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**UNIVERSITY OF
GEORGIA**

**Franklin College of
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**ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS
AT THE IRENE SITE
VOLUME II**

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Archaeological Excavations at the Irene Site

Volume II

By

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Dedication

This publication is affectionately dedicated to Joseph R. Caldwell, the primary author of the original Irene Report (Caldwell and McCann 1941). Although he has been gone for just under 50 years now, he was a major influence on my life as the first professional archaeologist who took a real interest in my budding fascination with southeastern archaeology. Joe was a wonderful mentor—easy going, brilliant, and totally down to earth (literally!). I remember traveling to St. Catherine’s Island with him in 1969 as an undergraduate for a week of shell mound excavation. We had picked up a stray, but calm, cat as a pet on the way home and Joe held it in his lap in the back seat of the car as I drove back to Athens. He had it purring the whole way, gently stroking its back and talking to it. Indeed, Joe Caldwell made people purr with that same sort of kindness and gentleness. I just wish he had could lived longer—I am already 16 years older than the 57 years he graced us with his presence. Joe, if you can hear me, thanks beyond measure for starting me out on a life that have left me happier than I ever dreamed was possible. Perhaps you would approve of my attempts here to add to your work.

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Chapter 1

Introduction and Acknowledgements

In about 1995 the Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) of the United States National Park Service in Tallahassee, Florida was tasked by their Washington office with inventorying the archaeological collections under their control and ownership. At that time a significant portion of the collections under their control were on semi-permanent loan to the Laboratory of Archaeology at the University of Georgia in Athens. These had been curated in Athens since about 1972 or 1973, and remain there as I write this almost 50 years later. In 1995 SEAC contracted with the University of Georgia to conduct an inventory of all the National Park Service collections entrusted to the University. In one form or another that work continues to the present day. The Irene Site collection was inventoried in 1997-1998 and the required data were forwarded to the National Park Service in Tallahassee. I have worked on this document off and on for 20 years. I am delighted to be able to finish it before I too become a part of the archaeological record of Georgia.

The first archaeological site selected by the UGA Laboratory for the inventory process was Irene. The Irene site (9CH1) had been located upstream from downtown Savannah on the same side of the Savannah River. It was a small two-mound archaeological site that had major excavations conducted on it from September 1937 through December of 1939, a total of 28 months. Essentially all of the small flat hill summit where the mounds were located was excavated. A wonderful report on the site and the excavation was published in 1941 (Caldwell and McCann 1941). The vast majority of that report was written by young archaeologist Joseph R. Caldwell, who was the only archaeologist present for the excavation from beginning to the

end of the project. The report was one of the best written and most informative report resulting from the 1930s Federal Relief excavations that were designed to put unemployed Americans back to work during the Great Depression. It was and is an instant classic. Please read this before diving into this report. It was certainly a model archaeology report for its day, but there was clearly much more that could have been done with the data from the site. Caldwell himself intended to rework the data when he had the materials transferred to the University of Georgia where he was a Professor of Anthropology starting in 1967. The collections were transferred to Athens from Macon, Georgia, then the location of Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC), when the rest of SEAC moved to Tallahassee, Florida in 1972. Caldwell, however, died in mid-December of 1973 before he could do any substantial reworking of the Irene data. All of the collections and notes were curated in Athens until the SEAC funded inventory project was initiated in 1995, 22 years after Caldwell's death.

At the outset of the project, some additional notes and photographic negatives were transferred from SEAC in Tallahassee to the UGA Laboratory of Archaeology that had not been transferred in 1972. These were deemed necessary to initiate the inventory. After a detailed survey of all the available notes, it sadly became clear that many key documents from the Irene excavations were missing and are presumed lost forever. Among the most significant missing items were virtually all of the excavation plat maps. Additionally, the artifact catalog available was not nearly complete. The human remains had been transferred to the Smithsonian in Washington in the early 1960s. Some of the collection was known to have been distributed to some of the agencies and individuals in Savannah who had funded the project in addition to the U.S. Government. These collections are now lost, although a few items have been recovered. A

few notes are in the Georgia Historical Society Research Center in Savannah.

The pottery sherds from Irene had been organized in the 1930s Irene laboratory operations (somewhere in downtown Savannah) by pottery types defined primarily by Caldwell with help from Antonio Waring, Jr. Most of the sherds had been labeled with a provenience location. One of the first required activities for the collection was to reorganize the thousands of sherd back into their proper proveniences—no simple task. Then all the sherds from each provenience were reanalyzed by type and the data recorded. This process was aided by my dear colleague Dr. Chester DePratter who had worked with Caldwell in the early 1970s on Georgia coastal ceramic identification. The data were entered into a National Park Service database and the files sent forward to SEAC. All of the collections were rebagged in accordance with then current SEAC standards.

Following the submission of the artifact inventory data, as required by contract with SEAC, the collections have been little used by researchers directly. I decided that this data should be made available to my archaeology colleagues and the general public. The archaeologists at SEAC agreed to permit me to use the acquired data along with the available notes to create the current document. I have worked on this very sporadically for over 20 years now, and am delighted, as a retired archaeologist, to finally have time to bring it to some state of conclusion. The Irene site is the most thoroughly examined Mississippian period mound center in Georgia, and one of the most thoroughly excavated in the Southern United States. Indeed, it is doubtful that another such excavation will take place in the foreseeable future. The cost to replicate such a project as Irene now would run into many millions of dollars.

The Irene site was a Mississippian mound center occupied primarily during the Savannah

period (A.D.1250-1350) as defined by Georgia archaeologists. There were very minor additional occupations from at least 2000 B.C. and into the historic period of early Georgia, but it is for the occupation during the Savannah period that Irene is famous. When it was excavated in the late 1930s Irene was a type of mound site that had not been recognized before—a chiefly compound (Williams 1995). The most distinguishing facet of such sites was the presence of mounds in a tiny site with very few additional houses in the area around the mound. Chiefly compounds were not villages as normally conceived, but the home of a chief and his family (his wives and children). In my mind, Irene is the best excavated example of a chiefly compound in the Southeast. For this reason and for the reality that such a site is not apt to be excavated to such extent in the future, the importance of the data from this long-ago excavated site is impossible to overstate.

For the most part I have used the terminology of Caldwell and McCann (1941) for the different features on the Irene site. I also have used a bold font for each in the text. The biggest exception, however was their use of the term **Temple Mound** for the large mound on the site. Since they called each of the layers in the mound as **Temple Mound 1, 2, 3** etc. this has caused much confusion over the decades by readers who mistakenly thought that there were eight separate mounds on the tiny site. Thus I have chosen to call the large mound simply that—**Large Mound** and the layers within it as **Stage 1, 2, 3**, etc.

I met Joe Caldwell when I was 19 years old and just beginning to realize that archaeology would be my life's calling. I was a student of his in several archaeology classes of his at the University of Georgia, along with several now-ageing colleagues. I was immediately impressed with how open he was with such a young and archaeologically ignorant student such as myself.

He was serenely calm, but intensely passionate about the field of archaeology. I was privileged to know and learn from him for 5 ½ years before he died at the young age of 57 in 1973. In 1968 he gave me from his personal library my first copy of his 1941 Irene excavation report. I still have that copy, having eagerly read and reread it so many times it is falling apart. Now at 73 years of age it is a genuine pleasure for me to add more to his incredible legacy with additional information about this most important excavation. This report is affectionately dedicated to his memory and to the Native American who once lived their lives at Irene.

This report could not have been completed with the aid of many dedicated people. The first thanks go to the Southeast Archeological Center of the U.S. National Park Service in Tallahassee, Florida. They funded the reanalysis and aided in dozens of ways. Of particular note here are Richard Vernon, Hank Kratt, Dennis Finch, and the late Bob Wilson. I must thank the many UGA undergraduate students in the late 1990s who did the actual work of artifact analysis and reorganization. Standout individuals in that project were John Chamblee, Steve Hatch, and Victor Thompson. I thank Gail Whalen for permission to publish her paper on the African American excavation crew in Appendix 7. I thank Megan Kassabaum of the University of Pennsylvania and the Penn Museum for her help in locating the Vladimir Fewkes papers there and sharing them with me. I thank Victor Thompson, Director, and Amanda Thompson, Operations Manager, for the University of Georgia Laboratory of Archaeology for many things, including publishing this report in the UGA Laboratory of Archaeology Series. Finally I thank the late Joe Caldwell as outlined in the Dedication above.

Chapter 2

History of the Irene Site

The Irene site (9CH1) has been gone for over 80 years as I write this. It had the bad luck of being too close to a major American city, Savannah, Georgia, and was ultimately sacrificed on the altar of “modern progress.” One of the largest ship container ports / parking lots in America now covers the entire area (Figure 1). In all this, however, the site remains the most thoroughly excavated and curious Native American mound site in Georgia, and one of the most thoroughly excavated in the United States.

As stated above, there is an excellent report about the excavations that was published almost immediately after the completion of the excavations by Joseph Caldwell and Catherine McCann (1941). There are, however, many more unpublished details about this important site and its excavation that have never been made public. This begins with recording the known history of this important archaeological site from the time of its first documentation until its final destruction. The data for this simple history has been presented in two publications, but has never been combined to create what follows. These are, first, the work of Mary Granger in the 1930s and 1940s as the head of a Georgia WPA Writer’s Project publication of early Georgia plantations (Granger 1947). She visited the Irene site during its excavation and provided direct help to the excavators. Her writing on the Rae’s Hall plantation, which included the Irene site, is essential to understanding the history of the site. Antonio Waring, a Savannah native, who knew of the site most of his life, also provided critical documentation of the early 20th century history of the site (Waring 1968:222-228).

The Irene site was the first archaeological site documented by the English settlers of Georgia upon its settling in February of 1733. The local Yamacraw leader, Tomochichi, settled his people just south of the mound by June of 1735 (Granger 1947:343) and on August 13th of the following year, the mound site was selected as the location of a school built by Moravian missionaries for teaching and ministering to this group of Indians (Granger 1947:346). The school, named **Irene** (meaning *Peace* in ancient Greek), was 60 by 15 feet and divided into 3 rooms. It was completed by September 15 of 1736, and classes were initiated by Peter and Catherine Rose (Granger 1947:348). The school was in use, however, for less than a year, and teaching ceased by the early summer of 1737, although the Roses apparently stayed until January of 1739 (Granger 1947:349). By October of 1739, Tomochichi had died, and the new village (south of the mound plateau) and its adjacent school (the Irene site) were both abandoned by the Indians (Granger 1947:350).

The famous Mary Musgrove claimed the land soon thereafter, but the land including Irene was eventually officially taken by the state of Georgia in 1757 (Granger 1947:350). Musgrove was awarded other lands in compensation. The area was then awarded to Patrick Graham for his 450 acre plantation (Granger 1947:351). Graham died in 1755 and left the plantation to his nephew, Mungo Graham. Mungo died 3 years later in 1758 and the land passed to John Robinson that same year (Granger 1947:352). Robinson was not successful as a farmer and the land was sold at auction to John Rae of Augusta in 1760 (Granger 1947:352). The land continued to be used primarily as an Indian trading post until 1767, but rice was cultivated there after that date (Granger 1947:353-354). John Rae died by 1774, and his son, John Rae, Jr. inherited the land. John Junior died in the American Revolution in 1776, and his sister, Jane

Sommerville then became the owner of the plantation. When she died in 1779, the land was left to her uncle, Robert Rae of Augusta. He died in 1781 and left the land to his wife Elizabeth, and the children of both his surviving brother and sister (Granger 1947:356). The land was again not well used and by 1792 all the property was sold to pay the taxes that had been incurred on it. In the meantime, however, one of the nieces of Robert Rae, Elizabeth was living there with her husband Samuel Elbert. He was a hero of the American Revolution, serving under George Washington at Yorktown. Elbert died in 1788 and was buried, along with many others of the Rae and Elbert families in a cemetery placed on the summit of the Irene mound where the Irene school had been located less than 50 years earlier.

In 1792 the land passed to Daniel Course, who lived there until his death in 1797 (Granger 1947:357). His wife Elizabeth sold the land at auction to pay many off his many debts (Granger 1947:357). Charles Young purchased the land that year at auction and expanded rice production on the low lands west of the mound site (Granger 1947:357). At the time of his death in 1808, the plantation was said to be one of the best known places in Georgia (Granger 1947:358). The mound site was described then as:

A large Mount just by the mouth of Pipe makers Creek & very near the Savannah River...almost as high as the Bluff of Savannah & is indeed very remarkable, by the large growth of Live Oak thereon. (Granger 1947:360).

Thomas Young, nephew of Charles, had become the clear owner by 1812 (Granger 1947:360). The plantation thrived under his ownership. By the time he died in 1832 the plantation had more than 400 slaves, making Thomas Young one of the richest men in Georgia (Granger 1947:368). Young's executors ran the plantation for five years after his death until 1837, but then broke it up. The land was sold to Mitchell King of Charleston in 1838 (Granger

1947:372). He continued to operate the land as a plantation until his death in 1862 (Granger 1947:372).

Former slaves took over the land at the end of the Civil War, but King's sons, Mitchell and Gadsden, eventually regained ownership of the land (Granger 1947:375-376). They saw their attempt to revive the plantation was likely impossible by 1867, but borrowed money to try and put in a crop anyway in 1871 (Granger 1947:375-376). Apparently no one still wanted to work in a rice plantation on the Georgia Coast. By 1872 the brothers sold the rights to Savannah to dredge the low-lying rice land on the old plantation, and finally sold the entire place in 1874 to Charles Banks (Granger 1947:376). Banks was a land speculator who lost all his money in this deal and then sold the property to Gilbert Wilkins in 1880. (Granger 1947:377-379). It changed hands again several times over the next few years—Joseph Clay in 1881, Georgia Mills in 1884, and finally a half interest in the land was sold by Mills to Henry Taylor later that same year (Granger 1947:380). Taylor, who died in 1894, was the person stated by Clarence B. Moore, as giving him permission to dig at the mound site in 1898 (Larson 1998). This is confusing since Taylor had been dead four years when Moore visited the Irene mound. Perhaps Mills agreed to Taylor's having giving permission to Moore. Mills reclaimed Taylor's half interest in the land as Taylor's executor (Granger 1947:382).

Mills sold the land to T. S. Heyward, a cotton dealer, in 1903, and Heyward passed it on to Joseph Hull in 1906 (Granger 1947:382-283). Both Heyward and Hull were land speculators. Hull had the idea to use the river side as boat dock facilities for transporting cotton. He formed a company in 1911 for that purpose (Granger 1947:383-384).

A controllable dam had been placed at the mouth of Pipe Maker's Creek just north of mound early in the 19th century to permit flooding of the low area for rice cultivation. When the land was being considered for commercial boat docks in the early 20th century, a better dam / flood control structure was needed to keep the Savannah River out of the low-lying areas west of the bluff where the Irene mound was located. The new dam was put into place by 1907, but no soil was apparently taken from the mound to facilitate this operation at that time (Irene Field Notes: April 8, 1938). The **structure** was repaired in 1911, however, and the northwest quarter of the **Large Mound** at Irene was removed to help in that operation (Waring 1968:224).

In 1913-14 the older brother of Antonio Waring, Frederick, and five of Frederick's teenage friends visited the mound for adventure and found human burials eroding from the heavily disturbed northwestern quarter of the mound where the dam fill dirt had been removed (Waring 1968:224). They removed some of the bones and some metal coffin hardware. After two more visits, the disturbance became known locally and was negatively publicized in the local newspapers as a desecration of the cemetery of the famous Samuel Elbert's grave, which had been placed on the summit of the mound in the 18th century (Waring 1968:225). The culprits were not identified at that time, although the real culprit had been Chatham County with their dam construction and mound fill removal. It appears that none of the likely wooden grave markers for the Rae family cemetery was still visible at that time by Frederick Waring and his friends. Indeed, it is likely that no one alive remembered or knew of the historic graves on the mound summit.

In 1916 the land was sold to the Savannah Warehouse and Compress Company, again, with plans to provide shipping facilities for cotton bales (Granger 1947:384). Several large

warehouses were placed south of the mound in the area of the New Yamacraw village in the 1730s—it would have been wonderful if that area could also have been excavated archaeologically! The site was leased to the Southeastern Compress and Warehouse Company headquartered in Atlanta in 1929 (Granger 1947:385).

Antonio Waring himself first visited the site about 1926 and collected many artifacts and bones (many of which were human) from the beach area east of the **Large Mound** (Waring 1968:226). He apparently went there many more times over the next 10 years as his interest in archaeology grew. He went to Yale in 1934 as an undergraduate and graduated in English in 1938 (Waring 1968).

The federally-sponsored archaeological excavations of the Irene mound and surrounding area began slowly during the fall of 1937. Granger says the first clearing of the large trees on the mound started on September 11 of that year (Granger 1947:387). The first actual dated field notes for the site are from October 4th of that year. The excavations ran with few interruption until early December of 1939, although a very few measurements may have been made in the following months. Thus the excavations at Irene ran for just over 27 or 28 months.

The business associated with the cotton companies apparently continued through the excavations to some degree. The entire area was subleased to the U.S. Government in late 1941 as part of the World War II effort (Granger 1947:389). By June 24 of 1942 the entire area was sold to the U.S., again for the war effort (Granger 1947:389). After the war the area once again became a cotton shipping port. Waring reported that by 1946 all the trees were gone from the site and a new warehouse was being constructed where the mound had been (Waring 1968:227). By the early 1960s the warehouses were all gone, but the land's use as a shipping port was

continuing to increase (Waring 1968:227). The area soon became a shipping container port, an idea pioneered in the 1960s. The Georgia Ports Authority now manages the area, and cargo containers from and to the entire world are loaded onto and off of ships docked alongside the former Irene Mound (Figure 1).

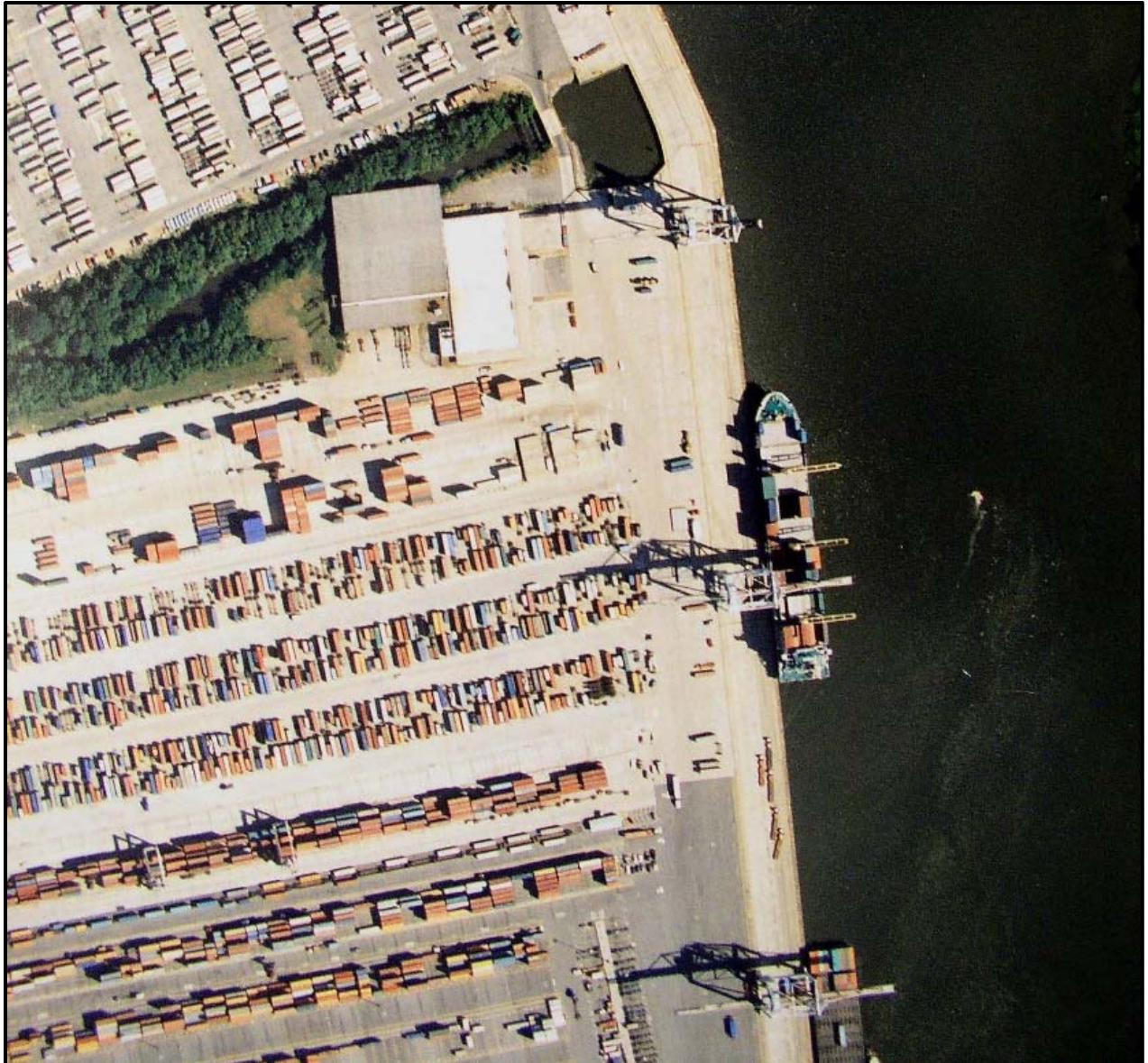


Figure 1. Aerial Photograph of site in 2018, Pipemaker's Creek to North.

Chapter 3

Brief Biographies of Directors and Staff

As part of this document I felt it vital to honor the leaders of Irene excavation with the following limited biographies of the principle people involved in the excavation. All went on to distinguished careers in archaeology / anthropology. They are presented in the order that they were involved in the project. It was clearly a problem having so many directors of the site since they often disagreed with the one another on the methods used to excavate the site. It should be remembered that this period was one when American archaeology was first becoming a professional pursuit. In that sense, each made their own contributions to the development of modern archaeology and should be remembered as such.

Preston Holder

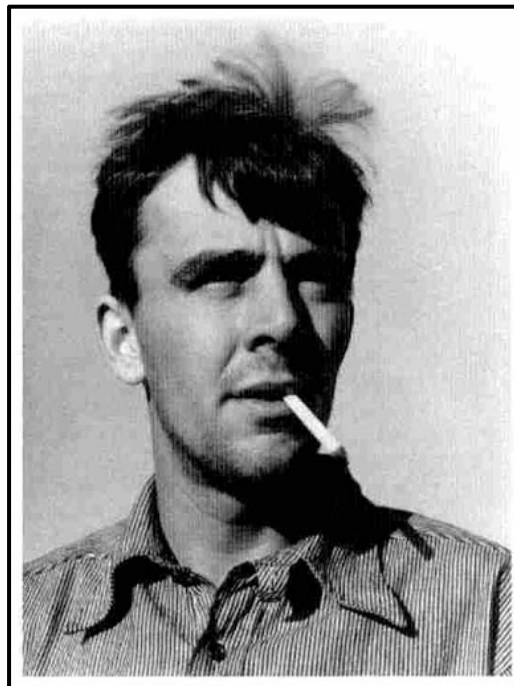


Figure 2. Preston Holder in the Late 1920s.

Preston Holder (Figure 2) was born on September 10, 1907, in Indiana. He entered the University of California at Berkeley in 1930 to study anthropology and became heavily involved with photography as a friend and colleague of Ansel Adams. He was a respected founding member of the F64 Photo Group with Adams for those interested in early 20th century professional photography. He received his B.A. at Berkeley in 1935 and became very interested in archaeology.

He was working for the Smithsonian Institution in western peninsular Florida (on the Thomas Mound and Cockroach Key) with Matthew Sterling in 1936 before he was assigned to conduct excavations on St. Simons Island for the WPA in late 1936. While at St. Simons, he was the first to recognize the deep age and significance of Fiber Tempered ceramics in Georgia (Waring 1968:296-298). He apparently also worked at the important Evelyn Plantation site, an important Swift Creek period in northern Glynn County, in 1937. He also apparently set up a small project, including Waring, at the Deptford site below Savannah during the summer of 1937. Holder came to the Irene project in mid to late September of 1937, and was the first director when the Irene project began formally on October 4 of that year. He stayed in charge of the project until his departure On January 29, 1938, when he went to work for a short while to the Deptford site below Savannah. I do not know why he left the Irene project. He was replaced as director by Vladimir Fewkes.

Holder was responsible for the original grid on the Irene site, and the first excavations on the Temple Mound and the Burial Mound. While working at Deptford and Irene, he developed a friendship with Antonio Waring that led to a major 1945 publication by them about the

Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (Waring and Holder 1945), although Holder's contribution may have been over by 1938 or 1939. I do not know why Holder left the Irene project after less than four months.

Holder was at Columbia University in 1947 and completed his Ph.D. work there in 1951. He excavated at Cahokia in 1955-56 when he was teaching at Washington University. He was working in Nebraska before 1949 and ended up as a professor of Anthropology at the University of Nebraska before 1965. He conducted excavations there for many years before he died on June 3, 1980.

Vladimir Jaroslav Fewkes

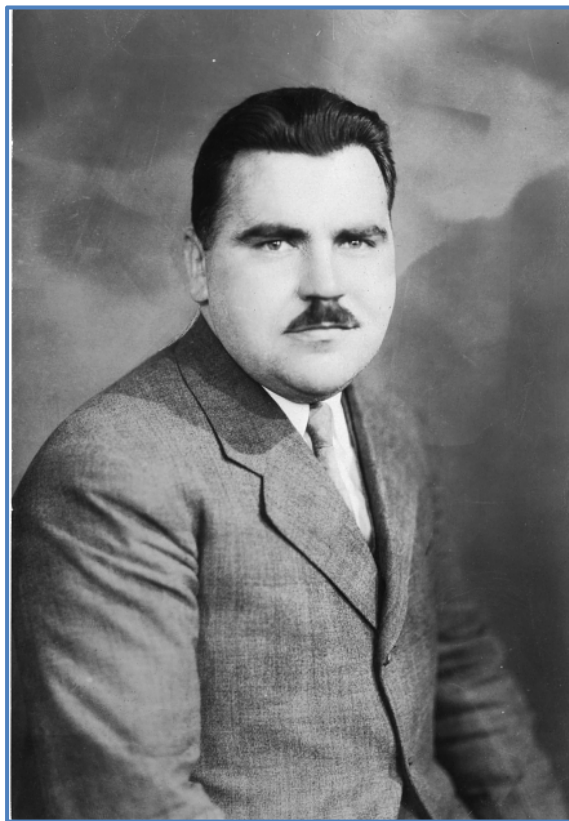


Figure 3. Vladimir Fewkes in the 1920s.

Vladimir Jaroslav Fewkes (Vlad to his friends) (Figure 3) was born March 23, 1901, in Nimburk, Czechoslovakia (now the Czech Republic) into a wealthy and politically prominent family. He fought for four years in World War I for Germany, and moved to Philadelphia in 1920 to attend the University of Pennsylvania. Fewkes graduated there in 1926 with a B.S. degree in Economics. He received his M.A. in 1928 and his PhD in 1931, both in archaeology and both, again, from the University of Pennsylvania. He conducted major archaeological excavations in Europe from 1929 to 1934 under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania Museum. He was closely associated with Harvard University, as well as the University of Pennsylvania during the period from 1932-1937, and it is likely through his Harvard connection that he was recommended for the Irene job by Arthur Kelly, a PhD graduate from Harvard in 1929. Kelly was the lead archaeologist for all federally funded excavations in Georgia during the 1930s. Fewkes arrived in Savannah to take over the director's job from Preston Holder on January 20, 1938. He only stayed until June 2 of that year, and thus was in charge of Irene for only a little over four months.

During his time he discarded Preston Holder's difficult grid system, in favor of a much simpler polar grid. He also was apparently a talkative and charismatic man, who conducted many interviews with local newspaper reporters, and actively attempted to involve professionals from colleges all over Georgia in minor aspects of the research. He let Joe Caldwell handle most of the day-to-day running of the excavations at the site since Fewkes knew almost nothing of southeastern archaeology. Other than raise awareness of the dig to the public, however, his contributions to the overall work are apparently minor. I examined his papers curated at the University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives in Philadelphia during the summer of 2018. It is

apparent from several letters there that he was angling for the new WPA Survey Archaeology position at the University of Georgia while he worked at Irene. The position went, of course, to Robert Wauchope instead of Fewkes. In this light, I believe much of his time meeting and greeting people in Georgia was aimed by him at procuring a more permanent position in archaeology in Georgia.

After he left Irene, he returned to Philadelphia in the fall of 1938, where he was a research associate with the University of Pennsylvania Museum. He died there on December 11, 1941 (four days after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor), of an unstated illness he had fought for several years (Mason 1942:114-117).

Claude Everett Schaeffer



Figure 4. Claude Schaeffer Probably in the 1950s.

Claude Everett Schaeffer (Figure 4) was born August 30, 1901 in Germantown, Ohio, and attended the University of Washington, where he received his B.A. degree in 1927 (Dempsey 1970). In 1931 he went back to Washington for graduate training in ethnology, but soon transferred to Yale University to work with Clark Wissler. He then worked as an ethnologist with the U.S. Department of the Interior in Montana starting in 1935. In 1937 he began his Ph.D. work at the University of Pennsylvania, receiving his degree from there in 1940. It was while he was a graduate student at Pennsylvania that he was director of the Irene excavations. He arrived in Savannah on June 10, 1938, and took over the reins of the project from Fewkes, another Pennsylvania associate, who may have recommended him. This was at the end of his first year of classes for his doctorate. Schaeffer stayed at Irene until early January of 1939, when he returned to Philadelphia to complete his doctoral work, having been director of the Irene project for just over six months. He stayed in Pennsylvania as an archaeologist until 1947, when he moved to Montana to pursue his real love of ethnographic research. He became curator of the Oregon Historical Society in Portland in 1956, and stayed there after retirement until he died on October 11, 1969. His involvement with the Irene site never led to any publications, and his presence is not strongly felt in the notes. I believe his main contributions were: (1) letting the surveyors stop using the Fewkes method of mapping and measure angles and distances from known reference points in the grid, and (2) letting Joe Caldwell continue to run the dig and getting him ready to direct the project after Schaeffer finished his six month stint at the site.

Joseph Ralston Caldwell



Figure 5. Young Joseph Caldwell, October 1938 at Irene.

Joseph Caldwell (Figure 5) was born on June 4, 1916, in Cleveland Ohio. He spent much of his early years in France, attending both primary and secondary school there. He entered the University of Chicago in 1932, and completed his B.A. in 1936. I am not sure how he was invited to Georgia, but he was at Irene from the first day of the project in early October 1937 as field assistant to Preston Holder. He served subsequently as field assistant to Vladimir Fewkes and Claude Schaeffer over the first 17 months of the Irene project. Sometime in January of 1939

he was made director in his own right of the entire project for its final year of operation. He was significantly younger than the other directors at Irene, and lacked any graduate degrees in Anthropology at that time. He was incredibly bright and energetic, however, and he clearly made the project his from the beginning.

He wrote his Master's Thesis on the excavations at the Irene site and others in Chatham County in 1941, and published a version of it with Catherine McCann the same year (Caldwell and McCann 1941). He continued to work on Smithsonian Institution related archaeological surveys in Georgia through the mid-1950s. In 1956 he completed his PhD degree at the University of Chicago, with his classic dissertation focusing on the data he had spent almost 20 years gathering around Georgia (Caldwell 1957). He worked at the Illinois State Museum from 1956 until December of 1967. During that time he conducted excavations in Iran, as well as at many places in the American Midwest. In January of 1968 he became a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Georgia in Athens and continued there as a teacher and Georgia archaeologist until his death on December 23, 1973 from a heart attack. Eight months prior to his death he had all the Chatham County WPA material, including Irene, shipped to Athens by the National Park Service from Macon so he could begin a new and more complete report on all the excavations. Chester DePratter worked as a graduate student on the project, and completed work on the sites other than Irene 20 years later in 1991 out of dedication to Caldwell (DePratter 1991). The current report, in a sense, is also part of what I think he might have intended for the data from Irene.

Joe Caldwell apparently recorded most of the field notes from Irene in the first 2/3 of the project. As a young archaeologist, who was arguably brighter than all his supervisors, some of

his notes are peppered with what I personally know was his wonderfully wry sense of humor.

Here I wish to present for posterity some of his more interesting field notes. My favorite are those of April 3.

March 5, 1938

Gordon Willey, visiting from Macon under the pretense of knowing something about dendrochronology, Fewkes, foolish enough to think he might know something about pottery, got their heads together--couple of loggerheads at that--or at any rate a treat for a physical anthropologist interested in blockheads and made some mud pies.

April 2, 1938

Bill the cat missing from Irene--evidently kidnapped.

April 3, 1938

Caldwell had one helluva day. He got up at 7:30 AM as usual (how long is this going to last). Met Fewkes already at the Chamber of Commerce. Fewkes was worried about Miles coming and finding the place closed, so Caldwell was requested to stay and wait (What about Caldwell's Breakfast). Then, having a change of heart, Fewkes told Caldwell that he and Dr. Richards would wait for him to get Casey and Arseneau. Upon arriving outside Caldwell discovered that he had lost the key to his car, so he took an old blue rattle-trap that happened to be sitting around. Arseneau did not answer the door so Caldwell went to see Casey but the blankety-blank had gone to mass. Back to Arseneau's house to find the so and so still in bed. Gave Arseneau a pep talk aided by a U. S. Soldier who happened to be around. His pleas unavailing, Caldwell went back to the Chamber of Commerce to discuss the matter with Dr. Fewkes. Dr. Fewkes spoke unkindly of General Foreman and Timekeepers in general and told Caldwell to go back and get the men while he and Dr. Richards had breakfast (where's Caldwell's breakfast?). Caldwell went to the hotel and located his key. The key did no good, however, and Caldwell's car wouldn't start even when aided by a good hearted floater who happened to be around. Since the floater had not had any breakfast either and Caldwell understood the necessity of breakfasts this particular morning he gave the man 50 cents which he hoped would go for a solid breakfast. Then rushing over to Bull Street he talked a cab driver down to a dollar to take him and the men out to the dig. Went to see Arseneau. Dragged him out of bed, with the family standing around. The U. S. Soldier previously mentioned stood over in a corner and cheered. Arseneau, in the taxi cab, insisted upon having his breakfast but Caldwell by this time very touchy about breakfast, refused to stop. Halfway to the dig, however, while held up by a long train, they stopped and partook of sundry nourishments at a roadside stand. ...and later that same day--

While these notes were being written Dr. Fewkes criticized their lengthiness and concern with trivial matters. I am sure his criticism is in large part justified and shall make every endeavor to confine the notes to really pertinent matters. My own view on the subject, however, is that in spite of the valuable time lost, the notes taken today are the most complete general notes I have yet assembled and concerned as they are with a great deal more than archaeology,

they may eventually serve as data for the contemporary history of our period.

April 4, 1938

Dr. Fewkes returned from the Armstrong Junior College at 6:30 P.M. Then as guests of Dr. Fewkes, Miss Davis and Mr. Caldwell made desperate inroads into certain condiments provided by the excellent cuisine of the Plaza Restaurant. Later, as guests of Mr. Caldwell, Miss Davis, and Dr. Fewkes viewed Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, a truly colossal and stupendous production which we are told required three years to make. Dr. Fewkes insisted upon seeing this show, the first he had seen in months, twice. Then still, as guests of Mr. Caldwell, Miss Davis and Dr. Fewkes partook of the delights of the Drum Room of the Hotel Savannah with reckless abandon. Finally, as the guest of Dr. Fewkes and Mr. Caldwell, Miss Davis delighted the habitués of Johnny Harris's.

April 7, 1938

Dr. Fewkes spent the early part of the morning in the town office. Upon arriving at the dig he brought with him a Yugoslavian mariner who has been stranded in Savannah for 23 days recovering from an appendicitis operation. Mr. Caldwell conducted this gentleman on the tour of the site and outside of the fact that Mr. Caldwell's Yugoslavian was a trifle rusty and the sailor's English left much to be desired, much was accomplished, at any rate, towards cementing international relations.

April 9, 1938

Caldwell was rudely awakened at 7 o'clock in the morning by Dr. Fewkes wanting to know where in the name of the 7th hair of the 7th beard, of the 7th prophet of the 7th god, of the city of Baluchistan was his mail and newspapers.

April 11, 1938

At 10:30 AM Mr. Caldwell and Mr. Arseneau returned from an exploring trip on the other side of Pipemaker's canal to find that the tide had opened the flood gates. They called up to Casey to run to the office and get some rope but the so and so got lost in the process. Mr. Caraway came over and very conscientiously took a note of the matter and then proceeded to sit in his favorite position. At length through the efforts of Mr. Casey, who finally arrived with the rope, and Mr. Leggett, our two heroes were enabled to get back to the site.

April 26, 1938

J. R. C. considered the possibility of returning to school for the summer. Fewkes said it would be a mistake and by dint of much effort convinced Caldwell of his error. But don't let me sway you in your decision, says Fewkes. Fewkes spent the evening somewhere.

May 31, 1938

Ole Man River riz plenty high in the forenoon, exceeding the flood level of three or four years ago as indicated by a mark placed on a sapling by Mr. Floyd.

June 1, 1938

In the evening the staff had a farewell dinner with Dr. Fewkes. It was a swell affair and Dr. F. made a very fine talk. Some of the fellows got mellow on grain juice and afterwards went out to the country to a shindig. The next day there were some sick people on the staff of the Irene Mound. The great majority of the gang, fortunately, remained teetotalers.

Catherine J. McCann

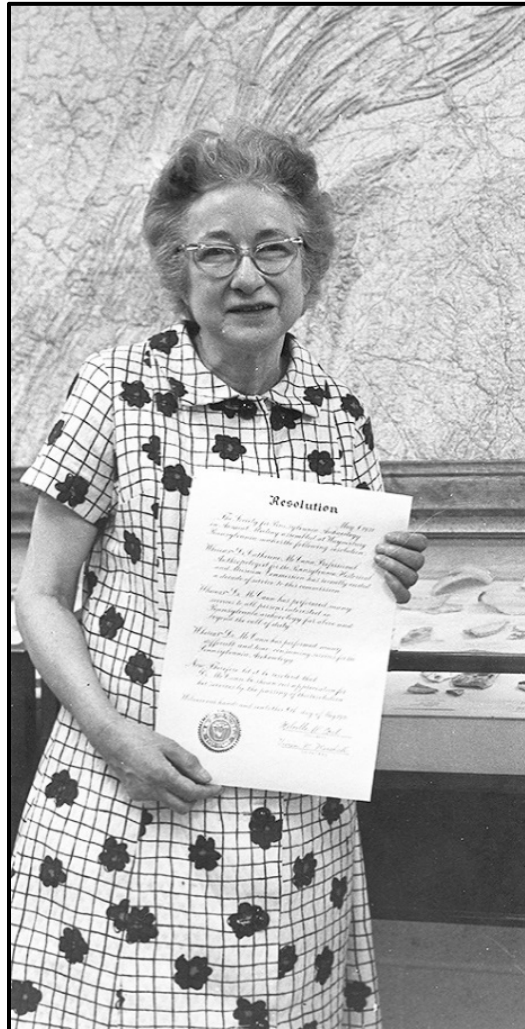


Figure 6. Catherine McCann in later life.

Catherine J. McCann (Figure 6) was a young archaeology student from the University of Pennsylvania in the late 1930s. Her connection to the project was clearly through that University

and the two former directors (Fewkes and Schaeffer) associated with that program. She seems to have arrived in late January of 1939, (just after Schaffer left) and stayed until the end of the project at the end of year. The majority of the field notes from January 26 through the end of the year were hers. It may be that she was intended to be the Director, but by this time Caldwell was clearly in charge. She does not figure prominently in the notes, and I assume that she acted mostly as a field assistant to Caldwell, in somewhat the same way he had served the prior three directors. Caldwell by this point probably hardly needed an assistant however. He respected her contribution sufficiently, however, to give her co-author credit on the classic 1941 publication (Caldwell and McCann 1941). I believe that he wrote virtually the entire manuscript himself, however.

After the Irene project, McCann moved back to the Philadelphia area and remained associated with the University of Pennsylvania Museum for many more decades. She was coauthor of a book on Pennsylvania Archaeology 1971 (Kent, Smith, McCann 1971).

Frederick Seymour Hulse

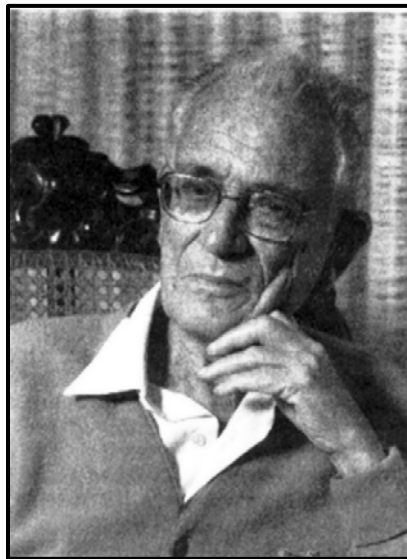


Figure 7. Frederick Hulse in His Senior Years.

Frederick Seymour Hulse (Figure 7) came into the project quite late as the Physical Anthropologist hired to examine the human remains uncovered at the site. He was born in New York City on February 11, 1906, attended Williams College, and then Harvard University in 1927. He graduated from there with a Ph.D. in 1934, studying Physical Anthropology under the famous Earnest Hooton, the same, path chosen a few years earlier by Arthur Kelly, head of the Georgia WPA Archaeology programs at the time Hulse came to Georgia. Hulse worked in California in 1935 and 1936, and taught at the University of Washington from 1936-1938. He was let go and then ended up with the job at Irene, undoubtedly through his association through his Harvard connection to Arthur Kelly. A brief biography of Hulse by Eugene Giles suggested that he started at Irene in late 1938, and this may be true (Giles 1996). This biography states that he may have been in Savannah for two years, which seems unlikely to me.

His name is almost completely absent from the field notes, listed only briefly after July 27, 1939. The nature of his analytical work would have certainly confined him to the lab in downtown Savannah, however. He did author the 12 page section in the 1941 report on the skeletal material, although I do not know when this was completed.

During World War II he worked for the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS) as an anthropologist studying the Japanese culture ahead of WWII. After the war he taught at Colgate University for two years and then moved to the University of Washington in Seattle. In 1958 he moved to the University of Arizona, where he stayed until his retirement in the late 1970s. He moved to Pebble Beach, California in 1982, staying there until he died on May 16, 1990.

Harvey Thomas Cain



Figure 8. Tom Cain.

Tom Cain (H. T. Cain) (Figure 8) was the only other trained archaeologist / anthropologist involved with the Irene project, although his role is obscure at best. He did lead work at several of the other sites in Chatham County as reported by Chester DePratter (DePratter 1991). Tom Cain was born in 1913 in Burlington, Washington, and died on August 23 of 1993 in Phoenix, Arizona (Arizona Republic August 25, 1993). He was a Marine Corps veteran of World War II and earned an M.A. in Anthropology in 1946. He was associated for many years with the Heard Museum in Phoenix Arizona, becoming its first professional curator in 1952. He also was an anthropology professor at Arizona State University. Most of his publications are on the archaeology of the Southwest, California, and Washington state. It appears that his limited

work at Irene and a few other Chatham County sites was his only archaeological work in the Southeast U.S.

Antonio Johnston Waring, Jr.

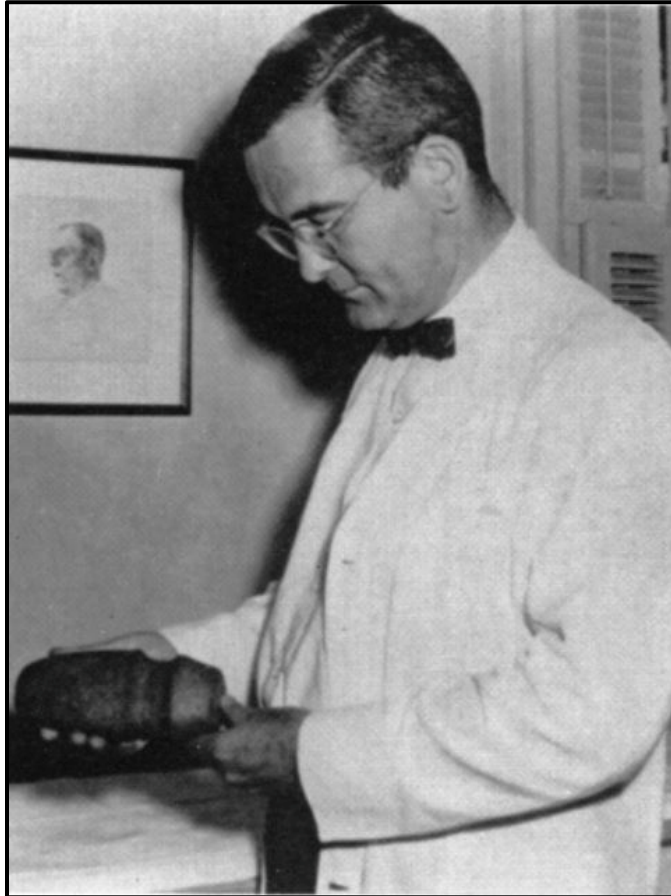


Figure 9. Antonio Waring, Jr. Probably in the Late 1950s (Williams 1968).

Antonio (Tono) Waring, Jr. (Figure 9), a native of Savannah, had a large role as a knowledgeable and trusted amateur archaeologist deeply involved with the Irene project. He went on to distinguish himself by writing many important papers on Georgia and southeastern archaeology over the 25 years after the Irene project was completed. His life and research are better documented than any of the other individuals associated with Irene through the wonderful

publication of Waring's collected papers by the late Stephen Williams (Williams 1968).

Waring was born on August 17, 1915, into a prominent Savannah family. As reported above, he had collected artifacts from the Irene site many times in the late 1920s and early 1930s. He began classes at Yale University in 1934, following in his father's footsteps. He received his B.A. in the spring of 1938, after the Irene project had been underway for about nine months. Waring arrived at the site on July 5, 1938, and apparently was formally on the Irene team until at least September of that year. He then began medical school, but visited the dig every chance he got after that time. During the summer of 1938 he directed the excavation of the famous **Mortuary** feature on the Irene site.

Waring went to medical school soon afterward and obtained his M. D. degree in 1942. He served as a doctor in Egypt during World War II, and then returned to a pediatric practice in Savannah in 1946. Continuing occasional involvement with Georgia archaeology, Waring retired in 1962. He died prematurely of cancer in 1964 at only 39 years of age. Although he lacked professional training in archaeology, Waring was truly an archaeologist, and much of our knowledge of Irene come through his efforts.

Chapter 4

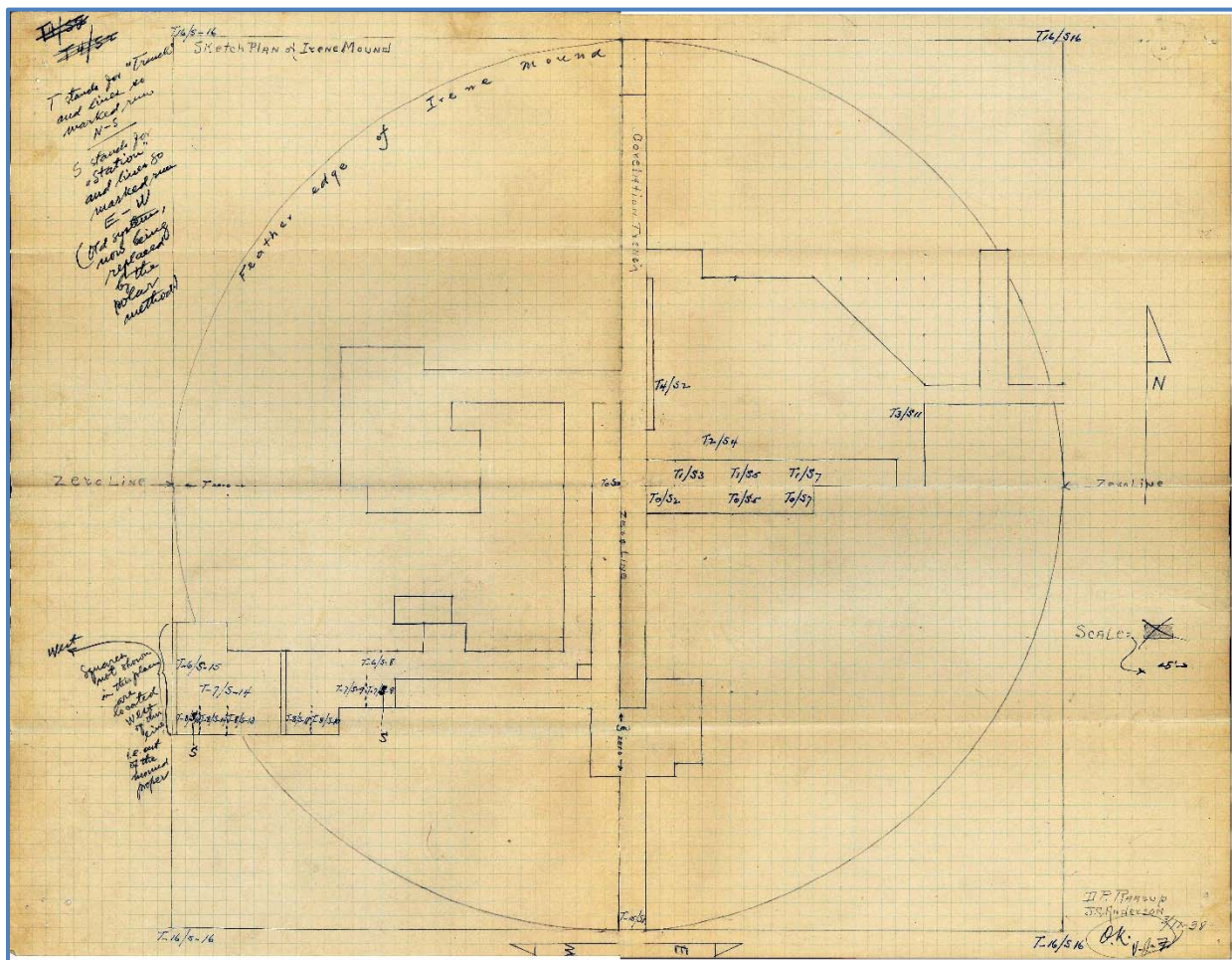
Irene Grid Systems

There were two completely separate grid systems installed at the Irene site to provide horizontal control for the excavations. The first was installed by surveyors working for Preston Holder beginning in October of 1937. There were many problems with this system from the start, and Holder went through at least three surveyors in a matter of a few weeks (Caldwell began calling them “Surveyor of the Week” in the notes in his wry style). The second major grid was begun by Vladimir Fewkes in February of 1938. With some modification, it was used until the end of the project.

The T and S System

Preston Holder had an artifact recording system that was related to the grid system that he installed. His grid system was as follows. There were two base lines run at right angles to one another in the cardinal directions across the site. In the summer of 2018 I discovered in the University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives a previously unknown map of the excavations in the **Large Mound** at Irene. This was located there in the papers of Vladimir Fewkes. This map is presented here as Figure 10. It confirms that The Holder grid was referenced to a single point (labeled T0/S0) located at the top center of the **Large Mound**. The map shows the Holder grid expanded just to the limits of the mound. This, therefore, created an excavation area out to 16 five-foot square units in all four directions from the center point. This means that the entire mound square was 160 by 160 feet. This also can be taken as the base diameter of the mound.

The main north-south line was called **Station Zero**. This was abbreviated S0. Five feet to the east was the next north-south line, called S1. This was abbreviated as S+1. Five feet to the west of the S0 line was north-south line abbreviated S-1 (read S minus one). This pattern was used every 5 feet further east and west from the base line. Thus, the North-South line 10 feet east of the S0 line was called S2, the one 15 feet east was S3, the one 10 feet west was S-2, and the one 15 feet west was S-3.



in a similar manner to the **Station** numbers. This system was intended to be expanded for excavations over the entire site. Excavation squares were typically 5 feet in size and labeled as T12, S-3, for example. As made clear in the notes of October 11, 1937, this single designation referred to the northeastern corner of an excavated 5-foot square.

Occasionally, there were partial squares excavated, such as a 2.5 foot cut. Holder apparently dug in 3-inch levels in the village and 6-inch levels in the mound. As stated above the T0/S0 stake was on the summit of the mound. It was likely centered east to west, and was near the center of the remaining high southern portion of the mound that had not been disturbed by the large borrow pit that was gouged into the northwestern part of the mound by Chatham County, probably in 1911 (Waring: 224-225).

The first excavation trench on the site, 5-feet wide, was laid out north-south between T0 and T1. This was designed to bisect the mound north-south and continue in both directions. The portion of the trench north of the **Large Mound** was called the **North Correlation Trench**, while the portion to the south of the mound was called the **South Correlation Trench**. Areas of possible post molds were soon found in the periphery of the mound in both directions. These areas were prematurely labeled the **North House** and the **South House**. With hindsight, neither of these likely were actual house structures. I do not have maps of these posts.

Only a small portion of the extant artifact collection is designated using Holder's grid system. This is not too surprising, given that he left on January 28, 1938, only about 10 or 15 percent into the project. No screening of the soil for artifact recovery was utilized in these or any of the later excavations.

The Polar System

After Preston Holder left Irene, his unwieldy grid and artifact recording system was quickly canned in favor of another system, put in place by the new director, Vladimir Fewkes. The exact date of the new grid's final implementation is not clear, and its use was not an immediate success either. Fewkes implemented a polar system for artifact location data. The Fewkes map discussed above (Figure 10) is dated to March 11, 1938. A note on the upper left edge of the map in Fewkes handwriting says "Old system, now being replaced by the polar method."

The polar grid was referenced to a stake in the southeastern part of the site, on the bank of the Savannah River, arbitrarily designated Zero North, Zero West. Measurements, of course, were in feet. Grid stakes were placed about every 100 feet from this reference point, and were appropriately labeled. Unfortunately, nowhere in the existing notes is the exact horizontal relationship between the old T-S grid and the new Polar grid are recorded. The T0/S0 stake of the old grid appears to have been very near 700 North, 300 West in the new grid, but probably not exactly at this location.

