

TRADITIONAL *STÓ:LŌ* SPORTS & GAMES

Physical Education 10, 11, 12
Community Recreation 12

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Traditional Sports and Games in Stó:lō Culture:

Stó:lō people have a long tradition of taking part in community sports and games. These recreational activities are an important part of the various social gatherings held in *Stó:lō* communities and help maintain the physical, mental and spiritual well being of those people who take part. Playing games and participating in sporting events is a means through which people from different families and communities can get together for prestige-enhancing competition, enjoyment and recreation. The training and skills acquired to compete successfully in these events give the participants "power" in a physical, mental and spiritual sense.

Traditionally, sports and games have been a part of potlatch activities, where either the hosts or guests would challenge members of the other groups to contests - often for very high stakes. Those people who were successful at the events would have their status elevated in front of the community at large. In addition, as many people from the various Coast Salish communities were wealthy in food, and material items, the stakes wagered on the games were a common means of "redistributing" this wealth.

The traditional activities of fishing, canoeing, woodworking, gathering and hunting require many *Stó:lō* people to spend a great deal of their time outdoors doing physical activities. The physical and mental skills used in many of these sports and games hone those used in day-to-day activities. Many of the skills used in these games are also strengthened by spiritual guidance. These traditional sports and games often create a balance of these physical, mental and spiritual powers.

Stó:lō people visit neighbouring communities to participate in these events. Many games are played over a wide region, not only by the people living on the Fraser River, but in communities in Puget Sound, on Vancouver Island and further north on the mainland Coast. Games have familiar rules and provided a common basis for activity and social interaction among people who traditionally spoke different languages and who live in distantly located villages. Competing in sports and games gives these communities a healthy rivalry, reinforcing social bonds over a wide region.

Sports and games remain important for contemporary *Stó:lō* people, just as they were in the past. For example, events such as the "Cultus Lake Indian Festival and Canoe Races" bring people from communities in northwest Washington, Vancouver Island and the Fraser Valley to participate in "traditional" events. Other non-native sports are played in Aboriginal communities throughout North America - culminating in an Olympic-style North American Indigenous Games held every few years. Locally organized baseball and soccer leagues are currently major pastimes of *Stó:lō* youth and adults, where regional and provincial competitions are held in British Columbia.

Just as sports and games served to bring people from different Coast Salish communities together in the past, participating in them today provides an excellent opportunity for

people from different cultures - *Stó:lō* and non-*Stó:lō* - to interact on common ground. Learning about and taking part in traditional *Stó:lō* sports and games further promotes a broader appreciation of *Stó:lō* culture. By gaining an understanding of such leisure activities from another culture, people can better appreciate differing perspective and world-views other than the mainstream Canadian one which most of us encounter each day. Teaching these activities also promotes Aboriginal students to take pride in their heritage and culture.

In general, these games can be divided into two categories - sports (physical competitive activities) and games (activities involving chance and skill). Descriptions of sports and games are frequently given by anthropologists in their descriptions of traditional cultures (referred to as ethnographies). The description of traditional sports and games presented below comes primarily from the ethnographies of people living in the Coast Salish area, and partially through information given by contemporary *Stó:lō* people.

PHYSICAL COMPETITIVE ACTIVITIES - SPORTS

TS'!TS'QWELÒ:L
(Shinny)

This game is somewhat similar to grass hockey. The objective is to put the ball through the opponents goal, with the number of goals needed to win set at the beginning of the game. The game is played on a large field with goals set up at either end, which were traditionally either trees or rocks. There are two teams, usually with 11 people per side.

Each player has a vine maple stick, four feet long with a crook at the end. The end of the stick was smoothed to a flat surface for striking the ball. The ball is tennis-ball sized and is traditionally made from a hardwood.

At the beginning of play, the two teams line up facing each other halfway between and at **right angles to the goals**. A starter is chosen from each side, and stands in-front of their team. The rest of the players are required to remain behind the starter - positioning themselves for the best reception of the ball from the initial play. Play is begun when the ball is dropped in front of the two starters who hit the ball towards the opposite goals.

Players manipulate the ball by hitting and passing it to their team mates. The hooks of the sticks were most often used to trip their opponents. The game uses no goalie, and play is stopped and re-started after each goal.

The first team to reach the pre-determined score wins.¹

MATERIALS:

Traditional

- hooked vine-maple sticks
- hardwood ball
- grass playing field
- 2 goals (2m x 2m)

Contemporary

- field hockey sticks
- field hockey ball/street hockey ball
- soccer field or lacrosse field
- lacrosse-box nets or ball hockey nets
- shin guards (optional)

DESCRIPTION OF LEARNING ACTIVITY:

Structure and Rules of Game:

- The objective is to put the ball through the opponents goal.
- The game is played on a large field with goals set up at either end.
- Divide players into two even teams of approximately 11 players each. Goalies are not used.
- The two teams line-up, single file, half-way between the goals.
- A "starter" is chosen from each side and stands in front of their team (single file formation).

