. In this case the phrase “the myth of Ts'oodé and Haluus” is commonly used to distinguish this group from other early Wolf groups and from lineages that arrived in later periods. The lineage using this ‘myth’ at Gitkxaala is led by Łabiksk and the name Ts'oodé is a boy's name in this house where it is said to be a “name from a myth.” The other leader of an early Wolf Clan lineage at Gitkxaala is Asagalyeen. [40]

These two Wolf clan lineages identified as ‘original’ or ‘local’ at Gitkxaala may actually be the same lineage that settled very early in different areas. In some cases, the house of Łabiksk is said to have come from Gadu at Metlakatla from the House of Asagalyeen who lived there “when only Wolves lived there”, but it is also said that Łabiksk's lineage originated at Gitkxaala at Ts'aos on Porcher Island and then some of this lineage later joined Asagalyeen at Metlakatla when “only the Laxgibuu people lived at Metlakatla.”<sup>7</sup> As Herbert Wallace described they also joined the Gitsiis and founded the house of 'Nłade there. Members of Asagalyeen's lineage also joined the Gitsiis tribe.

When 'Nłade joined the Gitsiis he was from Gitkxaala. Their village of origin there is Ts'aos. Asagalyeen was always local here in origin [at Metlakatla]. 'Nłade has always been independent, has different myth, that of Ts'oodé and Haluus.<sup>8</sup> [41]

The Wolf clan lineage that had the ‘myth’ of Ts'oodé and Haluus also helped found the Gitk'a'ata where they were a powerful people in the early days and established the houses of Hagilaxha, Ts'abux and Kawkaaw. It is frequently stated that this lineage among the Gitkxaala and Gitk'a'ata owned much of the territory on the inner coast. Heber Clifton stated that:

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<sup>7</sup> Duff, n.d. Gitkxaala Origins, George McCauley

<sup>8</sup> Duff, n.d., Gitsiis Origins



This district (K'mawde – Lowe Inlet) originally belonged to the Laxgibuu who had control of all that stretch of water known as Grenville Channel. These Laxgibuu used to guard this country and to control it so strongly that it was impossible for any canoe to pass. . . Their authority extended to the present site of Hartley Bay village.<sup>9</sup> [42]

James Lewis and Jno. Nelson also described the situation at that time.

The Wolf Clan was very powerful among Kitkatla years ago as they were very numerous around here and their power reached almost to where the Kitamaat tribes lived. And it was these people who governed all this country as they were so many. And they were the first onto the coast (laxmoon). And it was after the deluge that the other phratries came down to the coast from the headwaters of the Skeena and they came upon the places where they [the Wolf clan peoples] lived.<sup>10</sup> [43]

The supernatural ancestry of this lineage is recounted in “the myth of Haluus and Ts’oode.”<sup>11</sup> From the beginning among the Tsimshian, this lineage was centred at Gadu in Metlakatla Pass, and at the mouth of the Skeena River, where the territories of the Gitzaxlaał and the Gitsiis meet. It was here that Ts’oode appeared to a chief’s daughter, first as a great bird and then as a man, whom she subsequently married. Their offspring helped found villages among the Tsimshian, on the Nass and as far north as the upper Skeena River. In addition to the wealth he brought to this lineage, Ts’oode opened the route to the eulachon fishery at the mouth of the Nass River.<sup>12</sup> [44]

Together the territories identified as being owned by houses of this lineage in Gitk’a’ata and Gitkxaala – at one time or another - extended, as they say, from one end of Grenville Channel to the other (extending in some cases to the east side of Pitt Island) and quite a ways into Douglas Channel. The history of how large sections of this Wolf clan territory came to be owned by the Gispwudwada is recorded in the adawx of these Wolf and Gispwudwada clan lineages. [45]

### 3.3 THE EARLY RAVEN CLAN

Like the early Wolf clan lineage of Asagalyeen, the most ancient home of the early Raven clan among the Tsimshian was at Gadu near the mouth of the Ecstall River, where the territories of the Gitsiis and Gitzaxlaał meet. Here they were joined in the very early days by others of the Raven clan migrating into the area from the interior. Most of the Raven clan lineages do not trace their origins to a single ancestor, but rather identify themselves simply as Raven, but some of their ancestors played a role in a unique series of ancient events involving lineages of the Gispwudwada, Wolf, and Raven clans. The adawx relating these events is most often referred to as that of Gunaxnismgyet, but in it the most important ancestor for the Raven clan is Gunaxnismgyet’s son, Yagagwinusk, who inherited the supernatural powers he needed to tame the spanaxnox of the coastal waters. Spanaxnox are spirits that inhabit and control powerful natural elements that can be dangerous to humans. When the land is first settled, an alliance is formed between the spirit and the people, allowing only the owners of the territory to pass safely. In other words, when their territory was first founded, their spirit ancestor helped them learn to navigate the coastal waters, a skill that required an intimate knowledge of the waters, and specific navigation skills. [46]

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<sup>9</sup> Barbeau and Beynon, n.d.(c) #54, Heber Clifton

<sup>10</sup> Beynon, 1939 #227, Jno. Nelson and James Lewis

<sup>11</sup> Marsden, 1987, vol. 1

<sup>12</sup> Barbeau, 1950, vol. 1, Edmond Patelas

Out of this ancient Raven lineage evolved others whose adawx sometimes overshadowed these earlier histories. This is the case with the great warrior Ayagansk, who drove the Wolf clan chief, Asagalyeen, “out to sea” from Metlakatla “when only the Laxgibuu people lived at Metlakatla.” Asagalyeen helped keep the lineage strong but also alienated many of the other early peoples, including his Raven clan relatives, who dispersed throughout the area. His exploits included acquiring a magical bow embedded with abalone shell. This bow became a crest among Raven clan houses of this lineage as far inland as the Gitanyaw of the Gitksan, where it appears on the totem pole of the house of Gunuu. The descendants of Ayagansk also helped found the Gitzaxlaaʔ, Gitkxaala, Gitk’a’ata, Gitwilgyoots and Ginaxangiik tribes. [47]

Also from the Raven clan at Gadu came the Ganaxadi and Ganaxtedi lineages, which spread north and established the clan throughout the Tlingit. As the Tlingit chief, Billy Benson, stated:

The Ganaxtedi and its southern equivalent Ganaxadi are the oldest of the Raven clans . . . of these two the Ganaxadi was the original”<sup>13</sup> [48]

Albert Nelson explained it from a Tsimshian perspective: “the Gitzaxlaaʔ of Alaska originated from the Gitzaxlaaʔ of Gadu.” It was these Raven clan groups whose descendants, many centuries later, returned to Tsimshian territory as invaders, the first wave of Tlingit and Athapaskan groups who tried unsuccessfully to take over Tsimshian territory. From that time they have been referred to as ‘Gidaganits’. [49]

One of the founding Raven clan lineages of the Gitkxaala, which included the house of Axlawaals, was also from this lineage. As Sam Lewis described this house:

They were of the same origin as the royal house of Nishoot, Gitzaxlaaʔ having branched off from them at Gadu, Metlakatla. [Sam Lewis] sang a dirge song which mentioned them being jealous of each other at Gadu . . . the main village of this house was known as Ts’uwaanʔm Galtsa’p, the village at the point, and most of the Ganhadas lived here who were the former Gitkxaala before the coming of various groups from other places.<sup>14</sup> [50]

The establishment of the Raven clan house and lineage of La’ooy at Gitkxaala also took place in the early period, but their original village was on the upper Nass River. Here they had settled across the river from a people who came to be known as the Children of Gaw’a, and who later joined the Gispwudwada on the coast and founded Temlaxam at the confluence of the Skeena River and the Bulkley rivers. [51]

Sam Lewis<sup>15</sup> told the adawx of La’ooy which began “before the flood [when] there were two villages opposite each other on the Nass River”. A long series of events led to hostilities between the two villages and the ultimate defeat of the Raven clan. They escaped downriver and some settled at the mouth of the Nass, while others went north and south along the coast. The ones that went north to Kiks, now Cleveland Peninsula in Alaska, founded the Kiksadi Raven clan among the Tlingit. The group that were to become the house of La’ooy at Gitkxaala settled for a while on Dundas Island, where some of the early Ravens were established, but hostilities broke out here and “they fled once

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<sup>13</sup> Olson, 1967, Billy Benson

<sup>14</sup> Duff, n.d. Gitkxaala Origins

<sup>15</sup> Duff, n.d., Gitkxaala Origins

more.” They went south to Banks Island and then settled at the north end of Pitt Island at Wilhałga’amiilga Midiik and they lived there.

While they lived here, the waters began to rise and came into the houses. The people got into their canoes and drifted away, and anchored on a rock, which the water had not covered. There they anchored and, while at anchor, for a long time, the water went away suddenly, and they saw they were on a mountain on Banks Island (Laxgyi’aks). The people went down to the water’s edge and they built some houses there. They lived here and later they moved away, and they found some other people at Laxklaan, and here they remained until the present day.<sup>16</sup> [52]

The Kiksadi Raven clan, who were part of this lineage, were settled on the Unuk River when the flood occurred and the earlier Raven clan lineages from Gadu that migrated north and became the Ganaxadi experienced the flood at their villages on George Inlet, Carrol Inlet and Thorne Arm. [53]

### **3.4 THE EARLY GISPWUDWADA CLAN**

There were from the earliest times Gispwudwada termed “laxmoon” or salt water people that helped found Gitkxaala. The term “laxmoon” is used consistently to mean those lineages that originated and stayed on the coast. It may be from these very early lineages that the ancient term Gispwudwada originates. Since their houses became extinct or were amalgamated with others, little is now known about their lineages except that they were among the original Gitkxaala and the Killerwhale was one of their crests. [54]

The ‘Children of Gaw’a’, the early people inland on the Nass River who became Gispwudwada, dispersed at the same time as the lineage of La’ooy and while some of them may have settled among the Gitkxaala, there are no specific statements to that effect. Some of this lineage did settle among the Gitk’a’ta and are said to have established the main village there. It is in a description of their arrival by Edmund Patelas that the timing of the arrival of the early Eagle clan is described.

When the Gitga’ata first came from the Nass, they consisted of two clans: the Gispwudwada under Wahmodemk and a few Ganhadas. They found the Laxgibuu already here. Later the Tsilaxhons group of Laxskiik, of Haida origin arrived.<sup>17</sup> [55]

### **3.5 THE EARLY EAGLE CLAN**

The last early people to establish themselves among the Gitkxaala were the Haida Eagle clan lineage, “the Tsilaxhons group” (Djilaqons). They became the founding houses of the Eagle clan at Gitkxaala and as such are most often identified now as the house of Nishalupus. All the Haida Eagle clan groups (except for one northern lineage) are descended from the ancestress Djilaqons. As the Haida told Swanton “Djilaqons, a contemporary of Foam Woman, the ancestress of the Ravens, had a daughter, Swiftly Sliding Woman, who came to live under the Ninstints mountain of that name and was known as Greatest Mountain. She gave birth to Property Making a Noise, who Gave Birth to Town of Djigua People, who were on the northern shore of Cumshewa Inlet.”<sup>18</sup> [56]

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<sup>16</sup> Barbeau and Beynon, n.d.(b), Sam Lewis

<sup>17</sup> Duff, n.d., Gitk’a’ata

<sup>18</sup> Swanton, 1905

It was the sons of the chief of the Djigua people who showed disrespect towards a frog when they threw it in their camp fire and laughed when it exploded. The account of these events takes various forms among the Haida and the Tsimshian but they consistently end in the destruction of the young men's people. Some attribute this retribution to Volcano Woman, the mother of the frog people, but the Haida attribute the ensuing events to Djilaqons and describe them as fire on both the land and sea, and cinders and burning coals falling from the sky. [57]

A young woman, the sole survivor was helped by Djilaqons to leave the village and her daughters became the ancestors of several lineages among the southern Haida. She became known as Property Woman Making a Noise and eventually made her way to the mainland where her descendants founded several houses among the southern Tsimshian. The house of Tkwulaxha in Gidestsu "is of Haida origin – he settled on Aristazabal Island (its name K'a'antis is Haida) and became part of Gidestsu Eagle group."<sup>19</sup> [58]

Others settled on the south ends of Banks and Pitt Island, on Fin Island among the Gitk'a'ata, on other islands and the mainland along Douglas Channel and among the Gitamaat and the Gitlo'op.<sup>20</sup> At Gitk'a'ata, the house of Txatkwat and Huhuulk were "of Haida origin, family of Gitaiwaas of Ninstints. They are also referred to as the Ts'ilaxhons group of Laxskiik, of Haida origin."<sup>21</sup> Edmond Patelas related the adawx of Djilaqons, the adawx of this lineage as an account of the "Origin of the Laxskiik in the Gitk'a'ata". The descriptions of their origins among the Gitkxaala sometimes have them originating at Gitlo'op or Gidestsu but the origins of this lineage in those tribes is ultimately the southern Haida. As this lineage remained in this southern area, there were close ties among them and their houses often have the same ancient crests and names. [59]

The territories identified as belonging to this lineage among the Gitkxaala are at the southern ends of Pitt Island and Banks Island, and contiguous with these the Gitk'a'ata territories identified on the southern end of Pitt Island, on Fin Island, Campania Island and on Hawkesbury Island. While no adawx have been identified to explain who originally owned the territory on which the Temlaxam Gispwudwada later settled, some of what are now Gispwudwada territories in this area may have belonged to this lineage in former times. [60]

It should be noted that the Gwinhuut Eagle clan lineage arrived at a much later date and joined this early people, and it is often difficult to distinguish between the early houses and those of the later Gwinhuut. [61]

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<sup>19</sup> Duff, n.d., Gitk'a'ata, Heber Clifton

<sup>20</sup> Duff, n.d., Gitk'a'ata, Edmond Patelas and Heber Clifton

<sup>21</sup> A woman's name in the house of Txatkwat, Semiguul, refers to the remains of a volcanic fire on Haida Gwaii, Duff, n.d., Gitk'a'ata,

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## 4. GITKXAALA AND THE PEOPLES FROM THE MIGRATION FROM TEMPLAXAM

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### 4.1 THE GISPWUDWADA FROM TEMPLAXAM

Temlaxam, at the confluence of the Skeena River and Bulkley River was founded, as we have seen, by the descendants of Gaw'a (Sgawoo) who were originally joined there by Raven clan peoples and later by lineages of the Wolf clan. The area was rich in salmon, mountain goat and other foods, and supported a large number of people. Over time it became an extensive settlement area on the Skeena River, and at the height of its prosperity is said to have been several miles long. [62]

The people there began to take their prosperity for granted and to show disrespect for the animals that sustained them. Their adawx tells of their abuse of the mountain goats and their failure to respect other species, including salmon. The consequences were natural disasters, an expression of displeasure on the part of the spirit world. First a side of Stikyooden mountain collapsed, followed by a massive landslide, and then a change in the climate made fish and game scarce. Such a large population could no longer be sustained in what had been for many centuries a land of plenty and the people dispersed. This landslide has been dated to approximately 3500 years ago.<sup>22</sup> [63]

While lineages of all three clans at Temlaxam tell of their relocation to new villages, it is the adawx of the Gispwudwada (Gitksan: Giskaast) that describe in detail their establishment among many already well-populated villages among the Tsimshian, Nisga'a and Gitksan. Quite frequently it is said: "we have relatives who have gone before us when Gaw'a's children retaliated."<sup>23</sup>, showing that they knew they could not simply migrate into other villages and territories. [64]

Heber Clifton described the dispersal from Temlaxam and the first migration of this group to the coast.

