

**GENDER AND STATUS REPRESENTATION
IN
NORTHWEST COAST BURIALS**

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NORTHWEST COAST BURIALS**

By

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A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

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MASTER OF ARTS (2003)
(Archaeology)

McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Gender and Status Representation in Northwest Coast Burials

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Number of Pages: x, 255

ABSTRACT

I apply a contextual analysis to the mortuary data of the Northwest Coast between ca.6000-1000 BP to show that there are visible temporal and spatial patterns relating to the ways males and females are represented in burials. I have collected and analyzed the data from 1044 individual burials from 45 burials sites from the north, south and central regions of coastal British Columbia. I examined variables including: burial mode; position of the body; type of interment and the types of grave goods in relation to gender and age groups. The differences between male and female burials are most reflected by the type of grave good(s) and the frequency and type of interment. Although there is no patterning among the burials from the Northwest Coast as a whole, gender-based differences in mortuary treatment are clearly evident within and between regions when the scale of analysis is reduced.

Acknowledgments

When I started this project I never realized how many people there would be to offer me guidance and support along the way. I will be the first to admit that I have been blessed by the support of my family and friends, the archaeological community and the Anthropology Department at McMaster.

First, I owe most of my thanks to my supervisor Aubrey Cannon, whose red pen I came to fear and love. But I am most thankful to him for taking me on as student and guiding me through my research. I would also like to extend thanks to my teacher and committee member, Andrew Martindale, whose comments and support were invaluable to my thesis. I would also like to thank Andrew for the drive to the CAA conference in Ottawa and for making it possible for me to participate in his research in Northern British Columbia. Laura Finsten is my third committee member to whom I would like to thank, for all of her encouragement and comments during committee meetings and while reviewing drafts.

Janis, Rabia and Rcsita have kept me in line, and always gave me something to smile about in the office. Since Janis has answered the overwhelming majority of my questions while at McMaster, I owe an extra thanks to her. I would also like to thank Dr. Matt Cooper for inviting me to participate in speaking arrangements on behalf of the department and Dr. Mane Arratia for inviting me to speak to her fourth year students. As well, I would like to acknowledge my fellow grad students and the editorial staff of *Nexus: The Canadian Student Journal of Anthropology*.

I would also like to acknowledge the support of Dr. Jerome Cybulski at the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Without his assistance, insightful comments and data I would not have been able to compile a successful sample. Dr. Gary Coupland at the University of Toronto for allowing me to participate in his excavations in Prince Rupert in the summer of 2002. Trevor Orchard and 'Limpy' for sharing the ride to Prince Rupert, and my friends Farid Rahemtulla and Karyn Emmons for providing accommodations along the way.

I would also like to say thank you to Angus McKillop, Jeremy Boles, Rich Simon, David Keir and Shareif Mahmoud for technical support, layout, graphics, and MS Excel tutorials. I also would like to thank my roommates, Sarah Barber, Lisa Inglis and Barry McIntyre because they keep my spirits up.

Most importantly I have to thank my family. My Grandmother and Grandfather have always supported my education and are always willing to help when I need it. My younger brother Andrew is my inspiration, and my Mom is my rock. For my dad, William Burchell, I will always remember his love and encouragement. Thanks to my friend Andria Hoda who always understands. Last but not least, my bestest friends ever, Jessica McKillop and Ruth Silver, here's to you, because without you I'd never get to have any fun.

Thank you.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

The interpretation of individual and community identity in prehistoric Northwest Coast burials has traditionally been rooted in the identification of rank and status. Gender representation has taken a secondary role in the interpretation of identity in Northwest Coast burial studies. In neglecting gender-based differences, the degrees of variability in the style of burial, position of the body and types of grave goods are interpreted with the same meanings for men, women and children.

I apply a contextual analysis to the mortuary data of the Northwest Coast to show there are temporal and spatial patterns relating to the ways males and females are represented. I argue that a contextual approach produces more insightful interpretations based on how individuals are represented in cemeteries through time and space, at both regional and local levels. My interest is in gender-based research and how burial modes, such as the position of the body, type of interment, types of grave goods and burial inclusions vary between males and females. I examine the way males and females from different age groups are represented in regional and temporal divisions on the Northwest Coast to look for indicators of differential burial treatment.

I compiled data from a total of 1044 individuals from 23 cemeteries and 25 non-cemetery interments dating to between 6000 and ca. 1000 years BP, and undertook an analysis of all burials with respect to variables such as age, sex, position of the body, type of interment and grave goods. I have also analyzed the data on a regional level focusing on the geographical boundaries of the north, central and south coast (Figure 1). Since

“[c]ombining cemeteries from different regions can increase the sample size but [is] likely to obscure local trends if regional variability in the timing and direction of trends is pronounced” (Cannon 2003:18), I have also examined data from five cemeteries that are representative of their regions (north, central or south). These have significant populations, span a chronological period of over 2000 years, and have age and sex data. They comprise the following sites: False Narrows (DgRw 6) (Burley 1989), Pender (DeRt 1 and DeRt 2) (Carlson in Wright 2000), Namu (ElSx 1) (Curtin 1984), Boardwalk (GbTo 31) (Cybulski n.d) and Lachane (GbTo 33) (Cybulski n.d) (Figure 2). Their analysis showed significant differences in the representation of males and females, position of the body, type of interment, and the types of grave goods between the northern and southern populations.

In this thesis, I question how patterns in burial modes are determined, and what these patterns tell us about the actions and events that occurred within the cemeteries. These questions will be answered through an exploration of mortuary variability. I address the following issues relating to observations in my discussion: the presence of a relatively equal distribution of males and females in the overall population versus individual cemetery populations, the different types of grave goods that are related to age and sex; the position of the body and type of interments that are associated with males and females and the presence of rocks and ochre in Northwest Coast burials. I have examined all of these burial elements through time and space to look for any patterns that indicate gender-based differences in burial mode. Though sex and gender are interactive, sex represents the biological divisions between men and women based on genetics and

physical characteristics, whereas gender is a division of the two categories of masculine and feminine based on biology and environment. Gender is expressed socially and is the basis for the sexual division of humans into males and females (Minion 1987 iii, 5). Since gender is difficult to observe in the archaeological record (Wylie 1991 31) the interpretations of the gender identity of the individuals in my thesis is based upon their biological sex.

The primary goal of this thesis is to apply a contextual analysis to the data to gain access to patterns and meanings that show how males and females are represented in Northwest Coast burials. Another goal is to assess what dimensions of mortuary variability contribute to the representation of identity. In essence, I will question how individuals, and specifically their gender identities, are represented over time and through space.

Previous studies of Northwest Coast burials have been based on an analytical approach. To illustrate the differences between past approaches and my own, I will define the contextual and analytical approaches, and provide examples to further illustrate their theoretical and methodological differences.

Analytical and contextual approaches are both systematic analyses of data, however, it is in the process of interpretation and the way archeologists seek the meanings within their data where the differences occur. Whereas a contextual approach weaves different dimensions of variables, and uses data to develop flexible and multiple layers of individual meaning (Hodder 1999 129), the analytical approach relies heavily on systematically correlated attributes that identify individuals within a group identity, such

as class membership (Clarke 1968:21). Approaches to analysis that are considered analytical are concerned with the organization of data to form systems of classification based on the attributes of material culture (Clarke 1968:13). As defined by David Clark, in his book, *Analytical Archaeology*, this approach has three significant elements that are to be employed by the archaeologist:

First, the definition of the fundamental entities that pervade the diverse material, their elements, structures and patterns, the processes that operate on them, and the effects of the process on the entities in the dimensions of space and time . . . Second, the search for repeated similarities or regularities in form, function, association, or developmental sequence amongst the particular entities from every area, period and environment. Third, the development of higher category knowledge or principles that synthesize and correlate the material at hand whilst possessing a high predictive value. The development of increasingly comprehensive and informative general models and hypotheses (Clarke 1968:20)

One result of the analytical approach, especially in mortuary archaeology is the way the data are organized in 'classes' In analytical archaeology, this translates the interpretation of data into social classes and rank. This occurs when the 'similarities', or patterns in the burial data are associated with certain social classes, such as high or low status.

In contrast to the principals of analytical archaeology, contextual archaeology does not seek to identify similarities between objects to create categories of meaning Contextual archaeology has been defined by Hodder as the examination of particular meanings of material culture, and how they are understood in relation to individual situations, as well as groups of situations (Hodder 1986:123) Hodder identifies two types of meaning that are the foundations for contextual archaeology They are the structured system of functional inter-relationships and the structured context of ideas and

symbols (Hodder 1986:123) Further in his explanation of contextual analysis, Hodder emphasizes the importance of weaving together different levels of data to form multiple scales of analyses (Hodder 1999:129). Regarding material culture and its role in contextual archaeology, he states that.

Each object exists in many different dimensions at once, and so where the data exist, a rich network of associations and contrasts can be followed through in building up towards an interpretation of meaning. The totality of the relevant dimensions of variation around any one object can be identified as the context of that object (Hodder 1986 143)

Hodder's definition of contextual archaeology also recognizes that the mode of analysis does not only rely on the interpretation of similarities and differences found in the patterns produced by the data. The analysis also includes a process of trial and error, where different theories are applied to see which ones most complement the data (Hodder 1986 145)

...[t]he boundaries around a group of similarities (such as cultural unit) do not form the boundaries of the context, since the differences between cultural units may be relevant for an understanding of the meaning of objects *within* each cultural unit. Rather, the boundaries of the context only occur when a lack of significant similarities and differences occurs (Hodder 1986 143)

The significance of the relationships between the similarities and the differences in data is one of the ways in which the data are 'woven' together, to form a more contextualized understanding of the events and agents. This produces an interpretation of the data that is more reflexive and not constrained within the boundaries of the questions originally posed by the archaeologist. There is also a focus on the actions of individuals and the agents responsible for "individual decision making and the long-term process" (Cannon

2002:191). The relationships between individuals, specifically between the living and the dead are acknowledged as they are translated in burial practice

In my application of a contextual analysis to the Northwest Coast, I have combined several aspects of Hodder's definition. To create multiple scales of analysis, I have examined groups of burials within three separate dimensions. The first dimension is the total collective of burials (1044), the second is within their respective region (north, central, south), and the third is the five cemeteries previously mentioned. This enabled me to compare results of the 'local' and regional data to that of the entire coast. I have also divided each spatial dimension (all burials, regional burials, cemetery burials) into temporal intervals of 1000 years and looked at the possible changes in gender representation within the regions over time. In doing so, I am able to acknowledge the context of the burials in terms of the dynamics of local traditions and the engagement of individuals between the living and the deceased. By examining the data at different scales, such as the regional areas and local traditions, it is apparent that there are patterns in the mortuary data relating to gender and age. These do not necessarily define social status, or taxonomic classes of individuals, but rather individual identity and how individuals are represented in mortuary ritual.

Examples of contextual analyses on burial populations are studies by Cannon (1989), Barrett (1988), Pader (1982), Stoodley (1999), Robb (1994) and Chapman (2000). In these approaches, burials are interpreted on an individual scale, which positions them in relation to one another, as opposed to a larger cultural framework. Pader's (1982) study of mortuary remains demonstrated that it is extremely difficult to make status

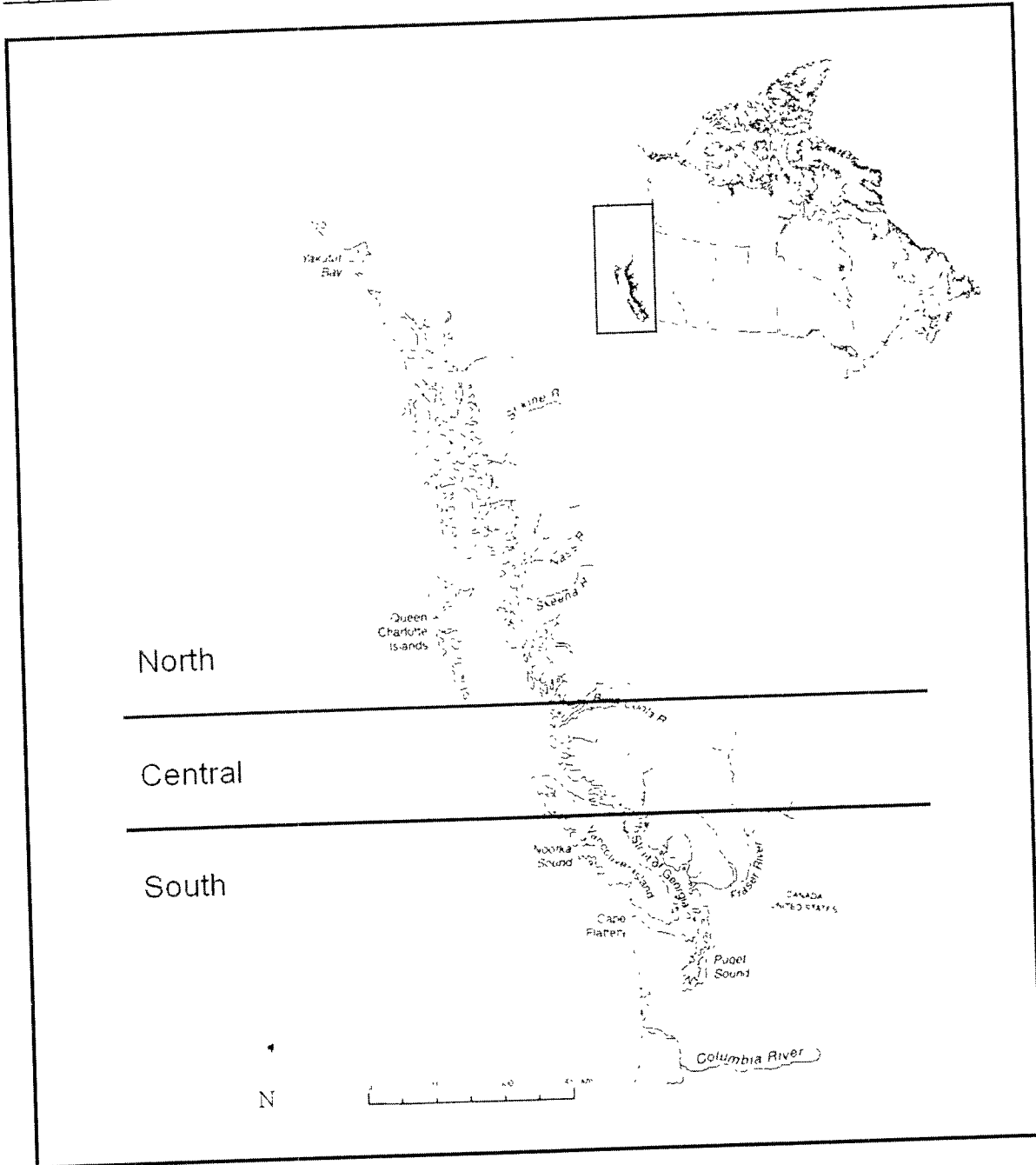
interpretations based on the quantity or diversity of grave inclusions (Cannon 2003:15) Robb's (1994) methodology stresses that burials "cannot be understood simply by one or a few characteristics, but rather as a configuration of characteristics – formal patterns, scope, intensity – which come into and out of focus according to the particular cultural logic of different periods" (Robb 1994:29). In Chapman's analysis of mortuary ritual in Hungarian prehistory, he questions how males, females and children are represented both locally and regionally. By examining both individual and group representation he concludes that few of the local characteristics are related to regional patterning (Chapman 2000:186). Chapman's results are based on the use of multiple-levels of data to explain the individual and group identities, and how they can be seen through time and space.

Contextual studies of mortuary practices do not necessarily represent the individuals as they themselves appeared within society, but rather, they express how they were perceived within society at the time of death, because "the dead do not bury themselves" (Parker Pearson 1993:203). Therefore, a contextual analysis recognizes that burials are not reflections of the social structure or social complexity of the group. It also acknowledges that burials are not necessarily reflective of the deceased individual's social status or rank (Barrett 1988:181). The mortuary ritual is a representation of individual identity as expressed through the actions of the group.

This approach to mortuary analysis differs significantly from the analysis typically applied in the study of Northwest Coast burials. This is because the contextual approach is localized and adheres to a specific temporal and cultural context, with a focus on the individual rather than the 'rank' of the individual within the group. In this thesis, I

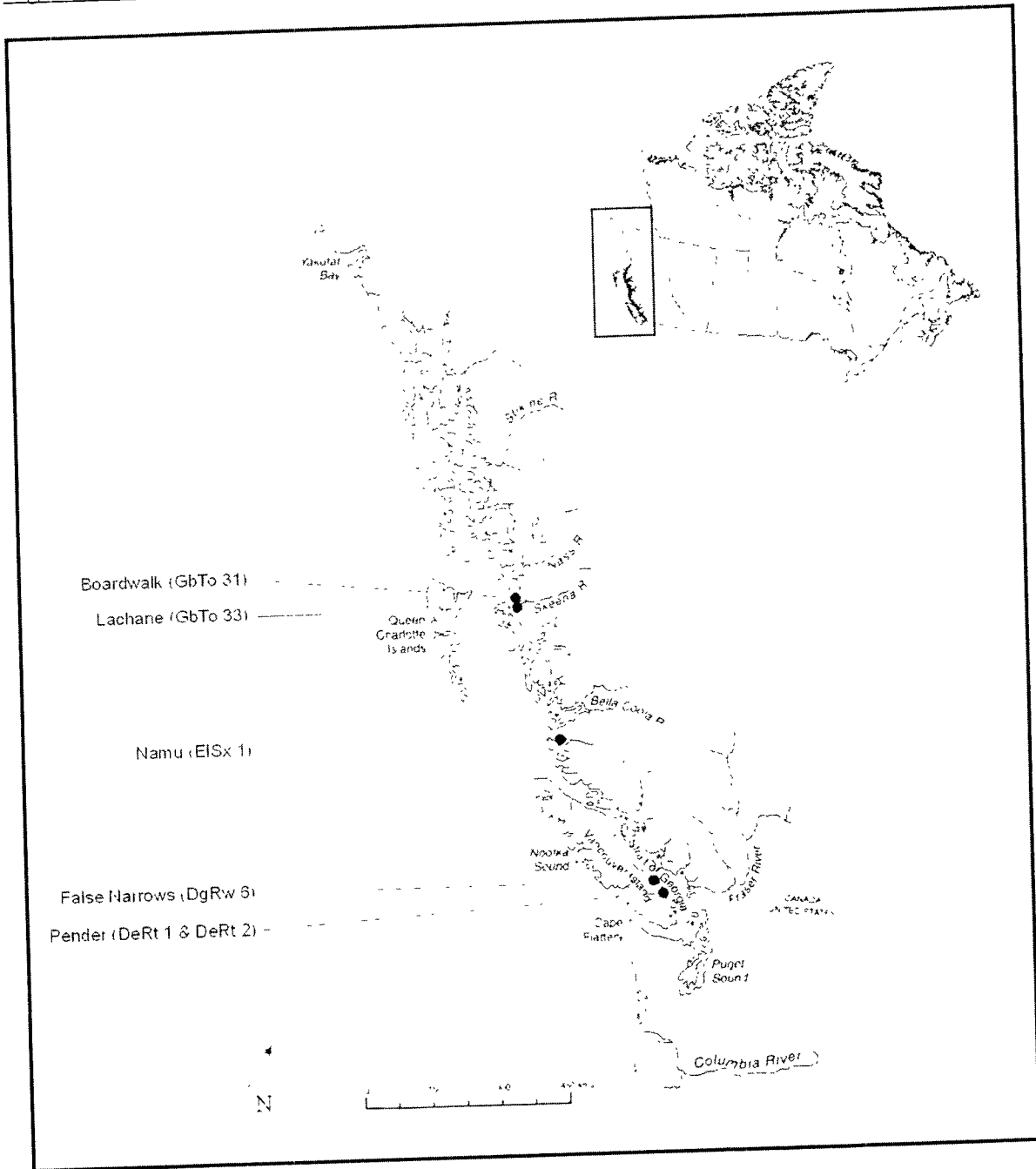
do not intend to provide any conclusive answers as to what is being represented through group action, the possible presence of ranking in the burials, or individual identity, but rather provide a new interpretive mode for Northwest Coast burial data. In this form of mortuary interpretation, I will show how the identities of males and females are expressed over time and space.

Figure 1 – Map of the Northwest Coast Showing Regional Boundaries¹



¹ The maps used for Figure 1 and Figure 2 are modified from Donald 1997.

Figure 2 – Map of the Northwest Coast Showing Sites used in the Contextual Analysis



Chapter 2 – Past Approaches to Northwest Coast Mortuary Analysis

Past approaches to Northwest Coast mortuary analysis have been, for the most part, based on the theoretical frameworks of Binford (1971), Saxe (1971) and Tainter (1978). These approaches to the interpretation of burial data focus on creating an understanding of the social structure of the population through the analysis of mortuary variables, such as grave goods and burial mode in association with age and sex. A significant element of this theoretical framework is the application of ethnographic analogy and cross-cultural comparisons to understand the nature and the structure of burial populations. Northwest Coast burial analysis has developed under the assumption that Northwest Coast societies were ranked, therefore ranking will be visible in the burials. A common assumption has been that burials with a high quantity and quality of grave goods were individuals with high social status. This theoretical basis has led to interpretations that overlook social agents and focus on the relative status or rank of individuals in the burial population.

The interpretation and identification of rank in Northwest Coast burials did not begin with contemporary archaeologists. Some of the first observations of coastal burial practices noted that rank was present and visible in the burials. In reference to his observations of cairn burials in the Gulf of Georgia, James Deans in the *Victoria Colonist* wrote that the larger stone cairns “were those of chiefs” (Deans 1871). Wilson Duff identified an ‘unusual burial’ in 1955 at the Whalen Site. He stated that

One assumes that this was the grave of a carver². He was placed fully flexed and on his right side, in a shallow grave. His beaver-tooth cutting tool and a spare tooth were placed on or near his hands (perhaps in a pouch?), and his stone knife was placed on his side (Duff 1955: 69).

Through observations of sex, age, mode of burial and accompanying grave goods the 'status' or social role of the individual was identified. Preliminary observations may grant a superficial interpretation of the identity of the deceased, however, it is these types of assumptions that have limited the scope of analysis for the understanding of coastal mortuary practices.

In contemporary Northwest Coast archaeology there is a preoccupation with attempting to identify high versus low status individuals in prehistoric burials or to assert that particular burials are those of 'high status' individuals. The study of burials at the False Narrows midden by Burley (1989), for example, set a precedent, which was followed by other archaeologists such as Brown (1996), Thom (1992) and Wright (2000) who all examined relative status in burial populations. This was achieved through the analysis of age and sex in relation to the quantity and quality of grave goods, and the identification of diagnostic status markers. In this method, status is conditional upon the presence of grave goods, and therefore individuals (specifically females and infants) without grave goods are seen as having an inferior status to their male counterparts. Other status markers identified from ethnohistoric data are body modifications, such as fronto-occipital and lambdoidal cranial deformation in the Gulf of Georgia and medial

² From ethnographic data, carvers were considered to be high status individuals (Ames and Maschner 1999: 164)

and lateral labrets in the north. These markers are also used in conjunction with the analysis of grave goods to determine social rank. As this thesis will demonstrate, the way grave goods have been used to infer rank is often misleading. The majority of Northwest Coast burials do not have grave goods, and grave goods that are most frequently observed are utilitarian tools (bone tools) and are often fragmented or in questionable association. In respect to body modifications, cranial deformation is difficult to observe in fragmented and/or disarticulated remains. For labrets, their identification is contingent upon the observation of the actual labret, or labret-wear facets on the lower anterior teeth. As with cranial deformations, observations of labret wear may be difficult if the skeletal remains, specifically teeth, are not present or well preserved. There are some burials that are very ornate, and their grave goods could be indicative of an individual with significant status, but this is a very small proportion of the overall population. However, because an individual has ornate grave goods, it does not solely mean that they were high status. To assume this simplifies their identity.

Past interpretations relied on cross-comparisons of variables such as gender, grave goods, and status markers (e.g. dentalia, copper, cranial deformation and labrets). When status markers appear, especially with grave goods, it was assumed that status was present within the burial population, and the burials within the population, are 'ranked' based on such variables. Burials of men, women and children were all 'ranked' by the same criteria for identifying status. As noted by Cannon with respect to Anglo-Saxon burials. "All recent [mortuary] studies agree that there is little if any basis for direct comparison between the grave goods of men and women" (Cannon 2003:15). By

employing the same standards to rank male and female burials on the Northwest Coast. females have consistently been placed at a significantly lower social position than males. The recognition of gender differentiation based on social identity (i.e. gender), and not status should also be applied to the data of the Northwest Coast.

However, it is the incorporation of ethnohistoric data into burial interpretations that has most influenced the presupposition of rank and status in burials. Since ethnohistoric data have shown a three-tiered system of rank, consisting of nobles, commoners and slaves was in place at the time of European contact (Drucker 1939, Suttles 1958, Donald 1997), the idea of 'visible rank', rank which can be identified by the presence of grave goods and/or body modification(s), has been imposed on the burials pre-dating contact. The use of ethnohistoric data to supplement archaeological data is one of the foundations of Binford's methodology. As discussed by Martindale (1999), the use of ethnographic analogy for the Northwest Coast creates a teleological interpretation. He states that archaeological data have been used to "demonstrate the existence of ethnographic analogues in the past rather than to test the accuracy of the ethnographic data" (Martindale 1999: 11). In doing so, archaeologists have attempted to reconstruct pre-contact societies with post-contact ethnography (Martindale 1999:7). However, if ethnographic data are used on a particular scale, and not to interpret a general pattern it can enhance the interpretation without imposing basic generalizations about the area.

One consideration in the use of ethnohistoric data, specifically regarding burials, is that the majority of information pertaining to mortuary ritual was collected in the southern area, and cannot be reflective of the traditions of the central and northern coasts.

Therefore, it is questionable whether or not the ethnohistoric record is a reliable source for the interpretation of pre-contact, and especially early burials.

The scope of Northwest Coast mortuary analysis has been limited by a pre-occupation with the identification of rank and high status individuals in the cemeteries. Brown (1996), Burley (1989) and Thom (1992) in their interpretation of southern coastal cemeteries all seek to identify social status among the burials, and then further assume the individuals represented in their burial sample reflect their social position prior to death. Wright (2000) also seeks to identify rank in her interpretation of pre-historic and historic burials.

Burley's (1989) analysis of the False Narrows Midden (DgRw 6) identifies two rank-based identities in the burial population—high and low status individuals. This was based on the assumption that individuals with ascribed status are present in the cemetery. He concludes that there are three 'obvious' status groups because of the results of the associated artifact values that were compared with age and sex (Burley 1989:62). He identifies artifacts which are indicative of high-status burials, for example, "[d]entalia is a direct indicator of status" (Burley 1989:60), and further explains that grave goods represent status variables for prehistoric Coast Salish society (Burley 1989:59). He states that objects of ritual paraphernalia (dance costumes), or material wealth (copper, dentalia) are direct indicators of high social status, and therefore, burials with these types of artifacts represent individuals of the highest status in the cemetery (Burley 1989:59-60, 62). Burley uses an analysis of sex and age in relation to grave goods to determine rank, however, this does not account for the possibility of differential treatment of males and

females in a burial context. It works under the assumption that both sexes would receive the same treatment if they belonged to the same rank. In this method of analysis females appear to be of considerably lower status than males. This is because the overall quantity of grave goods is higher in males, and quantity is seen as an indicator of status. An interpretation of gender-based grave goods is absent from the study, and therefore, Burley concludes that the perceived high-value grave goods appear more frequently with males. However, when a gender-based analysis is applied to the data, the proportion of males and females considered high status because of their quantity of artifacts are relatively equal. Of the nineteen³ individuals that Burley identified as high status, nine are males and eight are females.

Brown identifies two social strata in his M A thesis based on the analysis of the burials at the Somenos Creek site (DeRw 18). His data consist of fourteen individuals, seven of whom have grave goods⁴ and seven that do not. His conclusions regarding social strata are based on the presence or absence of grave goods, ethnohistoric data, as well as Burley's theory that False Narrows was also a high status burial ground (Brown 4:1996). However, a critical examination of the data shows that the condition of the skeletal material is very poor (Brown 26.1996), therefore, sex and age analysis is unavailable for eight individuals. An ethnohistoric mark of high status is the presence of cranial deformation, and any form of cranial deformation cannot be fully observed in this sample. Brown identified 'high status' individuals in burial mounds in the Gulf of

³ Only one of the nineteen high status individuals was not given sex estimation.

⁴ Only five of the seven individuals have ornamentation. The other individuals are buried with single tools.

Georgia region from grave goods in the cairns. However in the sample he studied, the individuals *without* grave goods display more variation in their type and form of burial. Also, burials with grave goods contain multiple individuals and are pit burials, as opposed to the box, slab and cairn burials that are associated with the individuals without grave goods. If the standards for identifying high status were based upon mode of burial, then Brown would have to conclude that the individuals with *no grave goods* and cairn or box burials were of higher status than the multiple-pit burials with beads and tools.

In his study of burial mounds in the Gulf of Georgia region, specifically the Scowlitz site (DhRl 16), Thom (1992) uses mortuary practices and the burial mounds dating between 1500 and 1000 years ago to question the origins of social classes documented by Coast Salish ethnographers (Thom 1992: 3). Although the central focus of his thesis is the transition from rank-based to class-based social stratification, he presupposes that 'rank' will be seen in mortuary practices. He states that "[t]he symbols represented in these burials perpetuate the ideology of social class" (Thom 1992: 14). It should be noted, however, Thom is using stone cairns as his symbol of status, and he does not include an analysis of other possible indicators of status, such as type of burial or grave goods. Cairns occur in almost all southern cemeteries over a 5000 year period. These data alone do not link actions 1500 years before present to observations of ethnographers. It cannot provide a basis for stating that the changes in mortuary ritual at the Scowlitz site support the idea that "social classes emerged when mound and cairn mortuary practices were abandoned" (Thom 1992: 44).

In her M.A. thesis, Wright proposes that all individuals were subjected to differential burial treatment (Wright 2000:1). She examines the burial data from a regional perspective looking at the southern, central and northern populations. Wright does not examine changes in these burials over time, and summarizes all of her data into two time periods, historic and pre-historic. Her database consists of the earliest known prehistoric burials to those from the post-contact era (a total of 991 burials). In her conclusions, she provides an interpretation of the statistical distribution of the population in relation to age and sex. However, an analysis based upon the ethnographic record attempts to characterize the social status and class of the burials in relation to gender (Wright 2000:91). She has four main conclusions in her thesis. The first is that there are no patterns in grave type and body position in relation to gender and age. The second is that there are low percentages of infants and children with inclusions, except in the Gulf of Georgia area. Third, there is little difference between the percentages of male and female burials with grave goods for the entire coast. The final conclusion is that there are low percentages of infant and child remains in the prehistoric period (Wright 2000: 58-59). My data produce very similar results to those of Wright in the analysis of all the burials, without the consideration of spatial or temporal variability. However, in my contextual analysis, I have found significant differences between northern and southern cemeteries in the distribution of female and male graves with grave inclusions, and in the form and type of burials.

Ames and Maschner (1999: 180-184) also use an analytical foundation for the interpretation that rank, and specifically high status individuals are present in Northwest

Coast burials The chapter on status and ritual in their text, *Peoples of the Northwest Coast* (1999) explicitly states that: “[b]urials and mortuary ritual are among the best sources of such evidence [for measuring status archaeologically]” (Ames and Maschner 1999:181). One of their foundations for the identification of high status individuals is the presence of labrets in the north and cranial deformation in the south (Ames and Maschner 1999:182). Their text also states that in the south “three times as many males as females have grave goods with them indicating a strong male bias in access to higher status in the Middle Pacific [ca 3000 BP], in contrast with the Early Pacific [ca 5000 BP]” (Ames and Maschner 1999:188). They claim “the same basic patterns are also present on the northern coast at this time” (Ames and Maschner 1999:188). My analysis of the data does not support the statements of Ames and Maschner. In the south females and males have an equal grave goods distribution, and the north has a drastically different pattern in both demographics and grave good distribution. It is not possible to compare northern and southern burials at ca. 5000 BP because there are only four southern burials and no northern burials dated to that period. In their analysis of burials, Ames and Maschner employ the same methodology as Burley to identify status through observations of the distribution of grave goods across gender and age categories that “show strong degrees of ranking” (Ames and Maschner 1999:188). By again using a methodology that is biased towards male burials (because of the presupposition that males will have higher status), and contingent upon the relationships between sex and grave goods the interpretation can only examine [possible] social status, and not mortuary variability.

Although Ames and Maschner do not discuss variability between sites, or variability between individuals within cemeteries, their discussion indicates that certain grave goods can be identified as high status because of their rarity and significance. Specifically, these items are: copper acquired in southern Alaska, nephrite celts traded from southeastern Alaska to Oregon, dentalium from the west coast of Vancouver Island, and amber from unknown origins (Ames and Maschner 1999:171). Also in their list of high status grave goods are shell beads, ground-stone beads, carved pendants, scallop shell rattles, lanceolate flaked-stone points, large ground stone points, earspools and earrings, shell bracelets, carved-brow bands, whale bone clubs and zoomorphic objects (Ames and Maschner 1999:181). However objects with zoomorphic designs, scallop shell rattles, carved pendants, and earspools occur only *once* in the entire sample of 1044 prehistoric Northwest Coast burials⁵.

Recent interpretations of burials that have not been primarily focused on the identification of rank have come from physical anthropologists. Cybulski (1992) examines the northern cemetery at Greenville, and though the focus of the study is not the identification of rank, he supports the idea that the individuals represented at the Greenville site were of high status. He states "[a]ssuming that labrets were worn as indicators of status⁶, the situation⁷ could indicate that the burial site was limited to high

⁵ Although earspools, scallop shell rattles and objects with zoomorphic designs are extremely rare in burials, these artifact types have been recovered from other archaeological contexts.

