

AN INVESTIGATION OF EUROAMERICAN CERAMIC USE
IN THE CATAWBA NATION, 1760-1820

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ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses an undeveloped aspect of Catawba lifeways and material culture during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: the presence of increasingly large quantities of Euroamerican ceramics on archaeological contexts associated with Catawba occupation. Although the Catawba, a coalescent nation driven into existence by the direct and indirect pressures of European contact, have long been players in colonial markets, evidence for Euroamerican ceramics in particular seems to explode from Late Colonial and Federal period contexts. Why, at the same time that Catawba ceramic *production* reached its peak, did the Catawba *consumption* of Euroamerican materials also increase so dramatically? What were the mechanisms by which Euroamerican vessels were acquired and integrated into Catawba life? And how did such objects feature in rapidly changing relationships and modes of interaction between the Catawba and their Euro-American neighbors? This thesis will attempt to address these compelling questions through the detailed analysis of the non-Catawba-made ceramic assemblages of three late eighteenth and early nineteenth century sites — Old Town, Ayers Town, and New Town.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Project Outline

The Catawba are members of a Native American group centered on a reservation along the banks of the Catawba River which touches modern York and Lancaster counties in the South Carolina Piedmont. The only federally recognized Native nation in South Carolina, the current territorial composition of the Catawba Nation has its roots in a land claim recognized by treaty with the British in 1760, by which time the Catawba had been a long-standing ally to the South Carolina colonial government (Cranford 2018). In the decades leading up to this watershed consolidation of Catawba territory, a diverse community of Native groups had been engaged in building a coalescent polity to combat the pressures of political, economic, and population change unleashed by European contact and colonization (Davis et al. 2015). The ability of these groups to adapt to new challenges forged the Catawba Nation — a Native society that engaged with Euro-American colonialism on its own terms — and ensured its continued existence to the present day.

This thesis addresses an undeveloped aspect of Catawba lifeways and material culture during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: the presence of increasingly large quantities of Euroamerican ceramics from archaeological contexts associated with Catawba occupation. These quantities suggest widespread Catawba possession and utilization of such wares between 1760 and 1820, a range which covers

the Late Colonial and Federal periods of Catawba history. Although the Catawba, a coalescent nation driven into existence by the direct and indirect pressures of European contact, seem to have long been players in colonial markets — and in fact made use of such networks to parlay strategic partnerships with British colonial regimes — evidence for Euroamerican ceramics in particular seems to explode from Late Colonial and Federal period contexts (Davis et al. 2015). This inundation is made all the more curious when one accounts for the fact that, at the same time as they seem to be acquiring large numbers of non-Catawba-made wares, the Catawba themselves were in the process of developing and expanding their own commercial ceramic enterprise. Sales of Catawba wares, which emulated Euroamerican forms and motifs with distinctively Catawba flavor, filled a market for robust, inexpensive pottery in the Carolina backcountry (Riggs 2010). They also served to sustain the Nation economically as the Catawba worked to redefine and reinvent their relationships with their neighbors in the wake of upheaval after upheaval.

Why, then, at the same time that Catawba ceramic *production* reached its peak, did the Catawba *consumption* of Euroamerican materials also increase so dramatically? What were the mechanisms by which Euroamerican vessels were acquired and integrated into Catawba life? And how did such objects feature in rapidly changing relationships and modes of interaction between the Catawba and their Euro-American neighbors? This thesis will attempt to address these compelling questions in a number of ways. First, it will contextualize the presence of Euroamerican wares on Catawba sites within two historical processes with which the Catawba engaged: interaction, in which networks of exchange were coopted by the Catawba, who used them to negotiate structures of alliance and obligation between themselves and Euro-American regimes;

and adaptation, by which Catawba society evolved rapidly in response to new pressures and quickly changing times. Second, it will present a formal analysis of identifiable ceramic artifacts, noting the types and styles of Euroamerican wares from Catawba contexts. Such information may provide insight into any apparent preferences on the part of the Catawba for non-Catawba-made objects to fill certain functions, whether those functions be related to the preparation or consumption of certain foods or beverages, or to the production of Catawba-made wares, either as models or physical templates. Finally, the project will consider the potential role of Euroamerican ceramics as objects of payment in kind for Catawba land rented by non-Catawba settlers through a formal land-leasing system instituted in the mid-1780s and developed through the end of the Federal period, and as evidence of Catawba integration into Euro-American markets (Pettus 2005).

This project is intended to build on the great body of archaeological and historical research conducted by the University of North Carolina Research Laboratories of Archaeology (RLA) under the auspices of the Catawba Project. Initiated in 2001, the Catawba Project has sought to address the ways in which the historic Catawba Nation evolved in response to pressures and challenges associated with European contact and colonialism. Specifically, it has investigated the process of coalescence and ethnogenesis by which a number of disparate Native groups, dislocated and depopulated by increased violence, slave raiding, disease, and shifting relations of power, came together to form a new Native nation capable of representing itself amidst the turbulence of the colonial frontier from the early eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. Much work by Catawba Project researchers (see, for example, Cranford 2018; Plane 2011; and Riggs 2010) has treated a seismic shift in Catawba ceramic culture whereby the Catawba, in

the space of only a few years, seem to have developed a brand new — and, crucially for a coalescent nation, highly uniform — style. The new Catawba pottery innovated on forms introduced by European colonizers, and found a niche in non-Catawba societies as both a utilitarian ware and, eventually, a desirable ceramic art form. Despite the attention afforded to the development of this novel Catawba pottery, however, relatively little has been said of the Euroamerican pottery that also found its way into Catawba homes in increasing amounts. Understanding the role and conceptualization of these wares has significant implications not only for the reconstruction of the commodity and exchange networks of which the Catawba were a part, but also for the exploration of how the Catawba themselves conceived of their place within such networks during the Late Colonial and Federal periods.

The term *Euroamerican*, used throughout this thesis to refer broadly to non-Catawba-made ceramic wares recovered from Catawba sites, indicates the pottery tradition carried to the South Carolina Piedmont by settlers from Europe. Specific wares in the eighteenth and nineteenth century Euroamerican tradition found on Catawba sites will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3. For the most part, the term reflects the geographical origins of the pottery under discussion, which was made largely in various production centers in what is today the United Kingdom, but also in the Netherlands, in France, in Germany, and by European transplants to North America, whose own methods of ceramic production coexisted and interacted with indigenous methods. However, *Euroamerican* is used here primarily to describe the ceramic material culture introduced by European immigration, which could and did include material produced outside of Europe and North America. Consequently, although the small quantities of Chinese porcelain recovered from Ayers Town and New Town were manufactured in

East Asia, they are included under the term *Euroamerican* because they were introduced to the South Carolina Piedmont by European cultural interface, and thus are part of the same material vocabulary as European wares or North American wares produced in the European tradition. Late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Catawba-made wares themselves had a place within this vocabulary, and in many ways were products of contact between local and immigrant ceramic traditions, but are differentiated from contemporary Euroamerican ceramics in Catawba contexts because they were internally produced, rather than imported. The related but slightly different term *Euro-American* refers to the settlers that brought and perpetuated the Euroamerican pottery tradition from Europe, and reflects the socio-political transition during the period discussed in this thesis engendered by the American Revolution.

Site Selection

This study concerns itself primarily with the ceramic assemblages of three Catawba Project sites: Old Town (RLA-SoC 634), occupied in two phases roughly between 1760 and 1800; Ayer's Town (38YK534), occupied roughly between 1780 and 1800; and New Town (RLA-SoC 632/635), occupied roughly between 1790 and 1820. All three sites are situated within the original Catawba Nation reservation formalized in 1760 under the Treaty of Pine Tree Hill, and confirmed by the Treaty of Augusta in 1763 (Brown 1966). Collectively, they provide a material record of roughly six decades of Catawba lifeways, years which comprise some of the most socially and politically tumultuous in Catawba history. These sites account for the whereabouts of the Catawba Nation between a cataclysmic smallpox epidemic in 1759 — from which the Catawba

population never truly recovered and which heralded a complete reinvention of Catawba economic structures — and the ratification of the 1840 Treaty of Nation Ford, which left the Catawba itinerant, dispossessed of their lands, and set adrift among white Euro-Americans in an ever-increasingly race conscious South (Davis et al. 2015). One site, Old Town, was witness to the collapse of the Catawbas' historic alignment with the British colonial government and their fateful decision to support American revolutionaries in their war for independence — a decision which left the Catawba refugees for the second time in nearly as many decades. All three towns coincide with the growth of a land-leasing system, by which Catawba let Nation land out to non-Catawba lessees; New Town remained a Catawba village even amidst the breakdown of this system, when old tenants began to disregard their lands' former status and encroachment reached a fever pitch (Pettus 2005). They provided homes for Catawba traders to return to after many a sojourn in Charleston to sell their wares and restock their own supplies, and anchors for the kinship networks that first transcended and eventually obliterated the heterogeneity of the Catawba past. After the last of the living Catawba had gone, they provided refuge for the dead.

Before the return of the Catawba from Pine Tree Hill (now Camden), South Carolina, following members' participation in the Quebec Campaign and the subsequent devastation of the 1759 epidemic, Catawba use of Euroamerican ceramics seems to have been quite minimal (ceramic use among the Early Contact and Coalescent period Catawba is briefly treated in Chapter 3). It is only after the primary occupation of Old Town and the establishment of dedicated trade ceramic production that widespread Catawba consumption of Euroamerican ceramics is borne out by the archaeological record. The three sites I have selected for my analysis postdate this event, and all three

have preserved solid, usable data in which to ground my interpretation. Evidence from sites with solid Catawba provenience from after the abandonment of New Town in c. 1820 does not exist as of the time of writing. Only one other known site — the Bowers Site (38LA483), known traditionally as Turkey Head, occupied from around 1800 to the 1820s — is roughly contemporaneous with New Town, and as such has the potential to provide an additional lens through which to view the Catawba Federal period. Unfortunately, the material record at this site is quite limited, and as such can contribute little in the way of interpretive value. An additional site, the Nisbet Site (RLA-SoC 638), was occupied around the same time as the first Catawba occupation of Old Town (c. 1760-1780), but material recovered from this context represents too small a sample to be of use to this analysis. Consequently, this thesis will not consider material from the Bowers or Nisbet sites.

Archaeological investigations at Old Town, Ayers Town, and New Town were conducted by the RLA between 2002 and 2017, under the direction of Drs. R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr. and Brett H. Riggs. This coherence of direction ensures methodological consistency in data recovery and documentation from site to site, and provides a stable basis for making comparative claims. Recovered materials, which have been nearly completely sorted, cleaned, and catalogued, are housed in the North Carolina Archaeological Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and were easily accessible to me during the analytical component of my research. Additionally, the three sites considered in this thesis have been treated in some depth by a number of eminently useful articles (Riggs 2010; Riggs and Davis 2006), dissertations (Cranford 2018; Bauer 2016; Plane 2011), books (Fitts 2017; Merrell 2009; Moore 2002) and reports (Davis et al. 2012, 2015; Davis and Riggs 2005, 2006), providing me with a well

of insight to draw on in contextualizing this project within the social landscape of the Late Colonial and Federal period Catawba. I found utilizing extant assemblages in my analysis, rather than generating additional data through fieldwork, quite happily in keeping with my notions of academic responsibility *vis-à-vis* the present crisis of curation. And, although I do not pretend extensive involvement in the Catawba Project, I was fortunate enough to have been employed as a field assistant on the RLA's 2017 excavation at Old Town, and was a part, albeit a small part, of the recovery of some of the data interpreted here.

Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into an introductory section, four body chapters, and a conclusion. Chapter 2 contextualizes this research, providing an overview of Catawba history and descriptions of each of the three sites the thesis will draw on. Chapter 3 discusses the methods of the investigation. Chapter 4 explores the place of Euroamerican ceramics in Catawba archaeological assemblages prior to 1800, with reference mainly to Old Town and Ayers Town. Chapter 5 investigates Euroamerican ceramics at New Town, which yielded by far the largest proportion of European-made vessels of the three. Finally, Chapter 6 discusses the results and establishes some basic premises for future work.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Catawba Nation: A Brief Historical Overview

Accounts of the history of the Catawba frequently begin with the travels of Englishman John Lawson, who arrived in the New World in 1700 and embarked on his first foray into the Carolina interior from Charles Town (Charleston) in late December of that year. Lawson, in his *New Voyage to Carolina*, provides the earliest known English language reference to the “Catawba” identifier, describing his stay for one night at the home of the “Kadapau King” (Moore 2002). However, the society inhabited by the people that this early observer encountered — the Esaw, Sugaree, and Kadapau — differed fundamentally from that of both the earlier Late Woodland piedmont and the later Catawba Nation; the region was in the midst of negotiating a wide-reaching restructuring in response to the seismic political, economic, demographic, and cultural changes of the previous century.

Nor was Lawson the first European to meet the people who would become Catawba. It is possible that the German John Lederer made contact with one or more of these politically distinct but culturally related groups, who spoke languages that, though heavily regionally inflected, shared Siouan roots; however, a number of inaccuracies in Lederer’s claims — among them his assertion that these “Ushery” lived near brackish water — make his account suspect (Davis et al. 2015; Randolph 1973). Tantalizing references from Juan Pardo’s second expedition to a headman called “Orata Catapa,”

whom Pardo may have met in the region of modern-day Charlotte, North Carolina, raise at least the possibility of a sixteenth-century Spanish contact date (Moore 2002).

Sustained economic relations between Europeans and the Esaw-Sugaree-Kadapau was established around 1676, around the same time that colonial polities in Virginia and Charles Town became preoccupied with forging military alliances with certain Native American groups in attempts to mitigate the perceived threat they posed (Davis et al. 2015; Moore 2002). In any case, such uncertainties make it clear that “contact” between the disparate groups that would become the Catawba Nation and the European colonizers was less an *event* than a *process*.

Early Contact Period (c.1675-1715)

The upheavals associated with these new relationships — epidemic disease, slave raiding, militarization, depopulation and refugee movements, the destabilization of former power relations — created what Davis et al. (2015), after Robbie Ethridge, have referred to as a “shatter zone” in the Carolina piedmont. They decimated kinship networks, in the process fundamentally altering modes of knowledge transmission and community reckoning (Merrell 2009). Archaeological evidence suggests that these processes were met with a contraction of formerly nebulous Esaw-Sugaree-Kadapau settlement patterns, resulting in the crystallization of a confederacy of distinct but increasingly interdependent communities which benefited greatly in terms of political stature from the entry of the Esaw into a military alignment with Charles Town in 1674. As the nascent Catawba Nation negotiated its relationship with the southern Carolina

colonial regime, it attracted émigrés, such as the Wateree and Saura, who further bolstered the Catawba population (Davis et al. 2015).

James Merrell has argued that the Europeans' enthusiastic pursuit of trade relations with these proto-Catawba during the Early Contact period (c.1675-1715) should not be seen as an imposition of a new, European-dominated economic model on an unwitting and passive Native market — the creation of Native polities as colonial dependencies. Rather, “upcountry peoples were active participants in the development of exchange across cultural boundaries;” this exchange almost certainly followed precontact piedmont forms, so that the effect of European trade on Native societies proved “more evolutionary than revolutionary” (Merrell 2006). Lawson, whose accounts of his travels betray a comfortable familiarity with the structure of European-Native economic interaction, finds occasion to extoll the benefits to the European trader of marriage into indigenous communities (Randolph 1973). Such arrangements worked colonists into Native kinship systems, reflecting an emphasis on the establishment of personal connections between potential business partners, and on maintaining relationships with Europeans within intelligible structures of interpersonal association (Merrell 2006).

Coalescent Period (1716-1759)

Despite the Esaws' early association with the English, however, continued unrest stemming from the conversion of the piedmont into a colonial frontier, as well as the excesses of abusive traders, finally prompted a coalition of Yamassees, Creeks, Choctaws, and some Cherokee, joined by elements of the Catawba confederacy, to

declare war on the South Carolina colony in 1715 (Moore 2002). The Yamassee War, though a decisive victory for the English — forcing the Catawba to sue for peace under Virginia arbitration — ironically made the South Carolina regime all the more reliant on Catawba policing of the piedmont, and Charles Town supported the Catawba as the preeminent authority of the region. The fragmentation of other participant Native groups as a result of their defeat also contributed to the continuing processes of coalescence by which the Catawba Nation achieved its modern aspect (Davis et al. 2015; Moore 2002). In fact, the resumption of the alliance with South Carolina inaugurated a Coalescent period (1716-1759) of Catawba history, during which an apparently inexhaustible string of disparate groups were brought into the Catawba fold, whether through direct integration or simply through alignment. Such communities included the “Wateries, Wasmisas, Casuies, Nusties, Charras, Youchines, Wiapes, Suttires, Succas, and Saxippaha...Pedeas, Enos, Shakoris, Keyauwees, Cape Fears, Congarees, and sporadically, the Saponis” (Davis et al. 2015; Williams 1930).

The heterogeneity that characterized this early Catawba Nation was manifest throughout the Coalescent period, and in many ways even into subsequent periods. By 1743, as many as 20 dialects of the “Katahba” language were spoken within Catawba territory, and the names of settlements, such as Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw, reflected some of the Nation’s constituent groups (Cranford 2018; Williams 1930). However, the notion that this Catawba lack of “uniformity” stands in contrast to a well-ordered, cohesive (and consequently more competitive) colonial regime is misguided and based on a teleological misrepresentation of the circumstances of piedmont life in the first half of the eighteenth century. Fitts (2017) suggests instead the utility of a parallel conceptualization of the Catawba Nation and the Carolina colony, one which

“examine[s] each of these entities as coalescent polities that have undergone a process of ethnogenesis.” Such a reimagining complicates the hard dichotomy between *colonizer* and *colonized* and offers an avenue to understanding the engagement of the Catawba and the similarly emergent Euro-American nexus on decidedly different terms. Within Catawba territory proper, an influx of Scots-Irish settlers toward the end of the Coalescent period defined a new set of relationships, a somewhat tumultuous one between the Catawba Nation and the community that would come to be known as the Waxhaw settlement (Davis et al. 2015).

In addition to surveys conducted along the trading path that once linked the Catawba to Virginia — the same path represented on a 1721 deerskin map presented to a South Carolina governor by a Catawba headman — three sites form the core of the body of archaeological evidence for this period. These sites are Spratt’s Bottom (38YK3), a site of frequent occupation from the Archaic period which nonetheless seems to have been abandoned by 1756; Charraw Town (38YK17), associated with the Charraw, or Sara, a Catawba constituent following the Yamassee War; and Nassaw and Weyapee (38YK434), paired towns that artifact patterning suggests may have been fortified, reflecting the continuity of violence in the region stemming from the Catawba’s military support of the South Carolina colony and its British masters in their conflicts with both Native peoples and other Europeans. One such war — the French and Indian War, the North American theater of the global Seven Years’ War — would have truly devastating consequences for the Catawba when warriors returning from the Quebec campaign in 1759 triggered a smallpox epidemic that decimated the Nation, carrying off over half of the Catawba population. The abandonment of towns such as Charraw and Nassaw-Weyapee and subsequent flight of survivors to Pine Tree Hill (modern Camden, South

Carolina) in the wake of this nearly inconceivable tragedy mark the end of the Coalescent period, and is a watershed moment in Catawba history by any measure (Davis et al. 2015; Cranford 2018).

Late Colonial (1760-1775) and Revolutionary (1775-1781) Periods

In 1760 the Catawba, reeling from population collapse and faced with the continued problem of Euro-American encroachment on their territory, concluded the Treaty of Pine Tree Hill with the South Carolina colonial regime. By this document, the Catawba accepted a guaranteed title to a 225 square mile reservation, to which they returned shortly thereafter (Cranford 2018). An apparent effect of the devastation, removal, and resettlement of the Nation was the accelerated homogenization of Catawba identity, evident in the further contraction of settlements, the loss of distinct ethnic townships, and, most clearly, the adoption of an unprecedented, highly uniform new ceramic style. At the same time, the diminished Catawba saw their relevance as British military allies depleted, and the economic advantages associated with their former service — the diplomatic gifts and shipments of war material — fell off as a consequence. Compounded with these struggling diplomatic fortunes was the continued development of the plantation economy in the Carolina backcountry, “herald[ing] the beginning of a shift from a world where trade was king to one where cotton would be” (Merrell 2009:169). To support themselves, the Catawba engaged in new economic ventures. They identified and tapped a colonial market for robust, inexpensive ceramics, and restructured community pottery production as a major economic strategy. A markedly different pattern of Catawba settlement from that of the pre-epidemic Nation, and the

material correlates of the growing Catawba emphasis on commercial ceramic production, are evident archaeologically at Old Town (RLA-SoC 634), further discussed later in the chapter.

This Late Colonial period (1760-1775) terminated with the Catawbas' fateful decision to align themselves with the cause of American revolutionaries against the British regime. During a brief Revolutionary period (1775-1781), the Catawba rehashed their political and economic relationship with Euro-American South Carolina, providing warriors and sanctuary to revolutionaries and in the process revitalizing their rights under the newly post-colonial state as well as its obligations to them (Davis et al. 2015). However, Catawba participation in the war against the British was not without its consequences; in mid-1780 the Nation was again forced to flee Catawba territory, this time to Virginia to escape retribution at the hands of an advancing British army under Lord Charles Cornwallis. Old Town and other Catawba settlements were duly burned by Cornwallis' troops in the absence of their residents (Cranford 2018).

Federal Period (1781-1820)

The Catawba returned once again in 1781, inaugurating a forty-year Federal period (1781-1820) marked by the founding of at least two new archaeologically-known communities, Ayers Town (38YK534) and New Town (RLA-SoC 632/635), as well as the reoccupation of Old Town. Continued production of ceramics for sale was combined with an innovative new economic strategy, a system which would come to redefine Catawba interaction with their Euro-American neighbors: the land-leasing system. Mutual friendships between members of the Catawba Nation and American

revolutionaries with whom they had served opened Catawba territory to some for legitimate settlement. In 1785, a system for the leasing of Catawba land in exchange for rent payments was formalized (Pettus 2005). Although non-Catawba settlers had occupied Catawba territory prior to the Revolution — some under “contracts” and individual agreements with the Nation, and others as squatters with illegitimate title — the Catawba Indian Land leaseholder system was designed to regulate settlement through the cooperation of Catawba headmen and state-appointed Indian commissioners. Unfortunately, cracks appeared in the institution early on. Enforcement of lease payments was difficult. Euro-American settlers, as lessees rather than landowners, were angered by their lack of political representation, and odious restrictions on Catawba landlords were imposed by the legislature, curtailing the payment of rent in advance for fear that Catawba landholders would impoverish themselves by squandering their proceeds. Payments were generally made not in cash, but in kind, and the Catawba seem to have rarely received fair market value for their leases (Pettus 2005).

