

## 1. Description

### 1.1 Name of society, language, and language family:

- Mainly Cowichan and Sto:lo
- Halkomelem from the Salish language family

### 1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com):

- Hur

### 1.3 Location (latitude/longitude):

- Western Canada
- “The Cowichan lived aboriginally and continue to live on the southeastern coast of Vancouver Island between Nanoos Bay and Saanich Inlet (the Cowichan proper) and on the mainland on the lower Fraser River. There were numerous subdivisions (more than forty in all), including the Muskwium (Musqueam), Nanaimo (Snanaimux), and Sanetch (Saanich).” [3]

### 1.4 Brief history:

- They lived along the Cowichan River on the southeast coast of Vancouver Island. “Formally the groups had no collective name,” but were Anglicized into ‘Cowichan.’ [4p32-35]
- COME BACK TO THIS

### 1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:

- “The first recorded presence (of Europeans in the Cowichan Valley) was that of Reverend Father Honore-Timothee Lemfrit, a Roman Catholic missionary who arrived at the mouth of the Cowichan in 1850. Between the years of 1850 and 1852, the French Oblate missionary visited the Cowichan peoples several times, staying in certain instances for several weeks...”... “Historian Patricia Meyer says that Father was Victoria’s first schoolmaster and Vancouver Island’s first doctor and missionary.” [6p10]
- “The Indian Shaker Church (unrelated to the US-based Shakers religion) developed in the late 19th century and contains features of Christianity and traditional beliefs. Many Central Coast Salish belong to Christian churches, particularly Catholic, Pentecostal, and other protestant denominations. Sculptural art found additional expression in tombs, house posts and implements.” [5]
- “When voyagers first began frequenting the north Pacific coast, Milbank island, which offers one of the few good openings into the inner ship channel to Alaska, was often visited, and its inhabitants were therefore among the first to be modified by European contact. Together with the other Heiltsuk tribes they have now been Christianized by Protestant missionaries, and most of their ancient culture and ritual have been abandoned.” [7]
- In 1902, Lake Sumas, a major site for sturgeon and other fish, was drained for land development. [9].

### 1.6 Ecology:

- “Coast Salish peoples live in one of the most resource abundant locations in North America. Large salmon runs and temperate rainforest ecology have provided Coast Salish communities with a historic abundance of locally available food and resources. Abundant resources and good storage food storage techniques contributed to the development of highly affluent hunting-gathering-fishing societies, typical among Northwest Coast societies, like the Haida, Kwagulth, Nisga’a, Nuuchahnulth and others (Suttles 1990). Traditional economies in Coast Salish society centered around the production of surplus food and resources with labor organized along extended family lines.” [9]

### 1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density

- “Mooney’s (1928) estimate of the Vancouver Island Cowichan for the year 1780 is 5,500 as against a population of 1,298 in 1907.” [11]
- Unfortunately, in 2002 there were less than 250 speakers, meaning that this language is nearly extinct. [10]

## 2. Economy

### 2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):

- Wild vegetables and root plants, such as wild potatoes. [12]

### 2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:

- Salmon (mainly salmon), birds, small land mammals, sea mammals, and shellfish. [12, 8p90]

### 2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?:

- They had spears, bow and arrows, and dip-nets. [12, 13p7]

### 2.4 Food storage:

- “Dried clams and fish jerky were taken as a treat for the hunter during their overnight hunting trips.” [12]
- Root plants were dried or baked for ease of transportation. [8p90]

### 2.5 Sexual division of production:

- “Women processed the fish and also gathered various edible roots, green shoots, and berries, contributing over half of the total of the total food energy consumed by the southern plateau peoples.” [8p90]
- Although they supposedly practiced gender equality, there was a clear-cut division of labor by sex. The chiefs of local groups were generally men, but there were house chiefs of both sexes. However, women only gained political power after menopause. [8p91]
- Women also did/do most of the knitting. [22]