⁶ Data from the ethnohistoric period indicates that labrets were indicators of high rank among the Nisga'a and other northern Northwest Coast groups and appear to have been a direct indicator of ascribed status through matrilineal descent (Collison 1981:175-176).

⁷ The situation refers to the fact that 75% of all observable females in the site exhibited dental labret abrasion facets. The remaining 25% of females could not be observed because of missing jaws or relevant lower teeth (Cybulski 1992:73, 129).

status individuals in the society and that commoners or low status people were buried elsewhere” (Cybulski 1992:73). Elderberry seeds also appear in sixteen of the fifty-seven burials at the Greenville site, and this potential food offering could also be considered an indicator of status because the Nisga’a and Tsimshian traditionally regarded elderberry as “rich food” (Cybulski 1992:74). Although Cybulski demonstrates that there is evidence of status indicators and rank, specifically the labrets and elderberry, he also provides alternate conclusions concerning the nature of the population because, “[c]ultural artifacts which might be interpreted as wealth or ritual objects were not associated with any Greenville burials” (Cybulski 2002:169). Cybulski’s analysis has provided two options for the identity of the burial ground, but again they are related to status

Cybulski’s conclusions also demonstrate how ethnohistoric data can produce conflicting interpretations. He states

The Northwest Coast ethnographic literature is, in fact, cursory and often confusing on the subject of Native burial practices with regard to mechanisms for disposing the dead. . The ethnographic record indicates there can be no concise statements about the historic and protohistoric periods as to specific forms of burials among different Northwest Coast cultural groups or local subgroups....(Cybulski 1993:28-29).

Cybulski has further explored the paleodemographic issues of the coast and how warfare, violence, and social structure influences mortuary practices (Cybulski 1994). However, it should be noted that the main focus of Cybulski’s work is not the application of archaeological theories or models to understand the nature of the burials, but rather an analysis of the physical anthropology of the Greenville burial site. This could account for Cybulski’s acknowledgement of multiple interpretations for the nature of burial

population because he is not restricted to evolutionary, or analytical models of coastal prehistory

The use of ethnohistory has influenced how archaeologists interpret grave goods and status markers. Madonna Moss has disputed Cybulski's interpretation of labrets at Greenville based on her own interpretation of the ethnohistoric record. She questions whether or not Greenville is a high-status burial ground because ethnographic and ethnohistoric data indicate the presence of labrets and labret-wear in women does not indicate ascribed status. According to Moss, labrets were not exclusively worn by high-ranking females, but by all free-persons on the coast (Moss 1996:81). The use of labrets demonstrates that the ethnohistoric record does not always indicate which types of artifacts can be considered 'high status'

There are several reasons why archaeological interpretations seek to identify social class or forms of rank. I have argued that it is partially because the models employed are based on Binford (1971) and Tainter (1978). They also employ analytical methods and do not acknowledge the complexity and fragmented nature of Northwest Coast burial data [see Chapter Three, 3.1 Data/Sample]. If these approaches continue to be applied to the Northwest Coast the same type of interpretation will continue to surface. This is because these models reinforce the idea that rank and status are apparent in all Northwest Coast burial populations. By using the method outlined by Binford, the taxonomic system of grouping individuals into classes will continue to produce status-based results that are contingent upon the presence or absence of grave goods and the supplemental use of ethnohistoric data. However, a contextual approach does not

automatically assume that rank or status can be identified. Rather, it seeks to explain the differences and similarities in and between cemeteries over time based on their own patterning. By focusing on an alternate mode of analysis, it becomes possible to question how and why rank has been seen in burials, especially when Northwest Coast burial data do not always support these interpretations. This mode of analysis does not discard the interpretation of rank in the burial population, because it is evident that stratification is present. This interpretation works in conjunction with the interpretations of rank to develop an alternate interpretation for the nature of the burial population, one that is not based in the identification of status.

Chapter 3 – Sample and Methodology

3.1 Data/ Sample

I have collected and synthesized data from a total of 1044 burials dating to ca 6000-1000 BP (Appendix A). The data have been retrieved from published sources, M.A. and Ph.D. theses, unpublished site reports, and personal communication with Jerome Cybulski at the Canadian Museum of Civilization. A summary of the burial population by regional distribution appears in Appendix B.

Although I have data for 1044 burials, I have chosen to study only those excavated from cemetery populations, a total of 965 individuals (Table 1a and 1b). The criteria for being considered a cemetery was that the burials had to be in a localized area that contained a minimum of ten individuals. To be included in the analysis of the cemetery populations (Chapter Four), there had to be sufficient analysis of the age, sex, and context of the burials, as well as a relative or absolute date for the individuals in the site. I chose to study burials in cemeteries for the following reasons. First, there are more data for cemeteries than for non-cemetery interments. Second, cemetery populations show more continuity because more individuals used them over an extended period of time. Therefore cemetery populations are more representative of a social group than an anomalous individual burial, or scattered human remains. These criteria exclude data from DgRw 199 and DgRw 204 on Gabriola Island (Curtin 2002), Scowlitz (DhRl 16) and Tsawwassen (DgRs 9 and DgRs 2) (Ham 1997; Stryd 1988, Arcas 1991) from parts

of the regional and contextual analysis, though these were catalogued and included in the overall analysis and discussion of the distribution of males and females over time and space. The 42 burials at the Scowlitz Site (DhR1 16), 136 burials from DgRw 199 and 11 burials from DgRw 204 are further excluded because excavations were not completed on the sites. Only four burials were excavated at Scowlitz. Therefore the total number of cemetery burials analyzed is 773.

The samples I used for a more detailed analysis of burial modes in Chapter Five are from five cemeteries: False Narrows (DgRw 6), Pender (DeRt 1 and DeRt 2)⁸, Namu (EISx 1), Boardwalk GbTo 31) and Lachane (GbTo 33). These were selected because they are examples of well-documented cemeteries in their regions. All five cemeteries have completed sex and age analyses, reports on the context of the burials, large populations that span a significant period of years, and descriptions of grave goods. The original data from Pender (Carlson in Wright 2000), Boardwalk and Lachane (Cybulski personal communication) are from unpublished sources, and their manuscripts are in possession of their respective authors. The data for Namu are from Joanne Curtin's 1984 M.A. thesis, and the data for False Narrows are from David Burley's 1989 publication.

Since I am creating a synthesis of existing data, there are some specific issues relating to dates that must be addressed. I have to assume that most of the radiocarbon dates are uncalibrated, though I acknowledge that some may be calibrated. There were 85 radiocarbon dates for the entire sample and 719 relative dates. The quality of reports and the way dates are expressed varies between regions. Data from the north coast,

⁸ The original data from Pender appear in Carlson's 1984 field report describing 38 burials from the Canal site DeRt 1 and DeRt 2.

specifically the Prince Rupert Harbour sites are uncalibrated collagen based radiocarbon age estimates (Cybulski 1996:65, Marsden 2001:102). These dates have yet to undergo statistical treatment and calibration (Cybulski 1992:229). Radiocarbon dates from the Greenville Site (GgTj 6) in the Nass River Valley are calibrated collagen age estimates (Cybulski 1992:228-229). Radiocarbon date estimates of the north coast are based on three different types of materials. Forty dates are collagen based, some are shell, but the majority are charcoal (Cybulski 1992:228). The dates for Blue Jackets Creek in Murray (1981) are not presented as radiocarbon dates, however Cybulski (1992:229) has noted that 12 radiocarbon estimates have been completed for Blue Jackets Creek and all but one of the estimates are between 3500 and 5500 BP (originally published in Severs *nee* Sutherland 1974). Murray's dates are 4300-2000 BP (Murray 1981), and I have maintained these dates separately from the Northern population, so the reporting discrepancies between Murray and Cybulski are not a factor in my temporal analysis of the North Coast. The radiocarbon dates from Namu were obtained from human bone and are presented as calibrated (Curtin 1984, Cybulski 1992:229).

The data for the south coast are available from 27 different sources. Dates from the south are presented as B.P., B.C., as well as dates expressed as culture phases, such as Marpole, Locarno Beach and Mayne. Inevitably, there are more differences in the quality of the reports, expressions of dates and methodologies for sex and age estimation than in the north and central coasts. There are 40 dates from 2 sites (Duke Point (DgRx 5) and the Hill site (DfRu 4)) that are expressed as B.C. dates. There were 133 dates from the south coast that were not given a numeric expression, but do have a date based on a

cultural sequence. Dates based on culture sequences are from Beach Grove (DgRs 1), Crescent Beach (DgRr 1), Helen Point (DfRu 8), Locarno (DhRt 6), Marpole (DhRs 1) and Willows Beach (DcRt 10). Given the crude temporal divisions I am using, the lack of uniform dates does not pose any serious problems for my interpretation.

3.2 Methodology

For my contextual analysis, I created multiple-scales of analysis by examining groups of burials within three separate spatial dimensions. The first dimension is the total collection of all 1044 burials. The second consists of the regional analysis between the northern and southern cemeteries. The third dimension is the cemeteries and the individuals within the cemetery.

I have divided each spatial dimension (all burials, regional burials, cemetery burials) into temporal categories of 1000 years. The categories are: 6000-5000 BP, 5000-4000 BP, 3000-2000 BP, 2000-1000 BP and ca. 1000 BP.

There were 145 burials in the cemetery category that did not have any dates. In this circumstance, if the burial was from a cemetery site, the average date of the cemetery was assigned to those burials without a date. For those burials with a relative estimate spanning several thousand years, the mean (\bar{x}) date of the cemetery was calculated, and the burial was placed in the appropriate date category. Using Pender as an example, a burial with the date 5000-1000 BP is $\bar{x} = 3000$ BP, and is placed in the category between 3000-2000 BP. The justification for this time period assignment is based not only upon the mean date of the cemetery, but also of the mean date of the region. There is a greater

likeliness that burials with a relative estimate fall into the mean time range for the region than into later or earlier periods. The only consequence of using means for temporal assignment is that I may be obscuring patterns in burials trends. However, if I were to evenly distribute the burials with relative estimates into different temporal categories there would be a greater risk of creating false patterns in the data. The temporal category I have assigned for each burial is recorded in Appendix A under the heading 'temporal category'. This was done for the following burials: 2/85 at False Narrows (DgRw 6), 60/90 at Pender (DeRt 1 and DeRt 2); 3/14 at Somenos Creek (DeRw 18), 6/22 at Baldwin (GbTo 36), 5/120 at Boardwalk (GbTo 31), 10/20 at Dodge Island (GbTo 18), 4/29 at Garden Island (GbTo 23); 15/59 at Greenville (GgTj 6); 30/70 at Lachane (GbTo 33), and 10/12 Parizeau Point (GbTo 30)

There were 149 burials that did not have an assigned date and I did not place them in a temporal category. This affects 1/1 individual from Cable Bay (DfRu 74), 1/1 burial from Ganges (DfRu 3), 136/136 burials from DgRw 199 and 11/11 burials from DgRw 204. These burials have been omitted from any temporal analysis.

Table 1a Number of Burials per Cemetery Sample in Temporal and Spatial Categories

	SOUTH	CENTRAL	QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLANDS	NORTH	TOTAL
ca. 1000	1	1	0	18	20
2000-1000 BP	141	4	0	100	245
3000-2000 BP	178	5	0	206	389
4000-3000 BP	45	0	28	11	84
5000-4000 BP	3	30	0	0	33
6000-5000 BP	0	2	0	0	2
TOTAL	368	42	28	335	773

Table 1b Number of Burials per Cemetery in Temporal and Spatial Categories

	SOUTH	CENTRAL	QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLANDS	NORTH
ca. 1000 BP	Pender (1)	Namu (1)		Boardwalk (4) Greenville (14)
2000-1000 BP	Duke Point (10) False Narrows (85) Hill Site (30) Pender (2) Somenos Creek (14)	Namu (4)		Baldwin (8) Boardwalk (19) Garden Island (12) Greenville (45) Lachane (15) Parizeau Point (1)
3000-2000 BP	Beach Grove (25) Crescent Beach (25) Glenrose (7) Long Harbour (22) Marpole (32) Pender (66)	Namu (5)		Baldwin (11) Boardwalk (95) Dodge Island (18) Garden Island (17) Lachane (54) Parizeau Point (11)
4000-3000 BP	Glenrose (11) Little Beach (17) Pender (17)		Blue Jackets Creek (28)	Baldwin (3) Boardwalk (2) Dodge Island (2) Lachane (4)
5000-4000 BP	Pender (3)	Namu (30)		
6000-5000 BP		Namu (2)		

Table 2 Non-Cemetery Burials in Temporal and Spatial Categories

	SOUTH	NORTH	TOTAL
No date	4	3	7
ca 1000	2	0	2
2000-1000 BP	38	2	40
3000-2000 BP	21	4	25
4000-3000 BP	7	0	7
TOTAL	72	9	81

The categories of male and female are used to identify gender because an individual's sex can be identified through the physical examination of the skeleton (see Ubelaker 1989). Within each sex category, I have also examined different age groups. Since I was using data from numerous sources and numerous authors, there were many differences in the ways age categories were expressed and in the methodologies used to obtain age-at-death estimations. The age categories that appear in Appendix A are fetus (in utero), infant (0 months – 4.5 years), child (4.5-10 years), juvenile (10 years – 15.5 years), sub-adult (15.5 years to 20.5 years), young-adult (20.5-30 years), adult (30-50 years) and older-adult (50+ years). In the analysis I have standardized the age groups so that there were three major categories: infant/child (fetus, 0 months, 10 years), juvenile/sub-adult (10 years – 20 years), and adult/older-adult (20 years +). I recognize that methodologies used to determine age of death for individuals vary between regions, and an accurate age estimate for an individual decreases with age (Miner et al 2000:176). I have compensated for this variability in data by the use of broad age categories to examine patterns of death. Again, as with the temporal distribution, this does not pose any problems for my interpretation of the demographic distribution of the cemeteries.

The position of the body and mode of interment were also examined in relation to age and gender categories. The body position is how the individual is situated within

the burial. These positions include flexed, semi-flexed and extended. The body position also examines the placement of the individual, i.e. whether they are in an upright seated posture; lying on their left or right side; face down or on their back. The body position category also includes bundle burials, where the individual is tightly flexed and wrapped.

The interment mode is the manner, or style in which the individual is buried. Interment mode categories included rock, cairn, box, slab, pit, cyst, and surface. Different archaeologists have used different terminology to define the type of the burial, and in most of the literature, definitions or descriptions of the type of burial were absent. Rock and cairn burials are very similar types of burial where there is a stone mound above the burial. The dimensions for the cairn burials were not provided in the literature, nor were there distinctions between stone and earth-mound cairns. Pit and cyst burials are also similar types of burial, as the individual is placed in a pre-dug hole, although pit burials tend to be closer to the surface (Burley 1988:52). Box burials are those where the individual is either preserved in a box, or the individual has conformed to the shape of a box and/or there is an outline of a box, similar to a food storage box (Cybulski 1992:60). Stone slab burials have one or more large stone slabs, or boulders placed directly on and/or above the individual (Burley 1988:52). Surface burials are those that are either exposed, partially exposed, or close to the surface of the earth. It was not clear from the literature whether or not surface burials were intentional burials that had become exposed over time. Also, the literature does not speculate as to whether or not surface burials could have been above-ground disposal of the dead [with the exception of Burley 1988:56]. Also included in the category of interment mode is the distinction between

individual and multiple burials. Multiple burials are those with the remains of two or more individuals intentionally buried together in the same space. Burials where one individual was interred with extra human remains but not a complete skeleton were not included in this category, nor were burials that had multiple individuals but were buried separately at different time periods. In most cases of multiple burials the individuals were entwined or intentionally buried beside each other. Unintentional multiple burials usually have the individuals simply piled atop or beside one another.

Grave goods were analyzed in association with individuals through their assigned age and gender categories. This was completed for all spatial and temporal dimensions. I defined grave goods as any human-made material culture that was included in the burial. Rocks, un-modified single animal bones and ochre were not included in the grave good category. However, large rocks/ boulders, groups of rocks and ochre were assessed in the contextual analysis of the five cemeteries presented in Chapter Five. I further divided the grave goods category to examine the presence of individuals with non-ornate grave goods versus individuals with ornate grave goods. I describe this category as ornamented burials. Ornamented burials are defined as individuals with multiple numbers of non-utilitarian grave goods and/or rare decorative artifacts. Individuals who do not meet the criteria to be considered ornate are most commonly buried with utilitarian items. Grave goods that were described as 'possible' or 'suspected' associations were not included in the analysis of grave inclusions, but their original descriptions of 'possible association' are recorded in Appendix A.

The types of grave goods were analyzed in the categories of 'utilitarian', 'decorative', 'animal remains', 'animal remains and decorative goods', 'animal remains and utilitarian goods', 'seeds' and 'other' (Table 3). Utilitarian grave goods were any artifact that was a tool, partial tool or an item that was not worn as an ornament, for example projectile points, ground stone and chipped stone tools, and bone and antler tools. Decorative grave goods included jewelry and ornamentation, such as pendants, necklaces and bracelets as well as large quantities of shell beads. Labrets and scallop shell rattles and native copper were also included in this category. Mammal, both land and sea, fish and bird remains were all counted in the category of 'animal remains'. Seeds were exclusive to the northern region. There were two categories of seeds identified, elderberry and 'seeds of unknown origin'. The category 'other' included unidentifiable items and miscellaneous items such as extra human remains.

I compared gender, location, and time period to the type and form of burial, and the presence of grave goods and ornamentation. This was completed for the total number of burials and for regional [north, central, south] cemetery burials [see Chapter Four]. I then compared these results to the contextual analyses of the five cemeteries (False Narrows, Pender, Namu, Lachane and Boardwalk) in Chapter Five to identify how males and females from different age categories in different time periods are represented.

Table 3 Grave Goods in Typological Categories

Decorative Grave Goods	Utilitarian Grave Goods	Animal Remains	Seeds	'Other'	Ornate
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shells (clam, dentalia, teredo) • Labrets • Pendants • Scallop-shell rattles • Amber, obsidian, native copper, mica • copper disc earrings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • bone tools (points, needles, daggers, harpoons, awls, knives) • antler • chipped stone tools (endscrapers, projectile points) • ground stone tools (hammer stones, slate knives) • 'whatzits' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • dog • fish • deer • sea otter • beaver • bear • sea mammal • mink • unidentified mammals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • elderberry • unidentified 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • extra human remains • wood plank sections • 'trophy skulls' • basket rim piece • ivory gaming pieces 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • multiple number of non-utilitarian artifacts, rare and ornamental artifacts • i.e. large quantities of beads in excess of 150, copper and amber ornaments

3.3 Problems with the Data

The nature and quality of the data range from descriptive reports of partial excavations and survey and incomplete analysis to complete excavation, interpretation and analysis. Provincial site permit reports do not always contain as much information as theses or published manuscripts and do not always have age and sex analysis and/or radiocarbon dates. Published sources from Burley (1989) and Cybulski (1992) have much more detailed discussion of the burials, and include the original context and condition of the remains, however, these types of sources were available for less than half the total sample of 1044 burials. Data from unpublished sources are subject to various systematic biases in reporting (Robb 1994: 30). This occurs specifically with the use of older site reports because the data from the reports may be out-dated or do not meet the current archaeological standards. Also, the data in site reports are not subject to peer-

review, and often the reports indicate that there needs to be further research, or a more accurate method of dating and sex estimation

Another problem is the issue of scattered human elements found at several of the sites. Cybulski has indicated which human burials are scattered remains (see Appendix A under 'notes'), however other sources have not always indicated the context of the remains, or if scattered human remains representing other burials were present. Burley (1989) indicates that scattered human elements may represent above ground burial (see Chapter Five). Cybulski has noted that frequent scattered human elements are likely disturbed, formerly intact interments because of their proximity to intact midden burials (Cybulski 1992, 1994:77-78). Disturbance of human burials in shell middens can result from animal activity, tree root growth, erosion, as well as ritual activity such as the retrieval of ancestral remains and burying the newly deceased (Cybulski 1994:78)

There are several methodological problems that may arise from using this type of material. First, there are limited means to verify the methods and results of the sex and age estimates of the skeletal material, especially from permit reports. Also, in cases of fragmented or scattered remains, the ability to accurately identify sex and age increases significantly. The methodology for sex and age estimation in the original sources was not indicated for the majority of the burials. Second, the original context of the burials and associated grave goods is not always recorded. Therefore, data on the condition of the remains and proximity and location of grave goods was limited in some cases.

Another methodological issue is the mean date-assignment of undated burials into temporal periods based on the mean date of the cemetery. The wide temporal ranges

given by the primary researchers (see 'Date' in Appendix A) can span several thousand years (i.e. Pender). However, since my temporal categories are broad, the implications for my chronological analysis are slight. This is because of the small sample sizes of the cemeteries, and the broad temporal divisions I am using.

Chapter 4 – Regional Analysis

In this chapter I discuss the results of the analysis from the three coastal regions and the mortuary characteristics of cemeteries in the northern and southern regions. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first part discusses the results of the temporal analysis for all 1044 burials from the south, central and north regions. Part two is a temporal and spatial analysis of the 773 individuals in twenty⁹ cemeteries in the southern and northern regions. Part three is a comparison of the data and results from the north and the south.

4.1 Analysis of Northwest Coast Burials

Table 4 Temporal Distribution of Northwest Coast Prehistoric Burials

	No Date	ca 1300 BP	2000- 1000 BP	3000- 2000 BP	4000- 3000 BP	5000- 4000 BP	6000- 5000 BP	TOTAL
Males	48	11	98	176	26	11	1	371
Females	44	6	75	121	24	13	0	283
Children	29	5	47	76	12	8	0	177
Unknown	36	1	106	37	30	2	1	213
TOTAL	157	23	326	410	92	24	2	1044

Males represent the largest proportion of burials at 36% (371/1044). The second largest category is females at 27% (283/1044). Sex estimates were not provided for the majority of infants and children. The total number of unsexed children and infants

⁹ This section only examines 20 cemeteries with a total of 773 individuals because four southern sites that technically meet the criteria for being considered a cemetery are omitted. Tsawwassen (ARCAS 1991, Stryd 1988, ARCAS in Thom 1995) has been omitted because the data are from several sites and reported by several different sources. Therefore, it is questionable whether or not these individuals comprised a cemetery population. DgRw 199 and DgRw204 on Gabriola Island and Scowlitz (DhRI 16) are omitted from the analysis of southern cemeteries because there were not excavated.

is 17% (177:1044) Where a sex estimate was provided for a child, it was counted as either a male or female. There were 213 older-adult/adult and sub-adult/juvenile individuals without sex identification representing 20% of the total (213:1044)

Although burials appear from 6000 to ca 1000 BP, the majority of coastal burials occur between 3000 and 2000 BP, followed by 2000 to 1000 BP (Table 4) Thirty-nine percent (410:1044) of burials are in the period 3000 to 2000 BP and 31% (326:1044) between 2000 and 1000 BP. Beginning at 6000 BP, there is an increase over time in the frequency of burials, as there are only a few burials in the earliest periods and a steady increase until the peak between 3000 and 1000 BP. After this period, there is a noticeable decline in the number of burials

Table 5 Temporal Distribution of All Coastal Burials with Grave Goods

	No Date	ca 1000 BP	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	5000-4000 BP	6000-5000 BP	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE of total # with grave goods (183)
Males	0	5	26	49	6	2	0	88	48%
Females	0	0	23	21	10	2	0	56	31%
Children	3	1	3	12	2	2	0	23	13%
Unknown	0	0	3	12	1	0	0	16	9%
TOTAL # with grave goods	3	6	55	94	19	6	0	183	100% 183
TOTAL # of burials	157	23	326	410	92	24	2	1044	
PERCENTAGE of total with grave goods	2%	26%	17%	23%	20%	25%	0%	18%	

Eighteen percent (183:1044) of burials have clearly associated grave goods, which is a small portion of the overall total (Table 5) The temporal distribution of grave goods indicates that the inclusion of grave goods was not a standard element of mortuary ritual in all time periods. Since there are more burials between 3000 and 1000 BP, there

are also more burials with grave goods. When the percentage of burials with grave goods is examined proportionally to the burials in each time period, a relatively consistent proportion of the burial population received grave goods.

Table 6 Temporal Distribution of All Coastal Ornamented Burials

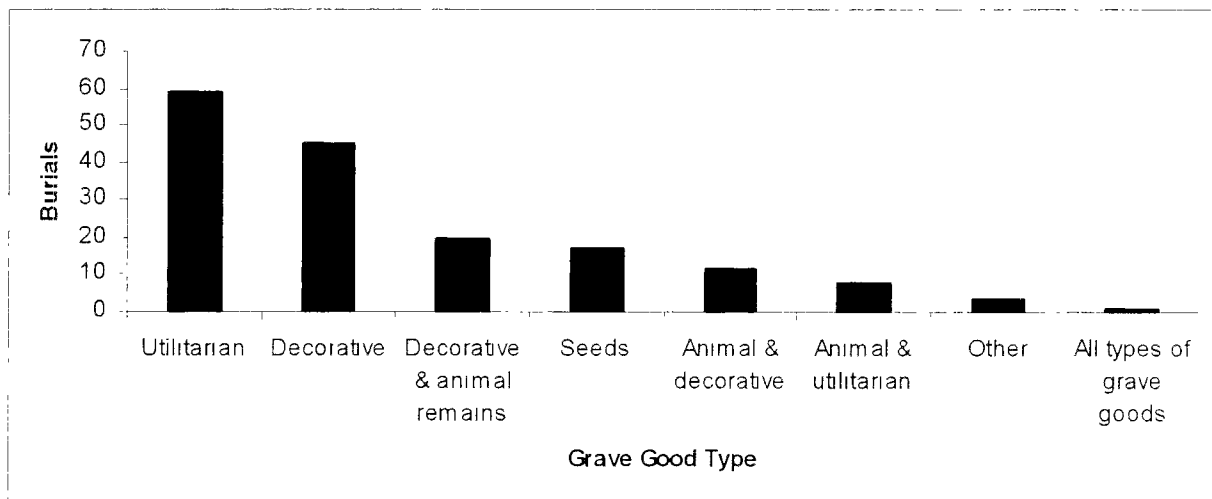
	No Date	ca 1000 BP	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	5000-4000 BP	6000-5000 BP	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE of total # with ornamentation (35)
Males	0	0	8	7	1	2	0	18	47%
Females	0	0	4	3	3	1	0	11	29%
Children	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	5	13%
Unknown	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	4	11%
TOTAL # with ornamentation	1	0	13	17	4	3	0	38	100%
TOTAL # of burials	157	23	326	410	92	24	2	1044	38
PERCENTAGE of total with ornamentation	0.6%	0%	4%	4%	4%	13%	0%	3.7%	

There are 38 individuals who meet the criteria for being considered an ornamented burial (Table 6). Only 2 burials in this category are not from cemetery sites, both are from Willows Beach (DcRt 10). Similar patterns in the composition of the population and grave good distribution are visible in the analysis of ornamented burials. There are three ornamented burials between 4000 and 5000 BP, all of which are from Namu. There are no ornamented burials after 1000 BP. Between the periods 3000 and 2000 BP there is a peak in the number of ornamented burials, and this trend continues throughout 2000 to 1000 BP. Between 3000 and 2000 BP there are 17 ornamented burials, and between 2000 and 1000 BP there are 13.

Over time, relatively consistent proportions of the burial population are receiving grave goods. This pattern occurs specifically between 3000 and 1000 BP.

Proportionally, between 3000 and 2000 BP, 23% (94:410) of all burials have grave goods, and between 2000 and 1000 BP 17% (55:326) have grave goods (Table 5). This pattern is also seen in the number of burials receiving ornamentation (Table 6). There is an increase at 4000 and a decrease at 1000 BP. The peak period of ornamentation occurs between 4000 and 1000 BP when the proportion of ornamented burials is 4% in each time frame, with the exception of the 13% at Namu between 5000 and 4000 BP. The ratios of ornamented burials in each time frame are as follows: 5000 to 4000 BP, 3:24 (13%), 4000 to 3000 BP, 4:92 (4%), 3000 to 2000 BP, 17:410 (4%) and 2000 to 1000 BP, 13:326 (4%). These results show there is a consistent proportion of the burial population receiving ornamentation in these periods even though the number of individuals being buried decreases. After 1000 BP, ornamentation in burials ceases.

Figure 3 Number of Burials Containing Different Types of Grave Goods in All Coastal Burials



burials. Males, females, children and individuals of unknown sex all have the highest occurrence of grave goods between 3000 and 2000 BP, followed by 2000 to 1000 BP. The only anomaly in the distribution of grave goods over time is the relatively high number of female burials with grave goods between 4000 and 3000 BP. There are 10 females with grave goods in this period, compared to 6 males and 2 children. This relatively high number of females with grave goods is directly related to the burials at Pender (DeRt 1 & DeRt 2) and this pattern is not observed in any other coastal cemetery, and is probably an effect of small sample size for this early period.

4.2 The South Coast

Cemeteries on the south coast were in use between 5000 and ca. 1000 BP. Located in the traditional Coast Salish territory in the Strait of Georgia (Cybulski 1994:76), the south coast is the region with both the largest number of cemeteries (11) and burials (368). The cemeteries in this region are: Beach Grove (DgRs 1), Duke Point (DgRx 5), False Narrows (DgRw 6), Somenos Creek (DeRw 18), Crescent Beach (DgRr 1), Glenrose Cannery (DgRr 6), Hill Site (DfRu 4), Little Beach (DfSj 100), Long Harbour (DfRu 44), Marpole (DhRs 1) and Pender (DeRt 1 and DeRt 2). There are a total of 557 burials when DgRw 199, DgRw 204 and Scowlitz (DhRl 16) are included. Since DgRw 199, DgRw 204 and Scowlitz have not been fully excavated or analyzed, they are not included in this section of analysis.

Table 7 Temporal Distribution of South Coast Cemetery Burials

	ca 1000 BP	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	5000-4000 BP	TOTAL
Males	0	45	58	7	0	110
Females	1	33	52	9	2	97
Children	0	20	38	8	1	67
Unknown	0	43	30	21	0	94
TOTAL	1	141	178	45	3	368

Forty-eight percent (178:368) of south coast burials occur between 3000 and 2000 BP, and 38% (141:368) between 2000 and 1000 BP (Table 7) After ca 1000 BP below ground burials cease. In the earliest period, ca 5000 BP, below ground burial is very infrequent. There is a slight increase between 4000 and 3000 BP before the peak period between 3000 and 1000 BP.

4.2.1 Age and sex in south coast cemeteries

Table 8 Age and Sex of South Coast Cemetery Burials

	Older-adult & Adult	Sub-adult & Juvenile	Children & Infants	Unknown Age	TOTAL
Males	85	20	5	NA	110
Females	85	7	5	NA	97
Children w/o sex identification	NA	NA	67	NA	67
Unknown sex	46	21	NA	27	94
TOTAL	216	48	77	27	368

In the south coast the ratios of males to females are almost equal for each age category (Table 8). Both adult/ older-adult females and males represent 23% (85:368) of cemetery burials. There is a slight difference in the gender distribution of younger age categories. Males are the majority of the sub-adult/juvenile category with 5% (20:368), and sub-adult juvenile females with 2% (7:368), it may also indicate sub-adult/ juvenile males are more likely to either be buried or die at that age than sub-adult/ juvenile females, but this is probably an effect of the small sample.

Twenty-one percent (77.368) are children/infant burials. The distribution indicates that there are a greater number of children than sub-adults and juveniles being buried for the population. Five percent of burials in this age category did not have sex identification; therefore there is the possibility that the sex results of the sub-adult-juvenile category are not representative of that demographic group. In the south coast whether or not one receives a burial does not appear to be conditional upon gender, as there are equal representations of both sexes in the age and sex categories.

4.2.2 Grave goods and ornamented burials in south coast cemeteries

Table 9 Temporal Distribution of Grave Goods in South Coast Cemeteries

	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	5000-4000 BP	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE of total # with grave goods (82)
Males	11	16	3	0	30	37%
Females	8	9	8	0	25	30%
Children	3	9	2	1	15	18%
Unknown	1	10	1	0	12	15%
TOTAL # with grave goods	23	44	14	1	82	100%
TOTAL # of burials	141	178	45	3	368	82
PERCENTAGE of total with grave goods	16%	25%	31%	33%	22%	

Only 22% (82.368) of south coast burials have definite grave good associations (Table 9), and of the 82 burials, 25 have ornamentation (Table 10). The distribution of grave goods is slightly in favour of males, however, there is only a slight percentage difference between males and females with grave goods. Thirty percent (25.82) of grave good burials are female, and 36% (30.82) are male.

Table 10 Ornamented Burials in South Coast Cemeteries

	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE of total with ornamentation (25)
Males	6	1	2	9	36%
Females	4	3	3	10	40%
Children	0	4	0	4	16%
Unknown	0	2	0	2	8%
TOTAL # with ornamentation	10	10	5	25	100%
TOTAL# of burials	141	178	45	368	25
PERCENTAGE of total with ornamentation	7%	6%	11%	7%	

The south coast is the region that has the most elaborate grave goods and the highest number of ornamented burials. Of the 37 burials with ornamentation in coastal sites, 25 are from the south. In the south the distribution of males and females with ornamentation are equal. Forty percent (10/25) of ornamented burials are female and 36% (9/25) are male. Children also received ornamentation but this was quite rare, as only 4 children are identified as ornamented, and 2 are from a multiple burial. This pattern in ornamentation indicates that individuals in all age groups and gender categories can receive ornamentation in their burials.