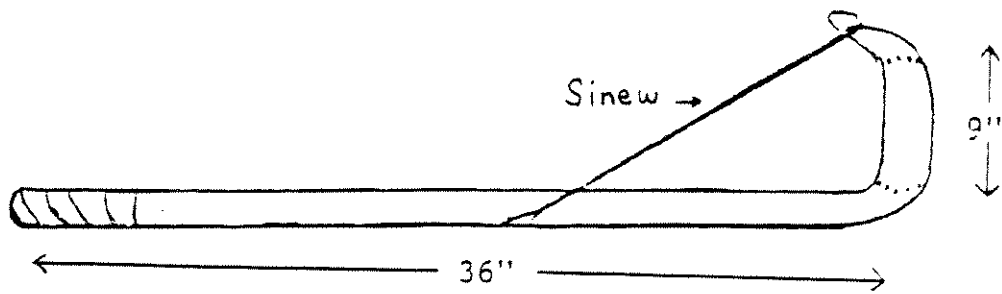
- Play begins when the ball is dropped in front of the two starters who must hit the ball towards the opposite goal.
- Players can scatter after initial contact with the ball.
- The ball can be handled on either side of the stick.
- Any player may score a goal.
- Play is stopped and re-started after each goal.
- The first team to reach the pre-determined score wins (usually 21 goals, making it a long game).

Contemporary Rules and adaptations:

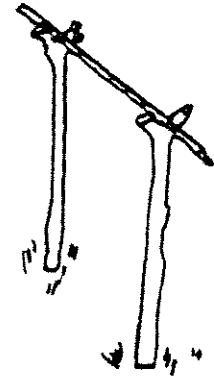
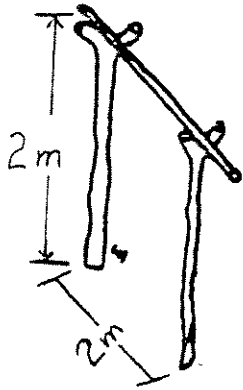
- Changes may be made as to length of game, rotations, half-times, equipment, out-of-bounds, game misconduct, etc.

Skills Required:

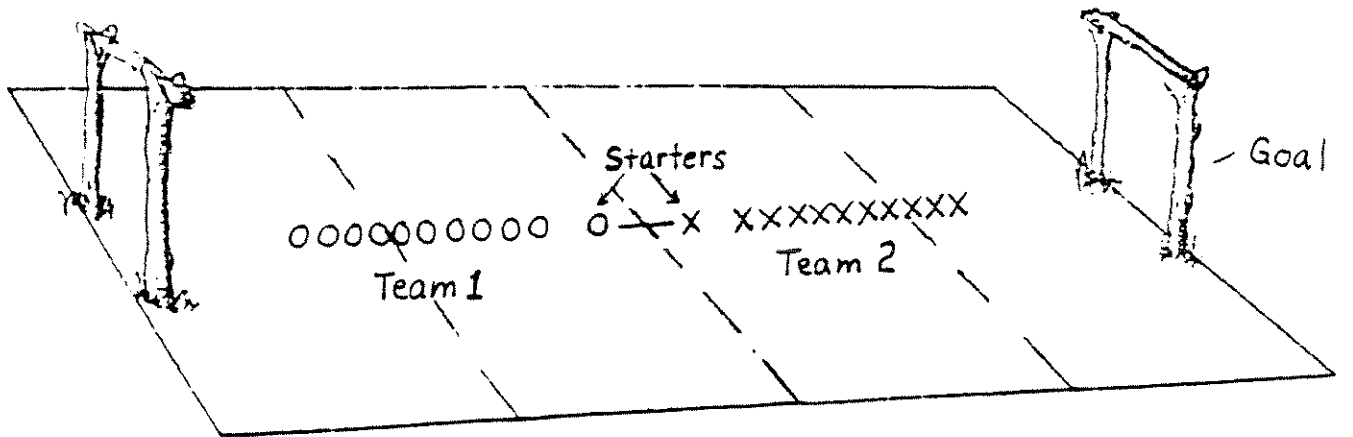
- Students should have previous knowledge of stick-ball handling skills.
- Shooting skills must also be re-enforced possibly through individual/partner practicing sessions.
- Team conduct and play is essential for safety and game enjoyment.



Hooked Vine-Maple Ts'i:ts'qwelò:l (Shinny) Stick



Ts'its'qwelò:l Goals



Ts'its'qwelò:l Playing Field and Player Line-Up

TS'I:TS'QWELÒ:L
(Knobbies/Double-Ball)

This field-sport is played with unique *Stó:lō* field equipment which is made with locally available materials. The game is very similar in nature to the shinny game described above, but is played with slightly different equipment, particularly the "double-ball." The description below outlines the materials and rules to play this game in a contemporary context, using easily available materials.

MATERIALS:

- Double ball - consisting of two tennis balls joined together with twine or a leather lace.
- Two team sets of Knobbies sticks (approximately 24) 1"x 3" doweling sticks.
- Two goals.
- Playing field.

