

An Unusual Slate Gorget Fragment from Oxford County, Ontario

Christopher Ellis

This paper reports on a fragment of a slate gorget from Oxford County, southwestern Ontario, that most likely dates to the Early to Middle Woodland (ca. 2,800 to 1,500 B.P.). Usually stone gorgets are undecorated or have simple incised geometric motifs but this fragment has representational images, on both faces, in the form of several line engravings of animals that most closely resemble wolves or dogs. The orientation of the representations also provides information on how gorgets might have been suspended. Marked differences in engraving style suggest use by more than one individual, indicating that some of these items were heirlooms. Gorgets with representational images occur on shell, cannel coal and stone, but their rarity and the depiction of animals that were particularly important in the ethnographically documented spiritual beliefs of Great Lakes area Native peoples reinforce the idea that gorgets were important in the sacred and social life of the makers.

Résumé à la fin de l'article.

I hope that the publication of this paper will result in bringing to light other examples of drawings on archaeological artifacts which may be buried in obscure private collections (Wintemberg 1924:34).

This paper presents a description of a unique slate object fragment from Oxford County in southwestern Ontario. Extensively shaped ground stone, apparently non-utilitarian items, become common at around 3,500 B.P. during the Late/Terminal Archaic. They continue to be used until well into the Late Woodland (e.g., Converse 1978). Several forms of these items are known such as pendants, gorgets and birdstones. Comparisons with other items described in the literature suggest the object from Oxford County is most likely a gorget fragment. What makes it unusual is its incised decoration, something that is generally rare. What is even more unusual is the fact there are simple, yet clear, line engravings of several animals incised on both faces. Some of their characteristics suggest they are images of canids, important animals in the pre-contact and post-contact worldviews and sacred ritual of Great Lakes native peoples.

The Artifact

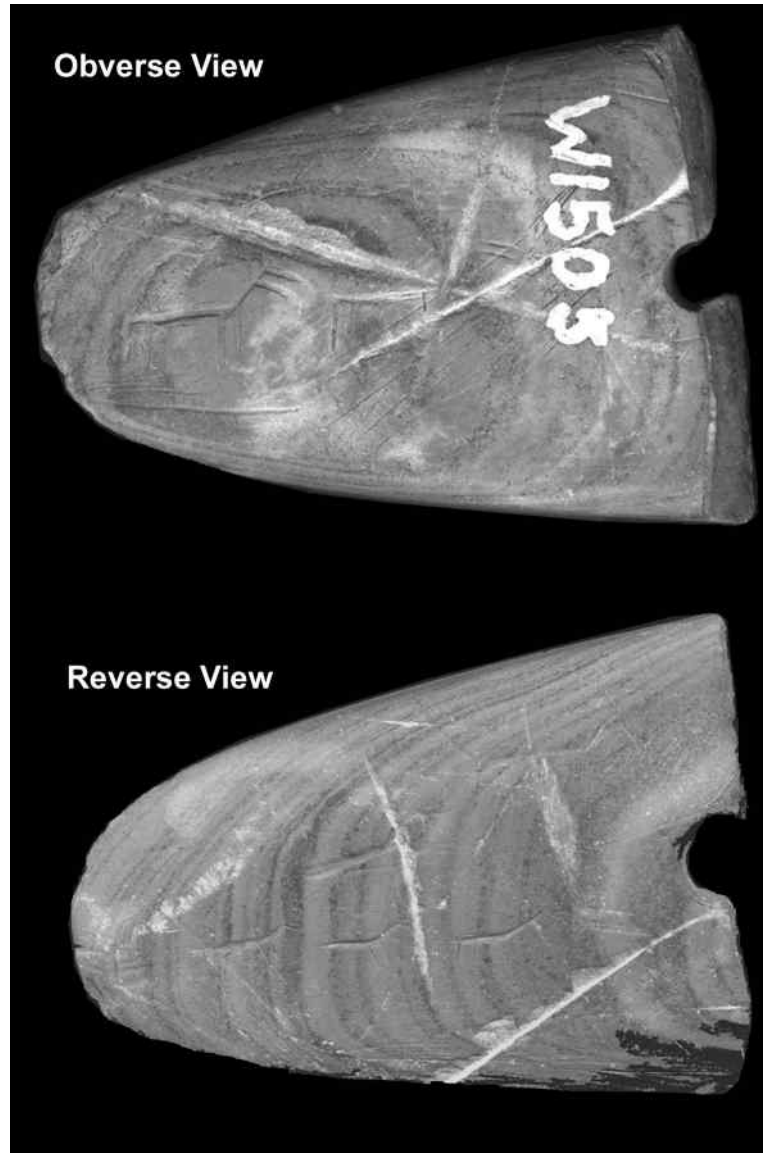
Description

The ground slate item reported here is from the large southwestern Ontario artifact collection of

the late Mr. Croft Garnham, donated to the University of Western Ontario by his grandchildren in 1996. Mr. Garnham was an informed avocational archaeologist and historian with a deep passion for the history of Strathroy and the surrounding area of Elgin and Oxford Counties. His interest led him to amass a regional artifact collection over the years from about 1915 to 1985. Among the many sites he discovered is the Goessens Early Iroquoian village in Elgin County reported to Thomas Lee of the National Museum during his surveys of southwestern Ontario in the 1940s (Lee 1951:45; see also Fox 2004: Figure 15.16) and used by the late Dr. James V. Wright (1966) as one of the keystone sites in his famous *Ontario Iroquois Tradition*. The collection donated to the university included over 1600 artifacts, all of which had been glued to boards in display cases, from some 75 locations. The artifacts were either collected by Mr. Garnham directly or obtained from local landowners. Distinguishing this collection from many others, Mr. Garnham numbered each artifact and kept a written record of where each object had been found (Garnham n.d.).

The subject of this paper (Figures 1 and 2) is numbered W1505. In the system used by Mr. Garnham, each artifact was numbered in order of his having obtained it, prefaced by a letter indicating the first letter of the last name of the donor or landowner. It was donated, along with

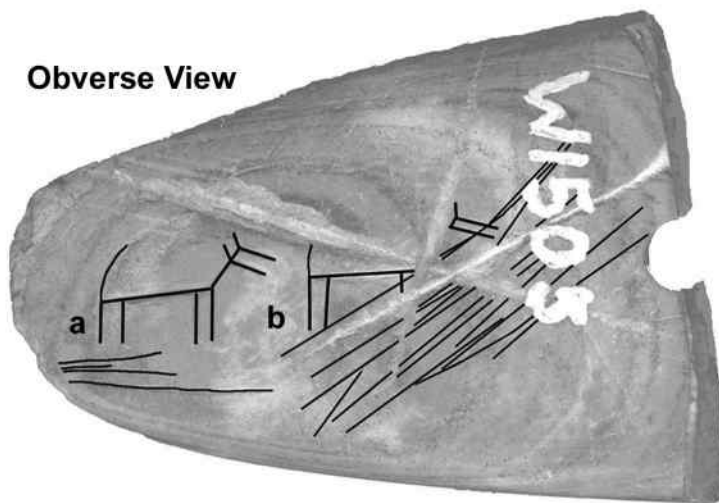
Figure 1. *Obverse and reverse views of gorget, showing representations. Length of fragment is 62 mm.*



ten other artifacts, to Mr. Garnham on 19 March 1960 by Mr. Joseph Weil of Tillsonburg. These artifacts were all found some time before that date on one of two adjacent lots on Concession 12, South Norwich Township. Made on banded slate, it consists of one end of a thin tablet-like object broken transversely at the point where a small (9 mm diameter) hole was drilled from one face. The existing segment is 62 mm long by 44 mm wide by 8 mm thick. Overall, it has a trianguloid shape with lateral edges that expand 35 to 40

degrees from the narrow end. The end is rounded and so these edges are slightly convex in plan view. The lateral edges would have continued to expand beyond the transversely broken edge. Evidence of this continued expansion is important because, assuming the overall item was symmetrical in outline, it indicates that the preserved hole was not at the centre of the complete object, or co-extensive with the point of maximum width. In addition to the snap across the widest end, there are two small chips off the intact rounded end.

Obverse View



Reverse View

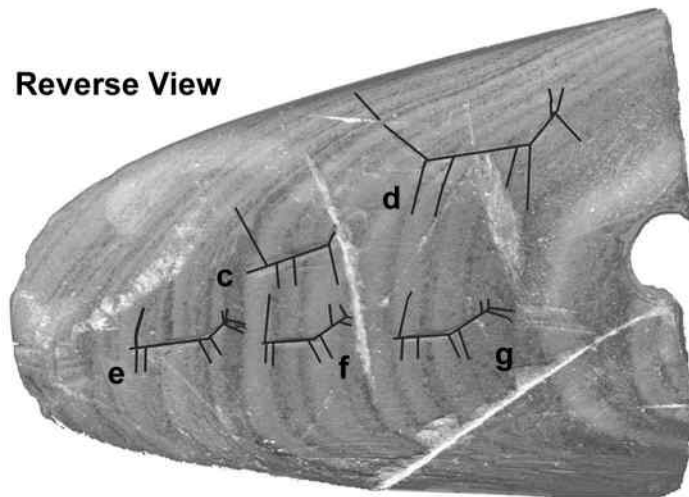


Figure 2. Obverse and reverse views with engravings emphasized for clarity. Animal engravings are shown in simplified form as an aid to understanding their relative position on the artifact. For a more detailed rendering of each individual animal see Figure 3.

