This document has been checked for information on Native American burials. No images considered to be culturally insensitive, including images and drawings of burials, Ancestors, funerary objects, and other NAGPRA material were found.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT THE DARIEN BLUFF SITE, 9MC10 1952-1953

SHEILA KELLY CALDWELL

Athens

Archaeological Excavations at the Darien Bluff Site, 9MC10 1952-1953

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Foreword

By Mark Williams

This document has a strange and tortured history to this point. Sheila Caldwell never completed tis during her lifetime, although she worked on it on and off for almost 20 years. Before detailing more about the manuscript we have used to create this report, and its odd history, first, I wish to tell the reader a bit about Sheila Kelly Caldwell herself.

Sheila Whitman Kelly was born in Marblehead, Massachusetts, on September 29, 1929. Her father was Arthur Randolph Kelly (1900-1979) and her mother was Rowena T. Whitman (1901-1977). Arthur and Rowena had met while they were fellow undergraduate students at the University of Texas in Austin. Arthur was completing his Ph.D. in Anthropology at Harvard University in Massachusetts when Sheila was born as their first child. The young Kelly family soon moved to Urbana, Illinois, where Arthur had been hired to teach anthropology and archaeology classes at the University of Illinois.

In 1933, Kelly was released by that University in the wake of the Great Depression. Daughters Joanne and Patricia had arrived while the Kelly's were still living in Illinois. The entire family moved for a while back to Texas in 1933, but had relocated to Macon, Georgia, by mid-December of that year. Arthur had been hired to run the first government-led archaeology program set up in the American South in the wake of the Great Depression. He and his family of girls lived in Macon throughout the rest of the decade.

Eight year old Sheila probably met Joseph Ralston Caldwell in Georgia sometime in late 1937, when she was only 9 years old. Caldwell had been born in Cleveland, Ohio, on June 14, 1916, and he was thus 13 years her senior. Caldwell had come to Georgia by September of 1937 as a junior archaeologist at the famous Irene Mound site in Savannah—another important Depression era Georgia archaeology excavation. That project, under Kelly's general direction, ran until early 1940. Arthur Kelly certainly came to Savannah from time to time to check on the Irene site progress, and Caldwell must have occasionally gone to Macon to confer with Kelly. In those meetings it seems likely that Joe would have met the 9-year old Sheila. Arthur and Rowena's daughter Cora was born in Macon in 1942.

During the war Arthur Kelly was for a time in Washington, D. C., but the family was still in Macon by the end of the war. Sheila must have graduated from high school in Macon about 1945 or 1946. She apparently attended Mercer University there for a time in 1946 or 1947 according to her sister Cora. The Kelly family moved to Athens in August or September of 1947, since Arthur founded the University of Georgia, Department of Anthropology in September of that year. Sheila, 18 years old by that time, apparently transferred to the University of Georgia to complete her college degree. She likely worked in the field with her dad on an unknown number of archaeological excavations in the late 1940s, learning much of the craft of archaeological excavation from him.

Sheila graduated from the University of Georgia with a B.A. degree at 5:30 PM on June 5, 1950. She marched through Sanford Stadium to receive her diploma, along with many other graduates. Her name on the graduation list for that year was Sheila Whitman Kelly. Sheila and Joe Caldwell apparently began dating sometime in the late 1940s. They were married in June of 1950 at the Chapel on the North Campus of the University of Georgia. This was presumably just days after her graduation. For the rest of her life she was Sheila Kelly Caldwell. She was busy running the excavations at Darien by August, some 2 months after her graduation and marriage. Sheila died in Athens on August 14, 1978, at only 48 years of age.

This document has been produced from many pages in a 2-inch thick folder obtained by me in June of 2013. The folder came from the effects of the late Larry Meier, long involved in Georgia archaeology from the 1960s through the 1980s. Georgia professional avocational archaeologist Jim Langford had been given the task of organizing the archaeological material in Larry's estate and I found this folder and a large number of completed graphics intended for the report with Jim's help. The folder and graphics were brought back to the Laboratory of Archaeology where they will now be permanently curated.

The history of the document and how it came to be in Meier's possession at the time of his death is not clear. There is a note in the folder by Joci Caldwell, the eldest daughter of Sheila, that Joci had brought the manuscript to the UGA Laboratory on January 5, 1979, from Sheila's home following her death the previous August. We do not know how or when the folder was then transferred after that date to Larry Meier. There is no paper work documenting such a loan at the Laboratory of Archaeology. It is possible that Larry himself intended to edit and publish the manuscript. Speaking as Director of the Laboratory of Archaeology at the present time, we are delighted to get the manuscript and graphics back to where they can now be permanently curated and a report finally published electronically.

After looking over the folder for a few minutes it was easy to see why the report was never finished and published. There were many typed pages, but every single page had huge numbers of pencil corrections. In many cases the pencil corrections are layered almost stratigraphically! There are also a great many pages that were hand written only. The pages in the folder were not in any rational order either. We ended up creating arbitrary typed documents from all the files that we numbered from 1 through 40. These varied in length from a single page up to as many as 30 pages or more. All of the initial typing was performed by Mary C. Scales with a bit of help from Trevor O'Neal. There were many cases where they could not read her hand writing. I spent much time carefully figuring her hand writing out and got quite good at it by the end. Other problems include the excessive use of abbreviations that were often not apparent at first. We believe we have now determined most of these. There are also multiple versions of several sections written in some cases years apart from one another. It is clear that she picked up the manuscript many times attempting to get it completed once and for all. We are sure it became an albatross around her neck. In the folder there was no logical sequence to any of the sections and we have attempted to sequence them and name them as best we can. We have conducted minimal grammatical editing of the document, mainly adjusting a few style issues to conform to current archaeological writing standards. We have placed all the plates together at the end of the report.

There are a couple of other issues that require comment. Sheila Caldwell used several different terms for her archaeological periods throughout the many pages. This was undoubtedly in consultation with her husband Joe Caldwell. We have standardized her many terms used throughout this document as Mission period I and Mission period II. Alternate terms used randomly for Mission period I include the Altamaha period and the Creighton Island period. Alternate terms for her Mission period II include the Talaxe period and the Southerland Bluff period. The term Altamaha is still a widely used term for the historic Spanish period on the Georgia coast, but we like the simplicity of her most used concept of Mission periods I and II for the Darien Bluff site itself.

A second issue involves the naming of native pottery types located at the site. Most of these are enumerated by type in Appendix I, as was the standard for 1950s archaeology reports in the southern United States. While some of these type names are still used, many are not. We are

including them here for historical purposes only rather than as a guide for anyone conducting modern archaeology on the Georgia Coast. There is also an issue of the section of the report after the description of the structures excavated at the site. This was apparently intended to (unnecessarily) show the importance of ceramics to this archaeology project. She used the ceramic types, however, throughout all other sections of the report when discussing the structures and features, thus making the latter sections on ceramics somewhat redundant. We have chosen, however, to go ahead and include these sections anyway.

Another minor edit was the replacement of the term *tinaja*, which she used extensively in this text, with the term *olive jar*. The latter has become the standard term in Georgia and Florida for coarse unglazed Spanish earthenware. Also any time we could simply not read a written word in her draft we followed the word by the (?) convention. Question marks of her own were left in place, but without the parentheses. We have added a few editorial comments in italics.

After all this description it might reasonably be asked (and we asked ourselves this frequently) if the project of completing this old, cold report was actually worth the effort. Obviously we believe it was, but it has produced a report that is still not complete in any traditional sense. All in all, however, we believe it is worth belatedly presenting all this information to the public. There are many interesting and useful insights into this important project that were not apparent before we completed this work.

In the end we have also decided to include all the multiple versions of the various sections of the report, rather than selecting one version or attempting to integrate multiple versions into a single one. While there are still holes in the report, there is certainly enough here to be a useful first hand-accounting of the major archaeological excavations conducted on Darien Bluff in 1952 and 1953. We hope that readers will consider that Sheila's and our efforts were not in vein.

Near the end of the work Mary and I were doing, I discovered that my old friend and colleague Dick Jefferies was also working on Caldwell's Fort King George data. In discussions with him we decided to combine our efforts. His foreword and perspective follow mine.

Included with the notes were many beautiful color drawings of majolica sherds from the site. These may have been drawn by a female artist from Macon used by Joe Caldwell to draw sherd designs from the Fairchild's Landing site, although this cannot be confirmed. We have included these drawings as Figures 52-83. The identifications of the majolica types in the drawings were provided to us by Carl Halbirt and Amada Roberts-Thompson.

My friend and colleague Chester DePratter has reservations about whether the photos and drawings of the Fort King Georgia "palisade" included herein might actually be related to the use of the site as a wood yard in the 19th century. Clearly we are not in a position to decide.

Finally, in the days just before completing this document we discovered a new cache of several hundred photographs of the excavation in the effects of Larry Meier, primarily of the first season. Since we had access to ones she thought should be in the report from the data gathered by Dick Jefferies we have not added more of the newly located ones. All of these are now curated in the Field Excavation Records files at the Laboratory of Archaeology of the University of Georgia.

Foreword

By Richard W. Jefferies

Since 2004, the Sapelo Island Mission Period Archaeological Project (SIMPAP) has conducted research on Sapelo Island, Georgia to learn more about the island's Spanish Mission period (1568-1684) occupation. Most of this work has focused on an area north of the well-known Late Archaic shell ring complex where we have found numerous Guale Indian and Spanish artifacts. Project archaeologists have employed a combination of topographic mapping, geophysical survey, systematically placed shovel tests, and unit excavations to investigate what appears to be the former location of the Guale Indian town of Sapala and its associated 17th century Spanish mission, San Joseph de Sapala.

While we have focused most of our research on the Sapelo Island site, examination of artifact collections and documents from other coastal Georgia Mission period sites has helped us to fit the Sapelo Island findings into a broader cultural-historical framework. One of these sites, Mission Santo Domingo de Talaje, located along the Altamaha River near Darien, Georgia, was excavated first by Dr. Joseph R. Caldwell in the early 1940s and later by Ms. Shelia K. Caldwell in the early 1950s. The initial goal of both of these projects was to locate the remains of Fort King George, an English fort established along the Altamaha River in the early 18th century.

Joseph Caldwell's limited excavation failed to locate any evidence of the fort, but he did find the remains of a structure dating to the Spanish Mission period. Excavation revealed Spanish pottery in association with 16th to 17th century Guale-manufactured Altamaha pottery, supporting the idea that the portion of the river bank near where the fort once stood might have also been the location of Mission Santo Domingo de Talaje.

Shelia Caldwell's archaeological investigations, described in the following pages of this report, were much more extensive than Joseph Caldwell's, resulting in the exposure of numerous structures, pits, postmolds, and artifacts, most of which date to the Spanish mission period. She identified two concentrations of structures and associated pits that she designated as the East and West Villages, respectively. The West Village contained the remains of a large structure built using square wooden posts that she interpreted as the remains of the mission church.

Unfortunately, Shelia Caldwell never completed a final comprehensive report on her excavations. Over the years, the many shoe boxes containing Native American and Spanish artifacts from her excavations became scattered among several storage facilities and most of the field drawings and notes disappeared.

In 2010, I visited the interpretive center at Fort King George State Park to see the exhibit of a few of the artifacts from Shelia Caldwell's excavations. During a discussion with the park supervisor, I learned that many of the other artifacts from the 1950s excavations were stored at the park's museum. Later that year, I returned to Fort King George to examine the artifacts to determine if they were suitable for a graduate student research project. Unfortunately, I found the collection to be in very poor condition, having suffered from years of neglect and predation by roaches and mice. The proveniences of some artifacts were lost because box labels had been eat by vermin or were detached from their boxes. Despite these problems, many of the boxes were still marked with their original labels, enabling us to associate their contents with specific Mission period features or structures. In addition to the artifacts, copies of several site drawings and maps were curated at the museum.

Several months later, I visited the Antonio Waring, Jr. Archaeological Laboratory at the University of West Georgia (UWG) in Carrollton to photograph some Sapelo Island Mission period artifacts that UWG archaeologists had excavated in the 1970s. While there, I learned that the facility held numerous maps and field drawing from Shelia Caldwell's 1950s Darien field work. Examination of the materials revealed numerous plan view drawings showing the locations of features and structures. The artifact catalog was also present, as were several large maps showing the site grid and the general layout of the east and west villages.

Fortunately, Caldwell's plan view drawings showed the coordinates of the 10 by 10 foot grid that she used to maintain horizontal control during her excavation. This information enabled me to piece together the more than 100 drawings, creating a map showing the precise locations of all structures and their associated features. Artifacts still possessing provenience information could then be associated with specific site contexts and the spatial distribution of different types of artifacts could be examined.

One of the significant aspects of Caldwell's excavations is that she exposed and recorded a large part of a Spanish mission town, providing us with the opportunity to examine the organization and layout of this 16th to 17th multi-ethnic community. Analyses of the nature and distribution of Spanish and Guale Indian artifacts across the site will help clarify the nature of Spanish mission architecture, the function of the various structures, and the distribution of activities across the site. The composite maps (Figures 1) produced as a result of the efforts described above offer the first comprehensive view of the archaeological remains of Mission Santo Domingo de Talaje and a visual reference for the valuable information contained in Shelia Caldwell's long awaited report.

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Preface and Acknowledgements Version 1

The current project of excavation and study of materials from the Darien Bluff site is here presented in the form of a final report, giving the state of our present knowledge of this nearly forgotten episode in our colonial history, and some indications as to where and how to plan future work in the field.

This tremendous gain in data, both archaeological and historical has been made possible by the unstinting efforts of Bessie Lewis, of Darien, Georgia, the provision of tools and machinery by the County Commissioners of McIntosh County, Georgia, and the generous support of the Georgia Historical Commission who undertook the financial burden of carrying this promising site to its present happy state of completion.

Future plans for the site include a small museum where the materials now on hand may be exhibited, and the study collections housed for the use of future interested students. The first big step toward this dream is now realized, and it remains only for our public spirited citizens to give the necessary financial support to bring to fullest realization the project to when these people have given so freely of their time and energies.

Special thanks are due to L. B. Gleaton of the Highway Department, for the surveying of the site, to the operators of the heavy equipment without which so much could not have been accomplished for so little time and money; to C. C. Lunceford, Sr. who permitted us to excavate a large portion of his pasture; to C. E. Gregory who did the paperwork for the project and acted as general purchasing agent; to John Goggin who made the study of the Spanish ceramics from the site; to C. Malcolm Watkins who studied the china and more modern materials that were found; and finally to my father, Arthur R. Kelly and my husband, Joseph R. Caldwell, who as professional archaeologists gave me encouragement and advice during the long months of excavation and the preparation of this report.

Preface and Acknowledgements Version 2

During the spring, summer, and fall of 1952 and again during the summer and fall of 1953 an ambitious program of exacting survey and wide spread testing operations was carried out along the Darien Bluff. In the course of this work something like 2 acres of the bluff frontage was excavated and a small, separate excavation area was begun in the salt marsh to locate Fort King George. The temporal span of the recovered materials ranges from 3,500 before present, the date from radio carbon of the fiber tempered pottery oldest New World ceramic, and an early twentieth century lumber kiln. The distribution of materials through this more than 5000 year span was spotty.

The prehistoric sequence is fairly complete in terms of what is presently known of the cultural sequence in the area up to the period known as Pine Harbor. This period, thought to be the culture of the period of first Spanish contest is very poorly represented anywhere in the site. The two subsequent periods which bracket the Spanish occupation of the area are well represented in terms of ceramics. The Darien Bluff in the year _____ evaded our extensive test trenches as did the site of Fort Darien. The separate excavation to east, a miserable area of salt marsh subject to daily flooding did yield the timbers of Fort King George itself, to accompany the 130 burials of the casualties of the Fort. Beginning with a residence dated tentatively by C. Malcolm Watkins a series of resident trash pits and a curious network of shallow ditches provided a fairly complete picture of the early nineteenth century occupation. The later portion

of that century saw the site in use by a series of lumber mills, whose various remains were scattered through and over all the fields by earlier periods.

The narration presenting this mass of material is partly archaeological and partly historical in nature. The period tested represented the late sixteenth through early centuries, with emphasis on the Spanish colonial in the history of Georgia. The materials from the Darien Bluff site are here presented in the form of a final report. This single site has provided the first picture of the mission period in Georgia in term of archaeological data. The entire project was made possible by the unstinting efforts of Bessie Lewis, of Darien, Georgia, the initial support given by the Commissioners of McIntosh County, in which county the site lies, and the generous support of the Georgia Historical Commission who carried the project to its present state of completion. A survey conducted by Lewis H. Larson for the Georgia Historical Commission ran concurrently with the excavations at Darien Bluff. Many sites were located, some showing traces of mixed Spanish and later period Indian wares, others of later English Colonial origins and numerous purely indigenous occupation sites. Additional information for this reconstruction of the colonial period of coastal Georgia is drawn from the first excavation at Darien Bluff made in 1940 by The Work Projects Administration Statewide Archaeological Survey under the direction of Joseph R. Caldwell. Part of an Indian house and several clay-lined pits containing restorable pottery vessels were located. Spanish and Indian sherds were intermingled in the occupation deposit. The work also disclosed 17 military burials evidently representing some of the casualties of the garrison of Fort King George during its six years of operation, 1721-1727. We were able to confirm this conclusion by the discovery of 103 additional graves making a total of 120 of the 140 known casualties of the Fort.

The excavations at the Darien Bluff site are not the first serious attempt to locate archaeologically a Spanish mission settlement in Georgia. In excavation work made by James A. Ford at the site of a large tabby ruin located on the southern bank of the Altamaha River at Eliza Fields.

It was James A. Ford's considered judgment that the tabby at Eliza Fields was part of a nineteenth century sugar mill. The late date for the structure was based on the presence of transfer printed china ware and many fragments of non-machinery attaching to the refining of sugar. The widespread theory linking the numerous and handsome tabby ruins scattered along the waterways of Georgia with the Spanish mission centers came to naught, largely through the results of this work.

The Darien Bluff excavations produced additional evidence that tabby construction is generally later than any part of the Spanish mission era in Georgia.

The archaeological data from the excavation and the survey will add greatly to the light shed by the documentary data marshalled for the original effort to locate the Guale missions among the tabby ruins.

The perfect meshing of facts will not perhaps be realized. We have only one excavated site, and that certainly not one of the choice locations having been found by chance.

On the other hand much of the documentary evidence is derived from sketchy descriptions, estimated distances, and equivocal situations, all much grabbled in transmission through three centuries. One is tempted to take the facts derived from the survey and excavations, and make a new start at the problem of the locations and conditions of the locations and conditions of the Spanish mission effort in Georgia.

It is soon apparent that such an effort is ambitious beyond the available material. The review of previously published material on the Georgia and Florida missions is intended to serve

both as a background against which the new discoveries may be explicated, and as a brief introduction to the Spanish Colonial period.

The evidence for my interpretation of the data from the Darien Bluff site is given here in full. Each portion of the evidence is described with the significant details noted, and a set of conclusions drawn. The overall formulation drawn from the separate conclusions is at the last related to some pertinent documentary checks, briefly and with full awareness of my limitation as a historian.

For the non-archaeological reader much of the detailed description will be very rough going, and the author would recommend that having read this for such a reader confine his continued interest to the introduction of each major section.

The introduction, the history of the site and general discussion of the excavations, the individual study units and the conclusions relation to the Darien Bluff, and a separate paper by Malcolm Watkins dealing with the post-colonial ceramic materials.

Special thanks are due to L. B. Gleaton of the State Highway Department who surveyed the site for us, to the operators of the heavy equipment without which so much could not have been done for so little, to C. C. Lunceford, Sr. who permitted us to excavate a large portion of his pasture, to John Goggin of the University of Florida in Gainesville who made the study of the glazed Spanish earthenware found on the site, to Malcolm Watkins whose study of the more recent china and glass fragments is printed with this report, to C. E. Gregory who as Secretary for the Georgia Historical Commission did much of the paper work and acted as purchasing agent, to the approximately 20 men of the area who comprised my faithful and productive crew and special mention to Jim O'Berry who served me so well as foreman, and lastly to my father Arthur R. Kelly and my husband Joseph R. Caldwell, who as professional archaeologists gave me encouragement and advice through the long months of excavation and the still lengthier preparation of this report.

It is hoped that the end result of so much work by so many will bring to life in some respects the era when Spain made such a baroque effort to colonize and Christianize what must have seemed to them an impenetrable wilderness, peopled with singularly wicked and intractable savages.

Introduction Version 1

In 1940 the Works Projects Administration Statewide Archaeological Survey, financed testing operations to locate the site of Fort King George, a small wooden fort built on the northern bank of the Darien River by Colonel John Barnwell as a southern outpost against the Spanish, entrenched at St. Augustine. Excavation Units were laid out in the marshy meadow lying between the high ground of the Darien Bluff itself, on the point of land lying beyond a canal dug by one of the nineteenth century mills operating on the spot, and still others on the high ground. The only clues as to the location were two maps of the fort and environs. The general opinion at the time of the testing operations was that the fort lay west of the log basin and canal, and that the ballast stones which covered the point lying directly at the junction of the Darien River and Back Creek had created the semblance of dry land at that point. Barnwell himself, a map maker of some distinction, in that day of uniformly poor cartography, has left a plan of his fort, placing it directly at the point of quasi-land now covered with limestone ballast.

In this sandy area, it is obvious that they were brought from all parts of the world by ships that returned home loaded with lumber sawed at the mills located at many places along the coast. This thriving trade is now decayed to nothing, but the incredible amounts of rock that have accumulated along the coast have actually created dry land in many places, attesting the quantities of lumber exported during Georgia's early days as a colony.

The Darien Bluff site, the first Spanish colonial period site to be excavated in Georgia lies on the northern bank of the Darien River, the northernmost mouth of the Altamaha River. This river with its various branches at the delta was known to the Spanish as the Rio de Talaja, or less commonly the Rio de Tama, the Tama being a tribe of Indians who lived upstream an unspecified distance. Here at the bluff there is direct access from the water, in contrast to most places where high and dry land shades off into marsh which may extend several hundreds of yards before the water begins. The Spanish traveled mainly by water, as apparently had the natives before them, and a site which was immediately accessible from the water was highly desired. Thus the Darien bluff was occupied by nearly every group that lived on the coast ~~at~~ during both its recorded history, and the time periods known only from archaeological evidence.

The site designation 9MC10, given here is the number assigned the area during a county wide WPA survey made in 1940 by Joseph R. Caldwell. Included in this number are the habitation areas located along the road way which leads directly to the site. At present the site is known variously as the Lower Bluff Tract, a name dating from the use of the area as a mill site; as Fort King George, from the 1721 wooden fort erected at the junction of the Darien River and Back Creek by Barnwell, only a few hundred yards east of the older mission building, and occasionally as the Old Mill Place, mostly by those who had worked in the lumber mill on the site which ceased operation in the 1920s.

The stream itself has changed its course, as result of a cut placed through the ox bow bend in the heart of which the Spanish settlement was set. Although sometimes referred to as the Darien River, the remnant of this once large stream is now called Lower Bluff Creek. The change in the stream, and the absence of the shell middens and old fields noted by Barnwell in a description of the site made in 1720, would no doubt make it very hard for a ghost from this not so distant past to be sure that he was haunting the right place.

Today looking at the shrunken watercourse, and the barren stretches of sand covered sparsely in Bermuda grass and cactus, it is hard to visualize the site as it once was, a busy colonial town, with numbers of neat rectangular houses arranged on both sides of a large square,

in the center which stood a large wooden chapel building, surrounded by a wooded wall, the front gate of which gave directly the landing place. To the north and west the fields stretched out to the edges by the thick jungle like forest of live oak, and to the south the mighty expanse of the Altamaha River, joining its waters to that of a small creek which gave access to Sapelo Island. In the distance the south bank beyond the delta may be seen as a line of dark green, and to the east stretches marsh, with the dark green mass of St. Simon's Island lying just on the horizon.

An effort to reconstruct the original surroundings was made in the detailing of the scale model built by Sue Smith for the Georgia Historical Commission. The frontispiece of this volume is a photograph of this model, in place in its exhibit case at the Georgia Museum of Art at Athens *[Editors: No known photos of this exist]*.

The effort to recover the Spanish era in the Southeastern United States whose final results are presented on the following pages is not the first, only the first of its kind. In years past many able scholars have given of their time and knowledge, to extract from the numerous documents left by a bureaucratic management of the struggling empire, a picture of the places and events of this colonial adventure. The papers themselves, many of them available in translation, and a few woefully inadequate maps offered little opposition to the ingenious theories linking the Spanish buildings known to have existed throughout the province with the impressive ruins scattered along the waterways. Only when a total identification was attempted did a number of purely logistical impossibil1ties appear, there were too many ruins, and many were in the wrong places if the distances given in the documents were to be credited at all. The arrival of an archeologist on the scene succeeded only improving that one or two of the proposed mission ruins were in fact the ruins of more recent sugar mills, and there the matter stood for some. The tendency has been since to accredit the sites first proposed in this theory, as there were none other advanced. This first excavated site was discovered as a byproduct of other work, but having found it, the specific details of the ceramics used by the natives and the imported Spanish wares, serve as markers, and make it possible for a survey to locate other mission villages. This part of the entire project was carried out by Lewis Larson, and his results are in this volume. The detailed excavation of 9MC10 has given us a wide assortment of facts and artifacts which will go a long way towards bringing the documentary data into full usefulness, and perhaps even into something resembling a lively travelogue.

The perfect meshing of detailed facts, archaeological and documentary will perhaps not be realized. At first, the interpretation of archaeological data is rigidly circumscribed by the physical attributes of the artifacts themselves. Flights of fancy and poorly supported conclusions will get short shrift from the others in the field.

Archaeological conclusions can be tested in other cases, on many other sites. They must hold true for the range in time and space which their author asserts for them. Instead of still other documents, subjectively interpreted to serve as an accuracy check, there will be literally thousands of ceramic fragments, and hundreds of sites which must if the original hypothesis is to be considered correct. Most archaeological formulations, including this one will undergo many and ever finer redefinitions, but the broad outlines of a successful interpretation remain untouched. The evidence for my interpretation is given in detail here, with explanations of each set of divisions of the materials, and finally a set of conclusions. These in the end are related to the documentary data, briefly and with full awareness of the sketchiness of my historical background, more in the nature of a test run than a full scale exposition, which I will leave to those better qualified than myself.

Introduction Version 2

The Darien Bluff site, the first Spanish colonial period site to be excavated in Georgia lies on the northern bank of the Darien River, the northernmost mouth of the Altamaha River. This river with its various branches at the delta was known to the Spanish as the Rio de Talaja, or less commonly the Rio de Tama, the Tama being a tribe of Indians who lived upstream an unspecified distance. Here at the bluff there is direct access from the water, in contrast to most places where high and dry land shades off into marsh which may extend several hundreds of yards before the water begins. The Spanish traveled mainly by water, as apparently had the natives before them, and a site which was immediately accessible from the water was highly desired. Thus the Darien bluff was occupied by nearly every group that lived on the coast ~~at~~ during both its recorded history, and the time periods known only from archaeological evidence.

The site designation 9MC10, given here is the number assigned the area during a county wide WPA survey made in 1940 by Joseph R. Caldwell. Included in this number are the habitation areas located along the road way which leads directly to the site. At present the site is known variously as the Lower Bluff Tract, a name dating from the use of the area

Introduction Version 3

The coastal area of Georgia is shown on an ordinary road map as consisting of a mainland with towns scattered at intervals along the major highways, and to the east a series of islands, most of them inaccessible by road. There are large areas marked with a blue hatching, which the legend tells us represents marsh or swamp. There are also large areas of water, colored blue, bearing romantic names. This straight forward representation does not prepare the motorist for the bewildering variety of scenery along the major coastal highway. The landscape shifts with disconcerting rapidity from low flat areas covered with palmetto scrub to higher sandy lands covered with scrub pine and sweet gum. The highway crosses many drowned river channels. The sluggish inky stream is visible only in patches between floating islands of water hyacinth. An occasional cypress rears skyward clad in tatters of grey hair like moss. Here and there along the route are thick strands of forest, many of the trees bearing fruit or nuts, and all festooned with vines, creepers, and the ever present Spanish moss. For miles at a stretch the view consists of an ocean of rippling green marsh grass, cut through here and there with small tidal channels, whose banks are edged with evil smelling grey-brown mud. Open, high, and dry land is relatively rare, the coast of Georgia has been drowned since the last glaciation by a combination of rising ocean level and subsidence of the land itself. The beaches are now on the outer islands, separated from the mainland by a wide stretch of marsh, which is honeycombed with an intricate system of inland waterways.

The varied flora of this waterlogged landscape supports a rich and varied fauna. The white tail deer, its numbers much reduced since colonial times, is still abundant in the game refuges, and in the remoter parts of the fresh water swamps. There are large numbers of rabbits, squirrels, chipmunks, muskrats, skunks, opossums, raccoons and the usual assortment of rats, mice, moles and such. Reptiles are abundant, including the water moccasin, several types of rattle snakes, and the highly venomous coral snake. The small black swamp bear, bobcat, and alligator are quite common. The elk has disappeared in recent times, as has the bison reported here in the 19th century.

In addition to game animals the land provides a wealth of vegetable foods. The list of edible roots, greens, mushrooms and seeds, with nuts, fruits, and berries would be long indeed. There are shellfish in the estuaries, with clams, fish, and shrimp. All of these are reduced in number by pollutants of human and industrial origin. The marshes are the home of hundreds of fowl, and in the woodlands one can still hunt partridge, dove, quail, wood duck, and even wild turkey.

The casual visitor may not see a single animal listed above. His most vivid memory of this rich fauna is sure to be the hordes of hungry insects, sand fleas, sand flies, black flies, yellow flies, house flies, midges, gnats, ticks, chiggers, and above all the mosquitos. There are also centipedes, scorpions, and spiders, including the black widow. In addition this list of annoying and possibly dangerous insects there is the usual assortment of innocuous types that are found everywhere in temperate North America.

Rainfall is distributed fairly evenly throughout the year. Temperatures may rise as high as 106 degrees and drop as low as 0 degrees Fahrenheit, but the average daily temperatures are moderate in summer and winter. Humidity levels are high throughout the year. Much of the flora is evergreen. Huge specimens, often taken to be very ancient, grow up in fifty years or less. There are damaging hurricanes that strike this coastal area in some years, and every year has its share of the dismal storm known as a northeaster. These last bring overcast skies which drizzle steadily each time the onshore breeze drops, ceasing when the wind freshens. This depressing and dampening weather can continue for days on end. The stiff onshore breezes retain part of the incoming tides in the estuaries, and the rain water flowing down the gentle gradient to the sea adds to the flooding. In general however the climate is quite bearable, although damp, even in the absence of northeasters.

This then is a description of modern coastal Georgia. It is a fair inference that in Spanish times there was more of everything listed in the forgoing by no means exhaustive catalog with the exception perhaps of storms. The Spanish explored this country in small boats. They had proved themselves to be great hikers on occasion, and there were a few horses brought in by the Spanish, but neither horses or shoe leather were very satisfactory in the island and mainland strips that they occupied. The Spanish adopted a long, slim, shallow draft canoe-like craft from the Indians, which was small, even by Spanish standards; galley-type craft comprised the colonial flotilla. The bars that sheltered the entrances to the inland waterways prevented larger ships with their deep draft from entering except at a few points, St. Augustine, Port Royal, St. Catherine’s Island, Sapelo Island, the northern tip of St. Simon’s Island, and the banks of the Darien River could have been used as landings for large ships but were usually avoided as the currents run swiftly at these places.

At the time of Spanish contact, the natives were living in small temporary villages on the high lands that were near waterways, and also a source of fresh water. This combination of features was then and still is relatively rare in the area. For this reason the deposits of centuries of Indian occupation have a tendency to occur in the same localities, chosen by the Spanish for their occupation. The houses, clothing and customs of the natives were described by several of the early Spanish explorers. Surviving documents from the entire period of Spanish occupation provide limited information on social and political structures, the subsistence pattern, trade, and religious activities. A dictionary of the language of Guale, Spanish name for the coast of Georgia and environs, is supposed to have been written by one of the first missionaries. This volume, now lost would be a gold mine of information for both the historian and the archeologist working in the mission periods in modern Georgia and South Carolina. A number of Spanish and

Spanish-Indian place names have survived. Others, which would help to pinpoint many of the events in Guale, are now lost.

The Gualeans were members of the racial group commonly called American Indians. Their language was related to that of the interior tribes, called Muskogee. They lived a simple life. Led by their hereditary chiefs the villagers shared the labor of the hunt and fishing. They raised small crops of maize, which were stored in a communal granary. The villages were small groups of wattle and daub or palm thatch buildings. There were no domestic animals, apparently not even the dog. The arts of writing and metallurgy were unknown. There were neither temples nor representations of their many deities, although their religious convictions endeared every facet of life.

More than 200 years of exploration and occupation in the area now the United States acquainted the Spanish with a wide variety of native groups. It was a matter of great frustration to the Spanish that many of these people refused to accept the twin gifts of civilization and Christianization. The American of today who is contemplating the general lack of success in our national efforts to remake the world in our image may well consider the implications of this archaeological study. The chiefs and warriors of Guale, armed only with bows and arrows, more or less successfully defended their mud-hut villages, their unseen gods, and their deprived and under developed way of life against the Spanish soldier, armed with muskets, that came to bring them peace and the persuasive pleadings of the priests that came to bring them piety.

Before concluding this introduction, the definition of a few frequently used archaeological terms is in order. It would perhaps be more artistic to fill this need with a glossary at the back of the book. The archaeologically untutored reader, however, will need these terms clarified at the very onset. Let us begin with the word pit. In the special usage of the archaeologist a pit remains a hole in the ground but one that is identifiable and useful because it has become filled with refuse and organically stained soil. Such pits are called garbage, trash, or refuse pits. One special type is the storage pit, another, the fire pit. Storage pits are identified by their contents, or perhaps by a lining of bark, basketry, or simply of clay. The fire pit is identified by the bricklike texture of its walls and floors, produced by firing the soil or by the burned contents. There is also the roasting pit, which usually has charcoal, fire cracked rocks, and sometimes the remains of a meal in the fill material. The artifacts in the fill of a pit provide a reliable means of dating the time it was in use. Considering the small size, seldom more than six feet in diameter and one, two or occasionally three feet in depth, it is not seriously proposed that such pits represent an aboriginal attempt at garbage disposal. The refuse and stained soil that is the usual fill of a pit is considered to have been washed, kicked, tramped, or blown into the excavated hole when it is no longer in use. The nature of this use remains obscure except for the special cases described above. In any event, it is also assumed that a pit, once in disuse fills fairly rapidly with whatever is at hand. Thus it follows that while the earliest material in a pit fill may represent trash much older than the pit, the latest material, unless it is clearly intrusive, becomes the earliest date which the pit could have been dug. The majority of the material found in context will provide the date for the pit within these parameters. So much for pits.

Closely related to the archaeological construct called “pit” are post holes and wall trenches. A posthole is a small stained area where a post set in the ground has rotted away. The fill derives in the same way as that of a pit, and the post hole may be dated by the same considerations that apply to pits. Wall trenches are the refilled excavations, a sort of extended post hole in the outline of the former structure. Rather than dig a separate hole for each post a trench is dug, the posts, large and small are set into the trench, often penetrating below the

bottom of the trench, and the trench is immediately refilled to support the posts. For this reason the materials found in a wall trench fill, unless there has been later disturbance of the fill, date the trench very closely. Occasionally a burned structure is found, with the timbers preserved as charcoal and perhaps as part of the roofing material, and material of the walls as well. The technique of wattle and daub, where vines or matting is attached to small poles set between the major support posts and heavily plastered with mud, produces quantities of brick like fragments when burned. Sometimes it is possible to trace the size and nature of the material that supported the clay plastering. A structure consisting only of matting or thatch attached to the supporting posts if burned will leave little trace in the post holes and none in the wall trench fill. Only a surface deposit of charcoal will remain, which any subsequent building operations will render unrecognizable.

Pits, wall trenches, and post holes are spoken of as features and provide a good context. Intrusive materials are easily spotted, and the small collections of artifacts from each feature forms a sort of check against the others found on the site.

Context and intrusive refer to key decisions made by the archaeologist as he excavates a site. Let us assume that an archaeologist of 5000 A.D. finds a pottery figurine of a Sumerian god sitting atop the console of an IBM calculator in the ruins of a skyscraper on the site of ancient New York City. The statuette is clearly both out of context and intrusive. The normal context of such an artifact would be the ruins of a mud brick temple on the plains of Iraq, which had been destroyed some 7000 years earlier. (Remember this is 5000 A.D.). The IBM console is in context in a building known to have been destroyed by 2000 A.D. Although the figurine is older than the console, the former is intrusive. The technological arts of ancient Sumer include ceramic figurines but not skyscrapers and electronic calculators. The culture of 20th century North American includes skyscrapers and calculators, ceramic figurines, and collectors of Middle Eastern antiquities as well.

The situation in practice is seldom so clearcut. Let us assume that two flint tools have been found by an archaeologist, excavating a gravel bed in Africa, just last summer. The two tools are nearly identical, although one is in fact 6000 years older than the other. The Sumerian statuette and the IBM machine of the previous example were also separated in time by 6000 years. The two artifacts bear no resemblance to each other except that both were objects were of considerable reverence to the societies that created them, a fact is not inferable from their appearance. The archaeologist who recovered the two flint tools will be aware of their disparate ages only if he has been able to identify two separate contexts from which they originated. The differing contexts in this case would be depositional levels in the gravel bed which can be dated with geological techniques. However, the archeologist found the two tools in a single context. He has done his work carefully, and the local geology is adequately known. He will then necessarily and correctly find the two tools to be of the same age. He will never guess that one of his finds represents part of the stock in trade of an early antique dealer.

Collectors of antiquities, both public and private, and those neat souls who must tidy up the landscape severally disrupt what would otherwise survive as uncomplicated stratigraphic sequences. Our society deems it a positive virtue to complicate the work of the future archaeologist. It is to be hoped that they will have their armamentarium more sophisticated concepts that “context” and “intrusive,” and “stratigraphic sequence.”

This last mouthful refers to one of the triumphs of archaeology. Schliemann set out to locate the site of Homer’s Troy. Applying his encyclopedic knowledge of ancient history, he selected a mound on the coast of modern Turkey from many possible candidates, and proceeded

to cut a trench deep into the heart of it. Such a mound, sometimes very large consisting of dirt, garbage, and building refuse which piled up layer by layer as succeeding generations built anew atop the ruins of their past. Many of these, a characteristic feature of the Middle Eastern landscape, are still inhabited. Schliemann's excavation showed the remains of several successive cities, some of them destroyed by fire. In order to achieve his objective, the archaeologist was obliged to make a choice. The reasons for and against certain choices, as well as his reasoning in favor of the ultimate choice were duly published.

The implications in Schliemann's work were not lost on those interested in the aboriginal inhabitants of the New World. These people had left many traces of their occupancy, and obviously some were older than others. Unfortunately, immense accumulations of refuse over long period of time are not so abundant in the New World. An extension of the logic of Schliemann and others however took care of this problem. If deposits of Type A overlie those of Type B at Site I, then Type B is much older than Type A. At Site II Type B lies over deposits of Type C. Type C is the oldest, with Type B coming next and Type A is the most recent of the three. In this fashion a rough chronology, time chart, was established for much of the New World.

A series of regional and local chronologies were developed. Recently increased attention is being paid to the nature of the food supply, the spacing of the villages, and the sort of environment preferred by different groups. A complex and ever changing vocabulary has been developed to describe complex relationships that can be traced in many parts of the New World. Other terms have remained unchanged. Level is used to designate succeeding occupations on a single site. Period refers to a time segment in which a particular group lived and, by extrapolation, to their culture. Culture is the total way of life of a group as reflected in the kinds of artifacts that are recovered by the archaeologist. These are described as types. This last term offers some difficulty in definition.

In one sense, each hand made pottery vessel or each stone tool is unique, in the same sense that their creators are each unique examples of mankind. A series of vessels, or fragments of them, called pot sherds or simply sherds are grouped by the method of manufacture, the size and shape, the decoration if any, and the supposed date at which they were in use. These groupings are defined as ideal types, which are used to characterize materials from a number of different sites whose artifacts fall within the range of variation which is also a part of the type description. Types are set up for stone tools, house patterns, ornaments, burial customs, and for subsistence patterns as well as ceramics. These categories make up the bulk of the information that can be recovered by archaeological techniques at the present time.

Pottery is the most useful of the remains that an archaeologist has to work with. Quite subtle variations in the ingredients of ideal types make it possible to distinguish ceramic remains to restricted ranges of time and space. This is especially true of decorated types, and distinctive shapes, or methods of manufacture. Aside from the names of such closely defined types, there is an extensive vocabulary that deals with the particulars of definition within an ideal type. Those that are used in this study will be described or defined.

Handmade American Indian pottery of the Georgia coast is usually decorated by paddle stamping, with a carved stone, wood or pottery paddle. The design possibilities within the confine of the paddle, and they were usually quite small, are almost endless. For convenience they are grouped into three main categories: rectilinear, in which the design is angular, composed of straight lines; curvilinear, the design composed of curved lines; and complicated, indicating that the design is a composite of several design units. Check stamped design is the name given to

the rectilinear form in which the lines form a grid. The raised portion of a stamped decoration is referred to as the lands and the depressed portion as the grooves. The lands are raised in exact reproduction of the lines originally carved into the paddle. Where the design is carved directly into the plastic clay, the decoration type is called incised. Punctated designs are created by punching holes into the still damp pot with small tools such as hollow reeds or sharpened sticks. Paddle stamping, both rectilinear and curvilinear complicated types, punctuation and incising are the principle decorative techniques used in the aboriginal pottery at the Darien Bluff site. There is also some plain ware that has been burnished, and another category that has been slipped with red. This last is called Red Filmed. The red coloring matter being liquid, the vessel is dipped or painted and then fired. Occasional examples occur where the pigment has been used in a painted design.

The stratigraphic relationships of the different contexts in which the assortment of types at the Darien Bluff were found was such as to give rise to the distinct groupings of types. The earliest had strong relationships to the ceramics of the preceding period, which was not well represented on the Darien Bluff. The late, while related to the middle of the three Darien Bluff periods had relationships to a later period, identified at another site. These three temporally separated but related groups are called pottery complexes, and are given the names Post Pine Harbor and Mission periods I and II. This nomenclature is meant to indicate that Mission period I is earlier than Mission period II, but both are related, and later than post-Pine Harbor period.

Pottery is the most abundant artifact of all but the very earliest occupation in eastern North America. It is hardly surprising that the type name given to a ceramic which is associated with a particular group living in a particular area at a particular time should, as a sort of professional shorthand, become the name of the makers of that pottery. The type name used in this fashion implies all else that is known about these people. The archaeologist who writes about the nature and relationships of Podunk Complicated Stamped is really making inferences as to the nature of events in the lives of the makers of this ceramic. The literature of American archaeology has many examples of this archaeological shorthand. The authors of these papers are not really more concerned with broken dishes than people. The broken dishes are able to tell him something of what has occurred in the lives of their makers, who now long and dead and are buried, unable to impart much information beyond their age, race, sex, and possibly something about the state of their health, as deduced from their bones.

The archaeologist is a sort of specially trained explorer. The basic tool in his armamentarium is a comprehensive knowledge of all the cultures identified and dated in the areas in which he works. This built in reference library is kept up to date by reading the reports of others and attending conferences where the news of the day is made available, often long before it appears in print. In addition to the camera and mapmaking tools with which he records his finds, a minimum inventory of supplies will include shovels, wheelbarrows, and trowels. These last are the small mason's variety which are used for clearing out post holes, pits and wall trenches, and generally poking about.

Archeology lays justified claims to being a science. Although the practitioners of the discipline do spend a great deal of time moving dirt, no pun is intended when, as often happens, it is classified as an Earth Science. Archeology is also an art. A keen eye for subtle variations in form and design, and the ability to distinguish minute variations in the color and texture of the soil are essential. There is ample room for the hunch and the long shot guess. The non-scientific aspects of archeology have developed into a sort of mystique. This mystique, together with an arcane vocabulary, such as belongs to any proper science, and an essentially obscurantist literary

style, are the hallmarks of the archeologist. The regulars in the profession are dedicated to the maintenance of this hallmark. The author of this report is the daughter of an archeologist, and the wife of another. This long and happy association has bred a certain irreverence especially in regard to the norms of style in archeological reporting. The professional vocabulary has been kept to minimum throughout the body of the report. The appropriate personal pronouns are used instead of the author, or the writer. Neither the Darien Bluff site nor I will ever again be quite the same since the day I undertook the excavations there. The excitements, perplexities, triumphs and disappointments were an intensely personal matter, and I have found it impossible to write of them from the Olympian perch of *The Author*.

Introduction Version 4

Until very recently, history as created by the archaeologist is a dreary catalog of still drearier flint tools and/or ceramics with perhaps few grubby lithic structures. These drab little artifacts are lovingly described and compared at length to other bits of stone and broken pots, and post holes, from here and there. A reader who perseveres to the end of such a history, and perseverance in large quantities is required, will encounter a section labelled Conclusions. Feeling that he has at last arrived at the interesting part, he is again disappointed. There are no people, no events, not a single scandal, seldom even a description of everyday life in the long ago and faraway which has been studied. There are to be sure periods, and levels, and even cultures, described in terms of their tools, and if they are sufficiently advanced, ceramics, and perhaps such additional cultural minutiae as the size and shape of the bricks, or the shape and spacing of the post holes. In defense of the archaeologists it should be said that pot sherds are very impressionable during the formative stage of their manufacture and virtually imperishable after being fired. Their shapes and decorations provide the student of vanished non-literate societies with their best and often only means of distinguishing the remains of one time and place from those of another. Potsherds at the same time provide a visible measure of the interrelationships between contemporary but spatially separated societies, and sometimes a history of development within a single society. Pot sherds are especially valuable in studies of the New World where most areas are sufficiently humid that little survive but pottery. Here, an ancient society once possessed of a rich and varied material culture can easily be reduced to a handful of broken pots.

This was the fate that overtook all but the most recent aboriginal inhabitants of the Darien Bluff. These last more fortunate souls fell under the close scrutiny of sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish colonial society which was literate, at least in spots. In reading of their vicissitudes under Spanish rule, one wonders whether they might not have chosen near oblivion in peace to immortalization in catastrophe.

Necessarily then, this report deals largely, and unfortunately at some length, with the ubiquitous pot sherds, or just plain sherds. These various sherds are ultimately abstracted to mere design types, which are discussed as if they had any existence apart from the sherds that bear them. It is hoped that in the latter stages of the report, and certainly in the conclusions, the reader will find people, events, a few scandals, and a description of daily life in Guale during the sixteenth and seventeenth and part of the eighteenth centuries.

The earliest known occupations of the Georgia Coast are characterized by accumulations of shellfish refuse, with associated sherds of a crude ceramic which is undecorated, thick walled, and tempered with an abundance of vegetable material. Called Fiber Tempered, this ceramic is

associated with a few types of flint tools, and with bone tools and ornaments. In the area of Trench I where the major concentration of Spanish and late period Indian materials were located, we found the remains of a dozen or more Fiber tempered type vessels, in shallow depressions below all other midden. Elsewhere, in Trench II, just inland from a large shell heap on the riverbank that we were not permitted to investigate, similar material was associated with a flint tool, in a series of shallow pit-like depressions. In neither case was there the usual associated shell refuse. One or two of these small depressions might conceivably be post holes, but there was no pattern. House patterns of post holes are unknown for this earliest ceramic period anywhere in the area.

One small restorable vessel was recovered from the largest depression in Trench 2. Partly restored in the field lab, it failed to survive the trip to the main laboratories at the University of Georgia. This was doubly unfortunate as it had, with the permission of the Georgia Historical Commission, been promised to the late Antonio J. Waring of Savannah in exchange for his complete olive jar. [*Editors: This was obviously written after Waring died in early 1964*]

The fiber tempered sherds from Trench I and in greater quantity from Trench II offer little new information on this general period. Although they were not dated by radio carbon they are unhesitatingly assigned to the general period, 3,000 to 5,000 years ago when they were the only ceramic in use in the area. The small flint tool is of some interest if only because stone tools are relatively rare early sites in this area. This is no doubt a reflection of the general scarcity of stone of any kind, let alone those few types suitable for tool making. Classified as a tanged scraper, the flint tool from the Darien Bluff site closely resembles those from many early sites elsewhere.

The few possible post holes associated with the pottery and single tool are of some interest also. These were located about 200 feet from the foot of a large shell heap. Antonio J. Waring had visited this site and classified it as belonging to Fiber Tempered times. I have always marveled at the lacking olfactory sensitivity imputed to the builders of these shell heaps by the assertion that they actually lived on them. The stench must have been unbearable at a distance of several hundred feet. This assertion is made on the strength of hearths or burned deposits which are a common occurrence in the layers of shell. Contrary to the popular association, hearths do not make homes. Both charcoal and shell were absent from the two areas which produced a total of 318 sherds of this early potter, and in Trench 2 several possible post holes. These people subsisted largely on shellfish supplemented with occasional kills of deer and other mammals, and probably with nuts, fruits, and berries in season. Perhaps they found it simpler to construct the hearths on which they roasted the evening meal at the point where the shell refuse would otherwise be carried later, and built simple shelters at a distance from the communal garbage heap. Only one house has been found atop such a shell midden, at the Lake Springs site, nearly 120 miles to the north on the Savannah River. The assumption for the earlier shell heap builders, in the New World at least is that they lacked houses. For later shell heaps it is suggested that although houses are known for the period, it is impossible to trace out their post holes in the shell layers. It seems worthwhile, in some future excavation of an early shell heap to check the outlying areas for traces of shelters.

The most valuable inference to be made from the finding of this early pottery is in support of the theory, elsewhere borne out more fully that local landforms have changed very little in the last 5,000 years except for few special cases to be noted later. The large shell heap with which these fiber tempered sherds are associated still stands on the bank of the Darien River. This point has considerable bearing on the problems of the Spanish missions of the 16th

and 17th century, which are known to have stood adjacent to the inland water-ways, and on the location of still later Fort King George.

A number of other cultures or periods are described for this area, occupying the time between 500 B.C. and 1400 A.D. Of these only the Wilmington is represented by a handful of sherds from Trench I. There is also a single example of an early type, which unfortunately lacked enough associated ceramics to date it securely.

The next clearly identified ceramic grouping at 9MC10 is characterized by the pottery type known as Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped, among others. These sherds are dark, fairly think, grit tempered, and decorated with a paddle stamp bearing the design motif called Filfot Cross. The sherds from 9MC10 are clearly associated with ceramics imported from Spain, and thus can be no earlier than 1565, the earliest year in which Spanish activities along the Georgia coast may be suspected of leaving pottery in their wake. Similarly, they can be no later than the period at which a second and overlying Spanish contact occupation began. The type Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped disappears from the ceramics in use in this later period.

The filfot cross motif first appears on the coast of Georgia in the ceramics belonging to the Irene Period. The type site is located near Savannah Georgia, about 200 miles away. My husband, who excavated the Irene site, demonstrated to the satisfaction of both Lewis H. Larson and myself that the earlier Irene Filfot Cross Decorated sherds can be easily distinguished from the filfot decorated sherds both at 9MC10, and the Pine Harbor type site. There is no discernible difference in the sherds from these two sites, and accordingly both series of examples use the same name. There is no shell midden as such now in the Darien Bluff site, and the earliest wall trench fills indicate that it was not formerly present and recently removed. The Pine Harbor site, excavated by Larsen is a shell midden.

The type Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped occurs without check stamped sherds at some sites. At 9MC10 there are associated check stamped types, and a complicated stamp and others that is not in the type site grouping. For these reasons it is felt that the Pine Harbor material on the Darien Bluff site is slightly later than that at the type sites, and probably represents continuity of the occupying peoples from Pine Harbor times to Spanish contact times. The Irene site is dated about 1400 A.D. and the first Spanish contact period at the Darien Bluff at 1594-1595. The Pine Harbor materials should then fall in the interim.

The third major ceramic grouping is characterized by the type now known as Guale Complicated Stamped. Among others, this type [This and other ceramic types set up on the material from 9MC10 are discussed separately and at length in the appendix] was found in sealed context, under a fallen section of aboriginal wall, with olive jar sherds, by Joseph R. Caldwell in 1940. The pottery is thicker and coarser than Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped. The paddle stamped decoration consists of sets of four blocks of parallel lines, set alternating in orientation. This type of decoration occurs elsewhere, and is called line block stamped. The junction of the four blocks of parallel lines often has a boss circle and boss, and one example was found with a cross in circle at this place. Caldwell had originally named this type Fort King George Malleated, after the fort whose cemetery yielded the original finds.

In view of the respectable amount of Spanish import material on the site, nearly 1 percent, and the strong European influence evidence in domestic architecture and the layout of the village, it was decided to rename the type Guale Complicated Stamped as being more appropriate to the time it was in use, and its Spanish Associations.

Other types identified with the first aboriginal occupation are Guale Incised, Darien Incised, Altamaha Gritty Plain, Altamaha Red Filmed, Darien Temperless Plain, Darien Red

Filmed, Altamaha Complicated Stamped, and Altamaha Check Stamped. These types occur in two distinct assortments as shown by the excavations at 9MC10.

As the survey progressed through the summer of 1952 Larson and I discussed, often hotly, the relative merits of Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped and Guale Complicated Stamped as a marker type, a cultural tell-tale as it were, of Spanish contact. At the close of the salvage operations I chose to use the latter, and as it turned out later type on the basis of Caldwell's1940 finds in association with olive jar, and my own duplicate findings. This matter was ultimately resolved by the excavations at the Pine Harbor type site, the 1953 seasons' work at 9MC10 and subsequent excavations at Harris Neck and on St. Catherine's Island.

The recognition of 9MC10, as a potential mission site, and therefore its excavation, depended to a great extent on events that had occurred more than ten years earlier. The many site surveys and archaeological excavations made in the area under the aegis of the Work Projects Administration had resulted in a fairly comprehensive regional chronology. Almost as an incidental this work also severely undermined the then current attempts of competent historians to locate and identify the missions of Georgia on the basis of tabby structures. With the failure of documentary sources, used alone, and the development of an archaeological background, the stage was set for the events of the spring and summer of 1952.

The Spanish mission period on the Georgia coast begins with the settling of St. Augustine in 1565, and after many successive expansions and retreats ends in 1702 when the northern boundary of Spanish occupation lay at the St. John's River. During the period before 1594-1595 there were only two missions in Guale, one located on San Pedro, now Cumberland Island in Georgia, and another at Santa Elena now Port Royal Island in South Carolina. These were abandoned in 1572. In 1594-1595 there were six missions in Georgia, five of them new, representing the Franciscan expansion of a successful career in the immediate vicinity of St. Augustine. Three of these were destroyed, and all the major Guale villages with them, in the Juanillo Revolt of 1597. Except for Tupiqui, the missions new in 1595 were rebuilt in the period between 1603 and 1605, and one new mission was added. Pressure from the English, widespread native revolt and increasing difficulties in colonial finance on the part of Spain all figured in the destruction of these missions, some of them at Spanish hands. In 1686 St. Catherine's, Sapelo, and St. Simons had been abandoned, and presumably their mainland visitas as well. With the tabby structures removed from consideration as the ruins of Georgia mission structures, it was certain that a single site from any of the three had yet been identified with any authoritative combination of archaeological data and historical documentation. The University of Florida in 1951 published the excavations at a site near Tallahassee, Florida, which site they identified with justifiable confidence as San Francisco de Oconee, one of the Franciscan missions in Apalachee. Almost overnight there was a revival of speculative interest in the Spanish missions of Georgia.

It should be stated here that probably none of the information available in 1952 would have been brought to bear on the Spanish finds at the Darien Bluff, then 12 years old, without the initiative and persistence of Bessie Lewis. Her activities are the truly vital ingredient of the fortunes of the Darien Bluff site from its identification in 1936 as the probably site of Fort King George to its identification in 1966 as the probably site of Espogache. Having arrived at 9MC10 as a direct result of Bessie Lewis' continuing efforts on behalf of Fort King George, my activities there may also be laid at her door.

One of the first test pits to be dug near the Caldwell excavations of 1940 produced on the floor of the excavated area a large squarish disturbed area. The adjacent test pit also showed a similar disturbance. When the two pits were connected a third appears, and the northward

extension of the second pit produced yet a fourth. These large and unlovely disturbed areas persistently refused to show any trace of the cinders, chine and brickbats that so thickly overlay the entire area. Had they done so they would have been quickly classified as another of the modern period post holes, which were abundant in that part of the site. At length, much exasperated, I troweled out the first of these that had appeared. This was no small task as the outline of the presumed post hole was 3 feet wide by 3.5 feet long. A long afternoon ensued, made longer by the cloud of sand gnats which soon found me. The fill, removed entirely with a trowel, proved to be pure sand, only faintly stained with organic matter, and marbled streaks of a nearly white sand. A few aboriginal sherds of the type that was to be renamed Guale Complicated Stamped occurred, but not a shred of later material was found. At a depth of 39 inches the mottled fill gave way to a clean sandy floor except in one corner, where in an area about 15 inches by 18 inches it continued downward for another 9 inches. Exhausted and puzzled, I promised myself to tackle the other three examples the following morning.

The second of these disturbances lay about 12 feet to the west of the one already excavated, and was slightly smaller. About 6 inches down I encountered a large sherd of olive jar. Replacing the fill, which was exactly like that of the first, I proceeded to the next in line, lying to the north about 18 feet away. Here in the top four inches I found a sherd of a glazed Spanish ceramic, which I subsequently learned from John Goggin, was Fig Springs Polychrome. Carefully replacing the fill material, which was like that of the two previous examples, I undertook the fourth with mixed feelings. After several hours of careful work it, like the first produced only mottled sand and a few sherds of Indian manufacture. Retiring to a seat on a nearby block of tabby I considered the problem. These over-large and ungainly holes, none of them truly rectangular, were indeed post holes, by any criteria in use by archaeologists. They were clearly earlier than the abundant cinders, china and bricks which overlay them to a depth of 15 inches. They were then not modern post holes. Equally clearly they were not aboriginal post holes, which are roundish and seldom over 12 inches in diameter. The technique of dating a post hole or other feature by the material included in the fill has been in successfully and unchallenged use for many years. These were then Spanish post holes I wondered? They were not Fort King George or Fort Darien. At this point it was time to call for help.

The following weekend my husband, at my urgent request paid a visit to the excavation. He removed the fill in Post Holes 2 and 3 that I had earlier removed, retrieved the Spanish ceramics, and on completing the removal of the fill had added another sherd of olive jar and some Indian material to the collection. As in numbers one and four china, cinders and brick fragments were absent. While waiting for my husbands', arrival my trusty crew of Jim O'Berry and myself had exposed three more of these large post holes for him to check. Considering the probably depth of these, and the fact that the excavation of two is days' work, he declined to excavate them, by did assure me that these ungainly holes were proper post holes, and further that they might prove to be Spanish. At this point I had to swear that neither I nor anyone else had "salted" the holes with Spanish material. His suspicions on this point were reasonable enough, as this method insuring a Spanish identification has been used in the past.

Bessie Lewis was of course greatly interested in these developments, and found additional funds from McIntosh County to carry a second laborer on the payroll for Fort King George. The three of us enlarged the test trenches. At the time that we had to abandon work in this area to complete the testing of the right of way, we had located and cleaned out seven additional examples of these postholes. The total of fourteen suggested a large rectangular building, of which only the south wall was complete, measuring approximately 26 feet across.

Modern materials appeared in only one, and the large chunk of railroad tie that accompanied then indicated that both were part of a very recent disturbance.

It was at this point that the Georgia Historical Commission undertook to complete the excavation of the site, conducting in addition a survey to locate other sites of this type. At the end of the second season the large square post structure was virtually complete, and the fragments of two distinct and superimposed sets of residences had been exposed. The ceramics were identified as belonging to the two periods, quite distinct assemblages. These two differing assortments of Indian artifacts, both clearly within Spanish contact times have been given the names Mission period I and Mission period II.

The archaeological resources of 9MC10 are by no means exhausted at this point. Lying in and through the outline of the large structure belonging to Mission period II were graves of the hapless garrison of Fort King George, none of them with so much as a button with which to bless their names. At the end of the 1952 season we had managed, in the face of many trials to uncover the fallen palisade of Fort King George itself. It was identified purely on the basis of its location and the actual structural remains as again there was not a shred of associated material.

Lying over two of the graves from the period of Fort King George was one of the tabby blocks which had served as foundations for a structure, presumably frame, which together with others traced in this part of the site were studied by Malcolm Watkins of the United States National Museum. His study is published separately (Watkins 1969).

Saw mill activity had been intense on this portion of the bluff, but our excavations recovered little that would be of use to any future student of industrial archaeology. We hoped in vain to located traces of a pit saw, a peculiar type said to have been in use in the Darien area perhaps as early as 1750.

Subsequent chapters will deal intensively with the two Mission periods and the Fort King George period. Earlier and later materials will not be covered in greater detail except where the particulars of stratigraphic position become important.

A History of the Darien Bluff Site

The Darien Bluff site (9MC10) is located on the northern bank of the Darien River in McIntosh County Georgia, about a mile east of the town of Darien, which is the county seat. The designation 9, for Georgia, MC, for McIntosh County, and 10, the tenth site listed in the central catalog established by archaeologists working it the state, is a short hand form referring to the Darien Bluff site. Both terms are used interchangeably throughout this report.