While this new Polar grid system was a logical and welcome improvement over the Holder system, its use by Fewkes apparently created huge new problems for the excavators. In order to obtain exact grid coordinates to map individual points or artifacts within the system, Fewkes, who apparently was a stickler for detail, used a team of no fewer than seven people to stretch tapes at consistent right angles from lines established by the grid of stakes. The work of mapping in this manner was, thus, very inefficient, fraught with great potential for error, and

much hated by the crews. This caused some of the field workers to continue using the old Holder system at the same time, and the notes to grid references are thus schizophrenic during Fewkes tenure.

Fewkes, of course, left at the end of May, 1938, after an intensive four months in charge of the site. He was replaced by Claude Schaeffer, who maintained the Polar grid, but dropped the system of point recording implemented by Fewkes. In its stead, he let the surveyors implement a set of survey reference stations within the grid, from which angles off of north and distances measured in feet were recorded for all plotted features and artifacts. This began with the first reference stations placed on June 15 of 1938. New reference stations were added by the surveyors as needed. These eventually numbered 45, and I have been able to determine, with much study, pain and confusion of the available notes, the exact North and West polar grid coordinates of all of these reference Mapping Stations. The locations of all the Mapping Stations as I have culled them from many sources in the notes are presented here in Appendix 1. The table lists both the original West coordinate and a new East version made necessary for modern mapping software. This will be explained further below. These were invaluable in eventually remapping the many excavated features and areas of the site.

Chapter 5

Chronology of Archaeological Work at Irene

The Irene site was excavated for approximately 27 months continuously. The only other site in Georgia to receive such intense long-term excavation, even to the present time, was the Macon Plateau site, Arthur Kelly's major WPA project. Ocmulgee became a U.S. National Monument. Irene became a parking lot. The day to day field notes for Irene are extensive, but often confusing and frustratingly incomplete. What I wish to present here is a shortened synopsis of the excavations at Irene so readers can better understand the Caldwell and McCann report, and as an important part of the history of this important archaeological site.

The format I have chosen is to present a short narrative overview by month for the duration of the project. While this does not produce an exhaustive history of the excavations, I believe it does give the reader a decent feeling for the project. It is based entirely on the extant field notes for the site, now curated at the University of Georgia Laboratory of Archaeology in Athens.

It is perfectly apparent that the thread that held the entire project together during its entire duration was Joseph Caldwell. He was young and had only limited archaeological experience when the project started. By the end of the project he had become an excellent field archaeologist and went on to a distinguished and brilliant career for another 30 plus years.

October 1937

Preston Holder was the first director and Joseph Caldwell was his assistant when the project began on the 4th of October, 1937. The first site grid was installed by Robert Banks, and

the first excavation consisted of clearing the slumped earth on the northern face of the **Large Mound**. This had been raided for earth fill by Chatham County in 1911, and had been dug through by local kids and others for years since then (Waring 1968). Five excavation units were placed at random locations in the area around the mound. The most important early excavations were centered on what was called the **North-South Correlation Trench**. Although I do not have any proof, this sounds very much like a suggestion made to Holder by Arthur Kelly, since the Macon Plateau site (9BI1) was excavated with many such “correlation” trenches, and Kelly was nominally in charge of Holder in Georgia. The first Irene **Correlation Trench** was 5-feet wide and laid out north-south directly through the middle of the **Large Mound**. Excavation were begun just north of the **Large Mound** and run to the north away from it. Some excavation was conducted in the correlation trench south of the **Large Mound**, but the mound itself was not immediately bisected by the trench. Thus there were actually two separate trenches involved here. A number of post molds were located in the northern trench and this area was quickly labeled the **North House** as mentioned above, although this terminology was later abandoned. The first of what became many Caucasian burials (Rae and Elbert families) was found in the northern edge of the Mound. Waring has a long and important account of these (Waring 1968). Several profiles of the ca. 3 foot deep trench were made on the northern side. Finally, it was discovered that the grid was badly laid out by Banks, and a new surveyor, Mr. Clark, was brought in to clean up the mess and start over.

November 1937

Excavation continued on the **Correlation Trenches**, both north and south of the Mound.

Yet another surveyor was brought in to attempt to straighten out the badly installed grid, Waldo A. Rogers. Rogers was able to straighten the system out and continued as the main surveyor and mapper for almost all of the next two years. The **South Correlation Trench** was extended all the way to the depression south of the site, and a number of areas of daub were located along the length of the trench. Excavations in the bank of the depression in the extreme south produced much pottery, presumably thrown there by the Indians. The trench was extended south of the depression near the parking area, but very little material was located there. Caucasian burials 2-6 were recovered in the **Large Mound**, on its northern side. Excavations across the exposed northern face of the mound were made, and these were stair-stepped to prevent collapsing of the profiles. Finally, excavations were started on what was called the **Burial Mound** just west of the **Large Mound**. A trench was dug to the west of the **Large Mound** that was placed in such a way as to just contact the extreme northern edge of the shell-filled **Burial Mound**. Excavations in this area were apparently made in 3-inch levels.

December 1937

Work continued slowly in the **Burial Mound**, and the first five burials in it were located during November. Excavation continued on the northern side of the **Large Mound**, and three more Caucasian burials were located there. A 15 by 5 foot strata block was excavated in the northern edge of the **Large Mound**. The so-called **North House** was abandoned and refilled. One area of daub in the **South Trench** was labeled the **South House**, although it was also poorly understood. Significant work was conducted on the dirt road leading to the parking area south of the site in order to make it more passable by normal vehicles.

January 1938

Work continued on the northern edge of the **Large Mound**, and Caucasian burial 10 was recovered there. Work also continued slowly on the northern edge of the **Burial Mound**. Exposure of the daub that was assumed to define the **South House** was continued. Burials were also located in this area, but the actual structure and orientation of the house continued to elude the excavators. A wooden roof was planned for the area, but I am not sure it was ever built. A new trench, variously called the **South Lateral Trench** or the **Southwest Correlation Trench** was started to the west from the main North-South line about 100 feet south of the **Large Mound** (the T-30 line in the original grid). Finally, Preston Holder left the site and Vladimir Fewkes took over the director's position on the 20th of the month. Joe Caldwell continued as assistant.

February 1938

Excavations in the **South House** became very confusing, with multiple daub layers overlapping each other and no clear house patterns being exposed. I believe that neither the very youthful Caldwell, nor the European-trained Fewkes seemed up to understanding this difficult situation. Fewkes had the rest of the trees cut from the summit of the **Large Mound**, and began some explorations there. The excavators soon found the remains of the **Irene School House** on the **Large Mound**, placed there in the early 1740s by the Moravian missionaries. Many local dignitaries began coming out to see the excavated remains of the school and its cellar that had been dug into the mound summit. In the northern edge of the **Large Mound** there were only three stages revealed in the profiles. Many posts in the area under the northern edge were

eventually determined to be root stains. Work continued on the **Burial Mound**, and another burial was recovered from it. Excavation squares in the southern depression area filled with water, and the lack of a pump halted further activity there. Lowery Axley, a local professional photographer, began taking photographs of the excavations. Fewkes began to examine other sites on the Georgia Coast, especially near Cox, Georgia. He seemed to enjoy his role as a dignitary, and accepted many invitations by people who wished to meet him.

March 1938

During March the money available to hire labor apparently was somewhat decreased. Very limited excavation was undertaken on the **Burial Mound**. By the end of the month they began calling this the **Cemetery**, since they were apparently not sure if the small knoll here was natural or man-made. Caldwell later concluded that it was entirely made by the Indians. Some work also continued on the summit of the **Large Mound**. Additionally, new trenches were made in the western part of the site. The public started visiting in droves as spring approached. On some Sundays over 600 people toured the site. Axley continued to take many photographs of the excavations. Antonio Waring was home on vacation from Yale and worked closely with Fewkes and Caldwell attempting to replicate Fiber-Tempered pottery. News of their successes (but not their failures!) was reported in the local Savannah newspapers. Jim Mallory, a retired amateur archaeologist, took dictation notes for Caldwell at the site and they developed a friendship. Fewkes started spending even more time away from the site, and Caldwell was placed even more in charge of the day-to-day activities at the site. A *Look Magazine* photographer showed up to take photos for an article in that magazine. Overall, it seems more energy was going into public

relations than archaeology during this month.

April 1938

More of the same in April. The Governor of Georgia visited. Fewkes was invited by and visited the President of the University of Georgia, Harmon W. Caldwell, in Athens. It seemed that everyone wanted to be involved. Research partners from the University of Georgia and from Georgia Tech were promised. Most of this went nowhere, however. The number of Sunday visitors peaked at a phenomenal 1600 on April 17. Some pottery making experiments continued during the month. Excavations on the **Large Mound** continued sporadically, and some excavations were conducted on a so-called dam at the mouth of the southern depression. Ship ballast was located here, and the conclusion was that this was part of an early system of water control for rice agriculture in the back swamps of the Savannah River. There was a recorded 1834 wooden dam at the main mouth Pipemaker's Creek on the northern side of the site for this purpose. This control dam was rebuilt in 1907 with concrete, and repaired in 1911 (when the northern edge of the **Large Mound** was damaged). A long excavation trench was put in here in the extreme southeastern part of the site. Some limited excavation was conducted in the northwestern part of the site near one of the borrow pits. In the middle of the month the new Polar Grid system was implemented over the site by the surveyors at Fewkes behest.

May 1938

The crew continued to be quite small because of money limitations. At one point there were almost as many supervisors as there were laborers! All the laborers were male Caucasians

at this time, unlike the assumption of most people that the Irene crew was exclusively one consisting of African American females. Not much work was conducted on the **Large Mound** this month, although another Caucasian burial was located in it. There was some stripping conducted in areas just north and south of the **Cemetery**, and three more burials were located in there. Fewkes was gone for over half the month, and Caldwell, with Mallory as his assistant, was in full charge of the site work. It seems that Fewkes was so hands-off that he probably knew very little about the site itself. He seemed to have been just biding his time.

June 1938

Vladimir Fewkes left the site permanently on June 2, returning to Philadelphia. I do not know why. I do now know that he applied for the new archaeology position at the University of Georgia that went to Robert Wauchope instead (Fewkes letters from University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives). He was replaced on June 10 by Claude Schaeffer as new Director. Caldwell continued to act as his the Assistant, but his role in the project was clearly almost irreplaceable by that point--he was the only one who knew what was going on. Again, as in May, relatively little work was conducted at the site during June. Some topographic mapping was conducted in the southwestern part of the site, and some mapping was conducted in the **Cemetery** area. The first date for the formal Polar Grid mapping was June 15. Mapping continued regularly until December 1939. Some limited excavation was also conducted northwest of the **Cemetery**, and single burial was located on the southern end of the site near the depression. Axley took a few more photographs near the end of the month. Schaeffer and Caldwell spent a good deal of time developing plans for the next three months work, during which a larger crew was anticipated.

July 1938

Antonio Waring arrived home to Savannah from Yale for the summer on July 5, ready to help Caldwell and Schaeffer. The mapping and surveying crew began an intensive new campaign on July 6 that ran continuously for the next 18 months. As explained in another section of this report the surveyors jettisoned Fewkes impossibly complicated mapping system, while retaining the polar grid for mapping. This consisted of recording angles and distances from known grid points (Stations). Work was resumed on the **Large Mound**, and another Caucasian burial (Number 14) was recovered. A bit more work was also conducted on the **Moravian Schoolhouse** on the summit. The area of the **South House** was recleared, and mapping and testing was expanded in the area southwest of the **Large Mound**. Unlike Fewkes, Schaeffer was apparently not very involved with the public, although it is not really clear how involved he was with the site itself. The notes are almost entirely by Caldwell at this point.

August 1938

The most important project this month was the excavation of the **Mortuary**, begun and led by Antonio Waring on August 9. This was first called the **West House**, then the **Southwest House**, and then the **Ossuary**, before the name **Mortuary** became the accepted name for this famous feature, a term I still find too ambiguous to explain this unique feature. A low rise had been mapped some 170 feet southwest of the **Large Mound** and when the area was tested it quickly became apparent that this (the **Mortuary**) was the most interesting area of the entire site. The majority of this feature was uncovered by the end of August. Additional work was conducted clearing out the portion of the **Cemetery (Burial Mound)** looted by Clarence B

Moore in 1898. Additional work was also conducted in the southwestern slope of the **Large Mound**, including the **South House** and in the northwestern part of the site. Catherine McCann's name appears for the first time in the notes as removing one of the Caucasian burials from the **Large Mound**.

September 1938

It is unclear when Waring left the project, but probably it was in early September. Much effort was made in drawing and photographing the **Mortuary** during this month, however. The cleaning out of C. B. Moore's looting in the **Cemetery (Burial Mound)** was almost completed. Additional effort was made on the old area of the **South House**, which was renamed the **Town House** (not the **Rotunda**) during September. There were still problems defining the structure, however. Excavations began on the intact southwestern corner of the **Large Mound** in conjunction with the work on the **Town House**. Caldwell was clearly beginning to struggle with the complex sequence of stages being revealed in that portion of the mound. In fact, the neat sequence of stages he presents in the final report did not become clear to him until over a year later.

October 1938

Work during this month was a continuation of September's work on completing the **Mortuary** and trying to understand the **Town House** and the stages of the adjacent **Large Mound**. In the **Mortuary**, more photographs were made, and the burials and vessels were finally removed. Additional work on the mound was carried out in its southeastern portion.

Since the northwestern part of the **Large Mound** had been mostly destroyed, Caldwell apparently realized that the southern portions presented were his only chance to understand the structure of the mound. This was complicated by the fact that much of the mound fill consisted of shell layers that often seemed to show no discernable patterns in their distribution.

November 1938

Work this month was still on the **Town House** and the southwestern part of the **Large Mound**. The work on the **Town House** (old **South House**) was expanded well to the south and the excavators located the first of the many walls in what later would be called the **Rotunda**. Unfortunately, this merely confused the issue further at that time, and these walls were also called part of the **Town House**. This causes the notes for this period to be extremely confusing. By the end of the month most of the concentric circular walls of the **Rotunda** had been recognized, if not mapped.

December 1938

The crew size was getting much smaller as winter approached. The only work accomplished during December was a continuation of work on the southwestern section of the **Large Mound**, and additional clearing of the walls in the **Rotunda** area well to the south.

January 1939

During this month work on the **Large Mound** was moved away from the southern part to the summit and northwestern parts. Photographs were made of the **Rotunda** area. Also the

outside circular walls of the **Mortuary** were defined and excavated. Additionally, some of the so-called **Shell Layers** south of the **Mortuary** were excavated. These were discrete shell-midden piles, many of which were later found scattered in an arc over the entire western and northwestern parts of the site. At some uncertain point during January, Claude Schaeffer left the project for good and returned to Pennsylvania. The young Joe Caldwell, now with sufficient experience and maturity, was left in complete charge for the final year of the Irene project. He was indeed the institutional memory for the project by that point. Catherine McCann began recording notes on January 26th, and presumably acted as his assistant for the remainder of the project.

February 1939

Work continued on the summit and the northwestern section of the **Large Mound**. Excavations also continued in the areas on the periphery of the **Mortuary**, especially to the east and west of it. Additional work was conducted on the **Shell Layers** (middens) south of the **Mortuary**. One additional burial was removed from the **Burial Mound**.

March 1939

Work in March was much the same as February. Work continued on the **Large Mound** summit and the northwestern quadrant. The **Shell Layers** in the area around the **Mortuary** were further excavated and mapped. The majority of new excavations were in the southwestern part of the site, as the crew chased the numerous shell deposits that were continually being revealed by excavations there. Additionally, a few burials were located in this newly explored area of the

site.

April 1939

Some additional work was continued on the **Large Mound** summit in April. More effort was expended exposing walls in the vicinity of the **Mortuary**, and over 30 additional burials were located between the circular walls that had been defined. Excavations north of the **Burial Mound** also began in earnest during this month. These excavation areas, defined as N-1, N-2, etc., were apparently defined somewhat randomly. I do not know why the letter N was chosen, but it might stand for North. They were not regularly shaped, nor were they bounded as rectangular areas within the polar grid. Based upon examination of photographs, it may be that the shapes and limits of these areas were determined by the existing trees in this area. Some pottery vessels were located in N-3. In the area west of the **Mortuary**, Shell Layer O-16 was excavated. Finally, much work was conducted in the area of the **Rotunda** and just north of it. This included reexposing the walls and pedestaling them for photographs.

May 1939

Work continued in the so-called N areas northwest of the **Burial Mound**, and several more vessels were recovered there. A structure labeled **Feature 61** was also excavated there during this period. Excavations continued on the **Large Mound** summit, and several burials were removed from the **Burial Mound**. Area excavations continued in the western part of the site in the **Shell Layers** ("O" areas), and work also continued just north of the **Rotunda**. In short, this was a very active month in the project. They were seriously working to excavate the

entire periphery of the site as well as intensively working on the **Large Mound**.

June 1939

During this month, the excavations on the summit of the **Large Mound** were taken finally down to what Caldwell eventually defined as Mound I (meaning Mound Stage 1). Excavations in the northwestern part of the site continued, and the **Feature 61** Structure was further defined. A bit more cleaning of C. B. Moore's pit in the **Burial Mound** took place, and the floor of the **Mortuary** was excavated further. Finally, stripping excavations in the western part of the site continued. The number of burials discovered on the site increased by almost 30 during the month.

July 1939

Caldwell and McCann were rejoined by Waring by July 17th, and the first mention of the presence of physical anthropologist Fred Hulse in the notes was on July 27th. Waring presumably was still very interested in the **Mortuary**, and photographs of it with the postholes all excavated out were made during this month. More work was conducted on Stage I in the **Large Mound**, and more intensive excavations in the remainder of the **Burial Mound** were undertaken. The **Shell Layers** (now called **Shell Areas**) in the western part of the site continued to be excavated. Most of these were first defined, and then excavated in smaller 3-foot square sub-sections. An additional 15 burials were recovered, pushing the total number to near 200 at that point. A new structure called the **North House** was defined during the month, but it unclear if this is the same as the **Feature 61** structure located earlier. It is apparently not the same as the

aborted **North House** defined back in October of 1937.

August 1939

There is no clear indication that Waring was still at the site by August. Work continued on the new **North House** and on the **Burial Mound**, where more shell layers were removed. A bit of additional work was conducted on Stage I in the **Large Mound**, and even on the sub-mound area. The majority of the effort, however, was in the western part of the site where the **Shell Areas** were continuing to be defined, subdivided, and excavated. By the end of the month **Shell Area O-24** had been excavated.

September 1939

Work continued on defining the Pre-Mound structure under the **Large Mound**. Total excavation of the mound was nearing completion. This mound remains the most completely excavated mound in Georgia, and one the very few in the Southeast. An additional Caucasian burial was located all the way down in the Pre-Mound area. More work was conducted on removing sand and shell layers in the **Burial Mound**. Shell Layer 40 was excavated in the western part of the site. In the **Rotunda** area to the south, some trees were cut in the extreme southern part of the site in order to complete the excavation of several of the circular walls traced into that area. These walls were cleaned and pedestaled, just as the others had already been prepared. Excavated burials numbered 226 by the end of the month. A few pottery vessels were removed from area N-16 in the northwestern part of the site. This was the final month in which significant new excavations taking place.

October 1939

During this month, cleanup and photography took place on several locations around the site. These included the final work on the **Rotunda**, the **Burial Mound**, and a pre-mound structure under the **Large Mound**. **Feature 26**, a rectangular structure located where the earlier **South House / Town House** had been roughly defined, was finally understood, drawn, and photographed. This must have given Caldwell some pleasure, since the area had been poorly understood for a full two years. Only a couple of additional burials were recovered during October, and the formal notes end on October 23.

November 1939

Although I have no excavator field notes, nor any indications that actual excavations took place, there are notes from the surveyors showing that mapping of features in the **Burial Mound** and the **Rotunda** areas continued sporadically throughout this month.

December 1939

Likewise, there are a few surveyor notes for mapping that took place, again in the **Burial Mound** and the **Rotunda**, that continued through December 18. This was the final day for which I have any indication that any field work took place at the Irene mound. After this point in time, the area and site apparently lay unexamined until it was finally completely destroyed, apparently during the war that soon was to involve America and the rest of the world.

Chapter 6

History of the Archaeological Collections Since 1940

At an uncertain date after 1940 the bulk of the Irene archaeological collection was transferred from the Irene Laboratory in downtown Savannah to Ocmulgee National Monument in Macon, Georgia. I am uncertain if this happened at about 1940, or if it was at the creation of the Ocmulgee Museum building ca. 1950. If it was the latter, then the collections would have been housed at some unknown location in Savannah for the duration of the war and afterwards. I suspect that the collection went to Macon about 1940, however. It is true that some of the collection was used in Savannah for displays, and some of this material may still be in scattered hands there now. It is also likely that many field notes and maps never made it to Macon.

In early February of 1964 all the human skeletal material from Irene (and many other Georgia WPA sites) was transferred from Ocmulgee National Monument in Macon to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, where they are still cared for. In the spring or summer of 1973, all of the remaining artifacts and the extant field notes from Irene were transferred to the University of Georgia Laboratory of Archaeology in the basement of Baldwin Hall, on the campus in Athens. This was just about the time the Southeast Archeological of the National Park Service was moved from Macon to Tallahassee. The Irene materials were transferred to Athens to be studied by Joseph Caldwell, the chief acknowledged excavator of the site, then a full professor of Anthropology in the Department of Anthropology. Graduate student Chester DePratter began working on the collections with Caldwell during that summer and fall. Caldwell sadly died of heart disease in mid-December of 1973, however, and the project basically floundered at that point. DePratter continued, out of pure loyalty to his and my mentor Joe

Caldwell, to work on a report on the smaller Chatham County sites that he finally was able to publish in 1991 (DePratter 1991)

The collection of original negatives and photographs from the Irene collection was never transferred from Macon to Athens, however. These were transferred to the Southeast Archeological Center in Tallahassee, and they remain there to this day. When the Baldwin Hall archaeology lab was closed in 1995, the collection in Athens was moved to the new location of the Laboratory of Archaeology in the Riverbend North Research Laboratory facility on the southeastern edge of the UGA campus. The collection was also transferred into new bags and boxes at the same time, the old ones badly falling apart by that time. The collections were once again transferred to UGA's new Laboratory of Archaeology location at Whitehall, further southeast of Athens, in the fall of 2018.

At some point over the years, virtually all of the flat maps from the Irene site were lost. They apparently did not come from Macon to Athens, and it is quite possible they never even made it to Macon. A tantalizing few were located in the papers of the late Roy Dickens, who was professor of Anthropology at Georgia State University and then the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill during the 1970s and 1980s. How he gained possession of these maps is unknown. These are now with the rest of the surviving notes in Athens. The good news is that, since almost all of the original field survey records are in the notes in Athens, I was able to reconstitute a great many of the maps. As reported above I discovered one important map in 2018 in the papers of Vladimir Fewkes. Perhaps others will eventually be recovered.

It is also clear that there were many other auxiliary field notes that were lost over the years. The narrative notes are mostly present, but these often refer to other sets of notes

including: Detail Sheets, Profiles, Location Sheets, and Burial Sheets. I have a few of the Profile Sheets for the first five months of the dig, but all later ones are missing. I assume the Location Sheets are the lost flat maps, but I am not sure what Detail Sheets were. Although I lack formal Burial sheets with drawings, there is much other data about the burials present in the overall collection.

Incidentally, there are a few maps and other items in the files of the Georgia Historical Society in Savannah. Some of these have been copied for inclusion with the notes curated in Athens. Finally, persistent rumors of notes still in the hands of private families and individuals in the Savannah area abound. Perhaps more of this invaluable data will still come to light over the next few years.

The original photographs of the excavation were mostly made on nitrate base 4 by 5 inch format. By the 1980s these were badly shrinking were a fire hazard. The Southeast Archaeological Center chose to make 35 mm copies of all the original negatives and dispose of the originals. These 35 mm negatives have been transferred now to Athens with the rest of the collection. Sadly the vast majority of the 35 mm negatives were either under or over exposed. I have cleaned many with Photoshop, but most cannot be salvaged. None of the images in the published Caldwell and McCann report are present in the available 35 mm copy negatives.

All of the collections in Athens are now curated in accord with federal standards for curation of archaeological collections and are there for study by future archaeologists.

Chapter 7

Problems with the Artifact Collections

One of the most disappointing aspects of our initial work with the Irene collection was that there was no extant complete artifact or provenience catalog available. I have been forced, therefore, to create one over our years of work on the collection. This has been almost impossible. There are several possible reasons why no single catalog or list of proveniences existed at the time we began this project. First, the fact that there were several different directors of the project, as already explained, led to much confusion about artifact and provenience recording information. The first system, set up by Preston Holder, used Trench and Section (T & S) references to define the locations of artifacts. These were written directly on some artifacts in the collection, but no catalog per se was apparently ever created by Holder for these artifacts—or it is now lost. Ultimately, only a small fraction of the entire collection was marked with the Holder T & S system, however. The designations on these artifacts are quickly recognizable and relatively easily located on the site by reference to his grid. All of the items he recorded also included the label SI, which I now know meant Site 1, presumably in Chatham County. The use of the Roman numeral I, which is the capital letter i on a typewriter, caused much confusion through the years. Some people speculated that it stood for the Smithsonian Institution, while others thought it might refer to St. Simons Island.

When Vladimir Fewkes became Director of the project at the end of January, 1938, he implemented an artifact system that was an unmitigated disaster from the point of view of modern archaeology. The one good thing about his system was that artifacts were now labeled with the site designation Ch1, the first site in Chatham County rather than with the confusing SI.

Unfortunately, this New System labeled artifacts based upon an artifact typological system, with only limited reference to the original provenience of the artifact.

Artifacts were labeled CH1- plus two other numbers, each separated by a dash. The second part of the overall number was a code number identifying the type of artifact. The numbers from 1 through 20 were reserved for pottery types. Apparently only 15 of these were used (the number 14 was used for ceramic pipe fragments and number 15 was used for intact or reconstructable pottery vessels). The number 21 was used for lithic items (rare at the site), the number 22 was used for clay (fired clay?) items (we are unsure what these were), the 30s were used for bone artifacts, and the 40s were used for shell items.

The third part of the number was an arbitrary number, which, with reference to the typed Catalog found in Folder 10 of Box 1 of the documentation on file at the UGA Laboratory of Archaeology. This Rosetta Stone document crudely listed the original provenience of each numbered artifact. Full designations such as Ch1-2-23 or Ch1-30-6 are examples found there. That catalog listed numbers designated through about 2/3 of the rest of project, but there are many numbers that are not in the catalog, and their exact proveniences are now completely lost.

The obvious problem with this system is that analytical groupings for curation were deemed more important than provenience groupings. All sherds categorized as Savannah Plain, for example, were stored together in one collection, regardless of their provenience. No archaeologist works this way now, nor was this method used at any other professional archaeological project of which I am aware. The bottom line is that every item from the site thus sorted, had to be laboriously resorted into the original provenience categories before any of it could be reanalyzed. This was a major effort that took months by dozens of UGA archaeology

students in the late 1990s. Thanks are over due to the many young archaeologists of the UGA Laboratory of Archaeology! We developed what was essentially a mail room strategy where some 3000 boxes in drawers were used as receptacles for each and every number regardless of ceramic type (the final number written on the sherd). These boxes could then be analyzed through standard modern archaeological analytical methods.

Another problem, of course, was that the ceramic types used for dividing the ceramic collection in the late 1930s were not necessarily those used today. The way the data had been forced into a limited number of ceramic types and stored by these types precluded any new initial analyses at all.

Specific provenience locations were thus listed many times in the Catalog, and our main problem was to create a new real catalog of unique proveniences. Modern computer programs certainly aided our effort to a degree—Excel to the rescue. Our problems were compounded, however, by the fact that undefined abbreviations were rampant in the data set, there had been little standardization of the presentation of provenience information in the catalog, and I was frequently uncertain if two entries that were similar were, in fact, the same provenience. Thus the process of creating a full and final site provenience list was a slow and laborious one. Even now, there are probably and will always be some uncertainties in it.

At some point the excavators began to deviate from the New System artifact provenience system implemented by Fewkes. It is unclear if this is a result of the constraints imposed by system, continued change in personnel at the site, loss of important catalog information, or a combination of all these reasons as well as others. The result, however, made our job even more complicated.

In studying the artifacts in the present collection, it became apparent that the labels on many of them did not correspond to either of the systems described thus far. While there were certainly bags that are completely unlabeled, and bags that were mixed and had to be redistributed, there were still many bags that looked as if are part of the New System, but with apparently later modifications to it.

For example, I believe that many sherds from large field excavation units, particularly those made while excavating the many stages of the **Large Mound**, were thrown into large peach baskets in the field and labeled, presumably with the intention that they would be sorted into types later and then listed as in the New System catalog. For some unknown reasons (perhaps lack of qualified people?) they were not sorted by ceramic types and thus added to the appropriate category in the New System, but were left in provenience-specific baskets and were numbered as if they were extensions on the New System! Numbers that begin with the capital letter A are part of this corrupted system. Numbers in the 60s were apparently from the **Large Mound** Inner Shell Flank II location. Numbers in the 70s were apparently from the **Large Mound** Sand and Clay Fills location. Numbers in the 80s were apparently from the **Large Mound** Inner Shell Flank III location. Numbers starting with A and in the 100s were perhaps from the **Large Mound** Basal Shell Cap. I have not yet discovered a provenience for the A90s.

If this was not confusing enough, there was additional strangeness about the A100s also. This is important to understand because a huge amount of the entire Irene collection consists of these sherds. It appears that sherds, without the A prefix, that are labeled 100-1 are from the **Large Mound** Inner Shell Flank III (the same as the A80s). The location 100-2 was from the **Large Mound** Inner Shell Flank II (the same as the A60s). For the number 100-3 I have not yet

discovered an associated location. This might be same as the A90s, for which I also do not know a location. The location 100-4 was on artifacts from the **Large Mound** Basal Shell Cap (the same location as the A100s). Artifacts labeled 100-5 were from the **Large Mound** Sand and Clay Fills (the same as the A70s).

At some point a different series of artifacts began to be labeled by N designations. These numbers seem to run from 1 through 32, as in N1 or N16. These, I now know, came from the so-called N numbered excavation areas in the northwestern part of the site. The location of each of these has now been mapped as part of our project. In any event, all the artifacts from N were segregated and analyzed separately.

There are also artifacts labeled with O designations. These numbers run from 1 through at least 32, and refer to shell midden deposits in the western part of the site. There were lettered subsections for many of these areas, such as O1a or O12z. I have also been able to map the locations of all these areas using the survey notes and these artifacts have been separately cataloged and analyzed.

Sadly, there is yet another system. Fortunately there are not many artifacts associated with it. Pottery vessels were designated A-15 plus a number for the location (we have not found such a catalog). The 15 logically fits into the New System for pottery vessels, but I do not know what the A means. The following prefixes were used before specific numbers presumably designating actual proveniences. B-1 plus a number was used for bone artifacts. B-2 plus a number was used for stone artifacts, while B-3 was used for shell artifacts (as in B-3-70). B-4 was used for pottery sherds (not vessels). B-5 was used for historic earthenware, B-6 was used for metal, and B-7 was used for wooden artifacts. I do not think this system was extensively

used.

Finally, there are some artifacts that have single numbers on them, without reference to any other location information. I list them in our complete provenience catalog, but have no way of knowing where they came from since the catalog for them is completely lost. Our final provenience catalog has 3048 entries from the entire Irene project.

Chapter 8

Mapping the Site Anew

When it became clear that almost none of the original field excavation maps were still available, the value of the maps published in the Caldwell and McCann report (1941), small though they were physically, became huge in terms of understanding the overall project. Figure 13 on Page 34 of their report (Caldwell and McCann 1941) is our only available map for the entire site (Figure 11 below). Virtually all other field maps have sadly been lost over the last 80 years. For use by myself and any others I have used *Photoshop* to create two other versions of this vital map. The first is Figure 12 below wherein the feature labels have been removed, and Figure 13 where both these labels and what I now know are the **Area O Shell Areas** have been removed. As will be explained later, these stippled area on the original map were unlabeled and undiscussed. When I used the original survey notes to remap many areas on the site it became clear that the stippled areas on the famous map were, indeed, the Area O shell midden areas. This discovery was a true eureka moment for me and opened the door to much of what follows in this report.

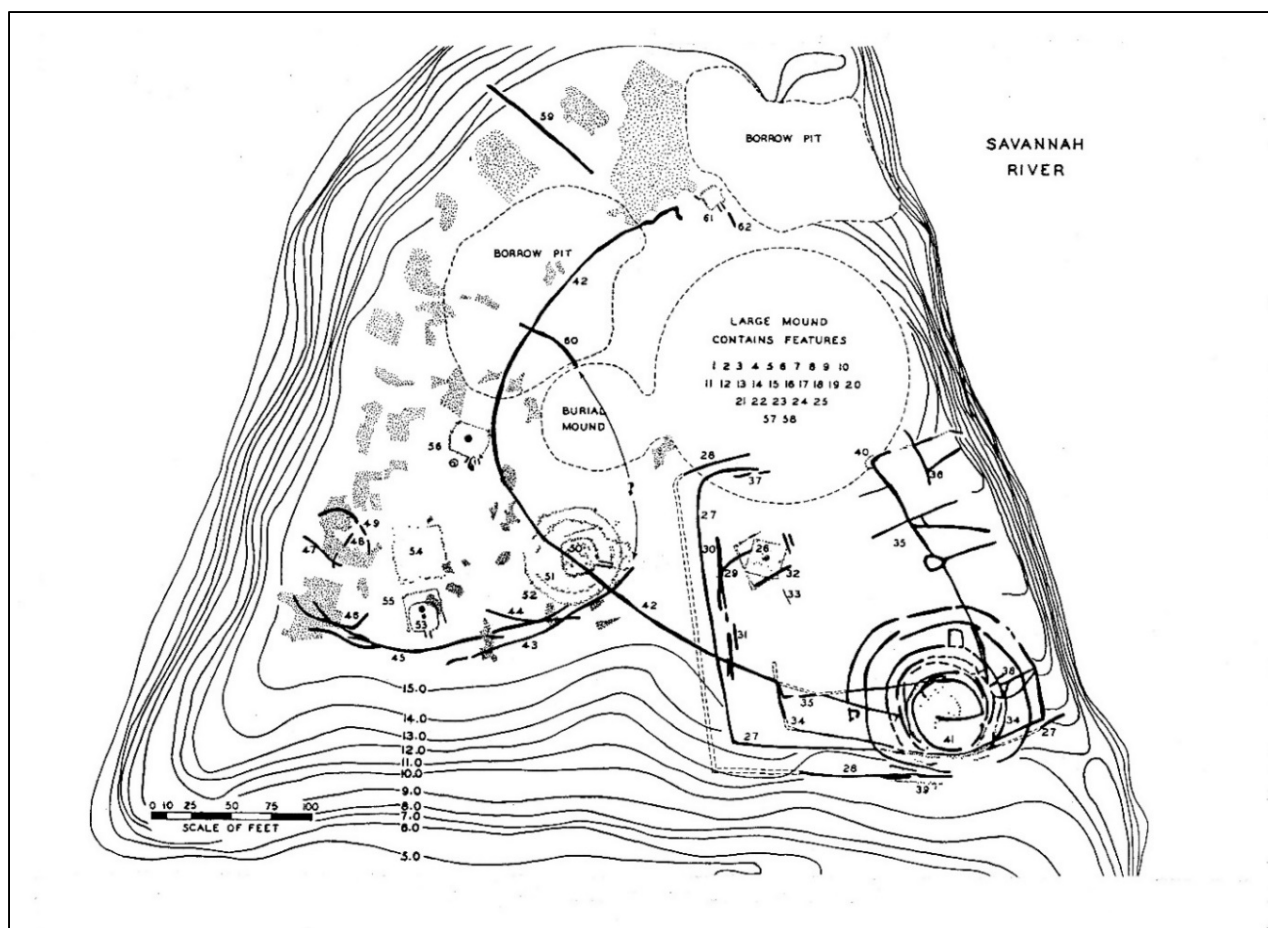


Figure 11. Caldwell and McCann's 1941 Map of Irene.

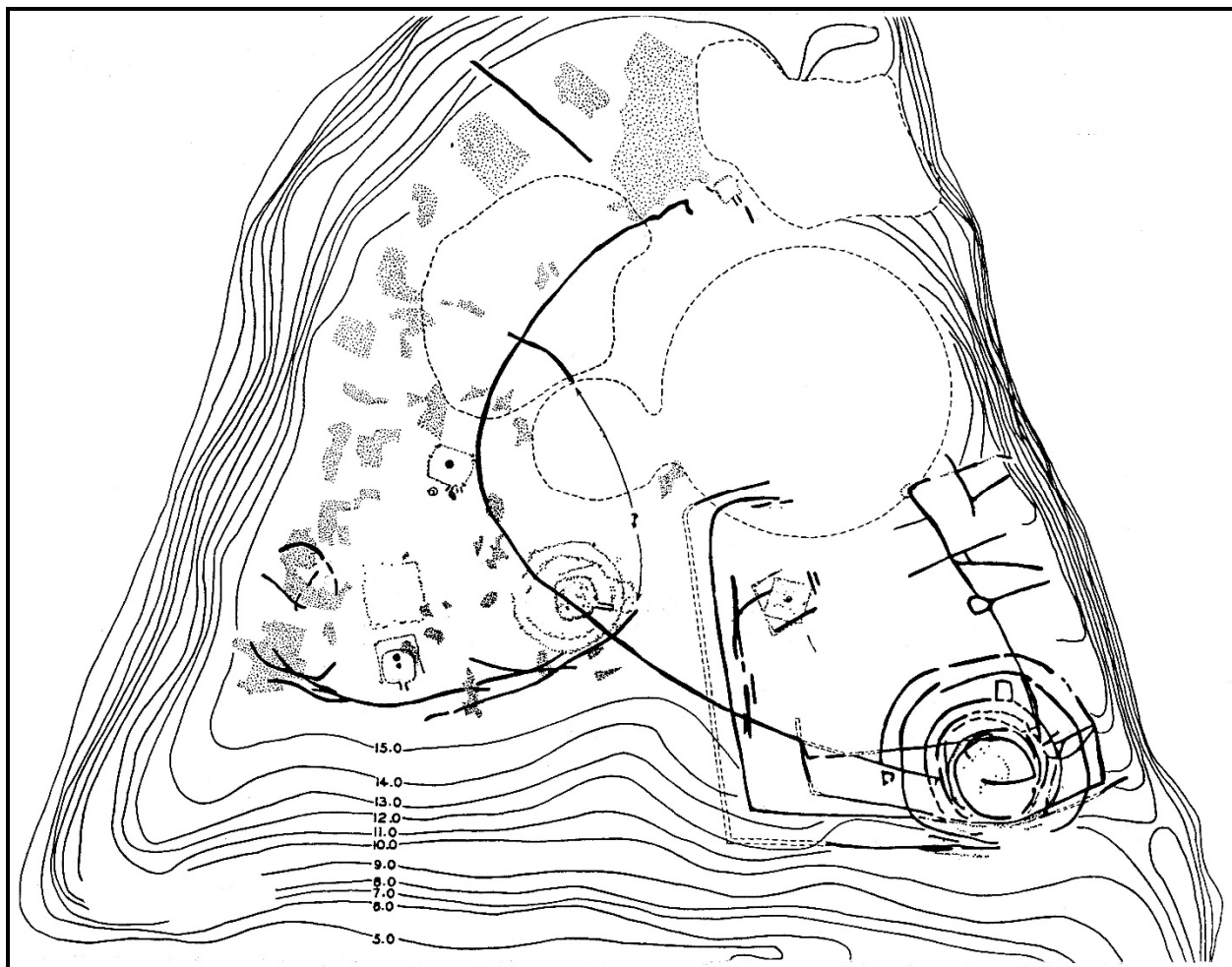


Figure 12. Caldwell and McCann's Map with No Feature Number Labels.

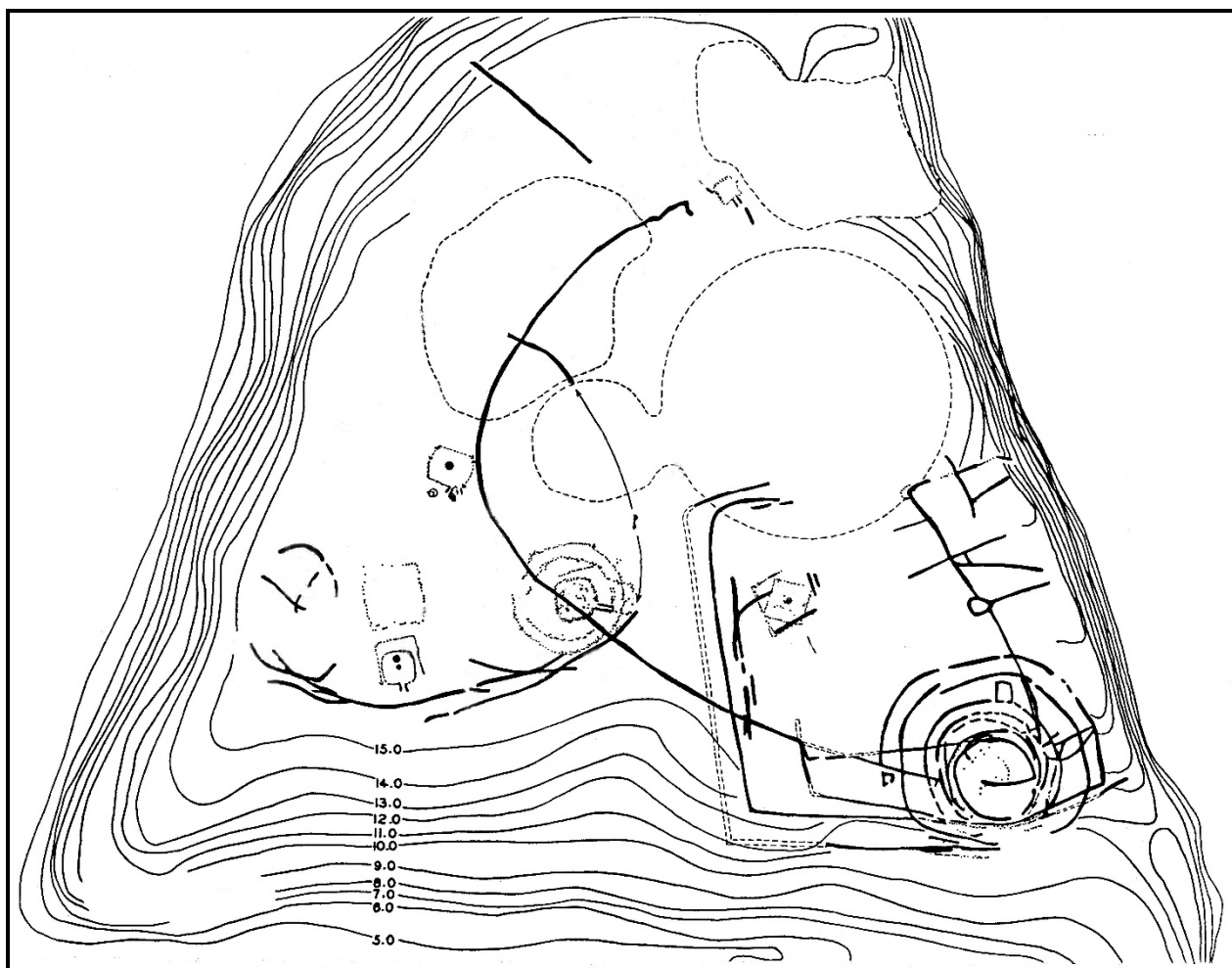


Figure 13. Caldwell and McCann's Map with no Feature Labels or Stippled Areas.

Although the Figure 11 map is an invaluable source of Irene data, there were many unanswered questions about it before the current project was initiated. For example, what are all those unlabeled stippled areas in the western and northwestern parts of the site? Where were the many N and O areas that are represented in the artifact collections located? Where do the feature numbers listed on the map come from? They are not represented as such almost anywhere in the notes or the extant collection. Where was the parking area and small office building known to have been built at the site located (They were eventually both found well south of the site in the

survey notes)? In short, I needed a new, more detailed map if possible.

I found the key to answering these and many other questions in the original surveyor's notes that were still present in the field notes. Some 640 typed survey sheets, covering the period from July 6, 1938 until December 18, 1939, are still extant. These sheets were of varying quality, but generally included the date, the numbered **Survey Station** from which the transit readings were made, the angle in degrees and distance in feet to particular mapped points, and a general description of what was being mapped in this manner. The names of the surveyor and the note takers usually were also recorded. I found that some of the sheets were duplicates of others, either in free hand or carbon copies of the typed survey notes. The total number of survey points thus recorded was 12,260. Incidentally, all the data from Irene was in feet and I have chosen to retain the English system throughout this work rather than converting everything to the metric system. All of these data are available to other researchers at the UGA Laboratory of Archaeology in Excel form.

The first task then was to create an inventory for the 640 mapping sheets. All the data was laboriously entered into a single huge Excel file. Also, it was essential to determine the location of the 45 reference Survey Stations used by the surveyors, and the appropriate North and West coordinates for each. By combing through all the extant field notes carefully, I eventually were finally able to recreate this critical list of Survey Station locations (see Appendix 1).

The next task was to prioritize the survey sheets for creating new maps. Mapping everything again would have an unbelievable amount of time. I put my emphasis on mapping items and features that were not well illustrated or mapped in the original report. For example, very little effort was directed toward remapping the Mortuary from the survey notes, since this

was already reasonably well documented in the Caldwell and McCann report.

I began by using the method presumably originally used by the 1930s mapping crews-- using a protractor and a ruler to plot each point on paper, measured from the 45 known **Control Points** previously placed on a sheet of gridded paper. This worked, but was obviously incredible slow and tedious. A simple Microsoft Excel macro, provided by Dennis Finch then of the Southeast Archeological Center in Tallahassee Florida, came to my rescue. I had to modify this macro, however, since it assumed the grid was in North and East coordinates (as do all modern mapping programs). The Irene polar grid, excavations, and notes assumed North and West coordinates. Once I modified this Excel macro it permitted me to enter the **Control Point** location, the angle, and the distance in feet from the individual survey sheets, and have the computer calculate the polar North and West coordinates for the survey point using simple trigonometry. To translate the full West coordinate grid points to mapable East coordinate points I decided to let Old Grid 350 West become 350 East so the new East coordinates were calculated in Excel by logically subtracting the old West locations from the number 700. Then it was a simple matter to plot each point on our new site map using *Surfer* from Golden Software, Inc., of Golden, Colorado. Over a few months I mapped a large percentage of the survey sheets and made some critical discoveries. Figure 14 shows all 12,260 mapped points with the East coordinate system.

The first thing I decided to use the newly acquired survey data for was to produce a new contour map of the entire area. Figure 15 shows Caldwell and McCann's map with everything removed except their contour lines. I know nothing of how this was originally contour map created since all earlier map drafts are lost. The contour intervals on Caldwell and McCann's

map were 1 foot. It is also clear that the contour lines on the relatively flat summit of the site area are simply missing. They presumably were deleted to make room for the mounds and other features on Caldwell and McCann's famous map. The lowest labeled contour line on Caldwell and McCann's map was 2.0 feet, while the highest was 15 feet. I do not know what reference point for their 0.0 foot level was, but it seems likely that it may have been the level of the Savannah River on a particular unknown day.

I used all of the 12,260 survey point locations and their recorded elevations to recreate contour maps of the Irene site. Using the computer program *Surfer* I have created a set of six maps presented below in Figures 16-21. These are presented in 2 foot (Figures 16-17), 1 foot (Figures 18-19), and 6 inches (Figures 20-21) intervals. Within each pair of figures, the first map is with simple contours, while the second is color-filled. I give all of these since each gives a slightly different impression of the site topography.

The area of the **Large Mound** in the contour maps is basically incoherent since it is likely that the points there represent points from many of the different levels as the mound was excavated from summit to base. It is also clear that the **Large Mound** was placed on the highest area of the Irene knoll adjacent to the Savannah River. It is further apparent that the site in general was placed in a location immediately south of Pipemaker's Creek and the back swamp of the Savannah to the west, which would have made the knoll an ideal location to have been defended from a possible land attack. In the northwestern part of the summit knoll was a low depression that angled southeast toward the **Large Mound**. This depression on the knoll was not noted in Caldwell and McCann's map or report unless this represents the Barrow Pit location for the 1911 Pipemaker's Creek dam.

The ravine to the south of the site knoll likely represents an earlier channel or mouth of Pipemaker's Creek, closed off by a natural levee buildup of the Savannah River at some unknown point in the past. Access to the site for excavation was from this area to the southeast. Parking and a small laboratory building were located southwest of the south ravine or depression where a small rectangle is noted on Figures 16-21.

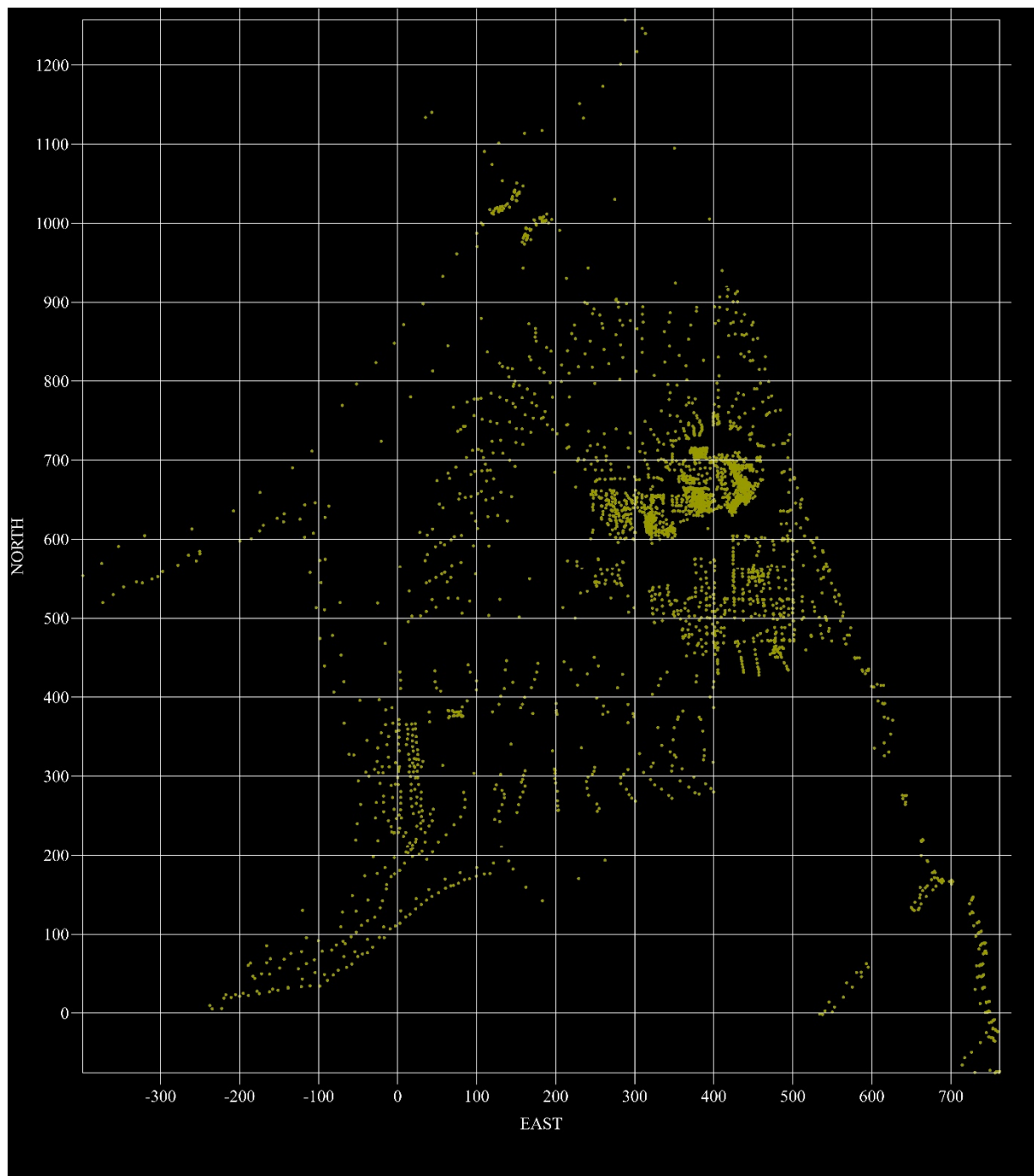


Figure 14. Location of the 12,260 Survey Points.