The majority of burials with grave goods appear in the same temporal periods as the greatest number of burials, therefore this discussion will focus on the periods between 3000 to 1000 BP. Although there is a peak in the number of burials during this period, grave good distribution compared to the distribution of ornamented burials indicates a shift in mortuary practices. Between 3000 and 2000 BP, 24% (44/178) of burials have grave goods, and only 6% (10/178) have ornamentation. Between 2000 to 1000 BP, there

are fewer burials with grave goods, 16% (23/141). However, 10 of the 23 burials with grave goods are ornamented, indicating that almost 7% of the burials population from this period received ornamentation. This is an increase of only 1% in ornamentation from the preceding period. The gender distribution of ornamented burials between 2000 and 1000 BP is still essentially equal. Males observed account for six and females four of the ten ornamented burials. There are also no children during this period who receive ornamentation, and there is only one child with any form of grave inclusion. This pattern indicates that between 3000 and 1000 BP the total number of individuals who receive a burial decreases as the number of individuals who receive ornate burials remains the same. It also indicates that ornamentation and possible grave goods between 2000 to 1000 BP are restricted to adult burials.

4.2.3 Grave good types in south coast cemeteries

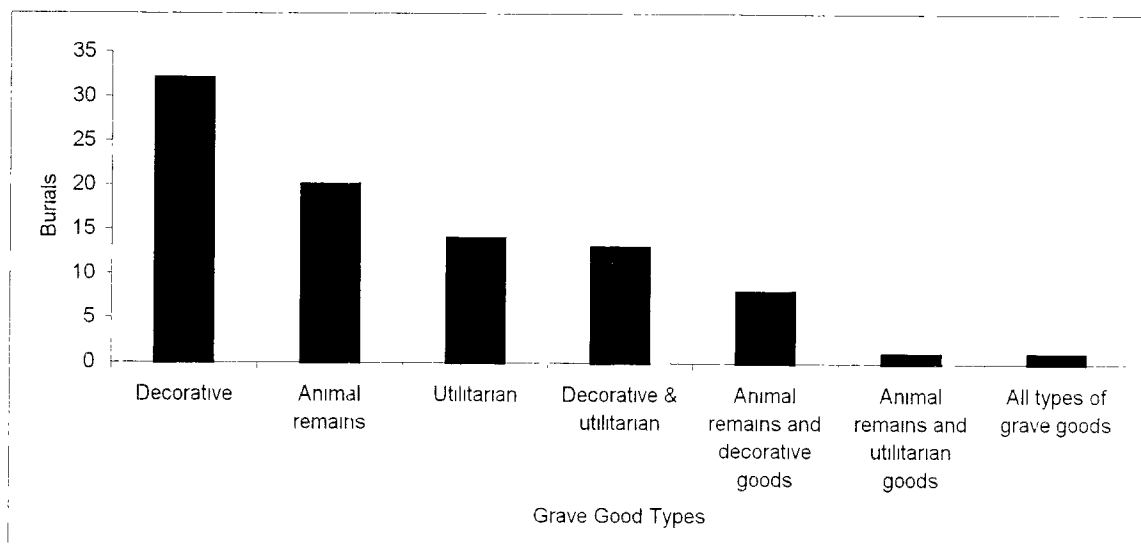
The south coast has much higher numbers of burials that receive decorative grave inclusions compared to the northern and central coasts, but other types of grave goods are present as well (Figure 4). As previously stated, decorative remains are the most frequently observed type of grave good. Forty burials have decorative inclusions, and of these, 32 individuals are buried exclusively with decorative goods. Types of decorative grave goods include: shell disc bead necklaces, pendants with zoomorphic designs, copper and mica fragments, scattered shells (dentalia, clam, teredo), labrets, whale bone armlets and carved bowls and spoons.

Burials with decorative inclusions are more frequently observed than burials with utilitarian inclusions. Females as opposed to males exhibit a greater tendency to

have decorative grave goods and children are also buried with ornamental remains. Males have a slightly higher occurrence of burials with utilitarian goods. Five males and 3 females have strictly utilitarian goods. Utilitarian goods in the south include abraders, ground slate points and bone weaving tools.

Burials with combinations of types of grave goods [utilitarian and decorative] show an identical pattern in terms of sex distribution to burials with exclusively utilitarian items. However, burials with utilitarian and decorative combinations were much more elaborate and contained a greater quality and quantity of grave goods than individuals buried with only one type of grave good. Ten of the 13 individuals with both types of grave goods have been identified as ornamented burials. There are no differences to indicate a gender-based pattern for the inclusion of both decorative and utilitarian remains.

Figure 4 Number of Burials Containing Different Types of Grave Goods in South Coast Cemetery Burials



Animal remains represent a significant proportion of grave goods. Thirty-five percent (29:82) of burials had animal remain inclusions and another type of grave good (either utilitarian or decorative), but only 24% (20:82) had strictly animal remains. Animal remains found in southern cemetery burials are: deer, mink, fish, bird, canid, elk and sea mammal. There are no differences to indicate if specific types of animal remains are associated with either males or females. Burials containing animal remains and decorative goods are much more common than the combination of animal remains and utilitarian goods. In both of these categories females show a much higher occurrence of burial with animal remains and either a decorative or utilitarian inclusion. There is only one individual in the south coast that has decorative and utilitarian grave goods as well as animal remains. It is a child from the Pender site (DeRt 1) dating from 3000 to 2000 BP.

There were several cemeteries that contained a limited type of grave good. Carved bowls and spoons are only found at Pender (DeRt 1 and 2). Teredo beads and dentalia are only found at False Narrows (DgRw 6). I discuss the distribution of these artifact types in Chapter Five.

Table 11 Counts of Grave Good Types in South Coast Cemeteries

	Sex	No date	ca 1000 BP	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	5000-4000 BP	6000-5000 BP	Total by gender	TOTAL
Decorative	Male			7	1				8	32
	Female			6	6	5			17	
	Child	0		3	2				5	
	Unknown			0	2				2	
	TOTAL	0	0	16	11	5	0	0	32	
Utilitarian	Male			1	3	1			5	14
	Female				1	2			3	
	Child				1	1			2	
	Unknown				4				4	
	TOTAL	0	0	1	9	4	0	0	14	
Decorative & utilitarian	Male			2	3				5	13
	Female			2	1	1			4	
	Child				2				2	
	Unknown				2				2	
	TOTAL	0	0	4	8	1	0	0	13	
Animal remains	Male			2	7	2			10	20
	Female				4				4	
	Child				3				3	
	Unknown				2				3	
	TOTAL	0	0	2	16	2	0	0	20	
Animal remains & decorative	Male				2				2	8
	Female				3	2			5	
	Child						1		1	
	Unknown									
	TOTAL	0	0	0	5	2	0	0	8	
Animal remains & utilitarian	Male									1
	Female				1					
	Child									
	Unknown									
	TOTAL	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	
Animal, decorative & utilitarian	Male									1
	Female									
	Child				1				1	
	Unknown									
	TOTAL	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	

4.2.4 *Body position and mode of interment in south coast cemeteries*

Table 12 Interment Modes for South Coast Cemetery Burials

	Rock/ cairn	Box burial	Pit/ cyst	Surface	TOTAL
Males	16	0	19	3	38
Females	13	0	22	0	35
Children	6	1	3	0	10
Unknown	5	0	6	5	16
TOTAL	40	1	50	8	99

Interment mode is recorded for 99 individuals. The modes most commonly seen in the south coast are pit/cyst and rock/cairn burials. Box and surface burials occur with much less frequency. There is no gender restriction for the mode of interment as males and females are observed in all forms. However, only males are described as surface burials, but as discussed in Chapter Three, these burials could also be interpreted as shallow pit burials. No patterns could be identified to indicate a preferential interment mode for any period. This results from two factors. The first is that there are not enough descriptions for modes of interment and the second is that this information is only recorded for 65% of the sample, therefore any conclusions regarding interment mode would not necessarily be representative of the entire region.

There are considerably more data pertaining to the position of the body for southern cemeteries (Table 13). Individuals appear predominantly in a flexed position. Extended, bundle and seated positions were also observed. However, there are no recorded south coast burials that exhibit the semi-flexed posture. There are also no indications of any gender-based burial treatment regarding the position of the body for flexed burials. Twenty-six percent (41/154) of flexed individuals are on their right side.

24% (37/154) are on their left. Five of the flexed individuals were observed on their back, and two were facing the ground. The orientation of the body was not specified for 45% (69/154) of flexed burials, only the degree of flexure. Only the seated position shows evidence of gender-based patterning. Ten percent (16/154) of the burials were seated. Seventy-five percent (12/16) of seated burials are female and only 12% (2/16) are male. All seated individuals are from Pender (DeRt 1 and 2). Therefore, there is only one site (Pender) where there are visible patterns differentiating male and female burial postures.

Table 13 Body Positions for South Coast Cemeteries

	Flexed	Extended	Bundle	Seated	TOTAL
Males	Left 14	4		2	71
	Right 19				
	Back 2				
	Front 1				
	Unspecified 29				
	TOTAL 65				
Females	Left 9			12	61
	Right 14				
	Back 2				
	Front 1				
	Unspecified 23				
	TOTAL 49				
Children	Left 10	1	1		24
	Right 5				
	Back 1				
	Front 0				
	Unspecified 6				
	TOTAL 22				
Unknown	Left 4		1	2	21
	Right 3				
	Back 0				
	Front 0				
	Unspecified 11				
	TOTAL 18				
TOTAL	Left 37	5	2	16	177
	Right 41				
	Back 5				
	Front 2				
	Unspecified 69				
	TOTAL 154				

4.2.5 Regional conclusions for south coast cemeteries

The temporal distribution of the data, specifically the types of grave goods, suggests several patterns of sex and age in south coast cemetery burials. In the period between 4000 and 3000 BP, there are only 14 (31%) burials with grave goods. Decorative and utilitarian items are the most predominant type of grave good, and it is very rare to have combinations of two types of grave goods. Also during this period, more females in *each artifact category* have more grave goods than males. Between 3000 and 2000 BP there is wider variety in the types of grave inclusions; all typological categories of artifacts are represented. This is also the period with the highest number of graves with inclusions (25%) and the largest number of burials. This trend in grave good types changes significantly after 2000 BP because there are only 2 burials with animal remains and no burials with animal remains and decorative or utilitarian goods. Also between 2000 and 1000 BP there is a larger proportion of the burial population being buried exclusively with ornamental goods as opposed to utilitarian items or animal remains. After 1000 BP there are no burials with grave goods in the south.

These data suggest three apparent patterns in the mortuary practices from 4000 to 1000 BP. The first is between 4000 and 3000 BP. Below ground burial was quite rare. Perhaps a consequence of there being only 46 burials from this period, females had more quantities of grave goods and received more elaborate mortuary treatments than males.

The second pattern suggests several possible social implications in mortuary ritual for the peak burial period, 3000 to 2000 BP. The first is that below ground burial is either accessible to a broader class range of individuals (such as commoners and elites) or

a larger number of a certain class of individuals (most likely elites) who could have changed the way they disposed of their kin. Alternatively, there could be an increase in the number of elites and therefore an increase in the number of elite burials. I believe that since the quality of grave goods decreases during this period and there are more varied types of grave inclusions, especially animal remains and utilitarian items, it is possible that during this time below ground burials were not restricted to higher ranking individuals as previously proposed by Ames and Maschner (1999) and Burley (1989). This interpretation can be supported by several lines of reasoning specifically relating to the types of grave goods associated with burials between 3000 and 2000 BP. The increase in utilitarian items and scattered animal remains in burials does not match criteria previously used to identify high status in burials. High status individuals are not traditionally buried with single, utilitarian items or fish remains. Also, if the interpretation that only high ranking individuals receive ornamented burials is correct, and the majority of these burials are in fact high status, then the burial population for that period would indicate there was an increase in the number of high status individuals between 3000 and 2000 BP.

The third pattern shows that after 2000 BP, below ground burials became less common, and again, much like between 4000 and 3000 BP, the types of grave goods are only decorative or utilitarian remains. The most significant element of this pattern is the reversal in the way gender is expressed in burials. Males rather than females now have greater access to below ground burial, grave goods and dressed burials. Between 2000

and 1000 BP, male burials with grave goods outnumber female burials in all typological categories, and animal remains are restricted to adult male burials.

The patterns observed in south coast cemeteries may also be partially the result of the flexible structure of patricentric family households and social organization (Donald 1997: 304). This flexibility in social organization could account for the equal representations of males and female burials and grave goods over time and space. The relationship between social and household structure will be further discussed in comparison of the northern and southern regions.

4.3 The North Coast

The north coast has six cemeteries in the Prince Rupert Harbour area with 278 burials, and one cemetery, Greenville, north of Prince Rupert Harbour in the Nass River valley with 57 burials. Prince Rupert Harbour is traditional Coast Tsimshian territory and Greenville is traditional Nisga'a territory (Cybulski 1994:76). Blue Jackets Creek, located in traditional Haida territory (Cybulski 1994:76) is the only northern cemetery on the Queen Charlotte Islands, with a total of 28 individual burials. The total number of burials on the north coast is 363. However, "[t]he unique position of Blue Jackets Creek suggests little if any ancestral connection between Tsimshian and the Queen Charlotte Islands' Haida" (Cybulski 2001: 108), therefore I have treated this population separately and not included it in my discussion of northern coastal cemeteries, which reduces the total number of cemetery burials to 335. The North Coast sites include Boardwalk (GbTo 31), Dodge Island (GbTo 18), Garden Island (GbTo 23), Lachane (GbTo 33) and Greenville (GgTj 6).

Table 14a Temporal Distribution of North Coast and Queen Charlotte Island Cemetery Burials

	ca 1000 BP	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Males	9	46	109	14	178	49%
Females	4	35	57	12	107	29%
Children	4	16	35	2	57	16%
Unknown	1	4	5	11	21	6%
TOTAL	18	100	206	39	363	100%

Table 14b Temporal Distribution of North Coast Cemetery Burials

	ca 1000 BP	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Males	9	46	109	8	172	51%
Females	4	34	57	3	98	29%
Children	4	16	35	0	55	16%
Unknown	1	4	5	0	10	3%
TOTAL	18	100	206	11	335	100%

Sixty-one percent (206/335) of north coast burials are dated between 3000 and 2000 BP (Table 15). The second highest period of burial frequency is between 2000 and 1000 BP at 29% (100/335). Ninety-one percent (306/335) of burials are dated between 3000 and 1000 BP (Table 13)¹⁰. The remainder of the burials are sparsely distributed between 4000 and 3000 BP at (11%, 39/363) and ca 1000 BP (5% 19/393). The 28 individuals from Blue Jackets Creek on the Queen Charlotte Islands date between 4300 and 2000 BP. There are also no recorded Prince Rupert Harbour burials that are older than 4000 BP, making the burials of the north relatively recent in comparison to the other regions.

¹⁰ Eighty burials in the north coast sample did not have an assigned date. Of these, 13 fell into \bar{x} 2000-1000 BP and 67 \bar{x} = 3000-2000 BP.

4.3.1 Age and sex in north coast cemeteries

The north coast is the only region where definite divisions in burial patterns between males and females are visible (Table 15a and 15b). Fifty-one percent of north coast burials are male (172:335) and only 30% (100:335) are female. Children represent 17% (56:335) and unknown sex account for 3% (19:335). Older-adult/ adult males comprise the largest demographic group, 43% (157:335). The second largest age and sex demographic group are the older-adult/adult females, 25% (85:335). These results show that 68% of the burials in north coast cemeteries are from individuals who are older than 20 years of age giving the north coast a relatively aged burial population.

Table 15a Age and Sex of Burials in North Coast and Queen Charlotte Island Cemeteries

	Older-adult & Adult	Sub-adult & Juvenile	Children & Infants	Unknown Age	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Males	154	22	NA	0	176	48%
Females	94	16	NA	0	110	30%
Children w/o sex identification	NA	NA	58	NA	58	16%
Unknown sex	8	7	NA	4	19	5%
TOTAL	256	45	58	4	363	100%

Table 15b Age and Sex of burials in Prince Rupert Harbour and Nass River Cemeteries

	Older-adult & Adult	Sub-adult & Juvenile	Children & Infants	Unknown Age	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Males	147	21	NA	0	168	50%
Females	85	16	NA	0	101	30%
Children w/o sex identification	NA	NA	56	NA	56	17%
Unknown sex	4	5		1	10	3%
TOTAL	236	42	56	1	335	100%

The age distribution of males and females is similar relative to gender categories (Table 15b). For males, 88% (154:176) are older-adult/adult and only 13% (22:176) are sub-adult/ juvenile. For females 84% (85:101) are older-adult/adult and 16% (16:101) are sub-adult/juvenile. The absence of significant representation of sub-adult and juvenile males and females indicates that there was definitely preferential burial for older individuals, or that sub-adults and juveniles were buried in another mode or location. Another potential explanation for the gender and age distribution is related to the circumstances surrounding death. The north coast has recorded high incidence of warfare and prolonged conflict especially between 2500 and 1000 BP (Ames and Maschner 1999:189-190) along with evidence of severe skeletal trauma (Cybulski 1978:4). The unusually high proportion of adult males, and burials without ornamentation could be the result of a more rushed mortuary practice because of warfare and/or prolonged conflict. Ames and Maschner also propose that these burials represent large numbers of slaves killed during raids as not being worth enslaving, or slaves who were ritually killed as a disposition of wealth (Ames and Maschner 1999:189-190). Although this is a possibility, there are no archaeological data to support the idea that slavery existed in prehistoric times (Donald 1997:4).

4.3.2 Grave goods and ornamented burials in north coast cemeteries

Table 16 Age, Sex and Grave Goods in North Coast Cemeteries

	No Date	ca 1000 BP	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	5000-4000 BP	6000-5000 BP	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE of total with grave goods (87)
Males	0	5	16	30	2	0	0	53	61%
Females	0	0	14	10	2	0	0	26	30%
Children	0	0	4	2	0	0	0	6	7%
Unknown	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	3%
TOTAL # With grave goods	0	5	34	44	4	0	0	87	100%
TOTAL # of burials	0	18	100	206	11	0	0	335	87
PERCENTAGE of total with grave goods	0%	28%	34%	21%	36%	0%	0%	26%	

Twenty-six percent (87/335) of individuals on the north coast are buried with grave goods (Table 16). Of these burials, only eight with grave goods are identified as ornamented (Table 17). Male grave good burials are twice as common as female. Sixteen percent (53/335) of males and only 8% (26/335) of females have grave inclusions. Relative to gender categories, males show a much higher occurrence of burial with grave goods. Proportionally within gender categories, males have a higher frequency of grave goods than females, however the margin of difference is significantly reduced. Thirty-one percent (53/172) of males and 24% (26/101) of females have grave inclusions.

Table 17 Ornamented Burials in North Coast Cemeteries

	No date	Ca 1000 BP	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE of total with ornamentation (7)
Males	0	0	2	4	1	7	2%
Females	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Children	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
TOTAL # with ornamentation	0	0	2	5	1	7	100%
TOTAL # of burials	0	18	100	206	11	335	7
PERCENTAGE of total with ornamentation	0%	0%	2%	2%	9%	2%	

Only a fraction of burials on the north coast meet the criteria for being classified as an ornamented burial. Only 2% (8:335) of all burials are ornamented. Again, as with grave good distribution, males represent a larger proportion of ornamented burials. Seven ornamented burials are male. The pattern of grave good distribution in conjunction with dressed burials could indicate that males had a more elaborate burial treatment than females. They occur in greater numbers, have more grave goods and more ornamentation in their burials. This is the only region on the coast where this pattern is evident.

Grave goods appear throughout the north from 4000 until ca 1000 BP, however, between 3000 and 1000 there is a noticeable increase in the number of individuals with grave goods. Fifty-one percent (44:87) occur between 3000 and 2000 BP and 39% (34:87) between 2000 and 1000 BP. The remaining temporal periods show very few burials with grave goods, and there are no burials with ornamentation outside of 3000 to 1000 BP, with the exception of one dressed burial between 4000 and 3000 BP. This pattern indicates that during the peak period in burials there is also an increase in the

number of burials that receive grave goods. Also during this period the highest occurrence of male burials and especially male burials with grave goods are observed.

4.3.3 Grave good types in north coast cemeteries

Figure 5 Number of Burials Containing Different Types of Grave Goods in North Coast Cemeteries



Types of grave goods that appear in northern Northwest Coast burials range from ornate and exotic goods to fragmented utilitarian items. The most common type of grave goods is utilitarian items (Figure 5 and Table 18). These include obsidian endscrapers, ground slate knives, bone tools (awls, daggers, knives), hammerstones, harpoons, and chipped stone tools. Forty-nine percent (43/87) of the individuals with grave goods had only utilitarian type artifacts. Decorative grave goods appear less frequently than utilitarian items. Only 9% (8/87) of burials have exclusively decorative remains. Decorative items include shell disc bead necklaces, dentalia, copper disc

earrings, amber pendants, amber beads, copper wrapped wood pegs, and zoomorphic labrets. It should be noted that 7 of the burials with decorative remains are identified as ornamented burials. Therefore, there is technically only 1 individual with decorative remains that is not ornate. There are only five burials with a combination of decorative and utilitarian artifacts and one is identified as an ornamented burial.

Animal remains are not a common grave inclusion, and when they do appear, the quantity is extremely small. There are only 10 burials with identified animal remains. Four of these burials have strictly animal remains and the remaining six have a combination of animal remains and utilitarian items. There are no incidents of combinations of animal remains and decorative grave goods. An interesting note is that the four burials with strictly animal remains contain only teeth from the animals. The types of teeth found in these burials are beaver, sea otter, and unidentified mammal. Burials with combinations of animal remains and utilitarian goods are more diverse in the type of animal remains than burials with only animal remains. Ground beaver incisors, deer and otter bones¹¹ and a dog skull are associated with utilitarian items. Another dog skull is buried with a large quantity of elderberry seeds.

Although they appear in only two cemeteries, seeds are a semi-frequent component of north coast grave inclusions. Sixteen burials at Greenville (GgTj 6) are buried with elderberry seeds, and one burial at Boardwalk (GbTo 31) is buried with a type of seed that has not yet been identified. There are no occurrences of individuals who are

¹¹ The bones identified as 'sea otter' may in fact be the unidentified bones of an infant (Cybulski personal communication).

buried with seeds and any other type of grave good, with the exception of the male burial with the dog skull and elderberry seeds as mentioned above.

Table 18 Counts of Temporal Distribution of Grave Good Types in North Cemeteries

	Sex	No date	ca 1000 BP	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	5000-4000 BP	6000-5000 BP	Total by gender	TOTAL
Decorative	Male			3	4				7	8
	Female									
	Child				1				1	
	Unknown									
	TOTAL	0	0	3	5	0	0	0	8	
Utilitarian	Male			6	16	2			24	43
	Female			6	8	1			15	
	Child			2	1				3	
	Unknown				1				1	
	TOTAL	0	0	14	26	3	0	0	43	
Decorative & utilitarian	Male			1	3				4	5
	Female				1				1	
	Child									
	Unknown									
	TOTAL	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	5	
Animal remains	Male			3					3	4
	Female			1					1	
	Child									
	Unknown									
	TOTAL	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	4	
Animal remains & decorative	Male									0
	Female									
	Child									
	Unknown									
	TOTAL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Animal remains & utilitarian	Male			1	1				2	6
	Female			2	1	1			4	
	Child									
	Unknown									
	TOTAL	0	0	3	2	1	0	0	6	
Seeds	Male		6	3					9	17
	Female			6					6	
	Child			1					1	
	Unknown				1				1	
	TOTAL	0	6	11	1	0	0	0	17	
Other	Male			1	3				4	4
	Female									
	Child									
	Unknown									
	TOTAL	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	4	

There were four burials with grave goods placed in the typological category of 'other'. Two of these individuals had extra human remains and the other two had portions of a box

There are an extremely small number of child burials in the north and as a consequence there are an even smaller number that receive grave goods. No conclusions can be made pertaining to patterns in typological associations for child burials simply because there is not enough evidence. There is only one child with a decorative good, one child with seeds, and three children with utilitarian items. There are no child burials with animal remains. Since there are so few child burials, conclusions relating to the transitions in mortuary practices through time specifically for children are very limited.

Patterns indicating gender-based mortuary treatment pertaining to grave good types in the north are visible in the categories of decorative, utilitarian, animal remains and combinations of decorative and utilitarian inclusions. In each of these categories there is a significantly higher number of males than females, especially during the period between 3000 and 2000 BP. There is a slight transition in this pattern between 2000 and 1000 BP as females gain more access to grave inclusions. However, this trend is most visible at Greenville, where nine females and only six males are buried with elderberry seeds. Also during this period, females are more likely than males to be associated with animal remains and utilitarian good combinations. Although there are no females with decorative goods in this period, there are an equal number of males and females buried with utilitarian items.

4.3.4 Body position and interment mode in north coast cemeteries

There are limited data on the body position and the mode of interment for the north coast. There are only 35 burials with the body position recorded and all of the individuals are from the Greenville site (Table 19). Individuals are most often flexed, 91% (32:35) of the individuals are buried in this posture. Flexed individuals are placed most commonly on their left side, 49% (17:35), followed by flexed on their right side, 14% (5:35). There are only three individuals in a semi-flexed posture. No patterns could be determined in regards to gender and/or age for the position of the body. These data are recorded for only a very small proportion of burials.

In regards to the type of burials, I do not have specific data for the frequency of the mode of interment, but box burials were a common practice, especially at the Greenville site (Cybulski 1992:60). Therefore, I am not able to draw any conclusions regarding mode of interment for the north coast.

Table 19 Body Position for North Coast Cemeteries

	Flexed	Semi-flexed	TOTAL
Males	Left 10	Left 0	18
	Right 2	Right 1	
	Back 1	Back 0	
	Front 2	Front 0	
	Unspecified 1	Unspecified 1	
	TOTAL 16	TOTAL 2	
Females	Left 3	Left 0	12
	Right 4	Right 1	
	Back 1	Back 0	
	Front 2	Front 0	
	Unspecified 1	Unspecified 0	
	TOTAL 11	TOTAL 1	
Children	Left 4	0	4
	Right 0		
	Back 0		
	Front 1		
	Unspecified 0		
	TOTAL 4		
Unknown	Left 1	0	1
	Right 0		
	Back 0		
	Front 0		
	Unspecified 0		
	TOTAL 1		
TOTAL	Left 17	Left	35
	Right 6	Right 2	
	Back 2	Back 0	
	Front 5	Front	
	Unspecified 2	Unspecified 1	
	TOTAL 32	TOTAL 3	

4.3.5 Regional conclusions for north coast cemeteries

The distribution of the population in conjunction with the data from the grave good typology, and the temporal distribution of grave goods and ornamented burials suggest that the northern region had a stricter gender-based burial practice. This could be attributed to several reasons. I have already briefly mentioned the possibility of prolonged conflict, warfare and trauma. However, the strict matrilineal social structure of northern communities (Donald 1997:304) may have been an influential factor in how males and females were buried. The unilineal social structure in the north coast may

restrict, based on family lineage, which individuals can be buried in the community cemetery

There are several patterns that are apparent in north coast cemeteries. The first is a large portion of adult male burials between 3000 and 2000 BP. This is at a time when there is increasing archaeological evidence of raiding and prolonged conflict (Ames and Maschner 1999:209). In this period there is a very low proportion of males with grave goods, and the grave goods are low-quality utilitarian items. The absence of a significant burial population of children, juveniles and females could indicate there is a preference to bury males (those possibly involved in conflict) during this period.

The second pattern suggests a regional trend in the way people dispose of the dead. The peak of burials occurred between 3000 and 2000 BP, with a 50% decline in the burial population between 2000 and 1000 BP. However, the ratio at which individuals are buried with grave goods increases from 21% to 34%. The types of grave inclusions remained consistent with the increase, as there are a larger proportion of utilitarian grave goods in both temporal periods. Therefore, as below ground burial became less common in the north, the practice of including grave material remained a standard practice.

There are three possible interpretations for the increase in male burials, all relating to conflict. The first as previously mentioned, is related to the manner of death. If more males are involved in conflict, logically more males will die as a result of violent interaction. Therefore the skew in the gender distribution in the north could indicate that the majority of males died as a result of trauma sustained during conflict. Cybulski concluded that 32% of the north coast skeletal population between 3000 and 1000 BP

have evidence of wounds and 16% show evidence of trauma (Ames and Maschner 1999: 210). Therefore, a total of 48% of individuals in the northern burial population have been involved in some form of violent interaction

...of those skeletons with injuries in the Prince Rupert Harbour sites, almost 60 percent manifested trauma plausibly attributable to episodes in interpersonal violence. Such trauma included depressed skull fractures from club blows, facial and anterior tooth fractures, defensive forearm "parry" fractures, defensive fractures of the outer hand, disarming fractures of the forearm and hand, and instances of decapitation (Cybulski 1990: 58)

Cybulski has further noted that at the Greenville burial site males show higher levels of skeletal trauma from interpersonal violence than females (Cybulski 1992: 151, 152, 154) and that similar patterns of higher levels of male trauma are observed at other Prince Rupert sites (Cybulski 1992: 154, 155). This evidence supports the idea that males buried in this region were victims to a high rate of death by violence. Further supporting the incidents of interpersonal conflict are the artifact types recovered from Prince Rupert area sites. Cybulski has interpreted bone and stone clubs, bipointed ground stone objects and ground slate daggers as weapons (Marsden 2001: 100). The remains of copper and cedar armour worn by individuals have also been identified with

...a group of artifacts in a cemetery on the Boardwalk site (GbTo 31) about 1800 years ago. It is one of the more intricate pieces of cultural history recorded in the shell-middens of Prince Rupert Harbour. The items might have belonged to a warrior. The cedar cylinders wrapped with copper may be the remnants of rod armour similar to that worn by Tsimshian warriors some 1500 years later, while other elements likely represent weaponry for hand to hand combat. A human female skull and jaw, partly stained blue-green by copper salts, were in the same pit as the artifacts, possibly a trophy of war. The skull was not directly associated with other human bones or graves in the immediate area, some dating to about the same time as the artifacts and others to about 2600 years ago (Cybulski 1993: 6 in Marsden 2001: 100)

The second interpretation relating to warfare and conflict pertains to women's roles in north coast society. De Laguna has noted negative attributions for women in northern Tlingit communities: "[Q]uarrels over women are traditionally cited as a cause of group fissioning and emigration, which may often lead to war" (de Laguna 1990:209). De Laguna has also noted that the Tlingit believed that labrets prevented women from talking too much and kept women from gossiping. Female gossip could lead to "dissension and war" (de Laguna 1972:444,827) "In the Tlingit mind, women are notoriously troublesome, the causes of war, and in war untrustworthy." (de Laguna 1983:82). If women are seen as an [in]direct cause of conflict, then north coast communities may not want to bury females (who could be seen as the cause of conflict) with males (who participated in the conflict as a result of women). Although these data relate to the Tlingit, they could also be used to understand (but not to generalize) Tsimshian gender relations. If this is the case, then gender segregation in the burial population may have resulted from the perceived causes of gender-based warfare.

The third conflict-based interpretation for the higher number of males in the burial population is based on resource allocation and use in the north. On the Northwest Coast the productivity of the ecosystems, and therefore exploitable resources was highest in the south and declines in the north (Ames 2003:20, originally appeared in Schalk 1977). Boas recorded raids between north coast groups for resources in the Nass River area, specifically eulachon oil (Boas in Ames and Maschner 1999:199). Eulachon oil is a valuable commodity for northern communities because it was used as preservative and was a valuable trade good. Eulachon oil is not the only precious north coast resource

All food resources were valuable because of the less stable resources in the north [see Schalk 1979]. Suttles noted that although critical food resources such as fish, shellfish and sea mammals are abundant throughout the coast, plant resources and land mammal resources decline in the north (Suttles 1987:40). Riches also concluded that there is less variety, and less exploitable foods in northern areas (Riches 1979:154,158). Since there are fewer dependable resources in the north there would be more of an emphasis on social control, group organization and an increase in the control of labour (Riches 1979:154-158). The tension created by control over resources could also be a contributing factor to warfare in the north.

Captive slaves would have also been a valuable resource on the northern coast because of the need for labour. Both men and women were taken as captives, but a preference for female slaves would have represented a significant proportion of the living Prince Rupert Harbour population (Cybulski 1994:80). If there were different methods of corpse disposal for slaves this could account for the unequal gender distribution in Prince Rupert Harbour.

4.4 Comparison of Southern and Northern Cemeteries: Regional Differences

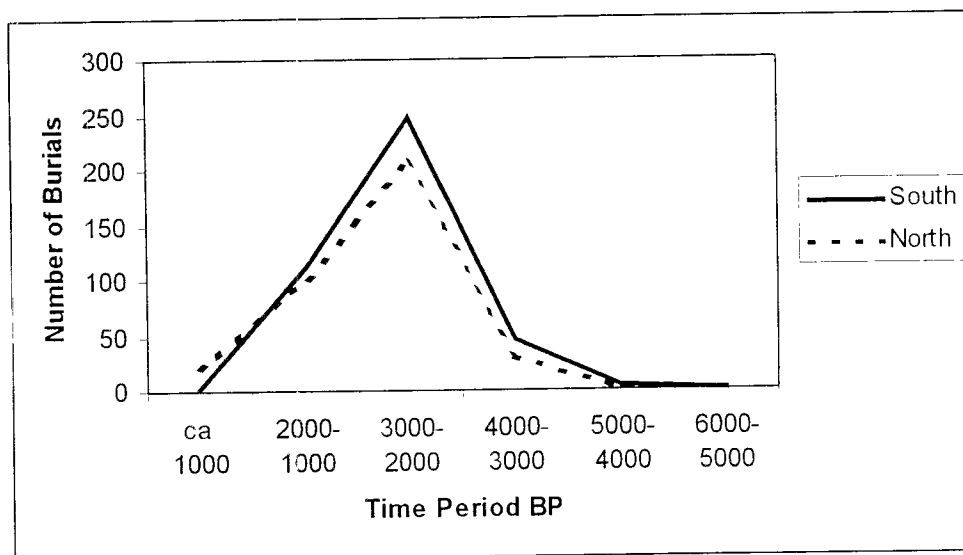
It is apparent that there are significant differences in the burial population when an analysis is completed on the regional level. These patterns are visible in the demographic composition of the burial populations and the types of grave goods and the distribution of ornamented burials between cemeteries in the north and south regions.