The events leading to the excavation of 9MC10 may be said to have begun in 1886. In that year a scholarly three volume work by John D. G. Shea, *The History of the Catholic Church in the United States* was published in New York. Volume I of this now rare work discusses the chain of missions built by the Spanish that extended from coast to coast across what is now the southern United States. These missions were mere frontier outposts of the immense and gold-rich Spanish colonial empire that stretched away toward the tip of South America. Many of the missions in what are now the western states of the United States were still in operation at the time the work was written. With the exception of the stone fort at St. Augustine Florida, the eastern missions, concentrated on the coasts of what is now South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida appeared to have vanished. This imposing St. Augustine fort was built in 1670 of blocks of coquina, a natural shell conglomerate abundant in the area.

The Washington E. Connor family was the owners of a small coquina ruin located near New Smyrna, Florida. Some years previously, another owner had found fragments of three candlesticks while digging near that ruin. Washington Connor had these reconstructed into a single candle stick and in 1894 presented it to the Florida Historical Society, a group intensely interested in the Spanish period of colonial history. Conner and his wife, Jeanette Thurber Connor, became convinced that the coquina ruins were those of Atoquimi de Jorroro, although there was no evidence or documentation to support that identification. The building, destroyed by Indians during the Seminole Wars of 1835, was at that time being used as a sugar mill. The coquina presidio, or Fort San Marcos at St. Augustine, was built in the period between 1670 and 1690. Prior to this time the seat of Spanish government in eastern North America had been a wooden structure. Last but not least, the famed candle sticks, even before their “restoration” were not of specifically seventeenth century Spanish design.

Undeterred by these contrary indications the Connors for the next few years traveled throughout the areas of Florida and coastal Georgia where the missions discussed by Shea had been located. In pursuit of additional structures that could perhaps be identified as Spanish missions, Jeanette Connor became acquainted with the various documents relating to St. Augustine and the outlying missions. While their search did not produce any coquina structures in Georgia, they did locate a number of ruined tabby buildings. Tabby is a sort of concrete composed of sand, raw shells, sometimes gravel, and most importantly burned shell, which acts as cement for the mixture. This wet mixture was then poured into wooden forms about 12 inches deep encompassing the entire perimeter wall of the building being erected. After the first layer was dry, another would be added, and then another until the desired full wall height was reached. This method of construction is precisely that given by Thomas Spaulding, a sugar cane planter of Sapelo Island, in a publication of 1830, and in a letter of 1844, both of which accounts survive. These accounts include explicit directions for the use of this material in the construction of sugar manufactories, and plans for the various needed constructions are included.

Shortly after the Connors visited a large tabby ruin at New Canaan, the home of John Houston McIntosh, it was rumored about that the ruins were a Spanish mission. In 1909 it was so

identified in print, although Isaac F. Arnow had investigated the ruin in 1904 and had published an account presenting evidence of its recent origins. The Berry's Improved Fire Brick that he found in the boiling room of the structure soon mysteriously disappeared. The identification of the New Canaan ruin as a Spanish mission brought a prompt letter to the publisher from a Mrs. King, St. Mary, Georgia. Born in 1823 in the vicinity of New Canaan, she correctly identified the builder and the use of the tabby ruin. Her statement that the tabby was built by John Houston McIntosh in the mid-1800s for use as a sugar mill went unheeded, however. In 1914 a history of Camden County, Georgia again misidentified the ruins as those of a Spanish mission. It remained for Charles Spaulding Wylly then to identify the tabby ruin at New Canaan as the mission site of Santa Maria de Gondelopes.

There is a strange irony in this. Wylly was the grandson of the Thomas Spaulding who had introduced sugar cane planting to the Georgia Coast, had reintroduced tabby (it had been used by Oglethorpe in the construction of Fort Frederica in 1733), and had developed a distinctive technique for shaping the building made of this material. Thomas Spaulding had had a hand in the design of most of the sugar mills built of tabby in the coastal area, and was a friend of and colleague in the production of sugar with John Houston McIntosh.

World War I and the subsequent Great Depression put a temporary end to interest in the Spanish colonial period in the Southeast. Herbert E. Bolton in his study of Spanish frontiers in the New World, published in 1921, wrote of the Georgia Missions, "By 1615 more than twenty mission stations were erected in the region today comprised in Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, The story of these Franciscan missions, though it is little known, is one of self-sacrifice, religious zeal, and heroism, scarcely excelled by that of the Jesuits in Canada, or the Franciscans in California. It is recorded in the mute but eloquent ruins scattered here and there along the Atlantic coast."

This is a surprising statement from so able a historian. Bolton, better than any man then alive, must have known that the Franciscan missions of the Atlantic Coast were under nearly constant attack; and that the presidio at St. Augustine, on which all the outlying stations depended for support, was built of wood until replaced with the coquina structure, which was began only in 1670 in response to the English presence at Charlestown. The "mute ruins" of which he speaks are presumably the tabby ruins of nineteenth century sugar mills, about which a great furor then began brewing.

In 1923, J. C. Johnson in an article entitled *Spanish Period in Georgia and South Carolina,* placed the mission Santa Maria on the mainland near the mouth of the St. Mary's River, but did not specifically identify it with the ruins of the New Canaan sugar works. Local patriotism, however, assumed that these were the ruins he intended. The identification of Spanish mission ruins with tabby structures had now gone unchallenged for nearly 15 years, and most of the populace of those areas that had tabby ruins was confident that it was only a matter of time until their own tabby ruins were also identified by name as Spanish missions. This hope received a major boost with the publication in 1925 of *Arrendondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title of Georgia,* an essay, written in 1742 at Havana Cuba. Translated and edited by Herbert Bolton, it was published together with an extensive forward entitled *The Debatable Land* coauthored by Mary Ross and Bolton. The text of this preface specifically identified the ruins of the Spaulding sugar mill as the ruins of the Spanish "casa fuerte" constructed at the site of San Jose de Zapala in 1686. The same text speaks of Santo Domingo de Talaxe as being on the mainland. The maps that were drawn for this joint effort indicate the site of the tabby ruins at New Canaan as the ruins of Santa Maria, those at Elizafield on the southern bank of the Altamaha River to be an

unnamed presidio, and those at the Thicket on the mainland near Darien to be the mission Tolomato. The text of the translation places Santo Domingo de Talaxe on St. Simon's Island, a location that most students would find agreeable. The aficionados of tabby mission ruins were now very numerous, and they promptly assumed that the Arrendondo text and map of *The Debatable Land* implied that the tabby ruins at Elizafield were those of Santo Domingo de Talaxe.

Not satisfied with the implied identifications of the tabby ruins as Spanish missions contained in *Spain's Title to Georgia*, in 1926 Margaret Davis Cate wrote and published a small volume entitled *Our Today's and Yesterday's*. Here, without a single reference in support of her identifications she waxed rhapsodically about the tabby ruins at New Canaan, Elizafield, Sapelo, and the Thicket, all mentioned in the Bolton and Ross text. Mary Ross, in the same year, added her authoritative statement that the flag of Spain had waved over "the sturdy tabby walls of church, casa fuerte, and monastery." Interest in the Spanish colonial period and the so-called "tabby missions" waxed to near manic proportions. In 1926 the continuing investigations of Jeanette Connor brought to light a tabby construction shaped in the form of a cross on the floor of the octagonal building at the Thicket. This was hailed as the grave of Father Corpa, slain at Tolomato in 1597. When, sometime between 1926 and 1928, R. W. Gordon investigated the tabby cross more closely it developed into the H-shaped foundations for a vertical sugar cane crushing mill. The Gordon investigations at the Thicket also revealed the presence of English historic ceramics in the footing ditch below the tabby walls, and other late materials incorporated into the tabby itself. These findings of late materials were duplicated by Marmaduke Floyd, a descendant of the Floyds who had owned the site prior to the development of sugar cane planting in Georgia. Realizing that such recent materials must have been introduced into the tabby when it was built, he extended his research into the history of tabby. His findings led him to believe that the identification of the tabby ruins at Sapelo, New Canaan, the Thicket, and Elizafield, as sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish missions were simply in error. When in 1933 Floyd addressed the Georgia Chapter of The Colonial Dames of America he was able to present a tightly reasoned and well documented proof that the four ruins identified by Bolton, Ross, Cate, and others as Spanish missions were in fact the ruins of nineteenth century sugar mills, and other plantation buildings.

Cherished ideas die hard; they only fade away slowly. The February 1934 issue of the *National Geographic* presented an illustrated article in which the New Canaan ruin, together with the Spaulding ruins on Sapelo were identified as the sites of Spanish missions. In March of 1934 the owner of the tabby ruins at Elizafield, now widely believed to be the ruins of Santo Domingo de Talaxe, offered the 450 acre site on which the ruins stand to the state of Georgia as a state park, contingent upon a restoration. The offer was accepted, and in May, archaeologist James A. Ford, who had been recommended by the Smithsonian Institution, arrived at Elizafield to authenticate the mission and to recover anything buried there that might assist in the work of restoration. Unfortunately, Ford found nothing to indicate that the structure was of Spanish date and many finds that indicated it had been built in the period after 1825, and was a mill of some sort. These findings were available at the time a dinner given at Brunswick Georgia to announce the acceptance by the state of the ruins of Santo Domingo de Talaxe for development as a state park. The announcement was modified to read that, the ruins were now disclosed to be those of a sugar mill, but the site was indeed that of Santo Domingo. Ford was considerably annoyed because this statement was not substantiated in any way by his work at Elizafield. The researches

of Floyd and Ford were published in 1937 with the financial support of the Georgia Chapter of the Colonial Dames of America, in a volume entitled, *Georgia's Disputed Ruins*.

The research abilities of Bolton and his student Mary Ross were cast under a cloud by their publishing, over a period of several years, opinions on the nature and location for the Spanish missions of Georgia that were completely unsupported by documentary sources quoted by them. The statements of Bolton in 1921 indicated that he accepted that tabby ruins were those of the lost missions. Together with Ross he elaborated on these in the volume of 1925. J. T. Lanning, in *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* published in 1935 alludes to these publications and to those of Floyd and Ford in an extensive footnote in his first chapter. Fully aware of the hot dispute regarding the identification of the tabby ruins, he professed a detachment which statements in the Foreword of the work seriously compromise. Here, while acknowledging the lack of supporting documentation, he accepted the identification of the sugar mills at new Canaan as Santa Maria de Sena, at Sapelo as San Jose de Zapala, at Elizafields as Santo Domingo de Talaxe, and at the Thicket as Nuestra Senora de Guadelupe de Tolomato, and shows them all on the only map accompanying this work. The text however clearly places Santo Domingo de Talaxe on the island of Asao. It is made equally clear that after the revolt of 1597 Tolomato was only a visitas to the mission at Asao, and reappears near St. Augustine after the attacks of the English in 1680, as Nuestra Senora de Guadeloupe de Tolomato, formerly a mission of Timucuan speaking peoples who are stated to have been supplanted by refugee Gualeans. The text does not mention "Santa Maria de Sena," at all and mentions the mission and presidio at Sapelo only in passing. Thus another scholar showed himself to be confused as to the nature of the missions of Georgia, let alone their locations, because he was unable to forgo identifying them with tabby ruins. It is clear that Lanning, like his predecessors in this field, read the records of colonial Spain with an eye full of tabby and (one) wonders what constructions he would have put upon these documents if tabby constructions had been absent from his thoughts. There has been no major historical study of the Spanish era in Georgia, and adjacent areas since the Lanning volume published in 1935. A great deal has been learned in the intervening 30 years however, and it is hoped that this information will soon be collated with the earlier material of Bolton et al by a historian who is fully aware of the late date of the tabby structures in the area. Throughout the period when debate waxed acrimoniously as to the nature and location of the Spanish missions of Georgia, Bessie Lewis, a long-time resident of McIntosh County, was collecting and collating references pertinent to nearly forgotten Fort King George. Her research indicated that this fort had been built on a site in the heart of Guale, located and surveyed by Barnwell, whose map she was able to locate in the records of colonial Charlestown, South Carolina. Studying this map and related documents Bessie Lewis was convinced that the site of the fort was just east of the modern town of Darien, Georgia. Shortly after her research had been published she was able to secure the services of an archaeologist to examine the proposed site. In 1940 my husband Joseph R. Caldwell made a series of test pits in the boggy area at the former junction of the Darien River, the northernmost mouth of the Altamaha River, and Back Creek.

It was at just this location that the Barnwell map placed the small triangular shaped wooden fort that had been erected here in 1722 as an outpost against the return of the Spanish who had retired only 20 years earlier to their fortress at St. Augustine, but who still claimed the area as Spanish territory. A navigation canal upstream of this point had blown out in a storm in the 1920s and the river seaward has narrowed to a small stream bordered by extensive marshes, but it was still possible to locate the former confluence. Caldwell encountered quantities of limestone discharged here by European ships that had brought it as ballast. The ruins of one of

the lumber mills that had supplied the return cargo for these ships were also much in evidence, but there was no trace of the fort itself. The test pits on the bluff overlooking this marshy area were more productive. Fifteen graves were located. These were neatly dug excavations, the classic 6-foot size, each containing a skeleton that on examination proved to be adult male Caucasians with very bad teeth.

Caldwell also found near the graves a fragment of an aboriginal house that had burned and collapsed. The lower portion of the wall was still standing and just beyond the outer edge of the wall were several curious clay-lined pits containing whole and broken pottery vessels. Buried under the fallen wall were other fragments of the same Indian pottery along with a fragment of olive jar. This course wheel-turned ceramic was used by the Spanish as all-purpose containers for imported supplies such as oil, wine, and perhaps even olives, the common name of the ware being olive jar. Olive jar is a clear indication of the late sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth century date.

Bessie Lewis was delighted with the results of Caldwell's archaeological work. Although Fort King George was still missing, the fifteen burials seemed certain to be those of part of its former garrison, of whom 116 were known to have perished during the years the fort was in operation. This portion of the Darien Bluff was set aside as a State Park, and the graves were marked with plain white headstones. Nearby a large marker was installed bearing a brief history of Fort King George. My husband and I visited with Bessie Lewis in the summer of 1950 when we were on a combined honeymoon and busman’s holiday. Succumbing to the charming persuasion of Bessie Lewis we remained in Darien for several additional days. During this time we extended the 1940 test excavation toward the north. Here we found two additional military burials, and traces of the burned structure through which they had been dug. Once again olive jar sherds were found associated with the local aboriginal ware that Caldwell had named Fort George Malleated.

In the early spring the continuing efforts of Bessie Lewis in behalf of Fort King George bore fruit in the form of a plan for paved access road to be built terminating in a parking lot at the western boundary of the new park. This much needed road was to extend along the edge of the bluff from Darien a little more than a mile to the park. Remembering the two finds in the context of Spanish materials and that neither Fort King George nor Fort Darien (built by the Highlanders to protect their settlement) had been found Bessie Lewis felt that the planned road should be preceded by salvage archaeology along its proposed right-of-way. Salvage archaeology can be defined as archaeology done with the best methods that time permits for the purpose of rescuing historical and aboriginal material that are threatened with destruction. A large part of the American archaeological fraternity is presently engaged in such work especially in connection with the construction of navigation flood control and / or hydroelectric power dams, and the Interstate Highway Program.

Bessie Lewis’ willingness to verify her historical studies through archaeological methods, and her lively concern for the possible destruction of historical materials, are indications of an enlightened attitude. Many others, after the fiasco following the Ford excavations at Elizafield, felt that the work of the historian was best kept entirely separate from that of the archaeologist.

Many of the original participants in the great mission controversy were still resident in the area. Bolton continued to work at Berkeley. Although the tabby missions had been dealt a lethal blow with the publication of *Georgia’s Disputed Ruins*, this volume had received no recognition from the authors of earlier publications on the subject of Spanish missions. The popular belief continued that the Spanish identification of these ruins was proven.

This was the state of affairs in 1952 Bessie Lewis requested my husband to return to Darien to conduct the salvage archaeology along the proposed access road and in the proposed parking lot. Since he was unable to leave his work in northern Georgia at that time, and it was deemed inadvisable to postpone construction of the road, Bessie Lewis accepted me as a surrogate. My salary and that of a small crew was paid by McIntosh County, which also supplied a road grader and an operator to clear away the disturbed topsoil along the right-of-way. Bessie supplied my bed, board, encouragement, and enlightenment.

My qualifications were fully up to archaeological requirements of the site. The historical aspects of the work were another matter entirely, as I soon learned. My first small test pits were visited by several combatants of the mission controversy. My age and sex, not being what was expected, coupled with the presence of a series of tabby foundations on the site contributed nothing to confidence on the part of either faction. In any case, Bessie Lewis's insistence on salvage archaeology was soon amply justified. The first two weeks of work produced aboriginal and Spanish ceramics in context, and several large square post holes that were eventually to form a part of the outlines of a large European, but pre-English structure. The original lines of military burials were also extended. This area, the western edge of the park, was labeled Trench I. Along the right-of-way extending eastward from Darien were a series of discontinuous test trenches. The tests along the roadway were called Trench 2. The findings here were spotty due mostly to widespread modern disturbances. At one time a large part of this area had been leveled for use as an airstrip. It was clear however that the Spanish / Indian materials were concentrated at the eastern end of the bluff, which was also the site of Fort King George itself.

At this point an informal conference was held, attended by several Southeastern archaeologists, including my husband, and my father and mentor in archaeology, Arthur R. Kelly, who attending in his capacity as a member of the Georgia Historical Commission. In this august gathering all but me were still smarting from the general rejection of the earlier archaeological efforts on behalf of the local historical problems. The group visited the site and inspected the structure represented by the large square post holes, of which only one wall section had then been exposed. Meeting later in the county court house, they listened with patience to my short exposition of the Spanish materials, the Indian finds, and their contexts, and the square post structure. There is no transcript of this first interpretation of the Darien Bluff finds, but it was sufficient for the day. Those present agreed with Bessie Lewis and myself that 9MC10 was a Spanish contact site, and in need of further excavation. Kelly proposed that this additional work be extended to include a reconnaissance operation to locate other sites of this type. This was to be conducted by Lewis H. Larson. This expanded an expensive program, constituting an all-out attack on the old problem of the location and identification of the lost Spanish missions, and would, subject to approval by the members, be underwritten by the Georgia Historical Commission. The question of who was to conduct the excavations at the Darien Bluff site was settled at the conference. I was eternally grateful to Bessie Lewis, my husband, and my father for their confidence in my abilities expressed in their choice of myself to continue the work. Approval of Kelly's proposals was immediately forthcoming, and the next week the program got underway.

With both financial and moral support assured I returned to the problems and possibilities of Trench 1. My crew was enlarged to a dozen, working under Jim O'Berry, the total of my original crew, who was promoted to foreman. The boundaries, natural and otherwise, of this portion of the bluff enclose an area of more than 4 acres. The earlier test pits had disclosed a concentration of Spanish / aboriginal materials in the area of a disused county held right-of-way

lying along the western boundary of the park property. With the permission of the County Commissioners that area was excavated from the edge of the bluff northward to a large concrete lumber kiln that had destroyed every trace of earlier occupation in its vicinity. The excavated area was extended eastward to join the test pits of 1940 and 1950. More than five months were spent in clearing and recording the many wall trenches, postholes, pits, and other features located in this area.

Additional Fort King George military burials were located, the precise lines of their burial pits marching in order through the welter of earlier pits, postholes, and wall trenches. Long before the time consuming work of troweling out the aboriginal features and the burials was complete, the crew was enlarged and we applied ourselves to the original question, "Where was Fort King George?" The evidence of the extensive testing operation along the bluff east of modern Darien indicated that, with one exception, the relationships of land, river, and marsh had not greatly changed. In the only area, adjacent to the military cemetery, not yet thoroughly examined, we set out four test pits. These were continuations of Caldwell's 1940 trenches at the former confluence of the Darien River and Back Creek. When the tide came in we found ourselves working in 3 feet of salty water, and worse yet, a northeaster was brewing. There was a shallow depression running around the point at the confluence of creek and former river. I arranged for this to be dredged with a dragline and tide gates were constructed at the two ends opening into the creek channel. A dragline working in a marsh is obliged to haul heavy wooden mats into the work area, one to be placed on under its treads, and a second one in its line of progress. The rear mat is then carried forward and so on. In this cumbersome fashion the dragline excavated the ditch, the castings were placed by hand labor on the open bank. The crude tide gates were built of cypress by a local carpenter and installed in the opening of our ditch. These measures dried out the central area to the point where the stripping off of the limestone ballast could proceed. The problems of terrain were further complicated by increasingly inclement weather, and the malaise associated with my first pregnancy. Determination and expediency triumphed in the end, and the palisade of Fort King George was soon exposed. It was lying flat on an undisturbed mud surface. Standing in a downpour of rain, for it had been raining for more than two weeks, I surveyed this unlovely tangle of logs, with immense satisfaction. Our ditch having proved to be located along the line of the original moat, we left the site as it was to the capable hands of Bessie Lewis, who was even then at work on restoration possibilities.

In late November the crew was dismissed. The sherds, photograph record sheets, and notes were packed up and sent to a temporary laboratory near the Hartwell Reservoir where my husband was engaged in survey and salvage operations. Here, with his help, and that of Bessie Lewis through correspondence, the preliminary study of the material was completed before the birth of our first child in March of 1953.

The first season's work had produced several structures, the first on the Georgia Coast to be definitely authenticated as of Spanish date. One large structure, possibly an actual mission church, was still incomplete. Additional information was needed on domestic architecture, the native ceramics of the Spanish period, and other data which would fill out a picture of mission life in Guale. Less than half of the area of the bluff immediately adjacent to the large structure had been excavated. Kelly and the other members of the Georgia Historical Commission felt that a second season's work would fill the needs above, and perhaps locate the Christian cemetery assumed to be associated with the mission village as well as the remainder of the military burials from Fort King George. Fort Darien also was still on the missing list. The reconnaissance survey of Lewis Larson was to be extended south of the site to the borders of Guale. In July, I returned

to Darien, leaving the baby in the care of her grandparents who felt a grand paternal interest in both the infant and the site.

Many of the 1952 crew signed on again for the 1953 season, including foreman Jim O'Berry. We began working in the area lying between the eastern edge of Trench 1 and the edge of the bluff where it turned sharply toward the north overlooking Back Creek. A narrow excavation strip was added to the west where, with the permission of C. E. Lunceford then editor of the local newspaper, we removed a fence in order to excavate the area west of the now completely excavated county right-of-way.

Extending our successful use of a road grader and dragline in the 1952 season we prepared a series of test pits in this large area. The walls provided level markers, and the disturbed topsoil was removed with a Caterpillar D7 bulldozer rented at cost from McIntosh County. The shovels and wheelbarrows used in both seasons were loaned by the McIntosh County Highway Department. Compared to the shovel, trowel, and wheelbarrow, the classic tools of the American archaeologists, the bulldozer is an overly powerful and cumbersome digging tool. This difficulty was resolved by the talents of the operator who understood at once our objectives and the need for extreme caution in the operation of his machine.

Using this then unorthodox archaeological tool we proceeded in record time to strip off the top soil as much as 15 inches in spots. This was accomplished without disturbing the delicate line of demarcation between pit, posthole, wall trench, and undisturbed soil. In fact, the hundreds of man hours that were saved by this expedient made it possible for us to achieve our goals for the 1953 season within a modest budget. The road grader, dragline, and bulldozer having proved successful in skilled hands, I wouldn't hesitate to use them again in an archeological situation where they could be helpful. A certain sangfroid is necessary when working with these outsize tools. It is essential that the archaeologist walk along head bent, eyes glued to the cleared strip between the shining blade just ahead and the cleated treads clanking a few inches behind your back. The dozer operator watched the archaeologist for pre-arranged signals to slow, to halt, or to raise the blade. Neither is watching where they are going, both are utterly intent on other considerations. Not surprisingly, during the period when the area to be excavated was being scraped down, I suffered from a recurrent nightmare of being run down by a snorting yellow monster.

For the 1953 season I established a temporary home and laboratory in a nearby tourist cabin. Here the sherds were washed and a preliminary study made of them. This proved to be especially helpful when a tangle of houses and pits appeared beneath the bulldozer blade. Dismissing our esteemed colleague of the D7, we cleared these pits and posts by hand with trowels. In due course the confusion sorted itself out into two sets of residences with associated refuse pits. In shallow depressions we found some of the oldest pottery on the site. The preliminary test pits had yielded an immense quantity of refuse from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. My little laboratory fairly bulged with bricks, scrap iron, and hundreds of sacks of Spanish and aboriginal sherds. A "goody shelf" displayed a Spanish coin, some beads, a match box of greying matter, which on chemical analysis proved to be totally decayed silver, and several whole and restored pottery vessels.

At the close of the 1953 season two major objectives were still unrealized. Fort Darien was still among the missing, and a cemetery associated with the mission period village had not yet located. The possibility is still open of course that some happy chance may yet bring these to light. There are large areas north of the central structure and the village that flanked it on both sides as yet unexcavated. The materials of both seasons were brought to my home and the

preliminary study made in the field was amplified. The material from the first season was reviewed in the light of the additional information now in hand. A full scale interpretation was now the immediate concern.

At the time I had arrived in Darien in the spring of 1952 I was completely innocent of any useful knowledge of the historical aspects of the Spanish mission period on the coast of Georgia, or elsewhere for that matter. I was fully prepared to do a routine job of salvage archeology on the right-of-way to Fort King George State Park. In the ensuing 20 months as the possibilities and problems of 9MC10 multiplied, Bessie Lewis labored valiantly to overcome my shortcomings in local history, Spanish colonial history, and English colonial history. I was and am grateful for her efforts on my behalf, since history was intertwined in my archaeological activities to a great degree. For this reason there are bits and dabs of historical references here and there in this manuscript. Their necessary presence is not however to be construed in any way as an adequate presentation of the historical aspects of this one site, let alone all of Guale. Bessie Lewis has been for many years collecting source materials, and collating them. Her work will be without the confusion that marks past efforts that have identified tabby ruins with mission sites. It is to be hoped that it will soon be published.

Still a third area of work was to be included in the interpretation of 9Mc10--the two seasons of reconnaissance and excavation which were Lewis H. Larson's contribution to the overall program. Working as a trio, albeit at a distance, a number of divergent opinions soon became apparent. Many of these have been resolved in the nearly 13 years since I began to draft this manuscript [*Editor's: thus this was written about 1966?*]. Larson continued to excavate mission period sites, and I attempted to improve my understanding of the history and archaeology and the area. While this is no excuse for the tardiness in delivery, this lapse has extended the areas to which the information from 9MC10 can be compared and conclusions drawn.

The Spanish ceramics were studied by the late John Goggin, whose notes and identifications are incorporated in the manuscript. The nineteenth century English ceramics and other artifacts were studied by Malcolm Watkins of the United States National Museum, and his report appears in the work as Chapter 10. 1 would like to express again here my deep gratitude for their interest and their studies of these materials. In a very real sense this report is a joint effort. It has many limitations in spite of expert help, but I hope that it will serve as a step toward an answer to the old question, "What were the Spanish missions of Georgia like, and where they were located?"

An Introduction to Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Guale

Since a detailed discussion of the historical implication of Mission periods I and II will take us rather deeply into the particulars of sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish colonial history, it seems best to begin the discussion with a brief survey of general conditions in Guale, and a recapitulation of the major historical events haven taken place there.

Guale was the name of the language spoken by the natives living on the islands and adjacent mainland from St. Andrew's Sound to Santa Elena, now Port Royal in South Carolina. The inhabitants of the island now known as Cumberland and the adjacent mainland towns spoke a different language, known as Timucua. For administrative purposes this island and the adjacent mainland towns were included by the Spanish in the district of Guale. The southern towns were centered on the mission village of San Pedro, the Spanish name for the island as well. The central mainland towns were under the head micoship of Tolomato until the Juanillo Revolt in 1597 when leadership passed to Asao, on St. Simon's Island, known to the Spanish as Asao and sometimes as Talaxe. The northern mainland towns after the revolt were under the leadership of Guale, a large town on St. Catherine's Island. There were a number of towns in Guale, some more important than others. The centers of native government and the outlying towns were not fixed locations. The village name moved about with the inhabitants creating considerable confusion for the archaeologist and the historian alike.

At the time of Spanish contact the Gualeans were growing maize, beans, and squashes. There are, however, strong indications from both archaeology and history that these people were far from sedentary, leaving their coastal villages which they fished and farmed at regular intervals to hunt and to gather wild nuts in the backwoods. The maize and other crops, grown with communal effort and stored in a communal granary, seem to have been viewed only as an emergency food supply. In contrast the natives of Central America had long been settled in farming villages, governed from large towns that were also centers of commercial and religious life, where maize, beans, squashes, pumpkins, gourds, peppers and various fruits were intensively cultivated, and were the staple of their subsistence. The indifferent attitude of the Gualeans to agricultural pursuits lay at the heart of many of the difficulties that plagued Spanish efforts to subdue and civilize these natives. The Timucuans, a more docile and sedentary people living in the area immediately adjacent to St. Augustine, proved to be less troublesome. There were however no corresponding increases in the contents of Spanish granaries. The flat sandy lands of the area are poorly suited to maize agriculture, and shelter but little game.

Both Timucuans and Gualeans had a developed political structure. Each village was ruled by a cacique or mico, respectively. Groups of villages were loosely federated under the leadership of a chief mico, mico mayor, or chief cacique, who spoke for all, and received a measure of tribute in corn, game, and ornaments from each subject village. These positions were hereditary, being passed down in a pattern of kinship that baffled the Spanish. The head micos often acted in concert in matters of war and trade. These larger political divisions were based on language, although occasionally more esoteric considerations were involved.

The good friars, into whose hands fell the construction and operation of the missions of Guale, found themselves in daily combat with filth, laziness, idolatry, polygamy, and worse. The effusions of Rousseau notwithstanding these red-skinned children of nature exhibited an assortment of human failings already perfectly familiar to the friars in their capacity of confessor to their wrong-doing Spanish Contemporaries. The frontier missions were the means by which Spain undertook to hold her northern frontier, which ran from coast to coast across what is now

the northern part of the United States. The Spanish mission system was a special variation on the Roman garrison system. The first and most basic requirement was that the native population be encouraged, forced if necessary, to live in towns where there were priests to teach them Spanish ways and soldiery charged both to protect the neophytes, and to encourage acquiescence in the programs of improvement undertaken by the friars. The villages were to be taught obedience to Christ in the form of the priest, and to his emissary in the temporal world, the Spanish presidia soldier. The villages were further required to support the priests, the soldiers, and their families, as well as the civilian colonists, none of whom would consider performing the menial tasks of planting and hunting necessary for their support.

This system worked quite well among the sedentary agriculturists of Central Mexico, and to lesser degree among the Timucuan and Apalachee groups. The semi-nomadic tribes of Guale proved to be another matter. More than one hundred years of uninterrupted effort were required to force the acorn gatherers of California to accept this two pronged discipline. The development of the mission system in Guale dates from 1605, following previous and completely unsuccessful efforts dating back to 1565. It was disrupted just at the point where success seemed possible. Both contemporary accounts, and archaeological findings indicate that by 1675 Spain had begun to consolidate her hold on the eastern coast of North America in a way that, had it been undisturbed for an additional 25 to 50 years, might have been able to repulse the English advances from the North. There was at one time a better than even chance that the lingua France of the Southern United State from coast to coast would be bastardized Castilian Spanish rather than debased British English.

Under Spanish rule Guale was a district in the province of Florida. The provincial head in secular affairs was the governor or adelantado, who was subject to the ruling bodies of New Spain, and at the same time directly responsible to the Crown of Spain. Although the province remained under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Cuba, the vice-provincial of the Franciscan order was the effective head of the religious establishment in Florida, after 1572. The ordinary reader will perhaps be surprised to learn that, on the far flung frontiers of the New World at least, Spain was not a monolithic political structure in which the interests of church and state were harmoniously intermeshed. Endless bickering and the intriguing strangled what progress might have been made in spite of the cumbersome structure of the provincial government and its red tape. This sad state of affairs may simply be a reflection of the exacerbating effect of the frontier itself, with all its problems and hardships, on matter of policymaking. In any case, the adelantado, charged with both the temporal and spiritual progress of the province must often have felt like a juggler of little talent, who must somehow manage to keep altogether too many oranges safely in their respective orbits.

It would be just as well to review the geography of this part of the New World as it was understood by the Spanish. Spanish Florida, of which Guale was a district, was held to include all of North America east of the Mississippi. The great of government of the province was at San Augustin, now St. Augustine, Florida. Other colonized centers were at Pensacola, near the modern town of that name, at San Luis, in modern Tallahassee, both in Florida, and Santa Elena, near Port Royal in what is now South Carolina. The outer islands were known to the Spanish as Santa Elena (Parris Island); Asopo (Ossabaw Island); Santa Catarina, (St. Catherine's Island); Zapala, (Sapelo Island); Asao (St. Simons Island); Ospo or sometimes Guadalquini, (Jekyll Island); San Pedro (Cumberland Island), Santa Maria (Amelia Island); and San Juan (Talbot Island). A large number of Spanish / Indian towns were located on the islands and the adjacent mainland. The mainland lying opposite and between Santa Catarina and Asao was known as the

Peninsula of Guale. The sounds lying between the outer islands were known, from north to south as the Bahias of Cofonofo on Saint Catherine's, Zapala, and Espogue, (sometimes referred to as the Boca de Talaxe), followed by the Bahias of Asao, Gualquini, Bellenas, and San Mateo. The modern St. Mary's River was known as the Rio de San Mateo, and the Savannah as the Rio Dulce, while the Altamaha River was the Rio de Talaxe.

The area around San Augustine, westward to the vicinity of modern Gainesville, Florida was the Lengua de Timucua. The area west of Timucua was the district of Apalachee, lying to the north of Apalachee, in what is now southwestern Georgia, was the district of Apalachicola. Hundreds of towns, many of them mission sites, are listed for these districts in what is now Florida. Very few have been located to date.

Sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish notions of geography are sufficiently confused without the ornate style of the contemporary cartography. Map 2 is a Spanish map of about 1600. Map 3 is a straight forward presentation of the Spanish place names on a modern standard map. The locations shown for missions and presidios in Guale are tentative. They vary from the locations given by Lanning, Bolton, Ross, Cate and others, although they are based on the distances in old Spanish leagues as used by these authorities. Not a single site is on a site of a tabby ruin. Much of the information shown has been supplied by Bessie Lewis and Lewis H. Larson; however I take full responsibility for the location of Espogache.

As indicated before the identification of 9MC10 as a Spanish Indian occupation site was a purely archaeological exercise. To state even tentatively which of several possible sites is represented by these remains takes the archaeologist and the reader quite deeply into the particulars of the Gualean history. From the archaeologist's point of view the historical studies now in print have a number of deficiencies. For lack of recent and more accurate source material the following skeleton outline of events in Guale during the Mission period has been drawn from the Lanning volume of 1937 and the Bolton study of 1921. The head bone lies at the founding of St. Augustine in 1565, and the toe bones are scattered about in the vicinity of 1686. The intervening 119 years is a tangle of comings and goings, of which only the key events are mentioned. The sketch begins in 1492 and ends at 1722 in the hope of achieving a perspective of sorts.

The Spanish colonial period in the New World begins in 1492 when Columbus discovered the Caribbean Islands. Returning in 1493 Columbus planted a colony on the island of Espanola (Haiti and the Dominican Republic). Colonization expanded rapidly in the next decade. In 1513 Ponce de Leon took possession of Florida for the Spanish crown, still thinking it to be an island. By 1519 Spanish occupation of the West Indies was virtually complete, and in 1521 Ponce de Leon planted a short lived colony in the vicinity of modern Fort Charlotte, Florida. By 1525 Gomez had explored the coast of North America from Nova Scotia to the Florida Keys. This was no mean feat considering the size of the vessel, the navigational hazards of these coastal waters, the absence of accurate maps, even for the Indies themselves, and the hostility of the natives. The colonization of Central America was well underway when Allyon in 1526 planted a colony at Cape Fear, South Carolina, which was almost immediately destroyed. In 1528 Narvaez undertook to plant a colony at Tampa Bay, from where he set out to explore the coast westward, in order to mark an overland route to New Spain. It was many years before the Spanish at Mexico City had any accurate idea of the vast distances involved. The band under Narvaez were virtually wiped by a storm at the mouth of the Mississippi, and in 1536, Cabeza de Vaca walked into Mexico City, the sole survivor. It had required eight years from the trip from the west coast of modern Florida to Mexico City. His unbelievable hardships did not deter him

from spreading fantastic tales of the wealth in gold and jewels that awaited the conqueror of the vastness of La Florida. In 1539 Hernando de Soto, newly appointed Governor of Florida, set out to invest himself with its riches. He died, disappointed at the mouth of the Arkansas River in 1542. The remnants of his party reached Mexico by sea the following year. Despite a total lack of success, efforts continued to be made to colonize Florida and to find its reputed riches. In 1561 a second attempt was made to colonize Pensacola, but was repulsed by the natives who had learned to fear the Spanish. Many slaves on the island plantations had been taken from the towns on the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico. In the same year a similar fate overtook a settlement at Santa Elena. Florida was to be abandoned to her natives, in spite of the increasingly threatening activities of the French, both Catholic and Huguenot. Could France succeed where Spain had failed? Pedro Menendez de Aviles among other thought not. This opinion was reversed when in 1562 Ribaut planted a colony at Santa Elena, which the Spanish had abandoned only the year before. Before action could be taken against the new settlement at Santa Elena, Laudonniere planted colony of Huguenots at the mouth of the St. John's River. This colony was protected by Fort Caroline. Not only was Spain's claim to all that part of the New World lying north of the equator challenged this spread of the Lutheran revolt to Spanish lands, but the plans of the reigning monarch to create a single Catholic state in Western Europe were seriously threatened. The Lutheran heretics had to be routed out, and steps taken to safeguard the long range plans of the crown. Accordingly, in 1565 Menendez de Aviles set out to settle and fortify a colony on the eastern coast of Florida, having first removed Fort Caroline. Establishing a beachhead on an island opposite the present site of St. Augustine, Aviles marched to Fort Caroline. The ensuing massacre of the disarmed and hand-tied garrison, including Laudonniere, as well as the newly arrived reinforcements under Ribaut was condoned at the Spanish court. It was after all preferable to burning them at the stake. This blot on Spanish chivalry was never forgotten, and the site is still known as Las Matanzas (The Massacre). Fully aware of Phillip's designs on the sovereignty of France, although a devout Catholic, Catherine was desirous of avenging her Huguenot subjects. A means to this end appeared in one Dominique Gourgues, who volunteered to destroy the Spanish garrison at Fort Caroline, now renamed Fort San Mateo.

Don Pedro Menendez de Aviles had meanwhile consolidated his position. Setting out from St. Augustine in 1566 he reestablished the garrison at San Felipe on Santa Elena, another mission and garrison Santa Catarina at the town of Guale, and a third mission and garrison at San Pedro. Juan Pardo and a small band set out to explore the hinterland of Santa Elena in 1566.

In 1567 Gourgues arrived at Matanzas Inlet. Securing the aid of Saturiba, a disaffected local chief, the combined forces surprised the garrison of one of the outlying blockhouses and slaughtered them to a man. The same fate befell the soldiers at a second blockhouse, and the garrison at Fort San Mateo itself. Leaving a sarcastic motive of his deeds, Gourgues retire from Florida. This was not however the end of French activities in the Spanish territory of La Florida.

The colonization and missionization that had begun in 1566 was extended in 1569 when more settlers were dispatched to San Felipe, together with three Jesuit priests. Father Alamos was stationed at San Felipe on Santa Elena. Father Rogel set to work among the Orista, but met with such little success that he retired to Santa Elena, having first demolished his little house and chapel. Father Sedeno working among the natives on the mainland near Saint Catarina met with similar lack of success, and with Father Rogel retired to Havana, taking along a group of Indian boys for training at the seminary there. Undeterred by these reverses Father Segura, the vice provincial of the Jesuit order, five priests, several apprentices, and a guide set out for Axacan. The guide, on Luis de Las Velascolas had been in Spain since 1561. Making a landing on the

coast probably near the mouth of the Rappahannock, they were promptly betrayed by Luis, and a few months later, in 1571 were put to death by the warriors of the village. Their bodies were buried on the floor of their chapel, which was burned over them, and subsequently the warriors danced among the ashes. For lack of a pilot, this story was related to the priest from Santa Elena who arrived several months later to relieve the beleaguered mission. The Indian ceremonies subsequent to the massacre of the Jesuit friars were considered to be a great sacrilege. It seems probable that they had been intended as an honor as similar ceremonies were common throughout the southeastern area on the death of a chief or priest. This disaster marked the end of Jesuit missionary activity in Guale.

The colonists with their protective garrisons struggled on. In 1573 an officer and fourteen men were lost in an ambush and in 1576 the natives of Santa Elena, tired of feeding the garrison and the colonists attacked the mission and presidio there. Three officers and 19 men were killed at Espogache in 1578, and the same year two soldier interpreters, sent to aid a garrison at Tolomato were murdered. The Gualeans were hard put to comply with the endless requisitions of grain for the colonial towns which must be carried many miles on the backs of human beasts of burden, and the increasing demands for parties of forced labor to work on the buildings and fields of these frontier outposts. The adamant refusal of the Spanish to provide arms for self-defense was still another major grievance. The French traders in sassafras and china root who moved freely about in Guale carefully nurtured these disaffections. Late in 1578, with a full scale native revolt imminent, the governor, Pedro Menendez Marques, set out to subdue Guale. His advance met only empty villages until at Cosapoy (Cusabo) on the mainland he confronted the chiefs of the malcontents and certain French "agitators." The heavily fortified village was stormed and all were killed or captured. Adjudged guilty at a hastily convened court of inquiry, the French captives were put to death in St. Augustine. This exhibition of Spanish justice sufficed to restore peace for two years. During this period the Franciscans who had arrived at St. Augustine in 1577 made occasional visits to Guale.

In 1580, again with French encouragement, the towns of Guale on St. Catherine's and Tolomato, on the mainland nearby, together with the natives of Santa Elena revolted, seizing the presidio at San Felipe. In the winter of 1582-3 the Indians were routed, and San Felipe was returned to Spanish rule. All of the Province of Guale rose in revolt. San Felipe was strengthened and an armed column began to patrol Guale. These measures brought fairly peaceful conditions for a few years. The underlying causes of conflict and the intrigues of the French however continued as before. In 1586 Drake sacked and burned St. Augustine, the first English blow at the Spanish hegemony. Fearing further attack the garrison at San Felipe was withdrawn to reinforce St. Augustine. Spanish fortunes in Florida were at a low ebb, nor were things going well at home. In 1588 the great Armada, the pride of Spain, was defeated by Drake and the weather.

This turning point in the aspirations of the Spanish crown was not immediately reflected in events on the Florida frontier. In 1594 the Franciscans, who had been quite successful in establishing the mission system in Timucua, expanded their efforts into Guale. Five new missions were built and staffed with a resident friar. San Felipe at Santa Elena having been abandoned in 1586, the northernmost of the Franciscan missions of this period was at Guale on Santa Catarina, where Father Aunon and Father Babajoz labored. At Tolomato, nearby on the mainland was Father Corpa. Father Rodriguez was stationed at Tupiqui, also on the mainland near Tolomato. On Asao, at the village of Talaxa, Father Velascola had a small church, and at Ospo nearby was Father Davila. On San Pedro Father Chozas and Father Pareja worked and

taught in the mission founded by Don Pedro Menendez de Aviles in 1566. There is no clear evidence of a garrison in any of these towns with the exception of San Pedro and Santa Catarina. Things progressed smoothly until, in 1597, the head mico of Tolomato died, the new mico, Juanillo, met with the disapproval of Father Corpa. Refusing to accept Juanillo, Father Corpa at Tolomato together with Father Rodrigues at Tipiqui, declared in favor of Francisco a distant relative of the deceased head mico. Juanillo together with a member of malcontents, murdered Father Corpa, burned the church at Tolomato and retired to Tulafina, an inland town. Here they met with the micos and chief men of the neighboring villages. Inflamed by a speech by Juanillo all set out for Tupiqui. The complaints outlined in this address which triggered an uprising that destroyed every major Indian town in Guale are preserved in the proceedings of the Spanish court inquiry that investigated the revolt. The nature of the complaints provides a clear picture of the activities and aims of the friars.

The enlarged group of revolutionaries now fell upon Tupiqui where they killed Father Rodriquez and burned his church. Fathers Aunon and Babajoz at Santa Catarina, although warned of the uprising, were martyred also. The church at Guale was burned, and as in the previous cases the vestments, church plate, and the church ornaments were distributed among the raiding party. Father Velascola at Asao was murdered, but apparently the church was spared. Moving quickly to Ospo the insurgents wounded Father Davila, who was their prisoner, but again the church was left intact. The wounded friar, now under the protection of the mico of Tulapo, became a slave. The war party moved on San Pedro, apparently undeterred the garrison there or by its proximity to St. Augustine. The villages of San Pedro rose in defense of their Spanish overlords. The revolutionaries, thus balked, fled to the woods. Friar Davila became a slave and was sent to the village of Tulafina from which he was rescued a year later. The mico of Tulapo who had prevented the murder of Father Davila together with the chiefs of Asao, Ospo, and (Asao) returned to their home villages to await Spanish reprisal.

The friars of San Pedro dispatched their account of the revolt to St. Augustine. The insurgents, some wearing the cassocks of the murdered priests, and bearing with them the loot from the altars of Santa Catarina, Tipiqui, and were soon the objects of an intensive hunt. In the spring of 1598 a strong column of soldiers together with war parties from the village of Asao fell upon Ospo. Finding it deserted that avengers burned houses, granaries, the crops in the fields, even the canoes at the landing, leaving the church standing alone in a sea of desolation. Pressing on to Tolomato, where they found the church in ashes, the same treatment was meted out to the village. A detachment burned the villages on Zapala, where there is no mention of a church at this time. Guale on Santa Catarina was totally destroyed, as was Tupiqui. In neither town was a structure left standing. Except for the villages and the mission on Asao and the church alone at Ospo, all traces of the Franciscan missions were destroyed, together with their villages.

Only Father Chozas and Father Pareja, safe on San Pedro, and Father Davila, a captive at Tulafina, together with the mission and villages of Asao and the church alone at Ospo, remained of nearly three years of Franciscan mission effort in Guale. The Gualeans were without food, shelter, or the means to replace them. The disputed head micoship was reluctantly accepted by the mico of Asao and political power moved from Tolomato, never to return. In 1598 the Spaniard Ecija, advancing on Tulafina where Father Davila was a captive, learned that Juanillo and his adherents were again at Tolomato. Rescuing the much battered friar, and taking seven hostages, Ecija retired to St. Augustine.

The investigation of the revolt ordered by Governor Canzo took place at this time. The proceedings present a clear picture of the missions of the period, their names, and their locations,

and an indication for the activities of the friars. Lucas, one of the seven taken at Tulafina, was proved to have been present at the murder of Father Rodriguez at Tupiqui, although another was named as the murderer. Having first been tortured, he confessed, and received the rite of baptism, he was executed on the gallows at St. Augustine. This is a typical example of 16th century Spanish justice, poor Lucas fared no worse at the hands of Governor Canzo than might an offending Spaniard. Indeed Father Davila declined to testify on the grounds that the vows of his order would not permit him to cause, even indirectly, the condemnation of others.

Having dispatched Lucas, Governor Canzo then placed in slavery the other six hostages taken from Tulafina. This punishment was to be extended to any recalcitrant Gualean who fell into Spanish hands. Canzo was balked in this by a cédula of 1600 which not only forbade involuntary servitude, but promised redress for all assaults on the liberty of the natives. This cédula was promulgated, and the captives were released. Shortly after their return to Guale the mico of Espogache appeared at St. Augustine to sue for peace. He represented the northern towns of the peninsula of Guale which had been leaderless since the defection of Juanillo. In 1601 the mico of Espogache and others mounted a punitive expedition to capture the still unrepentant Juanillo. This would-be mico with others had taken refuge at Yfusinique, a strongly fortified town in the interior. Here they were overrun by the forces from Asao and Espogache. Juanillo and Francisco were killed with 24 other chiefs and micos. Others were taken prisoner.

The wholesale destruction of the Guale towns had unfortunate repercussions for St. Augustine, which was largely dependent on this area for supplies of grain and labor drafts. Rations were slim in St. Augustine despite large imports of food from Cuba and increased levies on the compliant Timucua. In answer to the widespread hardship of the Spanish inhabitants, who had not yet condescended to supply their own food needs, Canzo in 1600 declared the destruction of the means of their livelihood to be the only satisfactory means of bringing the Gualeans on to heel. Encouraged by the successful expedition mounted by the micos of Asao and Espogache, Canzo began to plan the restoration of Guale. This was to be a first step in strengthening the province before removing the governmental center to a location where it could be more easily supplied. Two locations were favored, both apparently on the mainland between Zapala and Santa Catarina, in the peninsula of Guale.

As a first step in the restoration of Guale, Canzo set out in the 1603 to visit the former mission centers. At San Pedro he undertook to rebuild the church, which had become very dilapidated since its erection in 1566-7. The resident friar, Father Lopez, was not enthusiastic and did not prepare the nails and timbers as ordered by the Governor. Apparently there was a forge at San Pedro. Canzo arrived and set his men to work. The building was scarcely half finished when the building supplies ran out. Dispatching a messenger to St. Augustine for nails, Canzo ordered the needed timbers to be cut, and set off the northern stations in the interim. Arriving at Talaxe he was met by the mico of Asao. This faithful warrior gave a full account of the battle at Yfusinique and presented the scalps of Juanillo and Francisco to the Governor. Passing on to Tupiqui he was met by the mico of Espogache, and after various interviews ordered that a church be built. On Santa Catarina he was met by Don Alonzo, the mico of Guale, and here too he ordered that a church be built. At this point the Governor retired to San Pedro, in order to supervise the completion of the church there. This was accomplished in less than a month, the church was dedicated, and Canzo retired to St. Augustine. Shortly after this visit for inspection, the first gubernatorial visit to Guale since that of Aviles in 1566, Canzo was replaced by Ibarra.

In 1604 Ibarra set out to inspect the missions which were to have been built under Canzo's orders. Stopping at San Juan he inspected the church there that had stood since the 1570s. Moving on to the new church at San Pedro, he made references to the necessity of keeping the church clean. At Talaxe on Asao he found a structure built by the natives. Here as before he enjoined them to keep the building clean and further to keep the peace, to increase food production, to report all strange ships and to assist legitimate (i.e. Spanish) travelers. Sailing from Asao, by the port village of Talaxe, he arrived at Espogache, where there was not as yet a church. Repeating the content of his earlier perorations, Ibarra added that the church was to be built at once, as friars were on their way to them from Spain, and would arrive the next year. Proceeding to Guale on Santa Catarina he found a new church. After repeating his promises made in the other towns, Ibarra returned to St. Augustine.

True to his promises, Ibarra in 1605 escorted Father Diego Delgado to his post at the church on Asao, Santo Domingo de Talaxe. This was classified as a doctrina from which he would visit Espogache, Tupiqui and other towns. Father Ruiz, who had made the trip of inspection in 1603, was stationed at Santa Catarina de Guale, on Santa Catarina Island. In 1606 Ibarra was able to persuade His Excellency Altimirano, the Bishop of Cuba, to visit the churches of St. Augustine, Timucua, and Guale for the purpose of confirming the large number of baptized converts.

Arriving at San Pedro the bishop confirmed a number of men, women, and children in the little wooden church erected by Governor Canzo. Still others were unable to attend the ceremonies, being some distance away on the farms. Four days travel from San Pedro brought him to the church at Talaxe, which had been built by its parishioners. Here he confirmed a number of converts, some of them having been summoned from outlying farms. Departing with Friar Delgado the episcopal party visited Espogache, 6 leagues away. This trip was made, apparently, in the large vessel that had brought the Bishop and his retinue to St. Augustine. Lanning does not state whether there was a church building at Espogache or not, only that the "mission post" was served by Delgado in the absence of a resident friar. The party then left the ship and traveled for two days in smaller craft to reach Tolomato, where again the ceremonies of confirmation were conducted. Returning to Espogache, then two days travel, the Bishop and his party set sail for Santa Catarina six leagues away, where they arrived the following day. A large number of Gualeans were confirmed in the church visited by Ibarra the previous year. Returning to San Pedro, the converts who had been gathered from the outlying fields were confirmed and the episcopal visitation of Guale was completed. Ospo and Tupiqui, which had been mission stations before the Juanillo Revolt of 1597, were not visited, although the church at Ospo presumably still stood.

A number of Franciscans came to labor in Florida in the period between 1612 and 1675. Most of these were assigned to the ever increasing chain of missions pushing westward throughout Timucua and Apalachee. Three new missions in Guale appear on a list from a Spanish secondary source (Serrano Y Sanz 1912) which states that in 1655 the missions included San Buenaventura de Boadalquivi, probably the pre-revolutionary Ospo, Santiago de Ocone isla, and San Josef de Zapala. A head count of resident friars of 1675 shows that Father Lucas was stationed at San Buenaventura, and Father Juan Baptiste Campana at San Jose Santiago de Ocone isla, which makes it only appearance on this list, seems not to have had a resident friar and was perhaps a visitas to San Buenaventura, especially if Lanning is correct in placing it on Colonel's Island.

The 1655 listing also shows a San Felipe, assumed by Lanning to be the site settled by Aviles in 1566, now a visitas to Santa Catarina de Guale, as was Chatuache, which appears only on this list. The Aviles site had been abandoned since 1568, and it seems likely that this is another example of confusion of names. A list translated from official archives shows in 1680 a San Felipe de Athuluteca, certainly a Timucuan place name, located on San Pedro. There is no northern San Felipe on this list, nor does Chatuache appear. In fact if the San Felipe of the 1655 list is transposed to equate with the San Felipe shown on the 1680 list, the two are identical save for two items. Santiago de Ocone Isla and Chatuache has vanished, either because they were never more than visitas, or perhaps because they had been destroyed. Santo Domingo is given on the earlier list the sub-name of de Talaje, and on the later list de Assaho. From the beginning of the Spanish period these two names have been associated with each other. Talaxe appears to refer to the mission village itself and Asao to another village which was the landing place. Asao was also the name of this land itself.

It is important to distinguish between the doctrina and the visita. The doctrina had a resident friar, a church, a residence for the friar, and workshops. San Pedro at least must have had a forge. They served as a base of operations for the friar. Tools, wax for making candles, the irons for manufacturing hostias (communion wafers), the chalice, paten and vestments of the friar were stored here, as were supplies of blessed wine and oil in olive jars. Provision was made for bells and other ornaments in setting up the Franciscan mission stations. These would have been installed in the doctrina. Regular classes were held for the boys of the mission village. The full Spanish calendar of religious feasts was celebrated with masses in the church. The visita as the name implies was visited at intervals by the friar. The visita may perhaps have had a chapel and a residence for the friar during his stay. There is very little direct information on the physical equipment of the visita in Guale or elsewhere. Certain cédula are known which indicate that these two buildings at least were normally present at all visitas. The discipline in regards to village planning and sanitation would have applied here as in the main center. The third type of Spanish installation, the presidio, is not indicated to have been present in Guale throughout this period except for the garrisons at Santa Catarina and San Pedro.

Although there is very little information on the events in Guale in the period between 1605 and 1680, we learn that in 1608 five chiefs in Guale were in revolt. It is not clear whether this applies to the entire province, or simply the immediate environs of Santa Catarina de Guale. In the latter case it may be another example of the necessity to provision a body of lazy soldiers and civilians causing trouble. Revolt is stated to have been widespread in 1645, and the report states that there was no help for it. The cause is not given. The Spanish never discerned what it was in their colonial policy that drove the Gualeans to revolt at frequent intervals. In fact, Governor Rebolledo outdid the most exacting of his predecessors in demanding corn, game, labor details, and other tribute to be paid. His excess finally exasperated the heretofore peaceful Timucua, who revolted in 1656. The warriors of Guale, honoring their pledge to support the Governor and likely eager to take a few scalps, arrived in strength at St. Augustine. Apparently unable distinguish friend from foe, Rebolledo disarmed the Gualeans and finally cast their leaders in prison. Surprisingly, Guale did not rise in united revolt. Perhaps they had learned their lesson in 1597. The micos of Guale contented themselves with a letter of complaint, which was actually forwarded to the King himself, just as promised in the emancipation cedula of 1600. Before any action could be taken on their complaints Rebolledo died, having first caused open warfare between the secular and ecclesiastical segments of Spanish colonial society.

His successor freed the captive Gualeans and allowed them to return to their homes, which were then under attack by the dreaded Chichimecos. In 1661 the position of St. Augustine, and the entire Franciscan enterprise was becoming increasingly insecure. Not only Guale but Apalachee were subjected to frequent attack by hostile Indian tribes pushing south in response to pressure generated by the colonial establishments in the north. St. Augustine itself was attacked by pirates in 1670, the year that the English made their long expected settlement at Charlestown. Adding to the problems of the provincial government there was still another change in the Governor, the third in 12 years. The new incumbent, Ponce de Leon, (not the same of the Fountain of Youth) writing to his queen in 1673 speaks of the stone fort that he has ordered to be built at Santa Catarina. The replacement of the old wooden fort at St. Augustine begun by his predecessor was at this time well underway, and it appears that he hoped to fortify the northern outpost with a similar structure. There is no coquina at St. Catherine's Island, and the fort which the attacking English overran in 1680 was a wooden structure. Fuentes, the commandant at Santa Catarina and his garrison retired to Zapala, under orders to construct a presidio which would withstand the "long guns" of the English. This appears to have been done. There is no evidence that the fortification was not wooden although the priests' house and the mission church of San Jose de Zapala were described to have been of brick. In 1683 Governor Cabrera, who had succeeded Ponce de Leon, offered to resettle all the threatened Guale tribes under the protection of the walls of St. Augustine, which were by this time very impressive structures indeed. Instead many of the Gualeans deserted to the English who awaited them at the Savannah with open arms, and what was more to the point, arms. The persistent refusal of the Spanish to arm her missionized Indians was a major factor in her final defeat at the hands of the English. Trade guns were not the only lure held forth by the English. Cheap and sturdy textiles, iron axes, knives, hoes, copper kettles, beads, and rum were no more an inducement than release from endless toil in the fields and fortifications of Spain.

In the midst of wholesale defection to the enemy, San Buenaventura was attacked by pirates and the dreaded Hinckley attacked Zapala. The garrison there was removed to St. Augustine in 1686, and the fort, the church and the priest's house were burned. The citrus groves were cut down, and in general a scorched earth policy was invoked. The Spanish did not intend to leave a single good thing for the English to invest as they had the field and orchards of Santa Catalina. In the same year a Spanish force routed the settlement there and destroyed houses, crops, orchards, everything. It remained a losing battle however. At the close of 1686 Santa Catalina and Zapala stood in ruins. Asao and San Pedro were abandoned except for lookouts. In 1702 the Timucuans and remnants of Guale villages living near St. Augustine rose in revolt. All the presidial troops were called in, including the lookouts posted on the outer islands. The Spanish frontier now stood at the St. John's River. The history of the Guale missions may be said to begin and end on the banks of this stream.

It is worthwhile to trace the fortunes of the Gualeans themselves a bit further. Until the cédula of 1600 prohibited slavery, the Spanish took them from any "recalcitrant" tribe. The British in 1670 were unhampered by any such decree and took hundreds of slaves from their raids on the missions of Timucua and Apalachee during 1702 and 1703. Hundreds more were brought in by the tribes with whom they traded, as a by-product of the internecine warfare, always a part of native life throughout the Southeast, and lately much aggravated by the struggle between England and Spain. This practice soon encroached upon ancient tribal affiliations that had not been abrogated at the time the Gualeans and others joined the British hegemony.

The Yamassee, a conglomerate of Gualean, some Timucuan, and other language groups, were settled by the British along the Savannah to act as a buffer between the rich plantations of Charlestown and the Westoes. This warlike tribe was a newcomer to the area and may well be the Chichimecos dreaded by Spaniard and Gualean alike for many years before the arrival of the English on the scene. Distressed by the active slave trade that continued apace among their people, and only poorly supported in their antislavery efforts against the Westo, the Yamassee rose in revolt against the English in 1715. Failing to subdue Charlestown they sought refuge with the Spanish still entrenched at St. Augustine. In 1721 the refugee Yamassee were resettled in Apalachee. The Lower Creeks, armed and encouraged by the British, attacked the new villages, which were withdrawn to St. Augustine.

Guale became a sort of No Man's Land until 1722 when John Barnwell, Carolina planter and militiaman, surveyed the Altamaha River (Rio de Talaxa) and planted Fort King George on the northernmost mouth, now the Darien River. During the construction of the fort, Barnwell searched for the onions in the "Spanish Old Fields" nearby. The excavations of 1952 and 1953 located the village belonging to these Old Fields and the fort as well. The nature and something of the history of this village and a tentative identification as indicated by archaeology are discussed in detail in another chapter.

Road Scraper Trenches 1-7

The site data from 9MC10, The Darien Bluff site, was acquired from three separate excavations, the first a limited test made in 1940 by Joseph R. Caldwell in connections with efforts to locate the exact site of Fort King George. This small excavation yielded a portion of a wall trench house, five clay lined features each containing a whole or restorable vessel, and several hundred smaller sherds of both native and Spanish manufacture. The material was not considered to be indicative of a mission site. At this time, shortly after the tabby mission theory had fallen in disrepute, the whole problem of the location and ceramic details of the mission centers was waiting for a fresh approach. In addition to the house fragment, 17 burials of white men buried in military fashion were exposed and the skulls submitted to Hulse for identification. The conclusion drawn at this time was that they represented a portion of the 140 casualties sustained by the garrison of Fort King George in its six years of operation. This is completely supported by the eventual discovery of another 100 such graves, giving a total number almost 120 of the known casualties in five years of operation.