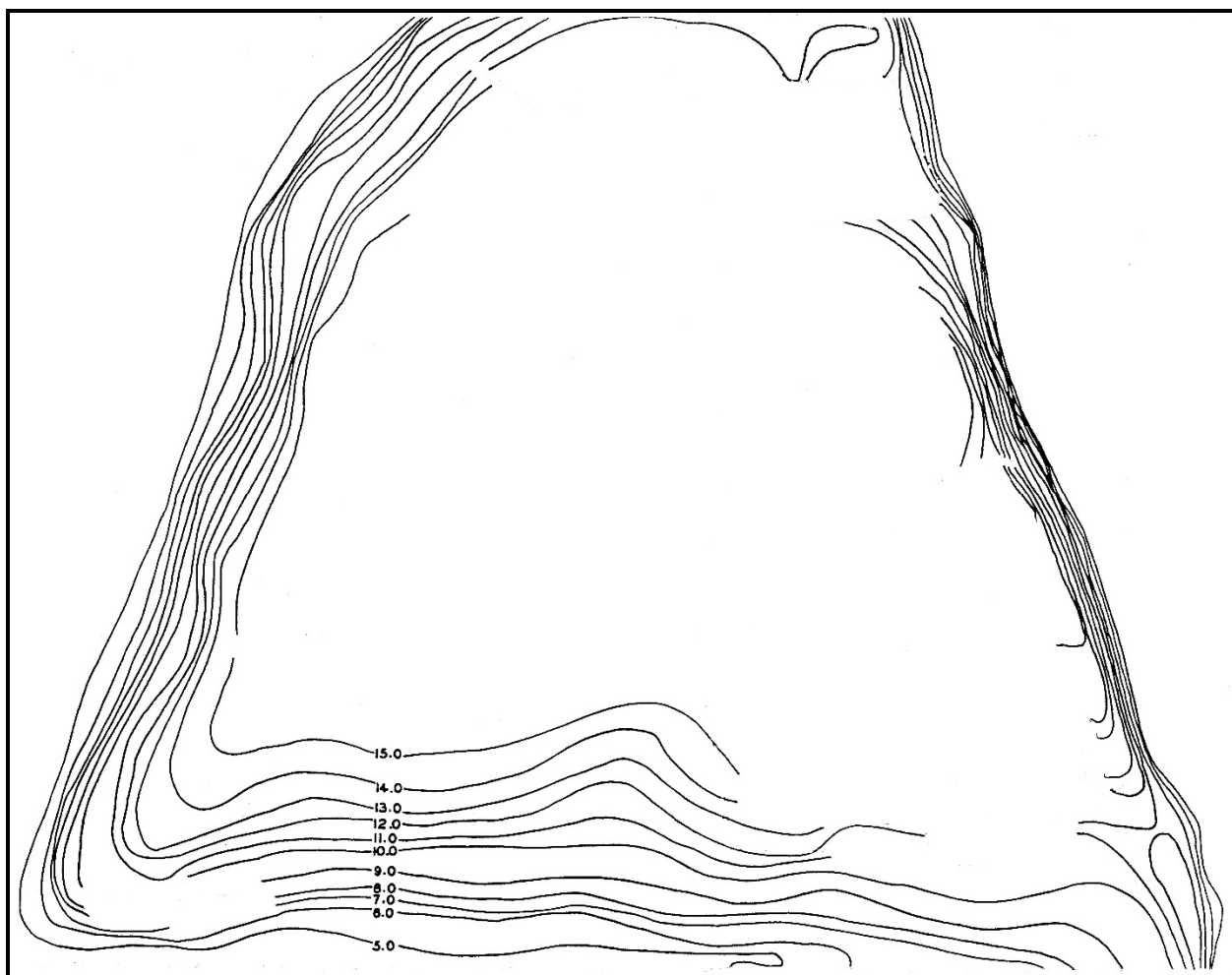


Figure 15. Caldwell and McCann's Map with just the Contours.

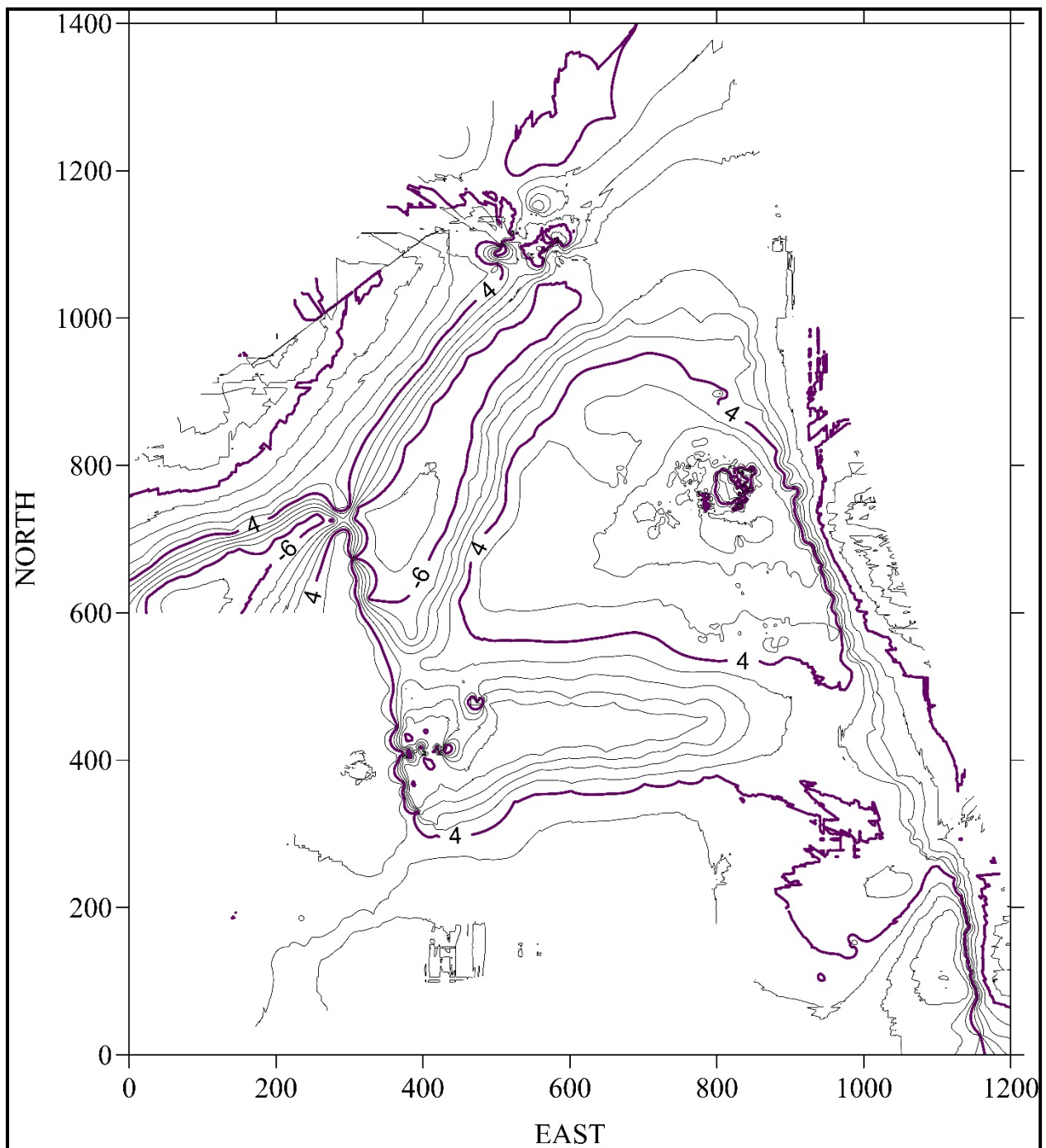


Figure 16. New Contour Map, 2 Foot Intervals.

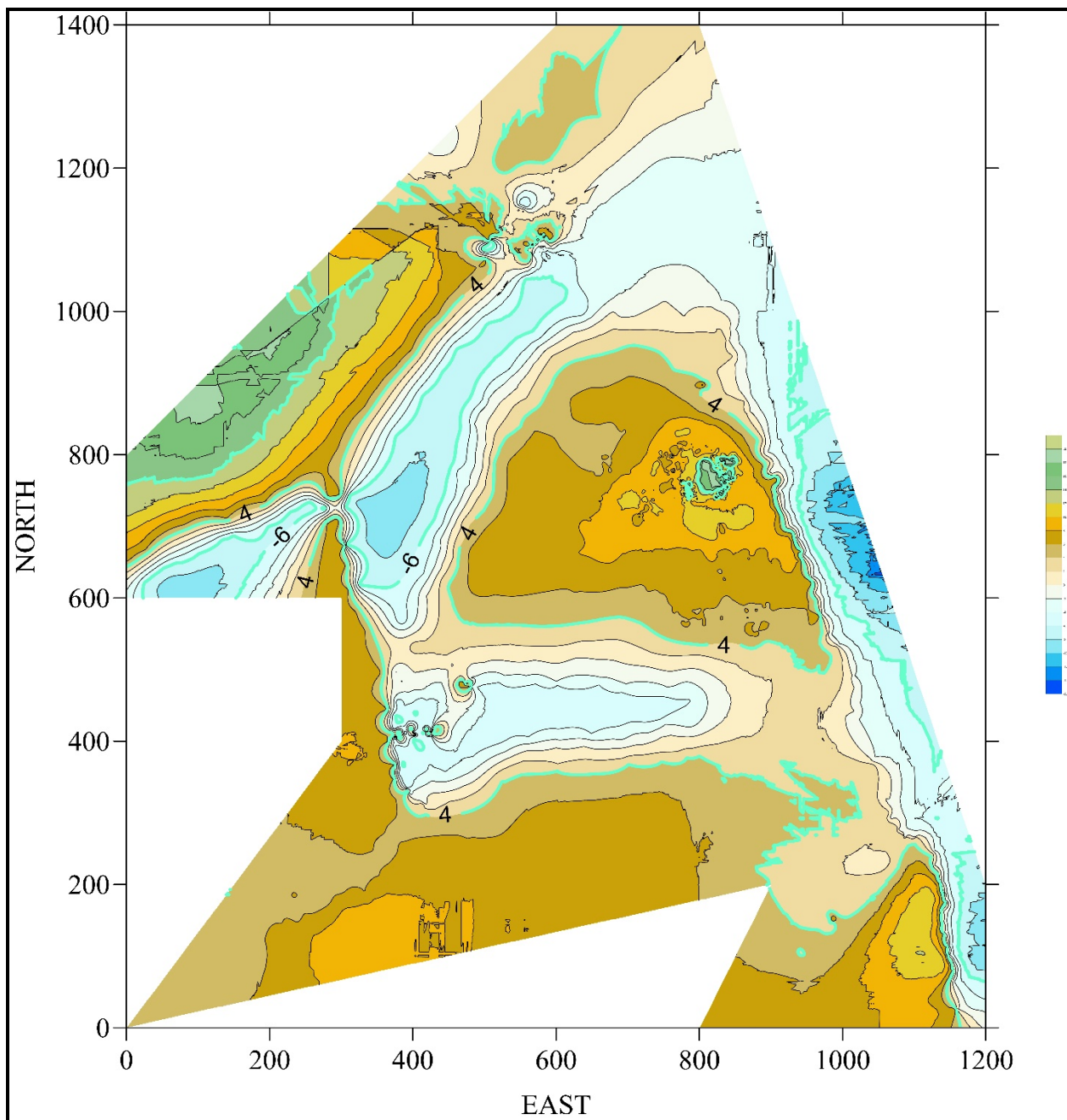


Figure 17. New Contour Map, 2 Foot Intervals, Color Filled.

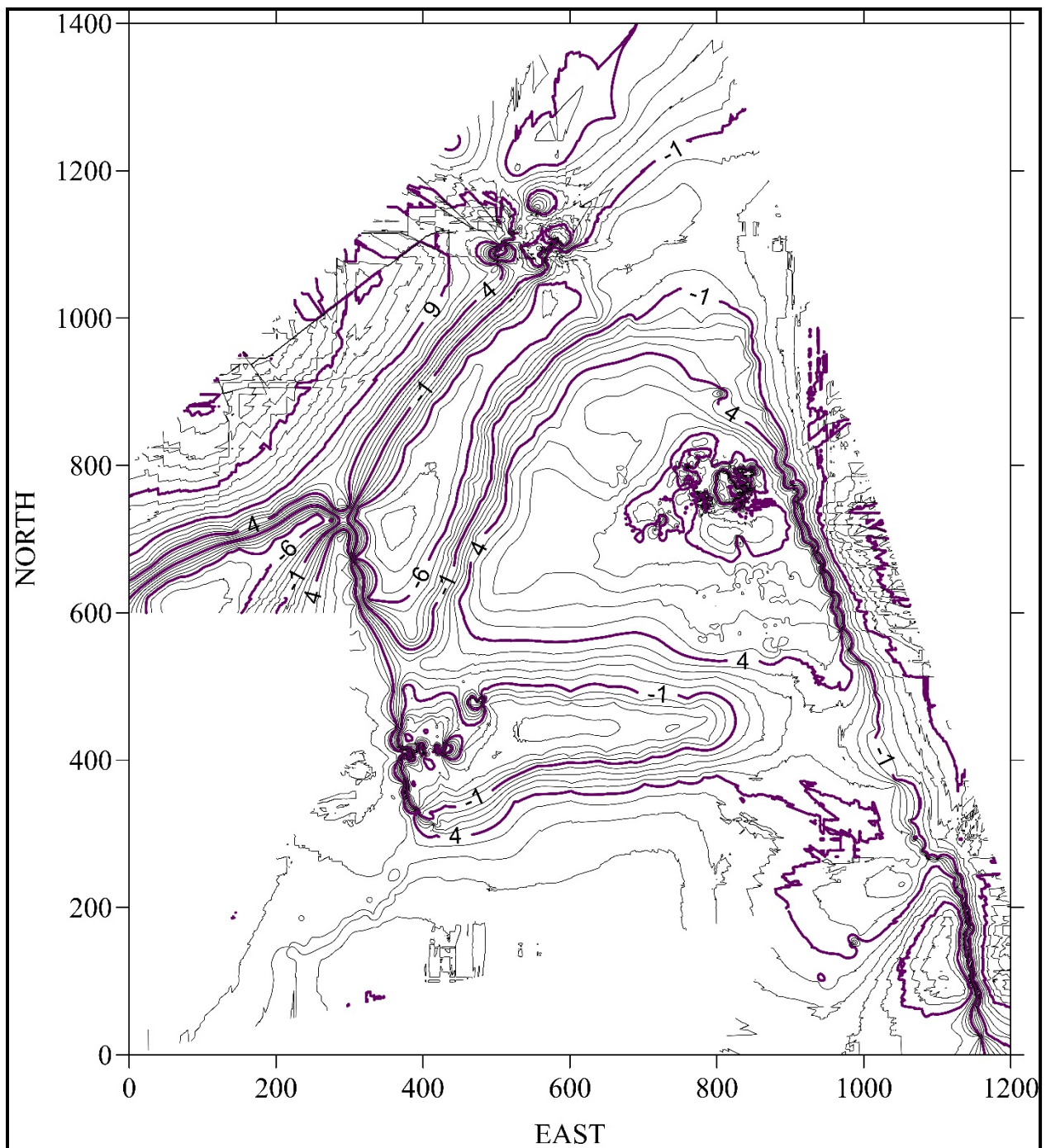


Figure 18. New Contour Map, 1 Foot Intervals.

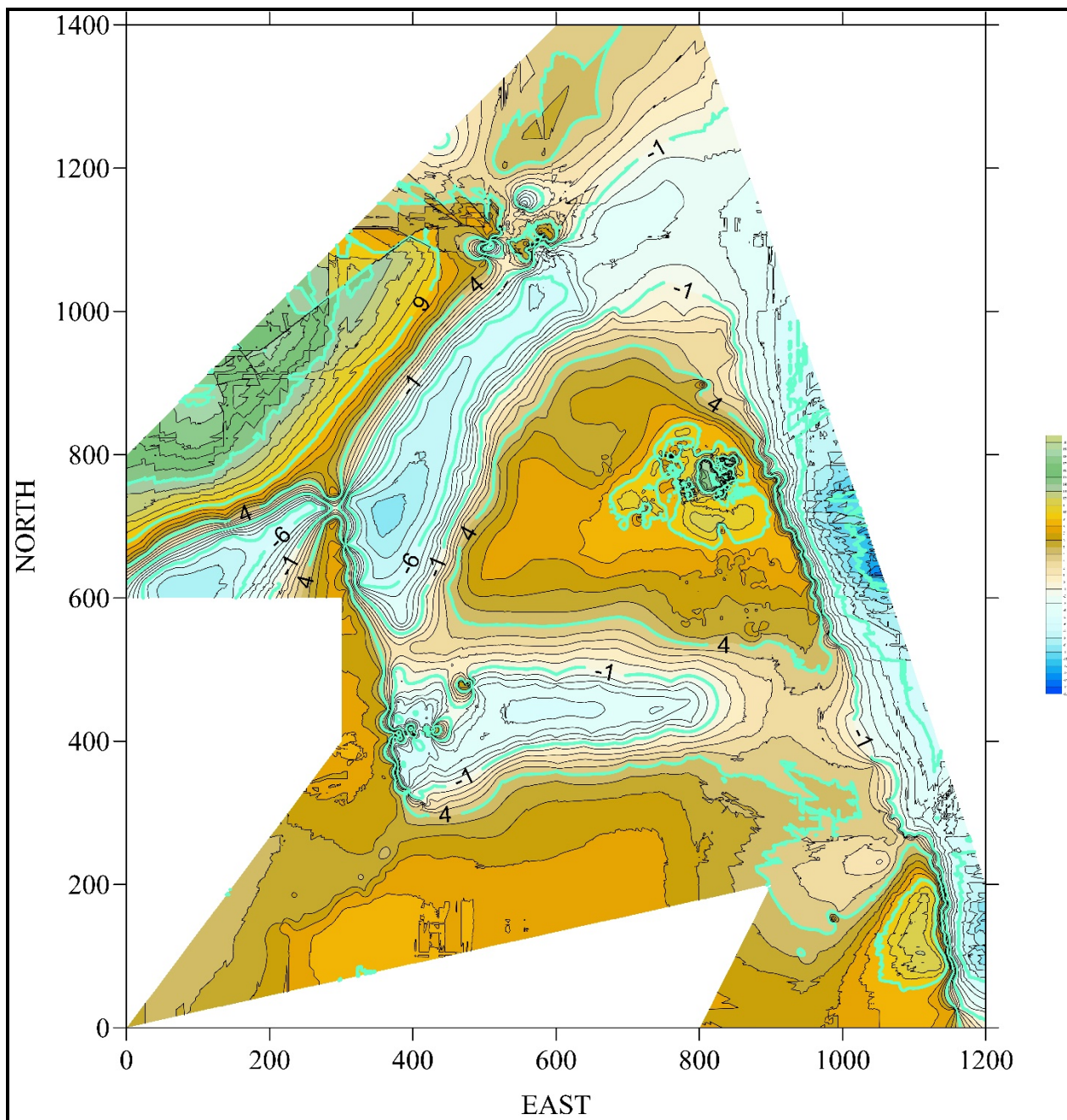


Figure 19. New Contour Map, 1 Foot Intervals, Color Filled.

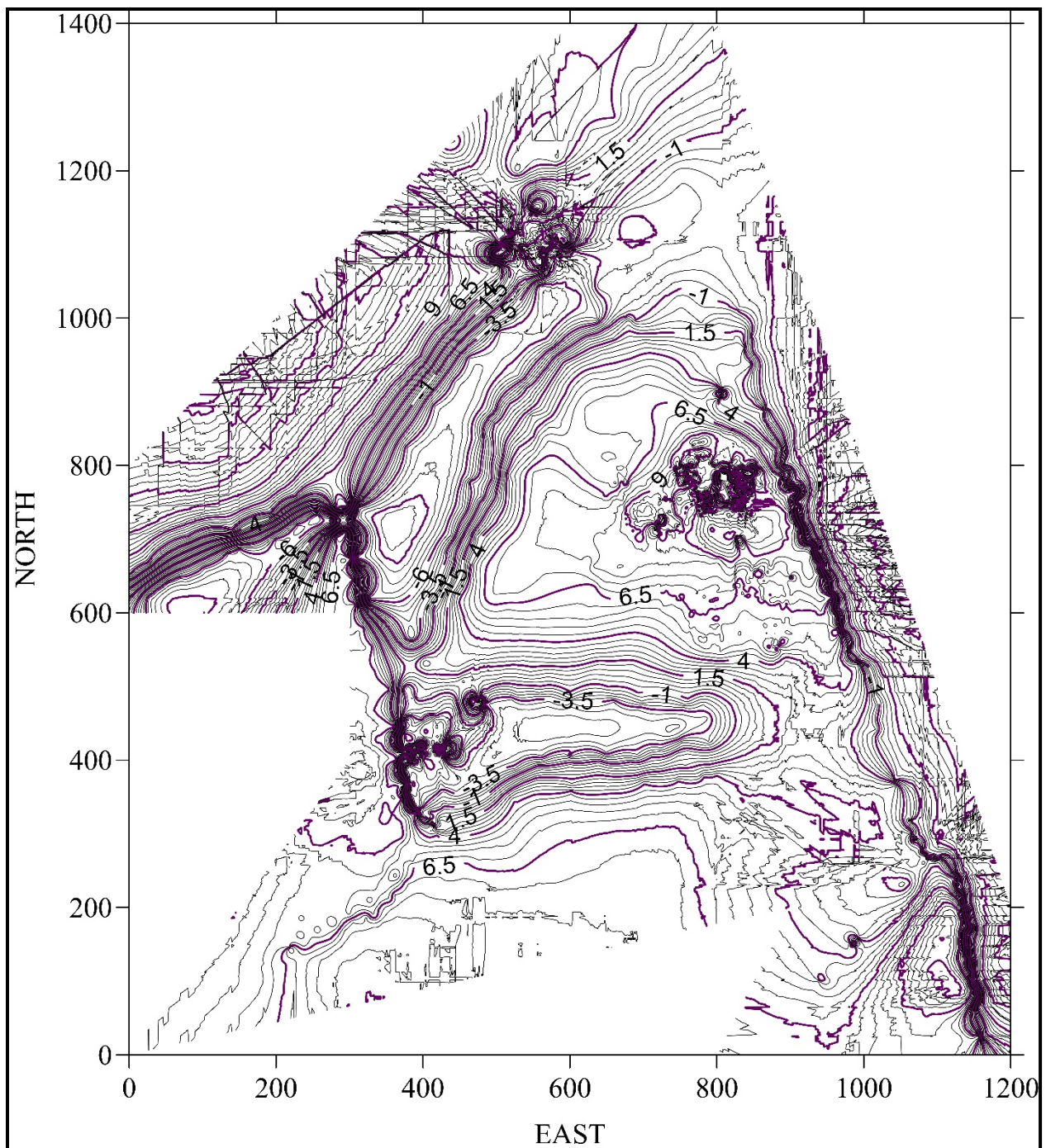


Figure 20. New Contour Map, 6 inch Intervals.

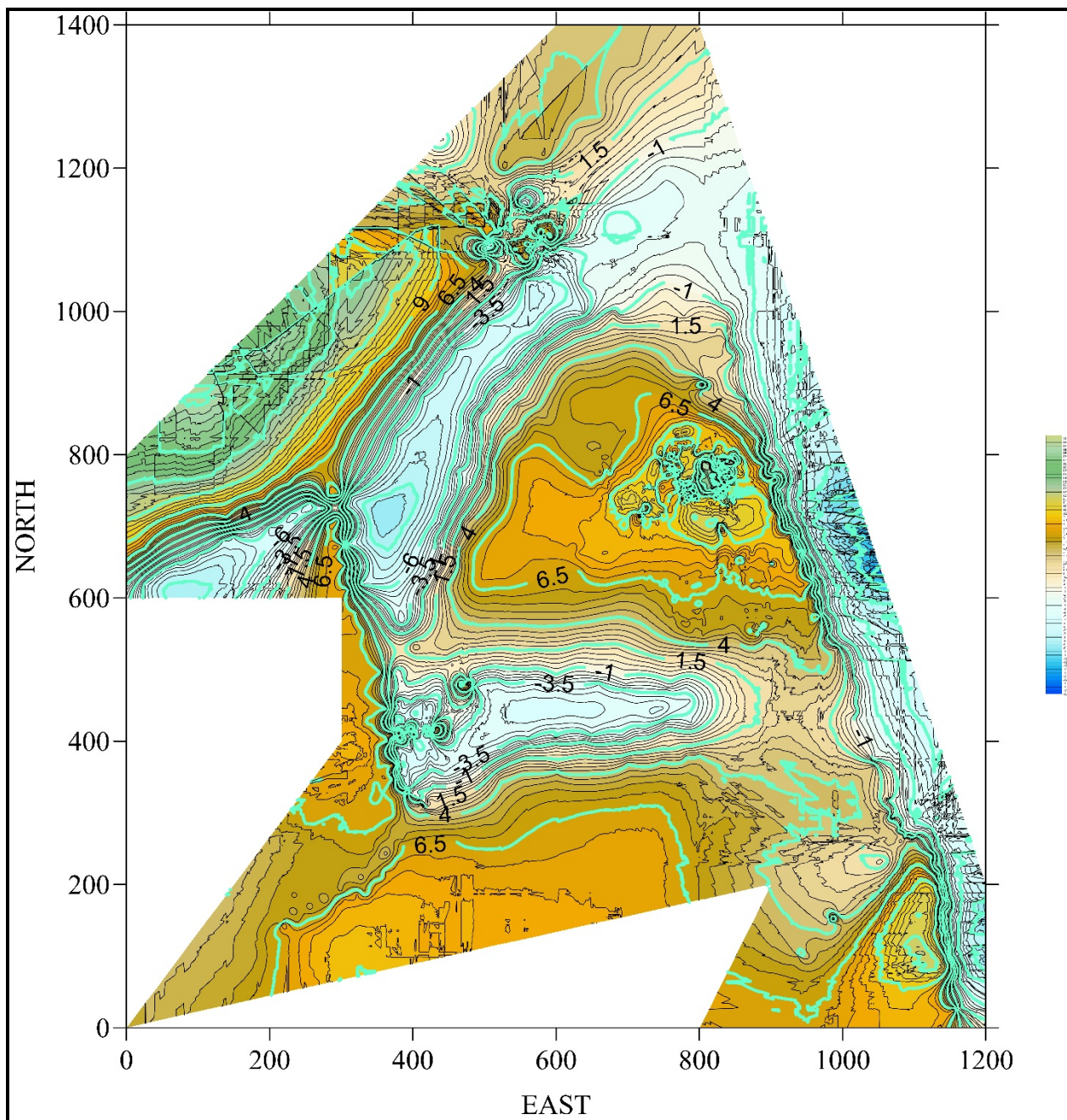


Figure 21. New Contour Map, 6 Inch Intervals, Color Filled.

Area O Mapping

The most important discover of the remapping project was that the mysterious stippled areas on the western and northwestern part of the site on the Caldwell and McCann Figure 13 map were the so-called **Area O** shell areas or middens from the notes. I now have most of them all numbered. Mapping data were missing from O Areas 1, 2, 3, 4, 20, and 27. The reason these are missing is unknown. I assume Areas 1-4 were in the southern part of the site nears O Areas 5-8, but this is uncertain. I do know that O-1 was just west of the **Mortuary** (Field Notes March 1, 1939). Excavation of the O Areas began by the end of January, 1939. The excavation of most of the O Areas seems to have been completed by last March of 1939, but there are occasional references to them through September of that year. Area O-16 was subdivided into Areas 43, 47, 51, and 52. I assume that the reason was that Area 16 was deemed to be too large, or that further excavation showed distinct separation of the shell piles in this area. Each of the Area O areas was subdivided into 3 foot squares for excavation and these were labeled using letters of the alphabet. I have not supplied maps of these subsections in this report, but they are available in the UGA Laboratory of Archaeology.

I also was able to map all the **N areas**, which represented arbitrary random shaped excavation areas in the northwestern part of the site. These were not mapped or discussed at all in the original report. The match up with the new remapping of the Area O shell piles matches the stippled area on the Caldwell and McCann map almost perfectly. There is a single stippled area in the northwestern part of Caldwell and McCann's map that was not represented by my remapping. This is likely one of the five areas mentioned above that did not have coordinates. I would guess that it was either 20 or 27, but there is no way to decide which, if either of these it

was.

The importance of being able to identify and map the O shell areas is that I have sherds from each of these that have been now identified as to pottery type (Williams and Thompson 1999). I use this data in the next chapter to discuss the distribution of time period component distribution in the western part of the Irene site. Figure 22 and Figure 23 below present the locations of the O Shell areas, with their numbers using Caldwell and McCann's contour map as the base. The second figure (Figure 23) is a zoomed image of the first to make the Area O numbers easier to read.

There remains the question of why these shell areas or middens were labeled "O" in the first place. Caldwell and McCann's drawing of the small mound (**Burial Mound**) on Page 23 of their report lists and maps **Shell Areas** A, B, C, D, E, G, and J. There is no indications in the notes or survey data of if there were other lettered **Shell Areas** at Irene. My best guess is that there were other shell area given letters up to Area O, but there are no notes to prove this. My guess is also that by the time they got to the letter O, they saw that there were going to be many more shell areas than letters in the alphabet and simply stopped at the letter O and began adding numbers to these. I have no way of proving this speculation, however. I was able to calculate the areas of the O Shell areas using *Surfer* from Golden Software, Inc. The range was from a low of 3.53 square feet for O-26 to a high of 996.93 square feet for O-45. The mean for all the O Areas with data available was 242.82 square feet which would imply an area of 15.6 feet square. I do not know if the shell areas varied this much in size or if these separately defined areas are an artifact of excavation or of post occupation land processes such as plowing or huge tree tips. In my mind it is best to consider all these as the basal parts of a once larger continuous shell

midden. It is certainly possible that these were shell piles of the sort known to exist as house bases in some coastal Mississippian period sites such as Ossabaw Island. No post hole patterns were located in these shell piles however. It would have made more sense to me for the people to have thrown their garbage either directly into the Savannah River to the east or into the back swamp directly to the west of the site knoll. The distributions of components represented by ceramics from these defined middens are presented in the next chapter.

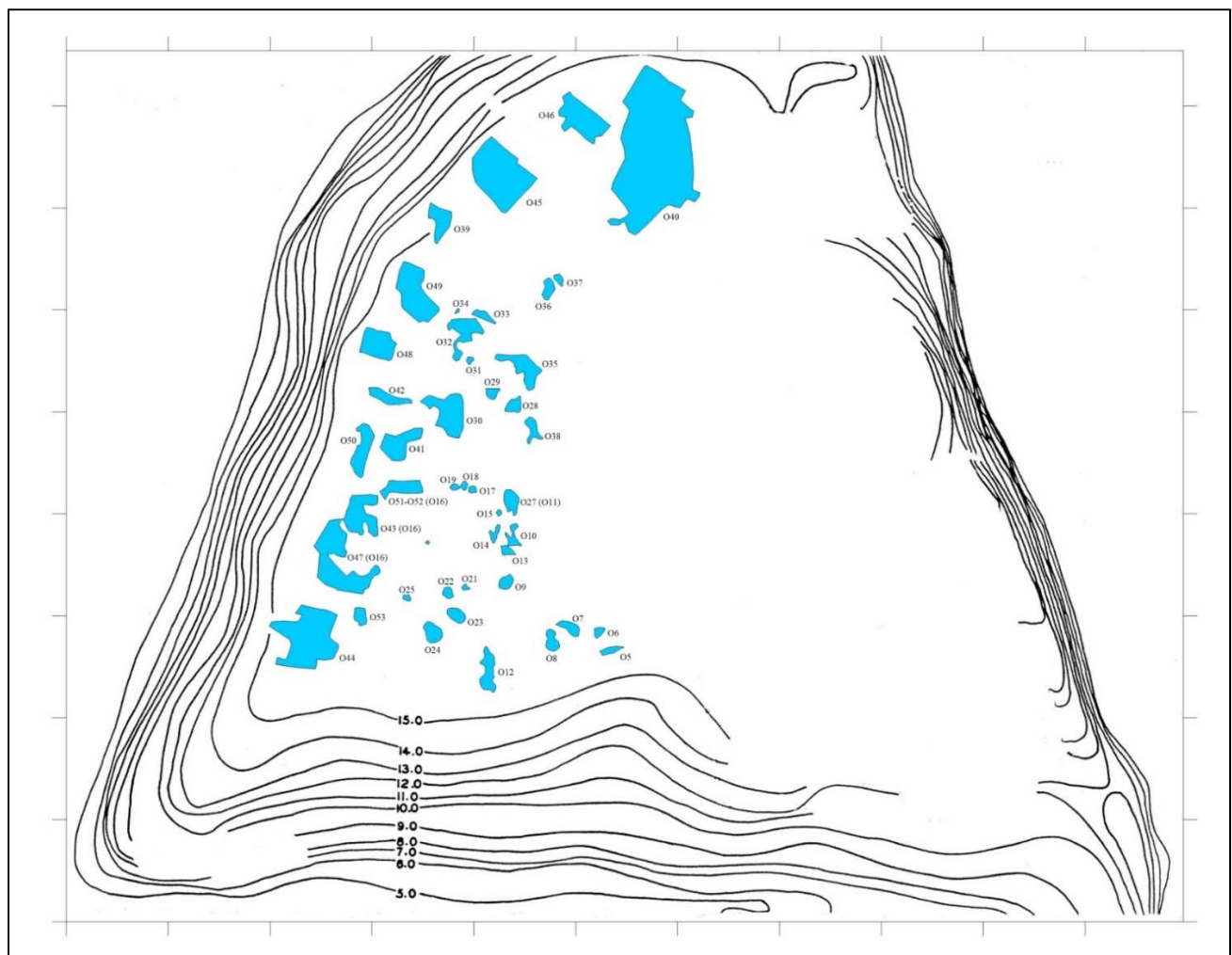


Figure 22. Locations of Shell Midden Area O Areas.

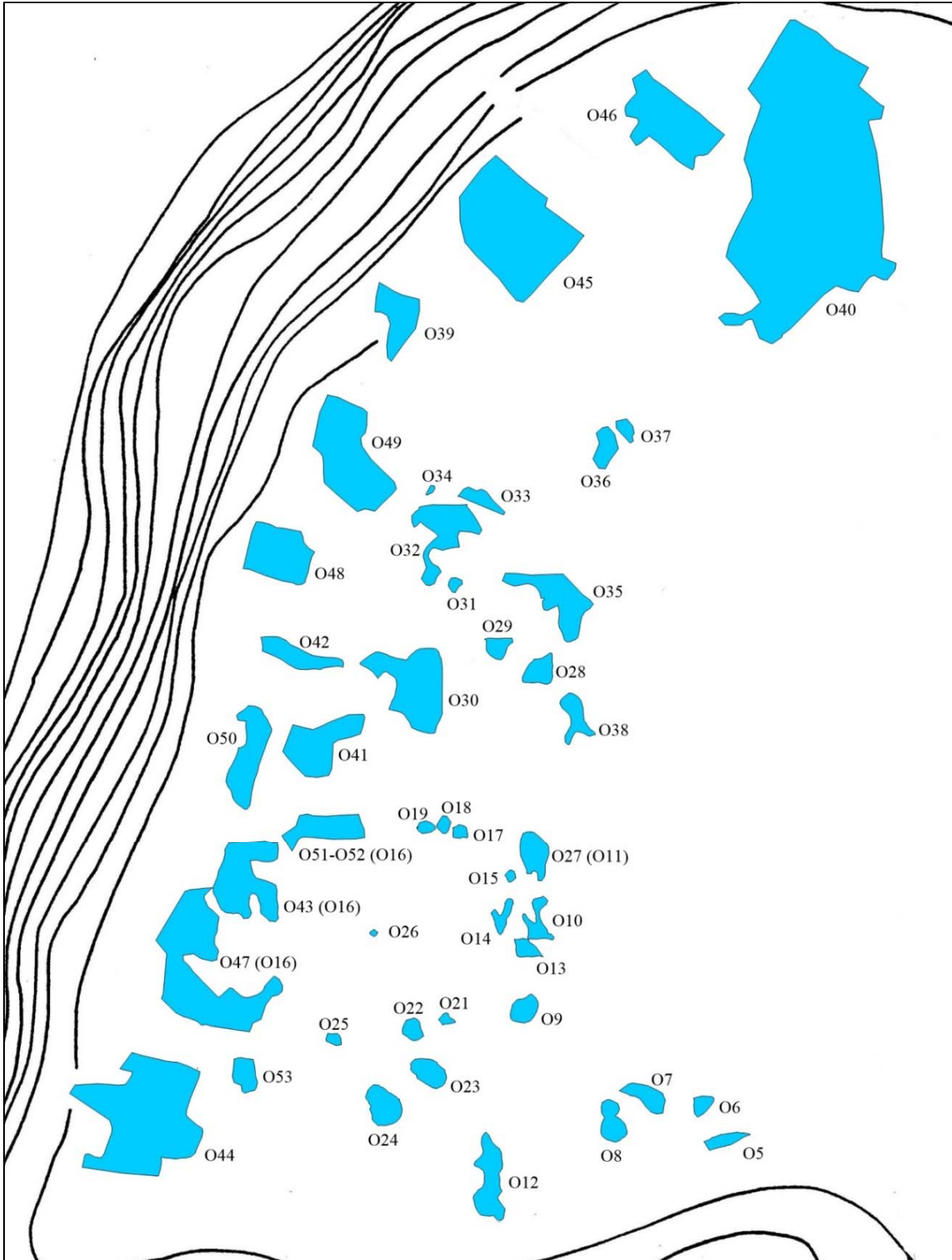


Figure 23. Figure 22 Zoomed In showing Area O Individual Numbers.

Area N Mapping

These areas were mapped from April through June of 1939. They were defined as excavation areas north and northwest of the large and small mounds, and it seems clear from the notes that they do **not** define shell areas. Indeed, the shapes of many of the areas seem to approach that of arbitrary rectangular excavation areas (Figure 24). As before, I am supplying a zoomed map of the N Areas to facilitate reading their assigned numbers (Figure 25). The rectangular areas in the center section seem to vary from about 30-40 feet by about 10-15 feet in size. It is odd that these areas overlap with the northern **Shell Areas O**. Do these N Areas represent excavations deeper than the shell and were excavated after the shell had been removed? The notes are mute on this question. It is also not at all clear why this style of excavation was not pursued in other areas of the site. The units are not squared with the polar grid in any manner whatsoever. It even appears that the excavators decided to forego excavating in grid units toward the end of the project—perhaps they found it inconvenient and a minor impediment to opening large areas as expeditiously as possible to attempt to locate more structures. This, of course, is all speculation on my part. The few photographs of this area show many trees, and this likely had some impact of how they set up the Area N excavation units. The range in size of the N excavation areas was from a low of 102.7 square feet for Area N-5 to a high of 2410.6 square feet for area N-1. The mean for all the N Areas for which the area could be determined was 582.2 square feet. As with the **Area O** Shell areas discussed above, the ceramic component distributions based upon the **Area N** areas will be presented in the next chapter. Work on the N areas began in mid-April of 1939. McCann notes on April 18th that “The northern part of the site is to be divided into arbitrary areas, which will be given serial numbers beginning with N-1.”

She tells us on May 8th that N-14 is likely a large borrow pit. Most of the excavations in the N Areas was completed by the end of May, but there are occasional references to excavation in the Area O shell middens all the way into September. The notes make it clear that some of the N Areas were excavated to at least 12 inches in depth. The process of excavation in both the N and O areas was described as “peeling” in McCann’s notes. As with all other areas of the site, there was no screening for artifact recovery. Further, I assume that all artifacts were recovered simply as found during shoveling with round pointed shovels.

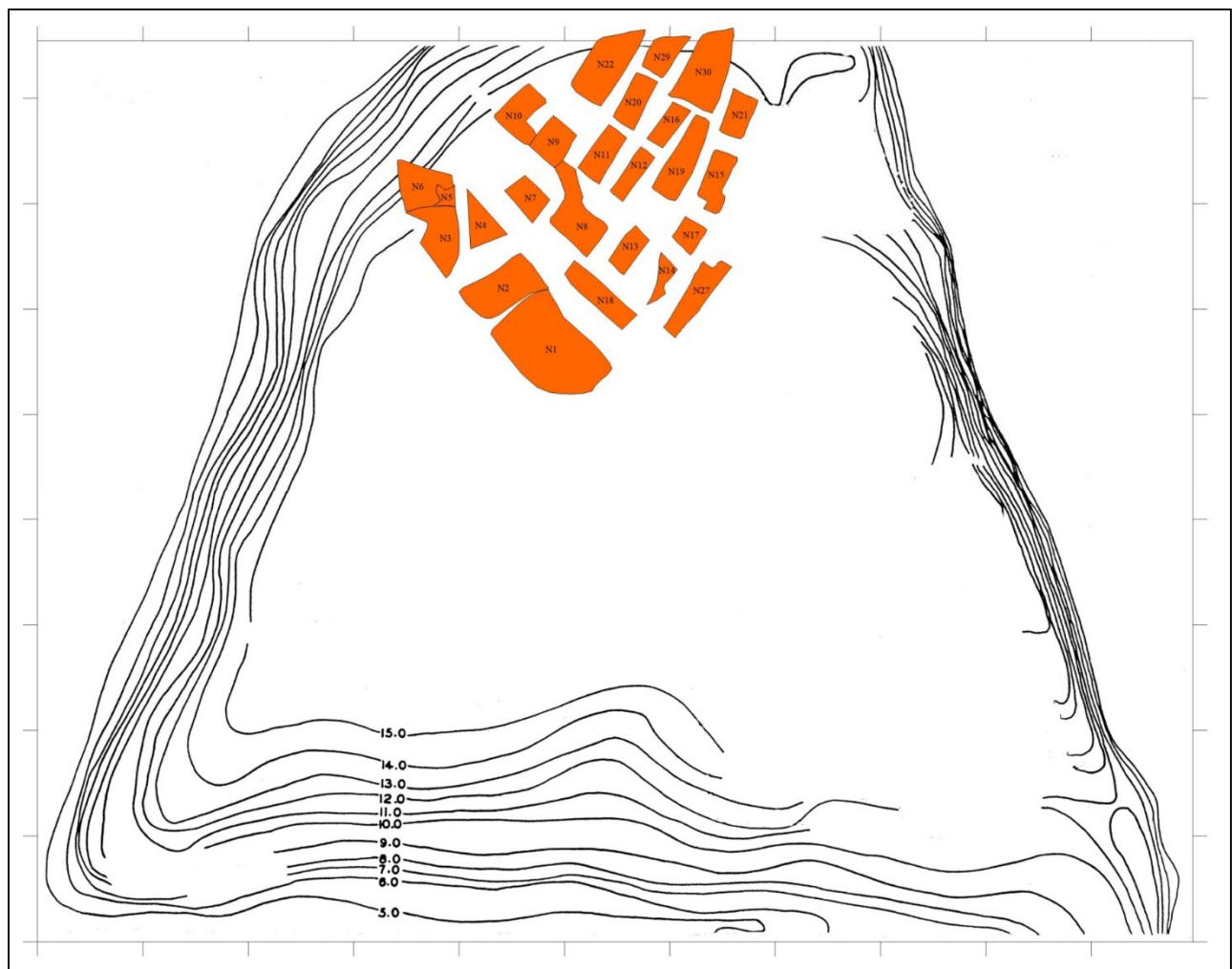


Figure 24. Area N Locations.



Figure 25. Figure 24 Zoomed In Showing Area N individual Numbers.

Post Molds

As part of the renewed mapping project, I also mapped all of the survey points labeled as Post Molds. Although I will discuss many of these later in the report, I present here Figure 26, which shows all of the post molds recorded for the entire site.

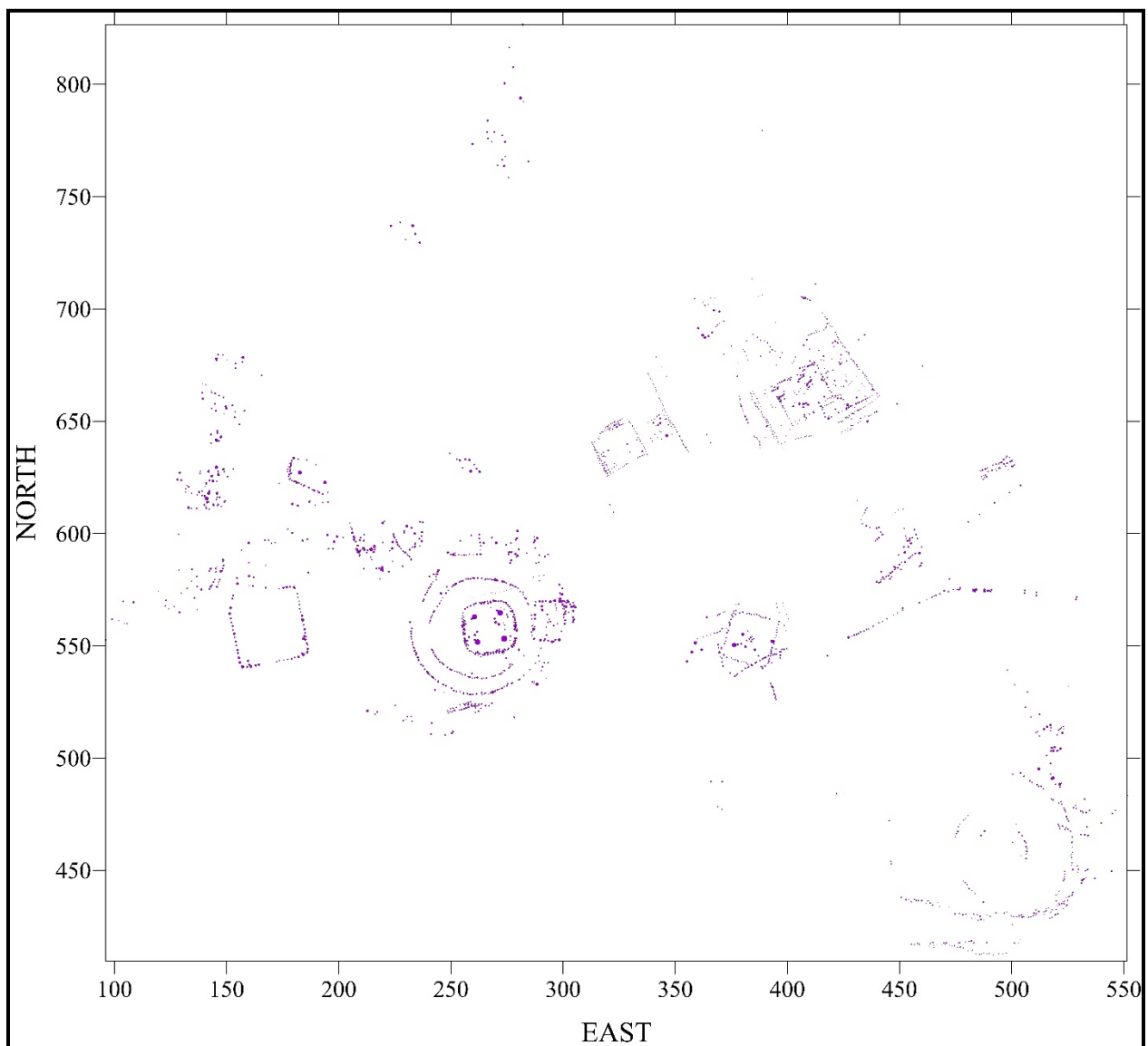


Figure 26. All 2465 Mapped Post Molds from Survey Notes.

Chapter 9

Component Distribution Maps

Introduction

There were 3048 separate proveniences recorded from Irene as best could be determined. A great many of these were from either unspecified or highly confused location descriptions. This was also a product of the fact that, as discussed above, several different mapping schemes were used on the site. I have chosen to discuss only the data with which I had confidence to discuss the distribution of components over the site. I do, however, wish to provide a bit of summary data by major ceramic grouping for all 3048 proveniences here before delving into specific component distributions of these time based ceramic groupings.

Ceramic Type Series	Number	Percent
Altamaha	1,567	1.221
Deptford	1,054	0.821
Irene	4,006	3.122
Refuge	218	0.170
Savannah	74,956	58.413
St. Catherines	26	0.020
St. Johns	4	0.003
St. Simons	505	0.394
Swift Creek	2	0.002
Walthour	80	0.062
Wilmington	78	0.061
UID	13,761	10.724
Disks	895	0.697
Hones	31,169	24.290
Totals	128,321	100.000

Table 1. Summary of Ceramic Type Series for Irene.

Table 1 above shows a simple summary of all of the ceramic type series for the entire site based upon the UGA analysis in the late 1990s. **Appendix 4** to this report provides an expanded version of this table with specific named ceramic types listed for the entire site.

The first point I would make about **Table 1** is the, not surprisingly, huge percentage of Savannah period ceramic types from the Irene site. It is likely that a large percentage of the UID (Unidentified) ceramics are also from the Savannah period. Note also that the ceramics of the later Irene period represent only just over 3 percent of the total collection. There are a huge number of ceramic hones from the Irene site—over 31,000! These sherds, although counted as hones, were probably mostly from the Savannah period also.

The total number of sherds from Irene listed in **Table 1** is 128,321. It must be remembered that this incredible number of sherds were recovered without the benefit of any screening. If modern screening had been used, I would guess that the number of sherds recovered would have been over a million. It is easy to conclude, however, that the sherds recovered form a representative sample of the sherds from the now lost Irene site.

The number of ceramic disks is also very large from Irene—almost 900. I know of no other site where there are so many of these enigmatic artifacts. After thinking about them for decades I have come to believe the idea of my colleague Scott Jones that they are random sherds used for sanding wood. They are then discarded when they become smooth and no longer serving as rough sand paper. It is also interesting that, as stated above, there are so many hones from Irene. These are typically thought to be formed by rubbing and sharpening bone tools for many uses. Why they are so much more common on the Coast than in the interior is still an open question.

The western area of the site was excavated during the last year of the project, and the collections from there (**Area N** and **Area O**) are far and away the best recorded by provenience and thus I choose to use them for this chapter's study of component distribution at Irene. It must always be remembered as I present these data that the Savannah period sherds far outnumber those of every other period, even including the Irene and historic Altamaha periods.

Area N

The ceramic tables for Area N excavations units are presented in **Appendix 5**. As pointed out in the previous chapter, there were five of the N Areas for which I have no mapping coordinates. I am presenting the Area N ceramic data by ceramic types representative of many time components. These range from the St. Simons fiber tempered ceramics of the Late Archaic period (ca. 2000 B.C.) through the Altamaha ceramics of the historic Native Americans (probably Guale, but perhaps Yamasee). For published descriptions and dates of the ceramic types used in this analysis see DePratter (1991) and Williams and Thompson (1999). As shown in the previous chapter, the **Area N** excavations took place after the **Area O** shell midden excavations. They presumably went deeper into the soil on the site.

I have chosen to present graphics of the distributions of the ceramics for **Area N** and **Area O** using colored dots of different diameters, the size of which is a function of the number sherds at particular locations within each of these two Irene excavation projects. The wide range of values for the ceramics has presented a difficulty in using this method, however. If the same scale had been chosen for all the ceramic types, some types with very small numbers would have been represented by dots too small to see, while others with large quantities would have been

larger than the entire page. I have thus unfortunately had to resort to using different scales for different ceramic types. More on this shortly.

There are a number of important initial observations about the ceramics from Area N and Area O, however that I wish to discuss before presenting the images. First, and perhaps foremost, is that the Savannah period ceramics completely outnumber all other ceramic types by many times. This should not be surprising since Caldwell and McCann defined 7 of the 8 **Large Mound** stages as belonging to the Middle Mississippian Savannah period (Ca. 1250-1350 A.D.). Second, the complicated stamped sherds that could not be classified as clearly belonging to either the Savannah or the following Late Mississippian Irene period are almost as prominent as the Savannah ceramics and, significantly, much more common than the Irene ceramics. Indeed, clearly definable Irene ceramics (rims sherds mostly) are actually quite rare in Areas N and O. Thus it is my strong belief that the majority of the sherds classified as Savannah / Irene Complicated Stamped are actually Savannah period body sherds.

Another observation is that the site had minor occupations during most other prehistoric ceramic periods defined for the Georgia Coast (See DePratter 1991 and Williams and Thompson 1999). The earliest ceramic period represented, the Late Archaic St. Simons period, is quite well represented by the existence of significant amounts of fiber tempered pottery. It is even conceivable that the shell area on the west of the site might have been part of a Late Archaic shell structure similar to those on Sapelo and St. Catherine's Islands, but this will never be known with certainty.

Figures 27-45 below show the dot density diameter maps for the ten most common ceramic types in two different ways. Incidentally, I have not mapped sherds that could not be

Figure 27. Area N, Altamaha Sherd Count Times 7.



Figure 28. Area N, Irene Sherd Count Times 35.



Figure 29. Area N, Savannah Sherd Count Times 1.



Figure 30. Area N, Savannah / Irene Complicated Stamped Sherd Count Times 10.

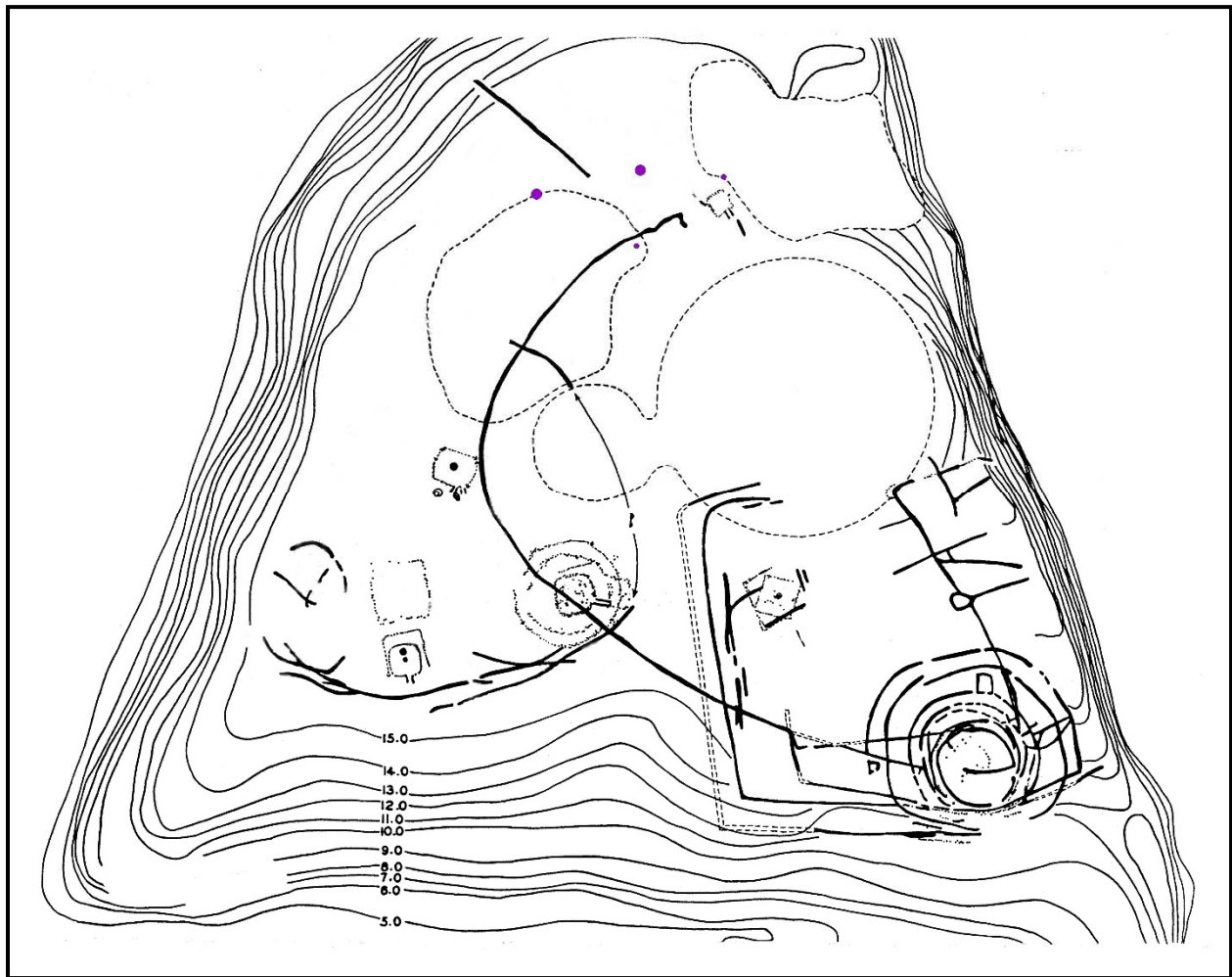


Figure 31. Area N, St. Catherines Sherd Count Times 35.