Ts'ibasaa and his brothers – in this household they were very numerous – said, "We must not stay here. Let us go down the river to some other locality, and we may have a chance to escape the anger of the Chief of the Skies." Not all of Ts'ibasaa's brothers and families followed. Some elected to remain where they were. Others chose to go up the river. So this was the occasion of their separation at Temlaxam. [65]

Ts'ibasaa, who was accompanied by his brothers 'Wiiseeks [who settled at Gitksigyukla], Nisweexs, Gunaxnutk, and many of his nephews, nieces and headmen went down the river. They first stopped at Kitselas. Here several of his nephews stayed behind. These were T'mnuunax and Nistaxhook, while the others kept on travelling down the river. They went on until they reached the mouth of the Skeena. Here some more of the brothers separated. Agwilaxha went northwards with his family until they came upon the Gispaxlo'ots. And Gyeluk went with his group to the Gitando. They were the original chiefs of these two tribes before the Laxskiik (Eagles) [the Gwinhuut] came. [66]

Ts'ibasaa and his brothers travelled south until they came upon what is now the Gitkxaala section, each with a small household. Then Ts'ibasaa, seeing that it was a land of plenty, established himself. It was at Kts'm'nlagan (Inside of Crevice of Mountain (Curtis Inlet) that he discovered a country with plenty of salmon, animals, sea

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<sup>22</sup> Delgamuukw vs A.G. unpublished reports by Rolf Mathewes and Allen Gottesfeld

<sup>23</sup> Duff n.d., Gitk'a'ata, Heber Clifton

animals, sea foods, and mountain berries. This country was subdivided among the others. Laxkiaan (On Stern of Canoe), Gitkxaala village, was not then inhabited, and only became so in the winter. . . . Each headman now set out and formed a village and hunting ground of their own . . . This is how Ts'ibasaa and his group came down from Temlaxam.<sup>24</sup> [67]

Nathan Shaw (Gispwudwada, Gitkxaala) described the second wave of migration of this lineage from Gitksigyukla where they had settled after Temlaxam.

Ts'ibasaa came . . . when the people were punished by severe weather. This was the first migration . . . A long while afterwards, another migration came down, and this was led by Seeks. He also had many followers and nephews. [68]

They settled in a number of Tsimshian villages but were searching for a place where they would have "exclusive territory of their own."

For a time [they] settled at Ts'mlu'naget (Inside in Long), Klewnugget Inlet. This area was already occupied by a Gitkxaala Laxskiik so 'Wiiseeks moved on to K'moode (Lowe Inlet), formerly the property of the Laxgibuu . . . [69]

The arrival of the Gispwudwada from Temlaxam appears in some villages to have shifted the balance of power and resulted in the loss of some territories to the newcomers.<sup>25</sup> While the changes were gradual and took place over time, they were significant. [70]

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<sup>24</sup> Barbeau and Beynon, n.d.(c) #40

<sup>25</sup> Through compensation or their ability to generate wealth and thereby pay for the funeral expenses of poorer chiefs

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## 5. INVASION FROM THE NORTH

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### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

While the Gispwuwada from Temlaxam were aggressive in their integration into new villages, they built their network over time, and the dispersal into Tsimshian territory could not be characterized as an invasion. This cannot be said of the events that took place many centuries later when foreign peoples from the north pushed into Tsimshian territory. The invaders originated among the Tlingit but also among the Tahltan and their Athapaskan neighbours up the Stikine River who migrated through Tlingit territory. The first to penetrate Tsimshian territory were lineages of the Tlingit Raven clan, followed by the Eagle clan and finally inland and coastal lineages of the Wolf clan. The impact of the Raven clan invasion was mostly felt among the northern Tsimshian but the Eagle clan lineages spread throughout the region, and the Wolf clan invasion provoked warfare. Extensive archaeological research over the last decade has consistently pointed to a date of approximately 1500 BP for these events.<sup>26</sup> [71]

### 5.2 THE GWINHUUT EAGLES

Joseph Bradley, Matthew Johnson related how the Eagles were integrated into a number of Tsimshian villages.

When this lineage of chiefs first came among the Tsimshian, Nisga'a and Kitselas tribes, they were known as the Eagle Refugees) Gwinhootm Laxskiik [Gwinhuut]. They had many adventures before they came to the Tsimshian people, where they are now located. Many years ago there were two clans of people who were the Wolf clan and the Eagle clan and they lived at a village called Laxse'el [SE Alaska now] . . . [migration history] . . . [they separated] the two leaders who went up the Nass were Txalaxat and Mineskxw . . . the Eagle clan lineage was established among the Tsimshian and Niswamak was their leader and he went into the Gispaxlo'ots tribe and became a chief of this tribe and his brother Sgagweet went to the Gitando and another brother, whose name was Senaxeet, went on to the Gitamaat. This was before the origin of the name Ligeex whose prowess in war and fighting raised him above all the other chiefs . . . These Refugee chiefs knew how to gather food and had much wealth and became a very strong lineage.<sup>27</sup> [72]

Sam Lewis speaking of the house of Lutguts'amtii, of the Gwinhuut Eagle clan lineage at Gitkxaala, stated:

They were of Gwinhuut origin and had the same myth as Txalaxatk (Gits'ilaasu) and Ligeex (Gispaxlo'ots) but were not of royal rank - but they came from Laxse'el Alaska (Ketchikan). They have the same crests as these royal houses and names of Gwinhuut lik'agigyet, Laxskiik.<sup>28</sup> [73]

### 5.3 THE GWINHUUT WOLVES

The last wave of the invasion was a Wolf clan people from among the Tlingit, many of whom originated on the upper Stikine River. They established themselves in coastal inlets, such as Work Channel and other inlets at the mouth of the Nass River, where they were out of sight and best able to defend themselves. From there they raided the

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<sup>26</sup> Archaeological research

<sup>27</sup> Beynon, 1939 #11

<sup>28</sup> Duff, n.d., Gitkxaala Origins

northern Tsimshian in their winter villages on the coast. The Tsimshian eventually abandoned their villages and established themselves along the lower Skeena River to better protect themselves from attack. With the Skeena well-guarded, some of the invaders moved south to Lowe Inlet. The houses already established there were also of the Wolf clan. While it is not clear whether the original Wolf clan lineage there was driven away or whether the two groups amalgamated, there followed a period of raids and counter-raids with the other villages in the region. [74]

James Lewis and Heber Clifton described the situation at the time:

And all the tribes that would go to Gitamaat were always watched by all the Wolf clan and now there were many Wutsdaa, Gitlo'op and Gitamaat and Gitka'ata who were killed by the Wolf clan. [75]

Well all these tribes were worn out at what the Wolf clan had done to them and they were really afraid to go anywhere close to the Wolf clan village so that then Nta'wiiwalp, chief of the Gitk'a'ata, called for help; he invited all the chiefs of the Wutsdaa, Gitlo'op and Gitamaat and they discussed the thing that they will do to the Wolf clan, who were now about to destroy them. And when all the chiefs came together then all the chiefs agreed as one that they would clean off all the Wolf clan and that they would altogether as one make war upon the Wolf clan village [then where Gitk'a'ata is now] . . . When it was spring . . . [they] gathered together and the Wolf clan never knew of them gathering together to make an attack on the Wolf clan. And the Wolf clan were about to set out to visit where others of the Wolf clan lived at Lowe Inlet and it was then that those that were to raid together, attacked, these four tribes, and because it was so unexpected, the Wolf clan now seemed very weak, when they were attacked, so they escaped in flight and left their village. So it was then that the Gitk'a'ata moved down and lived where the Wolf clan had lived and here they live to this day. Well it was then that the power of the Wolf clan went down and all the Wolf clan escaped to Lowe Inlet and they possessed this river . . . And it was then that all the tribes tried to chase away all of the Wolf clan, because they were very much warlike people and besides they were a strange tongue; they were Tlingits and this was really why all the tribes were after them....<sup>29</sup> [76]

Henry Collison described the definitive battle for the Gitkxaala and the rout of the Wolf clan group of Gwisk'aayn from their territory:

And there was among the Gitkxaala a warrior by the name of Gamayaam [a relative of Ts'ibasaa] and when the raiding Stikine came, he killed many Stikines and this the Stikines knew and they really wanted to capture Gamayaam alive and take him. So that is why Gwisk'aayn came again to make war upon the Gitkxaala people to come and massacre them . . . [77]

The Stikines set out to go where the Gitkxaala lived at Kaagas [Campania Island, a fortified site adjacent to that of Knabaa on Estevan Island]. The Stikines did not know of the village of Knabaa and this was where 'Wakaas the Ganhada chief lived now and also Ts'ibasaa lived there at Knabaa. Well when the Stikines got to the fort at Kagaas, they tried to take this by quietly attacking it and almost all of the [Stikine] Wolf clan and Eagle clan were here and they were in great numbers. [78]

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<sup>29</sup> Beynon, 1939, #228



The Stikine were unsuccessful in their efforts to defeat the Gitkxaala at the fort at Kaagas. Meanwhile, Ts'ibasaa and 'Wakaas on Knabaa had been preparing for battle and they now intentionally allowed their whereabouts to be discovered by the raiders. Henry Collison continued:

Then all the warriors of the house of 'Wakaas arose and also of the house of Ts'ibasaa and amongst them was Gamayaam, the Gitkxaala warrior. And Gamayaam was the one that led the Gitkxaala. And after all the women and children were hidden then all the warriors gathered together to get ready to meet those that were approaching, that was the raiding strangers . . . Now that the raiders were right below the village, the Gitkxaala seemed all to be excited and they all ran about and seemed to want to escape . . . and the raiding Stikine paddled strenuously . . . [79]

Well just as soon as all the Stikine raiders' canoes landed and then all the Gitkxaala warriors ran down and then fought against the Stikine warriors and it was unexpected how they acted. And instead the Stikines started to escape and again went into their canoes and the Gitkxaala jumped into the water after them and caught all the canoes of the raiders and broke them into small pieces and there were many Stikines killed and it was then that the great brave Stikine that was to take Gamayaam alive, he was hiding in the bow of Gwisk'aayn's canoe. . . And then [the Stikine escaped] and there was many that died and were taken by the Gitkxaala.<sup>30</sup> [80]

As with the Raven, Wolf and Eagle groups among the other tribes, the Gitk'a'ata assimilated many of the defeated invaders.

Now some of the captives went to Gitamaat and some others had gone to Gitk'a'ata and lived there and they really increased in number here. Well the Gitk'a'ata now were those that took the Wolf clan river of Lowe Inlet.<sup>31</sup> [81]

One group of Gwisk'aayn's people from the Stikine River settled among the Gitkxaala and formed the house of Nisgaloot. Jno. Nelson and James Lewis described how this took place.

And the Wolf Clan of the Tlingits came down away to Kaien Island and Gwisk'aayn was the real head chief. And their opposite phratry with whom they intermarried was the Eagle Clan . . . And it was from these that some of the groups of the Wolf Clan came from and went to strange countries and there they made new villages and lived there and whoever was the leader or headman of the group became the chief of the newly made village. [82]

Well this was what one of the eldest nephews of Gwisk'aayn did, he went to a new country looking for a place in which fur-bearing animals were plentiful, that is marten and mink. Well after many days of canoeing, they came to one place which was a long inlet and they headed here and then they found where a large river ran down into the head of the inlet and there they went. [83]

It was now the middle of winter and there was no more fresh salmon for all the people and only a few had any dried salmon. Nisgaloot was the Wolf man's name and when he landed he saw there was a waterfall at the mouth of this river . . . And he walked over to the other side of the waterfall searching for trails of animals and

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<sup>30</sup> Beynon, 1939, #226

<sup>31</sup> Beynon, 1939, #228

then he found that this river was full of coho salmon and the man was very happy because he had found a country of plenty. [84]

And then he made what the ancient people used to catch salmon with a trap (laagant) . . . Well this plentiful country had been found by the Wolf Clan and Nisgaloot at once named this territory here as Ts'm'nlaagan as it was there that he trapped salmon. And then they lived here - although Gwisk'aayn had returned to the Stikine River as he was now really defeated in battle with the Tsimshians and many of his people stayed behind and lived in the direction of the Gitkxaalas now. [85]

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## 6. GITKXAALA & THE GITNAGWIN'AKS

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During the period of unrest created by the invasion of the various peoples from the north, a number of people from Gidestsu migrated into other villages in Tsimshian territory. While in the very early days the Gitnagwin'aks at Gidestsu may have had hostile relations with some of the other founding groups among the southern Tsimshian (such as 'Wiinemoolk at Gitk'a'ata), for most of their history they had always been on friendly terms with the people of Gitkxaala. When hostilities broke out among the Gidestsu themselves, many of them left and settled among the Tsimshian. The group from this lineage came to be known as the house of Nis'ooys. Enoch Maxwell described how the Gitnagwin'aks came to the Gitkxaala.<sup>32</sup>

At Gidestsu there was a conflict over the ownership of the crest, Midiigmwalp. Wuts'int claimed he had the right to use it . . . but Dzagmsagisk . . . would not give his consent. Wuts'int built the house anyway and there was a fight. Dzagmsagisk and T'amks defeated Wuts'int, Liptidziust, Wudimaas and T'iibn and the latter [the defeated] fled north. They stopped at Gitkxaala and lived there . . .

From here they joined other Tsimshian villages. This took place before "Aksk defeated the Tlingit" [86]

Whether the Gidestsu were always considered Tsimshian or came to be so at some point in their history, they certainly share lineages with common origins with a number of villages and for a long time have allowed the Gitkxaala and the Gik'a'ata to use areas of plenty within their territory.

Neighbours: Gidestsu on the East side of Princess Royal island – group of Nisloos, Gispwuwada; also south side of same island – Ts'ogmsagisk [Dzagmsagisk] group, Gispwuwada, Gidestsu . . . The Hecate Straights west of this territory is seal hunting grounds for Gitk'a'ata, Gidestsu and Gitkxaala. More or less, anybody's. The island of Aristabal was the place where the Gitk'a'ata came for their fresh bird eggs; also the Gidestsu: duck eggs, seagull eggs. Also hunting ground for sea otter. They used all in common in this island. The Gidestsu claimed the island, but they did not deny the claims of the others for common hunting grounds and food. [87]

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<sup>32</sup> Duff, n.d., Gitkxaala Origins, Enoch Maxwell

LINEAGES(AND/ORIGINS(OF(THE(GITKXAALA

Period	Clan	Houses/Lineages	Origins
<b>Original Laxmoon</b>	Ganhada	Ayagansk	local origin, original
	Ganhada	Ayaimax, Galhalaayt	before the flood, local origin with Ayagansk, original Ganhadas
	Ganhada	Nagapt, Ligidihl, Gimas'neexhl	local origin
	Laxgibuu	Hlabiksk, Nootsmladaw, Wayee, Kwogal Gamxgano	original
	Gispwudwada	Wisa'ai	coast origin
	Gispwudwada	Wa'omxk, Nismuulx	original
	Gispwudwada	Lagaxlihaaytk	local origin
<b>Early Before Flood</b>	Ganhada	La'ooy, Wudinaaxs	fought with Children of Gaw'a at head of the Nass River and came to Banks Island before the flood
	Laxgibuu	Asagalyeen	from Metlakatla when only Wolves were there, from Gadu
	Laxskiik	Nishalupus	from the Haida, Gitlo'op, Gidestsu
<b>Migration from Temlaxam</b>	Gispwudwada	Ts'ibasaa, Nisnoohl, Nisweexs, Gwinaxnuutk Txagaaxs, Nishlkuxso, Hale	Temlaxam
	Gispwudwada	Seeks, Nisgamdziwa, 'Awisdi, Waxaayt	Temlaxam (after Ts'ibasaa)
	Gispwudwada	Gaaymtka, Inta'wiiwalp, Gwilanaxnox	Temlaxam
	Gispwudwada	Witali	Temlaxam
<b>Gitnagwin'aks</b>	Gispwudwada	Nis'ooys, Wudimas, Txagyetk	Gidestsu
	Gispwudwada	Gwishawaal	Wudsta, Gitnagwin'aks
<b>Migration from the North</b>	Laxgibuu	Nisgahlout	Stikine
	Laxskiik	Lutguls'amli, Gilasgamgan	Gwenhuut (same as Txalaxatk)
	Ganhada	Dzagmgishaaytk, Dzagmyilyeltk, Ts'awil'aks	from Gitando when they split off from Gispaxlo'ots
<b>Recent</b>	Ganhada	Wakaas	from Wudsta, from Gitkxaahla before Ts'ibasaa went to Wudsta and returned
	Ganhada	Hagwilogmlaxha	Wudsta origin
	Ganhada	Laadex	with 'Wakaas

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## 7. TS'IBASAA'S RISE TO PROMINENCE

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The Gispwudwada from Temlaxam had established themselves in villages throughout the Northwest Coast and over time, their houses in all the villages where they settled became an active network that fostered trade. The Gwinhuut Eagle clan houses did the same and the two lineages were very competitive. [88]

Among the Gitkxaala Ts'ibasaa gradually rose to prominence. He and his people were allied from the outset with the original Gispwudwada of the house of Wisa'ai. Later his people intermarried with the Wolf clan lineage at K'ts'm'nlaagan. Jno. Nelson and James Lewis described the situation in the beginning.