Late Reservation Period (1820-1840)

Such problems eventually culminated in the breakdown of the leasing system, and in the total subversion of Catawba autonomy, during the Late Reservation period (1820-1840). Leaseholders took greater and greater liberties with Nation land, subletting their plats for profit and buying and selling Catawba land as they wished without authorization. By and large, these lessees eventually ceased acknowledging Catawba title altogether (Pettus 2005). Many Catawba seem to have simply left the

shrinking nation, settling amongst their onetime Cherokee rivals on the Qualla Boundary. In 1840, a few of the Catawba who did remain within the reservation signed the Treaty of Nation Ford with South Carolina politicians, and formally ceded Nation land to the state in exchange for payments and the promise of a new reservation. The latter condition was never met, and the Catawba slipped into dispossession; however, the reacquisition on the Nation's behalf of a portion of their former land in 1842 formed the core of a continued Catawba occupation, which was eventually expanded to present-day reservation dimensions. The Catawba continued to manage their relationships with the Euro-American state, and maintained the work of coalescence that began in the eighteenth century through the continued definition and redefinition of Catawba identity (Davis et al. 2015).

Description of Sites

The remaining portion of the chapter is intended to provide brief descriptions of the Old Town, Ayers Town, and New Town sites, in order to frame the analysis and interpretation presented in subsequent chapters. All three are situated along the Catawba River within the historical Catawba reservation, in the heart of the Catawba Project area (see Figure 1). This discussion is by no means intended to be exhaustive, and several external resources are recommended for further exploration — among them works by Davis and Riggs (2005, 2006), Davis et al. (2012, 2015), and Cranford (2018). The treatment provided here merely outlines some key characteristics of the sites.

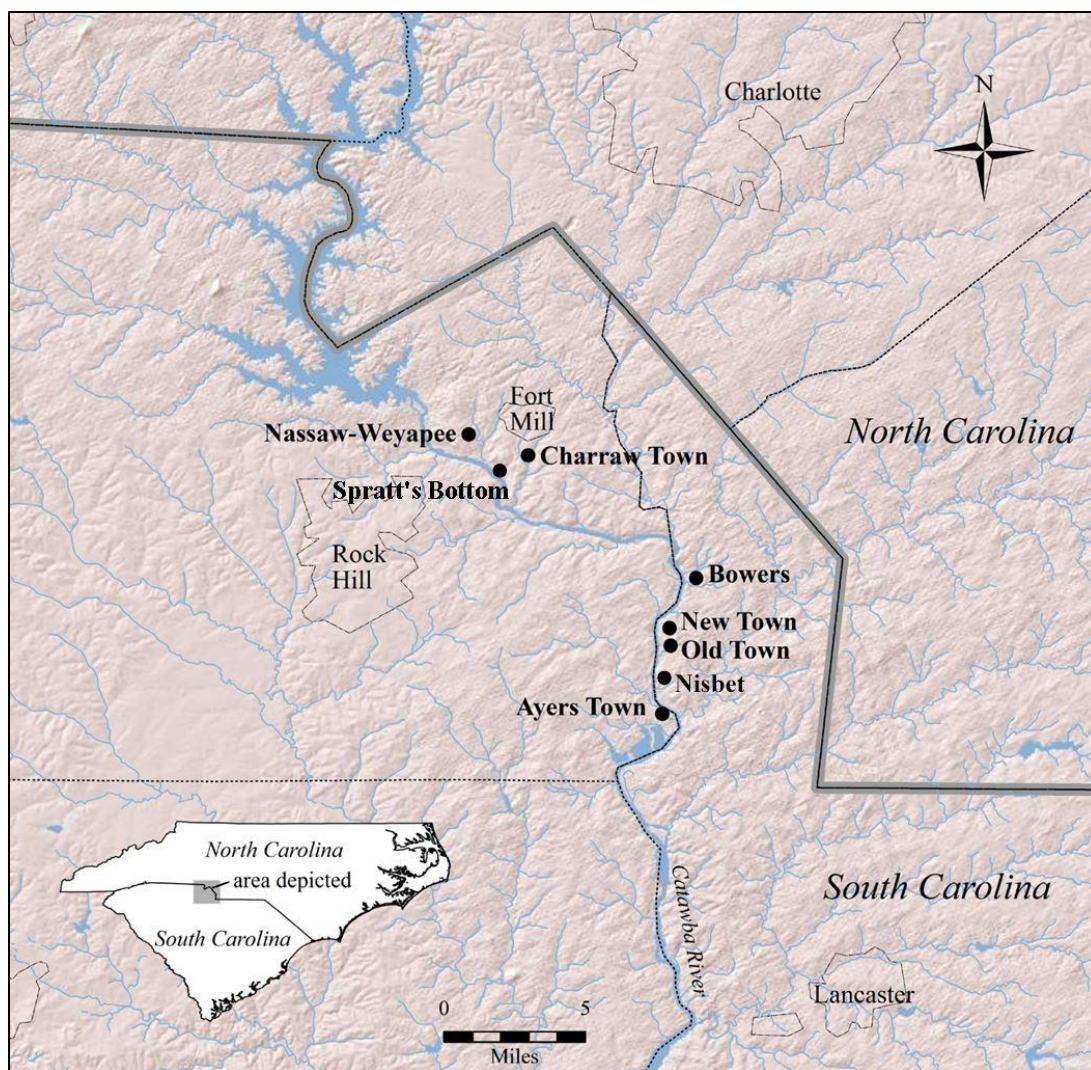


Figure 1. Map depicting historic Catawba sites that have been investigated archaeologically by the Catawba Project. Adapted from Davis et al. 2015: Figure 2.2.

Old Town (c. 1760-1800)

Named for its proximity to Old Town Branch, a Catawba River tributary also variously recorded as “King’s Creek” and “Haglier’s [sic] Creek,” the site of Old Town (RLA-SoC 634) lacks a formal Smithsonian trinomial and is instead denoted here by an internal RLA identifier. It is thought to be the town represented by a small, anonymous

cluster of cabins depicted near the mouth of the branch on Samuel Wyly's 1763 map of the Catawba Nation. Systematic archaeological investigation of the site began upon its rediscovery in 2003 and was conducted by the RLA; those efforts located four widely dispersed cabin loci. Both the spatial arrangement of Old Town — the diffusion of the cabin sites and the absence of a perimeter palisade — and the apparent cribbed-log, rather than post-in-ground, construction of the cabins evince a significant discontinuity in Catawba practice from sites occupied before the Seven Years' War. This shift also coincides with the drastic change in Catawba pottery tradition mentioned earlier in the chapter. Both are associated with the Catawbas' removal to Pine Tree Hill (Camden) in the aftermath of the devastating 1759 smallpox event, and in fact Old Town represents the earliest known Catawba settlement postdating the crisis. Both archaeological and documentary evidence suggest that the site was occupied in two phases: Old Town I, representing the period, roughly 1760-1780, between the return of the Catawba after the 1759 epidemic and their flight to Virginia ahead of the British advance; and Old Town II, representing the two decades following the Catawba return in 1781 and culminating in the site's final abandonment around 1800. Both of the cabin loci excavated included evidence of two sequential households, with occupation of each punctuated by a brief abandonment event, which corresponds well with historical accounts of Old Town's 1780 desertion and burning by British forces (Figure 2) (Davis et al. 2015).

Cabin Locus 1 was initially investigated in 2003, and revisited in 2009 (Figure 3). It was found to consist of four rectangular cellar pits (Features 2, 5, 6, and 7), one large and shallow circular pit (Feature 4), one largely intact small circular pit (Feature 1) and the basal remnant of a second (Feature 19), a posthole (Posthole 4), and the tops of four rectangular pits (Features 3, 8, 9, and 20), the clay mottling of which suggested that

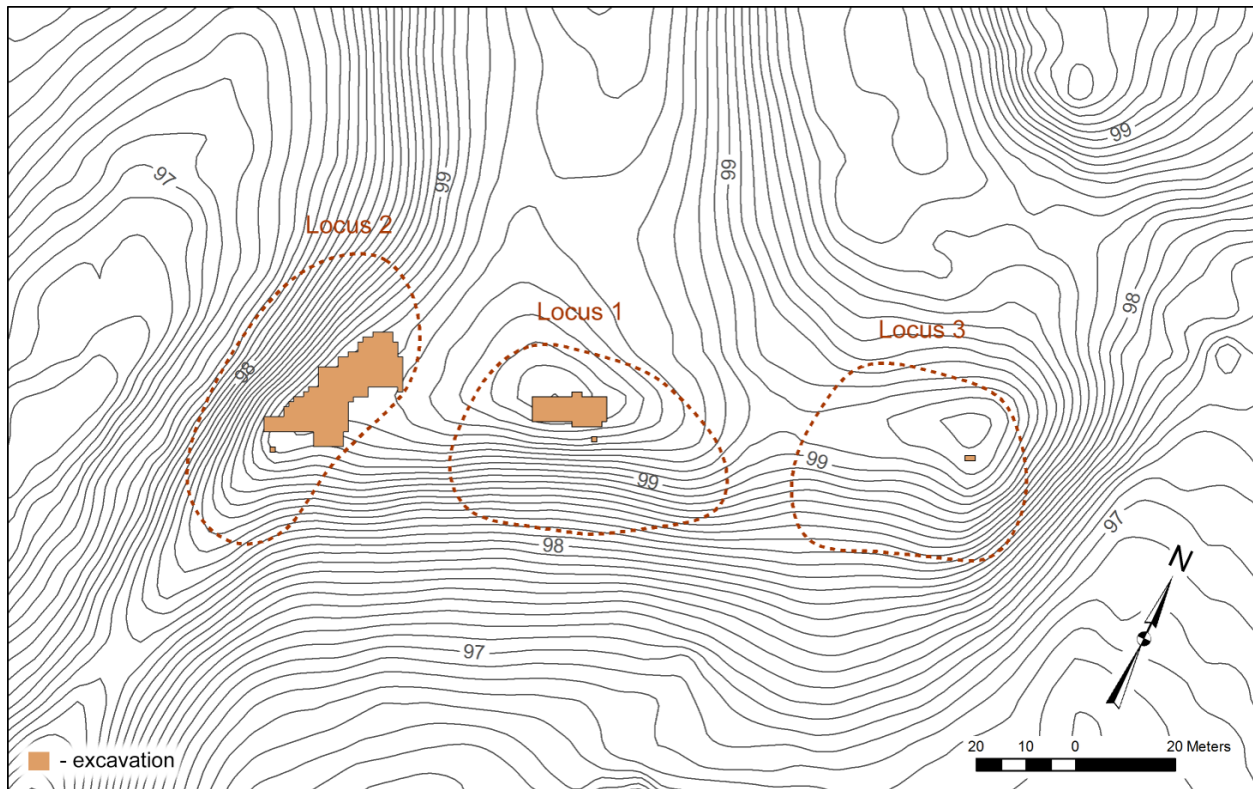


Figure 2. Site map of Old Town showing area excavated between 2003 and 2017 grouped by Loci. Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

they represented graves. Feature 2 (possibly with Features 1 and 19) appears to be associated with a primary (Old Town I) cabin seat, and Features 4, 5, 6, and 7 appear to be associated with a secondary (Old Town II) cabin seat, while Features 3, 8, 9, and 20 likely represent part of a cemetery attached to the Old Town II component. Coins and European ceramics recovered from Feature 2 corroborate a pre-Revolutionary, Late Colonial occupation, while the composition of the assemblage from the second cabin seat resembles those known from the later (c. 1790-1820) Catawba village at New Town, discussed later in this chapter. Probable graves were left undisturbed (Davis et al. 2012).

Locus 2 (Figure 4) was also investigated in 2009, 2014, and 2017. It is comprised of three probable cabin seats — two dating to Old Town I and one dating to Old Town II. Three of five total rectangular cellar pits (Features 12, 15, and 18) and an additional circular pit (Feature 17) are securely attributed to an Old Town I occupation, while the other two cellar pits (Features 11 and 14) and a small, shallow circular pit (Feature 13) thought to represent a clay-curing facility associated with ceramic production operations are datable to the locus' Old Town II component. The attribution of two additional features — a small, corncob-filled pit (Feature 21) also associated with pottery manufacture and an additional possible clay curing pit (Feature 10) — is uncertain (Davis et al. 2012). A third additional feature (Feature 16) is likely a clay borrow pit associated with Old Town I (Cranford 2018:160). Although Locus 3 yielded a respectable assemblage, much of it was recovered by metal detecting or plow zone excavation, and not associated with identifiable features (R. P. S. Davis, Jr., personal communication 2018).

As noted above, the Late Colonial period is associated with a far-reaching disarticulation of Catawba lifeways. This discontinuity is apparent from Old Town material assemblages, which differ significantly from those recovered from Nassaw, though the two settlements were only a decade removed. Ceramic assemblages from Old Town, in particular, consist largely of Catawba-made wares inspired by Euroamerican forms — a striking departure from Nassaw ceramics which belong largely to Precontact traditions (Riggs 2010). Previously disparate traditions, which reflected the coalescent nature of Catawba society, gave way to a highly coherent style. In spite of the crippling 1759 epidemic, and the consequent restructuring of Catawba lifeways, artifacts from Old



Figure 3. Plan of Old Town Locus 1 with features and hypothesized cabin outlines. Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

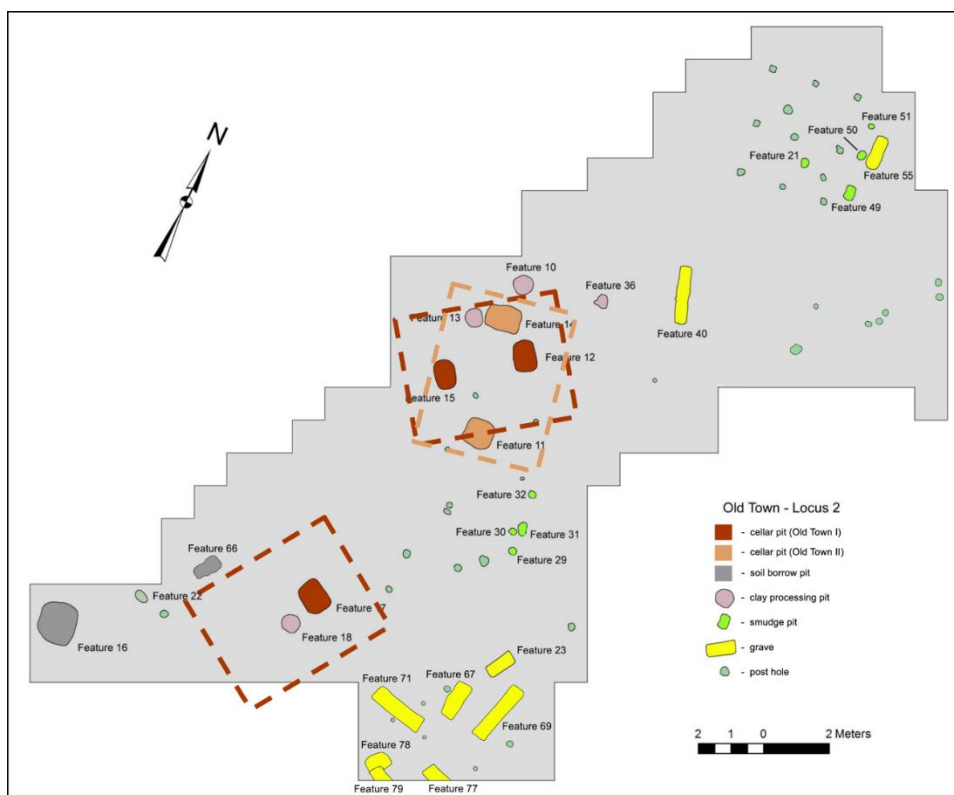


Figure 4. Plan of Old Town Locus 2 with features and hypothesized cabin outlines. Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Town signal an apparent material prosperity. The presence of coins, highly uncommon from earlier Catawba sites, attests to growing Catawba integration into regular colonial and post-colonial markets; the appearance of expensive commodities, notably much better-made firearms than the derided trade-made examples encountered on earlier sites, suggests the advantages for the Nation of such integration. Old Town was also witness to an innovation in Catawba personal adornment, one inextricably linked to a self-consciously *Catawba* identity during the Late Colonial and Federal periods: the triangular silver nose bangle. Crafted from cut sheet silver and worn suspended from the columella of the nose by a chain, the nose bangle immediately identified its wearer as Catawba. Many of the trends and material correlates first encountered at Old Town would come to define Catawba life through the American Revolution and well into the nineteenth century (Davis et al. 2015).

Ayers Town (c.1781-1800)

Ayers Town (38YK534), discovered in 2008, represents a Catawba village located at the western edge of the Catawba River valley in southeast York County, South Carolina. Between April 2010 and January 2011, the site was excavated in its entirety by the RLA as part of a mitigation effort necessitated by the planned impacts of the proposed SC Bridges over the Catawba River and Twelve Mile Creek project. Owing to the site's unique connection to Catawba heritage and the presence of numerous probable graves, Ayers Town remains a significant cultural heritage resource (Davis et al. 2015).

The site is named for Colonel John Ayres (variously rendered as “Ears,” “Eayres,” “Ayers,” “Aires,” “Hixa-uraw,” and “Hixayoura”), who probably lived there by at least 1797, when Henrietta Liston described paying her compliments to “the Colonel” on a visit to Ayers Town. Ayres was a veteran of the Seven Years’ War, in which he apparently distinguished himself: a 1757 letter from then British colonial officer George Washington remarks on the enthusiastic support provided by the Catawba captain to the British cause. He served as a trusted lieutenant of King Haigler and was elected to the Catawba chieftaincy himself upon the King’s death in 1763, an office he held only briefly. If (as is likely) he did indeed spend his final years in Ayers Town, then his death around 1801 may have been partly to blame for the abandonment of the site; such a prominent figure may very well have been the social lynchpin of the community (Cranford 2018).

The spatial arrangement of the archaeological features at Ayers Town — 165, or roughly 86%, of which are thought to be associated with a single historic Catawba occupation event — suggests a modest village comprised of five complexes of 12 total structural localities (Figure 5). In terms of distance between localities, structures at Ayers Town were much more tightly concentrated than those at Old Town. Three cemeteries (Cemeteries 1, 2, and 3) are located between two of the complexes (Complexes D and E). An historic roadbed likely runs through the center of the site on a northwest-southeast axis, dividing Complexes A, B, and C (northeast) from Complexes D and E (southwest). Ayers Town exhibits an architectural cohesion that evinces community planning, with large pit features (probably soil borrow pits) occurring largely in a rectangular perimeter around flat-bottomed features which are likely the sub-floor cellar pits of houses. Historical documentation suggests the town was probably larger than the current site,

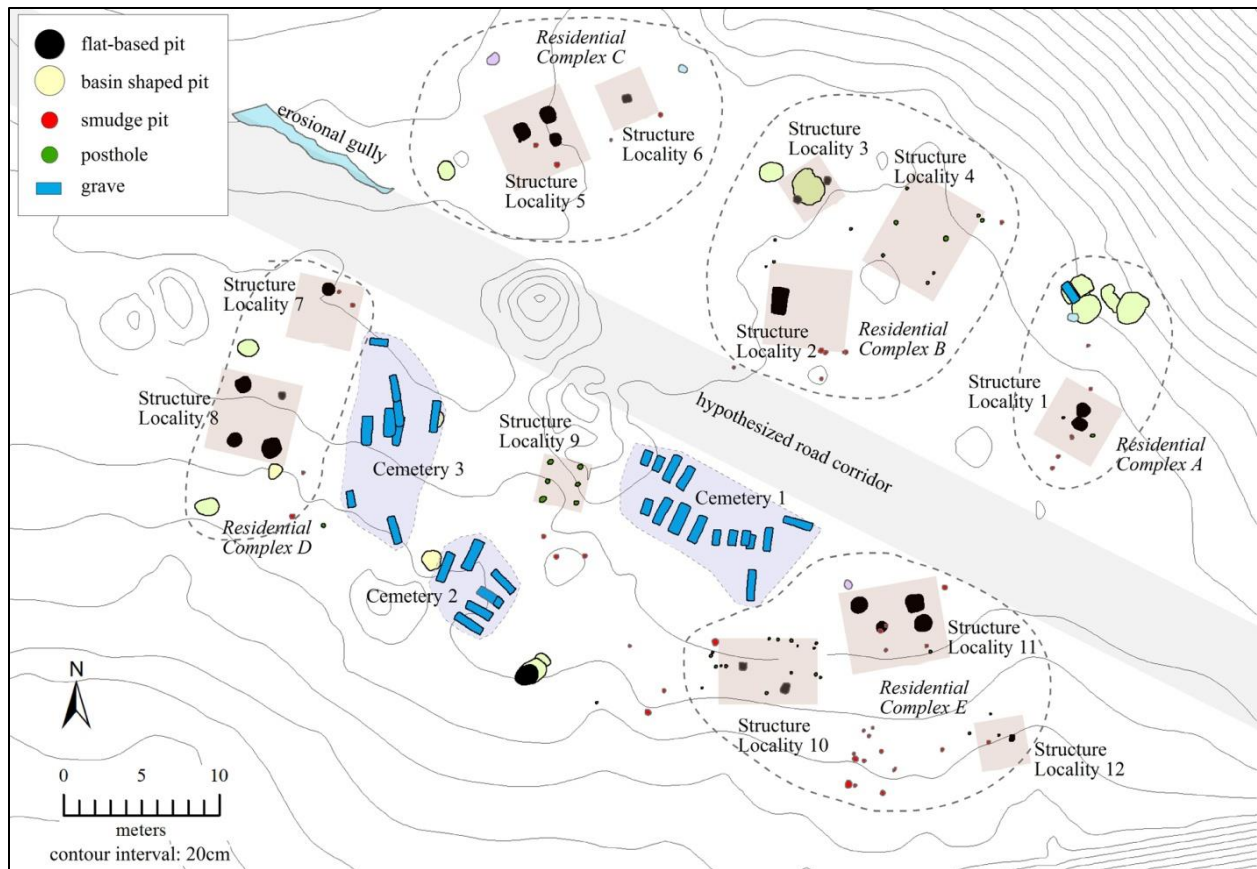


Figure 5. Plan of Ayers Town with interpretation. Adapted from Davis et al. 2015: Figure 5.11.

but that at least part of it has been obliterated by intensive activity over subsequent centuries (Davis et al. 2015).