### 2.6 Land tenure:

- Land was typically inherited through male lineage. [4]
- “In Hul’qumi’num territory, Indian Reserves were created during the 1860s and 1870s and were subject to...pressures from white settlers and to the whims of the colonial authorities.” [14]

- “The removal of aboriginal people from their traditional territories on to Reserves decreased the ability of communities’ to practice their culture and participate in their life style.” [15p20]

#### 2.7 Crafts:

- The Cowichan are mainly known for sweaters and woodcarving. [8p523]
- The Sto:lo people were known for their basket weaving. [16]

#### 2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

- According to the legend, “Who Was Given Fire”: Sharing seems important because the giver of fire refused to give it to men who he deemed, “too selfish”. It did not give the fire to the people until it came upon a woman who helped others told the woman to *SHARE* the fire. [17]

#### 2.9 Food taboos:

- Some tribes refused to eat the female salmon at the beginning of the season in order to make more fish for later. [19p14]
- During puberty for a female, she is considered unclean so there are certain things she must not eat, lest the supply of those particular foods fail. [4p82]

#### 2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

- The Cowichan had carved out canoes and were considered very gifted boat/canoe makers. [18, 8p90]

### 3. Anthropometry

#### 3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

-There is a legend that speaks of making the Cowichan not too tall and not too short, so one could guess that they may have been around 5-6ft possibly. [2p9]

#### 3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): NONE FOUND

### 4. Life History, mating, marriage

#### 4.1 Age at menarche (f):

- No specific numeric age is listed, but typically women were secluded during this time. [8p91]  
-“Customs attendant upon the arrival of girls at puberty were basically uniform...the principles involved are two. First, it is believed that at such a time a girl is unclean, and must be segregated from the rest of the family. For the same reason there are certain things she must not eat, lest the supply of those particular foods fail. Secondly, it is thought that the conduct of the maiden at this period determines the moral character and to a large extent the physical wellbeing of the mature women. All girls, therefore, as soon as they become pubescent, were placed apart during the catamenial period; but only in the case if a maiden of rank did the observance become a festival.” [4p82]

#### 4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): NONE FOUND

#### 4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

- The typical family consisted of a married couple, children, and possibly wives and spouses of young adult children. [8p91]

#### 4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): NONE FOUND

#### 4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): NONE FOUND

#### 4.6 Prevalence of divorce:

- “Separation was the privilege of either party to a marriage contract, and usually no better reason than the most casual whim was necessary; although in some cases a man of strong personality would forcibly and successfully resist the efforts of his wife’s relatives to effect a divorce. In a woman laziness, quarrelsomeness, or fondness for gossip, adultery or prostitution without her husband’s consent, were generally cause for her being dismissed, while improvidence and dissolute living usually cost a man his wife. As a rule the marriage gifts were returned to their donors.” [4p80]

#### 4.7 Prevalence of males married polygynously:

-“Polygyny was common, and nearly every thrifty man became possessed of three or four wives. In rare cases there were as many as ten wives in one establishment. However, it was only the first marriage that was attended by great ceremony, and nuptials of the scion of a prominent chief commanded the most attention.” [4p77]

#### 4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?:

-Sometimes poorer newly married couple might live near the bride’s family for some economic support, but in high-ranking families marriage was alliance. The groom’s family presented gifts while the brides family reciprocated in feasting and dancing, after which the bride typically went to live in the groom’s village. [8p95-p111]

- Typically there is “Payment of goods for the bride, and receipt of a less valuable quantity from her people...Depending on the wealth of the families concerned, there were several modes of entering into marital bonds. Among the poor it was by voluntary cohabitation. In families of moderate means there was a formal wooing and bartering, while the wealthy exchanged lavish gifts in a highly ceremonial manner.” [4p76-p77]

#### 4.9 Inheritance patterns:

- Inheritance formerly followed male lineage, “organized into patrilineal extended families.” [8p83, 3]

#### 4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: NONE FOUND

#### 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: NONE FOUND

#### 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):

- They had “household groups consisting of extended families with a core or lineage of people linked through male or female lines of descent. Marriage with blood kin was not permitted; thus spouses usually came from different villages and networks of kinship linked people throughout Central Coast Salish territory.” [5]