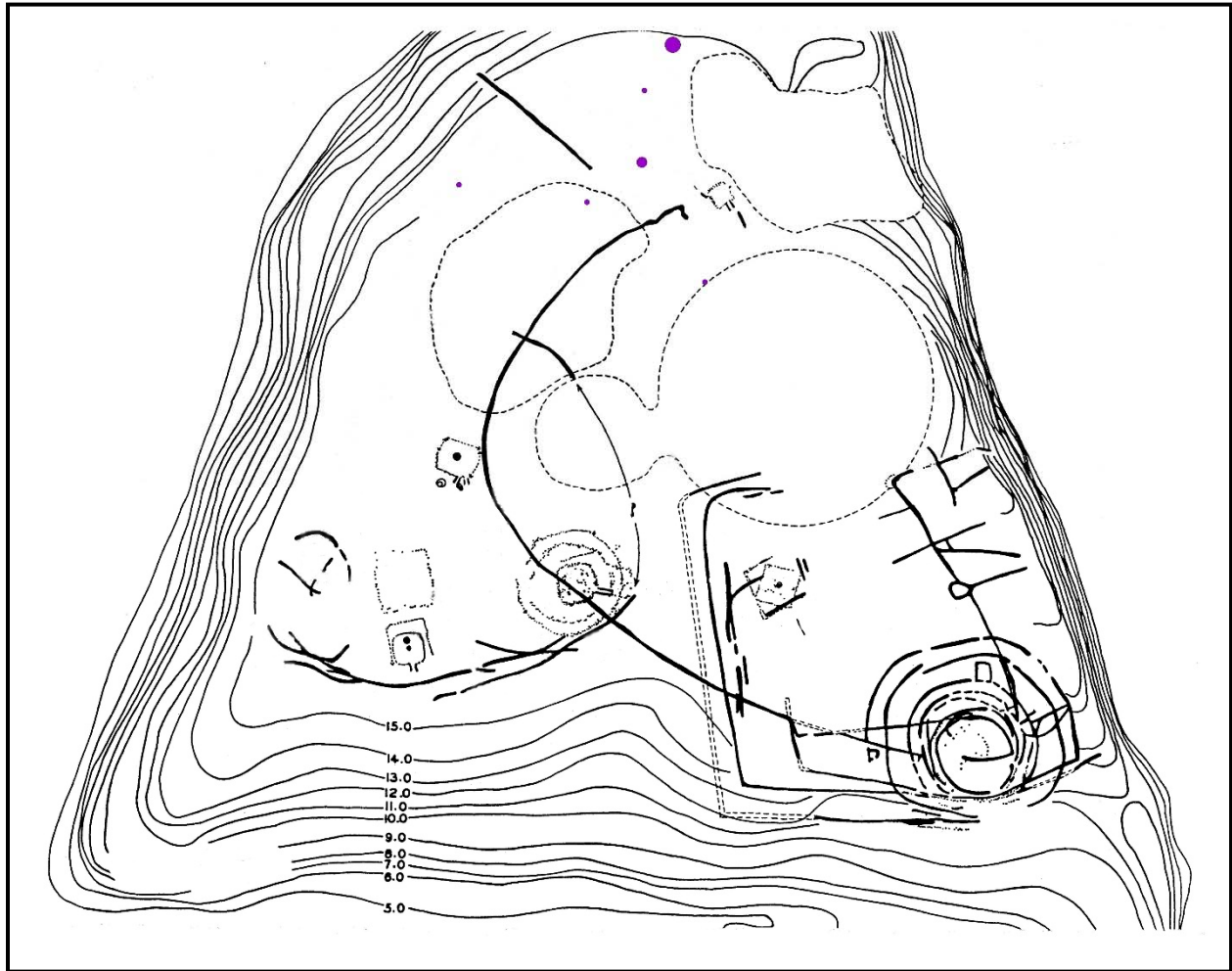


Figure 32. Area N, Wilmington Sherd Count Times 35.

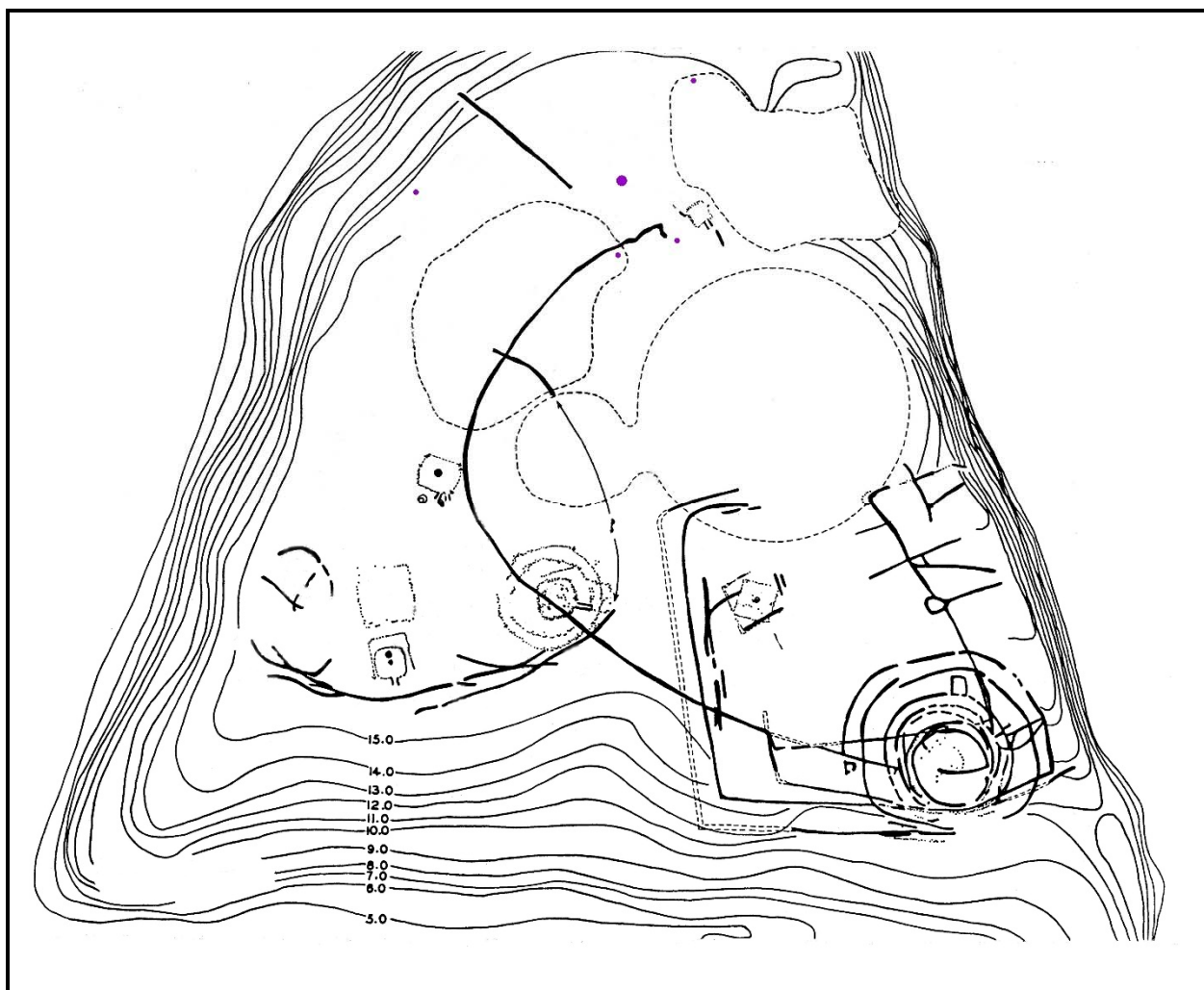


Figure 33. Area N, Walthour Sherd Count Times 35.

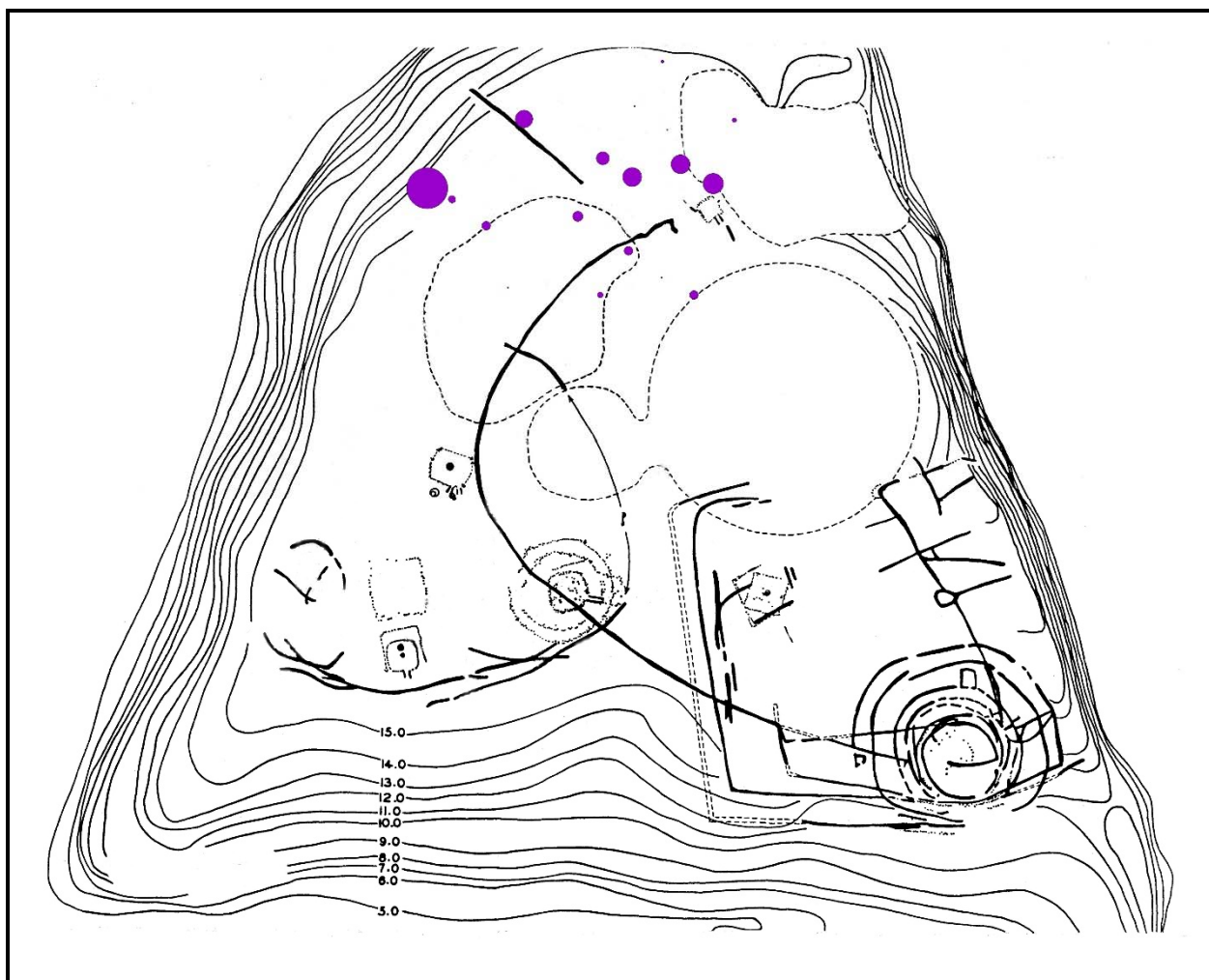


Figure 34. Area N, Deptford Sherd Count Times 10.

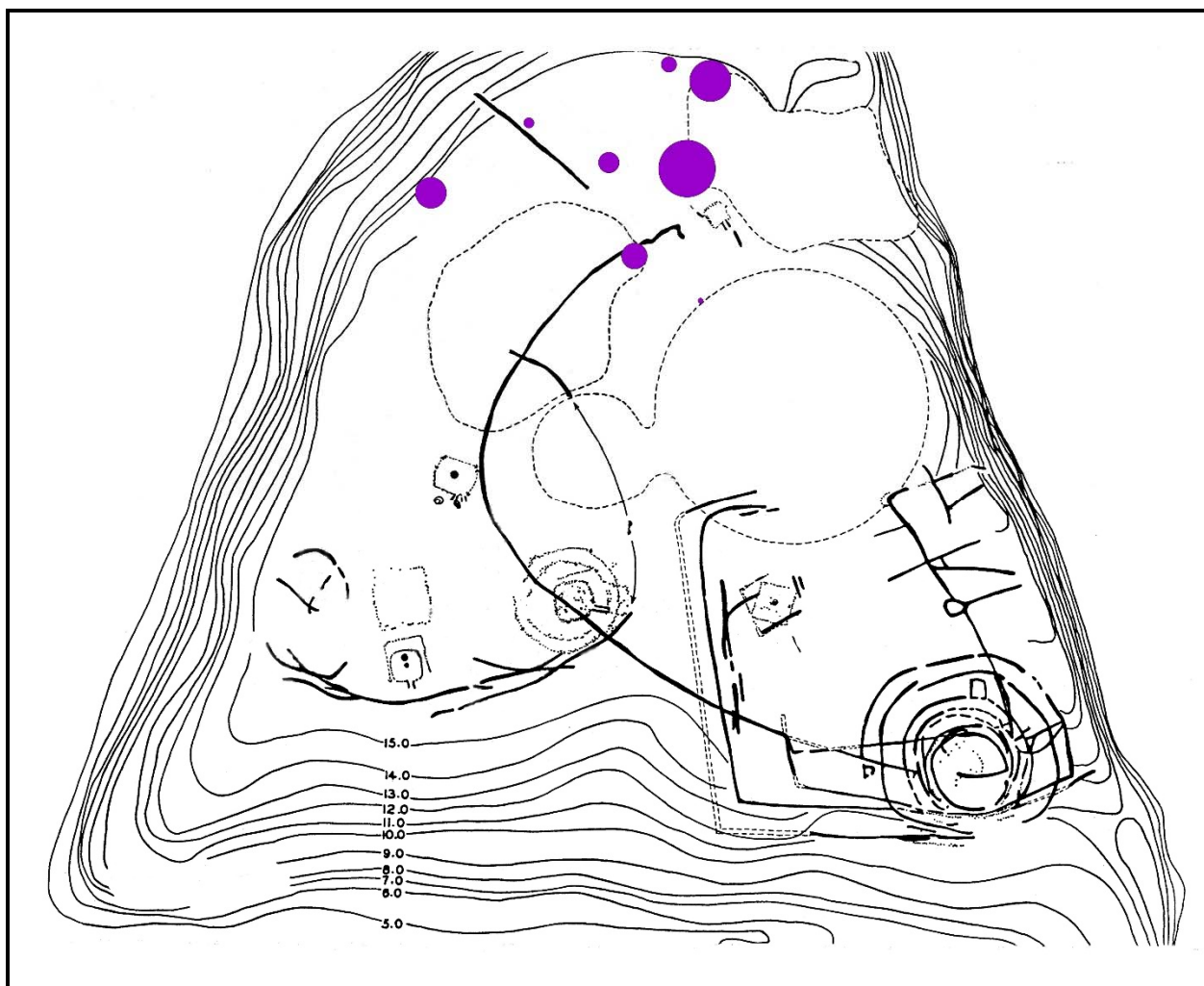


Figure 35. Area N, Refuge Sherd Count Times 35.



Figure 36. Area N, St. Simon's Sherd Count Times 35.

Figures 37-45 shown below present a zoomed-in versions of the N Areas with the dot diameters representing a function of the density of sherds per square foot for each ceramic series per area. See Figure 22 in the previous chapter for the Area N numbers if desired. One advantage of these figure over the first set is that all are to the same scale of sherds per square foot. Appendix 4 shows the actual data these figures are based upon. As can be seen, the Irene period sherds are quite rare in this area, while the Savanah period sherds dominate all others by far.

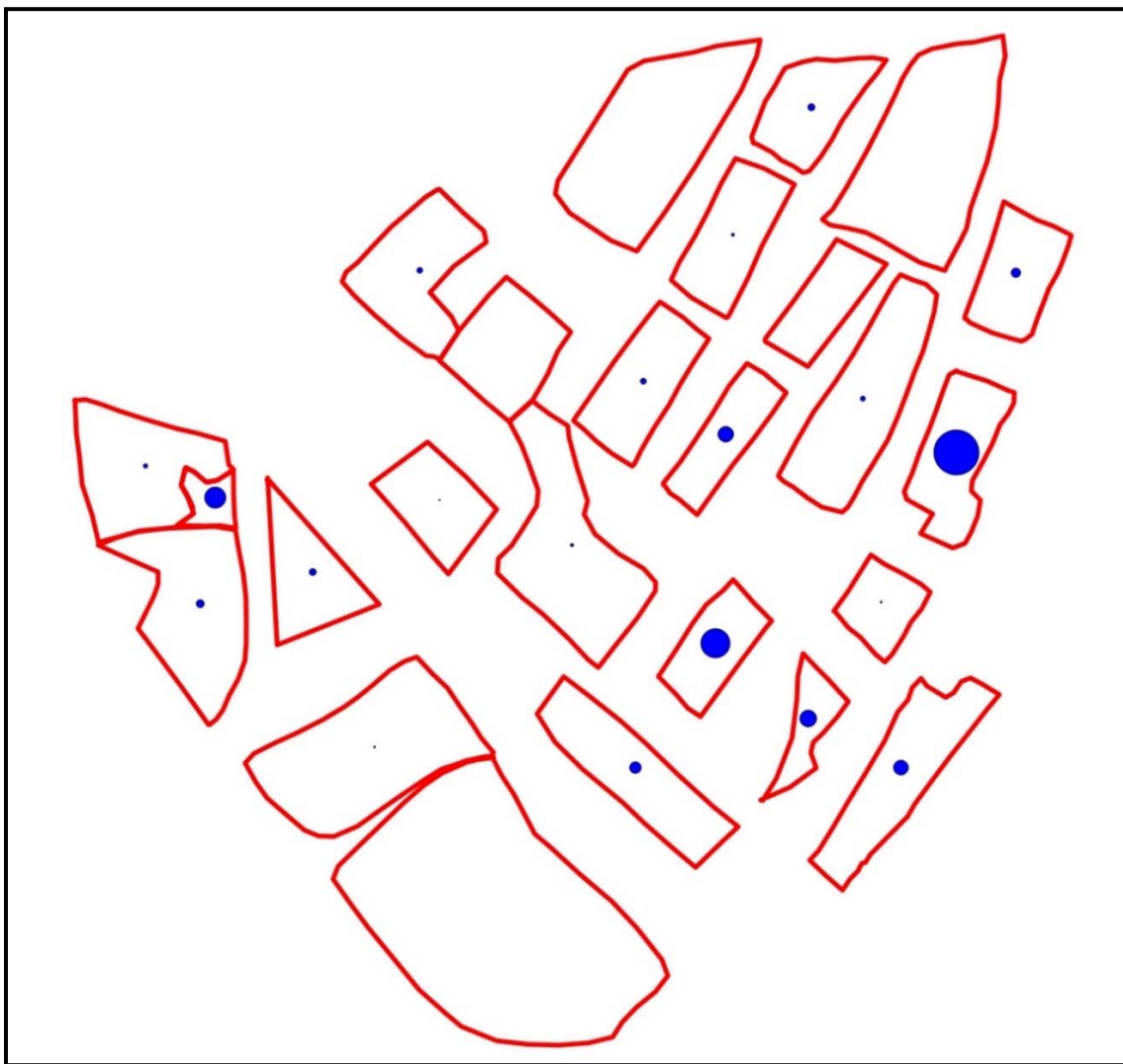


Figure 37. Area N, Altamaha Sherd Density per Square Foot, Zoomed In.

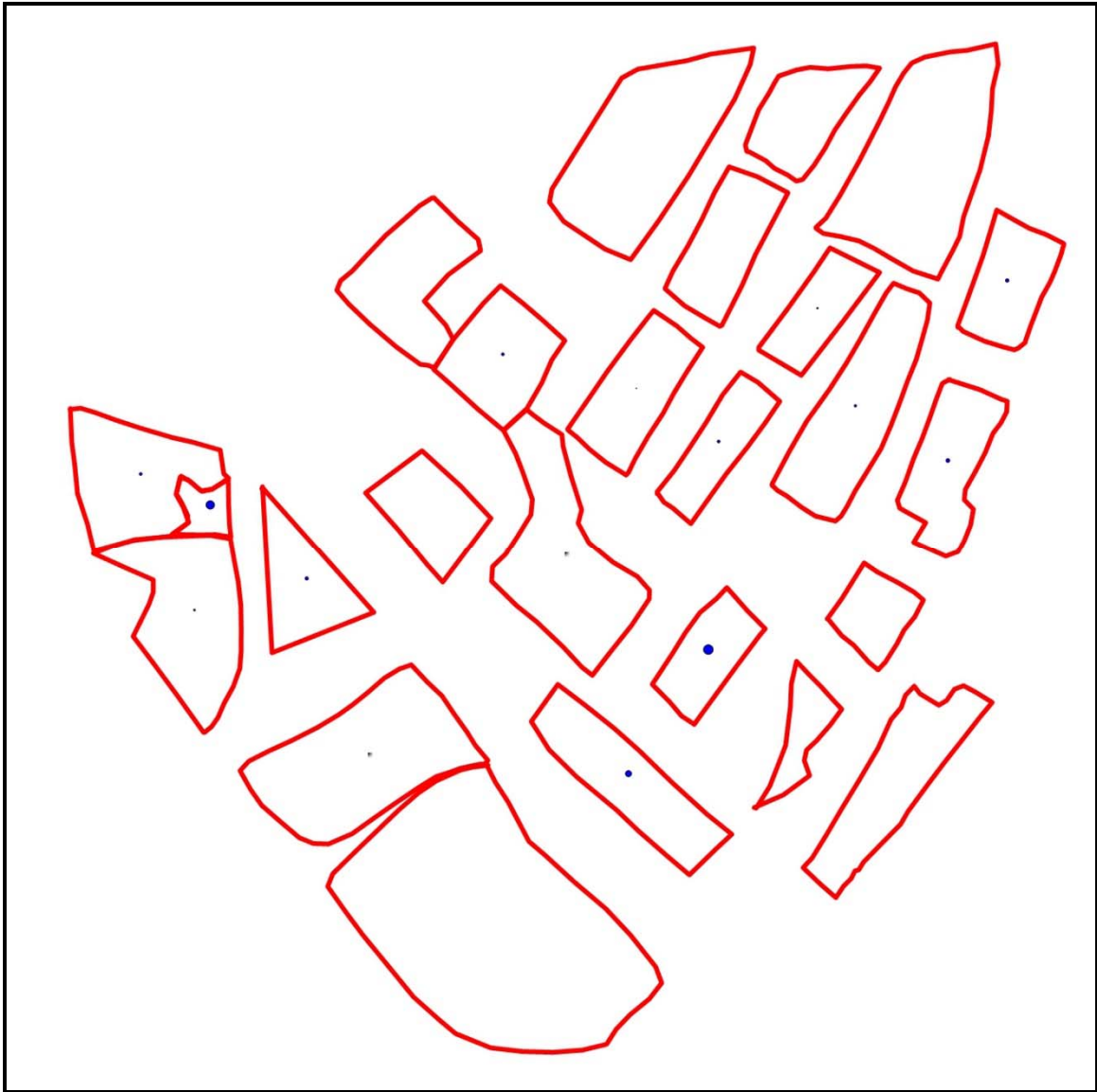


Figure 38. Area N, Irene Sherd Density per Square Foot, Zoomed In.

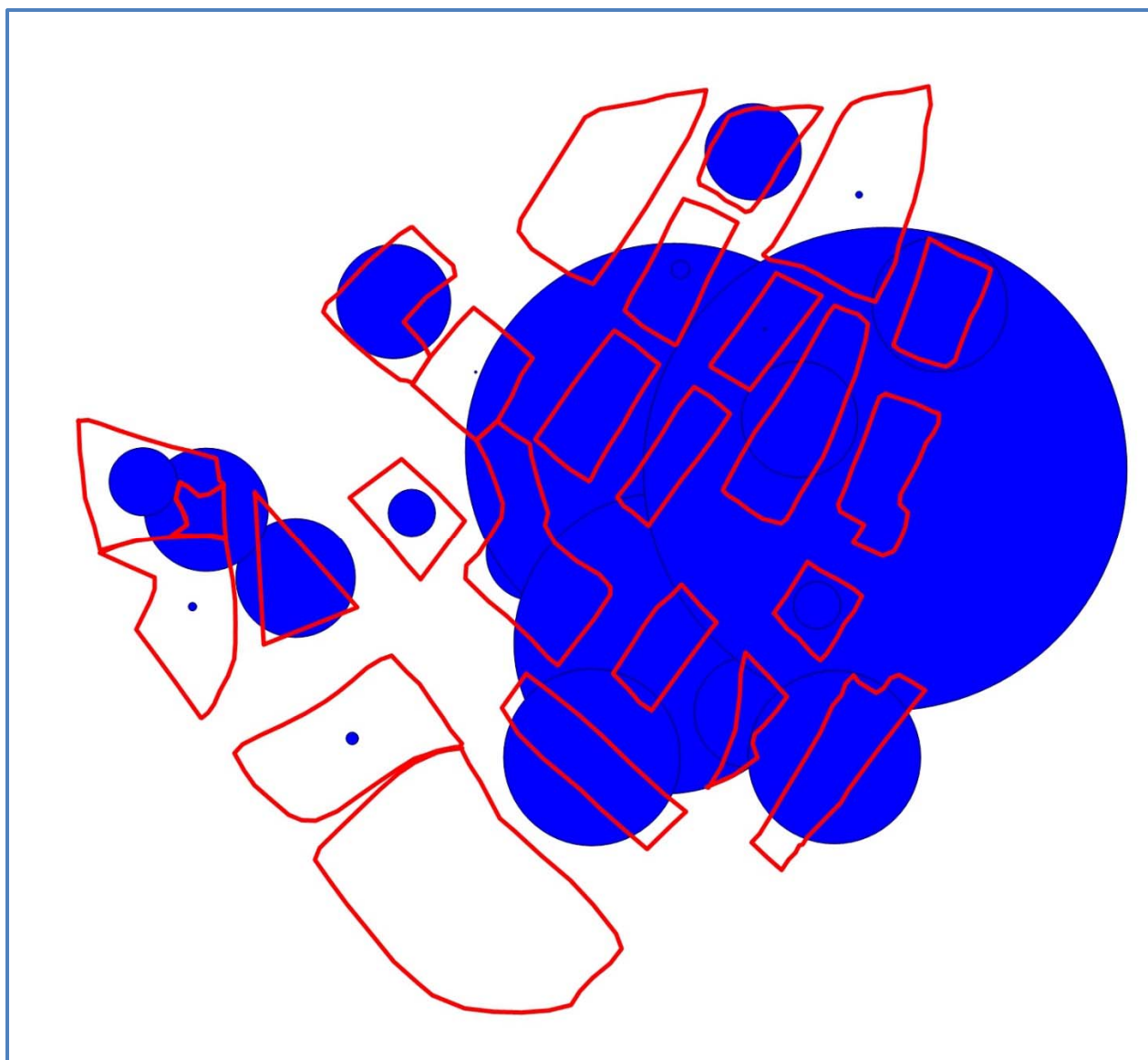


Figure 39. Area N, Savannah Sherd Density per Square Foot, Zoomed In.

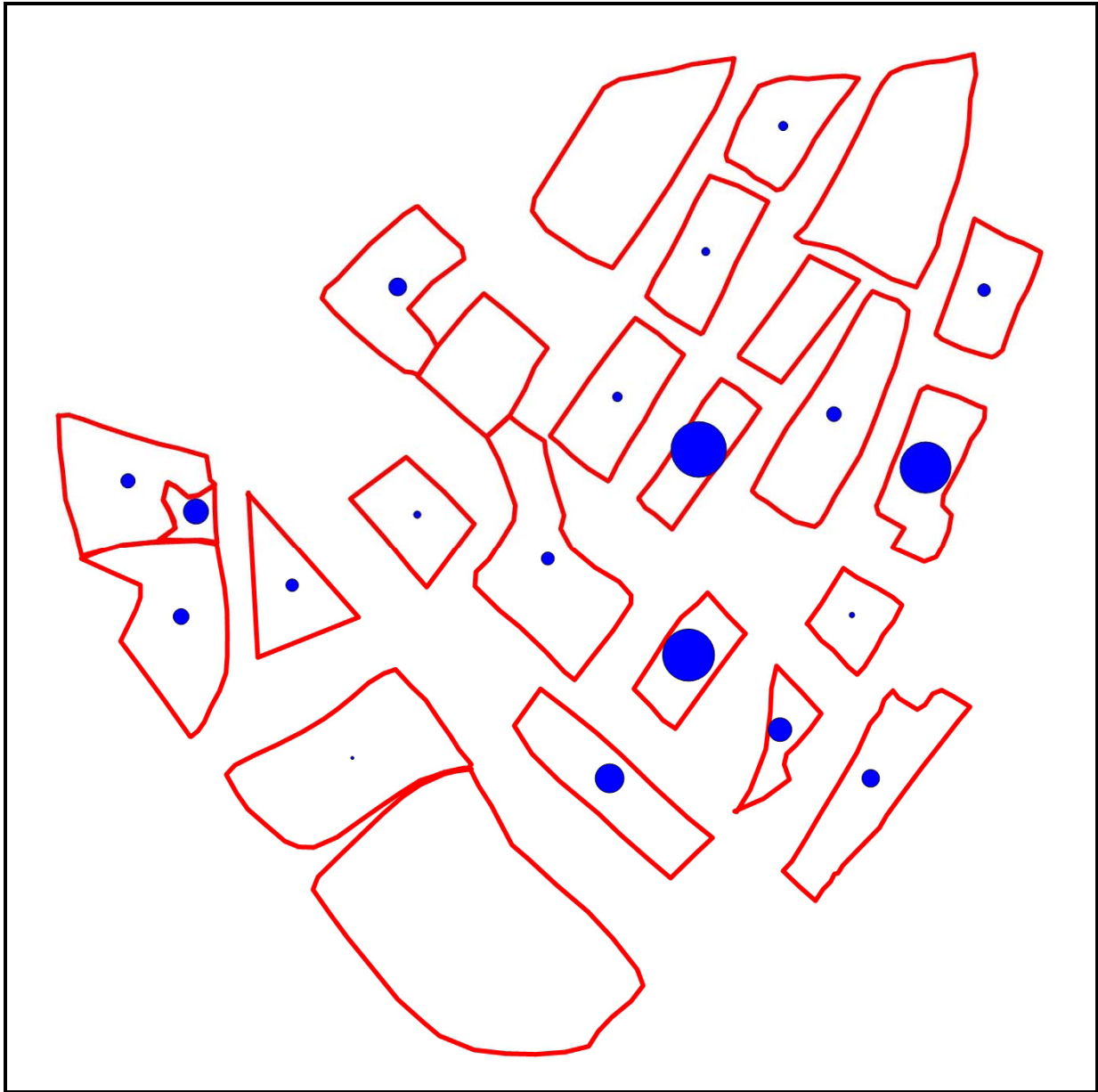


Figure 40. Area N, Savannah/Irene Complicated Stamped Sherd Density per Square Foot, Zoomed In.

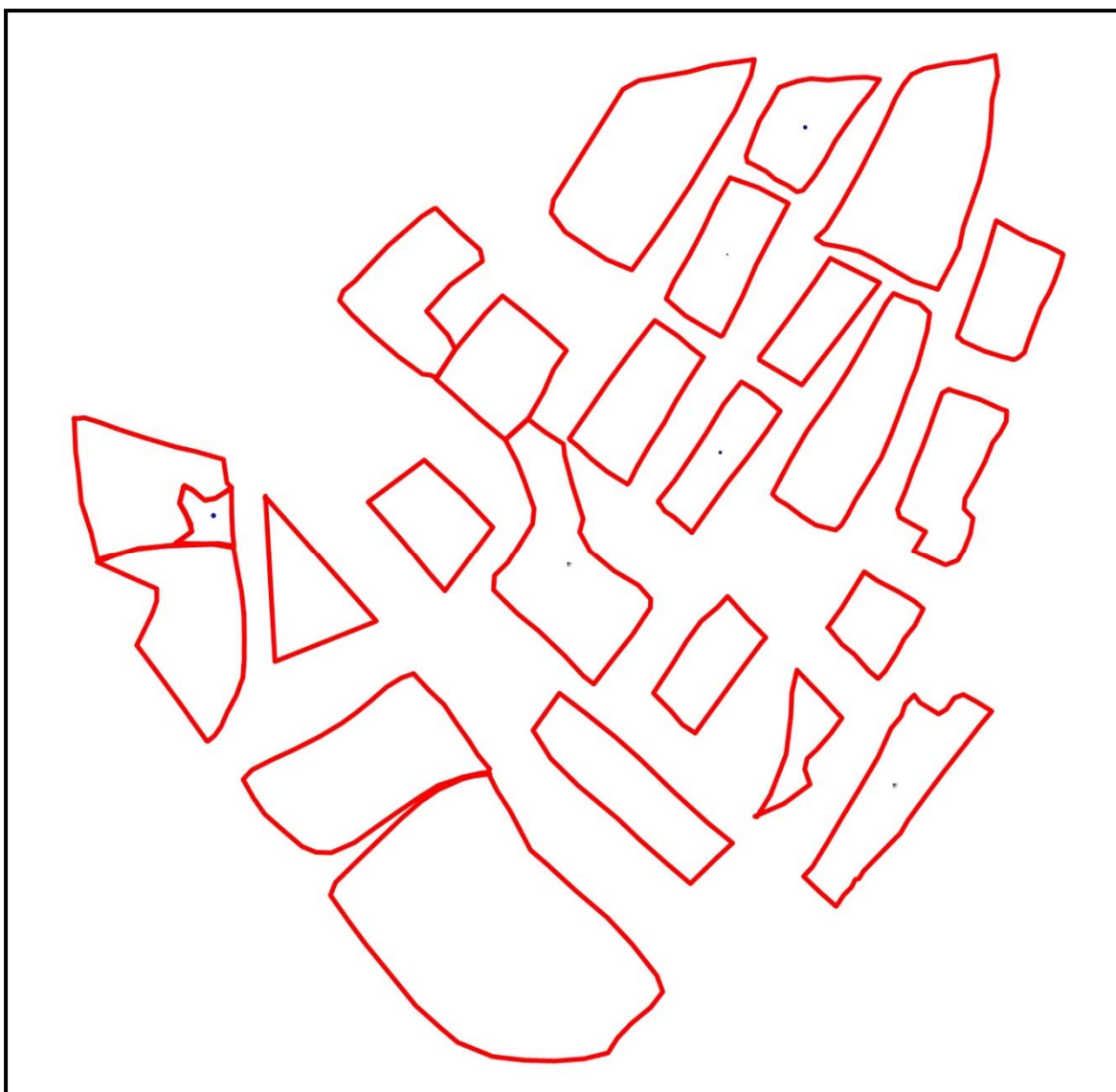


Figure 41. Area N, Wilmington Sherd Density per Square Foot, Zoomed In.

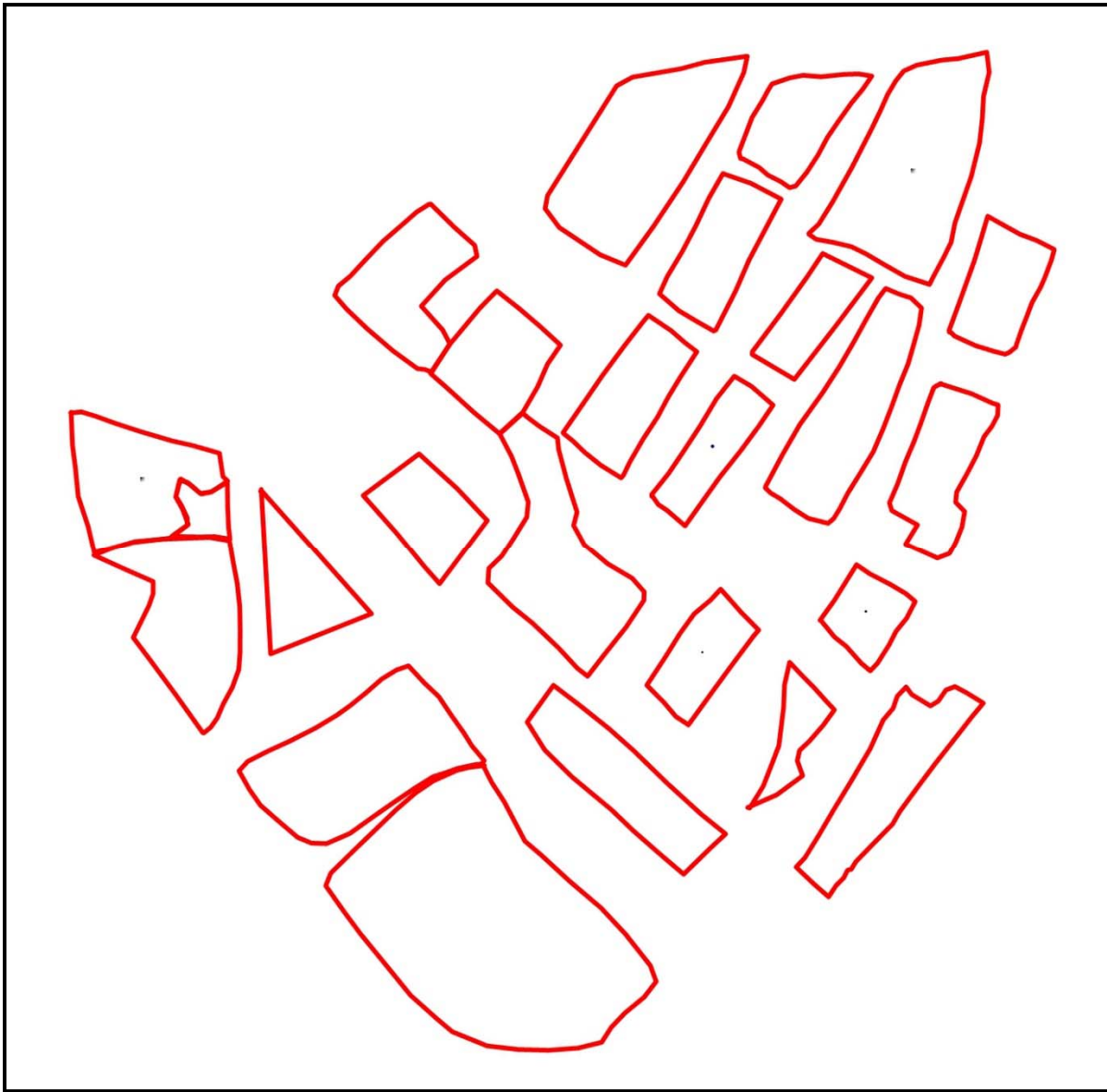


Figure 42. Area N, Waltham Sherd Density per Square Foot, Zoomed In.

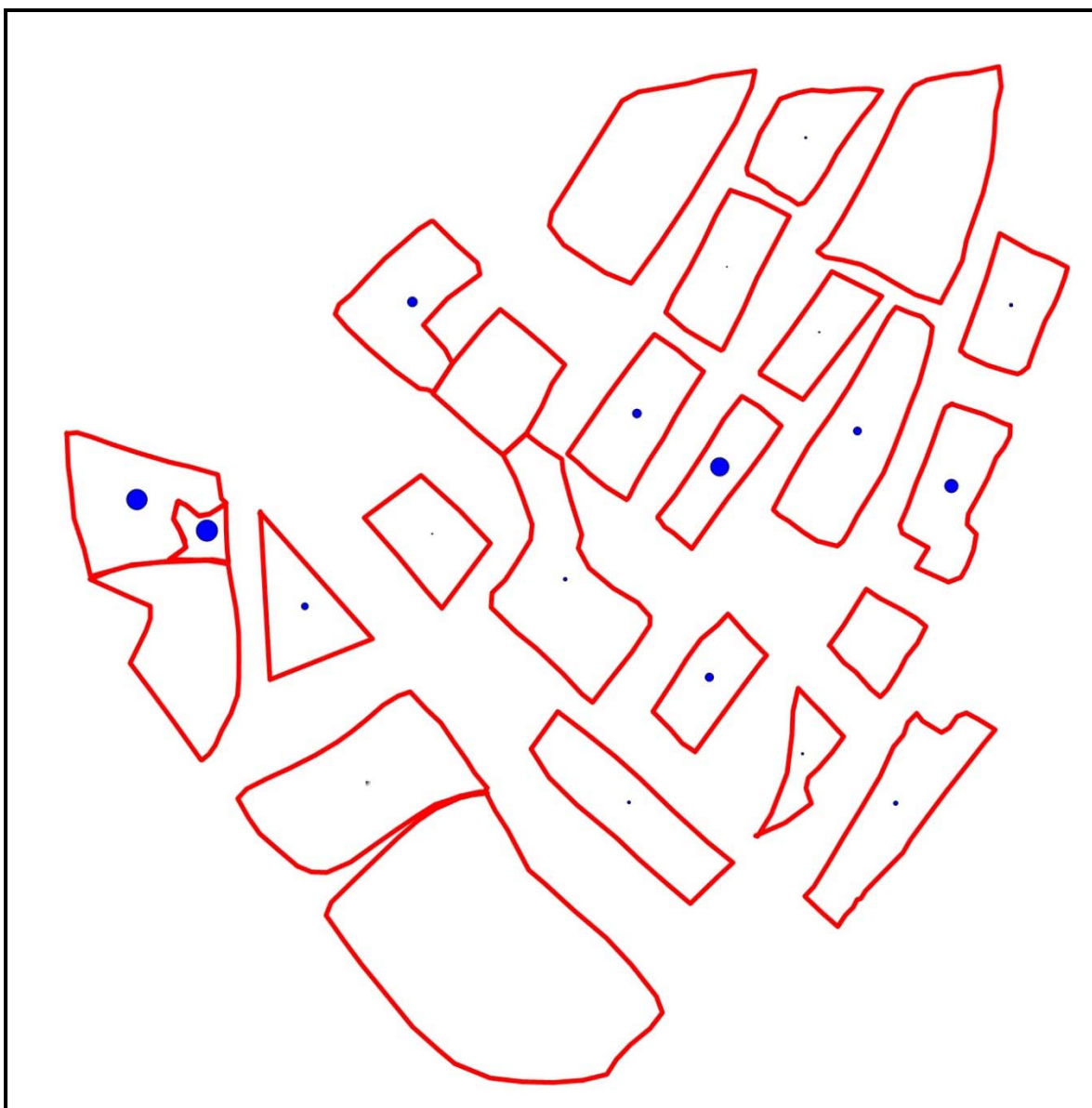


Figure 43. Area N, Deptford Sherd Density per Square Foot, Zoomed In.

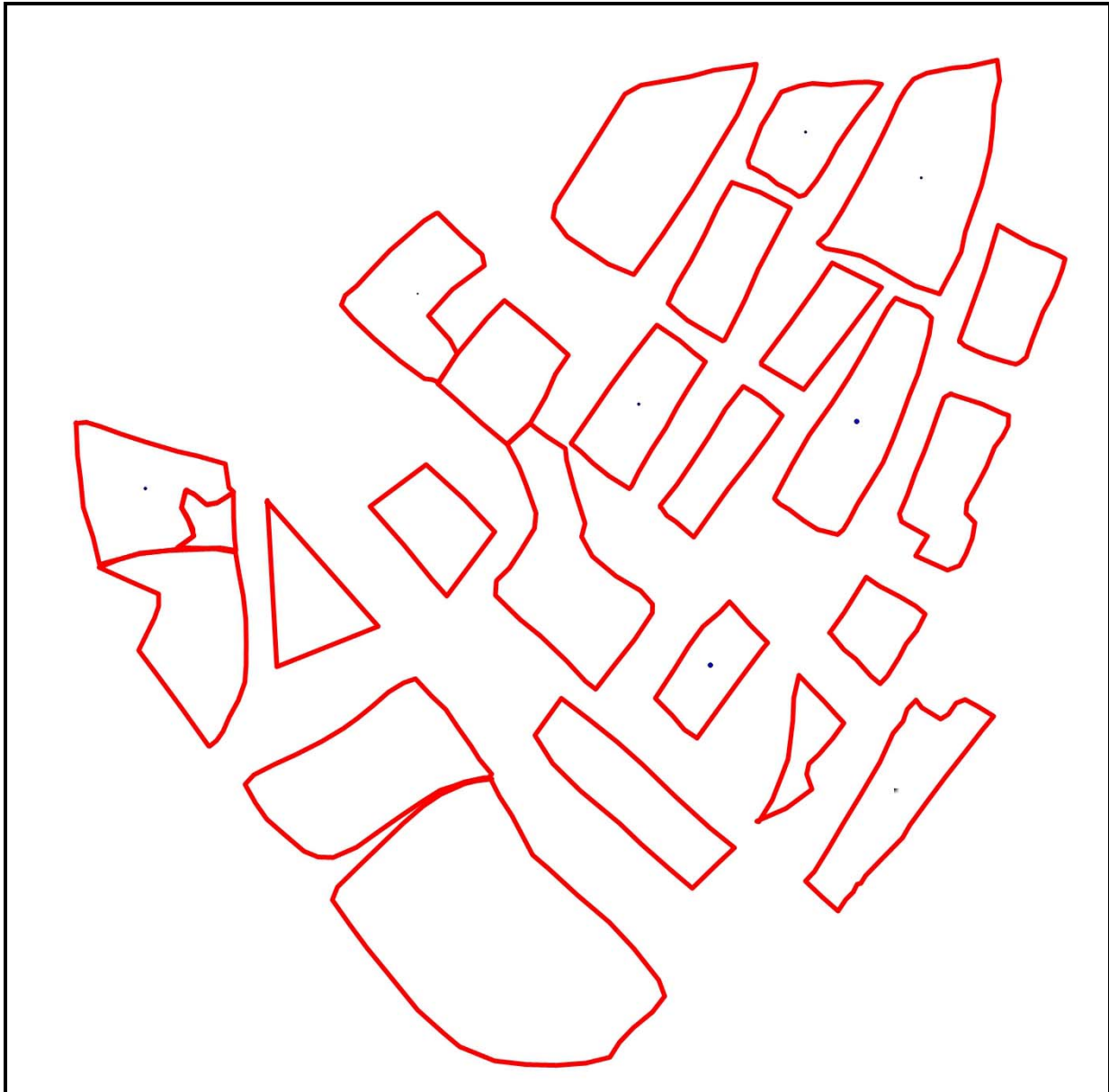


Figure 44. Area N, Refuge Sherd Density per Square Foot, Zoomed In.

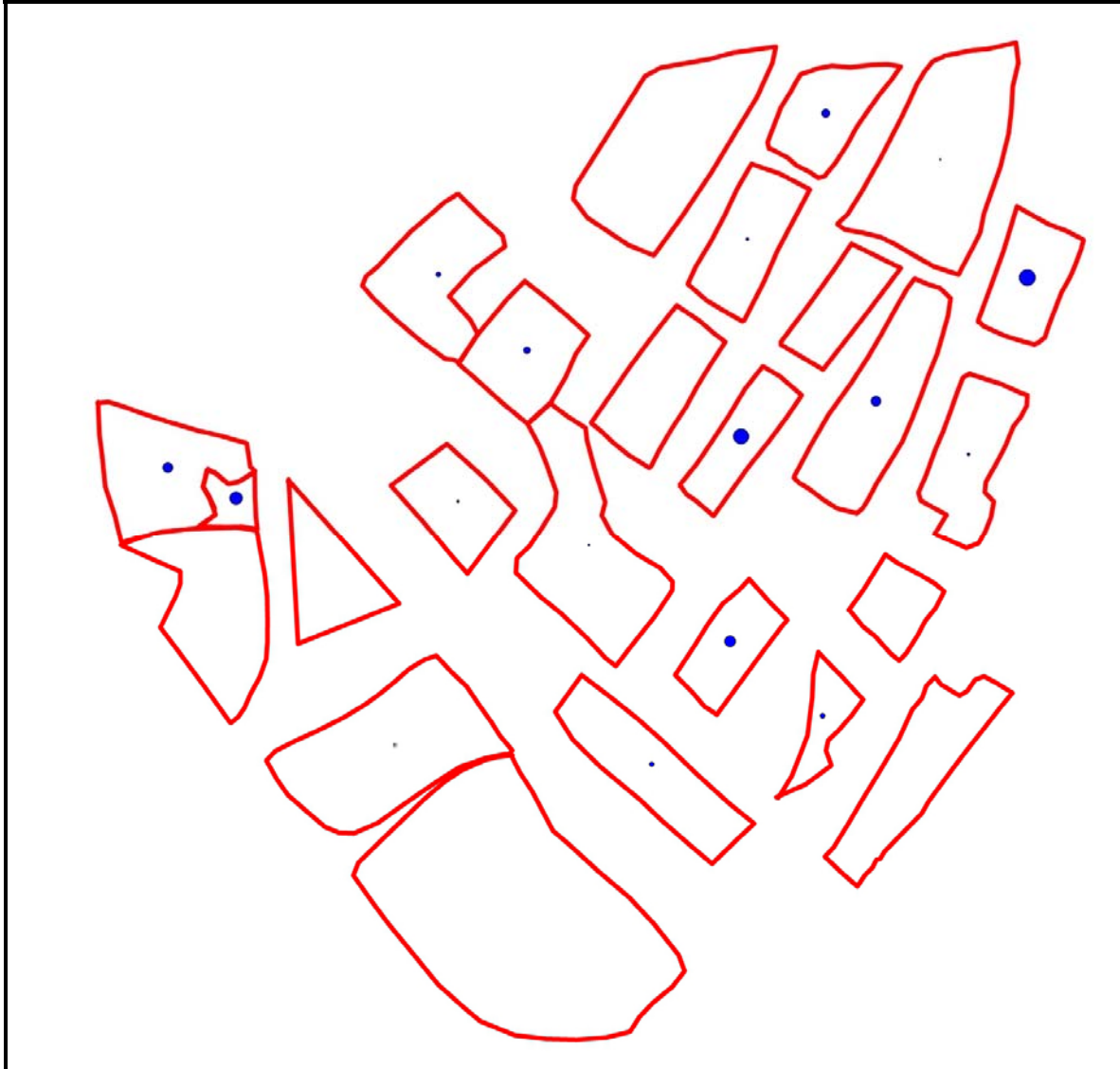


Figure 45. Area N, St. Simons Sherd Density per Square Foot, Zoomed In.

Area O

The area covered by the **Area O** shell middens is almost three times as large as the **N Areas**, and covers the western third of the entire site and much of the northern part. As stated before it overlaps with the **Area N** excavations, which apparently were excavated deeper. The origin of all these defined shell middens is a bit unclear. Were they just trash middens by the user of the mounds, or were parts of the shell middens present perhaps long before the mounds were constructed. The presence of ceramics from most of the earlier ceramic periods makes this suggestion a viable possibility. It is also possible that these shell areas were the basal remnants of larger shell middens removed during the 19th and early 20th centuries for fill or road gravel nearby. I know that much of the shell in the northern part of the **Large Mound** was so used.

I present the ceramic data by time periods here in the same manner that I used above for the **N Areas**. **Figures 46-56** present the dot data by actual sherd counts, again with variable scales to accommodate the vast differences in quantities. The actual ceramic data are listed in **Appendix 6**. Following these, **Figures 57-65** present versions that are presented as sherds per square foot. All of these figures again use the same scale as those in **Figures 37-45** above for **Area N** with a single exception. This is for the Savannah period ceramics, which were so numerous per square foot in some areas that I had to divide the dot size for this type by 10. A map done to the same scale as the others for the Savannah period ceramics would have covered the entire page. As I mentioned above, this highlights the fact that Savannah period ceramics are clearly the predominant ceramics of the entire site. Indeed, were it not for the **Mortuary**, and perhaps some of the **Rotunda**, ironically the Irene component at the Irene site should be considered a very minor one. The Irene site should have been named the Savannah site!

The patterns presented in these drawings seem to show an even distribution over most of the western part of the site. One exception is the Late Archaic St. Simons period fiber tempered ceramics which are heavily concentrated in the north near the mouth of Pipemaker's Creek. The very minor Late Woodland period Wilmington ceramics also seem to be mostly concentrated in the north.