Residential Complex A includes only a single probable cabin seat, Locality 1 (Figure 5). It consists of two spatially associated flat-based storage pits (Features 3 and 4), six probable borrow pits (Features 89-92; 124), a number of postholes and cob-filled pits, and a probable grave (Figure 6) (Davis et al. 2015).

Residential Complex B consists of three Localities: 2, 3, and 4 (Figure 5). Locality 2 is associated with a rectangular cellar pit (Feature 55), along with postholes and cob-filled pits. The shallowness of the cellar pit may indicate that the floor of the cabin at

Locality 2 was originally raised; however, given the slightly later mean ceramic date from this context, Cranford (2018) has hypothesized that this shallow pit may simply be a symptom of the cabin's relative novelty, and may simply have undergone fewer rejuvenation events (in which stale soil may have been "dug out," deepening the pit). Localities 3 and 4 may be ancillary to the Locality 2 structure: Locality 3 is denoted by two small flat-based pits and two basin-shaped probable borrow pits (Features 72 and 73), one of which (Feature 72) intrudes the flat-based features and apparently postdates them; Locality 4 consists solely of postholes and cob-filled pits (Figure 6). Locality 4 may represent a post-in-ground shed (Davis et al. 2015) or an open air shelter (Cranford 2018).

Residential Complex C includes Localities 5 and 6 (Figure 5). Locality 5 is defined by three flat-based pits (Features 106-108), a probable borrow pit, and a probable clay processing pit. Locality 6 includes a flat-based pit, a cob-filled pit, and a probable hearth (Figure 6) (Davis et al. 2015).

Residential Complex D encompasses Localities 7 and 8, and possibly Locality 9 as well (Figure 5). Locality 7 is centered on a circular, flat-based pit (Feature 5), and includes cob-filled pits and one likely grave. Locality 8 is associated with four flat-based pits (Features 33, 69, 116, and 123), two probable borrow pits, and a few cob-filled pits. A cemetery (Cemetery 3), comprised of nine graves, is likely also associated with Locality 8 (Figure 6) (Davis et al. 2015). Locality 9 is comprised of postholes and cob-filled pits. Cranford (2018), citing ethnohistorical evidence, suggests that this structure may represent an elevated corncrib.

Residential Complex E includes Localities 10, 11, and 12 (Figure 5). Locality 10 is associated with two small flat-based pits (Features 141 and 170) within a cluster of 16

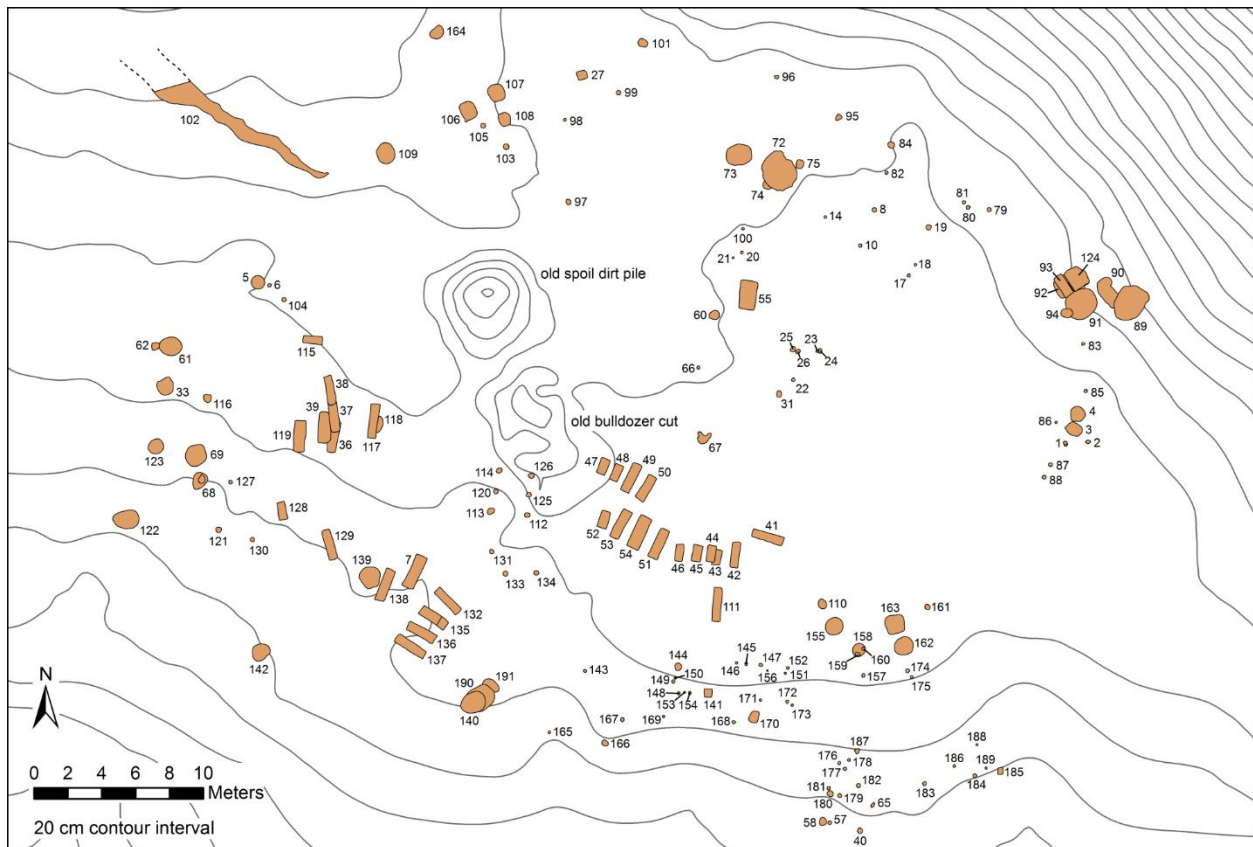


Figure 6. Site map of Ayers Town indicating locations of features. Adapted from Davis et al. 2015: Figure 5.1.

postholes and a cob-filled pit. The apparent post-in-ground construction of this locality differs markedly from the cribbed log construction of the others at Ayers Town. Locality 11 denotes the principal domicile of Residential Complex E and includes three large flat-based pits (Features 155, 162, and 163), a shallow basin (Feature 158), three cob-filled pits, and one posthole. Two additional cob-filled pits (Features 159 and 160) intrude the shallow basin and likely postdate the Locality 11 structure. Locality 12 includes a small flat-based pit (Feature 185), postholes, and possibly two cob-filled pits (Figure 6) (Davis et al. 2015).

The presumed subfloor flat-based pit features of Localities 3, 6, 10, and 12 are small, and consequently may indicate that the structures they represent were functionally distinct from posited structures with larger, and grouped, cellars (presumed to be domiciles); the spatial relationships between the two types of flat-bottomed pits suggest that they were paired. Three probable borrow pits (Features 139, 190, and 191) are located between Complexes D and E and cannot be demonstrated to be affiliated with either. A large flat-based pit (Feature 140) which intrudes one of these borrow pits (Feature 190) has an interesting morphology, with flared vertical walls, and does not appear to be associated with a residential structure (Davis et al. 2015). This feature seems to have been filled in two events, apparently quite rapidly, and may be evidence of communal activities (Cranford 2018).

As with the other sites treated here, it is difficult to say with any certainty when Ayers Town was abandoned. The formal arrangement of graves in cemeteries raises the possibility that Catawbas returned to the site to bury their dead even after formal abandonment (Davis et al. 2015).

New Town (c.1790-1820)

Sited on a ridge overlooking the Catawba valley, New Town (RLA-SoC 632/635) represents a somewhat loose collection of eight discrete cabin loci linked by wagon roads and footpaths. Like Old Town, the site does not have a formal Smithsonian trinomial; it is denoted by two RLA identifiers — SoC 632, which refers to the north half of the site, and SoC 635, which refers to the south half. Though known from a 1935 interview with former Catawba chief Samuel Blue conducted by Isabelle Baker, the

location of New Town was not verified by on-site reconnaissance until 2002 (Davis and Riggs 2005, 2006). Between that year and 2005, seven cabin loci were identified and archaeologically investigated by the RLA, with an additional (eighth) locus identified in 2012 (Figure 7). Each of these loci is comprised of the remains of one or more cribbed log structures, associated outparcels, and discard patterns represented by both discrete middens and peripheral scatters. The number, arrangement, and apparent form of the cabins correspond well to historical accounts of the town. Because not all of the New Town site has been subject to plowing, features and surface deposits in some parts of the site — notably Loci 3 and 4 — are remarkably well preserved (Davis et al. 2015).

Locus 1 was not extensively investigated, but was sampled by metal detection and surface collection (Davis and Riggs, 2005; 2006). Loci 2 and 3, however, were partially excavated during the 2003 field season. Locus 2 seems to have been spared intensive plowing on account of its rocky soil; it was found to contain a square cellar pit (Feature 1), a floor-level chimney base (Feature 2), and a small pit (Feature 3) (Figure 8). Feature 1 preserved a fairly rich assemblage, including “numerous Catawba-made sherds, several polishing pebbles, pearlware and lead-glazed earthenware sherds, Catawba pipe fragments, several large iron objects, a wine bottle base, a 1793 French two-sol coin, glass beads, and a sheet-iron container lid” (RLA 2019a). The tops of features at Locus 3 were extremely close to the ground surface, but were remarkably intact. An irregular-shaped basin feature, likely a soil borrow pit (Feature 5), two rectangular possible cellar pits (Features 4 and 6), and a third pit feature, also rectangular (Feature 7), were noted (Figure 9). Feature 5 was found to contain large quantities of Catawba pottery, while Features 4, 6, and 7 produced “fragments of broken Catawba vessels and pearlware and Rockingham ware sherds, as well as glasswares, tableknives, and silver bangles; Feature

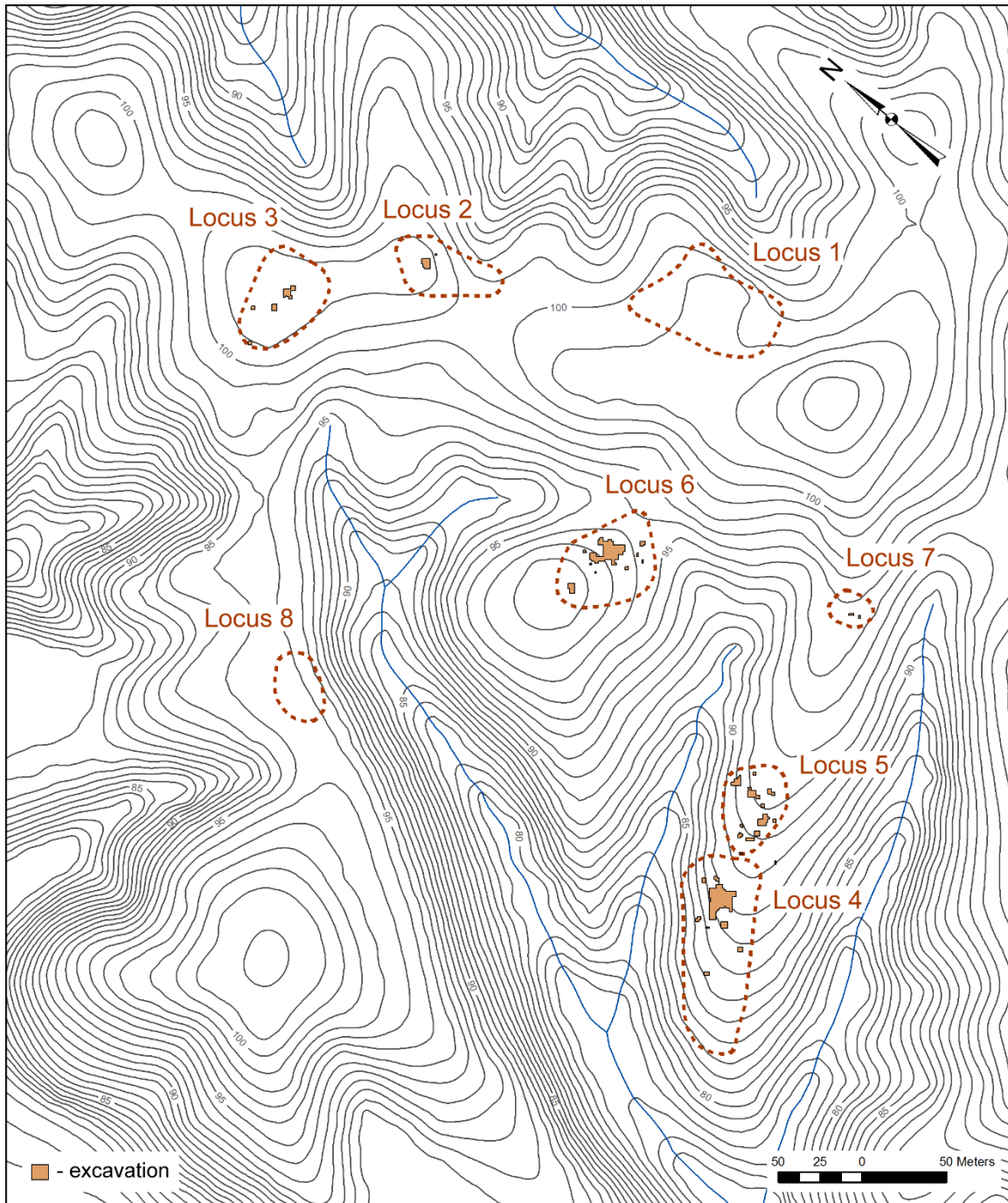


Figure 7. Site map of New Town showing cabin loci and areas excavated between 2003 and 2005. Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

6 also yielded a small, unbroken Catawba-made bottle and a simple Catawba cup” (RLA 2019b). Nearby, two additional features (Features 8 and 9) were uncovered; Feature 8 was the base of a stick-and-clay chimney, while Feature 9 was an infilled tree disturbance. Another adjacent area yielded a thin deposit of highly fired sherds from apparently unfinished vessels; this assemblage may represent a dump for wasters, or fragments of failed ceramics. An offsite dump, 35-40 m southwest of Locus 3, is also noted; it contained numerous iron artifacts including “a lockplate from a flintlock pistol...snaffle bit[s], a harness buckle, a pistol barrel and frizzen, a worn-out shovel blade, and...unidentified iron object[s]” (RLA 2019b).

Locus 4 was extensively excavated during the 2004 field season, and Locus 5 was excavated in 2004 and 2005. Locus 4 consisted of two cabin seats, thought to be two occupation events by the same household, each with a preserved stick-and-clay chimney base (Features 1 and 2) (Figure 10). These bases elevated the hearth surface to a specific level above the ground surface, suggesting that the two cabins had raised wooden floors. Broken pottery was found to have accumulated in elliptical rings around the cabin site (likely as the result of sweeping refuse away from the yards and walkways) and around chimney bases and corner blocks. Broken glass occurred largely away from the cabins in peripheral dumps, and a number of large iron objects were even further removed, downslope. Both Catawba and Euroamerican ceramics, as well as “glass bottle fragments, Catawba pipes, metal buttons, glass beads and other jewelry, table cutlery, harness hardware, agricultural equipment, gunparts and ammunition, and numerous other categories of household refuse” were also recovered (Davis and Riggs 2005). Locus 5, which appears to form a hamlet with Locus 4, was comprised of a cabin seat with a partly preserved chimney base (Feature 10) — again evincing a wooden floor —

two shallow midden deposits (Features 7 and 8), a deposit of ash and hearth cleanings (Feature 9), a tree tip-up filled with large Catawba vessel portions (Feature 11), and a probable exterior hearth of prepared clay (Feature 12) (Figure 11). Pearlware sherds recovered beneath the chimney basal deposit suggest that the cabin site was occupied prior to the completion of the wooden floor. Locus 5 yielded similar artifact types to Locus 4 (Davis and Riggs 2006).

Loci 6 and 7 were partially excavated during the 2005 season. Locus 6 was somewhat more disturbed than the other loci, having been subject to surface grading associated with logging operations in 1969 over approximately half of its surface area, but fortunately this disturbance was not deep. It consisted of a chimney base and hearth surface (Feature 12) which was considerably less elevated than those of Loci 4 and 5, and indicating that the presumed cabin associated with this hearth had an earthen floor (Figure 12). An interesting artifact distribution pattern, with a high-density periphery surrounding a low-density core, may represent an as yet undefined structure.

Additionally, a proximal quartz outcrop was covered by an approximately 20 m² deposit of hearth debris, from which refuse associated with food production, such as eggshell and fish bone, was recovered. Locus 7, also slightly disturbed by 1969 logging activities, represents a small cluster of domestic debris. Though soils at this locus proved relatively deep, no features are noted. Artifacts recovered include both Catawba and Euroamerican ceramics and metal objects (Davis and Riggs 2006). Locus 8 is a probable cabin seat consisting only of a handful of artifacts (Davis, personal communication, 2018).

In a marked departure from previous Catawba architectural models, only two of the cabins (Loci 2 and 3) included sub-floor cellars. The large number of artifacts at

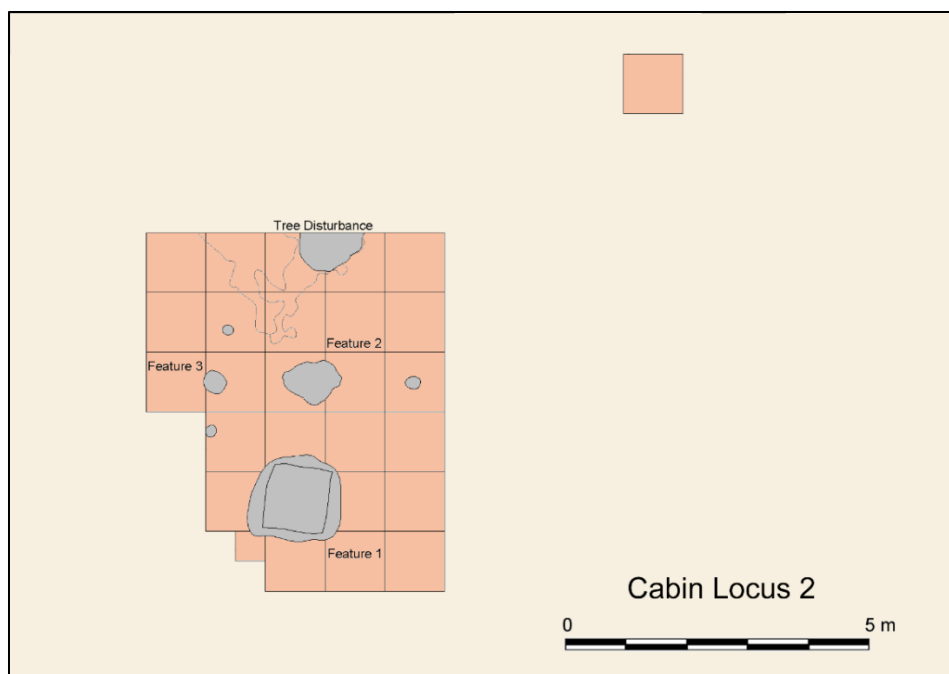


Figure 8. Plan of New Town Locus 2 showing excavations and features. Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

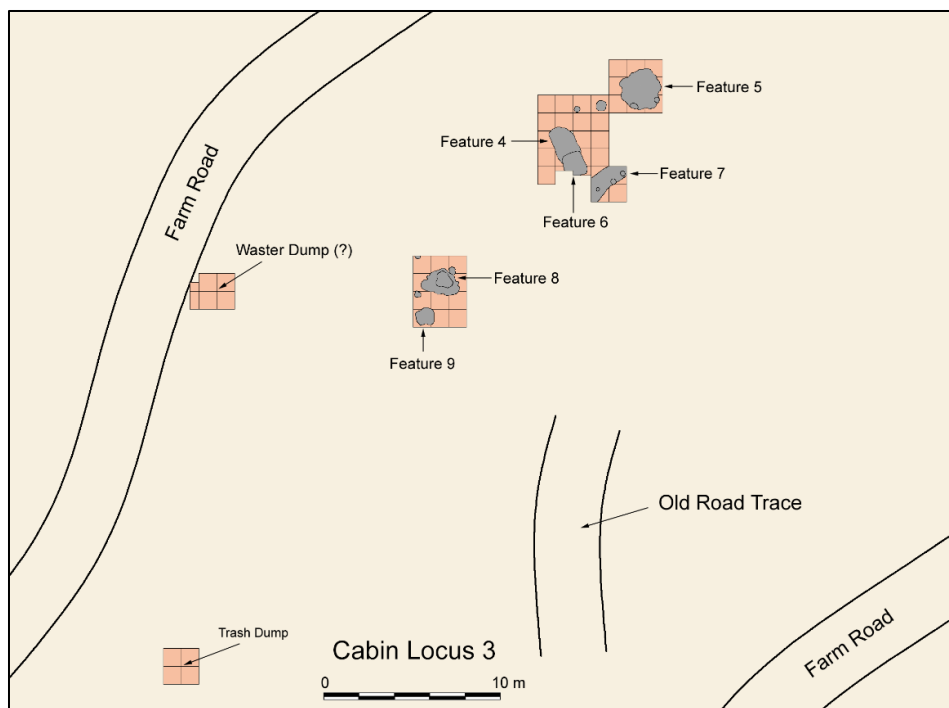


Figure 9. Plan of New Town Locus 3 showing excavations and features. Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