#### 4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized? NONE FOUND

#### 4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”)

-- Some tribes "believed that the powers associated with sexuality and procreation were incompatible with the powers associated with warfare and medical practices and both men and women governed themselves accordingly. Women separated themselves during menstruation and child birth and avoided anything having to do with warfare." Also "mothers had special diet and behavior to ensure good health." [8p96-p111]

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? NONE FOUND

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape NONE FOUND

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)

- "Marriage with blood kin was not permitted." [5]

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?

- "...Sexual freedom was not looked upon as a moral wrong; simply, a loose woman cheapened herself, and, if married, exposed her husband to ridicule. Among families of high rank a girl's first error sometimes caused a bloody feud, but more frequently she was married to her lover." [4p85]

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring

- "The sexual relations were very lax, and prostitution was widely carried on under management of fathers and husbands. But a man who took advantage of a woman secretly was liable to the death penalty at the hands of her husband." [4p80]

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?

-- "If father dies, then a member of the deceased's family marries the widow (levirate). And the counterpart for women (sororate)." [8p91]

4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females NONE FOUND

4.22 Evidence for couvades

-NO

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older) NONE FOUND

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

- In some tribes, "tensions and potential conflicts within the family were managed by patterns of avoidance and joking." [8p95]

4.24 Joking relationships?

-The answer to 4.24 (above) is the closest I could find.

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations NONE FOUND

4.26 Incest avoidance rules

- "Marriage with blood kin was not permitted." [5]

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?

- There is a special dance. [25p358-p361]

- In the Puget sound region, "...the wedding day was set, preferably in a month of fair weather, especially if the bride lived at a distance... In the meantime each of the young man's people had fully decided what his contribution to the wedding gift would be, and to which one of the bride's relations he would give it; for, generally speaking uncles gave to uncles, cousins gave to cousins. On a day, the party of the bridegroom, numbering perhaps forty or fifty in several canoes laden with wedding gifts, set off for the home of the bride, timing their departure so as to arrive at night. As they approach the shore, all in the little fleet joined in singing wealth-medicine songs, and on the beach they drew up their canoes side by side, placed boards across the gunwales, and on these platforms they danced and sang, after which they would proceed to the house of the bride... They are greeted by the bride's family and relatives. The next day many gather to distribute gifts, witness, and feast." [4p78]

-The less wealthy gathered what gifts they could, had a feast, and the girl was carried in blankets to her groom's home. [4p79]

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?

- "It is Cowichan custom to name a child as soon as it is able to walk. The father invites as many people as his means permit, and when they have assembled in front of his house a man engaged by the father announces the name by which the child will be known."

- "This is nearly always the name of an ancestor or a living relation."

- "When a youth or a favorite daughter reaches maturity, the father again calls the people to his house and announces a new name, which is retained until death." [4p81]

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)

- "Marriage with blood kin was not permitted; thus spouses usually came from different villages and networks of kinship linked people throughout Central Coast Salish territory" [5]

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?

- Marriages are typically alliances arranged by the families. [8p83]

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:

- "...The youth, having set his heart upon a certain girl in some other tribe, made known his desire to his parents. The matter was then discussed by the family, and a canvass was made to ascertain what quantity of goods could be collected for the purchase of the bride... sent two messengers to make known to the father that his daughter was desired, and about how much would be given in payment for her."

