

A Historical Archaeology of Catawba Itinerancy

Mark Russell Plane

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Anthropology.

Chapel Hill
2011

Approved by:

Vincas Steponaitis

Brett Riggs

R. P. Stephen Davis

C. Margaret Scarry

Silvia Tomaskova

UMI Number: 3477591

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent on the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI 3477591

Copyright 2011 by ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This edition of the work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

© 2011
Mark Russell Plane
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ABSTRACT

MARK RUSSELL PLANE: A Historical Archaeology of Catawba Itinerancy
(Under the direction of Vincas Steponaitis)

During the late eighteenth century, Catawba Indians in South Carolina experienced dramatic population loss, a shifting colonial economy, and a rapid influx of European settlers into their territory. Although Catawbas had long been clients and allies of the colonial government, with the end of the deerskin trade and their role in colonial-era warfare they were forced to seek new survival strategies. Sometime in the 1760s, Catawbas began leasing reservation land to Anglo settlers and working as itinerant potters and slave catchers. Traveling seasonally from their backcountry home to the seaboard, Catawbas marketed their goods and services in towns and on plantations across South Carolina for over seventy years. This study provides anthropological perspectives on Catawba itinerancy, examining the socio-economics of itinerancy and the Catawba's relationships with their host society, especially their use of patron-client relationships to maintain their land base. Archaeological perspectives include evidence of the impact of itinerancy on Catawba economy, architecture, and material culture, particularly material remains related to identity construction. While European observers tended to view itinerant Catawbas on their home base in terms of negative stereotypes such as indolence and poverty, when traveling, Catawbas were viewed in terms of romantic savagery. Archeological and documentary evidence indicate that itinerancy was a viable economic and political strategy through which Catawbas enjoyed considerable access to consumer goods and to elite planters, whose continued support was critical to maintaining their land base.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I owe my committee members a debt of gratitude for their support, mentoring, flexibility, and forbearance. Whatever there is of value in this work is a consequence of their input and guidance. I am especially grateful to Brett Riggs for his unflagging confidence in my ability to successfully complete this project. Brett has been a patient mentor and a good friend; his insights on history and archaeology in the region are resources that he has always been eager to share with me. I am also thankful to have worked with Steve Davis. His patience, mild manner, diligence, and great fondness for barbeque are truly qualities worth emulating.

It has been a great privilege to have studied in the Anthropology Department and the Research Laboratories of Archaeology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. I have thoroughly enjoyed being part of the Anthropology Department's supportive community of faculty and students; I feel particularly lucky to have been part of a small and very collegial cohort. I would like to thank Judith Farquhar and Silvia Tomaskova for making core year such an enjoyable experience; Silvia has also been wonderfully supportive as a committee member and I have greatly appreciated her professional advice. Finally, I would like to thank Vin Steponaitis for his engaging classes on ceramic analysis and quantitative methods in archaeology. Vin has also been a very patient and supportive dissertation chair.

The students in the Anthropology Department have been a tremendous source of support and inspiration. Lance Greene has been an amazingly supportive colleague, and I have often benefited from his keen insights into historical archaeology. More importantly, Lance has been a great friend. I am thankful for Theresa McReynolds Shebalin's willingness to share her meticulous research on the Catawba, as well as her general wisdom and good sense. Mary Beth Fitts has been a stalwart companion with a good sense of humor through many long days in the South Carolina heat.

On the subject of field work, nothing makes hard work more enjoyable than laughter and good company. On the Catawba Project, I have greatly enjoyed working with Michelle Schohn, Jon Marcoux, Ben Shields, Meg Kassabaum, Erin Stevens Nelson, David Cranford, Matt Mirarchi, Anna Semon, Rebecca Wingo, Bill Jurgelski, and Duane Esarey.

Funding for my dissertation research was provided by the University of North Carolina Center for the Study of the American South Summer Research Grant. I have also received support from the University of North Carolina Office of Undergraduate Research Mentoring Program. The excavation data were collected by UNC summer field-school students under the direction of Steve Davis and Brett Riggs. It was an honor and a great pleasure to have served as a Teaching Assistant for Steve and Brett in field-schools between 2004 and 2007. I learned a great deal about archaeology and always appreciated their amazing fortitude and good humor in the field. In addition to support in the field, I have received a great deal of assistance in the lab from the Research Laboratories of Archaeology. Brett and Steve have analyzed a tremendous number of artifacts; their work on ceramic material from Loci 4 and 5 was particularly instrumental to my project. Steve and Brett also provided me with the assistance of undergraduate researchers. Of those students, I would particularly like to thank Rebecca Richman, Daniel Ladu, and Brad Smith for their hard work and attention to detail in analyzing ceramics from Old Town and New Town.

Finally, I thank my family for their perseverance. My wife, Evangeline Polly Weiss, has shown unbelievable patience and supportiveness. I really could not have finished this project without her. My daughter, Danielle, kept me from getting too crotchety. And last, but not least, my son, Ruben, who has been asking me for several weeks if I'm finished working yet, has been a great source of laughter and joy. Ruben, in answer to your question: almost!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|----|
| LIST OF TABLES..... | ix |
| LIST OF FIGURES..... | xi |
| CHAPTERS | |
| I. INTRODUCTION..... | 1 |
| Research Questions and Objectives..... | 3 |
| A Brief History of the Catawba Nation..... | 4 |
| Regional Archeological Research..... | 8 |
| Broad Research Methods..... | 9 |
| Overview of Documentary Sources..... | 10 |
| Overview of Archaeological Data..... | 11 |
| Organization of the Study..... | 14 |
| II. THEORETICAL, ETHNOGRAPHIC, AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES..... | 16 |
| Political Economy, Exchange, and Colonialism..... | 17 |
| Identity..... | 24 |
| Itinerancy and Itinerant Groups Defined..... | 36 |
| Archaeological Perspectives on Itinerant Lifeways and Identity..... | 43 |
| Summary and Conclusions..... | 47 |
| III. DOCUMENTARY PERSPECTIVES ON CATAWBA ITINERANCY..... | 50 |
| Spanish Entradas and Piedmont Indians..... | 50 |
| English Colonization and the Catawba Confederacy..... | 51 |
| The Catawba and Backcountry Settlers..... | 61 |

| | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| | Documentary Accounts Relating to Catawba Itinerancy..... | 65 |
| | Overview of Catawba Itinerancy..... | 74 |
| | Summary and Conclusions..... | 86 |
| IV. | OVERVIEW OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES, CATAWBA POTTERY, AND CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES..... | 88 |
| | Archaeological Sites Examined..... | 89 |
| | Estimates of Site Occupation Span and Mean Ceramic Dates..... | 109 |
| | Colonowares..... | 111 |
| | General Characteristics of Catawba Pottery..... | 114 |
| | Catawba Ceramic Analysis, Methods and Materials..... | 122 |
| | Catawba Vessel Forms Produced at Old Town and New Town..... | 126 |
| | Catawba Pottery Assemblage Summaries..... | 146 |
| | Tobacco Pipes..... | 149 |
| | Imported Wares..... | 150 |
| | Imported Ware Assemblage Summary..... | 155 |
| | Summary and Conclusions..... | 157 |
| V. | MATERIAL PERSPECTIVES ON CATAWBA CULTURE AND ECONOMY..... | 159 |
| | Analyzing Ceramic Assemblage Variability..... | 160 |
| | Usage of Catawba Pottery..... | 170 |
| | Broader Cultural and Economic Implications of Catawba Itinerancy..... | 190 |
| | Cultural Differences and the Catawba Economy..... | 211 |
| | Summary and Conclusions..... | 216 |
| VI. | EUROPEAN RACIAL DISCOURSE AND CATAWBA ITINERANCY..... | 220 |
| | Dearth, Bias, and the Analysis of Documentary Evidence..... | 220 |
| | Analysis of Discourse in Accounts of the Catawba..... | 223 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Eighteenth-Century Documentary Accounts of Catawba Life..... | 224 |
| Nineteenth-Century Documentary Accounts of Catawba Life..... | 234 |
| Discourse in a Fictional Account of the Catawba Pottery Trade..... | 240 |
| Summary and Conclusions..... | 247 |
| VII. CONCLUSION..... | 249 |
| APPENDICES | |
| A. Catawba Pottery Rim Sherd Assemblages..... | 261 |
| B. Catawba Pottery Base Sherd Assemblages..... | 317 |
| C. Imported Ware Assemblages..... | 350 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY..... | 562 |

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

| | | |
|-------|--|-----|
| 4.1. | Mean ceramic dates and estimates of site occupation derived by ARRANGE..... | 110 |
| 4.2. | Rim sherd paste color at Old Town..... | 116 |
| 4.3. | Frequency of decoration on Catawba rim sherds..... | 119 |
| 4.4. | Catawba pottery assemblage size..... | 123 |
| 4.5. | Catawba rim sherd sample size..... | 124 |
| 4.6. | Basal sherd sample size..... | 129 |
| 4.7. | Old Town and New Town-era Catawba vessel overview..... | 132 |
| 4.8. | Globular bodied jar rims at Old Town and New Town-era sites..... | 137 |
| 4.9. | Flaring Rim bowls at Old Town and New Town-era sites..... | 141 |
| 4.10. | Soup plate rims at Old Town and New Town-era sites..... | 146 |
| 4.11. | Percentages of Catawba rim forms in Old Town and New Town-era assemblages..... | 147 |
| 4.12. | Base forms on Catawba vessels..... | 149 |
| 4.13. | Catawba and kaolin pipes and fragments..... | 150 |
| 4.14. | Percentages of imported ware types in New Town-era assemblages..... | 156 |
| 5.1. | Creamware and pearlware as percentages of refined earthenwares in New Town-era assemblages..... | 168 |
| 5.2. | Percentages of porcelain and decorated pearlware rim sherds in New Town-era assemblages..... | 169 |
| 5.3. | Frequencies of Catawba-made and imported ceramic sherds at New Town-era sites..... | 172 |
| 5.4. | Percentage of Catawba pottery in New Town ceramic assemblages, based on weight, measured in grams..... | 175 |
| 5.5. | Percentages of serving and food preparation wares in New Town-era Catawba pottery assemblages..... | 177 |

| | | |
|------|---|-----|
| 5.6 | Fisher's exact tests of differences in the proportion of pedestaled sherds in base sherd assemblages..... | 189 |
| 5.7. | Frequencies of Catawba and kaolin pipes and pipe fragments..... | 202 |
| A.1. | Codes used in tables A.2-A.9..... | 262 |
| A.2. | Old Town Catawba pottery rim sherd assemblage..... | 263 |
| A.3. | New Town Locus 2 Catawba pottery rim sherd assemblage..... | 269 |
| A.4. | New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery rim sherd assemblage..... | 274 |
| A.5. | New Town Locus 4 Catawba pottery rim sherd assemblage..... | 286 |
| A.6. | New Town Locus 5 Catawba pottery rim sherd assemblage..... | 294 |
| A.7. | Edenmoor Catawba pottery rim sherd assemblage..... | 306 |
| A.8. | Tivoli main house Catawba pottery rim sherd assemblage..... | 310 |
| A.9. | Tivoli slave cabins Catawba pottery rim sherd assemblage..... | 313 |
| B.1. | Old Town Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage..... | 318 |
| B.2. | New Town Locus 2 Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage..... | 321 |
| B.3. | New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage..... | 323 |
| B.4. | New Town Locus 4 Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage..... | 337 |
| B.5. | New Town Locus 5 Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage..... | 340 |
| B.6. | Edenmoor Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage..... | 345 |
| B.7. | Tivoli main house Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage..... | 347 |
| B.8. | Tivoli slave cabins Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage..... | 348 |
| C.1. | New Town Locus 2 imported wares assemblage..... | 351 |
| C.2. | New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage..... | 368 |
| C.3. | New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage..... | 398 |
| C.4. | New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage..... | 463 |
| C.5. | Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage..... | 526 |
| C.6. | Tivoli slave cabins imported wares assemblage..... | 547 |

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

| | | |
|-------|--|-----|
| 1.1. | The Catawba Reservation, 1763-1840..... | 6 |
| 1.2. | Location of settlements and archaeological sites..... | 12 |
| 4.1. | Excavation blocks and features at Old Town..... | 92 |
| 4.2. | Map of New Town showing cabin loci. Red triangles represent artifacts identified by metal detector survey..... | 95 |
| 4.3. | Excavation block and features at New Town, Locus 2..... | 96 |
| 4.4. | Excavation blocks and features at New Town, Locus 3..... | 97 |
| 4.5. | Excavation blocks and features at New Town, Locus 4..... | 100 |
| 4.6. | Excavation blocks and features at New Town, Locus 5..... | 102 |
| 4.7. | Partially reconstructed Old Town soup plate with swag and dot decoration..... | 119 |
| 4.8. | New Town Catawba pottery painted with red-orange sealing wax..... | 121 |
| 4.9. | New Town tobacco pipes..... | 121 |
| 4.10. | Rim forms on Catawba vessels..... | 127 |
| 4.11. | Lip forms on Catawba vessels..... | 128 |
| 4.12. | Pedestaled bowl reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town..... | 128 |
| 4.13. | Broad rim-beveled bowl reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town..... | 131 |
| 4.14. | Histogram of broad rim-bevel bowl orifice diameter at Old Town and New Town..... | 131 |
| 4.15. | Narrow rim-bevel bowl reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town..... | 133 |
| 4.16. | Histogram of narrow rim-bevel bowl orifice diameter at New Town..... | 133 |
| 4.17. | Pan reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town..... | 134 |
| 4.18. | Histogram of pan orifice diameter at Old Town and New Town..... | 134 |

| | | |
|-------|--|-----|
| 4.19. | Globular bodied jar reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town..... | 136 |
| 4.20. | Histogram of globular bodied jar orifice diameter at Old Town and New Town..... | 136 |
| 4.21. | Handled pot reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town, Locus 3..... | 138 |
| 4.22. | Thickened rim jar reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town..... | 139 |
| 4.23. | Histogram of thickened rim jar orifice diameter at New Town..... | 139 |
| 4.24. | Flaring rim bowl reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town..... | 142 |
| 4.25. | Histogram of flaring rim bowl orifice diameter at Old Town and New Town..... | 143 |
| 4.26. | Footed beaker reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town..... | 144 |
| 4.27. | Soup plate reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town..... | 145 |
| 4.28. | Histogram of plate orifice diameter at Old Town and New Town..... | 145 |
| 5.1. | Percentages of Catawba-made and imported ceramic sherds at New Town-era sites..... | 173 |
| 5.2. | Percentage of serving and food preparation wares in New Town-era Catawba pottery assemblages..... | 179 |
| 5.3. | Percentages of imported ware types in New Town-era assemblages..... | 180 |
| 5.4. | Glass beads and ornaments recovered from Old Town..... | 197 |
| 5.5. | Glass beads and ornaments recovered from Locus 3 at New Town..... | 198 |
| 5.6. | Percentages of Catawba and kaolin pipes and pipe fragments at Nassaw Town, Old Town, and New Town..... | 202 |
| 5.7. | Comparisons of imported wares assemblage richness with 90% interval plotted for simulated samples..... | 206 |
| 5.8. | Percentage of porcelain and decorated pearlware rim sherd frequencies in New Town-era assemblages..... | 208 |

| | | |
|-------|--|-----|
| 5.9. | Percentage of upper-tier and edged wares at Locus 2, Tivoli slave cabins, Locus 3, and Edenmoor..... | 208 |
| 5.10. | Percentages of annular wares and globular bodied jars in Catawba pottery and imported ware assemblages..... | 210 |

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Soon after the English settlement of Charles Town in 1670, Catawba Indians capitalized on their location along a major trading path, and reaped substantial rewards as important military allies of South Carolina and through participation in colonial trade (Davis and Riggs 2004a; Heath 2004; Merrell 1989). However, by the mid eighteenth century, devastating population losses due to warfare and disease, a shifting colonial economy, and a rapid influx of European settlers threatened the Catawbas' economic and cultural survival. Catawbas responded with a dramatic shift in their economic activities. Catawba families leased reservation land to white settlers, Catawba men worked as slave catchers for plantation owners, and Catawba women developed an itinerant trade in handmade pottery and other craft items (Hudson 1970; Merrell 1989; Riggs and Davis 2008).

The Catawbas' itinerant pursuits were a distinctive response to European colonialism in the Southeastern United States. This dissertation is a case study of an itinerant group, viewed from its home base. In my research, I explore the socio-economics of Catawba itinerancy and examine the relationship between pottery and Catawba identity; specifically, how traveling and the making and selling of pottery may have fit into European and Catawba conceptions of what it meant to be Indian in South Carolina between the 1770s and 1830s. I examine research on Catawba ethnohistory, comparing and contrasting the role of Catawba men and women under British colonialism and exploring the impact of European colonialism and racial discourse on native identity. Through these perspectives, I construct a link between the seemingly disparate narratives of Catawba men fighting on the British colonial frontier during the eighteenth century and Catawba women selling pottery in the nineteenth-century American market economy.

This study incorporates historic, ethnohistoric, and archaeological research. I examine materials excavated from Euro-American, African slave, and Catawba domestic contexts. I also analyze documentary evidence from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including travel accounts of Catawba life, scholarly essays, and even a fictional short story. As a consequence of using such varied forms of evidence, my research has a multi-disciplinary character; the challenge was to effectively integrate these varied materials within an anthropological framework.

In my research, I examine the impact of British colonialism and capitalism on Indian societies. This broad examination of the impact of colonialism and capitalism on native people is tied to a discussion of race, ethnicity, colonial discourse, and Indian identity. Discourse plays an important role in identity construction, as means of communication are not only linked to knowledge, classification, and evaluation, but are also embedded in social interactions and power dynamics (Foucault 1972). Interacting racial or ethnic groups typically construct their identities in opposition to one another and often compete for resources. In such competition, dominant groups can limit the social and economic opportunities of less powerful groups and be highly influential in defining their identities as well (Fanon 1968; Raibmon 2005; Weber 1968 [1922]). This was certainly the case for Indian societies throughout North America during the colonial era. European colonial powers created a globally interlinked economy in which commodity exchange involving Indian warriors, Indian slaves, animal hides, and European trade goods radically altered the fabric of everyday life for Indians across the continent.

In this process, Europeans created very rigid definitions of what it meant to be Indian. European discourses on Indians served to justify limiting Indian claims to resources, land, and sovereignty. Although Indians ultimately participated in shaping these discourses, they were often constrained by them, as they became the terms through which Europeans allowed them to access the social, political, and economic means to survive under colonialism (Raibmon 2005:3). Despite these constraints, Indians were at times able to manipulate European colonial discourses to their advantage. Thus, through their itinerant pottery trade, Catawba women blended traditional craft techniques with

considerable knowledge of both Anglo foodways and stereotypes of Indians. The product was a sophisticated adaptation to the market economy that was marketed via white conceptions of Indian savagery.

Following the lead of Riggs (2010:39-40; also Riggs and Davis 2008), Catawba economic activity is examined through the lens of itinerancy. Itinerant groups employ varying degrees of spatial mobility in “the occasional supply of goods, services, and labor where demand and supply are irregular in time and space” (Okely 1983:50; Berland 1982:57, 1987). Successful itinerant groups share certain social and economic adaptations, including the ability to find and fill gaps in host economies, practical knowledge of their host societies’ culture and politics, an awareness of stereotypes of the itinerant group, and an ability to exploit these stereotypes to practical advantage (Okely 1975:65-68; Lucassen 1998a:143-146). Through economic flexibility and cultural savvy, itinerants have earned a reputation as the “interim masters of imperfect markets” (Nemeth 2002).

Research Questions and Objectives

This study is organized around the following questions:

- 1) How did the Catawbas’ itinerant strategies enable them to negotiate the colonial and post-colonial systems?

One of the major goals of this study is the development of cross-cultural perspectives on Catawba itinerancy, obtained through comparative analyses using ethnographic research on the socio-economics of itinerant societies. These perspectives provide a basis for understanding how Catawbas responded to a rapidly changing political and economic landscape.

- 2) What do archaeological and documentary evidence reveal as to the development and practice of the Catawbas’ itinerant strategies?

Itinerant groups subsist primarily through commercial activity. The commercial success of itinerants is a factor of their knowledge of the culture and politics of their host societies (Berland and Salo 1986; Bolig 2004; Okely 1983; Rao 1987). Pottery became the cornerstone of Catawba

commercial activity, and understanding that activity necessitated documenting the vessel forms produced by Catawba potters and how those vessels were used by Catawbas and their customers. Both the vessel forms produced and the various imported ceramics used by Catawbas themselves illuminate Catawba potters' knowledge of the socio-cultural environments with which they interacted.

- 3) What does archaeological evidence reveal about the relative success of the Catawbas' economic strategies?

Archaeological and documentary evidence indicate that not all Catawba households were engaged in itinerant pursuits; some households were committed to sedentary farming. White observers often perceived Catawba itinerants in terms of indolence, disorder, and poverty, while Catawbas who farmed were described as "industrious" and "respectable." Comparing the material circumstances of itinerant households to those of non-itinerant Catawbas, and to households from different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds, provides important insights into the relative success and complementary nature of the Catawbas different economic strategies.

- 4) How did Catawbas actively shape European perceptions of their itinerant strategies?

Itinerant groups are often subject to rigid and narrow stereotypes by their host societies. However, itinerants frequently manipulate these stereotypes to their advantage (Okely 1983; Rao 1987; Salo 1987). Documentary and material evidence provide insights into how Catawbas actively manipulated European stereotypes of "savage" Indians to suit their needs.

A Brief History of the Catawba Nation

During the first half of the eighteenth century, warriors from a relatively small, multi-ethnic Indian confederation in South Carolina became renowned for their ferocity in battle. Through forceful marketing of their martial skills, warriors of what came to be known as the Catawba Nation became highly valued by British colonial officials in the Carolinas and Virginia as potent allies in the struggle against rival colonial powers and their Indian proxies (Heath 2004:80-81; Merrell 1989:56). Serving as far-ranging mercenaries, or "ethnic soldiers," for the British colonies exacted steep costs,

including high casualty rates and increased exposure to deadly epidemic diseases (Heath 2004:80-82). Nevertheless, as a strategic response to European colonization, militarization paid important dividends. Colonial officials lavished Catawbas with “presents” (of which guns and ammunition were no small part), and as favored trading partners of the British, Catawbas enjoyed easy access to European goods (Heath 2004:82-84; Merrell 1989).

In the mid eighteenth century, the Catawba Nation, already suffering population losses due to warfare and defection, experienced a dramatic reversal of fortune when in 1759 a smallpox epidemic killed perhaps half the Nation, seriously limiting the Catawbas’ ability to field warriors on colonial battlefields. (Catawba warriors contracted smallpox fighting in Pennsylvania during the French and Indian War [Brown 1966; Merrell 1989]). Despite their dwindling numbers, Catawba warriors continued to participate in colonial military struggles, earning considerable political capital for their valiant service to the Americans in the Revolutionary War (Brown 1966; Merrell 1989). However, by the late eighteenth century, demographic decline, the passing of colonial-era warfare, and the diminishing returns of the deerskin trade left the Catawbas facing irrelevancy and impoverishment, and they began to pursue new survival strategies (Baker 1975; Merrell 1989).

Heavily pressured by settler encroachment, in 1763 the Catawba relinquished claims to most of their territory in exchange for legal title to a fifteen-mile-square reservation near present-day Rock Hill (Figure 1.1). Around this time, Catawbas began leasing reservation land to European settlers, and by the early 1790s, they had leased nearly all of their 144,000 acres (Merrell 1989; Pettus 2005). During this same period, Catawba men began working as itinerant slave catchers (Heath 2004; Hudson 1970; Merrell 1989) and Catawba women developed an extensive itinerant trade in handmade pottery, primarily replicas of European vessel forms (Riggs 2010:38-40). In their itinerant pursuits, Catawbas traveled seasonally from their reservation to Charleston, stopping to make and sell their wares at markets, towns, and plantations along the way (Baker 1972; Riggs, Davis, and Plane 2006). While this specific combination of economic activities was quite novel, Catawba itinerancy can



Figure 1.1. The Catawba Reservation, 1763-1840 (Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

nevertheless be seen as an outgrowth of patterns of mobility and commercial activity developed within the economic and political landscape of British colonialism.

These new economic strategies provided Catawbas with important sources of income and for nearly 70 years enabled them to maintain their land base even as their numbers, and perceived usefulness to the South Carolina government, declined. These activities also enabled Catawbas to retain considerable cultural autonomy and to continue displaying a distinctive native identity during a time of increasing pressure to assimilate and adopt Anglo-American cultural norms (Davis and Riggs 2004a; Merrell 1989; Riggs 2010).

Along with these new economic activities came a shift in how Catawbas were depicted by whites. European perspectives on Indians were not monolithic across time and space; however, there were some fairly consistent themes in Indian imagery over the course of colonial history. Europeans

often depicted Indians as warlike beings, and indeed, during the eighteenth century, warrior prowess became widely recognized as a defining characteristic of Catawba identity (Heath 2004; Merrell 1989). Indians were also strongly identified with nomadism, hunting, liberty and independence, the natural world, ruggedness, and simplicity of existence (Berkhofer 1978; Raibmon 2005).

In constructing Indian imagery, Europeans pursued multiple agendas. They evaluated perceived differences between themselves and Indian cultures, modes of subsistence, and political economy. They engaged in political and moral commentary on their own lives and societies. They interpreted their interactions with Indians and the changes in white and Indian societies that resulted from these interactions. And finally, they constructed rationalizations and charters for actions such as appropriating Indian land and enslaving Indians (Berkhofer 1978; Deloria 1998; Gosden 2004; Raibmon 2005). It is no coincidence that Indians were depicted in terms of what Europeans themselves loathed or longed for in their own societies. Nor is it surprising that Indian imagery revolved around what Europeans desired and extracted from Indians on the one hand, and European perceptions of how Indians responded to European explorers, settlers, and traders on the other.

After the mid eighteenth century, the image of the fearsome Catawba warrior increasingly became a thing of the past. In a 1786 visit to the Catawba Nation, a traveler named Elkanah Watson (1856:258) remarked, “Thirty years before, the Catawbas had been a terror to the Southern Colonies, but were now objects of contempt.”

In 1841, renowned South Carolina author William Gilmore Simms published a short story about the Catawba called “Caloya; or, the Loves of the Driver.” In this story, Simms depicted Catawba Indians in familiar terms: nomads, warriors, and hunters, living simple lives, close to nature. However, Simms was also keenly aware that the Catawbas’ role in South Carolina society had changed. Describing the Catawba warrior-hunter figure as belonging to a bygone era, he also commented upon the fact that through their pottery trade, Catawba women had become the driving force and public face of the Catawba economy. Reflecting on the Catawbas’ position in nineteenth-century South Carolina, Simms described the Catawbas’ pottery trade as the expression of an

essential Catawba identity, linking nomadism, clay, and pottery to familiar tropes of Indian savagery and Gypsy itinerancy.

Regional Archaeological Research

Published accounts document Catawbans plying their trades in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries on their reservation (Smyth 1784; Jones 1815; Scaife 1896), in the vicinity of Columbia (Scott 1884), while traveling from the upcountry to Charleston (Gregorie 1925:21), and at Lowcountry plantations and the marketplace at Charleston (Simms 2003 [1841]:220-221). While colonowares attributed to Catawbans have been recovered from a variety of contexts in South Carolina, including historic Camden (Lewis 1976) and Lowcountry plantations, the link between Catawbans and specific archaeological materials has been largely speculative (see Ferguson 1989) until the University of North Carolina (UNC) Research Laboratories of Archaeology (RLA) recovered direct evidence from the first excavation of Catawba village sites dating to the period in question (RLA excavations are discussed in Chapter 4).

Despite the speculative nature of some colonoware studies, there are some previous archaeological investigations that have significant bearing on this study. Based upon documentary accounts, ethnographic descriptions, and analysis of pottery excavated from a variety of Lowcountry South Carolina contexts, Ferguson (1989:188) identified a class of pottery that he specifically attributed to itinerant Catawba potters. Referred to as “River Burnished,” this pottery has been recovered in contexts dating to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and has been identified at archaeological sites in Dorchester, Charleston, and Berkeley counties in South Carolina. The largest extant collections were recovered from excavations at Drayton Hall in Dorchester County (Lewis 1978) and Yaughan and Curriboo Plantations in Berkeley County (Wheaton, Friedlander, and Garrow 1983; Garrow and Wheaton 1989).

These wares are significant as they offer material evidence of a phenomenon previously known only through documentary accounts. While I have not specifically examined these

archaeological materials, I do rely on their attribution to Catawbas by archaeologists such as Ferguson (1989), Lewis (1978), Garrow and Wheaton (1989), and Wheaton *et al.* (1983); this attribution, along with documentary evidence, establishes the broad outlines of the Catawba pottery trade.

Broad Research Methods

In this study, archaeological and documentary data are incorporated through a process of “tacking” back and forth between the different types of data, looking for points of confluence and contradiction. Through the use of diverse data sets and explanatory approaches, I engage in “cabling,” or a dialectical process that proceeds along several lines at once, forming an interwoven cable of interpretive argument, as opposed to a chain of separate links (Wylie 1999).

In this study, I model my approach to material culture interpretation after Lance Greene’s (2009) work on Cherokee identity in post-Removal North Carolina. I focus upon the social dimensions of material culture and make interpretations of artifacts in terms of racial, ethnic, and gender identities. These interpretations encompass a wide variety of practices within Catawba society, including material evidence related to economic and recreational activities, dress, dining, and architecture, all of which provides insights into economy, social life, and identity among Catawbas. Understandings of the nature of material culture are drawn from archaeological literature referred to as contextual, interpretive, and post-processual archaeologies. Within contextual archaeology, material culture is seen as having both functional and symbolic dimensions; artifacts do not simply reflect cultures, but play active roles in social life as well (Hodder and Hutson 2003).

In analyzing documentary evidence, I rely upon the work of Patricia Galloway (1995, 2006). Galloway (1995:16-17) suggests using the methods of literary analysis, in which a documentary account’s narrative form, its “plot” or “discourse,” is distinguished from its content, which may contain useful factual information (Galloway 1995, 2006; Muller 1997:56-58). In making this distinction, the veracity of a narrative’s content may potentially be assessed. I utilize the literary method in the analysis of documentary accounts of Catawba life. In separating the form and content

of these accounts, the form, or discourse, is treated as data with every bit as much value as the content, or facts. The discursive frameworks employed by authors of the accounts are considered keys to understanding the relationship between practice, discourse, and social identities in colonial society. Discourse analysis serves to enhance perspectives on the cultural context in which the pottery trade occurred, resolve contradictions within and between different bodies of evidence, and illuminate the relationship between Catawba behavior and white observers' interpretations of Catawbas and their society.

Through comparisons of the accounts, and comparisons between the accounts and archaeological evidence, differences in the discourses utilized in the accounts are related to the settings in which Catawbas were observed and to the actions of Catawbas. These observations are useful in understanding the larger social and economic benefits that Catawbas derived from their itinerant pursuits.

Overview of Documentary Sources

Documentary accounts of Catawba life during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century are somewhat scarce. The following is a brief overview of the documents from that time period examined in this study.

Four accounts date to the late 1700s. In 1772, a British soldier (and doctor, among other professions) named John Ferdinand Smyth (1745-1814) visited the Catawba Nation. He described his encounter with the Catawbas in a book entitled *A Tour in the United States of America*, published in London in 1784. In early November of 1786, traveler, writer, agriculturist, and canal promoter Elkanah Watson (1758-1842) visited the Catawbas; his account appeared in his memoirs, *Men and Times of the Revolution*, which was edited by his son, Winslow Watson, and published in New York in 1856. The Methodist minister Thomas Coke (1747-1814) preached to the Catawbas in 1791; he wrote a brief account of this evangelical visit in his personal journal. Finally, Lady Henrietta Liston (ca. 1750-1828), wife of Scottish diplomat Sir Robert Liston, recorded a brief visit to the Catawbas in

her personal journal. Lady Liston accompanied her husband on a lengthy diplomatic mission to America; she visited the Catawbas while on a tour of Virginia and the Carolinas in November of 1797.