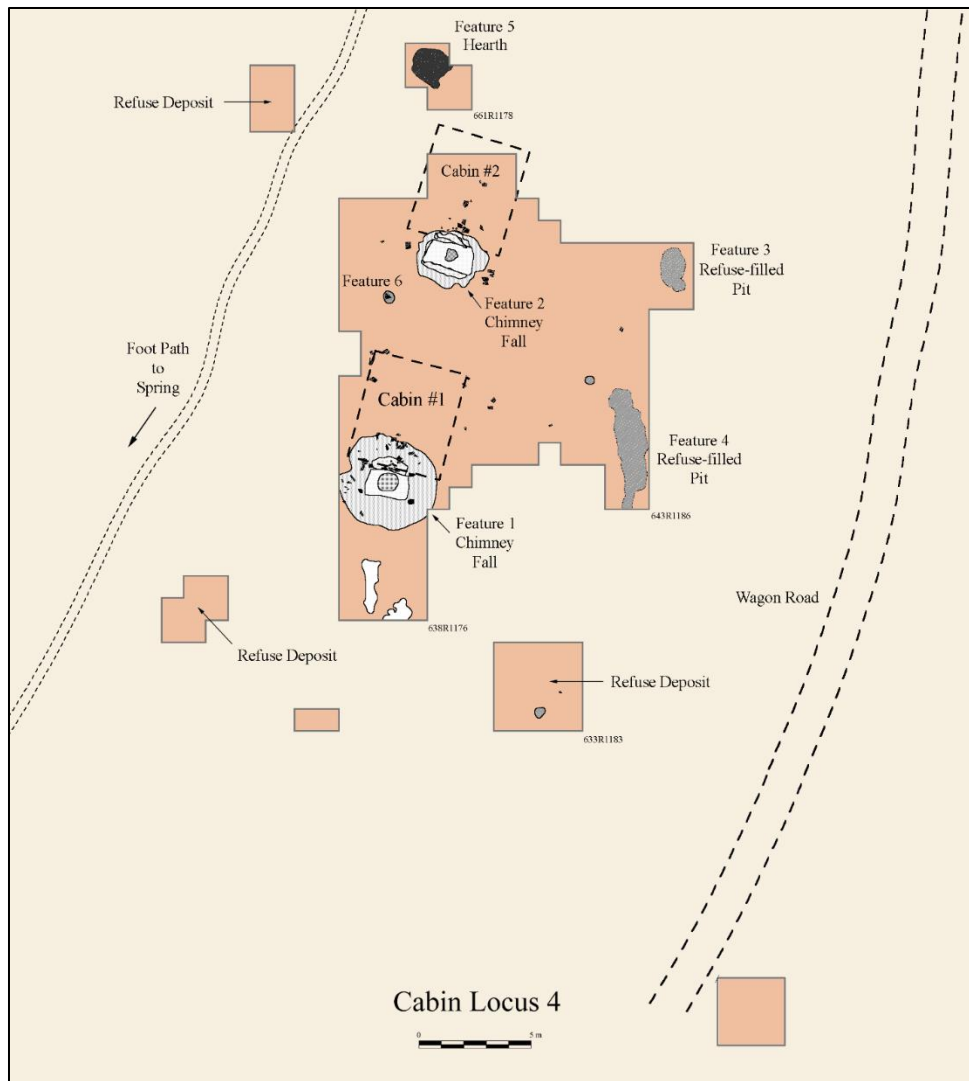


Figure 10. Plan of New Town Locus 4 showing excavations and features. Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

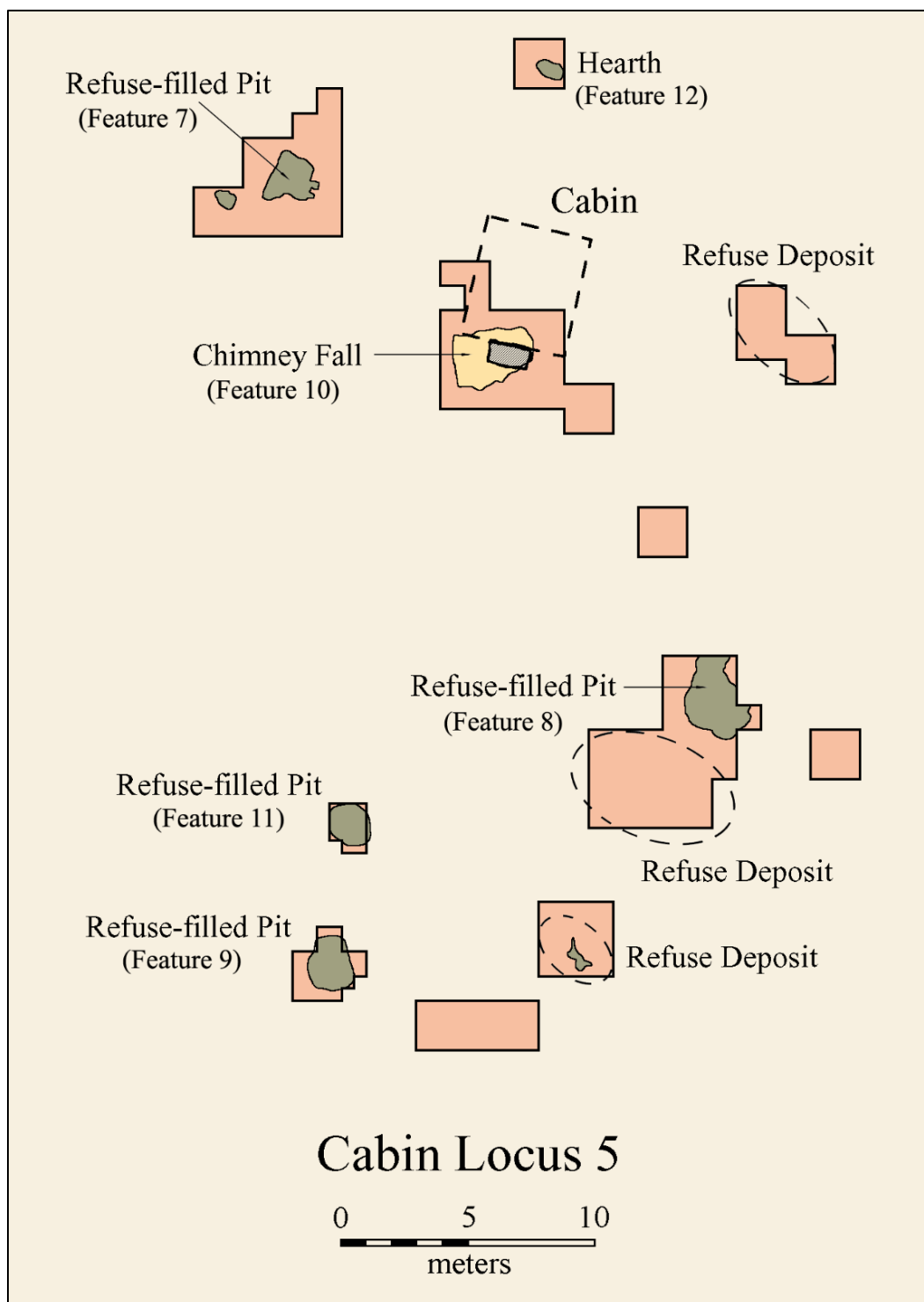


Figure 11. Plan of New Town Locus 5 showing excavations and features. Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

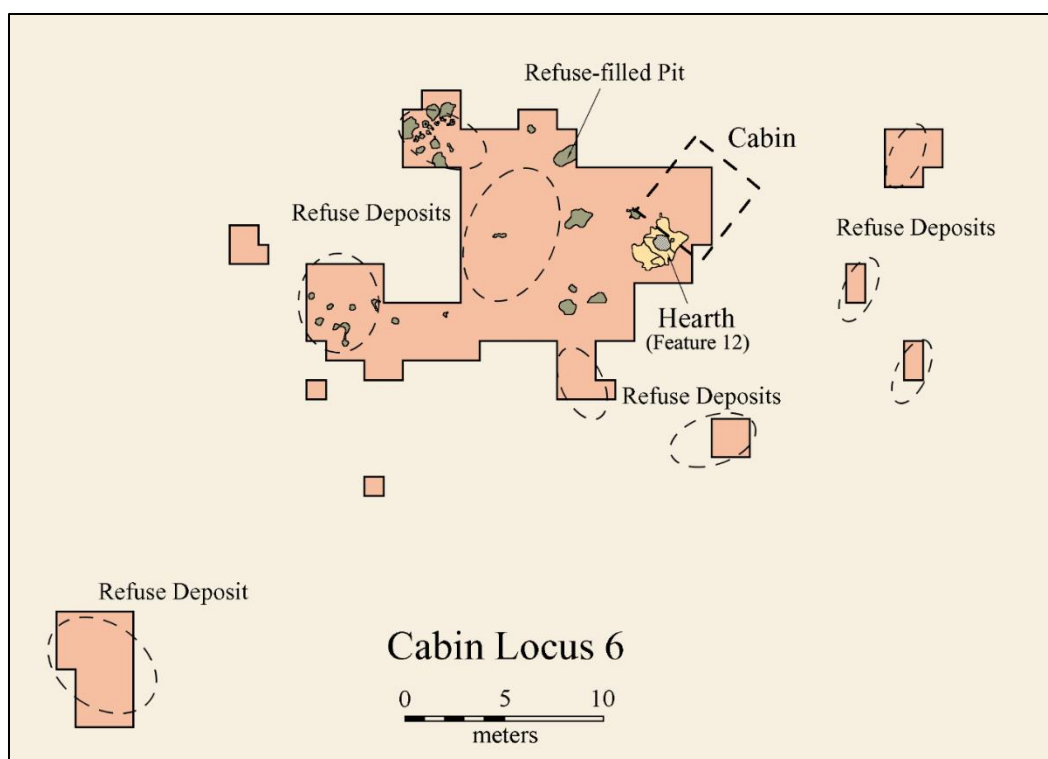


Figure 12. Plan of New Town Locus 6 showing excavations and features. Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

each cabin locus associated with horse and wagon utilization underscores the significance of mobility to the Catawba, while a clear *decrease* in firearms-related materials reflects a decline in the centrality of both warfare and hunting (Davis et al. 2015). Catawba dress utilized mass-produced commodities, such as buttons, beads, and sheet brass and silver, in distinctive ways. Davis et al. (2015) argue that this adornment appears to have been a conscious assertion of difference on the part of the Catawba from Euro-Americans, from enslaved blacks, and from other regional Native Americans, whose perceived assimilation into Euro-American lifeways the Catawba may have feared because of its potential to diminish their authority in the eyes of whites. For the Catawba, maintenance of Euro-American civilizational categories, which separated

“Indians” from whites (and blacks), may have seemed the safe bet, as the breakdown of difference might have called the relevance and autonomy of the Nation into question.

Cabin Loci 4 and 5 — the most extensively investigated of the New Town loci — appear to fit physician and statesman Calvin Jones’ 1815 description of the homes of prominent Catawba Sally New River and Jacob Ayers in terms of their spatial relationship to the rest of the village and in the archaeological evidence that the structures associated with these loci once had wood floors (Davis and Riggs 2004). Jacob Ayers (variously spelled “Ayres” or “Ears”) was a veteran of the American Revolution, having served under General Thomas Sumter with a Catawba contingent; after the war, he championed Catawba land rights, joining other notable Catawba in petitioning “state and sometimes federal officials to keep out trespassers, reinstate the Indians’ right to appoint their own agents, and reform the system of leasing land to whites that Catawbas had devised in an effort to make a living while controlling settlement of their lands” (Merrell 2000). His efforts, though valiant, failed to stem the tide of Euro-American encroachment on Catawba territory — or to prevent the formal surrender of the entire reservation by the Treaty of Nations Ford in 1840, four years after his death (Merrell 2000). Uniquely, Sally New River’s matrilineal kinship through her mother and grandmother, and her status as a descendent of King Haigler, gave her a charismatic genealogy by both Catawba and Euro-American reckoning, respectively. Her later marriage to General New River further consolidated her authority through the binding of two disparate Catawba lineages. Documentary evidence suggests that she relocated her household from Old Town to New Town in either 1790 or 1791. In 1796, Catawba leadership deeded a sizeable tract of the Nation’s land to Catawba women — giving Sally New River primary custodianship — in an effort to ensconce the perpetual

inheritance of the land by Catawba descendants within Euro-American legal framework (Bauer 2016:57).

Both the archaeological and historic evidence point to New Town's abandonment sometime after the death of Sally New River, around 1820. At that time, the remaining Catawba resettled across the river and onto the territory that comprises the current reservation, although over the following three decades they returned occasionally to the site for burials.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter addresses the methods used to gather and analyze the data utilized in the thesis. The project was concerned primarily with two dimensions of Euroamerican ceramics from late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Catawba sites: (1) vessel form, from which trends in probable use of non-Catawba-made ceramics by Catawba can be extrapolated; and (2) ware type, which can provide a means to assess the relative uniformity or heterogeneity of an assemblage in addition to helping to date the assemblage. Euroamerican ceramic assemblages from Old Town, Ayers Town, and New Town, with only a handful of exceptions, consisted of small fragments or “potsherds” rather than complete or largely complete vessels. As such, determinations of vessel form (the category of shape a vessel belongs to) and ware type (groups of vessels with similar paste compositions, firing temperatures, glazes, and decorations) had to be made based on incomplete evidence. The following two sections are intended to provide descriptions of each vessel form and ware type, and of the sherd characteristics used to assign both.

Attribution of Vessel Forms

Previous analyses on the Late Colonial and Federal Catawba Euroamerican assemblages undertaken prior to this project by Steve Davis, Brett Riggs, Mark Plane, and David Cranford resulted in the coding of each specimen by size, ware group, type,

decoration, condition, and crossmends. In some cases, information about vessel form was also recorded. The balance of identifiable forms were established for this project. The most common identifiable Euroamerican vessel forms identified at the three Catawba sites were bowls, plates, and teawares. The latter category includes vessels identified as “cups,” “teacups,” “teabowls,” and “saucers,” but *excludes* the small number of sherds from vessels identified as “teapots.” The latter are treated as hollow forms because their forms and functions, generally speaking, are more akin to other hollow serving vessels than to other teawares, which are vessels for the individual consumption of beverages and sauces. The nonspecific category of “teawares” was settled on because these vessels are often difficult to distinguish from one another at the sherd level. Other vessel forms represented in the sherd assemblages include pitchers, mugs and tankards, bottles, jugs, punchbowls, creamers, drug jars, and teapots.

Assignment of a vessel form to a sherd — particularly when considering material produced and decorated largely by hand — is necessarily an inexact science, and, as such, estimates were conservative. When forms could be identified, determination was made based on several factors in conjunction, rather than any single factor. Often, formal determination was restricted to simple differentiation between hollow forms (i.e., containers) and flat forms (i.e., platters). However, as the relative proportions of hollow and flat wares may allow us to identify broad trends in Catawba Euroamerican ceramic acquisition and use in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, such distinctions, though relatively coarse-grained on an analytical level, were warranted.

A brief discussion of methods of formal assignment of sherds for this project is provided here. In addition to the attributes described below, in cases where unique vessels could be identified, all sherds apparently belonging to such vessels were assigned

the forms of those vessels. In one case from New Town (discussed in Chapter 4), sherds from at least two distinct but virtually identical vessels were all assigned the same form. Vessel forms are roughly divided into hollow (consisting of bowls, pitchers, teapots, creamers, other non-platter serving forms, bottles, tankards and mugs, drug jars, punchbowls, chamber pots, and jugs), flat (consisting of plates, and unidentified flat forms), and teawares (consisting of cups, teacups, teabowls, and saucers).

Hollow Forms

Fragments for which no specific form could be identified, but which were determined to represent hollow forms, were recorded as “hollowware.” “Large hollowwares” include substantial serving forms, chamber pots, and similar vessels; these were differentiated largely by sherd thickness and by the robusticity of their features — as, for example, in a few cases of exceptionally large footrings and rolled rims. “Vertical hollowwares” were identified primarily from their bases, which tended to have substantial footrings, often square in profile, and vertically or near-vertically ascending, rather than outward-flaring, walls. These likely represent either mugs or tankards — treated by this study as a single category owing to the problems associated with differentiating them at the sherd level — or pitchers. A small number of spouts diagnostic of the latter form were noted.

When curved sherds were decorated only on one side, they were attributed to hollowwares if the decoration was observed on the exterior. Refined earthenware handles necessarily belong to hollow forms, and were so attributed, provided they could not be positively identified as belonging to cups. Annular wares seem to have been

produced in exclusively hollow forms; consequently, all annular ware sherds were recorded as “hollowware” unless a more specific form could be identified. Curved fragments displaying both interior and exterior decoration were classified as “bowls” if they were too robust to be teawares. Fragments with rims that curved perceptibly both vertically and horizontally, and annular ware sherds with slip-decorated interiors, could safely be said to represent bowls.

Flat Forms

The vast majority of flatware identified from the Catawba Euroamerican assemblages were attributed to “plates,” by which is meant personal flat tableware including semi-hollow soup plates but excluding saucers (which were categorized with *teawares*). Exceptions likely represent sturdier flat serving dishes or (in the case of coarse or tin-glazed earthenwares) possibly flat-bottomed cookwares such as pans. In many cases, flat sections described as plates exhibited signs of use wear (cut marks) on one side. Basal portions with recessed bases but lacking defined footrings (so that the vessel rested on the body itself) or with a footring too shallow to support the curvature of a bowl or other hollow form based on the estimated diameter, were recorded as plates. Rim sherds with thickened lips, bell-shaped in cross-section (of a type frequently associated with creamware plates) and flat scalloped edges were considered diagnostic of plates, as were sharply everted shoulders (marlys) at the juncture between the bowl and the rim. In the case of decorated wares, curved sections were called “plates” when the decoration was on the interior but not on the exterior, of the curve, when the sherd

was too robust to be a saucer, and in conjunction with at least one additional factor, such as a recessed base.

Teawares

As noted above, for the purposes of this thesis the category of “teawares” includes cups, teacups, teabowls, and saucers. These forms are difficult to distinguish at the sherd level, particularly the first three, since teabowls are only slightly larger than teacups, and use of the terms “cup” and “teacup” in the artifact catalogue was found to reflect variation in the preferences of different observers more than concrete typological variation. Sherds described as belonging to cups, teacups, and teabowls displayed many of the same characteristics as bowls, but were finer-bodied and more deeply curved (indicative of their smaller size). Saucers, although they ostensibly have more affinity to flat rather than hollow forms, are included in this category due to their delicate proportions, which flag them as objects of individual rather than communal use, and because late eighteenth and early nineteenth century saucer rims tend to resemble bowl rims more closely than they do plate rims. Historically, saucers served a number of uses, including as personal containers for condiments, and the shallow bowl form may be related to one or more of these (Beaudry et al. 1983:34). As a rule, curved sherds of teaware proportions that featured decoration on the interior but not the exterior were characterized as “saucers.”

We should take care not to overinterpret the presence of teawares on these post-Coalescent Catawba sites by asserting them as evidence that Catawba had embraced English-style tea ritual. Although this is certainly possible, such a conclusion does not

seem to be borne out in the documentary evidence. For the purposes of this thesis, “teaware” should be understood simply as a formal class of delicate, personal ceramics. It should be noted that teapots are considered hollowwares rather than teawares throughout this thesis because teapots are likely to have had quite a different range of uses from that of cups, teacups, teabowls, and saucers, one more comparable to that of other serving forms such as pitchers.

Discussion of Ware Types

This section offers brief discussions of the identified Euroamerican ware types from the Catawba sites of Old Town, Ayers Town, and New Town. For the most part, types had been established where possible prior to my work with the material by Steve Davis, Brett Riggs, Mark Plane, and David Cranford. Here, I include descriptions of the various types along with date ranges, common vessel forms, and historical context.

The date ranges given in this section are the basis for the mean ceramic dates established for the Euroamerican assemblages at Old Town, Ayers Town, and New Town. The dates for each ware type represent the most recent published information available, and sources are cited appropriately. Mean ceramic dating, a technique credited to Stanley South (1977:201-236), assigns date ranges to specific ware types based on documentary or archaeological evidence of their development or introduction into a certain context and their falling out of use. Using these ranges, the method assigns a median date to each sherd based on its ware type. By adding the dates of every sherd in a particular assemblage, and then dividing that sum by the total number of

sherds, a mean ceramic date for the assemblage can be found (Davis et al. 2015:199-200).

The types are grouped into three broad categories: earthenwares (coarse and refined), nonvitreous pottery fired at relatively low ($<1200^{\circ}\text{C}$) temperatures; stonewares, a category of wares fired at temperatures high enough ($>1200^{\circ}\text{C}$) to vitrify and become nonporous; and porcelain, a type of translucent vitreous ceramic also fired at high temperatures ($1200\text{-}1400^{\circ}\text{C}$) that commonly utilizes kaolin clay in the paste.

Earthenwares

Both coarse and refined earthenwares comprised part of the Euroamerican ceramic assemblage from the three Catawba sites, with refined earthenwares accounting for by far the most significant share. The following are brief descriptions of the ware types encountered at Old Town, Ayers Town, and New Town, along with date ranges and, whenever possible, economic scaling information, presented in roughly chronological order.

Staffordshire-type slipwares, often called “North Midlands-type” to better reflect their decentralized manufacture, are generally buff- to yellow-bodied (though red bodies are not unheard of), with a white slipped field and brown slipped trailed, combed, or variegated designs under a yellow-tinged lead glaze. They could be purely ornamental, but in American contexts account mostly for utilitarian forms such as pots, robust dishes and bowls (both press molded and wheel thrown), cookwares, jugs, and cups. Such wares could be found in households at any class or economic level, and typically date between about 1675 and 1775 (MAC Lab 2015b).

Tin-glazed earthenwares, descended from fourteenth century Spanish and Italian *maiolica*, became the cornerstone of crucial and long-lived British, Dutch, and French ceramics industries from the sixteenth century onward. Their distinctive thick glazes — which tend to separate from their pastes in archaeological contexts, resulting in a well-weathered body and chunky surface patches which make identification fairly straightforward — were achieved by applying a mixture of sand, potash, and lead and tin oxides to biscuit wares and painting over the glaze before firing the vessel to completion (Poole 1995:10). At least three varieties of tin-glazed earthenwares were encountered on these late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Catawba sites. The first, Rouen faïence, is a French-made red-bodied ware, which commonly features brown exterior and white interior glazes. Forms are, for the most part, utilitarian; cookwares, storage jars, pans, and robust dishes and bowls are typical. Rouen faïence seems to have a particularly brief currency on American sites, generally occurring only in contexts dating between 1775 and 1780 (Noël Hume 1969:141-142). English and Dutch delftware were significantly longer lived: the blue and polychrome hand-painted sherds from Ayers Town, which likely represent small hollow forms such as bowls, cups, or small jars, could date anywhere from around 1600 to 1802 (Davis et al. 2015:195-196). Undecorated delftware ointment or drug pots, which seem to account for most if not all of the remaining tin-glazed sherds, date from c. 1650 to 1830, depending on vessel form. Such wares held compounds from salves to cosmetics and are common on eighteenth century sites (Noël Hume 1969:203-205).

Jackfield-type ware is identified by Noël Hume as having been produced in Staffordshire and Shropshire between roughly 1745 and 1790. Vessels are usually finely turned teawares and pitchers, and have a deep black glaze. Shropshire examples — the

“true” Jackfield — and most imitators are purple- to grey-bodied, although Staffordshire examples made by Whieldon are notably red-bodied (Noël Hume 1969:123).

“Philadelphia redware” refers to a number of American coarse earthenwares made in and distributed from various centers such as Philadelphia and Alexandria, Virginia. Though these tend to be cookwares and other utilitarian forms, attempts were made to challenge Staffordshire’s hegemony in tablewares in the second half of the eighteenth century, albeit without much success. Philadelphia-type wares tended to be dark-bodied, occasionally with slipped decoration, and with clear lead glaze.