- "The girl and the mother had no decisive voice in the matter, although their likes and dislikes were given hearing." [4p77]

- Less wealthy, the suitor would silently sit just inside the door of the girl's home for usually days (given no food), until her family began to discuss the possibility. [4p79]

## Warfare/homicide

4.14 Adult male deaths due to warfare: NONE FOUND

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:

- Some tribes would wipe out entire other tribes and take the women and children as slaves. [20]

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:

- Typically revenge, but no stories were found as to who started it in the first place. [20]

4.17 Relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):

- Some tribes would work as partners and other tribes were enemies with each other. [20]
- When the Europeans first came there were some tribes that promised to destroy any fort that was built by the white men. [21p12]

4.18 Cannibalism?

- NO

## 5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

- Trips were made to gather seasonal resources such as fishing and hunting. [5, 8p90]

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):

- "Stó:lō society was organized into classes: the sí:yá:m (or upper classes), the ordinary people, and the slaves.[2] A person's family status was important in determining their role within Stó:lō society, and within longhouse ceremonies, though this has faded over time. Slaves may have been treated relatively well, but were not permitted to eat with others at the Longhouse fire.[2] They were primarily responsible for menial tasks such as gathering food or firewood. The use of slaves died out long ago, although the memory of which families descend from slaves may persist.[2]"

-"The Siyá:m (or leader) was the most powerful member of each family, while the best hunter was named the Tewit to lead during the hunting season. The Grand Chief, a title which originated much later, is known as the Yewal Siyá:m. [22]

- The Cowichan also had social classes with nobles, commoners, and slaves; warred with other groups; had hereditary village chiefs [3]

- "Class differences did not emerge, and emphasis was placed on autonomy of the individual. Slaves, often war captives, were held, but they were adopted into families without prejudice, except in those communities with strong ties to more hierarchical coastal communities." [8p91]

5.4 Post marital residence:

- The divorced woman and her children go back to live with her family. [4p80]

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

-"Among the Upriver Sto:lo (Halkomelem) of the Fraser Valley, too, land and resource areas were not privately or exclusively owned, and there were no precise boundaries for villages or tribal districts. Resources were shared or available for use by anyone in the group. However, people generally had a proprietary interest in the lands and waters near their villages and would protect these areas against intrusion by strangers or trespassers. Also, among the Upper Sto:lo, salmon dip-net stations were owned by heads of families. The dip-net itself was owned by the fishing station owner, but was left at the water's edge for others to use if they needed to (Duff 1952:77). Suttles confirmed that among the Katzie (Halkomelem), streams where salmon weirs were constructed or where dip-nets were used, were the joint property "of several families," and the use by others required first seeking permission from the head man, a request that would not usually have been denied (Suttles 1955:22). Permission was also said to be required of outsiders who wished to gather bog cranberries (*Vaccinium oxycoccus*) and dig wapato (*Sagittaria latifolia*) in Katzie territory, some of which were tribally owned and others of which belonged to particular families. An individual, usually a young man, was instructed to watch the ripening of the fruit and to ensure that visitors did not pick the berries while still green. Suttles (1955:27) contended that ..."identification with a rich cranberry bog was its own reward in that it permitted the owners to play the role of hosts." [13p7]

5.6 Social interaction divisions? (age and sex): NONE FOUND

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: NONE FOUND

5.8 Village and house organization:

- "Large shed-roofed houses were built in villages, from which trips were made to gather seasonal resources. Life centered around the household groups consisting of extended families with a core or lineage of people linked through male or female lines of descent." [5]

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses):

- Women had special houses for menstruation and childbirth, but nothing was found about a men's house. [4,8]

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?

- No evidence for hammocks found

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:

- The clan system does not exist among the Salish [4p76]

5.12 Trade:

- There was much trade going on with the Cowichans. "In order to take advantage of localized differences in foods and in production (only those in some locations could produce canoes, for example) goods were exchanged via trade to non-kin..." [8]

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?

- "The Siyá:m (or leader) was the most powerful member of each family, while the best hunter was named the Tewit to lead during the hunting season. The Grand Chief, a title which originated much later, is known as the Yewal Siyá:m." [22]

## 6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

### 6 Time allocation to RCR:

-Spirit worship and influence [8p91]

### 6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):

-Shamans called spirits for healing. [8p92]

### 6.2 Stimulants: NONE FOUND

### 6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):

- In death, they either burn food to feed the dead or give away all of the items in the house.