One face had been glued to a board and the glue, since removed, has damaged and darkened slightly the colour of this face. The unglued, obverse face ranges in colour from 5YR6/1 to 5YR4/1 (light grey/grey/dark grey) in the Munsell colour system. The reverse (formerly glued) face ranges from N5 to N4 (grey to dark grey). Regardless, on both faces, there are several marked surface scrapes and scratches, which are usually linear and run at random angles, sometimes associated with surface flaking along their margins. These linear scratches range in width from 0.7 to 3.9 mm and are of a much lighter

colour than the rest of the artifact (N8, N7, 5YR8/1 [white to light grey] in the Munsell system), so much so that they are easily discerned even in a black and white photograph (Figures 1 and 2). Such scratches are commonly found on ground stone items from cultivated fields and represent plough scars and other damage resulting from contact with modern equipment. Indeed, they are found on several objects of ground slate in the Garnham collection and many others I have examined. As these marks are unweathered, they are easy to distinguish from any aboriginal modifications of the artifact.

In contrast to these scratches, all other modifications to the artifact consist mainly of much finer lines (<1mm wide). They also lack the surface flaking along their margins associated with damage from modern equipment, indicating that much less force was used to produce them. Moreover, they are darker. In fact, the colour of the surface of the stone in these marks is comparable to the colour elsewhere on the stone, including the surfaces of the drill hole, the broken transverse edge, and the two small chips at the rounded end. Importantly, these modifications include the representational images on both faces as well as two distinct sets of parallel lines on the obverse face (Figures 1 to 3). In short, the marks considered to be cultural modifications are weathered to the same degree, comparable to the surface of the stone generally, suggesting they are of about the same age. Microscopic examination of the modified surfaces of the images, and other surfaces, does not reveal any evidence of deliberate staining in order to deceive, nor does repeated washing change the colours. Also, several images are overlain and partially obscured by the marks from recent, implement-induced damage (Figure 2). In other words, the engravings predate the recovery of the artifact from a ploughed field and leave no doubt that they were produced in pre-European times.

Gorget or Pendant?

The thin, tablet-like nature of the artifact and the presence of at least one drill hole indicate that the artifact was originally either a pendant or a gorget. Pendants generally have only a single drill hole, which tends to be located near one end. The end nearest the hole is usually narrower and shaped differently in plan view than the opposite or distal end. Gorgets, in contrast, have at least two or more holes that tend to be centred on the object. These objects are usually symmetrical with identically shaped ends. There are exceptions in which the gorget holes are closer to the ends (e.g., Converse 1978: Figure 33, 53a; Cunningham 1948: Plate 10-2, 10-3; Ritchie 1969: Plate 64-17) but, importantly, gorgets tend to have the holes a considerable distance in (more than 40 mm) from the end much more often than pendants.

Some researchers have used the term gorget to refer to single-holed items. In a few cases, with their asymmetrically-shaped ends and hole much closer to one end, the single-holed “gorgets” are identical to what others call pendants (see, for example, Ford 1976: Figures 25a-e, 27a-p). In other cases, the single-holed items seem to be called gorgets because the drill hole is at or near the centre of the item, or because both ends of the item have the same general shape, or both (e.g., Donaldson and Wortner 1995: Figure 47b; Ford 1976: Figures 25g, 26j, 26k; Fox 1990: Figure 6.8e; Pearce 2003: Figure 4b; Wintenberg 1924: Plate 2, Figure 1, 1928a:121).

Gorgetts with two or more holes seem to occur first in the Late Archaic and certainly continue to be common well into the Middle Woodland (Cunningham 1948; Ritchie 1944: Plate 165). Gorgets become rarer by end of the Middle Woodland, during what Ritchie (1969:249) in New York State called the Kipp Island Phase (at about 1,500 B.P.). They continue, however, to be reported from even Late Woodland sites (e.g., Pearce 2003:17-19). Using the simple criterion of two or more holes, there is no doubt that Late Woodland peoples produced gorgets on shell (W. Kenyon 1982: Figure 12, Plate 25) and bone (Pearce 2003) but it is not always clear whether these Late Woodland finds, particularly gorgets made of stone, are real associations. The sites could be multi-component or the objects heirlooms collected from earlier sites. Moreover, for some of the objects, it is not specified why the items are called gorgets since there is no evidence they had more than one hole (or even any holes) or symmetrical ends (e.g., Robertson 1997: Figure 8.19; Wintenberg 1924: Plate 3, Figure 2; Wintenberg 1939: Plate 13-5, 13-6). In New York State, Ritchie (1969:249) is adamant that the presence of two-hole stone gorgets distinguishes Middle Woodland assemblages from those of the subsequent earliest Late Woodland, specifically Owasco, where they are absent.

Large, refined stone pendants with single holes and asymmetrically shaped ends do not really appear until the later Early Woodland or the early Middle Woodland as in, for example the “Middlesex Phase” in Ontario and New York and

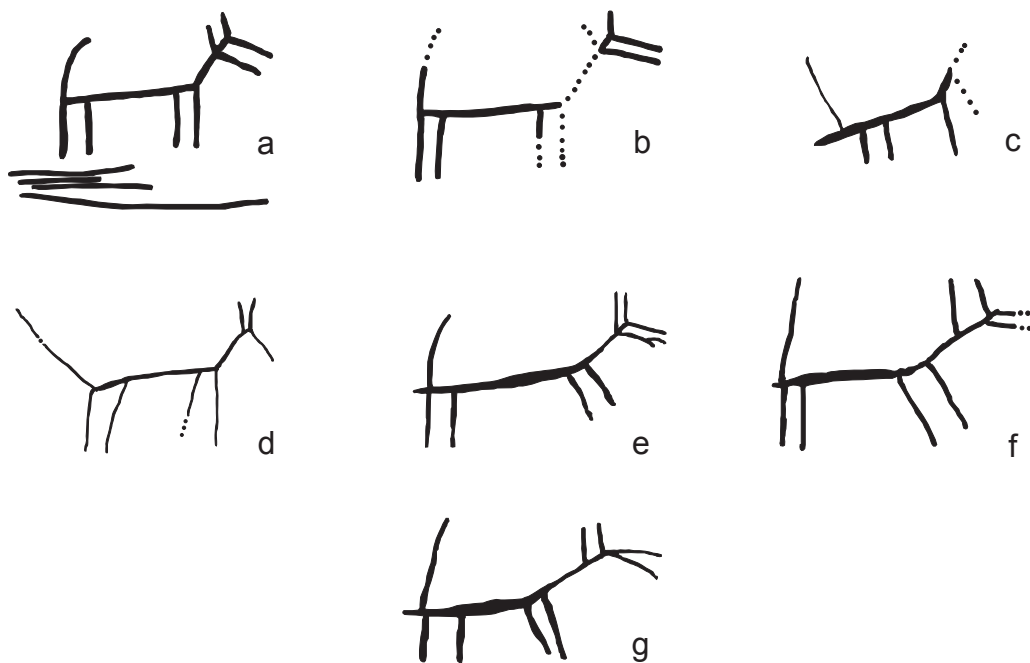


Figure 3. Individual representations. Not all drawings are shown at the same scale (see Table 1 for dimensions). These drawings were made by tracing the drawings on a high quality and enlarged scan of the gorget's surfaces, augmented by microscopic examination to ensure accuracy.

Adena in adjacent areas to the south and south-west (Parker 1997; Ritchie 1969:201-205; Spence et al. 1990:138-142; Webb and Baby 1957; Webb and Snow 1974). They continue into the late Middle Woodland and early Late Woodland when, after 1500 B.P., there is a fluorescence of diverse forms (Ritchie 1969:Plate 84).

As is the case with modern forms, pendants are assumed to be decorative items suspended from the neck or wrist by the single hole near one end. Gorgets are so-named because of their formal or morphological resemblance to certain historically known items. Initially, the term gorget was applied to a piece of mediaeval armour that encased and protected the neck. By the eighteenth century, gorgets had become a stylized crescent or semi-lunar metal object used as a symbol of rank among European army officers. This object was worn at the neck suspended by two holes near each end rather than by the more centred holes often seen on the pre-contact items. These items were sometimes given to native leaders by the British as symbols of rank. Over time, various native peoples began to make

their own gorgets of these particular forms that they wore for more decorative and symbolic purposes (Sturtevant 1967:170). However, this historical association does not mean that other forms of gorgets worn at the neck are not of pre-European origin. Shell gorgets occur, for example, even in some of the earliest post-contact cemeteries (e.g., W. Kenyon 1982:Figure 12).

In archaeological terms "gorget" may be a functional misnomer since we do not know if all the gorgets found on pre-European sites were worn and used in a similar manner to the later, post-contact ones. There is, in fact, archaeological evidence that gorgets were not worn or used in exactly the same way as the historic gorgets but rather in a myriad of ways. For example, placement in pre-contact burials suggests many, perhaps most, of the items were not worn at the neck (Donaldson and Wortner 1995:79-80; Ritchie 1944:126,128; Ritchie 1949:32; Webb and Snow 1974:84-85; Wintemberg 1928a:182) although there are some exceptions (e.g., Morse and Morse 1964:Photo 12A,12B). Moreover, some researchers have suggested they were utilitarian

items, such as atlatl weights, forearm bow guards or artifacts used to shape ceramics (Curren 1977:97), although the evidence for such uses is tenuous and inconsistent. Of course, some gorgets were definitely not used in these manners. Terminal Archaic Glacial Kame sandle-sole and circular marine shell forms, for example, have wear patterns that indicate a non-utilitarian use (Donaldson and Wortner 1995:79-80).