Five accounts date to the early 1800s. In a memoir published in 1884, *Random Recollections of a Long Life*, Edwin J. Scott (1806-1876) briefly described Catawbas visiting his home each winter. At the time (ca. 1810), Scott lived in Manchester, South Carolina, “on the main road from Camden to Charleston.” In July of 1815, physician, politician, and newspaper publisher Calvin Jones (1775-1846) visited the Catawbas on their reservation. His brief account appears in his personal journal. The architect Robert Mills (1781-1855) wrote a more lengthy account of Catawba life, language, and history that appears in his encyclopedic *Statistics of South Carolina*, published in 1826. In a footnote in that same volume, Mills included a brief account of the Catawba written by a Professor George Blackburn in 1816. In his rather strange account, Professor Blackburn describes pitting his intellect against that of Catawbas. Another interesting account describing Catawba itinerancy is contained in a letter penned in 1843 by David Hutchison (1767-1845), a Scots-Irish tenant of the Catawbas.

The final pieces of documentary evidence were written by William Gilmore Simms. Simms (1806-1870) was the best-known author of the *ante bellum* South. In addition to being a renowned author, he was also a member of the planter class, owning two Lowcountry plantations along the Edisto River. I examine Simms’s short story, “Caloya; or, the Loves of the Driver,” written in 1839 and published in 1841, as well as an 1828 essay entitled “North American Indians.” As a boy in the 1810s, Simms saw Catawbas engaged in their pottery trade in the Lowcountry; he visited the Catawba Reservation while on a journey to the frontier in 1825.

Overview of Archaeological Data

Most of the Catawba-made ceramic wares examined in this study were recovered from excavations of domestic contexts conducted by the RLA at the Catawba town sites of Nassaw Town

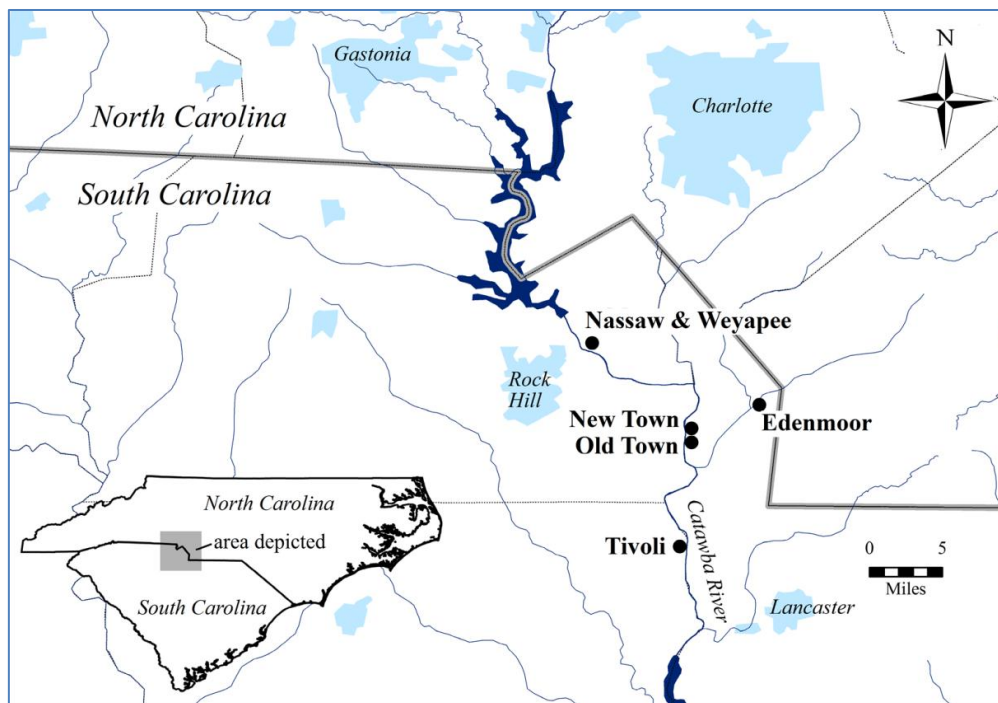


Figure 1.2. Location of settlements and archaeological sites (Courtesy of Brett Riggs).

(SoC 643; inhabited ca. 1750-1759), Old Town (SoC 634; inhabited ca. 1762-1780, 1781-1790s) and New Town (SoC 632 and SoC 635; inhabited ca. 1790s-1820; Figure 1.2). The materials utilized in my research were recovered in excavations conducted by the RLA between 2003 and 2007. Excavations of the Catawba village sites provide a variety of insights into the Catawba pottery trade, including the establishment of a rough inception date, a view of diachronic changes in vessel forms and decoration, and understanding of the impact of the pottery trade on Catawba foodways and economy.

In addition to examining Catawba households, this study incorporates ceramic assemblages from the Edenmoor site (38LA560). The Edenmoor site represents a small farmstead located just outside the western edge of the Catawba Reservation, occupied ca. 1790-1820 (Figure 1.2). Investigations by Environmental Services Inc. (ESI) revealed intact deposits containing Catawba pottery, imported European ceramics, and a variety of other historic artifacts. Excavations at the

Edenmoor site were conducted in late 2006 and early 2007. Russ (2009:92-95) associated the Edenmoor site with Colonel James Steele, a Scots-Irish settler identified as the property's owner in an 1834 tax survey; however, due to the lack of documentary evidence for the actual occupation period, the identity of the Edenmoor site's occupants cannot be verified with any certainty.

Ceramic material from Tivoli, the plantation estate of William Richardson Davie, located just to the south of Catawba New Town (Figure 1.2), is also incorporated in this study. Tivoli was excavated by the RLA in 2006. Davie purchased the Tivoli property in the late 1780s, and an overseer inhabited the main house site from the 1790s until Davie made Tivoli his residence. Upon his retirement from politics in 1805, Davie sold his Halifax, North Carolina property and moved permanently to Tivoli. Davie resided at Tivoli until his death in 1820 (Davis and Riggs 2004b; Pettus 2001); the house is suspected to have been removed from the site by Davie's son Frederick in 1828 (Steve Davis and Brett Riggs, personal communication, 2006). Catawba pottery and imported ware assemblages from the Tivoli main house (SoC 636) and slave cabins (SoC 637) are examined in this study.

Comparisons of assemblages of Catawba-made and imported European ceramics from Tivoli, Edenmoor, and Catawba households provide perspectives on the use of Catawba ceramics among different ethnic groups and socio-economic strata. These assemblages also yield important insights into Catawba itinerancy. Comparative analysis of Catawba-made and imported ceramics reveals how Catawba potters' practical knowledge of Anglo culture and foodways enabled them to find and fill gaps in South Carolina's economy. Comparisons of imported ware assemblages in Catawba households demonstrate the market access of itinerant Catawbas.

In documentary accounts, itinerant Catawbas are generally described as indolent and impoverished beggars who stubbornly refuse to engage in productive activity. In addition to contextualizing the cultural biases of European observers, this study examines economic activity and market access among Catawbas through comparisons of material collections recovered from New Town Catawba households. Abundant and diverse arrays of consumer goods recovered from itinerant

and non-itinerant households suggest that among Catawbas, the acquisition of commercially manufactured items was influenced by a variety of factors, including lifestyle, commercial activity, and Catawba identity. However, the stark economic distinctions implied by documentary accounts are difficult to discern.

Examining broader questions of market access among Catawbas, this study also compares New Town Catawba households to Cherokee households examined by Riggs (1999). In his landmark work on Cherokee ethnicity, Riggs (1999) contrasted the lifeways of westernized and traditional Cherokee households during the Removal period. Westernized Cherokees were intensively engaged in production for market exchange and acquired large quantities of commercially manufactured goods. In contrast, traditional Cherokee households were engaged in domestic production, and possessed assemblages in which native-manufactured items are considerably prominent than commercially manufactured goods (Riggs 1999:538).

Examining Cherokee households serves to contextualize European observations of Catawba subsistence activity, providing an additional basis for evaluating the significance of variation between Catawba households engaged in different economic practices. These comparisons provide a starkly contrasting example of the relationship between differential participation in commercial activity and the acquisition of commercially manufactured goods.

Organization of the Study

Chapter 2 is a presentation of the theoretical perspectives and conceptual frameworks that underpin my research. I discuss British colonialism and its impact on native economies and identity. Identity is explored through theories on gender, ethnicity, and race. The issue of race is further explored through a discussion of European racial discourse. Chapter 2 concludes with a discussion of itinerancy as a soci-economic phenomenon, examining ethnohistoric and ethnographic research on a variety of itinerant groups. Also examined are archaeological and ethnohistoric investigations of the wintering villages of highly mobile Canadian *Métis* bison hunters (Burley 1989; Burley, Horsfall, and

Brandon 1992). Together, these perspectives provide the basis for developing some archaeological correlates of an itinerant home base. Chapter 3 begins with the presentation of historical background material, followed by a detailed analysis of documentary evidence, focused on gleaned factual information relating to Catawba economy and lifeways. Chapter 3 ends with an overview of Catawba itinerancy, developed using the ethnographic and ethnohistoric perspectives presented in Chapter 2. In Chapter 4, the archaeological sites examined in this study are outlined, along with ceramic materials used in this study. Catawba pottery making and vessel forms produced by Catawbans are examined, along with the typology used to classify Catawba pottery sherds. Finally, Catawba pottery assemblages are presented, along with assemblages of Catawba pipe ceramics and a variety of imported wares recovered from sites examined in this study. Chapter 5 is divided into three sections. Catawba and imported ware assemblages are examined in concert, demonstrating how Catawba pottery was used in different households, and providing insights into consumer choice and market access among the different households examined. Next, archaeological and documentary evidence are synthesized to outline broad similarities and differences among itinerant and non-itinerant households at Catawba New Town, and archaeological correlates of an itinerant home base are examined. In the final section of Chapter 5, cultural and economic differences among Catawba households are further explored. A broad perspective on Catawba economic activity is obtained through comparisons between households at New Town and Removal period Cherokee households examined by Riggs (1999). Chapter 6 provides detailed analyses of the documentary evidence, synthesizing the perspectives gained from the previous chapters, developing additional perspectives on Catawba itinerancy, and examining various facets of Catawba identity. Chapter 7 provides a synthesis of the findings and interpretations of the previous chapters, and the Federal-period view of Catawba identity developed in this study is evaluated from a present-day perspective.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL, ETHNOGRAPHIC, AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

This study examines Catawba itinerancy within historical context of European colonialism and the later growth of the market economy in America during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Discussion of these phenomena provides a basis for examining Catawba economics, lifeways, and identity.

After the mid eighteenth century, Catawba interactions with Europeans shifted dramatically. The Catawba economy transitioned from a reliance upon male involvement in colonial warfare and trade in Indian slaves and deerskins to one centered upon women's involvement in the growing market economy. Thus, gender is examined in this chapter, as a subject of research within archaeology and from an historical perspective, providing background for analysis of documentary accounts in subsequent chapters. Ethnicity and race are important lenses through which the dialectical relationship between insider and outsider definitions of Indian identity are explored. Theoretical and historical perspectives on discourse provide a basis for analyzing documentary and archaeological evidence and a rich context for examining Catawba identity as well.

In the last section of this chapter, itinerancy is examined in detail. Historical and ethnographic research are used to define itinerancy as a socio-economic phenomenon, and itinerant groups are examined in terms of frequently occurring social, cultural, and economic adaptations. These discussions, along with archaeological and ethnohistoric research on western Canadian *Métis* bison hunters, are utilized to develop some archaeological correlates of an itinerant group's base camp that will be examined in subsequent chapters.

Political Economy, Exchange, and Colonialism

In Jon Muller's (1997) perspective on Mississippian political economy, when European colonists arrived in Eastern North America, they encountered radically different forms of political economy and personal identity. In stark contrast to the European colonial powers, Indian societies generally lacked stratified and highly differentiated classes, full-scale administrative bureaucracies, and pervasive socio-economic inequality. While many Indian polities did possess elites in the form of chiefs, and differences in status existed between elites and commoners, they nevertheless lacked the degree of economic differentiation that accompanies capitalist production and commodity exchange and the socio-political differentiation accompanying state-vested authority. Indian economies were instead firmly grounded in communal, domestic, and local production, with even family members of elites undertaking the normal range of productive activities. Indian politics were largely grounded in consensus rather than decree (Muller 1997:41-46, 83-107).

While Mississippian elites were certainly differentiated from commoners in important respects, Mississippian economies were ultimately based upon communal, domestic, and local production and control of life's necessities. While highly stratified European societies were organized around the primacy of the individual and the accumulation of personal power and material wealth through commodity exchange, the corporate kin group, reciprocity, and gift exchange were major organizing principles in Indian societies of eastern North America.

Gifts and Gift Exchange

Exchange is simply the movement of any goods or services from one individual or group to another (Mallios 2006:31). Within anthropology, gift exchange has traditionally been viewed as representing the antithesis of commodity exchange. Gifts are seen as expressions of sociability and sharing, whereas commodities represent profiteering, self-centeredness, and scheming (Appadurai 1986:11-12); commodity exchange has the appearance of a "something-for something" trade (Mallios 2006:31).

Notwithstanding these distinctions, anthropologists have also examined the economic aspects of gift exchange in small-scale societies, documenting the strategies, calculations, and self-aggrandizement that underlie transactions that may on the surface appear as purely social and “something-for-nothing” in nature (Appadurai 1986; Bourdieu 1977:171). Within so-called “gift economies,” gifts are never simply spontaneous, generous acts, free of selfishness and scheming (Mallios 2006:26-27; Mauss 1990 [1954]:71). Gifts are instead mandatory offerings that demand acceptance and reciprocity. Gifting is a highly strategic and “profitable” enterprise, as giving gifts in public elevates the giver’s social status, first at the point of offering a gift, which reflects the giver’s good fortune and good intentions, and then again when a gift is accepted, as the recipient becomes obligated to return the gift and remains in social debt until repayment is made—the first to give thus accrues a strategic advantage. Failure to reciprocate with an appropriate gift within an appropriate time frame can result in loss of social status (Mallios 2006:26-27; Mauss 1990 [1954]:42).

The movement and form of gifts often reflect social hierarchies, and gifts are important tools used to create and manipulate relationships between people. High-rank gifts are generally exchanged among high-rank individuals, while low-rank individuals generally exchange low-rank gifts; the gifts and gift partners are usually determined by and affirm each other’s social statuses. However, estimations of the value and utility of items exchanged are secondary to the relational hierarchy that they affirm and help to construct and maintain (Mallios 2006:27).

Commodities and Commodity Exchange

The gift stands in contrast to the commodity. According to Marx (1972 [1846]:303), commodities are objects whose existence is external to human beings and that are used to satisfy some specific human want. Commodities possess use value, which is determined by estimation of their actual utility (Marx 1972 [1846]:303). Commodities also possess exchange value, which is abstract and estimated in terms of quantity. Commodities have strictly limited use values, but possess nearly limitless exchange values (Marx 1972 [1846]:305).

Much like gifts, commodities are meant to be exchanged; however, unlike gift economies, in which individuals exchange in order to enhance their social status, establish and maintain social relationships, and acquire ongoing social debt and obligation from one another, private ownership of the commodity and the immediate acquisition of material wealth characterize commodity exchange. In a market-based commodity exchange, individuals transfer ownership of the commodities involved in a sale, and the only salient relationship involved is an economic one involving the items being exchanged, with individuals assessing the use and exchange values of a commodity in order to decide its worth. No interpersonal bonds or obligations are entailed by commodity exchange, and the relationship between buyer and seller is, strictly speaking, terminated upon conclusion of an exchange (Mallios 2006:29).

Southeastern Indians and Exchange

Prior to European arrival, exchange within Indian societies was firmly embedded in the “give and take” of reciprocal relations and obligations among communities and among community leaders (Ethridge 2009:16; Muller 1997:384); even elite control of fancy goods and tribute was of a very different character than the control of commodities in highly stratified European societies.

Among Southeastern Indian societies, exchange of one type or another was critical to managing risk (at the household and community level), constructing public works, and carrying out all manner of important community events. Given the importance of exchange in forging political alliances and competing for status, it would also have been an important mechanism through which large Indian polities expanded their reach and through which lesser groups enhanced their own status and influence. Nevertheless, elite control over exchange in Indian societies was fundamentally different from control over goods and labor that occurs in European economies dominated by market-based commodity exchange (Muller 1997:384).

European Colonialism and Commodity Exchange

Efforts to create a unifying theory of colonialism have justifiably been declared “reductive ventures” that reify a highly variable, transhistorical phenomenon (Dietler 2007:220). Nevertheless, in dealing with modern European colonialism, specifically as practiced by Britain in North America, it is possible to engage in useful generalization. Gil Stein (2002:30) provisionally defined a colony as “an implanted settlement established by one society in...the territory of another society...established for long-term residence by all or part of the homeland or metropole’s population and...spatially and socially distinguishable from the communities of the indigenous polity or peoples among whom it is established.” British colonies were characterized by large-scale emigration from homeland to colony, the appropriation of local lands through subjugation of local peoples, colonial control of the local labor force, and political and economic control of the implanted settlement by the homeland (Finley 1976:184). Britain viewed colonial settlements as sites for the extraction of raw materials and production of agricultural commodities and as lucrative end markets for a wide variety of finished goods manufactured in the homeland.

In describing the differences between European colonial powers and societies of the Mississippian world, Robbie Ethridge (2010:4) notes that “Europe, in the sixteenth century, was more formidable, more complex, more extractive of natural resources, more able to accumulate knowledge through literacy, and had more advanced weaponry.” However, even more importantly, Ethridge (2010:4) notes that “capitalism was emerging as a powerful economic engine that would drive European exploration and colonization on a worldwide scale, giving to Europe powerful economic resources.”

Commodity exchange is the basis of wealth in capitalist economies. Economic profit and domination motivated English colonists in their transactions with Indians, and even in bestowing gifts upon Indians, English elites wielded the power of the commodity (Mallios 2006:116-117). In the early years of the South Carolina colony, the British lacked the ability to control native groups strictly through military means. The colonial government quickly recognized that its goals could be achieved

at far less cost through gifts and trade than through guns alone. Documentary accounts contain many examples of the lavish gifts bestowed upon Catawba headmen by colonial officials (see Brown 1966; Merrell 1989). However, the “gifts” provided by the English were differentiated from those exchanged in Indian societies by several important dimensions. First, the strong personal bonds and obligations of reciprocity implied by gifts among Indians were not present in gifts bestowed by the British. The British understood themselves as free to give, withhold, or reject gifts and trade, and in the spirit of “free trade,” whenever and with whomever they pleased. Moreover, unlike items traditionally exchanged among Indians, neither the raw materials nor the knowledge and technology to manufacture British trade goods were available to Indians.

Through both gifts and trade, the English flooded Indian societies with manufactured goods. This overwhelming flow of goods, and the indiscriminate manner in which goods were gifted and traded, wreaked havoc upon native societies. For British colonial officials and traders, the only relevant features of a commodity were its use value and exchange value, and anyone could potentially trade anything with anyone else. British commodity logic ignored Indian conventions around the status-appropriateness of gifts and the importance of honoring relationships created with trade partners, frequently insulting native elites and undermining their social status (Mallios 2006:116-117). Far worse, as Indians adopted European goods and let traditional technologies fall by the wayside, their economic independence was undermined. Thus, control of the actual goods was a critical factor in British exchange practices, and the British gained great power over Indians through commodity exchange (Merrell 1989).

Despite the intense pressures of colonialism, native people sought to maintain control over the meaning and function of exchange (Mallios 2006). Thus, while under British colonialism goods and services provided to colonists by Catawbas functioned as commodities exchanged for profit, Catawbas also attempted to create and maintain long-term relationships between themselves and the colonists with whom they engaged in exchange (see for example Merrell 1989:46, 62-64). In this sense, Catawba warrior prowess, pottery, and pipes are seen as maintaining something of the spirit of

the gift economy, in which the things exchanged symbolize long-term relationships, and the relationships established and maintained through exchange are more important than the gifts themselves.

From Colonial Trade to the Market Economy

Between the late sixteenth and mid eighteenth century, American Indians became thoroughly enmeshed in British colonialism. Indians became commodity producers supplying animal hides and Indian slaves (and themselves became commodities when enslaved), avid consumers of finished goods, and military proxies in the armed conflicts between rival colonial powers and their Indian allies (Ethridge 2009).

At the end of the eighteenth century, America experienced the beginning of what historians have called “the market revolution” (Sellers 1991; Stokes 1996). This involved a transition from a largely subsistence economy of small farms and workshops satisfying mostly local needs through barter and exchange to a system in which “farmers and manufacturers produced food and goods for the cash rewards of an often distant marketplace” (Stokes 1996:1). This economic shift occurred through population growth and technological and infrastructural development. Development of the market economy was uneven; rapid expansion in the industrial North occurred by 1800. In the South, lowland planters quickly embraced the market revolution while small farmers in the Piedmont and mountains remained isolated from intensive participation (Greene and Plane 2010:4; Watson 1996).

With the introduction of the market economy, Indians once again found themselves adapting to new conditions. Native populations in eastern North America were shattered by colonial-era warfare, slaving, and epidemic diseases (Ethridge 2009). Indians who remained continued to face hostility from settlers and encroachment on their territory. Within the new state and new economy, they also dealt with expanding federal and state government control, hardening racist ideologies, increasing economic marginalization, changing gender roles, and increasingly unequal power dynamics (Greene and Plane 2010:5; Silliman 2005:59).

Ironically, while many settlers in the South Carolina backcountry remained largely engaged in production for local economies, Catawbas embraced the market revolution, supplying goods locally and in exchange for cash rewards at distant marketplaces (Stokes 1996:1). However, Catawba potters took the unusual step of physically traveling to distant marketplaces and possessed total control of their enterprise, from extraction of raw materials to marketing, distribution, and final sale.

Archaeological Approaches to Colonialism

Understanding colonies and colonialism has become a major focus of archaeological research. Gil Stein (2005:7) notes the development of a new paradigm in studies of colonialism and other forms of interregional interaction. Within this paradigm, archaeological research concentrating on agency, practice, and social identity has been particularly important. Such research emphasizes “the recursive relationship between social structure and the strategic actions of individuals or small groups” (Stein 2005:7). This is in contrast to larger-scale analytic frameworks such as world systems theory. While useful in certain contexts, world systems models often overemphasize the role of an imperial core in controlling events at colonial peripheries. Core/periphery relations are characterized in binary terms such as active/passive or dominant/dependent, and subject peoples are described as either “traditional” or “acculturated.” In these frameworks, there is seldom room for the perspectives and agency of colonized peoples (Schreiber 2005:238-239; Stein 2005). This study incorporates documentary and archaeological evidence to link specific social structures to strategic actions of Catawba individuals and groups. Following Schreiber (2005:240) and Stein (2005:6-7), the goal is to craft interpretations of Catawba life that take into account the agency of native peoples and their active role in structuring interactions. These perspectives are particularly useful in analyzing the socio-economics of Catawba itinerancy and in drawing interpretations of Catawba identity from documentary accounts.

Identity

This study examines Catawba identity from several perspectives. The Catawbas' shift from an economy based upon the male activities of warfare and hunting to one centered upon women and pottery making necessitates an examination of gender. Ethnicity and race are important frameworks through which the interplay between insider and outsider definitions of Catawba identity are explored. Discussion of European discourses on Indians and Gypsy itinerants, along with the previous discussion of colonialism, provide a rich historical context for examining Catawba identity.

Gender

Within this study, gender is understood as the cultural interpretation of sexual difference (Gilchrist 1999:1); gender must also be understood as concerning both masculinity and femininity (McClintock 1995:7). The influential theorist Judith Butler (1990, 1993) argued that gender is continuously produced through discourse and gendered performances by social actors. Gender inevitably intersects in important ways with race, ethnicity, class, power, and other dimensions of the human social experience (McClintock 1995:4-7; Voss 2006:122).

Since the 1970s, historical archaeologists have investigated gender through studies of European colonial sites; the goal of much of this research has been to identify and explore the roles of women in the past (Voss 2006:111), a topic seen by feminist archaeologists as long ignored (see Conkey and Spector 1984). Using archaeological and documentary evidence, historical archaeologists have focused upon understanding how practices in such diverse realms as spatial organization, architecture, material culture, and foodways have participated in cultural systems of gender (Voss 2006:122-123).

Studies of Catawba ethnohistory and archaeology have done an excellent job of documenting male activity in colonial-era warfare and trade (Brown 1966; Merrell 1989; Heath 2004) and interpreting the meaning of these activities among Indians and European colonists. More recent archaeological research has begun to focus upon the role of women in Catawba society. Fitts

(2006:41-41), in discussing the relationship between pottery and social boundaries, utilized practice theory to discuss pots “as elements of a suite of practices associated with the production, processing, and consumption of food within a regime of domestic production.” Pots are understood as being produced by “communities of teachers and learners,” in this case, Indian women.

Historian Theda Perdue (1998:3) has remarked that “Native American women exist in the historical shadows. We know little about their lives, how historical events affected them, and the cultural changes that reshaped their world.” Accounts of Catawba life do contain observations on the lives of Catawba women; however, European observers had no access to women’s private lives, little understanding of the role of women in Indian societies, and interpreted everything through their own ideologies concerning power, sex, and gender (Perdue 1998:3-5).

Perdue (1998:10) notes that hunting, warfare, and foreign affairs had “always been the domain of men.” The deerskin trade and colonial warfare did tend to politically and economically marginalize native women, at least in terms of interaction with the outside world. Ironically, as Indian men became increasingly absent through their participation in colonial trade and warfare, the power of women within native societies may actually have been enhanced in important ways.

After the devastating losses of the 1759 smallpox epidemic, Catawba men found it increasingly difficult to engage in the economic activities that had come to underpin the Catawba economy. However, demographic decline was not the only problem. Europeans increasingly sought to impose their ideas of civilization upon Indians, which in general involved efforts to induce Indian men to abandon traditional pursuits and take up farming. In the native Southeast farming was traditionally women’s work, and while some native men took up farming and profitably engaged in the market economy (Perdue 1998; for specific examples, see Greene 2009; Riggs 1999), many Indian men were reluctant to pursue this path, and such “civilizing” efforts met with limited success. Indeed, European accounts frequently lament the unwillingness of Indian men to abandon hunting (Phillips 1998).

As Catawba men became economically marginalized, women in the Catawba Nation began making pottery that emulated European vessel forms, and along with their families, traveled back and forth across South Carolina to sell that pottery at farmsteads, plantations, and market towns. The disruption of the Catawba economy and concomitant marginalization of Catawba men created an opportunity for Catawba women to assume a more prominent economic role. However, this space existed partly as a consequence of how South Carolina elites viewed both Indians and themselves.

European men were fascinated with the sexuality of the peoples they encountered in their colonial pursuits (McClintock 1995). Agency and mobility were often viewed by Europeans as evidence of promiscuity among native women (Raibmon 2005:25-26). European attitudes toward native women range from prurient to paternalistic, with native women seen as representing opportunities for sexual dalliance or chivalrous rescue. Documentary accounts of Catawba life demonstrate this range of attitudes.

With the passing of the colonial era, the savage Indian warrior was seen as an unruly anachronism that needed to be reconciled with the necessities of civilization and the market economy. On the other hand, female Catawba potters seem to have represented a non-threatening image of romantic Indian savagery. Documentary accounts suggest that the activities of most Catawbas were not viewed as representing civilized behavior. Nevertheless, analysis of William Gilmore Simms' writing suggests that the itinerant pursuits of Catawba women meshed very well with South Carolina planters' view of themselves as worldly and intellectually sophisticated figures (Leath and McInnis 1999), guarantors of the established social order (Joyner 2005:9; Waterhouse 2005:87-88), and paternalistic figures with deep roots in Southern society (Baird 2006).

Ethnicity

In historical archaeology, the study of ethnicity has long involved attempts to identify "ethnic markers" and thereby associate specific examples of material culture with a discrete ethnic group. More recently, researchers have examined the fluidity of ethnic groups and boundaries and sought to

identify material evidence of this fluidity (Greene 2009:14; Orser 1998:662). This study examines material culture among Catawbans that may have functioned as ethnic markers. Some items, such as glass beads and silver jewelry, were used by Indians throughout the Southeast during the study period. Catawba pottery and pipes on the other hand appear to have been unique ethnic markers that related to Catawba itinerancy. This study also examines the fluidity of the ethnic group and how Catawba ethnicity appears to have changed during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, with a shift in emphasis from the Catawba warrior to the Catawba potter.

In *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, Fredrik Barth (1969) described ethnic groups as social constructs that provide ascriptive and exclusive membership to a cultural identity group, within which members may confine their personal interactions and frames of socio-cultural reference (Barth 1969:11, 13-14). Within Barth's framework, the composition of ethnic groups can assume many forms, including groups of individuals who share traditions but who may nevertheless have originated in diverse geopolitical units (Barth 1969; Orser 2004:79).

Barth (1969:13-14) considered ethnic groups as an organizational type; within this type, cultural ascription is considered ethnic when it classifies a person in terms of their most basic, general identity, as determined by origin and background. Actors form and belong to ethnic groups to the extent that they use ethnic identities as means of categorizing themselves and as bases for interactions with others.

Ethnic identities involve interrelating characteristics that provide a sense of cultural identity to an interacting group of individuals (Orser 2004:79). Within an ethnic group, some characteristics may be used by individuals as signals and emblems of cultural differences, while others may be ignored; in some circumstances, radical differences between actors may actually be downplayed or even denied (Barth 1969:14). Thus, while the ethnic label includes a number of characteristics which may indeed cluster statistically, they are not completely interdependent and connected, and there will be variation between group members, with some showing many and some showing relatively few of the group's ethnic characteristics (Barth 1969:29).

European observers commented upon what they perceived as important cultural and racial differences between Catawbas. Despite documentary and material evidence of differences between Catawba households, the fluidity of the ethnic label and material evidence of many cultural similarities across Catawba society (especially the apparent universality of certain forms of jewelry and ornaments and the making and using of Catawba pottery and pipes) leaves open the distinct possibility that the differences noted by Europeans were relatively unimportant to Catawbas in determining ethnic identity. Perdue (2004) notes that behavior was an important factor in determining ethnic identity among southern Indians, while Yarbrough (2008:37-38) describes early-nineteenth-century Cherokee identity as a complex blend of lineage, social interpretation, self-identification, physical appearance, community perception, and behavior. Documentary accounts suggest that there was considerable cultural variation among Catawba households; European observers identified some Catawbas as more western in behavior than others. Nevertheless, Catawbas surely had their own standards for what constituted Catawba identity at any given time and place as well as the means to navigate cultural differences in their own society.

When ethnic identity is defined as ascriptive and exclusive, it becomes clear that its specific nature and stability depend on the maintenance of cultural boundaries. Nonetheless, ethnicity is a dynamic phenomenon. The cultural characteristics that signal an ethnic boundary, the cultural features of the group's members, and the organizational form of the group may change, yet the persistent distinction between "us" and "them" represents the continuity of an ethnic group (Barth 1969:24-25).

In Barth's (1969:15-16) conception, ethnic groups may only persist as significant units if they involve marked differences in behavior between insiders and outsiders; this implies interactions through which members of different ethnic groups may define themselves in opposition to one another. Ethnic boundaries therefore entail social contacts with people of different ethnicities.