DESCRIPTION OF LEARNING ACTIVITY:

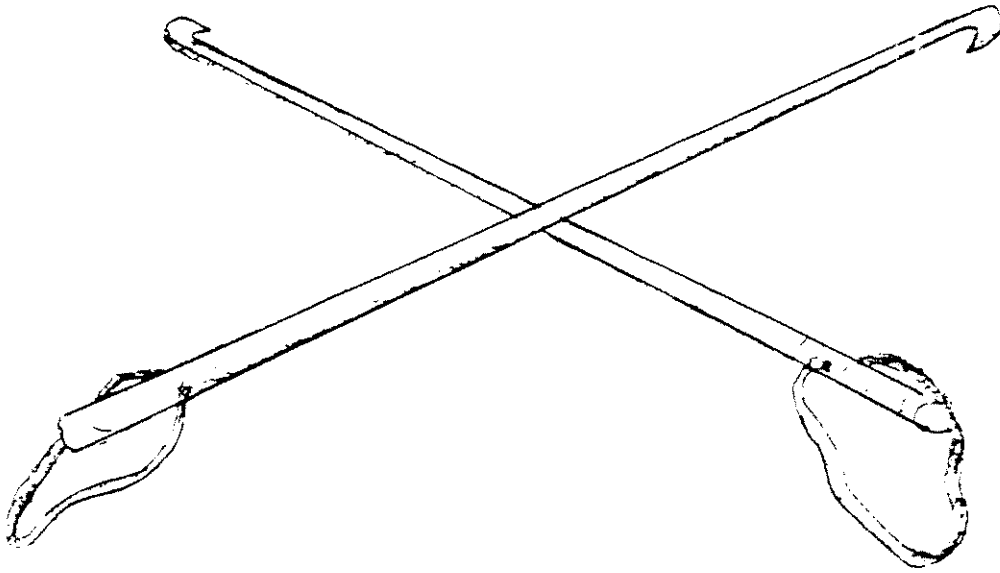
- The objective is to put the ball through the opponents goal.
- The game is played on a large field that has goals set up at either end.
- Divide players into two even teams of approximately 11 players each. Goalies are not used.
- The two teams line-up on the goal line.
- Play begins when the ball is placed on the centre line and the whistle is blown.
- Players then run from the end line in hopes of gaining possession of the ball (in a free-for-all).
- The ball can be thrown, pushed, carried or wrapped around the stick, but cannot be touched by the hand or arm.
- Any player may score a goal.
- Scoring is accomplished by wrapping the double ball around the top post of the goal. Considering the difficulty of this skill, variations of goal scoring may be made.
- Play is stopped and re-started after each goal.
- The first team to reach the pre-determined score wins (usually 21 goals, making it a long game).

Contemporary Rules and Adaptations:

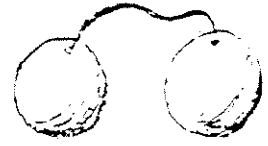
- Changes may be made as to: length of game, rotations, half-times, equipment, out-of-bounds, game misconduct, etc.

Skills Required:

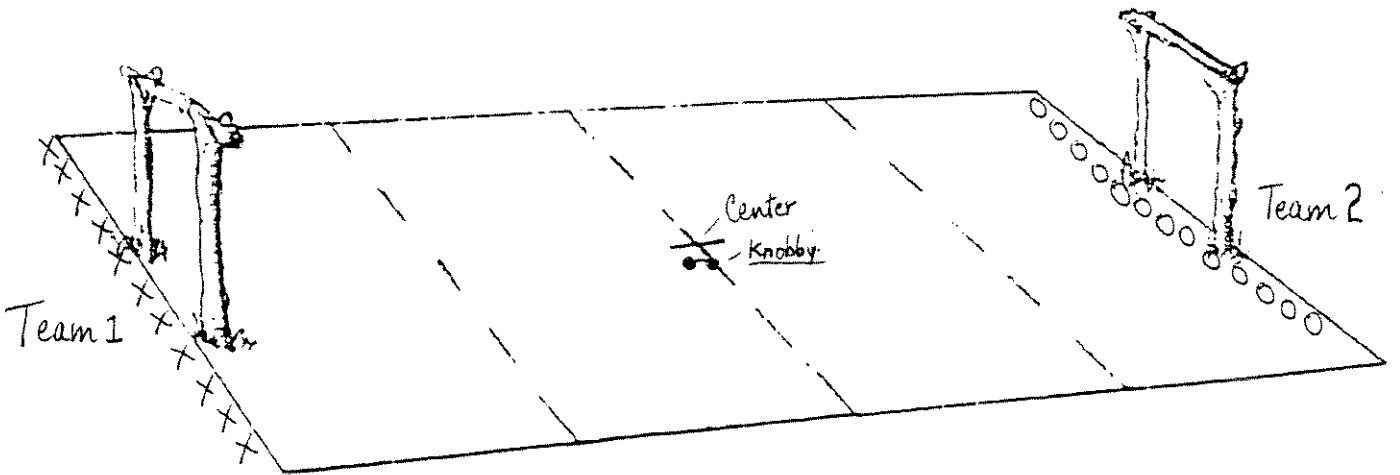
- Students should have previous knowledge of stick-ball handling skills.
- Shooting skills must also be re-enforced, possibly through individual/partner practicing sessions.
- Team conduct and sportsmanship is essential for safety and game enjoyment.