Since the Garnham item is not complete, we need to consider the specific kind of object represented—pendant or gorget? Two characteristics are useful in resolving this question: 1) the distance of the drill hole from the preserved end of the artifact; and 2) the shape of the end in plan and profile views. The drill hole of the Garnham object is 62 mm from the preserved end. In profile, the end is thin and pointed and in plan it has a rounded margin with no abrupt juncture between the end and lateral margins.

Few measurements have been published for comparison but existing photographs of pendants show holes that are located at comparable distances from the end of the artifact. For example, photographs of late Middle Woodland to early Late Woodland trapezoid and pentagonoid pendant forms, attributed by William Ritchie (1969:249-550 and Plate 84) to his Kipp Island Phase (ca. 1,500-1,300 B.P.), have drill holes 60-65 mm from the closest, often narrower end. At a Surma site burial in Ontario (Emerson and Noble 1966), a site which most researchers regard as belonging to the Transitional Woodland Princess Point Complex, a pendant was found with a single drill hole located about 69 mm from one end (Fox 1990: Figure 6.8e). However, none of these pendant forms, or for that matter, the remainder of the forms that have the holes much closer to (less than 30 mm from) the end, have the rounded apex and thin profile of the Garnham object. Rather, all have somewhat flattened ends in profile and abrupt junctures in plan view where end and lateral margins meet. Also, excepting the Surma example, all have a thick profile at the suspension end with squared-off junctures between end and faces. Unlike the Garnham item, several of the Kipp Island examples also have deeply notched edges at top (e.g., Ritchie 1944:Plate 38-31, 38-32).

Earlier forms identified as “pendants” by researchers are less well known but most of these early examples have drill holes located 40 mm or less from the presumed suspension end (e.g., Ritchie 1944:Plate 89-20; Ritchie 1969:Plates 72, 74-3; Snow 1980:Figures 7.19-2, 7.19-3) whereas drill holes on items identified as gorgets are often 45-50 mm or more from the end of the item (e.g., Cunningham 1948:Plate 10-2, 10-3; Donaldson and Wortner 1995:Figure 40b; Ritchie 1944:Plate 56-24, 34, 42, Plate 71-14, 15, Plate 86-24, Plate 89-24; Ritchie 1955:Plate 15-3, Plate 23-13, Plate 23-15; Ritchie 1969:Plate 56; Snow 1980:Figure 7.3 upper). The only exceptions are items with centrally located single holes and identically shaped opposing ends, which, as discussed above, some people call gorgets (e.g., Donaldson and Wortner 1995:Figure 47b; Ford 1976:Figures 25, 26, 27). As noted, the lateral edges of the Garnham object are still expanding at the point where it broke across the hole, which indicates, if it was symmetrically shaped, that it did not have a centrally located hole. In addition, with odd exceptions (e.g., Ritchie 1969: Plate 74-3), the earlier pendants have ends that are very abrupt in plan view and thick in profile view, quite different from the Garnham item. In sum, several attributes can be cited to support an identification of the original artifact. The combination of a drill hole which is more than 45-50 mm from the artifact end, the rounded corners in plan view, the thin apex of the end in profile, and the fact the hole was not at the exact mid-point of the item, suggest that the Garnham fragment is from a gorget with two or more holes.

Age and Affiliation

Accepting a gorget attribution, one can examine the exact cultural affiliation. Most of the earliest known gorget forms, specifically from the better-known Great Lakes area Terminal Archaic and Early Woodland developments, do not closely resemble the Garnham gorget. Glacial Kame assemblages typically include stone (as well as shell or copper) rectanguloid bar gorgets that have abrupt junctures between the sides and flattened ends (e.g., Converse 1980:Figure 66c;

Donaldson and Wortner 1995:Figures 19a, 22k, 40b; Ritchie 1955:Plate 15-3; Stothers and Abel 1993:Figure 20c). Alternatively, the Glacial Kame items are constricted-centre gorgets with wide flaring ends (e.g., Converse 1980:55), which also are clearly unlike the Garnham find. The only definitive Terminal Archaic gorgets that have rounded ends resembling the Garnham gorget, are those from outside the Great Lakes, such as gorgets in the Orient Phase on Long Island, New York (Ritchie 1944:Plate 107-1, 107-2, 107-3). It is possible that a rounded-end gorget fragment associated with a flexed red ochre burial from the Peterkin site in Ontario is Late Archaic. Yet, the one point recovered with the same individual is not easily related to any Late Archaic style (Williamson 1978:Plate 17).

The best known Early Woodland development in the eastern Great Lakes, Meadowood, includes forms such as constricted centre or large (wide) trapezoidal to rectanguloid gorgets. These forms do not even remotely resemble the Garnham gorget (e.g., Ritchie 1944:Plate 54-48 and 71-15; Ritchie 1955:Plate 23-13 and 23-15; Ritchie 1969:Plate 69-3 and 69-4; Spence et al. 1978:Figure 1e). A wide range of gorget forms have been reported from somewhat later Early Woodland "Middlesex Phase" or Adena sites (ca. 2,400 B.P.). Holes drilled from one side only, as is the case with the Garnham gorget, are said to be the "typical Adena fashion" (Ritchie and Dragoo 1959:43; see also Webb and Snow 1974:85) but most of the Adena forms tend to be broad and rectangular in plan view with squared-off ends and exhibit special features such as keeling or hollowed-out faces (e.g., Converse 1978; Ritchie 1969:Plate 72-14; Ritchie and Dragoo 1960:Plate 12-5; Spence 1967:Plate 4-9). Moreover, even ones with more rounded ends such as the "elliptical gorget," which most researchers seem to regard as characteristically Adena, often differ from the Garnham find (see Converse 1978:54-55; Dragoo 1963:260). Elliptical gorgets tend to have the holes close to the ends (within 30-35 mm). They also are very wide (greater than 65 mm), with margins that expand rapidly (45 degrees or more) from the ends. Despite the contrasts just outlined, some

Adena-related gorgets resemble the Garnham find in morphology and placement of holes (e.g., Ford 1976:Figures 28e, 29g; Kraft 1976:Figure 2b; Norona 1962:28; Thomas 1976:Figure 4). But as with the Terminal Archaic Orient Phase examples noted above, these comparable forms have been reported only from locations outside the Great Lakes drainage. Nonetheless, unlike the Orient Phase, which is not represented at all in the Great Lakes, Adena or Adena-like (e.g., Middlesex Phase) material most certainly does occur here, so it is distinctly possible that the Garnham gorget is associated with those Early Woodland developments.

The Garnham gorget also resembles items from later Middle Woodland sites such as artifacts assigned to Point Peninsula in New York State and eastern Ontario. For example, Ritchie (1944:Plate 56-18, 24, 42) illustrates three gorgets with more rounded ends, drill holes much removed from either end, and, in some cases, only moderate expansion of the side edges from the end. The items were all recovered from a burial at the Sea Breeze site in New York State, which also included typical Middle Woodland side-notched point forms. Also, at the Donaldson and Thede sites, which are assigned to the Middle Woodland Saugeen Complex, there are several reported gorgets and "gorget blanks" comparable in outline to the Garnham find (Finlayson 1977:Plates 13-5, 38-3; Wright and Anderson 1963:Plate 22-3).

Stone gorgets, strictly defined here as those items having symmetrically shaped ends and two or more holes that are not completely centred, are also reported from some Late Woodland sites. However, given the large size of such assemblages and the large number of sites that have been studied, they are rare and so their association with Late Woodland is not convincing. Instead, they may have been collected as curiosities by Late Woodland peoples. Alternatively, they indicate earlier occupation of the same sites. Pearce (2003:22-23) regards both as viable explanations for the several specimens from the Lawson Neutral site, which probably has more gorgets than any Late Woodland site reported, and contains several other undoubted pre-Iroquoian objects (see also

Wintemberg 1939:94). All of the stone gorgets from Late Woodland sites differ from the Garnham gorget in having quite broad or abruptly flattened ends (e.g., Pearce 2003:Figure 4b,c; Wintemberg 1928b:Plate 23-18).

I believe, therefore, that the engraved gorget is either an Early Woodland “Middlesex” or Adena-related form, or a Middle Woodland form. We cannot assume that the six diagnostic points in the Garnham collection from the same location and donor relate to the gorget. Nonetheless, most (four) can be assigned to the Early or Middle Woodland. They include three stemmed points that fall within the range of non-Meadowood Early Woodland points (Ozker 1982:Figure 37; Parker 1997:Figure 5). Two resemble the Kramer type (Figure 4c,d) and a third heavily reworked example, which is more lobate-stemmed, is more Adena-like (Figure 4e). There is also a point with a broken base (Figure 4f) that nonetheless resembles a typical Middle Woodland side-notched point, often called Saugeen in Ontario (I. Kenyon 1979). The remaining two points in the Garnham collection, however, also represent other periods when gorgets were used. They include a Late Archaic corner-notched Hind point (Figure 4a; I. Kenyon 1989) and a large Early Woodland Meadowood point (Figure 4b; Ritchie 1971).



Figure 4. Stone projectile tips from the same lots and concession as the gorget. a: Hind Point; b: Meadowood Point; c-d: Kramer-like Points; e: Reworked Adena Point; f: Fore-section of Middle Woodland “Saugeen” or “Chesser-Notched” Point.

The Engravings

The Garnham gorget has two kinds of engravings. The first kind consists of clear animal representations that occur on both faces of the object whereas the second kind consists of lines occurring on the obverse (formerly unglued) side only. Weathering differences from recent superimposed damage contrast with the uniform appearance of the engravings, suggesting that the engravings were much older and were produced in pre-contact times.