Since the formation and persistence of ethnic identity necessitate social relations across ethnic boundaries, it follows that such contact does not necessarily lead to the erasure of these

boundaries through change and acculturation; ethnic identities can persist despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence (Barth 1969:9-10). Indeed, a drastic increase in cultural similarities between ethnic groups does not necessarily imply a reduction in the social relevance of ethnic identities or a breakdown in processes of boundary maintenance (Barth 1969:32-33). The reason for this is simple: while objects, behaviors, and ideas frequently cross social boundaries, and the meanings with which objects are imbued are culturally determined, people within a social boundary often determine for themselves the meaning and importance of new cultural forms. Thus, substantial quantities of European goods recovered from Catawba cabin sites are not necessarily indications of acculturation and loss of Catawba identity, as some categories of European goods may be neutral as far as signaling and interpreting identity (see for example Greene 2009), while others, such as imported serving wares, may be recast with new functions and meanings.

The “human material” that constitutes ethnic groups is not immutable, and social boundaries do not imply stasis or impermeability for populations contained within them (Barth 1969:21). Barth (1969:21) notes that “examples of stable and persisting ethnic boundaries that are crossed by a flow of personnel are clearly far more common than the ethnographic literature would lead us to believe” and that processes through which ethnic groups recruit and assimilate new members are as critical in the redistribution of human populations as conquest and migration.

In her work on racial construction in the early south, Perdue (2003:7-10) describes the processes through which southern Indians adopted individuals into their communities, turning even enemies into relatives and full-fledged members of their societies. The Catawba Nation of the late eighteenth century evolved from a coalescence of native groups from throughout the region. In order to remain viable as military allies of the British, eighteenth-century Catawbans absorbed Indians refugees from numerous tribes to offset losses from warfare, diseases, and defection. Although documents suggest that these groups for a time maintained distinct identities, the ability to have individuals selectively incorporated into Catawba society would undoubtedly have served to forge

important alliances between refugees and their Catawba hosts and to offset losses due to combat, defection, and disease.

Race

A discussion of European colonialism and Catawba ethnic identity is only partially complete without an examination of the concepts of race that Europeans brought to their interactions with indigenous people. In his work on race and racialization in America, Charles Orser (2007:8-9) distinguishes race from ethnicity on the basis of self-ascription. Racial categorization creates relatively large agglomerations of people on the basis of real and perceived physical differences (and often cultural attributes as well) and is imposed from the outside by people who classify themselves as belonging to a different racial group. In contrast, ethnic affiliation is self-imposed from the inside; perceived cultural commonality is the basis for ethnicity.

While this distinction between ethnicity and race is useful from a theoretical perspective, its practical value is limited by the realities of native life under European colonialism, as European racial discourses became the terms under which Indians interacted with Europeans and part of the material used by Indians in constructing their own identities (Raibmon 2005).

Discourse, Colonialism, and Identity

In Michel Foucault's (1972) influential analyses, discourses constitute ways of knowing and classifying and serve to support networks of power relations among those who participate in those discourses. Discourses act as filters in the interpretation of human experience and as the terms and procedures that regulate how and what people communicate (Foucault 1972; Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983; Lincoln 1989). Discourses unify systems of practice and constitute the system of rules that govern what, in any given time and place, can be said about an institution and will be taken seriously. While the rules of discourse may underpin relations within institutions, they are in turn dependent upon the social and economic practices they unify. Thus, institutions and practices sustain discourse,

and “discourse is both dependent upon and yet feeds back and influences the non-discursive practices it ‘serves’” (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983:65-67).

Although discourses act as constraints on agency, there does exist the possibility of strategically moving from one discursive formation to another (Lincoln 1989), as a range of competing discourses circulate within any given society at any time (Gramsci 1973). Moreover, even within a given discursive formation, there exists a range of possible options, or “room for maneuver, in which different actions can be pursued (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983:71-72). However, as the political scientist James Scott (1990:103) notes, “For anything less than completely revolutionary ends, the terrain of dominant discourse is the only plausible arena of struggle.”

Racial Discourse and British Colonialism

European discourses on Native Americans were often very fixed in character and typically involved limited sets of simplistic stereotypes that were tailored to suit particular colonial contexts. Discourses on the Indian invariably served political and economic purposes; images of the Indian served as potent justifications for aggression against Indians, appropriation of Indian lands, and a variety of other agendas. Thus, John Locke and other influential individuals argued that since Indians lived as nomadic hunters in a state of nature and did not put land to proper agricultural use (despite abundant evidence of reliance on maize production by many Indian societies), they did not exercise full sovereignty over their land. Full sovereignty and legal title could only be exercised by civilized European societies, which sought to improve land rather than allowing it to remain wilderness (Gosden 2004:27-28). This was but part of a widespread European colonialist racial discourse which pronounced the incompatibility of savage and civilized peoples. An important facet of this racial discourse was the contrast between wild, uncivilized savages and so-called degenerate Indians (Berkhofer 1978:36-38; Bieder 1986; Young 1995).

Wild savages were figured as nomadic warriors and hunters, creatures of the forest living in a state of nature, with neither law nor government. Since European and American discourses on

Indians were invariably connected to evaluations of their own societies, perceived differences between Europeans and “wild” Indians might be seen as good or bad, depending on the observer’s own politics and motivations; for example, the image of the good Indian was often utilized to criticize the decadence or oppressiveness of European or American society. Good Indians were thus depicted as living wholesome and healthy lives, characterized by liberty, love of family, rugged simplicity, and innocence. The healthy lifeways and wholesome values of good Indian societies produced individuals who were physically handsome, possessed great endurance, and were generally modest, calm, courageous in combat, and dignified in bearing (Berkhofer 1978:27-28; Raibmon 2005:6-8).

On the other hand, advocates and guardians of European and American society often wielded the image of the bad Indian to denounce those traits they abhorred in their fellow citizens. Bad Indians were vain, promiscuous, aggressive, cruel, cowardly, treacherous, and indolent; their lifestyles were described in terms of filthy surroundings, loathsome habits, and nauseating foodways (Berkhofer 1978:27-28; Bieder 1986:5; Deloria 1998:2-5; Raibmon 2005:6-8).

These contrasting images of the wild Indian were set in opposition to another stereotype, that of the “degenerate,” or “degraded,” reservation Indian. Unable or unwilling to receive the benefits of assimilation into white society, degenerate Indians lived in the worst of both worlds. Shunned by whites and self-respecting wild Indians as well, degenerate Indians retained the most loathsome and barbarous aspects of savagery, while readily adopting white vices—particularly the abuse of alcohol. Degenerate Indians were portrayed as drunken, idle, filthy, disorderly, servile, and desperately impoverished (Berkhofer 1978:29-30).

The results of sustained contact and conflict between Indians and European colonists proved to the latter that savagery could not withstand the march of civilization. Disease and warfare decimated aboriginal populations; by the late eighteenth century, the idea of the vanishing race became part of white discourse on Indians. With demographic collapse, social marginalization, extinction, and removal, the vanishing Indian was not necessarily viewed as an imminent threat to life, morals, and commerce. Indeed, for many whites, as Indian societies dwindled and disappeared

they became exotic curiosities, and romantic images of the ancient or colonial past readily replaced those that inspired sentiments of fear and loathing (Berkhofer 1978:29; Deloria 1998:64).

Postcolonial studies stress the importance of discourse in shaping colonial institutions and identities (see for example, Bhabha 1994; Said 1978, 1993; McClintock 1995). Racial discourses shaped the understanding of European colonists, constraining how settlers approached and reacted to colonized people (Bhabha 1994; Said 1978, 1993). These discourses, widely and continuously circulated through a variety of cultural forms, served to naturalize and legitimize domination of non-Europeans (van Dommelen 2005; Said 1993). Within both European and colonial contexts, these discourses played an important role in constructing racial or ethnic identities, as Europeans and colonized peoples (and other subaltern groups) engaged in dialectical processes of defining themselves in opposition to one another (Fanon 1968; Raibmon 2005:3, 10-14).

Although Europeans and colonized people may have both participated in shaping racial discourses, the colonized were “unequal collaborators” who were often constrained by racial discourses that became the terms through which Europeans allowed them to access the social, political, and economic means to survive under colonialism (Raibmon 2005:3). Postcolonial theorists such as Franz Fanon (1968) have argued that colonial societies were often highly influential in defining the social and economic opportunities and identities of colonized people. Nonetheless, even as colonial institutions and attendant discourses severely constrained colonized peoples, the colonized were often able to manipulate the discourses—and thus, institutions—to their advantage.

Through familiarity with colonial institutions, and knowledge of the terms of colonial racial discourses, indigenous people possessed strategic opportunities. One such opportunity was “playing native” for Europeans in the pursuit of economic, cultural, and political survival (see for example Phillips 1995, 1998; Moses 1996; Raibmon 2005). In this study, I argue that European observers alternately described Catawba behavior in terms of romantic and degraded “savagery,” depending on the context in which Catawbans were encountered and the actions of Catawbans. European racial discourses provided the general frameworks for how Catawbans were interpreted; however, through

strategic behavior, Catawbas played an active role in structuring interactions with Europeans and were able to influence the specific nature of how they were perceived and described.

Gypsy Itinerants in European Discourse: The Other Nomads

“The Indian Savage” was not the only category of uncivilized nomad being constructed during the age of European exploration and colonization. Similar to discourse surrounding Indians, by the late eighteenth century, European discourse on Gypsies was characterized by the intertwining of race, culture, and moral evaluations (Willems 1998; Willems and Lucassen 1998). Discourses on both Indians and Gypsies overlap with regard to the view of a nomadic lifestyle as the antithesis of civilized conduct and as an important marker of these identities. In this respect, the construction of Gypsy identity provides a useful comparison in terms of the relationship between economics, politics, and discourse in the formation of racial and ethnic identities.

As Europeans traveled across North America during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they frequently encountered itinerant Indian traders selling decorated aboriginal clothing, weapons, pipes, baskets, and other craft items (Phillips 1998:21-22). As Phillips (1998:21-22, 34) notes, “With remarkable regularity, Europeans in North America were drawn by these itinerant habits to liken aboriginal people and gypsies.” In his short story, “Caloya; or, the Loves of the Driver,” William Gilmore Simms overtly makes this comparison in discussing traveling Catawbas.

Europeans in the eighteenth century were widely familiar with discourses on Gypsies, who had long been a favorite theme in folklore, depicted as maidens, witches, skillful entertainers, highwaymen, and exotic wanderers (Willems 1998:22; Willems and Lucassen 1998:40). Scholars and government officials took up these disparate threads and created a more unified and useful image of Gypsies as a distinct, but widely spread, race characterized by nomadism, indolence, mendacity, and criminal tendencies (Willems and Lucassen 1998:38-40).

Aimed at justifying exclusion, repression, and even elimination of mobile populations, the category of Gypsy became a repository for moral judgments and a charter for social action (Willems

1998:20-22; Willems and Lucassen 1998:38-42; Lucassen 1998b:60). The Gypsy became the ultimate symbol of unwanted vagrancy, and this category became a convenient means of expanding government control over population movement. By the middle of the nineteenth century, scholars and police officials had thus firmly linked criminal vagrancy and a Gypsy racial identity that hinged upon “nomadism” and expanded the category to include a wide variety of itinerant populations (Lucassen 1998b:55-61).

The construction of Gypsy racial stereotypes by scholars and government officials, the use of these images in efforts to control itinerants, and the adoption and manipulation of these discourses by itinerants themselves demonstrate the importance of discourse in the construction and maintenance of power relations and social identities. Since sedentism and nomadism are at the heart of these discourses contrasting civilized and uncivilized peoples, it is not surprising that similar processes may be observed in relations between American Indians and Europeans.

In her research on cultural “authenticity” among Native Americans in the late nineteenth century on the Northwest coast, Paige Raibmon (2005:3, 10-14) describes how indigenous groups both incorporated and manipulated colonialist discourse on Indians, in effect “playing Indian” for economic, cultural, and political gains. Working seasonally as pickers for hop farmers, thousands of aboriginal people from Washington, British Columbia, and Alaska converged on Washington hop fields each August. Whites saw Indian migrant workers as nomadic savages in their natural setting (Raibmon 2005:198-199); the spectacle of Indian pickers became the basis of a major tourist industry, and white tourists flocked to rural towns to view Indians in the hop fields and at their encampments. According to a contemporary narrator (Lindsay 1899:534-39; quoted in Raibmon 2005:123-124), the Indians “conjured up confused visions...of a Prehistoric World and a Vanished Race, whose ragged remains cling like burrs to the fringes of a new-born civilization...” Colonial racial discourse conditioned white observers to see wild savages rather than migrant wage laborers successfully adapting to the capitalist economy (Raibmon 2005:75, 123-124).

The seasonal, migratory nature of agricultural work and other Indian activities fit neatly into colonialist discourse on nomadic savages (Raibmon 2005:167-168); within this construct, whites tended to view the temporary presence of Indians as a romantic show rather than a threat. Fully aware of white stereotypes of savages, Indians readily seized upon economic opportunities created by tourism. Indian men worked as hunting and fishing guides for whites, while women sold hand-made baskets, blankets, and carvings to sightseers. Indians also frequently posed for photographs and even staged public ritual dance performances to which they charged admission (Raibmon 2005:90-93).

Despite the commercialization of Indian identity by both tourists and Indians alike, Raibmon (2005:12) emphasizes the ways in which indigenous people twisted colonial concepts such as “savagery” and “authenticity” to their own ends. Among these ends was Indian identity itself; therefore the performance of savagery in the market place cannot be seen as a mere commercial ploy, but rather a process of “crafting tradition and continuity through repeated and contested use” of cultural forms (Raibmon 2005:12). In order to articulate cultural difference, ethnic and racial outsiders may restage and re-inscribe the past (Bhabha 1994:3), using available forms and within existing cultural contexts. Within this theoretical framework, Indian crafts produced for trade are indeed commodities. Nevertheless, in addition to being commodities, such objects serve as important markers of identity and “tradition” to both producers and consumers. This seeming contradiction reflects the fact that for Indian societies, cultural and economic survival often necessitated working within the discursive and socio-economic constraints imposed by Europeans.

Itinerancy and Itinerant Groups Defined

Recent scholarship on Gypsies has analyzed the social and economic forces that created widespread mobility in European societies and the processes through which vagrancy and itinerancy came to be associated with Gypsy identity (Lucassen 1998b; Belton 2005). In their research on Gypsies and other itinerant groups in Europe, Lucassen, Willems, and Cottaar (1998) view vagrancy and itinerancy as rational economic responses by a wide variety of people to large-scale social and

economic dislocation and impoverishment created by the growth of states and capitalist economics after the middle ages. It is no coincidence that this process prefigures the social, economic, and physical upheaval that occurred within the colonial American “shatter zone.”

By the early eighteenth century, the eastern woodlands had become a “shatter zone,” due to widespread instability created by the introduction of the capitalist market system through the Indian slave and peltry trades in the seventeenth century (Ethridge 2009). Combined with population losses from European diseases, the result was a zone of political chaos, cultural upheaval, population dislocation, and social transformation. Indians living within this shatter zone faced a limited array of difficult choices: militarization, dependency, migration, coalescence, amalgamation, or extinction (Ethridge 2009; Heath 2004).

Extensive mobility had come to characterize American Indian life in the eastern woodlands. Although long-distance travel and migration were nothing new in native societies, inter-tribal warfare, slave raiding, and the peltry trade within colonial capitalism caused splintering of groups, migrations, relocations, and territorial depopulation that dwarfed pre-contact patterns of movement (Ethridge 2009). Ironically, the “nomadism” that Europeans believed was an essential characteristic of the Indian race was in important respects a product of European colonialism.

Research by social historians and anthropologists approaches itinerancy in terms of social and economic adaptations. The most successful itinerants are able to identify and exploit gaps in host economies and possess effective means of transportation, practical knowledge of host societies, awareness of stereotypes of itinerant groups, and an ability to manipulate these stereotypes to practical advantage (Okely 1975:65-68; Lucassen 1998a:143-146).

In this research, mobility is viewed in terms of its role in economic development, with itinerants filling gaps in the distribution of goods and services. For example, historical research on peddlers in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe describes how these itinerants specialized in areas with poorly developed infrastructure and economies. In many cases, far from being

impoverished vagrants, itinerants were quite successful, often amassing financial reserves sufficient to eventually purchase a farm or small working place (Lucassen 1998b).

Itinerant groups are often sparsely scattered through larger socio-economic systems. Their occupations can be generalized as “the occasional supply of goods, services, and labor where demand and supply are irregular in time and space” and where permanent, large-scale, capital intensive, fixed businesses involving wage labor would be infeasible (Okely 1983:50; Berland 1982:57).

Due to their high levels of mobility, itinerant societies have often been compared to pastoralists and foragers. Itinerant groups, also referred to as peripatetics, are defined as nomads who are preferentially endogamous, largely engaged in commercial activity rather than food production or extraction, and whose principal resources are constituted by other human societies (Rao 1987). Peripatetics as a whole constitute a socio-economic category, and each community is also an ethnic unit, often defined in terms of its nomadism and commercial activities and constituting a minority wherever it may be located (Rao 1987:18).

As an *ideal* category, itinerants are at one end of a continuum of commercialism and food production/extraction; self-subsistent hunter-gatherers, pastoralists, and peasant communities would be found at the other end. Along a continuum of mobility and sedentism, itinerants (much as nomadic pastoralists and foragers) are at one end, while sedentary commercialists and farmers lie at the other. Obviously, many societies, or segments of societies, devise strategies involving varying degrees of mobility or sedentism and food production/extraction or commercialism, and it is best not to think of these different options as fixed or mutually exclusive. Itinerant communities tend to exhibit high levels of spatial mobility and to subsist primarily on the sale of goods and services. However, they often diversify their activities across time and space (Bolig 1987, 2004; Rao 1987:4-7).

This diversification often occurs as shifts between a mobile and relatively sedentary lifestyle, the combination of commercial activity and food production or extraction, and diversification of goods and services marketed (Bolig 1987, 2004; Rao 1987). Thus, in terms of mobility and sedentism, a host of factors such as weather, illness, injury, old age, government incentives or

coercion, and lucrative economic opportunities may result in individuals, families, and even whole communities adopting fixed abodes for extended periods of time (Nemeth 2002; Okely 1983; Olesan 1987; Salo 1987).

With respect to commercial activity and food extraction, in research on African peripatetic groups, Michael Bollig (2004:197) observed that “boundaries between peripatetic minorities, craftsmen castes, dependents living on ten-cent jobs, and hunter-gatherers are transient. In many places, today’s craftsmen have been foragers in the past, and peripatetics frequently combine foraging and handicrafts.” This sort of diversification in the commercial realm has earned itinerants a reputation as the “interim masters of imperfect markets” (Nemeth 2002) and is economically necessary as a consequence of the marginal status they possess in relation to the larger societies with whom they trade. For itinerants with a foraging background, the ability to opportunistically obtain food is an invaluable means of augmenting income derived from commercial pursuits.

Itinerancy and Optimal Foraging Theory

In their itinerant pottery trade, the Catawba confronted a problem frequently encountered by foragers: How do people faced with patchily distributed resources optimally exploit them? Much as is the case for foragers, itinerant strategies are a joint product of “environmental” constraints and the goals and choices of individuals trying to ensure that the returns gained from pursuing a given resource outweigh the effort expended in obtaining it (Smith 1983, Rao 1987). The Catawba undoubtedly sought to minimize the time required to manufacture and trade pottery and to locate the maximal concentration of “resources” such as clay and consumers.

Like hunter-gatherers and pastoralists, peripatetics often use cyclic spatial mobility to maximize benefits obtained “per unit of foraging time” and deal with the “patchy” distribution of resources both in space and time (i.e., the local or regional distribution of resources at any given time and their seasonal availability). For peripatetics, this can involve “adapting the migration cycle not just to supply and demand issues at any given time, but also to demand and surplus intervals of the

different clusters of customers” (Rao 1987:4-5). In this way, peripatetics “follow the cycle of the primary resources of their own resources, i.e., the agricultural, pastoral, or commercial cycles of their customers” (Rao 1987:4-5). For Catawbas, plantations, towns, and even their own reservations represented dense patches of potential customers, while the time immediately after harvest (when crops were sold at market) represented a limited time of much greater surplus for their Lowcountry customers.

The range or pattern of itinerant movements is governed in part by the relationship between the itinerant group’s occupation, or specific goods and services offered, and demand and supply factors; itinerants are acutely aware of how easily their markets are saturated. Itinerant movements are also governed by the relationship between the relative portability of their goods or services and the markets in question.

Peripatetic Resource Exploitation and “Carrying Capacity”

As might be expected, given the social nature of the peripatetic niche, in addition to issues of surplus and demand for goods and services (which are directly analogous to seasonality/distribution of wild animal and plant resources, or pasture), itinerants face certain political constraints as well. The “carrying capacity” of “a social micro-environment” is also measured in the degree of tolerance the population displays toward the peripatetic group. As Salo (1987:96) notes, “When the indulgence or the connivance of the local power structure ends, so does the itinerant’s relationship with that community, and access to resources may be effectively blocked.”

In order to enhance the “carrying capacity” of social environments, peripatetic groups often rely upon patron-client relationships (Bolig 1987, 2004). Patron-client relationships are typified by reciprocity, power imbalances, and face-to-face interactions between patrons and clients (Greene 2009:28; Scott 1972). These relationships are often established through a series of face-to-face exchanges that occur over a long period of time (Scott 1972:95). Clients attach themselves to patrons

based on the ability of the latter to provide necessities such as protection, goods, or land. In return, clients provide their patrons with labor, defense, or other services (Scott 1972:93).

For example, East Afghan Sheikh Mohammadi groups typically had patron-client relationships with local Khans, who in addition to often being tribal elders, were usually big landowners and local revenue collectors as well. Khans protected their attached Sheikh Mohammadi against other groups and handled their cases with the government; in return, the Sheikh Mohammadi performed various services for the Khan and never defied his authority (Olesen 1987:58-59). Bolig (1987:199-200) describes African peripatetic groups that provided labor and served as inter-cultural brokers and ritual specialists for their sedentary patrons. Whatever the specific relationships, “The spatial mobility of the peripatetic group is determined everywhere by the density of patrons in a given area” (Hayden 1979:298), and as Bolig (1987:211) notes, “the analysis of patron-client relations are important to the understanding of the socio-economics of these marginal groups.”

Catawba warriors defended colonial South Carolina against hostile tribes and the machinations of rival colonial powers. In return, Catawbas were rewarded by colonial officials with useful and necessary trade goods and certain guarantees of their land rights (Merrell 1989). In their role as military allies, Catawbas in essence developed patron-client relationships with British colonial elites. By providing useful goods and services to planters, itinerant Catawbas maintained these relationships into the nineteenth century. The specific goods, services, and contexts of exchange may have changed, but as will be explored in the following chapter, this relationship was critical to the Catawbas’ ability to retain their land rights and maintain access to consumer goods.

Itinerant Identity

Itinerant groups are ethnic units, typically identified by insiders and outsiders alike in terms of their mobility and commercial pursuits. Itinerants are generally distrusted by outsiders, who frequently develop negative stereotypes related to the itinerant group’s activities and putative origins and history (Rao 1987). Itinerants often construct and use their identities to manipulate outsiders’

perceptions and behavior; such manipulation is accomplished through accurate knowledge of the values and beliefs of the communities with which they interact (Casimir 2004:32-33). For example, Judith Okely's (1975, 1983) ethnographic accounts of Gypsies in Southern England demonstrate the importance of itinerants' awareness of outsider's attitudes toward Gypsies. Itinerants often reinforced images of Gypsy exoticism, "playing Gypsy" for their customers by self-consciously using costumes, gestures, and verbal expressions in their work as fortunetellers (Okely 1975:65-67).

Matt Salo (1987:104-105) has described similar processes among Gypsies, noting that "One's ethnic identity, even when negatively stereotyped, can be used to advantage." Early twentieth-century Rom played upon their customers' ideas regarding Gypsy culture when they charged admission fees to "authentic" Gypsy betrothals, weddings, and coronations at their encampments. More recently, young Rom have been observed exploiting stereotypes of Gypsy criminality when selling cheap watches, implying to potential customers that the watches were in fact high-quality stolen goods (Salo 1987:104-105). In interactions with outsiders harboring anti-Gypsy sentiments, it is sometimes both desirable and possible for Gypsies to disguise their ethnic identity. However, when lacking the option to engage in disguise, Gypsies strive to turn outsiders' beliefs to their own advantage (Okely 1975; Salo 1987).

By the early nineteenth century, racial attitudes and policies were hardening in America, and there was increasing pressure upon non-Anglo people to assimilate and adopt Anglo-American cultural norms (Davis and Riggs 2004a; Greene 2009; Merrell 1989; Riggs 2010). After decades of leasing their reservation land, Catawbas found themselves surrounded by white settlers, and traveling Catawbas constantly interacted with whites far from the relative privacy and security of their homes. As people of color, Catawbas had a limited range of options in terms of how they were perceived by whites. The adoption of Anglo-American cultural norms might have been one means of dealing with anti-Indian prejudice. Nevertheless, evidence suggests that Catawbas continued to display a distinctive native identity. Through both archaeological and documentary evidence, this study

examines the link between material markers of that identity, European attitudes toward Indians, and Catawba itinerancy.

Archaeological Perspectives on Itinerant Lifeways and Identity

Mobility and commercial activity are important factors in the construction of lifeways and ethnic identity among itinerant groups. However, itinerant mobility and commercial activity are intertwined with movement through and interaction with outsiders. Thus, awareness of the culture and attitudes of their host societies, as well as frequent interactions with the latter, are also factors in the development of itinerant culture and ethnic identity. These factors are considered in the analysis of material evidence related to lifestyle, social interactions, and identity among Catawbas.

This study utilizes a contextual or interpretive framework for analyzing material. Within contextual archaeology, material culture simultaneously possesses functional and symbolic significance to its users. Although members of a society produce material items with particular uses and meaning in mind, the same items may be understood or used in different ways by other individuals. In addition, material culture is not viewed as simply reflecting a culture, but is instead an integral part of it: material culture is “active” (Hodder and Hutson 2003). This perspective is similar to that of Douglas and Isherwood (1996:49), who view material culture objects not as mere messages in an information system, but as an integral part of the very system itself. Material culture is both “hardware and software.” Thus, when objects symbolize gender or ethnic identity, they also serve in the constitution and enactment of that identity. The idea of an identity and its materialization and performance are inseparable.

Mobility and Architecture

In addition to utilizing ethnographic research, this study develops archaeological perspectives on itinerancy through examination of David Burley’s (1989) research on ethnic identity among highly mobile western Canadian *Métis* bison hunters in western Canada (see also Burley *et al.* 1992). *Métis* generally refers to individuals with native and European ancestry and often denoted adoption of

western practices as well; in their research, Burley (1989) and Burley et al. (1992) refer to a specific ethnic group, the western Canadian *Métis*.

In their archaeological and ethnohistoric investigations of the wintering villages of the *Métis*, Burley et al. (1992:96-100) note that mobility and transhumance served to limit the amount of energy invested in upgrading and maintaining facilities in *Métis* wintering villages. In documentary accounts, *Métis* log cabins are often described as very expedient and simplistic in form. Although Burley et al. (1992) did excavate houses with stick-and-clay chimneys and mortared stone fireboxes (which more efficiently retain heat and provide additional fire safety), most houses lacked stone fireboxes, which they cited as evidence of expediency and simplicity in architecture and village structure.

This functional explanation for expediency and simplicity in *Métis* architecture and village structure is likely to be only part of the picture. In research on the formation of lived space and cultural meaning, Psarra (2009:6) notes that buildings involve both the organization of space and the construction of meaning through cultural associations. Buildings are “spatial arrangements” experienced through everyday use and embodied presence. Through configurational rules, buildings “embody and reproduce social knowledge.”

Research on English travelers (Okely 1975, 1983:129-130) and Gypsy-Americans (Nemeth 2002) describes itinerants engaged in strategic shifts between mobility and sedentism in response to climate, health, and economic concerns; for example, travelers often rent houses they can use as wintering quarters or as bases from which to exploit lucrative economic opportunities. However, even when sedentary for relatively long periods of time, travelers stress the economic and symbolic importance of mobility and the connection between mobility and itinerant identity (Okely 1983).

Practical and symbolic commitment to mobility among itinerants can be found in an account of the itinerant *Jogi Nath Kalbelia*, who work as snake handlers and charmers in the Jaipur area of Rajasthan, India. Modern *Jogi Nath Kalbelia* frequently mix itinerant pursuits with sedentary occupations, sometimes acquiring agricultural land and building mud houses in which they live as

well. Robertson (1998) describes the importance of mobility as a strategic resource for these itinerants and an important facet of their identity; as a symbol of the importance of remaining mobile, each family pitches its tent alongside its fixed abode, indicating their readiness to move on at a moment's notice.

In his ethnographic research on Gypsy-Americans, Nemeth (2002:170-181) described a Gypsy family that frequently rented houses for extended periods of time. Despite the family's semi-sedentary existence, they maintained a deep commitment to traveling, frequently regaling Nemeth with stories related to the family's many travels throughout the world. For this family, travel served obvious social and economic functions; however, practices that facilitated and symbolized economic mobility were very much bound up with their Gypsy identity (Nemeth 2002:4-8; Salo 1991). For example, although he rented houses, out of strategic and symbolic commitment to mobility, the patriarch of this family described with pride how for some years he slept in his trousers, thus prepared to move at a moment's notice. All of his important possessions fit into his station wagon and small trailer; the latter was always garaged and waiting, half-packed and ready for rapid departure (Nemeth 2002:181).

Documentary accounts indicate that some Catawbas were committed to agriculture and a sedentary lifestyle, while others supposedly abandoned agriculture and spent their time "traveling about." Documentary and archaeological evidence of Catawba itinerancy is analyzed with an eye toward both the functional and symbolic aspects of culture, and differences in the construction of Catawba dwellings are analyzed within this framework.

Hospitality and Social Sharing

In their research on western Canadian *Métis*, Burley *et al.* (1992) describe social relations characterized by an intense *joie de vivre*, outwardly manifested in music, dance, and socializing. According to an 1856 account by a *Métis* individual named Alexander Ross, "the teakettle and tobacco pipe are indispensable...[the *Métis*] are passionately fond of roving about, visiting...and

making up gossiping parties” (Ross 1957 [1856], quoted in Burley *et al.* 1992:39). During the hunting season, small bands of *Métis* were relatively isolated; the demands of their mobile lifestyle placed a high premium on opportunities for information exchange, sharing, and hospitality, enacted materially through items such as musical instruments, tobacco pipes, and strangely enough, imported European tea wares and other serving vessels. Imported European tea wares in particular became an integral part of *Métis* sociability and hospitality; indeed, Burley (1989:97) noted that transfer-printed teacups, saucers, and small bowls imported from England were a principal constituent of artifact assemblages from all *Métis* wintering camps excavated in the region. Tea wares have been recovered from even the most destitute of *Métis* hunting camps (Burley 1989:104). Whereas among British colonists, these wares were important in enacting English manners and socio-economic class distinctions and symbolized the Georgian Worldview (Deetz 1996), among the western Canadian *Métis* they came to play an integral role in the realms of *Métis* hospitality and social sharing (Burley 1989:103-105). Hospitality and social sharing were key components of *Métis* identity and social relations, both symbolized and enacted through material culture that was adopted from British colonists but reconfigured in terms of use and meaning (Burley 1989; Burley *et al.* 1992).

Hospitality and social sharing are important strategies used to mitigate the hardship, isolation, and ethnic stigmatization experienced by itinerants and other mobile groups such as the *Métis* (De Jongh 2004:172-173; Burley *et al.* 1992:38-39; Nemeth 2002:175-178; Meyer 2004:85). Itinerant Catawbas undoubtedly experienced hardships, isolation, and stigmatization, especially while on the road. Substantial collections of imported wares and other artifacts recovered from Catawba cabin sites are examined as evidence of hospitality and social sharing at the Catawbas’ home base.