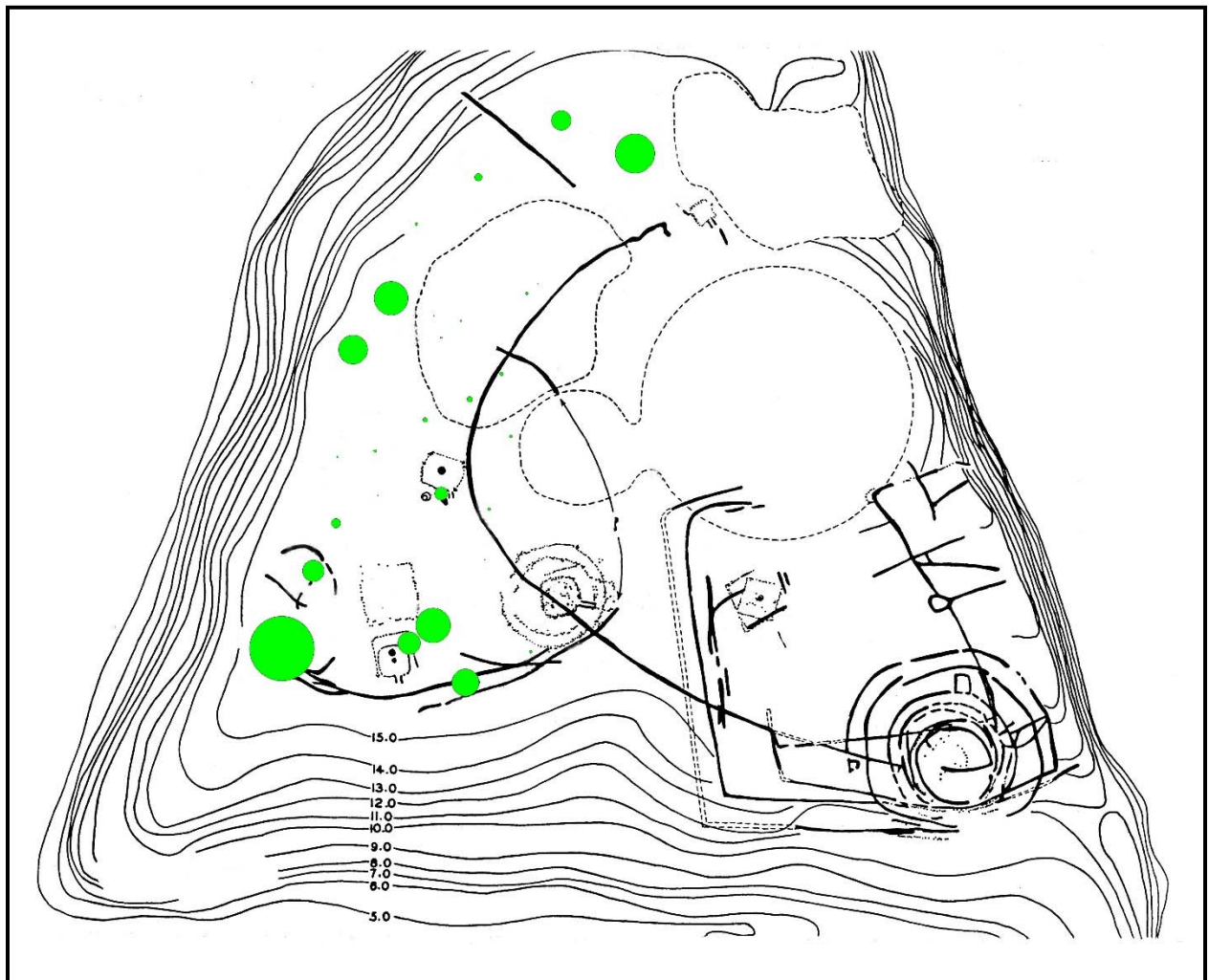


Figure 46. Area O, Altamaha Sherd Count Times 15.

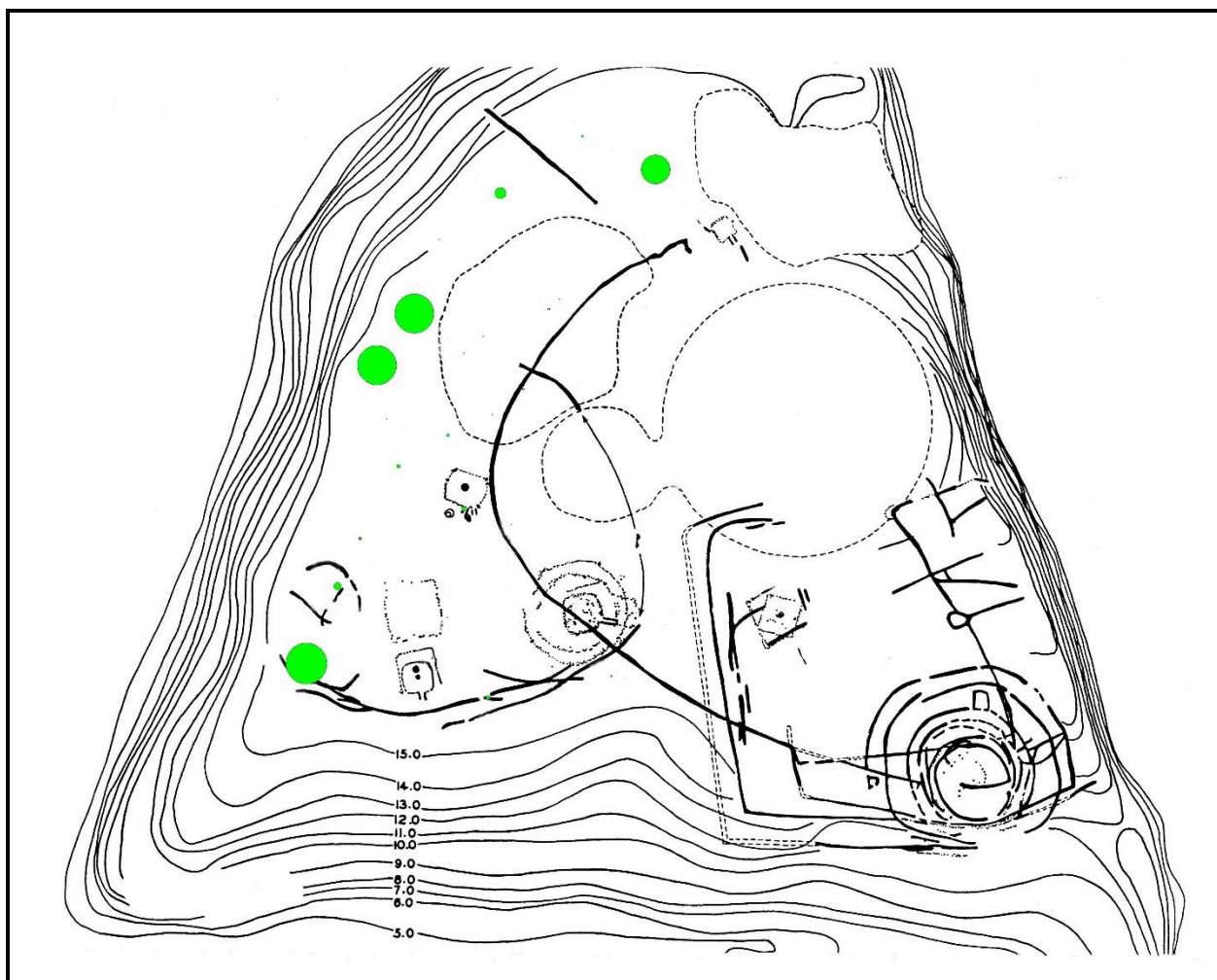


Figure 47. Area O, Irene Sherd Count Times 15.

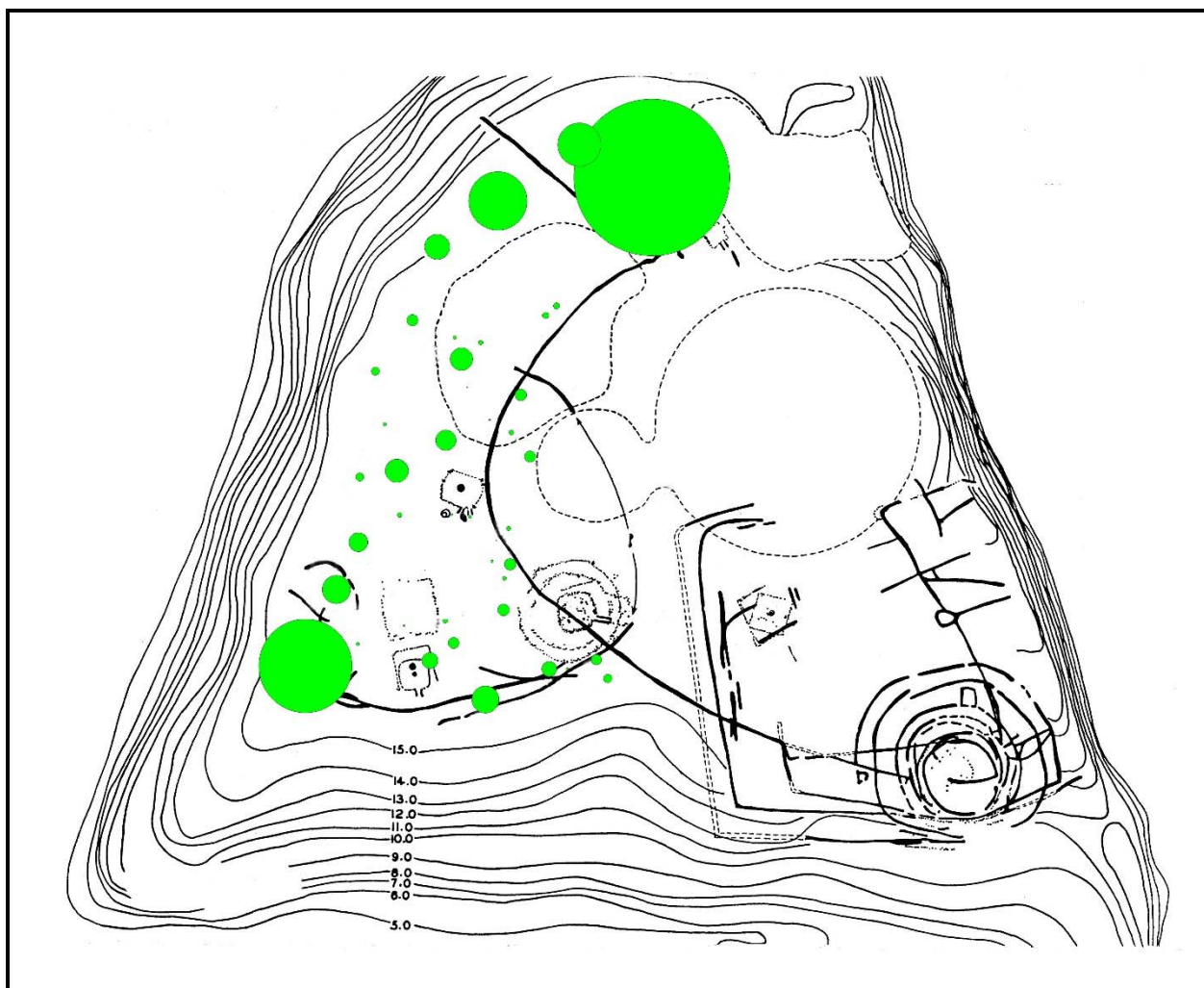


Figure 48. Area O, Savannah Sherd Count Times 1.



Figure 49. Area O, Savannah / Irene Sherd Count Times 6.

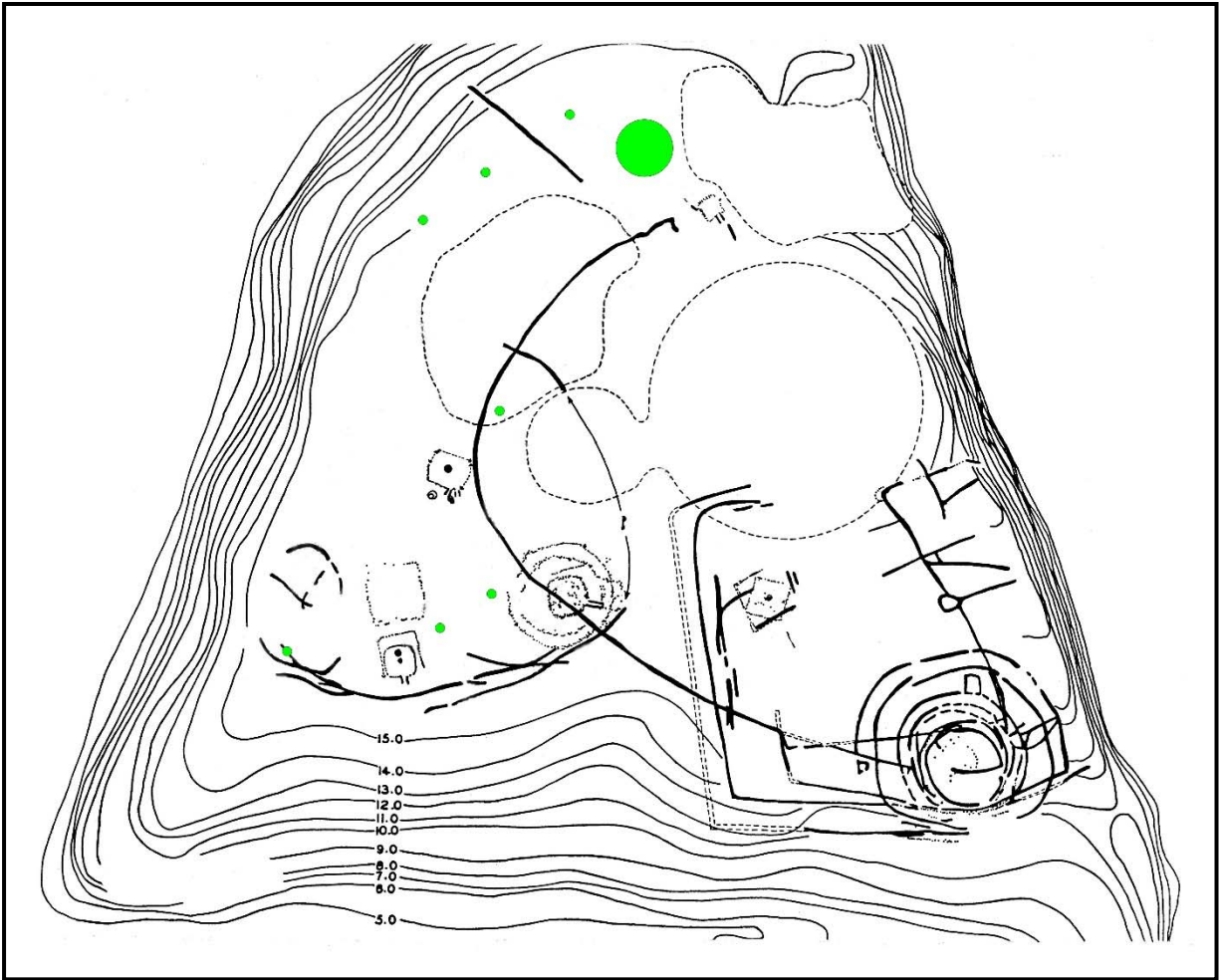


Figure 50. Area O, Wilmington Sherd Count Times 150.

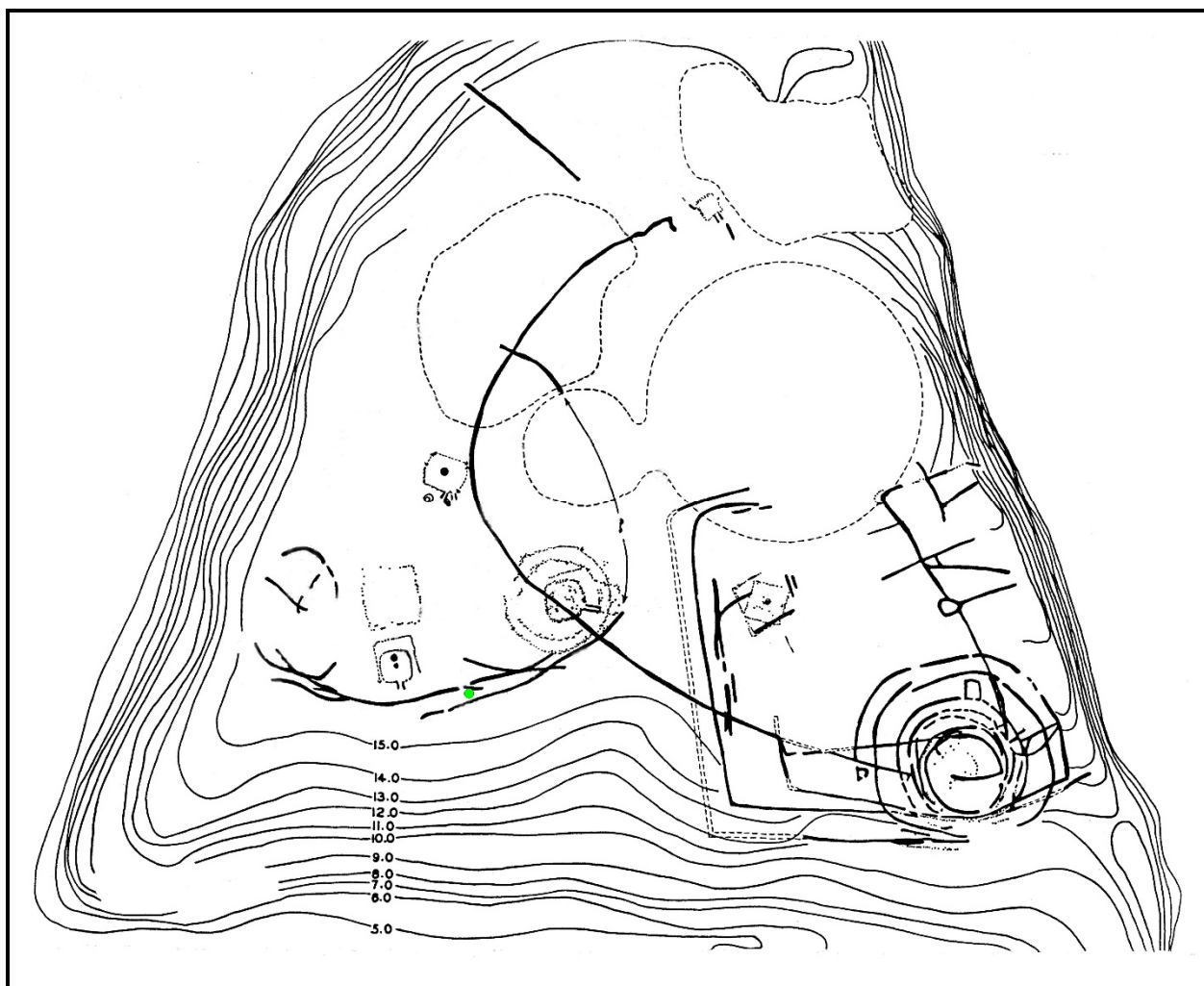


Figure 51. Area O, Swift Creek Sherd Count Times 150.

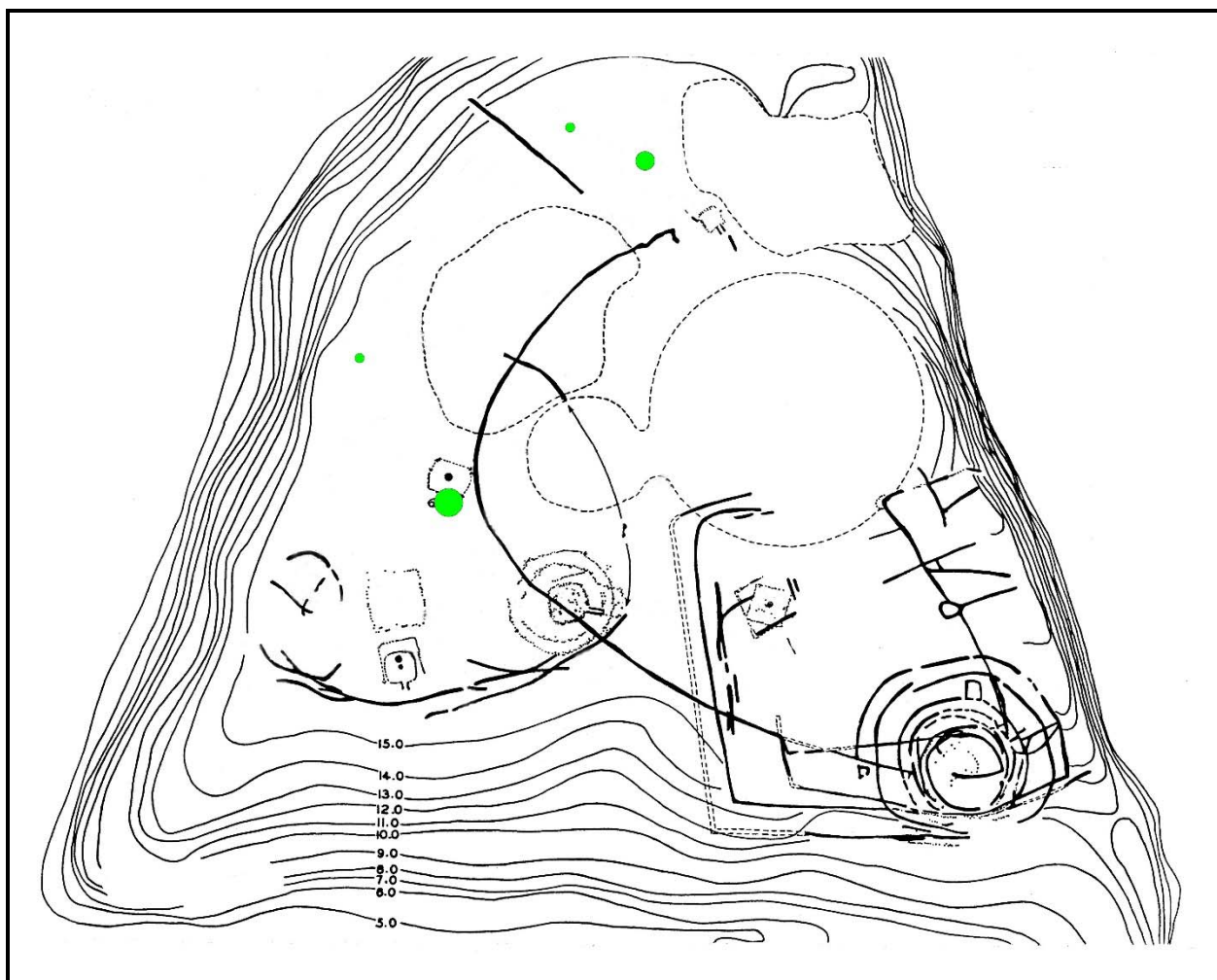


Figure 52. Area O, Walthour Sherd Count Times 150.

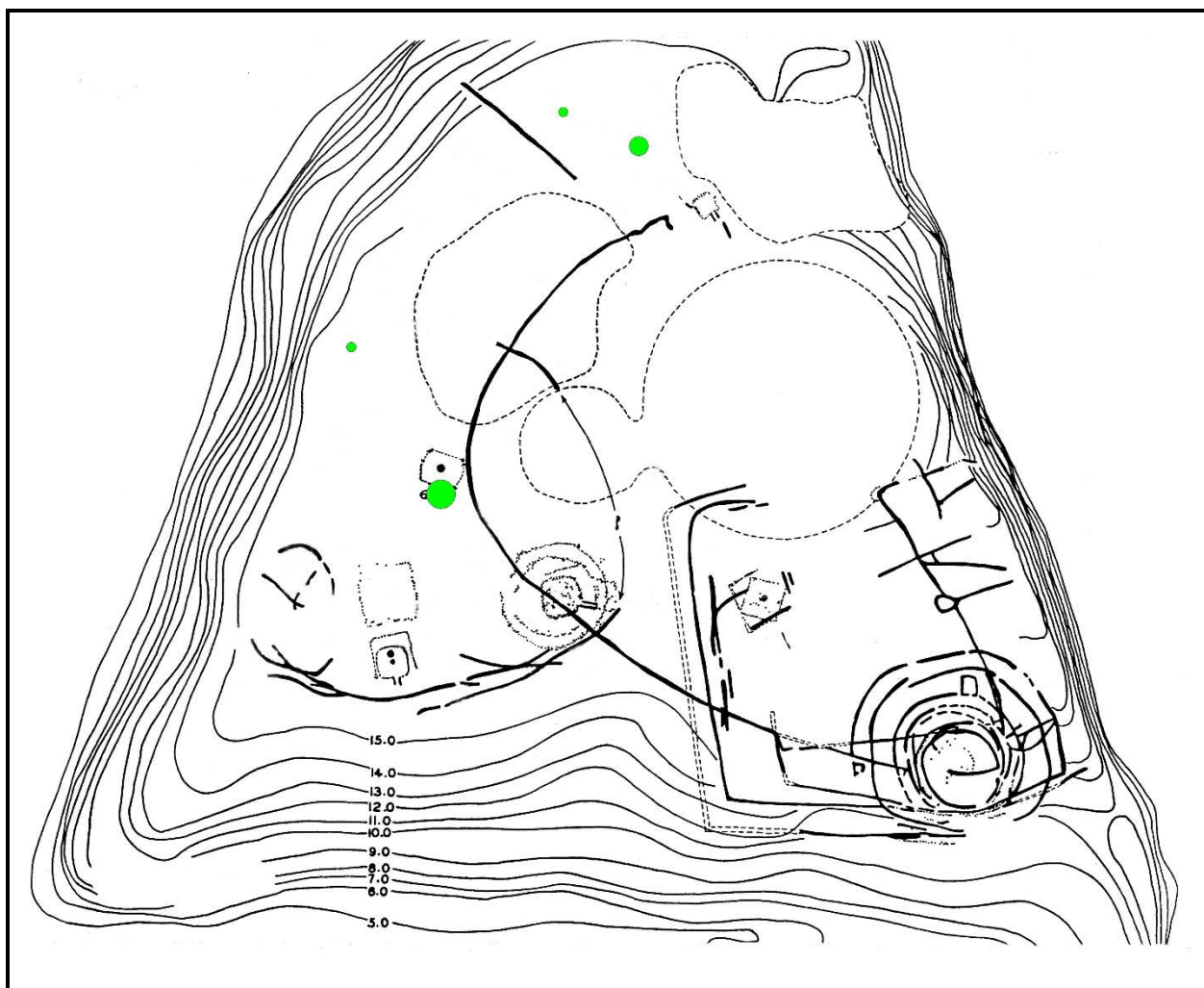


Figure 53. Area O, St. Johns Sherd Count Times 150.

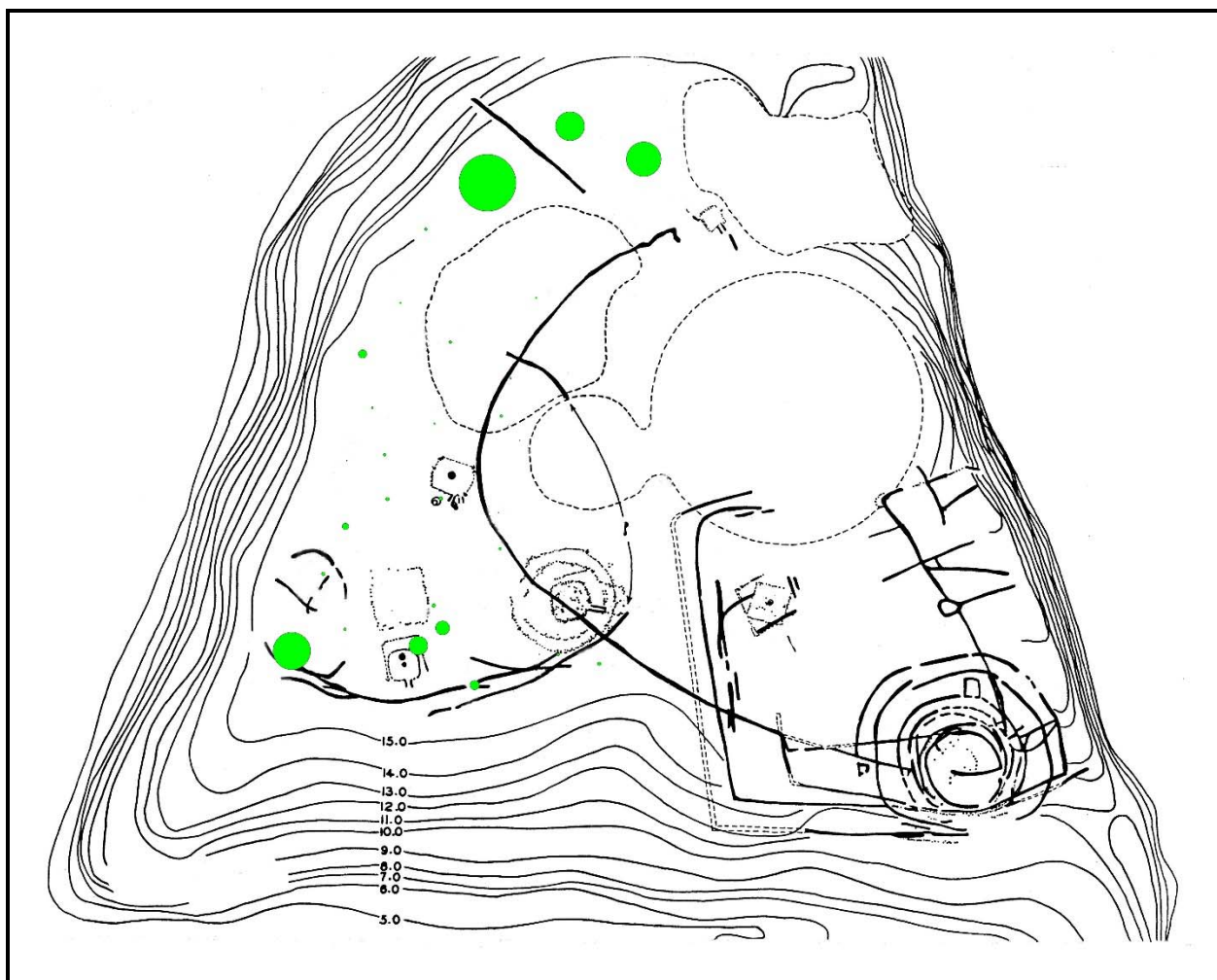


Figure 54. Area O, Deptford Sherd Count Times 15.

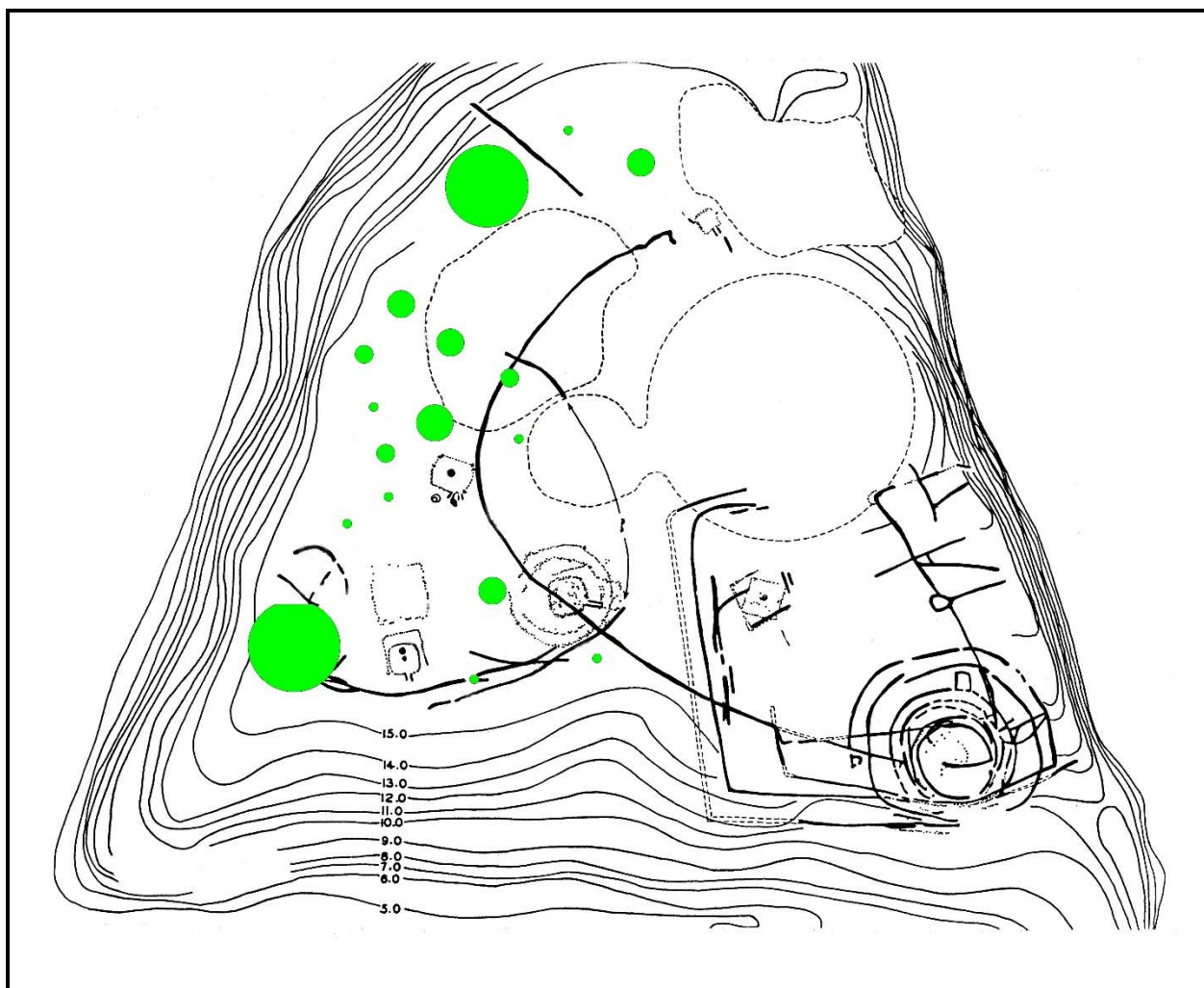


Figure 55. Area O, Refuge Sherd Count Times 150.

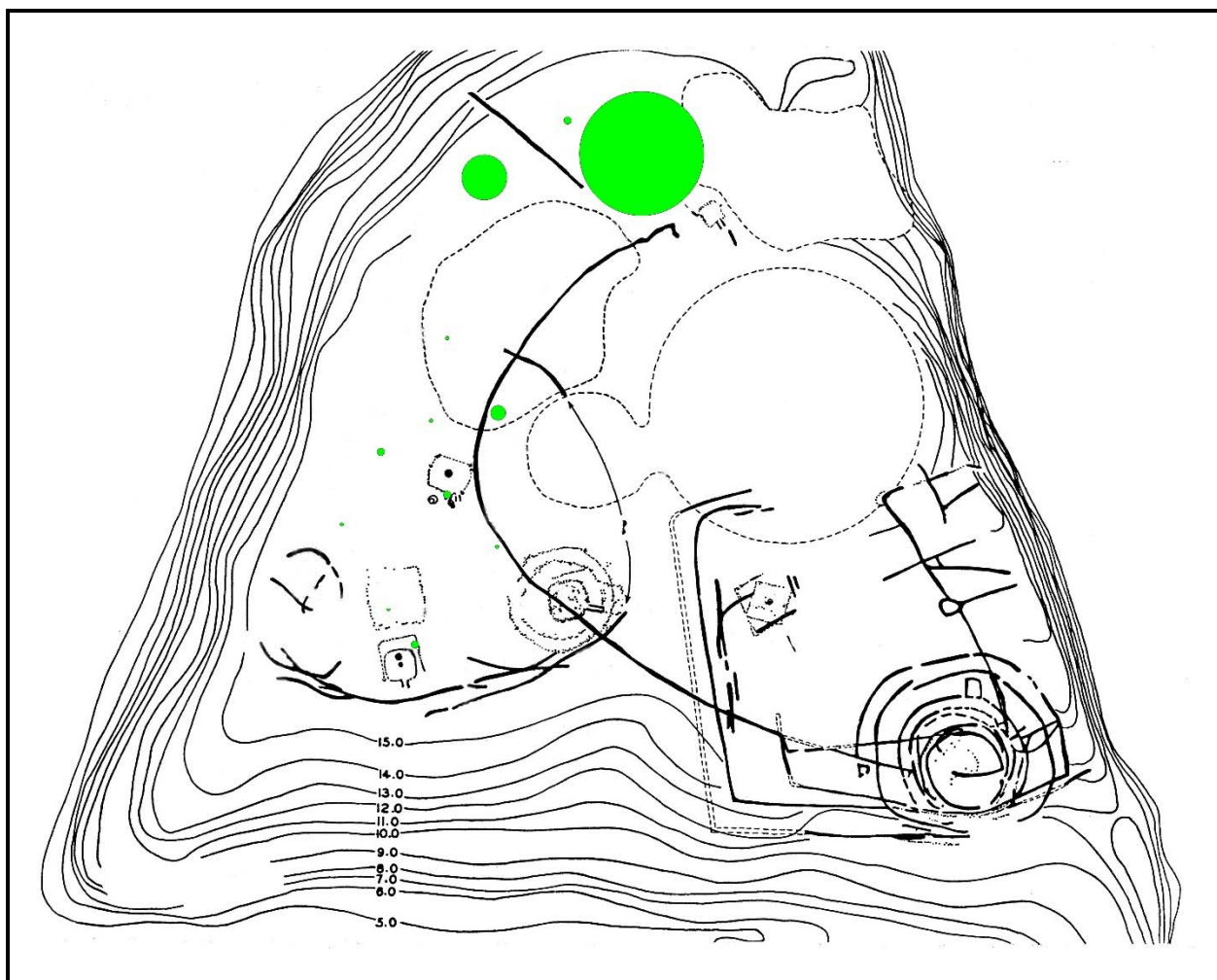


Figure 56. Area O, St. Simons Sherd Count Times 60.



Figure 57. Area O, Altamaha Sherd Density per Square Foot, Zoomed In.

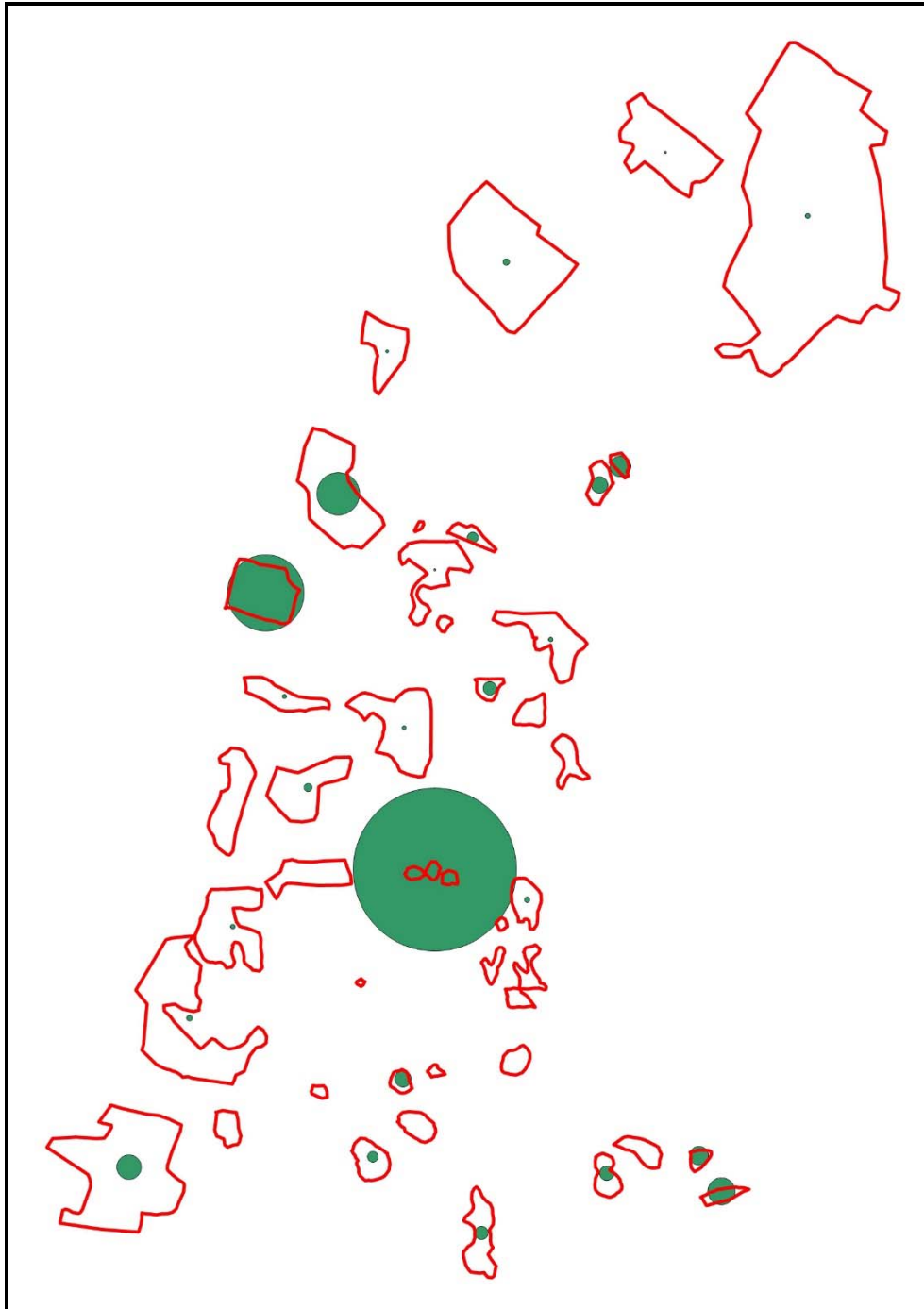


Figure 58. Area O, Irene Sherd Density per Square Foot, Zoomed In.

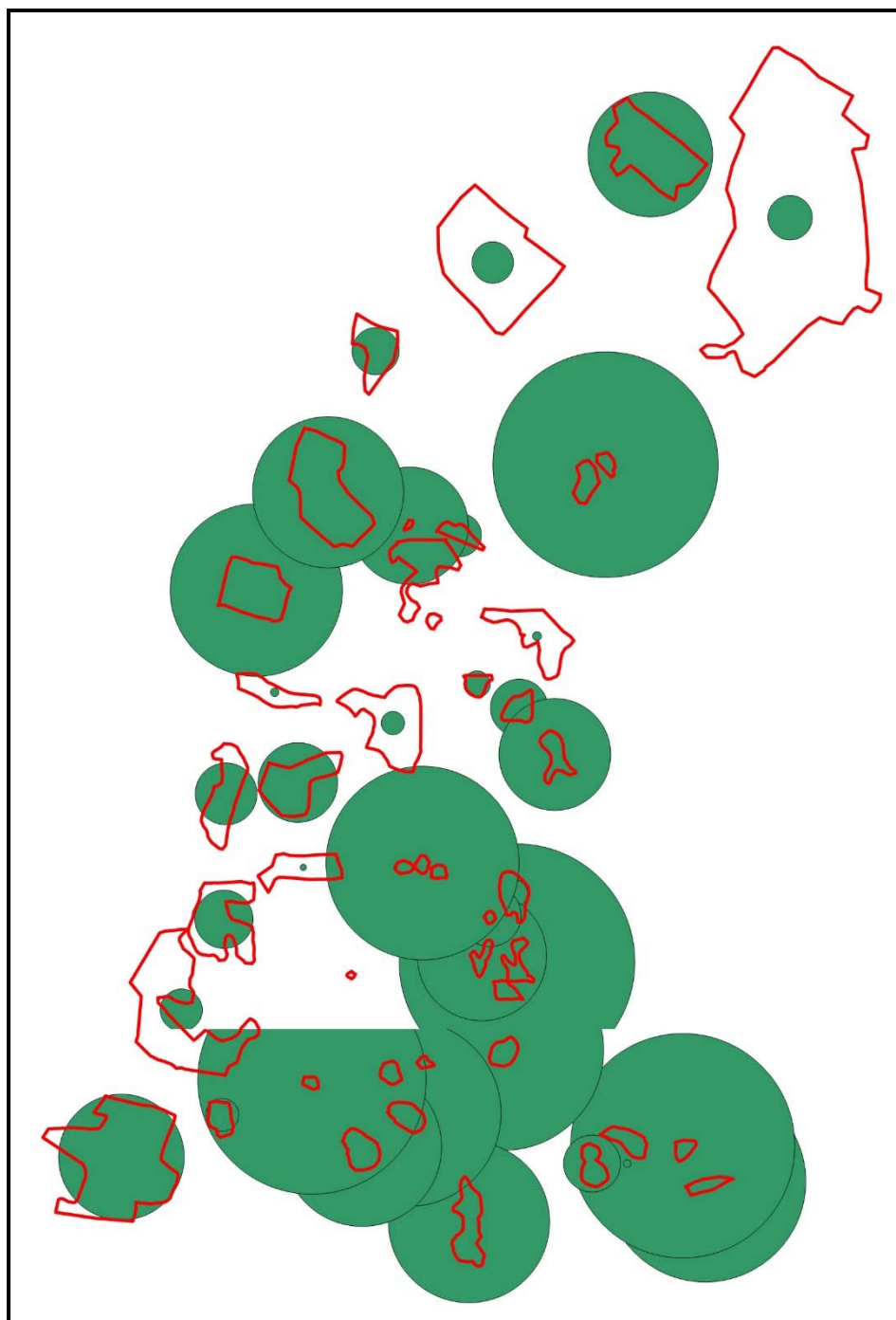


Figure 59. Savannah/Irene Complicated Stamped Sherd Density per Square Foot, Zoomed In.

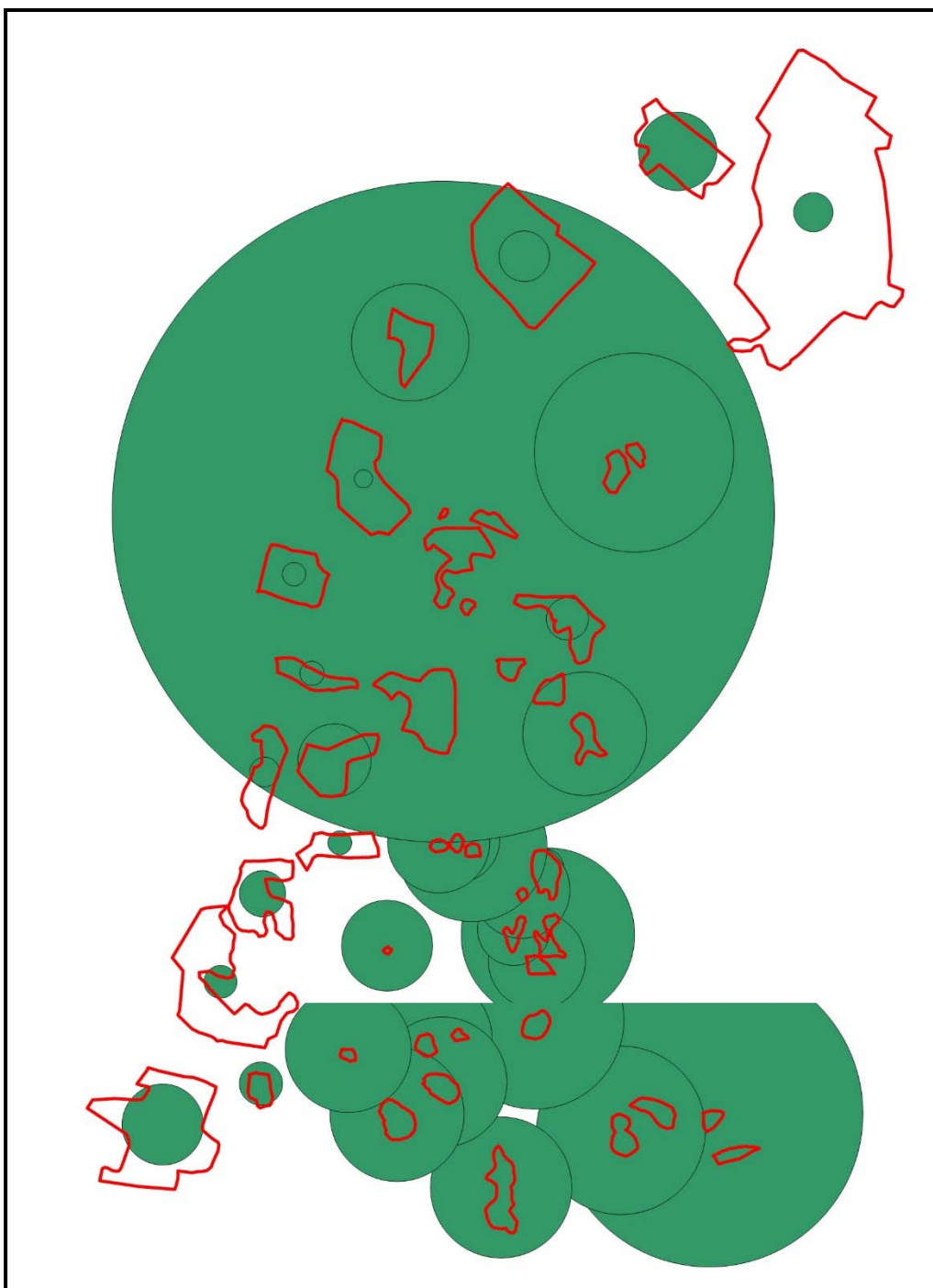


Figure 60. Area O, Savannah Sherd Density per Square Foot, Zoomed In (Divided by 10).

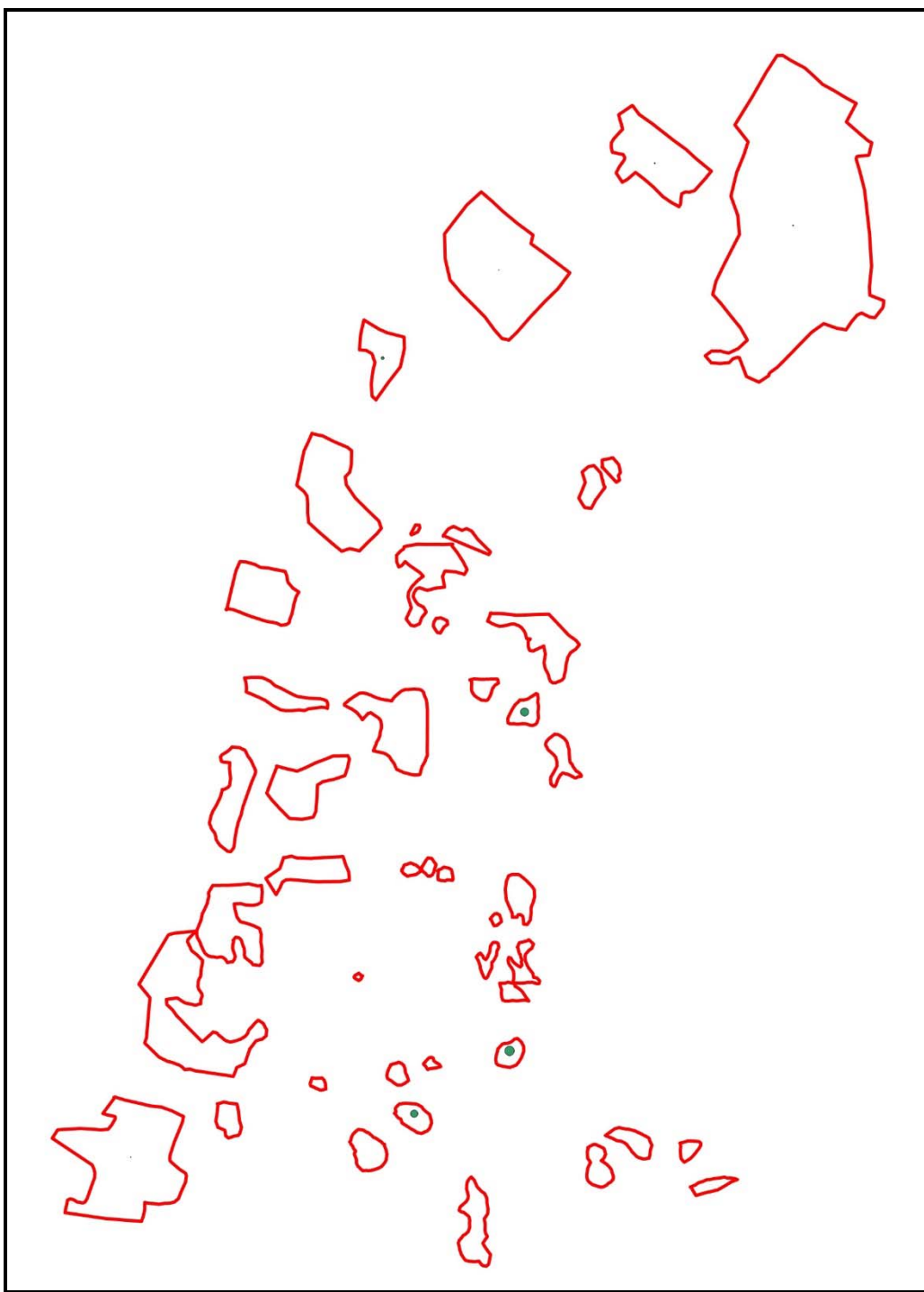


Figure 61. Area O, Wilmington Sherd Density per Square Foot, Zoomed In.