The obverse face exhibits two animal engravings that I have labelled *a* and *b* whereas the reverse face depicts five animals labelled *c* through *g* (Figures 1 and 2). Measurements of all the images are given in Table 1. Figure 3 provides detailed drawings of each image labelled *a* to *g*, corresponding to letters in Figure 2. Each representation is a stick figure that shows an animal in side view with its head facing right, when the artifact is viewed with its long axis placed horizontally. This orientation might suggest that gorgets with two centred holes were suspended horizontally, as were the historically known objects. Each of the animals is represented by the same conventions: (1) a horizontal to slightly-rising line (from left to right) representing the body of the animal; (2) a diagonal line extending from the right end of the horizontal line upwards representing the neck; (3) two upright lines at the end of the neck, presumably representing ears; (4) one or (usually) two lines leading diagonally downwards from the end of the neck that seem to represent a snout and face, which is open at the mouth end; (5) a single straight to slightly forward-curved and long tail extending up from the left end of the main body line; and (6) four relatively straight, vertical lines, two near each end of the body, representing the animals’ legs. Often the front legs are slightly longer than the hind ones. Also, the rearmost leg in each front or hind pair is slightly shorter than the foremost leg. This rendering gives the impression that the top of the rearmost leg in each pair is hidden behind the body and represents that limb on the other side of the body from the viewer. In all cases, the tails are slightly longer than the legs, with a ratio of tail length to average leg length greater than 1.0 (Table 1).

Table 1. *Measurements (in millimetres) of stick figure engravings and ratio of tail to mean leg length.*

Figure	Length	Height	Body Length	Tail Length	Mean Leg Length	Ratio of Tail to Leg Length
a	16	10	11	5	5.1	1.0
b	17	10+	?	?	4.9	?
c	?	13	8	6	4	1.4
d	21	15	11	9	6	1.5
e	11	8	7	4	3.3	1.2
f	?	8	6	4	2.9	1.4
g	12	8	7	5	3.0	1.6

In addition to these common characteristics, there are also differences in the orientation and arrangement of images by face. The two obverse face figures are arranged beside one another whereas figures on the opposite (reverse) face are distributed beside and above or below one another. Each set of animals (on opposite faces) is also oriented to opposite lateral margins of the stone (the legs on one face are closest to one edge; the legs on the other face are closest to the opposite edge). There are also numerous differences in execution, not only by face but also sometimes by facial placement. Note that these lines are incised on stone, not simply free hand sketches. It requires effort to make such incisions in this medium, so that even small variations would require deliberate effort.

Examining the obverse face first, the two images are about the same size (Figures 2a-b, 3a-b; Table 1). They are larger than most of the five images on the reverse face and also seem to have thicker, better-executed lines made by single strokes. Both animals on the obverse face also have very upright legs that originate at or join the line representing the body. The tails are also both located at the very end of the body line and are perpendicular to the body. The one drawing with a preserved tail apex has a tail that noticeably curves forward at that apex. The heads are represented by two parallel lines that descend slightly to the right. These two images are so similar that they suggest execution by a single carver at about the same time.

On the reverse face, three smaller images are placed horizontally near the bottom margin (Figures 2e-g, 3e-g). These three figures are of

about the same size and proportions. They also share some other features, and contrast with the obverse face carvings, in several ways: (1) legs are slightly diagonal, not perpendicular, to the body line; (2) tails are canted forward and, at least for two of the animals (Figures 2f-g and 3f-g), are relatively straight; (3) tails and hind limbs do not initiate from the very end of the line representing the body but from a point slightly forward such that the body line extends beyond the tails and legs; (4) forelimbs are skewed toward the right, suggesting the animals are in motion, as opposed to the more perpendicular limbs on animals on the opposite face that suggest animals standing still; (5) the foremost limb originates from a forward position at the base of the line representing the neck; and (6), the body line appears thicker and somewhat rough and seems to have been produced by moving the inscribing tool back and forth several times resulting in a line of varying thickness. Also, on the two images with preserved faces, the line representing the jaw diverges from the line representing the top of the head, face or snout. The lower jaw line is also slightly longer and curls down a bit at the end. In one case, the curling seems to be applied as a separate line. This feature resembles a protruding tongue. These three representations are so similar as to suggest a single engraver. The thinness of the individual lines on these images could simply indicate the use of a different tool. However, in terms of overall execution and the conventions used in the renderings, differences between them and the two figures on the opposite face (in limb placement, in extension of the body line beyond the tail, etc.) raise the distinct possibility that

these engravings were made by different people or at different times, or both.

One of the remaining animals on the reverse face (Figure 3c) had its head and front forelimb removed by subsequent damage. The image is incised just above and in parallel to the central of the three figures in the row just below it (Figures 3e-g). These four figures are all most similar in size and were made by a relatively narrow-tipped tool. Also, where it is not obscured by subsequent damage, this image (Figure 3c) most closely resembles the three underlying images (Figures 3e-g). Like the underlying animals, its body line extends beyond its tail and leg lines and was made by roughly running the incising tool back and forth several times. Although obscured by subsequent damage, it also must have had a foremost limb that originated near the base of the line representing the neck. There are slight differences between this figure and the underlying three figures, the overlying image being slightly larger (Table 1), having a much more sloped body line, and exhibiting a tail which is long and straight and extends backwards at an obtuse angle from the body. Nonetheless, its placement and similarities suggest it may have been done at the same time by the same hand that produced the figures below it.

The final figure (Figure 3d) is different than the rest, being not only larger (Table 1) but freer in its execution, thinner in its lines, and relatively isolated in its placement some distance from all other images (Figure 2, lower). It is also unique in several characteristics: (1) the head or snout is represented by only a single line; (2) the ears are shown by diverging lines, not the parallel lines seen on all other visible examples; (3) the front limbs diverge from one another and are somewhat splayed; and (4) the tail is extremely long, only very slightly curved, and extends diagonally backwards rather than forwards above the body of the animal. In other ways, the image most closely resembles the images on the opposite face. For example, all limb lines originate on the body line and the origin of the tail and hindmost limb is at the end of the body line. These similarities are not enough, however, to suggest production by the same engraver.

The second kind of engravings on the Garnham artifact is simple lines on the obverse face (Figure 2,

upper view). This second kind of engraving excludes lines near the margins that may be remnants of artifact manufacturing prior to final grinding and polishing. Beneath the figure at left on the obverse face, there are four horizontal lines (Figure 2, upper view, and Figure 3a). The upper three lines are thin and faint and extend for about 10 mm under the hind limbs of the animal. The fourth or bottom line is thicker and longer (18 mm) and extends from a point behind to a point in front of the animal. These lines could represent a ground surface on which the animal is standing. In addition to those lines, there are at least 13 more (exact number difficult to tell as they are somewhat faint). They run diagonally from an area in front of the one stick figure at right down to the artifact margin just below the hind limbs of the same animal (Figure 2-B). They are more or less straight and parallel with one another but a few of the uppermost lines are slightly bowed downward at their centres. The uppermost line crosses the snout and forelimb of the animal (Figure 2-B) and microscopic examination suggests that the line predates the animal drawing. These lines could be remnants of earlier shaping efforts that were not completely polished away. On the other hand, they resemble geometric incised decoration found on some gorgets (see below). Alternatively, they could represent terrain in which the animals are situated, similar to the set of lines under engraving "a" on Figure 2.

In his notes, Garnham refers to all the stick figures as "deer." However, I believe there are several reasons to doubt such an attribution, and I think that an interpretation as wolves or dogs, or more broadly canids, is more likely. First, there are no clear attempts to represent antlers, even though in the odd case the "ears" seem a little long. Of course, this attribute does vary seasonally and by the sex of the animal so this is simply negative evidence. On the other hand, definitive recorded depictions of deer, both pre-contact and post-contact, often show antlers (e.g., Hoffman 1896:252; Schoolcraft 1851:Plates 53-22, 56A, 59-139; Wintemberg 1924:Plate 3, Figures 3 and 4).

Second, the tails on the animals do not suggest deer. The tails are very long, exceeding the length of even the legs and suggesting canids rather than

ungulates. The shape and orientation of the tails also suggests canids. The straight-up position of tails on five of the seven animals is reminiscent of deer but is also a characteristic of canids. Dogs often keep their tails erect when excited. An erect tail in wolves is a general sign of the “self-confidence” and “imposing attitude” of individual animals and is often used by dominant or alpha pair wolves in asserting their superordinate position in the pack (see Mech 1970:83-84). Moreover, erect tails are particularly characteristic of *running* deer. This rendering would be consistent with some of the images where the animals appear in motion (Figure 3e-g) but it is not consistent with the immobile stance seen in other images (notably Figures 3a-b). A deer interpretation is not consistent with the sloping-back position of the tails seen in some figures (Figure 3c-d), neither is it consistent with the very curved-forward tips of the tails, seen in several other images, which are again more characteristic of canids such as wolves (Mech 1970:83-84). For what it is worth, historic Algonquian depictions of wolves, as well as some Iroquoian stone engravings said to represent wolves, also have long, curving tails (Rajnovich 1994:Figure 141; Schoolcraft 1851:Plates 57A-4, 59-131; Vastokas and Vastokas 1973:Figure 39g,h,k; Wintemberg 1924:Plate 3, Figure 1) whereas depictions of deer lack such features (Schoolcraft 1851:Plates 53-22, 56A, 59-135).