Well they had not yet all met, the Gitkxaala and the Wolf Clan of the Stikine River and there lived very close by a Gitkxaala chief who was Ts'ibasaa at one of his villages and one day while canoeing about, the Wolf Clan suddenly met with the Gitkxaala. Now the Gitkxaalas [Gispwudwada] themselves had not lived here in the past, they had just come running away from war parties and they made their village at Dried Up Passage – Maxla Sgadziikx – (Port Stevens on Pitt Island) - and this was the first time Ts'ibasaa and Nisgaloot met and now between them there was peace between the two tribes and they invited each other to each other's feasts. [89]

And it was then that the house of Ts'ibasaa took in marriage women from the house of the Wolf Clan chief and the Wolf Clan chief done the same from the house of the Gitkxaala chief and whenever raiders from Haida came, they helped one another. And there was one thing that the Wolf Clan was more wealthy because in his river there was always salmon. In the spring of the year, spring salmon came and steelhead and stayed all through the spring. And then there came the sockeye salmon and the humpback salmon and then in the fall came the dog (chum) salmon and then followed by the coho salmon, which stayed right through. So that there never was no salmon for the Wolf Clan people, and this was food for all the ancient people and the valley at the head of this river was plentiful in all different animals and this was a territory of plenty. [90]

And this made all of the Gitkxaala people very envious and this was why Ts'ibasaa married off his nephews into the house of the Chief of Wolf Clan so that he would allow them to take fresh salmon from his river and there was nothing he could say as now he was connected by marriage to the Gitkxaala house. And berries and wild crabapples were also plentiful at the Wolf Clan country. Whenever Ts'ibasaa wished to eat fresh salmon he went to the where the chief of the Wolf Clan lived. And then the Wolf Clan chief would catch salmon and cook it whole and gave him a large quantity to take home. [91]

This marriage alliance ultimately led to the acquisition of an important territory by the Gispwudwada from Temlaxam. The house of Ts'ibasaa acquired the Wolf clan territory, Kts'm'nlaagan, as compensation for the death of Ts'ibasaa, who died shortly after eating salmon from there. Jno Nelson and James Lewis gave this account.

As soon as the weeping Gitkxaalas heard what the man had told them, they became angry and said "It will be good that we all set out at once and kill all who done this to our chief. They have put something that was not good in his food. We will retaliate at once." There was one thought among the Gitkxaalas [Gispwudwada] that

the Wolf Clan Chief had poisoned Ts'ibasaa when they fed him with salmon. So the Gitkxaalas set out at once and at the middle of the night they landed at the Wolf Clan village and then they attacked it at once and took all the Wolf Clan as captives and it was then that the Wolf Clan chief asked what they were doing and then the Gitkxaalas told him that they accused him of poisoning Ts'ibasaa and this was why he died. [92]

Well, Nisgaloot at once replied "It will be well that you control your feelings. I also ate and as did many of you and nothing happened to you." But the Gitkxaalas would not listen to the things the Wolf Clan chief said. The Wolf Clan chief knew that the Gitkxaala people were going to retaliate on him as being responsible for [the death] of Ts'ibasaa and he knew that he would be killed so that was why he said " Well you have done enough. If eating the salmon has been the cause of death, I will compensate at once now. And I will give this river and all this valley, which is a village of plenty to the house of Ts'ibasaa. Well you go away I will leave this country." [93]

Well this at once satisfied the feelings of the Gitkxaala and 'Wisa'ai, a brother of Ts'ibasaa himself said "Good we will return at once". Well this was how the river, which is a very wealthy river, came into the house of Ts'ibasaa to this day. And the Wolf Clan moved to another island. And it was from them that Ts'ibasaa became wealthy getting it from this river.<sup>34</sup> [94]

It was after Ts'ibasaa acquired K'ts'm'naagan that the Gitkxaala established a central village at Laxkiaan, "from villages that were on Pitt Island, Banks Island and the mainland from Lowe Inlet." [95]

When, in later times, relationships between neighbouring coastal areas were initiated and maintained by the most powerful chief of the region, Ts'ibasaa built on his war ties with the Bella Bella leader Homts'iit and established control over trade from Kitkatla to Gitlo'op. The trade alliances and control over trade routes were well-established by the time the maritime fur trade began and with it another period in the history of the Tsimshian. [96]

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<sup>34</sup> Beynon, 1939, #227

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## 8. GITKXAALA TERRITORIES – PORCHER ISLAND & ADJACENT ISLANDS<sup>35</sup>

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### 8.1 PORCHER INLET

#### 8.1.1 TERRITORY: KTS'MGA'ODA (INSIDE 'TYPE OF BASKET') PORCHER INLET USED BY ALL GITKXAALA FOR SALMON<sup>1</sup>

##### SITE AND AREA NAMES IN KTS'MGA'ODA TERRITORY

"Txus Lach Kawt – Kitkatla Islands" (Wilfred Jackson)<sup>36</sup>

### 8.2 PORCHER ISLAND

#### 8.2.1 TERRITORY: UNNAMED SE PORTION OF PORCHER ISLAND ON E SIDE OF INLET OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY GILASGAMGAN AND LUTGUTS'AMTI, LAXSKIIK

"Gilasgamgan (Laxskiik) Lutguts'amtī – the group, SE part of Porcher island, on the east side of Kts'mga'oda inlet (reason for name formation of inlet like a basket) – used for otter, mink. Inlet for salmon, more or less a common fishing ground for all Gitkxaala: cohoes and humps." (Oswald Tolmie)

#### 8.2.2 TERRITORY: KASWANLT'IIBN (REMNANT TOOTH OF THE SEA LION) - SAME SE PORTION OF PORCHER ISLAND, ON E SIDE OF THE INLET, OR PART OF IT

##### OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY THE GITKXAALA GANHADA

"At Porcher Island the Ganhada and Gispwudwada people had all to themselves where they would always hunt. . . .and the Ganhada people's territory was known as Kaswanlt'iibn (Remnant Tooth Sea Lion). . . It was named this because in olden times a huge sea lion formerly had its home there and it had a huge remnant of a tooth (Kaswan) and that is why the ganhada people claim it." (Joshua Ts'ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

#### 8.2.3 TERRITORY: LAXKSITKWIYOON (ON ?) - NW PORTION OF PORCHER ISLAND ON THE W. SIDE OF THE INLET

##### OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY WUDINAAXS, GANHADA

"Territory of Wudinaaxs (Ganhada) Laxksitkwiyoon (On ?) name of this territory – hunting only, salmon on the inlet." (Oswald Tolmie)

#### 8.2.4 TERRITORY: K'PAAL (PLACE OF GLOVES ?) - SAME NW PORTION OF PORCHER ISLAND, ON W SIDE OF THE INLET, OR PART OF IT

##### OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY THE GISPWUDWADA

"[Nisgaloot] did their fishing at K'paal." (Oswald Tolmie)

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<sup>35</sup> All territorial information unless otherwise indicated is from Barbeau and Beynon 1915-1957, B.F. 40 and B.F. 422.10 and is associated with the two annotated maps in the Appendix

<sup>36</sup> The information attributed to Wilfred Jackson is from a handwritten list, a photocopy of which was made available to the author to assist with mapping Gitkxaala territories.

“At Porcher Island the Ganhada and Gispwudwada people had all to themselves where they would always hunt. The Gispwudwada territory was known as K’paal. It was so named because the north wind struck it and it was extremely cold.” (Joshua Ts’ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)  
Two creeks there: Łguł’iin (Small valley) – coho, dog salmon, mink, marten, otter, beaver; Knaga’et (Place of Dog Salmon) only dog salmon, hunting too.<sup>37</sup>

### **8.2.5 TERRITORY: KSPIHALA (A FOREIGN KITLOPE WORD) - A STRIP ALONG THE INLET ON NW PART OF PORCHER ISLAND**

**OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY NISHALUPUS, LAXSKIİK (NOT SHOWN ON MAP)**

‘And then [on Goschen Islands and part of Porcher Islands, next to Wilunaxnox] the property of Nishalupus, Laxskiik and was known as Kspihala, a foreign Kitlop word meaning ?’ (Joshua Ts’ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

## **8.3 KITKATLA INLET, PORCHER PENINSULA & ADJACENT ISLANDS**

### **8.3.1 TERRITORY: WILUKSGAXT (WHERE OUTWARD OPEN) - PORCHER PENINSULA, ADJACENT ISLANDS, AND KITKATLA INLET**

**OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY NISGALOOT, LAXGIBUU**

“Nisgaloot (Laxgibuu) Ilagabał (Closely Cut) is the name of the channel to the south. Wiluksgaxt (Where Outward Open) name of inlet and territory. Mink, otter. No Creek.”

Tkunaxagum – up Inlet after Freeman Pass – lots of eagles; and Ts’awtgwiiyuum (Sampson Collinson)

### **8.3.2 TERRITORY: WILUNAXNOX (WHERE IN NAXNOX) - PORTION OF PORCHER PENINSULA**

**OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY NISHALUPUS, LAXSKIİK**

**TERRITORY: PART OF WILUNAXNOX (WHERE IN NAXNOX) – GOSCHEN ISLAND**

**OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY WA’OOMXK, GISPWUDWADA**

“Goschen Islands and part of Porcher Islands was the territory of Wa’oomxk, Gispwudwada known as Wilunaxnox, (Where in Supernatural), the place of supernatural beings.” (Joshua Ts’ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

### **8.3.3 TERRITORY: KNAGAAX (PLACE OF RAVEN) - GOSCHEN ISLAND**

**OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY DZAGMGISHAAYTKS, GANHADA**

“Dzagmgishaatks (Ganhada) Goschen Island – Knagaax (Place of Raven) is name of territory. Mink, land otter. “ (Oswald Tolmie)

**SITE AND AREA NAMES IN KNAGAAX TERRITORY**

“Knax gaax – Goschen Point” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Kna gaax – Goschen Point ‘Place of the Raven’ “ (Doug Brown)

Laxgaaxk’ats – in this area? – dig clams (Sampson Collinson)<sup>38</sup>

### **8.3.4 TERRITORY: GWILDMYOOTA (READY TO BE CARRIED AWAY) – SPICER ISLANDS**

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<sup>37</sup> Barbeau, 1915-1957, BF 40

<sup>38</sup> The information attributed to Doug Brown in this report is from the 2011 *Gitxaala Use Study* and that from Sampson Collinson is from an interview by the author in which he assisted with the pronunciation and orthography of territorial names (n.d.).



#### **OWNED BY NISMUULX, GISPWUDWADA**

“Spicer Island, Nismuulx (Gispwudwada) – Laxskwanabe (On Schooner Bay), There used to be a cannery. Gwildmyoota (Ready Suspend from Neck (basket)) “ready to be carried away”. Hunting otter” (Oswald Tolmie)

#### **SITE AND AREAS NAMES IN GWILDMYOOTA TERRITORY**

“Max la gwil um yutk – Pass between North and South Spicer islands” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Lach Mesk – Letts Island Schooner Pass” (Wilfred Jackson) [W of Spicer Islands]

Lax Masx (On Red) (Sampson Collison)

“Lax ‘mask – small island in Schooner Pass”(Doug Brown)

“Skun jext – Beaver Pass” (Wilfred Jackson) [between Spicer Island McCauley Island]

“Sgan dzex – Beaver Pass” (Doug Brown)

“Lach Klewel – Christie Islands” (Wilfred Jackson)

### **8.3.5 TERRITORY: LAGAXLAMZAX (ENTERING ON BOTH ENDS) – AN UNSPECIFIED ISLAND NEAR DOLPHIN ISLAND**

#### **OWNED BY AYAGANSK, GANHADA (NOT SHOWN ON MAP)**

“And then the territory of Ayagansk was known as Lagaxlamzax (Entering to in Both Ends) because in this island village he built a house the full length of the island and had one entrance at each end.” (Joshua Ts’ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

### **8.3.6 TERRITORY: LAXKLAAN (??) – DOLPHIN ISLAND AND ADJACENT ISLANDS**

#### **CENTRAL VILLAGE OF THE GITKXAALA**

“The Gitkxaala village of Laxklan (present village) where all the people lived at during the winter.” (Joshua Ts’ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

#### **SITE AND AREA NAMES IN LAXKLAAN TERRITORY**

“Lach Klan – Dolphin Island” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Lach tsuwatk – small island north of Shakes Island” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Km Haas – small island in Shakes Islands” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Kspa wa ins – Dolphin Lagoon” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Klu sgan Loits – Bay on South end Dolphin Isle in Schooner Pass” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Kwuul aks – Ewart Island” (Wilfred Jackson) [east of Dolphin Island]

“Lach Gwil ta’a small island behind Sand Island” (Wilfred Jackson) [near Ewart Island]

“Lach Kloot - Prager Islands” (Wilfred Jackson) [west of Dolphin Island]

“Lax Kluut – Prager Island” (Doug Brown)

#### **HISTORY OF LAXKLAAN TERRITORY**

##### **Laxklaan**

- means “On Canoe Board”
- means “On Sea Slug”
- there when La’ooy arrived
- there when the Gidestsu Gitnagwin’aks arrived which was before Aksk defeated Tlingit
- used for halaayts and yuxkws after Ts’ibasaa arrived, before becoming ‘full’ village, then established as a central village from villages that were on Pitt Island, Banks Island & mainland from Lowe Inlet”
- Ayaimax went there after they lived at Lagaxlamzagam Galts’ap
- Laxklaan established from villages on Pitt Island, Banks Island and mainland from Lowe Inlet – central village after Tsi’ibasaa had been at Kts’m’nlagan for a while
- present site of Gitkxaala village

- [during the Gwinhuut period] this was “more a winter village, when the Gitkxala people gathered together for their ya’uks and halaayt dramas, and they had these together with the Gidestsu and Gitk’a’ata, these events being held between the three villages and even as far south as the Wudsta and the interior group the Kitlo’op and Gitamaat. These people lived each at their own territory, each having its own fishing and hunting village, which was more or less their permanent village. The main gathering point for winter dramas and festivities was Laxklaan (Gitkxala Origins, Gitkxala Crests, Duff)

#### **Laxt’a’oots’ip**

- the first village was there at the present cemetery
- better known as Wilk’am’aws (Where On Good Sand Beach)
- the people of Gitkxala used to live all around this island – opposite almost the present village, about ¾ mile

#### **Lagaxlamdzaxwalp**

- village of Ayagansk (Ganhada) – formerly head chief of Gitkxala, before Gispwudwada came, even before Wisa’ai (Gispwudwada)
- Lagaxlamdzaxwalp ( To Each End Enter House) on island near Gitkxala – house covered whole island and had entrance at each end
- after flood, after village at S end of Pitt Island before Ayaimax lived at Laxklaan
- opposite Gitkxala village, now used as cemetery
- the houses were built the full width of the island
- Lagaxlamdzagm Galts’ap
- grassy island

(Gitkxala Origins, Duff; Gitkxala Crests, Duff)

### **8.3.7 ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH AT KITKATLA INLET, PORCHER PENINSULA & ADJACENT ISLANDS**

Archaeological research has identified a cluster of 10 medium sized shell middens between Gurd Island and Porcher Peninsula at the western end of Kitkatla Inlet, and 6 more in the inlet. There are four small middens in the same area and two slightly to the east. There is one large shell midden on Porcher Peninsula across from Gurd Island and one at the easternmost part of Porcher Peninsula. There are five rock traps on Porcher Island across from Gurd Island.