Itinerants’ Knowledge of Social and Cultural Environments

Successful itinerants are able to find and fill gaps in host economies (Okely 1975:65-68) and are highly sensitive to the social and cultural environments of the communities with which they interact. Attunement to varying cultural norms and differing material needs enables itinerants to

engage in commerce with a broad spectrum of communities (Berland and Salo 1986:3). Excavation of Catawba household sites at New Town yielded a tremendous array of commercially manufactured goods. Of particular interest in this study are the substantial collections of imported wares recovered from every New Town cabin site. It is expected that itinerant Catawbans will possess considerable knowledge of their customer's preferences. Comparing the usage of Catawba pottery and imported wares recovered from itinerant and non-itinerant Catawba households provides detailed evidence of this knowledge.

Summary and Conclusion

British colonialism profoundly transformed native societies and drew Indians into a global economy. Native institutions such as domestic production, reciprocity, and gift exchange were disrupted by the introduction of state power and capitalism. Throughout the colonial era, native people were forced to engage European political and economic systems; inevitably, this also entailed engagement with European racial ideologies, which structured and rationalized European interaction with Indians.

Power imbalances were a significant factor in the dialectical processes through which Europeans and Indians defined themselves in opposition to one another. The juggernauts of empire and capitalism were not to be ignored, but Indians were nevertheless able to bring their own understandings and strategies into play and to transform colonial concepts even as they were transformed by them.

The end of the colonial era and rapid growth of the new American republic and market economy presented new constraints and opportunities for Indians (Silliman 2005:59). Colonial-era trade and warfare had provided significant economic opportunities for Indian men in the Southeast; these activities also meshed well with traditional gender roles. With the end of the colonial era, many Indian men—and women—found it difficult to adapt to changing government policies and the new market economy. Rather than emulating the “civilized” conduct of their farming tenants, Catawba

men found a niche for themselves by acting as itinerant slave catchers for South Carolina planters, while Catawba women marketed traditional handicrafts to a wide variety of customers at both local and distant markets. Catawbas augmented their itinerant pursuits through the leasing of reservation land to white settlers. Historians have documented numerous Indian groups in the American Northeast who engaged in itinerant trades involving decorated aboriginal clothing, weapons, pipes, baskets, and other craft items (Phillips 1998:21-22). Within this larger geographic context, Catawba itinerancy is not so unusual; however, the interlocking suite of commercial activities conducted by Catawbas represents a genuinely unique response to European colonialism.

Facing similar challenges wherever they are found, itinerant groups share certain key characteristics, including the ability to exploit gaps in host economies and keen awareness of the culture and politics of the communities with which they interact. This includes not only customer needs in terms of goods or services, but also practical knowledge of host societies' stereotypes of the itinerant group (Okely 1975; Rao 1987). For itinerant Catawbas, this entailed knowledge of the foodways of Europeans and African slaves, functional and cultural aspects of ceramic wares manufactured by Staffordshire potters, the social status and vanities of South Carolina planters, and the socio-cultural ramifications of European discourses on the Indian.

Changes in the Catawba economy were undoubtedly accompanied by changes in Catawba identity. Itinerants are often closely identified, by insiders and outsiders, with both mobility and the specific commercial activities in which they engage (Rao 1987). Although their commercial activity was conducted on a small scale, Catawba potters were nevertheless in some sense at the cutting edge of the market revolution in Federal-period America. As a consequence of their commercial activities, Catawbas amassed substantial arrays of commercial goods. Frequenting the homes of wealthy planters and bustling markets in Camden, Columbia, and Charleston, Catawbas surely recognized the irony of their role in the South Carolina economy relative to isolated, backcountry dirt farmers who lived on and around their reservation. It seems likely that despite the many changes that occurred in Catawba society during the eighteenth century, Catawbas also recognized that certain aspects of their

lives had not changed: European images of the savage Indian remained an important lens through which Catawba activity was interpreted by whites, and relationships with elite planters remained an important component of the Catawbas' political and economic strategies.

This study incorporates a diverse array of data and explanatory frameworks. Interweaving a discussion of the impact of colonialism and capitalism with an examination of European racial ideologies provides a rich historical and conceptual framework for subsequent analyses of Catawba identity. Utilizing anthropological perspectives on itinerant and mobile groups enables the development of specific correlates of itinerant behavior that can be examined through archaeological evidence. Placing the Catawbas within the larger context of ethnographic research on itinerant groups provides new and useful tools for interpreting the Catawbas' position in Federal-period South Carolina society.

CHAPTER 3

DOCUMENTARY PERSPECTIVES ON CATAWBA ITINERANCY

The theoretical and historical frameworks presented in Chapter 2 provide the foundation for a comprehensive overview of Catawba itinerancy. This chapter begins with a more detailed historical sketch of the Catawba Nation. Examining the impact of colonialism on the Catawbas' economy, population, and identity during the eighteenth century provides insights into the origins of Catawba itinerancy and sets the stage for subsequent chapters. This long-term history is followed by detailed examination of documentary accounts that describe Catawba life between the late eighteenth and mid nineteenth centuries, focused on deriving factual information related to the Catawbas' economic activities and lifeways. The ultimate goal of this chapter is to combine the latter sources of information with ethnographic perspectives on itinerant groups presented in chapter 2 to create a synthetic view of Catawba itinerancy. This view provides a context for the detailed examination of the Catawbas "base camp," New Town, provided in Chapters 4 and 5, and the broader discussion of Catawba identity in Chapter 6.

Spanish Entradas and Piedmont Indians

The earliest European contact with the Catawba is documented in accounts of the 1566-67 Juan Pardo expedition. These accounts briefly describe native officials referred to as *Yssa Orata* and *Catapa Orata* appearing together on several occasions; for example, these individuals appeared at a great assembly of native leaders at the seat of the Cofitachequi chiefdom, thought to have been centered at present day Camden, South Carolina (Hudson 1990:63-64, 68-76). Insofar as they consistently appear together in the Spanish accounts, *Yssa Orata* and *Catapa Orata* appear to have represented closely related polities (Fitts 2006; Hudson 1990).

Yssa is understood as the Spanish rendering of the Catawban word for river, *iswa*, which according to Charles Hudson (1990:75), the English later rendered as Esaw. *Catapa* is the Spanish rendering of *yi Kàtapu*, a term from the Catawban language which has been translated as “people in the fork of the river” (Rudes, Blumer, and May 2004:315), understood to be the group the English later referred to as the Kadapau, or Catawba. According to Charles Hudson, the main town of *Yssa Orata* was located near present day Lincolnton, North Carolina, about 100 miles north of Cofitachequi (Hudson 1990:75); the town of *Catapa Orata* is believed to have been located nearby that of *Yssa Orata*.

English Colonization and the Catawba Confederacy

South Carolina’s English colonization began with the settlement at Charles Town in 1670. Although colonial settlements clung tenuously to South Carolina’s coast for several decades, backcountry traders, travelers, and settlers gradually made their way inland (Brown 1966; Merrell 1989). An account of contact between the Piedmont’s Catawba Indians and an English explorer occurred in 1701, when John Lawson, traveling through the Wateree-Catawba River Valley, passed through the settlements of the Esaw, Catawba, and Sugaree Indians, staying for a night with the “Kadapau King.” Lawson noted that the Esaw were a “very large Nation containing many thousand people” and that the Sugaree inhabited “a great many Towns and Settlements” (Lawson 1967 [1709]:46, 49).

From the observations Lawson recorded of these native peoples, it would appear that the Esaw, “Kadapau,” and Sugaree were the core groups of a powerful confederation of tribes that came to be known by the mid eighteenth century as the Catawba Nation. This “Catawba confederacy” may have developed in response to changes wrought by the burgeoning backcountry trade with the Virginia and Carolina colonies in the last decades of the seventeenth century (Hudson 1965:75-76).

English perceptions of this confederacy appear to have changed during the eighteenth century. Moore (2002:45) notes that English colonial use of “Catawba” seems to have been divided

into three distinct phases (see also Hudson 1970; Baker 1975; Merrell 1989). At the time of Lawson's journey in 1701, Catawba described a distinct town or native group that appeared to be a part of the larger Esaw polity (see Fitts 2006). From approximately 1710 to 1730, Catawba referred to a collection of diverse ethnic groups living in the same general vicinity; by the mid eighteenth century, documents describe the "Catawba nation, a more extensive and inclusive amalgamation of peoples." Thus, over the course of the eighteenth century, the prominence of the Catawba polity seems to have increased. Along with rising importance, the range of native groups described by the label "Catawba" seems to have expanded as well (see Fitts 2006; Riggs and Davis 2004a).

British colonialism was a factor in this change. By effectively allying themselves with a powerful and influential geo-political entity, the Catawbas, Esaws, and affiliated groups enjoyed special treatment and greater access to trade goods, certainly enhancing their standing among other Piedmont groups. However, that alliance was based upon providing costly military service for the British, and involved a significant loss of autonomy as the British increasingly influenced the destinies of southeastern native societies.

Militarization and Catawba Identity

In his research on Catawba ethnogenesis, Charles Heath (2004) argues that in reaction to the threats and opportunities presented by British colonization, the Catawba pursued a strategy of militarization. In providing military service to the British, the Catawba acted as "ethnic soldiers," buffering colonial South Carolina from external threats, most often Indian warriors organized and deployed by the French and Spanish colonies. In many colonial settings, ethnic soldiers are culled from an indigenous warrior class, and are used by states and empires as auxiliary combat troops and internal police to control subversive or enslaved populations. They may be drawn into service by either coercive or seductive measures, such as military force or lucrative trade (Ferguson and Whitehead 1999:21-22; Heath 2004:82-83).

The Catawbas' service to the British as ethnic soldiers began in the late seventeenth century, when Charles Town officials courted Catawba warriors as allies against the Westos and Savannah-Shawnees (Brown 1966; Heath 2004; Merrell 1989). In 1709-1710, the Catawba were hired to defend outlying settlements around Charles Town against raids by Northern Iroquois warriors and to travel north in retaliatory raids (Blumer 1987). Heath (2004:87) notes that Catawba contingents were documented as fighting for South Carolina in the Franco-Spanish attack on Charles Town (1706), the Tuscarora War (1711-1713), and the Seven Years War (1756-1763).

Aside from these major events, the Catawba routinely participated in numerous ongoing conflicts related to competition between European empires, the most notorious of which involved the northern Iroquois confederacy (Heath 2004). Iroquois warriors began raiding the Carolinas in significant numbers in the late 1670s; by the time of John Lawson's journey, Iroquois warriors "menaced every Piedmont town," seeking to expand their fur trade and seize Indian captives to be sold into slavery, a situation that created considerable anxiety for both Indians and colonists (Merrell 1989:41-42).

Situated on the Great Trading Path, the Catawba formed a "living bulkhead" between the coastal British settlements, western Cherokees, and northern Iroquois raiders (Heath 2004:83). Of the native confederacy's constituent tribes, Anglo-Americans came to see Catawba warriors in particular as "indispensable paramilitary allies and enforcers of governmental policies" (Heath 2004:81), a role for which they were handsomely rewarded with guns, ammunition, lavish gifts, trade protections, and administrative efforts to curtail white encroachment of territory traditionally recognized as belonging to the Catawba confederacy (Heath 2004:84).

Both British colonists and Catawba warriors enthusiastically embraced the Catawba's growing reputation for martial prowess. Thus, Edmond Atkin, a Carolina trader and British Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the South emphatically stated that, "in war they are inferior [to] no Indians whatever. . . . Such is the Honour in Indian Estimation to be acquired by Killing any of them, that Indians as far as the [Great] Lakes go in quest of them" (Jacobs 1967:47), while in 1756, the

Catawba leader King Hagler boasted to a South Carolina Governor, “We are a small Nation but our Name is high, and if we go to the War with the White People against the enemy we shall drive them so far as that we shall raise many Children without any Danger or Molestation” (McDowell 1969:107-108).

The Catawba fully embraced alliance with South Carolina after the Yamasee War, in which British colonial militias decisively defeated a 1715 Indian uprising. Angered by the abusive practices of English traders, the Yamasees, Creeks, Choctaws, and some Cherokees initiated a campaign to wipe out traders and plantations in the South Carolina backcountry. The Catawba briefly participated on the Indian side of this conflict; along with some Waterees and Cheraws, a group of Catawbas killed a number of South Carolina traders (Merrell 1989:66-68; Moore 2002:11).

Colonial militias from South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia ultimately broke the Indian offensive and destroyed the Yamasees. To protect its vulnerable frontier, South Carolina attacked Indians located nearest to Charles Town; Congarees, Santees, Sewees, Peepees, and Waxhaws suffered massive losses and either fled south to Florida or north to join the Catawba (Hudson 1965:98; Moore 2002:11-12).

For their part, the Catawba sought to repair relations with the British by destroying the villages of intransigent Waxhaw Indians. Members of the South Carolina Commons House of Assembly approvingly noted that “The Wascaws [sic] refus’d to make peace with us which obliged the Cattawbas to fall on them, They have kill’d the Major part of them [;] the rest are fled” (Sainsbury 1955:241, quoted in Merrell 1989:103). South Carolina rewarded the Catawbas with the establishment of a trade factory, a development that undoubtedly enhanced their position among Piedmont tribes (Merrell 1989:104).

After the Yamasee War, the balance of power in the region had shifted dramatically (Moore 2002:12); Catawba Valley groups certainly benefited from allying themselves with the British; however, Hudson (1965:98) saw the Catawba as losing considerable autonomy, becoming a “colonial satellite and a “military dependency,” while James Merrell (1989:81-91) described them as becoming

entirely dependent upon trade with the British. Nevertheless, as ethnic soldiers the Catawba for a time enjoyed greater status, power, and prosperity than many other tribes in the area, and with a limited range of options at their disposal, they made the best of a difficult situation (Heath 2004). As Heath (2004:84) describes, Catawba leaders “carefully manipulated colonial officials from Virginia and the Carolinas...to garner the best possible arrangements, in terms of political patronage and gift payments.”

Colonial Strategies and Catawba Identity

With the establishment of Charles Town, strategic location on the Virginia-Cherokee trading path and the east-west trail later known as the Salisbury Road was a key factor that enabled the Catawbas to play a particularly important role in colonial trade and competition between colonial powers (Fitts 2006; Heath 2004; Moore 2002). Trade goods, warriors, and information moved constantly along these routes; in turn, the Virginia-Cherokee path came to be known throughout the region as “the Catawba path,” in recognition of the specific group this trail led to (Fitts 2006:14-17, 49-50; Mooney 1894:71). Location was thus an important factor in the Catawba’s rising prominence in the first half of the eighteenth century. However, European colonialism heavily influenced both the increasing importance of that location and the identities of native societies engaged in colonial trade.

By the early eighteenth century, the eastern woodlands had become a “shatter zone,” due to widespread instability created by the introduction of capitalism through the Indian slave and peltry trades in the seventeenth century (Ethridge 2009). Indian societies were engaged in widespread and intensive warfare and slave raiding, with rival Indian groups heavily armed and played off against each other by competing colonial interests. In a well-documented pattern, Indians would fall deeply into debt with traders who would agree to erase their debts if they would pay them in Indian slaves. Heavily armed by the traders, they would fall on rival groups, who would in turn need to heavily arm

themselves in self-defense, often falling into deeply debt and themselves becoming slave raiders (Ethridge 2009:25).

Warfare, slave raiding, and fierce competition in trade, fostered by imperial design, undoubtedly impacted pre-existing ethnic differences among native groups. Competition and conflict would obviously have had potential to amplify conflicts between ethnic groups, although in situations involving amalgamation or coalescence of different groups, downplaying ethnic differences would have been an important strategy for enhancing group cohesion.

Power imbalances and control of strategic resources were important factors in relations between the British colonies and Piedmont Indian societies, and the British sought to manipulate and intensify their advantages in their dealing with Indians. In his research on the historic Catawba, James Merrell (1989:52; from Salley 1928:116-118) noted that as early as 1681, the Lords Proprietors of Carolina recognized that “furnishing a bold and warlike people with Armes and Ammunition and other things useful to them...tyed them to soe strict a dependance upon us...that whenever that nation that we sett up shall misbehave themselves towards us, we shall be able whenever we please by abstaineing from supplying them with Ammunition...to ruine them.”

The threat of such ruination was a key part of British colonial strategy in the region, as a tribe deprived of ammunition would soon fall prey to its better-armed enemies. In addition, the English inflamed inter-group rivalries by tactically favoring particular tribes in trade, and instigated slave raids between Indian groups they had armed, with captives traded into slavery for European goods or the erasure of debts incurred in trade (Merrell 1989:37, 66; Moore 2002:11).

These tactics “wreaked havoc with native geopolitics” (Moore 2002:11); however, beyond the profound geopolitical implications, the demands of colonial warfare and the peltry trade, along with the steady flow of European goods into Indian communities dramatically altered the fabric of everyday life for Indians. In 1754, the Catawba chief Hagler told a colonial audience that his people “had no Instruments To support our living but Bows which we Completed with stones, knives we had none,...our Axes we made of stone...our Cloathing were Skins and Furr, instead of which we Enjoy

those Cloaths which we got from the white people and Ever since they first Came among us we have Enjoyed all those things that we were then destitute of for which we thank the white people” (Saunders 1968 [1886-1890]:144a; quoted in Merrell 1989:88).

It seems likely that Hagler would have preferred being “destitute” if it meant being rid of white people; however, with the displacement of native knowledge and technologies, he had little choice but to be “thankful.” Through the loss of technologies and related knowledge, Indians became commodity consumers, largely dependent on trade with Europeans for their material existence.

Through intense participation in colonial trade, Indians shifted from an economy based upon domestic production and gift exchange to increasing reliance upon commodity exchange, and many aspects of Indian daily life became solidly enmeshed within colonial politics and capitalist economics (Hudson 1970; Merrell 1989). Thus, when a Sugaree headman told Virginia councilor and trader Nathaniel Harrison (1727; quoted in Merrell 1989:90), “To shew the kindness we have for [the Virginia people], we make it our business to kill deer and get skins, for their Traders,” he invoked the logic of the gift economy: something-for-nothing trade in which the personal bonds established were more important than the items exchanged. In response, Harrison voiced cynicism: “We don’t look on that as a particular freindship in you, for...I know you are oblig’d to kill deer for the Support of your Women and Children; and without our freindship in supplying you with Guns, and Ammunition you must all starve, and what is as bad, become a prey to your Enemies so that the Freindship is from us in trading with and supplying you with these Necessarie Goods, for your support, and Defence.” Harrison reminded the Sugaree headman of the logic of commodity exchange: the value of goods lies in their usefulness, and goods are exchanged out of economic necessity, not for the sake of friendship.

The Sugaree headman was probably aware of the differences between gifts and commodities—contestation rather than confusion was most likely at play in this exchange, as the headman vainly sought to wrest some concession of social obligation from Harrison. Note that the headman strategically positioned Indians as the first to give, placing the English in the role of socially indebted gift recipients.

James Merrell (1989:91) notes that Indians were well aware of the risks of trade with Europeans, and sought to maintain some semblance of autonomy. Merrell describes a 1717 episode in which Virginia Governor Alexander Spotswood implored some Indian headmen to embrace English culture. A colonist reported that the Indians politely, but firmly “asked leave to be excused from becoming as we are, for they thought it hard, that we should desire them to change their manners and customs, since they did not desire us to turn Indians.” The Indians may not have become English, but their everyday lives and identities were nevertheless transformed by colonialism.

Catawba Identity and Mobility within the Shatter Zone

Extensive mobility had come to characterize Native American life in the eastern woodlands of North America by the early eighteenth century. Although long distance travel and migration were nothing new in native societies, inter-tribal warfare, slave raiding, and the peltry trade within colonial capitalism caused splintering of groups, migrations, relocations, and territorial depopulation that dwarfed pre-contact patterns of movement (Ethridge 2009). To some extent, the “nomadism” that Europeans described as an essential trait of the Indian race was a product of European colonialism.

Documentary evidence demonstrates that in their role as ethnic soldiers and deerskin hunters, Catawbas were continually involved in the proxy wars instigated by colonial powers and Indian traders (Heath 2004). Involvement in these conflicts and the deerskin trade necessitated extensive mobility for Catawba warriors. Of course, warfare and disease epidemics took a heavy toll on the Catawba confederacy. Thus, in addition to extensive travel related to warfare, maintaining their military and political power required Catawbas to travel widely to recruit shatter zone refugees to bolster their own declining population (Merrell 1989:101-106), such recruitment was a common pattern among militarized societies in the shatter zone (Ethridge 2009).

As a result of Catawba recruiting efforts, by 1743, over twenty different languages were spoken in Catawba settlements; some tribal groups lived in distinct towns (Adair 2005 [1775]; Merrell 1989:110-11). Bolstered by the steady inflow of refugees, the Catawba Nation maintained

dominance among piedmont tribes. However, the Catawba Nation's dominant position was relatively short-lived. Between 1700 and 1759, incessant warfare, disease, and defection had already reduced the Catawba confederacy from an estimated population of 6000-8000 individuals to little more than 1000 (McReynolds 2004:44-45; Fitts 2006). In 1759, a smallpox epidemic decimated what remained of the Catawba and their allies, by some estimates killing more than half of the confederacy's population (Brown 1966:180-181; Merrell 1989:194-195).

The survivors abandoned their towns and regrouped, staying for two years near the colonial settlement of Pine Tree Hill, later known as Camden, South Carolina. By 1762, some 300-400 survivors returned to Catawba territory and condensed their former six towns into just two villages, one of which was Old Town (Brown 1966; Merrill 1989:195; Riggs 2010:35). At this point the distinct identities of the different tribal groups were apparently erased, leaving what Indians and colonists alike referred to as simply "the Catawba" (Davis and Riggs 2004a).

After the 1759 epidemic, the Catawba's military and political influence waned; demographic collapse required the Catawba to adopt new economic strategies. Although the Catawba no longer possessed sufficient warriors to play an important military role, their loyalty to South Carolina and reputation as fierce savages served to create another economic and political opportunity: serving as runaway slave catchers. In 1754, a South Carolina official said of the Catawbas, "It is necessary to keep up that nation as a distinct People to be a Check upon runaway Slaves who might otherwise get to a head in the Woods and prove as mischeivous a thorn in our sides as the fugitive Slaves in Jamaica did in theirs" (Pinckney 1754; quoted in Merrell 1989:144). In 1765, Lt. Governor William Bull called upon Catawba warriors to capture escaped slaves hiding in the swamps outside Charles Town, asserting that "Indians strike terrour into the Negroes," and were "more sagacious in tracking" than colonists (Bull 1766; quoted in Merrell 1989:207). In 1775-6, Catawba warriors, having cast their lot with the American Revolutionaries, were called upon to hunt runaway slaves and Tories in the Lowcountry (Merrell 1989:216). Catawba warriors also joined a state militia in attacking an escaped slave camp on the Savannah River in 1787 (Bentley 1991).

These policing ventures brought substantial parties of Catawbas to the South Carolina Lowcountry for extended periods of time (Merrell 1989:207, 216); however, unlike the proxy wars in which they previously fought, slave catching took Catawba warriors from the frontier to the very center of colonial power. Historians have documented numerous Catawba diplomatic missions visiting colonial officials in Charleston and at their Lowcountry plantation homes during the eighteenth century (Brown 1966; Merrell 1989). Indeed, colonial records suggest that between 1720 and 1760, such diplomatic visits increased not only in frequency, but also in terms of the size of Catawba parties, which came to include not only headmen and warriors, but women and children as well (Brown 1966:221-222; Merrell 1989:145-146).

Visits to colonial officials were opportunities to obtain much needed intelligence and payment for services and to remain on the political map by reminding influential allies of the Catawba's continued loyalty and usefulness. Slave catching in the Lowcountry thus served to align Catawba mobility in the economic sphere with their mobility in the political sphere. With their military importance in rapid decline, Catawbas were no longer summoned by officials in Charleston; catching runaway slaves provided Catawbas with opportunities for face-to-face meetings with influential planters. Perhaps more importantly, even as Catawba military *viability* decreased due to declining population, their *visibility* increased through traveling directly to plantation estates.

Documentary evidence suggests that the Catawba were engaged in slave catching on a somewhat limited basis. Nonetheless, at a time when the passing of the frontier and the Catawba's declining population cast considerable doubt on their continued usefulness, such opportunities would have been critical to maintaining their position in South Carolina society. As for the nature of that position, William Bull's invocation of terrifying and sagacious Indians demonstrates the important link between discourses on Indian savagery and the political and economic value of "playing Indian."

Embracing the roles they played for European settlers became a matter of survival; however, as Charles Hudson (1970) has noted, performing these roles was not only a matter of what Catawbas did for Europeans, but also just as importantly, how Europeans perceived what Catawbas did. This

has important implications for the development of the Catawba pottery trade. The specific origins of the pottery trade will perhaps never be known; Catawbas may have begun making and selling pottery emulating European wares during their two year stay at Pine Tree Hill (Riggs 2010:35-36), they may have hit upon this strategy during extended stays in the Lowcountry. In any event, through selling pottery on plantations between their reservation and Charleston, the pottery trade, much like slave catching, involved traveling to the center of colonial power, and undoubtedly hinged upon images of the Indian that were in important respects understood by Indians and Europeans alike.

The Catawba and Backcountry Settlers

In 1761, the South Carolina government made offers of free land, tax exemptions, and free tools to Irish Protestant settlers, in an effort to offset the tremendous growth in the number of African slaves in the colony with a population that would presumably fight on the white side in the event of a slave revolt. This offer substantially increased the number of Irish in South Carolina, although Irish immigrants had been settling in the colony since as early as 1720. A considerable number of South Carolina's Irish immigrants settled in the vicinity of the Catawba Nation; indeed, during the Revolution, the nearby Waxhaw community was referred to by the British military as "a settlement of Irish" (Booraem 2001:1; 216-217n).

Irish settlers in the Carolinas were a mix of Anglicans and Presbyterians, primarily from the vicinity of Ulster. The Presbyterians were Scots who had been settled in Ireland during the 1600s to aid in British colonization; they began to flee Ireland in the early eighteenth century in response to an Anglican crackdown on dissenting religions. The Scots were known derogatorily in the Carolinas as the "Scotch Irish." It should be noted that the Presbyterians were overwhelmingly Whigs—ardent supporters of the American Revolution (Booraem 2001:216-217n). This was to have significant implications for the Catawba, who, with the onset of the Revolution, were forced to choose between the numerous "Scotch-Irish" Whigs who were their neighbors and the relatively distant British government. Despite passionate appeals by agents of the Crown, the Catawba allied themselves with

the Whigs. Despite their diminished numbers, the Catawba villages provisioned Revolutionary forces during the war, and Catawba warriors fought in several Revolutionary battles. For their support of the Revolution, Catawbas accumulated significant political capital, becoming widely known as the “Patriot Indians” (Brown 1966; Merrell 1989), once again profiting from their role as ethnic soldiers.

As a consequence of their decision to support the Revolution, the Catawbas became refugees again during the Revolutionary War. In 1780 they fled to Virginia for nearly a year to avoid the wrath of Cornwallis and his army; Catawbas returned to their territory in late 1781 (Brown 1966; Merrell 1989), re-occupying Old Town and establishing another settlement represented by the archaeological site of Ayers Town (inhabited ca. 1781-1800).

The 1797 account by Lady Liston describes some 300 Catawbas inhabiting three villages, one of which may have been New Town. By the early 1800s, the Catawba Nation consisted of New Town and most likely another settlement as well. With the death of Catawba leader Sally New River ca. 1818-1820 (Brown 1966), Catawbas are described as shifting from New Town to a settlement on the west side of the Catawba River (see Mills 1826). In Robert Mills’ 1826 description of the Catawba Nation, the town on the east side of the river (originally called New Town, but by then apparently known as Turkey Head) consisted of only 4-5 families. Mills placed Catawba population at that time at around 110 (Mills 1826:114-115); however, his information appears to have been several years out of date.

The Catawbas as Landlords

By the mid-eighteenth century, the Indian slave trade was over and the Piedmont deerskin trade was in decline, and as increasing numbers of settlers invaded Catawba territory, relationships with the settlers became of great strategic importance (Brown 1966:297; Merrell 1989:209-212). Pressured by settler encroachment, in 1763 the Catawba relinquished claims to most of their land in exchange for legal title to a fifteen mile square reservation. At this time, Catawbas began allowing settlers to lease land on their reservation (Merrell 1989:198-200; Pettus 2005:23-29). By the

Revolutionary War, Catawbas had rented substantial tracts on the reservation to at least three settler families (Merrell 1989:198-200). After the Revolution, the number of leaseholders increased dramatically; in 1785, the State of South Carolina became involved in the process, establishing a leaseholder system that was administered by state appointed Indian commissioners (Pettus 2005:29-31). In 1791, some three hundred settlers leased land on the reservation; by the early nineteenth century, all but several hundred of the 144,000-acre Catawba Reservation had been rented to settlers (Brown 1966:297; Merrell 1989:209-210; Pettus 2005:23-29). For many tenants, lease arrangements provided access to land they would otherwise have been unable to afford. For the Catawba this system not only provided income, but also gave settlers a stake in the continued existence of the Catawba Nation. Whereas neither squatters nor the South Carolina government had much concern for the Catawba's legal title and reservation boundaries, tenants had a vested interest in this matter, and guarded their respective tracts of Catawba land against encroachment, whether their Catawba landlords were on the reservation or not. In the end, even squatters benefited, as signing leases and paying nominal rents provided long-term security whereas squatting did not (Pettus 2005:26).

Catawba land was typically leased for \$1.50 to \$10 per year, with tracts ranging from 100 to 1800 acres. Most leases ran for a period of three life times or ninety nine years, and tenants received substantial discounts for the first decade or more (Pettus 2005:39-40). Although leasing land provided necessary income to Catawba families, documentary evidence suggest that lease payments were not a sufficient means of support (Pettus 2005:39). South Carolina Governor Robert Hayne asserted in 1833 that Catawbas were being cheated by their tenants, and received less than a third of what they were legally entitled to. This assertion is supported by estimates of fair market values of land in the vicinity, as derived from numerous sublease agreements made by tenants (Pettus 2005:39-44). According to these estimates, even the most productive farmland was leased from Catawbas for pennies on the dollar per acre of land; the bulk of Catawba land was leased for considerably less than that (tenants also substituted unwanted goods for cash payments; Brown 1969:297; Merrell 1989:230-237; Pettus 2005:39-44).

As the Catawba's tenants improved their economic position, they increasingly came to resent paying rent to Indian landlords and strove to obtain ownership of leased Catawba land through appeals to the South Carolina legislature; recognizing economic opportunities, powerful individuals also strove to gain control and ownership of Catawba land (Brown 1966:297; Merrell 1989:198-210; Pettus 2005). The lease system thus appears to have necessitated political lobbying by Catawbas.

With regard to lobbying, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Catawbas are documented as frequently visiting influential South Carolinians such as Thomas Sumter and Joseph Kershaw (Sumter had commanded Catawba warriors during the Revolutionary War, Merrell 1989:218-220). In these visits, Catawbas made effective use of the political capital they had accumulated in fighting for the Revolution. In a prime example of the success of Catawba lobbying efforts, in 1785, the South Carolina legislature rebuffed Governor William Moultrie's plan for the state to become the proprietor of Catawba lands, with rents collected from settlers used to educate and civilize the Catawba; the legislature noted that Catawbas had not asked for this assistance (Merrell 1989:217).

With the Catawba's national status threatened by their loss of military power, the significance of the lease arrangements cannot be overstated. Lease arrangements created a *détente* between land hungry settlers and the Catawba, and provided Catawba families with cash, food, and goods for perhaps seventy years. More importantly, the lease system served to perpetuate the idea of the Catawba as a Nation, despite settler's awareness of its declining numbers.

The lease system enabled the Catawba to maintain land ownership until the 1840 Treaty of Nations Ford. At that time, South Carolina, urged by the Catawba's white tenants, convinced the Catawba to cede their lands in exchange for a cash payment or a tract of land to be purchased by the state. The reservation was dissolved and many of the Catawbas resettled among the Cherokee in North Carolina (although some remained on their former territory). Although the promises made by the state were not honored, by 1850, some 100 Catawbas had returned to South Carolina. At that

point, Catawbas resided on 630 acres of land on their original reservation that had been procured for them by South Carolina's Indian Agent, Joseph White (Hudson 1970:64-65; Merrell 1989:252-257).