Finally, the engraver(s) chose to represent the head by two horizontal lines open at the “mouth end.” This open-mouthed behaviour is characteristic of canids, but not of deer, and open-mouthed depictions of wolves again occur in rock art (Rajnovich 1994:Figure 86a). Moreover, as noted earlier, at least two of the engravings (Figure 3e,g) have a curving lower jaw line or short curving line added at the open mouth end. This attribute is highly reminiscent of a protruding tongue characteristic of panting canids, which sweat through that organ.

Comparisons

Most stone gorgets are not engraved, though non-representational engravings, usually geometric forms, are not unknown (e.g., Converse 1978:104,

1980:Figure 32; Donaldson and Wortner 1995:Figure 60b; Ritchie 1944:Plate 86-24; 1969:Plate 56; Snow 1980:Figure 7.3; Wintemberg 1924:Plate 1-11). Representational images on gorgets of any kind are very rare, however.

Most representational examples are associated with the Late Archaic Glacial Kame, the majority on marine shell and (most commonly) “sandal-sole” shaped gorgets. The most famous example is a bear representation from Ohio (Cunningham 1948:Plate 6-2) but there are also at least two other shell gorgets from Indiana and Ohio showing what Converse (1980:36-41, 2003:119) argues are bird representations, probably raptors. There are also shell gorgets attributed to Glacial Kame, engraved and shaped such that they resemble turtle carapaces (Converse 2003:120). Others are engraved with paired, parallel, zig-zag lines, sometimes accompanied by a triangle at one end and thought to represent a head. These are interpreted as representations of snakes or serpents (Converse 1980:Figure 16c,d). Gorgets of cannel coal are even rarer than shell ones and while often engraved, most lack any kind of representational decoration. However, Bill Allen (personal communication 2004) has reported a constricted centre gorget of probable Early Woodland affiliation from Essex County, Ontario that, in addition to geometric designs and short lines around the margins (“tally marks”), has several representations of what might be feathers (e.g., a single centre line with diagonal branching lines on each side, possibly representing veins). Alternatively, these engravings could show the concept of the “World Tree” or “shamanic tree of life,” which linked humans with their cosmos and was ubiquitous among ethnographically known native groups (Vastokas 1973/4; Vastokas and Vastokas 1973:39, 110), or perhaps a skeletonized “x-ray” of a breastbone and ribs (Robertson 1997:385).

As with cannel coal forms, stone gorgets with representational engravings are scarce. Two examples, both belonging to Glacial Kame from Ohio, are a stone gorget with a zig-zag motif, similar to that seen on shell, which may represent a snake or serpent (Converse 1980:Figure 16a) and another that shows a clear representation of

a turtle (Converse 2003:120). Wintenberg (1924:50, Plate 4, Figure 5) illustrated a “gorget” (albeit with asymmetrical ends) of unknown affiliation said to be from near Guelph, Ontario, which showed a bird head, wings and legs incised such that they emanated from the holes.

Beyond these examples, definitive stone gorget images are unknown. There are, however, stone fragments that might be from gorgets. One of these fragments, from the Peace Bridge site on the Niagara River in Ontario, lacks evidence of holes but has a rounded end similar to several gorget forms. This item shows two bird symbols that closely approximate historic period renderings of “thunderbirds,” upperworld raptors that were the source of thunder and lightning (Robertson 1997:376-380). It was recovered from a feature yielding a Late Woodland date. Based on the likelihood that stone gorgets were Late Archaic to Middle Woodland phenomena (see above), one might question whether this item is, in fact, part of a gorget. It is also possible, however, that it represents the recovery of an earlier object by Late Woodland period occupants of this site, perhaps as a curiosity, or that this already old item became incorporated into a Late Woodland feature during its construction, an apparently common occurrence at this densely occupied, multi-component site.

Another possible fragmentary gorget, having only one retained drill hole, is reported from a nearby burial at the probable Princess Point (Middle to Late Woodland Transitional) age Surma site by Emerson and Noble (1966). This item has a clear “feather” or “tree of life” engraving similar to that seen on the cannel coal gorget mentioned above (Robertson 1997:Figure 8.23a). On the other hand, the fragment widens towards one end, away from the broken edge closest to the drill hole, indicating that the item was asymmetrical and suggesting it is not from a gorget.

A third possible engraved fragment, reported and illustrated by Wintenberg (1924:Plate 3, Figure 2) is said to be also from a Late Woodland site, in this case a Neutral site, in Lobo Township, Middlesex County, just north of London, Ontario. His illustration is not very detailed (Figure 5). The item appears to have several zig-zag lines that

could represent snakes or lightning, and possible “tree of life” motifs. Two clear animal representations “probably represent deer,” according to Wintenberg (1924:41). The apparent presence of antlers and ears and a very short, or absent, tail on one of the animals supports this attribution (Figure 5b). The other drawing is, however, more difficult to interpret (Figure 5a). On the one hand, it may be headless, overlying a double zig-zag line, or have had its head removed by subsequent incising of the zig-zag line. Alternatively, two parallel lines that extend down from the end of the neck could represent a muzzle, suggesting an “open-mouthed” portrayal very much like that of the Garnham find. In addition, these two lines fail to line up with the apparent zig-zag line above the figure, making it more likely that these lines do represent a snout. In this interpretation, the pair of lines extending up from the top of the end of the neck would form the ears. This image also has a long, forward-curving tail (Figure 5a) and so appears to be the image most similar to the Garnham gorget, anywhere. A unique feature of this image, distinguishing it from the Garnham gorget images, is a small line that extends down from the back of the foreleg, just above the foot. This feature mimics the form and placement of the “dew-claw,” thus supporting the interpretation of this



Figure 5. Engraved fragment from Lobo Township, Ontario (simplified after Wintenberg 1924:Plate 3-2).

image as a canid. The dimensions of the overall fragment suggest that the artifact was originally very wide. Two relatively straight margins converge at slightly less than a right angle and the hole is placed close to this corner. If not reworked in outline or re-drilled, the artifact was likely a pendant, based on the position of the hole. If a gorget, it was a very broad one, perhaps approximating the larger trapezoid forms known from Meadowood contexts (e.g., Ritchie 1955:Plate 23-15).

To sum up, the Garnham gorget, with its representations, is a very rare form and in that it also shows canids, may be relatively unique.

Discussion

While canid representations on gorgets, or on any other slate forms, are rare, there is abundant evidence, both pre-contact and post-contact, for the role of canids in the worldview and ritual activities of Great Lakes area native peoples.

Among the Iroquois, the wolf was the symbol of the most widespread clan. Even today it is one of the largest clans, whose members are often attributed behavioural characteristics of that species (Morgan 1975:81; Porter 1993:8-10). Also, one of the two tribes making up the Tobacco or Petun of Ontario was the "Nation of the Wolf" (Tooker 1991:12). Whereas wolves appear in Iroquoian stories (e.g., Parker 1989:312-313; Tooker 1991:147), they are not prominent in those contexts.

Among Algonquian groups, the Mahicans were known as the Nation of the Wolf (Thwaites 1896-1910:26:35). The wolf clan *per se* was not, however, found among many reported Algonquian groups (Chamberlain 1888:152; Speck 1915:17-18). When a wolf clan existed, as among the Fox (W. Jones 1939:74), it was seen to be of lesser importance. Wolves figured more prominently in Algonquian cosmic view and legends, although perhaps less than other animals, such as the bear, during post-contact times. The wolf, along with the bear, was one of the good manitous or good spirits of the earthly realm for Algonquians (Rajnovich 1994:36). Among the Ojibway and Menominee, Nanabojou, trickster

and messenger of the Great Spirit, who created the earth and placed the animals on it, often assumed the form of the wolf. Depending upon which version one reads, Nanabojou had either a twin brother, who often assumed wolf form, or an adopted brother who had originally been a young wolf and was murdered, becoming ruler of the land of the dead (Hoffman 1896:113-115; Kohl 1985:432-34; Young 1903:75-77). For the Menominee, it was an attempt to relieve the sorrow of Nanabojou over the death of the wolf-brother that led to the creation of the Medicine Society, known since the time of contact (Hall 1997:61-62).

Dogs were also significant animals among Great Lakes area native groups. The Iroquois saw dogs as protectors from evil, noted for their self-sacrificing assistance to humans (Curtin and Hewitt 1918:159, 193-194, 232). Dogs were frequently sacrificed. They were either eaten or buried, apparently exclusively in ritual contexts, to serve as messengers to the spirits announcing the pending arrival of their ill masters, or requesting help to combat diseases and ward off evil (Kerber 1997:89-90; Morgan 1975:215-216; Oberholtzer 2002; Tooker 1991:90, 93). Among northern Algonquians, the dog was given by Nanabojou to human beings as a companion and, as among Iroquoians, dogs were often ritually sacrificed to ward off evil, or to serve as a substitute-messenger for human beings in voyages to the afterlife (Hofmann 1896:185; Jenness 1935:106; W. Jones 1939:68; P. Jones 1973:96; Kohl 1985:38-39, 60; Morriseau 1978:40-43). The association of dogs with death, their use in sacrifices and as messengers to or guardians of a next world, is widespread among North American native peoples (Schwartz 1997:93-124).