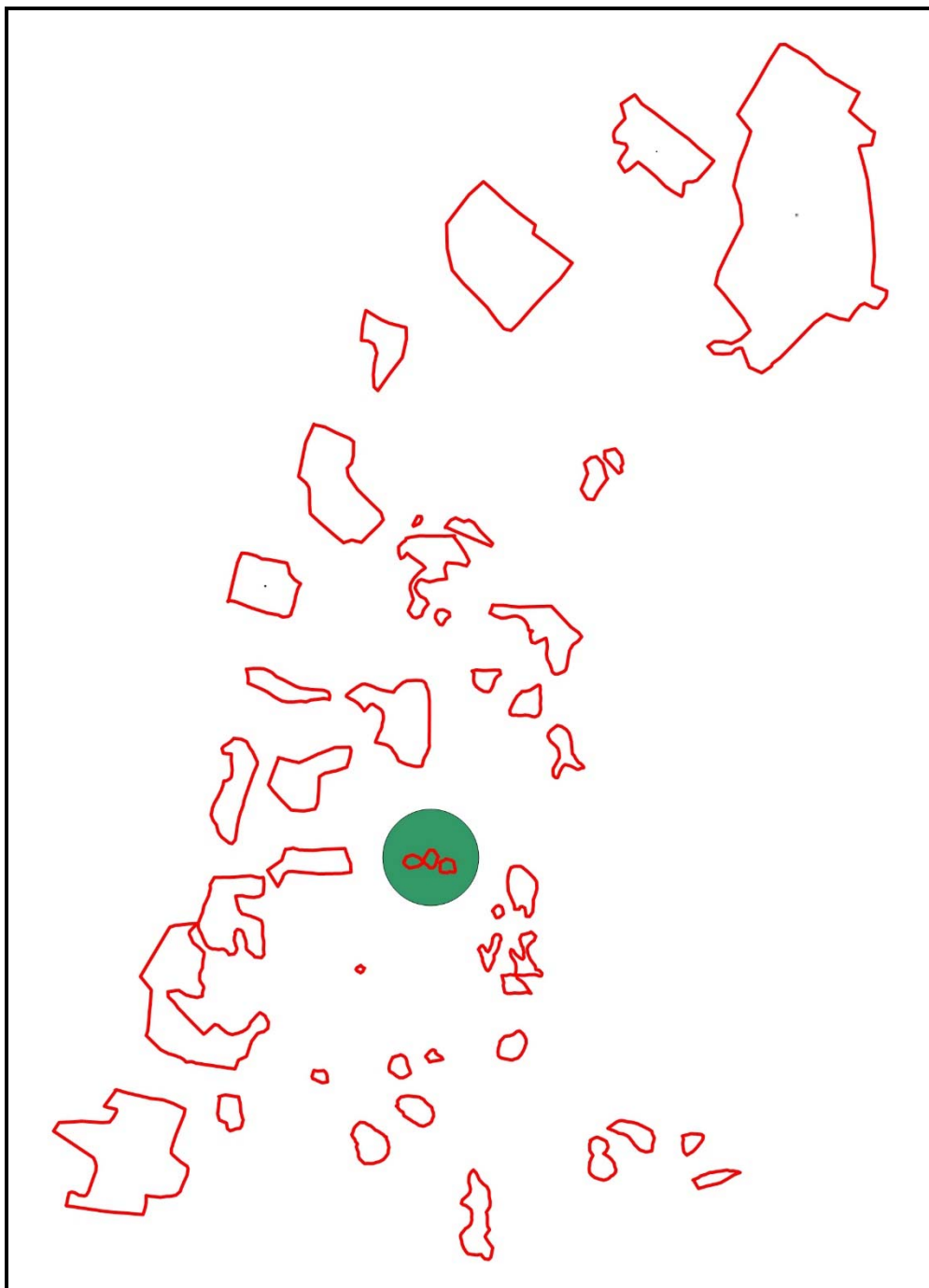


Figure 62. Area O, Walthour Sherd Density per Square Foot, Zoomed In.

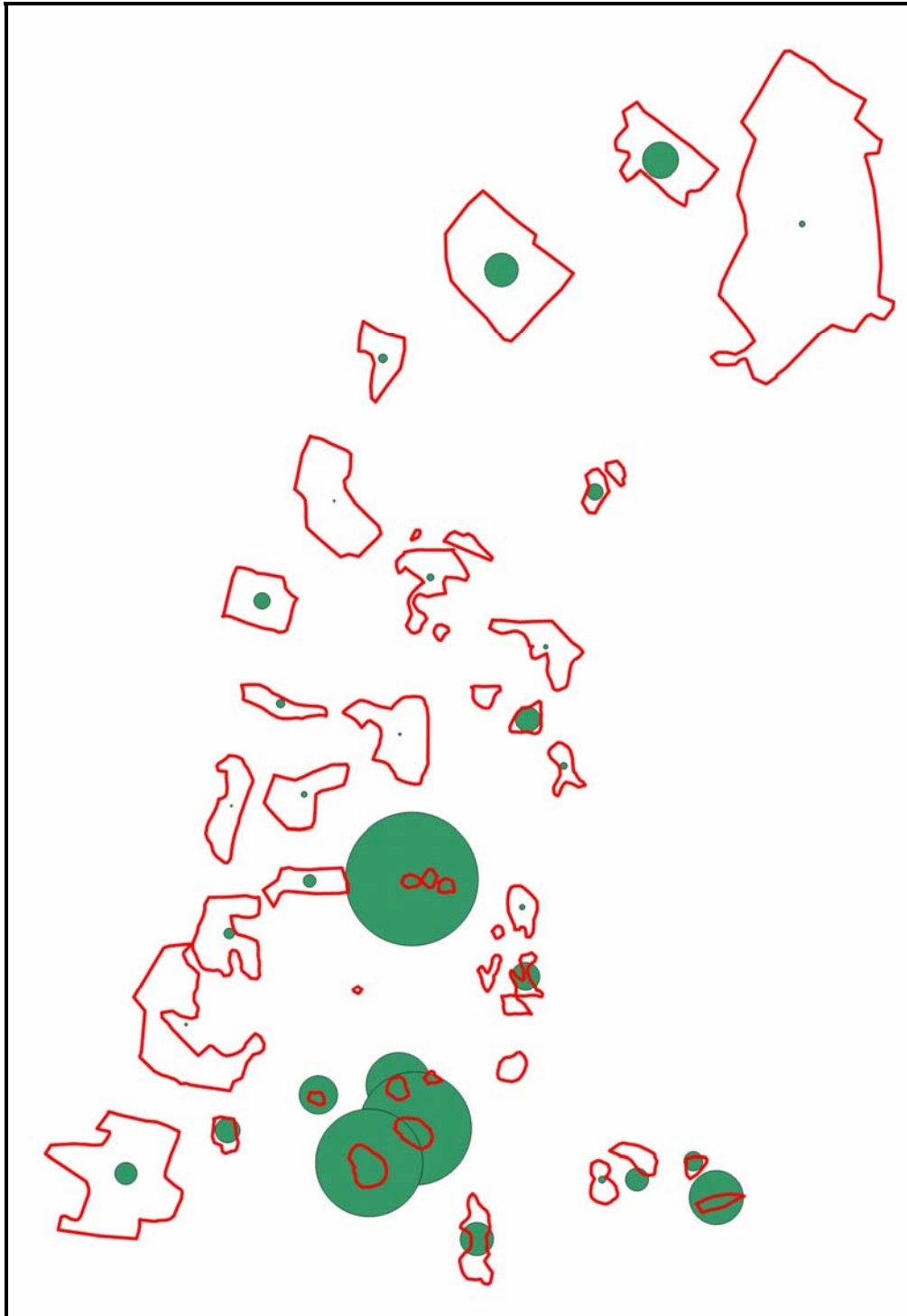


Figure 63. Area O, Deptford Sherd Density per Square Foot, Zoomed In.

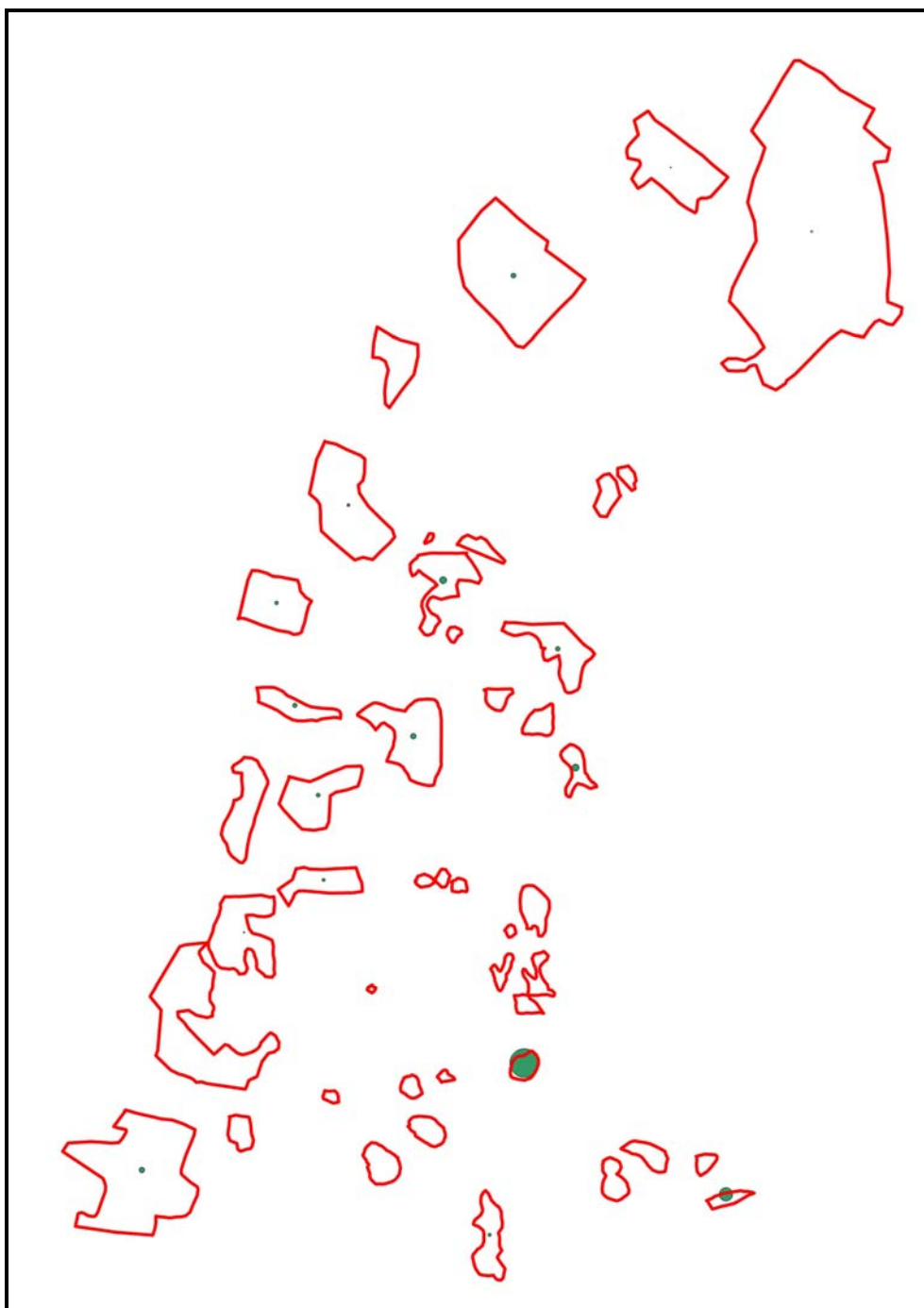


Figure 64. Area O, Refuge, Sherd Density per Square Foot, Zoomed In.

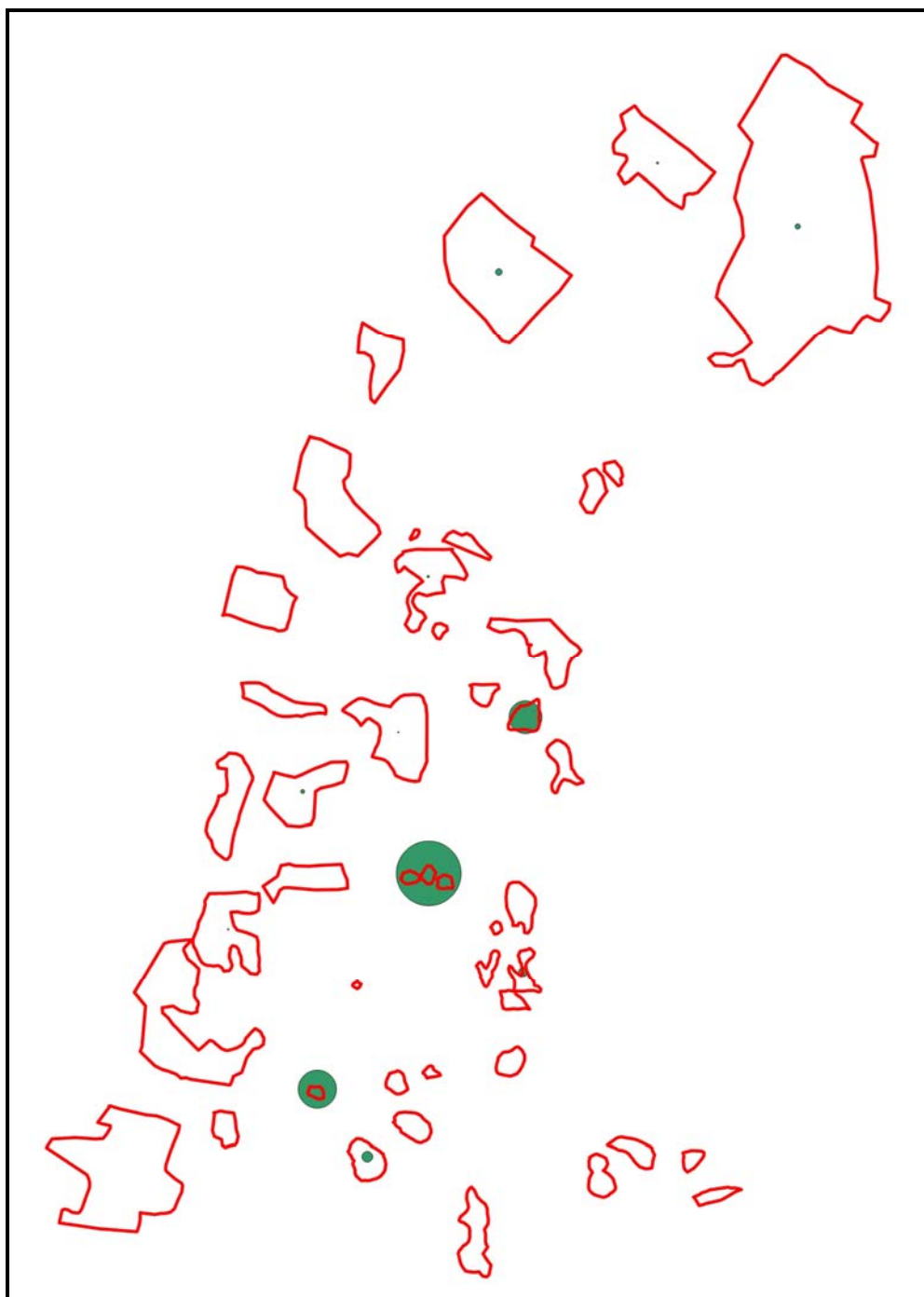


Figure 65. Area O, St. Simons Sherd Density per Square Foot, Zoomed In.

Chapter 10

Large Mound Observations

Caldwell and McCann spent more time discussing the Large Mound in their 1941 report than any other feature at the site. This mound remains one of the most thoroughly excavated ones in the Southeast. Such a complete excavation is not apt to happen in the future for many reasons—the cost would alone would make such an excavation prohibitive. What I learned from the excavation was the simple fact that the mound consisted of eight Stages, the earlier with a single square structure on the summit. It was fortunate that the 1911 destruction of the northwestern corner of the mound generally did not cut into the earlier structures except for the final three stages of the mound.

Unfortunately the drawings in the Caldwell and McCann publication are the only surviving drawings of the mound stages. All the actual field drawings and any other preliminary drawings have been lost at some time in the past. I have scanned all the drawings from the report, cleaned them in *Photoshop*, and am presenting them here to answer the simple question of how the several structures stacked pancake style in the mound were oriented and positioned relative to one another—something not discussed directly in the original report. The drawing of the early stages of mound excavation by Fewkes located at the Pennsylvania Museum (Figure 10) aided in allowing me to determine how to overlap all the **Large Mound** stage drawings.

First, Figure 66 below shows Figure 10 from the Caldwell and McCann report, with the centers of all the mapped structures marked as red numbers, the numbers representing the Stage number of each structure mapped in the mound. Stages 6 and 7 had two structures, labeled here

as A and B. The most obvious initial observation is that the structure on Stages 1, 2, 3, and 4 are almost at the exact same location. Structures 5 and 6B are only about 4-5 feet south of this location. The center of Stage 6 Structure A (6A) is located some 30 feet north-northwest of Structure 6B. Stage 7, like Stage 8 was so badly disturbed in the mound's northwestern section that no structure center could be determined. It was clear that, like Stage 6, Stage 7 had two structures on its summit. The center of Stage 7 Structure 7B was located over 30 feet east of almost all the other structures. No structures were recorded on the Stage 8 final mound summit due to its damage from the 1911 backfill looting, the Moravian schoolhouse placed on the summit in the 1730s, and the cemetery of the Rae and Elbert family and its fourteen or more graves.

It is interesting that the mound contained only single structures stacked pancake style for Stages 1-5, while Stages 6 and 7 (and perhaps 8) had two structures on the summit of that stage. This may be a function of the fact that as the mound increased in size over time, the summit became large enough to accommodate more than a single structure, or perhaps it represents a social /political changes of perspective on the function of the structured on the mound and the mound itself.

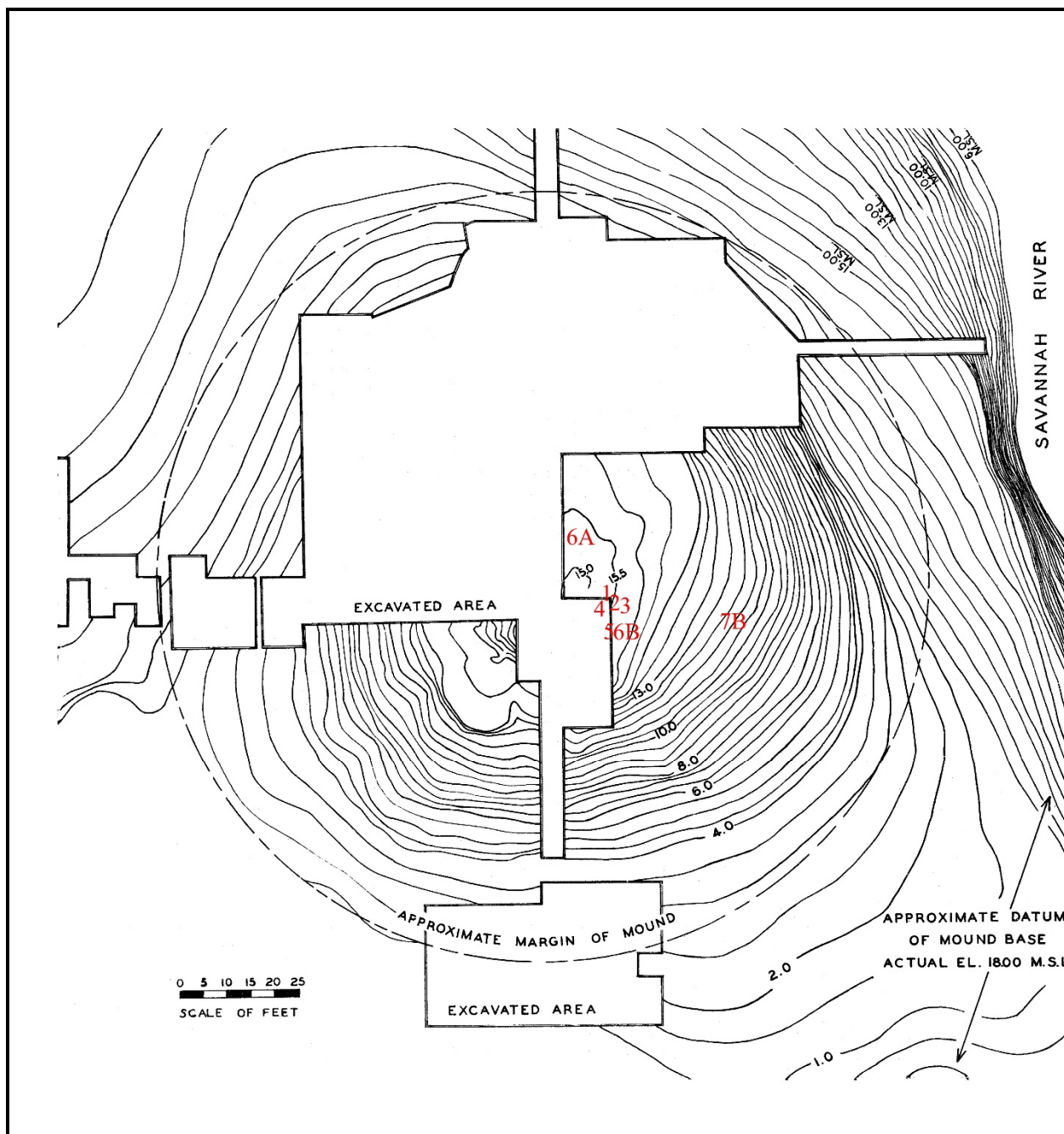


Figure 66. Locations of Centers of Large Mound Structures as Red Numbers.

I have created **Figures 67-79** below showing the actual stage maps from the original report overlapped two at a time. In the drawings, the lower stage is presented in black, and the upper stage is presented in purple. It is also clear from carefully looking at the drawings that they usually do not line up perfectly with one another. This I attribute to small differences in original field drawings as well as similar small differences by the unknown draftspersons who created the final images for the publication. Certainly it also could reflect the reality of the actual construction sequence by the Indians. I have simply used my best judgement in aligning the overlaps, but they are obviously not perfect. I had to alter the scales of each of Caldwell and McCann's drawings slightly and moved them around to provide the best match with the grid / trench lines on the Fewkes map. The locations of the north-south and east-west trenches dug in initial excavations of the mound were felt to be the best alignment guides. Sadly, no data appear available to determine exactly how much vertical space is between each house floor. Given the height of the mound, however, it seems to me that most were only about 1 foot apart vertically.

Figure 67 show Stage 2 over Stage 1. The two structure are so similar, that one suspects the same master architect designed both. Obviously the Stage 2 structure is slightly larger and the center fire pit is just south of that of the Stage 1 structure. The Stage 1 structure appears to have some inner support posts, while none are defined for the Stage 2 structure.

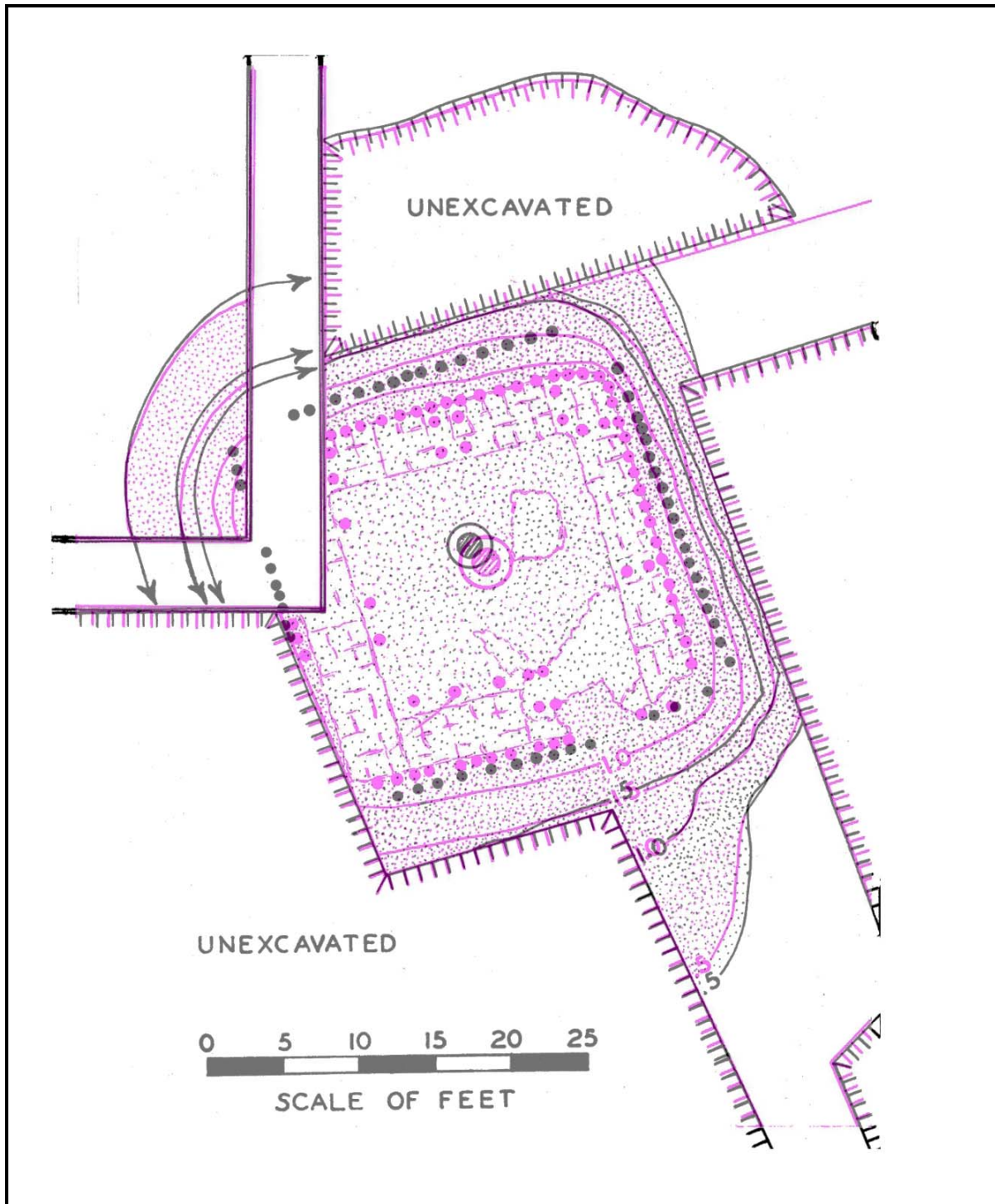


Figure 67. Large Mound, Stage 2 (Purple) over Stage 1.

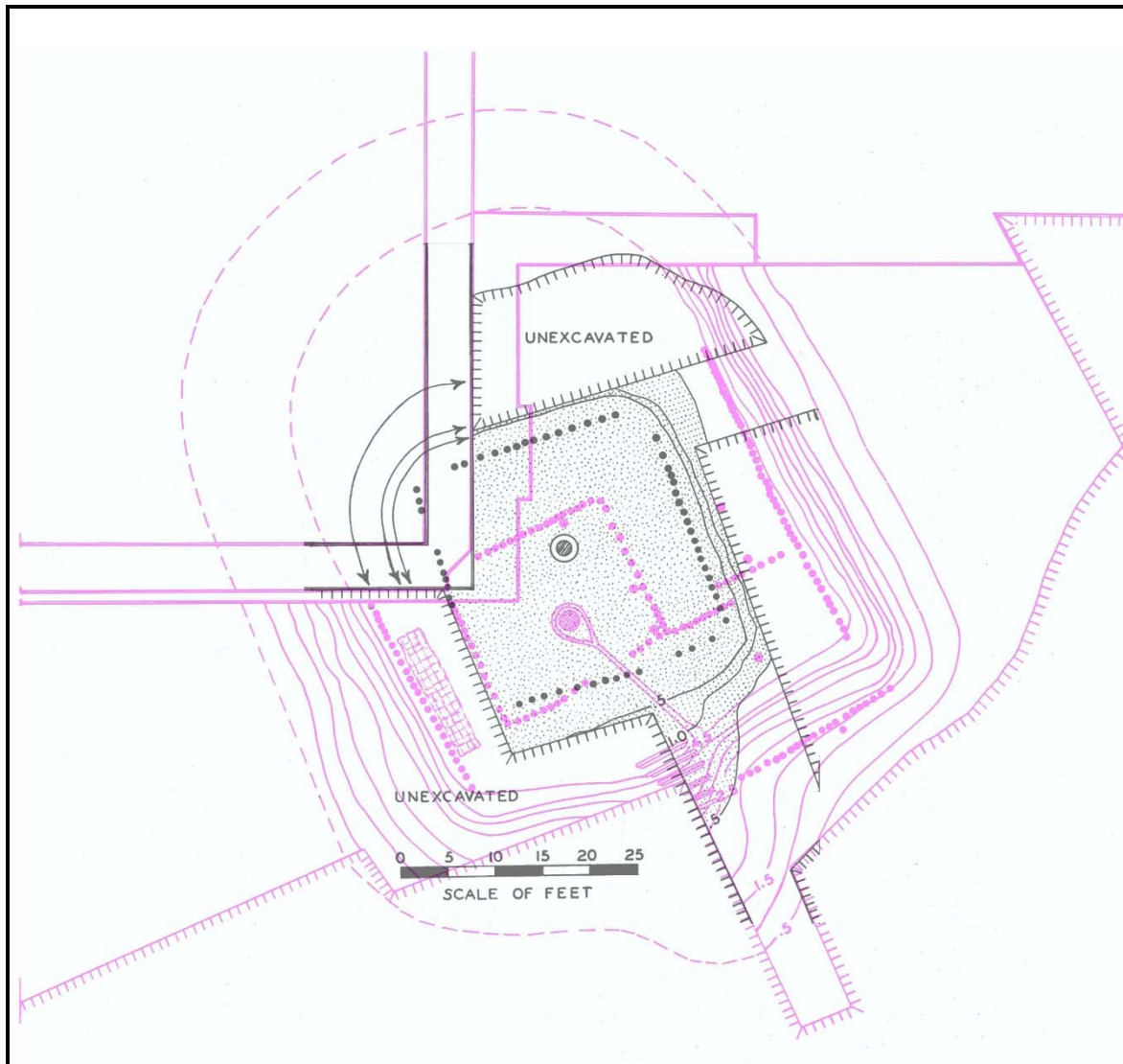


Figure 68. Large Mound, Stage 5 (Purple) over Stage 1.

Figure 68 show the Stage 5 structure over the Stage 1 structure. Clearly it is smaller, about 60 percent of the Stage 1 structure's size. It is also located southwest of the center of the Stage 1 structure and oriented slightly differently from it. Given that Stage 6 saw the beginning of two summit structures, it is a bit surprising that there are no indication of a second structure to the northwest of the Stage 5 structure, although it may have been destroyed by the 1911

activities. There are screen walls east and south of the Stage 5 structure, not seen on the Stage 1 structure.

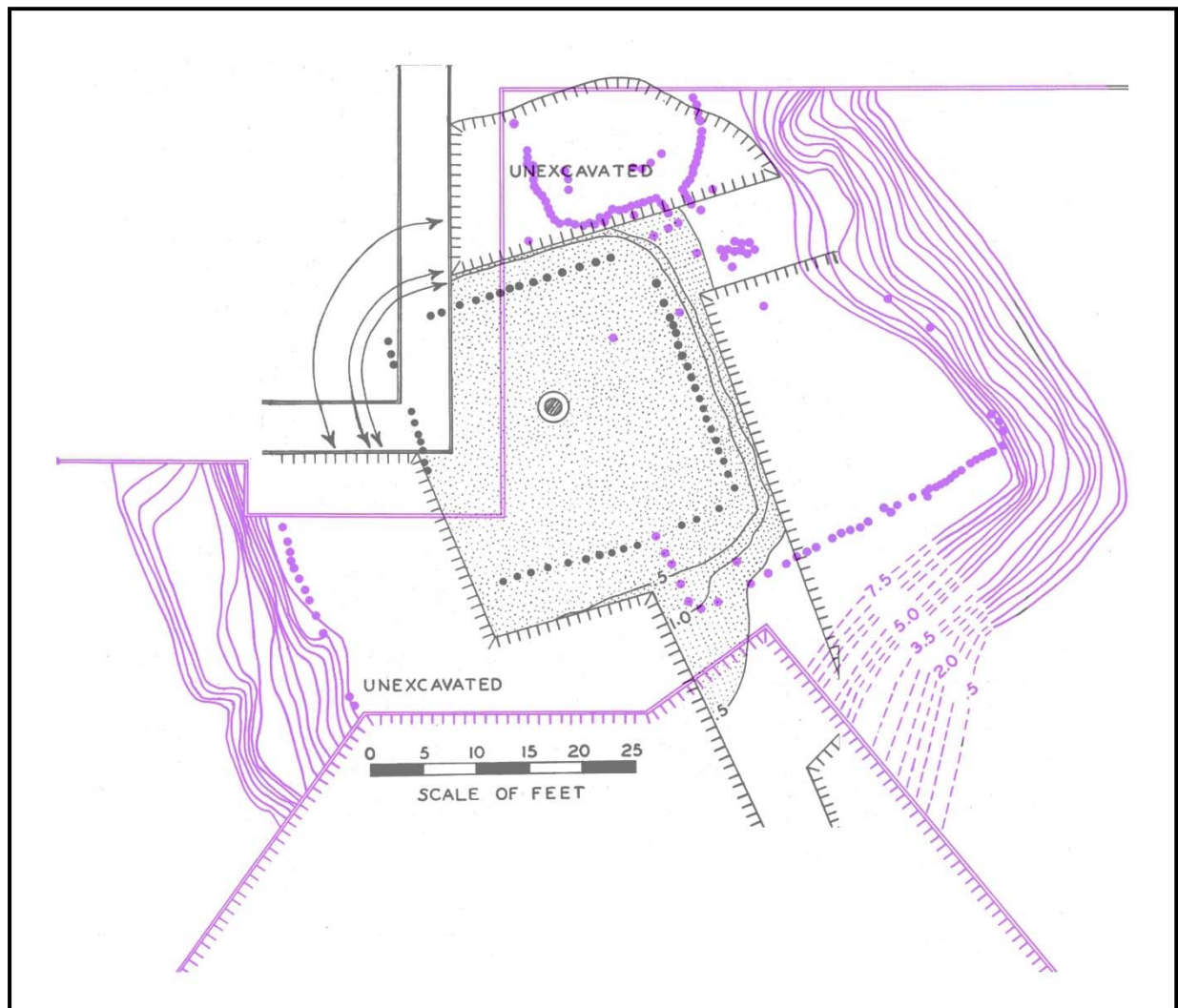


Figure 69. Large Mound, Stage 7 (Purple) over Stage 1.

Figure 69 show Stage 7 over Stage 1. The Stage 7 structure is in the northeastern portion of the mound, well away from the previous structures. It is unclear if the Stage 7 posts in the southeastern part of the mound represents another structure or merely a screening fence. I tend to believe it was the latter. This would mean that the clear structure to the northeast was oddly not in the center of the mound summit. The angle of the mound alters with Stage 7 compared to

the Stages 1-4. The structure are rotated slightly to the northeast. In my mind this may imply a slight temporal break from the earlier structures.

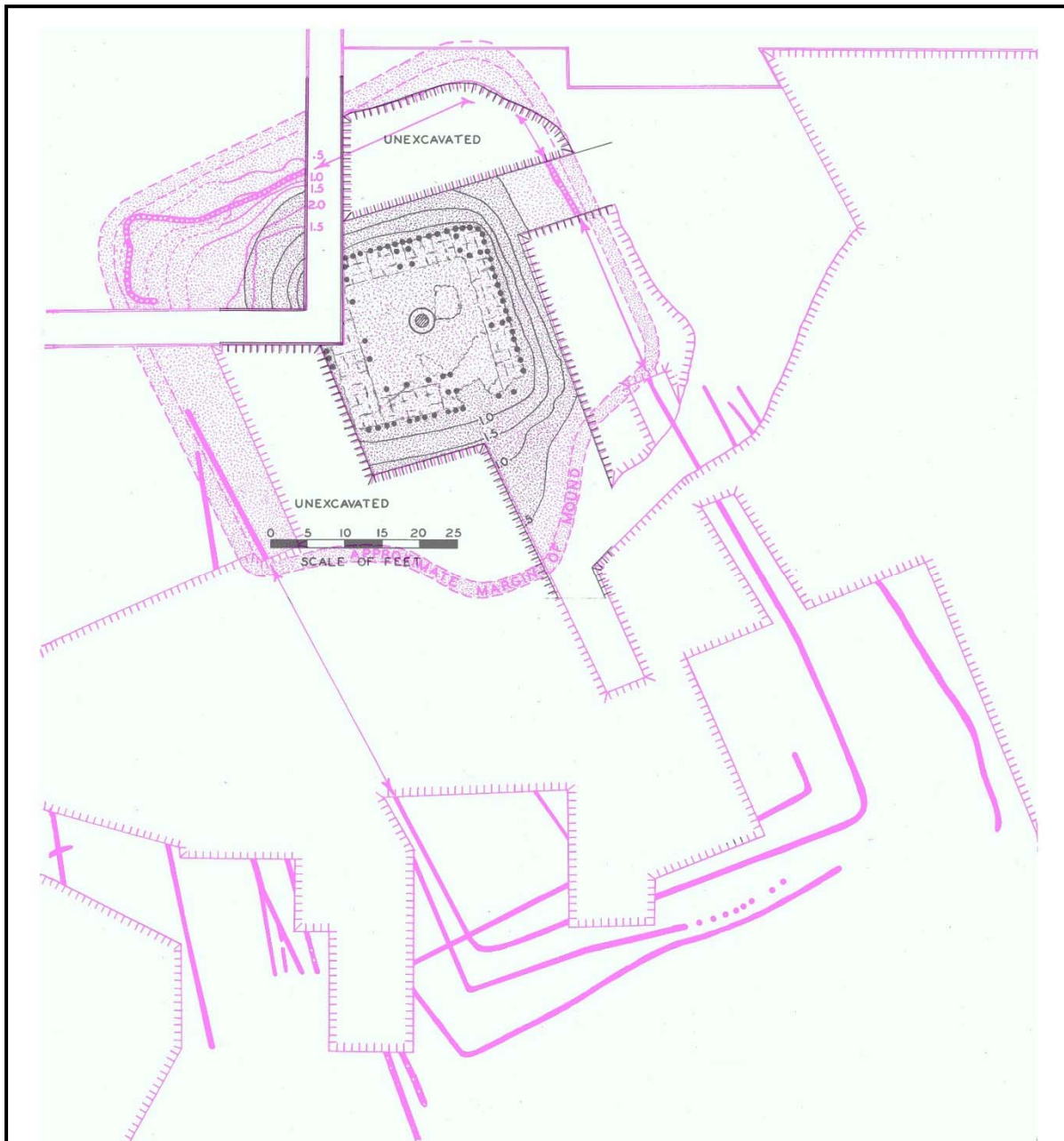


Figure 70. Large Mound, Stage 3 (Purple) over Stage 2.

Figure 70 shows the Stage 3 drawing over the Stage 2 structure. There is no recorded post pattern for Stage 3, but the implied shape of the mound is the same as Stage 2. The series of

screen (?) walls just off the southeastern edge of the mound are of unknown function. Why are there so many of them? My guess is that they represent screen walls from several of the mound stages, but were simply recorded as part of Stage 4 as a convenience.

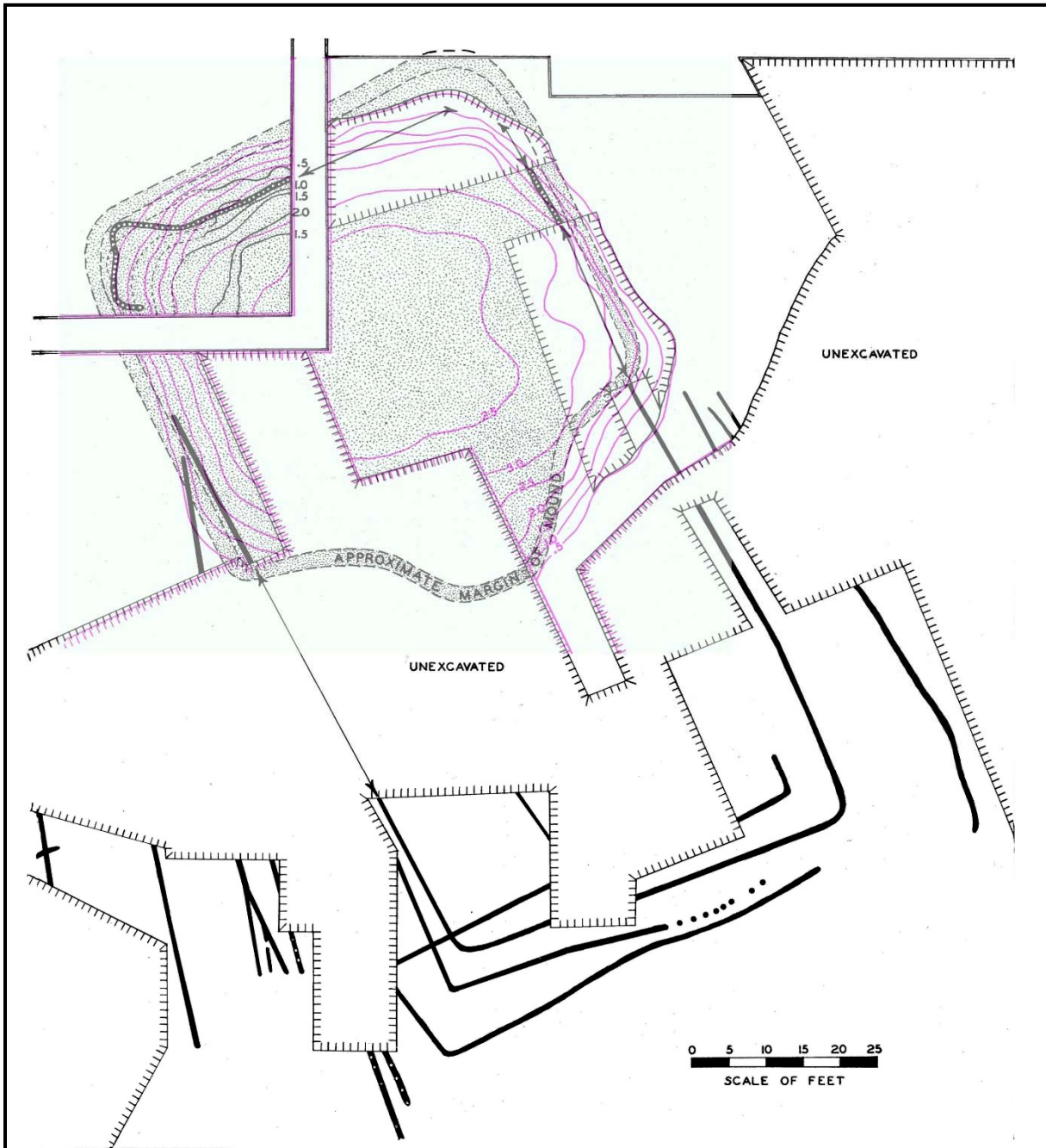


Figure 71. Large Mound, Stage 4 (Purple) over Stage 3.

Figure 71 shows Stage 4 over stage 3. No structures were recorded on either stage, although the center of Stage3 shows a likely structure center. Those outer walls on Stage 3, again, are just incredibly frustrating,



Figure 72. Large Mound, Stage 5 (Purple) over Stage 4.

Figure 72 shows Stage 5 over Stage 4. The Stage 5 structure is almost centered over the Stage 4 mound limits and the shield fences are aligned on the northeastern and southwestern

sides. On the southeastern side, the Stage 5 screening fence seems to be located down the southeastern side of mound Stage 4, implying that the mound was expanded more to the southeast between Stages 5 and 4, but not in the northeast or southwest—i.e. the mound was becoming more rectangular than square or round in shape by Stage 5.

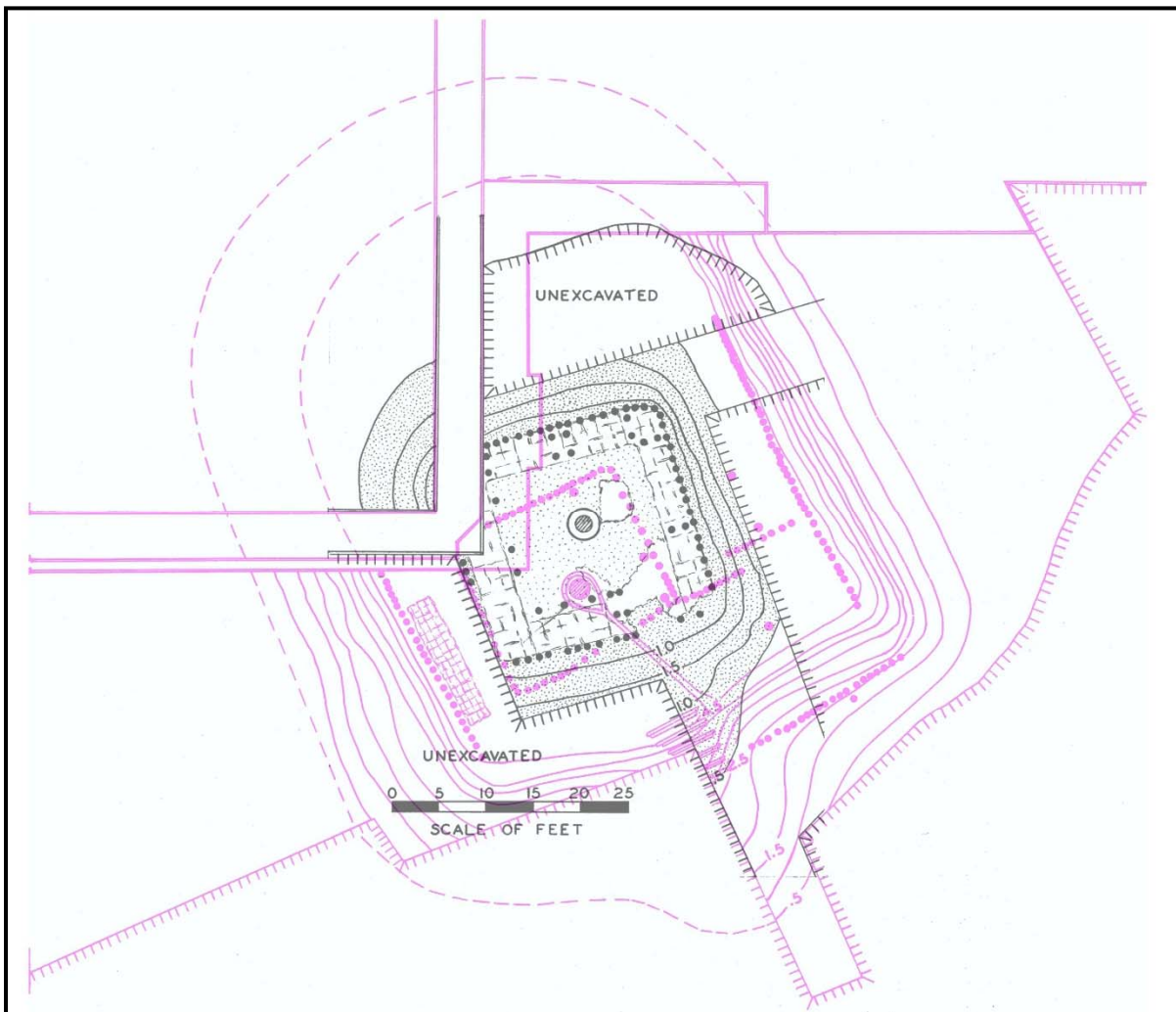


Figure 73. Large Mound, Stage 5 (Purple) over Stage 2.

Figure 73 shows Stage 5 over Stage 2. The Stage 5 structure is much smaller than the Stage 2 structure, just like the Stage 1 structure. It also has the weird drainage ditch from the center fire pit. I would guess that there was a companion structure for the Stage 5 structure to the

northwest that was destroyed by the 1911 barrow pit. The angle of the two stages are different from one another as pointed out above.

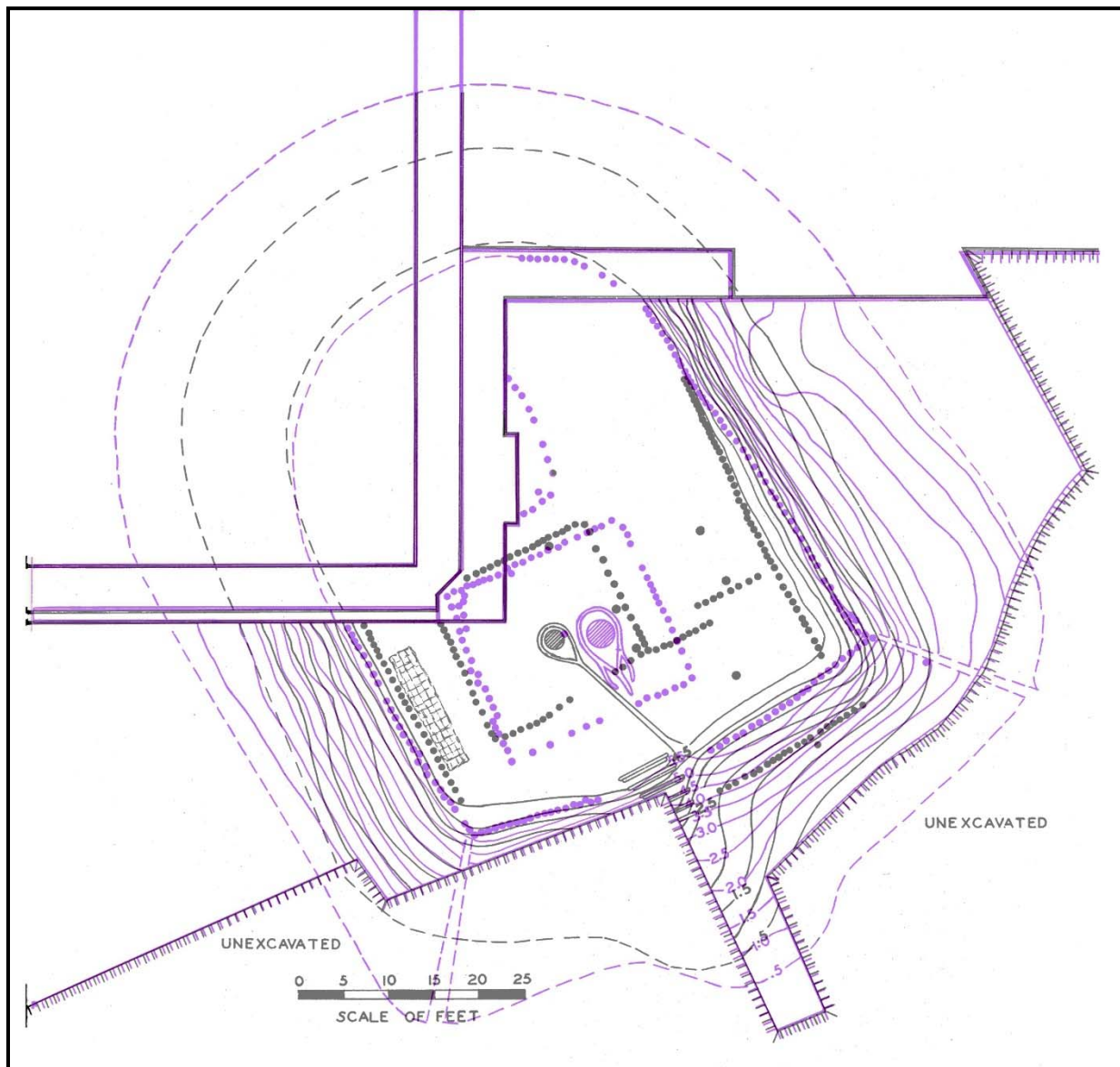


Figure 74. Large Mound, Stage 6 (Purple) over Stage 5.

Figure 74 shows Stage 6 over Stage 5. The structure are at the same angle and about the same size. A very small portion of a structure to the northwest of the clear Stage 6 structure is visible on the map, supporting the idea just discussed that there were paired structures on the summits of the mound in Stages 5 and above—perhaps all the way through Stage 8, but this is

uncertain.



Figure 75. Large Mound, Stage 7 (Purple) over Stage 5.

Figure 75 shows the Stage 7 structure(s) over the Stage 5 structure. Although the structure are located in different place—the Stage 7 structure is well to the northeast—the orientation of the structures is the same. It seems odd that there is no clear square structure to the southeast of the structure on Stage 7. It also seems clear that the entire mound was being enlarged to the northwest by Stage 7, and this pattern was continued with the final Stage 8.



Figure 76. Large Mound, Stage 7 (Purple) over Stage 6.

Figure 76 show the Stage 7 structure over the Stage 6 structure. The orientation is the same for both structures, and this reinforces the observation that the mound was growing in size to the northwest in this interval.

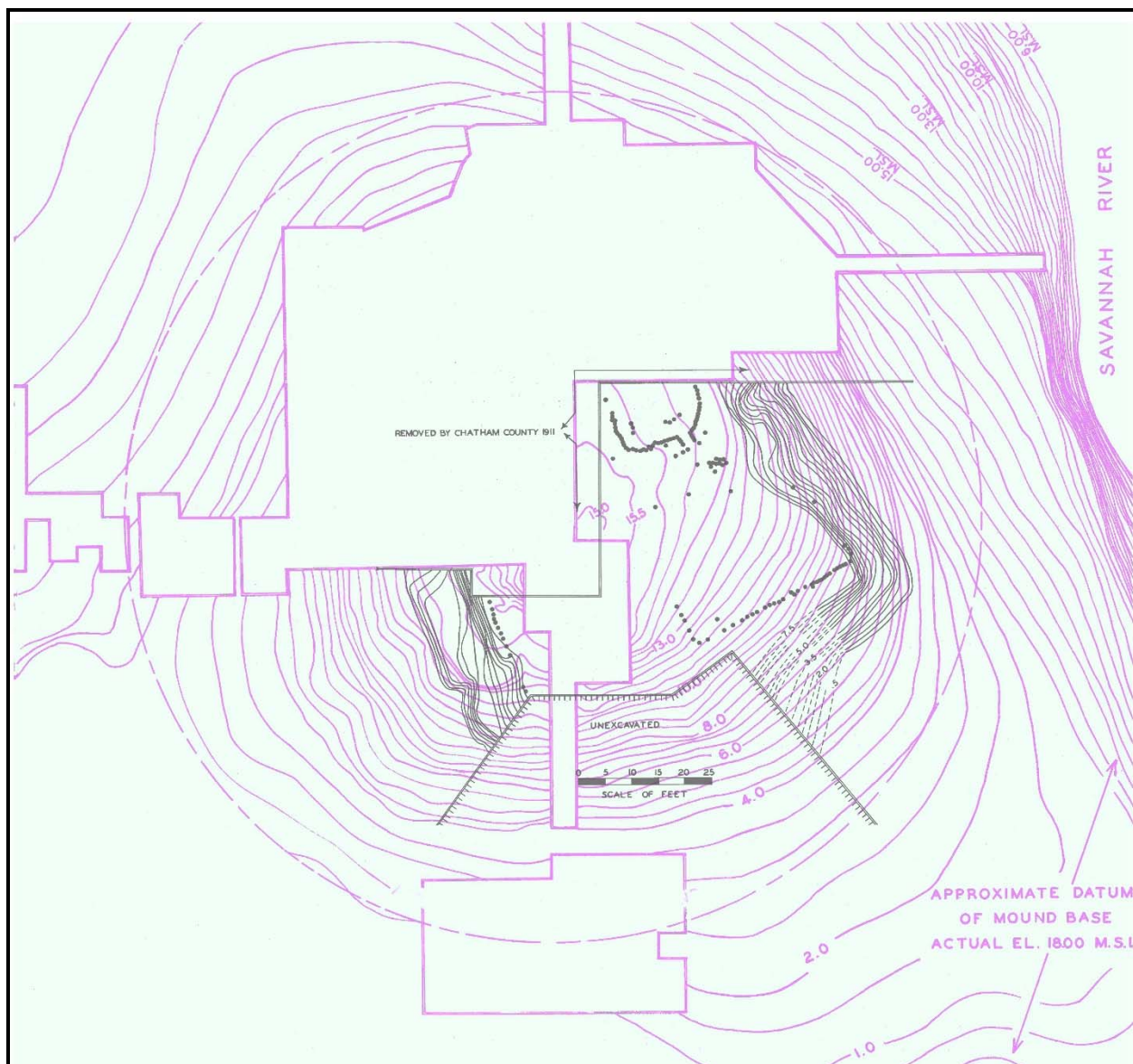


Figure 77. Large Mound, Stage 8 (Purple) over Stage 7.