Philadelphia appears to have been established as the premier American earthenware industry by about 1750, and coarse redware vessels of the type recovered from Old Town seem to have largely given way to black-glazed refined wares for table use and new products such as portable furnaces by c.1830 (Myers 1977).

“Clouded” and “tortoiseshell” wares belong to a group of colorful, cream-bodied refined earthenwares more generally known as “Whieldon wares” after master potter Thomas Whieldon, though they were manufactured by a number of makers. They are readily distinguished by their patches of sponged, often hazy purple, blue, brown, yellow, green, and grey underglaze decoration. “Clouded” and “tortoiseshell” wares were made in both hollow and flat forms, and date from around 1750 to 1775 (Noël Hume 1969:123-124). Green-glazed earthenware, another variation of this refined cream-bodied ware, was perfected by Wedgwood in 1759, although similar wares predate this development slightly; it appears to have largely fallen out of fashion by 1775 (Noël Hume 1969:124; Barker and Halfpenny 1990:63). To this porous category can also be added “Carolina creamware,” a locally produced Staffordshire imitator developed by John Bartlam in the South Carolina lowcountry and made by him and others from 1765 to

c.1780. It is commonly brown or green glazed, and more or less faithfully replicates (largely mold-made) English flat and hollow forms (South 2004).

Creamware, initially called “Queen’s Ware,” is ubiquitous on mid- to late-eighteenth and early nineteenth century sites. Though it represents more-or-less a development of techniques from the first half of the eighteenth century, creamware was officially invented by Josiah Wedgwood in 1762; by the late 1790s its vogue had ceased, and thereafter it became the cheapest British ware type available in the United States (Noël Hume 1969:124-125; Miller 1991). Nonetheless, it seems to have enjoyed considerable popularity until about 1820 (J. Eric Deetz, personal communication 2016). Both flat and hollow forms, including teawares, bowls, and creamers and other serving forms, in addition to indeterminate hollowwares, are represented at Old Town, Ayers Town, and New Town. Creamware plates from all three Catawba sites were largely undecorated and featured plain rims with slightly thickened edges, though a few isolated examples have pearlware-style scalloped edges or overglaze bat transfer printing (achieved by applying linseed oil to an engraved copper plate, then transferring the design to the glaze via a thin sheet of flexible animal glue and firing it together with metallic oxide for color) (Poole 1995:9).

Pearlwares account for both the largest share of Euroamerican ceramics recovered from late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Catawba sites and the widest variety in terms of ware type. The modern category of “pearlware” denotes a group of similar products, such as “china glaze” and “pearl white,” produced by a variety of potters from about 1780 to about 1850. As a composite group, it does not sit neatly between the heyday of creamware (from which it is distinguished by an overall blue-tinged rather than green tone and blue, rather than green, glaze pooling in crevasses)

and the rise of later “whitewares” (which have less of a blue tinge than pearlwares) but intersects with both in intricate ways (South 1977:212). Partly owing to these complexities, it is useful to consider prominent modes of decoration — all loosely classified as “pearlware” — independently.

Shell-edged sherds from the three Catawba assemblages overwhelmingly represent plates or unidentified flat forms, though isolated examples of shell-edged hollow forms were noted. These wares are readily distinguishable by their blue or green edges, which are impressed with straight or curved lines and formed into undulating, scalloped designs. They were common from about 1780 to 1835. Additionally, a very small number of scalloped rims were embossed with more intricate designs; this latter type dates only from the end of the scalloped rim period, c.1820 to 1835 (Miller et al. 2000:12). Price fixing agreements made by Staffordshire potters demonstrate that, by the 1790s, shell-edged pearlwares were among the cheapest decorated wares available (Miller 1980:3-4). An array of hand-painted pearlwares dominate the New Town assemblage in particular. These include monochrome blue (popular c.1775-1830) and floral polychrome (c.1795-1815), almost exclusively hollow forms and teawares, along with transfer-printed examples (1783-c.1830) in both hollow and flat forms (Miller et al. 2000:13). The latter type was produced by rubbing ceramic color designs on damp tissue paper onto unglazed biscuit wares before removing the tissue, firing, then glazing and firing to completion. It underwent significant development in content and composition throughout the period of its use, and some trends are worth noting for their usefulness in assigning date ranges (Poole 1995:11). Chinese print patterns were common from 1797 to 1814; these were superseded by more stylized chinoiserie patterns, in use from 1816 to c.1830. Negative dark blue transfer-printed pearlwares,

sometimes called “clews” type, were printed from 1819 onwards, as were pastoral scenes. British views were printed from 1813 to the end of the period (Samford 1997: 6, 20). Transfer-printed pearlwares of all patterns exceeded all but the most luxuriant hand-painted wares in price; according to Miller, in the 1790s printed wares were three to five times the price of undecorated creamware. For their part, hand-painted wares featuring simple, easily replicated motifs — of the type commonly found on late eighteenth and early nineteenth century sites and well-represented among the Catawba Euroamerican assemblage — seem to have been more expensive than simple shell-edged wares (Miller 1980:4).

Engine-turned or “annular” wares are a variation of both pearlware and creamware (but most usefully described independently of either for dating purposes) encountered with some frequency among Euroamerican ceramics from these sites (particularly New Town). These are exclusively hollow forms — bowls, jugs, pitchers, mugs and tankards — and exhibit a variety of decorative schemes, including slip marbling, dendritic or “mocha” designs, slip banding, or checked, swaged, or dashed cut slips, all often in conjunction with blue or green rilled rims or rouletted bands in geometric patterns. Variegated or slip marbled surfaces were achieved through the application of different colored slips onto the leatherhard body while turning the vessel. Gravity, the motion of the lathe, the moisture content of the body, and the action of the potter’s quill or combs all affected the appearance of the surface, and designs varied from “frog’s eggs” splotches of slip to elaborately swirled and naturalistic patterns intended to emulate stones such as marble and porphyry. Variegated wares were in fashion from about 1775 to 1810. “Mocha” designs were produced by brushing a solution comprised of various acidic ingredients, including tobacco juice and urine, onto a wet

slip as the vessel turned on the lathe; the resulting pattern was compared to fractured moss agate. These dendritic wares were fairly long-lived, with production commencing around 1790 and continuing well into the twentieth century (Rickard 2006). In general, however, “annular” wares tend to occur in Euroamerican assemblages from between 1790 and 1820 (South 1977). Like shell-edged pearlware, these annular wares were among the least expensive decorated vessels available in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Miller 1980:3-4).

Stonewares

Stonewares, though far rarer than earthenwares at all three Catawba sites, were nonetheless noted. Apart from two Rhenish fragments at Ayers Town, this group appears to consist entirely of British-made wares; they are presented here, again in roughly chronological order.

Westerwald is a grey-bodied stoneware that was produced in quantity all along the Rhine river valley beginning in the eighteenth century. A development on an older Rhenish industry of relief-molded cobalt and manganese accented stonewares, Westerwald is most closely associated with the “krug” form, a globular bodied, brown manganese-painted, reeded-necked jug with stamped and incised blue-outlined decoration arranged around a central relief-molded medallion, commonly (in examples made for the British market) the cipher of the reigning English monarch. These date from roughly 1700 to 1775 (Noël Hume 1969:284-285).

Fulham, also known as English or British brown stoneware, was the first successful English stoneware, and was based on the 1671 patent of Fulham potter John

Dwight (though infringements on Dwight's intellectual property seem to have been endemic) (Noël Hume 1969:112-113). Fulham-type stoneware is most closely associated with bottles, pitchers, tankards, and mugs. Body color ranges from grey to white; the salt-glazed surfaces appear distinctively "pockmarked," and some later examples feature sprigged designs (Noël Hume 1969:111-114). The tops of vessels (and occasionally the whole vessel) were coated with a brown slip before glazing, sometimes in conjunction with a white slip on the lower portion (MAC Lab 2015a). British brown stonewares on American sites probably date between 1671 and 1775 (Oswald et al. 1982:24).

Nottingham-type stonewares, dated examples of which suggest a range of 1700 to 1799, are typically encountered as personal hollow forms such as tankards and mugs, bowls, and cups, as well as pitchers. They are gray bodied, with a smooth, glossy brown surface which gives the appearance of burnished metal. Nottingham stoneware sherds can be readily distinguished from the similar Burslem stoneware by a diagnostic white slip between the paste and glaze (Noël Hume 1969:114).

A refined dry-bodied redware, called "rosso antico" by Josiah Wedgwood, entered production in about 1750 in Staffordshire. A polished version of the similar "red porcelain" current in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, it is frequently unglazed, though lead-glazed examples are not unheard of, and many feature sprigged rococo motifs. According to Noël Hume, "rosso antico" and its variants are most commonly encountered in the form of "teapots...usually copying silver shapes" (Noël Hume 1969:120-121). Occurrence on American sites generally falls off after about 1780 (Barker and Halfpenny 1990:44-46).

Refined white salt-glazed stonewares seem to have been developed around 1720, falling out of fashion after about 1790 (Noël Hume 1969:115-117). These differed from

earlier “slip-dipped” white stonewares, which were exclusively hollow forms, in their white (rather than grey) bodies and fully white glaze. White salt-glazed stonewares are characterized by a subtle but distinctive “orange peel” surface and, in the case of flat forms after about 1740, by elaborate molded edge designs (Noël Hume 1969:115-117; Miller et al. 2000:10). Hollow forms such as chamber pots, tankards and mugs, pitchers, cups, and teawares could also be decorated with incised designs into which cobalt blue glaze was pooled; this so-called “scratch-blue” white salt-glazed stoneware dates to between 1744 and about 1775 (Noël Hume 1969:117-118; Mountford 1971:48-51).

Porcelains

Two varieties of porcelain — Chinese and English soft-paste — were noted from the Catawba assemblages; together, they account for only a handful of isolated sherds.

Despite its scarcity and prestige early in the British American colonial experience, after the second half of the eighteenth century Chinese-made porcelain became increasingly available even as its imitators and substitutes continued to multiply and develop. Like all true porcelains, Chinese export porcelain utilized kaolin clay, which Chinese potters blended with petuntse, a ground feldspathic rock. The body “ranges from pale gray to off-white, is extremely tight-grained, and the glaze clings to it in a thin, translucent line on both sides” (Noël Hume 1969:257-258). Much work has been done to assign certain distinct styles to specific date ranges, as with “Imari” type wares, which feature blue underglaze in combination with red overglaze geometric painting, and date from about 1700 to 1780; the few generic underglaze blue-painted sherds recovered

from Ayers Town, however, could date to anywhere between c.1660 and 1800 (Noël Hume 1969:258; South 1977:210).

Soft-paste porcelains were, as their name suggests, an attempt by English factories to tap into the thriving eighteenth-century market for imported Chinese porcelains. Their pastes were comprised of white clay and any of a number of inclusions, which can occasionally appear as black specks in the body. Unlike Chinese or other hard-paste varieties, soft-paste porcelains often exhibit a clear, semi-gloss glaze that appears distinct from the fabric. English-made soft-paste porcelains were current between c.1745 and c.1800; common vessel forms include teawares, plates, and serving forms (MAC Lab 2016).

CHAPTER IV

EUROAMERICAN CERAMICS AT OLD TOWN AND AYERS TOWN

This chapter presents the material evidence for Euroamerican wares on the two late eighteenth century Catawba sites – Old Town (RLA-SoC 634) and Ayers Town (38YK534). Although earlier Catawba sites yielded evidence of imported ware use, Old Town and Ayers Town are the first at which non-Catawba-made sherd quantities are sufficient for analysis. As these assemblage are likely to be too small for a systematic analysis of inter-household variability, no such survey was attempted for either. Instead, Euroamerican ceramics are considered here on a sitewide basis.

Euroamerican Ceramics at Old Town

Four hundred and forty-one non-Catawba-made ceramic sherds were recovered from Old Town. These are associated with both phases of the Old Town site's mid to late eighteenth century occupation — Old Towns I and II — and in many cases are difficult to assign to one or the other with any degree of precision. Euroamerican ware types recovered from both components at Old Town were, in descending order of frequency: creamware (n=198); pearlware (n=139); white salt-glazed stoneware (n=24); Rouen faïence (n=12); engine-turned “annular ware” (n=11); tin-enameled earthenware (n=9); Staffordshire slipware (n=8); “clouded” ware (n=4); Philadelphia redware (n=4); Jackfield ware (n=2); English soft-paste porcelain (n=2); possible Carolina creamware

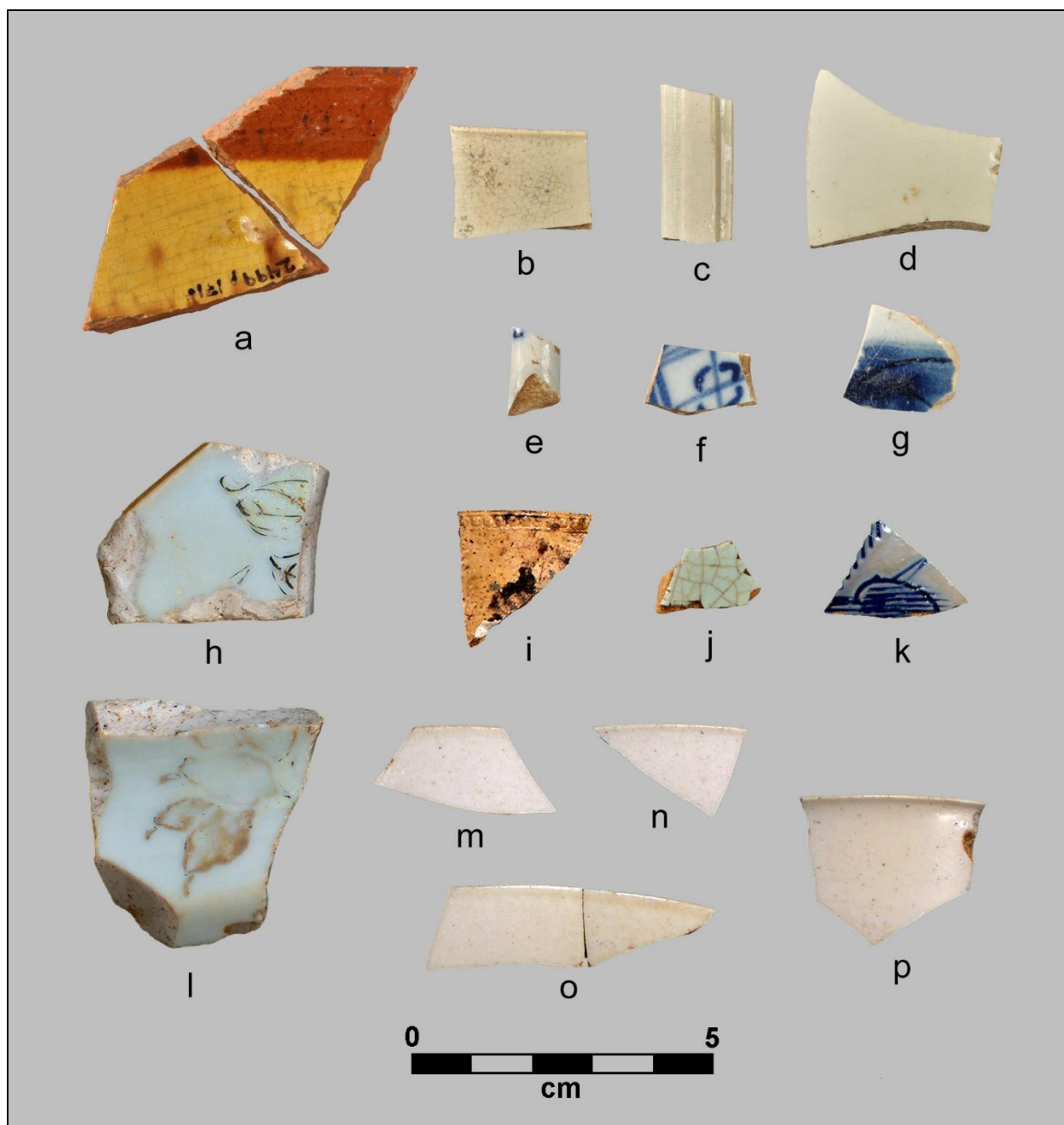


Figure 13. Sample of Euroamerican sherds from Old Town showing range of ware types: Philadelphia-type redware (a); creamware (b-d); blue hand-painted pearlware (e-g); English soft-paste porcelain (h, l); “tortoiseshell” ware (i); Rouen Faïence (j); “scratch-blue” stoneware (k); and white salt-glazed stoneware (m-p). Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

(n=2); Nottingham stoneware (n=1); and “scratch-blue” stoneware (n=1) (Figure 13).

Twenty-four sherds were of indefinite ware types.

Creamware accounted for the largest portion of Euroamerican ceramics at Old Town: 44.9% (n=198). All but three creamware sherds from Old Town are undecorated; decorated creamware sherds (n=3) display evidence of bat transfer printed decoration, two in brown and one in green. Of these, two were identified as coming from hollow forms, and one was unidentified. All were recovered from plowzone contexts. The remaining undecorated sherds came from both plowzone contexts (n=183) and from Features 2 (n=2), 11 (n=2), 14 (n=6), 17 (n=1), and 26 (n=1). Of the 63 sherds that were identifiable by vessel form, 61.9% (n=39) were from teawares, 27% (n=17) were from plates, and 9.5% (n=6) were from bowls. One sherd was from an indeterminate hollow form. The remaining 67.7% (n=132) of the undecorated creamware assemblage could not be identified by vessel form.

Almost 32% (n=139) of the Euroamerican assemblage was comprised of pearlware. Seventy percent (n=93) of these sherds were undecorated or of indeterminate decoration. Just one undecorated or indeterminate pearlware sherd came from a feature, Feature 14; the remainder (n=92) came from plowzone contexts. Of the thirteen sherds (14%) that could be identified by vessel form, 53.8% (n=7) were from indeterminate hollowware, 23.1% (n=3) were from plates, 15.8% (n=2) were from teawares, and 7.7% (n=1) was from a bowl.

Blue hand-painted pearlware sherds amounted to another 30.2% (n=42) of the Old Town pearlware assemblage. Plowzone contexts yielded 31 of these, while Features 11 (n=3), 14 (n=7), and 22 (n=1) accounted for the rest. Of the 23 blue hand-painted fragments that could be identified by vessel form, 78.3% (n=18) were teawares, 17.4%

(n=4) were bowls, and 4.3% (n=1) was of an indeterminate hollow form. A handful (n=3; 2.2% of the pearlware assemblage) of polychrome hand-painted pearlware sherds, exclusively from plowzone contexts, were also noted from Old Town; only one of these was of an identifiable form, and represented teaware. Just one transfer-printed pearlware sherd was recovered from a plowzone context, but its form could not be determined.

All of the white salt-glazed stoneware sherds (n=24; 5.4% of the Euroamerican assemblage) recovered from Old Town belonged to hollow forms; 91.7% (n=22) represented teawares, while the remaining 8.3% (n=2) represented bowls. None showed evidence of having been decorated, and all but one were excavated from Feature 2. Rouen faïence accounted for 2.7% (n=12) of non-Catawba-made wares. All but one sherd came from plowzone contexts; the last was recovered from Feature 47. All likely belong to the same vessel, a large utilitarian hollow form. Another nine sherds (2% of the total assemblage) belong to a different tin-glazed ware, recovered exclusively from plowzone contexts. Seven of these (77.8%) represent drug jars, and one (11.1%) is from an unidentified hollowware. The vessel form of the last could not be determined.

Eleven fragments (2.5% of the total assemblage) belonged to “annular” wares, all of which were recorded from plowzone contexts. The Old Town “annular” wares were exclusively slip banded; three sherds (27.3%) were bowls and the remaining eight (72.7%) were of indeterminate hollow forms. Staffordshire-type slipware, also entirely from plowzone contexts, comprised another 1.8% (n=8) of the Euroamerican assemblage, and the seven sherds for which vessel form could be determined were attributed to teawares (n=3; 42.9%), indeterminate hollowware (n=2; 28.6%), and a pot (n=1, 14.3%). Slightly less than 1% of non-Catawba materials (n=4) belonged to

“clouded” wares; all of these were discovered in Feature 2, and all appear to be from a teacup. The same proportion (0.9%; n=4) of sherds were of Philadelphia-type redware, two of which came from plowzone contexts, and the other two from Feature 17. All are identified as having come from a bowl.

Two fragments of Jackfield-type ware (0.5% of the total assemblage) — one each from Features 2 and 17 — were noted, but their forms could not be identified. Another two (0.5% of the total assemblage) sherds identified as English soft-paste porcelain were noted from Feature 2. Both of these appear to belong to the same vessel, a punchbowl with a soft blue surface and overglaze brown-painted lip and floral interior decoration. Yet a third pair of sherds (0.5% of the total assemblage) possibly represents Bartlam-made “Carolina creamware.” Both are from plowzone; one is “tortoiseshell” glazed and represents an indeterminate hollow form, while the other is likely teaware.

Of the remaining two sherds of identifiable ware types (each of which comprised a mere 0.2% of non-Catawba ceramics) — one of Nottingham stoneware and one of “scratch-blue” stoneware — both appeared to represent cups or teaware. The Old Town Nottingham stoneware was recovered from a plowzone context, while the “scratch-blue” was excavated from Feature 2.

Five of the 25 sherds of indeterminate ware type are slipwares recovered from plowzone. Two of these belong to teawares, and the remaining three cannot be formally attributed. Of the other 19 indeterminate sherds, all but one come from plowzone, and the last comes from Feature 11. Seven could be attributed to vessel forms: four (57.1%) are indeterminate hollowwares, and three (42.9%) are teawares.

Altogether, 381 Euroamerican sherds at Old Town came from plowzone contexts. The 60 from feature contexts came from Features 2 (n=33), 11 (n=6), 14 (n=14), 17 (n=4), 22

(n=1), 26 (n=1), and 47 (n=1). Feature 2 is associated with an Old Town I cabin seat at Cabin Locus 1; Features 11 and 14 are linked to an Old Town II cabin seat at Locus 2, a household which was apparently involved in ceramic production operations. Of the identifiable vessel forms recorded from Old Town (n=164), 50.6% (n=83) were teawares; 18.9% (n=31) were unidentifiable hollowwares; 12.2% (n=20) were bowls; 12.2% (n=20) were plates; 4.3% (n=7) were drug jars; 1.2% (n=2) was a punch bowl; and 0.6% (n=1) was a pot. The assemblage carries a mean ceramic date of 1792.3, which would appear to suggest that the better part of the Euroamerican assemblage was acquired during the Old Town II occupation (Table 1). The date implies that the better part of the assemblage is roughly contemporary with the formalization of the land leasing system in the mid-1780s (Pettus 2005). However, mean dates for individual ware types varied widely, with the earliest ware — the tin-glazed drug jar — dating on average to 1701, and the latest — the undecorated or indeterminate pearlware — dating on average to 1815. Furthermore, the eclectic nature of the assemblage may suggest that it was accumulated piecemeal, rather than systematically.