- Seasonally they have potlatches such as the winter spirit dance. [8p91]

### 6.4 Other rituals:

-The first salmon to go upriver, the chief of salmon, is treated ritually, cooked, and its bones are returned to the water. [8p92]

### 6.5 Myths (Creation): There are many, but here are a few main ones:

-“Xa:ls (also spelled Xals, Hals, Kals, Xexá:ls, and other ways): A Transformer figure, common to the mythology of many Northwest Coast tribes, who brought balance to the world by using his powers to change people, animals, and the landscape into the forms they have today.

-Chichel Siya:m: The Creator God of the Halkomelem and other Coast Salish tribes.

-Raven: Raven is the culture hero of the Halkomelem and other Northwest Coast tribes. He is a benevolent figure who helps the people, but at the same time, he is also a trickster spirit and many Raven stories have to do with his frivolous or poorly thought out behavior getting him into trouble.

-Mink: Mink is another Coast Salish trickster character. Indeed, some of Raven's more light-hearted adventures are sometimes told with Mink as the protagonist instead. However, compared with Raven, Mink is a more negative character who primarily embodies traits that are looked down upon by the Salish people (greed, recklessness, arrogance, inappropriate sexual behavior, poor hygiene, etc.) Stories about Mink are often humorous, but also are cautionary tales about how not to behave.

-Sasquatch (Sasq'ets in the Halkomelem language, also spelled Sesq'ec, Sesqec, Sacsquec, Saskehas, Sesquac, and other ways): This is the most famous legendary "bigfoot" creature. According to Halkomelem and other Coast Salish traditions, Sasq'ets was a powerful but generally benign supernatural creature in the shape of a very large, hairy wild man. Its Halkomelem name is pronounced similar to sess-k-uts.

-Basket Ogress: A giant cannibal woman who catches human children and carries them off in her enormous pack basket.” [24]

### 6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

- There is music, dancing, food, carving, weaving, and painting. [8p91]

### 6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

-They believe that many immortal beings can become guardian spirits for both individual males and females. [8p91]

### 6.8 Missionary effect:

- Before 1820, no Christian practices were observed, but during the 1830's, observers reported Christian worship among the Indians. By the 1880's the Shaker Church was established on Puget Sound. [25p353-p354]

### 6.9 RCR revival: NONE FOUND for their original religion

### 6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

- Many tribes believe in reincarnation. [8p62]

### 6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? NONE FOUND

### 6.12 Is there teknonymy?

-“Traditionally, everyone was given what we might call a nickname as a child (Barnett 1955:132). Today, Christian names are the universal practice. Held within Houses, however, are honored hereditary names which are bestowed on an individual later in life (Barnett 1955:133). Each House has a pool of hereditary names which are passed on between generations. Some of these names date back to mythological times, having been held exclusively by these families for centuries (Jeness 1934-5:55). As a rule, only one living person should hold a hereditary name at a time, though exceptions are occasionally made to this rule (Collins 1966:426). A formal ceremony is held when a name is being given, and the bestowal is often validated with a potlatch. Although the specific practices for a naming ceremony vary between families, generally, when the guests are assembled, and any ritual performance such as a swwayxwey mask dance is complete, the family spokes-person who is giving the name announces the name and calls on the older generation present to witness the giving. They are given gifts to mark their witnessing of the event. If there came to be a conflict over who has the right to hold these prestigious titles, this older generation would be called on to They would “affirm the owners right to the name” (Collins 1966:429; see also Suttles 1987:201; Barnett 1955:138-9). The names in themselves hold prestige for the bearer, as they are the names of honoured ancestors. They also hold the privileges accorded to the bearers of the name in the past (Barnett 1955:134).” [9]

### 6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.)

-“ Respectful relationships between humans and the spirits of animated, sometimes anthropomorphic, non-human beings, including animals, plants, rocks, water, and other immortals. Humans are regarded as weaker than immortal spirits. Many immortal being can become guardian spirits for individual males and females.” [8p91]