There is a second cluster of 12 medium sized shell middens and 16 small middens on Porcher Island and adjacent islands across from Dolphin Island. There are two large shell middens across from Dolphin Island and one on the island itself. There are 4 rock traps on Procher Island across from Dolphin Island.

David Archer has explained the significance of each of these types of sites: <sup>39</sup>

“Small middens may have been generated by some kind of minimal social unit – perhaps a single household or small work group. Other cultural factors that might influence midden size include the size and nature of the facilities that were established at the site (dwellings, smokehouses, drying racks, etc, and the degree of overlap in settlement area from one occupational episode to another.”

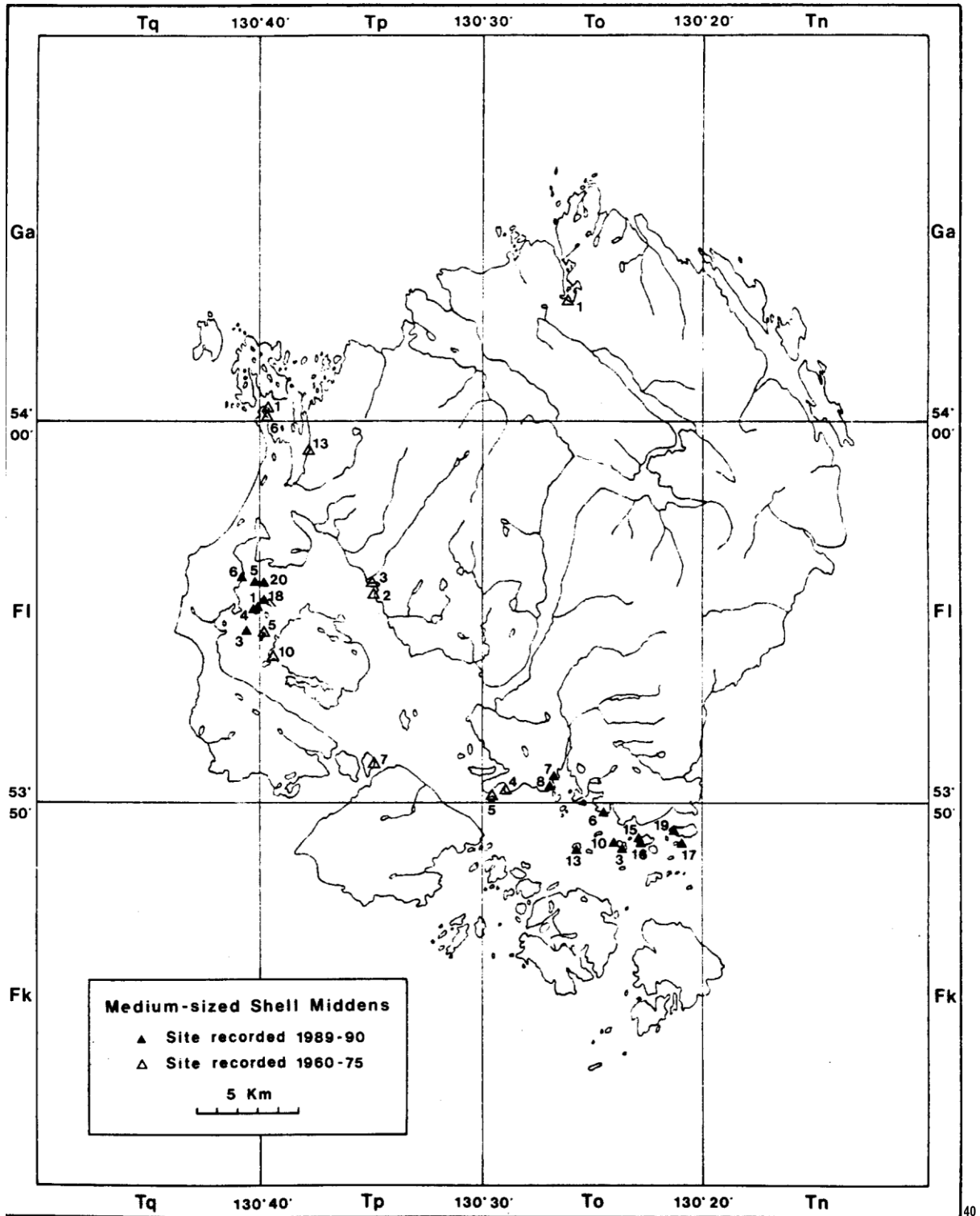
“Medium sized shell middens . . . almost certainly represent more than one settlement type. Some were probably minor hunting, fishing, and gathering camps, while others may have been longer-term seasonal encampments or even small villages . . . A distribution of this kind would suggest that two distinct groups of sites are included among the medium-sized shell middens. It is tempting to argue that these two groups represent different types of settlements . . . Like the small midden sites, medium sized shell middens are situated on the present shoreline, just above the level reached by the highest tides. Again they tend to have an elongated outline, with the long axis parallel to the shore . . . [flat areas at several of these sites were probably] regularly used as house sites or special activity areas and . . . refuse deposits were allowed to

<sup>39</sup> Archer 1990 (p. 64-65) (p. 71-76) (p.89-90) (p. 92-96)

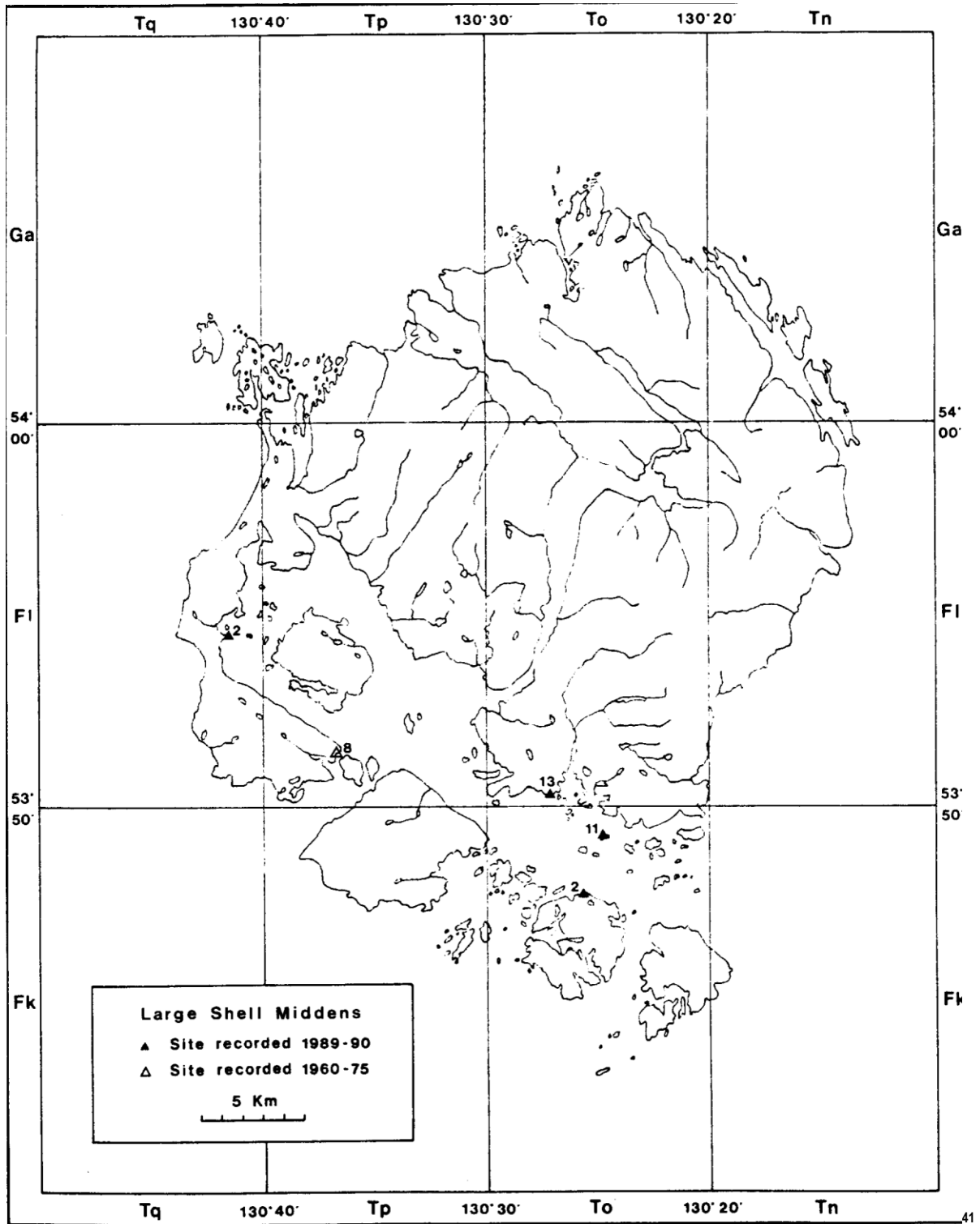
accumulate only around the periphery of these areas. . . . This implies an organized use of available living space – a characteristic more likely to be found in longer-term seasonal encampments than in briefly occupied hunting, fishing, and gathering camps. “

[In the case of the large shell middens] “three of the four sites are similar in size while the fourth is considerably larger. The one very large site is the village of Lachklan, now known as Kitkatla. . . . The three smaller middens (FkTo-11, FITo-13 and FITq-2) are also identifiable as village sites – all three have well-preserved house depressions indicating large stable communities. The age of these three sites is unknown. However, the indications are that they were not contemporary with the historic village of Lachklan, but rather date to an earlier period in the prehistory of the area.. All four large shell middens are located on the present shoreline at or just above the level of the highest tides. . . . All four middens have deep, stratified cultural deposits [possibly indicating considerable time depth to the occupation of the sites].”

“At FITo13 [there are] eighteen rectangular house depressions arranged in a single row along the shoreline. . . .FkTo-11 has twelve rectangular house depressions arranged in two rows. . . . At FITq-2 there are twenty-three rectangular house depressions arranged in three main rows with a shorter row at the western periphery. . . . The houses at FITq-2 appear to represent a different cultural pattern – although similar in width to FkTo-11 and FITo-13, they are considerably shorter... At present, they [FkTo-11 and FITo-13] are unique to [have only been found in] the Kitkatla area.”



<sup>40</sup> Figure 2: Medium-sized Shell Middens recorded by David Acher, Archer 1990



<sup>41</sup> Figure 3 Large Shell Middens recorded by David Archer, Archer 1990

### **8.3.8 RESERVES IN KITKATLA INLET, PORCHER PENINSULA & ADJACENT ISLANDS**

Dolphin Island #1 (Duff, Map No.NADM-5)<sup>42</sup>

“Lach Klan – Dolphin – No. 1” (Wilfred Jackson)

Sand Island #4 – 1 mile n. of #1 (Duff, Map No.NADM-5)

Grassy Islet – [near #1 and #2] (Duff, Map No.NADM-5)

### **8.3.9 AREAS IN KITKATLA INLET, PORCHER PENINSULA & ADJACENT ISLANDS CURRENTLY RECOGNIZED BY GOVERNMENT AND/OR SCIENTIFIC ORGANIZATIONS AS GITKXAALA USE AREAS, AND AS AREAS IN NEED OF PROTECTION**

#### **Gitxaala Nii Luutiksm/Kitkatla Conservancy**

“Gitxaala Nii Luutiksm/Kitkatla Conservancy is one of a number of areas that were identified for conservancy status from the North Coast Land and Resource Management Plan (LRMP). The Gitxaala First Nation has identified interests in Gitxaala Nii Luutiksm/Kitkatla Conservancy. This conservancy was designated in 2006.”

“The terrain of Gitxaala Nii Luutiksm/Kitkatla Conservancy is low-lying with many small islands. The conservancy protects a wide range of marine and terrestrial resources that have a long history of use by First Nations peoples. Marine resources include seaweed, cockle, salmon, and, herring roe-on-kelp harvesting, high value waterfowl habitat, and a grey whale rubbing beach. [Threatened and endangered bird species recorded in these waters include trumpeter swan (overwintering), Brant, long-tailed duck, western grebe, Pacific loon and great blue heron. A large herring spawn occurs in the inlet.] Terrestrial resources include rare pebbly/sandy beaches and coastal forests. Kitkatla Inlet has high recreational values for kayaking, camping, fishing, and diving.

“Gitxaala means “people of the salt,” which is a reference to the ocean-front location of the Gitxaala community on Dolphin Island. Nii Luutiksm means a special or treasured area. Gitxaala/Kitkatla Inlet provides a wealth of traditional resources that have for millennia sustained the Gitxaala. Traditional harvesting of seaweed, roe-on kelp, cockles and salmon are some of the practices that continue to occur within this inlet. The area’s oral history, stone fish-weirs and cache pits within this conservancy represent a history that predates European contact. Protection of cultural uses and values is a dominant feature of this conservancy.”<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> National Atlas Database Map Series Map No.NADM-5 Canada-Indian and Inuit Communities BC 1973

<sup>43</sup> Parks Canada website

## Gitxaala Nii Luutiksm / Kitkatla Conservancy



<sup>44</sup> Figure 4: Gitxaala Nii Luutiksm/Kitkatla Conservancy, Parks Canada



Figure 5: Gitkxala Territories on Porcher Island and Adjacent Islands<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> The maps of the territories in this report were developed under the auspices of the Tsimshian Tribal Council by the author and are based on the same Barbeau and Beynon source materials as the territorial information referred to above. They were designed to illustrate that information as closely as possible given the nature of the original sources.