Ts'i:ts'qwelò:l (Knobbies) Sticks



Ts'i:ts'qwelò:l Double-Ball



Ts'i:ts'qwelò:l (Knobbies) Playing Field & Line-Up

THETHKW'Í:TEL
(Push-a-war)

Different versions of push-a-war were traditionally played during gatherings by competing families or individuals. These competitions build teamwork, strength and stamina. A young fir pole, about 14' (4.2 m) long, was held horizontally by players on opposing teams. There were generally 12 to 14 players per side. Each team stood facing the other, grasping the pole with both hands. Judges stood at either end of the pole, a few paces behind the players, and determined when the pole was pushed over a finish line. The strongest team won.

A second version of this game is played with two players sitting on the ground, the flats of their feet together. The players grasped a 3 foot (90 cm) pole, held between them with their hands alternating, palms down (ie: A-left, B-right, A-right, B-left). Each player pulled on the pole with the object to raise the other off the ground, to his or her feet. The winner usually ends up lying on his/her back. The pole must be remain in the horizontal position throughout play.

A third version of this game is played with two opponents facing each other, standing up. They interlock their index fingers and try to pull the other over a goal line a few paces back.²

MATERIALS:

- pole approximately 4.2 meters long (14 feet) *Version One*
- pole approximately 90 centimetres long (3 feet) *Version Two*
- markers (i.e. cone, ribbon, pinnie, etc.)
- gloves - optional

DESCRIPTION OF LEARNING ACTIVITIES:

Version One:

- A pole is held horizontally by players on opposing teams (12 to 14 players per team).
- Each team member stands behind one another, grasping the pole with both hands (see Figure 1).
- Players may be staggered on either side of the pole (see Figure 2).
- An end line is drawn behind the last player of each team.
- To win, a team must push the opposing team over their end line.

Version Two:

- The game is played with two players.
- A pole is held horizontally by players sitting on the ground with the soles of their feet together.
- The players grasp, with palms down, a 90 centimetre (3 feet) pole held between them

with their hands alternating (i.e. A-left, B-right, A-right, B-left - A=player one, B=player 2).

- Each player pulls on the pole in order to raise the other off the ground to their feet.
- Winner usually ends up lying on their back .
- The pole must remain in the horizontal position throughout the game.

Version Three:

- The game is played with two players facing each other in a standing position.
- Players interlock their index fingers and try to pull the other over an end line a few paces back.

Figure 1

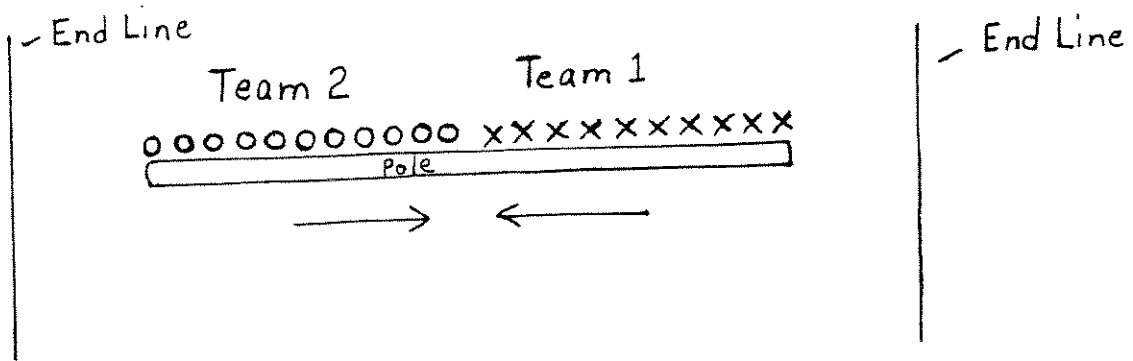
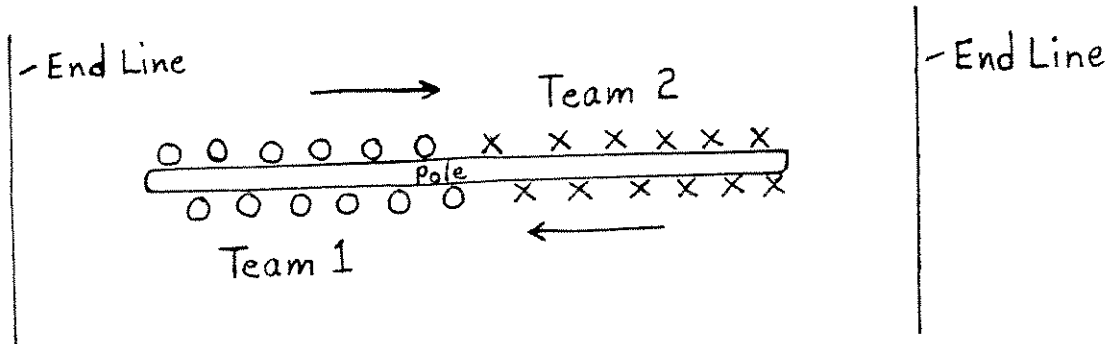


Figure 2



KWÍKWELTÒ:L
(Wrestling)

Kwikweltò:l is the *Halq'eméylem* word for wrestling. Traditional *Stó:lō* wrestling has two basic holds. The hold used at the beginning of the match must be used throughout the entire game. Both opponents start in the standing position, and the object of the game is to take the other to the ground.