Documentary Accounts Relating to Catawba Itinerancy

The preceding historical sketch provides an overview of the broad circumstances in which Catawba itinerancy developed. Accounts describing the Catawba provide evidence for developing a clearer picture of Catawba itinerancy itself. The following accounts contain particularly useful information related to the Catawbas' lifeways and economic practices. This factual information is then synthesized in a broad overview of Catawba itinerancy.

John Ferdinand Smyth

John Ferdinand Smyth, a British soldier and Tory who traveled extensively in the North American colonies, visited the Catawba Reservation in 1772. Smyth hired a local guide who was intimately familiar with Catawbas. Smyth's account appears in his extensive travel memoir, *A Tour in the United States*, published in London in 1784. In his visit to the Catawba Nation, Smyth noted the following:

I was not a little surprised to find that they all spoke English very intelligibly; and they informed me that they understand, and pronounce it as well as their own language [Smyth 1784:185].

The Indian women... cultivate the soil, as well as perform the common menial domestic services; the sole occupation of the men being war, hunting, fishing, fowling, and smoaking [sic] tobacco; The only manufacture that I can discover among them is that of party-coloured little baskets, table-mats, made of straw, and chips, or splits of different coloured wood; and an ill-formed kind of a half-baked earthen ware. These insignificant trifles are carried about by the squaws for sale, and are purchased for the most worthless invaluable considerations...some of their hunters dispose of more than one hundred pounds value of deer-skins every year [Smyth 1784:193-194].

Smyth met Catawbas who were fluent in English. The ability to communicate effectively with their customers would have enabled Catawbas to negotiate financial transactions, obtain information about potential customers, and even learn about the broader market in which they were participating. At the time of Smyth's visit, Catawba women performed their traditional role as

farmers, while Catawba men continued to engage in warfare, hunting, and fishing. At the same time, Catawba women were also manufacturing baskets, cane mats, and earthenware, for which, Smyth claims, they received little in return. Although this study focuses upon Catawba pottery, it is obvious from this account that Catawba women commercialized basketry as well. Smyth also notes Catawba hunters participating in the deerskin trade.

Lady Henrietta Liston

The Lady Henrietta Liston, wife of Scottish diplomat Sir Robert Liston, recorded a brief visit to the Catawbans in her personal journal. Lady Liston accompanied her husband on a four-year diplomatic mission to America; they toured Virginia and the Carolinas in November, 1797. In her account, she noted:

we set out, accompanied by a guide...to visit the Nation...The Indians settled in the midst of...the Whites...are obliged...to adopt their customs...Many of them build their Log Houses of the same form, always adhering to one apartment only...they are settled in three Towns. The Col...presides in the one we happened to visit...Our first respects were paid to him...we found the old Warrior sitting in a Chair...His wife...sat on a stool...At one corner of the fire...squatted in form figure & posture a large ape, blind & playing on his teeth with his fingers...The Colonel was surrounded with Sons Daughters & grand Children...He apologized for the smallness of their numbers saying the young Men had not yet come in from hunting. We had, indeed, met some of them selling their Deerskins a hundred miles to the South...The only cultivation we saw was a small quantity of Indian corn in the vicinity of the Town, cultivated I am told, by the Women, & this is rather for traveling with (when an Indian sets out on a journey the flour of Indian Corn in a bag & pot to boil is ---- all his provision) than to use as bread...In the course of our visits through the Town, we entered several of the Wigwhams (the original form of their Houses). In one of them we found a sick Indian lying half naked, on a Deerskin near the fire, & in all of them the half naked wretches lay indolently on skins round the fire place. In another Wigwham was a Woman lately delivered [Liston 1797:25-27].

Liston arrived at the Catawba Nation in the fall; grapes and corn are noted near the village, but Catawbans warmed themselves with blankets and fires. Liston noted the adoption of log cabin architecture by many Catawbans; however, some continued to live in traditional houses. She found a village somewhat devoid of adults. In addition to the headman and his wife, she specifically described children of various ages, a disabled individual, a “sick Indian” and a woman who had just given birth; others, referred to only as “half naked wretches,” but not specifically identified, may have

been adults. The headman apologized for the absence of young men away hunting; Liston noted having met Catawba men selling deerskins some 100 miles from the Nation, but it is not clear whether these hunters were accompanied by women. Finally, Liston was impressed by the small scale of Catawba agriculture. She noted that Catawba women grew corn primarily as provisions used when traveling. It cannot be said whether this observation represents fact or simply the opinion of her guide; indeed, without knowing her frame of reference, Liston's conception of a "small quantity of corn" is impossible to assess, particularly with respect to the Catawbas' subsistence needs.

Edwin J. Scott

Edwin Scott wrote a lengthy memoir, *Random Recollections of a Long Life, 1806-1876*, that was published in 1884. Scott described being visited by itinerant Catawbas ca. 1810, while he lived in Manchester, South Carolina, located near Columbia:

The occasional, and always welcome, advent of a Yankee peddler, driving a good horse in a covered wagon, supplied families with tin ware and other light goods. And a few Catawba Indians visited us every winter, with bows and arrows, moccasins, and earthenware pots and pans of their own manufacture, some very neatly made and prettily colored; the women carrying infants wrapped in blankets on their backs, so that the little ones could peep out over their mothers' shoulders [Scott 1884:13].

Scott's reference to Yankee peddlers provides an insight into the market Catawbas participated in. Yankee peddlers were an important part of the market revolution of the early nineteenth century (Rainer 1997:27). Peddlers working in South Carolina would have been potential competitors of itinerant Catawbas and were perhaps even models upon whom the Catawbas patterned aspects of their own trade.

The peddling of tin ware and other goods manufactured in New England began in the 1740s. By 1800, New England manufactures were establishing seasonal tinsmith shops and distribution depots throughout the Republic. A tinsmith shop was established in Charleston in 1810, and a depot was soon opened in Columbia. Depots, tinsmith shops, and peddlers operated from fall to spring, closing during the agricultural season so proprietors, smiths, and peddlers could return to New England and tend their farms. With staffs of twenty to thirty peddlers, a depot could supply a broad

“hinterland clientele” with tin pots, pans, cups, patent ovens, candlesticks, lanterns, graters, and other utensils (Rainer 1997:27-28). Yankee peddlers were welcomed by many Southerners, but certainly not all. The exploitation of peddlers by their employers in turn drove peddlers to overcharge their customers, particularly in areas with poor access to goods. Peddlers were also frequently accused of selling shoddy merchandise and undermining local economies (Rainer 1997:28, 37-42). In addition to tin wares, Peddlers sold convenience; in traveling door-to-door, they profited from the dearth of retail outlets that existed in many locales prior to the Civil War.

Scott described Catawbas as visiting in the winter, similar to the pattern common among Yankee peddlers. Like peddlers, Catawbas also sold a variety of wares; in addition to pottery, Scott described Catawbas selling moccasins, bows, and arrows. Along with basketry, clothing and ornamental weapons were commonly sold by itinerant Indians in the Northeast and upper Midwest (Phillips 1998:21-22). Finally, Scott described Catawba women as carrying infants on their backs. Infants obviously required nursing and care from their mothers, but they may have been effective marketing tools as well, provoking a sympathetic response in customers. In any case, the sight of Catawba women carrying infants seems to have left Scott with a vivid impression.

Calvin Jones

Calvin Jones, a North Carolina physician, newspaper editor, and plantation owner, included a description of the Catawba in his travel diaries. Jones visited the Catawbas on July 17, 1815. Of his visit, Jones wrote:

Visited the Catawba towns. First went to Sally New Rivers...drinks no spirits has a negro and is industrious and respectable. Went to Colonel Airs [Ayers]... Next to Newtown – 6 or 8 houses facing an oblong square. Men gone hunting and fishing. Women making pans – Clay from the river – shape them with their hands and burn them with bark which makes the exposed side a glossy black. A pitcher a quarter of a dollar. Sell pans frequently for the full [measure?] of meal. Saw some sitting on their beds and making pans. New Rivers and Airs houses had floors – all have chimneys...Great scarcity of corn now. Sally New River said the lazy ones had gone to look for corn. Airs she says works like a negro. Only 2 negroes in the nation and they old... Anderson gives 12 dollars a year for annual rent of 640 acres of land. there are commissioners to see justice done them. But they are permitted to [give?] articles useless to them. A horse of little value and at high price...Col. Airs

industrious. The only trade among them is a silver [?] smith. They have no shoemaker or Blacksmiths. The women make clothes tho they do not spin [Jones 1815].

In his visit to Catawba New Town, Jones seems to describe visiting two separate hamlets. One consisted of the households of Catawba leaders Sally New River and Colonel Ayers, the other of families inhabiting “6 or 8 houses facing an oblong square.” Sally New River was the daughter of a white trader named Matthew Toole, and the wife of Catawba leader General New River, who was deceased at the time of Jones’ visit. Sally was described by other observers as a shrewd and discerning individual, as well something of a cultural broker who was comfortable in local white society and often mediated between Catawbas and outsiders (Brown 1966; Merrell 1989; Pettus 1999).

Jones described Sally as “industrious and respectable.” Ayers is also said to be “industrious,” whereas, elsewhere in his journal, Jones characterized other Catawbas as “lazy drunken wretches.” Sally owned an elderly slave; the other slave mentioned was perhaps owned by Ayers. Sally remarked to Jones that Ayers “works like a negro,” which presumably indicated that Ayers was engaged in farm work.

In the southern plantation order, “negro,” work, and agriculture were inextricably linked. In European discourse on Indians, farming and hunting were frequently contrasted, with farming representing civilization and industriousness, and hunting representing indolent savagery (Berkhofer 1978:27-30; see for example, Simms 2003 [1828]:17). Europeans saw the adoption of farming by Indians men as a critical indicator of their willingness to become “civilized” (Berkhofer 1978; see also Simms 2003 [1828]).

Jones noted a great scarcity of corn on the reservation. Sally’s remark that “the lazy ones had gone to look for corn” strongly suggests that some Catawbas were not farming, but instead procuring corn through other means. This remark also indicates that “industriousness” and farming were traits shared by New River and Ayers.

Whereas Lady Liston (1797) noted a mixture of traditional “wigwams” and settler-style cabins, Jones described only houses with chimneys, suggesting the abandonment of traditional architecture by 1815. However, Jones did make one distinction between Catawba houses: Whereas all of the houses had chimneys, Jones described New River and Ayers as having the only cabins with wood floors.

The initial dwellings typically constructed by European settlers were single-room structures with dirt floors and a sometimes loft for sleeping (Edgar 2001:7; Rouse 2004:193; in her account, Liston noted the ubiquity of single-room cabins). Subsequent improvements generally included a puncheon floor constructed of split logs. Chimneys and fireplaces were constructed of sticks and clay; they often had a timber or stone-lined base with a clay or mud interior and a stone-lined hearth and fireplace (Gray1933:441). The presence of wood floors in the New River and Ayers cabins clearly impressed Jones, and was probably a factor in his assessment of these individuals as industrious.

Next Jones visited the main part of New Town. He described Catawba men away hunting, and Catawba women making pans from local clay. Jones noted that pans were sold for a quarter of a dollar or traded for an equal volume of corn meal. Considering that \$0.64 per day was the average nominal wage for common laborers in the Atlantic South in 1825 (Margo 2000), at \$.025, a single pan potentially yielded a considerable sum. At that price, 50 pans might have fetched the equivalent of a year’s rent for over 600 acres of Catawba land. The fact that pottery was exchanged for cash or food provided both Catawbas and their customers with transactional flexibility; it also points to the importance of women’s commercial activity in obtaining life’s necessities. At the same time, men continue to engage in hunting, presumably providing both food and cash or goods from the sale of skins.

Catawba women made clothing, but not the cloth itself; lease records document Catawba women obtaining bolts of cloth in lieu of cash rents (Merrell 1989:231). In addition, Jones noted that there were no blacksmiths, shoemakers, or other tradesmen among the Catawbas, only a silver smith.

In the absence of such crafts, the Catawbas' commercial activities were clearly vital for obtaining many necessary goods.

The Liston (1797) and Jones (1815) accounts both suggest that many Catawbas were curtailing their involvement in farming. The differences in cabin architecture and subsistence activities described by Jones were traits that seemed to represent substantial cultural differences among Catawbas. The farming habits and floored cabins of Sally New River and Colonel Ayers were traits they would have shared with many of their Scots-Irish tenants, and traits that clearly distinguished them from their fellow villagers.

David Hutchison

David Hutchison was the son of a Scots-Irish immigrant and long-term tenant of the Catawbas. Born in 1767, he was about 16 years old when his family first came to the Catawba Nation (ca. 1783); he lived there until his death in 1845. At the urging of South Carolina Governor Hammond and Senator Witherspoon of York County, Hutchison wrote a letter concerning the Catawbas in 1843 (Brown 1966:289-290). In his letter, Hutchison provides a glimpse into the broad impact of Catawba commercial activity:

By the time the Indians ceased spending so much of their time down the country, the Leaseholders had a reasonable quantity of Land cleared...When the Indians came home they had given up all idea of farming. The women had formerly attended to this department, but they came home as lazy, indolent, and intemperate as the men... They had for several years entirely neglected their farms; which consisted of bottom lands and joined the poor lands last rented. Those occupying the last named, bargained with the Indians and cropped their bottom lands, giving them a share of the crop. The Indians at this time, held their houses, but seldom occupied them...By this time, their houses, being neglected, were going fast to decay, and were finally deserted [David Hutchison 1843; quoted in Brown 1966:291-292].

In his letter, it is not clear if Hutchison is referring entirely to his own experiences on the reservation; he may also be incorporating knowledge of events before his arrival. He suggests a transformation occurring among Catawbas, linking a lengthy stay “down the country” to Catawba women abandoning agriculture and neglecting their farms. The exact time frame is unclear, but the reference to tenants clearing land suggests a relatively early phase in the land leasing process. The

Catawbas' lengthy absence noted by Hutchison may be related to slave catching expeditions in the Lowcountry.

Hutchison describes an agreement in which tenants renting poor land share-cropped rich bottom lands retained by Catawbas. Along with food, this arrangement would have provided Catawba women with additional time that may have been used for domestic, commercial, or leisure pursuits. Hutchison's reference to the decay and desertion of seldom occupied houses provides an interesting contrast to the floored dwellings of the industrious and respectable Sally New River and Colonel Ayers described by Calvin Jones (1815).

William Gilmore Simms, ca. 1815-1841

Simms was the best-known author of the *ante bellum* South. In addition to being a renowned writer, he was also a member of the planter class, owning two Lowcountry plantations along the Edisto River. In his many stories and novels, he firmly upheld the racial hierarchy of the South; despite his clearly articulated racism, scholars consider his views of American Indians to have been relatively sympathetic for his time (Guilds 2003; Hudson 2003). In 1841, Simms published a short story, "Caloya; or, the Loves of the Driver," that contains descriptions of the Catawba pottery trade:

When I was a boy, it was the custom of the Catawba Indians...to come down, at certain seasons, from their far homes in the interior, to the seaboard, bringing to Charleston a little stock of earthen pots and pans, skins and other small matters, which they bartered in the city for such commodities as were craved by their tastes, or needed by their condition. They did not, however, bring their pots and pans from the nation, but descending to the low country empty-handed, in groups or families, they squatted down on the rich clay lands of the Edisto, raised their poles, erected their sylvan tents, and there established themselves in a temporary abiding place, until their simple potteries had yielded them a sufficient supply of wares with which to throw themselves into the market...the Catawbas, in little squads and detachments...came down, scattering themselves along the Edisto, in small bodies which pursued their operations independently of each other. Their camps might be found in famed loam-spots, from the Eutaws down to Parker's Ferry, on the Edisto, and among the numerous swamps that lie at the head of Ashley River, and skirt the Wassamasaw country...The Catawbas seldom now descend to the seaboard... [Simms 2003 [1841]:218-220].

As a boy, Simms would have witnessed Catawba potters sometime around 1815. According to Simms, the Catawbas covered a broad area in the Lowcountry, including both the market at

Charleston and plantations in the surrounding area. Simms noted that Catawba potters manufactured their wares at or near market locations; he also noted that Catawbas marketed more than pottery, specifically adding animal hides to the list of items sold. Simms described the Catawbas traveling in small, dispersed “squads and detachments,” which he believed to be families.

When he wrote his story in 1839, Simms claimed that the Catawbas’ travels to the Lowcountry were substantially curtailed. Simms described the Catawbas as beginning their journey to the Lowcountry in the spring, which contradicts Scott and other lines of evidence. Artistic license may account for this particular claim. However, it may have been the case that not all Catawbas traveled at the same time of year, or that Catawbas reached the coast in the spring, but began their journeys much earlier.

Philip Porcher

In a Charleston museum publication, Anne K. Gregorie recorded a brief account of the Catawba pottery trade related to her by Philip Porcher, who prior to the Civil War had been a resident of St. Stephen’s, South Carolina:

Mr. Philip E. Porcher, formerly of St. Stephen’s Parish, who lived to be more than ninety years old and died in Christ Church Parish in 1917, told me that he remembered frequently seeing the Catawba Indians in the days when they traveled down from the up-country to Charleston, making clay ware for the Negroes along the way. They would camp until a section was supplied, then move on, til finally Charleston was reached. He said their ware was decorated with colored sealing wax and was in great demand, for it was before the days of cheap tin and enamel ware [Gregorie 1925:21].

Porcher was born ca. 1827 (Towles 1996:1002); his reference to the days before cheap tin and enamel ware provides a rough time frame for his observations: For decades prior to the Civil War, peddlers had been undercutting the prices of local manufacturers and merchants throughout the South (Rainer 1997:40-42). However, post-Civil War expansion of factory production and retail stores (and later catalogue sales) resulted in even cheaper and more widely available goods such as tin ware, which generally obviated peddlers (Shoemaker and Wadja 2008:80). Porcher described

frequent sightings of Catawba potters. Porcher saw plantation slaves as an important market for Catawba wares that were “in great demand.”

Overview of Catawba Itinerancy

A broad historical background and detailed examination of documentary accounts of Catawba life provide the basis for developing an overview of Catawba itinerancy. This overview is focused on fleshing out the economic and cultural aspects of Catawbas’ itinerant pursuits, and is structured by ethnographic perspectives on the socio-economic niche occupied by itinerant groups.

Catawbas and the Itinerant Niche

Itinerant groups engage in “the occasional supply of goods, services, and labor where demand and supply are irregular in time and space.” Locating and exploiting gaps in host economies, itinerants thrive where markets and infrastructure are poorly developed, and where permanent, fixed businesses relying upon wage labor are not economically feasible (Okely 1983:50; Berland 1982:57).

Late eighteenth and early nineteenth century South Carolina was just such an environment. Throughout the South, Yankee peddlers took advantage of limited access to retail outlets, developing an extensive trade in inexpensive tin wares and a variety of other goods (Rainer 1997). Itinerant Catawbas exploited this same niche.

Even when market conditions favor fixed businesses, itinerants can be competitive. When peddlers and shopkeepers are buying their goods at roughly the same wholesale prices, the mobile peddler, relatively unburdened by costs like rent, taxes, and wages, may have a distinct competitive advantage. There are documented cases in which peddlers buy their goods from shopkeepers and sell them *across the street*. Undercutting the shopkeeper’s prices, the peddler thus exploits the “delicate balance between outright loss and marginal profit” (Olesan 1987:54).

More often, the itinerant delivers goods and services directly to the customer’s doorstep, not only beating the shopkeeper to the punch, but in the process, lowering the cost of goods or services to the customer by obviating the need for time and energy spent in travel to and from markets. In this

way, the itinerant's goods or services often have value-added features that may not be reflected in their actual price (although with sufficient distance from markets, peddlers may sell at substantially higher prices; Olesen 1987:54).

The idea of value-added features provides some useful insights into the competitive advantage of Catawba wares in various segments of the Federal-period South Carolina marketplace. Catawba pottery may have been viewed by many consumers as a poor substitute for factory made goods, particularly fashionable Staffordshire wares. However, Catawba wares could have served to augment goods that were highly desired, but for some households, somewhat difficult to replace. Thus, in addition to their obvious functions, Catawba wares may have been valued as a means of maintaining adequate collections of other, more desirable goods.

Among more affluent and sophisticated consumers, the use of Catawba pottery is likely to have been quite limited. William R. Davie's household appears to have purchased and used Catawba wares (examined in detail in Chapter 5); however, it seems unlikely that Catawba wares were used by wealthy planters such as Davie to extend the use life of fashionable porcelain. In addition to serving as inexpensive and easily replaced utilitarian wares, it seems likely that in Davie's household, Catawba vessels served an additional function as *curiosities*, evoking images of the wild savage and vanishing race, and Enlightenment notions of intellectual and scientific progress. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the notion of "extra-natural" and non-Western items as "curiosities," a term used by eighteenth-century consumers, had joined with the more scientific classifying and rationalizing impulses of the Enlightenment, spurring widespread interest in the collection of aboriginal art commodities (Phillips 1998:6). For consumers with an interest in curiosities, the extent to which itinerant Catawbas could project an image of wild savagery was likely to have enhanced the value of their wares.

Given Davie's connection to the Catawbas through the Revolutionary War, nostalgia perhaps played a role as well (Riggs et al 2006:79). In the initial decades after the Revolution, Indian imagery was often used to represent a commemorative American past, invoking nostalgia for the heady days

of the Revolution (Deloria 1998:68-69). Thus, in addition to obvious functionality, Catawba wares probably possessed important symbolic value for some consumers.

Much like Yankee peddlers, Catawbas marketed door-to-door convenience along with low-cost goods. Catawbas and Yankee peddlers may have sold very different wares, but they nevertheless were in direct competition for the available cash possessed by consumers. However, along with convenience and goods, traveling Catawbas provided a romantic spectacle of the sort that white tourists would flock to later in the nineteenth century (see Phillips 1998; Raibmon 2005 for examples). As Bollig (2004:216) notes, itinerants actively develop their markets. By engaging in an entertaining display of Indian savagery as part of their trade, Catawba potters would have provided a value-added feature that neither the shop keeper nor the Yankee peddler could compete with.

Itinerant Diversification

Flexibility and diversity were key aspects of Catawba itinerancy. Between pottery and slave catching, Catawbas marketed both goods and services. As documentary accounts indicate, their wares included both functional and decorative items. They were able to exploit a broad customer base spread across a large geographic area. With a secure home base, they would have been able to time their travels in response to market conditions and personal needs. Moreover, through land leasing, their home base represented an additional source of income as well as a large market for their goods.

Itinerant groups often diversify their activities across time and space. This diversification often occurs as shifts between a mobile and relatively sedentary lifestyle, the combination of commercial activity and food production or extraction, and diversification of the goods and services marketed (Bollig 1987, 2004; Rao 1987:4-7).

In terms of mobility and sedentism, a host of factors may result in individuals, families, and whole communities adopting fixed abodes for extended periods of time (Lucassen 1998; Nemeth 2002; Okely 1983; Olesan 1987; Salo 1987). For example, among the wealthiest, most successful

families of the itinerant Sheikh Mohammadi peddlers in Afghanistan, the purchase of shops in bazaars, land ownership or leasing, and the establishment of fixed abodes were common. However, holdings sometimes proved too small to comfortably support growing families, in which case the land-owners would return to traveling while leasing their property to others (Olesan 1987:49).

In another pertinent example, North American Gypsy groups have often utilized storefronts, houses, and apartments, along with considerable land ownership and rental. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Gypsies typically used their land for wintering quarters or temporary campsites while engaged in fortune-telling or selling horses (and more recently, used cars). As North American Gypsy groups have become involved in occupations such as roofing, paving, and painting, owned or rented land has been used for the storage of equipment and supplies. In either case, ownership or rental of land and dwellings that served as bases facilitating mobile occupations often resulted in a settlement cycle in which kin and friends would cluster on or near the base of a successful family or individual until excessive public attention and commercial competition necessitated the dispersal of some segment of the community (Nemeth 2002:170-175; Salo 1987:97).

Ethnographic research on the use of land and dwellings by North American Gypsies and other itinerant groups (see for example Hayden 1979:272; Okely 1983; Nemeth 2002; Salo 1987:97) suggests that retaining houses on reservation land would have enabled Catawbas to cycle in and out of traveling with relative ease in response to climate, health, or economic considerations. Itinerants without stable home bases often face greater stress and uncertainty, especially when forced to travel due to the hostility of local host communities (Gmelch and Gmelch 1987:150-151). Ironically, lack of access to land or housing may actually curtail the ability of itinerants to remain engaged in mobile pursuits. In his research on American Rom communities, Nemeth (2002:181-183) documents exceptionally high competition for rental housing and strong anti-Gypsy sentiments among landlords as becoming serious obstacles to the pursuit of trades requiring mobility among Gypsies, as mobility hinged upon frequent moves between rental houses.

In climates with particularly harsh winters or rainy seasons, itinerants often camp or take refuge in houses and apartments to avoid inclement weather (see for example Barnes 1975; Okely 1983; Salo 1987). Subtropical, coastal South Carolina experiences relatively mild, dry winters; however, the summer months are characterized by extreme heat and humidity and heavy rainfall (South Carolina State Climatology, n.d.). In terms of climate, the summer months were best waited out in their homes in the relatively cooler and less humid backcountry, while winter was perhaps the ideal time for Catawbas to take advantage of warmer temperatures in the Lowcountry.

Analysis of lease records by Merrell (1989:233) revealed that nearly half of all lease-related transactions took place between May and August, with almost 20% occurring in July alone (examination of lease records by myself and Theresa McReynolds-Shebalin substantiates this pattern). Rent collection, although often not occurring in the month of the lease's original signing, most often occurred in the months immediately before and after signing. This pattern certainly makes sense in terms of a lease's signing date representing a due date for rents, with the financial needs of both tenants and Catawbas probably resulting in some variability in the exact timing of rent collection. In any case, if the signing of leases and the collection of rents was contingent upon the physical presence of Catawbas authorized to engage in these transactions, then those individuals were present most often between the months of May and August. Whether this pattern reflects the *absence* of Catawbas during the winter months cannot be known; however, recall that Lady Liston found many Catawbas away from their village in November of 1797.

Catawba families augmented their income from itinerant trades by leasing the bulk of their reservation land to white settlers; land leasing was one of several commercial activities practiced by Catawbas. The Catawba's un-leased acreage served as a home base that some Catawbas occupied seasonally and others most likely occupied year round.

In November of 1797, Lady Liston found a Catawba village largely devoid of adult men (sadly, women are not mentioned), some of whom she encountered selling deerskins 100 miles to the south (in another account not examined here, a traveler also found Catawba men away hunting in

early November of 1786 (Watson 1856). In July of 1815, Calvin Jones found Catawba men away hunting as well. William Gilmore Simms described small groups of Catawba women and men selling pots and skins in the Lowcountry in the spring; however, Edwin Scott recalled Catawba women selling pottery each winter at his home in Manchester (located east of Columbia), some 80 miles south of the reservation.

Although inaccuracy cannot be ruled out, it may be that Catawba hunters and potters traveled different distances at different times (it can reasonably be assumed that potters always traveled with men, but men sometimes traveled without women). In addition to adjusting their travels to the seasonality of subsistence resources, itinerants also base travel decisions on the necessity of avoiding unwanted attention and minimizing commercial competition (Nemeth 2002:170-175; Salo 1987:97). Catawba potters not only competed with one another, but potentially with Yankee peddlers as well. As peddlers traveled between fall harvest and spring planting, some Catawba potters may have taken advantage of their seasonal absence by traveling during the spring and summer months.

Internal conflict is another potential factor affecting the movement of itinerants. Flexibility in movement is a strategic resource utilized by itinerants to diffuse or escape conflict, not only between itinerants and outsiders, but within itinerant groups as well (see Berland 2004; Okely 1983). In 1842, a Catawba headman described internal conflict among Catawbas to Agent Joseph White (1842, quoted in Merrell 1989:254), saying, “disputings wrangling and quarreling would of a certainty ensue and consequently dispersion and confusions would take place with them.” In addition to being an economic strategy, mobility may have been a tool that Catawbas long used for managing their internal strife.

Among Catawbas, children, the elderly, pregnant women, and disabled or sick individuals probably remained on the reservation, perhaps in the care of a relatively small number of healthy adult caretakers while others traveled. This appears to be the pattern described by Lady Liston in 1797; note that ca. 1810, Edwin Scott described women and infants, but not children among his Catawba visitors.

A home base would have provided even healthy Catawbas with a break from the rigors of traveling, and for those Catawbas staying on the reservation, rent-paying tenants and other nearby settlers, such as the household represented by the Edenmoor site, would have constituted a large local market for pottery and other handicrafts. Indeed, with other Catawbas on the road, those remaining on the reservation would have enjoyed a local market with less competition among Catawba potters.

Finally, the Calvin Jones account suggests the possibility that community leaders Sally New River and Colonel Ayers were sedentary farmers. Ayers and New River were respected as individuals and as representatives of traditional, hereditary leadership (Merrell 1989:237-238). These apparently more westernized individuals (particularly New River) may have been culture brokers between local whites and Catawbas, and gatekeepers who handled visitors to the Nation (Pettus 1999; Merrell 1989:237-238; McReynolds Shebalin 2011). Thus another layer of diversification appear to have existed among Federal-period Catawbas, with individuals such as New River and Ayers serving as year-round local “officials,” while traveling Catawbas acted as informal ambassadors at large.

In terms of food production/extraction versus commercialism, a number of itinerant groups have been documented as supplementing commercial activity with hunting, gathering, and agriculture. For example, the Waata, Dorobo, Der, and Midgan groups of Eastern Africa worked as itinerant craftsmen (Waata), circumcisers (Waata and Dorobo), smiths (Der), and ritual experts (Waata, Dorobo, and Midgan), but supplemented their itinerant trades through hunting and gathering (Bollig 1987:196-197). The Fuga of Southern Ethiopia (a generic term applied to several groups of itinerant craftsmen) worked primarily as traveling smiths, woodcarvers, musicians, potters, and ritual experts, but also rented gardens, kept some livestock, and hunted (Bollig 1987:196).

Bollig (2004:196) noted that as foragers are squeezed into smaller—and often more marginal—territory by larger, sedentary populations, they are forced to develop new survival strategies, transitioning from foragers who trade with sedentary populations to itinerants who in addition to providing services and handicrafts, also engage in foraging. In their own approach to itinerancy, Catawbas closely followed the model described by Bollig (2004). Catawbas relied heavily

upon commercial pursuits for their economic survival, and as described in accounts by Lady Liston, Calvin Jones, and others, Catawbas continued to hunt, both on their reservation and while on the road.

Hunting and fishing would have provided critical food resources for Catawba families both at home and while traveling. In addition, Catawba hunters may have been able to sell wild game on Lowcountry plantations (Riggs, personal communication, 2007). Economic historians have documented the tendency of planters to stingily ration the meat given to slaves in order to avoid having food purchases cut into profits (Hillard 1969:466). Moreover, prior to the 1840s, monoculture cash crop farming seems to have rendered South Carolina plantations particularly dependent on other farmers for food production, especially for meat (Hillard 1969; Hong 2001:16; Swan 1973:323). Indeed, South Carolina was one of the top two buyers of imported pork in the antebellum South (Hillard 1969:478). Catawbas visiting plantations, especially during harvest season, the time of greatest demand for agricultural labor and thus for food as well, would have found a ready market for any wild game they might have been able to come by.