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## 9. GITKXAALA TERRITORIES - McCAULEY ISLAND & PETREL CHANNEL

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### 9.1 TERRITORY: LAXLOGMYOO (WHERE SALMON IS ROASTED OVER THE FIRE) – NE McCAULEY ISLAND

OWNED BY HAGWILOGMLAXHA, GANHADA

“Hagwilogmlaxha (Ganhada) Laxlogmyoo (Where Over Into Roast (Toast) by Fireside Salmon) Hunting, otter, beaver, no salmon.” (Oswald Tolmie)

### 9.2 TERRITORY: XA'AALIPT (??) - N END McCAULEY ISLAND - PROBABLY SAME TERRITORY AS 'NISAK'UTS'A

OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY GILASTAA, GISPWUDWADA

“Gilastaa (Gispwudwada) Xa'alipit (?) – salmon fishing place, hunting” (Oswald Tolmie)

### 9.3 TERRITORY: 'NISAK'UTS'A (FOR MAKING SLINGSHOTS) - PROBABLY SAME TERRITORY AS XA'AALIPT

OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY GWISHAWAAL, GISPWUDWADA

“On McCauley Island there is the territory of Gwishawaal, Gispwudwada and was known as 'Nisak'uts'a (For Making Slingshots) place where slingshots were made.” (Joshua Ts'ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

### 9.4 TERRITORY: K'AMYAANS (PLACE WHERE GATHER CHITONS) – W SIDE McCAULEY ISLAND

OWNED BY LA'O OY, HAXTSAXOONTK, XSOOYET, GAMSEMEX, GANHADA

“Group of La'ooy, Haxtsaxoontk, Xsooyet, Gamsemex (Ganhada) K'amyans (Place Where Gather (edible shellfish)) – trapping grounds, sockeye creek, humps, cohos. That is all he knows for this group.” (Oswald Tolmie)

#### RESERVES IN K'AMYAANS TERRITORY

“Ksu wuh – Keswar Inlet No. 16” (Wilfred Jackson)

Keswar – w. McCauley I #16 (Duff, Map No.NADM-5)

“Kswah – I.R. Keswar 16” (Doug Brown)

### 9.5 TERRITORY: K'NAGANWATSA (PLACE OF LAND OTTER SNARES) – S McCAULEY ISLAND - PROBABLY SAME TERRITORY AS TGULAXLAX

OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY GILASTAA, GISPWUDWADA

“Gilastaa (Gispwudwada) K'naganwatsa (Place of Land Otter Snares) – hunting: (?), otter, beaver. No salmon.” (Oswald Tolmie)

#### SITE AND AREA NAMES IN K'NAGANWATSA TERRITORY

“Knag an watsa – Port Canaveral” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Knag an 'watsa – Point Canaveral 'A place for River Otters' “ (Doug Brown)

### 9.6 TERRITORY: TGULAXLAX (AROUND FALLING) - PROBABLY SAME TERRITORY AS K'NAGANWATSA

OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY 'WITALI, GISPWUDWADA

“On that island [McCauley Island] was another territory, belonging to the Gispwudwada house of 'Witali known as Tgulaxlax (Around Falling) so named on account of the steep sides of the island and was the trap set for animals – they would chase all the animals over the bank and a boat would wait for them below and get the dead bodies as they fell down the steep cliff.” (Joshua Ts'ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

## **9.7 PETREL CHANNEL**

### **SITE AND AREA NAMES IN PETREL CHANNEL**

“Knug ga keen – South of Morrison Point in Petrel Channel” (Wilfred Jackson) [This may be on McCauley Island or on Pitt Island or a site in the Channel.] (Wilfred Jackson)

“Mux la skuu nuk – Petrel Channel” (Wilfred Jackson)



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<sup>46</sup> Figure 6: Gitksaala Territories on McCauley and Adjacent Islands

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## 10. GITKXAALA TERRITORIES - BANKS ISLAND

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### 10.1 BANKS ISLAND – N END

#### 10.1.1 TERRITORY: KWILUSGATS'A'ADZIKS (WHERE MUD OR DIRTY) - N END BANKS ISLAND

##### OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY GAAYMTKWA AND NTA'WIIWALP, GISPWUDWADA

“Gaaymtkwa and Nta'wiiwalp (Gispwudwada) - Kwilusgats'a'adziks (Place Mud or Dirty) – mud flats along the end. Hunting otter, mink, beaver, camping place for halibut fishing for all Gitkxaala” (Oswald Tolmie)

##### SITE AND AREA NAMES IN KWILUSGATS'A'ADZIKS TERRITORY

“Mux la Knugun xe (?) – Between Larsen and Banks Islands (Wilfred Jackson)

#### 10.1.2 TERRITORY: GITGYAABS (PEOPLE WAY OUT TO SEA) – N. END BANKS ISLAND

##### OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY LA'O OY, GANHADA

“On Banks Island was the property of La'ooy, Ganhada known as Gitgyaabs (People Way Out to Sea), the people way out to sea.” (Joshua Ts'ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

A long way out from Banks Island, sea otter hunting there by Gaaymtkwa's house (Gispwudwada) who were great hunters – bare, rocky island beyond this place. (Gitkxaala Crests)

##### SITE AND AREA NAMES IN GITGYAABS TERRITORY

“Txa teen – Rawlinson Anchorage” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Txa 'tiin – Rollison Anchor” (Doug Brown)

“Lgyaata – End Hill” (Doug Brown)

##### RESERVES IN GITGYAABS TERRITORY

“Xge yata – End Hill – No. 17” (Wilfred Jackson)

Keyarka – n.e. Banks - #17 (Duff, Map No.NADM-5)

#### 10.1.3 TERRITORY: KTS'MLOO'LP (PLACE INTO STONE WEIR) – ON POINT AT N. END BANKS ISLAND

##### CAMPING PLACE FOR HALIBUT FISHING FOR ALL GITKXAALA & A COMMON SALMON FISHING GROUND FOR ALL GITKXAALA

“Kts'mloo'lp (Place in Salmon Weir) (made of circle of stones) northern Point of Banks island – common fishing ground” (Oswald Tolmie)

“Dzagmgishaatks (Ganhada) – for salmon he went to the northern tip of Banks Island which was common ground for all.” (Oswald Tolmie)

##### ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH AT NORTH END OF BANKS ISLAND

“A pre-contact Gitkxaala village site is located in the [Banks Nii Luutiksm] conservancy.”

##### AREAS AT NORTH END OF BANKS ISLAND CURRENTLY RECOGNIZED BY GOVERNMENT AND/OR SCIENTIFIC ORGANIZATIONS AS GITKXAALA USE AREAS, AND AS AREAS IN NEED OF PROTECTION

###### Banks Nii Luutiksm Conservancy

“Banks Nii Luutiksm Conservancy is one of a number of areas that were identified for conservancy status from the North Coast Land and Resource Management Plan (LRMP). The Gitkxaala First Nation has identified interests in Banks Nii Luutiksm Conservancy. This conservancy was designated in 2006.”

“Banks Nii Luutiksm Conservancy is part of the greater Banks Island, a large, isolated, exposed and wild island with a number of scenic, safe inlets and anchorages. Banks Island is part of Milbanke Strandflat, a flat low plain, underlain by granite. The topography of this large coastal island is low-lying, but rugged and striated by frequent well-marked lineaments occupied by large expanses of muskeg, where drainage is poor. The conservancy also contains a number of small lakes. This area is important for the traditional harvest of intertidal marine resources by the Gitxaala First Nation.”

“Extensive canopy-forming kelp stands occur on the northern and western marine coastline of Banks Island, and provide important habitat for a diverse community of marine invertebrates and fish. The canopy-forming species include giant kelp and bull kelp. Currently, giant kelp is the most important commercially harvested marine plant on the BC coast and is utilized primarily for the herring spawn-on-kelp fishery. Most of the licences for the spawn-on-kelp fishery are communally held by First Nations.

The Banks Nii Luutiksm Conservancy area has a long history of use by First Nations groups. . . . Banks Nii Luutiksm Conservancy helps protect a historically and currently used area and its associated cultural values, and to provide First Nations with an opportunity to conduct social, ceremonial and cultural uses.”

# Banks Nii Luutiksm Conservancy



<sup>47</sup> Figure 7: Banks Nii Luutiksm Conservancy, Parks Canada

## 10.2 BANKS ISLAND – W SIDE & NEARBY ISLANDS

### 10.2.1 TERRITORY: KXENK'AA'WEN (PLACE OF FISHING TRAP (A SPECIAL KIND)) – KINGKOWN INLET AND WATERSHED - PROBABLY SAME TERRITORY AS NAGA'AKS

#### OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY NTA'WIIWALP, GISPWUDWADA

“Bonilla Arm - Nta'wiiwalp (Gispwudwada) - Kxenk'aa'wen (Place of (type of fishing trap to fish salmon in this particular creek) also used by Gaaymtkwa (Gispwudwada) – hunting.” (Oswald Tolmie)

“Naga'wen – Sampson Collinson's grandfather's trapline and seaweed spot – he was Gaaymtkwa – mink, otter. Lax'hoo – four reefs there to pick seaweed” (Sampson Collinson)

#### SITE AND AREA NAMES IN KXENK'AA'WEN TERRITORY

“Kna kawan – Kingkown Inlet” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Lach Ks kawinoo – Kirkendale Island” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Lach Kndipwand – Antle Island North” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Lach Kajes – Antle Island South” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Ook Kajes – Cliff Point – Banks Island” (Wilfred Jackson) [location uncertain but same name as Antle Island, possibly uks – looking out to]

“Gis oo wil sax poon – Narrow pass south of Kirkendale Islands and mainland Banks Island” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Gis wil ya gwin – near Cliff Point (creek)” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Kna ka'wn – Kingkown Inlet” (Doug Brown)

#### AREAS IN KXENK'AA'WEN CURRENTLY RECOGNIZED BY GOVERNMENT AND/OR SCIENTIFIC ORGANIZATIONS AS GITKXAALA USE AREAS, AND AS AREAS IN NEED OF PROTECTION

##### Banks Nii Luutiksm Conservancy

See above

### 10.2.3 TERRITORY: NAGA'AKS (WATER SPLASHING) – PROBABLY SAME TERRITORY AS KXENK'AA'WEN

#### OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY GAAYMTKWA, GISPWUDWADA

“Adjoining this [Gitgyaaks] was the property of Gaaymtkwa, Gispwudwada known as Naga'aks (Water Splashing Against) on account of the rough water splashing against the steep cliffs and on this account was given the name.” (Joshua Ts'ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

### 10.2.4 TERRITORY: LAXTKAL (ON SNARE FOR LAND OTTER) – BONILLA ISLAND

#### OWNED BY NTA'WIIWALP, GISPWUDWADA, BUT A VILLAGE THERE BY THE SAME NAME WAS USED BY ALL GITKXAALA AS A SEAL HUNTING CAMP

“[Nta'wiiwalp (Gispwudwada)] – Also Bonilla Island – Laxtkal (Snare for Land Otter) - Otter on this island – nothing else. There was also a village common to all Gitkxaala there used as a seal hunting camp. Laxtkal was the name.” (Oswald Tolmie)

#### SITE AND AREA NAMES IN LAXTKAL TERRITORY

“Luba klabe its – North Rock (north of Bonilla)” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Lach kyoogat – Northwest Rocks – Lach kyoo gan” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Lax Kyoogan – Northwest Rocks (kyoox is grass where sea gulls lay eggs)” (Doug Brown)

#### HISTORY OF LAXTKAL TERRITORY

“Larry Bolton explained there is a big story about how his grandfathers ended up on Banks Island but he indicated that the tale would be too long to tell . . .He explained that this territory is still passed today when a name is passed and all the territory is divided into hereditary areas. The area around Bonilla and across on Banks Island, part of the white rocks, is Gisbutwada {Blackfish or Killerwhale} territory and that is where Larry is from. He explained that he is connected to that land “way back.”<sup>48</sup>

#### **Laxtxal (On Flats)**

“While the people were living at their village at Bonilla Island, a great rain storm came up causing a stream to appear which greatly excavated the sand until bedrock was exposed. And on the bottom, they found this war club ready made like a fish. With it Gamayaam fought both the Haidas and Gidaganits (used as a crest and war club).”<sup>49</sup>

#### **AREAS IN LAXTKAL TERRITORY CURRENTLY RECOGNIZED BY GOVERNMENT AND/OR SCIENTIFIC ORGANIZATIONS AS GITKXAALA USE AREAS, AND AS AREAS IN NEED OF PROTECTION**

##### **Lax Kul Nii Luutiksm Conservancy/ Bonilla Conservancy**

“Lax Kul Nii Luutiksm/Bonilla Conservancy is one of a number of areas that were identified for conservancy status from the North Coast Land and Resource Management Plan (LRMP). The Gitxaala First Nation has identified interests in Lax Kul Nii Luutiksm/Bonilla Conservancy. This conservancy was designated in 2006.

“The conservancy covers Bonilla Island and the adjacent islets North Rock and Northwest Rocks and all foreshore within 200 metres of the shore. The conservancy protects a pre-contact First Nations village, seabird colonies [predator-free islets for breeding colonies of pigeon guillemots and glaucous –winged gulls], sea lion rookeries, a tombolo, and rich intertidal resources.”

#### **RESERVES IN LAXTKAL TERRITORY**

“Lach kul – Bonilla Island – No. 18” (Wilfred Jackson)

Kul – Bonilla - #18 (Duff, Map No.NADM-5)

“Lax Txal - I.R. Kul 18/Bonilla Island” (Doug Brown)

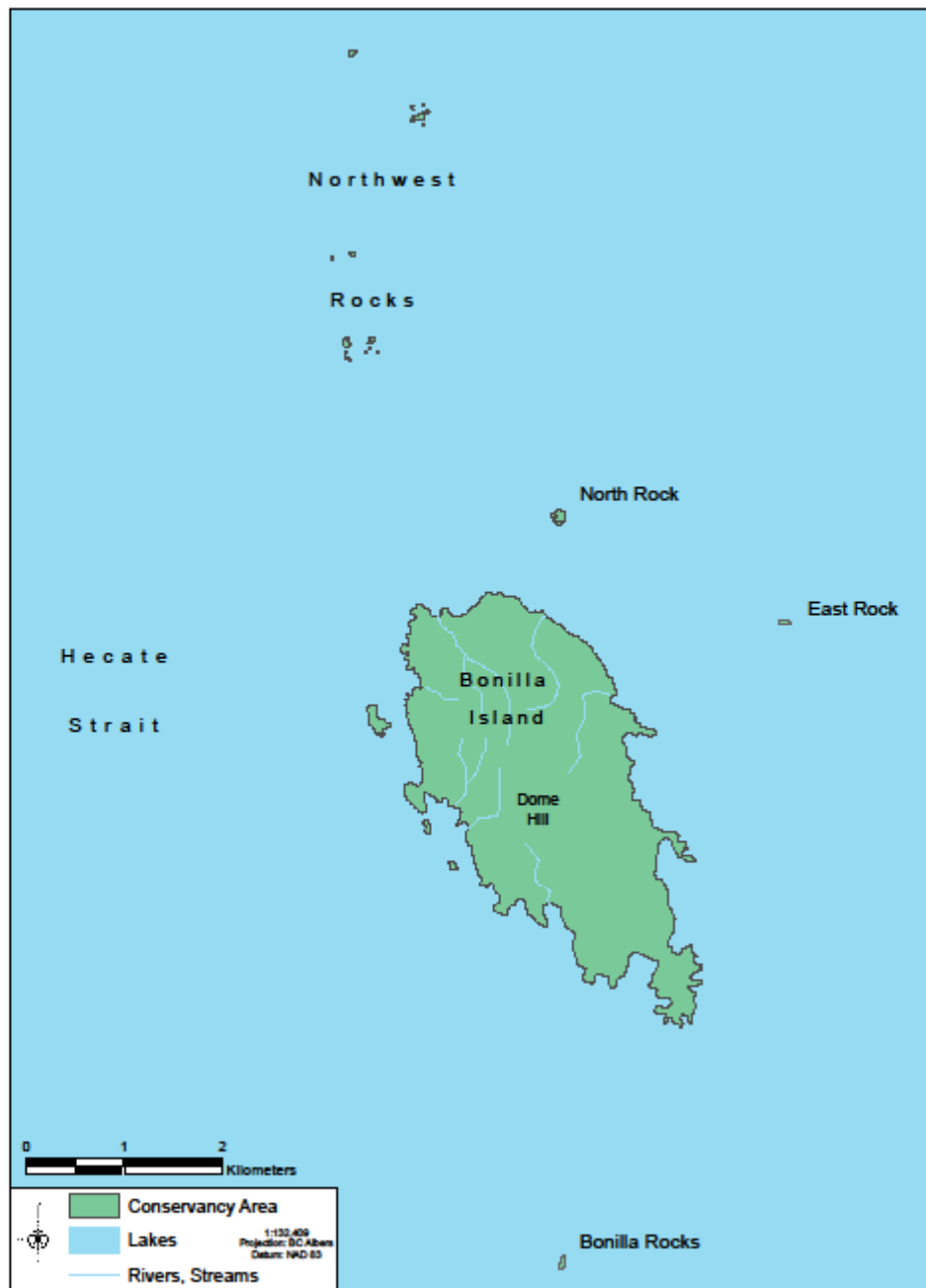
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<sup>48</sup> 2011 Gitxaala Use Study, p.51