The first hold has each contestant put the right hand over the left shoulder of the other, and encircle the left arm around the right side of the other person's body. The hands are then tightly clasped behind the opponents back. If this hold is broken, play is stopped and the match begins again. Tripping is not allowed.

Foot work plays an important part in balance, and so the player's ground is constantly shifting. Good techniques include lifting the opponent straight in the air or bending him or her forward across one's hip.

The second hold carries much the same rules, but has players grasp each other's hair with both hands. The hands cannot be removed from the hair.³

MATERIALS:

- Wrestling mat or gymnastic mats pieced together.

DESCRIPTION OF LEARNING ACTIVITY:

- Both opponents start in the standing position.
- One player has the other put their right hand over the opponents left shoulder and encircles the left arm around the right side of the opponents body.
- Then the hands are tightly clasped behind the opponents back.
- If this hold is broken, play is stopped and the match begins again.
- The object of the sport is to take the opponent to the ground.
- Tripping is not allowed.
- Good techniques include lifting the opponent straight into the air, or bending him or her forward across one's hip.

TS'ÉQWELA
(Battledore & Shuttlecock)

This game traditionally provides an opportunity for people to compete in a physical activity while reinforcing their knowledge about the natural world. This game is similar to badminton or the older English games of battledore and shuttlecock. It is played with two people each holding wooden paddles, and hitting a "shuttle" back and forth. The object of the game is to see who can keep the shuttle in the air the longest. In addition, each player must name a part of the fish when they hit the shuttle. Play is halted when the shuttle falls to the ground, or when a fish part is repeated or cannot be named.

The paddle is about 10" long (25 cm), and carved out of cedar. Its end is rounded with a short handle.

The shuttle can be made in a number of different ways. It can be a small round rock with cedar boughs tied around it, or a piece of light elder-wood, one-half to one inch (1.3 to 2.5 cm) in diameter, trimmed with three feathers on its end. The feathers are singed on the ends to adjust the speed of the shuttle's descent.⁴

MATERIALS:

- Class set of wooden paddles
- Paddles are 25 cm (10 inches) long carved out of cedar. The end is rounded with a short handle.
- Shuttle is a small round rock with cedar boughs tied around it, or a piece of light elder-wood, 1.3 cm to 2.5 cm (1/2 to 1 inch) in diameter. Trimmed with three feathers on its end.
- The feathers are singed on the ends to adjust the speed of the shuttle's descent.

DESCRIPTION OF LEARNING ACTIVITIES:

- The sport is played with two people each holding wooden paddles, and hitting a "shuttle" back and forth.
- The objective of the game is to see who can keep the shuttle in the air the longest.
- Each player must call out the name of part of a fish when they hit the shuttle in order to complete their pass.
- Play is halted when the shuttle falls to the ground, or when a fish part is repeated or cannot be named.

ÓWELTÍ:L or *SWELTÍ:L*
(Running Races)

Short distance foot races are generally 150, 200, 300 or 400 meters through open country. Long distance runs were held cross-country, usually along a stretch of land between two villages. These races were competitions between two people from opposing villages. Each person began the race from their own village and raced to their opponent's village. A judge from each village was present at the opposing village to witness the start and finish of the event. Each racer chose the course that would be taken, not following any pre-defined track. In the past the total distance often involved up to 20 hours of continual travel.⁵

STÁ:Y (Canoe Races)

Contemporary canoe races have deep roots in traditional *Stó:lō* culture. Canoe races are both individual and team events which are held most weekends during the spring and summer months. The most well known races occur at Cultus Lake during the first weekend of June, but these events also take place throughout the Fraser Valley, Vancouver Island and northwest Washington. Men and women all over southwest British Columbia and northwest Washington take part in these events, and the winning teams are usually awarded cash prizes.

Training

Training begins in the spring, as "pullers" must be both in fine physical condition and have the timing of their paddling well coordinated. Training requires pullers to abstain from drugs and alcohol, and they must jog to maintain physical strength and endurance. Paddling is practiced everyday, both in single canoes for strength, and as a group in larger canoes to learn to work together. Before they race or train, the puller is not allowed to eat, and different herbs and medicines are used to aid the physical and spiritual preparation of the pullers. Through this ritual preparation, the physical, mental and spiritual aspects of health are integrated.