In the spring of 1950 it appeared that the road crossing through part of the site would be paved. Had it been completed at this time it would have thoroughly destroyed what developed into a unique site. The author and husband, Joseph R. Caldwell, put in two scorching days during that June finishing the removal of some heavy charred timbers which had been left in place in 1940, locating another of the military style internments. The project uncovered still more Spanish materials, olive jar sherds, both above and below the burned timbers. The two of us with Bessie Lewis began to dream of a Spanish mission on the site, a pipe dream which came true with a flourish in the summers of 1952 and 1953.

Early in 1952 the State Park Service leased the property held by them to the newly formed Fort King George Association for development. Work began promptly on the long overdue access road. Bessie Lewis asked Joseph Caldwell to come down and cover the area earmarked for roadway and parking lot in order to insure that nothing valuable in the way of Indian or early colonial materials would be lost, a likely possibility in the light of past discoveries on the bluff. I was sent as his proxy to begin working on the right of way. Six week of test excavations brought out three more burials, a number of unrelated post holes, several refuse pits, and clear indications of a large non-Indian, but pre-colonial, structure, all located in the areas set aside for the parking lot. At this time the Georgia Historical Commission undertook the completion of the work, requiring a total of 13 months of excavation and the expenditure of thousands of dollar. What we have achieved for our time and money is the first fully excavated Spanish Mission and village in the Southeast.

The access road stretches along the bluff a little more than a mile from the U.S. highway 17 bridge across the Altamaha River to the point of land known to the Spanish as the Tongue of the Talsache, and to current Darien residents as the Lower Bluff Tract from its days as a mill site. A ten foot test trench was made, almost continuous, along the right of way from the edge of Darien out to the marble markers placed over the graves located in the 1940 test excavations. This trench divided into three parts – Trench 1, extending from the edge of the town proper to the Robert Young home, Trench 2 from the ravine east of the Young home to highway marker stake number ( ), Trench 3 extending farther east from stake X to stake number 57 at the edge of the parking lot area. This last area was widely excavated with an area about 200 by 400 feet and is referred to as Trench 4. Trench 4 yielded Structures 10-14, plus 100 military burials. The excavations required eight months to complete, along with a separate excavation running

concurrently at the fort site proper during which we uncovered a large portion of the original palisade of Fort King George. Work was continued for four months during the summer of 1953, as we laid out Trench 5 and Trench 6, two large continuous areas east of Trench 4. Here we located the nine structures of the two villages, one pre-mission and the other the houses of the mission settlement. No graves were located in this area. The last area to be opened in 1953 was a large area to the west of Trench 4, located in C. E. Lunceford's pasture, immediately adjacent to the church proper. It was our hope to locate the west enclosure wall of the mission compound, in which we were only partly successful. This area is referred to as Trench 7.

In summary, then we excavated an area of nearly 4 acres producing a total of 120 English military burials, 16 structures, 116 refuse features, hundreds of isolated and unpatterned post holes, and 10 thousand sherds and artifacts. From this material it has been possible to reconstruct a fairly detailed picture of the mission village and its peculiar ceramics, as well as the order of things before the ill-fated revolt of the Indian population against the Spanish in 1597, and fragments of the history of Fort King George.

Trench 1A and 1B Description

This was the western most stretch of the 10-foot wide test trench lying along the right-of-way of the access road to the park area, parallel to and 300 feet north of the bluff (See Figure 24). The road crosses an open place, few houses were here, and the area was unusually level, having been once in use as an airport, and before that as a golf course. The peculiar distribution of midden-stained sand may be attributed to the leveling operations necessary to use this area as a landing strip. The little hummocks with midden that usually are more or less evenly distributed along the surface were leveled. The high places were scraped down to virgin sand and both the midden and sterile sand were piled up over the lower spots. It was in some of these sheltered places that we found the scattered traces of occupation. Most of the midden had long since leached to a light tan barely darker than the virgin sand, but the shells from the original midden and in the opening of pits stood out clearly. The trench was scraped to a depth of 12 inches at which point we located a number of small features--Features 18, 22, and 24, and several series of post holes.

These post holes are something of a puzzle. There was only fiber tempered pottery in this area of the trench, well protected by the 12 inch overburden which was largely sterile, and fiber tempered pottery was abundant in the sides and bottoms of the holes. It seems risky to ascribe these post holes to fiber tempered horizon, but there was no later pottery present to give them a later date. The main area of fiber tempered occupation is a low rise just at the edge of the bluff, about 300 feet in diameter. Scattered finds of plain fiber tempered were made along the entire length of the roadway. Here we encountered several cremated burials, partly destroyed by plowing operations, but were unable to dig them at the time.

As a rule fiber tempered pottery is found in shell heaps, especially on the coast where oyster and other shell fish were abundant and easily procured. This may have been a small group making infrequent trips to the site, never leaving enough shell to make a true shell midden, or the heaps may have been removed at a later date for road fill and tabby. Barnwell mentions numerous shell heaps on the 40 acre fort site in 1720, none of which are still present. This area is somewhat west of that described by Barnwell, but may well have had the same appearance in his time.

A number of pits were uncovered during the scraping operation, most of them containing only shell, some with charcoal, and a few burned shells. The pits containing sherds were Features

18, 22, and 24. These pits are discussed separately, along with the area in the extreme western end of the test trench where we found the only considerable concentration of Mission periods I and II types outside of Trenches 3-7.

This was a large round feature (Feature 18 (See Figures 28 and 29)) located in Trench 1A, about 39 inches in diameter, slightly irregular in outline, and 24 inches deep in the center. The sides sloped to form a pointed bottom. Near the top on the south side were 14 sherds of plain fiber tempered pottery, all from a single vessel. Scattered throughout the fill were a few oyster shells, and nearly a hundred smaller sherds of plain fiber tampered ware. The only additional find was a small tanged scraper of' rosy flint. In an irregular series around this feature were a number of shallow depressions, and several distinct postholes, all with fiber tempered pottery in the sides, and bottoms. The sherds were standing on their sides in some cases in the fill. Others were flat against the sides or bottoms of the features.

So far there has been no structure of any type found belonging to the fiber tempered period, and it seems risky to do so now. However the nearest source of later pottery types is more than 300 feet to the east, a small area showing a remarkable concentration of mission period types. There were no post holes in this area. It is hard to see how the post holes could be as late as the mission period, contains many fiber tempered sherds and none of the later types.

Unfortunately, we were unable to make a clear pattern of the posts, and located only two other small features in the area. One (Feature 24) contained only a mass of periwinkle shells, calcined into a solid mass. A small round feature (Feature 22) filled with oyster shells, contained only sherd of fine cord marked pottery, and another with a check stamped decoration. The two sherds were grit tempered, and may be of the Savannah I period.

It would seem that the area occupied by both Spanish period settlements lay entirely to the east of this trench. The northern extent of the mission settlement was harder to determine as the area is heavily wooded. Surface collections made in the sandy roadways would suggest that the settlement extended little more than 150 feet back from the bluff, but stretched along the bluff from the first high ground east of the point where Fort King George was later erected, and west to a point about 1,000 feet from the church, with one isolated concentration of mission period materials just about 2,000 feet still further west. Shell was suspect here as it might have been brought from the bluff area. This entire area is described by Barnwell as being “old fields”, and the isolated occurrence may represent a house located in the fields some distance from the main village, although we found no post holes or wall trenches in this area of Trench I to support this conclusion.

Fiber Tempered Occupation

Scattered sherds of fiber tempered pottery are found along center length of the ridge. A concentration of material was noted near Valona in the northern end of the terrace in 1940, and over work along the right of way of the access road unearthed a second. The sites of Fiber Tempered are characterized by various piles, heaps, and occasionally rings of oyster shell. There may have been present in 9MC10 at the time as shell is frequently the sole content of pits and post holes dug in the prehistoric and early historic times.

Easily accessible shell was removed for tabby and road metal in many places along the coast, and this site appears to have been largely destroyed in this way. However, the pits belonging to the fiber tempered period were dug in the sand. And it is possible the site never was a shell midden in the ordinary sense.

The trench along the right of way passes in front of a low rise near the R. Young home. Inspection of the plowed surface of the elevation showed traces of fiber tempered and Guale period pottery, and several areas where likely burned shell and bone, presumably human, suggested cremated burials. In the trench proper we excavated three large refuse pits containing pottery several scores of small pits containing only oyster shells and 20 or so small depressions containing pottery. This area of the bluff was used as a golf course and airfield and is midden poor and spotty due to leveling activities. Fiber tempered pottery is fairly abundant and when found at all was plain with plain rims, the usual range in thickness. A large portion of vessel from Feature 18 (See Figures 28 and 29) was recovered. The base(?) flint tanged scraper, decorated sherds, and stemmed projectile points from main area of the mission occupation proper probably belong to a phase of the fiber tempered occupation (Antonio Waring, personal communication).

The road left undisturbed the rise west of the main part of the site. It has been left for future work and should be interesting since it is one of few such sites without shell midden proper.

Trenches 2 and 3 Description

This test trench lay along the right-of-way, about 200 feet from the bluff edge, approaching closer to the edge at the eastern end. Here we found very little pottery, and only one large shell filled pit, which contained only a single sherd of sandy plain ware among many hundreds of large single oysters. It would seem possible that this was a recent oyster roast except for the large size of the shells, a size long since depleted from the local banks.

Mission period materials were found along this portion of the right-of-way, some olive jar and one sherd of majolica, Fig Spring Polychrome type. There was no midden let intact, the dark modern sand lying directly over virgin sand. The eastern end was slightly more productive, and the area just south of one long pit produced a recent saw mill site, a curious shallow ditch, Modern Ditch 1 (Map 4), about 3 feet wide with scattered posts along the sides, and one small shell midden. These features are considered to lie in Trench 3 which adjoins Trench 2 and continues into Trench 4 just to the east.

Trench 3 started as a 10 foot wide cut like Trenches 1 and 2, but was widened to the entire 100 feet of the right of way in order to uncover the shell midden located in the south edge of the trench. This shell was fairly productive of pottery, and several sherds of majolica were found in the scarping operation, one Columbia Plain, one Fig Springs Polychrome, and four San Luis Polychrome sherds. The later types appear to have been located in the area enclosed by the western enclosure wall of the church complex.

A few scattered post holes were encountered in the trench, but no recognizable pattern save for one rectangular structure, 12 by 15 feet, whose post holes boasted an assortment of china, one piece of metal, and assorted brick fragments. The ground between and all around these post holes was covered with a layer of rotting saw dust, thus it is probable that this had been a small shed housing a saw mill. Just to the west of the shed was a ditch, crossing the trench and disappearing into the bank on the north, and over the edge of the bluff to the south. The fill was dark sand, filled with bones, some of them certainly beef, ceramics, glass, and quantities of Indian pottery. The last item indicated the amount of midden which must have been presented at the time the ditch was dug, considerably more than is now to be found at any place on the site. In time we located other ditches running parallel or at right angles to this one, Darien Ditch 1, and now regard them as property lines. This area of the bluff was first surveyed early in the history of

Georgia and the use of a ditch to mark a property line was common during colonial days. The presence of post holes on both sides of the ditch strengthens this supposition. The ceramics from this and the other ditches was analyzed by Malcolm Watkins.

Trench 3 was joined to Trench 4 by a small extension of the two, about 15 feet wide, and later the area lying between this trench and bluff was given a separate test, Trench G and Trench H. Only one small refuse pit was found in the area, study material was scarce, lying just as we found in slightly depressed pockets. However, we recovered 13 sherds of majolica, Fig Springs and San Luis polychrome types, and a number of fragments of olive jar including one with a brilliant green glaze on both surfaces. This concentration appears to be a continuation of that found in the extreme southwestern corner of Trench 4, an area which lies near the palisade of Structure 14.

The only other concentration of these two latest types of majolica found on the site was along the east enclosure wall, as if the occupants of the debris of the mission has been swept against the walls in order to clear the interior ground space. If this is a tenable hypothesis, it would appear probably that the palisade did not serve as the southern wall of the enclosure. This hypothesis will account for the absence of a southern wall, but it seems peculiar, as it differs in construction from the other units, is incomplete, and, worse yet, runs diagonally across the southern edge of the structure.

A limited test dig was conducted in the pasture lying just east of the area in Trench 4 in which we located the various parts of Structure 13, the chapel belonging to the later of the two mission period villages. Only one large refuse feature was found, and the sherds examined closely for the second time when it became apparent that the two occupations of the site could be determined ceramically as well as by architectural differences.

Midden was absent from the test area in the pasture, and the ground very speckled with light and dark spots, a characteristic effect we found wherever an assortment of deep rooted weeds grows undisturbed for a long time. This mottling made it impossible to spot the lighter yellow spots which when excavated proved to be mission period square posts, parts of the church structure. One or two stray round post holes were found, but no pattern. The necessity of closing the trenches was precipitated by the approach of clover planting season and the blandishments of a young heifer pasture in the area. We did come back to this area later, beginning just north of the old test trenches and continuing north for a distance well over 300 feet, Trench 7.

Trenches 4 – 7 Descriptions

This was large nearly continuous area, dug at varying times, in which we located 15 structures and fragments, 116 refuse pits and a single Indian burial. Trench 4 was the first large area opened up in the early spring of 1952, which with its series of test pits around the perimeter of the excavation was completed in the first eight months of digging. Trench 5 lies just to the east, but is not joined except for the narrow are dug by Joseph Caldwell in 1940. The reconstructed wall of Structure 15, the headstones of the graves located at the same time and the Fort King George marker stand in this area. Trench 5 and 6 were continuous, scraped and cleared during the summer of 1953 and was the large area Trench 7 adjoined to the west side of 4 and the north edge of the test pits laid out in 1952. C. E. Lunceford generously allowed us to blow up his pasture, greatly inconveniencing himself and his cows for several weeks.

The Mission period debris was fairly heavy over most of the area, with finds of majolica concentrated in the areas that were subsequently found to be near the walls. Olive jar was more evenly distributed, but still concentrated near structures. Indian wares were scattered about

evenly over the area with the exception of the area later found to be enclosed by the compound wall of Structure 13.

After this exploratory work, a plan to develop the site as a historical park was being carried out through the efforts of Bessie Lewis. The development envisioned a paved access road and parking lot, and in 1950, when it was thought that construction might soon begin, Joseph Caldwell and the author came down and put in two scorching June days removing some charred timbers which had been discovered in 1940 in the proposed parking area. Additional Spanish olive jar sherds and Indian pottery were found above and below the charred timbers, and another military burial was located. The timbers were of hewn oak, 8-10 inches square, and the suggestion that a European type building might have been erected during the Spanish Period on this site, dangled the dazzling possibility of a mission before our eyes.

It was not possible to continue the work at that time, but it was evident that a great deal needed to be done before the road could be built. Early in 1952, the Georgia State Park Service leased the property to the newly formed Fort King George Association, and work began promptly on the long overdue access road. Bessie Lewis communicated with my husband, who was unable to come down, and the writer went in his place.

Test excavations along the road and in the proposed parking lot consumed about 6 weeks. The road was planned to extend upstream parallel to the bluff to U. S. Highway 17, a distance slightly more than one mile. The investigation was begun by using a road patrol to scrape a 10 foot wide trench, intermittently, through 4,000 feet of this course. Those parts of the trench which showed evidences of occupation were reworked by hand tools. Such archeological features as were encountered were troweled out and recorded. This test trench was divided into three parts for recording purposes. Trench 1 extended from the edge of downtown Darien to the Robert Young home: Trench 2 ran from the ravine east of the Young property to construction survey stake X: Trench 3 from stake X to Stake 57.

Part of the area east of Stake 57 was to have been paved as a parking lot, but it was here that we found clear indications of a large European influenced building, evidently related to the square hewn timbers discovered in 1950. This area was designated Trench 4. The parking lot was relocated a short distance to the west.

This preliminary work had all been financed by McIntosh County. As the significance of the discovery of the European building began to be realized, the Georgia Historical Commission undertook the financial burden of the excavations. It then became possible to work more extensively in the Trench 4 section. An area 400 by 200 feet was completely excavated, and enough additional structural details were found to suggest that the European building was probably the chapel of a Spanish mission. Additional structures were located: designated Structures 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, as well as 103 graves of soldiers of the later Fort King George. Work in this area required eight consecutive months. During the late fall of 1952 separate excavations directed by the writer succeeded in locating the fort itself on the point of land at the junction of the old Darien River and Back Creek, about 300 yards east of the main investigations. A large part of the landward side of the original palisade of Fort King George was found, but all of the works facing toward to water had been cut away. The investigation of the fort was financed separately by the Fort King George Association.

Excavations on the bluff were resumed for four months in the summer of 1953. We laid out Trenches 5 and 6, two large continuous areas east of Trench 4. Here were eight structures belonging to two successive villages, one just earlier than the mission and the other contemporary with the church. There were no graves in this sector. The last area opened in 1953

was west of Trench 4, adjacent to the presumed church, in what is now the pasture behind the house of C. E. Lunceford. We had hoped to locate here the western enclosure wall of the mission compound, but were only partly successful. This area is Trench 7.

The results of the two seasons work, briefly summarized, included intensive excavation of an area of nearly 4 acres. Fifteen structures were uncovered, as well as hundreds of isolated and unpatterned postholes, 116 pits filled with aboriginal refuse, 10,000 sherds and other artifacts. It has been possible to reconstruct a fairly detailed picture of part of the pre-mission town and the later complex of houses contemporary with the church. The ceramic assemblages from the two villages, though in the same continuum, were distinguishable, and there was evidence of an intervening period when the site had been deserted before the church was built. The graves of most of the British soldiers who died at Fort King George were encountered in the excavated area. The fort itself was found, and it was possible to expose a portion of the palisade.

Structures Excavated at the Darien Bluff Site

Structure 1 and Features

The structure in Study Unit 1 is Structure 1 (See Figure 6). The modified type wall trench of Structure 3 crosses through the wall. Before troweling began it was possible to trace the trench of Structure 3 which was quite dark and filled with shell and bone fragments, passing through the medium tan sand of the fill of the Structure 1 wall trench. The building, not as lopsided as Structure 4, is approximately 50 feet wide by 70 feet long. It is proportioned more as a rectangle than a square, but has the same deeply rounded corner as Structure 4, Structure 5, and one fragment in the Structure 9 series. The short axis is oriented about 20 degrees west of true north. There is a curious L shaped extension of the short wall on the south side, which encloses a smaller area of 12 feet by 25 feet. At the time this portion of the wall trench was troweled out, we have discovered that a similarly shaped but proportionately smaller extension was attached to house structures of Mission period II date. A glance at figures will show that while the pigtail-like extension is found in both periods of construction, it is shaped differently in the later structures. There was no break in the wall trench to indicate a doorway. The clusters of corner posts were present on only one of the four corners, and were much smaller and shallower than those associated with Structure 4. It seems likely that this is more a reflection of the poorer state of preservation than that of original design, as the deepest of the wall trenches of Structure 1 was only .7 feet deep, quite a bit shallower than those of Structures 4, 5, and the fragments in Structure 9.

There were only two associated pits, Feature 35 and Feature 37. There were a few clay-lined pits in the area, they were not clearly associated with Structure 4, except for displaying the usual fill of sterile sand found in those surrounding Structure 4. They were excluded from the study unit. Probably most of the clay-lined pits in this area should be assigned to Structures 4 and 1, in Mission period I.

The undisturbed portion of the wall trench of Structure 1 produced a number of sherds, in an assortment by types similar to that found in Structure 4. Guale Complicated Stamped 15, Pine Harbor Check Stamped 6, Darien Incised 8, unnamed roughened type 1, Darien Temperless plain 3, Altamaha Plain 4, and indeterminate design (probably Guale Complicated Stamped) 11. The type Guale incised is missing, which is not surprising since the examples from Study Unit 4 occurred on the floor deposit. Apparently this type, a bell shaped pot with a peculiar assortment of designs on the short incurving rim was introduced during Mission period I. There was very little material on the floor area of this structure and very little in the two associated pits.

Feature 35

This is a small shallow pit lying in the area enclosed by the “tail” of the structure. The sherds indicated that it belongs in Mission period I. The earlier material in the lower portion of the pit fill may indicate that an existing depression was filled during Mission period I.

Feature 35	
Name	Number
Guale Complicated Stamped	5
Pine Harbor Check Stamped	5
Savannah Complicated Stamped	2
Savannah Check Stamped rim	1
Indeterminate (probably Guale Complicated Stamped)	8

Table 1. Feature 35 Ceramics.

Feature 37

This was a small fire pit lying in the northwestern corner of the structure. There were only a few sherds in the fill, but the burned sides and base of the pit, with a few small flecks of charcoal indicated that it had been used as a fire basin. The few sherds are not enough in number or sufficiently distinctive to date the fire basin.

Feature 37	
Name	Number
Roughened	1
Savannah Check Stamped (fine lands creating a large open check)	2
Indeterminate (probably not Guale Complicated Stamped)	2

Table 2. Feature 37 Ceramics.

Structure 1 was probably not a residential structure. It may have been roofed, but the method cannot be demonstrated since the entire building was poorly preserved. Evidence in the form of additional posts placed to serve as roof supports was not found in any clear pattern. There were a few posts clustered at the corner, and others here and there on the floor. The posts set into the wall trench were larger than those used in Structure 4 but appear to be an adjustment to the unusual length of the walls rather than an attempt to make the walls strong enough to bear the weight of even a very light roof. The sherd material in the wall trench fill agrees with that of Structure 4 very closely. The red filmed types are again as is the type Guale Incised. As the latter was apparently introduced in Mission period I, it would not normally be found in the wall trenches of that period. The general absence of floor deposits, and the probable absence of a fire basin, together with the unusually large size, suggest that the structure if roofed was a sort of public building, or if unroofed, a sort of enclosure.

The pigtail like extension of the wall trench is the only one found on the structures of the earlier of the Mission periods. This may be an indication that this curious form although in use in the earlier period, was restricted to non- residential buildings. An adjacent clay-lined pit, cut through by Structure 3, as well as the dozen others nearby had the same lensed sandy fill, although thought to be associated with Structure 4. There were few or no included sherds. As in the case of Structure 4, the indications are that Structure 1, whatever its nature and purpose were, was not destroyed by fire and had rotted away before the construction of Structure 3. It seems very likely that Structures 1, 4, and 7, as well were contemporary forming the eastern complex of structures of the village here in Mission period I.

Structure 2 and Features

The features in Study Unit 2 (See Figure 7) consist of the wall trench of Structure 2, and 25 features lying inside, under and outside the structure. The sherds from this unit together with those from Study Unit 4 were analyzed in the field lab as work progressed clearing the other structures in the area. The stratigraphic indications and the neat break in type assemblage between the two units provided the distinction represented by the three period designations, Post Pine Harbor, Mission period I, and Mission period II.

Structure 2 is of the modified type, lying about 250 feet east of the complex Structure 13. It is divided into three rooms, Room C on the east, 21 feet 2 inches by 14 feet 2 inches, inside measurement, Room A on the northeastern corner, 10 feet by 8 feet 4 inches, and Room B on the southeastern corner, measuring 10 feet by 5 feet 2 inches, also inside measurements. There is no break in the wall trench to indicate a door, but a pair of large posts set in the center of the southern wall or Room C could well mark the entrance. Just east of this point a small L-shaped addition, 3 feet 1 inch wide, by 5 feet 9 inches long, inside the walls. The overall outside dimensions are [ ] feet [ ] inches wide by [ ] feet [ ] inches long. These do not appear to be multiples of the standard units of measurement in use by the Spanish at this time. The structure is far larger than any of those of the preceding period that could be called a residence. The concentration of sherd material on the floor, two caches on the floor of Room B, the presence of a fire basin with a cache of vessels at the opening the L shaped addition, and the fact that there are three such structures in the immediate area indicate that this is a residence, possibly for more than one family, as we understand that term, used this structure for a dwelling.

The structure apparently rotted away. There is no evidence of destruction by fire. On the west end there is one large post outside the wall trench indicating that the wall was strengthened at this point sometime after it was first built. The wall trench was deep and straight and had large roof posts set at intervals between smaller poles that probably supported a wattle and daub wall. There are sports of raw clay near the walls in several areas that probably represent fallen wall plaster. Paired posts occur at the center of the two short end walls, sand at the point where the interior partition walls joined the outside walls. It is assumed that the paired posts of the east and west walls supported a ridgepole, and that the L shaped addition was roofed as an extension of the eaves. It is likely that this little roof was further extended to cover Feature 36, a fire basin containing a cache of small vessels such as might be used to serve in. Just south of what would have been the eave line there is a row of clay-lined features, Features 73, 85, and 93, together with a forth trace lying between 85 and 93. There are several others lying in the area. The wall trench and associated refuse cuts through four of these indicating that these at least are earlier than Structure 2. The wall trench of Structure 2 also cuts through Structures 1 and 4, both of unmodified type. Structure 2 is then later than either of these two structures, and postdates the features numbered 77, 84, 101, 102, and 112 as well.

For purposes of studying the potsherds, the features were divided into three groups, those inside the structure on the floor, those that underlay the wall trench, and those adjacent outside the structure. In the first group are Features 78 and 100 on the floor of Room A, Feature 107 on the floor of Room B. and Features 86, 87, 88, and 106 on the floor of Room C. Features 76, 77, 84, 90, 99, 101, and 112, underlay the various wall trenches of Structure 2. The third group, consisting of Features 36, 38, 73, 74, 75, 85, 93, 91, 92, and 94, lay near the exterior walls of the structure. All except Feature 84 lie to the south of the structure. The materials found in the wall trench are discussed after the last of this long list of features. The summary of Study Unit 2, the

complete of the series, ties together the evidence for the tripartite separation of the ceramic materials on the bluff.

Feature 36

This feature lies just south of the southern wall of the L-shaped annex to Structure 3. The outline was squarish, 35 inches long by 30 inches wide. The sides, which had been lined with clay, which was raw, that is not fired, sloped inward to the flat bottom which lay 12 inches below the mass of clay that lay over the top of the fill. This clay apparently sloughed from the walls of the L. Lying just at the edge of the deposit of clay was a nest of four small vessels. They had been whole when abandoned here and were later crushed in place by a tramway laid over their resting place. A small buff pitcher of the type Darien Temperless Plain lay inside a pot of the type Guale Complicated Stamped. The slightly flaring rim of the pot was folded, but lacked the triangular punctates found on other examples of this shape. The little pitcher had a trace of a darker brown painted decoration in the shoulder area. Over these two vessels a small bowl with a neat annular base of the type Altamaha Red Filmed had been overturned. This had been badly burned, apparently in use as the clay nearby was quite raw. Lying the side of the stack formed by three foregoing pieces was a small cup, plain brown, without an annular ring, of the type Altamaha Gritty plain.

The fill was a gummy mass charcoal, burned shells, charcoal, burned sherds, daub, and a few bones. The evidence of firing is considerable, but the lining of the pit was unfired. Perhaps small fires were built on the top of the fill, generating insufficient to bake the lining. In view of the absence of a fireplace in the interior of the house, it seems likely that this may have served that purpose. The south wall of this pit, perhaps the kitchen of the structure had a group of three postholes, indicating that it may have been roofed over. This would certainly have speeded dinner on days when it was storming.

Feature 36		
Name	Type	Number
Darien Plain		2
Darien Red Filmed		7
Altamaha Red Filmed		1
Guale Complicated Stamped	A	14
Guale Complicated Stamped	B	2

Table 3. Feature 36 Ceramics.

Off all the types associated with the modified type wall trench structures only the types Guale Incised and Altamaha Gritty Plain are absent from the refuse and vessels found in this feature.

Features 38 and 94

Feature 38 is a long oval shell filled pit, with a thick lining of clay, which had been dug into Feature 94. A thin wash of stained sand lying over the shell fill contained one nail, several fragments of glass, and two fragments of clay churchwarden pipe. Ten much eroded sherds were too indistinct to classify. The pipe fragments, however, indicate that the upper layer of this

feature is well post Spanish times. The pit is almost a duplicate of Feature 36 nearby except that the sherds are larger and there is less evidence of fire.

Feature 94 was earlier than Feature 38 as the clay lining of the latter lay in the top 6 inches of the fill, which included a fair amount of shell, which like all the shell referred to, was mostly oyster shell. It was literally packed with pottery--more than a hundred sherds were found, including 1 peculiar red filmed sherd from a plate having a narrow flat rim, with the red paint being zoned on the body of the plate. The associated check stamped, Darien Incised, and Altamaha Complicated Stamped sherds, 8 in all, together with the certainty that Feature 94 is earlier than Feature 38 makes one wonder if the red sherd is an excavation error. In any event, the plate fragment is unique on the site, and the only one that may be suspected of associating with the types belonging to Mission period I.

Features 38 and 94		94	38
Name	Type	Number	Number
Darien Plain		1	2
Altamaha Plain		4	1
Unique Red Filmed plate		1	0
Darien Red Filmed		0	2
Guale Complicated Stamped	A	77	27
Guale Complicated Stamped	B	13	2
Altamaha Check Stamped		5	0
Darien Incised		2	0
Guale Incised		4	0
Altamaha Complicated Stamped		1	0
Olive Jar		0	5
Columbia Plain Majolica		0	1

Table 4. Features 38 and 94 Ceramics.

Features 73, 74, 75, 85, and 93

This group of clay-lined pits lies just south of the southern wall of Structure 2. Faint traces of a sixth lay between Features 38 and 94. It was not numbered as a feature, but appears to be in line with 73, 85, and 93, which lie about 5 feet away from the wall. As indicated on the Figure 4, a line drawn through these three pits diverges slightly from orientation of the structure. Feature 85 was void of sherds, Feature 93 contained 1 small thin sherd, perhaps Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped, Feature 73, which had partly obliterated Feature 74 was void. The fill of Feature 74 yielded a half dozen very eroded oyster shells. The fill of all five was the usual light tan sand, but without the usual traces of having been water-laid. There are some clues as to the use of these feature, they apparently stood open, being allowed to fill only when no longer in use. This is the only explanation of the absence of refuse, sherds, charcoal, etc., such as it found in every other depression on the site. The lost coin covered as it was with a thin slip of clay suggests that they may have held water. The differing thicknesses of the lining, ranging from a mere trace to being a solid conical blob of clay set in the ground suggests that some operation is being performed on clay which is placed in the small round holes, which are conical in cross section.

Feature 76

This large irregular pit lies under the wall trench that separates rooms A and B is Structure 2. When the wall trench was troweled out the surface of the pit to the north was a light sand, that to the south a mass of grey clay, presumably from the wall itself. Underneath both surfaces was dark fill with many shells, quantities of pottery and animal bone. A half a bell shaped pot with a unique incised decoration on the rim and 8 sherds of Guale Complicated Stamped together with a few dabs of clay and few shells were found in the top layer. The shell filled pit below contained fragments of an olive jar beaker, other of which were found in the wall trench and floor area of Structure 3. It is highly probable that all these scattered bits were from a single example, which Goggin identifies as late sixteenth and early seventeenth century sites in Florida. Since this site was abandoned, as were the mission centers of northern Guale in the period between 1597 and 1600, it seems likely that the earlier segment of the suggested time period for the type is correct. In any case it was broken at the time Structure 2 was built.

Feature 76		Shell	Floor Cache
Name	Type	Number	Number
Altamaha Plain		2	0
Guale Complicated Stamped	A	53	8
Guale Complicated Stamped	B	5	0
Altamaha Check Stamped		1	0
Darien Incised		5	0
Guale Incised		2	1
Olive Jar		2	0

Table 5. Feature 76 Ceramics.

The cache of pottery in the upper levels of this feature lay just against the wall line, as did those in Feature 78. This concentration of fragmentary and whole vessels lying near the walls of the structures, both inside and out was often noted for these of modified design and the square post complex, Structure 13. It suggests the practice of sweeping both the floors of the buildings, which were of sand, and the outdoor spaces between the buildings.

Feature 77

This large irregularly shaped pit lay under the south wall of Room C of Structure 2. Features 94 and 38 had been intruded into the southern border of the pit at some later time. These two dealt with in the third group of pits studied. The fill was dark and contained a fair number of shells, although not as many as other pits that were assigned to the Post Pine Harbor date. The wall trench of Structure 2 disappeared into the fill of this pit, with the exception of two very deeply set posts which extended below the bottom of the pit. A large number of Pine Harbor Filfot Cross Stamped, Darien Incised, and the Altamaha Complicated Stamped types were recovered together with some check stamped and Guale Complicated Stamped. The suggestion is that this pit dates from the very end of Post Pine harbor times, the beginning of Mission period I, as indicated by the presence of the type of Guale Complicated stamped and two rims sherds of the specifically Mission period I type, Guale Incised. In view of the care exercised in the removal

of the features that promised stratigraphic data, it is not likely that the 19 sherds of the Mission period I are an excavation error.

Feature 77	Type	Number
Altamaha Plain		10
Guale Complicated Stamped	A	15
Guale Complicated Stamped	B	2
Altamaha Check Stamped		2
Darien Incised		5
Guale Incised		2
Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped		16
Altamaha Complicated Stamped		6

Table 6. Feature 77 Ceramics.

Feature 78

This feature was a small shallow depression filled with light tan sand in the northwest corner of room A. In Structure 2 eight large fragments of a single Guale Complicated Stamped pot were lying in the top of the deposit with one plain sherd, two sherds of Altamaha Gritty Red Filmed and a large nail just below. The impression is of a special place for the storage of pots which over the years accumulated some broken bits.

Feature 78		
Name	Cache	Fill
Guale Complicated Stamped	8	7
Altamaha Plain	0	1
Altamaha Red Filmed	2	0

Table 7. Feature 78 Ceramics.

Feature 84

This was a medium sized round pit, about 35 inches in diameter, and 28 inches deep below the level at which we first detected it. The fill was a slightly darker sand than the surrounding sand, but exhibited only a few shells. Ceramic materials were abundant, and from the bottom of the pit we removed one of our choicest bits of Spanish period iron work. Various experts have seen sketches of the thing, and the best educated guess that we have on its use is that it served as a sword guard. This is certainly possible, but one wonders how the guard of a sword came to rest in an otherwise Indian context when it is definitely known that the Spanish did not supply their converts with weapons of any kind except short knives.

The sherds of the fill include the same types found in the basal portions of Feature 112. No new types appear. The southern edge of the pit lies in the line of the wall trench of Structure 2. When troweled out completely the bottom of the pit was found to underlie the wall trench, thus the pit antedates the house and belongs to Mission period I.

Feature 84		
Name	Type	Number
Guale Complicated Stamped	A	8
Guale Complicated Stamped	B	4
Darien Incised		2
Guale Incised		1
Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped		1
Altamaha Complicated Stamped		1

Table 8. Feature 84 Ceramics.

Feature 102

Feature 102 like Feature 112 represents two periods of occupation. Unlike Feature 112 and like Feature 76 there were no layers of washed in sand separating the two levels within the pit. It is highly unlikely that the jar with the rum decoration belonging to post 1650 times could be associated with the check stamped and incised sherds from the lower part of the pit since these sherds are the characteristic types of the Mission period I. The upper portion of this feature is then another example of midden accumulation adjacent to the walls of the structures of this period.

Feature 86

This small depression in the northeast corner of Room C of Structure 2 contained only a few indeterminate sherds. It may be a part of the refuse associated with this structure.

Features 87 and 88

Feature 88 was a long oval refuse pit, about 20 inches deep containing a large number of sherds, together with bones, and a few shells mixed with the dark sand. It was located in the approximate center of the room and it was hoped that it would offer something conclusive on the nature of the floor deposit belonging to the period of the structure. Feature 87 is a fragment of a clay lined pit through which Feature 88 had been dug. The fill of pale sand was void of artifacts. This is often the case with this type of pit and leads one to suspect that they stood open for some time.

Features 87 and 88		
Name	Type	Number
Darien Plain		6
Altamaha Plain		7
Altamaha Red Filmed		0
Darien Red Filmed		0
Guale Complicated Stamped	A	14
Guale Complicated Stamped	B	6
Altamaha Check Stamped		3
Darien Incised		4
Guale Incised		3

Table 9. Features 87 and 88 Ceramics.

The sherd types represented in the pit would indicate that this pit belongs to Mission period I and antedates the structure.

Feature 90

Only a few of the nearly one hundred clay-lined pits found in the village area east of Structure 13 could be dated. Many of them are clearly earlier than the structures of modified wall trench. There are a few examples where the unmodified wall trench cuts through a clay-lined pit. Just at the eastern edge of the enclosure wall of Structure 13, there are over forty of these curious pits laid out in straight lines. The scarcity of refuse in them suggests that whatever their use may have been, it entailed keeping them free of refuse.

Features 91 and 92

Feature 91 is a large squarish shaped pit with a clay lining, filled with shells, dark sand, charcoal, and burned daub. The clay lining was nearly 6 inches thick and unfired. Feature 92, a small round clay-lined pit had been intruded into the fill of Feature 91. As was the case with most of the clay lined pits the fill was pale sand containing a single sherd of Darien Temperless Plain and 3 of Guale Complicated Stamped. Of 4 small sherds of indeterminate decoration one had been used as a hone. In the base of the pit, under a thin skin of clay lay a silver coin, bearing the arms of Castile and Leon. The impression is that the coin dropped into the pit while it stood open, and a film of clay obscured it before it could be recovered. Certainly silver coins were not so common in Guale as to be left lying about the landscape. The pit lies near the three post holes in the south edge of Feature 36. If this pit had been roofed over then the drip from the eaves would have fallen into Feature 92.

Nearly 50 sherds were recovered from Feature 91, including the check stamped and incised types associated with Mission period I. The red filmed types were absent, but 3 sherds of Darien Temperless Plain indicate again that the plain buff version of Darien Red Filmed was in use in Mission period I. The coin is probably of the same date as the structure and Feature 92 which postdates Feature 91.

Features 91 and 92		
Name	Type	Number
Darien Plain		3
Altamaha Plain		1
Guale Complicated Stamped	A	26
Guale Complicated Stamped	B	2
Altamaha Check Stamped		1
Darien Incised		8
Guale Incised		3
Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped		1
Altamaha Complicated Stamped		2

Table 10. Features 91 and 92 Ceramics.

Feature 99

This small pit contained finely divided charcoal mixed with sand and only four small sherds, one Altamaha Gritty Plain and three of Guale Complicated Stamped type A. It belongs to the period before the construction of Structure 2, Mission period I.

Of the eight pits lying beneath the wall trench of Structure 2, one was found to be Post Pine Harbor/ Mission period I, four were Mission period I, and three were found to have two periods represented in the deposition of the fill. In the case of Features 76 and 112, the two layers could be identified the profile of the pit. In the case of Feature 102, the topmost layer containing the latest sherd type on the site must be later than the few earlier sherds of the check stamped and incised types characteristic of Mission period I, found in the portion of the fill that actually underlay the wall trench. This series of pits supplies additional information on the makeup of the pottery assemblage identified with the modified type wall trench structures, the associated on red filmed types in relative abundance, and the absence of the check stamped and incised types of Mission period I. The majolica type Ichtucknee Blue on White is indicated for Mission period I, and the presence of some Darien Plain in the earlier period. This is a plain variety of temperless ware that occurs as small bowls, cups, jars, and plates. The walls are thin, and the surfaces a pale buff, and well smoothed. None of the examples from the Mission period I pits in this series have an annular ring although they do occur in a Mission period II context. Apparently the shape and paste are in use before the red slip comes into use. The same is true of the cups and bowls of Altamaha Gritty Plain which do occur in Mission period I as a dark brown ware. By far the greatest number of the finds is in a Mission period I context, and the red slipped variety occurs only in the later period.

Feature 100

This was a smallish oval area in the northeast corner of Room A in Structure 2. When troweled it developed into a pair of postholes containing only three small Guale Complicated Stamped sherds. The pair was too close to the corner of the structure to have been useful as roof supports for structure. There were others nearby, and it is assumed that these two belong to whatever structure or structures are represented by the series, which do not form a recognizable pattern.

Feature 101

This feature was thought to be another example of the shallow concentrations that lay long the inside walls of Structure 2. When it was troweled out the fill was found to underlay the wall trench ease all of Room A. The darkish sand fill yielded a most important find, a single sherd of the majolica type Ichtucknee Blue on White, and another of an unclassified plain white. The two sherds are earlier than Structure 2, and with the check stamped and incised types found with it and the absence of red types places this majolica type with the Mission period I pottery assemblage to which period the feature belongs.

Feature 101		
Name	Type	Number
Darien Plain		1
Altamaha Plain		1
Darien Red Filmed		0
Guale Complicated Stamped	A	4
Altamaha Check Stamped		1
Darien Incised		1
Indeterminate		10
Ichtucknee Blue on White		1
Columbia Plain Majolica		1

Table 11. Feature 101 Ceramics.

Feature 102

This small round depression near the south wall of Room B in Structure 2 appeared at first to be clear of the wall trench and thus a part of the floor deposit. When the basal part of the pit had been cleared out, it was found to extend under the wall trench. The basal contained a few sherds of Guale Complicated Stamped, several of Altamaha Check Stamped, and 1 Darien Incised. The upper portion of the pit yielded 7 sherds of Guale Complicated Stamped, a jar with a folded rim, which had been decorated with a row of triangular punctates. The interior was a light buff. It resembles a vessel found in Feature 36 also associated with this structure. This rim type is rare on the site. It is the most common rim the San Marcos series, and had a Pan-Indian spread throughout Florida during the last part of the seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth centuries.

Feature 106

This was a small round depression in the extreme northeastern corner of Room C in Structure 2. It was only 4 inches deep and it yielded an assortment of red types, a plain cup, and the usual assortment of body sherds of Guale Complicated Stamped. One sherd of the rare type diagonal variant of Altamaha Complicated Stamped and one sherd of Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped are probably from an earlier context. The five red sherds are part of one cup and two plates. One plate has a round rim, the other a shallow flat edge. The cup was red on the interior only, with a smooth buff colored exterior. The sherds are fairly large, and it appears that this depression contains part of the refuse belonging to the period when Structure 2 was occupied.

Feature 106		Notes
Name	Number	
Darien Plain	1	Cup
Darien Red Filmed	2	1 cup, 2 plates
Guale Complicated Stamped	8	
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	1	
Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped	1	

Table 12. Feature 106 Ceramics.

This completes the list of features lying on the floor of Structure 2. Of the eight, three could not be assigned to any period except to note that Feature 87 was earlier than Feature 88. This past contained the check stamped, incised and complicated stamped types that are associated with Mission period I. Four others contained red filmed sherds, one of these, Feature 102, contained a large section of a vessel form closely related to the San Marcos series which is somewhat later than the top date of this site, 1686, and is centered in the St. Augustine area. Feature 107 contained 1 fragment of San Luis Polychrome majolica and one fragment of an undated type of Mexican Polychrome pottery. All three are just inside the wall trench, and are shallow. Refuse pits as such and fire basins are absent from the floor area.

Feature 107

This was another of the small depressions found on the floor of Structure 2. It lay just at the edge of Feature 112. The light tan fill contained a few sherds of special interest. The Altamaha Gritty Plain sherds were from a small jar, as was the one red filmed sherd. There was one fragment of San Luis Polychrome and one fragment of Mexican made red ware with a polychrome design at the rim. The contents of the pit are part of the refuse deriving from the period when Structure 2 was occupied. The Mexican sherd was from a small cup, finely made and finished with a heavy slip of clear bright red. The rim decoration was painted on after the red slip was set. Like the red slip itself, it is fixed, that is, it is washable without washing off. The occurrence of San Luis type majolica fits with the later date assumed for the structures that postdate the Mission period I. John Goggin gives a range in time for this type from 1600 to about 1650. One other sherd of this type was found in a pit, which also showed the red filmed types that are associated with the structures of modified type.

Feature 107		
Name	Type	Number
Altamaha Plain		2
Altamaha Red Filmed		1
Guale Complicated Stamped	A	10
Guale Complicated Stamped	B	2
San Luis Polychrome		1
Undated Mexico Polychrome		1

Table 13. Feature 107 Ceramics.

Feature 112

This large oval refuse pit lay under the junction of the T shaped wall trench that divides the three rooms of Structure 2. The wall trench fill was removed first. In the walls of the trench, a sort of miniature profile could be seen that layer of tan sand overlay a layer of pale water-laid sand which in turn overlay a much darker fill containing numerous oyster shells. The tan fill was removed, and found to contain only a few small sherds of Guale Complicated Stamped, and one tiny fragment of Darien Red Filmed. Three sherds of Darien Incised from this upper layer were found to be part of a vessel from the basal portion of the pit. It seems likely that the excavation of the wall trench brought these to light, and that they were then incorporated in the later refuse that collected near the wall after it was raised. The same is true of the check stamped sherds,

which fitted the three from the lower level forming about a quarter of a small jar. The fill of the lower level contained a much larger number of sherds, including four fragments of olive jar.

Feature 112		Sand Fill over Shell	Shell
Name	Type	Number	Number
Darien Plain		1	0
Altamaha Plain		0	6
Guale Complicated Stamped	A	14	48
Guale Complicated Stamped	B	0	3
Altamaha Check Stamped		6	17
Darien Incised		3	3
Guale Incised		2	11
Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped		0	1
Altamaha Complicated Stamped		0	1
Olive Jar		0	4

Table 14. Feature 112 Ceramics.

The shell portion of the pit is clearly older than the house. It contains a large number of aboriginal sherds and olive jar, and is classified as Mission period I in date. The upper portion probably part of the floor deposit of the house since the check stamped and incised sherds are portions of vessels originating in the basal portion of the pit.

The Wall Trench of Structure 2

The wall trench was counted in separate sections (See Figure 48). The northern wall of Room A, the western walls of A and B and the western wall of Room C are not shown on the chart as only a few small sherds were found. The 3 red filmed sherds shown from the northern wall of Room C are probably derived from Feature 106. One of the three was a portion of a vessel found in that pit.

Name	Type	East B	East A	North C	South C	South B	L
Altamaha Plain		0	2	1	0	0	1
Darien Red Filmed		9	0	3	0	0	0
Guale Complicated Stamped	A	2	12	9	6	4	4
Guale Complicated Stamped	B	1	2	0	0	0	0
Altamaha Check		0	0	1	0	0	1
Darien Incised		0	1	2	0	0	0
Guale Incised		0	0	0	1	0	0
Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped		0	1	0	1	0	0
Olive Jar		0	3	0	1	0	1

Table 15. Structure 2 wall Trench Ceramics.

Having covered in detail the contents of the ten pits lying near Structure 2, it appears that three are of the same period as the floor deposits of the house, five clay-lined pits and are probably of the same date as the house, one containing a small coin, one of the clay lined pits was clearly earlier than the structure, and two may be assigned to Mission period I. The two clay-lined Features 36 and 38 lying near the south wall may represent the cooking facilities of the residence. One unique sherd from a red filmed plate having a zoned decoration may be in context in Feature 94 which is otherwise a standard assortment of types for Mission period I. The three groups of pits and the wall trench add a second dimension to the data from 9MC10. The modified wall trench Structure 2 is associated with a new assortment of pottery types. The types Darien Incised and Altamaha Check Stamped and, Altamaha Complicated Stamp have disappeared while Darien Temperless plain has increased in frequency. Two red filmed types appear. The majolica includes a polychrome type that is in the upper time segment allotted to Spanish in their efforts to subdue Guale. Olive jar is found on the floors and wall trenches indicating that it was fairly abundant in both mission periods. This third period of Spanish occupation is named Mission period II.

The assemblage of pottery types includes Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped, a filfot cross mostly curvilinear complicated stamped on flaring rim jars. The sherds from 9MC10 as indistinguishable from the material on the type site many miles to the north. The check stamped type seems to vary from that associated with the subsequent period in size and shape of the checks, and the rim treatment. The Darien Temperless Plain type resembles the earlier McIntosh Incised in paste. From our limited sample it appears to occur only on small vessels, including a cup form. In subsequent periods a number of forms occur, some bearing an annular ring, and one with a painted decoration. The type Altamaha Plain closely resembles that found in the two later periods, Mission period I and, a coarse dark heavily grit-tempered ware, occurring as jars and pots, rarely in a cup form. Altamaha Complicated Stamped is present in the largest portion of the three periods. The stamp motifs include nested circles and other curvilinear motifs on medium size flaring rim jars. Guale Complicated Stamped occurs in a very small proportion, again on jars with a flaring rim. Guale Incised, the bell pot, and Darien Incised are absent, as are the red filmed types found in the later structures and pits. Olive jar and a bit of a knife blade indicate a contact with Spanish. While the date could be as early as _____, it is probably about 1566 when the colony at St. Augustine made intensive reconnaissance in Guale and began to build a chain of mission centers.

Pure sites of this complex may turn up in the reconnaissance, representing a full-fledged period, very early in the Spanish times. The wall trench construction of this structure is of the normal type, with medium sized posts set irregularly in the line of the wall trench, was about 9 inches wide on an average, and averages about 6 inches in depth. There are no clear indications of internal roof supports, but some evidence that clusters of posts located at the corners may have supported hipped roof, possibly saplings overlaid with thatch. Structure 2 would appear to be a residence; there were two large caches of pottery near the inner walls, and several smaller deposits of refuse elsewhere along the walls. There was a fire basin on the floor, but none outside the house. Scattered about near all four exterior sides of the structure were small clay-lined pits. These were in no discernible pattern, and were filled with pure sand, which often showed lensing as if washed in over a period of time. This same sand deposit lies over the fill of other pits in the area that were assigned to Mission period I on the basis of their sherd assemblage. The suggestion that some time elapsed between the end of the Mission period I occupation and the construction of the buildings of Mission period II is strengthened by the fact that Structure 4 did

not burn, and must have been in a state of nearly total decay and collapse when Structures 2 and 3 were reared over it.

No one study unit exhibited all the traits that have come to be included the type descriptions of Mission period I. Those that were found in Structure 4 included the pottery types Altamaha Check Stamped, Darien Incised, Guale Incised, Guale Complicated Stamped, and Altamaha Plain. Altamaha Complicated Stamped is a frequent occurrence. The sherds of Pine Harbor Complicated encountered would appear to be from older refuse, as are some of the check stamps. The red filmed types are absent. There is olive jar associated with Structure 4, the two Ichtucknee types and an unidentifiable plain white ware.

In summary, Structure 2 appears to be a residential building, built over some traces of an earlier occupation. The house was lightly occupied during Mission period I, and subsequently decayed away. There were Spanish ceramic in associated, but not in the concentration one might expect in a missionized village. The structure in architectural and structural details is a standard example of pre-contact building technique for the area.

The types Darien Incised and Guale Incised would appear to be new in the period. Darien Incised may well be a descendant of McIntosh Incised of the Pine Harbor period, and its absent in the preceding post Pine Harbor period a reflection of the very limited sample. Guale Incised is a bell shaped pot, always and only stamped with Guale Complicate Stamped, with a nested chevron with slashes incised on the narrow incurved rim. Darien Temperless Plain is more abundant than in the preceding period. The Altamaha Plain sherds include several cups, and plates. Curvilinear motifs are less frequent among the Altamaha Complicated Stamped sherds as a Greek Key design and other rectilinear designs increase in number.

Structure 2 Summary Version 1

This unit of sherds from related pits and wall trenches will be given complete coverage here to show the method of applying the approach outline in the introduction to the pottery section, as well as immediate results obtained, and corollary data derived from comparisons between various components of the unit.

The structure in the unit is Structure 2, located near the edge of the bluff in Trench 5. The wall trenches were cleared in late August, and I am much indebted to my husband, Joseph R. Caldwell, for his help in supervising this delicate operation. Sherd confusions were kept at a minimum in spite of the number of overlapped features, and it was from this unit that we were first able to draw clear distinctions between the sherd groups that accompanied the two types of wall trench construction.

Structure 2 is of the reinforced type construction. We found the complete pattern of the exterior walls and a tripartite interior compartmentalization, also of the reinforced well trench type. One large disturbance near the northwestern corner of the exterior wall was found to be a 5 by 7 foot test pit made by Myers in 1940, dug quite through the wall trench, portions of the western wall were obscured as they crossed the non-reinforced wall trench of Structure 4. The trench of Structure 2 could at three points be seen to be darker and intruded into the fill of House 4. The latter being shallower was destroyed at the points by the later structure.

The pits included in the study unit are in three groups, those within the house, Features78 and 100 on the floor of Room A, Feature 107 on the floor of Room B, Features 86, 87, 88, and 106 on the floor of Room C, Features 76, 77, 84, 90, 99, 101, the top of 102, and 112, which were crossed by the walls of the house, or lay below the base of the wall trench, and lastly, those pits adjacent but outside the walls: Features 36, 38, 47, 73, 74, 77, 79, 85, 91, 92, 93, and 94.

Our first move was to count the three levels taken in the fill of Feature112, setting up the types Belleville Plain, Altamaha Line Block Stamped Type A, Altamaha Line Blocked Stamped Type B (with central blob), Altamaha Check Stamped, Altamaha Incised, Darien Incised, Altamaha Complicated Stamped, Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped, Mission red Filmed, Talaxe Red Filmed, and Plain. These types were all found in the shell fill of the pit, but the check stamped and incised types were absent from the sand fill save for three incised sherds - an excavation error probably as they were found to fit onto a sherd from the shell layer.

The same assortment, minus check stamped and incised in quantity, but with the addition of a red filmed type, Talaxe Red Filmed Type A, were found to be in those wall trench fill that had the least possibility of contamination from refuse pits, East A and East B, and North A and North C.

Structure 2 Summary Version 2

Four separate totals given in the chart below were derived from adding the individual counts for those pits which were within the limits of the structure, the wall trench fill itself, the pits which under laid wall trench, and last those which were nearby but not imposed on the structure.

It will be noted immediately that the types Altamaha Check Stamped and Darien Incised are found antedating the wall trench with the exception of the Feature 88, in the center of Room C. Since this is the only interior pit containing bones of deer, and shells in the sand fill, it seems probably that the types appearing here are contemporary with those that were found elsewhere, appearing only before the maligned wall trench was in use. The corollary data is that refuse pits as such do not occur on the floor of the house. Features 78, 99, 102, 106, and 107 are within the walls are probably the remains of the floor deposit proper. If so, it is interesting to note that they show only the types represented in the cache of Feature 36: Two Plain types, a gritty red filmed type, and Altamaha Stamped Type A and B, the only incised type being Altamaha Incised, a cazuela bowl which has a narrow band of incised decoration on the shoulder area. This type was found in both contexts and may be assumed to be common to both series. The earlier one tentatively defined from Features 76 and 112, showing check stamped and two incised types, plus two types of Altamaha Line Blocked Stamped, two complicated stamped types, and two plain types; the later equally tentatively defined from features showing two types of Altamaha Stamped, somewhat less of Type B perhaps, two plain types, and a new type, red filmed, both grit tempered, and a rarer form, largely temperless, which is to say that there is no visible tempering matter in the core or on the surfaces. As set up, these two series here were checked against the other seven units and the control pits. The earlier series is given the name Altamaha series, and we will attempt to show in the final conclusions its exact place in the mission period, while the later will be called Talaxe, after the mission structure with which it is identified.

These two series cover about 110 years and are broken into two periods, separated by sufficient time for the sand fills to have washed into the tops of Features 76, 91, 112, and probably 88, as we did not discover its presence until the entire structure pattern had been cleared. The survey data of Lewis H. Larson will be coordinated with these two series so far as possible in a section that follows this discussion of the ceramics. The eight other units showed surprising homogeneity in comparison. Our overall conclusions, based on these study units and the control sample, follow the discussion of Study Units 3, 6 and 8, 1, 5, 7, and 9.

Structure 3 and Features

This unit consists of the wall trench fill of modified type Structure 3, and the following Features: 40 and, within the walls, Features 41, 43, 49, and 50, adjacent, but not stratigraphically related to the structure, and Features 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, and 11 of the Feature 42 series, and Feature 44 (See Figures 8 and 9). These lie under and over the wall trench of Structure 3.

The wall trench is the reinforced type, with some shell and bone occurring in the fill. The floor area of the house was a fairly rich midden, noticed in excavations before the house pattern began to appear. The southern side of the house is badly obscured by two non-reinforced type wall trenches that cross and pass in a nearly parallel line so as to make it virtually impossible to delimit the later trench. In as much as the non-reinforced type wall trench is associated with large exterior post holes it is sometimes possible to trace the area where the older type once lay, but the confusion of small dips, postholes, and general disturbance makes it a matter of approximate rather than accurate location. The eastern wall is partly disturbed in like fashion. The northeastern corner is intact, and traces of the L-shaped addition are in evidence there. The northern wall is clearest of all. The western wall is broken by a modern disturbance, and the northern wall of Structure 4. The three structures would have been inseparable if not for the fact that Feature 31, like Features 2, 6, and 8, were aligned within 3 feet of true east-west, while the older types were about 15 feet off to the south. This slight slant made the separation of Structure 3 from Structures 1, 5, and parts of 7 somewhat easier.

The wall trench was very shallow, and the reinforcement post holes being deeper by 3 to 6 inches were sometimes the sole surviving trace of the wall trench. A pump house dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has honeycombed the area with shallow trenches carrying 6 foot pipes to and from the pumps. A further complication was a large oak tree, at least 100 years old, which we left intact, using lower limbs for photographic tower and general vantage point.

Structure 3 is aligned perfectly parallel and 18 feet to the north and Structure 2, the western wall extending some 13 feet further west. There is no indication of a door way, but probably it was located in one of the two long walls under the shelter of the eaves. As in Structure 2 the paired posts for supporting the roof are in the eastern-western ends. The L-shaped addition is on the eastern end and would then be on a south(?) end(?) assuming a ridge-pole type roof. A partition running north and south divides the eastern end of structure as in the case of Structure 2. However, we were able to define only two rooms, the third wall in the floor area of Structure 1 which crosses through the center of Structure 3. A large fire basin containing two restorable olive jars and large fragments of a third lay in the line of this trench, indicating that the feature is later than the wall into which it is intruded. One small piece of majolica was found in the burned fill of Feature 40. There was no trace of a depressed floor deposit such as was found in Structures 2 and 8, doubtless due to the deeply disturbed condition of the entire area. The exterior pits are typical, showing only one interesting feature, a spotty distribution of olive jar in beaker form, with traces of a blue exterior glaze and a mat with interior glaze.

The structure is 34 feet 10 inches long and 16 feet 9 inches. Room A is 26 feet 9 Inches by 13 feet 9 inches. The L-shaped annex is approximately 3 feet 10 inches by 9 feet 4 inches. The open wall was badly disturbed by a modern posthole, and Feature 44, which is apparently of the same date as the structure. The olive jar beaker fragment found in the fill of Feature 44 is a portion of a vessel whose fragments were found in the wall trench and on the floor.

Although lacking the number and assortment of sherds found in the floor fill of adjacent and similar Structure 2, this structure and contents agrees satisfactorily with the data from that

structure. The walls are of the same construction, modified type wall trench, with an interior partition, the paired post holes possibly indicating a ridge pole type roof and an L-shaped annex.

The presence of a small pit (Feature 40) in the middle of Room A whose contents and basal portion show evidence of firing brings up the possibility of an interior fire basin, lacking in all other examples of modified construction. Since there are two standard fire pits adjacent to the pigtail like exit of the structure where a fire pit was found in the case of Structure 2, it seems likely that there is some other explanation of the burning of this interior pit. The sherd fill of Feature 40 was like that of the pits found in the floor deposit of Structure 2 in every way save for a few sherds of check stamp, which may have been included in their respective fills from the wall trench of Structures 1 and 4 which cross the walls of the later Structure 3.

It seems probable that the exterior clay lined features are part of the earlier complex. Structures 1, 4, and 5 are all of mission date.

In summary, Structure 3 offers no new information, and agrees with the inferences drawn from the more complete Structure 2.

Feature 40

This feature appeared before the wall trench outline of the Structure 3, within whose walls it lays had been cleared. It was 36 inches in diameter and 6 inches deep. The wall trench of Structure 1 runs just at the western edge of the pit, but we could not make a clear picture of the precedence of either feature. It seems probable that the pit belongs to Structure 3. It lies too close to the walls of Structure 1 to have been used for cooking purposes, and the traces of burning of the pit and its contents are unmistakable. This raises the possibility of interior fire basins in type houses of modified wall trench construction. There was no interior fire basin in Structures 2, 6, 8, or 12. It seems probably that the small fired area in the base of Feature 40 which burned the olive jar vessels found crushed in the fill has a special and unexplained origin. The typical fire basin fill of burned shells, bones, and charcoal was lacking. The firing seems to have been local and intense, and a single occurrence as the daub in the fill was not fired as it usually is when refired a number of times.

The fill was comprised almost entirely of sherds, from three olive jars, with some aboriginal wares.

One restorable olive jar, large with white filmed exterior and green interior glaze.

One restorable olive jar, medium small with brownish interior slip.

One large fragment of olive jar, very large with the surface slipped in white on the exterior and brown on the interior. Many gas bubbles from faulty manufacture account for the very poor condition of the piece.

Feature 40	Type	Number	Notes
Altamaha Line Block Stamped	A	9	
Altamaha Line Block Stamped	B	1	
Altamaha Check Stamped		1	
Altamaha Complicated Stamped		1	
Altamaha Plain		2	Restorable Cup
Altamaha Red Filmed		2	
Indeterminate		5	
San Luis Polychrome Majolica		1	
Unidentified Majolica		1	

Table 16. Feature 40 Ceramics.

The presence of the polychrome majolica places the pit beyond doubt as part of the floor deposit of the house as this type was never found elsewhere associated with anything but the later pottery series. The only check stamped sherd may well have come from the wall trench of Structure 1.