Figure 77 show Stage 8 over Stage 7. As pointed out earlier, no Indian structures were recorded for Structure 8 for the reasons discussed above. The enlargement of the mound to the northwest is clearly supported by this drawing. The Stage 7 structure would have been located on the northwest (river) side of the mound. As can also be seen, the formerly roundish mound was slowing becoming more rectangular in shape. The 1911 disturbance makes this difficult to

see, however.

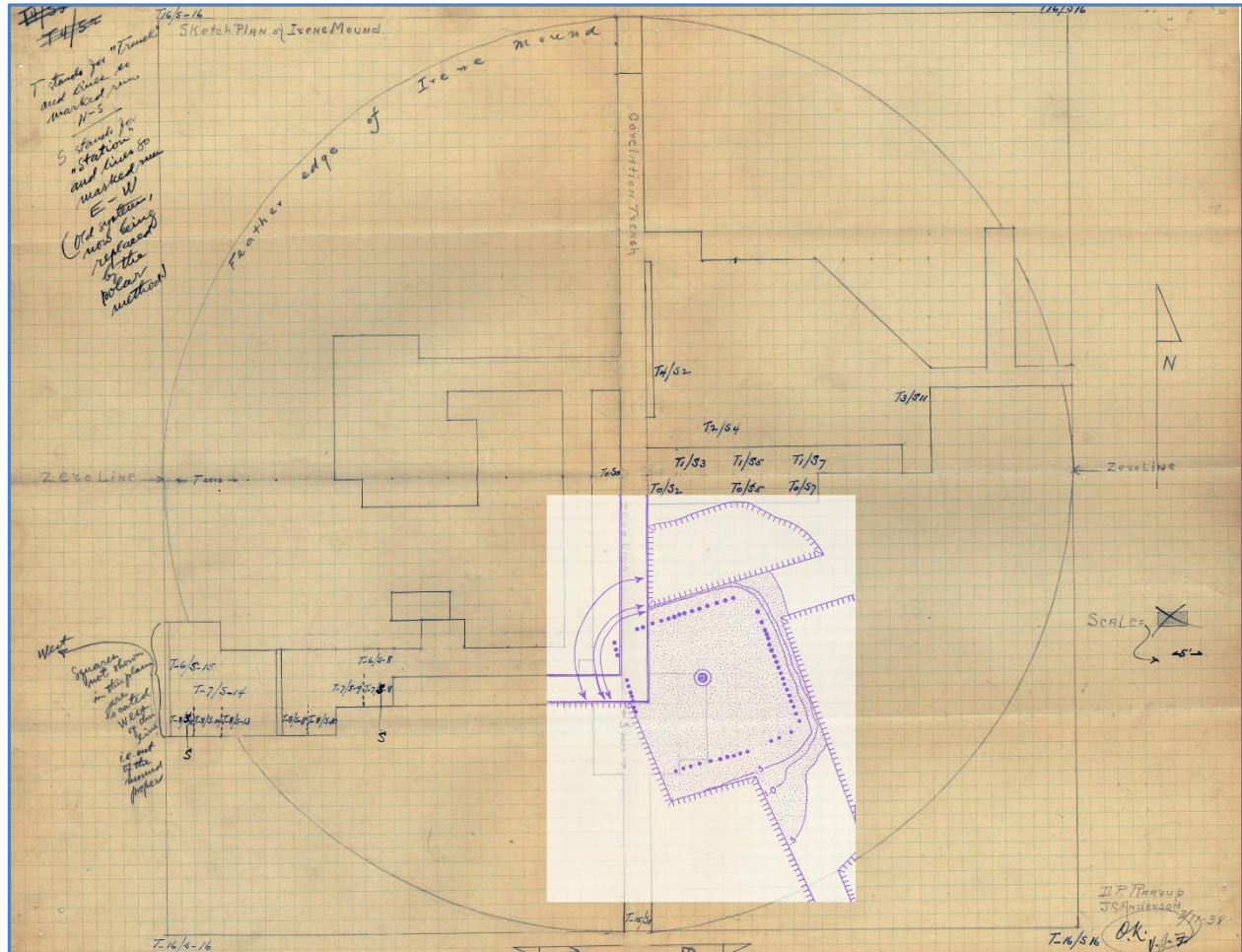


Figure 78. Large Mound, Stage 1 (Purple) over Fewkes Drawing.

Figure 78 shows the Stage 1 structure over the map of Vladimir Fewkes (Figure 10) recently located at the University of Pennsylvania Museum in the Fewkes' estimate of the northern edge of the mound before the 1911 barrow pit operations is further north than that of the Caldwell and McCann report, and clearly shows how the mound was enlarged to the north through the eight stages of its construction. The Stage 1 structure, which was in the center of the first mound stage is clearly at the southern edge of the final mound.

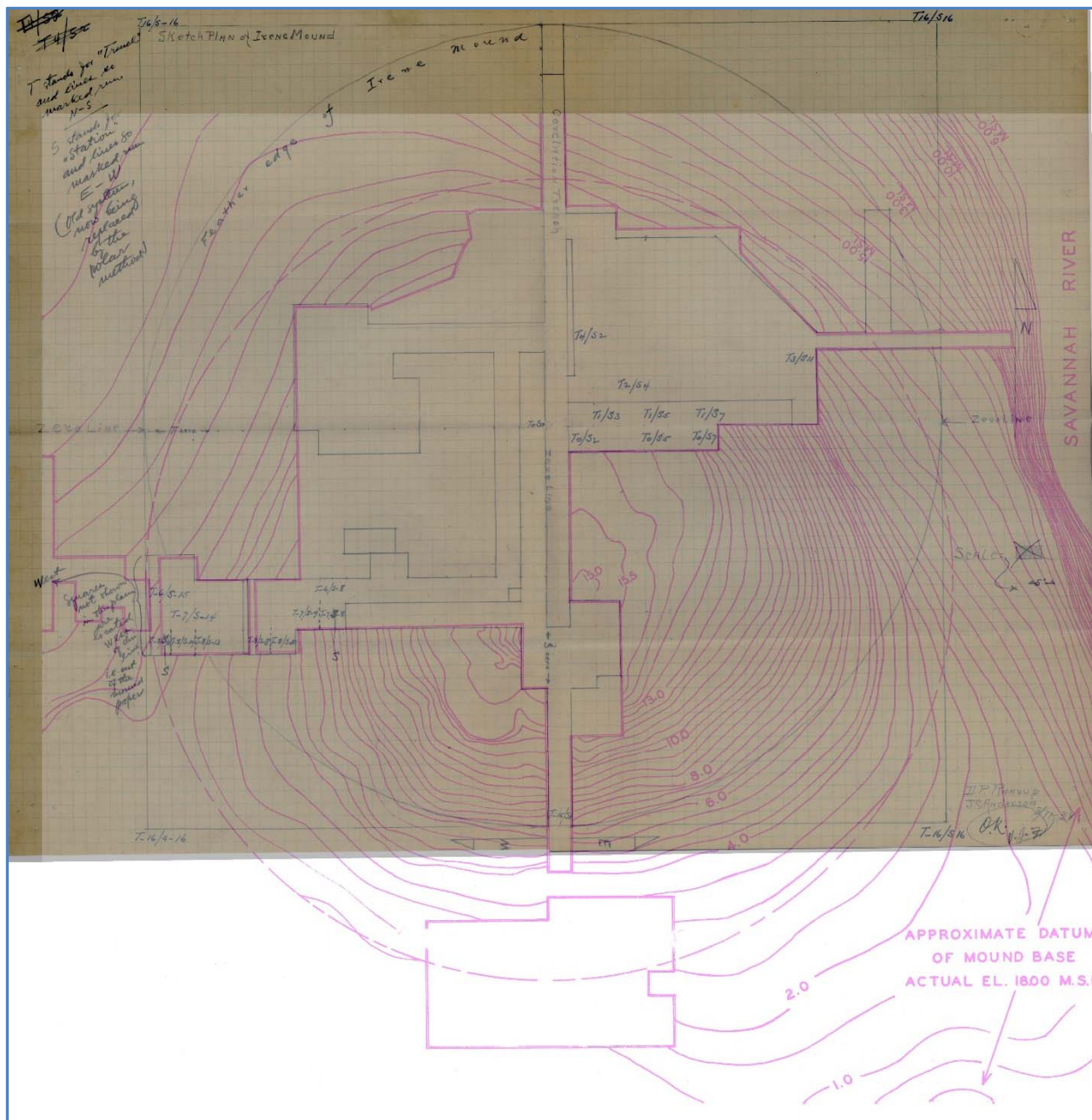


Figure 79. Large Mound, Stage 8 (Purple) over Fewkes Drawing.

Finally, Figure 79 shows Caldwell and McCann's Stage 8 drawing overlaid on the Fewkes' drawing. These together show the initial north-south trench through the mound. Again,

Fewkes' estimate of the base of the original mound is different from that of Caldwell and McCann. It is difficult to tell which is more accurate.

Chapter 11

Rotunda Observations

Figure 78 shows the Caldwell and McCann representation of the so-called **Rotunda** area, with an additional series of rectangular walls surrounding the concentric circular walls. I wish to restrict my comments here to the circular walls that “define” the rotundas.” The term “rotunda” is obviously a simple shape-derived word—from Latin for *round*, as in a building. In recent years it is my observation that most southeastern archaeologists have begun calling such buildings Council Houses, an actual functional definition, and I support this linguistic change. I do not favor the term Town House, since many of these are not in “Towns” as normally defined (Williams 1995).

The “rotunda “ structure(s) in question at Irene have been recognized as unusual from the time they were excavated because of the many concentric circles—more than any other excavated structures, familiar to me. In my study of the mapping data, presumably used to create Figure 80, I have learned a few things that perhaps will help in the interpretation of this/these odd structure(s).

The survey notes for this area of Irene were recorded in two different forms. The first is called “postmolds”. These are presented here as Figure 81 as derived from the notes. Note that the actual postmolds only define part of a single round structure. I should also mention that none of the diameters of these postmolds were recorded.

The second class of survey recordings are merely arbitrary mapping points shot in along the edges of the predefined rings. Caldwell and McCann state that the rings were formed as wall-trenches with straight sides and round bottoms. They also state that individual posts were

not frequently located. Figure 82 presented here for the first time show the survey points recorded for the wall trenches. The mapping and cleaning operations are here illustrated in Figure 84. The survey notes imply that some of the points were shot on the inside and some on the outside of the defined (and artificially raised) wall trenches as discovered. The mapping points, in Figure 78, however, seem to show points made only on one side of the wall trenches. Figure 84 for examples shows the rod man holding the stadia rod on the inside of the defined wall trench.

I here present Figure 83 which, in my opinion, best shows the concentric circles as defined by the survey points. No map that shows the actual wall trenches in place is still extant. It is interesting that the survey points on the southern part of the structure are as shown in Figures 82 and 83 are relatively rare. The outer circles are conspicuously missing from the survey points. Caldwell and McCann state that this southern area of the **Rotunda** was subject to more erosion than the rest, but I wonder if their drawing as presented here as Figure 80 exaggerates the degree of completion of the concentric circles in the southern part.

Caldwell and McCann point out that there are no large posts in the center of the structure(s) and this is supported by the survey notes. This implies a different sort of roof structure than seen in many other council houses in the Southeast. One recently studied early 19th century council house roof form observed by General Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Jr. may help understand this odd formation (Williams and Jones 2019).

Caldwell and McCann also point out that there is no way to know how many structures may actually be represented by these concentric walls. I would point out that if it was a single structure, the use of wall trenches for the hypothetical interior support walls would have required

a great deal of digging for nothing since a series of concentric walls would obviate any chance to see the interior. Further, even if the interior posts were placed at a reasonable distance apart into the wall trenches, the ability to see much of what was going on in the center stage area would have been obstructed by dozens, if not hundreds of posts for viewers from any angle. All this leads me to believe that what we have here are many separate structures built around and over the same center spot over a course of a relatively few years—perhaps as few as 30-40. The center area seems to have been mapped and remapped a number of times. I do not take this, however, to mean that there were more posts in the center area or that there were more reconstructed building in the center.

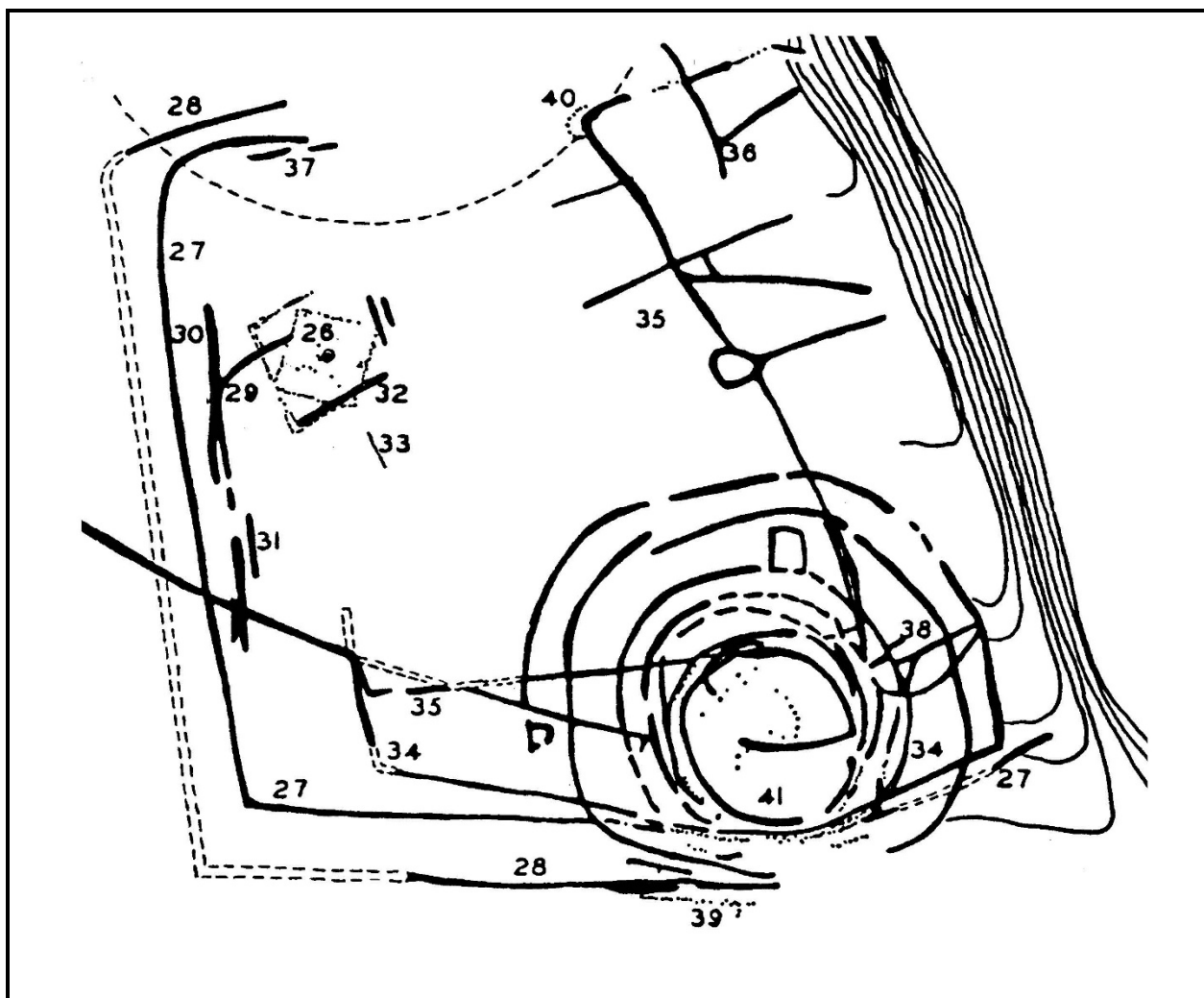


Figure 80. Caldwell and McCann's Map Listing Features in Council House Area.

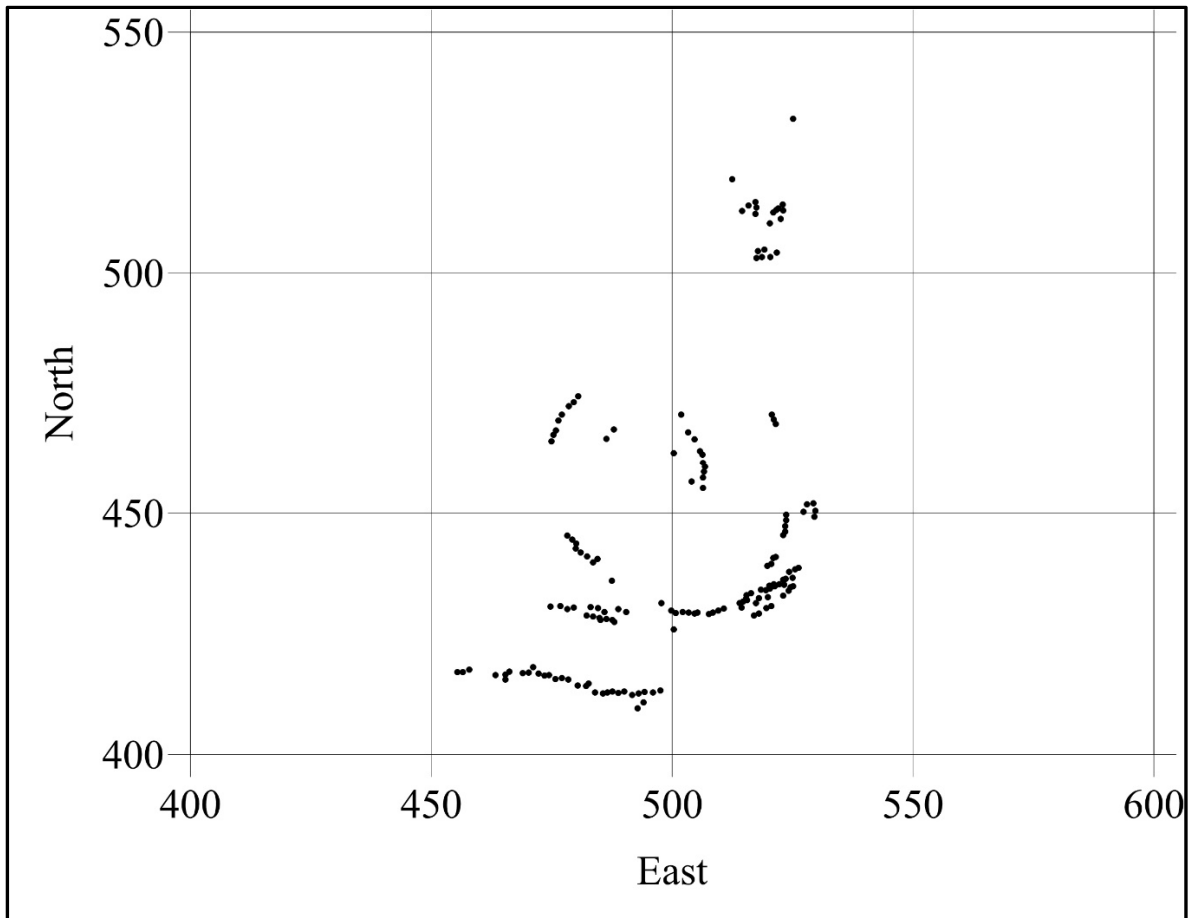


Figure 81. Actual Postmolds Mapped in Council House Area.

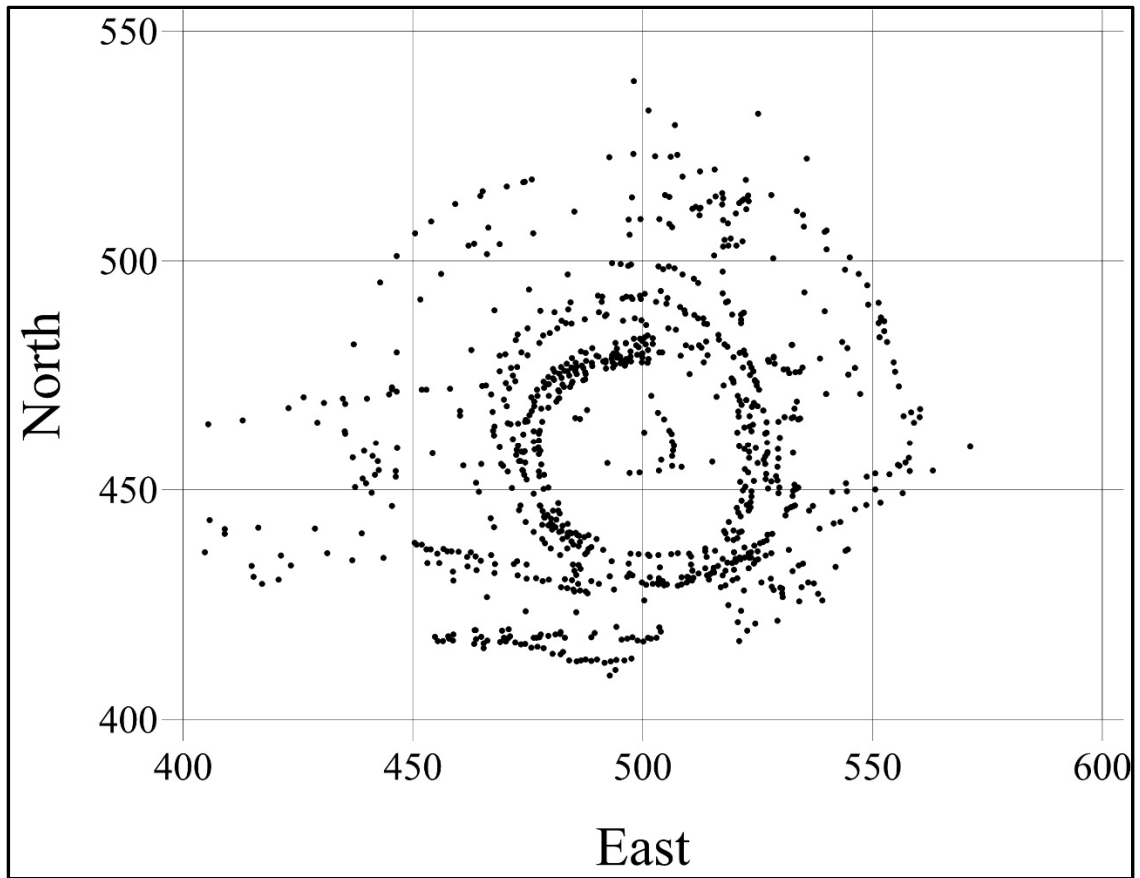


Figure 82. All Survey Points in Council House Area.

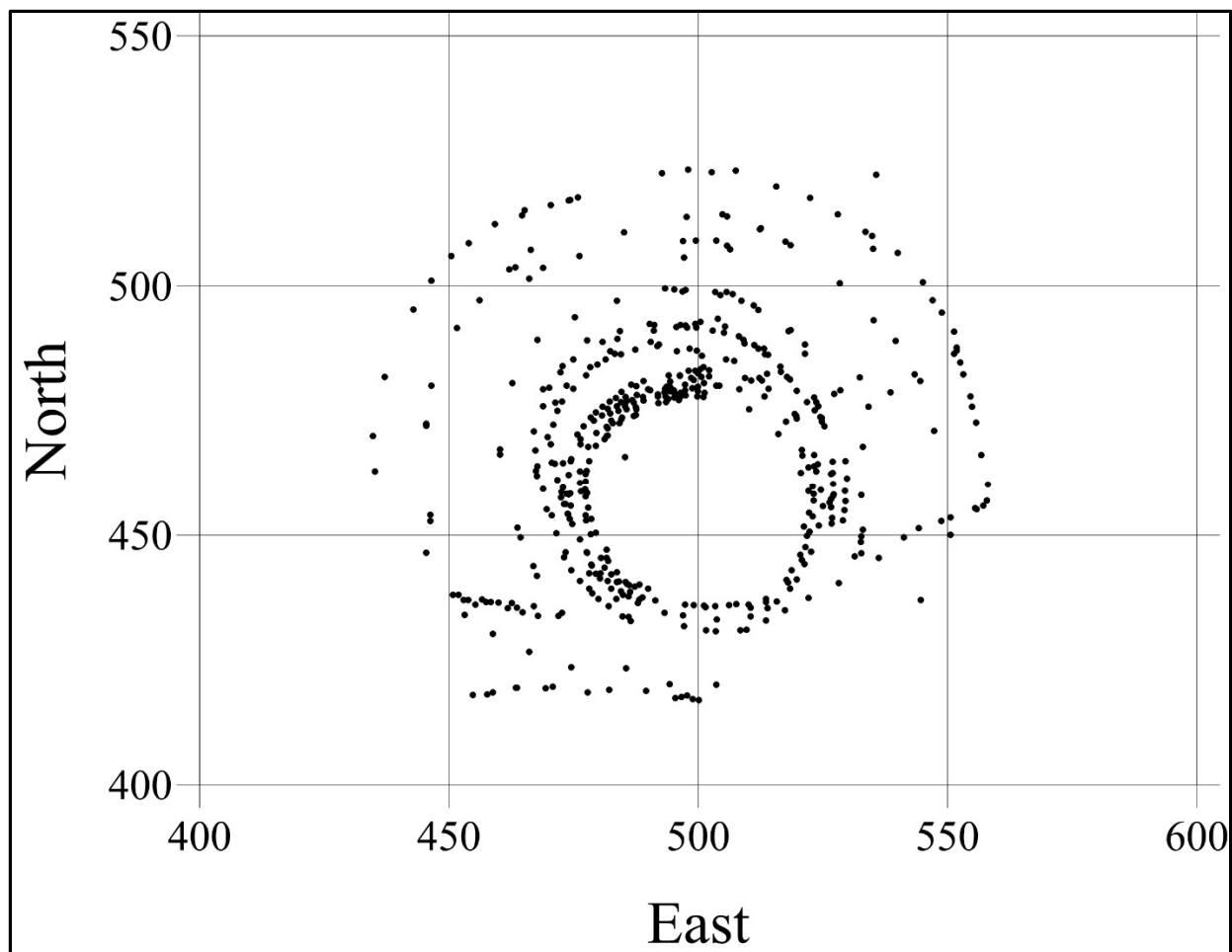


Figure 83. Best Representation of Survey Points in Council House Area.



Figure 84. Council House Area—Cleaning and Mapping (Field Notes).

Chapter 12

Mortuary Observations

The so-called **Mortuary** (a term I am not enamored with) is located near the center of the Irene site. Caldwell and McCann entitled this structure as such because of the huge numbers of burials placed in and around the structure, along with the two surrounding circular palisade walls. The burials in the structure are show in Plate 7 of their report. They also present a photo of the structure after the burials were removed and the associated post molds were excavated as Plate 8a in their report. Incidentally, the photo of the post molds shown in their report is a view to the west—looking away from the **Large Mound**.

Figure 85 below shows the post molds as recorded in the survey notes and mapped by me using *Surfer*. Note that the post mold diameters were available for these, and are appropriately included as dot size in Figure 85. In comparison to Plate 8A in the Caldwell and McCann report there are a few observations worth making. First, their Plate 8A shows the northern circular palisade (on the extreme right of the photograph) to be complete, which seems eminently probable. The survey notes as presented in Figure 81 below do not show these postmolds. Presumably they were never mapped or the notes were lost. The second difference, and one that is not so insignificant, is that the survey mapped postmolds shown in Figure 81 clearly show an additional square structure immediately east of the Mortuary center square structure. It is slightly smaller, and oriented at a slightly different angle. This structure is also clearly visible on Plate 8A in the Caldwell and McCann report. There is no mention of this structure anywhere in the text of their report. I have no idea why they ignored this obvious square of postmolds. Since Caldwell and McCann dated the **Mortuary** to the later Irene period, I here speculate that this newly recognized square structure predates the **Mortuary**, and likely dates to the Savannah period, some 200 years earlier. I do not believe it is some detached portion of the **Mortuary** structure and surrounding double palisade lines

Incidentally, the careful reader may note that I have not made a chapter heading with observations for the so-called **Burial Mound** in the original report. The structure was so damaged by shell raiding in the early 20th century that I consider it too damaged to learn more than what was observed by Caldwell and McCann in their original report. I would point out that the lack of burials in the house floors of the **Large Mound** is unusual, and the concentration of burials in the shell mound just to the west, as well as the so-called **Mortuary** further west during the brief Irene period are also seen as aberrant patterns compared to most other Mississippian sites in the Georgia. Why this was the case is certainly a question for the future.

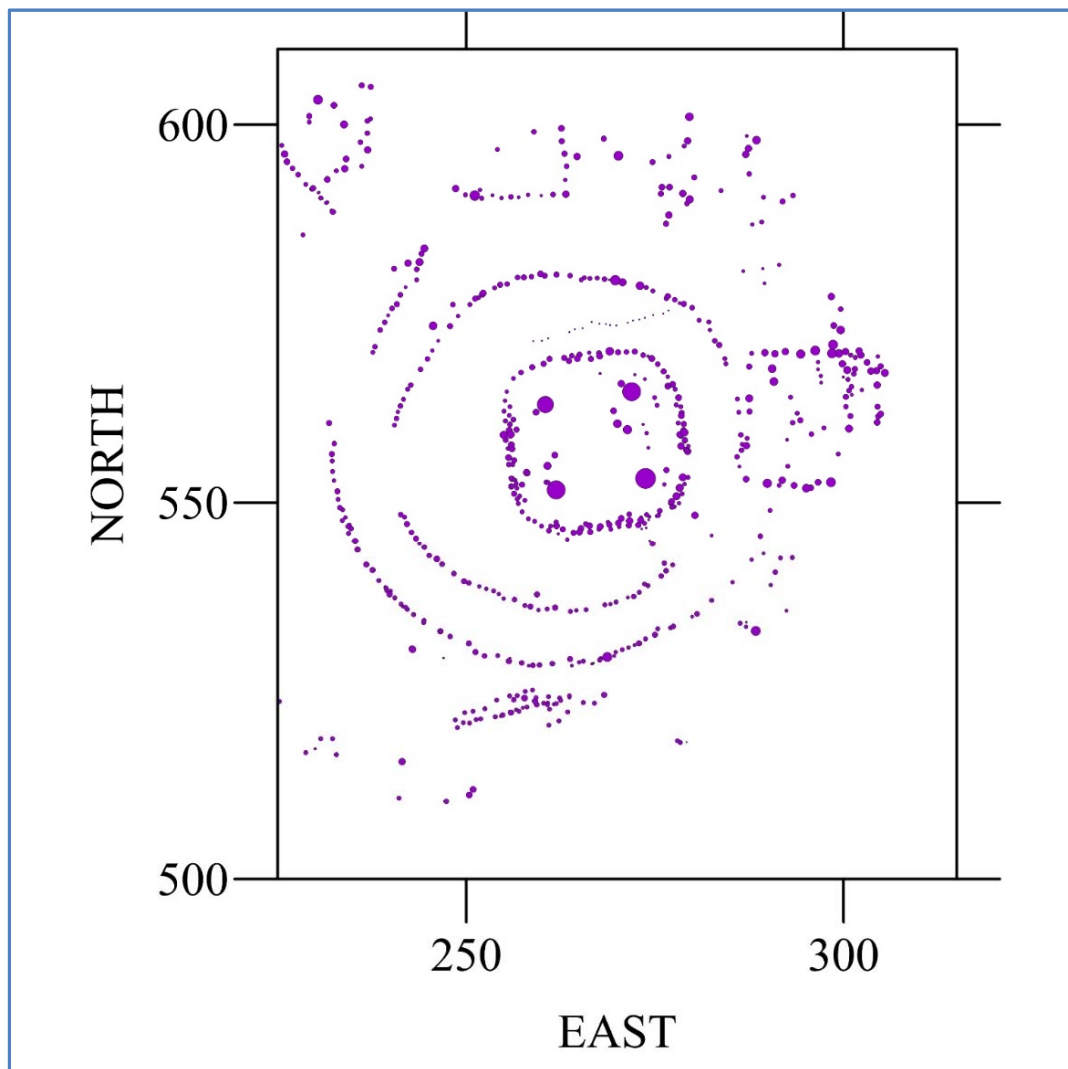


Figure 85. Post Molds Recorded in the Mortuary Area.

Chapter 13

Irene as a Chiefly Compound

I have written years ago that the best term for a site such as Irene in my opinion is a Chiefly Compound (Williams 1995). In that paper I make an important distinction in the Southeastern United States between mound sites with many houses surrounding the mound(s) and those mound sites with very few houses in addition to the mound. The former often has many sites in a circular pattern around the mound representing a true village with a chief living on the mound, his wives and children in separate houses each, and many unrelated people also living in the majority of the houses in the village. The latter of the two mound site types, as exemplified by Irene, and what I have termed a Chiefly Compound, have a mound and only a very few additional houses, presumably used to house the chief's wives and their children. In short, a Chiefly Compound is only occupied by a chief and his family. There are no unrelated individuals permanently living at such a site.

As established earlier in this report, as well as the Caldwell and McCann report, the Irene site was primarily occupied during the Middle Mississippian Savannah period. There were practically no houses in area around the mound during this period, however, based upon the essentially complete excavation of the site. Therefore I have no doubt that the Irene site should be considered as a Chiefly Compound during its largest and most important period of occupation. Chiefly Compounds are typically associated with dispersed settlement systems, and typically associated with societies within which warfare was rather minimal.

The nature of the site during the brief Irene period is a bit more confusing. The biggest differences include the presence of the Council House building(s) and the so-called Mortuary

complex. There is use of the mound as before, and again, there are very few houses in the area around the mound that date to the Irene period. This is confusing since this would also imply that the site was also a Chiefly Compound during the Irene period. In the Oconee Valley to the northwest of Savannah, I have noted through many years of excavation that in Mississippian social systems with dispersed populations that the Council House (and eventually the Square Ground) were not located at the site of the Chief's home—his Chiefly Compound. The Irene site seems to contradict this observation (Williams 2018??).

If Irene was indeed a Chiefly Compound during the Savannah and perhaps Irene periods, this implies, as I stated above, that this was part of a dispersed settlement system. This raises the question of where are all the individual farmsteads associated with this society. Relatively few small Savannah period sites, or small Irene period sites for that matter, are known for area with say 30 kilometers of Irene. On the other hand, there are many sites on the islands. It seems eminently likely to me that the settlement system of the Coast was different from that of interior valleys of Georgia and the South such as the Oconee.

Chapter 14

The Future?

The Irene archaeological site has been destroyed utterly for some 80 years, so no new field operations are possible. Perhaps some of the lost field maps will show up in the future, but this seems unlikely. I have not included the complete ceramic tables for the entire site in this report due to their length. The vast majority of the here unpublished ceramic data are of poor provenience location in any event, The **Area N** and **Area O** ceramics I have presented are by far the best provenienced from the site. Caldwell and McCann provide some ceramic counts in their report of course. I have not been able to verify these from our reanalysis because of problems of uncertain artifact provenience, so they must stand on their own for the future.

All of the extant notes and artifacts are curated at the University of Georgia Laboratory of Archaeology and future researches are encouraged to pursue new questions with these. My colleague Victor Thompson has published a provocative paper about the use of public space at Irene, and the implications for changes in social structure through time, keying on data from the Irene site (Thompson 2009). I have already pointed out that he was one of the important undergraduate students reanalyzing the Irene collection in the late 1990s, thus his familiarity with the site data is direct and important to his observations in that paper.

I have discussed none of the large faunal collection recovered from the site here. A recent paper by Elizabeth Reitz, myself, and Katie Dalton has begun a limited investigation of these faunal materials. Readers are referred to that paper (Reitz, Williams, and Dalton 2020). More can be accomplished with that collection, but, again, the provenience of much of the faunal material is poor at best. Further, the lack of screening at the site limits the numbers of smaller

mammal and fish bones recovered from the site. There is very little floral material preserved in the collection.

Finally, my hope is that the material I have presented in this document will lead some future archaeologist to write Volume 3 of the Irene Site excavations!

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Appendix 1

Mapping Station Locations

Station	North	New East	Old West	Plot From Given Location	Date of First Reference
1	667.80	428.55	271.45	98.5 feet, 46.5 degrees west from 600 North, 200 West (Station 4)	7/29/1938
2	600.00	300.00	400.00		9/7/1938
3	673.09	356.09	343.91	51.5 feet, 121.5 degrees west from 700 North, 300 West; Probably Correct	7/15/1938
4	600.00	500.00	200.00		8/18/1938
5	722.98	379.24	320.76	82.5 feet, 73 degree 50 minutes east from 700 North, 400 West (Station 9)	1/5/1939
6	640.27	457.57	242.43	58.5 feet, 46.5 degrees west from 600 North, 200 West (Station 4)	8/31/1938
7	600.00	245.00	455.00		9/22/1938
8	800.00	350.00	350.00		8/26/1938
9	700.00	300.00	400.00		7/20/1938
10	800.00	200.00	500.00		9/13/1938
11	800.00	150.00	550.00		9/15/1938
12	744.91	479.79	220.21	141 feet, 113 degrees east from 800 North, 350 West (Station 8)	9/16/1938
13a	542.23	384.06	315.94	102 feet, 124.5 degrees east from 600 North, 400 West (Station 2); Probably Wrong	9/19/1938
13	542.23	329.06	370.94	Paper sheet says from 600 North, 455 West Station (Station 7); Probably Correct	9/21/1938
14	450.00	500.00	200.00		9/26/1938
15	545.57	417.79	282.21	94 feet, 61 degrees west from 500 North, 200 West (Station 18)	10/4/1938
16	0.00	650.00	50.00		10/4/1938
17	460.92	196.81	503.19	61 feet, 3 degrees west from 400 North, 500 West (Station 19)	10/10/1938
18	500.00	500.00	200.00		10/12/1938
19	400.00	200.00	500.00		10/13/1938
20	400.00	250.00	450.00	Not listed as such--A trial location? Seems to have been unused	10/13/1938
21	500.00	100.00	600.00		10/31/1938
22	466.88	449.97	250.03	60 feet, 123.5 degrees west from 500 North, 200 West (Station 18)	11/2/1938
23	717.11	103.58	596.42	95 feet, 150 degrees 45 minutes west from 800 North, 550 West (Station 11)	11/3/1938
24	400.00	50.00	650.00		11/10/1938
25	561.51	46.53	653.47	81.5 feet, 41 degrees west from 500 North, 600 West (Station 21)	11/14/1938
26	0.00	700.00	0.00	Polar Grid Reference point in southeastern corner of site	11/14/1938
27	80.00	161.44	538.56	160 feet, 60 degrees west from 0 North, 400 West	11/18/1938
28	470.45	537.82	162.18	48 feet, 128 degrees east from 500 North, 200 West (Station 18)	12/10/1938
29	239.34	0.88	699.12	168 feet, 163 degrees west from 400 North, 650 West (Station 24)	12/2/1938
30	800.00	325.00	375.00		12/7/1938
31	951.64	220.78	479.22	184 feet, 34 degrees 30 minutes west from 800 North, 375 West (Station 30)	12/12/1938

Station	North	New East	Old West	Plot From Given Location	Date of First Reference
32	533.23	533.23	166.77	47 feet, 45 degrees east from 500 North, 200 West (Station 18)	12/12/1938
33	0.00	600.00	100.00	Same as Station "C" in notes	12/12/1938
34	469.06	526.90	173.10	41 feet, 139 degrees east from 500 North, 200 West (Station 18)	12/14/1938
35	200.00	600.00	100.00		12/15/1938
36	641.96	396.29	303.71	157 feet, 74 degrees 30 minutes east from 600 North, 455 West (Station 7)	1/5/1939
37	500.00	190.00	510.00		1/20/1939
38	634.59	394.81	305.19	153.75, feet 77 degrees east from 600 North, 455 West (Station 7)	2/7/1939
39	634.59	414.81	285.19	20 feet, 90 degrees east from Station 38	3/10/1939
40	600.00	350.00	350.00		4/19/1939
41	600.00	150.00	550.00		8/11/1939
42	600.00	451.00	249.00		9/11/1939
43	512.65	530.34	169.66	118 feet, 137 degrees 45 minutes east from 600 North, 249 west (Station 42)	12/1/1939
"A"	300.00	600.00	100.00		11/29/1938

Appendix 2

Feature Numbers and Descriptions

Feature Number	Location
1	House on Summit of Temple Mound Stage 1
2	House on Summit of Temple Mound Stage 2
3	Palisade on Rim of Temple Mound Stage 3
4	Part of Enclosure adjacent to Temple Mound Stage 3 ?
5	Part of Enclosure adjacent to Temple Mound Stage 3 ?
6	Part of Enclosure adjacent to Temple Mound Stage 3 ?
7	Part of Enclosure adjacent to Temple Mound Stage 3 ?
8	Part of Enclosure adjacent to Temple Mound Stage 3 ?
9	Part of Enclosure adjacent to Temple Mound Stage 3 ?
10	Part of Enclosure adjacent to Temple Mound Stage 3 ?
11	Part of Enclosure adjacent to Temple Mound Stage 3 ?
12	Part of Enclosure adjacent to Temple Mound Stage 3 ?
13	Part of Enclosure adjacent to Temple Mound Stage 3 ?
14	Part of Enclosure adjacent to Temple Mound Stage 3 ?
15	Part of Enclosure adjacent to Temple Mound Stage 3 ?
16	Post Mold Alignment on Summit of Temple Mound Stage 4
17	House on Summit of Temple Mound Stage 5
18	Partition on the Summit of Temple Mound Stage 5
19	Palisade on the Summit of Temple Mound Stage 5
20	Front House on Summit of Temple Mound Stage 6
21	Rear House on Summit of Temple Mound Stage 6
22	Palisade on Summit of Temple Mound Stage 6
23	"Shed" on Summit of Temple Mound Stage 7
24	House on Summit of Temple Mound Stage 7
25	Palisade on Summit of Temple Mound Stage 7
26	House on Southwestern Periphery of the Large Mound
27	Enclosure on the Southwestern Edge of Large Mound and Southward
28	Enclosure on the Southwestern Edge of Large Mound and Southward
29	Curved Enclosure Southwest of the Large Mound
30	Enclosure on the Southwestern Edge of Large Mound and Southward
31	Wall Southwest of Large Mound 8
32	House South of Large Mound
33	Wall South of Feature 26

Feature Number	Location
34	Enclosure Through Rotunda
35	Enclosure Through Rotunda
36	Wall Southeast of Large Mound
37	Wall Southwest Edge of Large Mound
38	Wall South of Large Mound
39	Wall South of Large Mound
40	Wall Southeast of Large Mound
41	Rotunda
42	Enclosure South, Southwest, and West of Large Mound
43	Enclosure Southwest of Mortuary
44	Enclosure South and Southwest of Mortuary
45	Enclosure South of Feature 53
46	Enclosure West of Feature 53
47	Wall West of Feature 54
48	Wall West of Feature 54
49	Curved Enclosure West of Feature 54
50	Mortuary Structure Southwest of Large Mound
51	Inner Enclosure around the Mortuary
52	Outer Enclosure around the Mortuary
53	House Southwest of Mortuary
54	House West of Mortuary
55	House Southwest of Mortuary
56	Structure West of Burial Mound
57	Wall Adjacent to Large Mound 3
58	Wall Adjacent to Large Mound 3
59	Long Wall Northwest of Large Mound
60	Curved Wall Just Northwest of Burial Mound
61	House North of Large Mound
62	Wall Just Southeast of Feature 61

Appendix 3

Ceramic Vessel Locations

Vessel	Provenience	Description	North	East
1	Small Mound	Contained Burial 266	669.0	290.0
2	?			
3	Large Mound Stage 8	In fallen wall plaster on South side		
4	Mortuary	Inner enclosure	566.5	282.5
5	Mortuary	Inner enclosure	567.5	275.5
6	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn Burial 266	554.5	258.5
7	Mortuary	Sand fill; in Vessel 6, Burial 266	554.5	258.0
8	Mortuary	Sand fill; in Vessel 6, Burial 266	558.0	258.0
9	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	554.0	259.0
10	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	552.5	272.5
11	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	554.5	252.0
12	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	558.0	259.0
13	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	558.5	261.0
14	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	558.5	266.0
15	Mortuary	Inner enclosure	544.5	267.0
16	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	558.0	263.5
17	Mortuary	Sand fill	561.0	258.0
18	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	546.0	264.0
19	Mortuary		551.5	267.5
20	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	548.0	165.0
21	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	559.5	270.0
22	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	567.5	274.0
23	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	561.5	271.0
24	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	564.5	269.0
25	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	562.5	263.0
26	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	564.5	265.0
27	Mortuary	Sand fill	564.5	269.0
28	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	564.0	267.5
29	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	555.5	268.5
30	Mortuary	Floor	567.5	259.5
31	Mortuary	Floor	560.0	261.0
32	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	557.5	269.0
33	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	552.5	272.5

Vessel	Provenience	Description	North	East
34	Mortuary	Sand fill; urn burial	547.5	273.5
35	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn with cover		
36	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn cover	514.0	369.0
37	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn with cover		
38	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn cover	506.0	306.5
39	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn with cover		
40	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn cover		
41	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn		473.0
42	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial	521.0	496.0
43	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial	482.5	496.0
44	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn with cover	446.5	200.0
45	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn cover	446.5	200.0
46	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn with cover	463.5	
47	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial	471.0	492.5
48	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial	473.0	491.5
49	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial		
50	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial	447.5	491.5
51	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial	447.5	491.5
52	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial	449.0	491.5
53	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial		
54	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial	458.5	500.0
55	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or	452.0	74.0

Vessel	Provenience	Description	North	East
		architectural association; Urn for Burial 271		
56	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn	454.5	405.5
57	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial	454.0	494.0
58	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial	454.0	497.0
59	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial	484.0	497.0
60	Rotunda	Inner enclosure	469.6	501.9
61	Mortuary	Inner enclosure; double urn Burial 78 and 136	572.6	276.9
62	Mortuary	Outer enclosure; urn burial	553.5	287.1
63	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn cover	519.1	302.0
64	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn with cover	519.1	302.0
65	Large Mound Stage 7	Summit		
66	Mortuary	Floor	562.4	262.2
67	Mortuary	Floor	562.0	260.2
68	Mortuary	Outer enclosure; urn burial	580.9	283.0
69	Mortuary	Outer enclosure; urn burial	580.9	283.0
70	Mortuary	Inner enclosure	571.9	248.9
71	Large Mound Stage 8	Sand fill	663.3	455.2
72	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn with cover	696.8	279.4
73	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial	461.2	499.7
74	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial	474.9	493.5
75	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial	477.6	501.3
76	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial	456.6	492.4
77	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn	770.0	177.1
78	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn cover	770.0	177.1
79	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn	523.6	289.5
80	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association	782.4	267.1

Vessel	Provenience	Description	North	East
81	Large Mound Stage 8	South slope; Burial urn cover	599.8	457.0
82	Large Mound Stage 8	South slope; Burial urn with cover	599.8	457.0
83	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial	480.4	506.0
84	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial	480.4	506.0
85	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial	470.2	507.6
86	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial	470.2	507.6
87	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn cover	527.5	534.8
88	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn with cover	527.5	534.8
89	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn cover	529.1	534.5
90	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn with cover	529.1	534.5
91	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn cover	527.4	532.8
92	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn with cover	527.4	532.8
93	Mortuary	Inner enclosure; double urn Burial 78 and 136	573.0	275.0
94			596.1	408.7
95	North	Northern part of site; same size and appearance as Vessel 129	809.0	360.6
96	Feature 61	Floor	784.6	353.3
97	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn		
98	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial [water bottle]		
99	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association	775.1	257.3
100				
101	Mortuary	Outer enclosure; urn burial	534.9	255.1
102				
103	Mortuary	Outer enclosure; urn burial	533.8	254.8
104A	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or	618.7	189.7

Vessel	Provenience	Description	North	East
		architectural association; Burial urn		
104B	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn	617.6	188.4
105	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn	596.4	211.9
106	Mortuary	Floor; Burial urn	660.5	180.0
107	Mortuary	Floor; Burial urn footnote in Caldwell and McCann	660.5	180.0
108	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn	480.2	381.6
109	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn cover		
110	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn with cover		
111				
112	Feature 61	Floor	743.5	282.8
113	Feature 61	Outside the house	784.1	347.1
114	Feature 61	Outside the house	766.2	347.0
115	Feature 61?	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Urn for Burial 273	765.4	349.4
116	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial		
117	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial		
118	Small Mound	Between Burial 213 and Burial 204	635.5	272.0
119	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial		
120	Small Mound?	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn cover	635.7	263.0
121	North	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn with cover	824.7	313.7
122	North	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn cover	824.7	313.7
123	North	No known stratigraphic or architectural association	836.9	316.5
124	Large Mound Stage 2	Floor		
125	Large Mound Stage 2	Floor		
126	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or		

Vessel	Provenience	Description	North	East
		architectural association; Burial urn cover		
127	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn with cover		
128	Unknown	No known stratigraphic or architectural association; Burial urn cover		
129	Large Mound Stage 3	Below western margin of Stage 3		
130	Small Mound	In central shell deposit; urn associated with either Burial 259 or 265	639.0	306.9
131	Small Mound	Shell layer A, northwest of Burial 255	640.3	302.0
132	Small Mound		639.9	303.1
133	Small Mound	Shell layer A, west of Burial 255	634.1	315.1
134	Small Mound		640.3	302.3
135	Small Mound	Shell layer A, west of Burial 255	640.5	305.0
136	Small Mound	Associated with cremated Burial 257, 258, 260, 262, 263, 259 or 265	641.6	307.2
137	Small Mound	Associated with cremated Burial 257, 258, 260, 262, 263, 259 or 265	645.8	300.1
138	Small Mound	Associated with cremated Burial 257, 258, 260, 262, 263, 259 or 265	645.6	299.5
139	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; urn burial		
140	?			
141	?			
142	?			
143	?			
144	?			
145	?			
146	?			
147	Rotunda	Near center of rotunda; Burial urn cover		

Appendix 4

All Irene Sherd Counts

Altamaha Complicated Stamped	890
Altamaha Cross Simple Stamped	677
Deptford Check Stamped	594
Deptford Complicated Stamped	4
Deptford Cord Marked	232
Deptford Fabric Marked	48
Deptford Linear Check Stamped	74
Deptford Shell Scraped	84
Deptford Simple Stamped	18
Irene Burnished Plain with Nodes	49
Irene Complicated Stamped	3,330
Irene Incised	454
Irene Plain	170
Irene Plain Mottled	1
Irene Plain Punctated	2
Refuge Dentate Stamped	30
Refuge Incised	22
Refuge Plain	26
Refuge Simple Stamped	134
Refuge Tool Impressed	6
Savannah/Irene Complicated Stamped	9,633
Savannah Burnished Plain	24,399
Savannah Check Stamped	15,892
Savannah Check Stamp with Nodes	1
Savannah Check Stamped/Cob Marked	128
Savannah Check Stamped w/ Punctates	189
Savannah Cob Marked	729
Savannah Complicated Stamped	999
Savannah Complicated Stamp w/ Check Stamp	1
Savannah Complicated and Cob Stamp	1
Savannah Complicated Stamped w/ Cord Marks	10
Savannah Complicated Stamped and Cane Punctated	2
Savannah Cord Marked	22,425
Savannah Cord Marked/Cob Marked	3

Savannah Cord Marked with Punctates	20
Savannah Fabric Marked	420
Savannah Shell Scraped	104
St. Catherine's Burnished Plain	26
St. John's Plain	4
St. Simon's Cord Marked	3
St. Simon's Incised	24
St. Simon's Plain	394
St. Simon's Punctate	74
St. Simon's Stab and Drag	10
Swift Creek Complicated Stamped	2
UID Clay Plain	80
UID Sand Plain	5,472
UID Stamped Clay	110
UID Stamped Sand	8,099
Walthour Check Stamped	68
Walthour Simple Stamped	12
Wilmington Heavy Cord Marked	78
Pottery Disks	895
Pottery Hones	31,169
Totals	128,321

Appendix 5

Area N Sherd Counts

Description	Area N-01	Area N-02	Area N-03	Area N-04	Area N-05
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	0	3	13	3	4
Altamaha Cross Simple Stamped	0	1	0	3	1
All Altamaha	0	4	13	6	5
Deptford Check Stamped	0	0	0	2	1
Deptford Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Cord Marked	0	0	0	4	4
Deptford Fabric Marked	0	1	0	0	0
Deptford Shell Scraped	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
All Deptford	0	1	0	6	5
Irene Burnished Plain with Nodes	0	0	0	0	0
Irene Complicated Stamped	0	1	3	0	0
Irene Incised	0	0	0	2	1
Irene Plain	0	0	0	1	1
All Irene	0	1	3	3	2
Refuge Dentate Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Incised	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Plain	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
All Refuge	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah/Irene Complicated Stamped	0	7	26	11	6
Savannah Burnished Plain	0	13	4	24	16
Savannah Check Stamped	0	4	0	40	5
Savannah Check Stamped/Cob Marked	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Check Stamped w/ Punctates	0	1	0	0	0
Savannah Cob Marked	0	1	0	3	0
Savannah Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	10	0
Savannah Complicated Stamped w/ Cord Marks	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cord Marked	0	12	11	30	10
Savannah Cord Marked with Punctates	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Fabric Marked	0	0	0	1	1
Savannah Shell Scraped	0	0	0	5	0
All Savannah	0	31	15	113	32