During training, pullers often increase the resistance of the water by decreasing the streamline of the canoes. One method is to attach a tire to the front of the canoe, where it hits the water. The same effect can be achieved by dragging a bucket behind the canoe. Some groups tie their canoe to a wharf and paddle hard without going anywhere.

During training, the pullers are timed and the top 10 are allowed to race. If there are more than 10 pullers in a team they share a seat. One may race one day and the other the next.

Pre-Season Preparation

Maintenance of the canoe begins in the spring. A lot of time and energy is invested before the racing season. Repairs are made to the seats, backrests, and any cracks (resulting from earlier collisions or weathering) in the canoe. Each year the canoe is sanded to make the bottom smooth.

Equipment

Canoes are made of cedar, paddled by individuals from a single community. Each canoe is named, and the pullers who make up the team, race with that canoe throughout the racing season. The canoe is typically owned by the whole team while the paddles are owned by individual pullers. Canoes are long and slender, with a keel at the bottom. There are several different types of canoes for practice and racing. Smaller canoes are used for single or double races. Longer canoes are used for 6- and 11-person races. Canoes are hand made by expert carvers who carefully balance, design, and polish them for maximum efficiency. Paddles are made of cedar and are straight, with elongated, diamond-shaped end. Some

people have training "blades" or paddles, which are separate from their racing ones. They may also have separate training and racing canoes. Racing canoes are thinned out and up to 52 feet (15.6 m) long. Small canoes can be as light as 35 lbs (15.75 kg), whereas a training canoe is more robust.

Racing

The races take place over a three to four mile long (4.8 to 6.4 km) course, where the pullers must paddle out to a buoy, make a turn and either head to the next buoy or return to the beach for the finish. Between 6 and more canoes line up to race. At the sound of the gun, the pullers take off for the first buoy, pulling quickly at first (10-12 strokes per side), and then fall into a more regular routine of 16-25 strokes per side. After coming out of a turn or when nearing the finish, the rate of strokes per side decreases again, for greater speed. Taking fewer, more rapid strokes per side allows pullers to endure high speeds for longer.

In the 11-person race, the "skipper" or "steers-man" sits at the back of the boat. In front of him or her is (generally) the "caller" who announces the switches of the side that the paddlers are pulling on. The person in the front of the canoe is the "bowman" who is the lead strokes person that everyone behind follows.

One of the most different points in the canoe race are the turns, where the canoes must turn around and race back to the finish line. When engaging in a turn, the skipper and the two front people in the canoe hold their paddles in the water while the pullers keep on pulling. During the turn, pullers may choose to engage one another in attempting to tip their opponent's canoe. This has at times turned to violence, but such extreme activities are now discouraged. If a canoe is hit by another while in turn, the damage is generally too severe to be repaired right away, putting the canoe out of commission for the year.

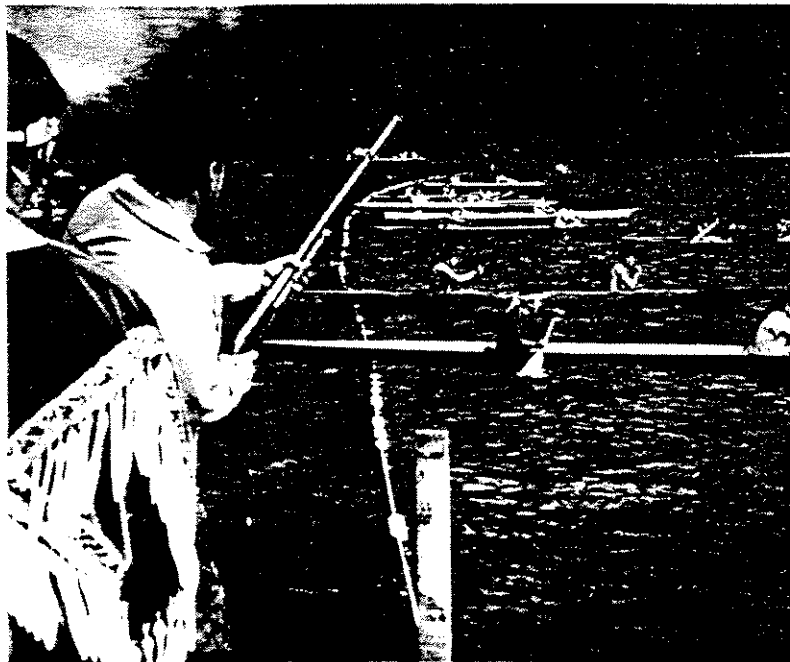
Up to three bailers, who usually sit in the middle, bail the canoe when it takes on water.

Changes over Time

A number of changes in design and technique have occurred since the 1950's when the Cultus Lake Indian Festival began. The design of paddles have varied significantly since the 1950's where the blade was only 4"(10 cm) wide. They are now commonly approximately 8"(20 cm) wide. The technique used to switch the side a puller is paddling on has also changed. Currently, the handle of the paddle is brought up out of the water and the blade swung (in a pendulum-like fashion), across the canoe and directly into the water. This exchange is quicker than the older technique (done mainly for show), where the blade of the paddles were brought right up over the pullers head and down into the water on the other side.