This feature was found before the floor had been cleared to sufficient depth to do much more than trace the line of the wall trench. 36 inches in diameter and only 6 inches deep, it contained some charcoal, burned daub, probably not from the current Structure 3, but rather from the remains of Structure 1, which lies in the edge of the pit. We could never be sure from the pit itself whether it lay over the earlier wall trench or not, but presence of the red filmed sherds (and San Luis Polychrome belonging to the later period that of the structure) made it seem probable that the pit was an interior fire basin, and that the earlier sherds were from the preceding house, or perhaps from the wall trench fill which was not removed first, as it later appeared that it should. The burned daub makes the pit appear to have served as a fire basin for Structure 3, and with the adjacent wall attributed to Structure 1, it then stood in the middle of the floor of Room A. However, it is the only interior fire basin, and since it is so very shallow and full of pottery, but lacking in burned bone and shell which characterize the exterior fire pits found on the site, may well be some special circumstance which we could not discover while excavating.

Feature 41

This was a small round pit, 30 inch diameter, 12 inch deep, the dark sand fill containing only a few sherds, charcoal, and burned sand in layers at the bottom. This pit occupies the same position to the end of the tail like appendage to the house as does Feature 36 to Structure 2, which feature was also a fire pit. In this case we found no whole vessels, nor any large fragments, and the following sherds: [*Editors: Data Table Absent from Draft*]

Feature 42 Series

Features 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, and 11of this group were placed in Structure 3. Features 3, 5, 7, and 10 were clearly part of Structure 4. The sherd count indicates that Features 8 and 9 which lie under the wall trench of Structure 3 are earlier than the structure, belonging to the prehistoric period. Features 1, 2, and 4 were shallow depressions lying outside the wall of Structure 3. Features 1 and 4 contained only a few eroded sherds. Feature 2 contained a large number of sherds of Guale Complicated Stamped Type A, many from a single large jar, 6 of Guale Complicated Stamped Type B, and one fragment of an olive jar beaker. This fragment, together

with one in Feature 44 and three others found in the floor area of Room A are parts of a single vessel. Feature 11 lying outside the wall contained only a restorable red filmed cup of the type Altamaha Red Filmed.

Feature 42 (Structure 3 Part)					Structure 4	Structure 4		Notes
Name	Type	1	2	4	8	9	11	
Altamaha Plain		0	2	0	0	4	0	
Altamaha Line Block Stamped	A	0	34	0	0	27	0	
Altamaha Line Block Stamped	B	0	6	0	0	4	0	
Altamaha Check Stamped		0	1	0	0	0	0	
Darien Incised		0	0	0	0	1	0	
Altamaha Red Filmed		0	0	0	0	0	1	Restorable Cup
Darien Red Filmed		0	0	0	0	0	0	
Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped		0	1	0	1	1	0	
Altamaha Complicated Stamped		0	0	0	0	1	0	
Olive Jar		0	0	0	0	0	0	
Beaker		0	1	0	0	0	0	
Indeterminate		6	0	4	0	0	0	

Table 17. Feature 42 Ceramics.

Feature 43

This was a square shaped refuse pit, 24 by 33 inches in size, 18 inches deep, with straight sides, and a fairly flat bottom. The fill of long oysters over mussels was fairly compact, and most of the sherds were concentrated in the bottom layer of dark dirt, charcoal, and some raw clay. The pit is located just east of the corner of Structure 4 and outside the walls. The sherd types include:

Feature 43	Type	Number
Belleville Plain		2
Altamaha Line Block Stamped	A	27
Altamaha Line Block Stamped	B	4
Altamaha Check Stamped		1
Olive Jar		7
Simple Stamped		1

Table 18. Feature 43 Ceramics.

The bathtub shaped pit, of which this is only one of ____ found in the course of excavations, usually show the incised and check types. This type pit is not found on floors, being probably a form of pit used for outside storage when lined with clay, or perhaps for incidental use as clam bakes. This particular example was not a fire pit in the sense of an oyster roast pit as the charcoal was restricted to the area below the shell, while the shells were entirely unburnt. The

clay lining is absent, but traces of clay in the bottom suggest that it may once have had one. The clay is raw however, and thus got into the pit before its possible use as a fire basin, or again, the charcoal in the basal deposit may be part of wide spread burned material which occurs over this area, however, daub is absent.

Feature 44

This large tub shaped pit is located just beyond the eastern wall of Structure 3, slightly to the south. It occupies the same position with respect to the tail like appendage to the structure as does Feature 38 in respect to Structure 2. This pit was probably not a fire pit, and lacked the clay lining found in other pits of this general size shape, and with the sherd types below:

Feature 44	Type	Number
Altamaha Line Block Stamped	A	9
Altamaha Line Block Stamped	B	1
Darien Incised		1
Altamaha Incised		1
Beaker		1
Olive Jar		1

Table 19. Feature 44 Ceramics.

Other sherds occurred in the fill, but the eastern end of the feature had been disturbed in modern times, and none of the sherds from this part of the pit are included in the above counts. The beaker fragment is a tie in with pits Features 42, 43, 72, 76, and the base of 102. Others were found in general excavations in the area of this feature, and the Feature 42 series which lie a few feet to the west. Apparently they are from a single vessel, as the type occurs only in this locality on the site, although none of them fit together, and are similar in surface finish, a matte white glaze on the interior, with traces of blue on the exterior. The vessel probably had a handle as one sherd shows a patch which was for attaching the ends of the handle, which unfortunately we did not find.

The sherds from this pit are like those found in the other bathtub shaped pits, both lined and unlined. Check stamped and red filmed types were absent, but the incised type was present, thus the pit probably antedates the house whose floor deposit contained red and San Luis majolica, two fragments, and one piece of Fig Springs polychrome. Just north of this feature was a thin layer of shell with a concentration of a type which closely resembles Wilmington Fine Cord Marked, a thin sandy ware, with some particles of grit in the temper, the exterior surfaces black and the interior yellow-brown.

Feature 49

This was a small round fire pit similar to Feature 41 which is just a few feet to the north. The fill of burned shells and sand contained sherds, and lying near the top, crushed flat on its side was a medium sized jar, Altamaha Linear Stamped Type A, the rim folded and left plain. It is practically certain that this jar had been used on this hearth since the base was encrusted with nearly an inch of black gooey char. The other sherds included:

Feature 49	Type	Number	Notes
Belleville Plain		1	
Red Filmed	A	4	
Altamaha Line Block Stamped	A	10	From jar with reed punctated fold
Olive Jar		1	Green interior glazed
Simple Stamped?		1	Wilmington?

Table 20. Feature 49 Ceramics.

The red filmed type and the absence of Altamaha Linear Stamped Type B, suggests that this pit is temporally equivalent with Structure 3, but not necessarily related. However, since this is the only interior fire pit in a house of this type, it may well be that this feature and Feature 41 nearby served this function for the dwellers of Structure 3.

Feature 50

This was a clay lined pit, just east of Feature 43, and later found to be in line with Features 96 and 97, through which Structure 6 was excavated. This would suggest that these three pits do not belong to Structure 3 although they are lined up with the entrance as the three south of Structure 2 are running at right angles to the path of entrance. They are earlier than Structure 6, also a reinforced type wall trench, but this latter house is tiny, and may well have been built later than Structures 2 and 3 which are nearly twins, for a special purpose, housing a visiting relative for instance.

The fill of Feature 50 was void, the same type of light sand which fills all the round clay-lined pits that are not the victims of later construction activities, in which case the fill is that of the wall trench or pit. Feature 97 was also void, but three sherds, one of them a beautiful incised cazuela bowl were found in Feature 96, and another in Feature 93, which lay under the wall of the Room B of Structure 2. This again would suggest that these pits do not belong to Structure 3, but rather to Structures 1 or 5 whose southern walls run parallel and scarcely 10 feet away from the row.

Structure 4 and Features

This study unit consists of the wall trenches belonging to Structure 4, four large shell filled pits, (Features 80, 81, 82, 83) which lie just south of the southern wall trench, Features 45, 46, 47, and 48 on the floor of the structure, and at the northwest corner of the structure a series of features, Feature 42 series 1 through 11 (See Figure 10). The four shell filled pits lying south of Structure 4 are earlier than the structure whose south wall trench could be seen to cross through the top of pit Feature 80. The light tan sandy fill material of the trench was clearly contrasted with the very dark shelly fill of this and the other three pits.

The four pits are arranged in a sort of lopsided hollow square, with a slightly deeper level of sherd bearing and stained sand in the central area. We had hoped that this depressed area would prove to be a house floor, but not so much as a single post hole came to light, nor any wall trenches. The sherd material from the four pits is of particular interest as they produced the best assortment of material stratigraphically earlier than the non-modified type wall trench structures. Each pit was counted separately, having first removed the wall trench fill from the top of Feature 80. The four pits show much the same assortment, with the exception of a fragment of an iron blade and a piece of olive jar in Feature 81. There was no evidence that these were intrusive, and

it without hesitation that this assemblage, which is christened post Pine Harbor, is placed in Spanish contact times, just prior to Mission period I.

The four pits are arranged with number 80 on the north, lying under all of Structure 4, Feature 82 is on the west side of the central area which contains about 120 square feet. Feature 81 lies on the eastern side, and Feature 3, perhaps only an extension of Feature 81, which was very irregular in outline, lies on the south. There was a concentration of olive jar sherds, found in stacks of several sherds lying here and there in this central area. The absence of post holes or wall trenches suggestion that the concentration of olive jar here may be associated with some out of doors activity connected with Structure 4, but then again the olive jar sherd and iron fragment in Feature 81 were in good context. The concentration of olive jar sherds in the central area may be a result of some concentrated culinary use of the four pits in post Pine Harbor times. The fills were quite dark with charcoal and many of the shells were burnt. Pottery was fairly abundant and of above average sherd size.

The unusually high proportion of Pine Harbor Check Stamped, Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped, the low proportion of Guale Complicated stamped, Altamaha Complicated Stamped, Darien Incised, and the absence Guale Incised and the red filmed types indicate that the assemblages is earlier than Mission period I wall trench confirms. It is not possible to say a great deal on the absence of these four except to indicate the assemblage is earlier than Mission period I, is more closely related to Pine Harbor than Mission period I, and lastly that it is within the Spanish contact period, probably just Mission period I, about 1565-1595. The findings of the reconnaissance should produce other sites of this assemblage, and give a precontact to just-at contact pattern of settlements.

Feature 42, Parts 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10

This series of shallow pits, small depressions, and large postholes lies along the area where Structure 3, Mission period II, over Structure 4 and 5. The juncture is virtually a parallel meeting, and the two wall trenches of 4 and 5 are virtually inseparable. The large post holes, 42-7, 5, and 6 are associated with a fragmentary Mission period I type of wall trench, and can be taken to mark the path of the wall trench of Structures 4, 8, & 9 are the outside corner post of Structure 4, Structure 3 demolished all of Structure 4 but is this area these particularly deep postholes. The depressions nearby, Numbers 4-1-2 were filled with a light tan sand, devoid of shell, and showing the types, Darien, Timucua and Altamaha Plain, Altamaha Check Stamped, Guale Check Stamped, a few sherds of Altamaha Red Filmed were found in Number 11 at the extreme eastern end of the 42 series and probably derived from Structure 3 (Mission II). Number 4-1-2 and 11 are apparently not related to Structure 4, but to the juncture of Structure 3 and Structure 5, a thoroughly confused mixture of postholes and small pits, and probably floor deposits from both houses.

It seems probable that Sections 3 and 10 and parts of the floor deposit of Structure 4, Sections 5-9 are parts of the wall trench and related exterior posts of Structure 4, while Sections 1, 2, 4, and 11 are parts of Structure 3, or at least contaminated by the wall trench fill of that period. Number 42-3 is contemporary with Feature 44, bottom 102 and 76 all mission as each contains fragments of olive jar breaker. This beaker is an unusual artifact. The scattered location of its pieces is probably due to the construction of Structure 3 which cut through this Feature series.

Section	Location
1	Structure 3
2	Structure 3
3	Inside
4	Structure 3
5	Part of Wall
6	Part of Wall
7	Part of Wall
8	Part of Wall
9	Part of Wall
10	Inside
11	Structure 3

Table 21. Feature 42 Sections.

Feature 42 Section	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Totals
Altamaha Plain	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	3	1	0	9
Belleville Plain	0	2	0	0	0	1	4	0	1	1	0	9
Altamaha Line Block Stamped A	0	34	0	0	5	3	13	0	27	10	0	92
Altamaha Line Block Stamped B	0	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	11
Altamaha Check Stamped	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	4
Darien Incised	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	4
Red Filmed Type A	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	4	7
Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Olive Jar	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Totals	0	45	1	0	6	6	26	1	38	14	4	140

Table 22. Feature 42 Ceramics by Section.

Feature 45

This was a small round pit, 30 inches in diameter, and about 12 inches deep. Throughout the dark sand fill were deer and small mammal bones, a few shells, and dollops of raw clay. Sherds that were found included:

Feature 45		
Name	Type	Number
Altamaha Plain		2
Pine Harbor Check Stamped		3
Line Block Stamped		
Guale Complicated Stamped	A	14
Guale Complicated Stamped	B	2
Olive Jar		1
Roughened (Cob Marked)		1
Indeterminate		5

Table 23. Feature 45 Ceramics.

This was apparently a refuse pit, lying in the approximate center of the house floor. The sherd material is like that of Mission period I and probably a part of the floor deposit of House #4 proper. The Darien Incised type is not found in the fill.

Feature 46

This small pit, just 28 inches in diameter and very shallow appears to have fire basin on the floor of Structure 4. The fill of burned sand contained charred bones, shells, and three peach stones, with what may have been pecan shells. These last shattered while drying and were impossible to identify with any assurance. Sherds were rather scarce, six of Guale Complicated Stamped Type A, one small fragment of Guale Incised, and four of indeterminate decoration were the total recovered from the fill.

The base of the pit depression showed a layer of burned sand.

The peach stones are an interesting find. They are not considered to part of the native flora. This is the earliest example of Spanish additions to the food supply of this area. It is also our earliest indication of orchards to have been planted by the Spanish, since the peaches represented by these stones were not themselves imported from Europe.

Feature 47

This was a three level depression on the floor of Structure 4. The sherd fill is our best sample from a single pit context of the assemblage of Mission period I. This pit with its tan sand fill, a scattering of shells and shall fragments of bone appears to be part of the floor deposit of the house, as it lacks the heavy shell deposits found in other pits taken to be refuse pits proper.

Feature 47	Number	Notes
Altamaha Plain	2	
Guale Complicated Stamped A	7	Including whole vessel
Guale Complicated Stamped B	4	
Guale Incised	2	
Darien Incised	2	
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	1	

Table 24. Feature 47 Ceramics.

The whole vessel is a small jar, about 8 inches in diameter with a plain slightly flaring rim with no rim decoration at all. The restorable vessel is a unique example of a bell pot, with a variant incised rim, and the body stamped with a B type of the line block stamp.

Feature 48

This feature is a large pit about 40 inches in diameter, with irregular sides, and about six inches deep. There were very few sherds in the fill, some powdered charcoal and a few burnished shells. The pit lies near the north wall of Structure 4 and appears to be part of the floor deposit rather than a fire basin.

Feature 48		
Name	Number	Notes
Altamaha Plain	2	
Altamaha Red Filmed	1	
Guale Complicated Stamped	11	
Altamaha Check Stamped	5	
Indeterminate	8	Possibly Guale Complicated Stamped

Table 25. Feature 48 Ceramics.

Note – the red filmed sherd listed here may well be an excavation error as it is one of the few found with check stamped pottery pits which were contaminated by earlier wall trench fills. This pit lies near Structure 3, which dates to Mission period II.

Feature 80

This was a long irregular shaped pit, shallow, and filled almost entirely with clam shells. Sherds were infrequent, and concentrated at the bottom, where a trace of the wall trench of Structure 4 was seen as scattered large post holes in a slight depression in the pit floor itself representing the bottom of the wall trench.

Feature 80	Number	Notes
Altamaha Plain	4	
Pine Harbor Check Stamped	1	
Altamaha Check Stamped	1	
Altamaha Check	1	
Indistinct Stamped	5	Probably Pine Harbor and Guale Complicated Stamped

Table 26. Feature 80 Ceramics.

The poor representation of the Guale Complicated Stamped in this and the other three nearby is interesting, as this type is nearly half the contents of any other Mission period I pit. The Pine Harbor sherds from this and the other three pits are indistinguishable from those found at Shell Point, and other pure Pine Harbor sites. The lone sherd of Altamaha Complicated Stamped is a large heavy curvilinear motif, whose lands are wide and deeply stamped. The total effect is

reticent of the Savannah Complicated Stamped types, although the stamping mostly is unusual for period.

Feature 81

This feature was just south of Feature 80, and was not completely worked out as it ran outside the excavation limits, where there was, as always, a huge pile of dirt. The excavated portion curves into the bank in such a way to suggest that it may be a part of adjacent Feature 83, whose fill, depth and sherd types are identical with Feature 81.

Feature 81 is no deeper than Feature 80, and the fill consisted of oyster shells with a few clams and even a few snail shells. Pottery was abundant and scattered through the fill, with a single sherd of unglazed olive jar being found at the base of the pit.

Feature 81	Number	Notes
Altamaha Plain	2	
Altamaha Plain?	6	
Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped	5	
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	3	
Pine Harbor Check Stamped	7	
Guale Complicated Stamped	4	
Olive Jar	1	
Indeterminate	7	probably Guale Complicated Stamped

Table 27. Feature 81 Ceramics.

Here again the major portion of sherds is Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped and Pine Harbor Check Stamped. The grid ranges from very fine, almost miniature to the diamond shaped check closely associated with Savannah I and II. The Altamaha Complicated Stamped motifs are good examples of the earlier curvilinear types Savannah I and II. The rim shows the paddle marks, made with the side of the paddle, a common Savannah II trait.

Feature 82

This was a more regularly shaped pit than the two preciously discussed, deeper, and filled with a compact mixture of shell and charcoal. Sherds were scattered throughout the fill consisting mostly of check stamped types. This pit and the two just covered form a lopsided sort of hollow square, Feature 80 to the north of this, Feature 81 to the east, and Feature 83 to the south, which may be a continuation of Feature 81 rather than a separate pit.

No post holes presented themselves to our intensive search of the area enclosing Features 80, 81, 82, 83. It would appear that the area between these pits was lived on. The sherd refuse was thick and the midden stain somewhat deeper than usual for this part of the entire excavations. The general midden at this point shows a pronounced increase in the numbers of Pine Harbor, Altamaha Complicated Stamped sherds, and several stacks of olive jar were found well down in the virgin sand, but apparently not in refuse pits in the usual sense.

It is tempting to speculate on the possibility of an above ground structure such as a tent use on the spot, with these four pits sprayed around it, collecting the refuse from the daily clam bake. The temperless plain sherd in the pit is from a small vessel of an indeterminate shape.

Feature 82	Number	Notes
Darien Temperless	1	
Altamaha Plain	3	
Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped	1	
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	1	
Pine Harbor Check Stamped	9	
Guale Complicated Stamped	1	
Indeterminate	2	probably Guale Complicated Stamped

Table 28. Feature 82 Ceramics.

Feature 83

This feature was quite similar in shape and fill to Feature 81. We were able to excavate only a portion of it, are not sure whether it is a separate pit or simply a continuation of Feature 81, which enters the bank at the edge of the excavations a bare yard west of this feature. The fill of oyster shells incredibly big ones, clams and a few snails is identical with that of Feature 81. Sherds were fairly thick with a number of fragments of a single Pine Harbor vessel being encountered in one end of the pit.

Feature 83	Number	Notes
Darien Temperless	3	
Altamaha Plain	3	
Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped	11	
Altamaha Complicated Stamped	4	1 Greek Key
Altamaha Check Stamped	7	
Guale Complicated Stamped	1	
Indeterminate	10	probably Guale Complicated Stamped

Table 29. Feature 83 Ceramics.

This short fragment was numbered as a structure, although we failed to locate any additional portions of it in the area of Structure 3. The structure in this study unit, together with its associated pits lies in Trench 1. The eastern wall of this structure lies under the west wall of Structure 2, whose wall trenches are superimposed at two points. The fill of Structure 2's wall trenches was much darker than that of Structure 4, and before troweling commenced, the order of construction was quite clear. The northern wall of Structure 4 was all but destroyed by the superposition of Structure 3, which dark like Structure 2, could be seen to cross the wall trenches of Structure 4. Also in this area were fragments belonging to Structure 5, assigned to Mission period I on the basis of the sherd material in the undisturbed portion of the wall trench fill, and the unmodified type of the wall trench. Structure 5 is probably earlier than Structure 4. The confusion at the point of superposition led us to set the area aside. The special care in troweling resulted in a series of features numbered from 1 through 11 under main designation Feature 42. It was possible to assign the small fragments of wall trench, floor deposit and individual post holes subsumed under Feature 42 to the three structures here superimposed.

The wall trench of Structure 4 is fragmentary on three sides, and fairly complete only on the fourth, but is everywhere traceable. The eastern wall trench was only a few inches deep, that

of the southern wall about 10 inches deep where it crossed through Feature 77 (in Study Unit 2) a large pit. The small sapling molds were clearly to be seen in the floor of wall trench at this point. The overall outline is quite lopsided, a sort of square with deeply rounded corners. There is no opening in the trench to indicate a doorway, and no entry structure. There were only a few scattered postholes on the floor, none of which seemed likely candidates for roof supports. Such supports are a usual feature of large structures of wattle and daub construction as the resulting walls are much too flimsy to support any sort of roof. Perhaps this necessary function was by the groups of medium large posts clustered at the corners, outside the line of the wall trench. This would indicate a hipped roof, the four main timbers being overlaid with light saplings to which were tied bunches of palmetto thatch. Such palm thatched buildings are referred to for the Guale area both before and after the Juanillo Revolt of 1597.

The north wall measured approximately 17 feet 8 inches, the south about 16 feet 9 inches, and the east and west walls approximately 15 feet. The rounded corners and the irregular path of the wall trenches make it difficult to arrive at precise measurements. The entire structure is oriented about 15 feet east of true north, more or less in line with the adjacent bluff.

The wall trench fill was a medium to dark tan, with only a few sherds and no burned daub included. There were a few shells in the fill, but nowhere enough to suggest widespread shell midden from an earlier period. The few sherds from the portions of the east and south walls that were undisturbed were Guale Complicated Stamped 3, Guale Incised 1, Pine Harbor Check Stamped 4, Wilmington Simple Stamped 1 and 6 indeterminate, probably Guale Complicated Stamped as they were thick and heavily tempered with coarse grit. There was one tiny fragment of an unidentified majolica in the wall trench fill, and one sherd of olive jar.

Several sherds of Ichtucknee Blue on Blue and one Ichtucknee Blue on White were in the very thin and scattered floor deposit that could definitely be assigned to Structure 4. There were small shallow deposits of sherds, shells and a few tiny fragments of bone lying just inside the line of the wall trench itself. Features 45, 47, and 48 are also portions of the floor deposit. Pit 46 was apparently a fire basin, in use within Structure 4.

Conclusions on Structure 4

Structure 4 is seen to be earlier than Structure 2 and 3 which overlie and have partly destroyed the wall trench of Structure 4. Structure 4 is later than four shell filled pits lying to the south, one of which underlies the wall trench and Feature 77, which also underlies the wall trench, pits are within Spanish times as a scrap of an iron tool and a sherd of olive jar attest. These four pits together with three others in the control sample, and Feature 77 which underlies Structure 4 and Structure 2, and probably Feature 94, are classified as Post Pine Harbor. The concentration of refuse adjacent to the walls noted for the structures excavated in 1953.

Study Unit 4	Type	Feature 80 Pre Structure 4	Feature 81 Post Spanish	Feature 83	Feature 82	Wall Trench, Fill of Structure 4 (Pre-Structure 2)
Altamaha Plain		4	2	3	1	1
Belleville Plain		0	6	3	3	2
Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped		1	5	1	1	1
Altamaha Complicated Stamped		1	3	1	1	0
Altamaha Check Stamped	fine	1	1	8	8	0
Altamaha Check Stamped	medium	3	6	0	0	6
Altamaha Line Block Stamped	A	0	4	11	1	15
Olive Jar		0	1	0	0	0
Indeterminate		5	7	0	2	0
Altamaha Incised		0	0	0	0	3

Table 30. Study Unit 4 Ceramics.

Structure 5 and Features

(See Figures 11 and 37).

[*Editors: No draft description of this structure was apparently written. There are a few mentions of it in the descriptions of the other structures.]*

Structure 6 and Features

The structure in this unit is only 16 feet 9 inches long by nearly 8 feet wide, outside measurements (See Figures 12 and 30-32,37). It is oriented with the long axis nearly east-west, and lies just east of Structure 3. The structure seems too small for a residence, only a quarter the size of Structure 2 or 3. The general impression of a store house is heightened by the absence of the shared annex and the presence of several depressions filled with charred corn, the only such concentration on the site.

The wall trench was fairly deep with reinforcing posts of 5-8 inches diameter set closely in the trench. The southeastern corner was curiously crooked with the clusters of small poles and another of reinforcing posts. Again there was no indication of an entrance. There were a fair number of Darien Incised sherds from the floor. One prize find of Darien Incised came from the clay-lined Feature 96. Other fragments of this vessel turned up in Features 49 and 72 located between Structures 2 and 3. Feature 97 yielded only 1 sherd, about a quarter of a Darien Incised cazuela bowl. It is reddish orange in color, and has a well smoothed over stamp, completely unidentifiable on the basal portion.

Structure 6 is possibly a little later than Structures 2, 3, or 8. The two sherds of Guale Complicated Stamped with triangular punctated folded rims found in the wall trench fill are considered to be a local equivalent of San Marcos Complicated Stamped. This type is identified with the St. Augustine area and appears in relative abundance much later in the Timucua area.

Structure 6 Wall Trench		
Name	Type	Number
Altamaha Line Block Stamped	A	4
Altamaha Check Stamped		3
Altamaha Complicated Stamped		1
Darien Incised		1
Plain		2
Small reed punctated rim		2
Triangular tick on fold		2

Table 31. Structure 6 Wall Trench Ceramics.

Structure 7 and Features

Structure 7 is a lopsided affair, with one straight wall on the southern side, one curved wall on the eastern side, and a third side which loops around the northern and western sides of the rough semicircle (See Figure 13). Overall the length is about 20 feet and it is 16-18 feet east to west at the widest part. The trench was rather uneven, portions of the semicircular wall were respectably deep with the impressions at regular intervals of 6 to 8 inches, while the eastern wall was rather shallower, but showing the pole impressions at scattered intervals. The southern wall was shallowest of all, and pole impressions were few. There were four large post holes in the base of the trench. Feature 60 was cut by the walls of Structure 7, which also enclosed five clay-lined pits, Features 96, 97B and 58 all in a line, with 57 and 56 being near the eastern wall, Feature 55 just outside the walls is directly opposite Feature 56. It is hard to say whether or not these features are contemporary with the structure, however. The sand fills were uniformly void, or at best showing only a few eroded sherds. Features 96 and 97B and probably Features 58 are earlier than Structure 6 as the wall trenches of that structure cut through both the first mentioned features. There was little in the way of refuse on the floor of the structure, most of the area being disturbed with deep trenches dating from a steam pipe system of one of the last mills to be built on the site. This structure lies at the edge of the high ground as it slopes off to the marsh at the eastern end of the bluff. A few scattered traces of wall trench appeared east of the pit but were too faint and shallow to be traced. Necessarily this structure must have been at the edge of the village of unmodified wall trench houses, and in view of its irregular shape it is easy to visualize it as a sort of enclosure designed for an unknown purpose. A later Structure 6 which is superimposed over this structure is equally aberrant, but in this case it is a matter of size not design.

Structure 8 and Features

This unit consists of only three items, the wall trench fill, and the floor deposits of Structure 8, and the large round pit just to the north of the house, Feature 109 (See Figure 14). It was hoped that the wall trench fill of this structure would serve as a check against that of Structure 2 as this pattern was not superimposed on any earlier features.

The floor deposit appeared as a tan stain occupying most of the interior space which when troweled out was seldom more than 6 inches in thickness. The sand was free of shell, and sherds were rather small.

The structure measured 12 feet 7 inches wide by 18 feet 10 inches, oriented with the long axis north-northeast by south-southeast, about 8 degrees out of true north-south. The L-shaped annex was 3 feet 4 inches by 3 feet 9 inches, opening to north is located on the western wall. A single oversized and very deeply set post is centered in the north and south walls. These appear to be supports for a ridge pole type roof. In this case the L-shaped annex would be on an eave side, and was probably roofed over. There is no evidence of a fire basin adjacent to this annex as in Structure 2, and as in the case of Structure 3 there is no evidence of a door, but it was presumably on the eastern side.

These floor deposits yielded a fair number of sherds, including Altamaha Check Stamped, Darien Incised, and Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped. These are probably part of the midden associated with the concentration of post Pine Harbor pits in this area of the site. There was no olive jar and no majolica. The sherds from wall trench fill included the Post Pine Harbor and one sherd each of the two red filmed types, also found in the wall trenches of Structures 2 and 3 indicates that these types came into use in Mission period I.

Structure 8 Wall Trench		
Name	Type	Number
Altamaha Plain		2
Belleville Plain	A	3
Red Filmed	B	1
Red Filmed	A	1
Altamaha Line Block Stamped	A	11
Altamaha Line Block Stamped	B	19
Altamaha Check Stamped		6
Darien Incised		1
Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped		1

Table 32. Structure 8 Wall Trench Ceramics.

Structure 8 Floor		
Name	Type	Number
Altamaha Plain		1
Belleville Plain	A	3
Red Filmed	A	1
Altamaha Line Block Stamped	A	19
Altamaha Line Block Stamped	B	2
Altamaha Check Stamped		3
Darien Incised		1
Altamaha Incised		1
Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped		7
Combed		1

Table 33. Structure 8 Floor Ceramics.

Feature 109

This feature, a large and round pit filled with dark sand, shells, bones, and some daub, was found to contain check stamped and incised ceramic types associated with features earlier than Structure 4. It is quite like Features 80, 81, 82, and 83 in size, shape, and fill material. The types represented are especially close in the large proportions of Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped and Darien Incised. This feature together with Feature 105 just east of Structure 2 and six other from the control sample are considered to be from the pre-Mission period I tentatively labeled Post Pine Harbor.

Feature 109		
Name	Type	Number
Belleville Plain		5
Altamaha Line Block Stamped	A	18
Altamaha Line Block Stamped	B	7
Altamaha Check Stamped		5
Darien Incised		6
Altamaha Incised		6
Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped		7

Table 34. Feature 109 Ceramics.

In summary Structure 8 adds only a little to the picture provided by Structures 2 and 3. The north-south orientation of the long axis is unique in the Mission period II series. As in the case of Structure 2, the L-shaped annex is on the long axis. The doorway was probably in the western wall as there is an extra post set in the wall. The presence of a 6 inch floor deposit without any evidence of a fire basin makes it quite clear that this household at least did not cook in doors. On the other hand, we didn't locate an outdoors fire basin anywhere close at hand. The curious clay lined pits are absent from the immediate vicinity. A large concentration, 40 or more, lying just to the west, all filled with water-laid sand, are shown as a part of the village arrangement in Mission period I.

Structure 9 and Features

Lying just at the excavation limits, under the usual huge pile of dirt we located a tangle of corners of wall trench structures to the west of the church, of both the normal type and the modified type. It was possible to indicate in a general way which trenches were of that period, and to note that they lay at about the same distance from the western enclosure wall of Structure 13 as do Structures 1, 4, 5, and 7 from the eastern wall of the same structure. This large complex structure is assigned to Mission period II. During the earlier period this area was apparently on an open plaza. Lying about halfway from the western edge of Structure 4 and the open area there were a number of densely packed single posts, whose fill materials indicated that they were of Mission times, probably Mission period I, as the red filmed types were not found. Some of the postholes lay within the floor area of the "lean to" rooms sharing a common wall on wall with the enclosure of Structure 13. It was not possible to sort them out into patterns except along the edges they appeared to be widely set, about 3 to 4 feet apart, and of about the same size, 6 to 8

inches in diameter. It is possible that this concentration of postholes represent the erection of a series open shed-like buildings along the eastern boundary of the open area. There was no trace of such a concentration of postholes along the same area to the west. On the south the bluff has evidently retreated at least 25 feet from is extent in Mission period II. If there had been related similar structures in that area they are lost. On the northern end, in an area unexcavated during the two season's work there is a possibility that the same sort of post holes, and just beyond them villages houses of either or both Mission period I and II times may be located by future work.

Structure 10 and Features

This structure is a small house of single post construction lying at the western end of the western wall of Structure 14 (See Figure 16). The floor area was not very productive of sherds, but two pits lying within the walls yielded sherds of the post Pine Harbor assemblage. This structure is earlier than Structure 14B suggests. While it is conceivable that it may belong to the Mission period I, the sherd content of Features 12 and 13, and Feature 11, just beyond the southeastern wall, point to a still earlier date.

The structure in this pit is Structure 10, a small squarish house built of small single posts, the only one of its type on the site. The sherds from the post holes were uniformly small, but interestingly enough none of them were red filmed, and quite a few were a fine line complicated stamped, perhaps Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped. While still others were check stamped. Fragments of a small cazuela bowl were found in one of the larger posts with a rather fine and scratchy incised decoration on the shoulder over a sloppily applied check stamped base. There was no floor deposit other than a small feature, Feature13, filled with ashes and some charcoal, and Feature 10 near if not in the northwestern wall line. Feature 12, also dug through the floor, is a Mission period I pit, and probably post-dates the house, since: 1. interior refuse pits in the true sense are absent in the Mission period I, and 2: the construction is not typical, indeed unique for the Mission period I, but not for the preceding Pine Harbor period. Feature 10 in the northwestern wall of Structure 11 just beyond the southwestern wall may well belong to the house.

The structure lies diagonally across the palisade of Structure14. An extended entrance opens from the northwestern end, a distance of at least 3 feet, but not more than 4.5 feet. The posts are small, seldom over .5 feet in diameter, and spaced at intervals of 1 foot. There were a few small posts on the floor area, and several scattered outside the apparent wall lines. The entire structure is nearly square, 7 feet on a side, not counting the extended entrance. Since this is the sole example of this type of construction found on the site it is hardly wise to do more than suggest that it may belong to the post Pine Harbor period, or perhaps the still earlier Savannah I period, with which materials it is associated.

In summary then it would seem that this unit presents a picture of the house type in use during the period before Altamaha times. Here the fire pit is inside the house, we have our one and only pipe, a clay elbow pipe reminiscent of Savannah period pipes. The pottery is not quite that of shell filled pits found under Structure 4, but is certainly not that of either of the two mission periods.

Feature 10

This feature lies right in the edge of the wall of Structure 10, and toward the inside. Charred wood was found lining the bottoms and sides of the feature, a shallow depression, about 6 inches deep, roughly oval in shape, about 2 by 3 feet. The contents at the time they were

excavated seem rather unusual, and in the light of the second season's work of particular interest. The pit itself appears to be a part of the floor deposit of the house, the charcoal derived from interior fires, but built in some other part of the room, probably pit Feature 13, which contained only ashes and charcoal, while the artifacts are those in use by the occupants of the house.

Feature 10		Notes
Name	Number	
Altamaha Check Stamped	7	2 plain straight rims
Roughened	2	Basal sherds from above
Indistinct	1	
Pottery elbow pipe	1	Like one from Irene

Table 35. Feature 10 Ceramics.

Feature 11

This feature is in many ways like Feature 10, which lies on the floor of Structure 10 about 8 feet distant. The fill of charcoal and a few sherds was shallow, only 6 inches deep, containing no shells, and very few bones, these charred also.

Feature 11	
Name	Number
Altamaha Check Stamped	5
Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped	1
Darien Incised?	1
Indistinct	2

Table 36. Feature 11 Ceramics.

The sherd assemblage here is very small, but suggests that this feature and Feature 10 inside the structure are contemporary with the deposits located under Structure 4 and of pre-Altamaha date.

Structure 11 and Features

This was a fragment of modified type wall trench comprising a corner, about 50 degree turn, the northern wall, just 2 feet south of Structure 14A and parallel, was 6 feet long, disappearing into the sand as the trench grew progressively shallower, the west wall, about 5.5 feet long (See Figure 16). The depth was seldom over .4 feet, and as the structure lay on the very edge of the bluff, was probably destroyed by the washing away of the bluff. There was no floor fill, and only a few sherds in the wall trench fill, one of them Darien Red Filmed. The obvious relationship with adjacent Structure 14 suggests that the unit was part of whatever mysterious purpose server by Structure14 suggests that the unit was part of whatever mysterious purpose served by Structure 14, both later periods of the church. A pair of large square post holes lies inside the corner of this unit, thus it has no relationship with the church complex.

Feature 12

This rather large pit was irregular in outline, about 2.5 by 3 feet across the opening, and nearly 2 feet deep. The fill was rich in bones and charcoal, but lacked shell. The sherds, counts

given below, type the pit as belonging to the Mission period I. If the pit belongs to the house we have then a case where an older in this area at last method of construction with a true interior refuse pit is presented. It seems more reasonable to suppose that the pit is later than the house, that the house is the type in use before the Mission period I. The sherds from a pit which lies right in the edge of the structure seem more likely to belong to the house as the sherds types are more like few those found in the postholes, and quite different from the assemblage found here.

Feature 12	Number	Notes
Altamaha Line Block Stamped	31	1 reed punctated rim
Altamaha Check Stamped	2	
Plain	1	
Darien Incised?	1	
Olive Jar	1	
Indeterminate	10	

Table 37. Feature 12 Ceramics.

Structures 12 and 13 Introduction

This complex of buildings and fragments lies in the center of Trench A, the village with domestic houses of both types of aboriginal construction lying to the east and west, and probably to the north as well, although we were able to do no more than test this crucial area (See Figures 17 and 18). The area to the south is a marsh that has replaced the channel of the northern mouth of the Altamaha River.

The first indications of this building, three large square holes, appeared early in the testing operation in the spring of 1952. By definition these were post holes, and by content they were Spanish-Indian. It was with eager interest that I searched out more and more of the large square holes until I had the outlines of a small rectangular building, Structure 13A, about 10 by 35 feet, a long wall, Structure 13C, 130 feet long running north and south, and two structures sharing this wall.

At the end of the 1953 season the complex included the segments of the northern and western walls. The entire southern wall is missing, and there is no trace of the southern end of the western wall. Any enclosure wall or other structures lying south of Structure 13F would have been washed away years ago by the scouring action of the Darien River. This action has ceased and Picot Cut blew out in a storm and stalled(?) the flow of this mouth of the Altamaha. Prior to that time it had afforded anchorage for transatlantic vessels. Some indication of the area lost to the river is given by Structure 11. This fragment of modified wall trench is Mission period II date or perhaps post Mission period II. Assuming it to have been as wide and as long as Structures 2 or 3, a minimum 25 feet of bluff has been destroyed at this point since 1600. The absence of post holes in the southern portion of the western wall is explained by the conditions of preservation. These are in an area which has been a pasture in recent time. Several varieties of the weeds that are now growing there have disturbed the soil with root trails. The delicate pale grey mottled with gold(?) of the large square post holes could be distinguished among the many root trails even at a depth of 3 feet.

The enclosure wall on the north is 130 feet long. The eastern wall fragment Structure 13C is 174 feet long and at was at least 25 feet longer. The western wall fragment was traced for a distance of 87 feet. The post holes are placed from 9 to 14 feet apart. There is a break in

Structure 13C which may represent a gateway. Just west of this break is a scattering of post holes—Structure 13D. This may be a fragment of a separate structure, or possibly a portion of a sort of gate house. Lying to the east of the enclosure wall is Structure 13E, 28(?) feet wide and 23 feet long.

Structure 13F is a doubling of the enclosure wall Structure 13C to form a long corridor, 63 feet long and only 10 feet wide. It may have followed Structure 13C all the way to the southern wall. It is tempting to consider this as a sort of covered access leading up from the vanished entrance on the southern wall, which overlooked the river. Apparently this complex was of post barn construction. There were a few nails recovered from the post holes of Structure 13A and the wall trench of Structure 13B. Many post holes in the complex have a step down or sloping, as though the heavy posts had been reared with the aid of a shears(?). In a few of the post holes an imprint 7 inches by 14 inches suggests the size of these posts. The description of materials needed to reconstruct the church of San Pedro in 1600 indicates that sawed planks were attached to these uprights with nails. The pitched roof was probably palm thatched. There was no floor except sand. Interestingly enough, the northern wall of Structure 13B shows a pair of heavy posts, as in the case of Structures 2, 3, and 8. It too apparently had a pitched roof. The ends of the eastern wall trench could be seen to intrude into the fill(?) of the northeastern corner post hole of Structure 13A. Thus Structure 13B post-dates Structure 13A.

There were nails, a modest quantity of majolica, mostly San Luis Polychrome and several fragments of olive jar in the wall trench fill. The trench was deep and the large reinforcing posts were closely spaced. The posts of the central unit Structure 13A are centered 8 feet apart, those of the internal building sharing the eastern enclosure wall 11 feet from center to center while those of the wall are from 11 to 14 feet from center. The external building that shares the eastern enclosure wall, Structure 13E is irregular in outline, the posts varying from 5 to 9 feet from center to center. It is apparent that the central unit, Structure 13A, probably the original chapel itself, and Structure 13B, a later addition, were as strongly built as possible.

The lack of proper respect for the church in the matter of cleanliness is remarked by visiting dignitaries to Guale. This is borne out in the quantities of sherds that were recovered from the floor area of the central unit. A concentration of sherds here, and along the inside lines of the enclosure walls, was remarked long before the said walls became apparent. It would appear that the church yard was swept, and the litter piled up along the walls of the church and the enclosing wall. Still more material was buried in the sand by passing feet, olive jar and red filmed fragments being much more common inside the church walls than elsewhere on the excavated area. We found only two beads, neither of them likely candidates for the rosary, and one rolled copper head, in the fill of

There was a fairly deep deposit of sherds lying on the floor area enclosed by the walls of a small building, Structure 13A and its annex Structure 13B, but conspicuously little in the area east, south, and north of this central unit. The area immediately along the line of enclosure posts, a wall fragment 130 feet long, showed a heavy concentration of majolica, mostly San Luis Polychrome, and Olive jar sherds. A similar concentration had been noted in Test Trench 3. It seems reasonable to suppose that this concentration is of the same nature as that noted in conjunction with the clearly defined eastern wall, Structure 13C.

Very few refuse pits were located within this area. The few located were of all three periods, Post Pine Harbor, Mission period I, and Mission period II.

Those of the Mission period II, the latest division of the Spanish continuum, are shallow accumulations of refuse rather than true pits. Only three clay lined pits of uncertain date were

found. This would support the tentative conclusion that this unique variety of pit is associated in some way with domestic structures and the ordinary processes of Indian village life.

This complex of walls and structures occupies the heart of the excavated area. It has been badly disturbed by modern construction, two farm roads, many posts belonging to a twentieth century lumber shed, and the tabby foundation blocks of a nineteenth century frame structure. It was also in this immediate area that we located the majority of the military burials associated with nearby Fort King George. The excavation of this area was accomplished with hand tools, and many delicate troweling operations. Some definite stratigraphic relationships appeared which made it possible to sort out this welter of remains into four distinct groups.

On the northeastern corner of the Structure 13, a large block of tabby had been poured in a shallow trench, the fill of which yielded burned sand and shells, and many fragments of blue shell edged china. Lying under the block were three burials of the group of 103 military burials dating from Fort King George, 1721 through 1726. The tabby was resting on the head, chest, and lower abdomen respectively of Burials 33, 34, and 35. Burials 34 and 35 had disturbed the wall trench of Structure 13B, which in turn was a later addition to the square post unit, Structure 13A. Thus the tabby blocks, foundations for a frame house, postdated the Fort, which in turn postdated the wall trench section Structure 13B which postdates the square Structure 13A. Additional proof was found when Burial 8 was found to have been placed so that the skull drifted to the base of posthole PB13 in the eastern enclosure wall. The grave fill was much darker than the fill of the post hole which continued downwards some 18 inches below the bottom of the grave- pit. Burials 45 and 49 lay across post hole PQ13 in such a way that the long bones of both could be seen to cross the edges of the post hole. A profile of this post hole revealed the lighter fill of the post holes descending an additional 18 inches to 2 feet below the base of the grave. The occupant of burial 48 was separated by inches from post holed PC13. The corner of the burial pit crossed corner of the posthole. Thus we had proof that the enclosure wall, Structure 13C, the structure sharing a common wall to the east, Structure13E, and the wall trench unit Structure 13B, which postdates Structure 13A, were all built prior to 1726.

The earliest of these remains [illegible] the central unit and enclosing wall and other structures numbered as Study Unit 13, the second oldest a series of military burials dating for the period of Fort King George 1721-1726. A third group consisted of the tabby blocks dated by C. M. Warthen to about 1840 and the fourth the only partially rotted remains of a lumber shed dated about 1920.

This evidence taken alone would not suffice to identify Structure 13 as Spanish in origin. It certainly was not aboriginal. Structure 13B is identical in methods of construction to Structures 2, 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 15, and portions of Structure 9. Structure 13B is clearly a later addition to Structure 13A.

The European character of the building complex except for Structure 13B is evident when one compares the central unit, Structure 13A and the enclosure walls with the nearby purely aboriginal structures of the same ceramic period. It is with assurance this this complex of buildings is classified as a Spanish mission.

The records of Fort King George, which are fairly complete as regard the number and locations of buildings appertaining to the fort, makes no mention of any structure placed on the adjacent high ground, and only passing mention of the cemetery as being placed in the general area. Fort King George is the first English establishment in the area, hence an earlier structure is not of English origin.

Further evidence lies in the sherd material recovered from troweling out the post holes. There were several sherds of majolica, some of olive jar, and many sherds of the types associated with the

Mission period II houses in the village area just 150 feet to the east, but not a single pit of eighteenth or nineteenth century glass or china so abundant in the upper levels of the site.

There is very little direct evidence from the documents as to the design or construction of the seventeenth century missions scattered throughout the Guale area. The excavation of San Luis in Florida revealed a wattle and daub structure with interior partitions, which has been identified as a doctrina, a minor post in the mission hierarchy, San Francisco de Oconee (See Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood*). The extensive work of Royce in the Yucatan gives a picture of a somewhat later and more permanent version of the Franciscan mission architecture, as does the work of Brewer at Pecos. Although there probably exist various bureaucratic directives on mission architecture for the time and area which concern us here they have not yet come to light. Structure 13 could hardly be called typical Ramada type structure. It should be remembered that the colonial officials never envisioned these rude wooden structures as the final effort at ecclesiastical building in the area.

Construction finds and many of the supplies needed for more impressive and more permanent structures was not forthcoming from the overlords in Cuba and New Spain even for the presidio and seat of government at St. Augustine in 1670. Thus it was with native carpenters and inadequate tools that the outlying missions and visitas were built.

At the time of the appearance of the Spanish, the native construction technique consisted of the wall trench type of wattle and daub. The materials involved were pine trees, seldom over 14 inches in diameter, small saplings and vines, plentiful in the tropical type forest which covered the area, plastered with prepared clay daubing. These structures of Mission period I type would have had a short life expectancy, about 20 years being the estimate of English observers of the same type of construction in other areas. The improved variety associated with Mission period II and had a longer useful lifespan. At any rate, there were very few traces of buildings reported by Barnwell when he visited the site in 1720. Of course he may well have found it politically appropriate to have omitted any observations indicating recent Spanish occupation.

Moore is apparently wrong in his claims to have fired the entire Guale mission chain, as the evidence of fire was unmistakable. Burned daub fired into briquettes, and charred logs would have better withstood the ravages of time than the raw wood and clay which melted and rotted away. The pattern of military burials suggests that they were arranged so as to avoid excavating the grave pits through the moldering heaps of wood, trash(?), and clay which were where the Mission period II village and church had all but rotted away.

The description of the visits to Guale of Governors Ibarra and Canzo, and that of the visit of Bishop Altimirano in the early 1600s all indicate that a small residence was maintained at the visitas for the use of the priest. Perhaps this function was served by Structure 12, lying between the northern wall of Structure 13B and the northern enclosure wall. This little structure, only 10 feet 6 inches by 15 feet 4 inches was oriented with the long axis 25 degrees west of true north-south. A curving “pigtail” extension of the eastern wall encloses as area roughly 3 feet 9 inches square. The wall trench was deeply cut, with large posts in each corner and evenly distributed along the walls. There was a clear indication of a doorway in the southern end wall, unique among the mission period structures. The dimensions of this structure could be determined with fair accuracy due to the presence of corner posts. These are perhaps a bit odd by present standards, but do not seem to be seem to be multiples of the Spanish measurements then in use--the pie = 11.13 inches; the vara = 33.38 inches; or the estada = 66.66 inches. For the units of Structure 13, the problem is even more complex. It is not possible to tell in all post holes just where the posts stood, and furthermore the northwestern corner of Structure 13A and the northeastern corner of Square 13B are obscured. Making and estimate, Structure 13A measures,

outside the wall, 18 feet by 33 feet 3 inches. Structure 13B has an outside measurement of 21 feet, 6 inches by 34 feet, 11 inches. Again, these are a bit odd, but do not work out as multiples of the pie or the vara.

The entire complex of structures has in the center of what had been an open plaza in Mission period I. This is particularly interesting since the Mission period I village was in an advanced state of decay when the domestic structures of Mission period II were erected near them. The complex occupies the center of both village areas, overlooking the river. It seems likely that the same group of Gualeans occupied both villages. It seems certain that this sturdy wooden structure, built on a European plan and scale with European techniques, tools, and hardware represents a Spanish church of Mission period II.

There is no reason to believe that this structure is in any way typical of the Guale mission structures, save in being wooden. It will be interesting to see what develops when other mission sites have been excavated. The present specimen belongs to the Mission period II, which has been tentatively dated as 1600 to 1686. Thus we have a specimen from the time when Guale was most peaceful and productive, from the Spanish point of view at least. Just how peaceful could be determined perhaps from an excavation in the cemetery of the village, but this was never located except for general indications by elimination. It appears that it lies to the north.

Structures 13A, 13B, 13C, 13D, 13E, and 13F and Features

This compound structure was located during the test excavation made in the early spring of 1952 (See Figure 18). On the strength of the European nature of this building and its pre-English date, the Georgia Historical Commission became interested, and financed 11.5 months of excavation. During this time we produced the evidence necessary to present this structure as the first Spanish mission chapel to be located and excavated in Georgia.

The original portion of building proper and its wall, with two additional rooms sharing a common wall, were built of large square posts set well into the ground. This type of construction is frequent in colonial times but in this case, the contents of the huge square holes that were dug to erect these posts show their colonial or modern materials. It would have been impossible for these holes to have been dug after colonial times or during the occupation of the site by numerous mills without some of the nails, china and scrap brick which abound in the top six inches of black sand, appearing in the fill. Heavier Spanish material were found in many of the holes, olive jar and a few fragments of majolica, of the types Fig Springs Polychrome and Columbia plain, and these two types are fairly early in the sequence of type to be found on the mainland Spanish sites. The bulk of the post hole collections are Indian manufacture, with some sherds of incised and check stamped that mark the Altamaha series in mission times.

The posts of Structure 13A were spaced regularly 8 feet apart from center to center, each being approximately 2 feet wide by 2.5 feet long, and about 2 feet deep at the deepest part. Several of the posts show a step down arrangement, see drawing 1, which is probably indicative of the method of erecting the posts. These must have been large and heavy timbers, as were remarked on by the Bishop Calderon on the occasion of his visit to Guale in the early 1600s. If the posts had been raised with the aid of shears, the step down arrangement would have made it possible to ease the large timber into a post hole, allowing for the horizontal distance that it would slide in its downward course. This system is frequently used today to erect telephone poles.

The two structures that share a common wall with the enclosing wall were also made of the large posts. The holes are approximately the same size, although this is no guarantee that the

actual posts were as large, but are more widely spaced, being about 11 feet from center to center along the double portion of the wall, and nearly 14 feet apart along the upper northern portion, which is single. This double portion may have been an L-shaped open walkway, a cloister of sorts, or may have been roofed and enclosed as a narrow L-shaped room. It is the only portion of the wall that we found to be double. Immediately across from Structure 13A the wall is triple, representing a joined structure, Structure 13E. This may be an addition to the complex somewhat later than the original construction of Structure 13A as the corner post contained a sherd of majolica, San Luis Blue on White, the last addition to the Spanish artifact group found at this site.

Several barrels full of transfer printed china, glass, and clay church warden pipes were found in the midden overlying Structures 13A and 13B. Some of the china was found in long ditches in which the foundations were poured, giving them an impregnable date in colonial times on the coast. The entire assortment of china ware sherds are treated by Malcolm Watkins in a separate paper (Watkins 1969).

Structure 13B – a U shaped fragment of wall trench is one of the most unusual features of the Structure 13 complex. The trench before it was troweled out would be observed to cross the edge of the corner post hole of the original structure, Structure13A (illegible margin note). Additional evidence pointing to its later construction is the presence of two sherds of San Luis Polychrome in the wall trench fill. The wall T-portion was exactly the same size as the original structure, giving the whole unit a somewhat ungainly appearance, was preserved as we could see both the heavy posts about five feet apart, and the small wattle holes closely spaced between them. An error on the builder's part was corrected, leaving a second trench which shows no posts in the bottom. The whole unit was still slightly out of square. It is curious that the builders should have used this inferior type of construction on the church and have done such an unworkmanlike job of it. Most of the reinforced wall trench type houses in the village are much neater and nearly true rectangles, although they lack the sharply squared corners that distinguish this example of late wall trench construction.

Dug through the northeastern corner, this addition to Structure 13A was where we found our first and best proof of the Spanish contemporaneity of the whole complex. Three English military burials belonging to Fort King George were here. The excavation of these graves has partially destroyed the corner. Feature 13B, overlying the graves is a large L-shaped block of tabby, the final nail in the coffin of tabby mission theory. This tabby block and others placed in a rectangle overlying Structure 13A and Structure 13B were used as supports for a frame structure dating sometime in the nineteenth century, certainly no earlier than the latter part of the eighteenth.

The two structures, Structure 13E and the cloister like double wall are a part of a long series of square posts, which lie east of Structures 13A and 13B and run directly away from the bluff in a northerly direction. Only fragments of a parallel wall were found to the west and only one at right angles to these two lines on the north side of the church complex. The southern or bluff side wall has long since washed into the river. The fragmentary portion of reinforced types wall trench house near the east end of the palisade, Structure 14A gives us an approximate idea of the amount of the bluff that had collapsed into the river, at least 15feet before it changed its course in fairly recent times. The series found intact and without interruption, plus the few scattered posts found to the west of the church are here presented as the enclosing wall of the complex of Structures 13A, 13B, and Structure 12 which are within its limits. The few

descriptions of mission architecture that are available for the southeast describe this general type of building arrangement.

The ceramic material from these posts is the same as that from the posts of Structure 13A, with two fragments of majolica being in the group, one Fig Springs Polychrome, and one Columbia Plain, both early types. Three of these post holes have been partially destroyed by the intrusion of English graves from the period of Fort King George. Each merits a separate discussion, as they place this portion of the church complex as pre-1720, preferring additional proof of the Spanish origin for the entire structure.

Burial 18 was intruded into post hole PB in such a way that the crania, found intact and the neck vertebrae were found in the lower northeastern corner of the post hole fill. This fill is still appreciably softer than the surrounding ground, and was looser still when the grave pit was dug somewhere between 1720 and 1726. It is not likely that the hole antedates the skull as we are then led to believe that the digger of this hole found the skull while clearing out the hole, that he then replaced the skull in the corner of the posts, having not broken it in the process, and scattered the vertebrae in with replaced fill, then placing a post in the hole, all without damaging the skull, or disarranging the other bones of the interment. The feet and the ankle portions of a second burial, Feature 20 (See Figure 27), are to be seen intruding into one of the post holes. The grave fill is darker than the post hole fill, and the line of intrusion showed clearly at the time the post hole was excavated. A third burial, was laid over PQ in such a way that the grave pit crosses over the post hole, and being not nearly so deep the post hole fill goes on down for another 12 inches below the grave. The skeleton is arranged in the grave in such a way that the long bones are laid neatly over the opening of the post hole. From the hole we reclaimed one fragment of San Luis Polychrome.

These three cases of superposition of burials dating from 1721 at the earliest along with the three that were intruded into the line of the wall trench addition to Structure13A indicates clearly that all parts of the structure series 13 are pre-fort, therefore pre-English. The European character of this building is evident when it is compared with the contemporary Indian methods of constructions evidenced in Structure 13B and domestic dwellings of the new(?) wall trench construction found in a village area 150 east of Structure 13C. Thus we have a European type building in pre-English times.

It seems safe to say that this European type building, imposing in size and complex in its arrangement of rooms and walls, is a walled Spanish period building, of massive frame construction, set aside from the rest of the village for a special purpose. The supposition that it is the church is still further strengthened by the statement of the Bishop Calderon that the Indians were good carpenters, having built a sound church of squared timbers – this in reference to Santo Domingo de Talaxe.

Structure 14 and Features

This structure was built of the modified type of wall trench, consisting of three parts, two sections of straight wall, each lacking but a few tenths of a foot of being 31 feet long, A the eastern wall, B the western wall, lined up with the compass running nearly true east and west (See Figure 16). In the center of the wall a diamond shaped structure was inset into the wall. Close inspection reveals that the three sections were built simultaneously, there being no trace of the long wall through the floor of the third section, C. One post hole was found on the floor of C but this was well out of line with sections A and B. A thick dark brown floor fill yielded many

sherds of olive jar, and several fragments of majolica, mostly of the type Fig Springs Polychrome.

The fill of the wall trench of C yielded a small fragment of iron, possibly a knife blade, several nails, and two pieces of Fig Springs Polychrome majolica and one piece of Columbia Plain. There were a number of Indian sherds on the floor, which was not recognized as a floor until the entire layer had been cleared and the wall trench C appeared brown against the virgin yellow below. The concentration of Spanish materials was noted however as continuing past the boundaries of section C of Structure14 to the east and south. Here, crossing the line of Structure 14A were paired square post holes, parts of Structures 13C and 13F the eastern enclosure wall of the chapel. The concentration of Spanish and Indian wares ended abruptly east of this line of squared postholes, as was the case long the entire length of Structure 13C. It is interesting to note that the majolica recovered from the midden beyond the tower was mostly of the type San Luis Polychrome, with a few sherds of Columbia plain and only one additional sherd of Fig Springs Polychrome. This slight indication, added to the obvious lack of direct relationship between Structures 14A, 14B, and 14C and any of the nearby parts of the Structure13 building complex may be taken as an indication that Structure 14, whatever it may have been, antedated the church structure. The same may be said of fragment Structure 11 which lay just south of Structure 14A, parallel about two feet removed. Structures 11 and 14 are more than likely related, as the corner of Structure11, about a 50 degree angle is unusual, and the two are both out of line with the entire Structure 13.

We had thought that this wall trench structure may have been a temporary front, that is, a southern enclosure wall for Structure 13, the paired posts being seen to cross the line of Structure 14A, however, we were unable to locate more than 31.9 feet of Structure 14B, which lacked some 45 feet of closing the gap along the southern edge. It now seems likely that this structure antedated the church building, and that again the southern wall has washed into the river. The area to the west of the church was badly disturbed by recent plowing, and we were able to find only a few post holes of the western wall, and although the bluff is not so deeply indented on the southwestern corner of the church enclosure as on the southeastern, we were unable to find a trace of the missing southern wall at this point.

The entire Structure 14 is referred to as the tower (14C) and palisade (14A and 14B), more as a matter of its resemblance to the structure found at 9CK85F in the Allatoona Basin (Caldwell n.d.) than any other evidence that this site or any part of it had been fortified. The diamond shaped room, roughly 6 feet square inside, is very like the towers found along the curtain at that site, and is of wall trench construction. The additional posts set into the line of the wall trenches of all sections suggests that the entire structure was built before the church, but in the Mission period II time range when the modified type construction came into use.

Structure 15 and Features

Structure 15, found by Caldwell in 1940 was completely burned, the wall having fallen in such a way that covered the series of clay lined pits, located bear but generally outside houses of both types. Under the daub, and under the scattered timbers were a number of sherds of Talaxe types with one exception, a restorable check stamped vessel, along with numerous sherds of olive jar. The whole and restorable vessels in the clay-lined features could belong to either period, but in as much as the wall trench was of the later type it appears that this house belonged to the village of Talaxe after the revolt. There is some question as to the exact position of this check stamped vessel, but the evidence available indicated that this type is a unique vessel in any

case. It could belong to the Mission period I, but not the Mission period II, or perhaps even to the brief 1715 occupation of the site as there is some suggestion that the pit in which it was found was dug through the charred remains of the house. The structure is pre-1720; however there were several graves of English soldiers dug through it, all showing quantities of daub in the fill.

Summary Description of Structures 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, and 14

[Editor's Note: This section is confusing since it only refers to 6 of the 15 defined structures. This was hand written at the end of the first season, and she renumbered the structures—some errors were apparently made in the consistency of renumbering in this hand-written section]

Six structures were located during our work. Structure 14 is a single unit. Structures 14A and 14B consist of two sections of wall trench. One on either side of a diamond shaped structure, Structure 14C. The whole unit is situated about 20 feet from the edge of the bluff, and runs parallel to it for a distance of 86 feet. It begins and ends abruptly, and no amount of hunting produced the corners or related walls—both ends of the long wall, referred to a palisade wall disturbed, the western end by a separate structure, Structure 10. The eastern end by a large modern excavation about 20 feet square and 6 feet deep—Sections of 2 similar wall trenches found in 1940 are well aligned and may represent a second side of the unit. The original structure, other two 1940 wall trenches, and Structure 1 and 2 from our work all shown together-

Structure 10 is a separate structure from Structure 9A, 9B, and 9C—and may be either earlier or later. Single post construction usually occurs under the wall trench.

Structure 11 is a wall trench structure—lines up parallel to the eastern end of Structure 9B and may be related—incomplete due to erosion of bluff and modern disturbance.