<sup>49</sup> Barbeau, 1915-1957, BF 40



# Lax Kul Nii Luutiksm/Bonilla Conservancy



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<sup>50</sup> Figure 6: Lax Kul Nii Luutiksm/Bonilla Conservancy, Parks Canada

**10.2.5 TERRITORY: XA'AGAK (QUICK RISING AND QUICK EMPTYING CREEK) & KWTUUN'ASTA (AROUND ABOUT) – BANKS LAKES WATERSHED - PROBABLY THE SAME TERRITORY AS LAXSTS'OOLM T'A'OOTS'IP OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY GILASGAMGAN AND LUTGUTS'AMTI, LAXSKIIK**

“Gilasgamgan (Laxskiik) Lutguts'anti - Xa'agak (Quick Rising and Quick Emptying Creek) – hunting otters, beaver – salmon: sockeye, coho, humps, no dog [chum]. Kwtuun'asta (Around About) Creek: sockeye, cohoes. Hunting.” (Oswald Tolmie)

**SITE AND AREA NAMES IN XA'AGAK TERRITORY**

“Kwu Duuns da – Survey Bay” (Wilfred Jackson) [Kwtuun'asta]

“Kwu dunnsda – Survey Bay” (Doug Brown)

**10.2.6 TERRITORY: LAXSTS'OOLM T'A'OOTS'IP (ON BEAVER CLIFF FORTRESS) – PROBABLY SAME TERRITORY AS XA'AGAK**

**OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY LUTGUTS'AMTI, LAXSKIIK**

“And then adjoining this territory [Naga'aks] was the territory of Lutguts'anti, Laxskiik known as Laxsts'oolm T'a'oots'ip (On Beaver Cliff). This cliff was a fort and was made on a high cliff.” (Joshua Ts'ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

**10.2.7 TERRITORY: K TSAATS (??) – WALLER LAKES WATERSHED**

**OWNED BY LA'O OY, GANHADA**

“On west side of Banks Island – La'ooy (Ganhada) – Ktsaats (?) – fishing (salmon): sockeye, coho, humps. Hunting ground: otter, mink, beaver” (Oswald Tolmie)

**SITES AND AREAS IN K TSAATS TERRITORY**

“Kjats – Whaller Bay” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Ka guk – Wreck Islands” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Tkaa gak – Wreck Islands 'where swans are'” (Doug Brown)

**10.2.8 TERRITORY: K'ANTSUWAAS (PLACE OF PYGMY SALMON) SW END OF BANKS ISLAND**

**OWNED BY WA'O OMXK, GISPWUDWADA**

“Wa'oomxk (Gispwudwada – K'antsuwaas (Place of Small Salmon) – salmon place as well as hunting” (Oswald Tolmie)

**SITE AND AREA NAMES IN K'ANTSUWAAS TERRITORY**

“Kn tsu waas – Bay between Grief Point and Spearer Point on west coast of Banks” (Wilfred Jackson)

**10.3 NORTH DANGER ROCKS & JOSEPH ISLAND (W COAST OFF BANKS ISLAND)**

**SITE AND AREA NAMES AT NORTH DANGER ROCKS**

“Wil di doo teebn, Wil di wal teebn – North Danger Rocks” (Wilfred Jackson) [Wildiwal T'iibn]

“Ronnie Shaw told a story that was told to him by his father about Gitkxala people hunting sea lions at North Danger and the mainland of Banks Island. “ (Ronnie Shaw)<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> 2011 Gitkxala Use Study, p. 51

#### **SITE AND AREA NAMES AT JOSEPH ISLAND**

Knux Duu – Joseph Island” (Wilfred Jackson)

### **10.4 BANKS ISLAND E SIDE**

#### **10.4.1 TERRITORY: KĹKAAXA (??) – KYARKA COVE AND ADJACENT WATERSHEDS**

**OWNED BY DZAGMGISHAAYTKS, GANHADA**

“DzagmgishaaytkS (Ganhada) - KĹkaaxa (?) – salmon, sockeye, coho, humps, hunting.” (Oswald Tolmie)

#### **10.4.2 TERRITORY: KSGAXĹAM (PLACE OF WHITE CLAY) – LIMESTONE BAY AND ADJACENT AREAS**

**OWNED BY GILASTAA, GISPWUDWADA**

“Gilastaa (Gispwudwada) – KsgaxĹam (Place of White Clay) – feature of place white clay shoreline – like crayon – hunting mink, otter, beaver – no fish” (Oswald Tolmie)

#### **SITE AND AREA NAMES IN KSGAXĹAM TERRITORY**

“Ska xĹem – Bare mountain across from Anger Island on Banks Island” (Wilfred Jackson)

#### **10.4.3 TERRITORY: KXOOYAX (PLACE OF SHELTER) – KOORYET LAKE AND WATERSHED**

**OWNED BY GILASGAMGAN, LAXSKIİK**

“Gilasgamgan (Laxskiik) – Kxoo yax (Place of Shelter) – hunting, otter, salmon fishing station, sockeye, coho, humps” (Oswald Tolmie)

#### **ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN KXOOYAX TERRITORY**

Charles Menzies and Iain McKechnie recorded the following features in this territory:

“Kooryet is a productive sockeye salmon river located along the eastern portions of Banks Island . . . a minimum of eight individual rock alignment features and three ‘retaining pool features were recorded along both side of the river extending over an area approximately 430 m in length . . . the features at Kooryet can be characterized as containing both traps [Ĺagan] and weirs [Ĺoo’Ĺp] . . . In sum our field observations suggest that th lower reaches of the river . . . has been variously modified and engineered to facilitate access to the salmon fishery. . . . The additional presence of a canoe run along the north side of the stream mouth further demonstrates the extent of human use of the area.

. . . this fish trap complex was visited by the crew of Captain James Colnett in October of 1787. Colnett’s cXrew caught salmon in the river and ‘destroyed a portion of this trap complex after a dispute with a chief in the area (Galois 2004:156-160, 359).”<sup>52</sup>

#### **RESERVES IN KXOOYAX TERRITORY**

“Kao i ya – Kooryet Bay No. 12” (Wilfred Jackson)

Kooryet – e. Bank Is #12 (Duff, Map No.NADM-5)

‘Ka ‘oiya – I.R. Kooryet 12” (Doug Brown)

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<sup>52</sup> McKechnie, 2009, p. 31

## 10.5 BANKS ISLAND S END

### 10.5.1 TERRITORY: KMINXAŁA (CALM PLACE) - S END OF BANKS ISLAND - PROBABLY INCLUDING CALAMITY BAY

OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY WAKAS, GANHADA – THIS TERRITORY MAY OVERLAP WITH K'ANTSUWAAS OR MAY BE SOUTH OF IT

“And on the South end of Banks Island was the territory of the Ganhada royal house of Wakas and it was known as Kminxała. So called because at the extreme point was a sheltered bay and was always calm. Xala means calm inlet and it meant “The Calm Place” (Joshua Ts’ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

### 10.5.2 TERRITORY: KS’WAAN (PRECIOUS PLACE) – CALAMITY BAY

OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY YALIMKSIGWAAN, LAXGIBUU

“Ks’waan – now Calamity Bay - not used now, but formerly. Yalimksigwaan (Laxgibuu) used it more than any of the others. Otter, beaver, mink.” (Oswald Tolmie)

### 10.5.3 TERRITORY: KS’WAAN (PRECIOUS PLACE) – CALAMITY BAY AND ADJACENT WATERSHEDS TO THE NE

OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY NISHALUPUS, LAXSKIİK

“Nishalupus (Laxskiik) – Ks’waan refers to a precious place – hunting ground: otter, beaver, coho” (Oswald Tolmie)

#### SITE AND AREA NAMES IN KS’WAAN TERRITORY

“Kla ul up tsuk – Calamity Bay” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Kna woo – Deer Point” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Kna ‘woo – Deer Point (Doug Brown)

“Ks wann – Terror Point” (Doug Brown)

#### HISTORY OF KS’WAAN TERRITORY

Mark Spencer, Wudinaaxs, Ganhada told of the flood at this territory.

“The Gitkxaala people had many villages on what is now Pitt Island and Banks Island, each family group having their own fishing and hunting village at which a special type of salmon trap known as loygal [lagal]. It was fished at its narrowest part in the form of a lead? entering into a wicker-work trap. Such traps were used by all the Gitkxaala people on Pitt Island and Banks Island. It was at the village of Wakaas, Ganhada, Banks Island now known as K’nawoosu (Place of Snares)[SE end] [that children disrespected the salmon and caused the flood] . . . As the waters subsided the people still in their canoes followed it down until it came to its own sea level and then they began to look about for their new villages, the old ones were completely gone and everything was strange.”<sup>53</sup>

#### RESERVES IN KS’WAAN TERRITORY

Kitlawoo - s.e. Banks Is #10 (Duff, Map No.NADM-5)

“Keeja – Keecha Point – No. 11” (Wilfred Jackson)

Keecha – e. Bank Is - #11 (Duff, Map No.NADM-5)

“Kiidzai – I.R. Keecha 11” (Doug Brown)

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<sup>53</sup> Barbeau, 1915-1957, BF 132.5



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<sup>54</sup> Figure 9: Gitksaala Territories on Banks Island and Adjacent Islands

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## 11. GITKXAALA TERRITORIES - PITT ISLAND

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### 11.1 PITT ISLAND NE END

#### 11.1.1 TERRITORY: KŁAPŁOON (PLACE OF SEA OTTER), ALSO CALLED WILHALYAAŁ MIIK (WHERE THE GRIZZLY WALKS ALONG THE SHORE)

##### OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY DZAGMGISHAAYTKS, GANHADA

"Dzagmgishaaytk, (Ganhada) on the northern end of Pitt Island - Wilhalyaal Miiik (Where Along Walks Grizzly). Marten, mink, otter, beaver. Salmon: humpback in small creeks only. The name has been changed. Formerly it was the Place Where Grizzlies cohabited with each other. It was seen by people years ago. An incident. Hence the name. The other name Klaploon (Place of Sea Otters) was the older name." (Oswald Tolmie)

#### 11.1.2 TERRITORY: WILHALGA'AMIILGA MIIK (WHERE GRIZZLY PLAYS ALONG THE SHORE) - ANCIENT VILLAGE IN WILHALYAAŁ MIIK TERRITORY

##### OWNED BY WISA'AI, AND LATER HALE, BOTH GISPWUDWADA, BUT USED BY ALL THE GITKXAALA

Hale also had another territory but this was used by all the Gitkxala and here in olden times was the village of Wisa'ai at the north end of Pitt Island and was called Wilhalga'amiilga Miiik (Where Along Shore Plays Grizzly – Where the Grizzly Plays Along the Shore)" (Joshua Ts'ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

##### HISTORY OF WILHALGA'AMIILGA MIIK TERRITORY<sup>55</sup>

- Gitkxala village at end of Pitt Island
- La'ooy lived here after Dundas Island and Banks Island (before flood), they moved to Laxkloan before the Temlaxam arrived
- Village on Pitt Island where Gaaymtkwa (Gispwudwada) lived

##### RESERVES IN WILHALYAAŁ MIIK TERRITORY

"Klapthlon – north of Calvert Point No 5 & 5a – Haxya sami" (Wilfred Jackson)

Klapthlon – n.e. #5, 5a Pitt Island (Duff, Map No.NADM-5)

"Kla phloon – I.R. Klapthlon 5A" (Doug Brown)

#### 11.1.3 TERRITORY: KNA'MAGBAA'LX (PLACE PASSING TO AND FRO GHOST), A BERRY GROUND IN WILHALYAAŁ MIIK TERRITORY

##### OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY SEEKS, GISPWUDWADA

"Seeks had another place on Pitt Island known as Kna'magmbaa'lx. This was a berry ground where this house got its berries." (Joshua Ts'ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

#### 11.1.4 TERRITORY: KŁA'OL (PLACE WHERE GRIZZLY) IN WILHALYAAŁ MIIK TERRITORY

##### OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY NIS'OOYS, GISPWUDWADA

"And next to this [the territory Wilhalga'amiilga Miiik] was the territory of Nis'ooys, Gispwudwada. This place was known as Kła'ol (meaning ?) and here was the hunting grounds of this house." (Joshua Ts'ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

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<sup>55</sup> Duff, n.d., Gitkxala Origins

#### **HISTORY OF KŁA'OL TERRITORY <sup>56</sup>**

- Nis'ooys (Gispwudwada) Gitnagwin'aks – treated as ghosts – moved away north to Kłá'ol on Pitt Island and built a village there called Knadzoots
- The Gitnagwin'aks moved north into Gitkxaala country to a place on Pitt Island called Kłá'ol and built a village called Knats'uuts (Towards the Birds)
- Knats'uuts village of Nis'ooys built when Gitnagwin'aks first arrived on Pitt Island, much later subdivided [migrated] to Gitk'a'ata and Tsimshian
- Gulitgaw – village of Nis'ooys (Gispwudwada) (probably on Pitt Island)

## **11.2 PITT ISLAND – W SIDE**

### **11.2.1 TERRITORY: KGANAAXT (FOOTPRINTS OF DEER) – ALPHA BAY AND ALPHA CREEK WATERSHED**

#### **OWNED BY AXŁAWAALS, GANHADA**

Axlawaals (Ganhada) at Alpha Bay - Kganaaxt (Footprints of Deer) owing to the physical features of creek in the form of deer leg. Hunting, mink, marten and humps. That is all for him." (Oswald Tolmie)

### **11.2.2 TERRITORY: KŁKOORYATK (PLACE OF SHELTERED ROCK) – CAPTAIN'S COVE AND WATERSHED - PROBABLY SAME TERRITORY AS GANA'OL**

#### **OWNED BY DZAGMGISHAAYTKS, GANHADA**

"Dzagmgishaaytk (Ganhada) above Captain's Cove – Kłkooyatk (Place of Sheltered Rock) hunting ground, marten, beaver, and mink. Salmon: sockeye, cohoes." (Oswald Tolmie)

#### **SITE AND AREA NAMES IN KŁKOORYATK TERRITORY**

"Kla'tin – Captains Cove" (Wilfred Jackson)

"Kum eyans – Baird Point and Sheldon Island" (Wilfred Jackson)

"Km 'yaans – Baird Point 'place for chitons' " (Doug Brown)

### **11.2.3 TERRITORY: GANA'OL (BEAR PIT TRAP) – CAPTAIN'S COVE AND WATERSHED - PROBABLY SAME TERRITORY AS KŁKOORYATK**

#### **OWNED BY DZAGMGISHAAYTKS, GANHADA**

"Next to the territory of Seeks [Kna'magmbaa'lx] was the the territory belonging to the Ganhada house of Dzagmgishaaytk known as Gana'ol (Bear Pit Trap)" (Joshua Ts'ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

#### **ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN KŁKOORYATK TERRITORY**

I.R. Wilson recorded the following features in this territory:

"A significant historic feature, two large prehistoric shell middens and a number of culturally modified trees were recorded during the study. Because of time constraints, a number of smaller middens were noted but not recorded in detail . . . A brief reconnaissance was also undertaken on the north shore of Captain Cove in the vicinity of Scouler Creek east of Lot 2795. Many small unnamed creeks are present in this area and at least four were noted to be associated with small shell middens, each an archaeological site. Time constraints did not allow these sites to be recorded. The observed presence of these

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<sup>56</sup> Duff, n.d., Gitkxaala Origins, Gitkxaala Crests

additional sites and the documented presence of the two shell middens west of Scouler Creek show a very high intensity of prehistoric use in this area.”<sup>57</sup> [one of the large shell middens FkTn 1 is located in a proposed Recreation Reserve].