The differences between the regions can be attributed to differing modes of social organization and ways in which status and gender are represented.

4.4.1 Temporal distribution of regional burials

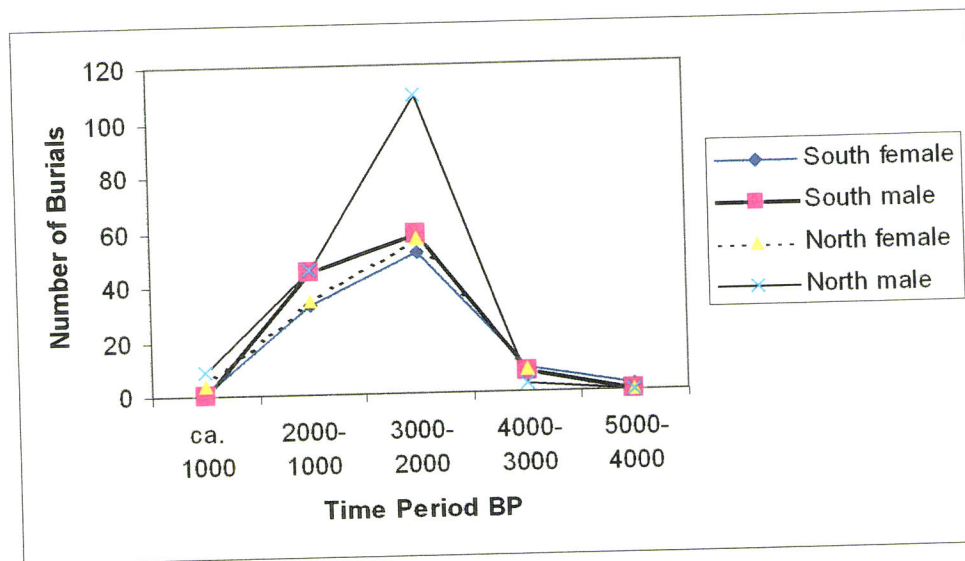
The northern and southern regions have a similar temporal distribution of burials (Chart 4) and similar population sizes. However, the south coast does have a longer period of cemetery use than the north because there are no north coast burials pre-dating 4000 BP, whereas there are 3 in the south. Common trends in the frequency of burials are observed for both regions because they both reach their peak between 3000 and 2000 BP, followed by 2000 to 1000 BP. However, as burials became extremely rare in the south coast around 1000 BP, individuals in the north were maintaining the tradition of below ground burial, but with considerably less frequency.

Figure 6 Distribution of South and North Cemetery Burials



4.4.2 Regional gender representation

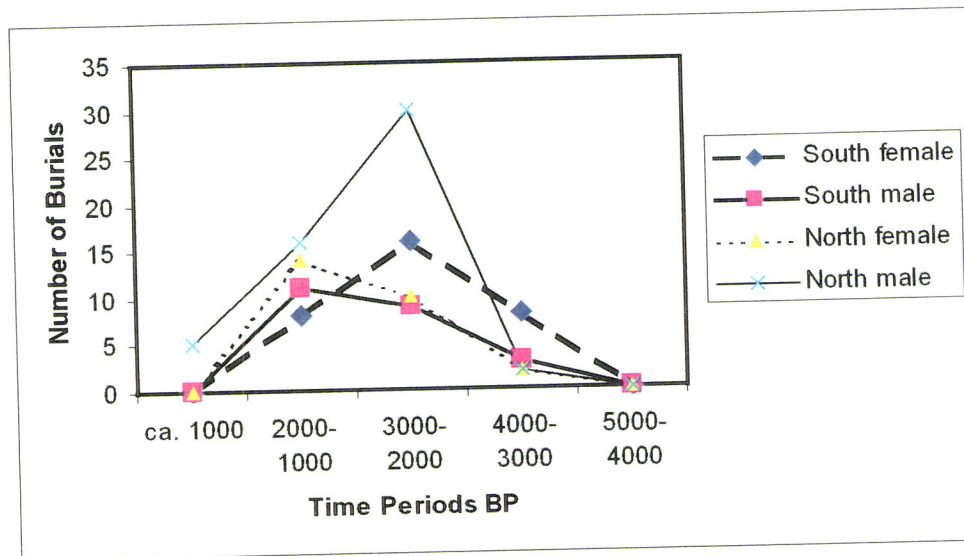
Figure 7 Distribution of Males and Females in North and South Cemeteries



There are very clear differences in the distribution of adult males and females between the two regions (Figure 7). Although there are similarities in the temporal trends, between 3000 and 2000 BP the north and south have obvious differences in gender representation. In the north, males are buried at a considerably higher rate than females, but in the south males and females are buried at an equal rate. Patterns pertaining to southern gender equality and northern male dominance are observed in all temporal periods. Therefore, as gender representation in the south is equal, there is a definite preference for male burial in the north coast.

4.4.3 Grave goods and ornamented burials

Figure 8 Grave Good Distribution of Males and Females in North and South Cemeteries



The distribution of grave goods (Figure 8) over time for males and females in the north and south does not mirror the patterns in the overall distribution of regional burials (see Figure 7). In the south coast, females have the most burials with grave goods between 3000 and 2000 BP, and males between 2000 and 1000 BP. In the north, females have the highest frequency from 2000 to 1000 BP, and males between 3000 and 2000 BP. The pattern produced by these data shows that the peak periods for male/female burial with grave goods are different in each region. Between 2000-1000 BP, north females and south males have the highest occurrences of burials with grave goods, but between 3000 and 2000 BP north males and south females have the highest occurrence of burial with grave goods. This indicates that over time, gender-based trends in grave goods inclusions shifted *between genders between regions*. This pattern of mortuary trends between males and females can be described as “lead and lag” (i.e. Cannon 2003). In the north females

follow behind in mortuary trends established for males, and in the south males follow the mortuary trends of female burials. This pattern is more reflective of the social agents responsible for burials and the conditions surrounding burials rather than a direct reflection of the status of the deceased (Cannon 2003.9). Associated with this phenomenon are the roles of women and men in shaping mortuary fashions and trends in burial ritual. The preliminary pattern of gender and grave good distribution may suggest that women were of lesser status than men because they are less represented. Since women were lacking the higher frequency of grave good inclusions exhibited by males, it could be assumed that women were of lesser status because they do not show the same fashions/ wealth in burials (i.e. Cannon 2003). However, this shifting pattern between regions may indicate that males and females from different social groups, such as elites and commoners were aware of changes in mortuary fashions and ritual and therefore changed the way they disposed of members of their own social group. Unfortunately, the small sample and crude temporal resolution preclude any further investigation of this possibility.

The patterns produced by ornamented burials are exclusive to each region. Females in the south have a slightly higher occurrence of ornamented burials than males, and in the north males have a much higher occurrence than females. Although the temporal trends for ornamentation are similar (3000 to 1000 BP) there is a very small proportion of both of these populations that receive grave goods indicative of individuals with high status. Overall ornamentation in burials appears to be a trend more common in

the south than in the north, but in the north, ornamentation is reserved almost exclusively for male burials

4.4.4 Grave good types

North and south coast grave goods are quite different (Figures 7 and 8). These differences are most noted between the southern use of decorative and ornamental items, and the northern inclusion of utilitarian goods. There are several types of artifacts that are exclusive to each region. Dentalia, shell rattles, lanceolate bifaces and nephrite tools appear only in the south, whereas amber, tools made from bird bones and copper earrings appear only in the north.

The overall quantity and quality between northern and southern populations shows that there are differences in the meanings associated with grave good types. Burials in the south coast are more readily interpreted as displays of personal or family wealth and social stratification because of the rarity and cost of the artifacts. The north coast does not show the same degree of displays of personal wealth. There are considerably fewer burials that could be interpreted as direct indicators of status. This is because grave goods are not generally part of the mortuary ritual, and when they are included, they are not goods indicative of material or social status.

4.4.5 Body position and mode of interment

There are not enough data pertaining to body position and mode of interment between the north and south regions. Any comparison of the two regions would rely on a fraction of individuals from the south and the northern burials would be only from

Greenville. A discussion of body position and mode of interment is more suitable for the data used in Chapter Five.

4.4.6 Social organization and regional mortuary practices

Social organization is an integral part of the interpretation of regional differences in burial populations between the north and the south. The north coast has matrilineal descent groups (lineages, clans and moieties), whereas in the south communities are organized bilaterally with patrilineal biases (Donald 1997:202, Rosman and Rubel 1971:11, 34, 67, 105). If the unilateral and bilateral social structures observed in the ethnographic record were in place at ca. 3000 to 1000 BP, or earlier, this could explain the gender differences between north and south mortuary practices.

The structure of the community may be a direct influence on how gender is represented. In the north, the unilineal structure maintains a direct assignment of social status by transmission through the matrilineal descent line. Unilineal groups tend to have more restriction on group membership, whereas in cognatic systems there are less social restrictions (Donald 1997:303). The south has a bilateral (cognatic) transmission of social status or social roles that are passed through both the mother and father's ancestry. Supporting the bilateral structure of the south is Cybulski's interpretation of southern labret use. He concluded that 42.1% of males and 37.5% of females showed evidence of labret wear (Cybulski 1994:79). He states that, "[t]he fact that both sexes in the south have labrets show an equal distribution [which] may reflect a bilateral descent system where either sex might have attained high status positions with equal probability" (Cybulski 1994:79). As explained by Leland Donald, there are several differences in the

structure and the restrictions that follow between matrilineal descent groups [north] and patrilineal/ cognatic [south] communities.

In terms of flexibility, the difference is that unilineal groups, by invoking unilineal rules to recruit members, are in principle more restrictive in who can be a group member, thereby expressing a greater concern with controlling group members and a greater interest in the exact determination of who should belong to what kin unit. Type of descent rule may be taken as one measure of the degree of concern with control over kin unit membership and control over persons. Unilineal rules display the greatest concern, followed by cognatic rules. Societies with bilateral rules have the least interest in such controls, although this does not imply a lack of interest in such matters, just less interest than in unilineal or cognatic systems. As stated, on the Northwest Coast we find strong unilineal systems (northern matriliney) and cognatic systems (southern patricentric family households). The north to south distribution of these types of kin units suggests that as we go south in the culture area there is a weaker concern with control over group membership and less concern with exactly where people belong. (Donald 1997:304)

With this in mind, the more rigid social controls of the north could have placed more restrictions on mortuary ritual, and therefore males and females could not receive the same form of mortuary treatment. If society is gender segregated in labour tasks, household economics and further stratified by roles in conflict, then it is possible that these boundaries between males and females are expressed in mortuary practice. Since the south has a less rigid social structure, females and males may be treated equally in mortuary practice. This is supported by the evidence showing that males and females were treated equally relative to their gender categories in grave good distribution, ornamentation and frequency of burial.

Regional differences in mortuary treatment are clearly visible between the north and the south. Although there are similarities in the distribution of burials over time, it is apparent that there were very different rules pertaining to gender based burial treatment.

By further reducing the scale of analysis from a regional to a local level, it is possible to see even more gender-based differences in mortuary ritual.

Chapter 5 - Contextual Analysis

This section discusses the results of the contextual analyses for Pender, False Narrows, Namu, Boardwalk and Lachane. The mortuary elements that I focus on are gender ratios, age distribution of males, females and children, types and quantity of grave goods; body modifications, including cranial deformation and labrets and the presence of ochre and rocks/ boulders.

5.1 Pender (DeRt 1 and DeRt 2)

Burials at Pender are unique on the south coast because of the seated position of individuals and the high quality and frequency of grave goods. Pender (DeRt 1 and DeRt 2) contain at least 90 burials occurring between 5500-ca.1000 BP. There is an increase in the number of burials between 4500-3000 BP, however, 67% (60/90) of the burials did not have an associated radiocarbon date and they are placed in a wide date range of 5000-1000 BP (\bar{x} = 3000 BP). Therefore, it is difficult to make reliable estimates of when the majority of burials occurred.

5.1.1 Burial profile of Pender

Thirty-seven percent (34/90) of Pender burials are identified as male and 34% (31/90) are female. Children represent 18% (17/90) of the cemetery population and only 9% (8/90) do not have an assigned age or sex. Forty-one percent (37/90) of Pender burials have grave inclusions, and this is an unusually high proportion compared to other southern coastal cemeteries. The percentage of burials with grave goods at Pender is almost twice the norm for the south coast. There are also more females than males with

grave goods at Pender. Forty-eight percent (15/31) of female burials and 32% (11/34) of male burials have grave inclusions. Red ochre is observed in four burials. There are also several burials with rock inclusions. Cranial deformation and labret wear are not recorded in Wright's thesis, however, Cybulski (1994:79) noted that the earliest evidence for labret wear in the south is from Pender, dated to 5170+/- 200 years BP (Carlson 1986).

Table 20 Temporal Distribution of Burials at Pender

	ca.1000 BP	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	5000-4000 BP	TOTAL
Males	0	3	25	5	1	34
Females	1	0	19	9	2	31
Children	0	0	15	4	1	20
Unknown	0	0	5	0	0	5
TOTAL	1	3	64*	18	4	90

* 60 of these burials are $\bar{x} = 3000$ BP.

As previously stated 66% (60/90) of burials at Pender have a date estimation between 5000-1000 BP. Since there are limited data on either relative or absolute dates, any interpretation of temporal distribution would be speculative. However, based on the available data it is evident that this site was used as a cemetery for at least 4000 years. Relative dates show that at least 20% (18/90) of the burials occurred between 4000 and 3000 BP. This presents an average of 2.25 individuals that were buried every 100 years, or 0.23 people every 10 years. It is probable that there are fewer burials dated to the earlier periods 5000 to 4000 BP and the latter periods 2000 to 1000 BP because this is a regional trend that has been observed in south coast cemeteries.

Table 21 Age and Sex of Burials at Pender

	Older-adult & Adult	Children & Infants	TOTAL
Males	34	0	34
Females	31	0	31
Children w/o sex identification	NA	20	20
Unknown sex	5	0	5
TOTAL	70	20	90

There is an equal representation of adult male and adult female burials at Pender. Thirty-eight percent (34/90) are identified as male and 34% (31/90) are female. There are also a high percentage of child burials at 22% (20/90). Wright identified burials as either “adult” or “child”, therefore I cannot address the presence of sub-adults/ juveniles or older-adult burials at the site

5.1.2 Grave inclusions at Pender

Table 22 Temporal Distribution of Burials with Grave Goods at Pender

	ca. 1000 BP	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	5000-4000 BP	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE of total # with grave goods (37)
Males	0	1	8	2	0	11	30%
Females	0	0	8	7	0	15	41%
Children	0	0	8	0	1	9	24%
Unknown	0	0	2	0	0	2	5%
TOTAL # with grave goods	0	1	26	9	1	37	100%
TOTAL # of burials	1	3	64	18	4	90	37
PERCENTAGE of total with grave goods	0%	33%	41%	50%	25%	41%	

The Pender site is the only cemetery where bowls and spoons are included in burials. Grave goods at Pender tend to be more ceremonial than at other southern sites and there are extremely low numbers of utilitarian artifacts. The most frequent types of grave good are bowls, spoons, shell beads, abraders, and animal remains, including canid, fish, sea mammal and deer. There are clear patterns in gender and age associated artifacts.

Females have a higher ratio of grave good inclusions than males and children. Forty-eight percent (15/31) of females and only 32% (11/34) of males have grave inclusions. Children are also frequently buried with grave goods. Fifty-two percent (9/17) of children at Pender have some form of grave goods. There are specific types of grave goods that are restricted to either male or female burials. Ceremonial items (bowls and spoons) are more closely associated with female burials and only females are buried with spoons. Males have a higher occurrence of animal remains in their burials. However, the difference in the distribution between male and female burials with animal remains is minute as 9/11 males and 8/15 females with grave inclusions have animal remains in their burials. Children are the only ones buried with beads and utilitarian items.

Although not considered to be a grave good, 27% (24/90) of burials have single or multiple rock inclusions. Nine of these burials have only one rock and 16 individuals have multiple rocks. Males have a higher frequency of rock inclusions than females and children. Nine males, five females and two children have rocks in their burial. Rocks are not commonly associated with burials containing grave goods. There are four burials

with rocks and animal remains: two rock inclusions with beads; one rock with a spoon and one rock with a bowl and fish remains.

Table 23 Temporal Distribution of Ornamented Burials At Pender

	ca. 1000 BP	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE of total # with ornamentation (10)
Males	0	0	1	0	1	10%
Females	0	0	3	2	5	50%
Children	0	0	3	1	4	40%
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0%
TOTAL # with ornamentation	0	0	7	3	10	100%
TOTAL # of burials	1	3	64	18	90	10
PERCENTAGE of total with ornamentation	0%	0%	11%	17%	11%	

The pattern of ornamented burials at Pender shows it is more common for females and children to receive ornamentation and ceremonial/ decorative grave inclusions. Eleven percent (10:90) burials have been identified as ornamented. Burials in this category occur only between 4000 and 2000 BP. All adult ornamented burials have either bowls, spoons (or both), and animal remains. Children are the only ones who are buried with beads, jewelry and utilitarian items such as abraders. Children are also buried with bowls. This pattern, as with the overall pattern of grave good distribution shows there are age restrictions on who can be buried with specific types of grave goods. Spoons and ornamentation show stringent age and gender restriction because only females are buried with spoons and children are buried with ornamentation, such as shell jewelry.

5.1.3 Interment mode and body position at Pender

Table 24 Interment Modes at Pender

	Rock/ cairn	Box burial	Pit/ cyst	TOTAL
Males	8	0	1	9
Females	8	0	8	16
Children	4	1	0	5
Unknown	0	0	1	1
TOTAL	20	1	10	31

Thirty-four percent (31/90) of burials had their interment modes recorded. Rock and cairn burials are the most common form of interment amongst male and female burials, although more females than males are buried in pits or cysts. Children show the most diversity in interment mode because they are observed in rock/cairn, box and pit/cyst burials. There is also evidence of cremation, but in only two burials [an adult male, Burial 86-59 and a child, Burial 86-16]. Children and females show more variation in burial mode than males. Females are buried in cairns, pits and cysts. Children are buried in cairns, bundles and boxes but adult males are most commonly buried in cairns.

There are three sets of double burials at Pender. Four of the 6 individuals in multiple burial sets are children, and the other set is an adult male and an adult female. Grave goods appear with two sets of double burials. The adult pair [Burials 86-32a and 86-32b] has canid, fish and deer remains, and the child/infant pair [Burials 86-52a and 86-52b] has shell beads, two abraders and red ochre. Radiocarbon or relative dates were not provided for the multiple burials, therefore they are not assessed temporally.

Since there is an apparent difference between adult males and adult females in burial mode, I examined these modes in relation to grave goods. There were no

differences pertaining to the types and frequency of grave goods for females who were either buried in a rock/cairn burial or a pit/cyst burial. Females in both groups received animal remains, bowls and spoons as grave inclusions.

Eighty-eight percent (80/90) of burials had the position of the body recorded. Seventy-eight percent (62/80) are flexed, 2.5% (2/80) are extended, 2.5% (2/80) are bundles and 19% (15/80) are seated. There are gender-based differences in burial position, because the seated position is observed in 12 females burials and only 1 male burial. Children are not buried in a seated position. Again, as with burial mode, because there are gender-based differences in body position. I also examined any possible relationship between burial position and grave goods. There are no patterns relating to the position of the body and grave good types or inclusions.

Table 25 Body Positions at Pender

	Flexed	Extended	Seated	Bundle	TOTAL
Males	Left 9	1	1		31
	Right 18				
	Back 1				
	Unspecified 1				
	TOTAL 29				
Females	Left 7		12		29
	Right 9				
	Back 0				
	Unspecified 1				
	TOTAL 17				
Children	Left 8	1		1	16
	Right 5				
	Back				
	Unspecified 1				
	TOTAL 14				
Unknown	Left 0		2	1	4
	Right 2				
	Back 0				
	Unspecified 0				
	TOTAL 2				
TOTAL	62	2	15	2	80

In regards to the position of the body, males, females and children are primarily flexed. There are only 2 extended burials, one is an adult male [Burial 85-17], and the other is a child [Burial 84-47]. Males and females are flexed most frequently on their right side followed by their left. However children are more commonly flexed on their left side. No females or children are placed on their back. The only individual in this position is the adult male who is extended.

5.1.4 Conclusions for Pender

Gender and age differences are evident in the types of grave goods and the mode of burials at Pender. Although there are only 3 main types of grave inclusions, it is clear that females were buried, not only with more grave goods, but also with more variety of grave goods. Another pattern associated with gender is the form of burial. Females are more commonly buried in a seated position, and males are flexed. Age-based patterns are visible in the types of grave goods and the mode of burial between children and adults. Although almost all burials are flexed, children are more often placed on the left side, while adults are more often on the right. Children also have different types of grave goods than adults. Grave goods exclusive to children are utilitarian tools, beads and red ochre.

5.2 False Narrows (DgRw 6)

There are three burial periods at False Narrows occurring between 1800 and 1000 BP. As identified by Burley (1989) these periods are False Narrows I, II and III,

with FN I as the earliest period and FN III as the most recent. Of the 85¹² identified burials from 50 interments there is a slightly higher number of adult males and there is an equal distribution of grave goods between genders. A number of scattered human remains not interred in the midden suggest that above ground disposal of the dead was also practiced (Burley 1989:56), but they could also represent the disturbed remains of other burials.

5.2.1 Burial profile of False Narrows

There are several characteristics of the burial population that are unique to this site. The unusually high proportion of sub-adult and juvenile males with grave goods and the high frequency of ornamentation in burials are indicative of a cemetery that has grave-good based stratification. Social stratification can also be inferred by body modifications, specifically cranial deformation. The analysis of cranial deformation conducted by Gordon (1974) has been used in Burley's study to identify two distinct samples in the burial population; Marpole and Coast Salish (Burley 1988:17). Fronto-occipital deformation is associated with FN III and Lambdoidal deformation is associated with FN I. There is one female (Burial 41-67) with a form of deformation that is uncharacteristic for the region, but has been observed in the middle Columbia River area (Beattie 1981:46, Burley 1988:56). This female is identified as having 'Chinook' style cranial deformation, and subsequently has been identified as being an 'outsider', "with ranked status in the social hierarchy" (Burley 1989:55-57).

¹² Burley states that there were 86 individuals at False Narrows, however his text only provides evidence for 85 (Burley 1989:51, 54-55) therefore I have only catalogued and analyzed 85 burials at this site.

Also unique to False Narrows is the total absence of multiple burials. burials with rock and rock formations and burials with ochre. However, the most notable feature of False Narrows is that there is a large population that is buried in a relatively short period of time. The cemetery was in use for an 800-year period that averages 10.7 burials every 100 years. This is significant because cemeteries in the south, central and north coasts tend to be used for several thousand years, and individual burials occur in southern cemeteries with a much lower frequency.

Table 26 Temporal Distribution of Burials at False Narrows

	FN I	FN II	FN III	No date	TOTAL
Males	23 3*	1	4	2	33
Females	15 2*	3	3 1*	1♦	25
Children	8	1	0	0	9
Unknown sex	16	1	1	0	18
TOTAL	67	6	9	3	85

* Indicate children with known sex. This number is not included in the total number for the sex categories.

♦ Female with the Chinook style cranial deformation

The burial periods of FN I, II and III were identified by Burley based upon the spatial location of the burials and styles of associated grave goods (Burley 1989: 51). There are no further temporal divisions in Burley's text to indicate precise time periods. False Narrows I and II are associated with the Marpole component because it is characterized "... by an abundance of dentalia, clam shell disc beads, shell gorgets and rattles, shell edge tools, a specific antler tear-drop pendant form, pecked stone vessels and a similar range of flaked ground points" (Burley 1989: 38).

Burley dates the Marpole period between 400 BC and AD 400 (Burley 1989:38). The latter periods of FN III and IV are associated with the Gulf of Georgia Culture type and Coast Salish, with dates between AD 1200 and the historic period (Burley 1989:40). There are no burials present in the most recent period of FN IV.

The majority of burials 79% (67:85) are found in the FN I component with the remainder sparsely distributed between the two later periods. Even though the numbers of burials in the sample decrease significantly, it appears that there is a decline in FN II, but a slight increase in FN III before burials completely cease at the site. During FN II there is a higher number of female burials, and this is the only burial period at the site where this occurs. Children are present in every time period, but as with adult burials, the frequency of child burials declines over time but cease before adult burials in FN II.

Table 27 Age and Sex Distribution of Burials At False Narrows

	Older-adult & Adult	Sub-adult & Juvenile	Children & Infants	Unknown Age	TOTAL
Males	18	12	4	0	34
Females	17	3	5	0	25
Children w/o sex identification	NA	NA	8	NA	
Unknown sex	13	2	NA	3	18
TOTAL	48	17	17	3	85

Adults represent the majority of the burial population at 56% (48:85). Males and female adult burials show an equal distribution, however it should be acknowledged that 27% (13:48) of the adult population did not have sex assignment. As previously stated, there are an unusually high proportion of sub-adult and juvenile burials when compared to the rest of south coast burials. False Narrows represents almost half of all

south coast juvenile and sub-adult burials. Child/ infant and sub-adult/juvenile burials are each 20% of the cemetery population

5.2.2 Grave inclusions at False Narrows

Table 28 Temporal Distribution of Burials with Grave Goods at False Narrows

	FN I	FN II	FN III	No date	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE of total # with grave goods (19)
Males	7 2+ 1*	0	0	0	10	53%
Females	4	2	1*	1♦	8	42%
Children	1	0	0	0	1	5%
Unknown sex	0	0	0	0	0	0%
TOTAL # with grave goods	15	2	1	1	19	100%
TOTAL # of burials	67	6	9	3	85	19
PERCENTAGE of total with grave goods	22%	33%	11%	33%	22%	

* Child with known sex.

+ Sub-adults with known sex.

♦ Female with the Chinook style cranial deformation.

Twenty-two percent of the False Narrows burials have grave inclusions. There are only two more male burials with grave goods than females, but relative to gender categories, females show a slightly higher ratio of burials with grave inclusions. Thirty-two percent (8/25) of females and 29% (10/34) of males have grave goods. Adults, sub-adult/ juveniles and children are buried with grave goods. Nine adults burials have grave goods (four males and five females). Six sub/adult juvenile burials have grave goods (five males and one child). Four children have grave goods (one male, two females and one unknown child of unknown sex).

Almost all grave good burials occur in the FN I period and the only burial with grave inclusions from FN III is a female [Burial 35-67]. The temporal distribution shows the majority of burials with grave goods occurred during the peak burial period. The higher frequency of sub-adult/ juvenile male burials with grave goods could indicate the expression of through grave inclusions was more common for males in this age group.

Table 29 Temporal Distribution of Ornamented Burials at False Narrows

	FN I	FN II	FN III	No date	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE of total # with ornamentation (9)
Males	4	0	0	0	4	44%
Females	3	0	1*	1♦	4	44%
Children	1	0	0	0	1	11%
TOTAL # with ornamentation	8	0	1	1	9	100%
TOTAL # of burials	67	6	9	3	85	9
PERCENTAGE of total with ornamentation	12%	0%	11%	33%	11%	

♦ Female with the Chinook style cranial deformation.

Eleven percent (9/85) of False Narrows burials received ornamentation. There are equal numbers of males and females with ornamentation, and only one child meets the criteria for being an ornamented burial. As with grave good distribution, almost all ornamentation occurs in the earliest period, with only one ornamented burial occurring in the most recent period. There are two types of grave ornaments that show gender restrictions, copper and shell beads. Only females are buried with copper ornaments. Although both males and females are buried with shell beads, there is an overall higher quantity of beads in male burials.

Age and gender restrictions pertaining to ornamentation are observed at False Narrows. Among females only adults have ornamentation, however, both adult and sub-adult/juvenile male burials have ornamentation. The child with ornamentation is of unknown sex [Burial 9-66]. Male burials show a slightly higher occurrence of grave inclusions in all age categories, whereas females are typically adults before they receive grave goods in their burials. This pattern in sub-adult/juvenile male ornamentation supports the pattern previously identified for males in this age category with grave goods. However, there are significantly more sub-adult/juvenile male burials than females, and this trend is more likely a reflection of the higher number of pre-adult male burials as opposed to a social trend allowing pre-adult male burials a more elaborate burial than their female counterparts.

5.2.3 Interment mode and body position at False Narrows

Table 30 Interment Modes at False Narrows

	Rock	Pit	Cairn	Cyst	TOTAL
Males	5	16	0	0	21
Females	0	11	3	3	17
Children	0	1	0	0	1
Unknown	2	4	0	0	6
TOTAL	7	32	3	3	45

Forty-two burials had data on the interment mode for False Narrows. Shallow-pit burials in middens were the most common form observed (Burley 1989: 52). Rock and cyst burials are also present but are much less frequent than pit burials. Males, females and children are all interred in pit-type burials. Rock burials are exclusively reserved for male burials, whereas cyst burials and cairns are observed exclusively in female burials. According to Burley, the rock-type burial may be indicative of a ritual pattern (Burley

1989:52). However, he further suggests that a lack of uniform evidence for consistent placement of stone slabs better supports the idea that rocks were used as lid weights for burial boxes, or as lids for boxes without a wooden cover (Burley 1989:52-53). The differences between male and female burial modes may indicate that different types of markers, or ritual were used to distinguish between male and female burials. For example, male burials were marked with a stone slab or large rock, and female burials were marked with cairns. Two of the three female cairn burials have grave inclusions, and one of the burials is the female with the Chinook cranial deformation. The presence of grave goods and anomalous cranial deformation supports the idea that the females with cairns perhaps were of significant importance at the time of their death. Unfortunately there are not enough data available to support this conclusion. There are only five rock burials and three cairn burials recorded for the entire population.

Table 31 Body Positions at False Narrows

	Flexed	Extended	TOTAL
Males	14	3*	17
Females	13	0	13
Children	2	0	2
TOTAL	29	3	32

* 1 adult, 1 child, 1 juvenile

Thirty-eight percent (32/85) of False Narrows burials had the position of the body recorded. Ninety-one percent of the observed burials are flexed. Although the sample is small, only male burials (a child [Burial 27-67], juvenile [Burial 33-67] and adult [Burial 28a-67]) are extended. Of the male extended burials, the child burial has unidentified cranial deformation and a nephrite celt, the juvenile is classified as an ornate burial with lambdoidal cranial deformation. The adult male in the extended posture does

not have cranial deformation or associated grave goods. Pre-adult males may begin to receive more elaborate burial treatment at an earlier age than their female counterparts. Males in this group are buried in rare burial attitudes and with a higher frequency of grave goods. The extended burial can be interpreted as a more unique element of the mortuary ritual than flexed postures because this position is seen with considerably less frequency. Also, the size of the interment would increase as the body is extended, and therefore it would require more effort to prepare the pit for inhumation.

5.2.4 Cranial deformation and body modification

Table 32 Temporal Distribution of Cranial Deformation Types at False Narrows

	FN I	FN II	FN III	No date	TOTAL
Males	7 lambdoidal 4 undefined		1 fronto-occipital 1 undefined 1 lambdoidal		14
Females	6 lambdoidal 1 undefined	1 lambdoidal	1 lambdoidal 1 fronto-occipital	1 chinook	11
Child	1 male lambdoidal				1
TOTAL	19	1	5	1	26

Twenty-six individuals, 31%, had cranial deformation recorded. Four types are identified: lambdoidal, fronto-occipital, Chinook and 'undefined'¹³. The majority of cranial deformation, specifically lambdoidal, occurs in FN I, followed by a combination of lambdoidal and fronto-occipital deformation in FN III. Relative to gender distribution, males and females show an equal representation of cranial deformation in burials. Forty-one percent (14/34) of males and 44% of females (11/25) have cranial deformation. No

¹³ Based on Gordon's 1974 analysis, lambdoidal deformation is defined as a deformation that extends from the external occipital protuberance to the parietal foramina at an angle of 30-40 degrees (Gordon 1974:4). Fronto-occipital deformation, also referred to as 'bilateral' is defined as a flattened occipital area with the only mild flattening in the frontal areas (Gordon 1974:7).

patterns can be identified pertaining to gender and type of deformation because there are not enough burials from each category to draw significant conclusions. However, Burley has noted that the female with the Chinook deformation is the only one observed in the site.

Cranial deformation in relation to grave good distribution shows that individuals with lambdoidal cranial deformation are more likely to receive grave goods. No individuals with fronto-occipital deformation have grave inclusions. Only female adults with cranial deformation have grave goods, however, males in all age groups with cranial deformation have grave inclusions.

5.2.5 Conclusions for False Narrows

False Narrows shows characteristic traits for stratification in the burial population. This is illustrated by the rarity of grave inclusions, such as copper, shell rattles, dentalia and teredo beads. Cranial deformation as a status marker also supports social stratification. However, the data presented do not necessarily support the idea that ascribed status is visible, as proposed by (Burley 1989:59). They do support Burley's conclusion that there was social stratification during the earliest burial periods Burley (1989:62).

The cemetery-scale contextual analysis shows the variability in grave goods, mode of interment, and body positions across demographic groups. The burials at False Narrows show individual and/or group/family wealth. Status is seen at False Narrows not only through variables such as ornamentation and cranial deformation, but also through the variation in male and female burial modes. Although males may exhibit higher

quantities of grave goods, specifically shell beads, females show identical patterns in status representation. There are equal distributions of grave goods, ornamentation and cranial deformation. Males and females also have their own class of burial type. Males have rock slab burial and females have cairns.