There have also been important changes in training. In the 1950's the fastest canoe racers

were people who spent all day in a canoe for work - going throughout the valley from home to a work-site by canoe. The kind of work done then, such as logging, was typically very physical. People developed the muscles, technique and strength from everyday life - so little training was required. The only training done, was in order to distribute weight and power evenly throughout the canoe and practice timing. There was no secret to why they were winners. Now, most people work from 9-5, frequently in an office, and can spend only a couple of hours on the water. They train hard, but it isn't a part of their daily work routine. However, the physical and mental exercise associated with training and racing canoes, and the spiritual preparation that goes along with it has helped create many healthy, balanced people in *Stó:lō* communities. The races give the broader community pride in their traditions, heritage, and abilities of their family and friends.



Racing Canoes at Cultus Lake Indian Festival

Games of Chance & Skill



SLEHÀ:L
(Bone Game)

Slehà:l, or the Bone Game, is one of the most commonly played traditional games in the *Stó:lō* area. In *slehà:l*, two opposing teams try to guess in which opponent's hand a small marked bone is placed. A correct guess wins the wager.

There are two bones (*th'ómtsestel*), one which is marked and the other which is plain. A designated person is selected on one team to hold the bones, one bone in each hand, in front of the body, behind the back or under a small mat which covers the hands. On the other team, there is a designated guesser (*t'át'emes*) who is charged with making a guess ("pointing" - *t'ámet*) at which hand the marked bone is in. If the guess is correct, the wager is won and the bones get handed to the guessing team. If the guess is incorrect, the bones get passed along to another player on the opposing (bone holding) team.

During the guessing, all players on the guessing team try to confuse the bone holder into having her or him show the bones. They will be gesturing and pointing for the bone holder to reveal which hand the marked bone is in. The bone holder must only reveal the bones on the request of the designated guesser. If the bones are revealed before the designated guesser makes a guess, then the wager is lost and the bones move to the guessing team.

Critical to the game is the drumming and singing that occurs among the remaining players on each side. This music makes the game flow, and involves a large number of participants. Movements of the guesser and the bone hider are often in time with the music. This adds an important performative element to the game. The drumming is frequently done with skin-drums. In the past, the most common form of drumming was by hitting a wooden stick or mallet (*pumí:l*) onto a long, specially carved plank or board (*q'ówet*). The songs are sung in Halq'eméylem.

This description of the game gives the general rules, but the most effective way to learn the game is to participate in it with experienced players. As a result, the drumming and songs which cannot be reproduced satisfactorily here, will be appreciated.

Another version of this game is played with disks instead of bones. Ten dollar-coin-sized disks of polished wood were used as hiding pieces. These disks are identical, except one, which is painted black along the rim. The disks are divided equally between the two hands, with the black-rimmed disk being in one. The guesser is required to guess which hand the black-rimmed disk is in. The disk-holder then rolls out the disks, one-by-one, onto a cedar mat until the black disk is revealed. If the guess is correct, the wager is won and the disks move to the other team.⁶



Playing Slehá:l - Note the board-and-stick drum (Galloway 1980:96)



SWELE'I
(Hoop-and-pole Game)

The hoop-and-pole game was historically the most wide-spread skill game throughout the Coast Salish region. The object of this game was to skilfully hurl a sharpened pole or lance through a moving hoop, embedding the lance into the ground with the hoop still around it.

The pole is traditionally made of either seasoned hazel-wood or pooled fir sapling and was sharpened at one end. The hoop was also traditionally made in a number of different ways, such as a hoop of woven reeds, a fibre-wrapped circlet of twigs, or a hazel withe bent in a circle with the ends twisted together. In every case, the hoop should be about 1 foot (30cm) in diameter.

The players form two rows (at varying distances apart) facing each other with one player from each team rolling the hoop underhanded along the ground between the rows, for the other team to hurl the pole at. Each contestant would throw two poles (overhand) at the hoop per turn. The sharp end of the stick must end up embedded in the ground, with the back of the pole elevated and the hoop caught around it. Targets would sometimes be set up to increase the difficulty of the throw. A throw that does not stick in the ground "doesn't count." The first team to reach a pre-established score (usually 10) wins.

This game helps hone the skill of a hunter or fisher to lance or gaff a moving target. Such a game would be played by both children and adults.⁷

MATERIALS:

- The pole is approximately 1.5 to 2 meters (4 to 6 feet) sharpened at one end. It is traditionally made from seasonal hazel-wood or pooled sapling.
- The hoop is approximately 30 cm (1 foot) in diameter. It was traditionally made in a number of different ways, such as a hoop of woven reeds, a fibre-wrapped circlet of twigs, or a hazel withe bent in a circle with the ends twisted together.