Federal-period Catawbas possessed a truly diverse economy, effectively combining multiple strategies. In addition to leasing nearly 144,000 acres of land, Catawbas manufactured and sold a variety of handicrafts, including pottery, mats, baskets, moccasins, and bows and arrows. Along with these activities, men engaged in hunting and selling hides. Craft items and hides were bartered and sold locally, at medium distance locations such as Columbia, and at coastal locations such as Charleston. New Town Catawbas also exploited wild plant resources; remains of plant foods recovered at New Town include hickory, walnut, grape, sunflower, sumac, pokeweed, and persimmon (Mary Beth Fitts, personal communication 2011). Finally, Catawba women engaged in varying degrees of agriculture. While some Catawbas may have abandoned agriculture altogether, Sally New River and Colonel Ayers appear to have been diligent farmers.

Itinerancy and Optimal Foraging Theory

In their itinerant pottery trade, the Catawba confronted a problem frequently encountered by foragers and pastoralists: the patchily distribution of subsistence resources. The strategies employed by itinerant Catawbas were a joint product of “environmental” constraints and of efforts to maximize the return on time and energy invested in pursuing customers (Rao 1987). For Catawbas, this meant locating the maximal concentration of clay and consumers.

Like hunter-gatherers and pastoralists, itinerants often use cyclic mobility to deal with the “patchy” distribution of resources. For peripatetics, this can involve “adapting the migration cycle not just to supply and demand issues at any given time, but also to demand and surplus intervals of the different clusters of customers.” In this way, peripatetics “follow the cycle of the primary resources of their own resources, i.e., the agricultural, pastoral, or commercial cycles of their customers” (Rao 1987:4-5). For Catawbas, plantations and market towns such as Charleston, Columbia, and Pine Tree Hill (later Camden) represented dense patches of potential customers, while the time immediately after harvest (when crops were finally sold at market) represented a limited time of much greater surplus for their Lowcountry customers. Thus, the period when the Lowcountry’s weather was most hospitable to traveling also represented the time when its economic climate was most conducive to commercial activity. Of course, between the combined activities of Yankee peddlers and Catawba itinerants, some markets may have been subject to over-saturation at this time.

The range or pattern of itinerant movements is governed in part by the relationship between the itinerant group’s occupation, or specific goods and services offered, and demand and supply factors; itinerants are acutely aware of how easily their markets are saturated. Itinerant movements are also governed by the relationship between the relative portability of their goods or services and the markets in question. For example, with English and Irish Travellers (Gmelch and Gmelch 1987) scrap (including metal, rags, and machine parts) is locally available from many sources, and while hard to transport, it is easily sold locally. Groups that focus on scrap collection thus tend to engage in relatively short-range or local travel. In contrast, tarmacking requires heavy equipment, hot asphalt is

hard to transport more than a short distance, and obtaining supplies cheaply requires good local knowledge and contacts; however, the market is rather sparse, with customers somewhat widely, thinly spread. Groups that focus on tarmacking thus tend to engage in mid-range, or regional travel. Finally, carpets are easily transported and the best markets are urban areas, which are densely populated, but easily saturated and widely scattered. Groups that focus on selling carpeting therefore engage in long distance or inter-regional travel (Gmelch and Gmelch 1987:142-148).

Like Gypsy carpet sellers, relatively high mobility would have made good economic sense for Catawba potters. For most of their customers, Catawba pottery would have served as an adjunct to, rather than a complete substitute for imported European wares. Indeed, analyses of assemblages of Catawba and English made wares at New Town cabin sites reveal that this was the case even in Catawba households (discussed in Chapter 5). Given the apparently ancillary role of Catawba pottery in the foodways of their customers, it seems likely that markets would have been easily saturated, with a given household purchasing relatively small quantities of vessels at a given time. Recall Jones' (1815) account of Catawba pans selling for \$0.25; given Margo's (2000) estimate of an average daily wage of only \$0.64 for common laborers in 1825 South Carolina, it seems likely that price would have been a limiting factor as well in many households. Catawba potters may well have needed large numbers of customers in order to sell large quantities of pottery.

According to Simms, Catawba potters did not transport their pottery over long distances. Instead Catawbas manufactured their wares near the location of desirable markets. With raw clay available at market locations, pottery did not need to be transported very far in large quantities; it was easily made more or less "on the spot," enabling Catawbas to travel relatively long distances. At the same time, the fragility of pottery, the location of usable clay sources, and the difficulty involved in transporting raw clay and finished pots would have tended to limit the potential number of production sites and the distance over which both raw materials and finished products could be transported while still maximizing the benefits obtained "per unit of foraging time." Dense markets would thus have been the most sensible targets for Catawba potters. The best markets for pottery would thus have

been in the many homes on and around the Catawba Reservation—a market requiring strictly local travel, but a market easily saturated by the Catawba Nation’s full contingent of potters—and at widely scattered but more densely populated plantations, villages, and urban areas such as Columbia, Camden, and Charleston—markets requiring middle- to long-distance travel.

Peripatetic Resource Exploitation and Patron-Client Relationships

In “Caloya; or, the Loves of the Driver,” William Gilmore Simms commented upon the strategic nature of the Catawbas’ approach to traveling and marketing their wares, noting:

the Catawbas, in little squads and detachments...came down, scattering themselves along the Edisto, in small bodies which pursued their operations independently of each other. In this distribution they were probably governed by the well-known policy of the European Gipseys, who find it much easier, in this way, to assess the several neighbourhoods which they honour, and obtain their supplies without provoking apprehension and suspicion, than if they were *en masse*, to concentrate themselves on any one plantation...Harmless usually, and perfectly inoffensive, they were seldom repelled or resisted, even when they made their camp contiguously to a planter’s settlement [Simms 2003 [1841]:220-221].

As might be expected, given the social nature of itinerancy, in addition to issues of surplus and demand for goods and services, itinerants face certain political constraints as well. Itinerants are acutely aware that the “carrying capacity” of a social environment is also measured in the degree of tolerance a host community displays toward itinerants (Salo 1987:96). The issue of “social carrying capacity” addressed by Salo and Simms is pertinent for two reasons: Not only would a large group of Indians have been anxiety producing for local whites, but the easily-saturated nature of pottery markets would have made scattered, “little squads and detachments” more economically feasible.

In order to enhance the “carrying capacity” of social environments, peripatetic groups often rely upon patron-client relationships. Itinerant’s patrons are often important customers and possess sufficient power and influence to provide protection for their clients (Bolig 1987, 2004).

As itinerants, the Catawbas were artful in their negotiation of the political landscape. Having earned significant political capital as the “Patriot Indians” in the Revolutionary War, Catawbas gained continued access to powerful people such as Thomas Sumter, William R. Davie, and wealthy

businessman Joseph Kershaw, frequently visiting them at their homes (Merrell 1989:220). Catawbas undoubtedly used these opportunities to remind such individuals of the great sacrifices they had made for South Carolina and the new Republic and to plead for guarantees of their rights and privileges (Merrell 1989:220; Riggs and Davis 2008:13).

In an excellent example of the usefulness of the Catawbas' patron-client relationships, in 1786, Catawbas successfully petitioned the South Carolina legislature for the right to hunt anywhere in the state. In the petition drafted by the Catawbas' friend Joseph Kershaw, the Catawbas made the following plea:

The Petition of the Cataba Indians Humbly Sheweth That Whereas we your Petitioners have allways been Loyal friends to the White people and during the late War we have Exerted our selves as good soldiers in behalf of this State and we Would further Represent to your Honers [sic] that we are a people who have been Raised to Hunting and killing Deer, and, are unaccustomed to any other Mode of Industry wherewith to support ourselves and familys, And Whereas we have lately been Debared from that privilege in many parts of this State by the Inhabiters thereof, and some of our Men have been very Much beaten and abused for hunting on White peoples Land. We your Petitioners therefore Humbly pray that your Honers out of your great goodness Would put a stop to such a glaring breach of Humanity and gratitude, and grant us such privileges of hunting in this State, as in your Wisdom you shall think fitt, and we your petitioners as In duty bound shall ever pray [South Carolina Archives, 1786, quoted in Brown 1966:280].

In this petition, Catawbas invoke the spirit of the gift economy, reminding elites of services rendered by the Catawbas and of long-term social bonds and obligations. In return, Catawbas want their patrons to provide them with a guarantee of safety and continued access to a critical subsistence resource.

By arriving at the homes of planters with goods and services that were not only useful, but also evoked powerful images, sentiments, and local history, Catawbas avoided too quickly exhausting their welcome with powerful patrons. And, by traveling in small contingents and only briefly stopping at a given locale, Catawbas not only avoided arousing white anxiety and over-saturating their markets, but they most likely enhanced the spectacle of romantic savagery provided by their visit, contributing added value to the goods and services they marketed. Finally, in providing planters with useful goods and services, Catawbas maintained patron-client relationships that were critical in

maintaining access to various rights, privileges, and resources, even as they turned an immediate cash profit in the process.

Summary and Conclusions

Prior to European arrival, Piedmont Indian societies such as the Catawba subsisted through a mixture of maize agriculture and hunting and gathering; life's necessities were provided through local, domestic production. Co-opted by European colonial strategies and capitalist economics, rendering commodities and services to European colonies became commonplace for Indian groups.

For the Catawba and many other Indian groups, providing services and commodities to colonial markets became important survival strategies that transformed the fabric of everyday life. The constant and far-flung nature of colonial-era warfare, recruiting replacements for the casualties of warfare and disease, diplomatic travel to colonial officials in Charleston, and the diminishing returns of the deerskin trade necessitated high degrees of mobility for Catawbas. Thus, they found themselves on a path that could easily lead to itinerancy. Ruth Phillips (1998) describes how Indians throughout northeastern North America engaged in large-scale trade, often itinerant in nature, in utilitarian objects and souvenir art, with a shift to commercial activity increasing as opportunities for hunting and warfare diminished. The Catawba were simply one of a large number of Indian groups that moved to the far end of the mobility/commercialism spectrum as loss of territory and shifting geo-political events necessitated changes in local economies.

Combined with a broad, historical background, the detailed examination of documentary accounts provides a wealth of information on Catawba itinerancy. For obvious reasons, ceramics have been the primary focus of archaeological research on the Catawba. Although direct evidence of other craft items made during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have not survived, documentary accounts add baskets, mats, moccasins, bows, and arrows to the list of items produced by Catawbas. Along with this diverse array of products, Catawba men continued to trade deerskins, and served as slave catchers for planters. While some Catawba women continued farming, others

may have largely abandoned this practice in favor of commercial activities. Men's hunting not only produced saleable hides, but also food for Catawba families and an additional product that Catawbas may have sold on Lowcountry plantations. All of these activities occurred against the backdrop of land leasing, a commercial venture that involved the entire Catawba Nation and many hundreds of long-term tenants over some 70 years. Catawbas appear to have engaged in commerce year round, both on their reservation and on the road, developing a suite of commercial activities that were combined with traditional modes of subsistence to produce an amazingly flexible and diverse economy. Chapters 4 and 5 will use both archaeological and documentary evidence to examine various aspects of this economy in detail.

In addition to economic information, accounts also provide a window into important cultural differences among Catawbas. Catawba leaders Sally New River and Colonel Ayers seemed to have been more committed to a sedentary farming lifestyle; with their floored houses, they also adhered more closely to western norms regarding proper domicile. Engaged in pottery making and foraging, and living in dirt-floored houses, other Catawbas apparently rejected the more western lifestyle modeled by New River and Ayers. The latter individuals were community leaders who functioned as a bridge between Indians and whites on the Catawba home base, while itinerants represented the Nation to a broader South Carolina audience. Chapters 4 and 5 will explore some of the social and economic ramifications of these cultural differences.

Itinerant groups frequently develop patron-client relationships to enhance their customer base and provide for their safety (Bolig 2004). Read against the broad sweep of Catawba history, itinerancy was not only an economic strategy, but also a means of ensuring the survival of the Catawba Nation through continued engagement with South Carolina elites. Chapter 6 will explore the political aspects of Catawba itinerancy, and the implications itinerancy had for Catawba identity.

CHAPTER 4

OVERVIEW OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES, CATAWBA POTTERY, AND CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES

Broadly speaking, this chapter has two goals: 1) to describe the bodies of archaeological evidence that will be analyzed and interpreted in Chapter 5; and 2) to describe the vessel forms produced by Catawba potters at Old Town and New Town cabin sites. Information on the specific vessel forms present in Catawba pottery assemblages enable an understanding of how Catawba pottery was actually used in different households. Subsequent analyses of Catawba pottery and imported ware assemblages in Chapter 5 provide evidence of itinerant Catawbas' in-depth knowledge of Anglo culture, particularly as related to the vessels used in food preparation and dining. Such knowledge was an important aspect of the economic success of itinerant Catawbas. The material evidence presented in this chapter enables the examination of cultural similarities and differences among New Town Catawbas and the evaluation of the relative success of the Catawbas' itinerant strategies presented in Chapter 5.

This chapter begins with summaries of the primary archaeological sites examined in this study, namely, the Catawba village sites of Nassaw Town, Old Town, and New Town, and the nearby Tivoli and Edenmoor sites. The latter households were local customers of Catawba potters who lived near the reservation (Figure 1.2).

The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to describing Catawba pottery and the various ceramic assemblages recovered from the New Town-era households that are analyzed and interpreted in Chapter 5. A brief discussion of Lowcountry colonoware research examines key studies providing archaeological evidence of the Catawba's itinerant pottery trade. An overview of the general characteristics of Catawba pottery describes the methods and materials used by Catawbas in their

pottery making. Descriptions of the vessel forms produced by Catawba potters and the typology used to classify Catawba rim sherds with respect to those vessel forms lead to a presentation of the Catawba pottery assemblages analyzed in this study.

In addition to ceramic vessels, Catawba potters also manufactured tobacco pipes for sale and personal use. Assemblages of pipe ceramics recovered from the sites discussed in this chapter are examined in brief. In Chapter 5, Catawba pipes are examined as evidence of a link between Catawba itinerancy and Catawba identity. Finally, an overview of European-made ceramic assemblages recovered from the New Town-era sites is presented. In Chapter 5, European-made wares are examined in concert with Catawba pottery in order to understand how the latter were incorporated into the dining practices of both Catawbas and their customers. European-made wares recovered from Catawba households also demonstrate the knowledge of Anglo culture possessed by itinerant Catawbas.

Archaeological Sites Examined

This study incorporates material evidence from domestic contexts excavated by the RLA at the Catawba town sites of Nassaw Town (SoC643; occupied ca. 1750-1759), Old Town (SoC 634; occupied ca. 1762-1780, and 1781-1790s) and New Town (SoC 632 and SoC635; occupied 1790s-1820s), all located in the general vicinity of present-day Rock Hill, South Carolina (Figure 1.2). Examination of ceramics from Catawba village sites provides insights into the Catawba pottery trade, including the establishment of a rough inception date for the Catawba pottery trade, a view of diachronic changes in vessel forms and decoration, and a window into the impact of the pottery trade and material culture among Catawbas. Broader material culture assemblages demonstrate changes and continuity in Catawba culture, as well as demonstrating the impact of Catawbas' participation in various commercial activities.

In addition to examining Catawba sites, this study incorporates ceramic assemblages from a farmstead represented by the Edenmoor site (38LA560; occupied 1790s-1820s), and from Tivoli, the

plantation estate of William Richardson Davie (SoC 636 and 637; occupied ca. 1805-1828), both of which are located near the old Catawba Nation (Figure 1.2). Assemblages of Catawba-made and imported European ceramics from Edenmoor and Tivoli provide important comparative perspectives on the use of Catawba ceramics among different ethnic groups and socio-economic strata, as well as additional insight into Catawba itinerancy.

Nassaw Town

Nassaw Town was one of several villages that made up the mid-eighteenth-century Catawba Nation. Nassaw was occupied during the 1750s; it was abandoned in the wake of a deadly small pox epidemic in 1759. A lack of feature superposition, with no apparent structure rebuilding, indicates a very short-term occupation; a pipestem regression date of 1762 was obtained from analysis of a sample of 459 kaolin pipe stems (Riggs 2010:34). The small European ceramic assemblage from Nassaw Town contains lead-glazed slipware, but neither creamware nor pearlware, suggesting an occupation prior to the 1760s (Fitts, Riggs, and Davis 2007:2-4).

A diverse range of activities at Nassaw Town is evidenced by the presence of numerous postholes, borrow pits, midden deposits, storage pits, cob-filled “smudge” pits, and graves. These features correspond to traditional practices of house construction, trash disposal, construction and maintenance of below-ground storage areas, pottery production, and burial of the dead (Fitts *et al.* 2007:14-15). The Nassaw Town artifact assemblage is characterized by a large and exceptionally diverse array of European manufactured trade goods. Numerous gun parts, gunflints, and lead balls were recovered. Fragments of brass side plates, trigger guards, butt plates, and iron gun cocks attest to the Catawbas’ role in colonial-era warfare, as do the remains of one brass sword guard and one steel sword blade (Fitts *et al.* 2007:17).

Trade goods also include clasp and sheath knives, awls, scissors, pins, thimbles, keys and locks, horse tack, two hoes, and other tools and hardware. Evidence of a variety of European-made

containers at the site includes numerous fragments of olive green bottle glass, brass kettle fragments, pieces of iron barrel or bucket hoop and a small assemblage of lead-glazed slipware sherds.

Numerous ornaments, including brass and silver jewelry and glass beads were also recovered. Over 1000 kaolin pipe fragments indicate the importance of smoking in daily life. This exceptionally wide range of European goods, given the brief span of site occupation, demonstrates that the inhabitants of Nassaw Town enjoyed considerable access to colonial trade (Fitts *et al.* 2007:17).

While ceramics recovered from Nassaw Town have not yet been fully analyzed, it does not appear that colonoware forms were being manufactured at this site (Steve Davis, personal communication, 2011). Vessel forms identified at Nassaw Town include jars and hemispheric and carinated bowls. Nassaw ceramic vessels exhibit plain, burnished, cordmarked, complicated and simple stamped surfaces, incised decorations, plain rims and rims with pinched or notched rim strips (Riggs 2010:34-35). The dominance of aboriginal vessel forms at Nassaw, and the fact that the Catawba were heavily committed to a frontier militarization strategy at that time, suggests that the Catawba's itinerant trade in the Lowcountry did not develop until after the 1759 small pox epidemic; perhaps during their stay at the Pine Tree Hill settlement (Camden), perhaps after they returned to their Reservation in 1762 (Riggs and Davis 2008:11; Riggs 2010:35-37).

Analysis of food remains indicates that residents of Nassaw Town subsisted on a mixture of Old World and New World plants and animals that they processed themselves. The most visible foods processed and consumed at Nassaw were corn, hickory nuts, peaches, deer, cattle, and pigs. Charred corncobs were ubiquitous at Nassaw Town, recovered primarily from dozens of small circular pits interpreted as "smudge pits" used in pottery production (Fitts *et al.* 2007:25; see Munson 1969:83 for a discussion of the use of smudge pits by American Indian potters).

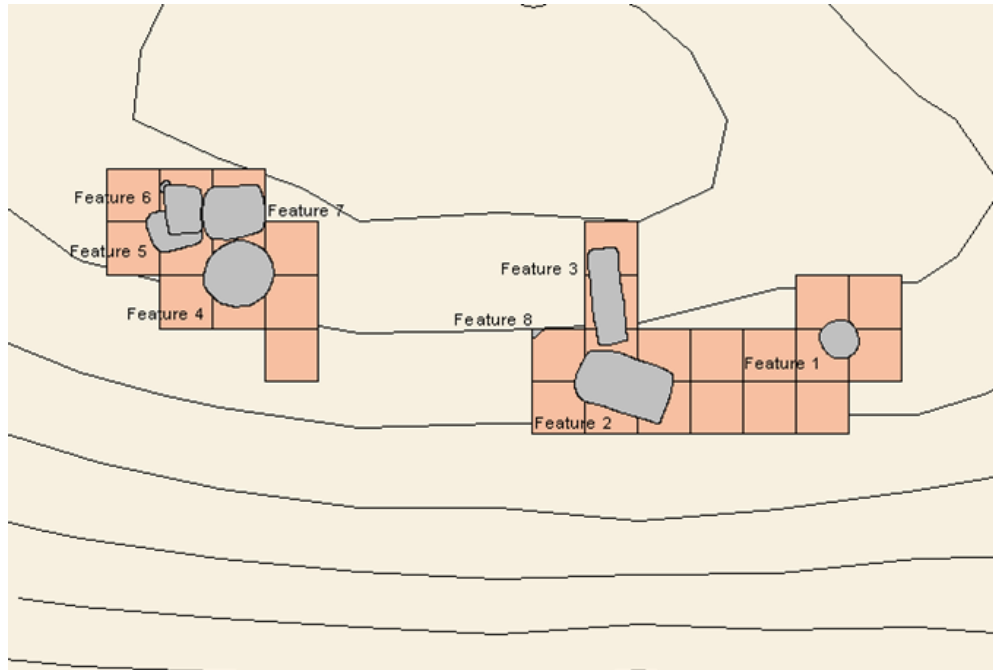


Figure 4.1. Excavation blocks and features at Old Town (Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

Catawba Old Town

Documentary sources suggest that Old Town was occupied as early as 1762. At that time there were two Catawba towns (Davis and Riggs 2004a:7-8). Old Town was apparently abandoned in June of 1780, as the Catawbas fled Old Town (and their other, nearby settlement) in the face of Lieutenant Colonel Francis Rawdon’s threat to destroy their houses and crops for aiding Revolutionary forces (Merrell 1989:216). Catawbas re-occupied Old Town upon returning from their sojourn in Virginia in late 1781 (Riggs 2010:35-36).

Old Town was located in an area known at the time as “King’s Bottoms” or, “Waxhaw Old Fields,” and was positioned along terrace remnants flanking the Catawba River valley. RLA field reconnaissance identified approximately five widely dispersed cabin sites; the RLA conducted excavations at Old Town in 2003 and 2009. The materials from Old Town examined in this study

were recovered in 2003. Excavation of some 28 m² exposed two deep rectangular pits, two circular pits, two shallow rectangular pits, and a probable burial pit (Davis and Riggs 2004a:8-9; Figure 4.1).

The deep rectangular pits were most likely sub-floor storage pits located within cribbed log cabins, sufficiently near to cabin hearths to prevent freezing of stored food-stuffs in winter (Riggs and Davis 2008:10). The structures identified during 2003 excavations at Old Town lacked any evidence of the architectural postholes associated with the traditional earth-fast structures found at Nassaw Town (Davis and Riggs 2004a:8-9). In the account of his 1772 visit to the Catawba Reservation, John Ferdinand Smyth (1784) refers to Catawba dwellings as “wigwams,” suggesting that he encountered some structures that were not European in character. However, documentary accounts describe log cabin architecture on the Catawba Reservation as early as 1757, when South Carolina built the Catawba leader King Hagler a log cabin complete with a chimney; apparently Anglo-style cabins were soon adopted by other Catawbas as well (Davis and Riggs 2004a:8-9; Merrell 1989:188).

Feature 2, a large rectangular cabin cellar pit (Figure 4.1), yielded a wide variety of materials, including over 1700 glass beads, several coins, brass and silver jewelry and ornaments (including brass tinkling cones, silver nose bangles, and a pair of cuff-links with glass insets), needles, pins, and scissors, a mirror, knives, various glassware fragments (including a case gin bottle), French gun flints and lead shot, wrought nails and many other iron artifacts, numerous fragments of Catawba-made tobacco pipes, a very small quantity of kaolin pipe fragments, and nearly Catawba 1000 potsherds. A British coin recovered from Feature 2 bears a legible date of 1769 (Davis and Riggs 2004a:8-10).

This site yielded a small collection of sherds from imported English vessels, representing at least 6 vessels, including a large, hand-painted enamel porcelain punch bowl, three teacups, and two saucers, including a white salt-glazed stoneware cup, a scratch-blue stoneware cup, and a molded, speckled, Wieldon-type cup. These vessels do not represent a typical domestic assemblage, and may have been intended for the symbolically invested function of toasting the health of various personae (e.g., King George) with rum punch (Riggs and Davis 2008:11). Toasting was a common component of English-Indian diplomatic rituals. In the eighteenth-century Anglo world, toasting was considered

analogous to prayer, and all the more sacred for being “consecrated in liquor and good fellowship” (Coulombe 2004:74). It was a widely popular drinking ritual in which individuals, perhaps drawn from quite different ethnic, cultural, and social backgrounds, identified and expressed what a company had in common. Particularly well-phrased toasts were familiar throughout the colonies, and were even published in anthologies. Sharing the sentiments of a toast and joining in bound a drinker to the group in which he drank and brought strangers into fellowship (Thompson 1999:99). Catawba headmen frequently interacted with British colonial officials and traders (for whom rum was a major trade commodity); as a means of cementing relationships with Catawbas, traders and colonial officials would have been eager to engage Catawbas in this drinking ritual.

The assemblage of Catawba-made pottery recovered from the Old Town site examined here consists entirely of European influenced vessel forms, including foot-ringed bowls and tea bowls, patty pans, polygonal plates, and milk pans. Many individual serving wares were made using clay that fired to a pale gray, perhaps emulating the light colored bodies of many European wares (Riggs 2010:36). Some vessels were decorated with swag-and-dot designs executed in a black pigment; a few were painted with a red pigment.

Much as was the case at Nassaw Town, it appears that Catawbas at Old Town subsisted on a mixture of Old World and New World foods that they processed themselves. Chicken eggshells and bones from cows and pigs were recovered from features at Old Town (Riggs and Davis 2008:12); charred corncobs were recovered from one pit feature as well, indicating continued maize production. Documentary evidence suggests a continued reliance on hunting as well as maize agriculture among Catawbas at this time.

Catawba New Town

New Town may have been one of the three Catawba villages noted by Lady Liston in her 1797 visit to the Catawba Nation. In his 1815 account, Calvin Jones suggested that New Town was composed of two distinct hamlets, a southern hamlet occupied by community leaders Sally New

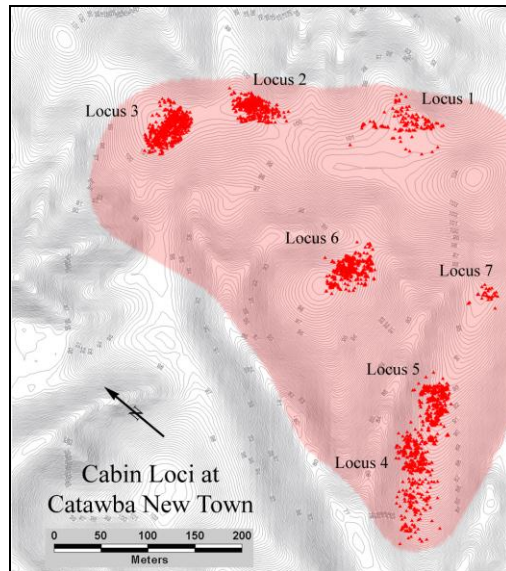


Figure 4.2. Map of New Town showing cabin loci. Red triangles represent artifacts identified by metal detector survey (Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

River and Colonel Ayers, and a northern hamlet consisting of “6 or 8 houses facing an oblong square.” Cabin Loci 2, 3, and 6 have been associated with the latter, while Loci 4 and 5 have been associated with the former (Riggs and Davis 2004a; McReynolds Shebalin 2011; Figure 4.2).

New Town Cabin Locus 2: The cabin site at Locus 2 yielded a wide array of artifacts, including Dutch oven and kettle fragments, assorted tools and hardware, wrought iron and cut nails, a variety of buttons and buckles, over 100 glass beads, numerous glass fragments, eating utensils, including forks, knives, and spoons, locks and keys, Jew’s harps, ammunition, gun flints and gun parts, thimbles, scissors, and needles, and a substantial quantity of horse tack. Metal detector survey and surface collection at Locus 2 defined a compact distribution of artifacts covering an area of about 1600 m² (Davis and Riggs 2004a:19). During the 2003 investigation of the site, auger testing across a 440 m² area at the core of the overall artifact distribution identified a substantial pit feature. Excavation of a smaller 27 m² area revealed this pit to be a square sub-floor cellar (Feature 1) associated with what appears to have been a horizontal cribbed-log cabin with a stick and clay

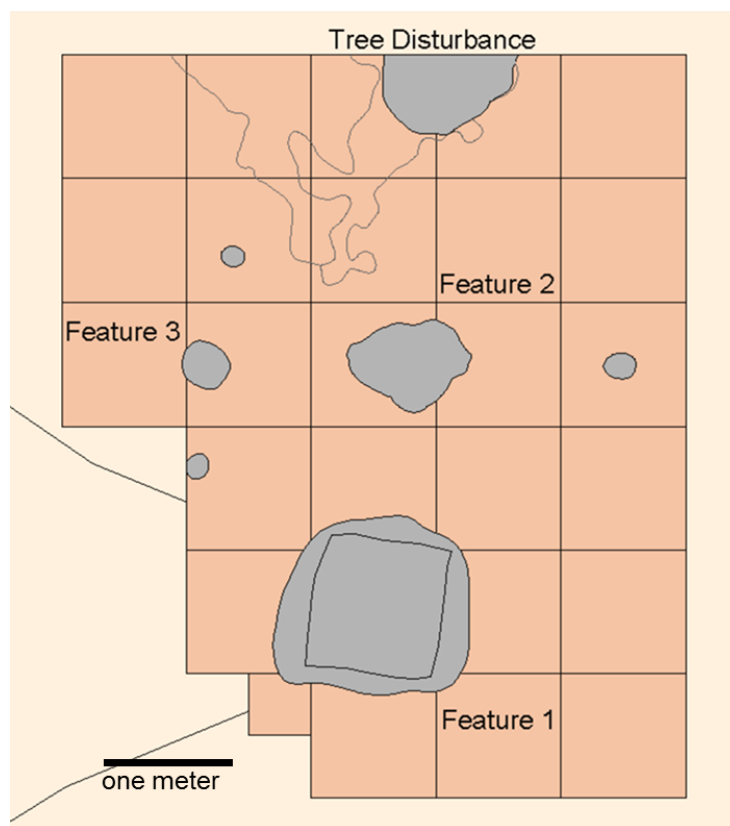


Figure 4.3. Excavation block and features at New Town, Locus 2 (Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

chimney (Feature 2) and dirt floor (Figure 4.3). The excavated area appeared to have been mostly undisturbed, with only a few shallow plow scars evident. The more than six hundred creamware, pearlware, stoneware, coarseware, and porcelain sherds recovered at Locus 2 yielded a mean ceramic date of 1806. A total of 2196 Catawba pottery sherds were recovered at Locus 2, along with four polishing pebbles and several lumps of orange-colored sealing wax (Davis and Riggs 2004a:19-20). Locus 2 yielded 67 Catawba pipe fragments, but only one kaolin pipe fragment was recovered.