Turning to the archaeological record, dog interments provide the best evidence for their relative importance in sacred ritual. Although the frequency varies in time and space, they are relatively common and extend back well into the Archaic period, to about 4,500 B.P. in southern Ontario and immediately adjacent areas (Burns 1973; Cunningham 1948:14; Finlayson 1977:280; I. Kenyon 1980:19; MacDonald and

Williamson 1997:243-246; Pearce 1989; Potter and Baby 1964; Ritchie 1936:2, 1940:52, 1944:67,154, 1969:112; Wright and Anderson 1969:13). They are even earlier (8,000-8,500 B.P.) in the Illinois River Valley (Morey and Wiant 1992). Some dog burials, particularly those accompanying human burials, may be associated with their role as companions or hunting assistants. But beginning in the Middle Woodland, singular dog burials accompanied by clay figurines, quartz crystals, intact skeletons of other animals, and red ochre, indicate their importance in sacred ritual as well (Brizinski and Savage 1983; Cantwell 1980; Prah 1967). The sacred significance of dogs is reinforced by other archaeological evidence in the Great Lakes region. Dog skeletal elements accompany a human burial at the Late Woodland Juntunen site, Michigan (Prah 1967:18), constituting what seems to be a sacred bundle that is equivalent to the medicine or sacred bundles documented for the post-contact period (e.g., Harrington 1914). Cut dog jaws are also associated with human burials at certain Early to Middle Woodland sites (Griffin et al. 1970:Plate 20a; W. Kenyon 1986:Plate 34e; Ritchie 1944:156).

Wolves also played some role in pre-contact sacred ritual and spiritual beliefs, as indicated by archaeological evidence. They seem to have been particularly important during the Late Archaic to Early Woodland, when dog burials were less elaborate or lacked associated evidence of ritual treatment such as grave goods. Two limb bones of wolves were included with Burial 22 at the Late Archaic Glacial Kame Hind Site in Ontario (Donaldson and Wortner 1995:29) and cut and ground wolf jaws and drilled canine pendants accompany Middle to Late Archaic burials at Frontenac Island in New York (Ritchie 1969:117). Ritual treatment of animal bone was not confined to the wolf, as there is abundant evidence for similar use of the bones of fox, marten, bear, and raptorial birds (Converse 1980; Donaldson and Wortner 1995; Fox and Molto 1994). Nonetheless, the importance of wolf in sacred ritual is underscored by some special treatments of wolf remains. Most notable for the Late Archaic are the Glacial Kame wolf skull

masks reported from the Clifford Williams site in Ohio (Baby 1961). These are the only definitive animal masks reported in Glacial Kame aside from bear skull masks reported from other related sites in Ontario and Ohio (Donaldson and Wortner 1995:Figures 17a, 54d; Stothers and Abel 1993:Figure 19d). These masks (both wolf and bear) are rare. Where precise provenience data are available, they are associated with individuals accompanied by other items that appear to be ritually significant (e.g., Donaldson and Wortner 1995:15-16).

During the subsequent Early Woodland Adena, certain rare burials occur in which the individuals had their upper central teeth removed, apparently to allow the wearing of a specially shaped and cut wolf jaw (Webb and Baby 1957:61-71). Webb and Baby (1957:19) even suggest that other cut animal jaws found in Adena, which include panther as well as wolf, are all parts of masks. Given their rare occurrence and association with other ceremonial items, the usual interpretation is that these masks were used in ritual impersonations by semi-specialized religious practitioners, healers and seers, often generally called "shamans," despite problems with use of this term in some contexts (cf. Kehoe 2000). Items interpreted as containers made from wolf paws and associated with Adena burials have often been compared to the ritually significant medicine bags or bundles known from the time of European contact (Webb and Baby 1957:73-76).

Sculptures and headdresses suggest that the impersonation of animals, such as bears or deer, by the use of masks was a practice that continued into the Middle Woodland (Converse 2003:290; Greber and Ruhl 1989:Figure 4.15). However, I can find no definitive evidence of wolf masks during that time. Certainly cut wolf jaws occur, as do preserved claws, which suggest the existence of medicine bags or bundles made from wolf pelts (as well as many other species) (Griffin et al. 1970:Plate 134a; Webb and Baby 1957:75). In Ontario, Johnston (1968) found wolf mandibles and maxillae in Mound C at Serpent Mounds, Finlayson (1977:447) reported a cut wolf maxilla and mandible associated with a Middle Woodland burial at the Donaldson site,

and Spence and Harper (1968:25) reported claws of either “timber wolf or a large dog” lying beside the pelvis of a male burial (#37) at Cameron’s Point Mound C. Following Webb and Baby’s (1957:19) lead, Finlayson (1977:447) suggested the Donaldson jaws might have been part of a mask and one might also follow their lead to suggest the claws at Cameron’s Point were part of a medicine bag. There was, however, nothing in the positioning of the wolf jaws in the Donaldson grave to indicate a mask. In fact, even after the arrival of Europeans, there is evidence for wolf jaws, or at least teeth, being used for something other than for masks. Tooker (1991:97-99) recounts a Huron curing ceremony in which a dance was performed to cure the illness of a man who aspired to be a *arendiwane* or “medicine man.” Part of the dance involved the participants ritually killing each other with “bear’s claws, wolves’ teeth, eagle talons, certain stones and dog sinews.”

This evidence suggests that the significance of canids, in general, varies in time and space for a number of reasons. For sacred ritual, the wolf seems to have been particularly important from the Late Archaic through to at least the beginning of the Middle Woodland, based on the presence of masks of these animals used by religious practitioners. If some or all of the Middle Woodland jaws are from similar masks, as some have argued, this tradition may have continued. There is little evidence for the use of other animals in this way during earlier periods, except for the bear in Glacial Kame and the cougar in Adena. The religious importance of dogs, as measured most definitively in archaeological terms by elaborate separate burials with ritual grave goods, seems to have begun in places such as Illinois as early as the Middle Woodland (Cantwell 1980). It became more elaborated in the Late Woodland with substantial evidence of dog sacrifice and burial approximating that seen historically among Algonquian speakers extending back to 1,000 B.P. or earlier (see particularly Brizinski and Savage 1983). In sum, throughout the time gorgets were used, canids seem to have been of considerable significance in sacred ritual and perhaps, in the case of the wolf, even more than they were in later times.

Gorgets themselves have been seen simply as personal adornments, implying their function is

largely aesthetic (e.g., Ritchie 1955:40-42). It is doubtful, however, that any decorated object served solely an aesthetic function. Several lines of evidence indicate their importance as objects of social status and the sacred. In fact, over forty years ago Binford (1963:143-144) used some of this evidence to argue for an expanded view of gorget significance. Since then, evidence in each of these categories has accumulated, reinforcing some of his arguments, and to them may be added another line of evidence: the representations seen on gorgets, including the Garnham find.

The first line of evidence is the rarity of stone gorgets. Among burial sites, they occur only in a small percentage of graves. For example, at the Late Archaic Hind cemetery, they occurred only in two of the 21 burial features, some of which had more than one individual (Donaldson and Wortner 1995). In New York during the Early Woodland, they were found with only one of 13 individuals at the Wray site, and in only four of 22 graves (several of which contain the commingled remains of more than one individual) at the Oberlander No. 2 site (Ritchie 1944:125-126, 152-160). Similarly, during the Middle Woodland at the Sea Breeze site in New York, four of the five gorgets were associated with only one of the nine burial features (Ritchie 1944:128-129). Of ten individuals interred in three pits at Donaldson in Ontario, only one individual, labelled GF, had a gorget, in this case a blank (Finlayson 1977:276). This evidence supports the idea that gorgets were not simple everyday decorative items.

Second, *most* associations of gorgets with individuals are with males and many of these associations are part of a large suite of grave goods, many of which are probably ritually significant items. Using the same site examples employed above, of the two burials containing a stone gorget at the Hind site, one (15A) had two birdstones, the only examples of birdstones at the site, as well as red ochre, iron pyrites and one of only two circular marine shell gorgets found at the site. The other burial (18A) was associated with a large number of grave goods, most seemingly utilitarian but also including cut animal jaws. At the Oberlander No. 2 site, over a third of the burials had one grave

good or lacked goods altogether. Individuals associated with gorgets included one with more than 12 items, among which were a cut dog jaw, and another with four objects including the only tubular pipe from the site (Ritchie 1944:158-160). At the Wray site, only five of 13 individuals had two or more objects and only one individual had more than five. That same individual was associated with 19 objects including the only gorget and, again, the only tubular pottery pipe recovered from the site (Ritchie 1944:125-126). The Sea Breeze burials run counter to the trend observed at the Hind, Oberlander 2, and Wray sites: burials with gorgets at the Sea Breeze site had fewer than six grave goods whereas other burials with no gorgets had between six and 33 objects. One grave with only six objects actually had four of the five gorgets reported from the site. The general trend observed earlier does hold, however, for the Donaldson site. At this site, we again see that many burials (eight out of ten) had two grave goods or fewer, whereas the gorget blank was part of a cache of about forty objects that was located directly under the bundle burial (GF) of a 15-18 year old male (Finlayson 1977:268-276). The remaining grave goods included what could be interpreted as simple everyday items such as toggling harpoons. Of note, however, were several items of probable ritual and or social significance, including a copper pan-pipe, mica sheets, and a stone ear spool. (For additional examples from other sites, see Binford [1963:144]).

Third, the importance of gorgets is suggested by the exotic materials on which they are often made. These materials included not only marine shell and copper that had to be procured from sources hundreds of kilometres away but also exceedingly rare materials such as cannel coal, and also imported stones (Ritchie 1944:128, 1955:40). The importance of this association with exotic, rare or imported material is emphasized by, and is consistent with, reworking of these items and the inclusion of fragments or damaged items in graves, indicating the items were often highly valued and curated (e.g., Binford 1963:135-137; Converse 1980:119,126, 2003:125-127; Ritchie 1944:158, Plates 56-18, 56-24, 70-45, 70-48, 71-27, 71-28; Ritchie 1949:Figure 11i, 1955:32; Williamson 1978:106,119; Wintemberg 1928a). The variation

in execution of images on the Garnham gorget, noted above, especially the differences between the two faces of the artifact, suggests they were done over some period of time and perhaps by different individuals. This variation also suggests curation and may even indicate that some gorgets were heirlooms. Binford (1963:144) even went so far as to suggest that gorgets “were probably known individually in terms of their ownership history and were probably valued accordingly.”