Table 1. Data Used to Calculate the Mean Ceramic Date for Old Town.

Ware Type	N	Date Range	Median	Source
Staffordshire-Type Slipware	8	1675-1775	1725	MAC Lab 2015b
Tin-Glazed Earthenware (Delftware)	2	1600-1802	1701	Davis et al. 2015:195-196
Tin-Glazed Earthenware (Rouen Faïence)	12	1775-1780	1777.5	Noël Hume 1969:141-142
Tin-Glazed Earthenware (Delft Drug Jar)	7	1650-1830	1740	Noël Hume 1969:203-205
Jackfield	2	1745-1790	1767.5	Noël Hume 1969:123
Philadelphia Redware	4	1750-1830	1790	Myers 1977
“Clouded”/ “Tortoiseshell” Ware	4	1750-1775	1762.5	Noël Hume 1969:123-124
Carolina Creamware	2	1765-1780	1772.5	South 2004
Creamware	198	1762-1820	1791	Noël Hume 1969:124-125
Pearlware (Undecorated/ Indeterminate)	93	1780-1850	1815	South 1977:212
Pearlware (Blue Hand-Painted)	42	1775-1830	1802.5	Miller et al. 2000:13
Pearlware (Polychrome Hand-Painted)	3	1795-1815	1805	Miller et al. 2000:13
Pearlware (Transfer- Printed)	1	1783-1830	1806.5	Miller et al. 2000:13
“Annular” Ware (Non-Variegated/ Non-Dendritic)	11	1790-1820	1805	South 1977
Nottingham-Type Stoneware	1	1700-1799	1749.5	Noël Hume 1969:114
White Salt-Glazed Stoneware	24	1720-1790	1755	Noël Hume 1969:115-117
Scratch-Blue Stoneware	1	1744-1775	1759.5	Noël Hume 1969:117-118; Mountford 1971:48-51
English Soft-Paste Porcelain	2	1745-1800	1772.5	MAC Lab 2016
Total	417			

Euroamerican Ceramics at Ayers Town

In total, 319 fragments of Euroamerican ceramics were recovered from Ayers Town. Non-Catawba-made ceramic ware types included, in descending order of frequency, of creamware (n=143); pearlware (n=74); “annular” ware (n=17); “clouded” or “tortoiseshell” ware (n=15); tin-glazed earthenware (n=10); green-glazed earthenware (n=7); white salt-glazed stoneware (n=7); Jackfield-type ware (n=6); Staffordshire-type slipware (n=4); Chinese porcelain (n=3); “rosso antico” dry-bodied redware (n=2); and Westerwald stoneware (n=2) (Figure 14). The remaining unidentified wares were a mix of coarse and refined earthenwares. Feature 162 yielded one complete vessel, a white salt-glazed stoneware ink bottle. One whiteware sherd, bearing a stencilled partial maker’s mark and probably representing a plate, was recovered during mechanical stripping at Ayers Town; as this is likely to postdate Catawba occupation of the site, it is not considered here.

As at Old Town, creamware accounted for the highest frequency of Euroamerican sherds from Ayers Town, comprising 44.8% (n=143) of the total non-Catawba-made ceramic assemblage. Three creamware sherds with underglaze black transfer printing were noted. The remaining 140 sherds were undecorated.

Nearly 56% (n=80) of creamware sherds could be attributed to identifiable vessel forms. Of those, slightly over half (n=41) were from plates or probable plates, including two of the black transfer-printed sherds (the third was unidentifiable); 18.8% (n=15) were from unidentifiable hollowwares; 13.8% (n=11) were from cups or teawares; 11.3% (n=9) were from bowls or probable bowls; and 3.8% (n=3) were from probable



Figure 14. Sample of Euroamerican sherds from Ayers Town showing range of ware types: creamware (a-e); “annular” ware (f-l); bat transfer-printed creamware (m); “tortoiseshell” ware (n); Westerwald-type stoneware (o); slipware (p); “annular” ware (q); blue hand-painted pearlware (r, s, w); polychrome hand-painted pearlware (t, x, y); “rosso antico” redware (u); salt-glazed stoneware ink bottle (v); green-glazed ware (z); Jackfield-type ware (aa); Chinese porcelain (bb); and possible Bartlam-made “Carolina creamware” (cc). Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

creamers. One sherd (1.3%) was from a mug or tankard, and one (1.3%) was from a probable pitcher.

The next highest proportion (23.2%, n=74 sherds) of the Euroamerican assemblage was comprised of pearlwares. Nearly 53% of pearlware sherds (n=39) were undecorated. In addition to these, 24 sherds (32.4%) were blue hand-painted, 10 (13.5%) were polychrome hand-painted, and one (1.4%) was shell-edged. Fifty-five pearlware sherds, or 74.3% of the pearlware assemblage, could be identified by vessel form. Nineteen of those (34.5%), including 10 undecorated, six blue hand-painted, and three polychrome hand-painted, were from plates, while 14 (25.5%), including nine undecorated, four blue hand-painted, and one polychrome hand-painted, were from bowls or probable bowls. Twelve sherds (21.8%, nine undecorated and three blue hand-painted) were from teawares and cups, five (9.1%, four blue hand-painted and one polychrome hand-painted) were from unidentified hollowwares, and three (5.5%, two polychrome-hand painted and one blue hand-painted) were fragments of teapot lids. One (1.8%) additional undecorated sherd was from a pitcher, and one (1.8%) polychrome hand-painted sherd was likely from a creamer.

“Annular” wares accounted for 5.3% (n=17) of the total Euroamerican assemblage. Of these, five sherds (29.4%) had variegated slipped surfaces, and one sherd (5.9%) features a dendritic or “mocha” design scheme; the remainder are banded. Of the 14 sherds with identifiable vessel forms, five (35.7%) came from mugs or tankards, five (35.7%) from indeterminate hollowwares, and four (28.6%) from bowls or probable bowls. Of the 15 fragments of “tortoiseshell” Whieldon ware, comprising 4.7% of the Euroamerican ceramic count, all but two of these were identifiable. Of the 13 that

could be assigned a vessel form, 84.6% (n=11) were teawares or cups, and the remainder (n=2) were from one or more bowls.

Tin-glazed earthenware accounted for another 3.1% (n=10 sherds) of the assemblage. This latter fragment likely represents part of a delftware drug jar. Two hand-painted sherds are attributed to unidentified hollow forms, and another comes from a probable bowl. Seven green-glazed sherds representing 2.2% of the assemblage were recovered. One fragment was likely part of a bowl, one seems to have been a small bottle, and one is attributed to a teabowl or cup. The latter sherd, collected from Feature 141, appears to have been intentionally chipped. Another seven sherds (2.2%) of the total Euroamerican assemblage consisted of white salt-glazed stoneware. As at Old Town, the white salt-glazed stoneware from Ayers Town is attributed exclusively to hollow forms: 71.4% (n=5) are identified as belonging to bottles, one is likely associated with a pitcher, and one comes from a jug. Additionally, one complete white salt-glazed stoneware vessel — an ink bottle — was recovered from Feature 162.

Six sherds of Jackfield-type wares (1.9% of all Euroamerican sherds) were recovered from Ayers Town. All represented small serving forms: one (16.7% of Jackfield sherds) was identified as belonging to a creamer, and the remaining five (83.3%) were attributed to at least two small pitchers. One sherd noted as having come from a pitcher was described as having a purplish-grey paste; the rest exhibited red bodies, which are associated with Whieldon manufacture. Staffordshire-type slipwares accounted for 1.3% (n=4 sherds) of the total Euroamerican assemblage. All represented indeterminate hollow forms. A small amount (0.9% of non-Catawba-made sherds, n=3) of Chinese porcelain was recovered from plowzone contexts (n=2) and one feature, Feature 162 (n=1). The sherd from the latter context is identified as part of a plate, and

is the only Chinese porcelain to be attributed to a vessel form. Just two fragments (0.6% of non-Catawba-made sherds) of “rosso antico” stoneware were noted; both of these belong to the same vessel, a teapot. Likewise, Feature 3 contained two sherds of a Westerwald stoneware krug, accounting for another 0.6% of the assemblage.

The remaining 28 sherds could not be identified by ware type. Seven such sherds were from refined earthenwares, including five of the same type of unidentified, yellow-glazed ware; of these, one was from a teapot and three were from indeterminate hollowware. One of the remaining refined earthenware sherds was an unglazed section of a bowl, and the other was of an indeterminate form. Of the 22 unidentified coarse earthenware sherds, 14 dark grey-bodied, red-glazed fragments represent a single type and probably come from the same vessel (Davis et al. 2015:193). The vessel is of an unidentified hollow form. Six coarse earthenware sherds are pink bodied; all but one exhibits a clear glaze, and the last is unglazed. Three of these represent teawares, one represents an indeterminate hollow form, and the remaining two, of an unusual form, may represent an ornamental tableware such as a salt cellar (Davis et al. 2015:194). The remaining sherd is red-bodied with greenish-brown glaze and represents an indeterminate hollow form.

In total, plowzone contexts yielded one hundred and forty-four sherds; the largest sherd quantities from feature contexts were excavated from Features 55 (n=36), 89 (n=13), 140 (n=12) and 162 (n=24). Feature 55 is associated with Structure Locality 2 in Residential Complex B, 89 with Complex A, and Feature 162 is associated with Locality 11 in Complex E. Feature 140 does not appear to be associated with a residential structure and may be associated with communal activities (Cranford 2018). Of the materials that could be linked to vessel forms (n=219), 27.9% (n=61) were plates, 22.8%

(n=50) were indeterminate hollow forms, 17.4% (n=38) were teawares, 14.6% (n=32) were bowls, 3.7% (n=8) were pitchers, 2.7% (n=6) were tankards or mugs, 2.7% (n=6) were teapots, 2.7% (n=6) were bottles, 2.3% (n=5) were creamers, 1.4% (n=3) were jugs, 0.9% (n=2) were possibly from ornamental tablewares, 0.5% (n=1) was a drug jar, and 0.5% (n=1) was an ink bottle. The mean ceramic date for this assemblage was 1787.9, which fits quite nicely within Ayers Town's apparent occupation period (c.1781-1800) (Table 2). Like the Old Town Euroamerican assemblage, this date coincides with the economic and social shift in Catawba society brought on by the development of the formal land-leasing system, making a connection difficult to rule out (Pettus 2005). However, as with the Old Town assemblage, Ayers Town Euroamerican ceramics are eclectic, and several represent ware types that, despite solid Catawba-phase provenience, were outdated well before the establishment of the settlement.

Davis et al. (2015) suggest that the majority of non-creamware and non-pearlware sherds recovered from Ayers Town "appear to be from only one or two vessels [per ware type], and most of these represent uncommon forms such as small saucers, cups, condiment jars, creamers, teapots, and bottles rather than plates and bowls." The varied nature of the assemblage, in conjunction with the unusual intentionally chipped characteristic of some of the vessels, led the authors to posit that at least part of the ceramic assemblage may have been scavenged from a nearby Catawba town abandoned at about the same time as Old Town I (Davis et al. 2015:186).

Table 2. Data Used to Calculate the Mean Ceramic Date for Ayers Town.

Ware Type	N	Date Range	Median	Source
Staffordshire-Type Slipware	4	1675-1775	1725	MAC Lab 2015b
Tin-Glazed Earthenware (Delftware)	9	1600-1802	1701	Davis et al. 2015:195-196
Tin-Glazed Earthenware (Delft Drug Jar)	1	1650-1830	1740	Noël Hume 1969:203-205
Jackfield	6	1745-1790	1767.5	Noël Hume 1969:123
“Clouded”/ “Tortoiseshell” Ware	15	1750-1775	1762.5	Noël Hume 1969:123-124
Green-Glazed Earthenware	7	1759-1775	1767	Noël Hume 1969:124; Barker and Halfpenny 1990:63
Creamware	143	1762-1820	1791	Noël Hume 1969:124-125
Pearlware (Undecorated/ Indeterminate)	39	1780-1850	1815	South 1977:212
Pearlware (Shell-Edged)	1	1780-1835	1807.5	Miller et al. 2000:12
Pearlware (Blue Hand-Painted)	24	1775-1830	1802.5	Miller et al. 2000:13
Pearlware (Polychrome Hand-Painted)	10	1795-1815	1805	Miller et al. 2000:13
“Annular” Ware (Non- Variegated/ Non-Dendritic)	11	1790-1820	1805	South 1977
“Annular” Ware (Variegated)	5	1775-1810	1792.5	Rickard 2006
“Annular” Ware (Dendritic)	1	1790-1939	1864.5	Rickard 2006
Westerwald Stoneware	2	1700-1775	1737.5	Noël Hume 1969:284-285
Rosso Antico	2	1750-1780	1765	Noël Hume 1969:120-121; Barker and Halfpenny 1990:44-46
White Salt-Glazed Stoneware	8	1720-1790	1755	Noël Hume 1969:115-117
Chinese Porcelain	3	1660-1800	1730	South 1977:210
Total	291			

Catawba-made Ceramics at Old Town and Ayers Town

At both Old Town and Ayers' Town, non-Catawba-made ceramics account for under 2% of overall ceramic assemblages. At Old Town, the Catawba-made assemblage numbers 21,235 sherds. Although the overall volume of Catawba ceramics is lower at Ayers Town (n=17,134), it is important to bear in mind the fact that Old Town was occupied for nearly two decades longer. In any case, it is clear that the vast majority of sherds recovered from these two sites were not imported Euroamerican ceramics, but Catawba-made low-fired coarse earthenwares. These were coil-built (a construction technique by which a potter stacks rolled rings of clay and forms them into a single body) made from local clays, which ethnographer M. R. Harrington (1908:402) described as a mixture of a fine-grained "pipe clay" and a coarser "pan clay." They tend to be unglazed and untempered, with bodies ranging from reddish-brown to light yellowish-brown; their surfaces are smooth, and their interiors are commonly smudged. Smudging is a technique by which vessels are placed over a smoldering corn-cob fire, and a layer of soot fills the pores in the low-fired clay body. This rind helps to seal the porous earthenware and make it more impervious (Davis et al. 2015).

Although this project was primarily concerned with the non-Catawba-made ceramics from Old Town and Ayers Town, it is useful to briefly outline the Catawba vessel forms represented at both, since they were also part (in fact, the most substantial part) of the Catawba ceramic assemblages. Catawba-made sherds were not analyzed for this project; instead, previous work by David Cranford, Steve Davis, and Brett Riggs was utilized in order to provide an overview of vessel forms represented from the Catawba assemblages at the two sites.

Cranford's (2018) analysis of Catawba-made vessel forms from Old Town focused only on ceramics recovered from feature contexts, and utilized discrete vessels, rather than sherds, as its unit of analysis. Consequently, the total number of formally identifiable vessels for that site was relatively low: just 129. Of these, 54.3% (n=70) were bowls, 18.6% (n=24) were pans, 10.8% (n=14) were jars, 9.3% (n=12) were plates, and 7% (n=9) were cups.

Of the 839 total formally identifiable Catawba-made sherds from Ayers Town, 53.2% (n=446) were from bowls, 27.2% (n=228) were from pans, 12.9% (n=108) were from jars, 3.6% (n=30) were from cups, 1.9% (n=16) were from plates, 0.8% (n=7) were from a possible teapot, 0.2% (n=2) were from a lid, 0.1% (n=1) was from a colander, and 0.1% (n=1) was from a bottle (Davis et al. 2015:174).

Overall, Catawba-made wares tended to be hollow and more robust than their Euroamerican counterparts; in terms of percentages, bowls (of any size), jars, and pans dominated the Catawba-made assemblages. Formal trends in the Euroamerican assemblages were decidedly weaker at Old Town and Ayers Town, but proportions of teawares and plates were notably higher among non-Catawba-made wares. The eclectic, variable nature of the Euroamerican assemblages – and of the Ayers Town assemblage in particular – likely softens any more subtle patterns (Table 3).

Table 3. Comparison of Euroamerican and Catawba-made Vessel Forms.

	Old Town - Euroamerican		Ayers Town - Euroamerican		Old Town – Catawba-made		Ayers Town – Catawba-made	
Vessel Form	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Drug Jar	7	4.3	1	0.5	0	0	0	0
Creamers	0	0	5	2.3	0	0	0	0
Teawares	20	12.2	38	17.49	30	3.6	9	7
Mugs/Tankards	0	0	6	2.7	0	0	0	0
Plates	20	12.2	61	27.9	12	9.3	16	1.9
Bowls	20	12.2	32	14.6	70	54.3	446	53.2
Teapots	0	0	6	2.7	0	0	7	0.8
Pitchers	0	0	8	3.7	0	0	0	0
Ink Bottles	0	0	1	0.5	0	0	0	0
Bottles	0	0	6	2.7	0	0	1	0.1
Colanders	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Ornamental Tablewares	0	0	2	0.9	0	0	0	0
Punch Bowls	2	1.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jars	0	0	0	0	14	10.8	108	12.9
Pans	0	0	0	0	24	18.6	228	27.2
Pots	1	0.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indeterminate Hollowware	31	18.9	50	22.8	0	0	2	0.2
Total	164	100	219	100	129	100	839	100

CHAPTER IV

Euroamerican Ceramics at New Town

Because of the density of Euroamerican ceramics recovered from New Town, it is possible to compare assemblages internally, between cabin loci. As these ostensibly represent discrete households, it is possible to examine inter-household variation in acquisition and use of non-Catawba-made ceramics within the community. Loci 1, 7, and 8 were not extensively investigated, and consequently these are not considered in this analysis. In total, Loci 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 yielded 11,655 sherds, a staggering figure when compared to Old Town (n=441) and Ayers Town (n=319), which immediately predate New Town occupation. In terms of ware types, Euroamerican assemblages at this site are fairly standard, with pearlwares, creamware, and “annular” wares predominant; depending on cabin locus, materials might also include Nottingham-type stoneware, white salt-glazed stoneware, British brown stoneware, tin-glazed earthenware, or “Imari”-type Chinese porcelain (Figure 15).

Locus 2

Six hundred and fifty-eight non-Catawba-made ceramic sherds were recovered from Locus 2. The assemblage was comprised of pearlware (n=461), creamware (n=102), “annular” ware (n=48), Nottingham stoneware (n=1), and “Imari” type Chinese porcelain (n=1). The ware types of 39 sherds could not be determined, and the remaining seven sherds are recorded as missing.



Figure 15. Sample of Euroamerican sherds from New Town showing range of ware types: shell-edged pearlware (a-d); transfer-printed pearlware (e-i); blue hand-painted pearlware (j-l); polychrome hand-painted pearlware (m-p, s-t); creamware (q-r); “annular” ware (u-aa); British brown stoneware (bb); slipware (cc); Chinese “Imari”-type porcelain (dd); and dendritic “annular” ware (ee-ff). Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Pearlware accounted for by far the highest proportion of Euroamerican wares at Locus 2: 70.1%, or 461 sherds. Nearly forty-one percent (n=188) of pearlware was undecorated or of indeterminate decoration. Of 21 undecorated pearlware sherds of identifiable vessel form, 12 (57.1%) were attributed to plates, six (28.6%) to teawares, two (9.5%) to indeterminate hollowware, and one (4.8%) to a bowl. Transfer-printed pearlware was the next largest category, accounting for 33.4% (n=154) of Locus 2 pearlware; of 99 formally identifiable transfer-printed sherds, 63.6% (n=63) were from bowls, 20.2% (n=20) were from teawares, 8.1% (n=8) were from plates, and 2% (n=2) were from indeterminate hollow forms. Of 39 polychrome hand-painted pearlware fragments from the Locus 2 assemblage (8.5% of Locus 2 pearlware), 25 could be formally identified: 60% (n=15) were teawares, 20% (n=5) were bowls, and another 20% (n=5) were indeterminate hollowware. Almost 6% of pearlwares (n=26) were blue hand-painted; twelve blue hand-painted pearlware sherds could be identified by vessel form. Of these, six (50%) were teawares, three (25%) were bowls, two (16.7%) were plates, and the last (8.3%) was of an unidentified hollow form. Another 6% (n=26) of Locus 2 pearlware was shell-edged, both green (n=11) and blue (n=15); all were identified as plates. An additional 28 pearlware sherds from Locus 2 (6.1% of Locus 2 pearlware) comprised an unusual relief-molded form; all of these were associated with the same vessel, a globular mug.

One hundred and two fragments of creamware, accounting for 15.5% of the Euroamerican assemblage from Locus 2, were recorded. One of these was polychrome hand-painted, and represented a bowl; the remainder were undecorated. Of 21 undecorated creamware sherds to which a form could be attributed, 17 (81%) belonged to plates, two (9.5%) to teawares, and another two (9.5%) to unidentified hollowwares.

“Annular” ware accounted for 7.3% (n=48) of the non-Catawba-made assemblage. Of these, 14.6% (n=7) exhibited variegated slipped surfaces, and 8.3% (n=4) were “mocha” wares. Nearly 67% (n=32) of Locus 2 “annular” wares were from indeterminate hollow forms, 20.8% (n=10) were from pitchers, 6.3% (n=3) were from mugs or tankards, and another 6.3% (n=3) were from bowls.

Just two other Locus 2 non-Catawba-made sherds could be identified by ware type. One was a fragment of Nottingham-type stoneware, the form of which could not be ascertained; the other was part of a Chinese “Imari” type porcelain teacup.

Of the 39 sherds of indeterminate ware type, the majority (n=33) were of refined earthenware. Only one of these, from an indeterminate hollowware, could be formally identified. Four coarse earthenware sherds were lead-glazed, and likely belong to the same vessel, of an unknown form; one additional indeterminate coarse earthenware sherd was of coarse earthenware, and was part of a hollow utilitarian vessel. The remaining sherd — aside from the seven reported missing — was of an unidentified slipware and represented a bowl.

Of two hundred and seventy-nine formally identifiable fragments, 27.6% (n=77) belonged to bowls, 23.3% (n=65) to plates, 17.9% (n=50) to teawares, 16.5% (n=46) to indeterminate hollowware, 11.1% (n=31) to mugs or tankards, and 3.6% (n=10) to pitchers. The Locus 2 Euroamerican assemblage yielded a mean ceramic date of 1806.6 (Table 4).