Over time, the way status and identity is expressed at False Narrows changes. The earliest period, FN I has the highest number of burials, grave goods, ornamentation and cranial deformation. In the later periods, FN II and FN III, the types of cranial deformation change as do the types of grave goods. The most significant aspect of identity transitions at False Narrows is the age at which individuals begin to exhibit ranking and status associations in burials. Females only receive ornamentation and grave good as adults. Males receive more elaborate mortuary treatment beginning at a younger age, and this trend continues into adulthood. This is supported by the results of the grave good distribution, ornamentation, cranial deformation and position of the body.

Although False Narrows shows strong degrees of stratification based upon grave goods in the population, a more nuanced approach shows the extent of variability and gender-based mortuary patterns in the population.

5.3 Namu (EISx 1)

Located on the central coast in traditional Heiltsuk territory (Cybulski 1994:76), Namu was used as a cemetery between 5900 and ca 1000 BP, giving it not only the earliest coastal burials, but also the longest period of use. It is important to note that there are an extremely small number of burials representative of a community where all ages

and sexes were buried over a 6000-year period. There are an average of 0.7 individuals buried every 100 years.

Between 5900 and 4000 BP there are no differences between male and female representation in the burial population. However, between 3000 and 2000 BP females show more variation in their mode of burial. The increase in female variation in association with the frequency of grave inclusions indicates that females had preferential burial treatment, specifically between 3000 and 2000 BP.

Table 33 Temporal Distribution of Burials at Namu

	Ca.1000 BP	2000- 1000 BP	3000- 2000 BP	4000- 3000 BP	5000- 4000 BP	6000- 5000 BP	TOTAL
Males	0	0	1	0	10	1	12
Females	0	1	3	0	11	0	15
Children	1	1	0	0	7	0	9
Unknown	0	2	1	0	2	1	6
TOTAL	1	4	5	0	30	2	42

Table 34 Age and Sex of Burials at Namu

	Older-adult & Adult	Sub-adult & Juvenile	Children & Infants	Unknown Age	TOTAL
Males	11	1	0	0	12
Females	8	7	0	0	15
Children w/o sex identification	NA	NA	9	NA	9
Unknown sex	2	4	0	0	6
TOTAL	21	12	9	0	42

At Namu females represent 35% (15/42) of the population, and males only 28% (12/42). One of the most noticeable features of the age and sex distribution is the unusually high number of sub-adult and juvenile females compared to males in this age

category Exactly half of the female population at Namu is under the age of 20 years old In fact, fifty percent *all* burials at Namu are under the age of 20. This is the region and cemetery with the highest proportion of young individuals relative to the population size Another point of interest is that females are also the majority of the individuals buried in each temporal period after 5000 BP

Between 5000-4000 there is an equal distribution of grave goods across age and sex Rocks, red ochre and multiple burials are also present at this site and occur with both male and female burials. There is no evidence of cranial deformation, however labret wear was observed on several individuals.

5.3.1 Grave inclusions at Namu

Table 3.5 Temporal Distribution of Burials with Grave Goods at Namu

	Ca. 1000 BP	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	5000-4000 BP	6000-5000 BP	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE of total with grave goods (8)
Males	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	25%
Females	0	0	2	0	2	0	4	50%
Children	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	25%
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0*
TOTAL # with grave goods	1	0	2	0	5	0	8	100% 8
TOTAL # of burials	1	4	5	0	30	2	42	
PERCENTAGE of total with grave goods	100%	0%	40%	0%	17%	0%	19%	

Table 36 Temporal Distribution of the Frequency of Types of Grave Goods at Namu

	Sex	ca 1000 BP	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	5000-4000 BP	6000-5000 BP	Total by Gender	TOTAL
Decorative	Male					1		1	2
	Female					1		1	
	Child								
	TOTAL	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	
Utilitarian	Male								1
	Female								
	Child	1						1	
	TOTAL	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Decorative & Utilitarian	Male					1			3
	Female					1			
	Child					1			
	TOTAL	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	
Animal remains & utilitarian	Male								1
	Female			1					
	Child								
	TOTAL	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Animal Remains	Male								1
	Female			1				1	
	Child								
	TOTAL	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	

Although there are a small number of burials at Namu with grave goods, there are individuals with very ornate grave inclusions. Eight of the 42 burials at have grave goods and three fit the criteria for being classified as ornamented. This is a significant portion of the population (3/42) 7%. with ornamentation. The first ornamented burial is female sub-adult [Burial 2 12E 1] with 270 shell-disc beads associated with her burial. The second is a male adult with a large, but unknown number of mussel and clam disc beads [Burial 77-3] (Cannon, personal communication). The third, and most decorated of the burials is an adult male [Burial FS 4 .H 1] dated between 4000 and 5000 BP. This individual is buried with 4000 shell disc beads, bone projectiles, walrus ivory harpoon heads, bone spear points, stone lanceolate points, and ivory artifacts (Figure 9) (Leubbers

1978: 32, 62-63) Overall, females show more diversity in the types of grave goods as well as a slightly higher frequency of grave good inclusions. Females are buried with utilitarian/decorative grave good combinations, decorative items, animal remains, and animal remains/decorative combinations. Male burials are restricted to decorative and decorative/utilitarian combinations. The most commonly occurring grave goods are shell beads, bone tools and ground stone tools. Chipped stone tools, mammal and fish remains also appear, but with less frequency. It should also be noted that utilitarian tools, such as the ground stone and bone tools only appear along with decorative goods specifically, shell beads.

Since the majority of the burials date to between 5900 and 4000 BP, this is also the period where most individuals are buried with grave goods. Six of the eight grave-good burials date to this period. The other two burials with grave goods are dispersed between ca. 3000 and 1000 BP.

There are nine burials at Namu with rocks included in the burial. There is one granite rock buried with a child along with a bone knife and four shell beads [Burial 77-8]. There is only one burial with large stone slabs [Burial 4 C 1] and one burial with a boulder placed directly above the head [Burial 4 G 8]. Cobbles and large rocks appear around the head and/or feet of five other individuals. There are no indications that rocks are part of either male or female burial ritual. However, there are multiple burials that are encircled with rocks, and this could indicate the rocks were used as either grave markers or as a way to mark the perimeter of the grave.

Red ochre appears with seven individuals dating to between 5000 and ca 1000 BP. Ochre was used between 5000 to 4000 BP on three adult males [Burials 4.H 1, 77-3, 77-7], one sub-adult male [Burial 4.C 1] and one sub-adult female [Burial 9 32 B]. Ochre in this period is associated with burials showing signs of status. Ochre is observed on the female with 270 shell disc beads, and on the only individual with labret-wear facets [male adult Burial 4.H 1]. The other two burials with ochre occur are a female sub-adult [Burial 9 3B.2] buried between 3000-2000 BP and an infant at ca. 1000 BP [Burial 9 OA 1].

5.3.3. *Mode of interment and body position at Namu*

Table 37 Body Positions at Namu

	Flexed	Extended	Bundle	TOTAL
Males	Left	Left	3	10
	Right 3	Right		
	Back 2	Back		
	Unspecified 2	Unspecified		
	Total 7	Total 0		
Females	Left 1	Left 1	0	12
	Right 4	Right		
	Back 3	Back 3		
	Unspecified	Unspecified		
	Total 8	Total 4		
Children	Left	Left	2	6
	Right	Right 1		
	Back 1	Back 2		
	Unspecified	Unspecified		
	Total 1	Total 3		
Unknown	Left	Left	2	3
	Right	Right		
	Back 1	Back		
	Unspecified	Unspecified		
	Total 1	Total 0		
TOTAL	17	7	7	31

Thirty-one (74%) Namu burials had their burial positions recorded. The two most common positions for burial are individuals flexed on their backs, and flexed lying on

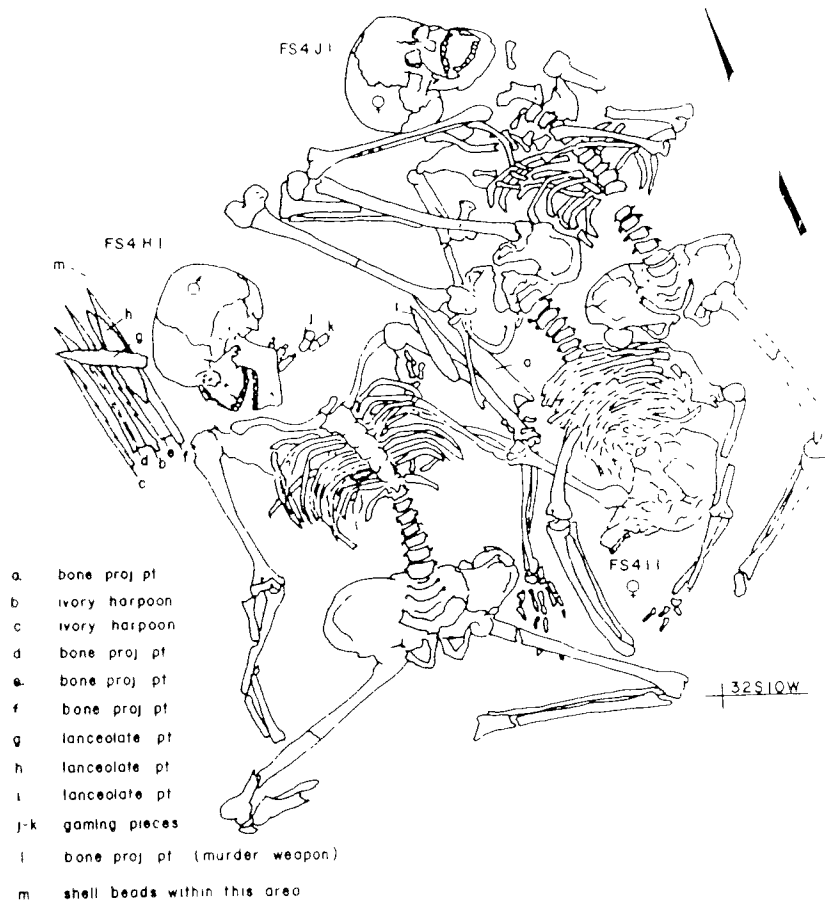
their right side. Although other forms occur, these two modes account for most observed postures. There are also a significant number of burials that are extended on their back. Four individuals were buried in this manner, three were females and one was a child.

Only 10 of the 42 burials at Namu had recorded mode of interment. Of these, eight were in a bundle and two were a pit burial. Four of the eight bundle burials were males and two were child/infant burials. The remaining two bundle burials are of unknown age and gender. Since there are limited data on the type of burials that occurred at Namu it is difficult to draw significant conclusions relating to gender and type of burial. The only pattern relating to burial mode is the fact that only females and children are buried extended on their back. However, because it is such a small number, it is not possible to state any firm conclusions.

Multiple burials are present at Namu only during the period between 5000 and 4000 BP. There are three sets of multiple burials and males, females and children are all represented in all of them. The first multiple burial has three individuals, a male adult and two children. The male is in a flexed position and both children are extended. This is the only multiple burial that does not have any grave inclusions, as there are no grave goods, rocks or ochre present. The second multiple burial (Figure 9) is a male adult, female adult and a juvenile of unknown sex. The male is in a flexed position, but the female is extended. There is a projectile point in the spine [Although Curtin does not specify if the projectile was embedded or on the spine, nor does she indicate that this possible injury was the cause of death, however, Leubbers describes it as 'the murder weapon' (1978:33)]. The adult male described in this burial is also the individual at

Namu with the most elaborate grave inclusions. This male also has labret wear facets, and ochre around his mandible. The third multiple burial contains two females, encircled with rocks. The arm of the adult female is around the shoulders of the juvenile female.

Figure 9 – Drawing of a Multiple Burial at Namu (Burials FS4 H, I, J)¹⁴



¹⁴ Figure 9 is modified from Leubbers 1978:33.

The presence of multiple burials is significant because it indicates they were a common practice between 5000 and 4000 BP. Twenty-five percent of the burials from this period are multiple interments. This mode of burial could indicate that the individuals were of close relation. The similarity between the contexts of the multiple burials suggests the possibility of maternal/paternal relationships between the adults and juveniles.

5.3.4 Conclusions for Namu

At Namu there are no patterns in the distribution of grave goods, rocks and ochre that would indicate there was preferential burial given to any gender or age group. The differences between males and females are observable in their mode of burial. Females exhibit more variation in mode and position of burial. Females are extended and flexed, as well as buried in pits and cairns. This pattern in burial mode could indicate a need to reserve space in the burial area. Since only females are extended, it could indicate several reasons why they were buried in these forms. The first is that females (generally) are not as large as males, and therefore would take up less burial space. Also, it would require more physical activity to dig a larger hole for burial, and if there was a division of labour, males may have been the ones who dug larger holes.

There are three distinct shifts in burial practices. The first is the cessation of multiple burials after 4000 BP. The second and third transitions occur after 2000 BP when burials become less ornate, the number of burials decreases dramatically and only females are buried.

Although there is no preferential treatment demographically, these data indicate that females did have a different style of burial than males. The identity of individuals at Namu is expressed through the mode of burial, including multiple burials (especially if they are from family groups). Age is another identity marker which is seen through the types of grave goods because adults are buried with decorative grave goods and juveniles and children have utilitarian items, indicating that an individual had to be a certain age to be buried with ceremonial or decorative grave goods. The gender identity of individuals is expressed through the degree of flexure. There is no consistency in the material or type of grave good to confirm gender-associated artifacts. Two females are buried with potential food items, but this is not a consistent pattern.

5.4 Boardwalk (GbTo 31)

Boardwalk was used as a cemetery from 3500 to 700 BP. It is a recent cemetery in comparison to those on the central and south coast. Boardwalk is unique in that it is the only cemetery in this study where patterns indicating gender-based mortuary treatment related exclusively to ornamentation. All ornamented males at Boardwalk have ceremonial, decorative and utilitarian artifacts. Boardwalk also exhibits a high level of variation in grave good types, utilitarian, decorative, seeds, animal remains and ornamentation are present. The grave goods at Boardwalk do not show the same degrees of individual wealth and social stratification seen in southern cemeteries. There are very few burials with grave inclusions and ornamentation considering the size of the burial population. Another consideration in grave goods associations are that the goods

interpreted as grave goods could actually be part of the midden fill (Cybulski, personal communication)

5.4.1 Burial profile of Boardwalk

The condition of the burials at Boardwalk ranges from complete to fragmented remains, as well as some remains with an unknown context. The majority of burials were recovered from a midden ridge behind house depressions during excavations in the 1960's and 1970's (MacDonald and Cybulski 2001: 8). A total of 120 individuals were interred over a 2800-year period, indicating that an average 0.4 individuals were buried every 10 years, or 4.6 individuals every 100 years. There are no recorded burials with ochre, cranial deformation, rocks or rock features. I do not have data on the burial mode and position of the bodies, but the data provided for the burials and the grave goods is sufficient to draw significant conclusions regarding burial practices at this site.

Table 38 Temporal Distribution of Burials at Boardwalk

	ca. 1000 BP	2000- 1000 BP	3000- 2000 BP	4000- 3000 BP	TOTAL
Males	2	11	51	1	65
Females	1	4	31	1	37
Children	1	2	10	0	13
Unknown		2	3	0	5
TOTAL	4	19	95	2	120

Burials at Boardwalk are distributed between 4000 and ca 1000 BP. Seventy-nine percent (95/120) fall between 3000 and 2000 BP, however radiocarbon dates have shown that the latest graves are actually closer to 2000 years old (MacDonald and Cybulski 2001:8). In the peak burial period, between 3000 and 1000 BP, males are much

more common than females. Between 3000 and 2000, 54% (51:95) of the cemetery population is male and 33% (31:95) female. In the following period, 58% (11:19) is male and 21% (4:19) female. Using the dates established by Cybulski and MacDonald (2001), males out-number females in all temporal divisions, especially during the peak burial periods.

Table 39 Age and Sex Distribution of Boardwalk

	Older-adult & Adult	Sub-adult & Juvenile	Children & Infants	TOTAL
Males	59	6	0	65
Females	33	4	0	37
Children w/o sex identification	NA	NA	13	13
Unknown sex	3	2	NA	5
TOTAL	95	12	13	120

The age distribution of burials at Boardwalk indicates that 79% (95:120) are older-adult/adult burials. Of these, 62% (59:95) are male and 35% (33:95) are female. Sub-adult/juvenile burials represent 10% (12:120). Fifty percent (6:12) of this age group is male and 33% (4:12) female. Eleven percent (13:120) of Boardwalk burials are children and infants. This distribution indicates a large proportion of adults, specifically males, more frequently receive below ground burial than individuals of a younger age.

5.4.2 Grave inclusions at Boardwalk

Table 40 Temporal Distribution of Burials with Grave Goods at Boardwalk

	ca. 1000 BP	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE of total with grave goods (36)
Males	0	4	18	0	22	61%
Females	0	2	7	1	10	28%
Children	0	1	1	0	2	6%
Unknown	0	0	2	0	2	6%
TOTAL # with grave goods	0	7	28	1	36	100%
TOTAL # of burials	4	19	95	2	120	36
PERCENTAGE Of total with grave goods	0%	37%	29%	50%	30%	

Table 41 Temporal Distribution of Ornamented Burials at Boardwalk

	ca. 1000 BP	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE of total with ornamentation (6)
Males	0	2	4	0	6	100%
Females	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Children	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0%
TOTAL # with grave goods	0	2	4	0	6	100%
TOTAL # of burials	4	19	95	2	120	6
PERCENTAGE of total with ornamentation	0%	11%	4%	0%	5%	

Boardwalk displays a wide variety of utilitarian grave good types. There are 37 individuals with definite grave inclusions. Males are more likely to have grave goods than are females or children. Males represent 61% (22:36) and females only 28% (10:36)

of burials with grave goods. Children have the lowest percentage of grave goods at 0.5% (2.36). Grave inclusions associated with females are very modest compared to those of males. There is only one exception in this pattern. A single female burial received a degree of ornamentation. Burial XVIIB252 is an adult female buried with a stone labret against her jaw, retouched chert flake, bone needle fragment, animal bone epiphysis and quartz flakes. Adult females are typically buried with bone or stone tools and no other artifacts. Male adult burials exhibit a much higher degree of ornamentation and variety of grave good types. Males are buried with animal remains, quartz, obsidian, copper, amber, 'trophy skulls', animal teeth, and bone or stone tools.

There are only two individuals at Boardwalk buried with labrets. Both date to 2300-1800 BP. The female (Burial XVIIB252) has her labret in place against the front jaw and the male burial has a labret near his face and no other grave inclusions. In this site, specifically, labrets could not be used to determine status or gender markers, though the female with the labret is the female with any degree of ornamentation.

One trend that is unique to the Boardwalk site is burials where bone or antler grave goods are placed on or near the head. There are 4 male adults with bone points near their head and a female adult with an antler handle under her head. The males are from the same period, between 2500 and 2000 BP, but the female burial is dated earlier from 3500 to 3000 BP. It is possible that there is a relationship between the males as they are all from the same period and have similar placement of similar types of grave goods. However, the female, because of the difference in time period, and type of artifact is not likely related to this group.

Four percent (5/120) of the population met the criteria for being an ornamented burial. All five burials were male. The female with the labret did not meet the criteria for being classified as an ornamented burial. Temporally, the burials with ornamentation are all centered near the same period, ca.2000 BP. Age was not a factor in deciding which males could receive a more ostentatious burial, as older-adults, adult, juvenile and sub-adult males are represented. The older-adult male does not show the same types of ornamentation as the younger males. Burial XVIIIB410 is an older adult male buried with a carved stone bird pendant and worked bone fragments. The remaining male burials with ornamentation all have multiple amber beads or pendants. All but one of the younger male burials has copper ornamentation. The pattern presented by the ornamented burials produces several interpretations. First, amber and copper are exclusively male grave goods. Second, amber and copper are reserved for younger males.

5.4.4 Mode of burial at Boardwalk

Although not included in Appendix A, Cybulski has recorded that many of the Boardwalk burials were placed in boxes (MacDonald and Cybulski 2001:8, Cybulski 1992:52). The majority of burials were in a flexed position and there is evidence that they were in this posture because they were placed within a box (Cybulski 1992:52). The whitish clay box outline surrounding the burial supports Cybulski's idea that they were food storage boxes because, "According to one source, the Tsimshian used clay to seal the seam of bent wood boxes used to store meat (Robinson and Wright 1962:41 in MacDonald and Cybulski 2001:8)

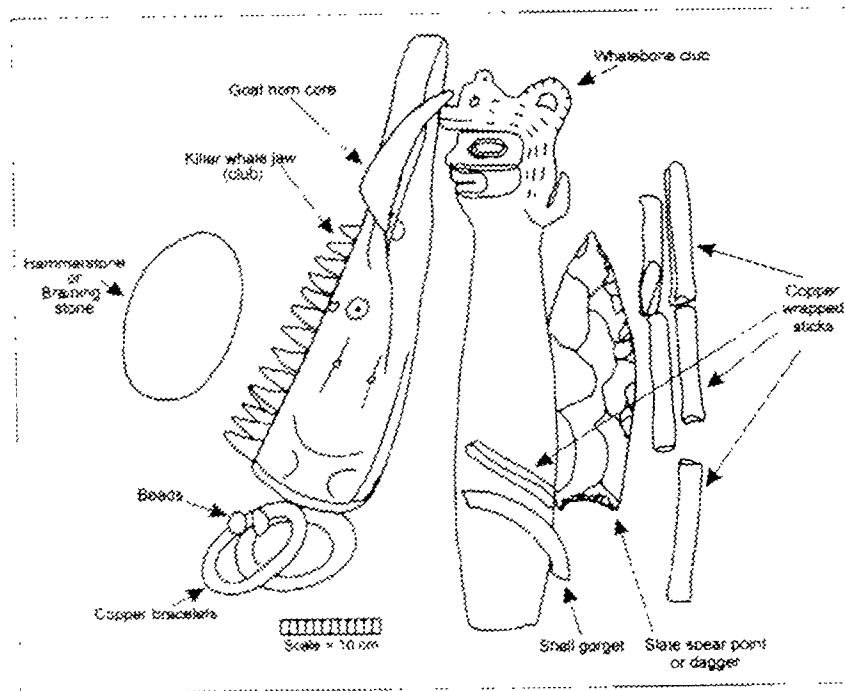
5.4.5 Conclusions for Boardwalk

Specific patterns pertaining to gender-based burial treatment are evident at Boardwalk. This could be the result of two potential factors. The first is that males have a higher status than females as represented in the mortuary realm. The second interpretation is more suited to the results and pertains to the circumstances surrounding death. If males are at a higher risk of death from conflict than females, specifically between 3000 and 2000 BP, and violent death was more likely to warrant burial, then there will be an overall higher representation of male burials and male burials with grave inclusions. MacDonald and Cybulski have concluded that warfare was a factor in the burials at Boardwalk (MacDonald and Cybulski 2001:8). As discussed in Chapter Four, the influence of warfare is an integral part for the interpretation of the demographic distribution and grave good types in northern cemetery populations, especially at Boardwalk. Further evidence of warfare is seen by the inclusion of separate human heads, or trophy skulls in the burials (MacDonald and Cybulski 2001:8). Although not associated with any burials, artifacts used in conflict have also been recovered from the site (Figure 10).

Males not only show a higher frequency of burial and grave inclusions, but they also show more diversity in the types of grave goods. Only males at Boardwalk are buried with copper, amber, trophy skulls and multiple types of grave goods. Although not always incorporated into the burials, Marsden (2001:102) has interpreted that other artifacts at Boardwalk are the remnants of defeated invaders. These include “crest helmets, decorated daggers, decorated armour, [and] coppers, [which] may well have

been new to the Tsimshian and therefore significant enough for them to have been buried with their warriors” (Marsden 2001:102).

Figure 10 Sketch of the Interpreted Warrior’s Cache in Area A of the Boardwalk Site¹⁵



Boardwalk shows patterns consistent with male preferential burial treatment as a result of death from violent interaction. Although females and males would have fallen victim to prolonged conflict, the cemetery at Boardwalk shows that males were more physically involved and may be more represented in the cemetery population

5.5 Lachane (GbTo 33)

There are distinct similarities between the burials at Boardwalk and those at Lachane including the time period, a high distribution of male burials and a high

¹⁵ This sketch is modified from MacDonald and Cybulski 2001, but originally appeared as a sketch by G.F. MacDonald from the 1968 field season

frequency of males with grave goods. Lachane is the second largest north coast cemetery, with 73 individuals. However, there are no ornamented burials, rocks, labrets, or cranial deformation. A feature of Lachane, not typical of other northern cemeteries is the absence of decorative grave goods. Lachane is also the only north coast site with evidence of decapitation in the burials (Cybulski 1996:64-65; Marsden 2001:100)

5.5.1 Burial profile of Lachane

As with the Boardwalk site, the condition of the burials ranges from fragmented remains to complete burials. Burials are in midden interments and some of the grave goods are in questionable association. As with Boardwalk, I do not have data for the mode of burial and position of the body. Therefore this section of analysis is incomplete

Table 42 Temporal Distribution of Burials at Lachane

	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	TOTAL
Males	5	33	2	40
Females	9	13	2	24
Children	1	7	0	8
Unknown	0	1	0	1
TOTAL	15	54	4	73

The temporal distribution shows a concentration of burials between 3000 and 2000 BP. Seventy-four percent (54/73) of the cemetery population are dated to this period. Twenty-one percent (15/74) are buried between 2000 and 1000 BP, and only 5% (4/73) fall between 4000 and 3000 BP. This distribution shows that trends in below ground burial reached a peak between 3000 and 2000 and tapered off shortly afterwards. However, the gender distribution between periods shifts slightly. There is an equal representation of males and females in the earliest period. Males represent 61% (33/54) of the population between 3000 and 2000 BP, and females only 24% (13/54). There is a

shift in gender distribution in the period following, 2000 to 1000 BP. Females represent 60% (9/15) and males 33% (5/15). In all time periods, children are the smallest segment of the burial population. The relatively equal gender distribution from 4000 to 3000 BP shows that both sexes were given below ground interment at an equal rate. However, between 3000 and 2000 BP there is an increase in male burials. It has also been noted that there is also an increase in violence on the northern coast during this period. This may suggest that differences in gender representation are more likely the result of the circumstances surrounding death, specifically male deaths resulting from conflict, than a gender-based mortuary ritual.

Table 43 Age and Sex Distribution at Lachane

	Older-adult & Adult	Sub-adult & Juvenile	Children & Infants	TOTAL
Males	32	8	1	41
Females	21	3	0	24
Children w/o sex identification	NA	NA	7	7
Unknown sex	0	1	NA	1
TOTAL	53	12	8	73

Adult burials represent 72% (53/73) of the population, followed by sub-adult and juvenile burials at 16% (12/73). Child burials are less frequent, at only 11% (8/73). Males are represented in greater numbers in both older-adult/adult and sub-adult/juvenile categories.

The dramatic increase in male burials between 3000 and 2000 BP is most likely the result of conflict and interpersonal violence. The temporal distribution of males

suggests that in this time period male juveniles and adults were more subject to death from violent interactions. Between 3000 and 2000 BP, 3% (1:33) are older-adult, 18% (6:33) are juvenile/sub-adult, and 79% (26:33) are adult.

5.5.2 Grave inclusions at Lachane

Table 44 Temporal Distribution of Burials with Grave Goods at Lachane

	ca. 1000 BP	2000-1000 BP	3000-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE of total with grave goods (14)
Males	0	4	5	0	9	64%
Females	0	3	1	1	5	36%
Child	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0%
TOTAL # with grave goods	0	7	6	1	14	100%
TOTAL # of burials	0	15	54	4	73	14
PERCENTAGE of total with grave goods	0%	47%	11%	25%	19%	

Only 19% (14/73) of burials at Lachane have grave inclusions. Males show a higher occurrence of grave goods in the later periods, however the only burial with grave inclusions from 4000 and 3000 BP is female (Burial XVIIB 489). Of interesting note is the proportional peak in grave goods burials centered at ca. 2000 BP. In the peak burial period there is a slightly lower frequency of burial with grave goods. Eleven percent (6:54) of burials between 3000 and 2000 BP have grave inclusions, whereas between 2000 and 1000 BP 47% (7:15) of burials have grave goods. This indicates that between 3000 and 2000 BP grave inclusions were not a common part of the mortuary ritual. A shift in both the frequency of below ground burial and grave inclusions in the following

period shows that as burial became less frequent, the inclusion of grave goods proportionately increased

The relevance of grave goods at Lachane is debatable because the contexts of the artifacts could potentially be part of the midden fill. The quality of the grave goods is extremely low in comparison to not only southern coastal cemeteries but also other northern sites. Grave goods are often fragmented stone and bone tools. There is no indication that the grave goods are indicative of material stratification in the burial practices. The only exception to this is the only burial dating to between 4000 and 3000 BP. Burial XVIIIB489 is an adult female with a projectile point (possibly a pendant) on her sternum and a dog skull directly above the burial. There are no burials at Lachane that meet the criteria for being classified as an ornamented burial.

5.4.4 Conclusions for Lachane

The contextual analysis of Lachane does not support an interpretation that focuses on material wealth and social stratification. Rather the data from Lachane are indicative of a mortuary practice oriented around death from violence as opposed to displays of wealth. The condition of the physical remains and the lack of grave inclusions supports the idea that warfare played a central role not only in the lives of the inhabitants of Lachane, but in their mortuary practices as well.

Evidence of conflict and violence is drawn from the trauma observed in the burials. Decapitation and the intentional burial of trophy skulls is an integral component of the interpretation of mortuary remains. In reference to human skeletal remains from Lachane, Cybulski reports that

Antemortem and perimortem skeletal trauma likely resulting from interpersonal violence was an important finding in the Prince Rupert Harbour skeletal collection as summarized and, in some respects, detailed elsewhere (Cybulski, 1990, 1992, 1994). The assemblage from the Lachane site provides the only direct archaeological evidence for the taking of heads, an often cited correlate of Northwest Coast warfare as known ethnographically (e.g. Codere, 1950:105; Drucker, 1951, de Laguna, 1990:215; Suttles, 1990:463) (Cybulski 1996:5).

Further in his analysis of the decapitated individuals around AD 200 (Cybulski 1996:19)

Cybulski concludes that

The three known decapitations (i.e. those with cut neck vertebrae) included two males and a female, all in the young adult category. Burial 466 (without cut marks and Burial 483) were identified as females, the first estimated at middle age, the second as a young adult. Their proximity to one another (in Area B of the site) suggested a single event. From the unusual body attitudes of the three in situ examples, one might further speculate that the victims were decapitated where they lay or that their corpses were unceremoniously dumped into a common pit in the general area of the cemetery (Cybulski 1996:64-65)

The influence of violence on Lachane's mortuary practices are evident not only through the human skeletal remains, but also through the general lack of grave inclusions, infant burials and an unequal distribution of male and female burials. Lachane shows one of the lowest frequencies of grave good inclusions, as well as burials with the least displays of individual status. Since there are so few burials outside of the period associated with violence and conflict it is difficult to draw conclusions regarding mortuary practices that are not circumstantial. However, the more equal distribution of males and females, and the slightly higher frequency of female burials with grave goods outside 3000 to 2000 BP may suggest an equal, or even a female centric mortuary practice.

5.6 Discussion of the Contextual Analysis

The contextual analysis has shown that when the scale of analysis is reduced, variability within the sites becomes more evident and the patterns pertaining to individual identity become visible. Although no conclusive interpretations concerning who these individuals are have been drawn, the analysis has shown that each cemetery has unique gender and age distributions, grave good types and burial representation.

As previously indicated, the individuals represented in these cemeteries are of a select population and not representative of all peoples living in the communities. As suggested by Cybulski, cemetery sites may be more representative of a select class or lineage (Cybulski 1994: 80). However, this does not mean that individuals in cemeteries are only of high status, or that their status can even be compared based upon grave good associations.

The analysis has also shown that a comparison at the broadest level cannot identify subtle nuances between and within regions and sites. This is seen in gender representation and in the distribution of grave goods among males, females and children in different regions. Specific patterns relating to grave good distribution are also more evident in the smallest scale of analysis. For example, males in the north, but females in the south have access to copper ornamentation, burials with animal remains are more common in the south than in the north; and evidence of interpersonal conflict and violent interactions are more visible in the north.

Each cemetery has also shown different patterns of mortuary treatment. The contextual analysis has shown that there are differences in the degrees of wealth

regionally represented by grave good inclusions. False Narrows and Pender show evidence of stratification between the burials based on quantity and rarity of grave inclusions. These two sites also show the widest distribution of age groups. Pender also shows gender-based restrictions on grave good types, whereas males and females are buried with the same types of grave goods at False Narrows. Lachane and Boardwalk do not show the same degrees of individual wealth and stratification, but rather a skewed gender distribution most likely the result of an increase in violent male deaths. Northern sites also have fewer child and infant burials than do southern cemeteries. Namu shows no difference in male and female representation, and only mild forms of stratification when compared to southern sites. Namu also shows an unusually high representation of sub-adults. The presumed stratification within Northwest Coast burial populations, specifically between males and females, can no longer be the standard interpretation for all coastal burials.

Chapter 6 – Conclusions

There are numerous factors affecting mortuary representation and burial ritual on the Northwest Coast. Within each region there are further aspects of individual identity and circumstances surrounding death that influence mortuary ritual. I have identified several factors that may affect burial modes, such as household and community structure, social dynamics, resource allocation, warfare, gender roles, social expressions of individual and community identity, and social stratification. Each one of these factors influences mortuary traditions, and further influences the archaeological interpretation of burial modes.

6.1 The significance of the contextual approach in mortuary studies

The contextual approach to mortuary analysis allows each of the above factors to be considered in forming interpretations. Multiple lines of evidence, such as ethnohistory, archaeological data and physical human remains are combined to help understand why patterns in mortuary ritual occur. The advantage of the contextual approach to this type of data is that it does not presuppose traditional archaeological notions of what archaeologists should, or choose to see in burial data – specifically, rank, wealth and stratification. This is especially beneficial for the Northwest Coast because as discussed in Chapter Three (3.3) the data are fragmentary and do not always lead to straightforward interpretation.