## 7. Adornment

### 7.1 Body paint:

### 7.2 Piercings:

- “The ears of all children at the age of a few months were pierced without formality by old female relatives.” [4p81]

7.3 Haircut:

7.4 Scarification:

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):

-Masks, scalp headdress, and feathers [20, 26]

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

7.8 Missionary effect:

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

## 8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system:

8.2 Sororate, levirate:

-“If father dies, then a member of the deceased’s family marries the widow (levirate). And the counterpart for women (sororate).” [8p91]

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):

## 9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

### Numbered references

1. Hutton, H. (1997). Simon Fraser University, report No. 352. Retrieved from :

[http://scholar.google.com/scholar?q=cowichan+tribes+sharing+patterns&hl=en&as\\_sdt=0&as\\_vis=1&oi=scholar&sa=X&ei=ePtHUKD5DY\\_pqAGzoIDgAQ&ved=0CBoQgQMwAA](http://scholar.google.com/scholar?q=cowichan+tribes+sharing+patterns&hl=en&as_sdt=0&as_vis=1&oi=scholar&sa=X&ei=ePtHUKD5DY_pqAGzoIDgAQ&ved=0CBoQgQMwAA)

2. Harris, D. H., & Lindholt, P.J. (1901). *History And Folklore Of The Cowichan Indians*.

Victoria, B. C.:The colonist printing and publishing company. Retrieved from:

<http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=gGziuiKGKMsC&oi=fnd&pg=PA3&dq=how+tall+cowichans+height&ots=77ZnaIVCR0&sig=m2dbjXnyVndjTEVNm-qBRA8UnSo#v=onepage&q=how%20tall%20cowichans%20h&f=false>

3. Every Culture. (2012). Cowichan. Retrieved from: <http://www.everyculture.com/North-America/Cowichan.html>

4. Curtis, E. S. (1907). The North American Indian. Retrieved from:

<http://curtis.library.northwestern.edu/curtis/viewPage.cgi?showp=1&size=&id=nai.09.book.00000061&volume=9#nav>

5. Kew, M, & Miller, B. G. (2012). Salish, Central Coast. Retrieved from: <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/central-coast-salish>

6. Paterson, T. W. (2001). *Cowichan chronicles, volume 1*. Duncan, B.C., Canada: Firgrove Publishing. Retrieved from:

<http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=DjFKWE8DiqIC&oi=fnd&pg=PA7&dq=Influence+of+missionaries+cowichan&ots=XiVywEn0XW&sig=RUL6nxOJ0DI90mTyNNKJPJ-Dh-4#v=onepage&q=missionary&f=false>

7. Access Genealogy.com (1999). Canadian Indian Tribe History. Retrieved from:

<http://www.accessgenealogy.com/native/tribes/canadianindiantribes.htm>

8. Magocsi, P. R. (1999). *Encyclopedia of Canada’s Peoples*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press Inc. Retrieved from:

<http://books.google.com/books?id=dbUuX0mnvQMC&pg=PA91&lpg=PA91&dq=halkomelem+menarche&source=bl&ots=K7zaiD74jK&sig=qlKvtGglvZsVQngjbMb3ljdN9N4&hl=en#v=onepage&q=halkomelem%20menarche&f=false>

9. Thom, B. (2003). Intangible property with coast salish first nations communities, British Columbia. McGill University & Senior Negotiations Suporrrt. Retrieved from:

[http://scholar.googleusercontent.com/scholar?q=cache:ku6ZwNXURTAJ:scholar.google.com/+cowichan+indians+ecology+nature&hl=en&as\\_sdt=0,26](http://scholar.googleusercontent.com/scholar?q=cache:ku6ZwNXURTAJ:scholar.google.com/+cowichan+indians+ecology+nature&hl=en&as_sdt=0,26)

10. Lewis, M. Paul (ed.). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, sixteenth edition. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International. Retrieved from:

[http://www.ethnologue.com/show\\_language.asp?code=hur](http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=hur)