#### **11.2.4 TERRITORY: KXANWOON (PLACE OF SEA HUNTING) – NEWCOMBE HARBOUR AND WATERSHED – PROBABLY SAME TERRITORY AS SGASGI’NIS – TERRITORY MAY EXTEND TO THE EAST SIDE OF PITT ISLAND**

**OWNED BY HAGWILOGMLAXHA, GANHADA**

“Hagwilogmlaxha (Ganhada) Newcombe Harbour – name ? – marten mink, beaver, otter, plenty of salmon. Kxenwoon (Place of ‘Sea Hunting’)” (Oswald Tolmie)

#### **SITE AND AREA NAMES IN KXANWOON TERRITORY**

“Kna woogn” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Noble Mountain – where they anchored during the flood, where we survived” (Sampson Collinson)

#### **11.2.5 TERRITORY: SGASGI’NIS (PLACE OF PITCH PINE) - NEWCOMBE HARBOUR AND WATERSHED – PROBABLY SAME TERRITORY AS KXANWOON - TERRITORY MAY EXTEND TO THE EAST SIDE OF PITT ISLAND**

“The property of Hagwilogmlaxha, Ganhada had as his territory upon which the house gathered berries, and fish in the river, and was also the hunting grounds - known as Sgasgi’nis (Place of Pitch Pine) (Joshua Ts’ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

#### **11.2.6 TERRITORY: K’T’A’I (PLACE OF BEND?) – HEVENOR INLET AND WATERSHED**

**OWNED BY LIGIDIŁ AND ‘NAGAPT, GANHADA**

“Hevenor Inlet belonged to Ligidil (Ganhada) Kt’a’i (?) – sockeye, coho, humps, hunting marten, mink, otter, beaver.” (Oswald Tolmie)

“And next to this [Kla’ol] was the territory of ‘Nagapt, Ganhada. This place was known as K’t’a’i and here was gathered berries and salmon” (Joshua Ts’ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

#### **SITE AND AREA NAMES IN K’T’A’I TERRITORY**

“K tai – Hevenor” (Wilfred Jackson)

#### **HISTORY OF K’T’A’I TERRITORY**

- Nis’ooy (Gispwudwada) village around the time of the Tlingit incursions (Gitkxaala Origins) [Gitnagwun’aks]
- Mary Alaxsgaaxs told the history of how this territory became know as K’t’a’i.  
“Nagapt and Gimasneexł set out to hunt and went to a river which was their hunting grounds. When they arrived here they went up this river K’tai until they came to a lake at the head of this river and when they arrived here they made this their camp.. They prepared food and when they had finished eating Gimasneexł said “What shall we do, we have no robes for us to sleep in”. Nagapt said “We shall turn the sod over and use that for a blanket.” {or K’tai} (it was from this that the river received its name, k’tai menas sleeping robe) and we shall call this river K’tai.” [While they slept a huge bird appeared with a flash of lightning and it was taken as a crest of this house.]<sup>58</sup>

#### **11.2.7 TERRITORY: ŁGUT’IIN (SMALL VALLEY) & K’NAGA’ET (PLACE OF DOG SALMON) – MARKLE, WILSON AND WRIGHT INLETS AND ANGER ISLAND**

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<sup>57</sup> Wilson, 1992, p.6, p.8

<sup>58</sup> Barbeau, 1915-1957, BF 419.2



**OWNED BY LABIKSK, WAYEE, KWOGAL, GAMXGANO AND NOOTSMLAXDAW, LAXGIBUU**

“Two creeks there. One Lgut'iin (Small Valley) two (?) of fish here: cohoes and dog salmon (chum) – mink, marten, otter, beaver. K'naga'et (Place of Dog Salmon) – only dog salmon. Hunting too.” (Oswald Tolmie)

**SITE AND AREA NAMES IN LGUT'IIN & K'NAGA'ET TERRITORY**

“Ksuuk Xdoon (?) – Anger Island” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Ka 'tiign – Anger Island” (Doug Brown)

“Ka ata – above Headwind Point” (Wilfred Jackson) [Headwind Point, Anger Island]

“Ksi nee jin – small bay in Alla Pass – bay where you can see thru Alla – clear” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Ksi nii dzn – Alla Pass” (Doug Brown)

### **11.2.8 TERRITORY: KTS'M'NL'AA'AGAN (IN WATER WHERE SALMON REST) CURTIS INLET AND WATERSHED OWNED BY TS'IBASAA, HALE AND SEEKS, GISPWUDWADA**

"Kts'm'nl'aa'agan (In Water Where salmon Rest) (the salmon before going up the river rest in a pool at bottom of rapids) known as Curtis Inlet near Mink Trap Bay – series of lakes – used by the subdivision of 'Wiiseeks" (Edward Gamble)

"The territory of the royal house of Hale, Gispwudwada, was on Pitt Island. This was known as Kts'm'nlaagan (meaning?) and here was gathered the salmon and berries and was also a hunting ground. It also extended onto the mainland and this was the property of the royal house and all its subdivisions." (Joshua Ts'ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

#### **SITE AND AREA NAMES IN KTS'M'NL'AA'AGAN TERRITORY**

"Tsim lagen – Curtis Inlet" (Wilfred Jackson)

#### **HISTORY OF KTS'M'NL'AA'AGAN TERRITORY**

- Unlike many territories which have been owned by the same lineage since very early times, this territory has a well-documented history of changes in ownership. While it is not stated explicitly, the indications are that it was the territory of the early Wolf Clan, as Jno. Nelson and James Lewis begin this adawx<sup>59</sup> by stating:  
"And nearly all of the good rivers in which salmon were plentiful were really in the possession of the Wolf Clan as they were the more powerful of all the people. And the same was true wherever animals were plentiful, the Wolf Clan took all the good territories and this made them more wealthy."

It was after Ts'ibasaa had arrived from the Skeena River, but before he was really established among the Gitkxala, that the Wolf clan began to arrive from the upper Stikine River after passing through Tlingit territory. It was also at a time when "the powers of the Wolf clan began to recede." Perhaps this is why Nisgaloot was able to establish his people at Kts'm'nlaagan.

Later Ts'ibasaa initiated an alliance with Nisgaloot and his people and the houses of Nisgaloot and Ts'ibasaa began to intermarry. Ts'ibasaa would visit often as there was always fresh salmon at any time of the year. The sudden unexplained death of Ts'ibasaa, when he was visiting Kts'm'nlaagan and being hosted with fresh salmon, led to Nisgaloot ceding this territory to Ts'ibasaa's successor as compensation for his death. Since that time the territory has belonged to the house of Ts'ibasaa and has helped to make his house wealthy.

- Ts'ibasaa established himself here when Laxkiaan only a village in winter when halaayt seasons came on – each group formed a village with its own
- It was also a refuge for the other Gitkxalas in attacks
- Hale built two houses here: Migmwalp (Shower House) – used by Hale; Magaymwalp (Rainbow House) - used by whole royal family – Seeks also built this house at Gitkxala (Gitkxala Crests, Gitkxala Origins)
- Early commercial fishing industry

Charles Menzies and Iain McKechnie note the history of this territory in more recent times:

This location [K'ts'm'nlaagan] is also where one of the first commercial fishing industry contracts was signed between First Nations and colonists in BC, a contract between Gitkxala chief Paul Sebassah and colonial businessman C.S. Windsor in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Harris 2008:68-70). This agreement illustrates the historic recognition of aboriginal rights and title by colonists who were granted the "exclusive privilege to fish for salmon" by Gitkxala chiefs (Harris 2008:69-70).<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Beynon, 1939, #227, Jno. Nelson and James Lewis Kitkatla

<sup>60</sup> McKechnie 2009

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN KTS'M'NL'AA'AGAN TERRITORY

Charles Menzies and Iain McKechnie recorded the following features in this territory.<sup>61</sup>

"There are currently two primary reserve parcels in Curtis Inlet, Tsimarlien #15, located along the south end of the entrance to Curtis Inlet, and Kitsemlagen #19 situated at either side of the Kitsumalarn River that drains Tsemhara, a productive sockeye lake also containing chum, pink, coho salmon.

The archaeological work was restricted to survey work and was therefore not conclusive but the following was noted:"

### Tsimarlien #15

"Further exploration of the area within the forest revealed the presence of at least four rectangular terrace/platform features indicative of leveling, clearing and human habitation . . . Extensive probing with the oakfield soil probes in these terraces revealed that the underlying sediments consisted of a black charcoal-rich coarse sandy matrix to a depth of at least 1.5m. No shell midden deposit was observed within the terraces but the presence of very black sandy silt and charcoal suggests a substantial human occupation history of these terraces.

Two rectangles on the 1893 reserve map Tsimlairen 15 "likely representing Gitkxala houses present at the time the reserve was established. These structures appear to correspond with the western-most leveled terraced and platforms."

### Kitsemlagen #19

"An old trail follows the east side of the river up to Tsemhara Lake."

### K'ts'm'nlaagan (not on reserve)

"The standing structural remains of a fish drying rack were observed in a tiny south facing cove off the main channel of Curtis Inlet. The drying rack is made from locally obtained immature tree trunks and split cedar planks, strung together with rope. This sheltered locaton contains a narrow semi-level vegetated platform just above the high tide line. While the potential exists for the structure to be quite old, it likely dates to within the past 30 years, but it may indicate a good location for such activities for a long period. Brief inspection of the landforms near this structure did not encounter any cultural deposits. This structure embodies the continuity of traditional use."

## RESERVES IN KTS'M'NL'AA'AGAN TERRITORY

"Tsim lagen – Curtis Inlet No. 15" (Wilfred Jackson)

Tsimlairen – w. Pitt Is - #15 – Ktsim'alagan (Duff, Map No.NADM-5)

"Ltsm Laagn – I.R. Tsimlairen" 15 (Doug Brown)

Unnamed – w. Pitt nr 15 - #19 (Duff)

Kitsemlagen – Curtis Inlet - #19 (Map No.NADM-5)

Unnamed – 19a (Duff)

Kitsemlagen – Curtis Inlet - #19a (Map No.NADM-5)

## 11.2.9 TERRITORY: ???? – MINK TRAP BAY AND WATERSHED

### OWNED BY TXATSIUSK AND WUDINAAXS, GANHADA

"Mink Trap Bay, marked yesterday was informant's father's territory, Wudinaaxs (Ganhada)."

"Txatsiusk used to be in Mink Trap Bay but extinct now." (Oswald Tolmie)

"[Wudinaaxs] he also used to go to Mink Trap Bay for hunting mink, marten. He did his salmon fishing there." (Oswald Tolmie)

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<sup>61</sup> McKechnie 2009

#### **AREA AND SITE NAMES IN MINK TRAP BAY**

“Ksgigyaani – food fishing – Mink Trap Bay (Sampson Collinson)

#### **ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN MINK TRAP BAY**

I.R. Wilson made the following observations on this territory:<sup>62</sup>

“It seems clear that the outlet of Devon Lake is a sensitive area reflected by the fish camp, trail and canoe run as well as the reported grave sites on the opposite shore. It is likely that additional cultural materials are within this area and any future project actions in this area should be archaeologically examined.”

#### **RESERVES AT MINK TRAP BAY**

“Skeegani – Patterson Inlet – No. 14. Ka goo ta – inlet next to reserve” (Wilfred Jackson)

Sheganny - ? #14 (Duff, Map No.NADM-5)

“Ksgi gyaani – I.R. Sheganny 14” (Doug Brown)

### **11.2.10 TERRITORY: KSALAAW (WATERS OF TROUT) – BUCHAN INLET AND AREA - POSSIBLY WEST PORTION OF GAYPIŁ**

#### **OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY WAKAS, GANHADA**

“Ksalaaw (Waters of Trout) – mink, otter, beaver, sockeye” (Oswald Tolmie)

#### **AREA AND SITE NAMES IN KSALAAW TERRITORY**

“Kna matsa – Oar Point” (Wilfred Jackson) [just below Mink Trap Bay]

“Tsim ktsikt – Buchan Inlet” (Wilfred Jackson)

#### **RESERVES IN KSALAAW TERRITORY**

“Clawel – Annie Point No. 13” (Wilfred Jackson)

Clowel – w. Pitt Is - #13 (Duff, Map No.NADM-5)

“Kla ‘wl – I.R. Clowel 13” (Doug Brown)

### **11.2.11 TERRITORY: GAYPIŁ (DAMMING WATER UP) – RED BLUFF LAKE WATERSHED**

#### **OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY ŁABIKSK, LAXGIBUU**

“There was the property of the Laxgibuu house of ŁABIKSK and this was known as Gaypił (Damming Water Up). It was so named because the beaver used to make a great many dams here and store the water up. This also extended onto the mainland and was known by the same name.” (Joshua Ts’ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

### **11.2.12 TERRITORY: TXAKST’AA (ON TOP SITTING) – S END PITT ISLAND - POSSIBLY SAME TERRITORY AS GU’LITGAW**

#### **OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY NISHALUPUS, LAXSKIİK**

“Nishalupus, (Laxskiik) - Txakst’aa (On Top Sitting) (Low Sitting Place) Hunting mink, otter, beaver, sockeyes, cohos, humps.” (Oswald Tolmie)

#### **SITE AND AREA NAMES IN TXAKST’AA TERRITORY**

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<sup>62</sup> Archaeological Inventory and Impact Assessment, Devon Lake, Pitt Island Permit 1994-12, I.R. Wilson, 1994

“Tkuk sta – Cranston Island Monkton Inlet” (Wilfred Jackson) [This may be the same word as Txakst’aa since Txalst’aa is the territory that includes Cranston Island and Monckton Inlet. Cranston Island is a small island on the south side of the mouth of Monckton Inlet.]