The contextual approach also supports analyses that do not directly compare males and females, and therefore creates an interpretation that is less affected by gender

biases. Although gender is a mortuary variable because it is an interpretation of a social role drawn from an individual's sex, a contextual approach, again, does not presuppose that there will be pre-determined mortuary patterns for males and females. This refers specifically to the idea that certain classes of grave goods (decorative vs. utilitarian, rich vs. poor) will be more closely linked to one sex over another.

As this thesis has demonstrated, multiple lines of evidence, specifically ethnohistory, analogy, grave goods and human remains, can create an understanding of the mortuary record that looks beyond the surface meanings of burials. My interpretation of north coast burials incorporated the effects of extensive conflict, food procurement strategies and social structure. In conjunction with the burial data, it shows that the circumstances surrounding death may have had a significant impact on why these individuals were buried. The evidence provided leads to an interpretation that acknowledges gender differences within the society, but is not pre-occupied with identifying how the society ranks itself in mortuary traditions. In the south coast, the contextual analysis has shown that individuals are not invariably 'ranked' in mortuary ritual as previously identified by archaeologists. It has also shown that techniques previously used to identify rank and status in Northwest Coast burials do not adequately explain the nature of the burial population. In fact, when the identification of rank is the only objective of the study, it creates (sometimes unknowingly) a male bias in the interpretation of data, working under the assumption that males in hunter-forager communities were of higher status, and that the artifacts an individual is buried with are accurate symbols of their role in life.

The contextual approach to mortuary data showed that when the scale of analysis is reduced, from coastal - to regional - to local, the results of the analyses of mortuary variables change. By looking at the dimensions of the burial population in relation to scale, different patterns are observed. On the largest scale of analysis, (Chapter Four, 4.1) only general patterns could be identified. It showed that males were the highest demographic, followed by females (371:283), and that more males than females had grave goods (88:56). This level of analysis also showed that the broadest level would inevitably miss significant elements of regional and local mortuary ritual. Once the scale of analysis was reduced, a shift in the demographic distribution of males and females was evident in certain populations. These are seen specifically in the southern cemeteries of Pender and False Narrows, where females showed demographic equality with males, and relatively equal grave good distribution. In the case of Pender, females showed more variability in burial mode and had more grave inclusions. In contrast to these findings, the north coast cemeteries of Boardwalk and Lachane showed an even greater gender differentiation in the demographic distribution and distribution of grave goods, where males had a much higher presence in cemeteries, both in numbers and in grave good quantities. In contrast to these north and south examples, Namu, on the central coast is different again. Females show the most variation in their burial modes, and there are an unusually high number of sub-adult females, a pattern in the demographic distribution that is not found anywhere else on the coast.

An analytical approach to mortuary archaeology parallels the types of results from the overall analysis (Chapter 4. 4.1). The overall analysis shows general patterns,

but does not identify individual variability. Analytical approaches to mortuary data do not seek to examine variability, but rather commonalities in the data and identify 'classes' within the burial population. By looking at the burials on a regional and local scale the generalizations previously identified are no longer reflective of Northwest Coast burial practices. The contextual analysis has supported the argument that the status quo is flawed. These burials display different patterns between and within regions and they do not show direct evidence of ranking.

6.2 Conclusions

From the analysis, I have four main conclusions. First, there are an extremely small number of burials to represent 6000 years of below ground burials on the coast. There are an even smaller number of burials with grave inclusions. The lack of a larger burial population is evidence that the individuals buried were chosen and are representative of an exclusive population. This does not mean they were of high status, but rather were selected for any number of reasons for a less common mode of mortuary commemoration. Cross-cultural studies suggest many hunter-gatherer groups do not see any inherent distinction among varied methods of corpse treatment that may include both modes of above ground exposure and burial (Knutsson 1999:59). The potential for interpretations of the social identity and status of individuals is further reduced because of the rarity of burials with grave inclusions. Since grave inclusions are not a standard element in Northwest Coast mortuary ritual in any time period it is not feasible to compare burials with grave goods to those without. In doing so the significance of burials without grave goods may be overlooked and too much emphasis may be placed on burials

with grave goods. As discussed in Chapter Four only 183 of 1044 (18%) of burials have grave inclusions, and of the 183, only 35 (19%) have wealth or status oriented grave goods. A more suitable interpretation for this population must focus on the nature of burials and their variability rather than quantity of grave goods.

The second conclusion is that the way gender is represented is not universal throughout the coast. The south shows a more equal gender distribution, both in demographic distribution, and in the distribution of grave inclusions and ornamentation. The north shows less equal gender representation. Males dominate both in numbers and in frequencies of grave inclusions. Gender is variably expressed inter-regionally, shown through the contextual analysis by the types of grave goods restricted to gender in some sites, and the ages at which individuals of a certain sex begin to receive goods or ornamentation in their burials. Pender provides a strong example of gender-based artifacts because only females are buried with carved bowls. Lachane and Boardwalk also show gender association in artifact types because males are buried with more ornamentation and decorative grave goods.

Third, the way identity in burial mode is expressed varies between regions based on the types of grave goods associated with burials. Differences between grave good types between the north and the south create difficulty in comparing wealth, status on a superficial level. The south displays more wealth oriented grave goods, and overall more expressions of personal status and wealth in burials. However, the north coast has more variety in the types of grave inclusions, but does not show the same degrees of individual wealth.

The fourth conclusion is that temporally, there are shifts in gender distributions between the north and the south coast. The distribution of males and females, both in numbers of burials and number of burials with grave goods fluctuates in opposite ways between regions over time. One interpretation for the temporal shift is the circumstances surrounding death. Death from interpersonal conflict may have increased the male burial rate in the north. However, the south coast retained a relatively stable gender ratio more reflective of mortuary trends, rather than circumstances surrounding death. The relative number and gender proportion of burials, burials with grave goods, and ornamented burials may be a function of local and regional fashion trends (cf Cannon 1989, 2003). The Northwest Coast burial data, however, are too sparse and lack the temporal control needed to investigate these trends further.

6.3 Implications for future research

These conclusions have several implications for future Northwest Coast archaeology. The most significant consequence of this thesis is that the presuppositions that rank and status are visible and present in all Northwest Coast burials will no longer suffice for explaining the nature of the burial population.

Comparisons between the northern, central and southern populations will also have to acknowledge the extensive differences between the three regions. There may be different meanings in each region for types of grave goods that are seen throughout the coast. By further exploring the meaning of grave goods and their associations to the deceased, we will be able to develop a more thorough understanding of Northwest Coast burial practices.

The results of these data will also contribute to our understanding of gender relations in Northwest Coast prehistory. Archaeologists currently working on the Northwest Coast have proposed that there were not definitive separations between men and women in prehistoric society, specifically in the areas of ritual and labour (Pratt 1999: 230; Zacharias 1999: 223). The idea that coastal societies were male dominated has been criticized as an androcentric and Eurocentric interpretation of the past (Bernick 1999: 179-180). The results of my analysis support the idea that males and females may not have been as socially divided as once thought. It further indicates that divisions between males and females in mortuary traditions are not indicative of status difference, or male dominance within the society. Rather, it supports the idea of sexual asymmetry in mortuary ritual, especially in the Gulf of Georgia area.

Former interpretations of a higher male status will need to be replaced with interpretations that recognize an equal representation in the south and central coast, with an emphasis on gender variability as opposed to simple ranking based on grave good quantity. As this thesis has demonstrated, social status representation is not the sole explanation for the nature of these burial populations. The identity of Northwest Coast individuals in burials is sufficiently complex that determining whether an individual is a chief, noble, free-person or slave can limit the significance of the population that is actually being represented. These are populations that exhibit diversity in burial modes, gender-based treatment, and practices that are unique to the region and time, exclusive to the site and conditional upon the individual in the mortuary record.

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Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
1	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	1a	M	SA	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Lambdoidal cranial deformation, intentional multiple burial with 1b
2	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	1b	M	SA	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Multiple burial with 1a (they could be siblings because of close dental similarities)
3	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	2a	?	OA	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Fragmented remains
4	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	2b	M	A	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Fragmented remains
5	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	2c	?	SA	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Incomplete remains
6	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	3a	F	A	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Fragmented remains, fronto-lambdoidal cranial deformation
7	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	3b	?	I	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Fragmented remains
8	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	4a	F	A	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Fragmented remains, lambdoidal cranial deformation
9	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	4b	?	C	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Fragmented remains

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
10	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		5F	OA	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Fragmented remains
11	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		6M	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Fragmented remains
12	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		7F	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Fragmented remains, bi-fronto lambdoidal cranial deformation
13	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		8M	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Fragmented remains
14	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		9M	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Fragmented remains, fronto-lambdoidal cranial deformation, green stain on right humerus, possibly a copper stain
15	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		16?	I	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Fragmented remains
16	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		17?	SA	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Fragmented remains
17	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		18M	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Partial lambdoidal cranial deformation

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
18	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		19F	OA	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Bi-fronto lambdoidal cranial deformation
19	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		20M	A	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Partial remains
20	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		21F	A	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Partial remains
21	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	22a	F	A	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Partial remains
22	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	22b	?	C	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Fragmented remains
23	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		24F	A	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Fragmented remains, slight lambdoidal cranial deformation
24	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		25?	SA	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Fragmented remains
25	Beach Grove DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		26M	A	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Fragmented remains
26	Bliss Landing EaSe2	South	Beattie (1981)		2M	OA	Mayne	4000-3000 BP				Slight lambdoidal cranial deformation

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
27	Bliss Landing EaSe2	South	Beattie (1981)		3M	OA	Mayne	4000-3000 BP				Labret wear on anterior mandibular dentition, cranium absent
28	Cable Bay DfRu 74	South	Wilson (1992)		1?	?	n d					
29	Cable Bay DfRu 74	South	Wilson (1992)		2F	A	ca. 2000 BP	2000-1000 BP	fix left	box		Series of deep grooves across femur may indicate being hacked or dismembered after death
30	Cowichan Bay DeRv 107	South	Yip (1982)		1?	I	2400-1600	2000-1000 BP				Fragmented remains
31	Cowichan Bay DeRv 107	South	Yip (1982)		2?	I	2400-1600	2000-1000 BP				Fragmented remains
32	Cowichan Bay DeRv 107	South	Yip (1982)		3?	SA	2400-1600	2000-1000 BP				Fragmented remains
33	Cowichan Bay DeRv 107	South	Yip (1982)		4?	C	2400-1600	2000-1000 BP				Fragmented remains
34	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)		1F	OA	Locarno	3000-2000 BP	fix back			Labret wear on lower lateral incisors

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
35	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)		2F	OA	Locarno	3000- 2000 BP	fix right			
36	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)		3F?	OA	Locarno	3000- 2000 BP	fix right			
37	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)		4?	SA	Locarno	3000- 2000 BP				
38	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)		5?	OA	Locarno	3000- 2000 BP				
39	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)		6?	?	Locarno	3000- 2000 BP				
40	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)		7M	SA	Locarno	3000- 2000 BP	Flx front			
41	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981) Conaty & Curtin (1984)		8F	OA	Locarno	3000- 2000 BP			Bone awl in possible association	

Appendix A - Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
42	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)		9F	OA	Locarno	3000-2000 BP	Flx front			
43	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)		10?	I	Locarno	3000-2000 BP				
44	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)		11M	SA	Locarno	3000-2000 BP	flx right		6 stone projectile points	Multiple burial with 12, the individuals are curled together in a 'spoon' position
45	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)		12F	SA	Locarno	3000-2000 BP	flx right			Multiple burial with 11
46	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)		13M	SA	Locarno	3000-2000 BP				
47	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)		14M	OA	Locarno	3000-2000 BP			Basalt flake in possible association	
48	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)		15?	SA	Locarno	3000-2000 BP	flx left		Antler wedge in possible association	

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
49	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)	16a	?	J	Locarno	3000-2000 BP				
50	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)	16b	?	OA	Locarno	3000-2000 BP				
51	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)		17F	SA	Locarno	3000-2000 BP	fix left			
52	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)		18?	?	Locarno	3000-2000 BP			Worked shell in possible association	
53	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)		19?	OA	Locarno	3000-2000 BP				
54	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)		20?	?	Locarno	3000-2000 BP				
55	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)		21F	A	Locarno	3000-2000 BP	fix right		Dentalium and shell disc beads	

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
56	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)	22?			Locarno	3000- 2000 BP			Chert flake in possible association	
57	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)	23?		OA	Locarno	3000- 2000 BP				
58	Crescent Beach DgRr 1	South	Beattie (1981), Conaty & Curtin (1984)	24?		OA	Locarno	3000- 2000 BP				
59	Deep Bay Di Se 7	South	Beattie (1981)	1	F	OA	Gulf of Georgia	2000- 1000 BP				Fronto-lambdoidal cranial deformation
60	Deep Bay Di Se 7	South	Beattie (1981)	3	F	OA	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				
61	Deep Bay Di Se 7	South	Beattie (1981)	4?		C	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				
62	Deep Bay Di Se 7	South	Beattie (1981)	5	M	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				
63	Deep Bay Di Se 7	South	Beattie (1981)	7	M	OA	Lithic	3000- 2000 BP				Lambdoidal cranial deformation

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
64	Deep Bay Di Se 7	South	Beattie (1981)		8M	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				
65	Deep Bay Di Se 7	South	Beattie (1981)		10?	I	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				
66	Duke Point DgRx 5	South	Murray (1982)		1M	A	600 BC	2000- 1000 BP				
67	Duke Point DgRx 5	South	Murray (1982)		2M	A	600 BC	2000- 1000 BP				Infant buried between legs
68	Duke Point DgRx 5	South	Murray (1982)		3F	A	600 BC	2000- 1000 BP				
69	Duke Point DgRx 5	South	Murray (1982)		4F	A	600 BC	2000- 1000 BP				
70	Duke Point DgRx 5	South	Murray (1982)		5?	SA	600 BC	2000- 1000 BP				
71	Duke Point DgRx 5	South	Murray (1982)		6?	SA	600 BC	2000- 1000 BP				
72	Duke Point DgRx 5	South	Murray (1982)		7?	C	600 BC	2000- 1000 BP			Shell disc bead necklace	

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
73	Duke Point DgRx 5	South	Murray (1982)		8?	C	600 BC	2000-1000 BP			Shell disc bead necklace	
74	Duke Point DgRx 5	South	Murray (1982)		9?	I	600 BC	2000-1000 BP				Buried between the legs of burial 3
75	Duke Point DgRx 5	South	Murray (1982)		10?	Fetus	600 BC	2000-1000 BP				
76	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	1a-66	F	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP	flex	Pit	17 shell beads, 17 dentalia, 2 teredo beads	
77	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	1b-66	F	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP		Pit		
78	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	2--66	F	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP		Pit	Two ground stone lanceolate bifaces, one copper pendant, 27 dentalia, 2 stone beads	Lamboid cranial deformation
79	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	2a-67	M	SA	FN I	2000-1000 BP		Pit		
80	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	2b-67	F	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP		Pit		
81	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	2c-67	?	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP		Pit		

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
82	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	3a-66	M	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP		Rock	Unknown number of scattered shell beads	Lamboidal cranial deformation
83	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	3b-66	F	C	FN I	2000-1000 BP				
84	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	6c-66	?	C	FN I	2000-1000 BP				
85	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	3d-66	M	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP				
86	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	4a-66	?	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP		Rock		
87	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	4b-66	?	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP				
88	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	4a-67	F	I	FN I	2000-1000 BP				
89	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	4b-67	?	I	FN I	2000-1000 BP				
90	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	4c-67	?	I	FN I	2000-1000 BP				

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
91	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	4d-67	F	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP	flx			Lamboidal cranial deformation
92	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	4e-67	F	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP				
93	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	4f-67	M	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP				
94	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	5a-67	M	SA	FN I	2000-1000 BP		Rock	4 dentalia	Lamboidal cranial deformation
95	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	5b-67	?	SA	FN I	2000-1000 BP				
96	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	6a-66	F	J	FN I	2000-1000 BP	flx			
97	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	6b-66	M	C	FN I	2000-1000 BP				
98	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	7a-66	?	C	FN I	2000-1000 BP	flx			
99	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	7b-66	?	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP		Rock		

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
100	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	8--67	M	C	FN I	2000-1000 BP	fix			Lamboidal cranial deformation
101	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	9--66	?	C	FN I	2000-1000 BP	fix	Pit	905 dentalia	
102	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	10a-66	?	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP		Pit		
103	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	10b-66	?	J	FN I	2000-1000 BP		Pit		
104	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	10c-66	F	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP	fix	Pit	515 dentalia	
105	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	11--66	F	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP	fix	Pit	1 copper fragment, 414 dentalia	Lamboidal cranial deformation
106	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	12a-66	M	J	FN I	2000-1000 BP		Pit		Lamboidal cranial deformation
107	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	12b-66	M	J	FN I	2000-1000 BP		Pit		
108	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	13-66	M	J	FN I	2000-1000 BP		Pit		

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
109	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	14-66	M	C	FN I	2000-1000 BP	fix	Rock		
110	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	15-66	M	SA	FN I	2000-1000 BP	fix	Pit		
111	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	16-66	M	SA	FN I	2000-1000 BP	fix	Pit	2 large lanceolate bifaces, 1286 dentalia	
112	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	17a-66	F	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP	fix	Pit		
113	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	17b-66	?	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP				
114	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	18a-66	M	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP	fix	Pit		Undefined cranial deformation
115	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	18b-66	?	C	FN I	2000-1000 BP				
116	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	19-67	M	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP	fix			Undefined cranial deformation
117	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	20-67	F	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP				Lambdoidal cranial deformation

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
118	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	21-67	F	J	FN I	2000-1000 BP	fix	Pit		Undefined cranial deformation
119	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	22a-67	M	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP	-			Lambdoidal cranial deformation
120	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	22b-67	?	?	FN I	2000-1000 BP				
121	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	23a-67	M	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP	fix	Pit	4 scallop shell rattles, 10 shell beads	Undefined cranial deformation
122	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	23b-67	?	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP				
123	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	23c-67	?	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP				
124	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	24-67	?	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP				
125	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	25-67	M	J	FN I	2000-1000 BP	fix	Pit	185 shell beads	
126	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	26a-67	F	A	FN I	2000-1000 BP	fix			

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
144	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	40b-67	?	A	FN I	2000- 1000 BP		Pit		
145	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	41-67	F	SA	n d	2000- 1000 BP		Cairn	Unknown number of scattered dentalia	Chinook cranial deformation
146	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	42-67	M	A	n d	2000- 1000 BP		Rock		
147	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	43-67	M	SA	n d	2000- 1000 BP				
148	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	44a-67	M	A	FN III	2000- 1000 BP	flx	Rock		Undefined cranial deformation
149	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	44b-67	?	?	FN III	2000- 1000 BP				
150	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	45a-67	M	A	FN III	2000- 1000 BP	flx	Pit		Lambdodial cranial deformation
151	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	45b-67	F	A	FN III	2000- 1000 BP				Lambdodial cranial deformation
152	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	46-68	F	A	FN III	2000- 1000 BP	flx	Pit		Fronto-occipital cranial deformation

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
153	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	47-67	M	SA	FN III	2000-1000 BP	fix	Pit		
154	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	48-67	F	C	FN II	2000-1000 BP	fix	Pit	1 dentalium	
155	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	49a-67	F	A	FN II	2000-1000 BP	fix	Cairn	1 shell pendant	Lambdoidal cranial deformation
156	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	49b-67	?	A	FN II	2000-1000 BP				
157	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	50-67	F	I	FN II	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		
158	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	51a-67	M	A	FN II	2000-1000 BP	fix			
159	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	51b-67	?	I	FN II	2000-1000 BP				
160	False Narrows DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	52-67	M	J	FN I	2000-1000 BP			Beetle pendant, 2 incised elk tines, 2056 shell beads, 3 dentalia, 3 teredo beads, 2 whale bone armlets	
161	Ganges DfRu 3	South	Simonsen (1988)		F	SA	n d		semi-fix left			Partial cranial deformation

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
162	Glenrose Cannery DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981), Styles (1976)		5F	A	4500-3300 BP	4000-3000 BP	flx left	Cyst	Drilled bone pendant, drilled shell bead, burned polished bone fragment	3 lumps of ochre on plevs. vertebrae and left tibia
163	Glenrose Cannery DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981), Styles (1976)		6M	A	4500-3300 BP	4000-3000 BP	flx left	Cyst	Bone awl	Ochre
164	Glenrose Cannery DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981), Styles (1976)		7?	A	4500-3300 BP	4000-3000 BP	flx right	Cyst		
165	Glenrose Cannery DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981), Styles (1976)		8?	C	4500-3300 BP	4000-3000 BP	flx left	Cyst	Needle pointed awl	
166	Glenrose Cannery DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981), Styles (1976)		1?	I	2400-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP	flx			
167	Glenrose Cannery DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981), Styles (1976)		2?	I	2400-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				
168	Glenrose Cannery DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981), Styles (1976)		3F	SA	2400-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP	flx			Fragmented remains
169	Glenrose Cannery DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981), Styles (1976)		11?	A	4500-3300 BP	4000-3000 BP				
170	Glenrose Cannery DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981), Styles (1976)		12?	I	4500-3300 BP	4000-3000 BP	flx			

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
171	Glenrose Cannery DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981), Styles (1976)		13?	SA	4500-3300 BP	4000-3000 BP	flx left		Bone point fragment	
172	Glenrose Cannery DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981), Styles (1976)		9M	A	2400-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP	flx back		Worked bird bone in a pin shape	
173	Glenrose Cannery DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981), Styles (1976)		10?	C	2400-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP	flx			Ochre on chest and ribs
174	Glenrose Cannery DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981), Styles (1976)		16?	A	4500-3300 BP	4000-3000 BP				
175	Glenrose Cannery DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981), Styles (1976)		14?	A	2400-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				
176	Glenrose Cannery DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981), Styles (1976)		15?	C	2400-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP			Mammal bones	
177	Glenrose Cannery DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981), Styles (1976)		17?	A	2400-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP	flx			
178	Glenrose Cannery DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981), Styles (1976)		18?	C	4500-3300 BP	4000-3000 BP	flx		Bone weaving tool, deer ulna tool	Yellow ochre near chest
179	Glenrose Cannery DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981), Styles (1976)		18M?	SA	4500-3300 BP	4000-3000 BP	flx			

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
180	Goldicutt Creek DgRg 19	South	Oliver & Skinner (1987)		1M	A	1880+/-130 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx right		Basalt adze	Large stone near head
181	Helen Point DfRu 8	South	Beattie (1981)		1M	OA	Marpole	2000-1000 BP				Fragmented remains
182	Helen Point DfRu 8	South	Beattie (1981)		2M	SA	Marpole	2000-1000 BP				Fragmented remains
183	Helen Point DfRu 8	South	Beattie (1981)		3?	?	Mayne	2000-1000 BP				Some bones are charred
184	Helen Point DfRu 8	South	Beattie (1981)		4?	SA	Marpole	2000-1000 BP				Partial burial
185	Helen Point DfRu 8	South	Beattie (1981)		5F	A	Mayne	3000-2000 BP				Fragmented remains
186	Helen Point DfRu 8	South	Beattie (1981)		6M	OA	Locarno Beach	3000-2000 BP				Fragmented remains
187	Helen Point DfRu 8	South	Beattie (1981)		7?	SA	Mayne	3000-2000 BP				Fragmented remains
188	Helen Point DfRu 8	South	Beattie (1981)		8?	A	Mayne	3000-2000 BP				Fragmented remains

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
189	Helen Point DfRu 8	South	Beattie (1981)		9M	A	Marpole	2000-1000 BP				Moderate lambdoidal cranial deformation
190	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)		1?	A	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP	flx	Surface		
191	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)	2a	?	A	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP		Cairn	Saw/ abrader	Ochre, burial associated with 2b
192	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)	2b	?	I	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Ochre, burial associated with 2a
193	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)		3?	SA	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP	flx	Surface		
194	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)		4?	A	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP	flx			
195	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)		5?	SA	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP	flx	Surface	Chipped and ground point, chipped and ground point fragments, small shell beads, bone awl or punch	This burial and associated goods are associated with burial 9
196	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)		9?	A	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP	flx	Surface		This burial is associated with burial 5

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
197	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)		6?	SA	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP	flx		Worked land mammal bone, small, medium and large shell beads, small medium shale beads, large steatite beads	This burial and associated goods are associated with burials 6 and 18
198	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)		6?	SA	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP	flx			This burial is associated with burial 6 and 18
199	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)		18?	A	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP			Labret	This burial is associated with burials 6 & 6
200	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)		7F	A	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP	flx	Cairn		
201	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)		8?	SA	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP		Surface		
202	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)		10M	A	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP	flx	Cairn		
203	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)	11a	M	A	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP	flx	Surface	Abrader/ saw	This burial is associated with burial 11b
204	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)	11b	M	A	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP	flx	Surface		This burial is associated with burial 11a

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
205	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)		12M	A	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP	fix	Surface	Ground slate point, small shell bead, small shale beads, abrader	
206	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)	13a	?	A	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP			Abrader	This burial is associated with burials 13b & 13c
207	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)	13b	?	SA	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP				This burial is associated with burials 13a & 13c
208	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)	13c	?	I	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP				This burial is associated with burials 13a & 13b
209	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)		14M	A	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP		Rock	Labret, ear spool, medium shale bead, punch, pin/ awl fragment	
210	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)		15?	I	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP		Rock		
211	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)		16F	A	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP	fix	Rock/ Cairn		
212	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)		17?	A	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP	fix	Rock		
213	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)	19a	M	A	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP	fix	Pit	Labret, small shell bead	This burial is associated with burial 19b

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
214	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)	19b	?	I	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP		Pit		This burial is associated with burial 19a
215	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)	20a	?	A	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP			Punch/ awl fragment	This burial is associated with burial 20b
216	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)	20b	?	A	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP				This burial is associated with burial 20a
217	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)	21a	?	A	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP				This burial is associated with burial 21b
218	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)	21b	?	A	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP				This burial is associated with burial 21a
219	Hill Site DfRu 4	South	Hall and Haggarty (1981)	22?	?	SA	400 BC - AD 300	2000-1000 BP				
220	Little Beach DfSj 100	South	Stryd (1991)	1?	?		ca. 3200 BP	4000-3000 BP				
221	Little Beach DfSj100	South	Stryd (1991)	2?	?		ca 3200 BP	4000-3000 BP				
222	Little Beach DfSj100	South	Stryd (1991)	3?	?		ca 3200 BP	4000-3000 BP				

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
223	Little Beach DfSj100	South	Stryd (1991)	4?	?	ca 3200 BP	4000- 3000 BP					
224	Little Beach DfSj100	South	Stryd (1991)	5?	?	ca. 3200 BP	4000- 3000 BP					
225	Little Beach DfSj100	South	Stryd (1991)	6?	?	ca 3200 BP	4000- 3000 BP					
226	Little Beach DfSj100	South	Stryd (1991)	7?	?	ca 3200 BP	4000- 3000 BP					
227	Little Beach DfSj100	South	Stryd (1991)	8?	?	ca 3200 BP	4000- 3000 BP					
228	Little Beach DfSj100	South	Stryd (1991)	9?	?	ca 3200 BP	4000- 3000 BP					
229	Little Beach DfSj100	South	Stryd (1991)	10?	?	ca. 3200 BP	4000- 3000 BP					
230	Little Beach DfSj100	South	Stryd (1991)	11?	?	ca 3200 BP	4000- 3000 BP					
231	Little Beach DfSj100	South	Stryd (1991)	12?	?	ca 3200 BP	4000- 3000 BP					

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
232	Little Beach DfSj100	South	Stryd (1991)		13?	?	ca 3200 BP	4000- 3000 BP				
233	Little Beach DfSj100	South	Stryd (1991)		14?	?	ca 3200 BP	4000- 3000 BP				
234	Little Beach DfSj100	South	Stryd (1991)		15?	?	ca 3200 BP	4000- 3000 BP				
235	Little Beach DfSj100	South	Stryd (1991)		16?	?	ca 3200 BP	4000- 3000 BP				
236	Little Beach DfSj100	South	Stryd (1991)		17?	?	ca. 3200 BP	4000- 3000 BP				
237	Locarno Beach DhRt 6	South	Beattie (1981)	2a	M	A	Locarno Beach	3000- 2000 BP				
238	Locarno Beach DhRt 6	South	Beattie (1981)	2b	F	A	Locarno Beach	3000- 2000 BP				Fragmented remains
239	Locarno Beach DhRt 6	South	Beattie (1981)		3F	OA	Locarno Beach	3000- 2000 BP				Fragmented remains
240	Locarno Beach DhRt 6	South	Beattie (1981)		18M	?	Locarno Beach	3000- 2000 BP				Fragmented remains, associated with a fetus femur

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
241	Locarno Beach DhRt 6	South	Beattie (1981)		19F	A	Locarno Beach	3000-2000 BP				
242	Locarno Beach DhRt 6	South	Beattie (1981)		30F	A	Locarno Beach	3000-2000 BP				
243	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)		1M	A	Marpole	3000-2000 BP	fix left		Deer mandible	
244	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)		2?	I	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				
245	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)		3?	A	Marpole	3000-2000 BP	fix left		Ground slate point	
246	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)		4?	?	Marpole	3000-2000 BP			2 dog skulls, mink skull	Rock feature
247	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)		5F	A	Marpole	3000-2000 BP	fix back			
248	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)		6M	A	Marpole	3000-2000 BP	fix			
249	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)		7?	I	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
250	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)	87-2	?	I	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				
251	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)	87-3	F	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Occipital flattening
252	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)	87-4	M	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				
253	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)	88-1	?	I	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP	fix back			
254	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)	88-10	?	I	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				
255	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)	88-12	M	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP	fix left			Occipital flattening. 3 large rocks
256	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)	88-13	?	I	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP	fix left			
257	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)	88-15	M	C	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP			Faunal remains	Large number of rocks
258	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)	88-2	F	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP		Pit		Occipital flattening

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
259	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)	88-3	?	I	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				
260	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)	88-4	F	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP		Pit		
261	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)	88-5	F	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP	flx			
262	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)	88-6	?	I	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				
263	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)	88-7	?	I	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP	flx left			
264	Long Harbour DfRu 44	South	Johnstone 1988 in Wright (2000)	?	?	I	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				
265	Maple Bay DeRu 12	South	Cybulski (1988)		1M	A	2400- 2000 BP	3000- 2000 BP				Cranial deformation
266	Maple Bay DeRu 12	South	Cybulski (1988)		2F	A	2400- 2000 BP	3000- 2000 BP				Cranial deformation
267	Maple Bay DeRu 12	South	Cybulski (1988)		3?	A	2400- 2000 BP	3000- 2000 BP				Cranial deformation

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
268	Maple Bay DeRu 12	South	Cybulski (1988)		4?	I	2400- 2000 BP	3000- 2000 BP				
269	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		1F	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Fragmented remains
270	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		2F	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Lambdoidal cranial deformation, complete remains
271	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		3M	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Bi-fronto lambdoidal cranial deformation, fragmented remains
272	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		4?	OA	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Fragmented remains
273	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		5M	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				
274	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		6F	OA	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Fragmented remains
275	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		7M	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Fragmented remains
276	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		8M	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Fragmented and incomplete remains

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
277	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		9?	SA	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Fragmented remains
278	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		10?	SA	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Fragmented remains
279	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		11	F A	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Fronto-lambdoidal deformation, fragmented remains
280	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		12?	I	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				
281	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		13	M A	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Lambdoidal cranial deformation, fragmented remains
282	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		14	F A	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Lambdoidal cranial deformation, fragmented remains
283	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	15a	M	A	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Lambdoidal cranial deformation, fragmented remains
284	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	15b	M	A	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				Lambdoidal cranial deformation, fragmented remains
285	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		16	M SA	Marpole	3000-2000 BP				

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
286	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		17 F	OA	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Fragmented remains
287	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	18a	F	OA	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Lambdoidal cranial deformation
288	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	18b	M	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Lambdoidal cranial deformation
289	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	19a	F	OA	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Slight lambdoidal cranial deformation, incomplete remains
290	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	19b	F	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Lambdoidal cranial deformation
291	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	19c	?	C	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				
292	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		20 M	SA	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Lambdoidal cranial deformation, fragmented remains
293	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		21 ?	I	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				
294	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)		27 M	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Fragmented remains

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
295	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	28?	I		Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				
296	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	29	F	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				
297	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	30	M	A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Lambdoidal cranial deformation
298	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	31?		A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Incomplete remains
299	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	32?		A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				
300	Marpole DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	33?		A	Marpole	3000- 2000 BP				Bi-fronto lambdoidal cranial deformation, incomplete remains
301	Muller Cabin DgRw 20	South	Skinner & Thacker (1988)	87-6	M?	A	900 +/- 60	ca 1000 BP				3 polished beach pebbles, ochre flecks on west side of cranium
302	Pender DeRt 1	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-1	M	A	1710+/- 190 BP	2000- 1000 BP	fix right	Cairn		
303	Pender DeRt 1	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-3	M	A		3000- 2000 BP	fix left			

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
304	Pender DeRt 1	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-1	?	C		3000-2000 BP	flx right		Fish remains (cod)	1 rock
305	Pender DeRt 1	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-2	F	A		3000-2000 BP	Seated	Pit		
306	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-12b	M	A	5170+/-220 BP	5000-4000 BP	flx right		A possible bowl	4 rocks
307	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-22	F	A		3000-2000 BP		Cyst		8 possible rocks
308	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-27	F	A	3260+/-200 BP	4000-3000 BP	Seated	Cairn	Spoon	
309	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-30b	F	A		3000-2000 BP	Seated			
310	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-31	F	A	4320+/-220 BP	4000-3000 BP	flx left			
311	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-32	?	A		3000-2000 BP	Bundle?		Shell	1 rock
312	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-33	F	A	4430+/-170 BP	5000-4000 BP	Seated			