Structure 12 is a complete wall trench structure such as Structure 11 would have been if complete but removed some distance from Unit A, about 200 feet from the bluff.

These five structures are all of known Indian types, ceramic materials from the wall trenches indicate that Spanish materials (i.e. olive jar and majolica) were already present on the site when they were built. Structure 10 (of single posts) did not produce a single sherd of Spanish material which is OK since it should be earlier.

Unit B – Structures 13A, 13B, and enclosure walls 13C and 13D is one of the most interesting Indian period structures on the Georgia Coast. It is a unique blend of European and Indian construction methods. The European influence is evident in the large square post holes which form the southern portion of Structure 13A. These average 24-30 inches on the sides and range from 24-30 inches deep. The hole usually gets smaller toward the bottom in step fashion, a characteristic feature of colonial period post holes (personal communication Charles Fairbanks). The northern half of Structure 13B is of wall trench construction beginning with the last of the square holes. This trench also contained majolica (of Fig Springs Polychrome type) and olive jar fragments along with Indian sherds and with some daub, shell, charcoal, etc. The northeastern corner of the wall trench was disturbed by the inclusion of two graves. Both were white adult males, buried in military fashion. Superimposed on one of the adjacent graves was a large block of tabby, part of the foundations of a house dated tentatively between 1765 and 1812. The graves are almost certainly those of English soldiers killed during the period 1721-1726 when the nearby Fort King George was in operation. Barnwell has left us explicit accounts of his building operations on the Darien Bluff, and nowhere in his papers is there mention of any structure in this area. The only Europeans on the scene who can be responsible for the influence

evidenced by Structure 13 are the Spanish who were active from 1540 through 1686 along this part of the coast. Their words indicate two distinct periods of building. One from 1540-1597, at which time five of the six mission centers were destroyed during a revolt, and a second phase beginning in 1600 and lasting until 1686. On the basis of the majolica types associated with Structure 13 it appears that this structure belongs to the second period of Spanish endeavor (See Goggin).

Separate from Structure 13 but related to it in type of construction was a long wall of square posts running parallel to the long side of Structure 13. Known as the enclosure wall--these posts are similar in every way to those found in Structure 13, and contain except where disturbed only Indian and Spanish materials—the head and trunk section of one English burial has been placed in one of these posts. The skull has sunk into a far corner of this post hole intact, strewing a dozen or so black glass beads through the fill. The next post hole in the line contained the feet and ankles of another burial, while a third burial had been placed across yet another post hole in such a way that the post hole extended beyond and below the grave pit. The wall then is also pre-English and apparently of the same date as Structure 6. This wall and Structure 13 comprise Unit B.

Very little is known of the specific architectural details of the Spanish Missions in this part of the New World. The Bishop of Cuba visiting the Guale missions in 1606 described them as large buildings of squared timbers. A publication on the Franciscan missions of 100 years later in Yucatan will soon be available. The buildings described in this report appear to have much the same arrangement as Unit B (personal communication from Thompson). Spanish records presently available in translation indicate the use of nails, mud, and lime plaster, all three of which are found in the post holes.

The building complex is yet incomplete. The southern enclosure wall has almost certainly been washed into the river. A series of test pits failed to locate either the northern or the western wall, but delimited the area in which they can possibly exist to the point where very little further work would be necessary to locate them.

Pottery from the Darien Bluff Site

The 116 features *[Editors: some places she says there were 119]* found in the course of the excavations yielded more than half of the 7,000 sherds which were studied in the course of preparing this section of the report. The unusually high percentage of sherds from definite context was of great help in sorting out temporal differences, but arose from the depreciated state of the general midden as a result of years of abuse of the site archaeologically speaking.

Most of the features were created within the Spanish period, occupation zone thus the series of sherds all date from 1540 to 1686 at the latest, and very probably a shorter span. In the first season's pottery study it became apparent that several decorated type had a very spotty distribution. Thus a new analysis was begun while the second season's excavations were in progress. There is very little in Darien to occupy one's free time save fishing; to which I am not addicted. This gave the author an opportunity to set up the excavation of three controls related groups of features and houses in Trench 5 and Trench 6 in such a way as to give a check on the distribution of the decorated types with specific reference to house type, and pit location. The materials of House Unit 2 were studied while the excavation of [Structures] 4 and 8 were being completed, and revealed a satisfactory division in the pottery series, tied up with the shift in construction method from plain wall trench to the reinforced type.[1]

A limited stratigraphy was found between Structure 2 and Structure 4, which reinforced the supposition that the reinforcing of the wall trench house was a part of the impact of Spanish know how on the aboriginal culture. Thus we had two groups of pottery types both Spanish in time, both showing majolica wares indicating considerable contact with the Spanish, and all lying within the relatively short time, from the late 1500s when the first mission centers became active in Guale, until 1686 at the latest, the date at which the Spanish withdrew to St. Simon's Island and subsequently to St. Augustine under increasing pressure from the English to the north. Without getting involved in the matter of specific site identification, which would define the period much more closely, it is still an unexpected phenomenon to find such a clear shift in pottery decoration technique within so short a period. It is a general practice to allow much more time for far subtler shifts when working with purely aboriginal groups and it may well be that the tempo of change here is a part of the acculturation experienced by these people at the hands of the Spanish.

The ceramic changes here are peculiar not only in the apparent speed with which they took place, but in the completeness of the shift. The potters are doubtless the same people, and continued to make several of their pre-contact types, but having once ceased to make three types[2], never make them again in this area.

In studying the sherds from the entire dig, the unit grouping used in excavation to isolate the two series was extended to include all the structures found in both season's work. Some of these lacked a sufficient number of related features to add much to the stratigraphy which was found to exist in several spots and are not presented here as units. The structures from these are discussed at the end of the architectural discussion, and the sherds from the features lying in their vicinity are in the control sample. From among the fifteen structures we set up seven units of structures and related refuse features from which we have drawn the general conclusions as to

[1] Plain wall trench here refers to the standard method in which small posts or saplings are closely set in the trench. The reinforced type is similar but is deeper, and has 8-12 inch large posts set into the trench at intervals of 4-6 feet.
[2] There are Darien Check Stamped, Darien Incised, and Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped.

the pottery of both mission periods. The Study Units are, in order of presentation, 2, 3, 4, 8, 1, 6, and 10.

Study Unit 2 is the most complete, having 25 features lying within, under and nearby the walls, Study Unit 3, similar but had far fewer features, and with Study Unit 6 and Study Unit 8, both having few related features, makes a sample of four houses of the reinforced type. Study Units 4 and 1 are of the older non-reinforced, or typical aboriginal construction, while Study Unit 10 made of very small posts is the sole example of single post construction that we were able to outline completely. Twenty nine features yielding sherds from the area of these seven structures are included in the control sample, as were the scattered features found elsewhere in the excavations.

All sherds were kept from features, wall trench fills and post holes regardless of size or surface condition, thus many of them were unidentifiable. Bones were kept, and the presence of shell, charcoal, daub, raw clay, etc. was noted for each feature included in the study series, and the data on pit construction is summarized at the end of the pottery section. The sherds from the overburden cleared to locate and expose structural details are from all periods when the bluff was occupied, and are dealt with in the control sample. They were of course badly mixed and offer little information other than additional data on vessel form, and occasionally a unique sherd or vessel, or type found only in this disturbed zone.

The Pottery Control Sample Introduction

The 28 features, being Spanish period sherds, which were not included in the study series serves as a control for our manipulations of the former. This group is divided unevenly between Altamaha and Talaxe series. The greater number of pits and number of sherds per pit is in the Mission period I giving the largest overall total to this earlier period. This may be a reflection of much improved efforts at municipal sanitation at the behest of the Spanish, or may be a quirk of horizontal distribution which would be corrected had we excavated more of the village area, given as 40 acres by Barnwell in 1720. No new types appeared in the control pit series, and all types were represented in the total counts. Unique sherds are illustrated by the period of the feature from which their originated. Some of them, at least the fiber tempered examples, are remains of much older deposits. The fiber tempered sherds were concentrated in the upper portion of the test trench in the vicinity of the Robert Young home. A small rise near here shows surface indication of cremated burials, but we were unable to work on the hill top at that time. Stray sherds from Wilmington and Savannah periods were scattered along the bluff, although most of them were found in the area of our expanded excavations. The entire bluff from the point on which the first high ground rises from the marshes edging Back Creek to a point well above Darien shows evidence of Indian occupation, but most of the mission material is concentrated in an area only slightly larger than that given by early observers of the site.

Summary of the Features Studied in the Unit Studies Check Sample

The control sample includes the pits not assigned to the house unit studies, and the sherds recovered from the general midden, which as very scanty and discontinuous due to the many modern vicissitudes of the area. This general sample contains sherds from both mission periods some from the earliest period known from the refuse pits, and a fair number of sherds dating through Wilmington back to the earliest pottery made on the coast, plain fiber tempered ware. This assortment of sherds was counted and the large sherds were used on developing the range of

vessel shapes, but by and large this series of sherds is of less value than smaller sample from stable pit contexts.

In as much as the sample of Mission period II pits is so small, and most of them are incorporated in the house unit studies, the control sample cannot make a very good check on this period, although there are enough unassigned pits to make a check of sorts for the Mission period I.

Not all of the features numbered as pits, 119 in all, are relevant to the pottery study. Those containing identifiable sherds can be divided into to three groups. The earliest pit series number an even dozen, of which two were fire pits, four were filled with dark sand, and the remaining six were shell features. The pottery of this group of pits is homogenous, and two of the groups lie stratigraphically under a house belonging to the Mission period I. The total pottery sample is very small, but differs significantly in style and proportion of types from the succeeding periods to make the sample obviously distinct. Olive jar is present in one pit, well down in the fill, and one other pit has a tiny fragment of Ichtucknee Blue on Blue majolica although this find may well be a later addition to the fill.

The second and largest group of pits, belong to the first mission period occupation on the site, the Mission period I, comprising 48 units, 39 of which were refuse or fire pits, with some shell pits. Two pits belonging to the fiber tempered occupation of the area were numbered, and one belonging to the Savannah I period. More than 60 clay lined round features were numbered, most of them void of sherds. The majority of these lay near the houses on the eastern village, only four showing in the vicinity of the church. Our excavations proceeded west beyond the church only to the point where wall trenches again began to show, and had we continued.

Summary of Pottery from Structures East of the Church

The five structures just discussed in detail are with the exception of the first - Structure 10 - stratigraphically demonstrated to antedate the modified type wall trench structures, and by extension the introduction of the majolica type San Luis Polychrome, the date of the construction of the church, and the introduction of the red filmed aboriginal ware into the ceramic sequences.

Structure 10 antedates the modified type wall trench constructions, and judging from the fills of the floor features and other indications, the use of single post construction, must be of a different period. The Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped sherds and the check stamped wares associated with them found in these floor features suggest strongly that this house belong to a still earlier period, the Post Pine Harbor at the latest. Excluding this unit from our further discussion we can suggest that the village represented by these four structures was in existence sometime after Spanish contact but before 1600. This is based on the presence of Fig Springs Polychrome wares exclusively in Structure 14 and probably Structure 11, which are of the later type, while the types associated with these structures are Columbia Plain, Ichtucknee Blue on Blue, and Ichtucknee Blue on White. A few fragments of the Fig Springs type were found in an Mission period I context but the greater number of these sherds from any definite context is found in Mission period II groups.

A second line of evidence, the washed in sand fills of the open features belonging to the related ceramic group, the Altamaha, suggests that the site was abandoned for some time between the two mission period series. This was hardly the case after the church was built, sometime in the early 1600s as nearly as the documentary sources indicate. The third line of evidence, the documentary has been left to hands of a qualified historian. See introductory section by Bessie Lewis.

All of the structures in the earlier grouping lie east of the church area. This area was not in use during this earlier period, there being no houses there nor were there many refuse accumulations of the period uncovered during our extensive excavation of the area. There was only a suggestion of domestic structure located to the west of the traces of the west enclosure wall of the church, and it is probable that some of these fragmentary wall trenches are of the unmodified type of Structure 9 series. The ceramic evidence from the test trench that was carried well west of this point nearer the bluff edge suggests that the early village enclosed the area where we located the church, but for some reason did not use it for domestic structures. It may have been a sort of public square. There were scattered large single posts just east and west of the main church unit, but no definite structures that we could identify. The area lying between these scattered posts is about large enough to enclose a typical Creek ball ground as we have it described by Bartram, et al. The evidence here is mostly negative, the central area of the bluff was not in use in the Mission period I for domestic uses, there was little refuse of the period, and only slight suggestions of shed-like buildings enclosing an area about 100 feet by 50 feet where the later church was built. It is reasonable to suppose that since the village was rebuilt on the old site, that a clear space dating from earlier times would have been set aside for this sacred use, although the religious would have perhaps been rather unhappy to have known that the blessed earth around the church had once been dedicated to games and dances of the busk and purely pagan rites.

Judging from the scattered samples of the pottery from the coast of Georgia available at the time the excavations at 9MC10 began, the coast stands as a distinct ceramic province from some time after the end of Savannah II period as defined at the Irene site, until the end of the Spanish occupation. This is clearly shown in the forth coming report by Lewis Larson on two seasons of survey of the coast from Ossabaw to Cumberland Islands. Sherds found in the course of testing and excavating the Darien site confirms this early impression. The materials from fiber tempered times up through the pure check stamped variety of Savannah are indistinguishable from those known in the area around the turn of the Savannah River in Chatham and Bryan Counties.

This culture is well represented in the Guale area, and is associated with small sand burial mounds yielding urn burials, the lower vessel a plain rimmed check stamped jar, while the cover vessel is almost always a plain vessel with an incurving rim. The relationship of this pottery series to the evidently later Pine Harbor is not at all clear. This lag is demonstrated again in the later persistence of wall trench construction, although, as indicated in the section devoted to architecture, this may have been brought to the area from some yet more peripheral area, i.e. the coast north of Savannah, where the succession of wall trench to single post had not taken place. In this case one has only changed the area which lagged to the north, there are some single post structures on the Darien site and the slender ceramic evidence would be reintroduced into an area which had abandoned them sometime between Savannah II and Irene / Lamar. It is interesting to note the similarity of the house shown by Clarence B. Moore and the associated pottery, which is reminiscent of coastal Savannah II going into Irene / Lamar. It would be strategic to test some sites in the area just north of the Savannah, the Spanish province of Santa Elena, where they made their first serious efforts at missionization. It is possible that the appearance of black stamped its associated vessel shape, and the reappearance of wall trench construction in the Guale area may be attributed to the removal of Indians from the northern province at the time of its abandonment in 1565, at about the time the first of the Guale missions began to operate.

The Pine Harbor materials, while very like those from the Irene period at that site, are sortable with them a flashy cult-like variety of ceremonial ware, with eagle warriors, and various other symbols which indicate clearly a leg of considerable proportion from the center of aboriginal life at this time as earlier piedmont rivers. The stamped type Pine Harbor Check stamped the total sample from the shell filled features food to underlie the earlier of the mission village pottery sample decreasing to a very minor to a very minor percentage (2 percent) in the Altamaha Series and is lacking in the Mission period II altogether. The presence of a few sherds of Altamaha Line Block Stamped in each of dozen samples of this earliest grouping subsets strongly that the series is post Pine Harbor, contact, as olive jar is found with it, but pre-Altamaha and pre-mission development, which was delayed some years after first contact in the Guale area. The typical Irene filfot as seen in Pine Harbor is an expected development in the local pottery decoration history, but the appearance of the line block requires and explanation.

The design is lacking entirely in the Pine Harbor series and occurs rarely in the series tentatively named Post Pine Harbor at the Pine Harbor site, which underlies the Altamaha materials in Structure 4. It is destined to become the only starred design of any consequence in the two succeeding periods on the Darien site, where it comprises more than half the total sherd materials and more than 99 percent of the stamped decorated ware in the Altamaha series. The vessel form is divided about evenly between two shapes, the flaring rim jar, which has a long and honorable pre-contact history in the area, and a unique bell-shaped jar with a short cazuela-like rim. This bears an incised design, the earlier form of which is reminiscent of Lamar Bold Incised, and the latest form of which has been stylized into a new design more like the scratchy incising associated with somewhat later materials in western Florida.

The stamp and vessel form of Altamaha Incised jars is without antecedents in the immediate coastal area, and appears suddenly as the majority ware in the Altamaha series. Excavation of a site of the assemblage found to be English then the Altamaha series may throw some light on the origins of both the stamp and the vessel form associated the bell pot exclusively with it. It is safe to say that an outside source is involved, and by process of elimination, one that must lie to the north. The potteries to the immediate south are universally check stamped until the time in question makes its appearance there and becomes as John Goggin expressed it, Pan-Indian associated with the spread of Spanish influence. One cannot seriously consider the Spanish the source of the scattered decorations nor the jar form on which it often found, although the bell shape of the pot is perhaps suggestive of influence from the mission bells themselves.

Again to the west the contemporary culture is a series of varieties derived from classic Lamar, lacking red filmed types and the line block stamped as well as the bell-shaped pot. The area to the immediate north of the Guale province is the Savannah delta where the evidence from Irene implies a closer contact with the Piedmont centers than obtained elsewhere on the Coast. Beyond this there is a great no man's land archaeologically, and it convenient for lack of information mitigating against the idea to at rib to the line block stamp and its associated vessel form to some group living in this area at the time of Spanish contact.

The red filmed types Talaxe Red and San Marcos Red appear with equal suddenness in the last of the two series defined on the Darien Bluff site. The authors of *Here They Once Stood* are led to identify the red filmed types found with those of Kasita and other pre-contact sites to the north (Boyd, Smith, and Griffin 1951). The Guale materials are nearly 100 years older than the Spanish period materials of western Florida, and the two wares Altamaha Line Block Stamp. The antecedent of San Marcos Stamped and Altamaha Red Filmed are associated clearly at this

earlier time. It seems then probably that the immediate source of the red types in western Florida is the same as for the stamped type. But the source of the red filming on the coast is not obvious. A few sherds of imported Mexican polychromes, black and white on red were found in the course of excavating the Mission period II features, but they occurred with the aboriginal red type. Perhaps the type was derived directly from the Mexican imports, and copied into majolica forms, cups, plates, pitchers, and small bowls with an annular ring. The shapes and construction of the annular base on the coastal red filmed wares is superior in technique of that of the aboriginal wares to the northwest, and the firing is far superior. A double firing process was used in which the vessel, nearly burnished on the outside surfaces was slipped with a thick of red pigment and refired. The resulting surface is absolutely smooth, even colored and wash proof. On the best examples there is a distinct polish lacking on the Kasita types. The same shapes are found in a plain buff, the color of the vessel after the first firing, and show the same superior workmanship and finishing. It is perhaps best to suggest that Spanish influence extended beyond merely copying the shapes of the imported glazed wares and suggest that some efforts were made to teach the Indians improved ceramic techniques. The wheel was not in use on this site, although Goggin reports some aboriginal wares from Higgs which appear to have been wheel turned. It is clear that the provincial fathers were forced to use some Indian ceramics and one can see the logic of improving the native product when the supplies of crockery from bone were inadequate.

The study of seven pottery units and the control samples gave rise to the flowing pottery types, arranged into two or possibly three distinct groupings which have temporal and interpretative significance.

The earliest grouping, which is admittedly based on a very small sample, 145 sherds, consists of the types Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped[3], Altamaha Gritty Plain, Altamaha Complicated Stamped, Altamaha Line Block Stamped type A and B, and Altamaha Check Stamped, and olive jar. All of these types are found in the succeeding Mission period I, but the percentage relationships are widely variant, and the Mission period I based on 1722 sherds from features, wall trenches, and floor deposits shows additional types, Darien Incised, Altamaha Incised, and majolica Fig Springs Plain., Columbia Plain, Ichtucknee Blue on White, and Ichtucknee Blue on Blue. The Mission period I was identified from features, floor fills, and has one burial, the sole found on the site to its credit, along with at least four houses and other fragmentary walls. The name has been ventured for this earliest grouping. It is a matter of some disagreement between Lewis H. Larson and the author whether it can properly be called a period as distinct from the Pine Harbor or not. It appears that this report will be published before that of Larson. I shall expect him to dispose of this small but variant body of material.

The first main period of occupation of the area that we subjected to intensive excavation was call the Altamaha Series. The types found in the pottery series includes Altamaha Line Block Stamp Types A and B, the majority ware, Altamaha Gritty Plain, Altamaha Check stamped, Darien Incised and Altamaha Incised (See Figures 156 and 158)[4], and small amounts of Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped and Altamaha Complicated Stamped.

[3] This type described at length in manuscript Lewis H. Larson

[4] The two incised types were decided after a conference among the interested parties. Altamaha Incised refers to the lip portion only of a bell shaped jar that comprises nearly half of the total rims of jars bearing the line block stamped motif, with or without blobs. Dairen Incised is a Lamar line incising on the rim of a cazuela bowl form or the neck and (illegible) of small jar on the body of which is probably plain.

The excavation of several stratified features provided the second largest pottery grouping, called the Mission period II series found in 580 sherds including 12 were on rectangular vessels. This consists of the two varieties of Altamaha line blocked stamping, with and without blobs with the former is somewhat rarer than before, Altamaha Gritty Plain and Altamaha Temperless Plain, the latter more frequent than before, Altamaha Incised, occurring in about the same relative proportions as in the earlier series, and two new types; Altamaha Red Filmed, and San Marcos Red filmed. The first mentioned is a temperless ware, found as cups, plates, and bowls and pitchers, while the San Marcos type has a fine dense grit tempering added to the paste. The black on red type found in the excavations at San Luis de Talimali and the site identified as San Francisco de Oconee is absent from the series at 9MC10.

A standard type description of each of these in chronological order will be presented at the end of this section. Exception of the type Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped, which will be covered only briefly as my fellow worker on this project Lewis Larson has the larger and more complete assortment of this type from his excavations at Pine Harbor proper, and from his extensive survey of the entire coastal area known as Guale.

Rim Sherd Data

Despite the difference in the size of samples, the following chart of simple occurrences may offer some clues as to relative distributions between the two periods.

		19 Mission period II pits	48 Altamaha pits	General
A	Type A	2	20	44
L	Plain slightly flaring jar	9	54	77
T	Incised bell pot	2	11	36
A	Reed punctated through stamp	2	21	29
M	Reed punctated on smoothed area	3	13	20
A	Reed punctated on folded rim	16	0	13
H	Triangle punctated on folded rim	1	3	16
A	Rectangular punctated on fold	3	2	5
L	Plain folded rim	4	0	6
I	Slashed fold	0	3	1
N	Applied strips			
E				
B	WITH BLOBS			
L	Plain slightly flaring rim	0	0	6
O	Incised B.P.	0	1	2
C	Reed punctated through Stamping	0	1	3
K				
P	Cups	3	3	10
L	Plates	1	2	4
A	Bowls	2	4	3
I	Pitchers	4	2	1
N	Incised bell pots	0	0	1
	Reed punctated on plain rim	0	3	1
C	Cups	0	0	1
H	Punctated on plain rim	0	2	0
E	Straight plain rim	0	2	7
C	Slightly flaring rim	0	3	9
K S T P.				

NOTE: All red, as plates, cups, bowls, and pitchers is restricted to the Mission period II in pits, with numerous fragments from the general midden series.

Table 38. Rim Sherd Data.

Comparative Study of Mission Period Rim Sherds

Comparative Study of Mission Period Rim Sherds	Number
Rims from General Midden	283
From Mission period I Pits	141
From Mission period II Pits	48
Total	472

Rim Sherds Altamaha Linear Stamped	429
Rim Sherds Altamaha Linear Stamped on Bell Pots	140
Rim Sherds Altamaha Linear Stamped Rectangular Punctate on Fold	33
Rim Sherds Altamaha Linear Stamped Rectangular Punctate on Plain	49
Rim Sherds Altamaha Linear Stamped Rectangular Punctate on Smooth	50
Rim Sherds Triangle on Fold	29
Rim Sherds Rectangular Punctations on Fold	20

Table 39. Mission Period Rim Sherds.

From the above it is plain that there is not an even sample of sherds rims or body sherds from the two mission periods as defined by stratigraphy on the site. There are several choices of reasons why there should have been more Mission period I pits than Mission period II, but for whatever reason it hardly seems safe to make percentage comparisons as if the two samples were equal- The Mission period II features are not really pits, but are floor deposits--with the exception of four shell-filled pits, probably clam bakes, two fire pits, and two clay-lined pits- the remaining 11 being concentrated on the floor of Structures 2 and 3. The area in which most of the 48 examples of Mission period I pits were located is also the area of the later village, and leads one to suspect that the last occupants of the site were neater than their predecessors at least in the matter of garbage disposal.

Majolica Data

Columbia Plain: 9 in 1953; 6 in 1952 --- 15 total sherds

1. Wall trench of tower, Structure 13B – Mission period II series
2. Feature 38 - Mission period II series
3. Feature 104 - Mission period II series? lack check and incised but sample is tiny
4. Feature 70 - Mission period II series? lack check and incised but sample is tiny
4. Feature 74 - Mission period II series? With San Luis Blue on White
5. Concentrated just east of Structure 13A and north of Structure 14C

Fig Springs Polychrome: 8 in 1953; 37 in 1952 --- 45 total sherds

1. Feature 53 – Mission period I series- with Ichtucknee Blue on Blue
2. Feature 105 - Mission period II series
3. Structure 13F - Mission period II series?
4. Wall trench, tower - Structures 14A and 14C – Mission period II
5. Concentrated just west of Structure 13C
6. Concentration near southwestern corner of Structure 1 – Mission period I

Ichtucknee Blue on White: 6 in 1953; in 1952 --- 9 total sherds

1. Area of floor, Structures 1, 4, and 5
2. Scattered, none near church

Ichtucknee Blue on Blue: 5 in 1953; 1 in 1952 --- 6 total sherds

1. Wall trench Structure 7 – Mission period I
2. Feature 53 – Mission period I – with some Fig Springs Polychrome
3. One near Structure 13A, others scattered in Structure 4

San Luis Polychrome: 10 in 1953; 35 in 1952 --- 45 total sherds

1. Feature 110 - Mission period II?
2. Feature 47 - Mission period II? with Columbia Plain
3. Feature 107 - Mission period II
4. Wall Trench Structure 2 - Mission period II
5. Posts in Structures 13A and 13C - Mission period II
6. Wall Trench Structure 13B - Mission period II
7. Scattered-concentrated near southeastern corner Structure 13

Others --- 27 total sherds

Various unclassified types – both series –

Conclusion 1 – Ichtucknee Blue on White, and Ichtucknee Blue on Blue, with Columbia Plain belong to Mission period I along with some Fig Springs Polychrome. (No San Luis Polychrome)

Conclusion 2 – San Luis Blue on White exclusive to Mission period II, along with some Fig Springs and some Columbia White. (No Ichtucknee types)

Conclusion 3 – Beaker type, fine red wares are still unknown, probably Mission periods I and II respectively.

Catalog	Type	Context	Comment
1	Ichtucknee Blue on Blue	Mixed	1952 season
2	Columbia Plain	Mixed	1952 season
3	Fig Springs Polychrome	Mixed	1952– Some from wall trenches
4	San Luis Blue on White	Mixed	1952 season
5	Unclassified	Mixed	1952 season
6	Unclassified	Mixed	1952 season
7	Red Ware?	Mixed	1952 season
8	Red Ware?	Mixed	1952 season
9	Glass	Mixed	1952 season
10	Miscellaneous	Mixed	1952 season
11	Ichtucknee Blue on Blue	Mixed	1953
12	Ichtucknee Blue on White	Mixed	1953 – Some from features
13	Columbia Plain	Mixed	1953
14	San Luis Blue on White	Mixed	1953
15	Mexico Polychrome	Wall Trench 2	1953
16	Unclassified	Mixed	1953 – Some from features
17	Beaker	Mixed	1953– midden and features
18	Red ware?	Mixed	1953– midden and features
19	Fig Springs Polychrome	Mixed	1953– midden and features
20	Unclassified Blue on White	Feature 72	

Table 40. Majolica Data.

Pottery Conclusions Based on the Seven Pottery Unit Studies

Only seven of the sixteen architectural units found contained sufficient sherd material to make them practical study units. These seven that were so treated gave clear indications of a two way shift, the loss of the check and incised types associated with the earlier squarish houses of plain wall trench construction, at the time that the red filmed type appears and the construction changes to the modified wall trench, with additional changes in the size and alignment of the house units.

Structures 1, 4, 5, and 7 were of the unmodified type construction, and each was found to underlie the modified structures which were raised over their ruins at a time sufficiently later for a pure sand fill to have washed in and filled the features that were left open at the time the earlier village of square structures was abandoned. There is no direct evidence of the burning of this village, but the presence of daub is more frequent in features belonging to the second period of occupation. The structures of this first village in turn were found in three places to have an underlying series of features, whose sherd types are sufficiently at variance for this assigned to this village to make a third and earliest period of occupation seem likely. The evidence for this earliest is too slender and scattered to deserve more than mention, and awaits the author's additional information from excavations elsewhere, or from the survey data.

Such data as we have on this period includes a tentative list of sherd types, including Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped, with an equal amount of Altamaha Check Stamped, a few sherds of Altamaha Line Block Stamped, and olive jar. No majolica was found in the features with this limited series of sherd types. Pit formation seems to have been of two types, long irregular shallow ovals, and deep round features, all filled densely with oyster shells. There is some evidence that Structure 10, the little structure made of small posts at the western end of the palisade of Structure 14, may be the structure type that belongs with this sherd grouping, but there again the evidence is insufficient to make any fast statements.

The occupation of this period is presented by 13 features, two of which clearly underlie features belonging to the Mission period I, named Altamaha. The Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped and check stamping which comprises the bulk of the pottery from test pits is identical in all respects with that found at the Pine Harbor site from the first, and the relative proportions are much like those found at the Creighton Island site. There is some incising in the assemblage, and at least one fragment of McIntosh Incised, the "cult" ware of the Pine Harbor period occurred.

Some Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped ware is found in the succeeding period, with an increase in the relative amounts of check stamp, and a generous rise in the proportion of Altamaha Line Block Stamped, from a minority ware to about 45 percent of the total. Olive jar becomes very common and the majolica types, Columbia Plain, Ichtucknee Blue on Blue, Ichtucknee Blue on White, and some Fig Springs Polychrome are added to the Spanish increment in the sherd assemblage. There are several examples of the domestic architecture and a possible public dwelling, Structure 1, whose large size mitigates against its consideration as a simple domestic structure. Refuse features are plentiful, nearly two thirds of the total of 116 belonging to this pottery grouping. Interior features, or floor deposit are less common than in the succeeding Mission period II, but this may well be due to the destruction of the earlier deposits by the construction of a second series of houses over the wall trench lines of the earlier. Archaeologically this was a happy chance as it gave us a number of clear cases of superposition to bear out the shift in sherd types and architectural peculiarities which was only typologically implied in the first season's materials.

The last period of occupation of the site within mission times is named the Mission period II, another of the various names by which the adjacent river was known in this early period. The sherd assemblage is known chiefly from the floor deposits of the Structures 2, 3, 6, and 8 along with Structure 12, and the mission structure itself, Structure 13 to the west of the main village area that was excavated. The types Darien Incised and Altamaha Check Stamped have disappeared, the Line Block Stamped B and the Altamaha Complicated Stamped are decreased, and a new type, Altamaha Red Filmed, type A and B have appeared. This last addition to the complex is a very well made ware, and the probably antecedent for the red filmed and red and black types found on later mission sites throughout the Appalachee mission district and the St. Augustine area in Florida.

The triangular punctates on widely folded rims appears in some strength, although the older hollow reed punctates continue, with no discernable change in kind or relative numbers. The bell-shaped pot, about half of all rims of the Altamaha Line Block Stamped sherds, continues in about the same numbers, but with a simplification of the motif, from a concentric curved 9 to a concentric chevron. Pitchers, plates, and cups become more frequent in the plain wares, and are the sole vessel shapes for the Talaxe Red Filmed series. Both A, no visible tempering, and B, small fine quartz grit tempering.

There were at least four clear cases where a pit had been opened in Altamaha times, filled with washed in sand, giving an indication of the length of time when the site stood abandoned between the two periods. All the little round clay lined features that underlay the walls of the modified type houses showed this sand fill, as did some of those whose position made it impossible to assign them to any definite period. It seems probable that these little features, whose function can only be guessed at, were being made before Altamaha times, during Altamaha times, and during Mission period II times. Refuse features as such are rare in Mission period II times, but the entire character of the village has taken on a strong European flavor, with the houses aligned strictly with the compass, and neatly placed in relation to each other, to form a sort of hollow square, well removed from the walls of Structure 13, belonging the this period, and almost certainly the church building of this mission center.

The excavations at Harris Neck should confirm the distinctions made on this site as to the two periods of occupation. While neither site gives much indication of the wholesale destruction by fire that the Spanish claim to have perpetrated on the hapless Indians after the revolt of 1597, it seems probable that this is the best explanation of the clear break in the occupancy of the site and the material culture of the villagers.

The Pottery Groupings

A detailed study of the two pottery groups with brief notes on the series found to underlie the Altamaha series is to be found in the appendix, along with the standardized type descriptions and illustrations, charts, and other essential paraphernalia.

The Control Sample

Out of the total 116 features, 67 were not included in the pottery studies set up in study units. These offer a sample at random to check with those that had a stratigraphic relationship to house remains. No new types were found in the features, and all those found in the features used in the study units appeared in the control sample.

Among these 67, at least 13 features belong to occupations well antedating the mission occupation of the sites. One of these is worthy of special note, Feature 18, containing a large

number of fiber tempered sherds, and one vessel which was before the tender ministrations of the US Mail thought to be restorable. Nearby were the curious shallow depressions discussed in the resume of Test Trench 1, which also contained this earliest type of pottery found in the Southeast. Scatterings of later periods including Wilmington and Savannah I and II were found in the course of excavation along with a number of features with a pure shell fill lacking sherd materials altogether.

The 56 features here considered that belong in mission times is unevenly divided between the Mission period I and the Mission period II. This may have been a result of much improved village sanitation at the behest of the Spanish, or a freak of horizontal distribution which additional excavation in the village to the west of the church would have remedied. This hardly seems probable though as there were four houses of each period involved in the village east of the church, and one would expect any wide sampling of other village areas to show the same ratio of houses to features. Curiously enough there were almost no pits or other pottery bearing features in the immediate vicinity of the church complex of buildings, and these few were Altamaha period or earlier. The indications are that the church area was kept fairly clean, and refuse was disposed of in some way other than by purposeful interment, nor were there any open features to accumulate trash at random. Sherds were plentiful on the floor of the church, recalling the complaints of the church dignitaries visiting the Guale mission as to the uncleanliness of the buildings, but the yard area between the main chapel unit and the enclosure walls was fairly barren. The good padres had little idea how much of an effort any attempts at village sanitation must have been for the natives, and apparently cared less how many outraged feelings occurred from their demands, incomprehensible, at least to the natives if not to us who have also tampered with aboriginal civilizations to their eternal detriment.

It seems pointless to describe each pit in this bobtailed series, a simple classification and a pottery total follows. No new data was afforded from the group and the few unique sherds are illustrated in the pottery section. In addition to the pit fills not assigned to any specific house unit there were several thousand sherds recovered from the excavations at large. Midden as such was almost unknown on the site, largely due to the vicissitudes of nearly 100 years of industrial occupation of the site. The sherds from such midden as was found are mixed, making it impossible to use them for furthering the studies of the groupings arrived at from definite contexts, but they add some information on vessel shapes and ranges of decoration.

It has not been though advisable to make any percentage comparisons between the two mission pottery periods, Mission period I and Mission period II, as the materials from context are the unequal divided. A table of simple occurrence is all that seems indicated in the circumstances, follows this discussion and the classification of the features remaining in the control series.

The earliest group of features consists of twelve features, all showing the same assortment of Pine Harbor Complicated Stamped, Altamaha, Check Stamped with some Altamaha Line Block Stamped A and B types and scatterings of other types including Altamaha and Belleville Plain. These are no more than a hint at the pottery assemblage in use just before the Mission period I, but that it antedates this period is clear from several points. The lack of the Line Block stamped, and two clear cases in which Altamaha type remains were superimposed over those of this unnamed period. It is hoped that future work will give rise to sufficient information to delineate this earliest period. Seven of these features are included in the pottery unit studies. The remaining five were classified as belonging with the four found to antedate the

Mission period I on the basis of the close similarity of their contents in type and relative percentage.

Of the 45 features numbered in the Mission period I, 27 are included in the control sample. Most of these features are refuse features, a few fire basins, and a few features densely packed with shell and just enough sherds to make it possible to identify the contents at all. Of the many clay-lined features found on the site only six could safely be assigned to the Mission period I, most of these in the study units, and only three to the Mission period II, none of these in the study units. No new information is forthcoming from the sherd materials found in these features, and they are included here mostly to tidy up the loose ends. The same may be said for the seven features out of the total of only 18 which could be assigned to the Mission period II.

Three features were assigned to pre-contact periods already known on the coast, and 5 were devoid of sherd material by which to classify the structure. Four features, noted in the field notes as probably Altamaha and lying west of the church buildings were lost--Features 114 through 117.

Mission Period I Summary and Conclusions Version 1

The study of the pottery from the 1952 season provided scattered distribution of decorated types. Although the sherds from five structures and 32 features were included in the material studied, these isolated contexts provided insufficient data to decide which of the many types were occurring together. This was remedied in 1953. The 1953 excavations commenced with an extensive exposure of areas both to the west and east of the 1952 trench. Test pits had indicated that we would find here concentrations of village remains. The eastern area was scraped first, and yielded a wealth of wall trenches, postholes and refuse features lying 15 to 22 inches below the modern surface. The boundaries of wall trenches, features, and postholes were sharply contrasted against the undisturbed sand which was pale gold at this level. It was also noted that the wider and darker wall trenches crossed through others which were narrower and of a light milk chocolate color. In several places the wall trenches were seen to cross through sand filled clay lined features and other refuse features. The lighter colored wall trenches also crossed through several refuse features. In hopes of finding stratigraphic indications to assist in sorting out this tangle of aboriginal constructions, we set to work in an area where there were several of these super positions. I was able to verify that the larger and darker wall trenches were later than the light colored ones, and that the tangle of trenches consisted of parts of four structures, over which more had been built at a later time.

The earlier wall trenches were of a light milk chocolate color, irregular in outline, with 5-8 inch posts scattered at infrequent intervals among the 3-5 inch diameter small saplings that had supported the wattle and daub walls. The later wall trenches were deeper, the fill material contained many more shells, sherds and general refuse. The trenches were dark tan to nearly black with straight squared corners. Large posts were regularly spaced in the line of the trench, and at the center of each short side was a pair of large deeply set posts, which had evidently supported the roof. The earlier wall trenches overlay a series of shell filled features whose contents are designated as Post Pine Harbor. The wall trench and post hole fill materials from the structure together with those features which lay under the later wall trenches were called Mission period I. Those materials from the floor deposits and associated features of the later structure are called Mission period II. The usual deposit of sherds found on the floor of domestic structures was largely absent probably because it had been necessary to scrape so deeply in order to define the features. Such few deposits as we did find were classified by the above scheme as were the features and structures of the 1952 season. Deposits and wall trenches that were troweled out after the completion of this central concentration, and finally those of the 1952 season were similarly classified.

The wall trenches of both types were troweled out in short sections of eight to fifteen inches in each structure. The materials from those sections that lacked post holes were counted separately from those that had post holes. I assumed that the fill between posts could contain only material on the ground at the time the trench was dug and refilled in the course of construction, while the post holes could contain sherd material from the period when the house was in use, and even later times, supporting posts rotted away (with the exception of the Structure 15, of modified type found by my husband in 1940 there was nowhere any evidence of destruction by burning). This special care was extended to the features, which were only half troweled out, leaving a profile down the center line, and half of the contents to be used as check against the finding of the first study, which was completed in the early weeks of excavation. The

clear cut divisions of type assortments which developed would be suspect except for the unusual precautions taken in collecting the sample for this intensive study.

Aside from the four structures resolved in the first weeks of work, we found six other structures and a number of features. No more than normal care was extended to the clearing out of these, and with only a few exceptions the same neat distinctions could also be drawn for the materials recovered from these.

The study units given intensive study consist of the wall trench fill (considered as a whole since, except where noted, the division between fill and post holes did not bring any clear distinctions to light), the interior features, interior floor, exterior features, and features lying under the wall trenches of Structures 1, 2, 3, and 4. The units are numbered as the house or other structure around which they were centered in order to avoid confusion.

Of the 116 features, mostly refuse features found in the course of two seasons work, only 49 are included in the study units. The rest were counted separately, and form a sort of control against the findings of the study units. Their individual counts are not included in the report except as a summary.

Structure 1 is a large irregular building, possibly unroofed belonging to Mission period I. Structures 2 and 3 lay over Structure 1, and Structure 3 lay over a corner of Structure 4 and Structure 5. All except Structure 1 were probably residential in nature. Structure 6 belonged to Mission period II, and overlay Structure 7, of Mission period I. Neither of these structures was normal in size or shape and probably they were not residences. Structure 8 was assigned to the Mission period II on its architectural type, and the associate pottery types. Structure 9 is not a single structure but a welter of fragmentary wall trenches and single post holes lying some distance to the west of Structures 1 through 8. Laying between the eastern group Structures 1-8 and the western group Structure 9 were several structures of differing dates. There is no structure of Mission period I date in this area. It was at this time an open area, a plaza, about ____ wide, east to west and at least ___ feet north to south, (i.e., from the bluff to a concrete lumber kiln which had completely destroyed all traces of earlier construction in its vicinity). Structure 10 lying in the southwestern portion of the plaza was of small post construction (3 to 5 inches in diameter), the earliest found in two seasons work.

Only a few sherds were found in the posthole fills of Structure 10, and an associated refuse pit contained a clay pipe. This structure is certainly pre-Mission I period, and is tentatively assigned to the much earlier Savannah II period. Structure 10 lies under Structure 14, which consists of a palisade and diamond shaped tower, of modified wall trench construction. This puzzling arrangement occurs near the bluff on the southern edge of the plaza of Mission period I and cuts across the enclosure of Structure 13 of Mission period II. The concentration of Spanish materials at 1600-1650 in the wall trench fills makes it likely that it postdates this compound structure, build in the plaza during Mission period II and referred to as Structure 13. Possibly associated with Structure 13 is Structure 12, a small house of modified wall trench lying in the northeastern end of the enclosure around the central unit of Structure 13.

Structure 13 is a complex of buildings consisting of a central unit, marked by large square post holes, those that were so puzzling in the first weeks of the salvage operation in 1952. There is an “annex” on the north end of this central building of modified wall trench construction. This composite building was enclosed with a wall marked also by the large square posts. Two other buildings also of square post type share a common wall with this enclosure wall. The wall is complete only on the east. There are a few posts of the northern wall, and fewer of the western wall. The reappearance of village construction just beyond the few square posts that were found

on the western side of the central structure indicate that the same distances obtained between the open area in Mission period I and edge of the compound structure in Mission period II and village are proper of Mission periods both east and west of this area. On the south there is no trace of a wall, but fragmentary Structure 11, lying in the southeastern portion of the enclosed yard indicates that at least 25 feet of bluff have washed away since Mission period II.

Until its waters were stolen by the Picot Cut in the 1920s the Darien River at this point had a brisk current which undercut and carried away several feet of the bluff each year. Structure 11 postdates Structure 13, but only by a few years since it is Pre-English, 1726. It seems reasonable to suppose that the south wall of Structure 13 has vanished into the river along with all but the extreme northwestern corner of Structure 11. Structure 15 is the burned fragment encountered by Joseph R. Caldwell in 1940 and assigned to Mission period II on the basis of the sherds recovered at the time. These fifteen structures together with their stratigraphic position, where there is one, and period identifications are presented in the chart.

Let us begin the study units of the Mission period I with Structure 4, which is our best example of residential construction in this period. This will be followed by Unit 1, also Mission period I but probably not a residence. A brief description of Structures 5 and 7 also of Mission period I date, and the earlier portions of Structure 9 will be followed by a discussion of the open plaza. *(Editors: This section is incomplete. Does not discuss all Study Units)*

Mission Period I Summary and Conclusions Version 2

What then do we know of this early Spanish colonial village? The aboriginal ceramics are derived from earlier pre-contact periods with the exceptions of Guale Incised. This type is the rim only of a curious bell-shaped pot. The body of the pot is paddle stamped with Guale Complicated Stamped Type A and B respectively. As stated in the type descriptions (Appendix I) the Type A is without a central button; Type B includes buttons, a spider motif, and concentric circular lands at this point. There is a third variant also considered separately in which the blocks are laid in diagonals again with or without a central button. The bell-pot shape occurs in both variants of Guale Complicated Stamped. There is a slight increase of Type A in Mission period II, and a corresponding decrease in Type B. The total percentage of Guale Incised bell pots remain about the same in both periods.

The total decorative content of the type Guale Incised is new on the Georgia Coast. The presence of olive jar with the Pine Harbor and Post Pine Harbor makes it unlikely that the type developed *in situ* from Pine Harbor and post Pine Harbor decorative types. The nearest equivalents to the bell pots of 9MC10 are located in North Carolina. The resemblance is by no means complete. Very little is known of the late pottery samples of coastal South Carolina. If Swanton, et al., are correct in identifying the Cusabo as kindred people of the Guale, speaking a similar variant of the Muskogean language, it seems likely that work in Spanish Santa Elena northward and northwest would provide some missing links between Guale with its characteristic bell-shaped pots, and their North Carolina cousins. The shapes of the pottery are all clearly aboriginal. The use of an annular ware and pitcher, cup, plate, and bowl forms do not occur in Mission period I.

The village was probably not destroyed by fire, the indicated fate of Tolomato. Lastly the quantity of Spanish import ceramics was quite low for the mission sites of the period. The priest maintained a residence in all possible comfort and his supplies of blessed oil, wine, and food stores for his personal use. Since comfort included domestic ceramics from home, and the

supplies were relocated in olive jars, the concentration of imported ceramics should be higher during the early period (1594-1597) when Tolomato was a mission station with a residence friar than in the subsequent period when it was only a visitas to Asao, some __ miles distant by small boat.

The exact opposite is the case. Spanish impact ceramics are six times as numerous in the Mission period II as in Mission period I at 9MC10. Furthermore there is a European building in the central plaza area in Mission period II. Lastly, aside from the Spanish ceramics found in the Mission period I structures and a single peach stone, there is no evidence of close and intensive Spanish contact. This too arrives only in the subsequent period, and then only to a limited degree.

What was the name of the village? I have neither the means nor the talent to dig into the records, but note that a number of village references among those present at the conference following Juanillo's revolt and murder of Father Corpa at Tolomato.

[*Editor's Note: the following section of musings was scratched out by Caldwell*]

It may well exclude the name of this village. The chief of Posache is also indicated as the murderer of Father Rodriguez at Tupiqui, 3 leagues north of Tolomato. Since there is no indication of a personal feud between the chief of Posache and Father Rodriguez and the chief of Posache, perhaps Juanillo was merely obliging a neighbor and early convert(?) to his revolution? The close relationship between Posache and Espogache-- possibly Posache became Espogache (also Aspogache) after 1600.

Any of these not known to be to the north of Tolomato could be well be the village occupying 9MC10. Or perhaps it may be among those who joined the rebellion after the assault in Asao. It may be among those who appeared in St. Augustine in May of 1600 to sue for peace. The candidate my feeble historical search light is on is Posache, an early convert to the revolt, the chief of which slew (Rodriguez of Tupiqui). Perhaps he is the same mico of Espogache who joined(?) the 1600 delegation and joined the punitive expedition against Juanillo in 1601 and received Altimirano in 1605.

As is usual, the archaeology has raised more questions than were answered. Let us get on to Mission period II before things get completely out of hand.

Mission Period I Summary and Conclusions Version 3

A number of conclusions may be drawn from the sherd material gathered from three more or less complete structures and two fragmentary ones. What then do we know of this period of Spanish contact? The aboriginal ceramics are derived from the immediately precedent period. There are a few examples of late sixteenth Spanish types of ceramics. Mission period I is probably therefore post 1566 during the establishment of St. Augustine. Mission period I probably belongs to that first period of intensive effort to construct a chain of missions along this coast, from 1566 through the disastrous revolt of 1597. The only new items in the catalogue of aboriginal ceramics are the types Guale Incised, Temperless Guale Incised. The rim portion only of a curious bell shaped pot which bears an incised design, the body of the vessel being stamped with the much older design known as Guale Complicated Stamped, types A and B. (A full description of these types I to found Appendix 1). Sub type A of Guale Complicated Stamped is a simple line block stamp design, while sub type B has a raised circular boss, a circle, or rarely a circle with an enclosed design such as cross or spider, located at the junction of the four sets of

lined blocks. A third variant in which the four blocks are diamond shaped and set to form diagonal lines in a larger diamond rather than the square dimensions that characterize the more common types A and B. All three forms of Guale Complicated Stamped occur on the vessel form bell pot. The design of the incised decoration of the rim is surprisingly uniform. There is apparently a slight increase in the prevalence of Stamp Type A in Mission period II times with a corresponding decrease in Type B. The relatively few sherds from the wall trench and the scanty floor deposits can all be identified as belonging to the Bell pots.

It is of some interest to me that while bell pots were recovered from the floor deposits of houses assigned to Mission period I they were absent from the wall trench fills, indicating that the type was introduced during Mission period I time. The vessel form itself is a puzzle. It has no nearby close relations in design and decoration. The plain vessels used as covers for funerary urns in the much earlier Savannah I period have a fairly close resemblance in shape, but are universally a plain grit tempered bluff ware. The bell pot is of dark grit tempered material and was always stamped on the body, with an incised decoration on the short curving rim. The line block stamped associated with the bell pots also occurs on jar forms. This peculiar stamp is new in the area. It has been suggested that it is derived from the filfot cross, the primary stamp in motif of the preceding Pine Harbor and Post Pine Harbor periods. There would not appear to have been sufficient time for this evolution since the post Pine Harbor which has the fylfot mostly identical with that earlier period has been assigned a contact date. It seems more reasonable to assume in this case that the vessel form and the decoration (stamped body, incised rim) which are always associated with it are a single trait having a common source outside of the area.

The nearest equivalent rim shape and decoration of this pot is located in North Carolina. The resemblance is by no means complete, and to assume such a relationship would raise more questions than it would answer. It should be noted that very little is known of the late pottery types along the coast of South Caroline. If Swanton is correct in his statement that the Gualeans were related to the Cusabo from southeastern South Carolina it is likely that some work in the old Spanish district of Santa Elena might yield some indication as to the origins and relationships of the bell pot.

Aside from the mysterious appearance of the bell pot, and the possibility of local copies of majolica, there are no other indications of great cultural change from the preceding period. The house types are perfectly standard types for the southeastern US in late times. There is evidence of maize agriculture, but no beans or squashes. There is evidence of imported food sources (the peach stones in Feature 42) and pottery. These last surely came from Spain and serve to strengthen the assumed dates given this period, 1566 to 1597. The Ichtucknee Blue on Blue and Blue on White types are everywhere associated with an earlier date than the types Fig Springs Polychrome and San Luis Polychrome which were found on in Mission period II context. Together with the type Columbia plain found in both Mission periods at 9MC10 and elsewhere in sites throughout the Caribbean, the Ichtucknee types are one of the earliest majolica types found in the New World.

The ubiquitous olive jar is alas not so easily classified except possibly in whole specimens. This difficulty with mass produced wheel turned pottery is not unique to the southeastern U.S. but plagues archaeologists everywhere throughout the Near East where the potter's wheel was early introduced. Except for the few items found fills of wall trenches and pits we have assigned all the abundance scrap iron, nails, terracotta, etc. to the intensive occupation of this site in post Spanish times. There is only one fragment of a blade assigned to

Post Pine Harbor, several crumbs of what tested out to be silver to Mission period I, and three glass beads, another blade, a coin, and several nails to Mission period II. Perhaps the excavation of a site elsewhere will yield the shovels, hoes, axes, rosaries and other religious paraphernalia which were certainly a part of mission life. Any such artifacts at Darien Bluff not safely tucked away in a sealed context will never be recognized in the incredible welter of rubbish that came to cover the wooden building of the two Spanish/Indian villages erected there.

Among the minority of types of the pottery are a few sherds of Altamaha Temperless Plain. This finely made ware is usually slipped red in the succeeding period, but albeit here occurs rarely, cups and small bowls, plain buff with an annular ring base. The red filmed examples of this variety are perhaps related to the purely indigenous type Kasita Red Filmed being manufactured at this time in the inland centers of aboriginal culture. Here on the Darien Bluff, red filming follows the introduction of the shapes, which slightly later include small jugs and handled pitchers. It seems simpler therefore to conclude that these are local copies of the majolica imported by the Spanish. The later appearance of red filming could be from Mexican exemplars as well as from aboriginal, especially since there are examples of Mexican ceramics at 9MC10 in Mission period II, but nothing which is specifically identifiable as origination in the upcountry centers of culture, Kasita in particular.

To sum it up at this point, it is proposed that the village built on the Darien Bluff consisting of Structures 1, 4, 7, and a mass of postholes around an open space between the foregoing and fragments subsumed under structure 9 dates from 1566 to 1597, was in close contact with the Spanish at nearby Saint Catherine's where they had a small group of colonists, a church, and a small presidio manned with troops. The village escaped burning in the general uprising referred to as the Juanillo Revolt during the course of which the chief villages of northern Guale were put to the torch by either or both Indian insurgents and Spanish punitive expeditions. Excavations to date have disclosed no chapel building, no fortifications, no evidence of resident Spanish nations, and if the previous conclusions are correct, there will not be such on this site which was merely a village in communication with the Spanish, boasting neither church and priest nor fortification at this time. The main themes of aboriginal life are largely undisturbed. The mysterious bell pot is, even representative of an intrusion from the north, a symbol only of the sort of movements of peoples which were always part of the culture, including as it did institutionalized warfare. The plain cups and bowls with their annular rings are just as easily Spanish in inspiration as aboriginal, and in the absence of other clear ties to the inland ventures of Muskogean culture the one former source likelier to me. The clear area between the groups of houses was evidently a sort of commons, but although it is rectangular in general shape as opposed to the rounded areas shown by White, there is no slight evidence to suppose that it was a ball ground. It is of some interest that at a slightly later time a major structure which I have no hesitation in proposing as a chapel of Spanish date was placed in just this spot, perhaps by the children of those who built the house called here Mission Village I. In conclusion then it is clear that in the Spanish era there was a real presence during Mission period I on the Darien Bluff. The disturbances of 1597 may be taken as evidence of the abandonment of this village, sufficient time for sand to fill all the open clay-lined pits, and for the houses to rot away sufficiently for additional later constructions to be placed directly over them.

The presence of an open plaza or park was often noted by early visitors to Guale and Timucua. The best drawings are from the Timucua area near the mouth of the St. John's made by White, attached to the Laudonniere settlement there of 1566. There are suggestions of such a plaza in several accounts of visitors to Guale, including the account of the visitors of Governor

Ibarra, and that of the Bishop of Cuba, Altimirano in 1604 and 1605. Although Swanton hesitates to identify the Gualeans with the Muskogean speaking tribes in the hinterland of the Guale area, there is ample archaeological evidence that they were partakers, although belatedly of the cultural innovations in food stuffs (archaeology) and ceramic decoration of these people. It would be foolhardy to call this plaza a ball ground, although at least one governor found it necessary to prohibit the sacred ball games in a decree applying to the Apalachee district. Perhaps the ball game may have arrived from the cultural centers inland in Guale by Mission times, and incorporated into their much less sedentary type of economic and social patterns.

It is of interest that the largest and most complex building of the subsequent period should have been placed squarely in the center of this open area. It argues, despite the evidence of abandonment and decay that the same peoples reoccupied the site during Mission period II, rebuilding the later houses over the earlier, and placing the large building that was probably the chapel for visitations at the old plaza, whose location and outlines were familiar to them.

Mission Period II Summary and Conclusions Version 1

The description of the Mission period II is drawn from the wall trenches and their fill material belonging to six aboriginal structures, and the large square post holes of a large compound structure of European design and construction. There were refuse features in and around these structures and it was from the sherds contained in these features and from the floor areas of the structures that we identified the assemblage of pottery types that characterizes the Mission period II.

The aboriginal structures were grouped around the large compound structure. Structures 2, 3, 8, and 6 are presented as study units, followed by a discussion of Structures 12 and 13, ending with a brief description of Structure 15, dating from the excavations of Joseph Caldwell in 1940. The method of wall trench construction is considerably heavier and better built than that of the earlier structures. The trenches are straight, the corners are squared, the trench is deeper and wider, with large posts set at regular intervals along the trench, and a solid line of poles between to support the wattle and daub walls. At the center of the two end walls there are a pair of large deeply set posts, which together with the increased strength of the long walls evidently supported a ridge pole type of roof. There are heavy deposits of grey clay in spots around the walls indicating that the walls were plastered. The burned Structure 15 indicates that the interior and exterior walls were plastered. There is no trace of white washing in any of the structures of Mission period II. Presumably the roof was thatched with palmetto, although this was not preserved anywhere, not even in the burned structure. The few Spanish references to aboriginal structures all speak of palm thatching. This improved variety of wall trench is referred to as modified wall trench. The structure is aligned off of east-west—south / southwest by east. The structures of modified wall trench are oriented from 3 to 8 degrees out of true compass directions.

Refuse features as such are very rare in the Mission period II, most of the midden being floor deposits, and concentrations of sherd material adjacent to the walls of the structures. Clay-lined features are by their nature difficult to assign to a time period but it would appear that only a very few, aligned with the structures themselves can be identified as belonging to Mission period II. These are discussed together with the structures to which it is assumed that they belong.

The pottery types occurring in the wall trench fills and midden concentrations are indicated for each structure and feature. The concluding section of this chapter will discuss the new types briefly. A complete description of the pottery types identified from the excavation of 9MC10 is to be found in Appendix I. There are several new types of rim decoration and others occurring in Mission period I are decreasing in frequency. There is a marked change in the types and amount of majolica associated with Mission period II, and as might expected a corresponding increase in the amount of olive jar. This is at least in part a reflection of the longer period of occupation assigned to Mission period II, a maximum of 82 years as compared to a maximum of 30 for Mission period I.

The development of this description of Mission period II begins with Study Unit 2, the most complete, followed by Study Units 3, 6, and 8. Features are included in these Units. They are in three groups, those that underlay the wall trenches, which add considerably to our knowledge of Mission period I, those that lie within the structures and those adjacent to the structures. The complex of buildings numbered Structures 12, and 13 that lie within the enclosure wall are not described as a study unit. There were refuse features in this area, which

was dug in 1952, and a concentration of refuse near the walls was noted in 1952. This was clearly of all three late periods of occupation, with a trace of several much earlier periods. Stratigraphy was found in the superposition of portions of Structure 13, the military burials that occupy the area between the structures of this period and the compound building, and a nineteenth century residence. The placing of the complex in Mission period II is based on the modified wall trench construction of an addition 13B to the central unit, 13A and the late majolica types found in association. The last structure to be included in the study of Mission period II is Structure 15, dating from the first work on the site in 1940.

Mission Period II Summary and Conclusions Version 2

The conclusions that may be from the Study Units 2, 3, 6, and 8, together with Structures 12 and the complex of buildings numbered as Structure 13 range over a wide area. Something of the nature of everyday life may be inferred from the ceramics and the structures in which they were found. The natures of the village and its extent offer other clues to that lost era. Each Study Unit and each structure offered a tidbit of information. The Study Units with their association of structural remains and refuse accumulations provided the widest assortment of data. These study units taken with the remaining structures provide a picture of one segment of the village in existence on the Darien Bluff during Mission period II. Let us begin with the first(?) sherds.

The aboriginal ceramic types in Mission period II include Guale Complicated Stamped, types A and B as in Mission period I, although there is a slight decrease in type B; and the type Guale Incised is more common. Altamaha Gritty Plain, Altamaha Red Filmed, Darien Temperless Plain, and Darien Red Filmed are much increased. The check stamped and incised types that disappeared at the beginning of Mission period I are again absent, and there is a sharp decrease in the number of sherds of Altamaha Complicated Stamped. The majolica types include Columbia Plain and Fig Springs polychrome from Mission period I, to which has been added the type San Luis Polychrome. According to the late John Goggin, who studied the majolica from the two season's work, this last type was not in use in the southeastern U.S. until after 1600. There were several fragments of an olive jar beaker of indeterminate date, and one bit of Mexican made polychrome from the wall trench of Structures 2 and 3. Olive jar, both plain and glazed types, is much more abundant than in Mission period I.

The red filmed types first occur, and even then quite rarely, during Mission period I. These few sherds were assumed to be of Spanish inspiration since there are no other indications of close ties to the only other aboriginal groups making red filmed wares at this time. If this assumption is correct, the marked increase in Mission period II times of the red and related plain types may be taken to reflect increased and more intimate contact with the Spanish. If the Mission period I red filmed sherds are assumed to be derived from purely aboriginal sources, the increased numbers of this type in the Mission period II would then expect more frequent contact with the area whereas indications of more frequent Spanish contacts are abundant.

The annular ring, found on cups and bowls of both red types, is a distinctly European trait. The copies(?) are of the type of annular ring characteristic of the wheel turned majolica types imported into the area. The presence of a red filmed polychrome earthenware fragment of Mexican manufacture in the wall trench of Structure 2 is an indication of a Spanish example for the aboriginal copy.