“Kux sta – Inside Cranston Island” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Kiyaa oh – Inlet below Cranston Islet” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Xkousan – Port Stephens Narrows” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Xkou send – Port Stephens” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Kwi jeanie – anchorage at entrance of Port Stephens” (Wilfred Jackson)

Maxla Sgadziikx (Dried Up Passage) – Port Stevens on Pitt Island Jno. Nelson and James Lewis)

“Kli-end – Monkton Inlet” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Kloo skee xux – Bay near Fisherman Point in Otter Channel” (Wilfred Jackson) [location not certain]

“Kwil doix – Flieshman Point – Otter Channel” (Wilfred Jackson) [location not certain]

Gwildo’aks (The Crows Want to be Heard at Wolf Point) – village at Wolf Point – where the tide is especially strong – Gunaxnutk’s names come from there. (Sampson Collinson)

“Ks waan – Otter Pass” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Jeanette Moody: That is why this area {Otter Channel} is called Kwil dooyks, because of the Spanaxnox that is there. He said it was huge, it almost covered the whole thing {the channel} when it came out. Jeanette related that ‘That’s how our places are named, because there is something there’ and ‘it’s the story is why it’s called that.’ (Jeanette Moody)<sup>63</sup>

### **11.2.13 TERRITORY: GU’LITGAW (WUDSTA WORD)**

#### **OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY NIS’OOYS, GISPWUDWADA**

“And there on Pitt island Nis’ooyas had two places territories and the second one was known as Gu’litgaw (Wudsta word meaning ?).” (Joshua Ts’ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

#### **SITE AND AREA NAMES IN GU’LITGAW TERRITORY**

Gulitgaw – village of Nis’ooyas (Gispwudwada) (probably on Pitt Island) (Gitkxaala Origins)

### **11.2.14 TS’UWAANM GALTS’AP, TS’UWAANLM GALTS’AP (VILLAGE ON THE POINT) - SE TIP PITT ISLAND**

#### **ANCIENT VILLAGE CLAIMED BY AXLAWAALS, GANHADA**

“At the south end of Pitt Island was the village of Axlawaals, royal ganhada, and was known as Ts’uwaanm Galts’ap (Village on the Point).” (Joshua Ts’ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

#### **SITE AND AREA NAMES IN TS’UWAANLM GALTS’AP TERRITORY**

“Lu Skekt – Dillon Bay” (Wilfred Jackson)

“Wil lu sgeetk ‘Where its dark’ anchorage near I.R. Citeyats 9” (Doug Brown)

#### **HISTORY OF TS’UWAANLM GALTS’AP TERRITORY<sup>64</sup>**

- main village of Axlawaals (Ganhada), most of the Ganhadas lived there who were the former Gitkxaala before the coming of various other people from other places
- the Ganhada lived at Ts’uwaanlm Galts’ap under warrior chief Ayagansk before the flood, before they moved to Lagaxlamdzaxwalp, which was before Gispwudwada came, even before Wisa’ai (Gispwudwada)

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<sup>63</sup> 2011 Gitkxaala Use Study, p. 52

<sup>64</sup> Duff, n.d., Gitkxaala Origins

- When Ts'ibasaa was first at Laxklaan (before Nisgaloot) it became a general Gitkxala village, the Ganhada of Axlawaals were at Laxgibuu, Wolf Point – “he lived there with a few of his relatives almost all year round”.

#### **ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN TS'UWAANLEM GALTS'AP TERRITORY**

Charles Menzies and Iain McKechnie recorded the following features in this territory.<sup>65</sup>

##### **Saycuritay Cove (SW corner of Pitt Island)**

Two shell midden habitation sites and a fish trap at the outlet of a small creek were recorded by Bjorn Simonsen (1970). FhTj6 is the fishtrap site and FhTj4 and FhTj5 are shell midden habitation sites [small coves on northern side of small island in Saycuritay Cove.

The discovery of a felled CMT provided an opportunity to directly date indigenous forest utilization in this region . . . the bark stripping event occurred a minimum of 180 years ago (ca. AD 1829). . . . Since this bark stripping event predates AD 1856, this designates the site as protected under the Provincial Heritage Conservation Act.”

. . . [western extent of shoreline of cove] canoe run at its easternmost extent . . . shell midden deposits eroding from beneath a mature hemlock tree [beside the beach]. . . This eroding midden deposit is situated at the base of a steeply-sloped banking which rises approximately four metres and promptly levels off on a broad terrace paralleling the shoreline. Another exposure of shell midden is present at the top of this terrace in the root ball of a partially fallen tree indicating that the entire bank consists of midden deposits. These two exposures are situated in front of five house-sized cultural depressions . . . A bedrock promontory that is contiguous with the midden landform faces southwest and would serve effectively as a “lookout” location. This distinctive cultural topography strongly suggests that this large landform is likely entirely archaeological. . . . The elevated terrace location has a commanding view to the south and west, particularly the pass between Banks Island and the Estevan Group, which is one of the most direct routes to the southern Haida Gwaii. While it is impossible to definitively conclude without sub-surface investigation, this site can be preliminarily classified as a village measuring approximately 80 x 30 metres . . . this village may be the village of “Will u sgyetk”.

##### **Citeyats Reserve 9**

In sum this large complex site contains the remains of over twenty-nine structural depressions or platforms, features that are consistent with house occupations representing a very large village community. Our observations closely correspond to Caamanos' descriptions of the village he visited in 1792. However, the numerous other house and midden features and the substantial depth of the deposits suggest a much greater time depth and settlement complexity. [the two competitive chiefs were Homtsiit and Gitxhon, Raven and Eagle – the two groups claiming this territory]

#### **AREAS IN KPAAL TERRITORY CURRENTLY RECOGNIZED BY GOVERNMENT AND/OR SCIENTIFIC ORGANIZATIONS AS GITKXALA USE AREAS, AND AS AREAS IN NEED OF PROTECTION**

##### **Moncton Conservancy**

While this is listed and mapped as conservancy, there is no information on Parks Canada's website.

#### **RESERVES IN TS'UWAANLEM GALTS'AP TERRITORY**

“Seti yeets – Pitt Island near Cherry Islets No. 9” (Wilfred Jackson)

Citeyats – s. Pitt Is #9 (Duff, Map No.NADM-5)

## **11.3 PITT ISLAND E SIDE**

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<sup>65</sup> McKechnie 2009

### **11.3.1 TERRITORY: KPAAL (SPLIT OPEN) – PA-AAT RIVER WATERSHED SOUTH TO SALTER LAKE**

OWNED BY LABIKSK, WAYEE, KWOGAL, GAMXGANO, NOOTSM LAXDAW AND NISHALOOT, LAXGIBUU

Kpaal (Split Open) appearance of the place is split open – sockeye there, humpback, cohoes, steelhead

AREAS IN KPAAL TERRITORY CURRENTLY RECOGNIZED BY GOVERNMENT AND/OR SCIENTIFIC ORGANIZATIONS AS GITKXAALA USE AREAS, AND AS AREAS IN NEED OF PROTECTION

#### **Pa-at Conservancy**

While this is listed and mapped as a conservancy, there is no information on Parks Canada's website.

#### **RESERVES KPAAL TERRITORY**

"Pa aat – Salmon River No. 6" (Wilfred Jackson)

Pa-aat – n.e. Pitt Is - #6 (Duff, Map No.NADM-5)

### **11.3.2 TERRITORY: YUUXSGA'NIIST (HIDDEN MOUNTAIN) – E SIDE OF PITT ISLAND AROUND SYLVIA LAKE**

OWNED BY TS'IBASAA, SEEKS AND HALE, GISPWUDWADA

The second part [of Ts'ibasaa's territory] on Pitt Island 'Yuxs Sganiist (Hidden Mountain ) – berry ground as well as hunting: beaver and marten. (Edward Gamble B.F. 40.12)

### **11.3.3 TERRITORY: GAYPIE (EAST PART) (DAMMING WATER UP) – RED BLUFF LAKE AREA**

OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY LABIKSK, LAXGIBUU AND THE GITK'A'ATA LAXSKIIK

### **11.3.4 TERRITORY: TS'MWILU'NAK (A LONG WAYS IN) – TUWARTZ INLET AND WATERSHED**

OWNERSHIP CLAIMED BY NIS'OOYS, GISPWUDWADA AND THE GITK'A'ATA LAXSKIIK – OWNERSHIP OF A SMALL AREA AT UNION PASS IN THIS TERRITORY IS ALSO CLAIMED BY SEEKS, GISPWUDWADA

" Adjoining this [Ts'uwaanlm Galts'ap] was the territory known as Ts'mwilu'nak (In Where In Long) meaning 'a long ways in inlet' and there on Pitt Island Nis'ooys had two places territories [this being the first]." (Joshua Ts'ibasaa, Samuel Lewis, Albert Argyle, Job Spencer)

"A small area at Union Pass – name? – hunting – used by Seekers" (Edward Gamble)

Maxlalguut (Along Narrow Channel), Union Pass, s. end of Pitt Island, close to K'moode (Lowe Inlet), Ts'ibasaa territory.

#### **ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN TS'MWILU'NAK TERRITORY**

One habitation site and one stone fish traps on Farrant Island, one habitation site on Hinton Island, one fishtrap on the peninsula to the east of Hinton identified by Bjorn Simonsen.<sup>66</sup>

#### **RESERVES IN TS'MWILU'NAK TERRITORY**

Ktsim ta – Union Pass No. 7" (Wilfred Jackson)

Tsintack – s.e. Pitt Is #7 (Duff, Map No.NADM-5)

"Ktsim 'taa – I.R. Tsintack 7 (Doug Brown)

"Ktawaats – Tuwartz Inlet – No. 8" (Wilfred Jackson)

Toowartz – s. Pitt Is #8 (Duff, Map No.NADM-5)

K'd'waats – I.R. Toowartz 8" (Doug Brown)

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<sup>66</sup> Simonsen 1969







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<sup>68</sup>Figure 11: Gitksaala Territories, south end of Pitt Island

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## 12. CONCLUSION

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This report has shown that the Gitkxala have a collective record of their history from the earliest times, a history that includes the origins, locations and names of their lineages' territories. Their territorial ownership is founded in their own complex legal system, which has remained unchanged in the modern period, as the words of the chiefs in the *2011 Gitxala Use Study* attest. The Gitkxala have protected and defended their territory in every period, whether through defensive warfare, protest, ecological stewardship and negotiation, and they continue to do so.

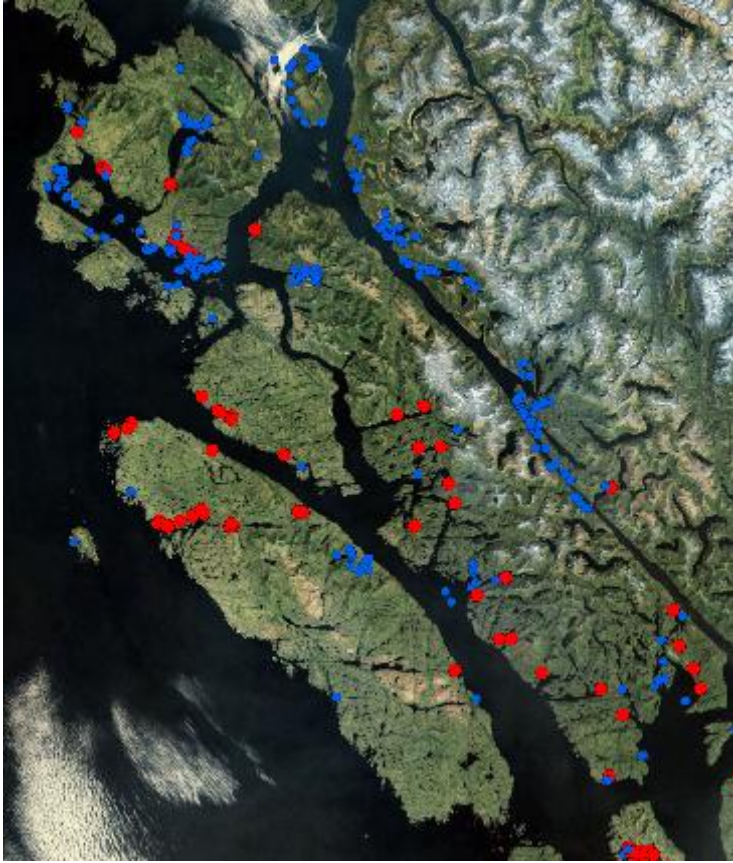


Figure 12: Stone Fish Traps and other Rock Alignments on Banks, Pitt and McCauley Islands (red circles)



Figure 13: Territorial Map from the Barbeau Field Notes

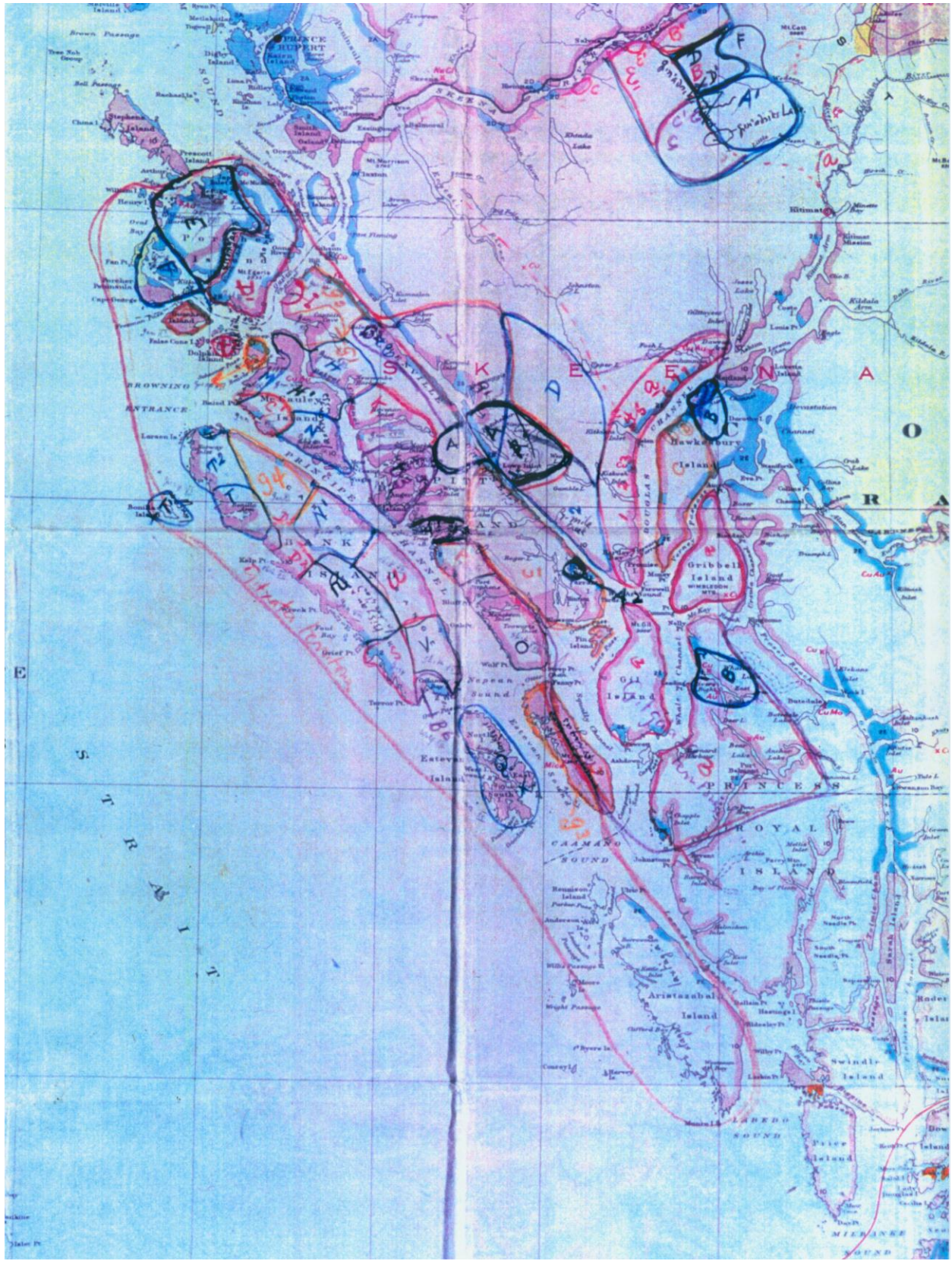


Figure 14: Territorial Map from the Barbeau Field Notes

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