Description	Area N-01	Area N-02	Area N-03	Area N-04	Area N-05
St Catherine's Burnished Plain	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Incised	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Plain	0	1	0	0	3
St Simon's Punctate	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Stab and Drag	0	0	0	0	0
All St. Simon's	0	1	0	0	3
UID Clay Plain	0	0	0	0	1
UID Sand Plain	0	0	6	10	7
UID Stamped Clay	0	0	0	1	0
UID Stamped Sand	0	9	15	9	14
Walthour Check Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
Walthour Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
All Walthour	0	0	0	0	0
Wilmington Heavy Cord Marked	0	0	0	0	1
Totals	0	54	78	159	76

Description	Area N-06	Area N-07	Area N-08	Area N-09	Area N-10
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	3	0	3	0	5
Altamaha Cross Simple Stamped	3	1	3	0	2
All Altamaha	6	1	6	0	7
Deptford Check Stamped	26	0	2	0	9
Deptford Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Cord Marked	2	0	2	0	3
Deptford Fabric Marked	0	0	1	0	0
Deptford Shell Scraped	0	1	2	0	0
Deptford Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
All Deptford	28	1	7	0	12
Irene Burnished Plain with Nodes	0	0	0	0	0
Irene Complicated Stamped	1	0	0	3	0
Irene Incised	3	0	0	0	0
Irene Plain	0	0	1	0	0
All Irene	4	0	1	3	0
Refuge Dentate Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Incised	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Plain	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Simple Stamped	6	0	0	0	2
All Refuge	6	0	0	0	2
Savannah/Irene Complicated Stamped	20	6	25	0	22
Savannah Burnished Plain	45	14	65	1	56
Savannah Check Stamped	12	8	57	0	27
Savannah Check Stamped/Cob Marked	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Check Stamped w/ Punctates	0	0	0	1	0
Savannah Cob Marked	2	0	3	0	1
Savannah Complicated Stamped	1	0	1	1	0
Savannah Complicated Stamped w/ Cord Marks	1	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cord Marked	41	20	63	0	64
Savannah Cord Marked with Punctates	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Fabric Marked	0	0	3	0	3
Savannah Shell Scraped	1	0	1	0	1

Description	Area N-06	Area N-07	Area N-08	Area N-09	Area N-10
All Savannah	103	42	193	3	152
St Catherine's Burnished Plain	0	2	0	0	0
St Simon's Incised	0	0	1	0	0
St Simon's Plain	14	2	2	7	6
St Simon's Punctate	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Stab and Drag	0	0	0	0	0
All St. Simon's	14	2	3	7	6
UID Clay Plain	0	0	2	0	0
UID Sand Plain	27	7	44	0	30
UID Stamped Clay	0	0	0	0	0
UID Stamped Sand	21	11	32	2	24
Walthour Check Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
Walthour Simple Stamped	1	0	0	0	0
All Walthour	1	0	0	0	0
Wilmington Heavy Cord Marked	0	0	1	0	0
Totals	230	72	315	15	255

Description	Area N-11	Area N-12	Area N-13	Area N-14	Area N-15
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	2	7	7	2	12
Altamaha Cross Simple Stamped	4	4	14	5	35
All Altamaha	6	11	21	7	47
Deptford Check Stamped	0	9	5	0	13
Deptford Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	1	0
Deptford Cord Marked	7	3	1	0	0
Deptford Fabric Marked	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Shell Scraped	2	1	0	0	1
Deptford Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
All Deptford	9	13	6	1	14
Irene Burnished Plain with Nodes	0	0	0	0	0
Irene Complicated Stamped	1	0	1	0	4
Irene Incised	0	2	3	0	0
Irene Plain	0	0	3	0	0
All Irene	1	2	7	0	4
Refuge Dentate Stamped	1	0	1	0	0
Refuge Incised	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Plain	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Simple Stamped	3	0	4	0	0
All Refuge	4	0	5	0	0
Savannah/Irene Complicated Stamped	10	40	38	10	54
Savannah Burnished Plain	89	96	78	14	170
Savannah Check Stamped	6	79	53	26	152
Savannah Check Stamped/Cob Marked	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Check Stamped w/ Punctates	0	1	0	0	0
Savannah Cob Marked	3	3	4	0	4
Savannah Complicated Stamped	1	5	1	1	14
Savannah Complicated Stamped w/ Cord Marks	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cord Marked	103	131	95	4	175
Savannah Cord Marked with Punctates	0	0	0	0	1
Savannah Fabric Marked	0	9	6	6	35
Savannah Shell Scraped	1	0	0	0	0
All Savannah	203	324	237	51	551
St Catherine's Burnished Plain	0	2	1	0	1
St Simon's Incised	0	3	3	0	0
St Simon's Plain	0	7	5	2	3

Description	Area N-11	Area N-12	Area N-13	Area N-14	Area N-15
St Simon's Punctate	0	1	0	0	0
St Simon's Stab and Drag	0	0	0	0	0
All St. Simon's	0	11	8	2	3
UID Clay Plain	1	1	1	0	1
UID Sand Plain	37	22	40	10	81
UID Stamped Clay	0	2	2	0	14
UID Stamped Sand	2	34	65	24	77
Walthour Check Stamped	0	2	1	0	0
Walthour Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
All Walthour	0	2	1	0	0
Wilmington Heavy Cord Marked	0	2	0	0	0
Totals	273	476	432	105	847

Description	Area N-16	Area N-17	Area N-18	Area N-19	Area N-20
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	0	1	3	4	2
Altamaha Cross Simple Stamped	0	0	12	4	1
All Altamaha	0	1	15	8	3
Deptford Check Stamped	1	0	3	6	1
Deptford Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Cord Marked	0	0	0	5	0
Deptford Fabric Marked	0	0	0	1	0
Deptford Shell Scraped	0	0	1	0	0
Deptford Simple Stamped	0	0	0	1	0
All Deptford	1	0	4	13	1
Irene Burnished Plain with Nodes	0	0	0	0	0
Irene Complicated Stamped	1	0	5	3	0
Irene Incised	0	0	1	0	0
Irene Plain	0	0	2	1	0
All Irene	1	0	8	4	0
Refuge Dentate Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Incised	0	0	0	1	0
Refuge Plain	0	0	0	5	0
Refuge Simple Stamped	0	0	0	5	0
All Refuge	0	0	0	11	0
Savannah/Irene Complicated Stamped	0	3	38	24	8
Savannah Burnished Plain	1	0	79	76	9
Savannah Check Stamped	1	8	32	24	4
Savannah Check Stamped/Cob Marked	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Check Stamped w/ Punctates	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cob Marked	0	0	4	2	0
Savannah Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	1	2
Savannah Complicated Stamped w/ Cord Marks	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cord Marked	0	19	131	90	4
Savannah Cord Marked with Punctates	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Fabric Marked	0	1	5	11	0
Savannah Shell Scraped	0	0	0	0	0
All Savannah	2	28	251	204	19
St Catherine's Burnished Plain	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Incised	0	0	0	1	0
St Simon's Plain	0	0	6	11	3
St Simon's Punctate	0	0	0	0	0

Description	Area N-16	Area N-17	Area N-18	Area N-19	Area N-20
St Simon's Stab and Drag	0	0	0	4	0
All St. Simon's	0	0	6	16	3
UID Clay Plain	0	0	0	0	0
UID Sand Plain	0	0	38	35	7
UID Stamped Clay	0	0	0	1	0
UID Stamped Sand	0	0	56	23	8
Walthour Check Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
Walthour Simple Stamped	0	1	0	0	0
All Walthour	0	1	0	0	0
Wilmington Heavy Cord Marked	0	0	0	0	1
Totals	3	33	416	339	50

Description	Area N-21	Area N-24	Area N-25	Area N-26	Area N-27
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	4	7	8	5	11
Altamaha Cross Simple Stamped	4	3	0	1	9
All Altamaha	8	10	8	6	20
Deptford Check Stamped	1	0	0	1	5
Deptford Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Cord Marked	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Fabric Marked	2	0	0	0	0
Deptford Shell Scraped	0	0	0	0	1
Deptford Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
All Deptford	3	0	0	1	6
Irene Burnished Plain with Nodes	0	0	0	0	1
Irene Complicated Stamped	3	0	2	0	0
Irene Incised	0	2	0	2	0
Irene Plain	0	0	0	1	0
All Irene	3	2	2	3	1
Refuge Dentate Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Incised	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Plain	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Simple Stamped	0	0	1	0	1
All Refuge	0	0	1	0	1
Savannah/Irene Complicated Stamped	11	7	14	8	24
Savannah Burnished Plain	22	24	15	9	62
Savannah Check Stamped	36	20	13	2	79
Savannah Check Stamped/Cob Marked	1	0	0	0	0
Savannah Check Stamped w/ Punctates	0	0	0	0	1
Savannah Cob Marked	2	1	2	1	1
Savannah Complicated Stamped	1	0	0	0	2
Savannah Complicated Stamped w/ Cord Marks	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cord Marked	49	45	27	26	103
Savannah Cord Marked with Punctates	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Fabric Marked	15	4	4	2	6
Savannah Shell Scraped	0	0	0	0	0
All Savannah	126	94	61	40	254
St Catherine's Burnished Plain	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Incised	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Plain	14	0	0	2	0
St Simon's Punctate	0	0	0	0	0

Description	Area N-21	Area N-24	Area N-25	Area N-26	Area N-27
St Simon's Stab and Drag	0	0	0	0	0
All St. Simon's	14	0	0	2	0
UID Clay Plain	0	0	0	0	2
UID Sand Plain	20	18	28	20	76
UID Stamped Clay	0	0	0	0	11
UID Stamped Sand	21	4	15	11	22
Walthour Check Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
Walthour Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0
All Walthour	0	0	0	0	0
Wilmington Heavy Cord Marked	0	1	0	0	1
Totals	136	129	91	417	62

Description	Area N-29	Area N-30	Area N-31	Area N-32	Totals
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	2	0	0	0	113
Altamaha Cross Simple Stamped	4	0	0	1	115
All Altamaha	6	0	0	1	228
Deptford Check Stamped	2	0	0	7	94
Deptford Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	1
Deptford Cord Marked	0	0	0	0	31
Deptford Fabric Marked	0	0	0	0	5
Deptford Shell Scraped	0	0	0	0	9
Deptford Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	1
All Deptford	2	0	0	7	141
Irene Burnished Plain with Nodes	0	0	0	0	1
Irene Complicated Stamped	0	0	3	0	31
Irene Incised	0	0	0	2	18
Irene Plain	0	0	2	0	12
All Irene	0	0	5	2	62
Refuge Dentate Stamped	0	0	0	0	2
Refuge Incised	1	0	0	0	2
Refuge Plain	0	4	0	0	9
Refuge Simple Stamped	2	4	0	2	30
All Refuge	3	8	0	2	43
Savannah/Irene Complicated Stamped	8	0	9	12	445
Savannah Burnished Plain	35	9	10	21	1067
Savannah Check Stamped	20	8	7	30	775
Savannah Check Stamped/Cob Marked	0	0	0	0	1
Savannah Check Stamped w/ Punctates	0	0	0	0	4
Savannah Cob Marked	2	0	0	0	40
Savannah Complicated Stamped	2	0	6	3	53
Savannah Complicated Stamped w/ Cord Marks	0	0	0	0	1
Savannah Cord Marked	30	0	3	37	1336
Savannah Cord Marked with Punctates	0	0	0	0	1
Savannah Fabric Marked	1	1	0	1	115
Savannah Shell Scraped	0	0	0	3	12
All Savannah	90	18	26	95	3405
St Catherine's Burnished Plain	0	0	0	0	6
St Simon's Incised	0	0	0	0	8
St Simon's Plain	4	3	0	1	96
St Simon's Punctate	3	1	0	0	5

Description	Area N-29	Area N-30	Area N-31	Area N-32	Totals
St Simon's Stab and Drag	0	0	0	0	4
All St. Simon's	7	4	0	1	113
UID Clay Plain	0	0	0	0	9
UID Sand Plain	25	51	0	39	682
UID Stamped Clay	0	0	0	0	31
UID Stamped Sand	17	5	6	17	549
Walthour Check Stamped	0	1	0	0	4
Walthour Simple Stamped	0	0	0	2	4
All Walthour	0	1	0	2	8
Wilmington Heavy Cord Marked	3	0	0	0	10
Totals	161	87	46	178	5731

Appendix 6

Area O Shell Middens Sherd Counts

Description	Area O-01	Area O-04	Area O-05	Area O-06	Area O-07	Area O-08
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Altamaha Cross Simple Stamped	0	0	0	2	2	3
All Altamaha	0	0	0	2	2	3
Deptford Check Stamped	0	0	2	0	2	1
Deptford Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Cord Marked	0	1	1	1	0	0
Deptford Fabric Marked	0	1	0	0	0	0
Deptford Linear Check Stamped	0	0	0	0	1	0
Deptford Shell Scraped	0	0	1	0	0	0
Deptford Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Deptford	0	2	4	1	3	1
Irene Complicated Stamped	0	0	1	0	0	1
Irene Incised	0	0	0	0	0	1
Irene Plain	0	0	1	1	0	0
All Irene	0	0	2	1	0	2
Refuge Dentate Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Incised	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Plain	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Simple Stamped	0	1	1	0	0	0
Refuge Tool Impressed	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Refuge	0	1	1	0	0	0
Savannah/Irene Complicated Stamped	0	3	15	12	1	8
Savannah Burnished Plain	0	25	34	68	19	77
Savannah Check Stamped	0	6	47	30	5	69
Savannah Check Stamped/Cob Marked	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Check Stamped w/ Punctates	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cob Marked	0	0	2	0	0	3
Savannah Complicated Stamped	0	0	2	0	0	0

Description	Area O-01	Area O-04	Area O-05	Area O-06	Area O-07	Area O-08
Savannah Complicated St. w/ Cord Mark	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cord Marked	0	13	54	71	17	95
Savannah Cord Marked with Punctates	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Fabric Marked	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Shell Scraped	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Savannah	0	44	139	169	41	244
St John's Plain	0	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Incised	0	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Plain	0	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Punctate	0	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Stab and Drag	0	0	0	0	0	0
All St. Simon's	0	0	0	0	0	0
Swift Creek Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
UID Clay Plain	0	0	0	0	0	3
UID Sand Plain	0	0	6	15	1	24
UID Stamped Clay	0	0	0	0	0	1
UID Stamped Sand	0	11	8	42	2	27
Walthour Check Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Walthour Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Walthour	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wilmington Heavy Cord Marked	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	0	50	165	199	48	284

Description	Area O-09	Area O-10	Area O-11	Area O-12	Area O-13	Area O-14
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	19	0	0
Altamaha Cross Simple Stamped	0	0	3	10	1	0
All Altamaha	0	0	3	29	1	0
Deptford Check Stamped	0	3	1	6	0	0
Deptford Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Cord Marked	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Fabric Marked	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Linear Check Stamped	0	0	0	3	0	0
Deptford Shell Scraped	0	0	0	1	0	0
Deptford Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Deptford	0	3	1	10	0	0
Irene Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	3	0	0
Irene Incised	0	0	0	0	0	0
Irene Plain	0	0	1	1	0	0
All Irene	0	0	1	4	0	0
Refuge Dentate Stamped	3	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Incised	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Plain	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Simple Stamped	0	0	0	1	0	0
Refuge Tool Impressed	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Refuge	3	0	0	1	0	0
Savannah/Irene Complicated Stamped	21	25	5	49	2	8
Savannah Burnished Plain	78	76	35	123	29	26
Savannah Check Stamped	55	53	19	153	21	7
Savannah Check Stamped/Cob Marked	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Check Stamped w/ Punctates	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cob Marked	6	0	0	4	0	0
Savannah Complicated Stamped	0	1	0	3	0	0
Savannah Complicated St. w/ Cord Mark	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cord Marked	53	56	17	150	14	13
Savannah Cord Marked with Punctates	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Fabric Marked	0	3	0	6	0	0
Savannah Shell Scraped	0	0	0	2	0	0

Description	Area O-09	Area O-10	Area O-11	Area O-12	Area O-13	Area O-14
All Savannah	192	189	71	441	64	46
St John's Plain	0	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Incised	0	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Plain	0	1	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Punctate	0	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Stab and Drag	0	0	0	0	0	0
All St. Simon's	0	1	0	0	0	0
Swift Creek Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	1	0	0
UID Clay Plain	0	1	0	1	0	0
UID Sand Plain	5	21	8	39	5	3
UID Stamped Clay	0	0	0	0	0	0
UID Stamped Sand	11	16	13	81	2	9
Walthour Check Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Walthour Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Walthour	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wilmington Heavy Cord Marked	1	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	222	240	88	571	72	57

Description	Area O-15	Area O-16	Area O-17	Area O-18	Area O-19	Area O-21
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	0	46	1	14	1	0
Altamaha Cross Simple Stamped	0	21	0	0	0	0
All Altamaha	0	67	1	14	1	0
Deptford Check Stamped	0	11	1	0	4	0
Deptford Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Cord Marked	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Fabric Marked	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Linear Check Stamped	0	7	0	0	0	0
Deptford Shell Scraped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Simple Stamped	0	1	0	0	0	0
All Deptford	0	19	1	0	4	0
Irene Complicated Stamped	0	9	0	1	0	0
Irene Incised	0	13	0	3	0	0
Irene Plain	0	1	0	1	0	0
All Irene	0	23	0	5	0	0
Refuge Dentate Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Incised	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Plain	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Tool Impressed	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Refuge	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah/Irene Complicated Stamped	1	68	2	6	0	0
Savannah Burnished Plain	11	27	21	17	10	1
Savannah Check Stamped	1	93	11	0	9	0
Savannah Check Stamped/Cob Marked	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Check Stamped w/ Punctates	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cob Marked	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Complicated Stamped	0	3	0	1	0	0
Savannah Complicated St. w/ Cord Mark	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cord Marked	4	110	15	9	13	6
Savannah Cord Marked with Punctates	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Fabric Marked	0	2	0	0	0	0

Description	Area O-15	Area O-16	Area O-17	Area O-18	Area O-19	Area O-21
Savannah Shell Scraped	0	1	0	1	0	0
All Savannah	16	236	47	28	32	7
St John's Plain	0	2	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Incised	0	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Plain	0	1	0	2	0	0
St Simon's Punctate	0	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Stab and Drag	0	0	0	0	0	0
All St. Simon's	0	1	0	2	0	0
Swift Creek Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
UID Clay Plain	0	0	0	0	0	0
UID Sand Plain	1	78	4	14	3	0
UID Stamped Clay	0	0	1	0	0	0
UID Stamped Sand	0	153	1	28	0	0
Walthour Check Stamped	0	0	0	3	0	0
Walthour Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Walthour	0	0	0	3	0	0
Wilmington Heavy Cord Marked	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	18	471	56	67	40	7

Description	Area O-22	Area O-23	Area O-24	Area O-25	Area O-26	Area O-28
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	0	27	21	1	0	0
Altamaha Cross Simple Stamped	0	10	3	0	0	0
All Altamaha	0	37	24	1	0	0
Deptford Check Stamped	1	12	12	1	0	3
Deptford Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Cord Marked	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Fabric Marked	1	1	7	0	0	0
Deptford Linear Check Stamped	2	2	1	0	0	0
Deptford Shell Scraped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Deptford	4	15	20	1	0	3
Irene Complicated Stamped	1	0	1	0	0	0
Irene Incised	0	0	0	0	0	0
Irene Plain	0	0	1	0	0	0
All Irene	1	0	2	0	0	0
Refuge Dentate Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Incised	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Plain	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Tool Impressed	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Refuge	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah/Irene Complicated Stamped	1	25	30	6	0	7
Savannah Burnished Plain	16	50	78	9	3	45
Savannah Check Stamped	15	57	61	3	1	16
Savannah Check Stamped/Cob Marked	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Check Stamped w/ Punctates	0	1	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cob Marked	0	3	5	1	0	0
Savannah Complicated Stamped	0	0	1	2	0	0
Savannah Complicated St. w/ Cord Mark	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cord Marked	54	67	105	17	2	18
Savannah Cord Marked with Punctates	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Fabric Marked	0	2	8	2	0	0

Description	Area O-22	Area O-23	Area O-24	Area O-25	Area O-26	Area O-28
Savannah Shell Scraped	0	0	2	0	0	0
All Savannah	85	180	260	34	6	79
St John's Plain	0	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Incised	0	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Plain	0	0	2	1	0	4
St Simon's Punctate	0	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Stab and Drag	0	0	0	0	0	0
All St. Simon's	0	0	2	1	0	4
Swift Creek Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
UID Clay Plain	1	0	2	0	0	0
UID Sand Plain	4	17	27	2	0	6
UID Stamped Clay	0	0	1	0	0	0
UID Stamped Sand	12	50	61	9	0	24
Walthour Check Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Walthour Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Walthour	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wilmington Heavy Cord Marked	0	1	0	0	0	1
Totals	95	275	366	45	6	100

Description	Area O-29	Area O-30	Area O-31	Area O-32	Area O-33	Area O-34
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	1	3	0	0	2	1
Altamaha Cross Simple Stamped	5	2	0	2	0	0
All Altamaha	6	5	0	2	2	1
Deptford Check Stamped	0	2	0	0	0	0
Deptford Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Cord Marked	0	0	0	1	0	0
Deptford Fabric Marked	0	0	0	2	0	0
Deptford Linear Check Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Shell Scraped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Deptford	0	2	0	3	0	0
Irene Complicated Stamped	1	2	0	0	0	0
Irene Incised	0	1	0	1	1	0
Irene Plain	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Irene	1	3	0	1	1	0
Refuge Dentate Stamped	0	0	0	1	0	0
Refuge Incised	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Plain	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Simple Stamped	0	4	0	2	0	0
Refuge Tool Impressed	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Refuge	0	4	0	3	0	0
Savannah/Irene Complicated Stamped	2	17	0	12	4	1
Savannah Burnished Plain	21	185	14	163	32	25
Savannah Check Stamped	2	50	3	74	22	12
Savannah Check Stamped/Cob Marked	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Check Stamped w/ Punctates	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cob Marked	0	0	0	3	0	0
Savannah Complicated Stamped	0	6	0	2	1	1
Savannah Complicated St. w/ Cord Mark	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cord Marked	4	87	6	126	20	20
Savannah Cord Marked with Punctates	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Fabric Marked	0	5	0	1	0	0

Description	Area O-29	Area O-30	Area O-31	Area O-32	Area O-33	Area O-34
Savannah Shell Scraped	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Savannah	27	333	23	369	75	58
St John's Plain	0	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Incised	0	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Plain	0	1	0	1	0	0
St Simon's Punctate	0	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Stab and Drag	0	0	0	0	0	0
All St. Simon's	0	1	0	1	0	0
Swift Creek Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
UID Clay Plain	0	0	0	1	0	1
UID Sand Plain	3	14	3	42	4	6
UID Stamped Clay	0	0	0	0	1	0
UID Stamped Sand	10	54	0	49	8	15
Walthour Check Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Walthour Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Walthour	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wilmington Heavy Cord Marked	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	38	376	26	433	86	67

Description	Area O-35	Area O-36	Area O-37	Area O-38	Area O-39	Area O-40
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	2	3	0	0	1	18
Altamaha Cross Simple Stamped	2	0	1	3	2	24
All Altamaha	4	3	1	3	3	42
Deptford Check Stamped	2	1	0	0	2	10
Deptford Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	1
Deptford Cord Marked	0	0	0	0	0	19
Deptford Fabric Marked	0	0	0	0	0	3
Deptford Linear Check Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Shell Scraped	0	1	0	1	1	3
Deptford Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	1
All Deptford	2	2	0	1	3	37
Irene Complicated Stamped	0	0	1	0	0	6
Irene Incised	0	0	0	0	0	23
Irene Plain	2	2	0	0	1	2
All Irene	2	2	1	0	1	31
Refuge Dentate Stamped	0	0	0	1	0	0
Refuge Incised	0	0	0	0	0	1
Refuge Plain	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refuge Simple Stamped	2	0	0	0	0	2
Refuge Tool Impressed	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Refuge	2	0	0	1	0	3
Savannah/Irene Complicated Stamped	4	4	11	16	16	280
Savannah Burnished Plain	89	31	41	79	140	1052
Savannah Check Stamped	33	17	19	50	100	447
Savannah Check Stamped/Cob Marked	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Check Stamped w/ Punctates	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cob Marked	1	0	0	0	0	7
Savannah Complicated Stamped	1	1	0	1	1	16
Savannah Complicated St. w/ Cord Mark	0	0	0	0	0	1
Savannah Cord Marked	66	53	40	52	169	992
Savannah Cord Marked with Punctates	0	0	0	0	0	7
Savannah Fabric Marked	0	1	0	0	0	18

Description	Area O-35	Area O-36	Area O-37	Area O-38	Area O-39	Area O-40
Savannah Shell Scraped	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Savannah	190	103	100	182	410	2540
St John's Plain	0	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Incised	0	0	0	0	0	1
St Simon's Plain	0	0	0	0	0	24
St Simon's Punctate	0	0	0	0	0	7
St Simon's Stab and Drag	0	0	0	0	0	1
All St. Simon's	0	0	0	0	0	33
Swift Creek Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
UID Clay Plain	0	1	0	0	0	1
UID Sand Plain	5	4	7	8	28	297
UID Stamped Clay	0	0	0	0	0	4
UID Stamped Sand	25	10	24	29	55	412
Walthour Check Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	2
Walthour Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Walthour	0	0	0	0	0	2
Wilmington Heavy Cord Marked	0	0	0	0	1	6
Totals	207	117	119	211	461	3245

Description	Area O-41	Area O-42	Area O-43	Area O-44	Area O-45	Area O-46
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	1	0	10	49	7	14
Altamaha Cross Simple Stamped	2	0	0	20	1	7
All Altamaha	3	0	10	69	8	21
Deptford Check Stamped	0	1	2	23	41	24
Deptford Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Cord Marked	1	1	5	12	17	6
Deptford Fabric Marked	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Linear Check Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deptford Shell Scraped	2	0	0	4	1	1
Deptford Simple Stamped	0	0	0	1	2	0
All Deptford	3	2	7	40	61	31
Irene Complicated Stamped	2	0	2	14	7	1
Irene Incised	2	1	1	19	3	0
Irene Plain	0	0	0	11	2	1
All Irene	4	1	3	44	12	2
Refuge Dentate Stamped	1	0	1	3	0	0
Refuge Incised	0	0	0	1	0	0
Refuge Plain	0	0	0	0	2	0
Refuge Simple Stamped	1	1	0	6	4	1
Refuge Tool Impressed	0	0	0	0	3	0
All Refuge	2	1	1	10	9	1
Savannah/Irene Complicated Stamped	40	2	38	229	76	109
Savannah Burnished Plain	174	31	139	587	402	273
Savannah Check Stamped	85	13	72	434	189	168
Savannah Check Stamped/Cob Marked	0	0	2	1	0	0
Savannah Check Stamped w/ Punctates	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cob Marked	1	0	1	25	5	5
Savannah Complicated Stamped	5	0	1	17	9	10
Savannah Complicated St. w/ Cord Mark	0	0	0	3	0	0
Savannah Cord Marked	105	14	89	431	334	239
Savannah Cord Marked with Punctates	0	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah Fabric Marked	8	0	6	15	4	6
Savannah Shell Scraped	0	0	0	5	7	3

Description	Area O-41	Area O-42	Area O-43	Area O-44	Area O-45	Area O-46
All Savannah	378	58	310	1518	950	704
St John's Plain	0	0	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Incised	0	0	0	0	1	0
St Simon's Plain	2	0	1	0	10	1
St Simon's Punctate	0	0	0	0	1	1
St Simon's Stab and Drag	0	0	0	0	0	0
All St. Simon's	2	0	1	0	12	2
Swift Creek Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
UID Clay Plain	0	0	0	2	1	1
UID Sand Plain	24	12	9	144	55	31
UID Stamped Clay	1	0	0	3	3	3
UID Stamped Sand	69	17	66	319	149	103
Walthour Check Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0
Walthour Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	1
All Walthour	0	0	0	0	0	1
Wilmington Heavy Cord Marked	0	0	0	1	1	1
Totals	453	75	376	2016	1176	905

Description	Area O-47	Area O-48	Area O-49	Area O-50
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	11	21	18	2
Altamaha Cross Simple Stamped	12	10	18	0
All Altamaha	23	31	36	2
Deptford Check Stamped	1	1	0	1
Deptford Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0
Deptford Cord Marked	2	3	1	0
Deptford Fabric Marked	0	0	0	0
Deptford Linear Check Stamped	0	0	0	0
Deptford Shell Scraped	1	5	1	0
Deptford Simple Stamped	0	0	0	0
All Deptford	4	9	2	1
Irene Complicated Stamped	5	15	16	0
Irene Incised	3	24	20	0
Irene Plain	0	3	6	0
All Irene	8	42	42	0
Refuge Dentate Stamped	0	0	0	0
Refuge Incised	0	2	0	0
Refuge Plain	0	0	0	0
Refuge Simple Stamped	0	0	3	0
Refuge Tool Impressed	0	0	0	0
All Refuge	0	2	3	0
Savannah/Irene Complicated Stamped	57	96	151	27
Savannah Burnished Plain	219	95	121	53
Savannah Check Stamped	61	12	22	33
Savannah Check Stamped/Cob Marked	0	0	0	0
Savannah Check Stamped w/ Punctates	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cob Marked	2	0	0	0
Savannah Complicated Stamped	2	4	9	1
Savannah Complicated St. w/ Cord Mark	0	0	0	0
Savannah Cord Marked	169	20	26	42
Savannah Cord Marked with Punctates	0	0	0	0
Savannah Fabric Marked	5	1	1	1
Savannah Shell Scraped	0	2	6	4

Description	Area O-47	Area O-48	Area O-49	Area O-50
All Savannah	458	134	185	134
St John's Plain	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Incised	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Plain	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Punctate	0	0	0	0
St Simon's Stab and Drag	0	0	0	0
All St. Simon's	0	0	0	0
Swift Creek Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0
UID Clay Plain	0	2	0	0
UID Sand Plain	21	54	78	7
UID Stamped Clay	0	0	0	1
UID Stamped Sand	98	107	151	21
Walthour Check Stamped	0	0	0	0
Walthour Simple Stamped	0	1	0	0
All Walthour	0	1	0	0
Wilmington Heavy Cord Marked	0	0	0	0
Totals	563	329	455	172

Description	Area O-51	Area O-53	Totals
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	0	0	294
Altamaha Cross Simple Stamped	1	0	167
All Altamaha	1	0	461
Deptford Check Stamped	1	1	173
Deptford Complicated Stamped	0	0	1
Deptford Cord Marked	3	2	76
Deptford Fabric Marked	0	0	15
Deptford Linear Check Stamped	0	0	16
Deptford Shell Scraped	0	0	23
Deptford Simple Stamped	0	0	5
All Deptford	4	3	309
Irene Complicated Stamped	0	0	89
Irene Incised	0	0	116
Irene Plain	0	0	37
All Irene	0	0	242
Refuge Dentate Stamped	1	0	11
Refuge Incised	0	0	4
Refuge Plain	0	0	2
Refuge Simple Stamped	0	0	29
Refuge Tool Impressed	0	0	3
All Refuge	1	0	49
Savannah/Irene Complicated Stamped	2	4	1493
Savannah Burnished Plain	35	17	4896
Savannah Check Stamped	22	16	2688
Savannah Check Stamped/Cob Marked	0	0	3
Savannah Check Stamped w/ Punctates	0	0	1
Savannah Cob Marked	0	1	75
Savannah Complicated Stamped	0	1	102
Savannah Complicated St. w/ Cord Mark	0	0	4
Savannah Cord Marked	20	19	4116
Savannah Cord Marked with Punctates	0	0	7
Savannah Fabric Marked	0	0	95
Savannah Shell Scraped	1	0	34

Description	Area O-51	Area O-53	Totals
All Savannah	78	54	12021
St John's Plain	0	0	2
St Simon's Incised	0	0	2
St Simon's Plain	0	0	51
St Simon's Punctate	0	0	9
St Simon's Stab and Drag	0	0	1
All St. Simons	0	0	63
Swift Creek Complicated Stamped	0	0	1
UID Clay Plain	0	0	18
UID Sand Plain	3	2	1144
UID Stamped Clay	0	0	19
UID Stamped Sand	5	7	2363
Walthour Check Stamped	0	0	5
Walthour Simple Stamped	0	0	2
All Walthour	0	0	7
Wilmington Heavy Cord Marked	0	0	13
Totals	89	63	15600

Appendix 7

Staff Names and Dates Mentioned in the Field Notes

Name	Date 1	Date 2	Date 3	Date 4
, Tebeau?	April 1938	May 1938		
Allen, Arthur Gilbert	July 1939	August 1939		
Anderson, J. C.	February 1938	August 1938	July 1939	August 1939
Archambeault, N. J., "Archie"	April 1938	September 1938	August 1939	
Arseneau, William J. (Bill)	November 1937	May 1938		
Axley, Lowry	February 1938	July 1938		
Banks, Robert	October 1937			
Barnwell, C.	September 1939			
Bell, R. W.	July 1938	August 1938	August 1939	
Black, ?	August 1939			
Bostock, Arthur	November 1937	December 1938		
Bradley, ?	January 1938	June 1938		
Brown, W. F.	March 1938			
Caldwell, Joseph R.	October 1937	December 1939		
Carraway, ?	March 1938	June 1938		
Casey, ?	March 1938	April 1938		
Chaplin, ?	April 1938			
Clark, ?	October 1937	November 1937		
Coakley, ?	September 1939	October 1939		
Cotton, Maggie	October 1938			
Dixon, ?	August 1939			
Dowling, A.	August 1939			
Drane, ?	March 1938			
Fawcett, Miss Dorothy	April 1938	May 1938		
Fewkes, Dr. Vladimir J.	January 1938	June 1938		
Folz, ?	July 1939	August 1939		
Freunt (Freundt), Miss Vivian	April 1938	June 1938		
Gillen, ?	October 1938			
Gould, ?	December 1937			
Hawkins, ?	November 1937	February 1938		
Heriot, T. (Tebeau??)	August 1939			
Hobbs, William G., Jr.	October 1937	November 1938		

Name	Date 1	Date 2	Date 3	Date 4
Holder, Preston	October 1937	January 1938		
Hulse, Dr. Frederick S.	July 1939	August 1939		
Jewett, ?	December 1937	August 1938	August 1939	
Johnson, Lily	October 1938		September 1939	October 1939
Jones, West?	March 1938	April 1938		
Jordan, Andy??	December 1937	February 1939		
Keany, T. W.	November 1939			
Kenney, ?	November 1938			
King, Emma	April 1938			
Landy, Alvin	April 1938			
Le Hardy, Frank	March 1938	May 1938		
Leggett, Jim L.	December 1937	August 1938		
Lennon, ?	March 1938	June 1938		
Leonard, ?	August 1938			
Litnianski (y?), ?	April 1938	May 1938		
Mallory, John M.	February 1938	April 1938		
Martin, ?	November 1937			
McCann, Catherine J.	August 1938	October 1939		
McGinley, ?	April 1938	May 1938		
Miles, John	November 1937	April 1938		
Mobley, B. F.	August 1939			
Morris, ?	September 1939			
Murrow, ?	August 1938	November 1938		
Myers, ?	September 1939	October 1939		
O'Brien, John E.	May 1938	August 1938		
Peterson, ?	December 1938			
Queenie,	May 1938			
Raarup, Dewey P.	February 1938	August 1938	July 1939	
Rogers, Waldo A.	November 1937	February 1939		
Schaeffer, Claude E.	June 1938	February 1939		
Short, ?	November 1937	December 1937		
Smalls, ?	August 1939			
Smith, Dell	April 1938			
Sollar, Joe (J.J.)	December 1937	June 1938		
the Cat, Bill	April 1938			
Thee, E.F.	November 1937	November 1938		
Thonison, ?	October 1938			

Name	Date 1	Date 2	Date 3	Date 4
Wallace, Major	May 1938			
Waring, Antonio J., Jr. (Tono)	March 1938	September 1938	July 1939	
West, ?	December 1937	November 1938	August 1939	
Whitman, ?	December 1937	May 1938		
Whitten, ?	May 1938	July 1938		
Williams, ?	August 1939			
Wright, ?	August 1939			

Appendix 8

Gail Whalen Paper on Irene Workers

Some 20 odd years ago a collection of photographs from a private individual , Marmaduke Floyd, who visited the Irene excavations several times in the late 1930s, were located and are now curated with the Georgia Historical Society in Savannah. I am not reproducing these in this report, although they are discussed in the following paper by Gail Whalen who also did a remarkable study of the few surviving African American women who formed the bulk of the Irene field crew. Gail now lives and works in Colorado Spring, Colorado. I reached her by phone in December of 2021 and she happily agreed to let me reproduce her excellent paper here. It gives a fascinating account of the human aspect of the excavators of the site, and I am grateful to her for her research and her permission to reprint her paper here.

Elusive Women of Irene: The WPA Excavation of Irene Mound

By Gail Whalen

In September 1937, Antonio J. Waring, Jr. and Preston Holder began the work of clearing a patch of swamp and forest at the eastern side of Pipe Makers' Canal where it meets the Savannah River on the outskirts of Savannah, Georgia. Workers cleared the area, thickly covered in underbrush, palmetto plants and trees, with axes, shovels and spades. Everyone helped, from Waring and Holder, to the foreman and three supervisors sent by the city of Savannah, including the crew of about forty-five black women. They had cleaned the area before the start of a full-scale archaeological excavation. They stood atop Irene Mound, a Native American structure that

preceded both the French and Spanish explorers of the late 1500s, and the colony of Georgia in 1733. The mound had been present when the Creek tribes began to migrate into coastal Georgia in the late 1400s. A landmark along the Savannah River for years, it had been inhabited by Europeans since 1736. No one was really quite sure what was contained beneath the small hill.

In 1937, the United States government decided to excavate Irene Mound. The field excavation crew, comprised entirely of African American women, took more than two years to uncover the entire structure. Today, because of this excavation, we know more about the Native Americans who built and used the mound than we do about the people who excavated it. One clue about this group of women can be found in a series of photographs taken by Marmaduke Hamilton Floyd, a prominent citizen of Savannah, who died in 1949. He shot the photographs between 1937 and 1938 at the Irene Indian Mound. Most are annotated with the date, location, and narrative description of each picture. Almost 300 of these pictures still exist in private collection, and many of the scenes are of the excavators at work. At this time, they constitute the most complete photographic record of the women. Hidden in the photographs are the identities and experiences of the women employed as excavators at Irene Mound. One of the purposes of this study was to reveal their identities. To supplement the wealth of rich visual evidence preserved in the Floyd photographs, extensive interviews were conducted with the surviving descendants of this remarkable community of women.

In 1934, Dolores B. Floyd of Savannah began researching the early history of the Georgia coast. Her husband, Marmaduke H. Floyd, also contributed a generous amount of scholarly research about early Georgia, including a book entitled *Georgia's Disputed Tabby Ruins*. In their research, the Floyds' found references to an Indian mound located near Savannah at the juncture

of Pipe Makers' Creek and the Savannah River. The Creek Indians and early British settlers used the mound as a landmark. German Protestant missionaries from Moravia established a school and mission atop the hill in 1736, giving it the name "Irene." Colonel William Elberton created Rae's Hall Plantation there after the American Revolutionary War, and used the mound top as the backdrop for an elaborate mansion. Moravians and Elbertons were buried on other parts of the mound, literally atop Native Americans from nearly three centuries earlier.

Savannah residents had long known of the mound, although they were not necessarily aware of its cultural and historical significance. Pipe Maker's Creek had been transformed into a canal in the early nineteenth century to aid in rice cultivation. In 1897 and 1898, Clarence B. Moore of the Smithsonian Institution, dug into the mound and exhumed seven human skeletons as part of his nationwide anthropological studies on the culture of the "Great Mound Builders" of Native America. Later, builders from Chatham County used the mound as a convenient source of fill dirt for construction projects.

At the urging of the Society for Georgia Archaeology and the Savannah Historical Research Association, Dolores Floyd published a twenty-six page pamphlet entitled *New Yamacraw and the Indian Mound Irene* in 1936. An influential paper, it was cited by Dr. Arthur R. Kelly, director for the joint National Park Service and Federal Emergency Relief Agency's Ocmulgee and Swift Creek excavations in Macon, Georgia. It was also cited by a succession of WPA archaeologists who directed work at the Irene Mound. Marmaduke Floyd, along with his young friend Antonio Waring, Jr., were enthusiastic amateur archaeologists. In the early 1930s, both documented and explored many Native American sites in coastal Georgia, centering around Chatham, McIntosh, Liberty and Camden counties. Their membership in organizations such as

the Society for Georgia Archaeology, the Georgia Historical Society, the Savannah Historical Research Society, Chamber of Commerce, and Daughters of the American Revolution enabled them to enlist broad support for the project, culminating the WPA excavation.

The first excavation in Georgia took place in Macon at the Ocmulgee Mounds. Sponsored by the Civil Works Administration and the Federal Emergency Relief Agency, Director Kelly used mixed field crews of African-American women and men, as well as white men. African Americans comprised the majority of the crews, while some of the whites were trained as supervisors. White graduate students in anthropology became director assistants and laboratory supervisors. This was the first time women had been utilized as a primary labor source in archaeological excavations funded by the New Deal. Except for a few men (perhaps fewer than twenty), the majority of the crews were African-American women. Three primary and six secondary sites were excavated under the WPA in Savannah and Chatham County. Each of the primary sites, Irene Mound, Bilbo, and Deptford, utilized an exclusively female African-American labor force for the excavation crews. Categorized as semi-skilled or skilled by the WPA, white relief workers were assigned to the higher wage positions of carpenters, laboratory technicians, researchers, and recorders. Excavators were considered unskilled.

The Irene Indian Mound excavation began in September 1937 and completed work in December 1939. It was by far the largest project undertaken in Savannah, and received the most publicity of any WPA archaeology project. At various times, the work force included over 100 persons. In the initial stage of the excavation, workers cleared the mound of trees, underbrush, trash, and swampy areas. County engineers helped build access roads to facilitate transport of equipment and personnel. Women worked in these preliminary stages along with the men. Work

progressed eight hours a day, five days a week, year round, with time off for Christmas, New Year's Day, and Easter. The work was hard and crews provided their own meals. Moreover, the clearing process removed natural windbreaks that shielded the workers in winter from the strong winds whipping off the Savannah River. One outhouse served all the workers, men and women alike.

In *Beyond Suffrage: Women in the New Deal*, Susan Ware examines the decision to use women in archaeological relief projects. As a rule, national gender norms excluded women from heavy construction work, which effectively eliminated them from most relief projects. Such was not the case in Savannah for African-American women. Even women with professional training were hired as field crews at Irene Mound. Gussie White attended the Tuskegee Normal School for Women. Trained as an educator and clerical worker, she sought work at Irene Mound after her husband became disabled in a workplace accident. Annie Scott Grant, a minister's wife, directed an after school tutorial program at their AME church in Savannah. Mattie Smith, Hattie Coleman, and Elizabeth Heyward had taken in laundry to supplement their household income before the Depression, and continued to do so even while working for the WPA.

The object of one WPA project in Savannah was to make black women more productive domestic servants. Enrollees in the project were taught how to use bleach as a disinfectant and handling procedures to reduce the risk of air-borne bacteria infecting food. *The Savannah Tribune*, one of two African-American newspapers in the city, voiced support for the project. Programs in other southern cities such as Memphis and New Orleans emphasized similar training. The city of Savannah and the WPA also jointly sponsored programs for women that emphasized light industrial training. In a recent interview, Oscar Williams, a white supervisor of

a crew of black women who gathered Spanish moss for the WPA, recalled a mattress factory in Savannah that housed three separate WPA projects intended for women. The first floor housed a mattress factory, the second rooms for sewing and doll making, and the third a shop for repairing furniture.

In *The New Deal in the Urban South*, Douglas Smith points out that 70 to 80 percent of women on relief in the South were unskilled, which he attributes to the preponderance of "jobless black domestics." He explains further that Georgia lawmakers tried to create discriminatory legislation that limited some work projects only to those women with certain education or training. These limitations precluded many black women from eligibility for relief jobs. That such efforts were not successful was largely due to the efforts of the state WPA director, Gay Shepperson, and Georgia politician Eurith D. Rivers, who was a committed New Dealer. Despite the failure of Georgia legislators to legislate further inequality in New Deal relief programs, white women in Atlanta garnered 1,225 relief jobs in 1937, versus the 447 relief jobs awarded to black women. Not surprisingly, many African-American women were also assigned to "pick and shovel" jobs.

In a series of oral history interviews conducted in 1997, one of the first questions asked of relatives was if their mother or grandmother had been issued any special clothing for the excavation work. None remembered any. Although hired to perform unskilled manual labor similar to the work done by male relief workers on canals, the Irene women did not wear overalls. John White was almost fourteen years old when his mother, Gussie White, excavated Irene Mound. He recalls clearly that his mother wore her own brogans, gloves, and an old cotton dress. White may be one of the few children who actually witnessed his mother working at the

mound. He used to ride his bicycle to the site and watch the excavation in progress. One person interviewed, however, did recall that the WPA provided tools for the women.

Clothes and tools reveal much about gender relations at Irene. According to Patricia Hunt, "Clothes make statements about economic status, occupational roles, affiliations with other people, differentiation from others, and individual expression". One element that figures prominently in the Floyd photographs is the use of kerchiefs beneath hats. A number of women tied kerchiefs or rags around their hair. When worn outside, a kerchief helped protect a woman's hair from the sun and wind. To whites in the Jim Crow era, the kerchief signified caste status, but it was also an accessory encoded with distinctive aesthetic values. Personal flourishes like elaborate kerchiefs, large earrings, and tobacco pipes, in other words, communicated a sense of individual personality and revealed membership in a shared Sea Island cultural community.

The Floyd photographs illustrate in graphic detail just how hard times were in the late 1930s. The working poor wore whatever was available, even when such garb was inappropriate for the work at hand. The photographs, for example, reveal the wide variety of shoes and boots worn by the field crews at Irene. At least three women are wearing brogans--the heavy, ankle high, laced man's leather boot often associated with agricultural labor in the South. Most of the women, however, appear to be wearing plain women's oxfords, solid material evidence of their urban background. One photograph taken during cooler weather shows a woman standing barefoot. This is particularly disturbing because others in the shot, including the men, are all wearing shoes and heavy coats. Also visible are cotton stockings, a "union suit" (or long cotton underwear that reaches mid-calf), and knickers beneath dresses. All of the black women in the Floyd Photographs are wearing dresses. Not one appears in overalls, slacks, or dungarees. When

one considers the nature of excavation, especially as the trenching became deeper and ramps, steps, and ladders were built to facilitate passage from one area to another, one might anticipate that function and safety would lead some women to wear slacks. Such was not the case. Prevailing custom dictated that women not wear trousers, even when engaged in strenuous outdoor work.

The Southeast Archaeological Conference collection is the repository of all the official WPA photographic records of the Irene excavation. A few of the photographs show the field crews at Irene Mound, but none of the women are identified. Paul Fagette, in *Digging for Dollars: American Archaeology and the New Deal*, suggests that the WPA's role in making archaeology acceptable to the American public was due in part to the WPA's penchant for good publicity. The Savannah Morning News featured stories about the Irene Mound excavation almost daily between September 1937 and March 1938, including interviews with archaeologists, city officials, and the general public, but never identified any of the field technicians. Even those photographs printed in other newspapers such as the Savannah Evening News Press, which typically listed the names of persons shown (especially when only one or two persons comprise the subject), do not list the laborers. As one might expect, the press highlighted newcomers who brought academic, scientific, or social prestige to the project. Hailed as a classically trained European archaeologist, for example, Vladimir J. Fewkes lent a sense of international importance to the excavation.

According to various accounts, Fewkes introduced such modern techniques as "peeling" the ground in stratigraphic layers, establishing a datum for mapping and elevation readings, and streamlined laboratory artifact processing. It may have been around the time of Fewkes presence

on the site in April 1938 that Hattie Coleman and Gussie White worked at Irene Mound. Coleman's granddaughter, Ethel Hunter, said that her grandmother explained to the children exactly how she excavated. Archaeologists instructed the women to dig very carefully and to shave off a little of the dirt at a time. One man watched and corrected the women as they worked to keep everyone mindful of the importance of their work. According to John White, once a woman demonstrated a certain degree of proficiency, she became a foreman of other women. Perhaps this was the case in the photographs where the women appear to be working without supervision.

Numerous newspaper accounts reveal that groups of white students from Savannah and Chatham County participated in field trips to the site, but if children from black schools ever visited the site it went unrecorded. With one exception, the children of women workers at Irene Mound did not have an opportunity to see the Irene Mound, although all of the interviewees recalled that they had wanted to visit their mothers and grandmothers on the site. Ethel Hunter and Rebecca Wright both stated that they had asked specifically to go see the Indian Mound when they were children, although neither had been allowed to go. Wright also stated that her lifelong interest in Native American culture had been stirred by her mother's experience at the Irene Mound.

In fact, the words "Indian bones" evoked the strongest memories from all the descendants. Each remembered something their mother or grandmother had said about recovering bones. In the words of one interviewee, "I remember my grandmother saying how sad she felt for those poor people, because they were digging them up like that." Others did not realize that the women had been exhuming human skeletons. When asked why her mother did

not tell her children that the bones were human, Karen Scott Williams replied that perhaps she was trying to protect them from becoming frightened from the thought of her working in a "graveyard." Some, however, knew quite well that their mothers were excavating human and animal bones. When asked whether such work upset their mothers, White, Hunter Daniels, and the Vaughn brothers indicated that after seeing one or two of the burials, their mothers quickly abandoned any qualms they had about handling bones. According to John White, the women understood the interpretive significance of such evidence to the archaeologists.

The historical significance of the Irene Mound photographs becomes evident when they are contrasted against the portraits of relief workers that appeared in national publications. *Life* magazine frequently featured articles about WPA and PWA workers. In a two-page spread about a WPA sewer project, a white relief worker named Edward Moyer discussed his job.

Significantly, no African Americans or women received mention, although it is quite possible that neither were employed on the project. Two weeks later, *Life* reported that a white relief worker Edward Liewicki made fifteen dollars a week as a WPA worker. The same issue featured white males in its treatment of WPA dams, sewage disposal works, and highway projects.

Another issue of *Life* included a seven- page spread on the WPA in which over thirty photographs feature whites. The three photographs that focus on African Americans depict a group of twelve men beating drums, an old man laying sod, and an elderly couple learning to read. As *Life* reminded its readers in yet another issue, "Southerners have not wanted their Negroes to get too high Relief pay. Many Southern states have been backward in matching federal grants and loans for Relief and Public works."

In her case study of Savannah during the 1930s, Karen Kalmar also unearthed evidence

of possible mistreatment of some of the women employed at Irene Mound. *The Savannah Journal*, a weekly black newspaper, reported mistreatment of workers at WPA run vegetable farms in the county in December 1938. Editor Davis Lee likened the work to slavery. The next month, Lee wrote to President Roosevelt that women at Irene Mound were compelled to "dig up dead bodies" and "lift baskets laden with rocks and stones." Lee's allegation that the excavation employed women as old as sixty-five gained the attention of Gay Shepperson, the state director of the Women's and Professional Division of the WPA. One of Shepperson's responsibilities was determining if local authorities hired women older than the age limit of forty-five. Even if older women were employed at Irene Mound, it is unclear whether their presence on the site evidences conscious maltreatment on the part of their employer or agency on the part of financially strapped women who simply misrepresented their age.

In commercial publications with widespread circulation, WPA workers were sometimes depicted in poses that made them appear apathetic at best. The treatment of urban relief workers in Savannah newspapers, however, accords more with the philosophy evident in the Farm Security Administration's documentary photographs of rural tenant farmers. In the words of FSA photographer Dorothea Lange, a documentary photograph "is not a factual photograph per se." Rather it "carries with it another thing, a quality [in the subject] that the artist responds to. It is a photograph which carries the full meaning of the episode or the circumstance or the situation that can only be revealed-because you can't really capture it-by this other quality." Lange and Walker Evans artistically placed people in their homes and against the backdrop of devastated farms to show how families coped in the face of adversity.

In some ways, Marmaduke Floyd's photographs of the Irene Mound excavation

accomplish the same task. To be sure, Floyd sometimes took photos of workers he thought were loafing to goad them into more productive work. Yet unlike many of the photographs reproduced in commercial publications, which often portray relief work as boondoggling, the vast majority of Floyd's pictures convey positive messages about the women who worked at Irene Mound. A paternalist whose family had once owned slaves, Floyd clearly considered the women of Irene "his people." Floyd's compositions, in other words, reveal much about the racial mores of privileged whites. Casting the women who worked for him in a bad light, in other words, would also reflect badly upon him. Although he was careful to ascribe poor workmanship when he saw it, Floyd readily applauded the women of Irene's increasing proficiency as field technicians and acknowledged the superior quality of their work was vital to the success of the project.

Floyd's extensive collection housed at the Georgia Historical Society includes many of his photographs documenting traditional African-American culture, historic slave sites, and vernacular architecture in and around Savannah. Taken between 1928 and 1940, these images provide a remarkable glimpse into African-American life in the late 1920s and 1930s. Floyd was also the project historian for the Irene Mound excavation and organized data from primary sources, filed field notes, and processed artifacts at the site laboratory. A professional surveyor, he no doubt played an instrumental role in laying out the initial site. Personal photographs newspaper articles show Floyd acting as a site interpreter, guide, and public lecturer.

In *Reading American Photographs*, Alan Trachtenberg discusses the value of photographs as tools to interpret history. Trachtenberg believes that images defy simple explanations: "What empowers an image to represent history is not just what it shows but the struggle for meaning we undergo before it...Representing the past, photos serve the present's need to understand itself and

measure its future." Research on this subject continues. A recent pictorial and oral history exhibit at Savannah's Ralph Mark Gilbert Civil Rights Museum encouraged visitors to help identify more of the women. The images in this data site were reproduced from the artist's proofs saved by Marmaduke Floyd, and preserved by the Coastal Georgia Archaeology Society. Fortunately, he annotated almost every photograph with a narrative description. Examined in sequence with his annotations, the images tell the remarkable story of the elusive women of Irene.