New Town Cabin Locus 3: Located about 50 m northwest of Locus 2 (Figure 4.2), this cabin site covering approximately 2000 m² was minimally disturbed by plowing. Metal detector survey

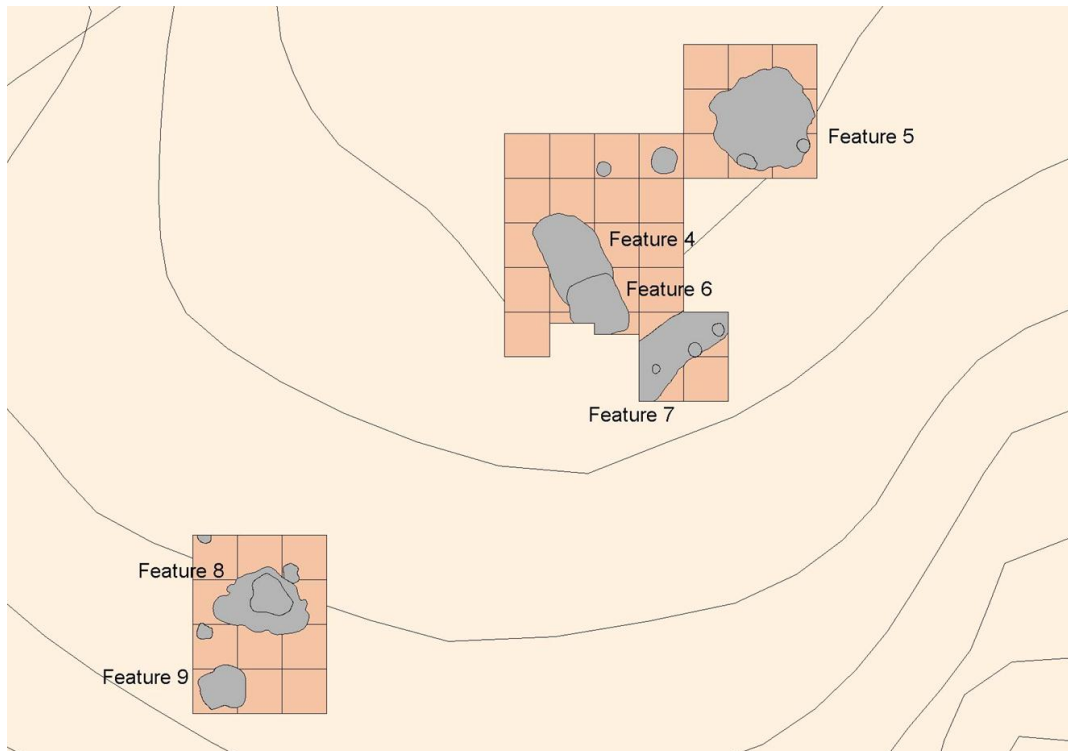


Figure 4.4. Excavation blocks and features at New Town, Locus 3 (Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

identified nearly 700 metal artifacts, along with numerous Catawba pottery and imported ware sherds. Fieldwork conducted by the RLA in 2003 focused upon five dense concentrations of trash that were identified during metal detector survey (Davis and Riggs 2004a:21-24). Excavations at Locus 3 yielded a tremendous array of artifacts, including numerous buttons and buckles, Dutch oven and kettle fragments, assorted tools and other hardware, wrought iron and cut iron nails, more than 300 glass beads and other jewelry items, such as cuff links, ear rings, and silver chains and bangles, numerous glass fragments, forks, knives, and spoons, locks and keys, seven Jew's harps, gun flints, gun parts, and ammunition, thimbles, scissors, and needles, and horse tack (Davis and Riggs 2004a:21-27).

Excavations at Locus 3 also uncovered the widest array of pit features identified at New Town (Figure 4.4). Feature 5, apparently a borrow pit from which clay was extracted for daubing the

cabin located at this site, was a large, irregular basin that contained over 8000 Catawba pot sherds along with a variety of other artifacts. Feature 5 contained a very high frequency of relatively small sherds, suggesting that they had been subjected to considerable trampling. Broad, shallow, sloping-sided trench features at Locus 3 (Features 4, 6, and 7) may represent clay-curing facilities similar to those used by contemporary Catawba potters (Riggs *et al.* 2006:77). The latter features differ considerably from the deeper, straight-sided, cellar pits at Old Town (Feature 2) and New Town Locus 2 (Feature 1). In a 12 m² excavation block located near these pit features, the base of a stick-and-clay chimney representing a dirt-floor cabin was uncovered; thin deposits of ash, charcoal, and burned pearlware sherds appear to be *in situ* hearth debris (Figure 4.4, lower left). Near the cabin was a trash-filled stump hole in which large portions of two broken Catawba vessels were found (Davis and Riggs 2004a:23-26).

Two discrete trash dumps were found at the margins of the Locus 3 cabin site. One yielded a variety of metal artifacts, including a worn shovel blade, a pistol barrel and frizzen, lock plates, and two snaffle bits. The other dump featured a substantial quantity of over-fired Catawba sherds that may represent firing furniture (Davis and Riggs 2004a:26). These over-fired sherds are unusually dense and appear partially vitrified on the outside, presumably a result of repeated incidental firing. A large quantity of these over-fired sherds was recovered from Feature 5. If the fill material in feature 5 was obtained from the immediately surrounding area, this suggests that a firing facility and waster dump were located quite nearby. In those excavation contexts in which over-fired sherds were identified at Locus 3, these sherds make up 16% of the sherds examined (n=3034; sherds were sorted using ½" mesh). Locus 2 was the only other cabin site at which over-fired sherds were found; however, only 22 such sherds were identified at Locus 2.

Locus 3 yielded over 1200 sherds from English-made vessels, including creamware, pearlware, stoneware, and porcelain; this assemblage yielded a mean ceramic date of 1803. More than 16,000 Catawba potsherds were recovered at Locus 3, along with several lumps of red-orange

sealing wax, and numerous burnishing stones and burnishing stone fragments. Locus 3 yielded 139 Catawba pipe fragments, but only two kaolin pipe fragments were recovered.

New Town Cabin Locus 4: In his 1815 visit to the Catawbas, Calvin Jones noted that, “New Rivers and Airs houses had floors - all have chimneys.” The sites of these floored cabins may be represented by cabin Loci 4 and 5. From journal entries describing his visit to the Catawba Nation, it appears that Jones approached New Town from the South. The first cabin he encountered along the wagon road was that of Sally New River. Given this direction of approach and the orientation and location of the New Town cabin sites, Locus 4 is likely to have been Sally New River’s cabin (McReynold Shebalin 2011:143; see Figures 4.2 and 4.5).

Defined through metal detection survey in 2003 and subsequent excavation in 2004, Locus 4 is located 400 meters south of cabin Locus 3. In addition to two cabin seats, Locus 4 includes a Federal period wagon trace and a footpath leading to a springhead; the total site area is approximately 3600 m² (Figure 4.5; Davis and Riggs 2004a:28-31).

Corroborating Jones’ description of floored cabins, cabin seats at Locus 4 featured foundation blocks and the mounded remains of collapsed chimneys, one of which was clearly outlined by corner stones (designated cabin #1 and cabin #2; Figure 4.5). Further evidence of wooden floors included substantial accumulations of broken pottery and other refuse around chimney bases and corner blocks, but not within the presumed outline of the cabin (Davis and Riggs 2004a:31-32).

The low, circular mounds representing fireplace and chimney remains were excavated in minute detail, revealing the eroded remains of earth-packed, cribbed log chimney bases and intact hearth surfaces (Davis and Riggs 2004a:30-35). The earth-filled, cribbed-log base served to elevate the fireplace hearth surface to the level of the cabin’s raised wooden floor. Both chimney mounds were situated at the down-slope ends of their respective cabins; the hearth surfaces were raised 30 cm above the surrounding ground surface to match the height of the raised floors of the cabins. This interpretation of these features is supported by the presence of foundation blocks at the cabin site and the absence of artifacts in areas that would have been covered by wooden floors.

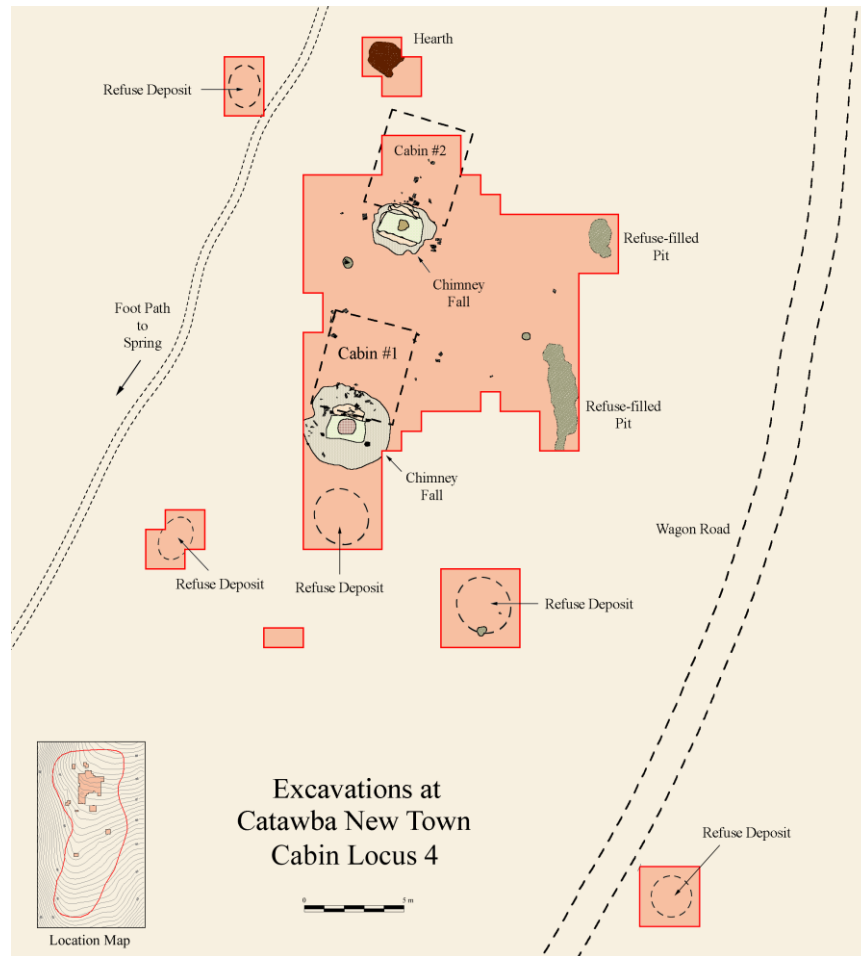


Figure 4.5. Excavation blocks and features at New Town, Locus 4 (Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

From the ground level to the hearth surface (approximately 30 cm), each chimney consisted of a closed, log-cribbed box packed with earthen fill, and finished on the cabin side with an equally elevated packed clay hearth. Above the hearth surface, the sides of the firebox were integrated into the cabin walls so that the face of the fireplace was open to the cabin. The fireplaces were lined with small flat stones, which were scattered about the mounds where they had fallen; the stone lining would have served to improve fireplace insulation and structural integrity. Above the mantle log, the chimneys would have been constructed of smaller logs and sticks that were stepped away from the cabin wall. Both chimneys were trapezoidal in shape, with the wider side located away from the

cabin wall. Cabin #2 featured a largely intact raised hearth surface with deposits of ash and charcoal, mixed with refuse containing sherds of pearlware vessels, a Nottingham-type stoneware bottle, and a broken Catawba pan (Davis and Riggs 2004a:30-35).

Deposits at Locus 4 yielded more than 10,000 Catawba potsherds, nearly 2,800 fragments of imported English vessels, as well as numerous Catawba pipe fragments, glass bottle fragments, buttons and buckles, glass beads and jewelry, forks, knives, and spoons, gun parts, gunflints, and ammunition, horse tack, wrought and cut nails, agricultural implements and other hardware, and a variety of other items. Several whole and partial burnishing stones were recovered at Locus 4, along with substantial quantities of orange-pigmented sealing wax. Locus 4 yielded 71 Catawba pipe fragments, but only one kaolin pipe fragment was recovered.

Sherds from English-made vessels at Locus 4 included creamware, pearlware, and stoneware, but unlike Loci 2 and 3, neither coarseware nor porcelain was recovered. This assemblage yielded a mean ceramic date of 1807.

New Town Cabin Locus 5: The next cabin visited by Calvin Jones (1815) was that of Catawba leader Colonel Ayers; this cabin is most likely the Locus 5 site. Locus 5 is located on a low wooded ridge approximately 60 meters north of Locus 4. This cabin site was logged in the 1960s and associated bulldozing of the area exposed a cabin site. A survey of the site in 1970 documented a cluster of Catawba pottery within the area that was logged. Locus 5 is estimated to cover approximately 1800 m² based on the distribution of nearly 1200 artifacts recovered through metal detector survey in 2004 and 2005 (Figure 4.2). During the initial work at Locus 5 in 2004, three small blocks were excavated, totaling 26 m² and exposing two shallow midden deposits (Features 7 and 8; Figure 4.6). These middens contained ash, numerous Catawba pottery sherds, and other artifacts, including gunflints, a coin, wrought iron and cut nails, glass beads, English pottery, buttons, Catawba pipe fragments, and a snaffle bit (Davis and Riggs 2006:4-6).

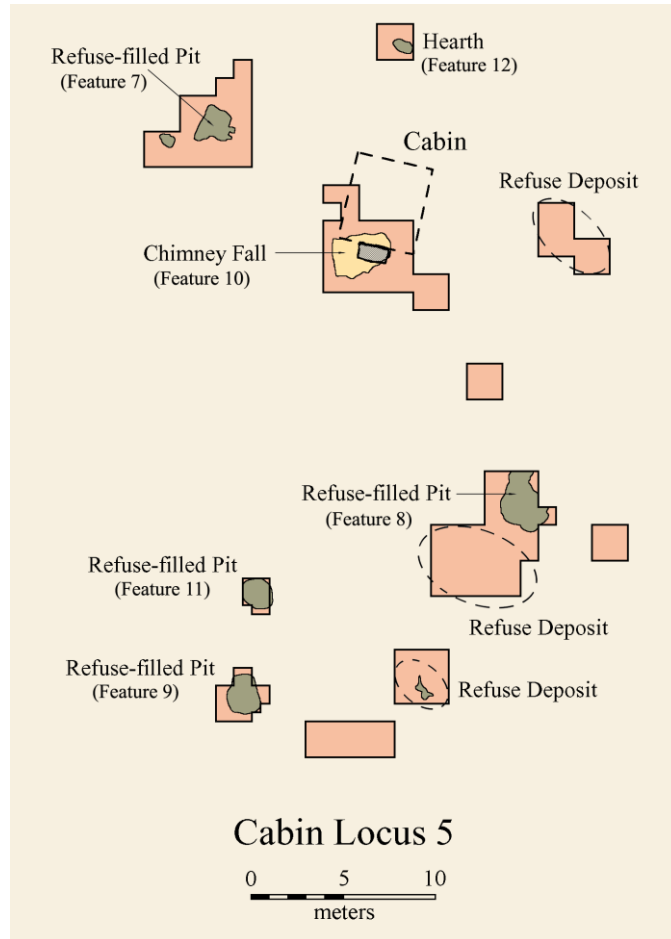


Figure 4.6. Excavation blocks and features at New Town, Locus 5 (Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

Additional excavations at Locus 5 in 2005 totaled 107 m², and focused on the cabin seat and chimney base along with peripheral refuse deposits. These excavations included recovery of remaining portions of Feature 8, a shallow, irregular, refuse-filled depression located south of the cabin seat and adjacent to the wagon road. Located south of the cabin and along the footpath, Feature 9 was a deposit of ash and hearth cleanings that included Catawba and English pottery, chicken eggshell, and animal bone (Davis and Riggs 2006:4-6). Analysis of samples from features 8 and 9 has identified small quantities of traditional plant foods including maize, hickory, walnut, grape, sunflower, sumac, pokeweed, and persimmon (Fitts, personal communication 2011). Situated directly

north of Feature 9, Feature 11, which contained large sections of Catawba vessels, appeared to be the filled-in cavity of a fallen tree (Davis and Riggs 2006:4-6).

Feature 10 was a collapsed chimney pile that served to demarcate the position and orientation of the Locus 5 cabin. As was the case with the chimney piles at Locus 4, the low mound at Locus 5 represented the eroded remains of an earth-filled, cribbed-log chimney base that served to elevate the hearth surface to the level of the cabin's wooden floor. Also similar to the chimney and hearth structures documented at Locus 4, the hearth at Locus 5 appears to have been trapezoidal in shape at its base, with the narrow edge being the hearth's front (Davis and Riggs 2006:4-6).

The combined 2004 and 2005 excavations at Locus 5 yielded nearly 16,000 artifacts, including more than 11,800 Catawba pottery sherds and over 2100 fragments of imported English ceramics. Other artifacts included Catawba pipe fragments, a variety of sewing paraphernalia, glass bottle fragments, metal buttons, glass beads and other jewelry, eating utensils and cutlery, riding tack, agricultural implements, wrought and cut nails, gun parts, gunflints, and ammunition, and numerous other bits of household debris (Davis and Riggs 2004a:36). All of the 135 pipe fragments recovered at Locus 5 were of Catawba manufacture.

As was the case at Locus 4, sherds from English-made vessels at Locus 5 included creamware, pearlware, coarseware and stoneware, but no porcelain was recovered. Analysis of the imported ceramic assemblage yielded a mean ceramic date of 1806.

New Town Cabin Locus 6: Located at the center of Catawba New Town, Cabin Locus 6 lies on a broad, wooded hill some 170 meters north of Locus 5 and 230 meters south of Locus 3 (Figure 4.2). This cabin site was identified during a metal detector survey conducted by the RLA in 2005. In that survey, a cluster of 416 metal artifacts was documented, along with Catawba and pearlware sherds. Distribution of metal artifacts was used to define a domestic area of approximately 2100 m²; about half of that area was disturbed by logging and surface grading in the 1960s, but none of the site deposits demonstrated any indication of having been plowed or otherwise disturbed substantially below ground surface. A low earthen mound was documented in the initial survey of Locus 6; this

feature was identified as a chimney ruin with deposits of fired clay and ash present (Davis and Riggs 2006:7-8).

Excavations conducted by the RLA at Locus 6 in 2005 exposed a total of 209.5 m² that documented the chimney remains and associated cabin seat and nearby middens. The chimney remains were considerably lower than those encountered at Loci 4 and 5, with remnants of the hearth surface barely above the surrounding ground elevation. This most likely indicates that the cabin situated at Locus 6 was an earthen-floored structure built at ground level, unlike the elevated floored cabins encountered at Loci 4 and 5 (Davis and Riggs 2006:7-8).

In all, excavations at Locus 6 yielded more than 28,000 artifacts; the materials recovered indicate a Federal-period occupation. Neither Catawba-made nor imported ceramics from Locus 6 are examined in detail in this study.

Summary of Investigations at New Town

Archaeological investigations at New Town reveal that Catawbas continued to have considerable access to European commercial goods, despite a dramatic change in the economic activities through which they obtained those goods. Firearms and ammunition appear less prevalent at New Town than at Nassaw Town and Old Town, possibly indicating a decreased emphasis on warfare and hunting. Relatively large quantities of horse tack and horseshoes recovered at New Town indicate dramatically increased reliance upon horses for transportation since the time of Nassaw Town. Wagon hardware recovered at two New Town cabins suggests an increase in both the frequency and scale of horse-powered transportation among Catawbas since the mid eighteenth century (Davis and Riggs 2008:12-15).

Much as at Nassaw Town and Old Town, glass beads and numerous other ornamental items were recovered from New Town cabins, including silver earrings, silver bobs and bangles, and brass and silver chains, demonstrating a certain degree of continuity in the use of European-made goods

and materials for personal adornment and identity construction between Nassaw Town and New Town (Davis and Riggs 2008:12).

European ceramics, while present in very small quantities at Nassaw Town and Old Town, were ubiquitous at New Town. Tobacco pipes were abundant at Nassaw Town, Old Town, and New Town, demonstrating the importance of smoking in Catawbas' everyday life. However, whereas kaolin pipe fragments dominated Nassaw Town assemblages, nearly all pipe ceramics at Old Town and New Town were Catawba-made. The tremendous quantities of Catawba pottery recovered at New Town and the presence of burnishing stones and lumps of orange-pigmented sealing wax at each cabin examined speak to the importance of pottery production in this community. The fact that New Town pottery assemblages (as well as the Old Town assemblage examined in this study) were composed entirely of European-influenced vessel forms demonstrates the impact of commercial trade on a formerly domestic craft activity.

Catawba cabins yielded a wide array of kitchen goods, hardware and other metal items, including Dutch ovens and iron kettles, cutlery and eating utensils, a variety of tools, locks and keys, chains, wrought iron and cut nails, brass and iron tacks, and sewing paraphernalia. Also recovered at each cabin site examined were brass and iron Jew's harps; along with tobacco pipes, a wide variety of ceramic and glass serving wares, and rum bottle glass, these items offer a glimpse into Catawba social activity.

Traditional architectural styles, which had persisted until Lady Liston's 1797 visit, appear to have been entirely replaced by Anglo-style log cabins at Catawba New Town. Archaeological investigation confirmed the distinctions in cabin construction described by Calvin Jones in 1815. Two households located at the southwestern edge of New Town had floored cabins and chimneys with stone-lined fireboxes; these were in all likelihood the houses occupied by community leaders Sally New River and Colonel Ayers. Based upon the descriptions of New Town provided by Calvin Jones (1815), as well his route, and the order in which he visited various households, Locus 4 has been identified as the residence of New River, and Locus 5 as that of Ayers (McReynolds Shebalin

2011:143-144). The other cabins located to the north, Loci 2, 3, and 6, had dirt floors; these cabin sites are part of the northern hamlet Jones (1815) described as inhabited by women making pans and men who were away hunting and fishing.

There is evidence for some degree of continuity in subsistence practices between Nassaw Town and New Town, with a mixture of Old and New World foods being consumed by Catawbas. Contexts at New Town have yielded small quantities of charred corn, peach pits, chicken eggshell, deer bones, pig bones, and fish bones (almost all from one context; Riggs and Davis 2008:16). Traditional plant foods such as hickory, walnut, grape, sunflower, sumac, pokeweed, and persimmon have also been recovered (Fitts, personal communication 2011). Until detailed ethno-botanical analyses have been performed, it cannot be said with certainty if there is archaeological support for documentary claims of limited or curtailed maize production at post-Revolutionary Catawba villages. However, the obvious ubiquity of charred corn cobs from numerous feature contexts at Nassaw Town is not at all matched by feature contexts at New Town (Riggs and Davis 2008:17).

Tivoli, Main House and Slave Quarters

William Richardson Davie's plantation estate, Tivoli, was excavated by the UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology in 2006. Davie purchased the Tivoli property in the late 1780s, and an overseer inhabited the main house site during the 1790s; the house was substantially renovated when Davie took up residence at Tivoli. Upon his retirement from politics in 1805, Davie sold his Halifax, North Carolina property and moved his household and slaves permanently to Tivoli. Davie resided at Tivoli until his death in 1820 (Davis and Riggs 2004b; Pettus 2001); the house is suspected to have been removed from the site by Davie's son Frederick in 1828 (Davis and Riggs 2004b; Steve Davis and Brett Riggs, personal communication, 2006). Catawba pottery and imported ware assemblages from the Tivoli main house (SoC 636) and slave cabins (SoC 637) are examined in this study; both imported ware assemblages yielded a mean ceramic date of 1801.

Excavation at the main house site uncovered substantial elements of the house foundation, revealing a structure approximately 12 m wide and 14 m long. According to local lore, the house was burned by Union troops in 1865; however, excavations did not reveal any evidence of a substantial fire, such as masses of charcoal and burned window glass. Investigation at the main house site yielded substantial quantities of imported ceramics and Catawba-made pottery, along with a wide variety of other artifacts.

The slave quarters were located to the northwest of the main house site; the excavated area had been heavily disturbed, but substantial quantities of Catawba-made and imported ceramics, along with a variety of other artifacts, were recovered from this site. Catawba-made and imported ceramics recovered from the main house and slave cabins at Tivoli provide insights into the local pottery market developed and exploited by Catawba potters on their reservation, as well as comparative samples used to examine the impact of itinerancy upon Catawba material culture and economy.

Edenmoor

The Edenmoor site (38LA560) represents a small farmstead occupied during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; the farmstead most likely consisted of a main structure, detached kitchen, and several other adjacent outbuildings (Russ 2009:167-172). Investigations by Environmental Services Inc. (ESI) revealed intact deposits containing Catawba pottery, imported European ceramics, and a variety of other historic artifacts. Russ (2009:92-95) associated the Edenmoor site with Colonel James Steele, a Scots-Irish settler identified as the property's owner in an 1834 tax survey; however, due to the lack of documentary evidence for the actual occupation period, the identity of the Edenmoor site's occupants cannot be verified with any certainty. Even if the tract on which the Edenmoor farmstead was situated was owned by the Steele family at the time of Edenmoor's occupation, the site's inhabitants may have been tenants rather than the owners of the larger tract identified in later documents.

Excavations at the Edenmoor site were conducted in late 2006 and early 2007. Over 150 square meters of the site were excavated, resulting in the documentation of 30 features and the recovery of almost 14,000 artifacts relating to the historic occupation of the site. The presence of a substantial quantity of Catawba pottery and the site's proximity to the Catawba Reservation (Figure 1.2; Edenmoor lies just on the south side of Twelve Mile Creek, the historic boundary of the Old Catawba Nation; Merrell 1989:198-199) suggested some degree of exchange or commerce with Catawba potters (Russ 2009:15-17).

Artifacts recovered from the site included imported ceramics, Catawba pottery, various metal items, glass, and brick. Brick fragments comprised the largest artifact group recovered, with 5,843 individual fragments collected. The abundance of brick suggests the possibility of considerably more substantial structures than the cabins inhabited by New Town Catawbans. Catawba ceramics were the second most abundant artifacts group, with 2,931 sherds recovered (Russ 2009:121). A total of 317 glass artifacts were recovered from Edenmoor, including olive glass, other bottle glass, and window glass. Over 850 metal artifacts, including buttons, nails, fragments of cast iron, ammunition, architectural hardware, and decorative personal items, were recovered during the investigations. Of these, 338 were nails and nail fragments, including wrought and cut nails (Russ 2009:130-135).

A total of 1,356 sherds from imported ceramic wares were recovered from Edenmoor. Imported ceramic artifacts included pearlware and earthenware, with smaller quantities of stoneware, creamware, porcelain, and whiteware. Analysis of imported wares at Edenmoor yielded a mean ceramic date of 1805.

In summary, the Edenmoor site appears to represent substantial farmstead occupied during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Artifact densities reveal a domestic dwelling serving as the center of activity with smaller outlying areas of architecture and labor-related artifacts which suggest outbuildings, sheds, barns, and other farmstead structures (Russ 2009:186). As with ceramic material from Tivoli, Catawba-made and imported ceramics recovered from Edenmoor

provide insights into the local pottery market exploited by Catawba potters, as well as an additional comparative sample used to examine the impact of itinerancy upon Catawbas.

Estimates of Site Occupation Spans and Mean Ceramic Dates

ARRANGE, the computer program devised by Steponaitis and Kintigh for estimating site occupation span, was used to analyze imported ware assemblages from Catawba New Town, Edenmoor, and Tivoli, providing mean ceramic dates (MCD) and span of occupation for the sites. The data analyzed by ARRANGE is contained in appendix C, and in Appendix B of Russ (2009).

For each ceramic type in an assemblage, ARRANGE mathematically distributes the quantity of sherds across the known range of that type's period of use or manufacture. The distributions of the individual ceramic types are combined to produce composite distributions for the entire ceramic assemblages; these can be understood as probability distributions, with the area under the curve indicating the probability that the site was occupied over a given interval of time. The "fattest" portion of the curve is presumed to represent the bulk of the site's occupation span (Steponaitis and Kintigh 1993:356-359). In assessing occupation span, Steponaitis and Kintigh (1993:356-359) suggest using a procedure analogous in statistical terms to constructing a confidence interval around the mean of the distributions created for the ceramic assemblages analyzed. The percentiles used to construct this interval are derived from plausible date ranges for the ceramic types present and available historical dates for the sites. Based upon comparisons of the ceramic distributions to available historic dates for Tivoli and New Town, the estimated starting and ending dates were set at the 30th and 90th percentiles of the ceramic distributions.

Mean Ceramic Date and Site Occupation Span Estimates

Table 4.1 summarizes the results of results of the ARRANGE program's analysis of the imported ware assemblages (see appendix x for detailed results). The Tivoli main house and slave cabin assemblages yielded the earliest MCDs, with both sites dated at 1801; the remaining sites have MCDs clustered between 1803 (Locus 3) and 1807 (Locus 4). As Davie and his slaves did not take

Table 4.1. Mean ceramic dates and estimates of site occupation derived by ARRANGE.

| Site | Mean Ceramic Date | Estimated Occupation Span* |
|----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Edenmoor | 1805 | 1796-1820 |
| Tivoli, Main House | 1801 | 1789-1817 |
| Tivoli, Slave Cabins | 1801 | 1790-1816 |
| New Town, Locus 2 | 1806 | 1797-1821 |
| New Town, Locus 3 | 1803 | 1794-1817 |
| New Town, Locus 4 | 1807 | 1798-1820 |
| New Town, Locus 5 | 1806 | 1797-1820 |

*Starting and ending dates based upon 30th and 90th percentiles of the ceramic distributions.

up residence at Tivoli until 1805, the relatively early MCDs for Tivoli most likely reflect quantities of ceramic wares brought from Halifax, and possibly material on the main house site related to the overseer's occupation during the 1790s as well.

For estimates of occupation span, the date ranges derived by ARRANGE are probabilistic estimates of the bulk of a site's occupation span. Due to the relatively long periods of time during which most ceramic types were manufactured and widely used (e.g., 30-50 years for commonly used pearlwares and creamwares), these estimates do not represent fine-grained time lines. Nevertheless, alongside documentary evidence, these estimates provide an additional means of assessing the contemporaneity of the sites examined.

ARRANGE returned tightly clustered starting dates for the New Town and Edenmoor sites, with estimated starting dates ranging between 1794 (Locus 3), and 1798 (Locus 4). The 1789 and 1790 starting dates for Tivoli reflect the same factors that produced early MCDs for these sites (i.e., relative to documentary evidence). Estimated ending dates for the sites range between 1816 (Tivoli slave cabins) and 1821 (Loci 2). In essence, the ceramic evidence provides no reason to doubt that the sites examined here are temporally comparable; given that the documentary evidence for New Town's occupation is somewhat vague, and for Edenmoor nonexistent, these results provide useful information in this regard.

Colonoware

The commercial success of itinerant groups is dependent upon their knowledge of the culture and politics of the societies they interact with (Berland and Salo 1986; Bolig 2004; Okely 1983; Rao 1987). Pottery was a key component of Catawba commercial activity. The specific nature of that activity cannot be addressed without knowledge of the vessel forms produced by Catawba potters, and an understanding of how those vessels were used by Catawbans and their customers. This information provides evidence of Catawba potters' knowledge of their host society.

A major goal of this study is to provide detailed descriptions of the pottery produced at Old Town and New Town. A brief discussion of broader colonoware studies provides a background for those descriptions.

“Colono-Indian” pottery was formally defined by Ivor Noël Hume in 1962; the term was initially used to describe aboriginally produced, unglazed earthenware of demonstrably European influence (Noël Hume 1962; Baker 1972). However, since its definition by Noël Hume, its manufacture has been linked not only to Indian sources, but also to African and European folk traditions, prompting Ferguson (1978, 1989, 1992:19) to argue for a nomenclatural change to the culturally non-specific term “colonoware.”

Colonowares have been recovered on sites in Florida, Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia (Ferguson 1992); these wares are particularly common on eighteenth and nineteenth century archaeological contexts in South Carolina (Ferguson 1992; Riggs *et al.* 2006). Colonowares from seventeenth through mid-eighteenth century contexts, particularly those recovered on plantations, have generally been attributed to coastal Indian tribes, settlement Indians, and enslaved Indians and Africans (Ferguson 1989; Garrow and Wheaton 1989; Ferguson 1992:18-22). South Carolina colonowares attributed by archaeologists to Catawba potters have been from late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century contexts (Garrow and Wheaton 1989; Ferguson 1989:185).

Lowcountry Colonowares

In reference to colonowares recovered from Drayton Hall in Dorchester County (Lewis 1978) and Yaughan and Curriboo Plantations in Berkeley County (Wheaton *et al.* 1983; Garrow and Wheaton 1989), Ferguson (1989) and Garrow and Wheaton (1989) cited three pieces of evidence for attributing some of these wares to Catawba potters:

1. Documentary accounts specifically describe Catawba potters as traveling to the coastal plain to sell pottery in the nineteenth century.
2. The pottery has similarity to modern Catawba vessels.
3. The pottery is similar to a vessel in the Charleston Museum that was reportedly purchased at Yaughan Plantation from a Catawba woman in 1805.