Finally, and not noted by Binford (1963), the very rare occurrence of gorgets with engraved or shaped representations include what are clearly the most sacred animals in both archaeological and ethnographic (see Fox 2004; Rajnovich 1994:102-113) contexts. These include bears, turtles, raptorial birds and snakes/serpents and to them we may add, with the Garnham find, canids. These associations reinforce the sacred dimension of these groundstone items.

Multiple lines of evidence indicate, therefore, the significance of gorgets as more than aesthetic objects. The rarity of gorgets, as well as their association with the most well-provided individuals in graves, and their manufacture on exotic “valuable” materials indicates their relevance to social position and status. At the same time, their association or use with other ritual and ceremonial goods such as pipes and birdstones as well as with those animals that possessed the greatest ritual significance during post-contact times indicates their sacred significance. The intertwining of social phenomena with, and their validation and manipulation by, spiritual associations has been recognized as far back as Durkheim (1961, originally 1912) and beyond. It is plausible, therefore, that at least some gorgets were part of the equipment of religious practitioners or individuals that had some other, presumably largely achieved, social status. These individuals could have used these items as channels to beings and forces benefiting human existence, or they may have symbolically conceived of these items as representations of those beings and forces. Thus, the link between gorgets and canids would be natural and especially plausible in light of the tendency among ethnographically known hunter-gatherers to conceive of the universe as being structured in exactly those terms (Guenther 1999).

Summary and Conclusions

The Garnham artifact is most likely a gorget and clearly has images of canids. It probably dates to the Early or Middle Woodland period. Definitive evidence for the use of canids in sacred ritual, seen archaeologically in masks and special dog burials, suggests that the Garnham gorget itself had substantial meaning in the intertwined social and spiritual lives of its user(s). This interpretation is supported by an association of the most sacred animals during post-contact time with gorgets (e.g., bear, turtle, serpents, raptorial birds), for the small number of examples of gorgets with representations that have been reported. It is also reinforced by their overall rarity. The sample of such decorated objects is, however, small. We need more detailed documentation and reporting to confirm these observations, to determine basic temporal and cultural associations, and to achieve more than a superficial understanding. Like Wintemberg (1924:34), I hope that this report stimulates this effort.

Acknowledgements. A sincere vote of thanks goes to Mr. Garnham's grandchildren: Marilyn Whyley, Gail Partridge, James Seymour, and Croft Seymour for their generous donation of the collection to the University of Western Ontario. I also thank: David Kanatawakhon-Maracle for guiding me into the literature on Iroquoian beliefs and practices; Bill Allen for providing information on the Essex County cannel coal gorget; Mike Spence for his cogent comments on, and assistance with developing, this paper; and Andrew Stewart, Ron Williamson and an anonymous reviewer for suggesting some ways to improve the manuscript.

References Cited

- Baby, R.S.
1961 A Glacial Kame Wolf Mask-Headdress. *American Antiquity* 26:552-553.
- Binford, L.
1963 The Hodges Site. A Late Archaic Burial Station. In *Miscellaneous Studies in Typology and Classification*, by A. White, L. Binford, and M. Papworth, pp. 124-148. Anthropological Papers 19. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Brizinski, M., and H. Savage
1983 Dog Sacrifices Among the Algonquian Indians: an Example from the Frank Bay Site. *Ontario Archaeology* 39:33-40.
- Burns, J.E.
1973 The Dog Who Couldn't Be. *Arch Notes* 73(4):3-5.
- Cantwell, A.M.
1980 Middle Woodland Dog Ceremonialism in Illinois. *Wisconsin Archaeologist* 61:480-496.
- Chamberlain, A.F.
1888 Notes on the History, Customs and Beliefs of the Mississauga Indians. *Journal of American Folklore* 1:150-160.
- Converse, R.N.
1978 *Ohio Slate Types*. Special Publication. Archaeological Society of Ohio, Columbus.
1980 *The Glacial Kame Indians*. Special Publication. Archaeological Society of Ohio, Columbus.
2003 *The Archaeology of Ohio*. Archaeological Society of Ohio, Columbus.
- Cunningham, W.M.
1948 *A Study of the Glacial Kame Culture in Michigan, Ohio and Indiana*. Occasional Contributions 12. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Curren, C.B., Jr.
1977 Possible Interpretations of Stone Gorget Function. *American Antiquity* 42:97-101.
- Curtin, J., and J.N.B. Hewitt
1918 Seneca Fiction, Legends and Myth. In *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1910-1911*, pp. 37-813. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Donaldson, W., and S. Wortner
1995 The Hind Site and the Glacial Kame Burial Complex in Ontario. *Ontario Archaeology* 59:5-95.
- Dragoo, D.W.
1963 *Mounds for the Dead: an Analysis of Adena Culture*. Annals of the Carnegie Museum 57. Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh.
- Durkheim, E.
1961 *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Translated by J.W. Swain. Collier Books, New York.
- Emerson, J.N., and W.C. Noble
1966 The Surma Site, Fort Erie, Ontario. *Ontario Archaeology* 9:68-88.
- Finlayson, W.D.
1977 *The Saugeen Culture: a Middle Woodland Manifestation in Southwestern Ontario*. Mercury

- Series Paper 61. Archaeological Survey of Canada, National Museum of Man, Ottawa.
- Ford, T.L., Jr.
1976 Adena Sites on Chesapeake Bay. *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 4:63-89.
- Fox, W.A.
1990 The Middle to Late Woodland Transition. In *The Archaeology of Southern Ontario to A.D. 1650*, edited by C.J. Ellis and N. Ferris, pp. 171-188. Occasional Papers 5. London Chapter, Ontario Archaeological Society, London.
2004 Horned Panthers and Erie Associates. In *A Passion for the Past: Papers in Honour of James F. Pendergast*, edited by J.V. Wright and J-L. Pilon, pp. 283-304. Mercury Series Paper 164. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Quebec.
- Fox, W.A., and J.E. Molto
1994 The Shaman of Long Point. *Ontario Archaeology* 57:23-44.
- Garnham, C.
n.d. *Indian Relics* [sic] *Record*, by Croft R. Garnham, Straffordville, Ontario. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario.
- Greber, N.B., and K.C. Ruhl
1989 *The Hopewell Site: A Contemporary Analysis Based on the Work of Charles C. Willoughby*. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado.
- Griffin, J.B., R.E. Flanders, and P.F. Titterington
1970 *The Burial Complexes of the Knight and Norton Mounds in Illinois and Michigan*. Memoirs 2. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Guenther, M.
1999 From Totemism to Shamanism: Hunter-Gatherer Contributions to World Mythology and Spirituality. In *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers*, edited by R.B. Lee and R. Daly, pp. 426-433. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Hall, R.L.
1997 *An Archaeology of the Soul: North American Indian Belief and Ritual*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- Harrington, M. R.
1914 *Sacred Bundles of the Sac and Fox Indians*. Anthropological Publications 4(2). University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Hoffman, W.J.
1896 *The Midéwiwin; or, "Grand Medicine Society" of the Ojibwa*. Annual Report 7. Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Jenness, D.
1935 *The Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island: Their Social and Religious Life*. Bulletin 78. National Museum of Canada, Department of Mines, Ottawa.
- Johnston, R.B.
1968 *The Archaeology of the Serpent Mounds Site*. Occasional Paper 10. Art and Archaeology Division, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.
- Jones, P.
1973 *History of the Ojebway Indians with Especial Reference to their Conversion to Christianity*. Reprinted. Canadiana House, Toronto. Originally published 1861, A.W. Bennett, London.
- Jones, W.
1939 *Ethnography of the Fox Indians*. Bulletin 125. Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Kehoe, Alice B.
2000 *Shamans and Religion*. Waveland Press, Prospect Hills, Illinois.
- Kenyon, I.T.
1979 Saugeen Points. *Kewa* 79(9).
1980 The George Davidson Site: An Archaic "Broadpoint" Component in Southwestern Ontario. *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 8:11-28.
1989 Terminal Archaic Projectile Points in Southwestern Ontario: An Exploratory Study. *Kewa* 89(1):2-21.
- Kenyon, W.A.
1982 *The Grimsby Site: A Historic Neutral Cemetery*. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.
1986 *Mounds of the Sacred Earth, Burial Mounds of Ontario*. Archaeology Monograph 9. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.
- Kerber, J.E.
1997 Native American Treatment of Dogs in Northeastern North America: Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Perspectives. *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 25:81-95.
- Kohl, J.G.
1985 *Kitchi-Gami: Life Among the Lake Superior Ojibway*. Translated by L. Wraxall. Reprinted. Minnesota Historical Press, St. Paul. Originally published 1860, Chapman and Hall, London.
- Kraft, H.C.
1976 The Rosenkrans Site: an Adena-related Mortuary Complex in the Upper Delaware Valley, New Jersey. *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 4:9-50.