It is interesting that there are two types of red filmed ware. The first to appear is probably the Altamaha Red Filmed. In this type the typical aboriginal paste, dark and heavily coarse grit tempered, is shaped into bowls, cups, plates, and jars are slipped in red before firing. To date no jug or pitcher forms have appeared. Altamaha Gritty Plain and Altamaha Red Filmed both appear in Mission period I, the Gritty Plain examples far outnumbering the red filmed variant. The type Darien Temperless Plain and the variant Darien Red Filmed, a smooth finely divided clay well washed with very fine sand and crushed mica included, occurs as pitchers with a strap handle oval in cross section, cups, bowls showing an annular ring, plates, ramekins, and ladles. The red filmed variant, a clear dark red, is double fired, that is fired to buff, slipped in red and refired. The vessels are small, carefully shaped and beautifully finished. The general impression is of an improved ceramic technology acquired from the same source as the exotic designs (See Appendix I for detailed descriptions of these types).

The ceramics assigned to Mission period II were found mostly in the floor areas of the structures. There were very few refuse pits belonging to this later period. The wall trench fills of the Mission period II structures indicate that there was a rich midden on the ground at the time they were dug and our best specimens of the two majolica types associated with the Mission period I structures have come from this source.

Similarly, a number of choice bits(?) of San Luis Polychrome, quantities of polychrome(?), a knife blade, and several nails were recovered from the wall trench of Structure 14, which post-dates the church and enclosure wall.

Other Spanish imports belonging to Mission period II include a knife blade, various unidentifiable tidbits, a sword guard, a coin, several beads, fragments of silver decayed to a greyish ash, and several large nails with large round heads. An ax, more knife blades, and a simple hoe found in the area around Structure Complex 13 were not considered to be Spanish as the later colonial refuse was very thick at that point. The specimens have been preserved however, and find in context from other Spanish Mission sites may yet provide a Spanish identification.

The miscellaneous finds listed above, together with the majolica and olive jar sherds which comprise a healthy percentage of the total ceramic material of the Mission period II material recovered to date, are indications of a more intensive interaction with the Spanish than obtained during Mission period I.

The structural remains assigned to Mission period II included are three residences (Structures 2, 3, and 8), a possible store house (Structure 6), a church with an enclosure wall, two structures sharing a common wall with the enclosure wall (Structure 13), and a specialized structure at the rear of the church (Structure 12) which may have been a residence for the itinerant priest. The general lack of refuse pits is not reflected in the number of sherds assigned to Mission period II, they were simply found in small areas of greater concentration. The three residences and the store house form a neat open pattern on the east of Structure 13, the church complex. There were fragments of structures of the same type, wall trench construction lying to the west of Structure 13 (Structure 9 complex). This group of fragments lay at the excavation limits on the west, and additional work in this area should produce a group of structures similar in design and orientation to Structures 2, 3, 8, and possibly Structure 6 on the east.

There were several significant changes in the design and construction of the structures of Mission period II. The wall trenches were deeply dug, with large posts set into the trench among the usual small poles that supported the wattle and daub walls. This method of construction is for both periods. The clay used for plastering occurs in large deposits near the houses of both

periods, and as briquettes in Structure 15 which had been destroyed by fire, the only example on the site to date. The design changes include a new shape, rectangular, larger size, 15 by 30 would be an average size, the presence of partitions forming rooms, and an L shaped annex. This appendage lay under the eaves of the examples, and on the gable end of the other. There is some evidence of a door way under the eaves in Structures 2 and 8, and a clearly identified doorway in Structure 12. The floors were apparently of sand, and in Structure 8 had developed a respectable depth of midden stained sand. Structures 2 and 3 had a fire basin located at the opening of the L shaped appendage. Structure 3 had a small fired area on the floor as well. Caches of pottery were found on the floor areas of Structures 2 and 3, and a cache of vessels in the fire basin of Structure 2.

It is difficult to reconstruct a burned building. It is even more difficult to recreate when in the imagination only, a structure whose sole remains are a wall trench, and a few dollops of raw clay. It is clear that the reinforced wattle and daub walls of the Mission period II structures were surprisingly strong to support a roof. The large posts set at close intervals along the trench are fully adequate to support a hipped roof. The paired post holes on the short ends of the rectangular examples (Structures 2, 3, and 8) suggest that the roof was pitched, supported by a ridge pole.

Structure 15, which had burned, is of the same type of construction as Structures 2, 3, 6, 8, and 13B. The walls of this structure had been heavily daubed, inside and out. The mud plaster was supported by small vines closely woven between 2-4 inch poles, closely spaced in the wall trench. At intervals of 30 inches or so a 6-8 inch post was placed. Only the northern wall of this structure survived. Like Structure 11, the balance of the structure has been obliterated by the erosion of the bluff. This wall fragment has fallen outwards, together with several fragments of large squared timbers, presumably from the roof. There was an abundance of charred material but nothing that we could identify as palm thatch. There were three large nails recovered from burned material. Palm thatch is mentioned in seventeenth century Spanish documents. Structure 15 had a roof of palm thatch supported with square roof posts put together with nails, the long eaves of which overhang the wattle and daub walls. It is assumed that Structures 2, 3, 8, 21, and 13C were similarly constructed.

The most interesting structure on the site is Structure 13, a large complex of buildings and walls which enclosed a large area. Included in the enclosure is Structure 12. The buildings, except for Structure 13B and little Structure 12, are clearly European, and antedate the military cemetery belonging to Fort King George. This fact together with the Spanish majolica recovered from the post holes and the general refuse accumulations in the area are ample indications of Spanish origin. The complex is identified as a church.

The church complex is particularly interesting in that it is the first example of Spanish building to be discovered in Guale. The central unit consisted of a small frame of post barn type structure to which an addition had been constructed at a somewhat later time using native construction techniques. The enclosure wall was apparently of sawed boards attached to large posts set in the ground with nails. A large room shared a common wall with this enclosure wall on the east, and just south of this structure the enclosure was doubled to form a long narrow room or possibly a covered walkway from the landing stage at the bluff to the central unit. Possibly the external room was used as a store room, a class room, or community meeting room. The majolica found concentrated along the line of the enclosure wall and from the fill of the post holes and wall trenches indicate that this structure was built before San Luis Polychrome was

common on the site, but after the introduction of the red filmed types and Fig Springs Polychrome.

Olive jar and majolica were found in the post holes of Structures 13 A, C, D, E, and F. The majolica was of the earlier Ichtucknee and Columbia Plain types with one fragment of a Fig Springs Polychrome bowl fragment, other fragments of which were found scattered in the area. From the study of the majolica made by John Goggin it would appear that the church, its enclosure wall, and associated structures were built between 1575 and 1650. This date can be narrowed somewhat. The only churches left standing in Guale after the Juanillo Revolt were at Ospo, and at San Pedro. Since it rotted away it cannot be dated in the first period of mission effort, 1566 to 1597. It must be toward the upper end of the span of time, no earlier than 1600-1605 when the mission of Guale were rejuvenated under the leadership of Governors Canzo and Iberra. There is no indication in the documents of intensive church construction after this period. It is with some confidence that the date of erection is placed between 1600 and 1605, when Bishop Altimirano visited the churches of Guale.

The structures associated with the Mission period II pottery assemblage are neatly arranged. There are indications of the governmental decrees regulating these matters for the Timucua province, and presumably these were also such relating to Guale. Structures assigned to Mission period II are widely spaced, whereas those of Mission period I overlap. The structures assigned to Mission period II are more regular in outline than those of Mission period I. Refuse pits are less abundant in Mission period II, the refuse being concentrated on the floor areas and along the outside walls of structures. Curious clay lined pits are abundant in the village area east of the church. A few, aligned with the structures, appear to belong to Mission period II.

Structure 15 provides a clue as to the purpose of these curious pits. Three pits were aligned under the eave drip of Structure 15 as evidenced by the fallen roof timbers. One was neatly filled with fine grey clay. Another was nearly empty except for the fill of charred rubbish and a half a pot. The other half was found turned over atop a pile of grey clay. The clay found in these pits and elsewhere is ordinary marsh clay washed free of sand and iron salts. This suggested that the run off from the eaves fell into the small pits dug into the sand, each containing a small quantity of marsh mud, leaching out the iron salts – the film of washed clay which would remain on the top was then scraped together and put to use as wall plaster or for pottery making. There is an abundance of clay lined depressions scattered throughout the village area, many cut through by the wall trenches of Mission period II structures. These could have functioned in the same way, but less efficiently they would receive a smaller volume of water. Most of the clay lined pits in the village show a fill of water laid sand, as do the pits which were incorporated into and penetrated by the structures of Mission period II. For this reason the bulk of these clay lined pits (and they account for most of the 165 pits numbered on the site) are assigned to Mission period I. The smaller number that were open and presumably in use during Mission period II are concentrated near the structures of that period. It will be interesting to discover if this type of pit occurs on other Spanish / Indian sites. Additional information is needed to explain both their number and their purpose.

Taken together the evidence indicates numerous changes in the life of the village in Mission period II as compared to the earlier village. The former open plaza was now the site of a church building. Here the villagers learned their catechism, said their prayers, and went to mass as occasion offered. Contact with the Spanish center was frequent. Labor parties and bearers carrying the corn levy to St. Augustine returned bringing imported ceramics, iron tools, and

associated knickknacks. The houses were larger, neater, cleaner perhaps and the village itself was in an orderly pattern. The womenfolk were making all sorts of new and nicer pots, including utensils for serving and eating. Silver coinage was being circulated. The Gualeans no longer languished in a cultural backwater. For better temporarily, and for worse yet to come, they were caught up in the fortunes of the Spanish empire.

In the midst of change many things remained the same. The family still gathered to eat meals consisting mostly of corn, shellfish, and game, seasoned perhaps with peppers and onions introduced by Spanish, together with olives, peaches, and citrus fruits. Food was still prepared and served in earthenware pots. It was still necessary to spend a great deal of time hunting and fishing in addition to cultivating large fields of maize in order to fulfill the corn levy due the governors in St. Augustine and to fill the public granary as well. The Mico was still headman of the village, entitled to certain emoluments, in return for which he represented his people at the presidio in St. Augustine. Certain aspects of public and private life have greatly changed. The young men served as labor conscripts rather than as warriors. Each must be satisfied with the wife whom he could not divorce or abandon. The wives were obliged to wear clothes, to grind corn for the priests, and cook, serve, and cleanup for him. Everyone must go clothed to prayers, assist in cleaning the church, and in billeting the parties of officers and soldiers who frequently appeared in the village on their travels through the province.

Toward the end of Mission period II life became rather hectic. The French and English traders continued to urge insurrection, the Chichimecos were raiding villages left defenseless when their menfolk were called to St. Augustine, carrying(?) ever increasing quantities of grain that must be transported there. Pirates appeared in the harbor, killing, looting, and burning the unfortified villages and sometimes presidios alike. Other than arming the warriors of Guale against their common enemies the Spanish imprisoned those who appeared to put down the Timucua revolt. In the midst of the perils and frustrations the thin veneer of civilization laid over the ancient Gualean pattern crumbled. Some chose to join the newcomers at Charlestown, others fled to St. Augustine, to live under the walls of the splendid fortress there, and by 1675 or so the little village on the banks of the Darien River lay abandoned.

Further work at 9MC10 would add a great many details to the story.

A number of features that might be expected in a missionized village did not come to light in the course of two season's work. The village doubtless extended to the north and east of the church complex. There should be some trace of the supply of fresh water, perhaps a well in this area. By elimination the Christian cemetery sure to be associated with the mission structure must lie in this area as well. Just north of the church complex there was a group of residential structures from the period 1800 to 1860 or so and at present there is the ruin of a large concrete drying kiln. The disturbance from these has pretty much obliterated any traces from Mission periods I and II times in their immediate vicinity. It seems likely that additional work north of this area might produce additional village structures and perhaps the missing cemetery and possibly a well. The area to the east was evidently filled and produced very little in the way of aboriginal occupation except in the vicinity of the shell heap. A fragment of a structure belonging to the Mission period II was found nearly half way to Darien just near the bluff at this point. It seems likely that this was a temporary residence in the field areas, which were still sprouting onions in Barnwell's day, 30 years later.

Fort King George Palisade

The widespread trenching disclosed any number of submerged logs and beams, an old well, lined with cypress, and an assortment of installations belonging to the succession of mills that had operated on the spot during the 200 years that had elapsed since the fort was "pulled down" by the Highlanders who settled on the bluff a short distance upstream. In the late summer of 1952 I undertook to search again for the fort. These trenches were still open, and standing in water, which had begun to erode their sides. A close inspection of the trenches revealed little, but a close inspection of the point revealed a semi-circular depression enclosing the area of the point of land jutting out into the junction of the Darien River and Back Creek. Here Barnwell had clearly placed his fort, and unless here, the edges of the banks of the two streams had moved greatly in 200 years, one should still find its traces.

Youthful insouciance, scoffing at the wisdom of elders who maintained stoutly that this point was "made land," led me to try to drain a small part of the area enclosed by the depression in area that test pits could be dug. Our ditching operations were done with a drag line. Along the middle portion of the first ditch the drag line bucket began to drag up fragments of 10 to 12 inch poles, one or two of which showed tell-tale notches and pegs. Thus we relocated the ditch 100 yards to the north and installed a pair of wooden tide gates at each end, built with the aid of a local carpenter who remembered them from the days of his youth when they were an integral part of the rice culture flourishing in the area. Seepage put most of our efforts at naught, and the work of clearing the area where the first poles had been found was a messy business. The crew worked in water knee deep, moving heavy rock, and the heavier tougher to dig clay. The ballast was not so thickly deposited as I had been led to expect, and after removing some three feet of stone we found ourselves on the bare virgin muck, if so revolting a soil can be called virgin. The clay is stiff, dark blue-grey in color, and distinctly odorous. Lying side by side on the muck, with not so much as a single pebble underneath were fallen logs covering an area some __feet in length by ___feet wide. The depression lay some 10 feet beyond the northern ends while the southern ends were irregular, often notched. Traces of cross beams, and peg holes in several of the logs completed the resemblance to a fallen palisade, of logs, such as was known to have encircled the eastern and western side of the block house, and enclosed the southern side of the parade ground.

We expanded our trenches exposing more of the fallen palisade, but not a trace of the block house. On reflection it seemed that the canny Scotsmen, who, having pulled down the palisade to prevent any enemy from occupying it, may well have appropriated to their own uses the sawed cypress timbers of the block house, which in the lapse of only a few years would have suffered little at the hands of water and weather.

A grid system was set up using 5 foot squares and each pole was mapped with the details of pegs and cross stringers, although these were usually rotted to mere cores, and the few sawed cypress planks that were encountered. This map was plotted against that by Barnwell giving the original construction details, and the identifications seemed complete.

Some of the logs were removed, and several small soundings made under them. The lay on pure marsh muck, no trace of ballast, or any other artifacts was found below them. The interior of the fort was checked in two small soundings, but again no artifacts were found.

The finding of the palisade can be attributed to the pickling effect salt water has on any wood which stays submerged. As the exposed timbers were dried by the sun and the late summer drought of the 1953 season which lowered the water table sufficiently that the standing water in

the trench seldom exceeded 6 inches, we noticed that the pole began to weather very quickly. They were reduced, and the ballast and excavation spoil distributed to raise the land level some three or four feet. We had excavated in a minimum of 12 inches of water, tide gates notwithstanding, and at high tides had to abandon the area altogether. This feature of an inconvenience thus suffered by the garrison fort it seems. Of the excavation makes it one of the most personally uncomfortable that I have ever been on or even visited. Winter winds set in before we had really done all that was desired, and my faithful crewmen had been strained to the breaking point, then my fellow worker Larson found it simple to entice them to the relatively commodious confines of his excavation then running at Pine Harbor. I confess that although I would have liked to clear the parade ground, and make a more thorough search for the block house site, I was not loath to part with crew and excavation as the weather steadily worsened.

In summary then, the excavation produced portions of both the eastern and western curtains of the outer palisade, giving us a clear indication of the position of the fort in the junction of the two streams. Soil had built up at the east end of the fort, while the south side of the triangular enclosure appeared to have lost a minimum of 30 feet, including the south curtains and earth works, and a fair sized part of the parade ground.

We found no trace of the block house, supposedly built of sawed cypress, nor any of the other buildings within the walls, not as much as a button by way of artifacts, nor any trace of the earthworks. There is a simple explanation for this. The last missing item, the earthworks, had been built of the muck, which, unless absolutely dry, oozes and slides like water, back into the marsh. The same effect served to fill in the moat to the point where only a slight depression traceable through the marsh grass shows it former course.

The fort was in use only five years, in the course of which 140 men were casualties, lost more to old age and old wounds than military action. Of these 140 unfortunates the graves of 120 were relocated on the high ground some 1200 feet due east. They were unmarked, the marble markers to be seen today being of very recent origin. Apparently even so recently after the affair as the time of the settlement of New Inverness by the Highlanders the site of the grave yard was unknown. There are several ditches, presume property lines from the very early periods of Darien, which cross the area where these graves lie.

General Overview Version 1

Using the shifting type occurrences of majolica, we have for the site two villages, the earlier dating before 1600, the second from 1600 to about 1650 or perhaps a little later. The chronological break here coincides with the disruption that marked the mission history as a result of the catastrophic revolt of 1597, and three years of unrest following the destruction of four of the five main missions. During the interregnum the Indians were harassed by armed groups of Spanish troops, their houses and crops burned. One would not expect to find large settled villages dating from this period.

The excavations at 9MC10 yielded some indications that the site was abandoned between the two periods of occupation. The length of time involved must have been at least a few years, long enough for the open refuse features to acquire a top layer of 4 to 8 inches of windblown sand, and for the wall of the standing houses to decay. There is some evidence of burning in the earlier village. No burned walls or floors were found but the concentrations of daub in the Mission period II features and wall trenches would indicate a prior period of widespread destruction. Some daub is found in the Mission period I features, but nothing like the concentrations found in the later ones.

These slender suggestions of a violent end of the earlier village and clear indications of temporary abandonment fit in nicely with what one might expect in the way of archaeological indications of the historical events taking place in the unsettled years between the revolt and the establishment of the Guale Mission chain.

This leaves us with a problem. The documentary sources are vague on the locations of most of the missions, and the names of those operating in Guale change~~s~~ on each listing. None of the sites appear from the sources and authorities that I have checked to have a continuous occupation history throughout the entire Spanish period. Some villages we are told definitely moved locations one or more times. While this data is not given for other stations, it is always possible that the unit under discussion may be a new town with an old name, or an old town with a new name or more usually a slightly different version of a single name.

Granting the correctness of the identification of 9MC10 as Santo Domingo de Talaxe as correct, we find that there is nowhere a mention of the history of this settlement prior to 1600-1603, other than the statement that Talaxe was the Chief Town of the district. Yet the evidence is strong that the village of the Mission period I was in close contact with the Spanish, and was a fairly large town. It is still possible that excavation of the northern and western portions of the village area may yield a church belonging to the Mission period I; it seems probable that such an important structure in the life of the village would have enjoyed the central and choice location of the later church. The site of the church did not have adjacent domestic dwellings during the early period, and shows very few post molds or refuse pits from any period. On the basis of these considerations I would suggest that the Altamaha village lacked a church proper, but was a visitas to some nearby larger center. It is a consideration to be taken in identifying the later church and village among the many operating after the revolts of 1597 and the subsequent restoration of the Guale centers.

One other inference can be drawn from the archaeological finds in the Spanish period at 9MC10. The changes in pottery form and decoration, and in village architecture and lay out give us some clues as to the amount and kind of acculturation brought about by the aboriginals' contact with the Europeans, through the operation of the mission centers.

The efforts of the Spanish to get the Indians to live a settled agrarian type of life were severely hampered by their persistence in clinging to their ancient partly nomadic economy. Hunting and fishing were the means of existence over and above agriculture at the time the Spanish first began their enterprise. Large settled villages were unknown among the tribes, and agriculture was a poor thing compared to that of their neighbors in the river valleys in central and piedmont Georgia. The soil is poor, the forests dense, and the insectivores numerous and hungry. Maize agriculture was practiced, but with indifferent success to judge from the accounts of such as Father Rogel. The addition of iron hoes and axes to the tool assemblage of these people did much to make agriculture more remunerative. Iron axes could be used to fell the denser stands of trees which grew on the better land, and hoes made it possible to properly cultivate the crop. Thus only two major enemies of a bountiful harvest were left, drought, which visited the area several times during the Spanish occupation, and insects, both during the growing season and while the ears lay in winter storage.

To judge from the stories of the natives, they were, before the advent of the white man, seldom in actual want of food, even after a bad growing season. This happy state of affairs was soon changed by the constant demands from the capitol city at St. Augustine for corn and more corn for the support of the population there and that of the soldiers scattered throughout the province in presidios. The Indians were soon forced to live close in large towns, tending wide acres of corn, beans, squash, tobacco, and other staple crops, some of which had to be transported to the main presidio at St. Augustine which was so poorly situated for self- support that all there would otherwise have perished of starvation. Much of the ever present dissatisfaction between native and conqueror may be traced to the corn levy, with its attendant evils, settled living, and close supervision by the Padre in such matters as industry in the fields and strict monogamy.

The Indians of the southeastern United States had developed pottery and village economy, in that order, long before the arrival of the first Spanish contingent on the inlet of Matanzas. The natives of the inland areas visited by Desoto and others had apparently large and fairly old town settlements, whereas the settlements of the coastal Indians had an air of impermanence, which would be expected since they spend more than half the year in the woods, hunting and gathering. The development of a village plan among the Timucua is to be inferred from the drawings of LeMoyne, but these are in contrast to that observed for the Creeks by Bartram, Adair, and others such as the Mobilas, described by DeSoto's chroniclers. The standard town among the Creek was laid out around a square, which contained the ball ground, and on some sites the large mounds on which stood the temple structure.

The mission village was superimposed on an older village at 9MC10, the square of the older village, which may well have been a ball ground as it shows no trace of buildings of any kind, becoming the church grounds with enclosing wall that took in the old square and some addition areas well. The additional area shows a thick concentration of post holes, perhaps the shed-like structures which usually surrounded the ball ground.

Acculturation is clearly seen in the changing house construction of the later village. The rectangular floor plan, with rooms, and a pair of heavy posts placed on the short ends of the structure to support a ridge pole are examples of European influence. It is to be expected that the superiority of European construction as noted by the natives who lived within a stone's throw of the large wooden structure which we refer to throughout the report as a church.

Again, the shifting orientation of the houses themselves, from along the river to a true compass would indicate influence, as would the placing of the house in squares around the

church. The arrangement is called for in a royal schedule, and may well have been carried out in the construction of the Mission period II village at the Darien site.

The domestic pottery of the Indian continued to be the old handmade vessels, fired in the ancient way, and for the most part, decorated in the patterns of the past. Certain subtle changes are seen shortly after the advent of Spanish glazed wares. The annular ring base is found on several kinds of pots and bowls, the pitcher with strap handle makes its appearance along with a small tasse-shaped cup, and a soup plate form, the last two being direct copies as to form from the majolica of the period. The wheel for making pottery does not seem to have been introduced to the Indians of the village, but improved techniques of smoothing, slipping, and firing appear in the plain and red filmed types.

Two fragments of red filmed Mexican Polychrome ware were found associated with a Mission period II house. The red filming makes a sudden appearance in this ceramic period, and it is tempting to argue that the type Talaxe Red Filmed is a copy of the Mexican type. This would be rash at least since red filming is present in many Georgia pottery assemblages, earlier and contemporary with the Spanish invasion of the coast. However, the red filming of the Talaxe vessels is superior in color, depth of slip, and surface finish to that which is undoubtedly purely aboriginal. A double firing process was usually used. The slipped vessels were fired after initially firing the plain vessel. The slip pigment seems to have been a special type of iron salt, especially prepared and concentrated to give the depth and richness of blue-red color in contrast to the brownish cast of purely aboriginal red filming. The plain types are likewise improved as to surface finish and polishing, but are not so finely decorated or shaped as that occurring before Spanish contact in the ceremonial wares of the Pine Harbor period. The paste is much the same in both types of wares, but the forms of the late ware are simpler, and show the annular ring on many examples.

The red filmed and plain cups, plates, and pitchers are the clearest indication of Spanish acculturation as seen in the local ceramics. Majolica vessels were in wide use on the site, and with the limitations of the native handicraft, were copied widely.

General Overview Version 2

Thus we had a nearly continuous strip from the edge of the high land overlooking the point where Fort King George is now being reconstructed, continuing west some 400 feet, varying in width from 120 to 300 feet in width, and from there another 200 feet. After a gap of 990 feet Trench 2 picked up and ran another 1,000 feet, broken for another 800 feet by a deep ravine, and then, taken up on the other side, ran another 1200 feet and ended just beyond the edge of the main part of town. Mission period debris was concentrated in the large area formed from Trenches 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, with scattered light traces to the west but no heavy occupation, thus it appears that the mission village was about 1500 feet in length along the bluff edge. The northward extent back from the bluff was harder to determine, but scattered finds in the sandy roads and in the barrow pit dug for fill to rebuild the embankments of the fort it would seem that it had extended at least 900 feet to the north, making an area of about 35 acres, the size given by Barnwell for the "old fields" described by him in 1720, is 40 acres, but the discrepancy is hardly serious when one considers the rough measures used to arrive at the smaller figure.

It cannot be said that we have really covered these 30 acres, only the bluff edge portions have been covered with any thoroughness. A search for the mission cemetery, when or if ever it is made, will probably locate it in the area just to the north of Trench 7, an area covered with the formidable array of trees and jungle-like undergrowth. This seems the most likely spot, as we could hardly have failed to locate at least one tell-tale grave pit in our wide spread testing to the west of the church, while to the east and south the area was thoroughly covered to the marsh edge, leaving only the north open. It is probable that the cemetery was at no great distance from the church, which stands in isolation in the center of large excavation.

The floor deposit of the church was fairly heavy, as was the deposit on the depressed floor of the tower of Structure 14, both of which were identified as structures after the floor fill had been removed. Pits were abundant in the village area, but only a few were found in the area enclosed by the walls of the church, all but one of them probably dug before the church was built.

Structures of both types were all placed well away from the enclosed area of the church itself with one exception, a small single post structure, which in all probability antedates the church, and possibly the village just earlier than the church. The tower and palisade arrangement, Structure 14, are very curious.

Midden as such was largely absent, having been destroyed by more than a century of industrial uses of the site. The sherd population is then not surprisingly low for such a large excavation, some 7000 being in a state where the decoration if any could be recognized. A total of ____ pieces of majolica and several small artifacts other than pottery complete the inventory of mission period materials.

[Editors: page just starts as follows-not sure what is missing] to two types of domestic architecture found in the village. Both series are within Spanish times, a fact attested to by the presence of Spanish materials in the fills of wall trenches of houses of both periods. The span of Spanish control and occupation of this area runs from the late 1500s to 1686 when the last of the Christianized Indians were withdrawn to the protection of the Castillo de San Marcos at St. Augustine.

The architectural data ties the modified type wall trench village with the church structure, the unmodified houses belonging to a village that antedated the church, and apparently lacked one of its own. Thus the pottery belonging to the period when the village boasted a church and

was a true mission town is that of the Mission period II series. The majolica associated with this series inc1udes the types Fig springs Polychrome, and San Luis Polychrome, the two occurring together on sites elsewhere related from 1600 to about 1650. Earlier types of wares are found associated with the period on the Darien site, but the greater number of exact contents lie in the Mission period I for the majolica types Ichtucknee Blue on white and Ichtucknee Blue on Blue, and Columbia Plain. The date for these types found together is somewhat earlier, pre-1600, in Florida sites and in the Caribbean.

This majolica dating serves as a rough calendar for the remains found on the Darien site. The early village dates before 1600, lacks a church, but is in close contact with the Spanish missions operating in the area during that time. The second village with the church located near the center dates from after 1600 to about 1650. Or perhaps it was slightly later.

Appendix 1
Pottery Type Descriptions

Type Name – **Guale Complicated Stamped (was Altamaha Line Block Stamped)**
Definition as a type – This paper
Ware Characteristics –

Method of manufacture – coil fractures present
Temper – Grit, coarse to medium course white quartz – very heavy
Paste texture and color – paste well mixed, with a coarse texture, dark brown to black, greyish buff where over fired.
Surface Texture – Interior smoothed with no grit particles showing, occasionally almost polished, with marks of smoothing tool. Shoulder areas are polished well before incising, but rims are not always even smoothed before the application of reed punctations. The folded rim is always smoothed before adding the punctates.

Hardness – Brittle and hard, with tendency to break in triangular bits ranged around point of shock – very ragged fractures

Form – two distinct forms, a jar with conoidal base, tall with slightly out-flaring rim, which may be plain or folded, reed punctations with a hollow reed applied about 1inch below rim lip. A variant jar is somewhat smaller, shorter with the base more nearly globular. The rims are as above. The stamp is found on these jar forms, and the bell-shaped pot, (See Guale Incised [was Altamaha Incised]) whose bodies are not easily distinguished from the jars, and rarely on the outside of small shallow plate forms. Annular rims are not found on any vessel bearing this stamped decoration.

Decoration –

Technique – Carved wooden paddle, there have been sherds seen with the wood fibers showing in the stamped sherd – The clay is fairly dry when stamped as the stamp is clean, seldom smoothed after stamping except in rim areas, over-stamping very common. Lands and grooves of the line block design are deeply stamped, with the coordinates of the four line blocks aligned with the horizontal and vertical of the pot standing upright.
Design – A pattern of four blocks, each made up of six to twelve lines, set to oppose each other at right angles. The center of the f3333our blocks may show a raised round blob, more rarely a hollow square with a central blob, and very rarely a spider of four to six crossed lines.

Sub Types – a few sherds have been seen with the lined blocks arranged to make a diamond, the lines set to meet as diagonals thus chevrons – Still a second variant type has the coordinates of the blocks heavily emphasized, no central blob at all.

Relationships – The design is the same as in the type San Marcos Crossed Simple Stamped, but the rim decoration is of an earlier vintage. The type is here about 45% of the total series, 99 percent of the decorated wares, while in Late St. Augustine it is about 85% of the series. Altamaha Line Block Stamped is the forerunner of St. Augustine type, but can be distinguished from the rim. A few rims folded with the triangular punctates were found on the site, in a Mission period II context, but they are not common. Again, the bell pot, always showing the line block stamp and none other is almost totally lacking in the Florida series, while it is about 45 percent of the Line Block rims on the Guale sites. On these considerations the type has been set up as distinct from the Florida type.

Geographic Range – From the South Newport River to the South Mouth of the Altamaha River in quantity, scattered sherds to the south, probably some to the north as well, in short, the Guale province.

Chronological Position – a new type on the Georgia Coast in the Mission period I [was Altamaha] series. It is the dominant ware throughout the entire Spanish period, spreading from here to Florida where it becomes the majority ware of sites of St. Augustine I and II. It also appears in western Florida on the sites showing Leon Jefferson series materials, some 50 years after Guale was virtually abandoned.

Notes – In the hope that presence or absence of the central blob would develop into some temporal significance the sub type A, without the central blob and type B with the central blob, blob in square and spider were counted as separate types. Also the diagonal variant was note separately. The tendency is slight, but there is a decrease in the Type B between Mission period I and II series, with a slight increase in the diagonal variant in the later series.

Type Name – **Guale Incised [was Altamaha Incised]**

Ware Characteristics –

Method of manufacture – coil fractures present, base often found as a single disc, 4-6" in diameter.

Temper – Coarse white quartz grit as for Altamaha Line Block Stamped and Pine Harbor Check Stamped. There are a few examples of this type in the virtually temperless paste usually found as plain or red filmed sherds, derived from small examples of this type, probably made for use as eating vessels.

Paste texture and color – Dark, with the grit well smoothed from the stamped surfaces, the interiors highly finished, occasionally burnished. The rim area was well-polished before the application of the incised design which characterizes the type.

Hardness – Brittle and hard, breaking very irregularly with ragged edges as does Altamaha Line Block on jars and Pine Harbor Check Stamped.

Form – It is on the basis of the form, a unique bell shaped profile, the base flattened so that the vessel stands alone, the rim incurved, from 1 inch to 1 ¾ inches wide, bearing an incised design that this type has been separated from the rest of the sherds bearing the stamped motif Altamaha Line Block Stamp. This is the only stamp ever found on the body of a bell pot, and strangely most of them are the Type A. One example of Type B and one unique vessel with a mixture of line block and check stamped were found.

Decoration – The body of the jar is stamped with the line block motif, the rim bearing an incised design. Nine varieties of designs were distinguished, and counted separately in the course of the rim studies. There is a tendency for the earlier examples of this type to have a large curvilinear motif on the rim, the body stamp being clearly applied with little over-stamping. The examples from the Mission period II series are badly over stamped, the rims are narrower, and the design consists of an angular series of chevrons, with two or more lines at the lip, and tear drop shaped ticks along the shoulder of the rim. Other ticks and punctates are occasionally scattered among the scrolls and chevrons but are not common. (See plate varieties of rim form)

Relationships – The sherd sample from the series tentatively called post Pine Harbor is too small to be at all certain whether this type is found in that series. The line block stamp does occur however and it will be interesting to see at just what point the bell pot shape is

introduced. The form and the stamp are both extraneous to the ceramic sequence just prior to the Spanish contact, 1565, and is possible although not probable that they were derived from different sources. The area immediately to the south of Guale was predominately making check stamped of the St. Johns III variety at the time this type appears in Guale. The immediate northern neighbors of Guale are virtually unknown archaeologically. For want and other information it seems probable to look here for the source of both the line block stamp and the vessel form here associated, even though it should later appear that they were introduced at separate times from this area.

Type Name - Belleville Plain or Altamaha Gritty Plain?

Ware Characteristics –

Method of manufacture - coil fractures present

Temper – coarse white quartz grit, heavily mixed

Paste texture and color – well mixed, black to pale grey in color, the cores always dark save where over fired, then buff.

Surface texture – smooth with little grit showing, seldom polished but well smoothed interiors showing few tool marks.

Hardness – Brittle and coarse, ragged edges on new fractures

Forms – Usually a smallish jar with out-flaring rims, which is plain. A few examples have been noted with small hollow reed punctates applied about 1" below the lip, one pitcher form, several shallow soup plates and a few cups, one bearing an annular ring base.

(The plates, cups and the pitcher are like the forms of the temperless plain, Altamaha Temperless Plain which are identical with the forms of Talaxe Red Filmed and San Marcos Red Filmed.)

Decoration – usually none save a few sherds with reed punctates below a plain slightly thickened rim.

Type Name - Altamaha Check Stamped [was Pine Harbor Check Stamped]

Definition as a type – Additional material on this type will appear in the publication on the coastal survey Larson (n.d.), which covered many sites of the Pine Harbor variety.

Ware characteristics –

Method of manufacture – coil fragments present

Temper – coarse grit, white quartz, heavily used, but not present on the surfaces in quantity.

Paste texture and color – Dark brown to black, greying buff where over fired

Surface texture – Interior smoothed, exterior somewhat rough under the stamping.

Hardness – Brittle and hard, breaking into ragged pieces with ragged edges as Altamaha Line Block sherds

Forms – Same as for Altamaha Line Block Stamped, although it has never been found on a bell pot. In addition there are a few cup shapes and somewhat more of the small and shallow jar form than in the line block series.

Decoration – a check stamp, applied with a wooden paddle, the checks averaging _____cm by _____cm. Applied on fairly dry clay, never over smoothed, seldom over stamped. A few sherds were noted in which a paddle of line blocks had been altered to make a check stamp, leaving the central coordinates in place, one example having the central blob, the other lacking the blob.

Relationships – on the basis of a personal communication from Lewis H. Larson, the sherds of this type in the series from 9MC10 have been here called Pine Harbor Check Stamped. The type occurs on this site as nearly half of the series tentatively called the Post Pine Harbor series, about 18% of the Altamaha series, and absent in the Mission period II series. See forthcoming report on the coastal survey and the excavation at the Pine Harbor site for details of the type and its earlier associations. There was no Pine Harbor occupation on the area of 9MC10 which was tested or excavated, thus we were unable to secure any data on the type from this site.

Notes – one vessel was found in an intrusive pit through the floor of House 15 which was small, globular based jar, the rim folded slashed in a manner reminiscent of late check stamping throughout the northern piedmont area. It is probably that this vessel dates from the Huspaw occupation of the bluff in the summer of 1716 rather than Mission period II when the site was in use as a mission center.

Type Name – **Darien Incised**

Ware Characteristics –

Method of manufacture – coil fractures present

Temper – a medium coarse white quartz grit, very heavy tempering

Paste texture and color – Paste well mixed, no grit showing on surface, color ranges from dark buff to nearly black.

Surface finish – The plain body sherds are highly smoothed, almost polished, the interiors well smoothed, showing some tool marks. The stamped body sherds are a bit rough under the stamping, but the incised area, polished after the application of the stamping before incising. The stamp is always Altamaha Line Block.

Hardness – Rather brittle, breaks with ragged edges.

Forms – A cazuela form with incurving rim about 1.5 to 2.25 inches wide, and a jar form with slender neck, rounded shoulders and a flaring plain rim. The cazuela form is incised along the entire rim, the jar on the area between lip and shoulder down into body where the design peters out.

Decoration – the cazuela form usually has a series of double scrolls, from four to eight concentric patterns, with fills between the ends of adjoining scrolls. The jars may have the scrolls but more usually a “cat’s eye” of lozenges, the basal end open, with a slash or tick for the “pupil”, used in concentric sets of four to twelve. One jar has a sort of nested chevron with an angular scroll, and several specimens of parallel lines are known. The incising is not very bold, ranging to almost scratchy. Ticks, slashes and other very small punctations are used as part of the incised design.

Geographic Range – The old Guale area at least

Relationships – This type is not to be confused with Lamar bold incised in design or execution, and varies from the type Pine Harbor Incised in the variety of motifs, the vessel forms on which it is carried. The ostensible source is of course Lamar Bold Incising, but the present type is both later and messier. A few very well executed samples would pass for Lamar Bold Incised save for the Altamaha Line Block Stamping usually found on the base of the cazuela. We suspect that the jar form has a plain body.

Type Name – **Altamaha Complicated Stamped**

Ware Characteristics –

Methods of manufacture – coil fractures present

Temper – coarse grit, fairly heavy, some sand

Paste texture and color – well mixed, no grit showing nearly black

Surface finish – the interior smoothed; the exterior partly rough because of the stamping

Hardness – Brittle and given to ragged breaks, but not so heavily tempered nor so black as the types Altamaha Line Block Stamped, Pine Harbor Check Stamped, nor Altamaha Gritty Plain.

Form – a medium sized jar, with a slightly flaring rim

Decoration – stamped all/over with designs both curvilinear and rectilinear, the rims usually reed punctated directly into the stamping. A few examples have a sort of shallow denting around this edge of the lip, others have reed punctates on a smoothed area.

Designs - The curvilinear motifs are large, crudely executed on the paddle, and feature large lands, with occasional large raised blobs. The rectilinear motifs are somewhat more common than the curvilinear, consisting of a sort of Greek Key, and a set of nested squares with a central coordinate between each set of four nested squares. Neither design is recognizable as any variety or descendant from the filfot, so prevalent in the preceding periods to the mission development. The type is not common at 9MC10 but occurs more frequently in the area to the immediate south of the site, south of Altamaha River. (Larson Personal Communication) Both types of designs are apparently descendants of the general southeastern standing tradition which is everywhere in the state on its way out. The type of design and the execution is not quite that of the Leon Jefferson wares, and more to the point, the type never shows the Lamar like pinched rim. This typical rim form is almost totally absent from the site occurring twice in a sampled of over 6,000 sherds.

Notes – This type is decreasing throughout the Mission periods in Guale, being rare in Mission period II assemblages.

Type Name – **Altamaha Temperless Plain**

Ware Characteristics –

Method of manufacture – coil fractures, one example of modeling

Temper – some very fine sand, quantities of mica but no visible particles.

Paste texture and color – the paste is well mixed, the fired sherd showing a compact core with laminations where two or more strips have been joined. Apparently the clay medium was handled when very dry, and often breaks at poorly cemented joints. The color is usually buff, sometimes a darkish grey brown, occasionally dark brown. The core is always darker than the surfaces except in thin sections.

Surface finish – The ware is always well polished, often burnished, the interiors and exteriors may show tool marks, the exterior always better finished than the interior.

Hardness – Fairly soft, porous, breaks into tiny pieces under any pressure

Forms – The type occurs mostly as small bowls, with and without annular rings, occasionally as a pitcher, and as plates, cups and one example of a spoon or small ramekin. There were three tiny pinch pots made of this paste, toys? and several amorphous lumps in the fill of a fire basin.

Decoration – one tiny unique bowl bore a scratchy series of scallops near the rim, a tiny pinch pot was dented at intervals, and one example, a pitcher was apparently painted in a series of straight lines from the neck down into the body of the pitcher. The paint of this specimen is washable, a sort of dull brownish black.

Relationships – This ware appears to be identical with the type Altamaha Red Filmed in form and paste, lacking only the red filming itself and a second firing. The presence of annular rings, plate forms very like that of the imported majolica, suggests that this ware has been subjected to considerable European influence. It is far superior in workmanship and technique to the general run of the grit tempered potteries. It occurs in both mission period series, and is probably the post contact descendant of the fine pasted ware of McIntosh incised from the Pine Harbor period.

Notes – the paste peculiarities here suggest that this is natural micaceous clay which is worked without the addition of any tempering materials. Lumps of fine marsh clays baked in accidental fires exhibit the same uniform cross section and coloring.

Geographical Range – Guale and probably the area just to the south

Type Name- Altamaha Red Filmed

Ware characteristics- Same as for Altamaha plain

Hardness- same as for Altamaha Plain

Form - Same as for Altamaha Plain, with the addition of a small cup (about 5 cm.) with an annular base formed by tapering the edge of a slightly concave base.

Decoration – Always red filmed on the interior, usually on the exterior as well. Surface is fired-on, showing a cross section red, buff, black, buff and red again, with the exceptions of the thin portions of lips and necks which are buff clear through. Color is a bright red, ranging to a bluish dark red, never fugitive, and usually highly polished, occasionally burnished to a considerable luster.

Design – No zoning occurs on this association of paste, form, and method of filming. Rarely engraved on exterior of cup(?) near rim or incised or cazuela.

Relationships – Related to Altamaha Plain, and probably a matter of the application of the technique of red filming to an earlier paste, McIntosh Plain dating from Pine Harbor times.

Geographic Range – Unknown at present, probably the entire Guale province

Chronological Position – Red filmed types are unknown in Pine Harbor, and although red types do occur at Creighton Island, it is uncertain whether they are this type, or some other variant in form and paste. The sherds from this site in dateable context are entirely within the Mission period II series time division, with the sole exception of a plain bowl, no ring, that was found in a pit, whose other contents would suggest a post Mission period II date.

Appendix 2
List of Structures

Structure	Description	Old #	Unit?
1	Large Mission period I structure in Trenches 5 and 6		5
2	Rectangular Mission period II structure in Trench 5		2
3	Rectangular Mission period II structure in Trench 5		4
4	Large Mission period I structure in Trench 5		8
5	Fragment of wall trench inside Structure 1		6
6	Small rectangular Mission period II structure lying over part of Trenches 5 and 7		
7	Semi-circular Mission period I structure in Trench 6		7
8	Medium rectangular Mission period II structure in Trench 5		9
9	Fragment to west of 13 - A, B, C, D (Part of 13??)	1	2
10	Single post house at western end of Structure 14B	2,3	13
11	Fragment of Wall Trench structure (Mission period II) at eastern end of Structure 14A	4	11
12	Small rectangular structure near Structure 13B (Mission period II)	5	10
13	The Church	6	13
13A	Square Post Portion of Church	6	13
13B	Wall Trench Portion of Church	6	13
13C	Eastern Enclosure Wall	6	13
13D	Western Enclosure Wall	6	13
14A	Eastern Palisade	1	14
14B	Western Palisade	1	14
14C	Towers	2	14
15	Joe Caldwell's 1940 Structure Fragment		15
16	Tabby House		
17	Mortar Brick House		
18	Chimney House End of A?		

Appendix 3
List of All Features and Periods

Feature	Description	Period
1	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
2	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
3	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
4	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
5	Dirt Filled Refuse Pit	Mission period I
6	Dirt Filled Refuse Pit	Mission period I
7	Dirt Filled Refuse Pit	Mission period I
8	Dirt Filled Refuse Pit	Mission period I
9		
10		Mission period II
11		Pine Harbor? /Mission period I?
12	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
13	Void Pit	
14	Shell Filled Pit	Mission period I
15	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
16	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
17		Mission period I
18		Fiber Tempered
19		
20	Dirt Filled Pit	
21	Dirt Filled Pit	
22		Savannah I
23	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
24		Fiber Tempered
25	Dirt Filled Pit	
26		Pine Harbor? /Mission period I?
27	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
28	Dirt Filled Pit	
29	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
30		Pine Harbor? /Mission period I?
31		Pine Harbor? /Mission period I?
32	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
33		Pine Harbor? /Mission period I?
34		Mission period II
35	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
36		Mission period II

Feature	Description	Period
37		Mission period I
38		Mission period II
39	Number Skipped	
40		Mission period II
41	Lost in Structure 3	
42	Dirt Filled Pit	
43		Mission period I
44		Mission period I
45	Dirt Filled Pit	
46		Mission period II
47	Lost in Structure 4	Mission period I
48	Dirt Filled Pit	
49		Mission period II
50	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
51	Dirt Filled Pit?	Mission period I
52	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
53	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
54	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
55	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
56	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
57	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
58	Dirt Filled Pit, Also Listed as Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	Mission period I
59	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
60	Clay Lined Pit	Mission period I
61	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
62	Clay Lined Pit	Mission period I
63	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
64	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
65	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
66	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
67	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
68	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
69	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
70	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
71	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
72	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
72A	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I

Feature	Description	Period
73	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
74	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
75	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
76		Mission period II
77		Pine Harbor? /Mission period I?
78		Mission period II
79	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
80		Pine Harbor? /Mission period I?
81		Pine Harbor? /Mission period I?
82		Pine Harbor? /Mission period I?
83		Pine Harbor? /Mission period I?
84	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
85	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
86	Lost in Structure 2	
87	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
88	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
89	Lost in Structure 2	
90	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
91	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
92		Mission period II
93	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
94	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
95	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
96	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
97	Unclassified Clay Lined Pit	
98		Mission period II
99		Mission period II
100		Mission period II
101	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
102	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
103	Shell Pit	Mission period I
104		Mission period II
105		Mission period II
106		Mission period II
107		Mission period II
108	Shell Pit	Mission period I
109	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
110		Mission period II

Feature	Description	Period
111	Lost in Trench 7	
112	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period II, Also Mission period I
113	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
114	Lost in Trench 7	
115	Lost in Trench 7	
116	Lost in Trench 7	
117	Lost in Trench 7	
118	Dirt Filled Pit	Mission period I
119		
120		Pine Harbor? /Mission period I?

FIGURES

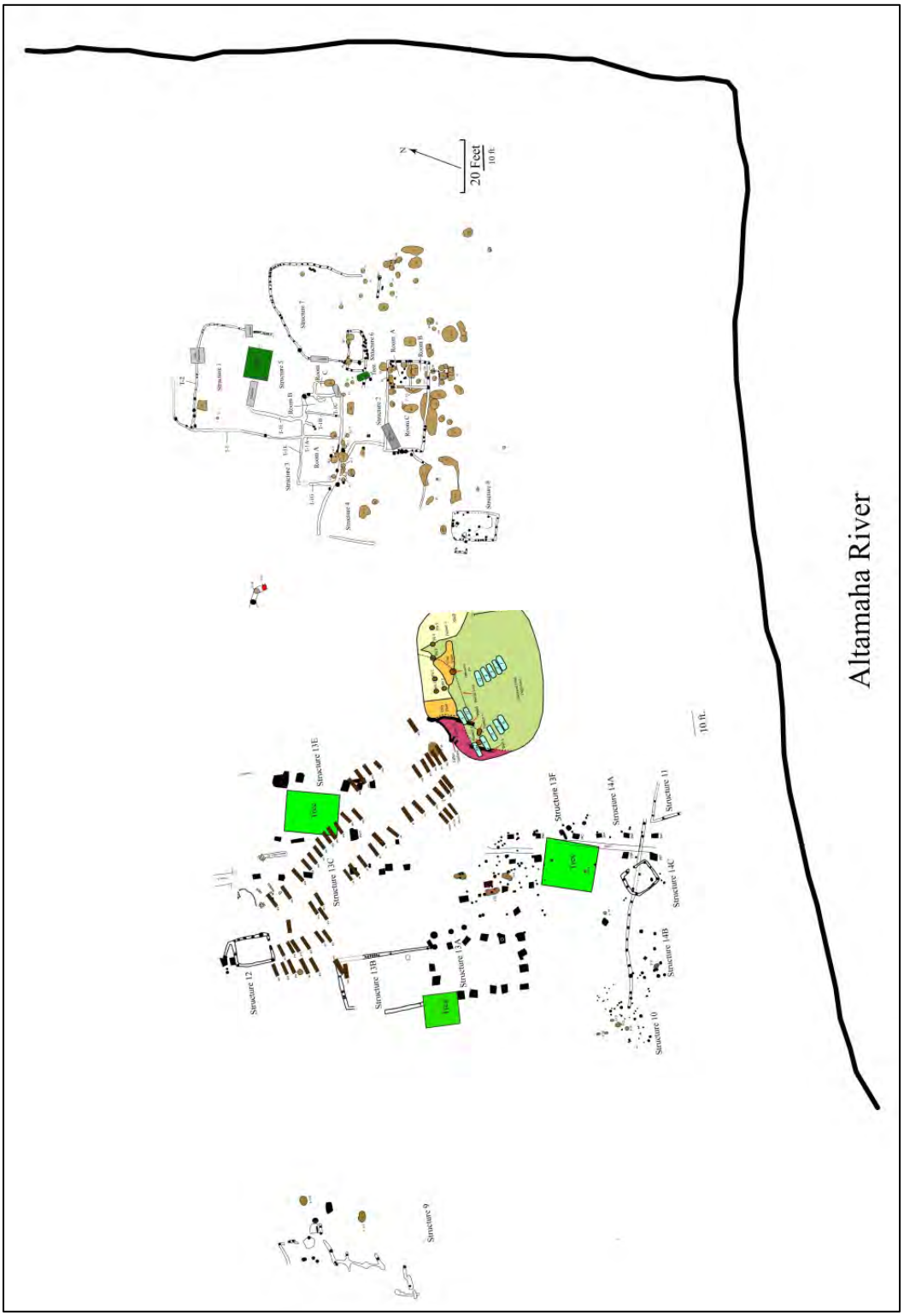

Figure 1. East and West Village.

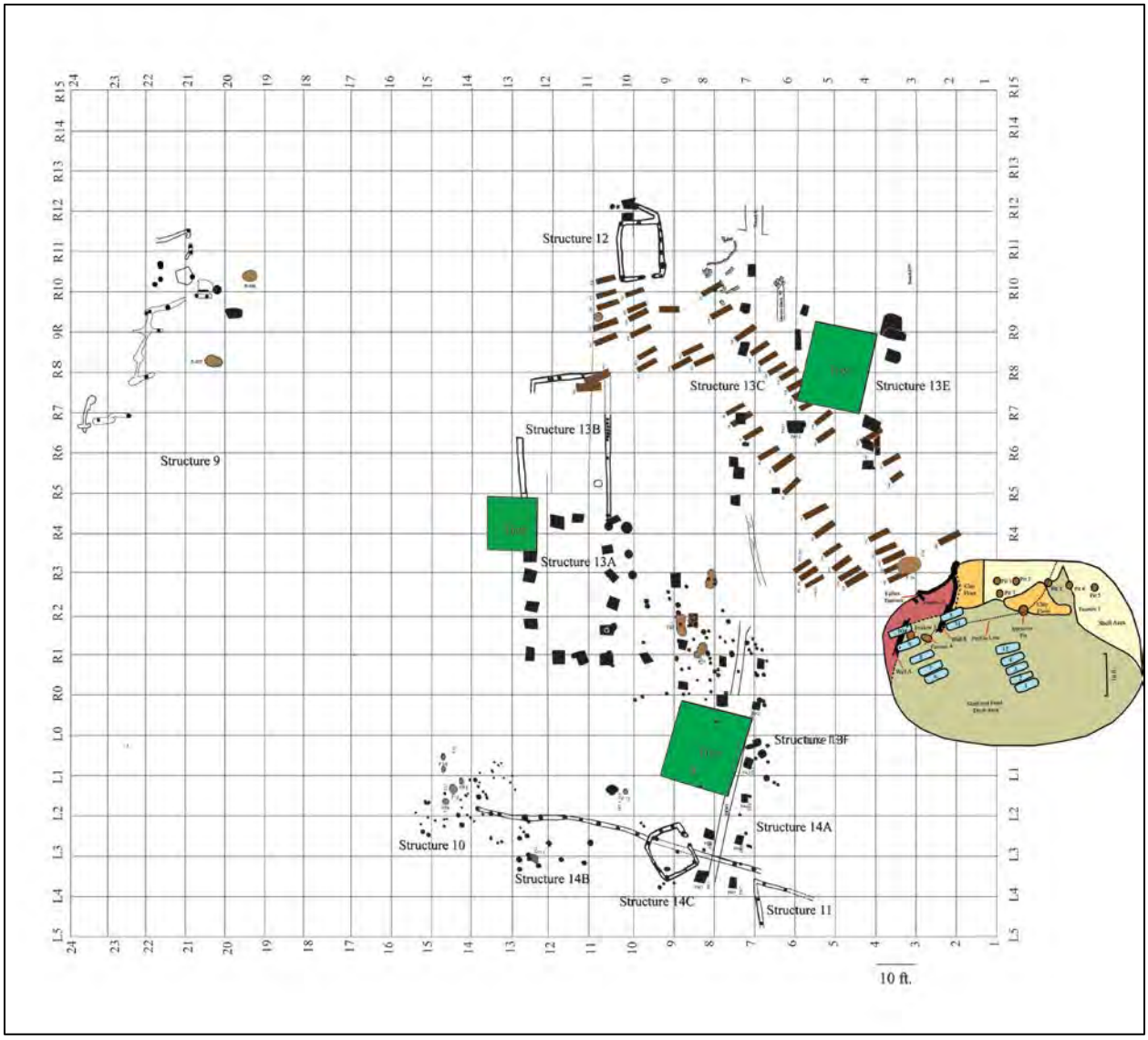

Figure 2. West Village with Grid Overlay.

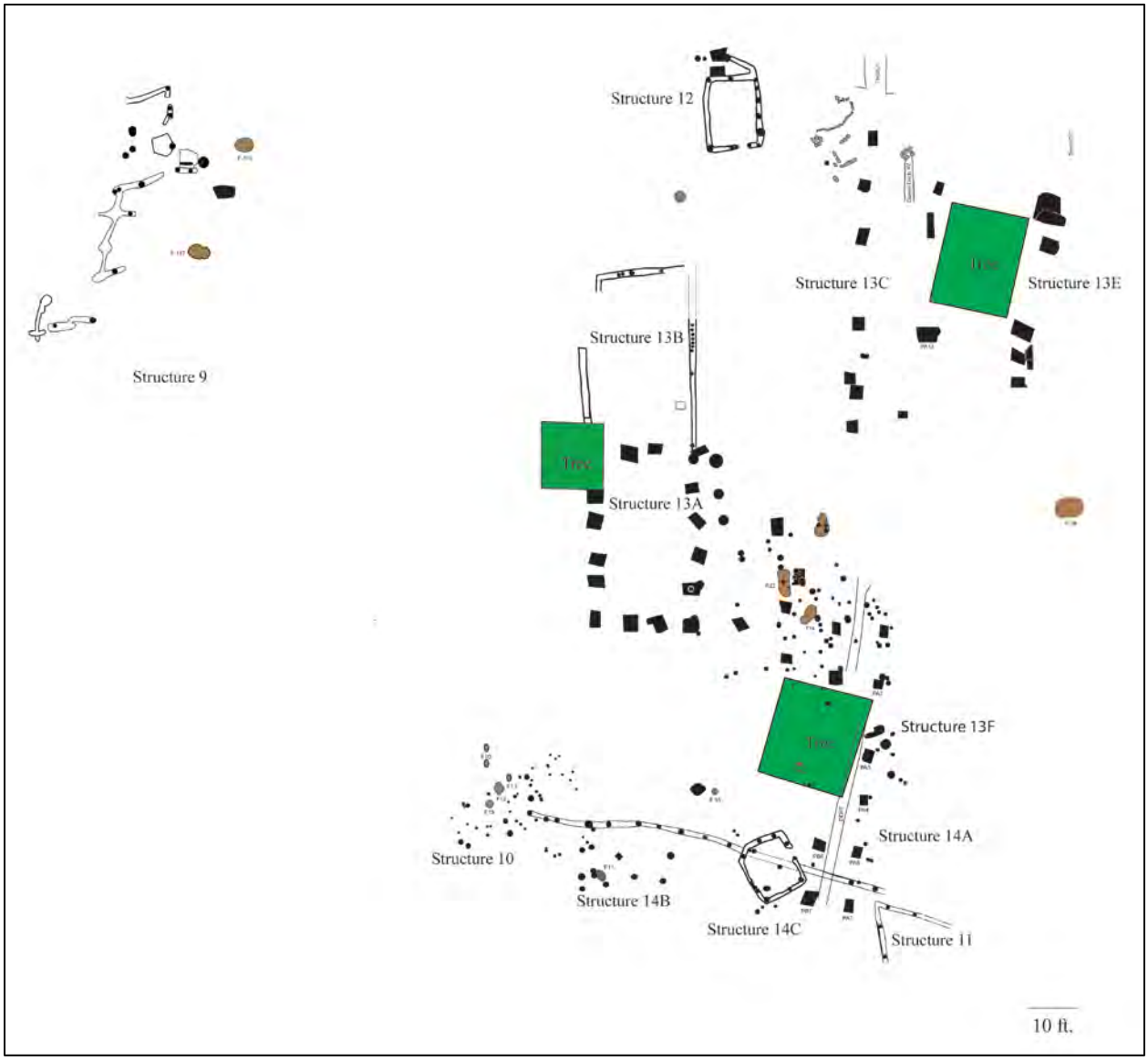

Figure 3. West Village without Grid Overlay.

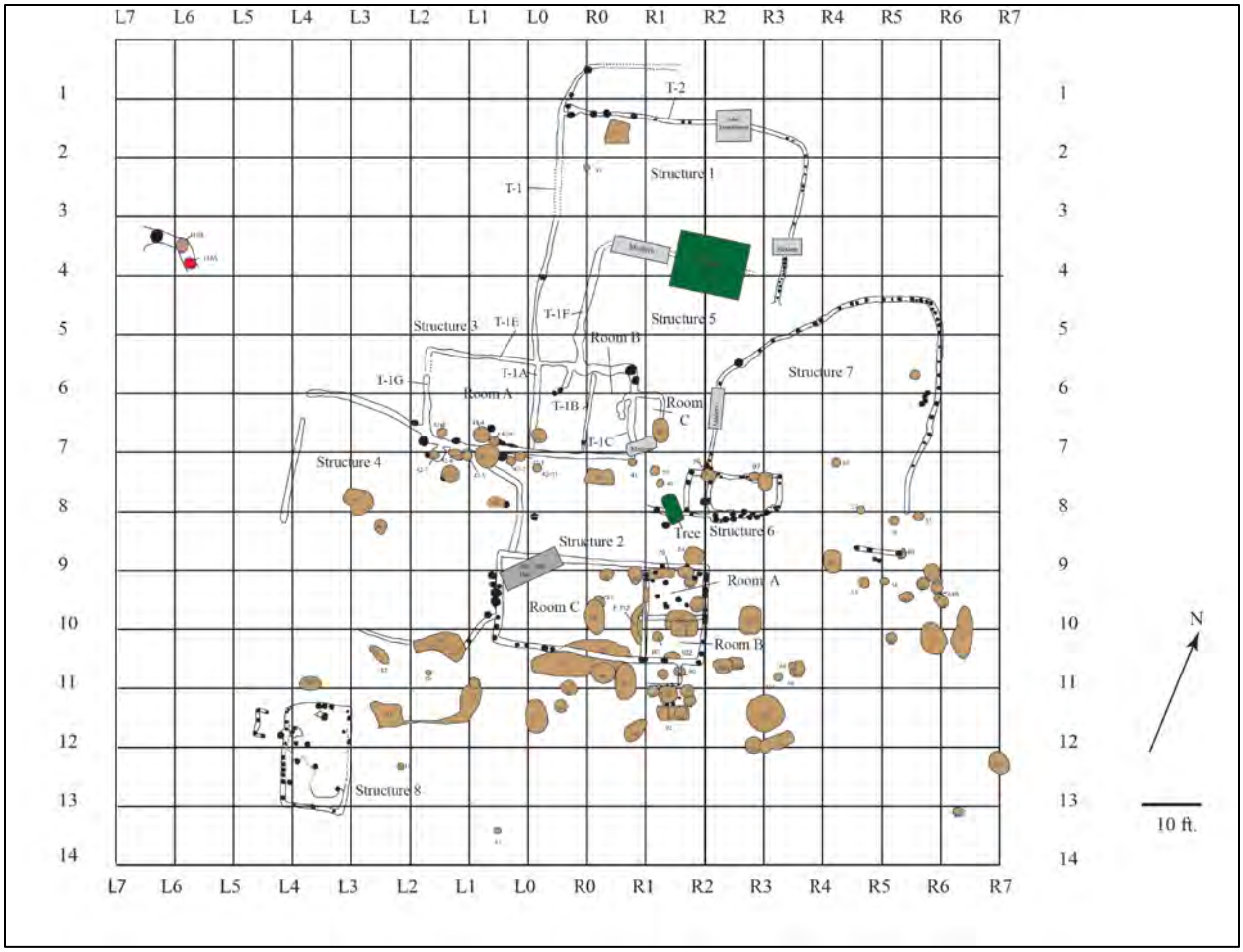

Figure 4. East Village with Grid Overlay.