Table 4. Data Used to Calculate the Mean Ceramic Date for New Town Locus**2.**

Ware Type	N	Date Range	Median	Source
Creamware	102	1762-1820	1791	Noël Hume 1969:124-125
Pearlware (Undecorated/ Indeterminate)	216	1780-1850	1815	South 1977:212
Pearlware (Shell-Edged)	26	1780-1835	1807.5	Miller et al. 2000:12
Pearlware (Blue Hand- Painted)	26	1775-1830	1802.5	Miller et al. 2000:13
Pearlware (Polychrome Hand-Painted)	39	1795-1815	1805	Miller et al. 2000:13
Pearlware (Transfer- Printed)	154	1783-1830	1806.5	Miller et al. 2000:13
“Annular” Ware (Non- Variegated/ Non-Dendritic)	37	1790-1820	1805	South 1977
“Annular” Ware (Variegated)	7	1775-1810	1792.5	Rickard 2006
“Annular” Ware (Dendritic)	4	1790-1939	1864.5	Rickard 2006
Nottingham-Type Stoneware	1	1700-1799	1749.5	Noël Hume 1969:114
Chinese Porcelain (“Imari”- Type)	1	1700-1780	1740	Noël Hume 1969:258
Total	613			

Locus 3

New Town Locus 3 yielded 1,249 non-Catawba-made ceramic fragments.

Identifiable wares were comprised of pearlware (n=945), creamware (n=202), “annular” ware (n=30), Nottingham-type stoneware (n=2), and Chinese “Imari” type porcelain. Sixty-one fragments could not be identified by ware type, and eight were recorded as missing.

Pearlware made up over three quarters of the Locus 3 Euroamerican assemblage, with 945 sherds noted. The majority (59.2%; n=559) was undecorated; of this, 100 fragments could be positively associated with vessel forms. Sixty-eight (68%) were from plates, 15 (15%) were from indeterminate hollowware, 10 (10%) were from bowls, three (3%) were from a sugar bowl, two (2%) were from teawares, and two (2%) were from pitchers. As at Locus 2, an additional four sherds (0.4% of the Locus 3 pearlware assemblage) came from an unusual relief-molded ware, although in this case the form could not be determined.

Polychrome hand-painted pearlware made up 17.8% (n=168) of the total Locus 3 pearlware assemblage. One hundred and twenty-two of those could be formally associated: 37.7% (n=46) with bowls, 33.6% (n=41) with indeterminate hollow forms, 27.9% (n=34) with teawares, and 0.8% (n=1) with a mug. Ninety-eight transfer-printed pearlware sherds (10.4% of Locus 3 pearlware) were recovered, including 38 of identifiable forms. Fifty percent (n=19) represented bowls, 34.2% (n=13) represented plates, 13.2% (n=5) represented teawares, and 2.6% (n=1) represented an unidentified hollow form. Seventeen transfer-printed pearlware sherds were Chinese or chinoiserie patterned.

Of the sixty-eight sherds of shell-edged pearlware from Locus 3 (representing 7.2% of Locus 3 pearlware), 55 were blue-edged, and 13 were green-edged. All were identified as fragments of plates. Just over five percent (n=48) of the pearlware assemblage was comprised of blue hand-painted pearlware; of just 15 formally identifiable sherds, five (33.3%) were bowls, five (33.3%) were indeterminate hollow forms, two (13.3%) were teawares, two (13.3%) were sugar bowls, and one (6.7%) was a large hollow form.

Creamware was also well-represented at Locus 3, amounting to 16.2% (n=202) of all Locus 3 Euroamerican pottery. The vast majority of creamware (98%, n=198) was undecorated; of this, 47 sherds could be associated with vessel forms. Sixteen undecorated creamware fragments (34%) represented plates, nine (19.1%) represented teawares, seven (14.9%) represented a chamber pot, five (10.6%) represented bowls, five (10.6%) represented unidentified hollowware, four (8.5%) represented a large hollow form, and one (2.1%) represented a mug or tankard. Four creamware sherds (2% of Locus 3 creamware) were hand-painted in polychrome; all were part of a teacup.

“Annular” ware amounted to 2.4% (n=30) of the total Locus 3 assemblage. This group included two variegated and two dendritic sherds, with the rest mostly slip banded and engine turned. Six sherds (20%) came from bowls, three (10%) came from mugs, and the rest (70%; n=21) came from unidentified hollowware. Two fragments of Nottingham-type stoneware (0.2% of the Locus 3 assemblage), both of indeterminate forms, were recovered, as was a single fragment of Chinese “Imari” type porcelain, identified as a sugar bowl.

Sixty-one sherds were found to be of indeterminate ware types; of these, 40 were refined earthenwares, including three fragments associated with bowls, three with plates, two with probable tankards, and two with unidentified hollowware. Two fragments of an anthropomorphic Moravian pipe bowl were of an unusual green-glazed ware. In addition, nine sherds of indeterminate coarse earthenware were noted; eight of these bore a brown lead glaze and appeared to represent a small pitcher, while the remaining sherd was green-slipped and of an indeterminate form. This last sherd may have come from a Bartlam-made piece. The final eight sherds of the Locus 3 assemblage are noted to have been lost.

The formally identifiable non-Catawba-made assemblage of Locus 3 (n=445) was comprised, in total, of 37.8% (n=168) plates, 21.1% (n=94) bowls, 20.2% (n=90) indeterminate hollowware, 12.6% (n=56) teawares, 2.2% (n=10) pitchers, 1.6% (n=7) mugs or tankards, another 1.6% (n=7) chamber pot, 1.3% (n=6) sugar bowls, 1.1% (n=5) large hollowware, and 0.4% (n=2) ceramic pipe bowl. The mean ceramic date for the assemblage is 1807.6 (Table 5).

Table 5. Data Used to Calculate the Mean Ceramic Date for New Town Locus

3.

Ware Type	N	Date Range	Median	Source
Creamware	202	1762-1820	1791	Noël Hume 1969:124-125
Pearlware (Undecorated/ Indeterminate)	563	1780-1850	1815	South 1977:212
Pearlware (Shell-Edged)	68	1780-1835	1807.5	Miller et al. 2000:12
Pearlware (Blue Hand- Painted)	48	1775-1830	1802.5	Miller et al. 2000:13
Pearlware (Polychrome Hand- Painted)	168	1795-1815	1805	Miller et al. 2000:13
Pearlware (Transfer- Printed)	81	1783-1830	1806.5	Miller et al. 2000:13
Pearlware (Chinese/ Chinoiserie Pattern Printed)	17	1797-1814	1813.5	Samford 1997: 6, 20
“Annular” Ware (Non- Variegated/ Non-Dendritic)	26	1790-1820	1805	South 1977
“Annular” Ware (Variegated)	2	1775-1810	1792.5	Rickard 2006
“Annular” Ware (Dendritic)	2	1790-1939	1864.5	Rickard 2006
Nottingham-Type Stoneware	2	1700-1799	1749.5	Noël Hume 1969:114
Chinese Porcelain (“Imari”- Type)	1	1700-1780	1740	Noël Hume 1969:258
Total	1180			

Locus 4

Two thousand seven hundred and eighty-one Euroamerican sherds in total were recovered from New Town Locus 4. The identifiable assemblage included pearlware (n=2,135), “annular” ware (n=440), creamware (n=137), British brown stoneware (n=30), and white salt-glazed stoneware (n=7). The ware types of another thirty sherds could not be determined, and two other fragments are recorded as missing.

Characteristically for New Town, pearlware dominates the non-Catawba-made assemblage at Locus 4, comprising 76.8% (n=2135) in total. Within the pearlware assemblage, the largest group is that of the undecorated and of indeterminate decoration, which is responsible for 45.4% (n=969) of all Locus 4 pearlware. Of the 108 formally identifiable undecorated pearlware fragments, 75.6% (n=136) are associated with plates, 12.2% (n=22) with unidentified hollow forms, 8.9% (n=16) with teawares, 1.7% (n=3) with bowls, 0.6% (n=1) with a jug, 0.6% (n=1) with a large hollowware, and 0.6% (n=1) with an unidentified flatware. Seven embossed pearlware sherds (0.3% of Locus 4 pearlware) from a vessel or vessels of indeterminate form were encountered, as were 12 sherds (0.6% of Locus 4 pearlware) molded in the form of a classical figure, which apparently belong to the same vessel, an ornamental pitcher.

Transfer-printed pearlware accounts for the next highest proportion of pearlware at Locus 4: 28.9% (n=616). A variety of design schemes are present, including nine sherds of Chinese-type or chinoiserie designs. Two hundred and forty-five sherds can be attributed to vessel forms; of these, 82 (33.5%) came from plates, 59 (24.1%) from a punchbowl, 43 (17.6%) from bowls, 40 (16.3%) from teawares, 19 (7.8%) from unidentified hollowware, and two (0.8%) from unidentified flatware. Slightly under ten

percent (n=205) of the pearlware assemblage is made up of blue hand-painted pearlware; of the 132 formally identifiable blue hand-painted fragments, 61 (46.2%) represent teawares, 51 (38.6%) represent indeterminate hollow forms, ten (7.6%) represent bowls, four (3%) represent plates, another four (3%) represent a punchbowl, and two (1.5%) likely represent a washbasin. Polychrome hand-painted pearlware amounts to another 8.2% (n=173) of Locus 4 pearlware. One hundred and twenty-five polychrome painted sherds were identifiable by vessel form: 92 (73.6%) were identified as bowls, 26 (20.8%) as indeterminate hollowware, six (4.8%) as teawares, and one (0.8%) as a plate. The remaining Locus 4 pearlware (7.2%; n=153) was shell-edged; 91 sherds had green edges, while 62 had blue edges. One hundred and fifty-one shell-edged sherds (98.7%) were recorded as plates, and the last two fragments (1.3%) were recorded as indeterminate flatware.

Four hundred and forty sherds of “annular” ware — comprising 15.8% of the total Euroamerican assemblage — were recovered from Locus 4. One hundred and five of these exhibited variegated slip decoration, 29 were dendritic, and the remaining 306 varied in surface treatment. The overwhelming majority of “annular” ware fragments (95%; n=418) are of indeterminate hollowware; 4.1% (n=18) represent one or more bowls, 0.5% (n=2) likely comes from a mug or tankard, 0.2% (n=1) is a jug, and another 0.2% (n=1) is a large bowl.

Creamware makes up 4.9% (n=137) of non-Catawba ceramics at Locus 4. With the exception of two polychrome hand-painted teaware sherds, the entire body of creamware is undecorated. Of the sixty-six undecorated creamware sherds that can be identified by vessel form, 78.8% (n=52) are from plates, 12.1% (n=8) are from

unidentified hollow forms, 4.5% (n=3) are bowls, 3% (n=2) are teawares, and 1.5% (n=1) belongs to a large hollow form.

Thirty fragments of British brown stoneware (1.1% of the Locus 4 Euroamerican assemblage) appear to come from a single vessel, a bottle. Another seven white salt-glazed stoneware sherds (0.3%) were also recovered from Locus 4; four of these (57.1%) appear to comprise part of a jug, two (28.6%) come from one or more bottles, and the final sherd is of an unidentifiable form. Thirty additional sherds — all refined earthenware — could not be classified by ware type or vessel form, and the remaining two appear to be missing.

Of one thousand three hundred and ninety formally identifiable fragments, 39.1% (n=544) are unidentified hollowwares, 30.6% (n=425) are plates, 12.2% (n=169) are bowls, 9.1% (n=127) are teawares, 4.5% (n=63) are punchbowls, 2.3% (n=32) are bottles, 0.9% (n=12) is from an ornamental pitcher, 0.4% (n=6) are jugs, another 0.4% (n=5) are unidentifiable flatwares, 0.1% (n=2) are mugs or tankards, 0.1% (n=2) is from a washbasin, 0.1% (n=2) are large hollowwares, and one sherd is from a large bowl. The mean ceramic date for this assemblage was 1807.3 (Table 6).

Table 6. Data Used to Calculate the Mean Ceramic Date for New Town Locus**4.**

Ware Type	N	Date Range	Median	Source
Creamware	137	1762-1820	1791	Noël Hume 1969:124-125
Pearlware (Undecorated/ Indeterminate)	988	1780-1850	1815	South 1977:212
Pearlware (Shell-Edged)	153	1780-1835	1807.5	Miller et al. 2000:12
Pearlware (Blue Hand-Painted)	205	1775-1830	1802.5	Miller et al. 2000:13
Pearlware (Polychrome Hand- Painted)	173	1795-1815	1805	Miller et al. 2000:13
Pearlware (Transfer- Printed)	607	1783-1830	1806.5	Miller et al. 2000:13
Pearlware (Chinese/ Chinoiserie Pattern Printed)	9	1797-1814	1813.5	Samford 1997: 6, 20
“Annular” Ware (Non-Variegated/ Non-Dendritic)	306	1790-1820	1805	South 1977
“Annular” Ware (Variegated)	105	1775-1810	1792.5	Rickard 2006
“Annular” Ware (Dendritic)	29	1790-1939	1864.5	Rickard 2006
British Brown Stoneware	30	1671-1775	1723	Oswald et al. 1982:24
White Salt-Glazed Stoneware	7	1720-1790	1755	Noël Hume 1969:115-117
Total	2749			

Locus 5

The Euroamerican assemblage at Locus 5 consisted of 2,181 sherds, with a body of identifiable wares consisting of pearlware (n=1,496), “annular” ware (n=369), creamware (n=278), white salt-glazed stoneware (n=10), and British brown stoneware (n=8). The ware types of 15 sherds could not be identified, and an additional five sherds are missing from the assemblage and could not be analyzed.

At Locus 5, pearlware of all types constituted 68.6% (n=1,496) of the non-Catawba-made assemblage. Thirty-nine percent (n=588) of pearlware recovered was either undecorated or of indeterminate decoration; 141 of these were of identifiable forms. Seventy-three undecorated sherds (51.8%) belonged to plates, 27 (19.1%) to teawares, 21 (14.9%) to indeterminate hollow forms, nine (6.4%) to bowls, six (4.3%) to indeterminate flatware, two (1.4%) to pitchers, one (0.7%) to a vertical hollow form, one (0.7%) to a jug, and one (0.7%) to a large hollowware. A handful of pearlware fragments (0.3% of pearlware; n=4) from Locus 5 were relief-molded; two sherds were from hollowware, one was from a plate, and the last could not be identified. Likewise, a pair of embossed pearlware sherds represented one hollowware and one unidentifiable form.

Transfer-printed pearlware accounted for 30.7% (n=459) of Locus 5 pearlware; of the 228 fragments from known vessel forms, 33.8% (n=77) were from plates, 30.2% (n=69) were from bowls, 12.3% (n=28) were from teawares, 7.5% (n=17) were from unidentified hollow forms, another 7.5% (n=17) were from a punchbowl, 4.4% (n=10) were from a large bowl, 2.6% (n=6) were from indeterminate flatware, 1.4% (n=3) were from vertical hollowware, and 0.4% (n=1) was from a large hollow form. Twenty-four sherds were from vessels decorated in Chinese-type or chinoiserie patterns. Nearly 15% of Locus 5 pearlware (n=223) was comprised of polychrome hand-painted pearlware; of the sherds that could be identified by vessel form (n=136), 49 (36%) were from teawares, 45 (33.1%) were from indeterminate hollowware, 31 (22.8%) were from bowls, four (2.9%) were from creamers, three (2.2%) were from mugs or tankards, two (1.5%) were from a punchbowl, one (0.7%) was from a pitcher, and one (0.7%) was from a plate. One pearlware sherd from Locus 5 was both transfer-printed and hand-painted in polychrome; it seems to have been part of a bowl.

Shell-edged wares made up another 8.6% (n=129) of the Locus 5 pearlware assemblage; 117 sherds were green-edged, and 12 were blue-edged. One hundred and two sherds (79.1%) were from plates, 25 (19.4%) were from indeterminate flatware, and two (1.6%) were from a small bowl. One blue edge decorated plate fragment, with non-shell embossing on the rim, was also encountered. The remainder of the pearlware assemblage (5.9%; n=89) was comprised of blue hand-painted wares. Of these, 46 were identifiable by vessel form: 30.4% (n=14) were teawares, 23.9% (n=11) were indeterminate hollow forms, 19.6% (n=9) were bowls, 8.7% (n=4) were pitchers, 6.5% (n=3) were plates, another 6.5% (n=3) were indeterminate large hollowwares, and 4.3% (n=2) belonged to a large bowl.

“Annular” or dipped wares comprised just under 17% (n=369) of non-Catawba-made wares at Locus 5. Fifty-five sherds had variegated surfaces, and 21 featured dendritic design schemes. The majority (89.4%; n=330) belonged to indeterminate hollow forms; 20 (5.4%) were bowls, ten (2.7%) were large hollowwares, three (0.8%) were mugs or tankards, two (0.5%) were pitchers, two (0.5%) were vertical hollowware, and two (0.5%) were large bowls.

Creamware represents 12.7% (n=278) of Euroamerican ware types from this household. Typically for New Town, the Locus 5 creamware is largely (96%; n=267) undecorated. Of the 124 plain creamware sherds that could be described formally, 83 (66.9%) were plates, 12 (9.7%) were from teawares, nine (7.3%) are from bowls, another nine (7.3%) are from large hollow forms, six (4.8%) are from indeterminate hollowware, three (2.4%) are from indeterminate flatware, and two (1.6%) are from a mug or tankard. Five embossed creamware sherds were noted, as were four relief-molded creamware fragments; all of these were attributed to unidentified hollow forms. One

example of blue hand-painted creamware was analyzed, and was found to represent a teacup. Another hand-painted creamware example, in polychrome, was also part of a teacup.

Ten sherds of white salt-glazed stoneware (0.5% of the assemblage) were recovered from Locus 5. All but two are identified as having come from a bottle, and the remaining two are of an indeterminate form. British brown stoneware accounts for eight sherds (0.4% of the assemblage), three of which belong to a bottle, two to indeterminate hollowware, and one to a jug; the forms of the remaining two could not be determined. Of the 15 sherds of indeterminate ware type, 14 are of refined earthenware, and the other is a slipware. One sherd of unidentified refined earthenware can be attributed to a flat form. An additional five sherds are missing from the assemblage.

Of 1,205 Euroamerican sherds from Locus 5 that could be associated with vessel forms, 36.8% (n=444) are from indeterminate hollowware; 28.3% (n=341) were from plates; 12.4% (n=150) were from bowls; 11% (n=132) were from teawares; 3.4% (n=41) were from indeterminate flatware; 2% (n=24) were from large hollow forms; 1.6% (n=19) were from punchbowls; 1.2% (n=14) were from large bowls; 0.9% (n=11) were from bottles; 0.7% (n=9) were from pitchers; another 0.7% (n=8) were from mugs or tankards; 0.5% (n=6) were from vertical hollowware; 0.3% (n=4) were from creamers, and 0.2% (n=2) was from a jug. The mean ceramic date for Locus 5 is 1806.1 (Table 7).

Table 7. Data Used to Calculate the Mean Ceramic Date for New Town Locus**5.**

Ware Type	N	Date Range	Median	Source
Creamware	278	1762-1820	1791	Noël Hume 1969:124-125
Pearlware (Undecorated/ Indeterminate)	594	1780-1850	1815	South 1977:212
Pearlware (Shell-Edged)	129	1780-1835	1807.5	Miller et al. 2000:12
Pearlware (Embossed Edge)	1	1820-1835	1827.5	Miller et al. 2000:12
Pearlware (Blue Hand-Painted)	89	1775-1830	1802.5	Miller et al. 2000:13
Pearlware (Polychrome Hand- Painted)	223	1795-1815	1805	Miller et al. 2000:13
Pearlware (Transfer- Printed)	436	1783-1830	1806.5	Miller et al. 2000:13
Pearlware (Chinese/ Chinoiserie Pattern Printed)	24	1797-1814	1813.5	Samford 1997: 6, 20
“Annular” Ware (Non-Variegated/ Non-Dendritic)	293	1790-1820	1805	South 1977
“Annular” Ware (Variegated)	55	1775-1810	1792.5	Rickard 2006
“Annular” Ware (Dendritic)	21	1790-1939	1864.5	Rickard 2006
British Brown Stoneware	8	1671-1775	1723	Oswald et al. 1982:24
White Salt-Glazed Stoneware	10	1720-1790	1755	Noël Hume 1969:115-117
Total	2161			

Locus 6

Four thousand seven hundred and eighty-six non-Catawba-made ceramic sherds were recovered from Locus 6. The assemblage was comprised of pearlware (n=3,699), creamware (n=662), “annular” ware (n=345), British brown stoneware (n=12), tin-

glazed earthenware (n=10), and white salt-glazed stoneware (n=8). The ware types of the remaining 50 sherds could not be determined.

Pearlware made up over 75% of the Locus 6 Euroamerican assemblage, with 3,699 sherds noted. The majority (57.3%, n=2121) was undecorated; of this, however, only 307 fragments could be positively associated with vessel forms. One hundred and eighty-three (59.6%) were from plates, 77 (25.1%) were from indeterminate hollowware, 20 (6.5%) were from bowls, nine (2.9%) were from teawares, eight (2.6%) were from large hollow forms, six (2%) were from indeterminate flat forms, two (0.7%) were from mugs or tankards, one (0.3%) was from a pitcher, and one (0.3%) was from a probable vase. An additional two sherds (less than 0.1% of the Locus 6 pearlware assemblage) came from a relief-molded ware. One was from an indeterminate hollowware, and the form of the other could not be determined.

Polychrome hand-painted pearlware made up 15.2% (n=563) of the total Locus 6 pearlware assemblage. Two hundred and eighty-nine of those could be formally associated: 40.8% (n=118) with indeterminate hollow forms, 38.8% (n=112) with teawares, 18% (n=52) with bowls, 1.7% (n=5) with plates, and 0.7% (n=2) with pitchers. Four hundred and fifty-six transfer-printed pearlware sherds (12.3% of Locus 6 pearlware) were recovered, including 258 of identifiable forms. Thirty-nine percent (n=101) represented teawares, 26.4% (n=68) represented unidentified hollow forms, 22.5% (n=58) represented bowls, 11.6% (n=30) represented plates, and 2.6% (n=1) represented a large hollow form.

Almost nine percent (n=329) of the pearlware assemblage was comprised of blue hand-painted pearlware; of 177 formally identifiable sherds, 86 (48.6%) were unidentified hollowware, 40 (22.6%) were bowls, 34 (19.2%) were teawares, six (3.4%)

were punchbowls, four (2.3%) were from plates, four (2.3%) were from pitchers, and one (0.6%) was a vertical hollow form. Of the 223 sherds of shell-edged pearlware from Locus 6 (representing 6% of Locus 6 pearlware), 151 were green-edged, and 72 were blue-edged. Two hundred and four were identifiable. Nearly ninety-one percent (n=185) were identified as fragments of plates, 6% (n=13) as unidentified flatware, and 2.8% (n=6) as unidentified hollowware. Five sherds (0.1% of the pearlware assemblage) of an unusual green-painted pearlware were also recovered from Locus 6; all likely belonged to a single unidentified hollow vessel.