DESCRIPTION OF LEARNING ACTIVITY:

- Players form two single file rows facing each other.
- One player rolls the hoop underhanded along the ground away from the line while the opposing player throws the pole overhand at the hoop.
- Each player throws two poles at the hoop per turn.
- The sharp end of the stick must end up embedded in the ground, with the back of the pole elevated and the hoop caught around it.
- A throw that does not stick in the ground is disqualified.
- Objects may be used to increase the difficulty of the throw.
- The first team to reach a pre-established score wins (usually 10).

TE'XWETS SA'KWELA'X
(Archery)

The sport of archery hones skills used by traditional Stó:lō hunters, as well as creates competition between hunters at gatherings of people from various locations. In competition, there are generally four or five contestants. Traditionally, the bow is held horizontally across the upturned palm with the three middle fingers wrapped around it (see Figure) A bow is traditionally made of yellow-cedar root or alternately yew wood and are about three to four feet long. Arrows are traditionally made of red cedar and are generally made to be the distance from the shoulder to the finger tip of the archer. Most arrows are tipped with either hardwood, bone or stone points. Two feathers are twisted around the end of the arrow (see Figure)⁸. A target is made from tule wound tightly together to form a compact, potato-sized mass. The target is put on the ground or hung on a tree and shot at with a bow (*téxwets*) by the contestants, who each have two arrows (*sàkweláx*).

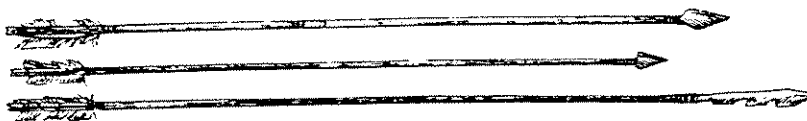
The winner is determined by whoever hits the target with both arrows. If more than one player hits with both arrows, the whole round is repeated, with all players participating. Play continues until only one person hits with both arrows.⁹

MATERIALS:

- Bows (*te'xwets*)
- Arrows (*sa'kwela'x*)
- Targets

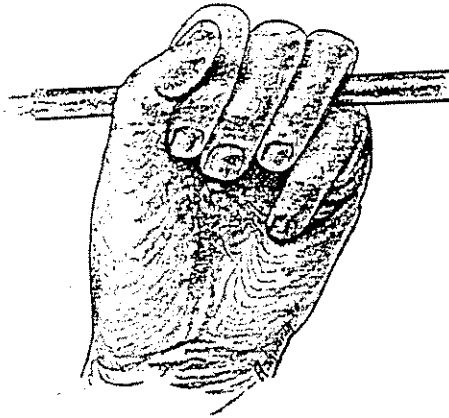
DESCRIPTION OF LEARNING ACTIVITY:

- A target is made from tightly wound bulrush or other material to form a compact medium potato-sized mass.
- The target is put on the ground or hung on a tree and shot at.
- Each contestant will have two arrows.
- The winner is determined by whoever hits the target with both arrows.
- If more than one player hits the target with both arrows, the whole round is repeated, with all players participating.
- Play continues until only one person hits the target with both arrows.
- Distance may vary with skill level.



ARROWS WITH SHAFTS OF CEDAR - LONGEST 86cm [34"] NWC 4

Cedar Arrows (Stewart 1984:101)



Traditional Handling of Bow (Barnett 1955:101)



ENDNOTES:

1. Wilson Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia* (Victoria: Provincial Museum of British Columbia, 1952); William Elmendorf, *The Structure of Twana Culture* (Washington State University Research Studies, Monograph Supplement 2:1-576) Pp. 234; Brent Galloway, *Tó:lméls Ye Siyelyólexwa, Wisdom of the Elders* (Sardis, Coqualeetza Education Training Centre, 1980) Pp. 97; Diamond Jenness, *The Saanich Indians of Vancouver Island* (Manuscript in the Archives of the Ethnology Division, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa.) Pp. 103; Marion Smith *The Puyallup-Nisqually* (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology 32, 1940.) Pp. 224.
2. Duff 1952:127; Jenness n.d.:10; Smith 1940:225; Elmendorf 1960:230-231; Galloway 1980:97.
3. Duff 1952:127; Smith 1940:221; Elmendorf 1960:230; Galloway 1980:97.
4. Brent Galloway and Coqualeetza Elders Group *Stó:lō Geographical Place Names File* (MS on file Stó:lō Nation, Sardis, 1976-1979) Pp. 83; Brent Galloway *A Grammar of Upriver Halkomelem* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1993) Pp. 637; Jenness n.d.:102; Elmendorf 1960:228.
5. Galloway 1980:97; Smith 1940:223-224.
6. Duff 1952:127; Jenness n.d.:103; Homer Barnett *The Coast Salish of British Columbia* (Eugene, University of Oregon Monographs, Studies in Anthropology No. 4, 1955) Pp. 262; Galloway 1980:96.
7. Duff 1952:127; Barnett 1955:262; Smith 1940:22; Elmendorf 1960:233.
8. Barnett, Homer *Coast Salish of British Columbia* (Eugene, Oregon. University of Oregon Press. 1955). Pp. 101.
9. Smith 1940:222.

Suggested Further Readings
for: Stó:lō Sports and Games

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