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
313	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-34a	M	A	2580+/-180 BP	3000-2000 BP	flx right			
314	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-34b	F	A	4320+/-150 BP	5000-4000 BP	Seated			
315	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-34c	M	A		3000-2000 BP	flx right			
316	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-35	F	A	3270+/-220 BP	4000-3000 BP	Seated			10 rocks
317	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-36	M	A	3370+/-280 BP	4000-3000 BP	flx right			
318	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-37	F	A	3140+/-220 BP	4000-3000 BP	Seated	Cyst	Bowl	
319	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-38	F	A	3600+/-160	4000-3000 BP	Seated	Cyst	Spoon	
320	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-39	M	A		3000-2000 BP	flx right			4 rocks
321	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-42	F	A	1090+/-130 BP	ca 1000 BP	flx right	Cairn		

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
322	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-43	F	A	3050+/-150 BP	3000-2000 BP	flx right	Cairn		
323	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-44	M	A	1420+/-90 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx back	Cairn		
324	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-45	?	C		3000-2000 BP			2 'whatzits'	
325	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-46	M	A		3000-2000 BP	flx right		Bowl and canid remains	
326	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	84-47	?	C	3500-4000 BP	4000-3000 BP	ext	Cairn		Red ochre on superior portion of skeleton
327	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-1a	?	C	4070+/-150 BP	4000-3000 BP	flx left	Cairn		
328	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-2	M	A		3000-2000 BP	flx left			
329	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-3	?	A		3000-2000 BP	flx right			1 rock
330	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-4	M	A	1340+/-150 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx left	Cairn	Fish remains	

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
331	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-6	M	A		3000-2000 BP	fix left			
332	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-7	F	A	2500-3000	3000-2000 BP	fix left		Deer remains	
333	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-8	F	A		3000-2000 BP	fix right			3 rocks
334	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-10a	F	A		3000-2000 BP	fix left			
335	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-12	?	C		3000-2000 BP	fix left			4 rocks
336	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-13	M	A		3000-2000 BP	fix right		Deer and canid remains	8 rocks
337	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-15	F	A		3000-2000 BP	fix left			
338	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-17	M	A	3520+/-170 BP	4000-3000 BP	ext		Bird remains	13 rocks
339	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-18	F	A		3000-2000 BP	fix right		Elk and fish remains	4 rocks

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
340	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-19	F	A		3000-2000 BP	fix right		Bowl	
341	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-21	M	A		3000-2000 BP	Seated		Bird and fish remains	
342	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-22	M	A	3970+/-60 BP	4000-3000 BP	fix right		Bowl and fish vertebrae	
343	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-24	M	A		3000-2000 BP	fix right			1 rock
344	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-26	F	A		3000-2000 BP	fix left			
345	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-27	?	C	4000-3500 BP	4000-3000 BP	fix right			
346	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-29a	?	A		3000-2000 BP	Seated	Cyst?		
347	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-29b	M	A		3000-2000 BP	fix left			3 rocks
348	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-30	M	A	3750+/-160 BP	4000-3000 BP	fix right			11 rocks

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
349	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-31	M	A		3000-2000 BP	flx left			2 rocks
350	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-34	F	A		3000-2000 BP	flx left	Cairn		
351	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-35	M	A		3000-2000 BP	flx right	Cairn		
352	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-36	F	A	3600+/-160 BP	4000-3000 BP	Seated	Cyst	Spoon	
353	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-37	F	A	3380+/-150 BP	4000-3000 BP	Seated	Pit	Spoon and deer remains	
354	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-38	F	A	3630+/-140 BP	4000-3000 BP	flx right		2 spoons, fish remains	1 large rock
355	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	85-39	?	C		3000-2000 BP	flx left		Bead	2 rocks
356	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-2	?	I		3000-2000 BP				Possible scallop shells
357	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-3	?	C		3000-2000 BP			Canid vertebrae and skull	

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
358	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-6	M	A		3000-2000 BP	fix right		Burned sea mammal remains	9 rocks
359	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-7	F	A		3000-2000 BP	fix right	Cairn		
360	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-8	M	A		3000-2000 BP	Seated?	Cyst	Bowl	
361	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-9a	?	C		3000-2000 BP	fix right			Double burial with 86-9b
362	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-9b	?	C		3000-2000 BP	fix right			Double burial with 86-9a
363	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-10	M	A	3040+/-60 BP	4000-3000 BP	fix left	Cairn		
364	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-11	?	C		3000-2000 BP	fix right			
365	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-15	M	A		3000-2000 BP	fix right			
366	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-16	?	C	3500-4000 BP	4000-3000 BP	fix left			Cremated

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
367	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-19	F	A		3000-2000 BP	Seated	Pit	Bowl, deer and fish remains	
368	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-20	F	A		3000-2000 BP	flx right	Cairn	Fish and deer remains	
369	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-24	M	A	2620+/-50 BP	3000-2000 BP	flx right	Cairn		
370	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-26	?	C		3000-2000 BP	Bundle	Box		1 rock
371	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-28	M	A		3000-2000 BP	flx left			4 rocks
372	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-30	?	C	4500-4000 BP	5000-4000 BP	flx left		111 shell beads, 2 deer mandible	
373	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-32a	F	A		3000-2000 BP	flx	Cairn	Canid, fish and deer remains	Double burial with 86-32b
374	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-32b	M	A		3000-2000 BP	flx	Cairn	Canid remains	Double burial with 86-32a
375	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-33	F	A		3000-2000 BP	Seated	Cyst		

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
376	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-35	M	A		3000-2000 BP	flx right		Canid remains?	
377	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-36	?	A		3000-2000 BP	flx right		Fish, bird and mammal remains	
378	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-37	F	A		3000-2000 BP	flx right	Cairn	Bowls and canid remains	
379	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-38	?	A		3000-2000 BP	Seated			
380	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-39	?	C		3000-2000 BP	flx left		Shell bowl in front of face, fish and bird remains, slate file fragmented, fish hook, ground slate, unfinished 'whatzit', cut antler fragments, tooth pendant fragments	
381	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-40	M	A		3000-2000 BP	flx left		Bowl and deer remains	
382	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-41	?	C		3000-2000 BP	flx left		Shell bowl under mandible	

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
383	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-45	M	A		3000-2000 BP	flx right	Cairn	Deer and fish remains	
384	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-46	F	A	4000-3500 BP	4000-3000 BP	flx left		Bowl	2 rocks
385	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-51	?	C		3000-2000 BP	flx left			1 rock
386	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-52a	?	C		3000-2000 BP		Cairn	Many shell beads, 2 abraders	Red ochre: double burial with 86-52b
387	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-52b	?	I		3000-2000 BP		Cairn	Many shell beads, 2 abraders	Red ochre, double burial with 86-52a
388	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-55	M	A		3000-2000 BP	flx right			1 rock
389	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-59	M	A		3000-2000 BP				Cremated; 1 rock
390	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	86-61	M	A		3000-2000 BP	flx left			
391	Pender DeRt 2	South	Carlson n.d. in Wright (2000)	87-1	F	A		3000-2000 BP	flx right		Bowl, canid, bird and fish remains	

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
392	Quadra Island EaSh 3	South	Skinner (1986)		1 M	?	2000 +/- 120 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partial remains, stratified midden deposit
393	Saltspring Island DfRu 44	South	Skinner (1984) in Wright (2000)		1 F	A	1060 +/- 80 BP	ca. 1000 BP				
394	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)		1 ?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Smaller mound
395	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)		2 ?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Smaller mound
396	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)		3 ?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Larger mound

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
397	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	4?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000- 1000 BP			Cairn		Larger mound, copper and shell artifacts, but there is no further description
398	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	5?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000- 1000 BP			Cairn		Not excavated
399	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	6?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000- 1000 BP			Cairn		Not excavated
400	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	7?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000- 1000 BP			Cairn		Not excavated

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
401	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line). Thom (1992)	8?	?	ca. 1400 BP	2000- 1000 BP			Cairn		Not excavated
402	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	9?	?	ca. 1400 BP	2000- 1000 BP			Cairn		Not excavated
403	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	10?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000- 1000 BP			Cairn		Not excavated
404	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	11?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000- 1000 BP			Cairn		Not excavated

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
405	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	12	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
406	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	13	?	?	ca. 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
407	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	14	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
408	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	15	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
409	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	16	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000- 1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
410	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	17	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000- 1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
411	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	18	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000- 1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
412	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	19	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000- 1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
413	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	20	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
414	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	21	?	?	ca. 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
415	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	22	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
416	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	23	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
417	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	24	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
418	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	25	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
419	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	26	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
420	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	27	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
421	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	28	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000- 1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
422	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	29	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000- 1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
423	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	30	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000- 1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
424	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	31	?	?	ca. 1400 BP	2000- 1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
425	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	32?	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
426	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	33?	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
427	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	34?	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
428	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	35?	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
429	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	36?	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
430	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	37?	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
431	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	38?	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
432	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	39?	?	?	ca. 1400 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
433	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	40?	?	?	ca. 1400 BP	2000- 1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
434	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	41?	?	?	ca 1400 BP	2000- 1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
435	Scowlitz DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line), Thom (1992)	42?	?	?	ca. 1400 BP	2000- 1000 BP		Cairn		Not excavated
436	Shoemaker Bay DhSe 2	South	McMillan & St Claire (1982) in Wright (2000)	1?		C	1130+/- 85 BP	2000- 1000 BP			2 composite toggling harpoon heads?	
437	Shoemaker Bay DhSe 2	South	McMillan & St Claire (1982) in Wright (2000)	2	M	A	1130+/- 85 BP	2000- 1000 BP	fix left			

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
438	Shoemaker Bay DhSe 2	South	McMillan & St Claire (1982) in Wright (2000)		5F	A	1130+/-85 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx left	Pit		Ochre
439	Somenos Creek DeRw 18	South	Brown (1996)		15F	A	1715+/-70 BP	2000-1000 BP				
440	Somenos Creek DeRw 18	South	Brown (1996)		16?	I	1715+/-70 BP	2000-1000 BP				
441	Somenos Creek DeRw 18	South	Brown (1996)		17F	SA	1715+/-70 BP	2000-1000 BP				
442	Somenos Creek DeRw 18	South	Brown (1996)		18?	J	1715+/-70 BP	2000-1000 BP				Fronto-lambdoidal cranial deformation
443	Somenos Creek DeRw 18	South	Brown (1996)	18a	?	I	1715+/-70 BP	2000-1000 BP				Fronto-lambdoidal cranial deformation
444	Somenos Creek DeRw 18	South	Brown (1996)		19?	?	1335+/-60 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx	Cairn	Charred mammal skull	Evidence of burning
445	Somenos Creek DeRw 18	South	Brown (1996)	20a	F	A	1560+/-70 BP	2000-1000 BP				Fronto-lambdoidal cranial deformation
446	Somenos Creek DeRw 18	South	Brown (1996)	20b	?	A	1560+/-70 BP	2000-1000 BP				Fronto-lambdoidal cranial deformation

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
447	Somenos Creek DeRw 18	South	Brown (1996)	21	?	?	1560+/- 70 BP	2000- 1000 BP				
448	Somenos Creek DeRw 18	South	Brown (1996)	22a	M	A	1765+/- 60 BP	2000- 1000 BP				
449	Somenos Creek DeRw 18	South	Brown (1996)	22b	F	A		2000- 1000 BP				
450	Somenos Creek DeRw 18	South	Brown (1996)	22c	?	I		2000- 1000 BP				
451	Somenos Creek DeRw 18	South	Brown (1996)	23	?	C	1515+/- 60 BP	2000- 1000 BP				
452	Somenos Creek DeRw 18	South	Brown (1996)	25	?	?		2000- 1000 BP				
453	Songheese Territory DeRv 52	South	Condrashoff (1982)	1	F	A		n d.	flx back	Cairn		Occipital-parietal cranial deformation
454	St.Mungo Cannery DgRt 2	South	Calvert 1970, in Wright (2000)	1	F	A	ca 4000 BP	4000- 3000 BP				
455	St.Mungo Cannery DgRt 2	South	Calvert 1970, in Wright (2000)	2	?	I	ca 4000 BP	4000- 3000 BP				

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
456	St Mungo Cannery DgRt 2	South	Calvert 1970, in Wright (2000)		3?	C	ca. 4000 BP	4000-3000 BP	flex			
457	St. Mungo Cannery DgRt 2	South	Calvert 1970, in Wright (2000)		4F	A	ca. 4000 BP	4000-3000 BP				
458	Tsawwassen DgRs 9	South	Ham (1997)		1?	?	ca 1500 BP	2000-1000 BP			Native copper, dog bones	Red ochre
459	Tsawwassen DgRs 2	South	Stryd (1988)		1F	A	1410+/-60 BP	2000-1000 BP				Labret wear on lower dentition
460	Tsawwassen DgRs 2	South	Stryd (1988)		2?	I	1410+/-60 BP	2000-1000 BP				
461	Tsawwassen DgRs 2	South	Stryd (1988)		3F	A	1410+/-60 BP	2000-1000 BP	flex right	Pit		
462	Tsawwassen DgRs 2	South	Stryd (1988)		4?	A	1410+/-60 BP	2000-1000 BP				
463	Tsawwassen DgRs 2	South	Stryd (1988)		5?	A	1410+/-60 BP	2000-1000 BP				
464	Tsawwassen DgRs 2	South	Arcas (1991) in Thom (1995)		1M	SA	1670-1150 BP	2000-1000 BP				

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
465	Tsawwassen DgRs 2	South	Arcas (1991) in Thom (1995)	2?		SA	1670-1150 BP	2000-1000 BP				
466	Tsawwassen DgRs 2	South	Arcas (1991) in Thom (1995)	3	M	A	3920-3680 BP	4000-3000 BP		Cairn	Shell beads	Many stones surrounding burial
467	Tsawwassen DgRs 2	South	Arcas (1991) in Thom (1995)	4	F	A	1670-1150 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		
468	Tsawwassen DgRs 2	South	Arcas (1991) in Thom (1995)	5	F	A	1270-1030 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		
469	Tsawwassen DgRs 2	South	Arcas (1991) in Thom (1995)	6	M	A	1670-1150 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		
470	Tsawwassen DgRs 2	South	Arcas (1991) in Thom (1995)	7	F	A	1260-1060 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn	Stone beads	
471	Tsawwassen DgRs 2	South	Arcas (1991) in Thom (1995)	8?		C	1670-1150 BP	2000-1000 BP		Cairn		
472	White Rock	South	Lazenby (1986)	1	F	A	n d			Cairn		Fronto-lambdoidal deformation, possible labret wear
473	Willows Beach DcRt 10	South	Eldridge (1997)	1?		?	Marpole	2000-1000 BP	flx right	Pit	Faunal remains, mica	Red ochre

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
474	Willows Beach DcRt 10	South	Eldridge (1997)		1?	?	Marpole	2000-1000 BP				Disturbed
475	Willows Beach DcRt 10	South	Eldridge (1997)		2?	?	Marpole	2000-1000 BP				Partial remains
476	Willows Beach DcRt 10	South	Eldridge (1997)		3?	I	Marpole	2000-1000 BP		Cairn?	Crystal in centre of pit, 6+ large welke, bone wedge, abrasive stone	Frontal cranial deformation, disturbed remains
477	Willows Beach DcRt 10	South	Eldridge (1997)		4?	C	Marpole	2000-1000 BP	flx left	Pit	Small fish bones, butter clams, oregon triton shell near cranium, partial remains of 2 dogs	Pit lined with a thick layer of burnt yellow sea urchin spines and white sand
478	Willows Beach DcRt 10	South	Eldridge (1997)		5?	?	Marpole	2000-1000 BP				
479	Willows Beach DcRt 10	South	Eldridge (1997)		6?	?	Marpole	2000-1000 BP				
480	Whalen Farm DfRs 3	South	Seymour 1976 in Wright (2002)		1 M	SA	400 BC - AD 400	2000-1000 BP				
481	Whalen Farm DfRs 3	South	Seymour 1976 in Wright (2002)		2 M	A	400 BC - AD 400	2000-1000 BP				

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
482	Whalen Farm DfRs 3	South	Seymour 1976 in Wright (2002)		3?	?	400 BC - AD 400	2000- 1000 BP				
483	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		1?	I		n.d.				Not excavated
484	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		2?	I		n.d.				Not excavated
485	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		3?	I		n.d.				Not excavated
486	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		4?	I		n.d.				Not excavated
487	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		5?	I		n.d.				Not excavated
488	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		6?	I		n.d.				Not excavated
489	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		7?	I		n.d.				Not excavated
490	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		8?	I		n.d.				Not excavated
491	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		9?	I		n.d.				Not excavated
492	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		10?	I		n.d.				Not excavated
493	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		11?	I		n.d.				Not excavated
494	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		12?	I		n.d.				Not excavated
495	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		13?	I		n.d.				Not excavated
496	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		14?	I		n.d.				Not excavated
497	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		15?	I		n.d.				Not excavated
498	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		16?	I		n.d.				Not excavated
499	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		1?	C		n.d.				Not excavated
500	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		2?	C		n.d.				Not excavated
501	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		3?	C		n.d.				Not excavated
502	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		4?	C		n.d.				Not excavated
503	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		5?	C		n.d.				Not excavated
504	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		6?	C		n.d.				Not excavated
505	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		7?	C		n.d.				Not excavated
506	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)		8?	C		n.d.				Not excavated

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
507	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	1	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
508	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	2	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
509	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	3	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
510	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	4	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
511	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	5	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
512	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	6	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
513	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	7	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
514	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	8	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
515	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	9	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
516	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	10	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
517	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	11	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
518	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	12	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
519	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	13	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
520	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	14	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
521	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	15	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
522	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	16	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
523	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	17	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
524	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	18	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
525	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	19	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
526	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	20	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
527	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	21	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
528	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	22	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
529	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	23	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
530	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	24	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
531	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	25	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
532	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	26	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
533	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	27	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
534	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	28	F	A		n d				Not excavated
535	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	29	F	A		n d				Not excavated
536	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	30	F	A		n d.				Not excavated
537	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	31	M	A		n d.				Not excavated
538	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	32	M	A		n d.				Not excavated
539	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	33	M	A		n.d				Not excavated
540	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	34	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
541	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	35	M	A		n d.				Not excavated
542	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	36	M	A		n.d				Not excavated
543	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	37	M	A		n d				Not excavated
544	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	38	M	A		n d				Not excavated
545	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	39	M	A		n.d				Not excavated
546	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	40	M	A		n d.				Not excavated
547	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	41	M	A		n d.				Not excavated
548	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	42	M	A		n d.				Not excavated
549	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	43	M	A		n d.				Not excavated
550	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	44	M	A		n.d				Not excavated
551	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	45	M	A		n d.				Not excavated
552	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	46	M	A		n d.				Not excavated
553	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	47	M	A		n d				Not excavated
554	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	48	M	A		n d				Not excavated
555	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	49	M	A		n d				Not excavated
556	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	50	M	A		n d				Not excavated
557	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	51	M	A		n d				Not excavated
558	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	52	M	A		n d				Not excavated
559	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	53	M	A		n d.				Not excavated
560	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	54	M	A		n.d				Not excavated

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
561	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	55	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
562	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	56	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
563	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	57	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
564	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	58	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
565	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	59	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
566	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	60	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
567	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	61	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
568	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	62	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
569	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	63	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
570	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	64	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
571	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	65	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
572	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	66	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
573	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	67	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
574	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	68	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
575	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	69	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
576	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	70	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
577	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	71	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
578	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	72	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
579	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	73	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
580	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	74	M	A		n.d.				Not excavated
581	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	75	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
582	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	76	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
583	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	77	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
584	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	78	F	A		n.d.				Not excavated
585	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	79		A		n.d.				Not excavated
586	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	80		A		n.d.				Not excavated
587	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	81		A		n.d.				Not excavated

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
588	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	82	A			n d.				Not excavated
589	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	83	A			n d.				Not excavated
590	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	84	A			n d.				Not excavated
591	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	85	A			n.d.				Not excavated
592	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	86	A			n.d.				Not excavated
593	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	87	A			n.d.				Not excavated
594	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	88	A			n.d.				Not excavated
595	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	89	A			n d				Not excavated
596	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	90	A			n d.				Not excavated
597	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	91	A			n.d.				Not excavated
598	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	92	A			n d				Not excavated
599	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	93	A			n.d.				Not excavated
600	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	94	A			n d.				Not excavated
601	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	95	A			n d				Not excavated
602	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	96	A			n d.				Not excavated
603	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	97	A			n d				Not excavated
604	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	98	A			n.d.				Not excavated
605	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	99	A			n d				Not excavated
606	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	100	A			n d.				Not excavated
607	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	101	A			n d.				Not excavated
608	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	102	A			n d				Not excavated
609	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	103	A			n d				Not excavated
610	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	104	A			n d				Not excavated
611	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	105	A			n d				Not excavated
612	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	106	A			n d.				Not excavated
613	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	107	A			n.d				Not excavated
614	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	100	A			n d.				Not excavated

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
615	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	108		A		n d				Not excavated
616	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	109		A		n.d.				Not excavated
617	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	110		A		n d.				Not excavated
618	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	111		A		n.d.				Not excavated
619	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	112		A		n d.				Not excavated
620	DgRw 204	South	Curtin (1998)	1		I		n d.				Not excavated
621	DgRw 204	South	Curtin (1998)	2		II		n d.				Not excavated
622	DgRw 204	South	Curtin (1998)	1		C		n d.				Not excavated
623	DgRw 204	South	Curtin (1998)	2		C		n.d				Not excavated
624	DgRw 204	South	Curtin (1998)	1	F	A		n d				Not excavated
625	DgRw 204	South	Curtin (1998)	2	F	A		n d				Not excavated
626	DgRw 204	South	Curtin (1998)	3	F	A		n d.				Not excavated
627	DgRw 204	South	Curtin (1998)	4	F	A		n.d				Not excavated
628	DgRw 204	South	Curtin (1998)	5	M	A		n d.				Not excavated
629	DgRw 204	South	Curtin (1998)	6	M	A		n d.				Not excavated
630	DgRw 204	South	Curtin (1998)	7	M	A		n d				Not excavated
631	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	1 11B 1	M	OA	5900+-100 BP	6000-5000 BP		Bundle		Incomplete burial, disturbed and disarticulated
632	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	1.13D 1	?	A	ca 5600 BP	6000-5000 BP		Bundle		Incomplete burial, disturbed and disarticulated
633	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	2 11C 1	F	SA	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP	flx right	Cairn?		

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
634	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	2 12E 1	F	SA	4300 +/-125 BP	5000-4000 BP	ext left		270 clam shell disc beads	Associated cobbles, ochre stains on bones, possible food offering
635	Namu EISx1	Central	Curtin (1984)	4.B.1	?	C	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP				Burial type not recorded, associated rocks
636	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	4.C 1	M	SA	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP	flx right		Bone pendant and needle in vague association	Large stone slabs covered bones, ochre near skull
637	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	4 G 1	F	SA	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP	flx back			Cobbles associated with the burial
638	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	4 G.2 B1	M	OA	4680 +/-160 BP	5000-4000 BP				Incomplete burial, disturbed and disarticulated
639	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	4 G 2 B2	M	A	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP		Bundle		Incomplete burial, disturbed and disarticulated
640	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	4 G.3	?	SA	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP		Bundle		Incomplete burial, disturbed and disarticulated, closely associated with 4.G 1.. 4 G.5 , 4.G2.B2
641	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	4 G 4	M	A	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP	flx back			Multiple burial with 4 G 5 & 4 G 7
642	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	4 G.5	?	C	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP	flx back			Multiple burial with 4 G 4. & 4 G.7

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
643	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	4.G 6	F	A	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP	ext back			Multiple burial with 4 G 8
644	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	4.G 7	?	C	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP	ext back			Multiple burial with 4 G 4 and 4 G 5
645	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	4 G 8	F	SA	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP	flx right			Large boulder placed over head
646	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984), Leubbers (1978)	4 H 1	M	A	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP	flx		4000 shell beads, projectile point in spine, bone projectile point head, walrus ivory harpoon head, ivory gaming pieces	Ochre around mandible; labret wear facets; multiple burial with 4 I.1 & 4 J 1
647	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	4.I 1.	?	J	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP	flx back		Clam shell pendant in possible association	Multiple burial with 4 H 1 & 4 J 1
648	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	4.J.1	F	A	4390+/-160 BP	5000-4000 BP	ext back			Multiple burial with 4 H 1 & 4 I.1
649	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	4 K 1	F	A	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP	flx right		Shell beads, bone needle, incised ribs	
650	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	4 K 2	M	A	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP	flx right	Bundle		Disturbed burial, burnt

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
651	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	4.K.3	?	C	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP		Bundle		Disturbed and disarticulated
652	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	5.11P.1	M	A	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP		Bundle		Disturbed burial, associated cobbles
653	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	5.11P.2	?	I	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP		Bundle		
654	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	8.12A.1	F	OA	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP	fix right			Water-worn pebbles around head
655	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	8.12B.1	F?	A	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP	fix left			
656	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	9.OA.1	?	I	ca. 1000 BP	ca. 1000 BP	ext right		2 lanceolate points	Ochre
657	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	9.1.27	?	I	1000-2000 BP	2000-1000 BP				Disturbed
658	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	9.1.24	?	J	1000-2000 BP	2000-1000 BP				
659	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	9.1.39	F	SA	1000-2000 BP	2000-1000 BP				Disturbed

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
660	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	9 3B 2	F?	SA	2000-3000 BP	3000-2000 BP		Pit	Bone artifact, carnivore skeleton	Red ochre, disarticulated remains
661	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	11 1A.2	?	J	Late period	2000-1000 BP		Pit		
662	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	77-1	?	A	Middle period	3000-2000 BP				Disturbed and disarticulated
663	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	77-2	M	A	4775+/-130 BP	5000-4000 BP	flx			
664	Namu EISx 1	Central	Cannon (n.d.), Curtin (1984)	77-3	M	OA	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP	flx back		Large quantity of shell beads around right shoulder	Ochre stains, may be a multiple burial with 77-4, 77-5 & 77-6
665	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	77-4	?	C	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP	flx back			Cobbles around skull, above burials 77-5 & 77-6
666	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	77-5	F	A	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP	flx back			Right arm around burial 77-6, may be a multiple burial with 77-6 & 77-4, encircled with rocks
667	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	77-6	F	J	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP	flx back left			Multiple with 77-6, possibly 77-4, large rocks around legs
668	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	77-7	M	A	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP				Ochre stains, large rocks around head and feet

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
669	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	77-8	?	C	4000-5000 BP	5000-4000 BP			4 shell beads, bone knife	Disturbed, granite rocks
670	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	77-9	F	A	2000-3000 BP	3000-2000 BP			Thin lens of concentrated fish bone	Disturbed
671	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	77-10	F	A	2000-3000 BP	3000-2000 BP	ext back			
672	Namu EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	78-1	M	A	2530+/-160 BP	3000-2000 BP	flx right			
673	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q C.I	Murray (1981)	B1	?	C	4300-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP				Skull fragments
674	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q C I	Murray (1981)	B2	M	OA	4300-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP				
675	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q.C I	Murray (1981)	B3	M	SA	4300-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP				
676	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q C.I	Murray (1981)	B4	F	A	4300-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP				
677	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q.C I	Murray (1981)	B5	F	OA	4300-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP				Fragmentary remains

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
678	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q C I	Murray (1981)	B6	F	A	4300-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP				
679	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q C I	Murray (1981)	B7	F	A	4300-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP				
680	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q C.I	Murray (1981)	B8	M	OA	4300-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP				Incomplete remains
681	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q C I	Murray (1981)	B9-1	?	J	4300-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP				Fragmentary remains
682	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q.C I	Murray (1981)	B9-2	?	I	4300-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP				Fragmentary remains
683	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q C.I	Murray (1981)	B-10	M	A	4300-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP				Incomplete remains
684	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q C I	Murray (1981)	B-11	F	A	4300-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP				Incomplete remains
685	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q C I	Murray (1981)	B-12	F	OA	4300-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP				
686	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q C I	Murray (1981)	B-13	?	?	4300-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP				Fragmentary remains

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
687	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q.C.I	Murray (1981)	B-14	?	A	4300- 2000 BP	4000- 3000 BP				
688	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q.C.I	Murray (1981)	B-15	F	A	4300- 2000 BP	4000- 3000 BP				
689	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q.C.I	Murray (1981)	B-16	F	OA	4300- 2000 BP	4000- 3000 BP				
690	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q.C.I	Murray (1981)	B-17	M	A	4300- 2000 BP	4000- 3000 BP				
691	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q.C.I	Murray (1981)	B-18	?	A	4300- 2000 BP	4000- 3000 BP				
692	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q.C.I	Murray (1981)	B-19	F	A	4300- 2000 BP	4000- 3000 BP				
693	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q.C.I	Murray (1981)	B-20	M	A	4300- 2000 BP	4000- 3000 BP				
694	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q.C.I	Murray (1981)	B-21-1	?	A	4300- 2000 BP	4000- 3000 BP				
695	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q.C.I	Murray (1981)	B21-2	?	A	4300- 2000 BP	4000- 3000 BP				

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
696	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q C I	Murray (1981)	B22	M	A	4300-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP				
697	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q.C I	Murray (1981)	B-23	?	J	4300-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP				
698	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q.C I	Murray (1981)	NG-71-1	M	A	4300-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP				Fragmentary
699	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q C I	Murray (1981)	NG-71-2a	?	?	4300-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP				Cranium only
700	Blue Jackets Creek F1Ua 4	Q C.I	Murray (1981)	NG-71-2b	?	?	4300-2000 BP	4000-3000 BP				Fragmentary
701	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n d.	XVIIIB505	M	A	2000-1500 BP	2000-1000 BP			Zoomorphic stone labret near mandible	Intact burial
702	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB506	M	A	1760+/-60 BP	2000-1000 BP				Intact burial
703	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB507	M	A	2135+/-65 BP	3000-2000 BP			'Eskimoid-style' bone harpoon head above skull	Intact burial
704	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB508	M	A	2400-1900 BP	3000-2000 BP			Un-retouched quartz flake in palm of left hand	Intact burial

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
705	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB509	M	A	2100-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP				Partial burial
706	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB510	M	A	2100-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP			Piece of graphite at base of spine	Intact burial
707	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB511	M	A	3400-2900 BP	4000-3000 BP				Intact burial
708	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB512	M	A	3190+/-80 BP	4000-3000 BP			Associated quartz flake, cobble chopper, 'another' flake, hammerstone	Intact burial
709	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB514	M	A	2920+/-50 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
710	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB515	M	A	2400-1900 BP	3000-2000 BP			Bone points in mouth and lodged in ear holes	Intact burial
711	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n d.	XVIIIB516	F	SA	2400-1900 BP	3000-2000 BP			Ground slate mirror/ abrader/ palette reported beneath rib cage	Intact burial
712	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB517	?	C	2100-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP			Associated bone point	Partly disturbed burial
713	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB518	F	SA	1860+/-60 BP	2000-1000 BP				Intact burial

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
714	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB519	M	A	3400- 2900 BP	4000- 3000 BP				Clustered remains
715	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB529	M	A	2000- 1500 BP	2000- 1000 BP				Partial burial
716	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB530	M	A		3000- 2000 BP				Scattered remains
717	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB531	M	OA	2000- 1500 BP	2000- 1000 BP				Partial burial
718	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB532	M	A		3000- 2000 BP				Presumed intact burial
719	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB816	?	I		3000- 2000 BP				Scattered remains
720	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB825	?	C		3000- 2000 BP				Scattered remains
721	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB846	F	SA		3000- 2000 BP				Assembled remains
722	Baldwin GbTo36	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB852	M	OA		3000- 2000 BP				Scattered remains

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
723	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski (2002)	XVIIIB306	F	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP			Stone spall near the lumbar spine, chipped stone on the ribs	Intact burial
724	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB307a	F	SA	2300-1800 BP	3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
725	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB307b	M	A	2300-1800 BP	3000-2000 BP				Assembled remains
726	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB308	?	I	2300-1800 BP	3000-2000 BP				Clustered remains
727	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB309	F	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partial burial
728	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB310	F	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partly disturbed burial
729	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB311	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
730	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB312	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partly disturbed burial
731	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB313	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Assembled remains

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
732	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB315	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
733	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB316	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP			Worked bone fragment in skull area	Intact burial
734	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB317	F	A	2800-2300 BP	3000-2000 BP			Two reported worked bone fragments	Intact burial
735	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB318	M	A	2100-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP			Bone point in rib cage, ground beaver incisor	Partial burial
736	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB319	M	A	2610 +/- 65 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
737	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB320	M	A	2600-2100 BP	3000-2000 BP			Deer ulna fish-knife near rib cage, ground slate point	Intact burial
738	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB321	F	A	2600-2100 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
739	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB322	M	SA	1865 +/- 50 BP	2000-1000 BP			Necklace of 250 shell disc beads, 25 dentalia beads or pendants, large amber bead, copper wrapped wood bead, wood peg, ankle bracelet of dentalia	Copper stains on skull, manubrium left shoulder and wrist, intact burial

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
740	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB323	M	OA	2800-2300 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partial burial
741	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB324	F	OA	2300-1800 BP	3000-2000 BP				Clustered remains
742	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB325	M	J	2565+/-60 BP	3000-2000 BP			Thin copper disc earring, 38 amber beads, large amber bead, large pendant with band of fibres under one disc, 3 shell gorgets	Copper stains on bones, intact burial
743	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB326	M	OA	2330+/-50 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partly disturbed burial
744	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB327	?	C	2100-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP				Clustered remains
745	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB328	M	A	2100-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP				Intact burial
746	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB329	?	J	2100-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP				Clustered remains
747	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB330	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Clustered remains