- Lee, T.E.
1951 A Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey of Southwestern Ontario in 1949. In *Annual Report of the National Museum of Canada for the Fiscal Year 1949-1950*, pp. 42-48. Bulletin No. 123. National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.
- MacDonald, R.I., and R.F. Williamson
1997 Area 4—Truck Yard, Truck Pads Infrastructure and Landscaping. In *In the Shadow of the Bridge, The Archaeology of the Peace Bridge Site (AfGr-9), 1994-96 Investigations*, edited by R.F. Williamson and R.I. MacDonald, pp. 201-321. Occasional Publication 1. Archaeological Services Inc., Toronto.
- Mech, L.D.
1970 *The Wolf: The Ecology and Behavior of an Endangered Species*. Natural History Press, Garden City, New Jersey.
- Morey, D.F., and M. Wiant
1992 Early Holocene Dog Burials From the North American Midwest. *Current Anthropology* 33:224-229.
- Morgan, L.H.
1975 *League of the Ho-De'-No-Sau-Nee, or Iroquois*. Reprinted. Citadel Press, Secaucus, New Jersey. Originally published 1851, Sage, Rochester, N.Y.
- Morriseau, N.
1978 *Legends of My People, the Great Ojibway*. McGraw-Hill, Toronto.
- Morse, D.F., and P.Morse
1964 1962 Excavations at the Morse Site: A Red Ochre Cemetery in the Illinois Valley. *Wisconsin Archeologist* 45:79-98.
- Norona, D.
1962 *Moundville's Mammoth Mound*. Special Publication 6. West Virginia Archaeological Society, Moundville, West Virginia.
- Oberholtzer, C.
2002 Fleshing Out the Evidence: from Archaic Dog Burials to Historic Dog Feasts. *Ontario Archaeology* 73:3-14.
- Ozker, D.
1982 *An Early Woodland Community at the Schultz Site, 20SA2, in the Saginaw Valley and the Nature of the Early Woodland Adaptation in the Great Lakes Region*. Anthropological Papers 70. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Parker, A.C.
1989 *Seneca Myths and Folk Tales*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- Parker, L.R.B.
1997 The Fitzgerald Site: A Non-Meadowood Early Woodland Site in Southwestern Ontario. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 21:121-148.
- Pearce, R.J.
1989 Preliminary Assessment of Site BdHb-2 (Formerly Known as the Plater-Fleming Site). *Arch Notes* 89(2):9-15.
2003 Items and Means of Personal Adornment Among the Neutral: Evidence from the Lawson Site. *Kewa* 03(6-7):1-31.
- Porter, T.
1993 *Clanology, Clan Systems of the Iroquois*. North American Indian Travelling College, Cornwall, Ontario.
- Potter, M.A., and R.S. Baby
1964 Hopewellian Dogs. *Ohio Journal of Science* 64:36-40.
- Prahl, E.J.
1967 Prehistoric Dogs of Michigan. *Michigan Archaeologist* 13:13-27.
- Rajnovich, G.
1994 *Reading Rock Art, Interpreting the Indian Rock Art Paintings of the Canadian Shield*. Natural Heritage/Natural History Inc., Toronto, Ontario.
- Ritchie, W.A.
1936 *New Evidence Relating to the Archaic Occupation of New York State*. Researches and Transactions 8(1). New York State Archeological Association, Lewis H. Morgan Chapter, Rochester, N.Y.
1940 *Two Prehistoric Village Sites at Brewerton, New York. Type Components of the Brewerton Focus, Laurentian Aspect*. Research Records 5. Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences, Rochester, N.Y.
1944 *The Pre-Iroquoian Occupations of New York State*. Memoir 1. Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences, Rochester, N.Y.
1949 *An Archaeological Survey of the Trent Waterway in Ontario, Canada*. Researches and Transactions 12(1). New York State Archeological Association, Lewis H. Morgan Chapter, Rochester, N.Y.
1955 *Recent Discoveries Suggesting an Early Woodland Burial Cult in the Northeast*. Circular 40. New York State Museum and Science Service, Albany.
1969 *The Archaeology of New York State*. Revised Edition. Natural History Press, Garden City, New Jersey.

- 1971 *A Typology and Nomenclature for New York Projectile Points*. Revised Edition. Bulletin 384. New York State Museum, New York State Education Dept., Albany, N.Y.
- Ritchie, W.A., and D.W. Drago
1959 The Eastern Dispersal of Adena. *American Antiquity* 25:43-50.
- Ritchie, W.A., and D.W. Drago
1960 *The Eastern Dispersal of Adena*. Bulletin 379. New York State Museum and Science Service, Albany, N.Y.
- Robertson, D.A.
1997 Refined and Decorated Ground Stone. In *In the Shadow of the Bridge, the Archaeology of the Peace Bridge Site (AfGr-9), 1994-96 Investigations*, edited by R.F. Williamson and R.I. MacDonald, pp. 376-387. Occasional Publications 1. Archaeological Services Inc., Toronto.
- Schoolcraft, H. R.
1851 *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, Part 1*. Lippincott, Grambo and Co., Philadelphia.
- Schwartz, M.
1997 *A History of Dogs in the Early Americas*. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.
- Snow, D.R.
1980 *The Archaeology of New England*. Academic Press, New York.
- Speck, F.G.
1915 *Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley*. Memoir 70. Anthropological Series 8, Geological Survey of Canada, Department of Mines, Ottawa.
- Spence, M.W.
1967 *A Middle Woodland Burial Complex in the St. Lawrence Valley*. Anthropological Paper 14. National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.
- Spence, M.W., and R. Harper
1968 *The Cameron's Point Site*. Occasional Paper 12. Art and Archaeology Division, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.
- Spence, M.W., R. Pihl, and C. Murphy
1990 Cultural Complexes of the Early and Middle Woodland Periods. In *The Archaeology of Southern Ontario to AD 1650*, edited by C.J. Ellis and N. Ferris, pp. 125-169. Occasional Papers 5. London Chapter, Ontario Archaeological Society, London.
- Spence, M.W., R.F. Williamson, and J.H. Dawkins
1978 The Bruce Boyd Site: an Early Woodland Component in Southwestern Ontario. *Ontario Archaeology* 29:33-46.
- Stothers, D.M., and T.J. Abel
1993 Archaeological Reflections of the Late Archaic and Early Woodland Time Periods in the Western Lake Erie Basin. *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 21:25-109.
- Sturtevant, W.C.
1967 Seminole Men's Clothing. In *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts: Proceedings of the 1966 Annual Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*, edited by J. Helm, pp. 160-174. American Ethnological Society, Seattle.
- Thomas, R.A.
1976 A Re-evaluation of the St. Jones River Site. *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 4:89-121.
- Thwaites, R.G. (editor)
1896-1910 *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*. 73 vols. Burrows Brothers, Cleveland.
- Tooker, E.
1991 *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649*. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse.
- Vastokas, J.M.
1973/4 The Shamanic Tree of Life. *ArtsCanada* 184/7:125-145.
- Vastokas, J.M., and R.K. Vastokas
1973 *Sacred Art of the Algonkians*. Mansard Press, Peterborough, Ontario.
- Webb, W.S., and R. Baby
1957 *The Adena People No. 2*. Ohio State University Press for the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.
- Webb, W.S., and C. Snow
1974 *The Adena People*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Williamson, R.F.
1978 *Report on Investigations of the Early Woodland Liabn II Site (AcHo-2) and Test Excavations at the Peterkin Site (AcHo-9), Mitchell's Bay, Ontario*. Research Reports 8. Museum of Indian Archaeology, University of Western Ontario.
- Wintemberg, W.J.
1924 Examples of Graphic Art on Archaeological Artifacts from Ontario. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 18 (Third Series, Section 2): 33-52.
- 1928a Artifacts from Ancient Graves and Mounds in Ontario. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 22 (Third Series, Section 2):175-201.
- 1928b *Uren Prehistoric Village Site, Oxford County, Ontario*. Bulletin No. 51. Anthropological Series 10, National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.
- 1939 *Lawson Prehistoric Village Site, Middlesex County, Ontario*. Bulletin 94. Anthropological

- Series 25, National Museum of Canada, Department of Mines and Resources, Ottawa.
- Wright, J.V.
1966 *The Ontario Iroquois Tradition*. Bulletin 210. Anthropological Series 75, National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.
- Wright, J.V., and J. Anderson
1963 *The Donaldson Site*. Bulletin 184. Anthropological Series 58, National Museum of Canada, Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa.
- 1969 *The Bennett Site*. Bulletin 229. Anthropological Series 85, National Museums of Canada, Ottawa.
- Young, E.R.
1903 *Algonquian Indian Tales*. Flemming H. Revell and Co., New York.

Ce compte rendu fait état d'un pendentif inusité et fragmentaire provenant de « Oxford County », sud-ouest de l'Ontario, qui remonte vraisemblablement au Sylvicole inférieur ou moyen (environ de 2800 à 1550 A.A.). Les pendentifs en pierre ne sont habituellement pas décorés ou portent de simples motifs géométriques incisés. Par contre, les deux faces de cette pièce fragmentaire exhibent des figures formées de plusieurs lignes gravées représentant des animaux qui ressemblent étroitement à des loups ou à des chiens. L'orientation des figures indiquent aussi comment les pendentifs ont pu avoir été suspendus. De nettes différences quant au style des gravures laissent croire que plus d'un individu l'a utilisé, témoignant que certains de ces objets faisaient partie du patrimoine familial. On rencontre des pendentifs en coquillage et en pierre portant des figures mais leur rareté et l'évocation d'animaux qui étaient particulièrement importants dans les croyances spirituelles dont font mention les documents historiques qui describaient les Autochtones vivant dans la région des Grands-Lacs, renforcent l'idée que les pendentifs étaient importants dans la vie sacrée et sociale de leurs auteurs.

Christopher Ellis
Department of Anthropology
Social Science Centre
University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada N6A 5C2
cjellis@uwo.ca