11. Canadian Genealogy. (2012). Cowichan Indians of Canada. Retrieved from:

[http://www.canadiangenealogy.net/indians/cowichan\\_indians.htm](http://www.canadiangenealogy.net/indians/cowichan_indians.htm)

12. Quw’utsun’ Cultural and Conference Centre. (n. d.). Traditional foods, harvesting, and preparation methods. Retrieved from:

<http://www.quwutsun.ca/traditionalfood.html>

13. Turner, N., & Jones, J. T. (2000). Occupying the land: Traditional patterns of land and resource ownership among first peoples of British Columbia. Victoria, B. C.: School of Environmental Studies, University of Victoria. Retrieved from: <http://dlc.dlib.indiana.edu/dlc/bitstream/handle/10535/1952/turnern041200.pdf?sequence=1>
14. Native American Indian Tribes of the U.S. (2005). History of the Canadian Indian reserves. Retrieved from: [http://www.aaanativearts.com/canadian\\_reserves501\\_540.htm](http://www.aaanativearts.com/canadian_reserves501_540.htm)
15. Hutton, Claire. (1997). Exploring aboriginal forestry and ecosystem-based management: A case study of cowichan tribes. Trent University. Retrieved from: <http://wenku.baidu.com/view/b6daa7d076eeaeaad1f3302f.html?from=related>
16. Fortney, S. M. (2001). Identifying sto:lo basketry: Exploring different ways of knowing material culture. (Doctoral Dissertation). Retrieved from: [https://circle.ubc.ca/bitstream/id/28011/ubc\\_2001-0194.pdf](https://circle.ubc.ca/bitstream/id/28011/ubc_2001-0194.pdf)
17. First People –The Legends. (n. d.). Who was given the fire. Retrieved from: <http://www.firstpeople.us/FP-Html-Legends/WhoWasGivenTheFire-Cowichan.html>
18. First People –The Legends. (n. d.). A great flood. Retrieved from: <http://www.firstpeople.us/FP-Html-Legends/AGreatFlood-Cowichan.html>
19. Ball, G. (1985). The monopoly system of wildlife management of the indians and the Hudson's Bay Company in the early history of British Columbia. *BC Studies*, 66. Retrieved from: [http://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&q=The+Monopoly+System+of+Wildlife+Management+of+the+Indians+and+the+Hudson%27s+Bay+Company+in+the+Early+History+of+British+Columbia+&btnG=&as\\_sdt=1%2C26&as\\_sdtp=](http://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&q=The+Monopoly+System+of+Wildlife+Management+of+the+Indians+and+the+Hudson%27s+Bay+Company+in+the+Early+History+of+British+Columbia+&btnG=&as_sdt=1%2C26&as_sdtp=)
20. Manataka American Indian Council. (n. d.). Legends of the Cowichan Indians: A war story of the Cowichans. Retrieved from: <http://www.manataka.org/page680.html>
21. Basque, G. (2006). *Frontier days in British Columbia*. Victoria, B. C.: Heritage House Publishing Co. Retrieved from: <http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=fecJGyNKtwoC&oi=fnd&pg=PA8&dq=cowichans+war+paint&ots=ysOSazNpPv&sig=BNGkncal6Hxdpx6YuBF-Ak7kG18#v=onepage&q=cowichans&f=false>
22. Wikipedia. (2012). Sto:lo people: Culture: Societal Structure. Retrieved from: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sto:lo\\_people](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sto:lo_people)
23. Cowichan Tribes. (2005). Origins: The people who fell from the sky. Retrieved from: <http://cowichantribes.com/about/History/Origins>
24. Native-languages. (2011). Native languages of the Americas: Halkomelem/Cowichan indian legends. Retrieved from: <http://www.native-languages.org/halkomelem-legends.htm>
25. Suttles, W. (1957). The plateau prophet dance among the coast salish. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 13. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3629097?seq=3>
26. Snowowl.com. (2001). Native American history: North American indian-sacred legacy. Retrieved from: <http://www.snowowl.com/histecurtis8.html>