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
748	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB331	M	A	2100-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP				Intact burial
749	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB332	M	A	2100-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP				Intact burial
750	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB333	M	A	2100-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP				Intact burial
751	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB334	M	A	1905+/-145 BP	2000-1000 BP				Partial burial
752	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB35	F	A	2100-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP				Clustered remains
753	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB36	?	?	2100-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP				Partly disturbed burial
754	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB39	F	A	2090+/-60 BP	2000-1000 BP			Notched slate point in hands	Intact burial
755	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB340	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP			Bone awl and worked bone fragments	Intact burial
756	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB341	M	A	2600-2100 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
		North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB342	M	OA	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP			Bone point	Partial burial
757	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB343	F	OA	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP			Worked bone fragment	Intact burial
758	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB345	F	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
759	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB346	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partial burial
760	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB347	M	SA	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
761	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB348	F	OA	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
762	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB349	F	SA	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP			Needle-like bone point under dog scapula	Intact burial
763	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB350	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP			Shell gorget on torso, bone point next to head	Partial burial
764	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB351	F	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partial burial

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
766	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB354	M	A	2500- 2000 BP	3000- 2000 BP				Partial burial
767	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB355	?	I	2800- 2300 BP	3000- 2000 BP				Presumed intact burial
768	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB356	?	SA	2300- 1800 BP	3000- 2000 BP			Large 'whetstone' near skull	Clustered remains
769	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB357	F	J	2500- 2000 BP	3000- 2000 BP				Intact burial
770	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB358	M	A	2500- 2000 BP	3000- 2000 BP				Partial burial
771	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB359	M	A	2500- 2000 BP	3000- 2000 BP			Two parts of a broken polished bone point lay parallel to at the crown of the head	Intact burial
772	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB360	F	A	2325+/- 90 BP	3000- 2000 BP				Intact burial
773	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB361	M	SA	2600- 2100 BP	3000- 2000 BP				Partly disturbed burial
774	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB362	?	A	2300- 1800 BP	3000- 2000 BP				Partial burial

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
775	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB363	M?	A	2300-1800 BP	3000-2000 BP			Sea otter tooth found beside skull fragments	Partly disturbed burial
776	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB364	M	OA	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
777	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB365	F	OA	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
778	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB366	?	I	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partial burial
779	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB367	?	I	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Presumed intact burial
780	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB368	F	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partly disturbed burial
781	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB369	?	I	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
782	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB370a	M	OA	2300-1800 BP	3000-2000 BP			Stone labret near the facial skeleton	Clustered remains
783	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB370b	M	A	2300-1800 BP	3000-2000 BP			Cobble tool near tibia	Clustered remains

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
784	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB371	?	C	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP			Three bear canine teeth at left tibia (distribution suggests an ankle bracelet)	Intact burial
785	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB372	M	A	2300-1800 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
786	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB373	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
787	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB374	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partial burial
788	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB375	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP			Three parts of two 'trophy' skulls (possibly placed at a later time)	Intact burial
789	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB376	F	A	2300-1800 BP	3000-2000 BP			Ground deer bone piece reported near pelvis	Intact burial
790	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB377	F	OA	3100-2600 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
791	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB378	F	A	2800+/-70 BP	3000-2000 BP			Bone point 'just beneath the toes'	Intact burial
792	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB379	M	A	3500-3000 BP	4000-3000 BP				Intact burial

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
793	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d.	XVIIIB380	M	A	2300-1800 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partly disturbed burial
794	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB381	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
795	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB382	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP			Needle-like polished bone point on neck vertebrae, cobble tool between or under leg bones. bird bones on top of skeleton	Intact burial
796	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB385	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
797	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB386	M	A	1200-700 BP	ca. 1000 BP				Intact burial
798	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB387	F	A	1200-700 BP	ca 1000 BP				Partial burial
799	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB388	F	A	3500-3000 BP	4000-3000 BP			Antler handle 'under head'	Intact burial
800	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB389	M	A	2800-2300 BP	3000-2000 BP				Clustered remains

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
801	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB390	M	A	2100-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP			Twenty-two amber beads scattered near the skull (distribution of beads suggests a necklace)	Presumed intact burial
802	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d.	XVIIIB391	?	I	2800-2300 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partial burial
803	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB392	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP			Extra human scapula under rock, basalt flake between rock and skull	Intact burial
804	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB394	M	SA	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Clustered remains
805	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d.	XVIIIB395	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
806	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB396	M	A	2300-1800 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
807	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d.	XVIIIB397	M	A	2345+/-50 BP	3000-2000 BP			Three sea otter teeth one near the right patella, distal end of an ulna, and one near left foot	Intact burial
808	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n d	XVIIIB398	?	C	2100-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP			Bone harpoon head	Intact burial

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
809	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB399	M	A	2100-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP			Bone dagger, cobble tool, 200 sea otter teeth	Clustered remains
810	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB400	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP			Beaver teeth	Clustered remains
811	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB401	F	SA	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
812	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB402	M	A	2800-2300 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partial burial
813	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB404	?	A	2800-2300 BP	3000-2000 BP			Deposit of unidentified seeds	Scattered remains
814	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB405	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
815	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB406	F	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
816	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB407a	M	A	2100-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP				Clustered remains
817	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB407b	F?	J	2100-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP				Clustered remains

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
818	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB407c	M	SA	2100-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP				Clustered remains
819	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB408	F	A	2300-1800 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
820	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB409	M	A	2500-2000	3000-2000 BP			Ground slate point on or near right knee	Intact burial
821	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB410	M	OA	2575+/-125 BP	3000-2000 BP			Carved stone bird pendant between two right ribs worked bone fragments on left ilium	Intact burial
822	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB411	F	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partial burial
823	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB412	F	A	2300-1800 BP	3000-2000 BP				Red stain, possibly ochre on lateral end of right clavicle, intact burial
824	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB415	?	I	1200-700 BP	ca 1000 BP				Presumed intact burial
825	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB419a	?	I		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
826	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB419b	M	A		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
827	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybalski n.d	XVIIIB438	?	C		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
828	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybalski n.d.	XVIIIB441	M?	A		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
829	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybalski n.d.	XVIIIB443	M	A	1900-1400 BP	2000-1000 BP				Partly disturbed burial
830	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybalski n.d.	XVIIIB444	M	A	2800-2300 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
831	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybalski n.d	XVIIIB445	F	A		3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
832	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybalski n.d.	XVIIIB446	F	A	2300-1800 BP	3000-2000 BP			Two large cobble tools in east wall (possible association)	Partial burial
833	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybalski n.d	XVIIIB447	M	A	1200-700 BP	ca 1000 BP				Intact burial
834	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybalski n.d.	XVIIIB450	F	A	2860+/-120 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
835	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybalski n.d	XVIIIB520	F	A	2100-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP				Partly disturbed burial

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
836	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB521	M	A	2300-1800 BP	3000-2000 BP			Four copper-wrapped wood pegs, large amber bead, large amber pendant	Copper stains on facial skeleton, right upper limb, left clavicle and sternum; intact burial
837	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB522a	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partly disturbed burial
838	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB522b	?	I	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
839	Boardwalk GbTo 147	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB523	F	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partial burial
840	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB524	F	A	1900-1400 BP	2000-1000 BP			Bone point, basket rim piece, bone punch	Partly disturbed burial
841	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB525	F	A	2300-1800 BP	3000-2000 BP			Stone labret in place against front of jaw, retouched chert flake, bone needle fragment, animal bone epiphysis, quartz flakes on rock cover	Intact burial
842	Boardwalk GbTo 31	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB527	F	A						Scattered remains
843	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB000	?	I						Scattered remains

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
844	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB135	F	A						Assembled remains
845	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB149	F	A	2600+/- 75 BP	3000- 2000 BP				Partial burial
846	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB152	F	A	2830+/- 75 BP	3000- 2000 BP			Small tooth pendant found near skull (not necessarily associated)	Partial burial
847	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB153	F	A					Fragmented 'pencil- like' ground slate piece	Clustered remains
848	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB159	?	I	2500- 2000 BP	3000- 2000 BP				Intact burial
849	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB160a	M	SA	3500- 3000 BP	4000- 3000 BP			Obsidian end-scraper, barbed point fragment	Partly disturbed burial
850	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB160b	M	A	3500- 3000 BP	4000- 3000 BP				Clustered remains
851	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB161	M	A						Scattered remains
852	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB163	M	SA						Assembled remains
853	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB164	F	SA	2800- 2300 BP	3000- 2000 BP				Partial burial

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
854	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB166	M	A	3100-2600 BP	3000-2000 BP			Stone labret to left of chest between folded right hand and distal left forearm	Intact burial
855	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB168	F	A	2465+/-75 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partly disturbed burial
856	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB170	M	A	2800-2300 BP	3000-2000 BP			Ground slate knife/dagger on the chest in line with the spinal column and pointing towards the head	Intact burial
857	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB176	?	I	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
858	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB179	?	I					Two pieces of split animal bone, one at the base of the pelvis. the other on torso (possibly representing blanket pins)	Intact burial
859	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB180	?	I	2500-2000	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
860	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB268	?	C						Assembled remains
861	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB416	M	A					Lid of box inset with sea-otter teeth'	Partial burial

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
862	Dodge Island GbTo 18	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB981	?	I						Scattered remains
863	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB125	M	A	2000-1600 BP	2000-1000 BP			Deer ulna fish knife under left knee. fish spine with some wear polish found near right femur	Partly disturbed burial
864	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB130	?	C	1400-900 BP	2000-1000 BP			Piece of worked bone and a naturally bored stone found near burial (may be part of a midden deposit)	Partly disturbed burial
865	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB132	?	A						Scattered remains
866	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB148	F	A	1800-1300 BP	2000-1000 BP				Partly disturbed burial
867	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB155	F	A						Clustered remains
868	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB156	M	A	3100-2600 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partial burial
869	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB157	?	C	3100-2600 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partial burial
870	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB158	F	A	2800+/- 50 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
871	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB165	F	A	1745+/- 70 BP	2000- 1000 BP			Number of non-human teeth uncovered around burial	Partial burial
872	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB167	M	SA	3100- 2600 BP	3000- 2000 BP				Presumed intact burial
873	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB172	M	A	1600- 1200 BP	2000- 1000 BP				Intact burial
874	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB177	F	A	2000- 1500 BP	2000- 1000 BP				Intact burial
875	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB178	M	A	2490+/- 70 BP	3000- 2000 BP			Bone point under a left rib, tooth pendant associated with burial	Intact burial
876	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB181	F	A	2000- 1500 BP	2000- 1000 BP				Intact burial
877	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB182	M	A		3000- 2000 BP				Clustered remains
878	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB183	M	A	1700- 1200 BP	2000- 1000 BP			Stone labret between femur shafts two bone points east of knees	Partial burial
879	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB184	?	C		3000- 2000 BP				Intact burial

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
880	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB188	?	I	2000-1500 BP	2000-1000 BP				Assembled remains
881	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB192	F	A	2000-1500 BP	2000-1000 BP			Worked bone point, deer and otter bones ('otter bones' may be the identified infant long bones with the burial)	Partial burial
882	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB196	M	A	2600-2400 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
883	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB197	F	A	2440+/-35 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
884	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB198	M	A	2600-2400 BP	3000-2000 BP				
885	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB199	M	A	2600-2400 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
886	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB201	M	OA	2530+/-130 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
887	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB202	F	OA	2600-2400 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
888	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB203	?	C	2600-2400 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partial burial
889	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB413	F	A	2000-1500 BP	2000-1000 BP				Intact burial
890	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB414	M	A	1800-1300 BP	2000-1000 BP				Partial burial
891	Garden Island GbTo 23	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB417	M	A		3000-2000 BP				Clustered remains
892	Grassy Bay GbTn 1	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB534	?	C	1800-1300 BP	2000-1000 BP				Intact burial
893	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		1F	A	ca. 1500 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx left			Incomplete burial
894	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		2M	A	ca. 1500 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx left			Partial burial
895	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		3F	A	1045+/-105 BP	ca 1000 BP	semi-flx right			Intact burial, labret wear facet on lower central incisor
896	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		4M	J	ca 1500 BP	2000-1000 BP	semi-flx right		Dog skull on chest, elderberry seeds	Intact burial

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#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
897	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		5M	A	ca. 2000 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx left		Small concentration of friable wood, large quantity of elderberry seeds	Partial burial
898	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		6?	I	ca. 800 BP	ca. 1000 BP	flx left			Partial burial, possible basket burial
899	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		7F	OA	1350+/-110 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx right		Elderberry seeds	Incomplete burial
900	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		8?	C	ca. 1500 BP	2000-1000 BP				Scattered remains
901	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		9M	A	ca. 2000 BP	2000-1000 BP	semi-flx			Partial burial
902	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		10F	A	ca. 2000 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx right		Elderberry seeds	Incomplete burial
903	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		11F	A	ca. 2000 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx back		Small piece of wood on pelvis, large cobble tool on lower spine	Incomplete burial, labret wear facet on lower central incisor
904	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		12F	A	790+/-60 BP	ca. 1000 BP	flx left			Intact burial, labret wear facet on lower central incisor
905	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		13?	C	ca. 1500 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx left			Incomplete burial

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
906	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		14 F	SA	ca 1500 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx right		Small concentration of elderberry seeds	Incomplete burial
907	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		15 M	A	ca 1500 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx		Large section of wood plank (suggesting a box)	Incomplete burial, rocks around skeleton may be associated
908	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		16 M	OA	ca 1500 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx left			Intact burial, square box outline of small rocks around skeleton, several small rocks on top of skeleton
909	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		17 M	A		2000-1000 BP				Incomplete burial
910	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		18 M	A	735+/- 110 BP	ca 1000 BP	flx front		Elderberry seeds	Intact burial, square box outline formed by the elderberry seeds encasing skeleton, small rocks in association
911	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		19 M	A	ca 1000 BP	ca. 1000 BP	flx left		Elderberry seeds	Intact burial, small rocks around base of skeleton, thick concentration of elderberry seeds in northeast corner, many rocks on top of skeleton
912	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		20 M	A	ca 2000 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx back		Elderberry seeds	Almost intact burial

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
913	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)	21?		C	ca 1500 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx left		Elderberry seeds	Incomplete burial
914	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)	22	F	A	ca. 1500 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx front		Small number of elderberry seeds	Intact burial, rocks on top of skeleton
915	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)	23	M	A	ca. 1500 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx left front		Heavy concentration of elderberry seeds	Almost intact burial
916	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)	24	F	OA	ca 1500 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx front			Intact burial, two rocks on left shoulder blade
917	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)	25a	?	C	ca 1500 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx left			Incomplete burial
918	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)	25b	?	C	ca 1500 BP	2000-1000 BP				Clustered remains, immediately to the north of Burial 25a
919	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)	26	M	SA	ca. 1000 BP	ca 1000 BP	flx left front		Elderberry seeds	Intact burial, distinct box outline
920	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)	27	M	A	ca 1000 BP	2000-1000 BP				Incomplete burial
921	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)	29	F	OA	ca. 2000 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx		Elderberry seeds 6cm deep	Incomplete burial

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
922	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)	31a	M	A	ca 2000 BP	2000-1000 BP				Clustered remains
923	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)	31b	F	J	ca. 2000 BP	2000-1000 BP				Clustered remains, 50 cm north of burial 31a
924	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)	32	M	A	ca 1000 BP	2000-1000 BP	flx right			Complete burial
925	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)	33	M	A	510+/- 210 BP	ca 1000 BP	flx left back			Incomplete burial
926	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)	34	M	A	ca. 1000 BP	ca. 1000 BP	flx right front			Incomplete burial
927	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)	35a	?	C	ca. 1000 BP	ca 1000 BP	flx front			Incomplete burial, possibly a former intact burial disturbed by the interment of burial 42
928	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)	35b	?	C	ca 1000 BP	ca 1000 BP				Incomplete burial, close association to burial 35a, possibly a former intact burial disturbed by the interment of burial 42
929	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)	35c	?	J	ca 1000 BP	ca. 1000 BP				Fragmented, near burial 35a, possibly a formerly intact burial disturbed by the interment of burial 42

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
												interment of burial 42
930	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		36 M	A	ca 1000 BP	ca 1000 BP	flex left		Triangular concentration of elderberry seeds	Incomplete skeleton, pattern of elderberry seeds indicates a box burial
931	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		37 M	A	ca 1000 BP	ca. 1000 BP	flex left			Incomplete burial, 10 x 15 cm patch of wood underlying chest cavity
932	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		38 M	SA	ca 1000 BP	ca 1000 BP	flex left front		Elderberry seeds	Complete burial, pattern of elderberry seeds indicates a box outline
933	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		39?	A	ca 2000 BP	2000-1000 BP	flex left			Fragmented, under a layer of large rocks
934	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		40 F	A	1190 +/- 80 BP	2000-1000 BP	flex left front	Box	Elderberry seeds	Complete burial, small rocks within the box
935	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		41?	I	1190 +/- 80 BP	2000-1000 BP				Incomplete burial
936	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		42 F	OA	ca. 1000 BP	ca 1000 BP	flex left front			Almost intact burial, rocks on top of skeleton

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
937	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		43 F	J		2000-1000 BP				Assembled remains
938	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		44 F	A		2000-1000 BP				Remains were collected prior to excavation
939	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		45 M	A		2000-1000 BP				Remains were collected prior to excavation
940	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		46 F	A		2000-1000 BP				Assembled remains
941	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		47 F	A		2000-1000 BP				Assembled remains
942	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		48 M	OA		2000-1000 BP				Clustered and disturbed burial
943	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		49 M	A		2000-1000 BP				Clustered and disturbed burial
944	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		50?	C		2000-1000 BP				Clustered and disturbed burial
945	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		51?	I	ca 1500 BP	2000-1000 BP				Isolated burial

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
946	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		52M	OA		2000-1000 BP				Clustered and disturbed burial
947	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		53?	J	ca 1500 BP	2000-1000 BP				Isolated burial
948	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		54?	I	ca 1500 BP	2000-1000 BP				Clustered and disturbed burial
949	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		55?	C		2000-1000 BP				Partial/ assembled burial
950	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		56M	A		2000-1000 BP				Partial burial, collected prior to excavation
951	Greenville GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)		57?	C		2000-1000 BP				Remains were collected prior to excavation
952	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB451	F	A	2000-1500 BP	2000-1000 BP				Partial burial
953	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB452	M?	C	2000-1500 BP	2000-1000 BP				Intact burial
954	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB453	M	SA	2135+/-45 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
955	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB454	M	SA		2000-1000 BP				Partial burial
956	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB455	M	OA	2105+/-50 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
957	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB456	?	C		3000-2000 BP				Assembled remains
958	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB457	M?	J	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
959	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB458	M	SA	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP			Bone point reported under proximal end of femur 'through pelvic arch'	Intact burial
960	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB459	F	OA	2000-1500 BP	2000-1000 BP				Intact burial
961	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB460	F	A	2140+/-50 B	2000-1000 BP				Intact burial
962	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB461	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partly disturbed burial
963	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB463	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP			Reportedly associated ground slate point	Intact burial

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
964	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB465	M	SA	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
965	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB466	F	A	2000-1500 BP	2000-1000 BP			Four worked bones (possibly knives) and 2 bone points above foot bones	Partial burial
966	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB467	M	A	2000-1500 BP	2000-1000 BP			Associated bone point, worked blue mussel shell, bone wedge or chisel, hammerstone	Ochre, partial burial
967	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB468	M	OA	1750+/-45 BP	2000-1000 BP				Partial burial
968	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB469	F	OA	1500-1000 BP	2000-1000 BP				Clustered remains
969	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB470	M	A	ca. 1300 BP	2000-1000 BP			Bone point or awl on pelvis	Intact burial
970	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB471	F?	J	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
971	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB472	F	A		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
	Lachane 972	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB473	F	A		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
	Lachane 973	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB474	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partly disturbed burial
	Lachane 974	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB475	M	A		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
	Lachane 975	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB476	F	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP			Toggle-type harpoon under arms	Intact burial
	Lachane 976	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB477	M	A	2425+/-85 BP	3000-2000 BP			Worked bone piece	Intact burial
	Lachane 977	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB479a	F?	J		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
	Lachane 978	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB479b	M	A		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
	Lachane 979	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB480	M	J	3000-2500 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
	Lachane 980	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB481	F	A	1750+/-40 BP	2000-1000 BP			Bone point lodged between lower right ribs, one above burial in 'unknown location'	Partial burial

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
981	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB482	F	J	3000-2500 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
982	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB483	F	A	2000-1500 BP	2000-1000 BP				Clustered remains
983	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB484	M	SA	2015+/-95 BP	2000-1000 BP			Associated cobble flake	Intact burial
984	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB485a?		C		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
985	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB485b	M	A		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
986	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB485c	F	A		3000-2000 BP				Assembled remains
987	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB486	M	A		3000-2000 BP				Assembled remains
988	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB487	M	A		3000-2000 BP				Clustered remains
989	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB488	M	A	3500-3000 BP	4000-3000 BP				Intact burial

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
990	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB489	F	A	3100 +/- 70 BP	4000-3000 BP			Fluted bilaterally side-notched bone projectile point on sternum (possibly a pendant), dog skull directly above burial	Intact burial
991	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB491	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP			Associated bone point	Intact burial
992	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB492	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Clustered remains
993	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB493	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
994	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB494a	M	OA		3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
995	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB494b	?	I		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
996	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB495	M	A	2000-1500 BP	2000-1000 BP			Bone point fragments	Intact burial
997	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB496	M	A	3030 +/- 80 BP	4000-3000 BP				Intact burial

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
998	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB497	M?	A		3000-2000 BP				Clustered remains
999	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB498	F	A	3000-2500 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
1000	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB499	F?	A	3000-2500 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
1001	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB500	?	C		3000-2000 BP				Assembled remains
1002	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB501	F	OA	1895+/-60 BP	2000-1000 BP			Associated tapered awl tip	Intact burial
1003	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB502	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Clustered remains
1004	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB503	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP			Associated abrader on front of chest	Intact burial
1005	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB504	F	A	2000-1500 BP	2000-1000 BP				Intact burial
1006	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB513	F	A	3500-3000 BP	4000-3000 BP				Clustered remains

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
1007	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB682	F	A		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
1008	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB717	M	OA		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
1009	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB731	?	C		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
1010	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB783	?	I		3000-2000 BP				Assembled remains
1011	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB788	?	J		3000-2000 BP				Assembled remains
1012	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB801	?	C		3000-2000 BP				Clustered remains
1013	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB865	M	A		3000-2000 BP				Clustered remains
1014	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d	XVIIIB886a	M	J	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
1015	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB886b	M	A		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
1016	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB889	F	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
1017	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB890	M	A		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
1018	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB892	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partly disturbed burial
1019	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB893	F	A		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
1020	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB894	M	A	2500-2000 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partly disturbed burial
1021	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB896a	M	A		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
1022	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB896b	F	A		3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
1023	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB898	M	A		3000-2000 BP				Clustered remains
1024	Lachane GbTo 33	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB899	M	A		3000-2000 BP				Clustered remains

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
1025	Lucy Island GbTp 1	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB938	F	SA		n.d.				Scattered remains
1026	Lucy Island GbTp 1	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB939	M	A		n.d.				Scattered remains
1027	Lucy Island GbTp 1	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB940	?	C		n.d.				Scattered remains
1028	Parizeau Point GbTo 30	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB300	F	OA	1460+/- 75 BP	2000- 1000 BP				Intact burial
1029	Parizeau Point GbTo 30	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB301	M?	SA		3000- 2000 BP				Partial burial
1030	Parizeau Point GbTo 30	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB302	F	A	2250+/- 75 BP	3000- 2000 BP				Intact burial
1031	Parizeau Point GbTo 30	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB303a	F	A	?	3000- 2000 BP				Intact burial
1032	Parizeau Point GbTo 30	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB303b	F?	SA	?	3000- 2000 BP				Scattered remains
1033	Parizeau Point GbTo 30	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB304	?	I	?	3000- 2000 BP				Partial burial
1034	Parizeau Point GbTo 30	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB305a	?	C	?	3000- 2000 BP				Partial burial

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
1035	Parizeau Point GbTo 30	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB305b	?	C	?	3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
1036	Parizeau Point GbTo 30	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB429	M?	A	?	3000-2000 BP				Clustered remains
1037	Parizeau Point GbTo 30	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB541	?	I	?	3000-2000 BP				Presumed intact burial
1038	Parizeau Point GbTo 30	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB542	?	I	?	3000-2000 BP				Presumed intact burial
1039	Parizeau Point GbTo 30	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB543	?	I	?	3000-2000 BP				Scattered remains
1040	Ridley Island GbTn 19	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB880	M	A	2610+/-150 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partial burial
1041	Ridley Island GbTn 19	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB881	F	A	2900-2300 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
1042	Ridley Island GbTn 19	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB882	M	A	2900-2300 BP	3000-2000 BP				Intact burial
1043	Ridley Island GbTn 19	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB883	M	A	2900-2300 BP	3000-2000 BP				Partial burial

Appendix A – Northwest Coast Burial Data

#	Site	Location	Source	Original burial number	Sex	Age	Date	Temporal Category	Body position	Interment mode	Grave Goods	Notes
1044	Ridley Island GbTn 19	North	Cybulski n.d.	XVIIIB884	?		2000- 1500 BP	2000- 1000 BP				Presumed intact burial

Appendix B

Summary of Northwest Coast Burial Data

Appendix B – Summary of Northwest Coast Burial Data

Table 1 - Summary Chart of Northwest Coast Burial Sites

	Total Number of Sites	Cemetery Sites	Non-cemetery Sites
South	36	14	22
Central	1	1	0
Q.C.I.	1	1	0
North	10	7	3
Total	48	23	25

Table 2 – Gender Distribution of Northwest Coast Burial Sites

	Total Number of Burials	Males	Females	Children	Unknown Sex
South	630	178	156	108	188
Central	42	12	15	9	6
Q.C.I.	28	8	9	2	9
North	344	173	103	58	10
Total	1044	371	283	177	213

Appendix B – Summary of Northwest Coast Burial Data

Table 3 – Gender Distribution of Northwest Coast Cemetery Sites

	Total Number of Burials	Males	Females	Children	Unknown Sex
South	559	157	135	95	172
Central	42	12	15	9	6
Q.C.I.	28	8	9	2	9
North	336	169	102	161	10
Total	965	346	261	161	197

Table 4 – Gender Distribution of Northwest Coast Non-Cemetery Sites

	Total Number of Burials	Males	Females	Children	Unknown Sex
South	71	21	21	13	16
North	8	4	1	3	0
Total	79	25	22	16	16

Appendix B – Summary of Northwest Coast Burial Data

Table 5 – Northwest Coast Burial Sites

#	Site	Borden	Region	Source	Date range	No. of Burials
1	Beach Grove	DgRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	3000-2000 BP	25
2	Bliss Landing	EaSe 2	South	Beattie (1981)	4000-3000 BP	2
3	Cable Bay	DfRu 74	South	Wilson (1992)	No date	1
4	Cowichan Bay	DeRv 107	South	Yip (1982)	2000-1000 BP	4
5	Crescent Beach	DrRr 1	South	Beattie (1981) Conaty & Curtin (1984)	3000-2000 BP	25
6	Deep Bay	DiSe 7	South	Beattie (1981)	3000-1000 BP	7
7	Duke Point	DgRx 5	South	Murray (1982)	2000-1000 BP	10
8	False Narrows	DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	2000-1000 BP	85
9	Ganges	DfRu 3	South	Simonsen (1988)	No date	1
10	Glenrose Canney	DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981), Styles (1986)	4000-2000 BP	18
11	Goldicutt Creek	DgRg 19	South	Oliver and Skinner (1987)	2000-1000 BP	1
12	Helen Point	DfRu 8	South	Beattie (1981)	3000-1000 BP	9
13	Hill Site	DfRu 4	South	Hall & Haggarty (1981)	2000-1000 BP	30
14	Little Beach	DfSj 100	South	Stryd (1991)	4000-3000 BP	17
15	Locarno Beach	DhRt 6	South	Beattie (1981)	3000-2000 BP	6
16	Long Harbour	DfRu 44	South	Johnstone (1988) in Wright (2000)	3000-2000 BP	22
17	Maple Bay	DeRu 12	South	Cybulski (1988)	3000-2000 BP	4
18	Marpole	DhRs 1	South	Beattie (1981)	3000-2000 BP	32
19	Muller Cabin	DgRw 20	South	Skinner and Thacker (1988)	Ca. 1000 BP	1
20	Pender	DeRt 1	South	Carlson (n.d.) in Wright (2000)	3000-1000 BP	4
21	Pender	DeRt 2	South	Carlson (n.d.) in Wright (200)	5000-1000 BP	86
22	Quadra Island	EaSh 3	South	Skinner (1986)	3000-2000 BP	1
23	Saltspring Island	DfRu 42	South	Skinner (1984) in Wright (2000)	Ca 1000 BP	1

Appendix B – Summary of Northwest Coast Burial Data

24	Scowlitz	DhRl 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line); Thom (1992)	2000-1000 BP	42*
25	Shoemaker Bay	DhSe 2	South	McMillian & St.Claire (1982) in Wright (2000)	2000-1000 BP	3
26	Someons Creek	DeRw 18	South	Brown (1996)	2000-1000 BP	14
27	Songheese Territory	DeRv 52	South	Condrashoff (1982)	No date	1
28	St. Mungo Cannery	DeRt 2	South	Calvert (1970) in Wright (200)	4000-3000 BP	4
29	Tsawwassen	DgRs 9	South	Ham (1997)	2000-1000 BP	1
30	Tsawwassen	DgRs 2	South	Stryd (1988)	2000-1000 BP	5
31	Tsawwassen	DgRs 2	South	Arcas (1991) in Thom (1995)	4000-1000 BP	8
32	White Rock		South	Lazenby (1986)	No date	1
33	Willows Beach	DcRt 10	South	Eldridge (1997)	2000-1000 BP	7
34	Whalen Farm	DfRs 3	South	Seymour (1976) in Wright (2000)	2000-1000 BP	3
35	Gabriola Island	DgRw 199	South	Curtin (1998)	No date	136
36	Gabriola Island	DgRw 204	South	Curtin (1998)	No date	11
37	Namu	EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	6000-1000 BP	42
38	Blue Jackets Creek	FIUa 4	Q C.I	Murray (1981)	4000-3000 BP	28
39	Baldwin	GbTo 36	North	Cybulski (n.d.)	3000-1000 BP	22
40	Boardwalk	GbTo 31	North	Cybulski (n.d.)	3000-1000 BP	120
41	Dodge Island	GbTo 18	North	Cybulski (n.d.)	4000-2000 BP	20
42	Garden Island	GbTo 23	North	Cybulski (n.d.)	3000-1000 BP	29
43	Grassy Bay	GbTn 1	North	Cybulski (n.d.)	2000-1000 BP	1
44	Greenville	GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)	2000- ca 1000 BP	58
45	Lachane	GbTo 33	North	Cybulski (n.d.)	3000-1000 BP	72
46	Lucy Island	GbTp 1	North	Cybulski (n.d.)	No date	3
47	Parizeau Point	GbTo 30	North	Cybulski (n.d.)	3000-1000 BP	12
48	Ridley Island	GbTn 19	North	Cybulski (n.d.)	3000-1000 BP	5

* Only 4 burials at Scowlitz have been excavated.

Appendix B – Summary of Northwest Coast Burial Data

Table 6 - Northwest Coast Burial Sites with Grave Goods

	Site	Borden	Region	Source	Date range	# of burials	# with grave goods
1	Crescent Beach	DrRr 1	South	Beattie (1981); Conaty & Curtin (1984)	3000-2000 BP	25	2
2	Duke Point	DgRx 5	South	Murray (1982)	2000-1000 BP	10	2
3	False Narrows	DgRw 6	South	Burley (1988)	2000-1000 BP	85	19
4	Glenrose Canney	DgRr 6	South	Beattie (1981); Styles (1986)	4000-2000 BP	38	7
5	Goldicutt Creek	DgRg 19	South	Oliver and Skinner (1987)	2000-1000 BP	1	1
6	Hill Site	DfRu 4	South	Hall & Haggarty (1981)	2000-1000 BP	30	10
7	Long Harbour	DfRu 44	South	Johnstone (1988) in Wright (2000)	3000-2000 BP	22	3
8	Pender	DeRt 1	South	Carlson (n.d.) in Wright (2000)	3000-1000 BP	4	1
9	Pender	DeRt 2	South	Carlson (n.d.) in Wright (200)	5000-1000 BP	86	37
10	Scowlitz.	DhRI 16	South	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (on-line); Thom (1992)	2000-1000 BP	42	1
11	Someons Creek	DeRw 18	South	Brown (1996)	2000-1000 BP	14	1
12	Tsawwassen	DgRs 9	South	Ham (1997)	2000-1000 BP	1	1
13	Tsawwassen	DgRs 2	South	Arcas (1991) in Thom (1995)	4000-1000 BP	8	2
14	Willows Beach	DcRt 10	South	Eldridge (1997)	2000-1000 BP	7	3
15	Namu	EISx 1	Central	Curtin (1984)	6000-1000 BP	42	9
16	Baldwin	GbTo 36	North	Cybulski (n.d.)	3000-1000 BP	22	8
17	Boardwalk	GbTo 31	North	Cybulski (n.d.)	3000-1000 BP	120	36
18	Dodge Island	GbTo 18	North	Cybulski (n.d.)	4000-2000 BP	20	6
19	Garden Island	GbTo 23	North	Cybulski (n.d.)	3000-1000 BP	29	6
20	Greenville	GgTj 6	North	Cybulski (1992)	2000-ca.1000 BP	58	18
21	Lachane	GbTo 33	North	Cybulski (n.d.)	3000-1000 BP	72	14