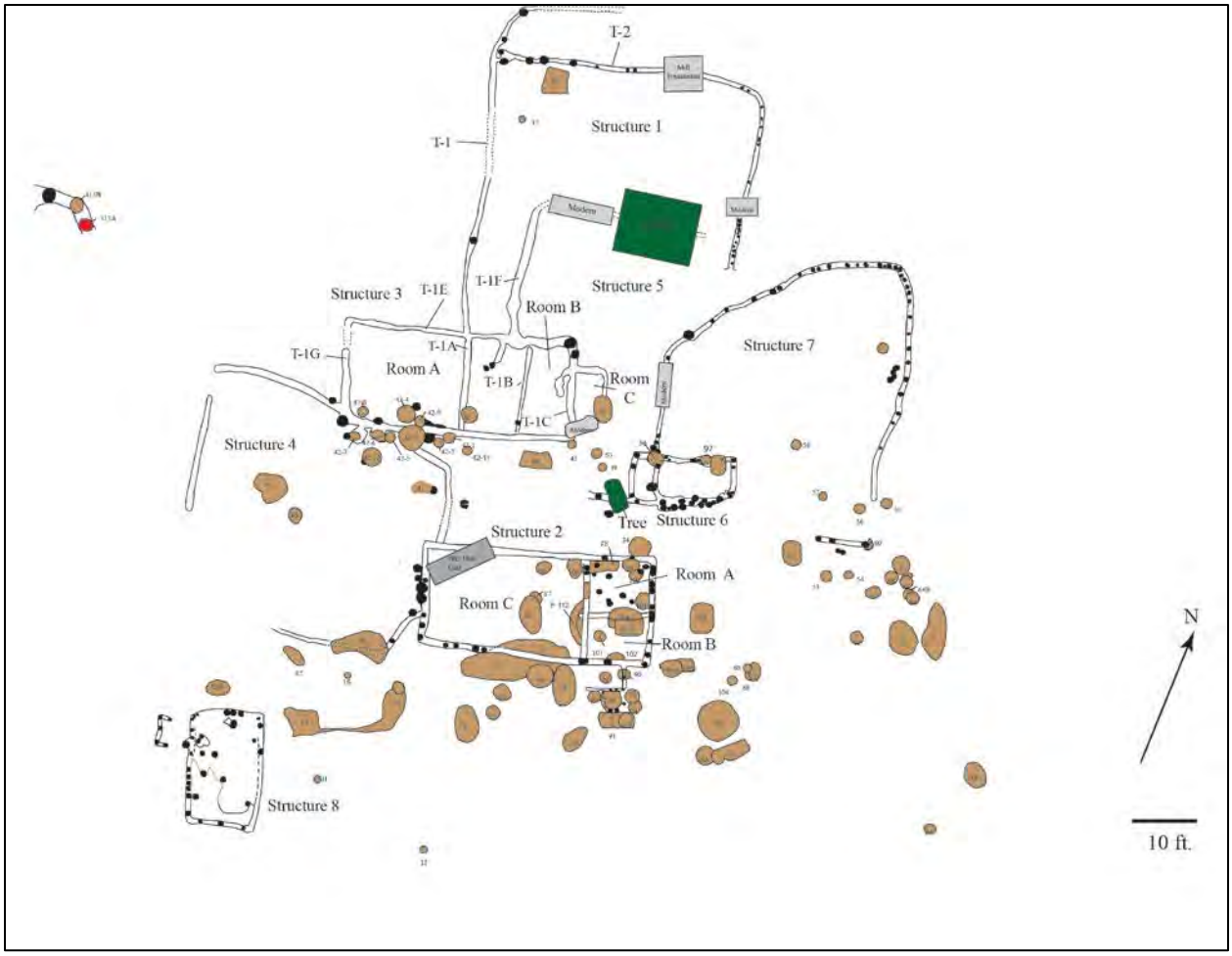

Figure 5. East Village without Grid Overlay.

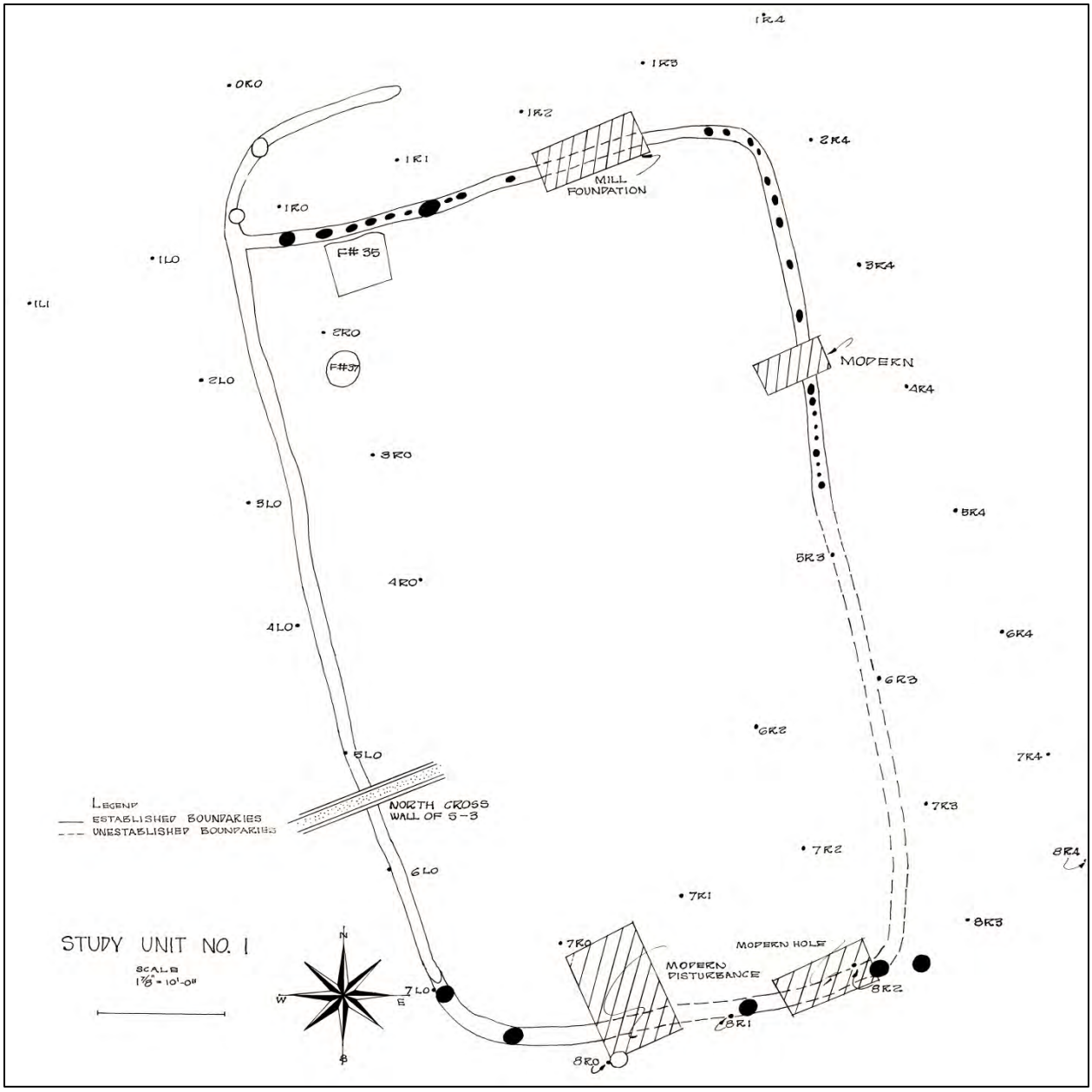

Figure 6. Structure 1 in Study Unit 1.

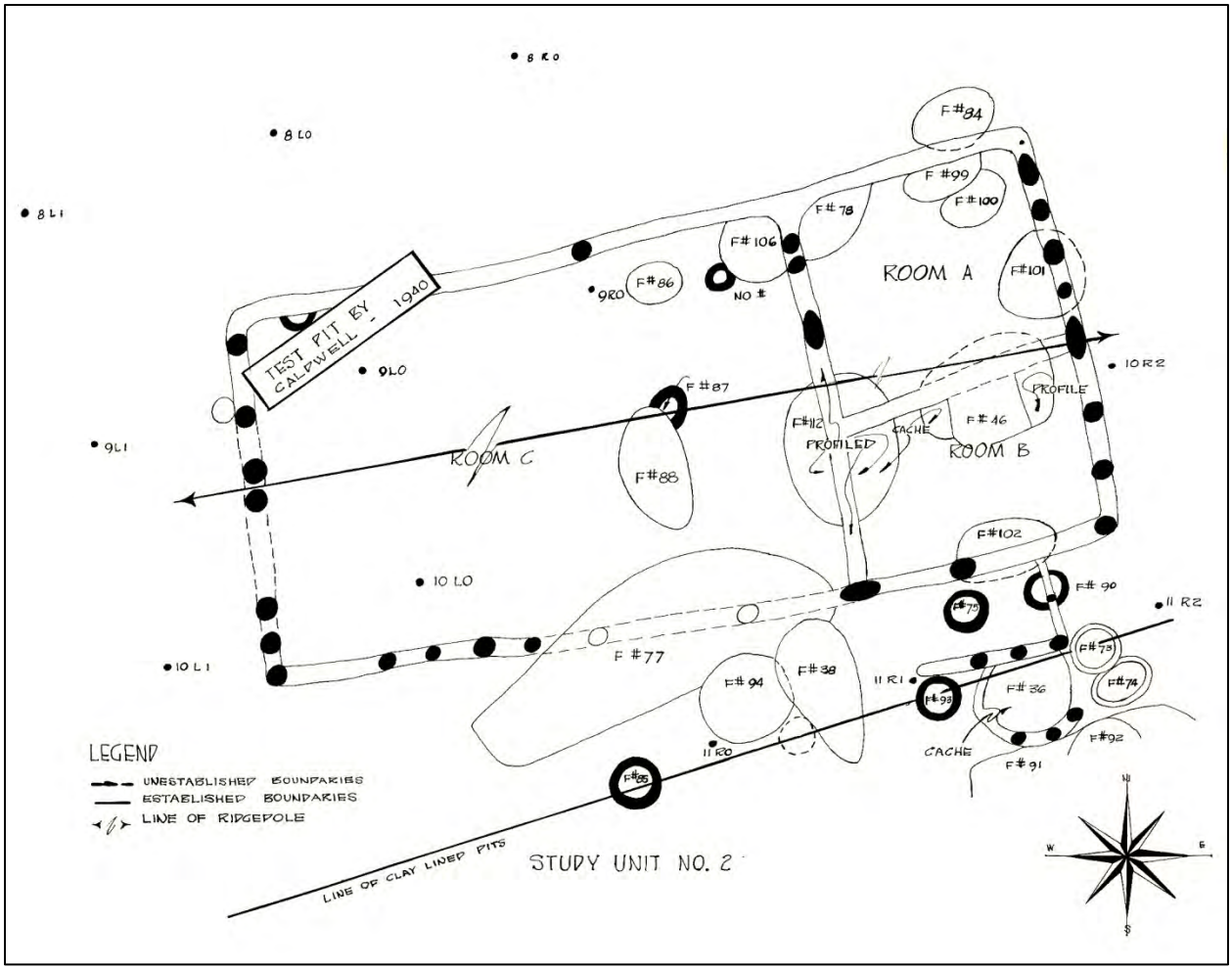

Figure 7. Structure 2 in Study Unit 2.33

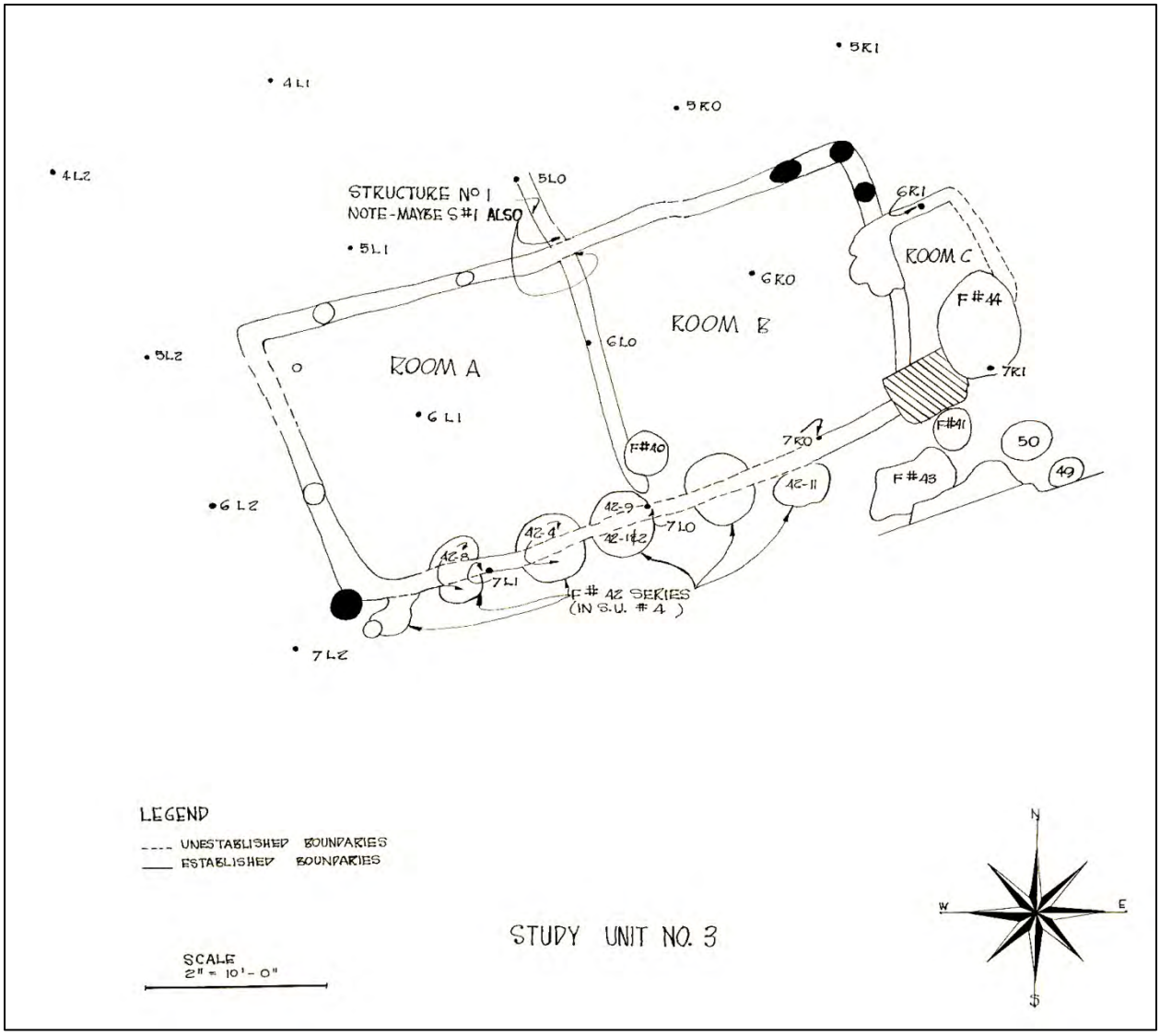

Figure 8. Structure 3 in Study Unit 3.

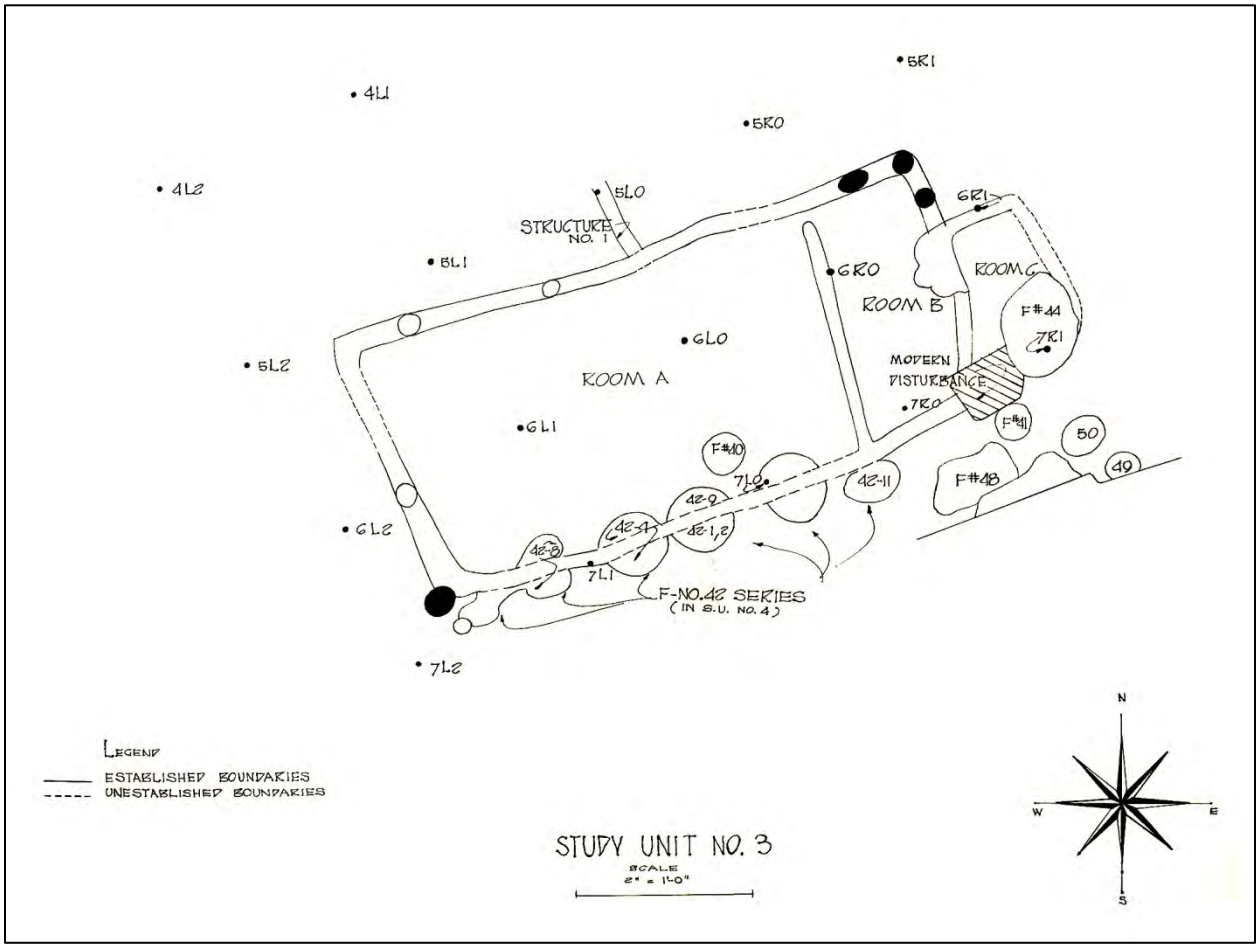

Figure 9. Alternate Map of Structure 3 in Study Unit 3.

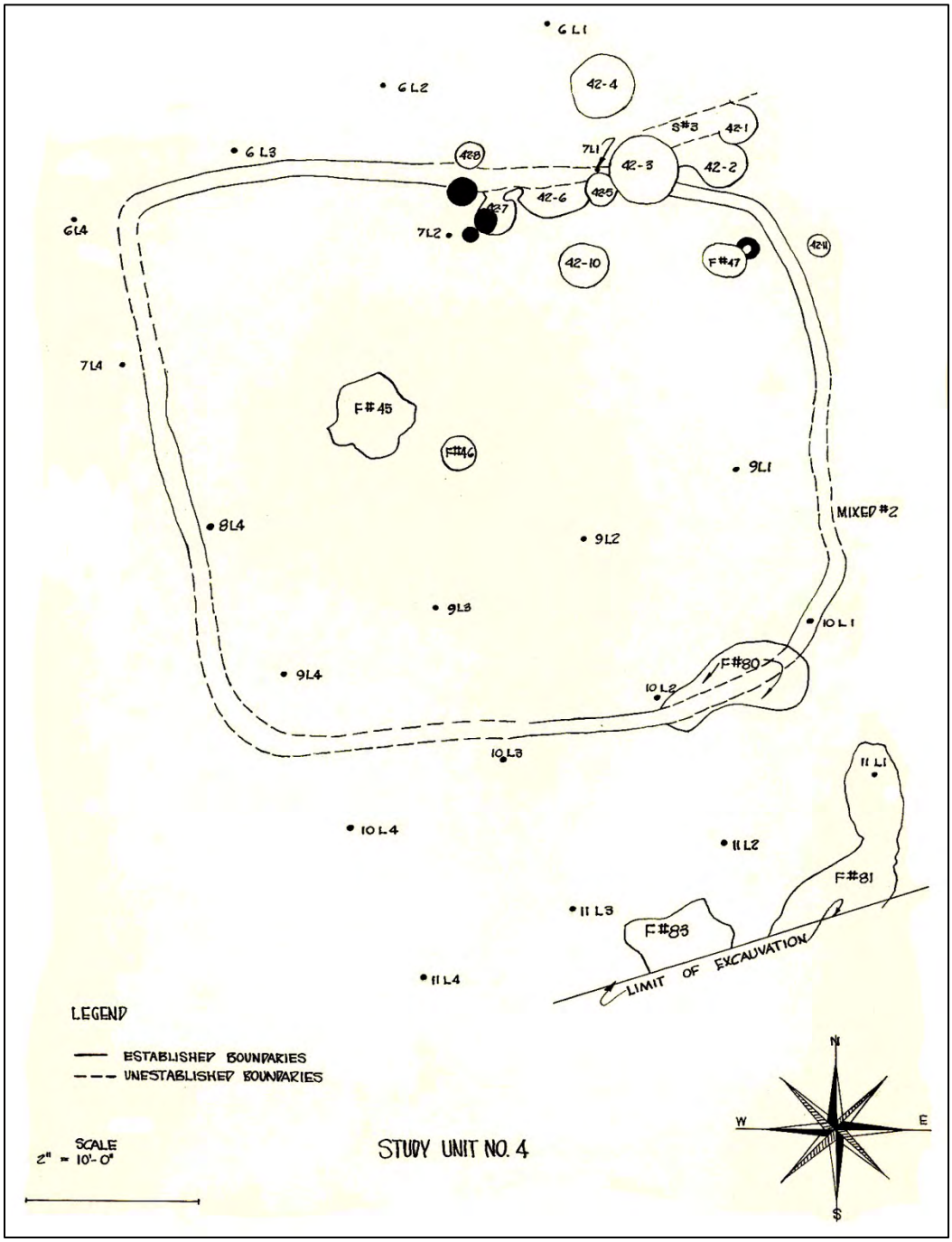

Figure 10. Structure 4 in Study Unit 4.

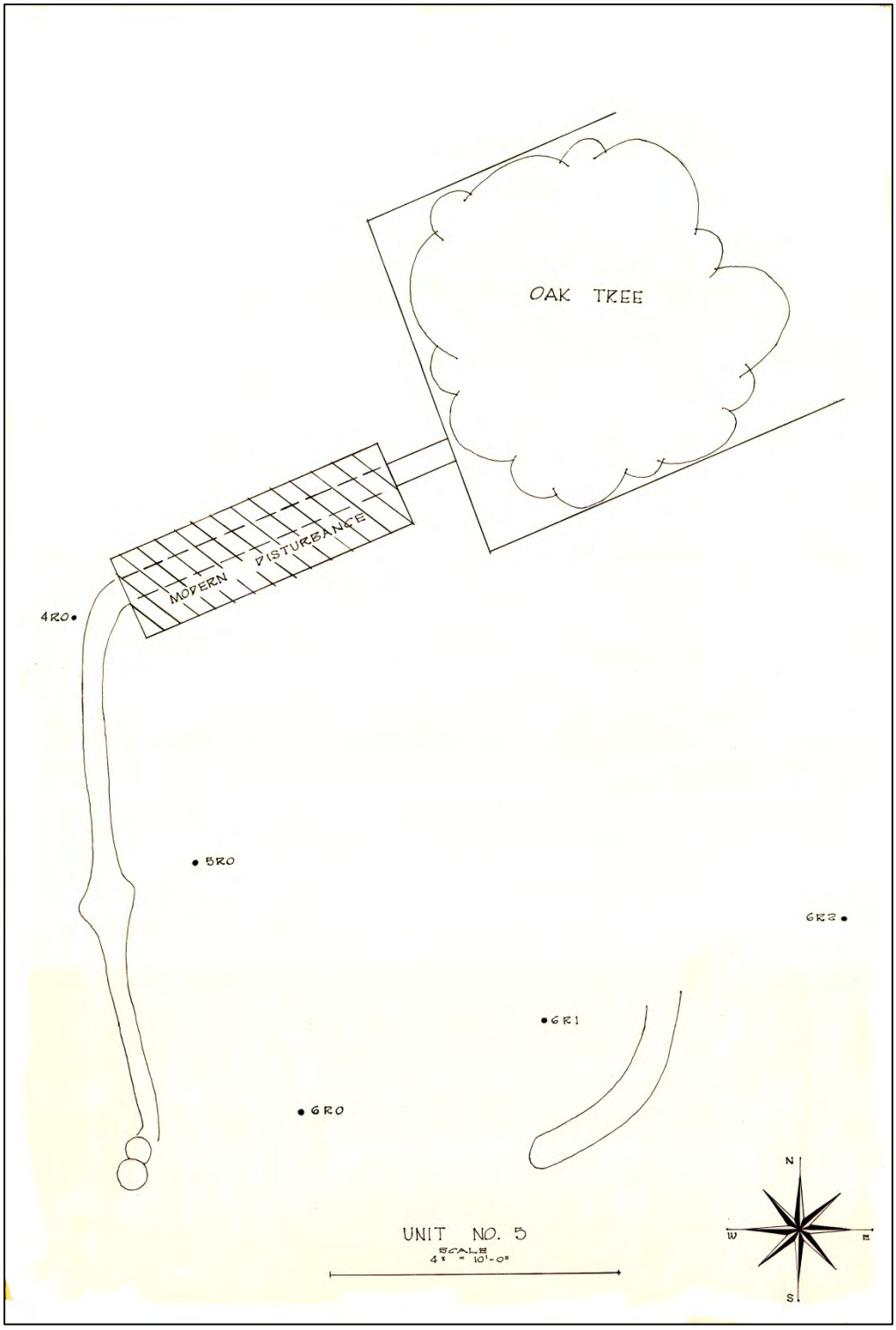

Figure 11. Study Unit 5.

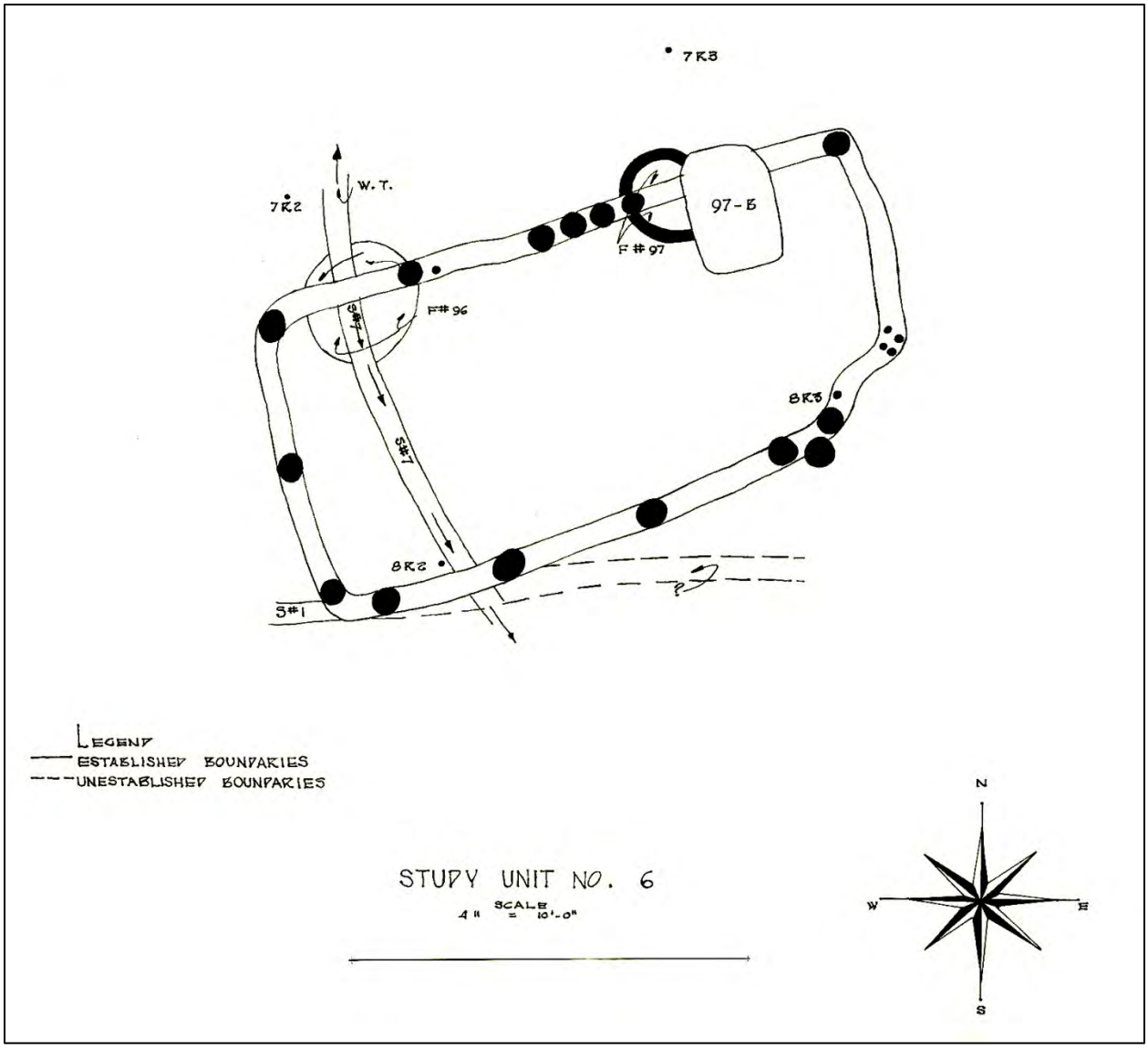

Figure 12. Structure 6 in Study Unit 6.

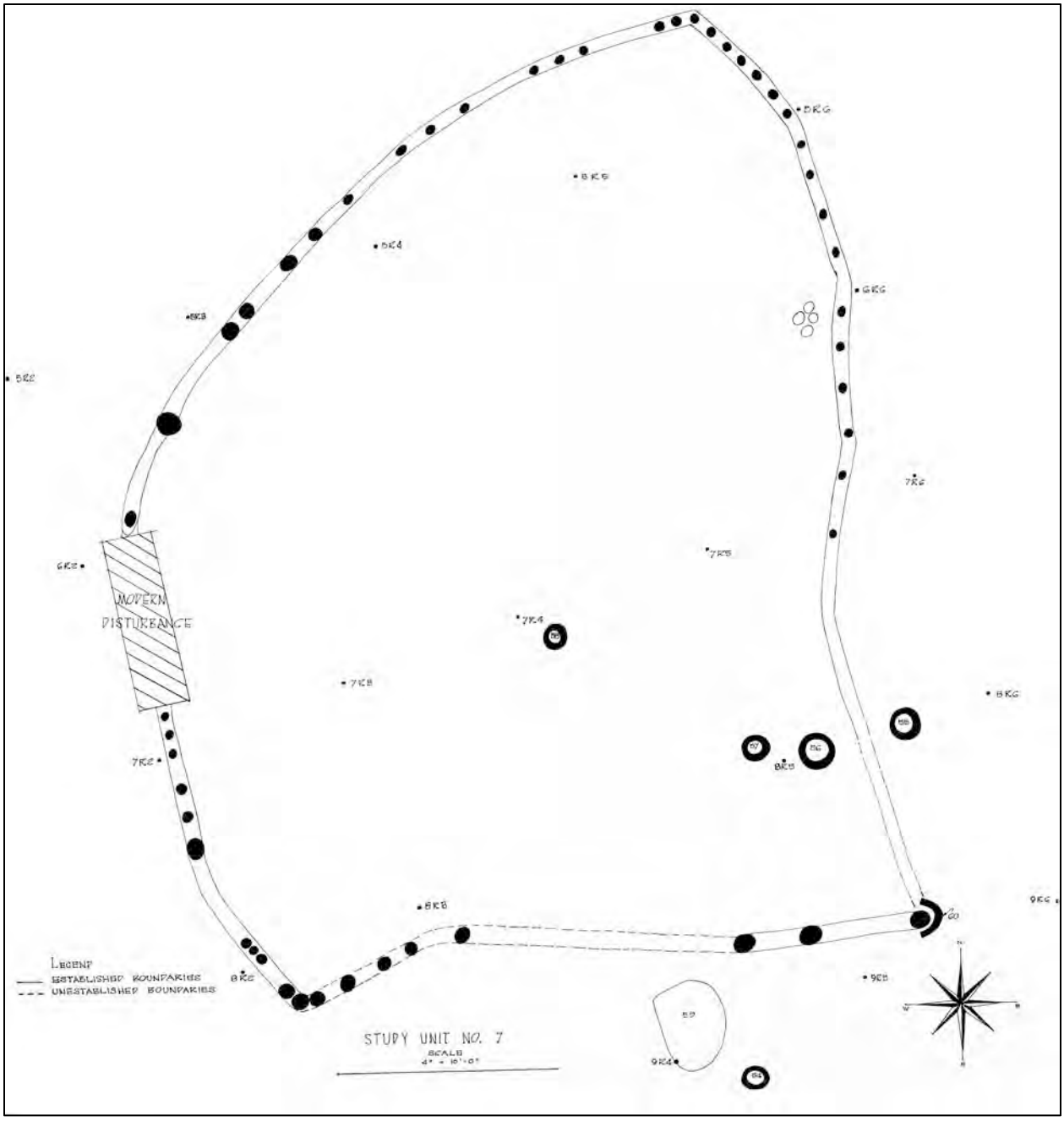

Figure 13. Structure 7 in Study Unit 7.

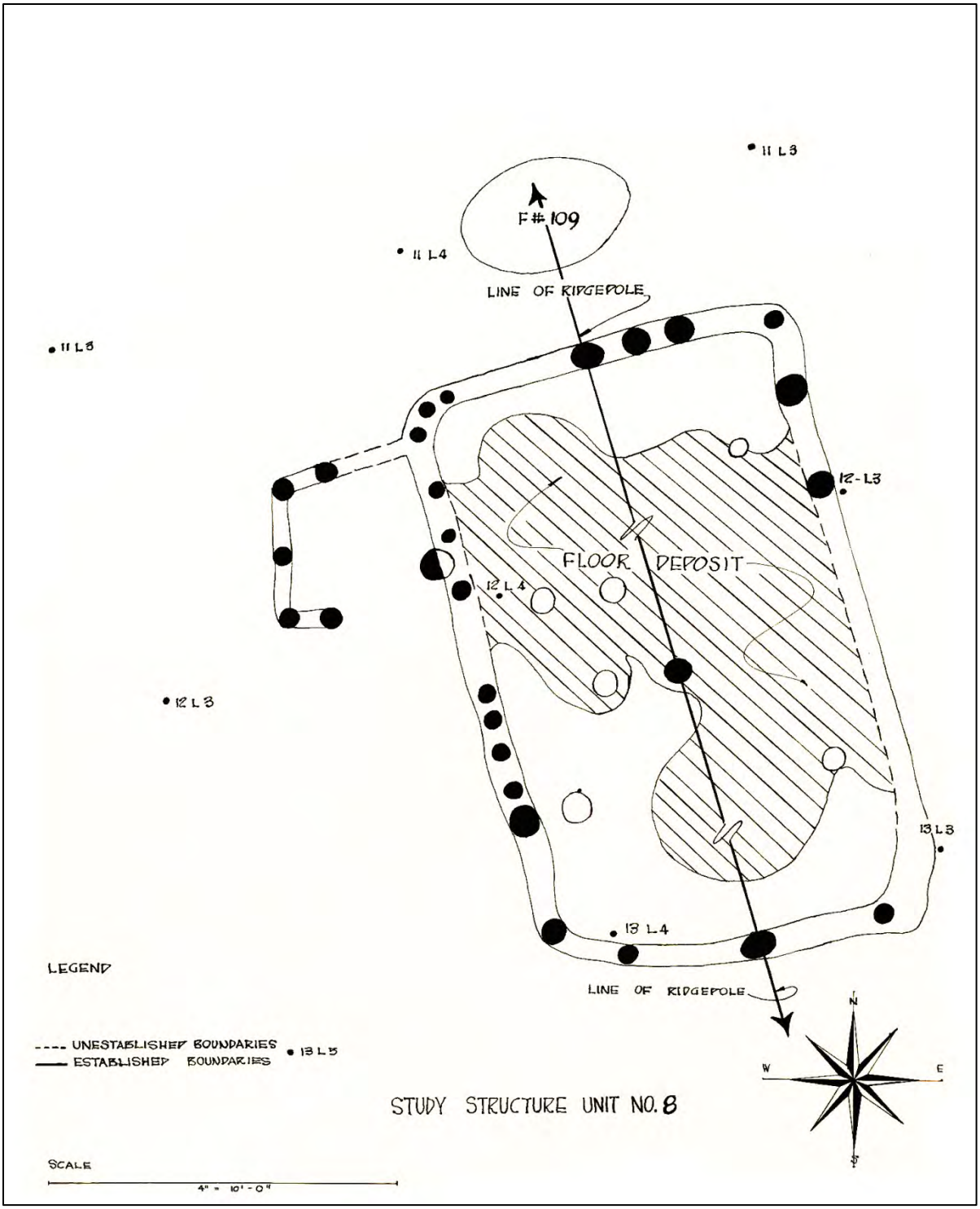

Figure 14. Structure 8 in Study Unit 8.

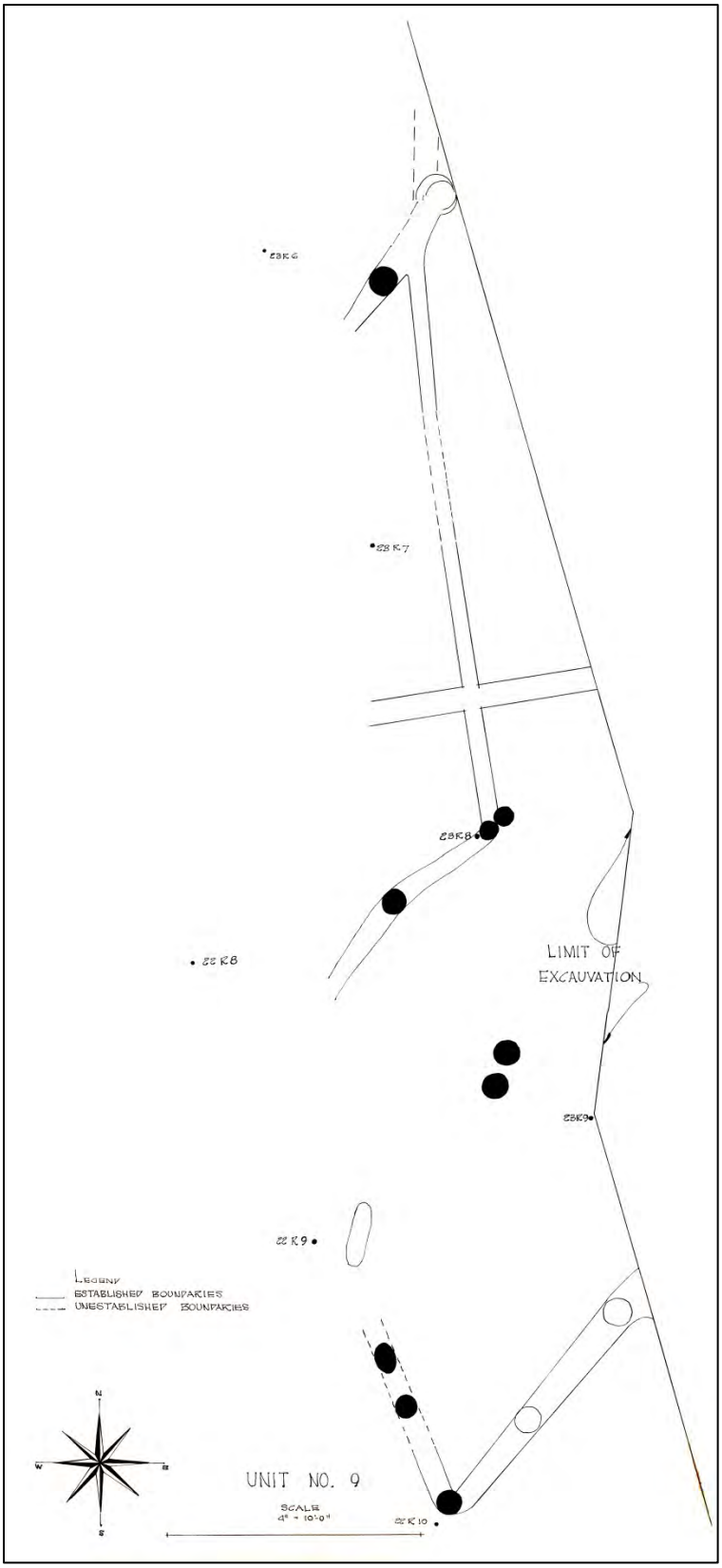

Figure 15. Study Unit 9.

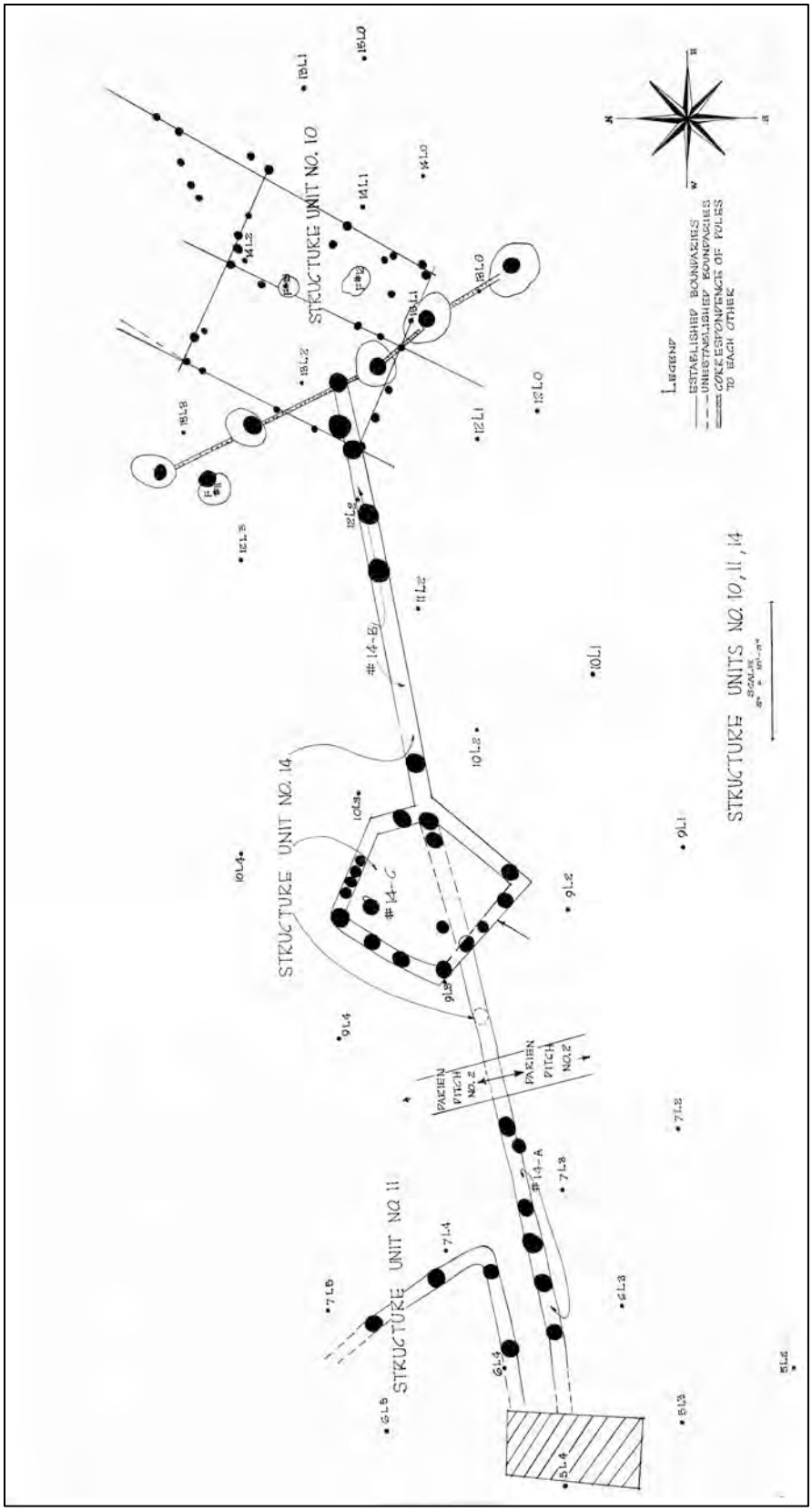

Figure 16. Structures 10, 11, and 14 in Study Units 10, 11, and 14.

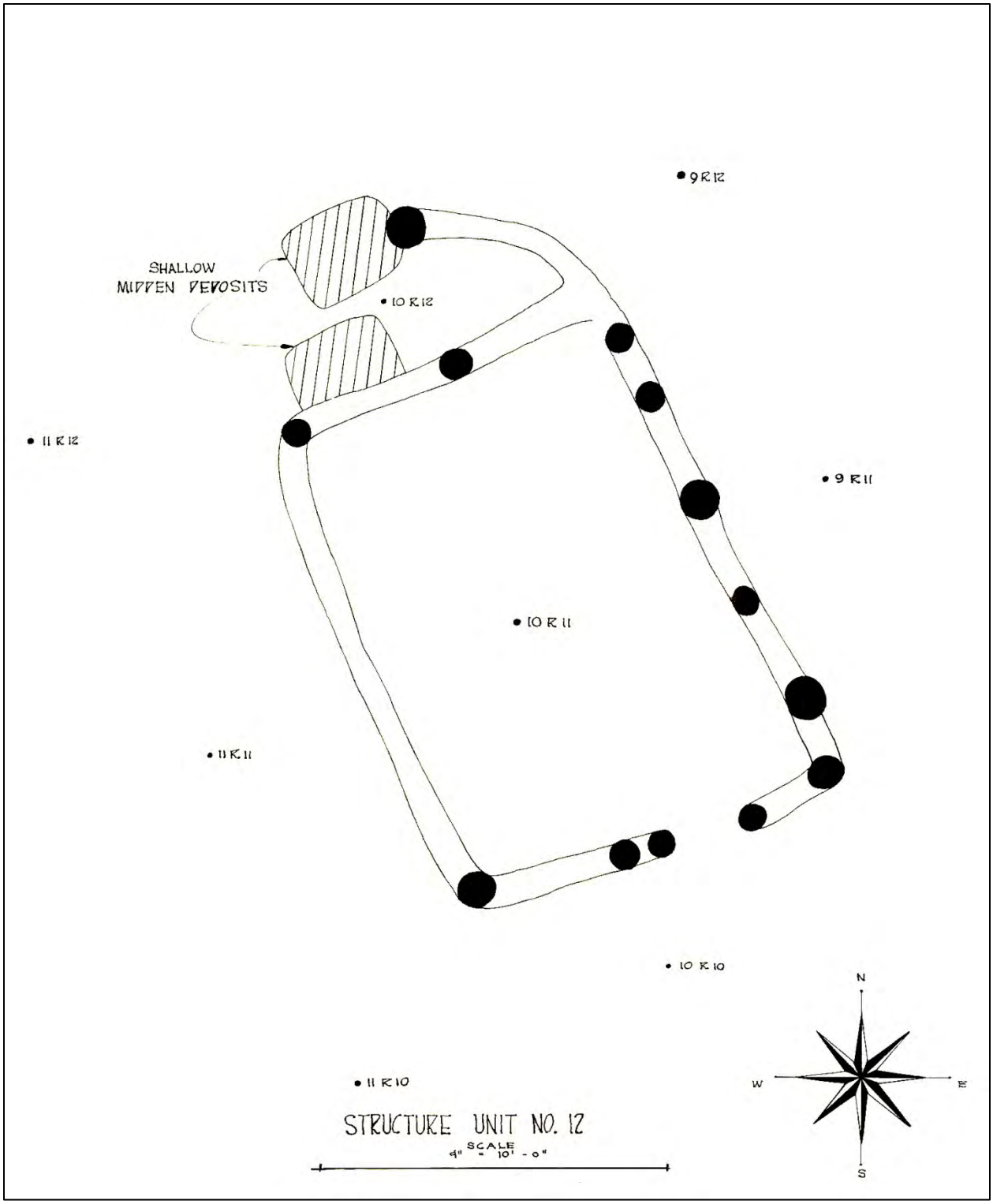

Figure 17. Structure 12 in Study Unit 12.

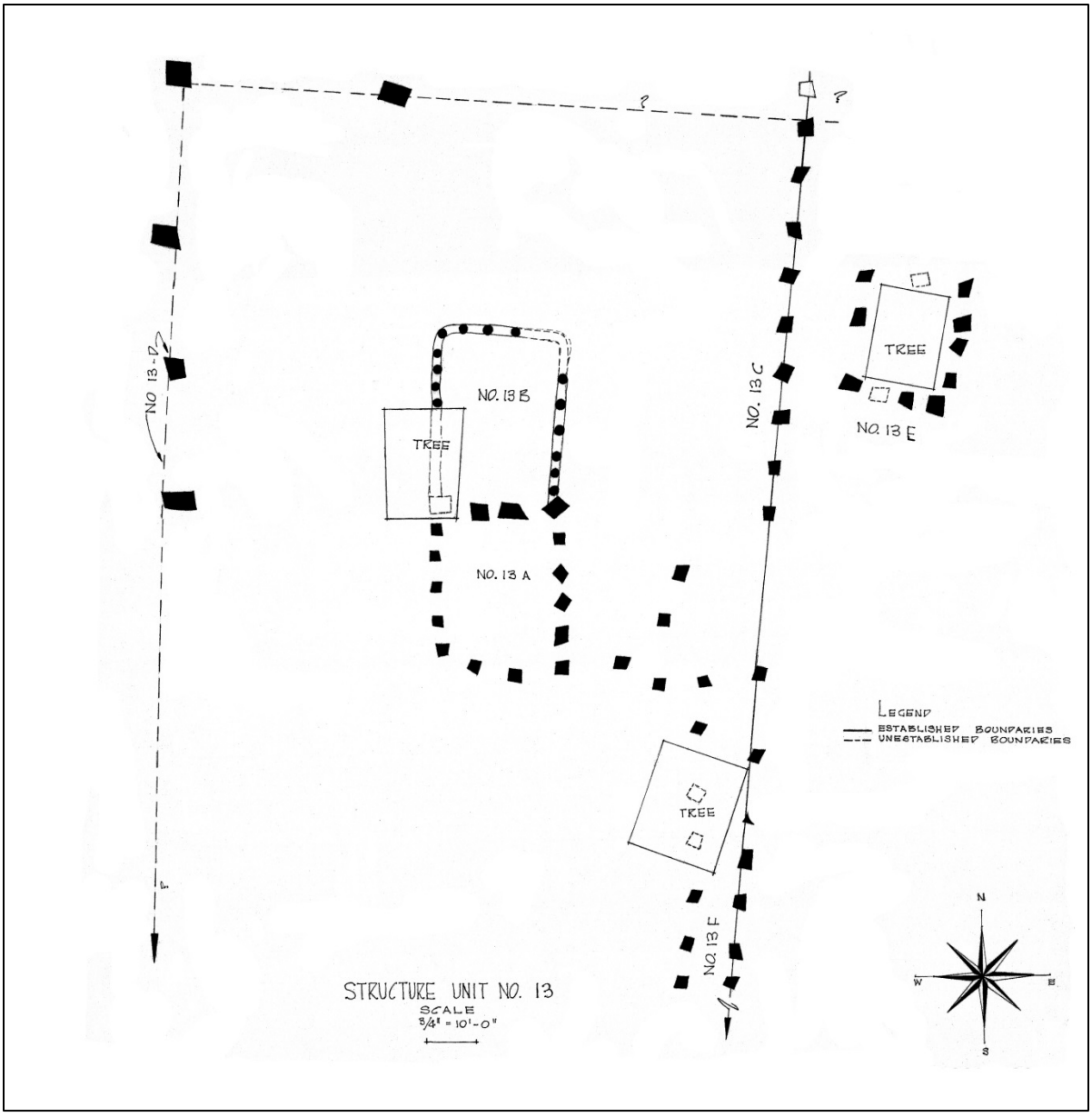

Figure 18. Structures 13 A-F in Study Unit 13.

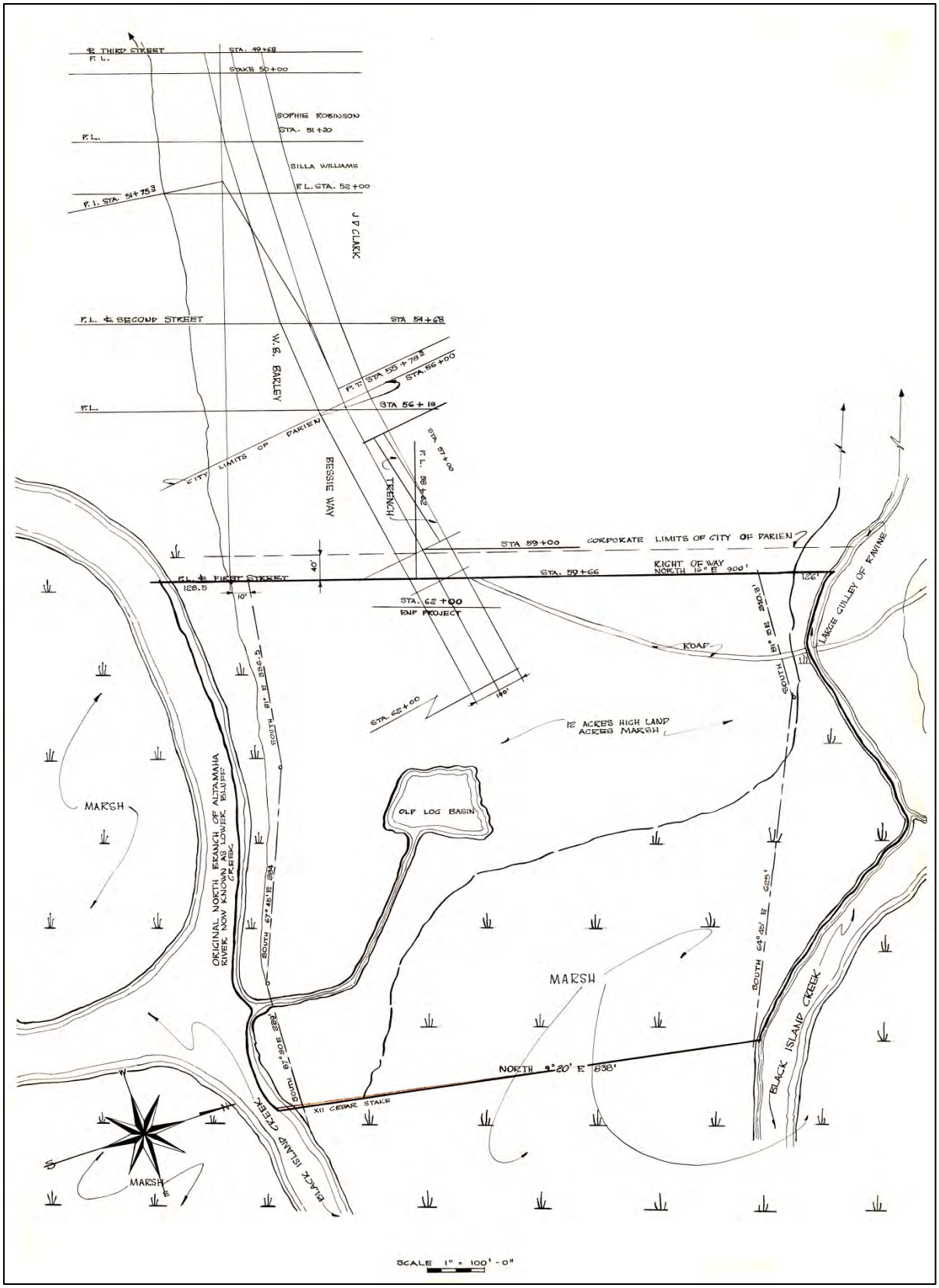

Figure 19. Area of the Darien Bluff Site.

Figure 20. Bell Shaped Jar, Altamaha Line-Block Complicated Stamped.

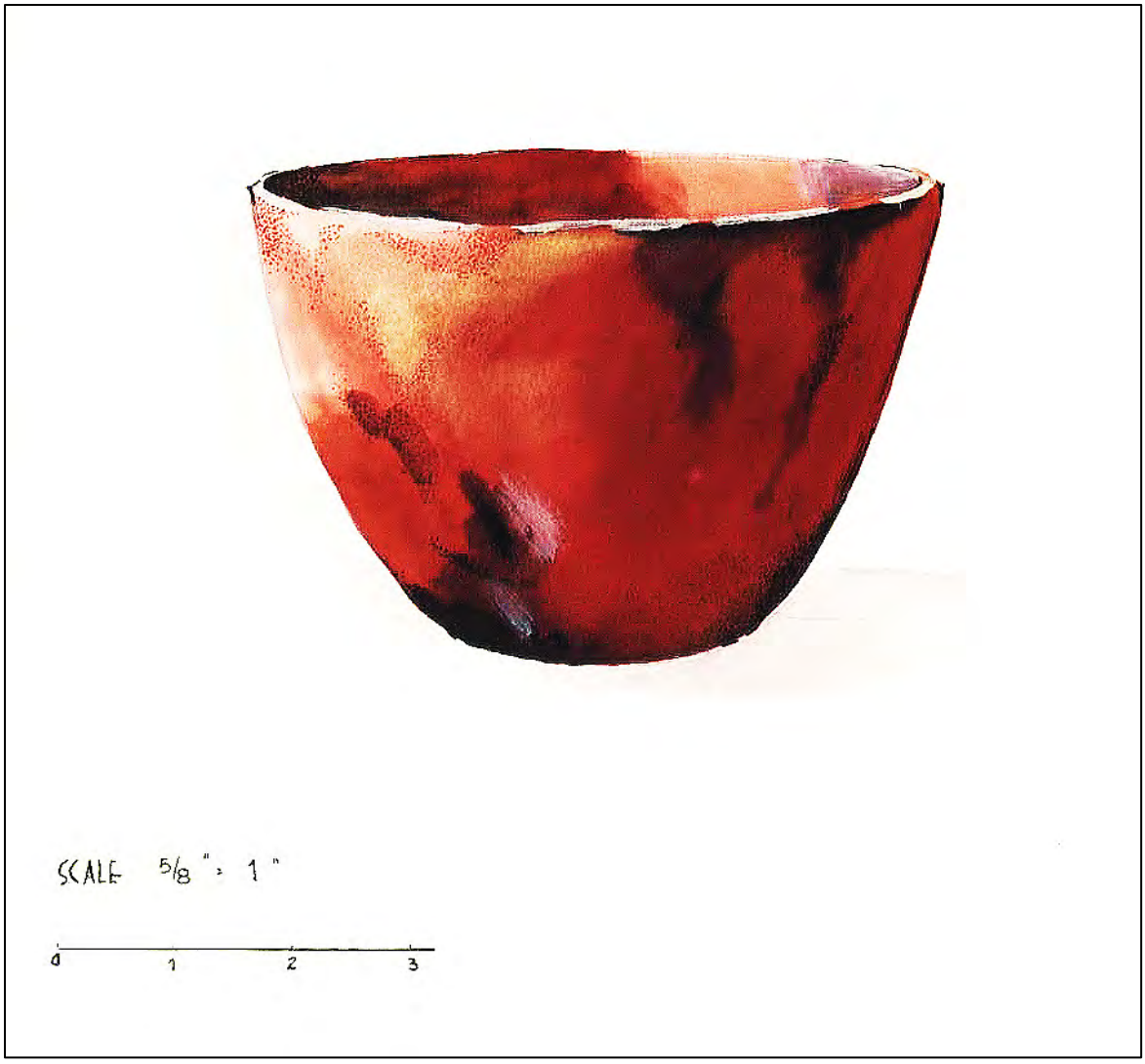

Figure 21. Red Filmed Vessel.

Figure 22. Bell Shaped Jar, Altamaha Line-Block Complicated Stamped.