Creamware amounted to 13.8% (n=662) of all Locus 6 Euroamerican pottery. The majority (97%, n=642) was undecorated; of this, 185 sherds could be associated with vessel forms. One hundred and thirty undecorated creamware fragments (70.3%) represented plates, 26 (14.1%) represented unidentified hollowwares, 15 (8.1%) represented bowls, 10 (5.4%) represented teawares, three (1.6%) represented unidentified flatware, and one (0.5%) represented a large hollow form. Eighteen creamware sherds (2.7% of Locus 6 creamware) were hand-painted in polychrome; of nine identifiable, seven (77.8%) were from bowls, one (11.1%) was from a cup, and one (11.1%) was from an indeterminate hollow form. Two additional sherds (0.3% of Locus 6 creamware), both from a teacup, were relief-molded.

“Annular” ware accounted for 7.2% (n=345) of the total Locus 6 assemblage. This group included 19 variegated and nine dendritic sherds, with the rest mostly slip banded and engine turned. All were from indeterminate hollowware. Twelve fragments of British brown stoneware (.3% of the Locus 3 assemblage) — 11 (91.7%) from unidentified hollowware, and one (8.3%) from a small bottle — were recovered, as were 10 sherds of tin-glazed earthenware. Five of the latter type were identifiable by form;

three (60%) were drug jars, and two (40%) were of indeterminate hollow forms. Eight sherds of white salt-glazed stoneware were recovered from Locus 6; of the seven that could be identified, six (85.7%) were of indeterminate hollow forms, and one (14.3%) was a probable bottle.

Fifty sherds were found to be of indeterminate ware types; of these, 40 were refined earthenwares, including four fragments associated with plates and one with unidentified hollowware. Five sherds likely belonged to a single unidentified brown-slipped coarse earthenware vessel of indeterminate form. Three unidentified coarse earthenware sherds were lead-glazed; two of these represented an indeterminate hollow form. Of the two remaining sherds, one, a relief-molded refined earthenware, came from an unidentified hollow form, while the form of other, a coarse earthenware fragment, could not be determined.

Of the 1,807 sherds from Locus 6 that could be identified by form, 41.8% (n=756) were indeterminate hollowware, 29.9% (n=541) were plates, 14.9% (n=269) were teawares, 10.6% (n=192) were bowls, 1.2% (n=22) were indeterminate flatware, 0.6% (n=11) were large hollow forms, 0.4% (n=7) were pitchers, 0.3% (n=6) were punchbowls, 0.2% (n=3) were drug jars, 0.1% (n=2) were mugs or tankards, 0.1% (n=2) were bottles, <0.1% (n=1) was a large bowl, <0.1% (n=1) was a vertical hollow form, and <0.1% (n=1) was a possible vase. The Locus 6 assemblage has a mean ceramic date of 1807.2 (Table 8).

Table 8. Data Used to Calculate the Mean Ceramic Date for New Town Locus**6.**

Ware Type	N	Date Range	Median	Source
Tin-Glazed Earthenware (Delftware)	7	1600-1802	1701	Davis et al. 2015:195-196
Tin-Glazed Earthenware (Delft Drug Jar)	3	1650-1830	1740	Noël Hume 1969:203-205
Creamware	662	1762-1820	1791	Noël Hume 1969:124-125
Pearlware (Undecorated/ Indeterminate)	2128	1780-1850	1815	South 1977:212
Pearlware (Shell-Edged)	223	1780-1835	1807.5	Miller et al. 2000:12
Pearlware (Blue Hand-Painted)	329	1775-1830	1802.5	Miller et al. 2000:13
Pearlware (Polychrome Hand-Painted)	563	1795-1815	1805	Miller et al. 2000:13
Pearlware (Transfer- Printed)	456	1783-1830	1806.5	Miller et al. 2000:13
“Annular” Ware (Non-Variegated/ Non-Dendritic)	317	1790-1820	1805	South 1977
“Annular” Ware (Variegated)	19	1775-1810	1792.5	Rickard 2006
“Annular” Ware (Dendritic)	9	1790-1939	1864.5	Rickard 2006
British Brown Stoneware	12	1671-1775	1723	Oswald et al. 1982:24
White Salt-Glazed Stoneware	8	1720-1790	1755	Noël Hume 1969:115-117
Total	4736			

In contrast to the eclectic range of forms at noted at Old Town and (particularly) Ayers Town, the Euroamerican assemblage at New Town displays a fairly high degree of formal similarity – not just in terms of the range of forms encountered at each Locus, but also in the proportions in which each form is encountered (Table 9). This uniformity suggests that a standardizing mechanism of acquisition or distribution had been established by the occupation of New Town.

Table 9. Comparison of Vessel Forms Between New Town Loci.

Vessel Form	Locus 2			Locus 3			Locus 4			Locus 5			Locus 6			All Loci		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
Ceramic Pipe Bowl	0	0		2	0.4		0	0		0	0		0	0		2	<0.1	
Sugar Bowl	0	0		6	1.3		0	0		0	0		0	0		6	0.1	
Creamers	0	0		0	0		0	0		4	0.3		0	0		4	<0.1	
Teawares	50	17.9		56	12.6		127	9.1		132	11%		269	14.9%		634	12.4	
Mugs/Tankards	31	11.1		7	1.6		2	0.1		8	0.7		2	0.1		50	0.9	
Plates	65	23.3		168	37.8		425	30.6		341	28.3		541	29.9		1540	30	
Bowls	77	27.6		94	21.1		169	12.2		150	12.4		192	10.6		682	13.3	
Pitchers	10	3.6		10	2.2		0	0		9	0.7		7	0.4		36	0.7	
Bottles	0	0		0	0		32	2.3		11	0.9		2	0.1		45	0.9	
Large Bowls	0	0		0	0		1	<0.1		14	1.2		1	<0.1		16	0.3	
Punchbowls	0	0		0	0		63	4.5		19	1.6		6	0.3		88	1.7	
Vase/Ornamental Pitcher	0	0		0	0		12	0.9		0	0		1	<0.1%		13	0.3	
Jugs	0	0		0	0		6	0.4		2	0.2		0	0		8	0.2	
Washbasin/Chamber Pot	0	0		7	1.6		2	0.1		0	0		0	0		9	0.2	
Indeterminate Flatware	0	0		0	0		5	0.4		41	3.4		22	1.2		68	1.3	
Indeterminate Hollowware	46	16.5		90	20.2		544	39.1		444	36.8		756	41.8		1880	36.7	
Vertical Hollowware	0	0		0	0		0	0		6	0.5		1	<0.1		7	0.1	
Large Hollowware	0	0		5	1.1		2	0.1		24	2		11	0.6		42	0.8	
Total	279	100		445	100		1390	100		1205	100		1807	100		5126	100	

Catawba-made Ceramics at New Town

As extensive as the New Town Euroamerican ceramic assemblage is, as at Old Town and Ayers Town, it is dwarfed by Catawba-made materials, demonstrating a continued dependence on locally-made wares for community needs. Nearly 62,500 low-fired Catawba coarse earthenware sherds — 84.3% of all sherds from New Town — were recovered from the New Town loci between 2002 and 2005. The New Town Catawba wares, like those described previously, were largely yellow-brown to dark buff-bodied. Again, potters' clay here seems to have been sourced locally, is untempered, and formed into vessels from stacked coils (Riggs, Davis, and Plane 2006). Catawba vessel types represented include “numerous plates and flat-bottomed, flaring-walled pans, as well as cooking jars with thickened rims and tripodal kettles with loop handles,” with a number of the vessel rims “decorated with a reddish orange paint, and at least a few rimsherds...decorated to mimic English shell-edged wares” (Davis and Riggs 2005).

Plane (2011) analyzed the rimsherds of Catawba-made vessels recovered during the 2003 and 2004 fieldwork at New Town from Loci 2, 3, 4, and 5. Of the 985 formally identifiable sherds he describes, 31.4% (n=309) are from bowls, 24.2% (n=238) are from jars, 20.8% (n=205) are from plates, 14.4% (n=142) are from pans, 8.5% (n=84) are from unidentified hollowware, 0.3% (n=3) are from pots, 0.2% (n=2) are from toy vessels, 0.1% (n=1) is from a pitcher, and 0.1% (n=1) is from a bottle. Both the Catawba-made and Euroamerican assemblages show a preference for plates and bowls and are comprised mostly of hollow forms, but otherwise appear quite complementary, with Catawba-made cooking and service forms “filling in the gaps” left by the imported wares, and vice versa (Table 10).

Despite the substantial New Town assemblage, Catawba use of Catawba-made wares fell off drastically throughout the century, and by 1908, when ethnographer M. R. Harrington visited the Nation in the hope of collecting ethnological specimens, he could find only “cooking pots...with and without legs, bowls...jars...for keeping milk and other liquids, all more or less of old types...[and] one pitcher...of the modern trade form, but which had been in use [in a Catawba household].” Wares made specifically for sale were comprised mainly of “vases, pitchers, flower-pots, and fancy pieces of different shapes, sometimes decorated with incised geometric designs or life forms modeled in relief or in the round, but usually relying for effect upon their graceful form” (Harrington 1908: 402).

Table 10. Comparison of Euroamerican and Catawba-Made Vessel Forms at New Town.

Vessel Form	Euroamerican Assemblage		Catawba-Made Assemblage		Total Assemblage	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Ceramic Pipe Bowl/ Toy Vessels	2	<0.1	2	0.2	4	<0.1
Sugar Bowl	6	0.1	0	0	6	0.1
Creamers	4	<0.1	0	0	4	<0.1
Teawares	634	12.4	0	0	634	10.4
Mugs/Tankards	50	0.9	0	0	50	0.8
Plates	1540	30	205	20.8	1745	28.5
Bowls	682	13.3	309	31.4	991	16.2
Pitchers	36	0.7	1	0.1	37	0.6
Bottles	45	0.9	1	0.1	46	0.7
Large Bowls	16	0.3	0	0	16	0.2
Punchbowls	88	1.7	0	0	88	1.4
Vase/Ornamental Pitchers	13	0.3	0	0	13	0.2
Jars	0	0	238	24.2	238	3.9
Jugs	8	0.2	0	0	8	0.1
Pans	0	0	142	14.4	142	2.3
Pots	0	0	3	0.3	3	<0.1
Washbasin/Chamber Pot	9	0.2	0	0	9	0.1
Indeterminate	68	1.3	0	0	68	1.1
Flatware						

Table 10 Continued.

Vessel Form	Euroamerican Assemblage		Catawba-Made Assemblage		Total Assemblage	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Indeterminate Hollowware	1880	36.7	84	8.5	1964	32.1
Vertical Hollowware	7	0.1	0	0	7	0.1
Large Hollowware	42	0.8	0	0	42	0.6
Total	5126	100	985	100	6115	100

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Discussion

It is hardly possible to talk about the Catawba without talking about ceramics. Catawba historian Thomas Blumer (2004) perhaps waxes poetic when he calls the Catawba pottery tradition “the triumph of the Catawba nation...a cultural treasure of tremendous worth.” But pottery *did* preserve the Catawba Nation when collapse seemed inevitable, and pottery remains the livelihood of Catawba craftspeople. This thesis sought to explore the relationship between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Catawba and the ceramics that they did not make, but which were nonetheless a part of their lives. Crucially, at all three sites, the two pottery traditions represented – Catawba and Euroamerican – seem to complement one another from a formal perspective, with overall Catawba consumption patterns appearing to favor imported tablewares and locally-made cookwares and service wares (Figure 16). Equally crucial, however, is the fact that this complementary nature has its limits. Although the overall Catawba-made assemblage seems to have included a narrower variety of forms than the Euroamerican assemblage, it is clear from the volume of Catawba plates at New Town (a respectable 11.7% of total New Town plates), for example, that from a formal standpoint the Catawba did not lack the capacity to fill their own ceramic needs without needing to import wares.

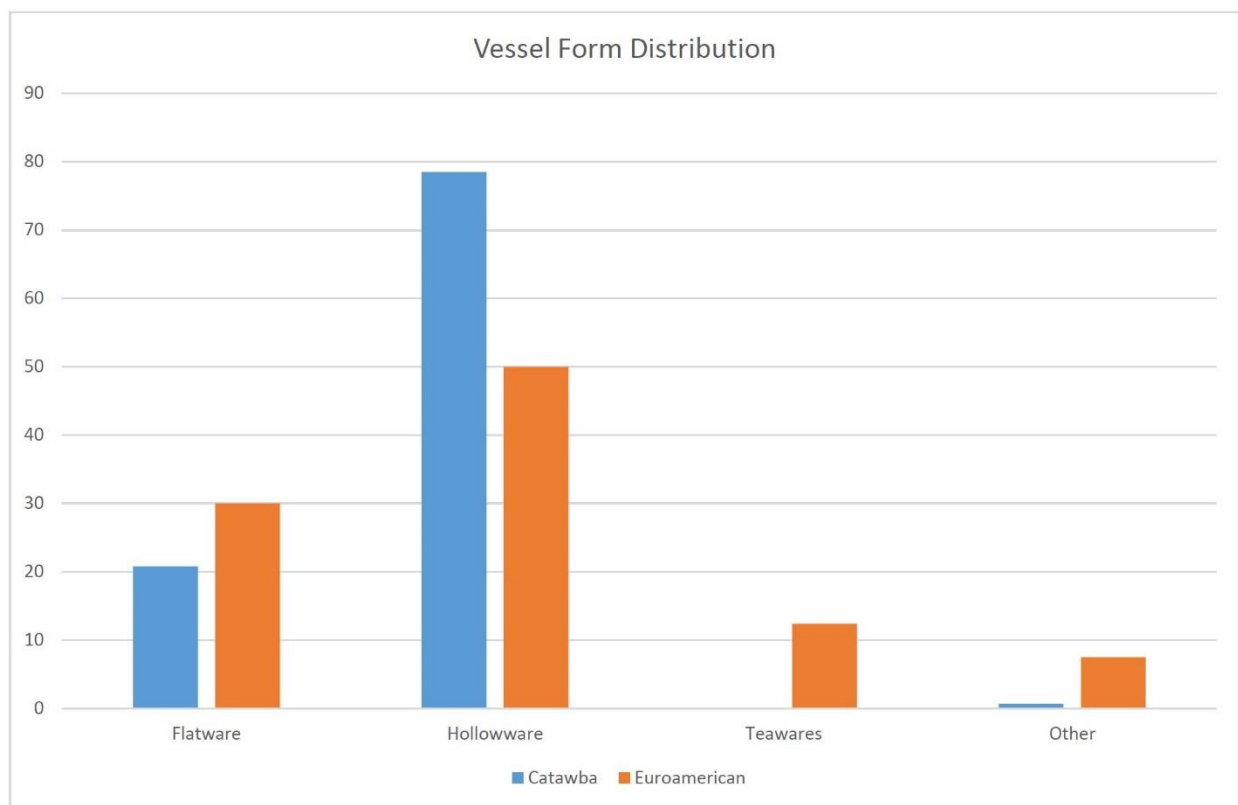


Figure 16. Comparison of simplified vessel forms at New Town. Courtesy of Steve Davis.

So how should the accumulation of imported ceramics at Old Town, Ayers Town, and New Town be understood? One clue may be offered by the dates of the three Euroamerican assemblages (Old Town, Ayers Town, and New Town), which place them all within the period of the formal land-leasing system, beginning in 1785 and continuing (at least nominally) until South Carolina pressured the Catawba into forfeiting Nation land in 1840 (Pettus 2005). The mean ceramic date at Old Town (1792.3) is solidly within the Old Town II phase, and relatively late in Old Town's occupation. The comparable date of the Ayers Town assemblage (1787.9) may lend credence to Steve Davis' hypothesis that some of the Ayers Town ceramics may have been scavenged from a nearby abandoned settlement (Davis, personal communication, 2019). This, in turn, may explain why the

assemblage at Ayers Town seems to represent a broader time span than that suggested by its probable occupation period. Nonetheless, the fact that the mean dates line up so well lends support to the idea that the changes in Catawba ceramic acquisition patterns that eventually resulted in the New Town model were beginning in the late eighteenth century at Old Town II and Ayers Town.

Calvin Jones' assertion that land lessees of the Catawba Nation paid their rent in kind raises the possibility that perhaps this was the major vehicle through which the Catawba acquired their imported wares (Davis, personal communication, 2019). However, this explanation has a few major problems. If residents of New Town were getting their ceramics as payment in kind for leases, it seems reasonable to suspect that the assemblage would be fairly haphazard, as lessees of different means (and different convictions about their obligations to pay) moved what they could afford to. In fact — as is evident in chapter 5 — ware types become far less eclectic at New Town than they had been at Old Town or Ayers Town, and the assemblages of the different New Town households seem to have standardized. Mean dates, ware types, and even proportions of ware types do not seem to vary much from household to household at New Town. Additionally, ceramics, particularly of the type encountered at New Town, are not likely to have been a heavily traded commodity: they are awkward to transport, worn out by their intended uses, and highly breakable — perhaps attested to by the very fact that so many of them ended up broken and in the ground in the first place. But even without these limitations, as payment for the land the Catawba Nation had faced such challenges to remain on, they seem unlikely to have interested the Catawba. Why, after all, would the Catawba be obliged to accept their payment in the form of a commodity that they themselves were not merely capable of making, but indeed *were actively making*?

One line of reasoning posits that in fact Euroamerican wares *did* offer something that the Catawba could not efficiently produce for themselves. One physical attribute in particular invites speculation: glaze. Glaze rendered Euroamerican ceramics more perfectly vitreous than even the most expert smudge, and permitted uses that unglazed earthenware simply lacked the physical properties for. Some of these uses could be unexpected. A sixteen-sided Catawba-made plate from Old Town, for instance, seems to have actually been molded in the type of Euroamerican dinner plate it was meant to emulate; the sealed surface of the plate (which would have been either lead- or salt-glazed) used as the mold may well have prevented the wet clay from adhering to its own paste and ruining the new vessel (Figure 17). However, the ingenuity of the sixteen-sided plate's creator does not seem to have heralded an industry of coarse earthenwares molded on refined non-Catawba-wares, and no other examples of such mold-made Catawba vessels are known. But glaze could also facilitate more seemingly banal tasks — tasks like storing or cooling milk, which Catawba vessels could not manage due to their porous composition (Deetz, personal communication, 2019). Indeed, faunal remains suggest that the Catawba had been keeping cows since at least the occupation of Nassaw in the 1750s, and that they were certainly still in the business at New Town — although ethnohistorical documentation is silent on whether or not these were exploited for milk, beef, or both (Davis, personal communication, 2019). Interestingly, Cranford (2018) describes a unique Catawba-made vessel from Locus 2 at Old Town with a green lead glaze, suggesting that at least one Catawba potter may have been responding with a local solution to a need for workaday glazed wares.



Figure 17. Catawba-made sixteen-sided plate recovered from Old Town. Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Unfortunately, this argument also collapses because, as examined in chapters 4 and 5, at all three sites the Euroamerican assemblages are defined not by heavy utilitarian forms like milk pans, but by bowls, plates, and teawares. Although it is clear that the Catawba were also making these types of personal forms, there appears to be a complementary relationship between the Catawba and non-Catawba assemblages. Such an arrangement could help explain why Catawba production of small personal eating and drinking vessels remained relatively low throughout the period, or why Catawba production of plates at Old Town actually seems to have *declined* after the first abandonment event (Cranford 2018).

Likewise, in every case the proportions of large, presumably communal Catawba wares are significantly greater than the proportions of communal Euroamerican forms encountered. This may, of course, be misleading, since unidentified hollow forms in the Euroamerican assemblages — which *are* extremely well represented — may theoretically be serving forms. However, the fact remains that the assemblages contain comparatively few diagnostic sections of such forms, sections like the spouts and handles of pitchers and teapots, which, owing to their robusticity, should survive reasonably well in the ground. More telling, though, is the lack of utilitarian ware types in the imported assemblages. At all three sites, the vast majority of non-Catawba-made wares are refined tablewares — pearlwares, creamwares, “annular” wares, and other types largely unsuitable for food preparation or service owing to their dainty proportions. This is particularly true at New Town, where wares other than pearlware, creamware, and “annular” ware only exceed 1% of the entire identifiable assemblage at Locus 4.

This is not to say that the Catawba must have been cooking exclusively with their own locally-made cookwares; a glut of cast iron kettle and dutch oven fragments (again, especially at New Town) suggests that the Catawba had access to more than just Euroamerican ceramic vessels. But if the surge in Catawba acquisition of imported wares with the turn of the nineteenth century was not driven by necessity, or by the need to honor pots as payment, then the only satisfactory explanation is that it reflects conscious, active engagement on the part of the Catawba within Euro-American markets as consumers. Far from a sign of an implicit “degradation” of Catawba autonomy or cultural vigor, however, this conspicuous consumption may be seen as a strategic maneuver to *preserve* Nation self-determination by projecting an image calibrated to remind Euro-American observers of the status the Catawba had always enjoyed.

Challenged for their own land rights by powerful tenants, the Catawba may have decided to assert themselves on equal terms – as landowners and householders, with the pottery to match.

Opportunities for Further Research

At the time of writing, the Catawba Project remains an active intellectual pursuit. Many questions as yet remain unanswered, and material evidence for the earliest periods of Catawba history in particular remains scant. This project addressed merely one narrow aspect of Catawba life and material culture change during the Late Colonial and Federal periods of Catawba history. It is hoped that future work will expand this analysis into an interpretation of the ways in which the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Catawba interacted with Euro-American material culture more holistically.

One promising direction for future research would be to explore whether or not the expansion of Catawba use of Euroamerican ceramics described by this project is associated with a shift in Catawba foodways. How did the adoption of new vessel forms, which ostensibly reflect Euro-American culturally situated notions of dining, affect Catawba culinary culture?

Little is known about the material lives of the Catawbas' Euro-American and enslaved African neighbors during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. To the author's knowledge, only two sites associated with the predominantly Scots-Irish Waxhaw settlement have been archaeologically investigated. One, Edenmoor, was excavated as a phase III mitigation project, and the materials recovered remain largely

unanalyzed. The second – Tivoli, the plantation of UNC founder William R. Davie – was excavated by the RLA but remains unanalyzed. A better knowledge of the Catawbas' immediate neighbors would allow for a comparative examination of changes in Piedmont lifeways during what was, at least for the Catawba, a period of rapid transition.

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