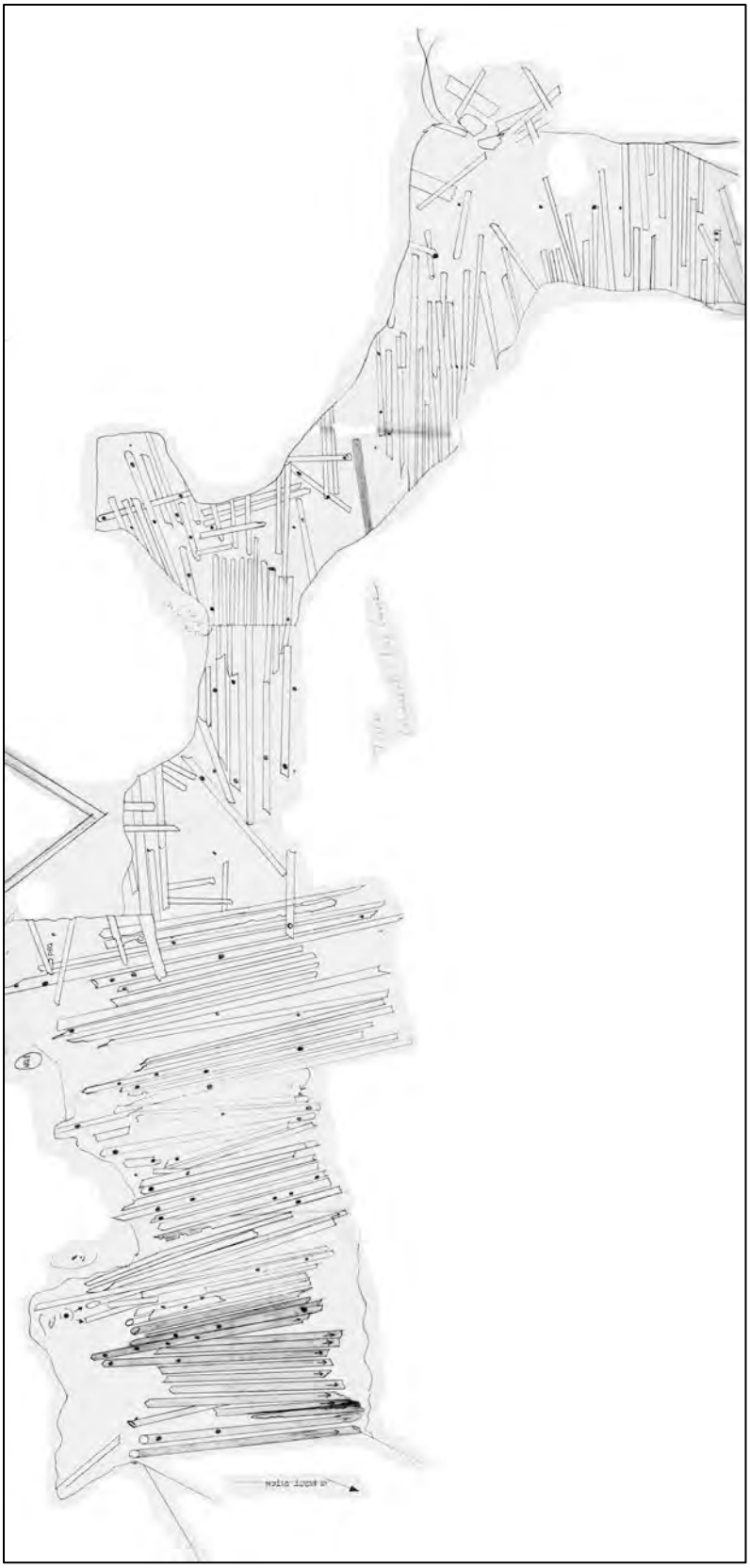

Figure 23. Fort King George Palisade Section.

Figure 24. View of Trench 1, running east behind workman to the mission site. Note the post holes in front of the man. These may be of fiber tempered times.

Figure 25. Close up of the post holes in Figure 24.

Figure 26. Another group of post holes possibly of fiber tempered times.

Figure 27. Feature 20. Note the lumpy deposit of replaced calcium along the bottom and sides. No sherds were found.

Figure 28. Feature 18. This pit contained quantities of fiber tempered pottery, and at least one restorable vessel. Note the solid mass along the upper edge of the pit.

Figure 29. Feature 18 almost completely excavated.

Figure 30. Structure 6. The main mission building complex. Early stage of excavation.

Figure 31. Structure 6. The main mission building complex. Close-up view of the eastern wall trench.

Figure 32. Structure 6. The main mission building complex. Montage showing the complete unit. The back wall at the extreme right had not been fully excavated at the time this photograph was made.

Figure 33. View looking east along the palisade. Note Modern Ditch 2 crossing center of photograph.

Figure 34. Corner of house of single post construction.

Figure 35. Close-up of tower. Note lack of special entrance way.

Figure 36. Eastern end of palisade.

Figure 37. View of Structure 5. Note doorway at right center.

Figure 38. A shell pile near the corner of Structure 6. Note the thickness. Made up of oysters, clams, and other small shellfish. Pottery at bottom of the pile.

Figure 39. The base of a pot and a shell spoon (?) in place in the ground. The line follows the shallow pit in which the pot fragment rests.

Figure 40. Feature 16 excavated. Note the shellfish and pottery. A small copper jingle, probably of Spanish origin came from this pit.

Figure41. Feature 34, a clay lined depression containing much pottery and some olive jar. Note the two depressions at the lower right edge. These are the disturbed area caused by the intrusion of the graves of two English soldiers through the pit.

Figure 42. Feature 5, one of several fire pits found. The sand is burned a bright red color from the fires built in this shallow pit. A rusty nail and some pottery were found in the pit.

Figure 43. Feature 17. Note the size of the oyster shell. They were the sole inclusions in this pit save two tiny sherds of pottery.

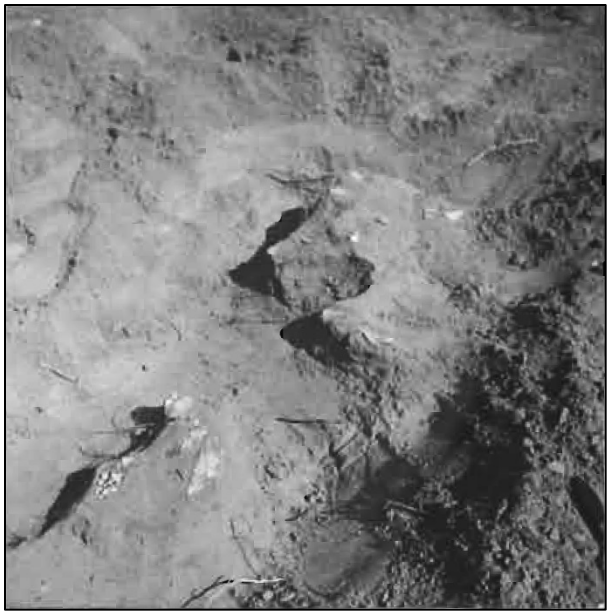

Figure 44. Milk teeth of calf? In Modern Ditch 1. China and nails from this ditch are rather recent.

Figure 45. Platter in place in the fill Modern Ditch 2.

Figure 46. View of the exposed graves Number 2 and 3 from left to right.

Figure 47. Early stage in the excavation of the palisade of Fort King George, the garrison of the two men whose graves are shown in the previous photograph.

Figure 48. Post 20. Note feet and ankle bones of Burial 10 intruded into the hole.

Figure 49. Post hole in the process of excavation. The extraneous modern portion has been removed. The outline shows the older portion yet undug.

Figure 50. View of Post Row B, the western wall of the mission enclosure.

Figure 52. Post Rows A, B, and C from left to right. Post Row B continues as in above photograph. Post Row C adjoins Structure 6.

Figure 52. Unknown Majolica.

Figure 53. Fig Springs Polychrome Majolica.

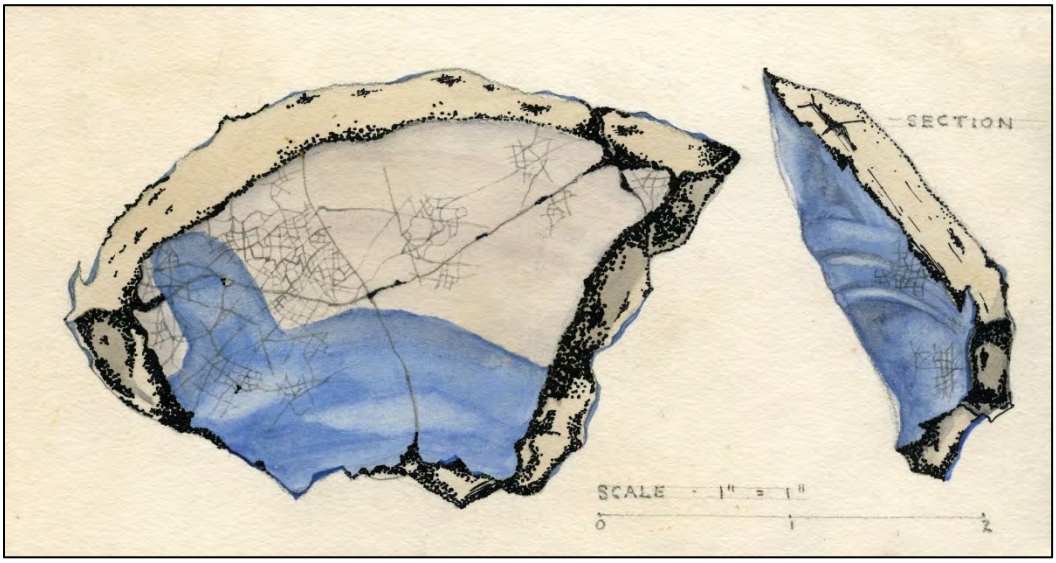

Figure 54. San Luis Blue on White? Majolica.

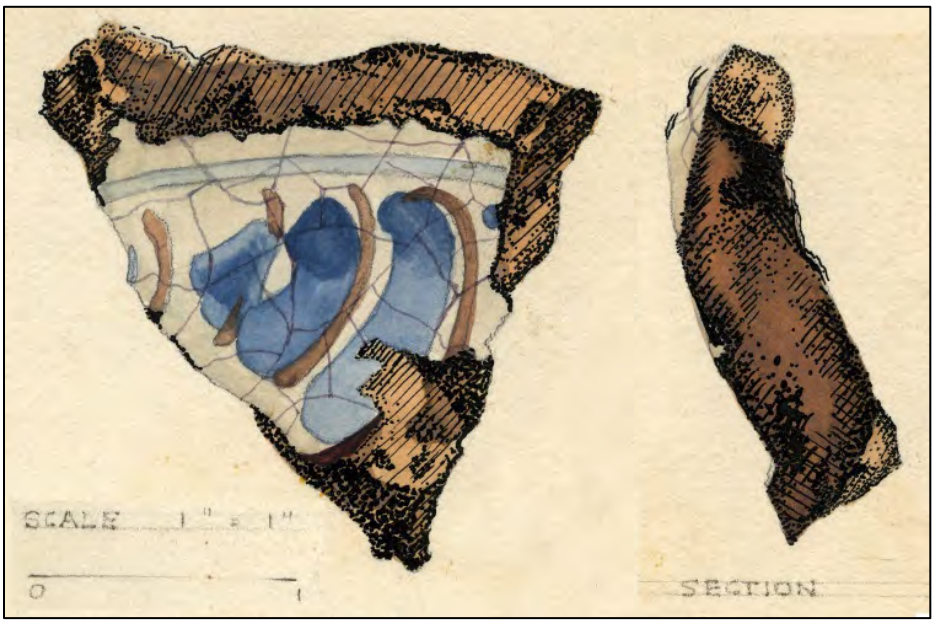

Figure 55. Fig Springs Polychrome? Majolica.

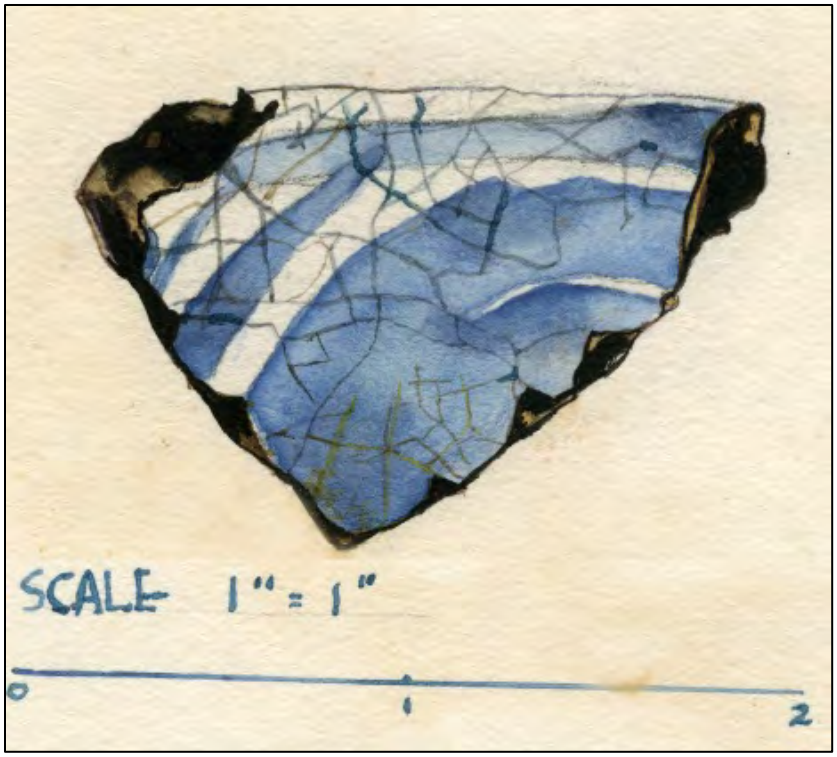

Figure 56. Fig Springs Polychrome? Majolica

Figure 57. Mexico City Green on Cream Majolica.

Figure 58. Fig Springs Polychrome Majolia.

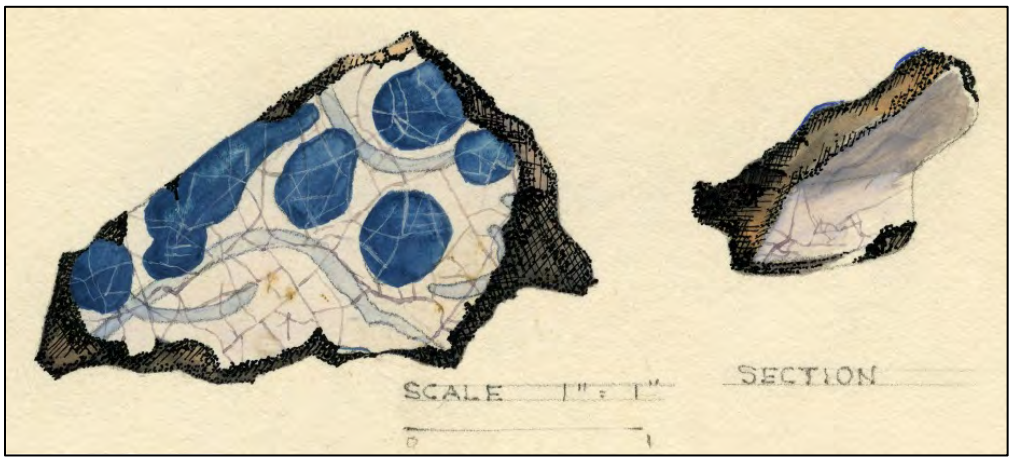

Figure 59. San Luis Blue on White Majolica.

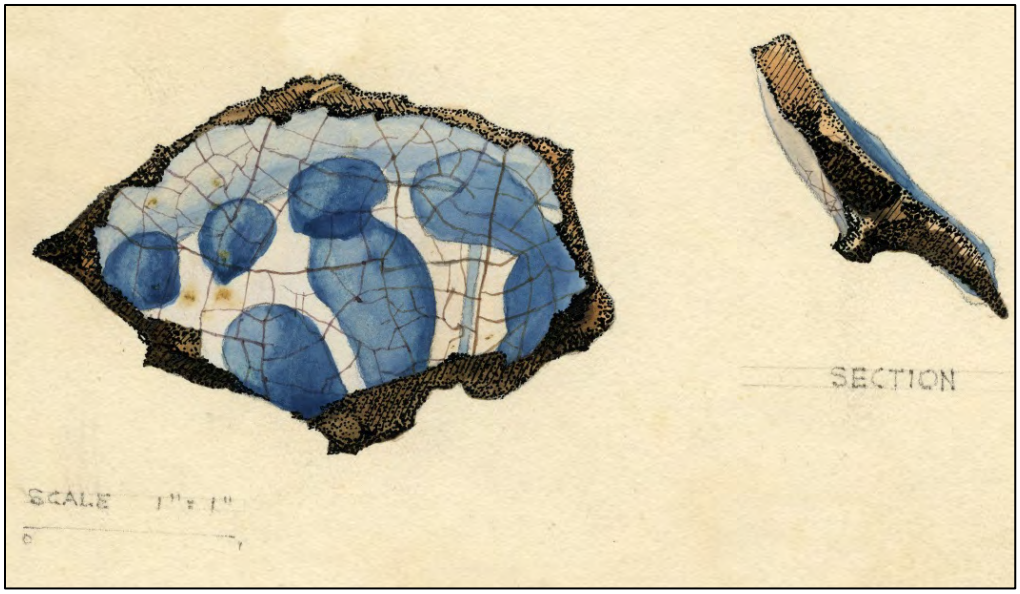

Figure 60. San Luis Blue on White Majolica.

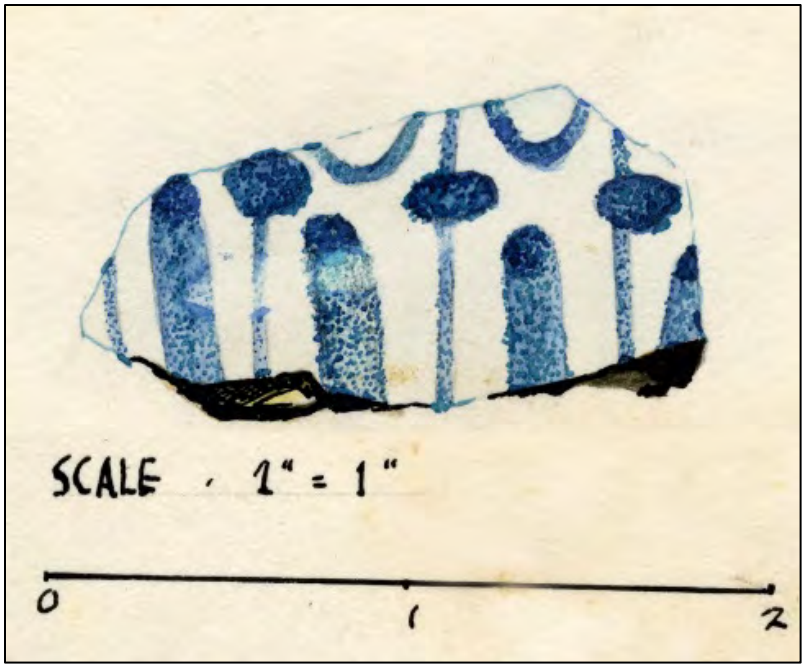

Figure 61. Ichtucknee Blue on White Majolica.

Figure 62. Unknown Blue on White Majolica.

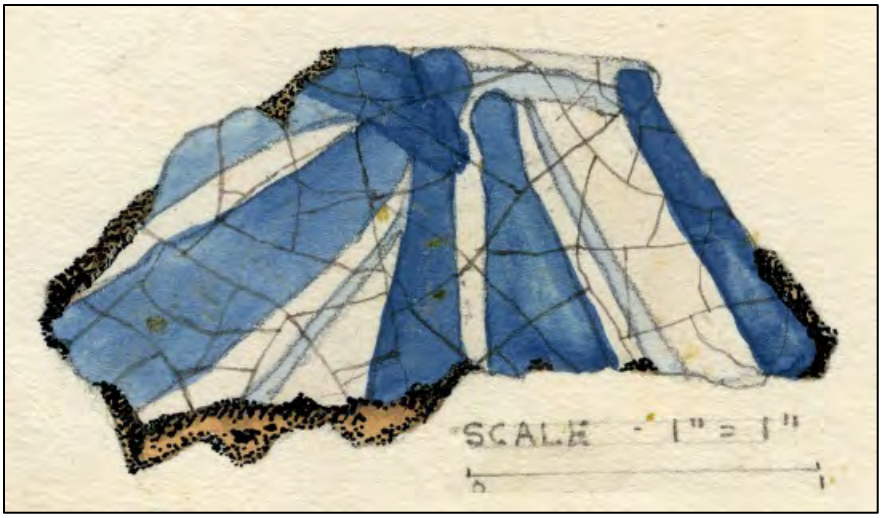

Figure 63. San Luis Blue on White? Majolica

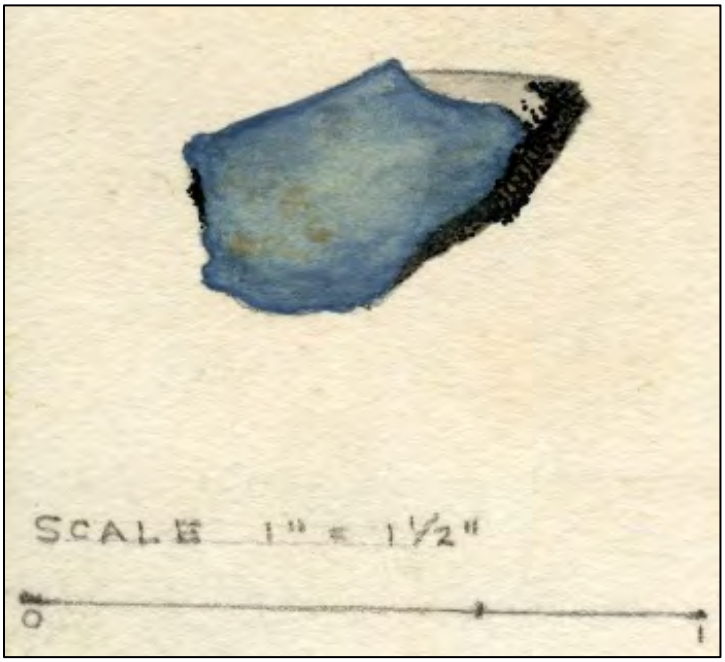

Figure 64. Caparra Blue? Majolica

Figure 65. Ichtucknee Blue on White? Majolica.

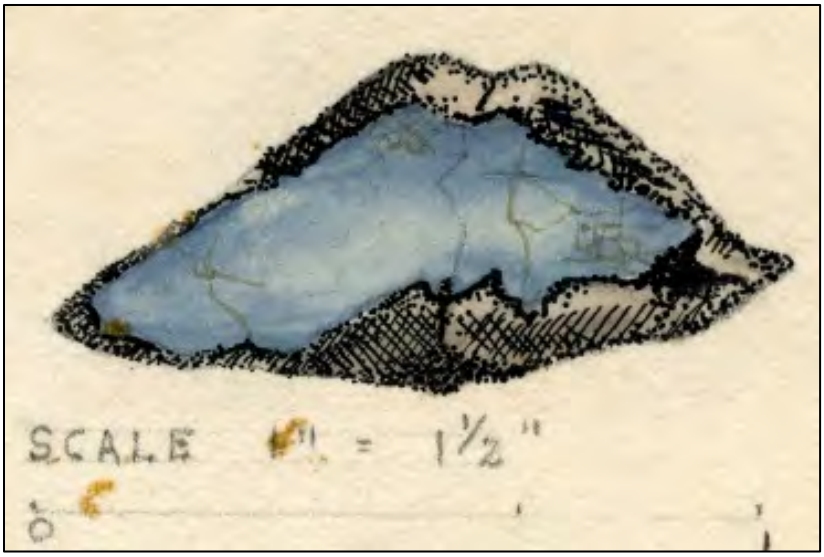

Figure 66. Caparra Blue? Majolica.

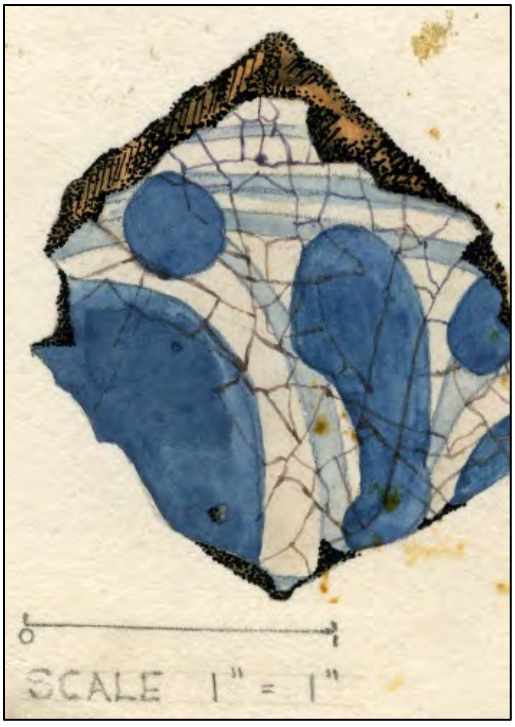

Figure 67. San Luis Blue on White Majolica.

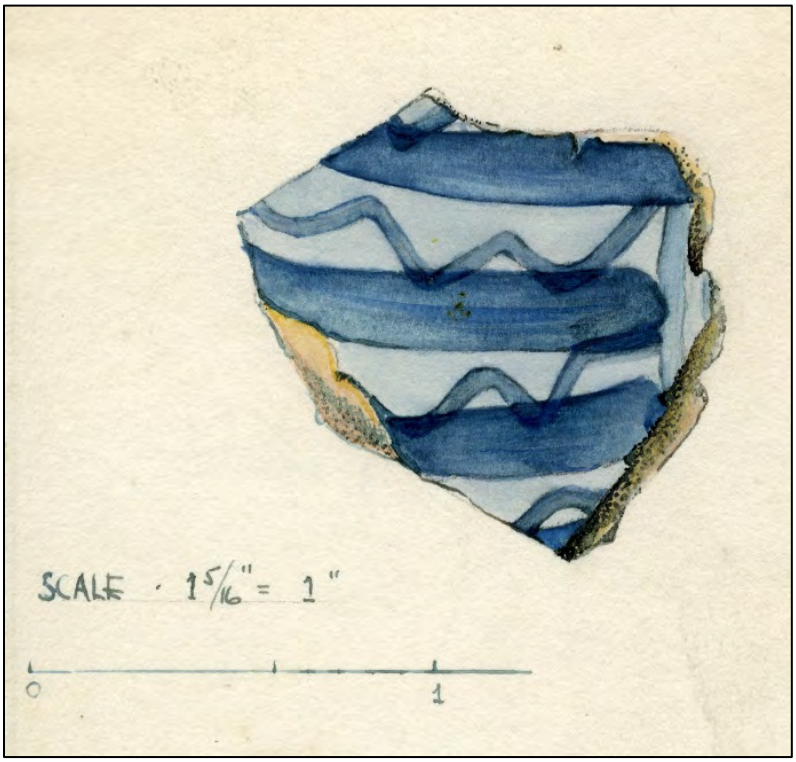

Figure 68. Ichtucknee Blue on White Majolica.

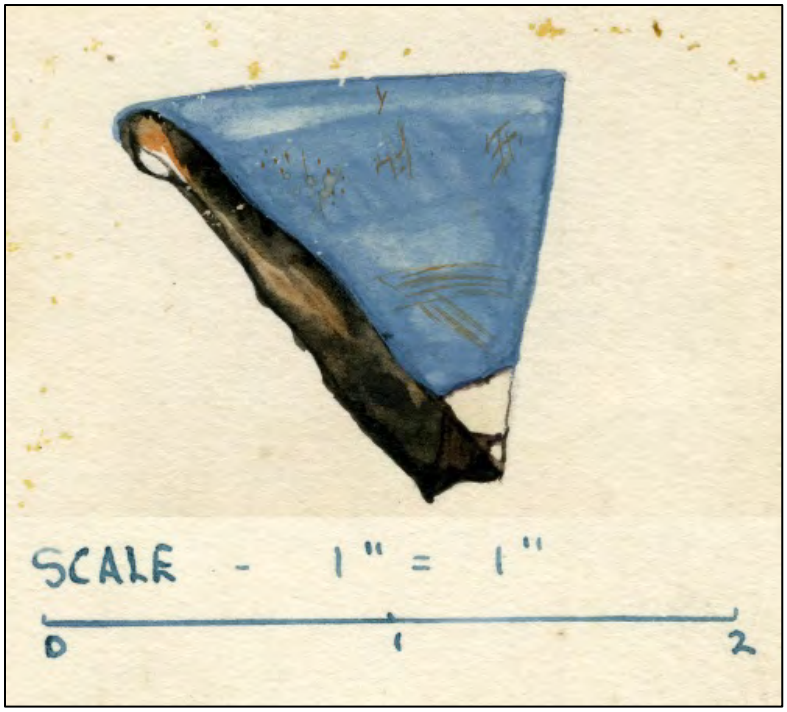

Figure 69. Caparra Blue? Majolica.

Figure 70. Ichtucknee Blue on White Majolica.

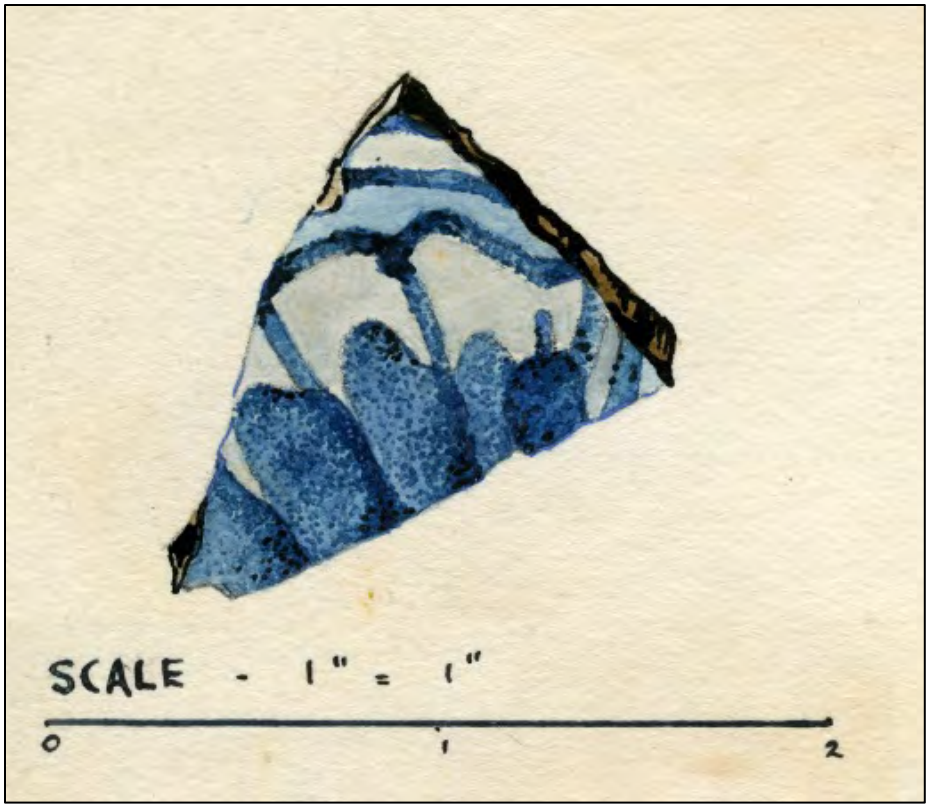

Figure 71. Ichtucknee Blue on White Majolica.

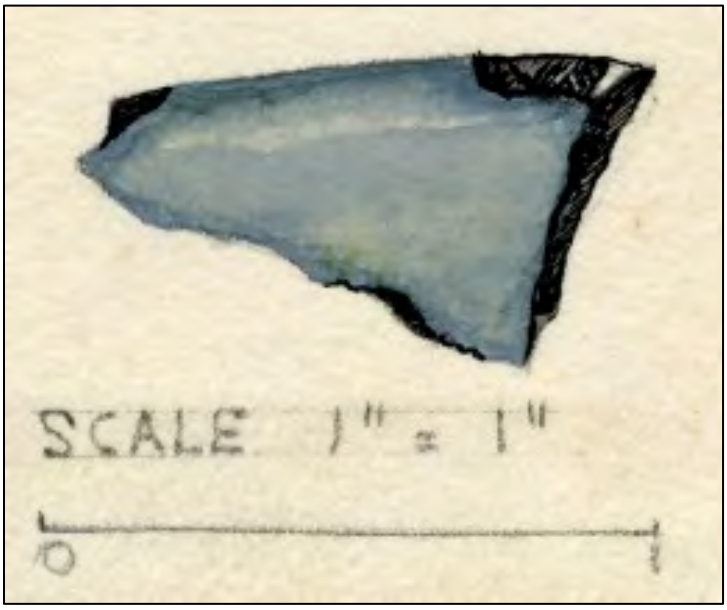

Figure 72. Caparra Blue? Majolica.

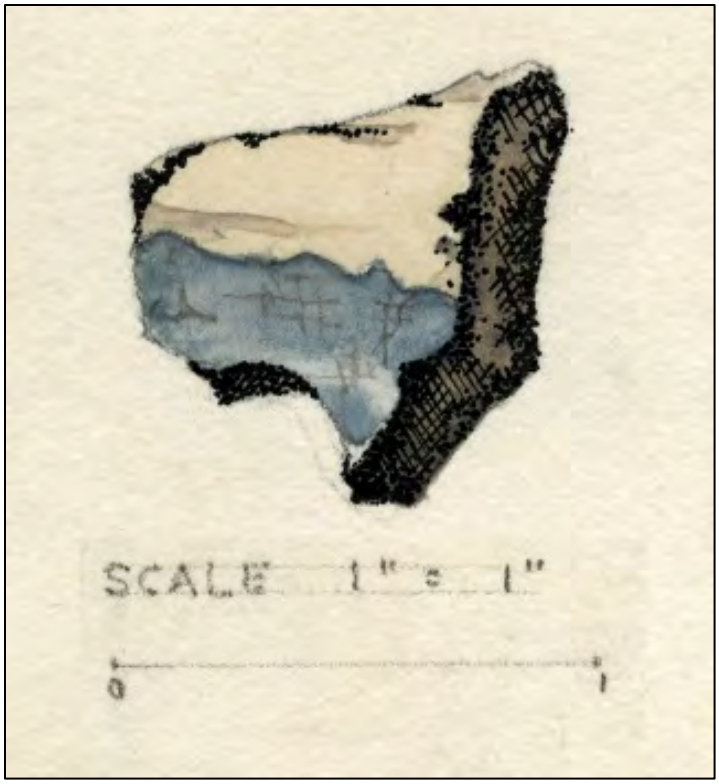

Figure 73. Unknown Blue on White Majolica.

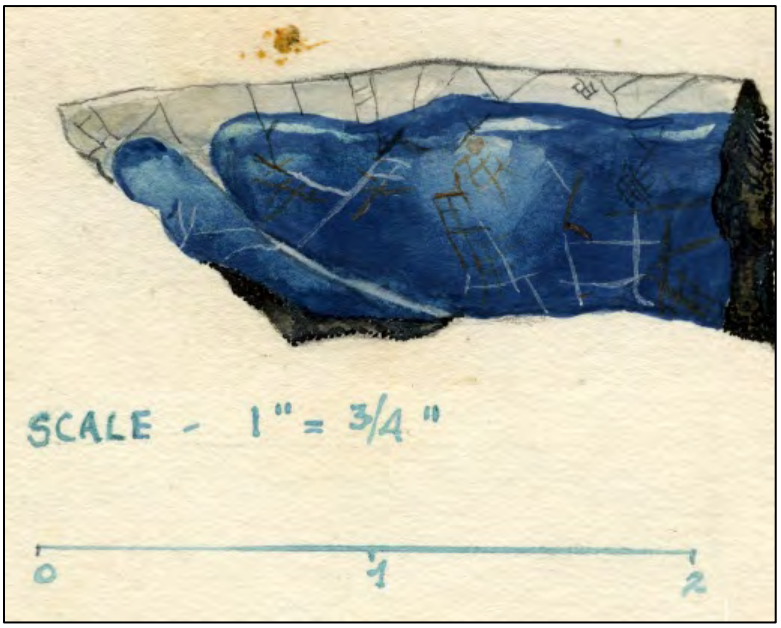

Figure 74. San Luis Blue on White? Majolica.

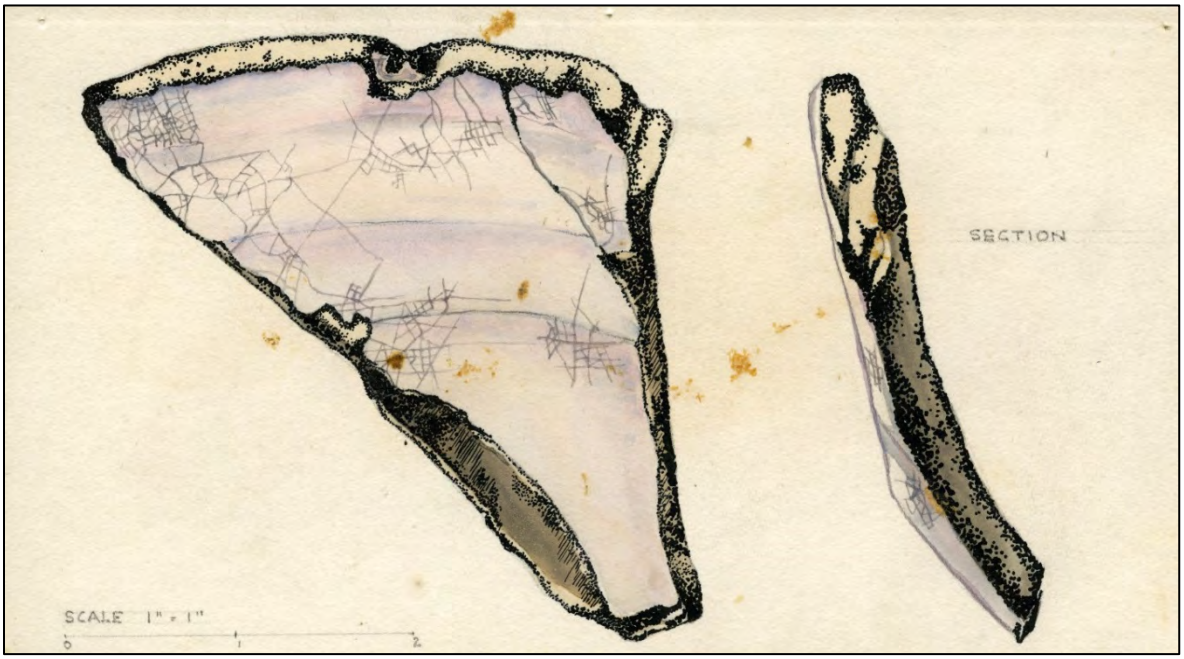

Figure 75. Columbia Plain Majolica.

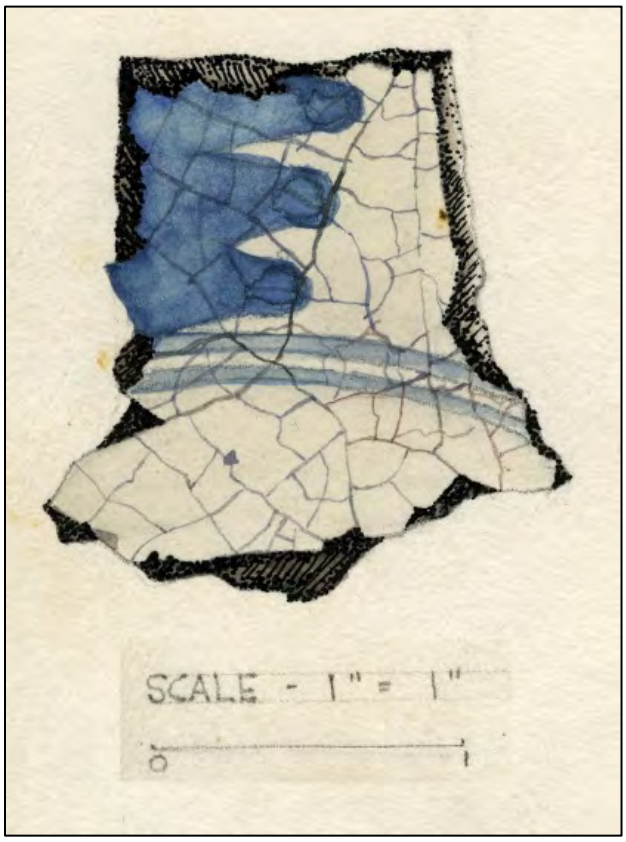

Figure 76. San Luis Blue on White? Majolica.

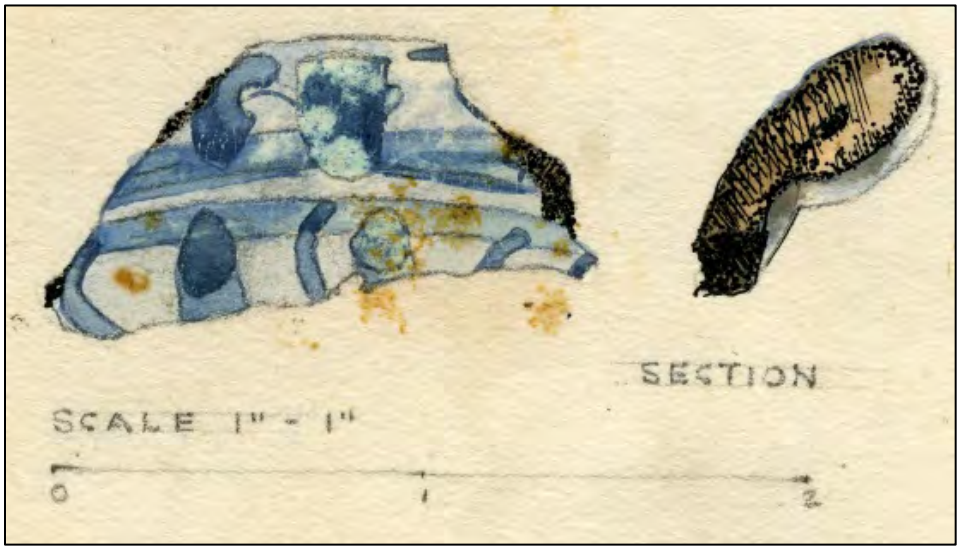

Figure 77. Ichtucknee Blue on White? Majolica.

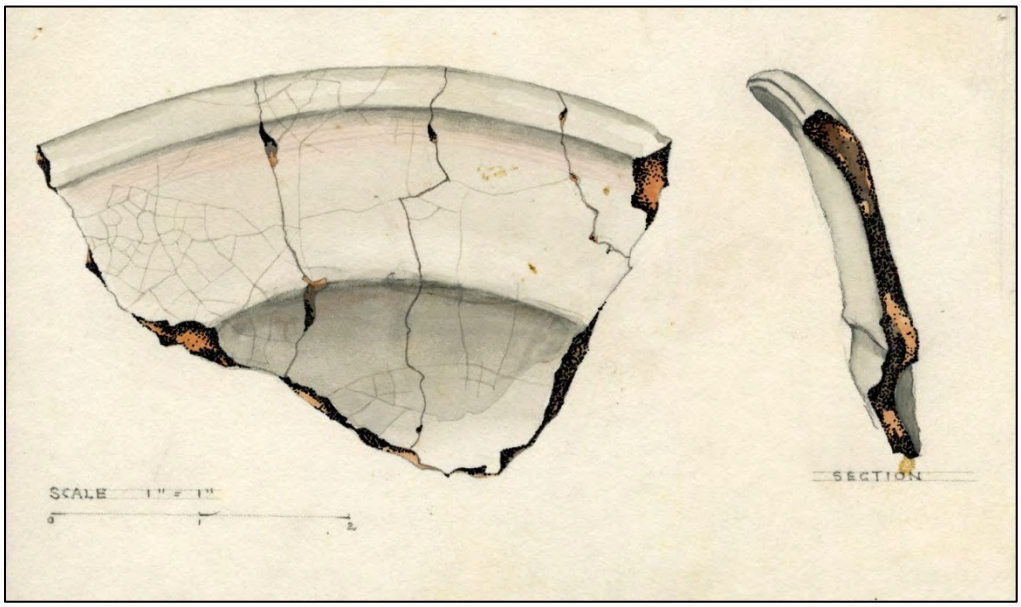

Figure 78. Columbia Plain Majolica.

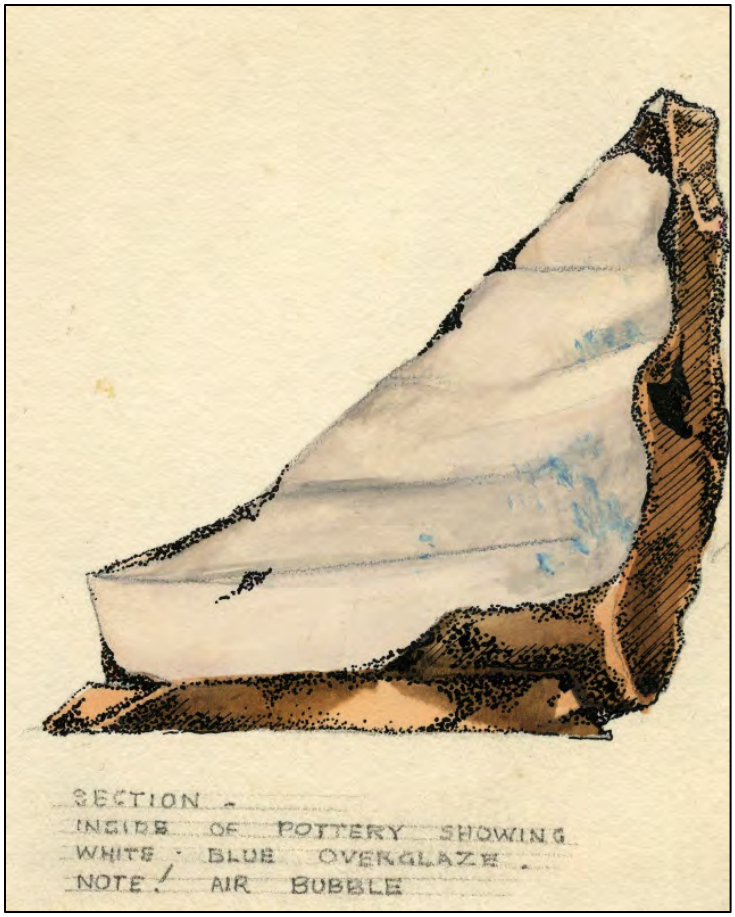

Figure 79. Columbia Plain Majolica.

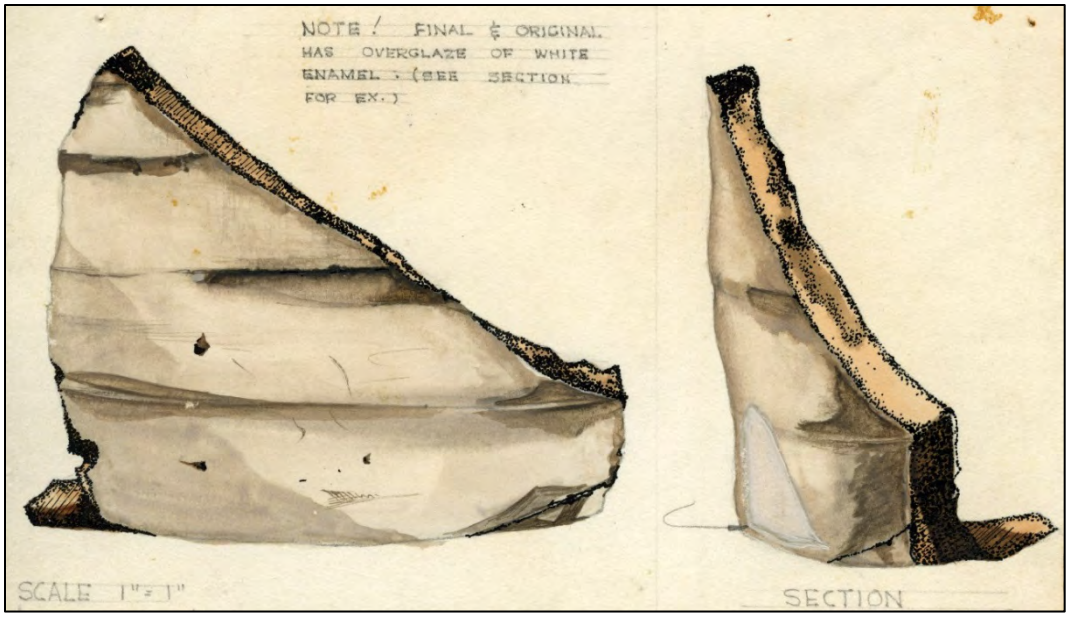

Figure 80. Unknown Majolica.

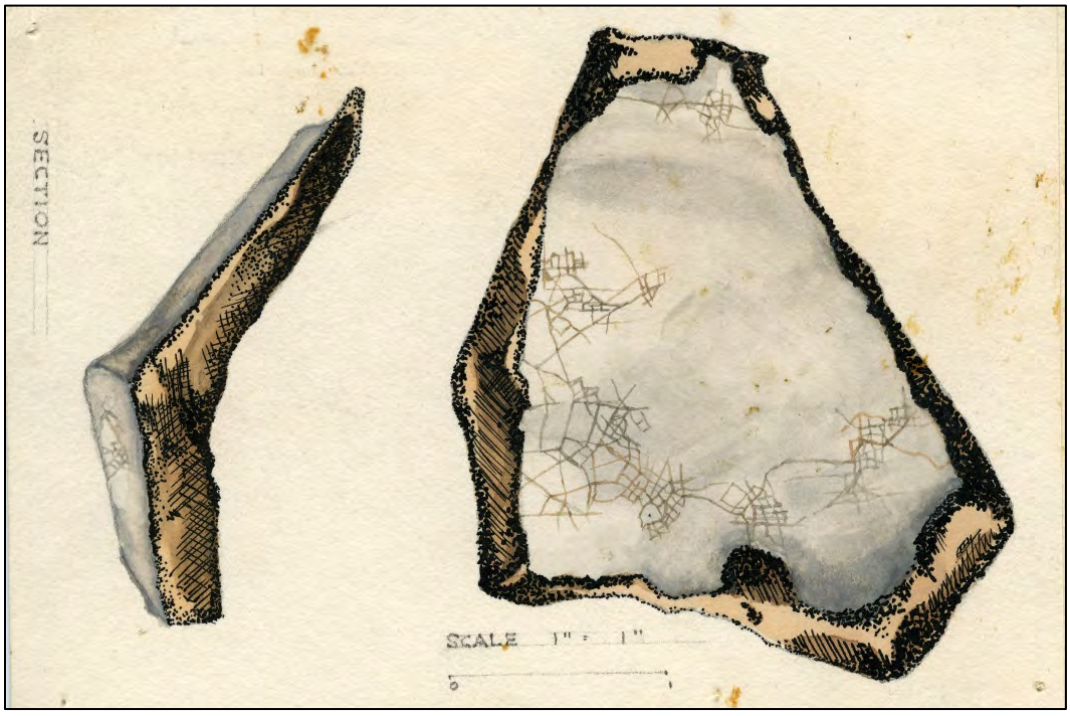

Figure 81. Columbia Plain Majolica.

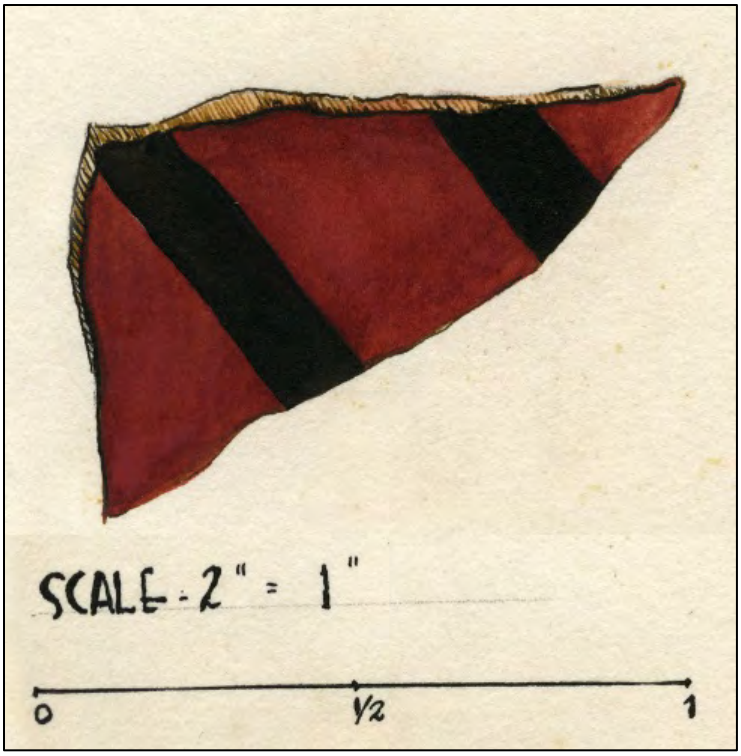

Figure 82. Aztec Ware? or Melado?

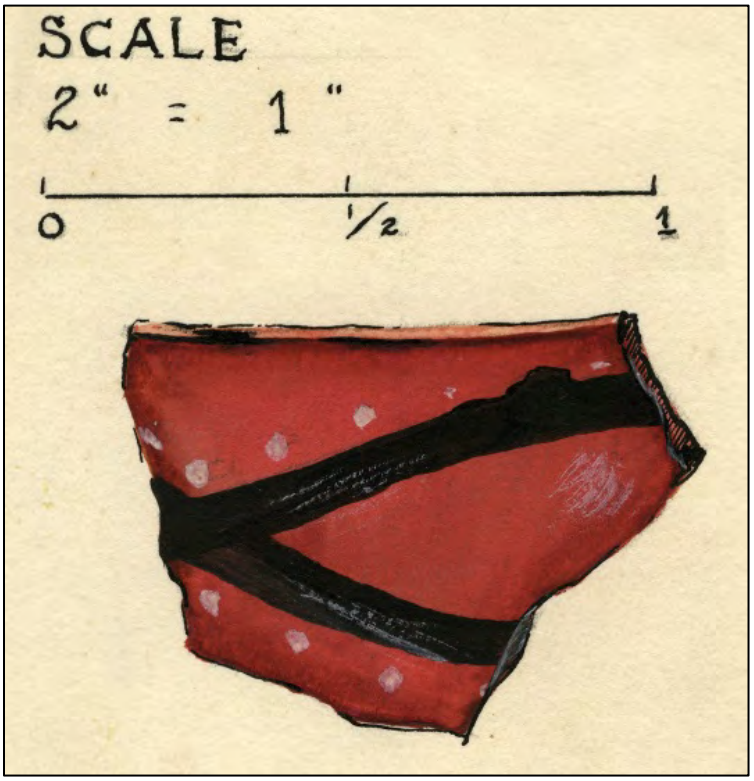

Figure 83. Aztec Ware? or Melado?

Figure 84. Sheila Kelly Caldwell at the Darien Bluff Site.

Figure 85. Small Ceramic Head

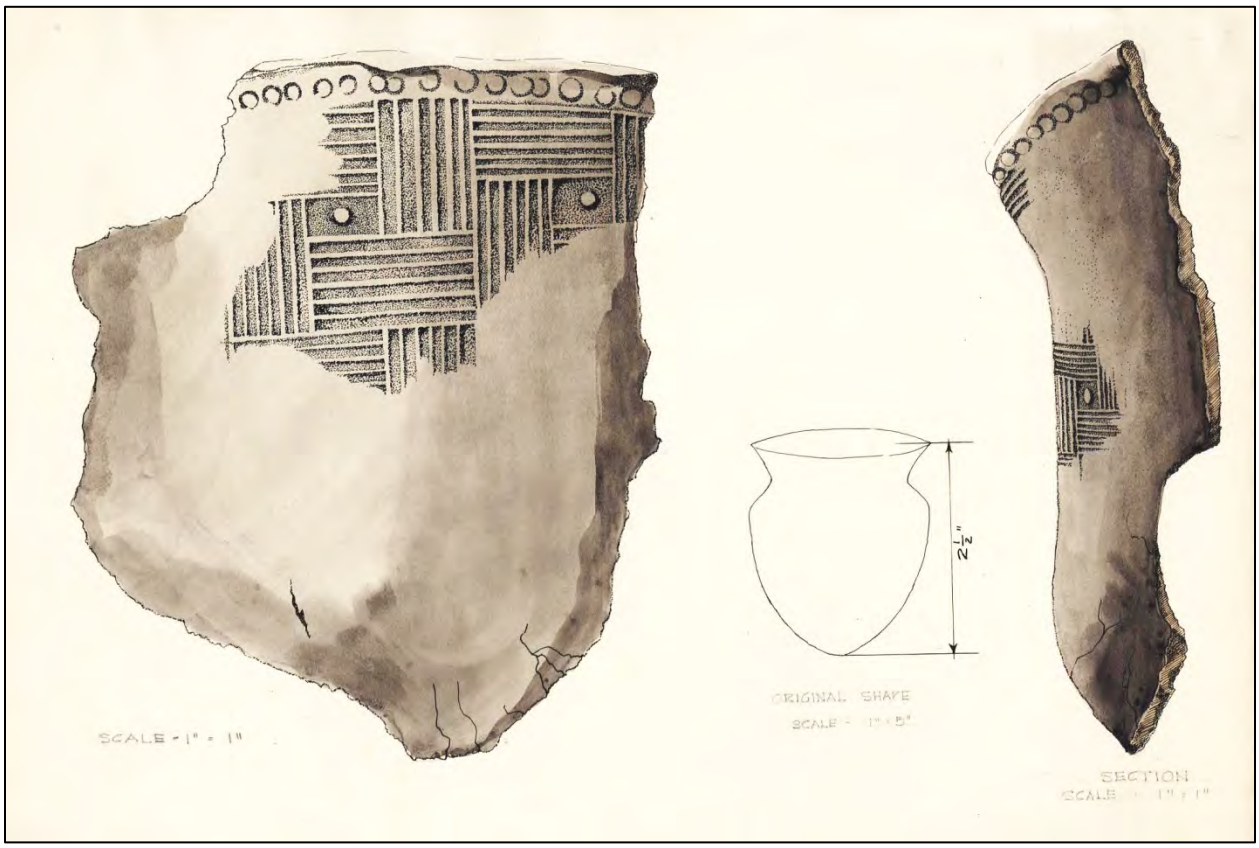

Figure 86. Altamaha Line Block Stamped.

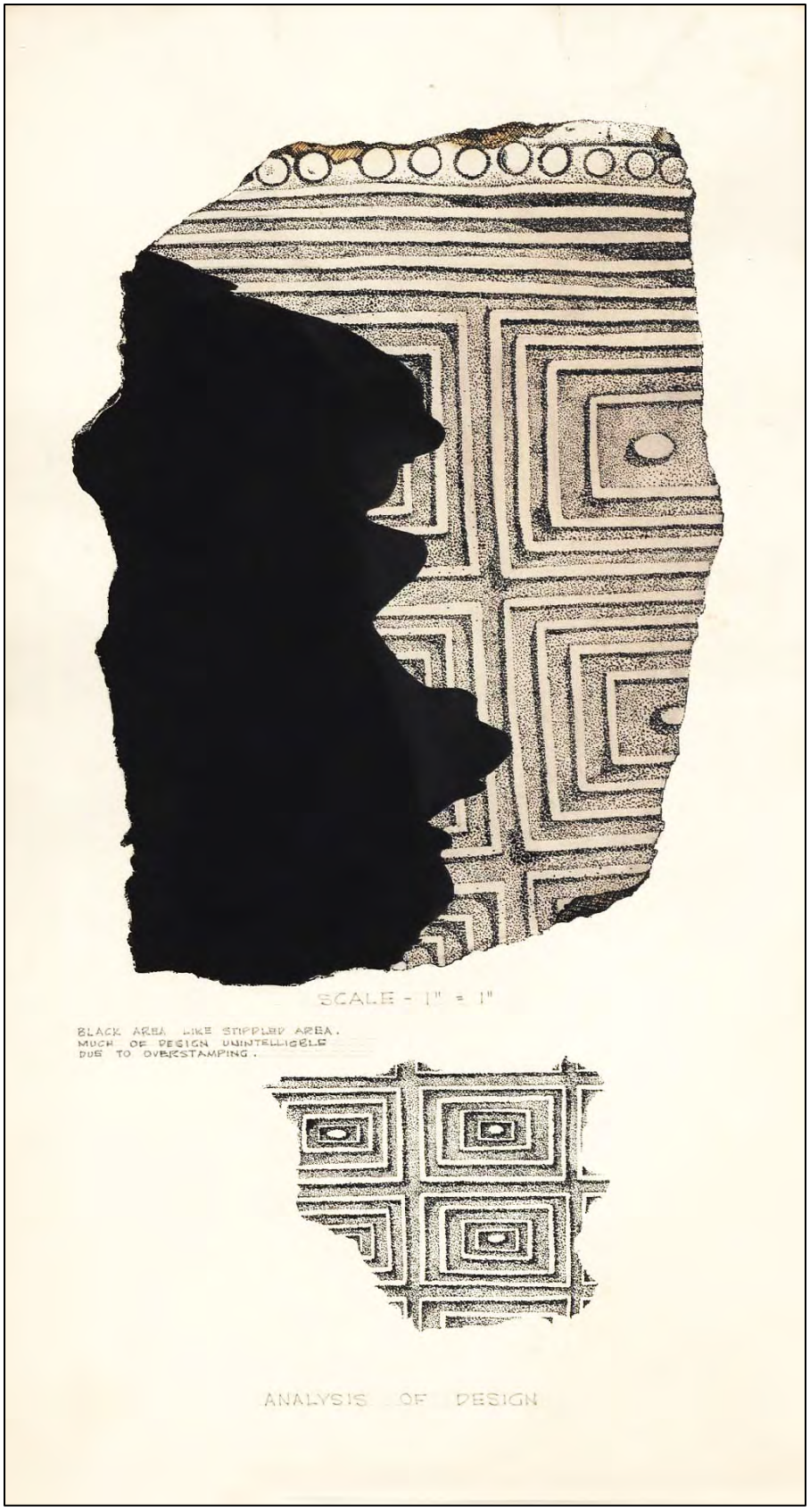

Figure 87. Altamaha Line Block Stamped.

Figure 88. Altamaha Line Block Stamped.