Ferguson (1989:188) identified a class of pottery that he referred to as “River Burnished” and specifically attributed to itinerant Catawba potters. According to Moore (2002:159-160), surface burnishing on vessels can be traced to the fourteenth century in the middle and upper Catawba valley; however, it did not appear frequently in the central Carolina Piedmont until the seventeenth century (Fitts 2006:32; Ward and Davis 1999:137). In addition to burnishing, a small number of “River Burnished” vessels are also painted with black and red lines and dots; the red paint is sometimes a “day-glow” hue (Ferguson 1989:188).

In their analyses of colonowares from Yaughan and Curriboo Plantations, Garrow and Wheaton (1989:181) contrasted two varieties of colonowares they identified, referred to as type “Colonoware” and varieties “Yaughan” and “Catawba.” While the earlier, eighteenth-century colonoware assemblages were composed almost entirely of the variety Yaughan, ten percent of the colonowares at the most recent slave quarters at Yaughan (dating from ca. 1784-1820s) were said to be Catawba in origin. It should be noted that Ferguson (1989) and Garrow and Wheaton (1989) identify only three vessel forms as Catawba-made: straight-sided bowls, small globular jars, and pitchers. As this study demonstrates, Catawba potters produced a much wider variety of vessel forms, some of which were produced in different sizes as well. Catawba potters produced soup plates, cups, foot-ringed teacups, pitchers, bowls (with curved and straight walls, with and without

pedestals), pans, bottles, footed pots, footed beakers, and globular bodied jars, many of which were produced in a variety of sizes (Riggs *et al.* 2006); other Catawba vessel forms may yet be identified. Given this, colonowares cannot necessarily be attributed to particular makers on the basis of vessel form alone.

In addition to vessel form, average sherd thickness is used by Ferguson (1989) and Garrow and Wheaton (1989) as a means of distinguishing colonowares made by Catawba potters from those made by African slaves, with thinner sherds attributed to Catawba potters. In my examination of Catawba pottery assemblages, I have noticed that sherd thickness in Catawba vessels tends to vary according to vessel form, and within specific vessel categories, in relation to vessel size. By limiting the range of vessel forms attributed to Catawba potters, researchers might be influencing estimates of sherd thickness: if smaller, thin-walled vessels are the only vessels attributed to Catawbas, then relatively thin sherds will inevitably be an attribute of Catawba pottery. My purpose here is not to claim that African slaves did not manufacture pottery described by Garrow and Wheaton (1989) and Ferguson (1989), but merely to suggest that some Catawba pottery is potentially misclassified in these and similar studies.

Ferguson (1989:185) was quite right that in the absence of comparative analyses utilizing pottery from sites identified as belonging to the Catawba Nation, the connection between ceramics from the coastal plain and the Catawba Nation is indirect, recognizing that fine-grained distinctions between colonowares were limited by a lack of evidence. The attribution of Lowcountry colonowares is beyond the scope of this study, and for the present purposes I must accept the general conclusions of researchers who have analyzed those materials: Pottery most likely manufactured by Catawba potters has been recovered from a number of Lowcountry locations; the locations from which these materials have been recovered correspond to the geographic and temporal outlines of the Catawba pottery trade described in documentary accounts.

General Characteristics of Catawba Pottery

Although colonowares are certainly too varied and widespread to be attributable to any single source, it is interesting to note that in South Carolina only Catawbas are actually documented as having produced such pottery. I believe this is a testament to the ability of Catawbas to capture the attention of European observers and successfully market their identity. Catawbas were engaged in manufacturing and trading pottery from the 1770's (and possibly as early as the 1760s) up to the present day, producing in turn utilitarian wares, tourist items, and more recently, art pottery for the Indian Arts and Crafts market (Harrington 2006 [1908]; Fewkes 1944; Blumer 2004; Riggs *et al.* 2006; Riggs 2010). As demonstrated by archaeological and documentary evidence, Catawba potters served market demands for inexpensive utilitarian pottery through a wide-ranging itinerant trade that was conducted for some 50 years across large portions of South Carolina (Baker 1972, 1975; Ferguson 1989; Merrell 1989; Riggs *et al.* 2006). In addition to the pottery recovered at Lowcountry sites discussed by researchers such as Ferguson (1989) and Garrow and Wheaton (1989), significant quantities of Catawba pottery have been recovered from excavations at William R. Davie's plantation, Tivoli (occupied ca. 1805-1828), where it was found at both the main house and slave cabin sites (Riggs *et al.* 2006:79), the Edenmoor farmstead (occupied ca. 1790-1820; Russ 2009), and most importantly, from cabin sites at Catawba Old Town (occupied ca. 1762-1780 and 1781-1790s) and New Town (occupied ca. 1790s-1820; Davis and Riggs 2004a; Riggs *et al.* 2006; Riggs 2010).

Anglo visitors to the Catawba Nation described Catawba women making and selling pottery in 1772 (along with basketry; Smyth 1784) and again in 1815, when Calvin Jones visited Catawba New Town and recorded seeing Catawba women "sitting on their beds and making pans." Catawbas were also observed trading pottery and other items at considerable distances from their reservation, in the vicinity of Columbia ca. 1810 (Scott 1884), while traveling from the upcountry to Charleston in the decades prior to the Civil War (Gregorie 1925), and in the marketplace at Charleston ca. 1810s-1830s (Simms 2003 [1841]:220-221).

Like the wares described by Ferguson (1989) and Garrow and Wheaton (1989), Catawba wares from Catawba Old Town, New Town, Edenmoor, and Tivoli are primarily replicas of imported English vessel forms; however, Catawba pottery assemblages examined in this study include a wider array of vessel forms than described in the latter studies, including foot-ringed teacups and bowls, patty pans, milk pans, soup plates, and a footed beaker.

The quality of Catawba colonowares and the substantial quantities of a wide variety of imported English tablewares recovered from New Town cabin sites demonstrate that Catawba potters were highly informed producers and consumers of Anglo-style pottery. Indeed, delicately crafted teawares and other serving wares made at Old Town demonstrate that Catawba potters possessed considerable knowledge of Anglo ceramics by the 1770s (Riggs *et al.* 2006:77)

The abundance and sophistication of colonoware forms at Old Town suggest that the pottery trade developed in a relatively short span of time, just after the abandonment of Catawba settlements in the 1759 small pox epidemic. The trade may have developed during the Catawbas' encampment at Pine Tree Hill ca. 1760-1762 (Riggs and Davis 2008:11; Riggs 2010:36-37), or during extended slave catching forays to the Lowcountry in the mid 1760s. The trade may also have developed in Catawba territory as a response to the influx of Scots-Irish settlers in the 1760s (Riggs 2010:36-37). In any case, the existence of colonowares in early- and mid-eighteenth century Lowcountry contexts and the Catawbas' well-documented penchant for absorbing refugees suggests the possibility that they may have adopted personnel already engaged in the manufacture and trade of colonowares; such individuals may have been living in the vicinity of either Pine Tree Hill, or Charleston.

Nineteenth-century observers described Catawba potters as using fine-grained "pipe clays" in combination with coarser-grained "pan clay" to achieve different textures for use in different wares (Holmes 1903; Harrington 2006 [1908]). Both at Catawba village sites and on the road, clays appear to have been locally obtained. William Gilmore Simms (2003 [1841]:220-221) and Phillip Porcher (Gregorie 1925) describe Catawbas as obtaining clays from the plantation sites where they camped,

Table 4.2. Rim sherd paste color at Old Town.

| Grey Paste | | Buff Paste | | Total |
|-------------------|------|-------------------|------|--------------|
| n | % | n | % | |
| 85 | 62.5 | 51 | 37.5 | 136 |

while Calvin Jones (1815) noted that in their own village, Catawba potters obtained clay from the nearby Catawba River.

A greater variety of clays or clay recipes seem to have been used for Old Town pottery than is evident at New Town. For Old Town rim sherds examined in this study, 62.5% were composed of a very fine greenish-grey clay that fired pale yellow to pinkish grey, hereafter referred to as simply “grey,” while 37.5% were composed of clay that fired dark brown to yellow red to medium golden brown, hereafter referred to as “buff” (n=136; Table 4.2). In addition to fired sherds, numerous lumps of grey clay have also been recovered from Old Town sites; the grey clay is very fine and exhibits very little aplastic material. Raw grey clay, while ubiquitous at Old Town, was absent at New Town. Although several fired sherds composed of grey clay were recovered at one New Town cabin site, they appear to have belonged to a single vessel and probably represent an heirloom rather than continued production using this clay. Construction of vessels using grey clay thus appears to have some temporal significance, perhaps reflecting a desire to more directly emulate relatively pale-bodied European earthenwares.

Catawba potters do not appear to have added temper to their clays. Some sherds exhibit small quantities of medium or coarse-grained sand, while flecks of very fine mica are evident in many sherds. In either case, these materials appear to be natural constituents of the clay rather than deliberate additives. Coarser clays were used for constructing vessels such as large cooking jars, while the finest clays were used for tobacco pipes and small, polished serving wares such as foot-ringed teacups (Riggs et al. 2006:66-67).

Harrington (2006 [1908]:93-97) describes Catawbas at work preparing clay for making pottery. Harrington observed that Catawba potters used two varieties of clay, a “fine grained stiff variety called ‘pipe clay,’ and a coarser, lighter, crumbly kind known as ‘pan clay.’” According to Harrington, no tempering materials were used, but instead, fine and coarse clay were mixed to achieve the “proper consistency” desired by the potter.

As described by Harrington (2006 [1908]), most vessels were coil built, although a few very small and poorly constructed “pinch pots” identified at New Town are likely to have been children’s toys. Harrington (2006 [1908]:97) described a Catawba potter using a mussel shell scraper and bit of gourd to smooth the interior and exterior surfaces of vessels and blend the coils together as the vessel was constructed. Once leather hard, vessels were subjected to additional scraping using iron or cane knives and mussel shells to remove irregularities and further thin the walls. Vessels were then carefully burnished with a water-worn pebble. A polished bone smoother resembling a blunt awl was used to burnish hard-to-reach spots.

Harrington (2006 [1908]:98-99) described tobacco pipes as being both hand-made and constructed using fired clay press-molds. Catawba pipes at Old Town appear to have been hand-made, but the relative uniformity of the small elbow-form New Town pipes and mold seams identified on some specimens indicate that they were mold-made. It seems likely that the relatively flat soup plates found at both Old Town and New Town were also molded rather than coil built.

Nearly all vessel forms at Old Town and New Town appear to have had flat bases, even restricted-neck cooking pots, vessels otherwise aboriginal in form. The only vessels that may have possessed curved bottoms at either Old Town or New Town were handled globular bodied pots that were perhaps similar to the tripod cooking pots depicted by Harrington (2006 [1908]:101), although specimens could not be adequately reconstructed to definitively answer this question.

Many Old Town and New Town wares were burnished and smother fired to a jet-black color, as described by nineteenth and twentieth century observers (Jones 1815; Holmes 1903; Harrington 2006 [1908]; Fewkes 1944). Small serving wares were sometimes smudged on both the exterior and

interior, but vessels were more commonly smudged on the interior surface only. Smudging not only added a decorative element to vessels, but provided additional waterproofing as well (Munson 1969:83).

Jones (1815), Mooney (Holmes 1903), and Harrington (2006 [1908]) describe Catawba potters as using bark to smudge their pottery. Harrington (2006 [1908]:98) described pottery as generally being fired “in the house on the hearth of the large open fireplace,” although Catawbas informed him that in the past, firing was typically done “out of doors in a gully, or hollow.” While visiting the Catawbas, an “old style” outdoor firing was arranged for his benefit. Mooney (Holmes 1903) describes potters filling vessels with bark and inverting them during firing, while Harrington (2006 [1908]) describes vessels being imbedded in bark in larger clay or iron vessels and then inverted over coals and covered with bark. It should be noted that at Nassaw Town, numerous small, shallow, circular pits were uncovered that contained copious quantities of charred corncobs and were sometimes lined with bark. These pits may have been used for smudging pottery (see Munson 1969:83-85); although ubiquitous at Nassaw Town, only one such pit was identified at Old Town, and none were found at New Town despite extensive excavations. In contrast, many such pits were identified at Ayers Town, a Catawba village contemporaneous with Old Town (Steve Davis, personal communication, 2011), perhaps an indication of variability in pottery production in post-Revolutionary Catawba communities.

Much like imported tablewares, some Catawba vessels were painted, typically along the rims and shoulders. When painted, Old Town vessels were either decorated with designs executed in black pigment, or painted with red pigment. Of the Old Town rim sherds examined in this study, 21% were painted with black pigment and 4% were decorated with red pigment (n=205, Table 4.3; note that 2 sherds had black pigment painted over red). Decorations in black pigment included a single row of dots painted along rims (on the exterior of jars and interior of flaring rim bowls), and elaborate swag and dot designs, such as found on a partially reconstructed soup plate (Figure 4.7).

Table 4.3. Frequency of decoration on Catawba rim sherds.

| Decoration | Old Town | | New Town-era* | |
|--------------------|------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| | n | % | n | % |
| Undecorated | 153 | 75 | 1246 | 91 |
| Black pigment | 43 | 21 | 2 | <1 |
| Red-orange pigment | 9 | 4 | 113 | 8 |
| Other** | 0 | 0 | 8 | <1 |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>205</i> | <i>100</i> | <i>1369</i> | <i>100</i> |

**shallow incising at New Town Locus 2



Figure 4.7. Partially reconstructed Old Town soup plate with swag and dot decoration (Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

At New Town, Catawba potters painted some vessels, most with red-orange pigmented sealing wax, and a small percentage with silver-blue colored wax (Riggs *et al.* 2006), decorations described by nineteenth century author William Gilmore Simms (2003 [1841]). While some New Town sherds exhibit red pigment similar to the color found on Old Town wares, the pigment used at New Town is often the very bright “day-glow” orange color described by Ferguson (1989:188). Of the rim sherds examined in this study, 8% were painted, all with red-orange pigment. Designs are typically painted along the interior of rims on bowls and soup plates, and on the exterior rim and shoulders of jars; patterns on rims include solid rim stripes, dashed lines, swag and dot designs, and dots with short lines (Figure 4.8). Designs on vessel shoulders feature swirling lines, perhaps emulating designs found on imported wares. Two rim sherds with black pigment, both apparently from the same scalloped-edge soup plate, were identified at New Town Locus 3 (Table 4.3); However, these sherds in all likelihood represent an heirloom rather than continued use of black pigment at New Town.

Tobacco pipes at New Town are decorated with fine-line geometric patterns or tic marks that were incised into leather hard clay. Some pipes are also smudged, and/or decorated with orange-pigmented sealing wax (Figure 4.9).

Aside from burnishing, little of the traditional decorative techniques (e.g., cord marking, simple and complicated stamping, incising, and punctuation) seen on ceramic vessels at Nassaw Town occur in Old Town and New Town assemblages (although one New Town vessel had shallow incising and another had punctuation on the rim exterior). For ceramic vessels, the tastes of colonial consumers appear to have largely superceded virtually all other concerns in pottery manufacture and usage among Catawbans in these communities (Riggs *et al.* 2006). As Harrington (2006 [1908]:92) noted, “most of the vessels made to sell exhibit very little Indian character in form or design, ancestral patterns having been sacrificed to the demands of the trade.”



Figure 4.8. New Town Catawba pottery painted with red-orange sealing wax (Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).



Figure 4.9. New Town tobacco pipes (Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

Several vessel forms included ceramic handles and podes. Handles and podes were made using “plugged and riveted” clay rolls attached when vessels were leather-hard (see Harrington 2006 [1908]:97). Through archaeological and ethnographic evidence, handles have been associated with small cooking pots and cups, footed beakers, and pitchers. Podes have been associated with cooking pots and with a footed beaker; these forms were analogues of English-style pipkins and Moravian-style coffee pots.

Catawba Ceramic Analysis, Methods and Materials

Analysis of Catawba pottery for this study had three goals. The first was to determine the range of vessel forms produced by Catawba potters at Old Town and New Town. This was accomplished through partial reconstruction of vessels. The second goal was to determine patterned variation in the formal characteristics of rim sherds associated with the vessel forms identified. Observation of partially reconstructed vessels enabled the development of a typology that was used to classify rim sherds in the assemblages with respect to vessel form. From the Old Town, New Town Loci 2, 3, 4, and 5, Tivoli main house, Tivoli slave cabin, and Edenmoor ceramic assemblages, formal characteristics of 1369 rim sherds were observed and recorded (Appendix A). These data provide some ability to compare the assemblages recovered from different households. The third and final goal was to determine the extent of variation within vessel categories, both in terms of formal characteristics and decoration. This information enabled examination of changes in Catawba pottery production between Old Town and New Town. It also provided additional evidence of the diversity of wares produced by Catawba potters: Catawba vessels not only came in different forms, but each form was produced in a variety of sizes as well. Much of this variability is directly analogous to similar variation among European-made wares.

Catawba Vessels and Rim Sherd Assemblages

The overall size of Catawba pottery assemblages varies considerably among the sites examined (Table 4.4). The Tivoli main house and slave cabins yielded the smallest assemblages of

Table 4.4. Catawba pottery assemblage size.*

| Site | Catawba Sherds (n) |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| Tivoli, Main House | 690 |
| Tivoli, Slave Cabins | 955 |
| Old Town | 1686 |
| New Town, Locus 2 | 2196 |
| Edenmoor | 2931 |
| New Town, Locus 4 | 10166 |
| New Town, Locus 5 | 11866 |
| New Town, Locus 3 | 16087 |
| New Town, Locus 6 | 21628 |

*Data from RLA Catalogues and Russ (2009)

Catawba pottery, with 671 and 955 sherds respectively. The Old Town, New Town Locus 2, and Edenmoor sites yielded somewhat larger quantities of Catawba pottery, with 1686, 2196, and 2931 sherds respectively. New Town Loci 3, 4, and 5 each yielded more than 10,000 sherds.

However, ceramic analyses in this study focus primarily upon examination of rim sherds recovered from the various sites. For the Old Town, New Town Locus 2, Edenmoor, Tivoli main house, and the Tivoli slave cabins, all rim sherds present in the ceramic assemblages were examined. For these assemblages, the rim sherds that could be classified represent between 47% and 85% of the total rim sherds recovered from these sites (Table 4.5; these and the following figures are based on RLA and ESI analyses of all sherds present in the assemblages). Differential artifact preservation accounts for the disparities in the percentage of rim sherds that were classifiable in these assemblages; the relatively fragmentary and eroded ceramic material from Edenmoor proved most difficult to analyze (only 47% of total rim sherds classified), while the well-preserved materials recovered from pit features at Old Town were among the easiest to classify (82% of total rim sherds classified).

At New Town cabin Loci 3, 4, and 5, the data represent substantial samples of the total rim sherds present in the Catawba pottery assemblages. The rim sherds that were classified from these

Table 4.5. Catawba rim sherd sample size.

| Site | Total Sherds (n) | Total Rim Sherds (n) | Rim Sherds Classified (n) | % | Total Assemblage Analyzed |
|----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------|----------------------------------|
| Old Town | 1686 | 187 | 153 | 82 | Yes |
| New Town, Locus 2 | 2196 | 199 | 125 | 63 | Yes |
| New Town, Locus 3 | 16087 | 1238 | 321 | 26 | No |
| New Town, Locus 4 | 10166 | 860 | 200 | 23 | No |
| New Town, Locus 5 | 11866 | 950 | 309 | 33 | No |
| Tivoli, Main House | 671 | 65 | 63 | 97 | Yes |
| Tivoli, Slave Cabins | 955 | 116 | 90 | 78 | Yes |
| Edenmoor | 2931 | 230 | 108 | 47 | Yes |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>46558</i> | <i>3845</i> | <i>1369</i> | <i>36</i> | <i>-</i> |

site's assemblages represent 26%, 23%, and 33% respectively of the total rim sherds recovered at these loci (Table 4.5).

Flatwares and hollowares constitute the basic categories in the Catawba vessel typology established in this study. These ware types are further sub-divided into vessel forms on the basis of combinations of body shape and rim form. In the overview of vessel forms presented in this chapter, additional features, such as the presence or absence of handles, or podes provide the basis for further sub-division. For example, Harrington's tripod cooking vessel is essentially a variety of globular bodied jar, as are handled pots identified at Locus 3 (note that the latter vessels may in fact be tripod cooking vessels; however, without evidence of podes attachment points, it is impossible to know with any certainty). Unfortunately, due to the fragmentary nature of the ceramic assemblages, it was impossible to incorporate these finer sub-categories in quantitative analyses.

Catawba Rim Sherd Attributes

Rim sherds from the assemblages were coded in the following manner (see Appendix A):

Ware Type: Rim sherds were coded as either flatware or holloware.

Vessel Form: Flatware rim sherds were classified as either rounded-edge soup plates or scalloped-edge soup plates. Holloware rim sherds were classified as globular bodied jars, broad rim-

bevel bowls, narrow rim-bevel bowls, pans, flaring rim bowls, thickened rim jars, or miscellaneous hollowares.

Orifice Diameter (cm): Vessel orifice diameter was measured by fitting rim sherds of sufficient size against a one-centimeter increment diameter template. Generally, rim sherds representing approximately 5% or greater of a vessel's total diameter were measured using the rim diameter template; smaller sherds were difficult to measure reliably.

Portion (%): The percentage of total circumference represented by a rim sherd was recorded whenever a sherd was measured for orifice diameter.

Paste Color: Sherds were coded as grey or buff, indicating the use of different colored clays as previously described.

Paste Composition: The term "paste" is used to describe the quality, composition, and aplastic elements of the clay used to produce a vessel. For the purposes of this study, Catawba ceramics were coded as being composed of either fine paste (smooth to the touch) or coarse paste (gritty to the touch).

Surface Treatment: Surface treatment was recorded for each rim sherd examined. Sherds were coded to one of three surface treatments: Plain, Burnished, and Polished. Plain sherds exhibited no visible surface decoration, and though not reflective, were smooth to the touch. Burnished sherds were smooth to the touch and were slightly reflective; horizontal marks were sometimes visible on less carefully burnished sherds, presumably from the use of burnishing pebbles recovered from Catawba cabin sites. Polished sherds possessed an extremely smooth finish that was highly reflective. Burnishing was by far the most common surface treatment observed on the Catawba sherds examined in this study.

Vessel Color (interior/exterior): In order to indicate whether or not a vessel was smudged, sherds were coded for interior and exterior color. Plain surfaces were coded for paste color (e.g., grey or buff), while blackened surfaces were coded for smudging. A buff vessel with no smudging is thus coded "buff/buff," while a buff vessel with interior smudging is coded as "smudged/buff."

Rim Form: Rim form was classified as everted (sharply turned outward, but at an angle substantially less than 90 degrees), excurve, excurve with broad interior bevel, excurve with a ridge below the lip, flaring (sharply turned outward at an angle of approximately 90 degrees), flaring with ridge below lip (several sherds all belonging to one large jar), incurvate, incurvate with narrow interior bevel, straight, or straight with narrow interior bevel (Figure 4.10).

Lip Form: Lip form was classified as interior bevel, rounded, tapered, or squared (Figure 4.11).

Decoration: Sherds were examined for decorative treatment. Decorative treatments included painting (with either orange or black pigment), incising (single line and rouletted), edge-scalloping, and beveling.

Basal Sherd Analysis

In addition to examining rim sherds, data were amassed from observations of base-body juncture sherds, with the purpose of establishing the frequency and variation of foot-rings or pedestals on holloware vessels in Catawba pottery assemblages. Many Catawba vessels had flat bases; however, some possessed pedestals or foot-rings that closely emulated the foot-rings found on European-made wares (Figure 4.12). Examination of this aspect of Catawba vessel form provides an additional window into the uses of Catawba pottery in different households. As was the case for rim sherds from the Old Town, New Town Locus 2, Edenmoor, and the Tivoli main house and slave cabin assemblages, the entire ceramic assemblages were examined, incorporating all sherds identified by RLA and ESI analysts as base-body junctions. For the New Town cabin Loci 3, 4, and 5, I examined samples of base-body junction sherds, incorporating 62%, 28%, and 37% respectively of the total base-body junction sherds originally identified by RLA analysts (Table 4.6).

Catawba Vessel Forms Produced at Old Town and New Town

The following vessel descriptions are adapted from Riggs *et al.* (2006), and based upon examination and reconstruction of ceramic assemblages from Catawba Old Town (SoC 634; ca.

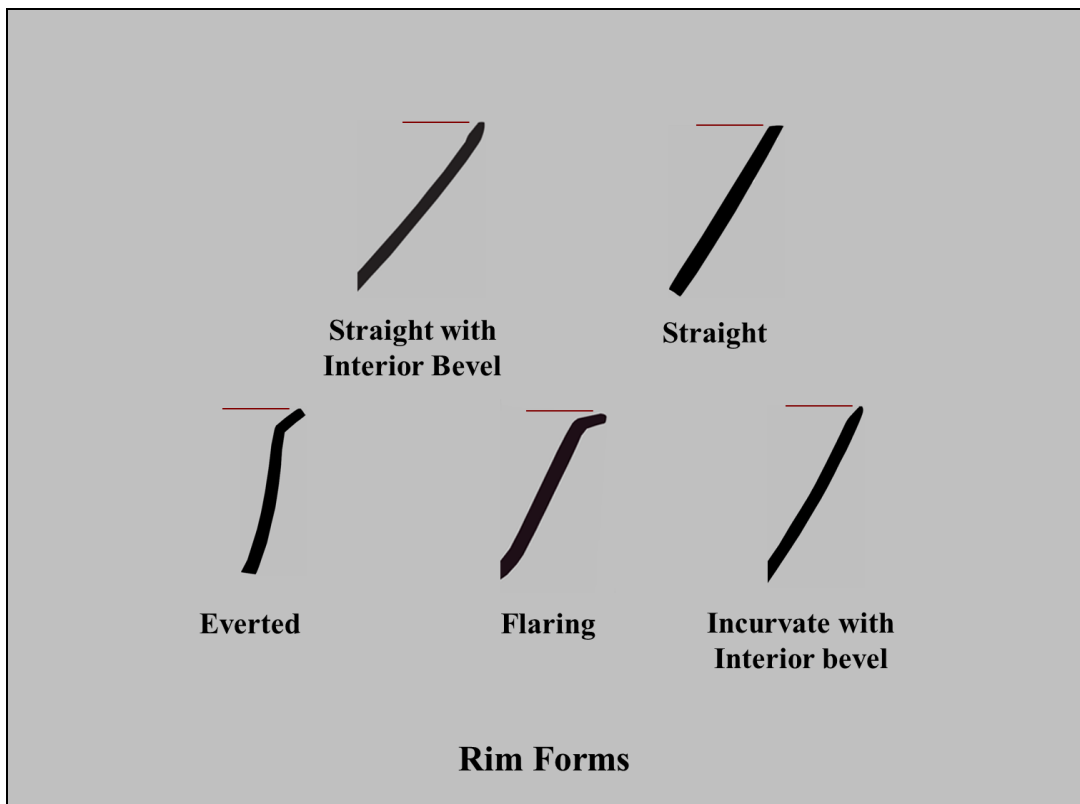
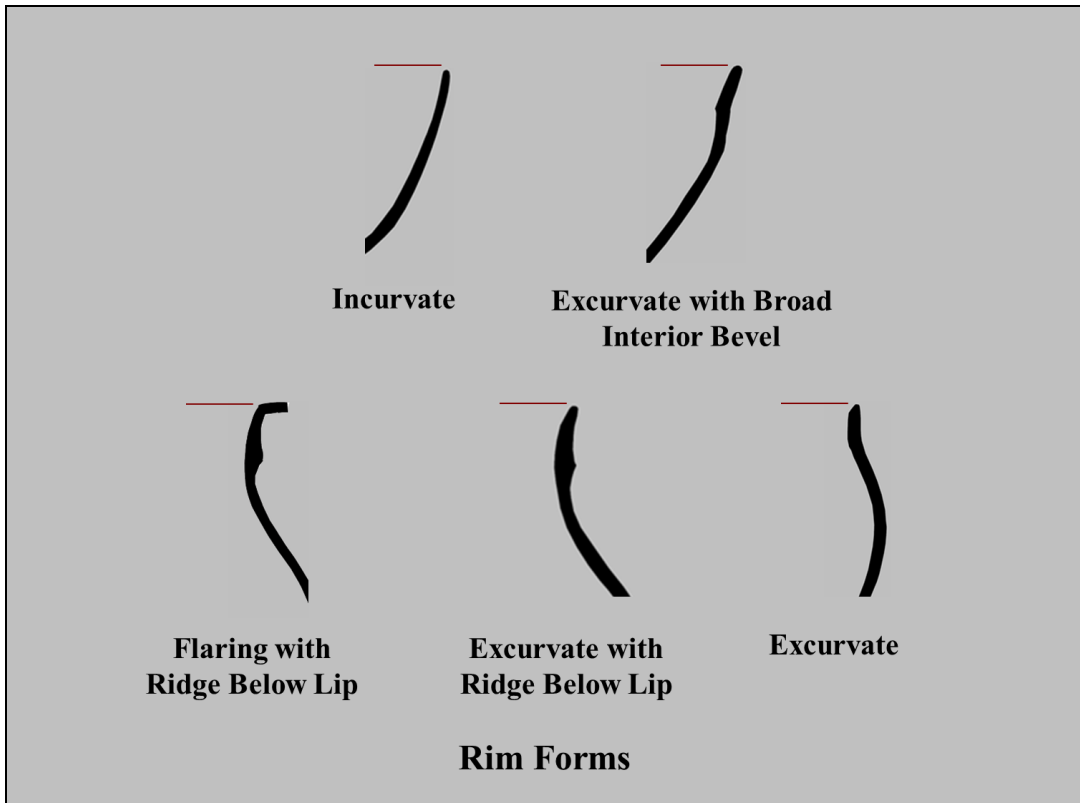


Figure 4.10. Rim forms on Catawba vessels.

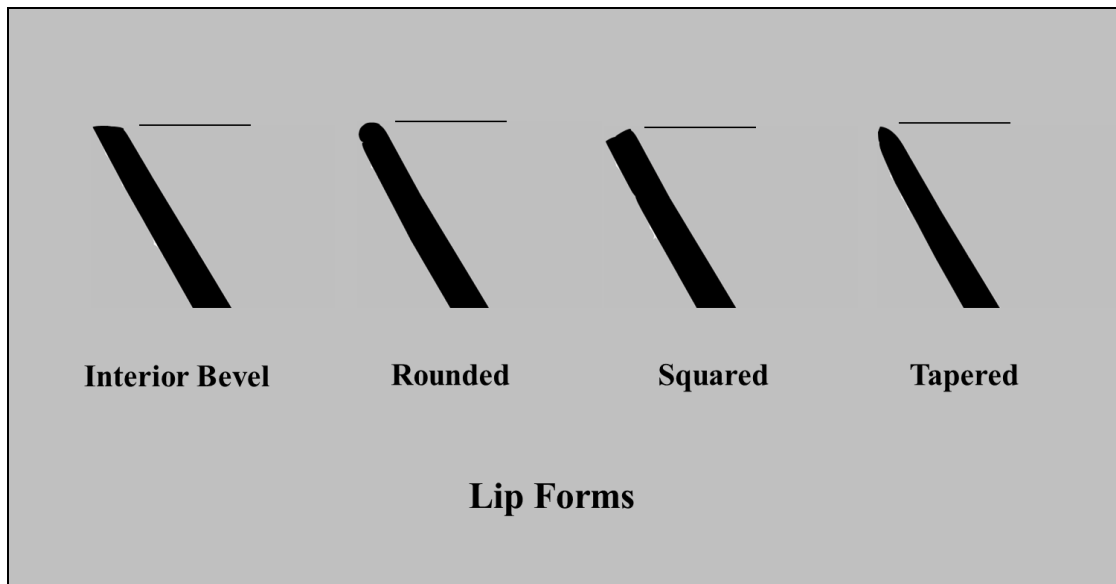


Figure 4.11. Lip forms on Catawba vessels.

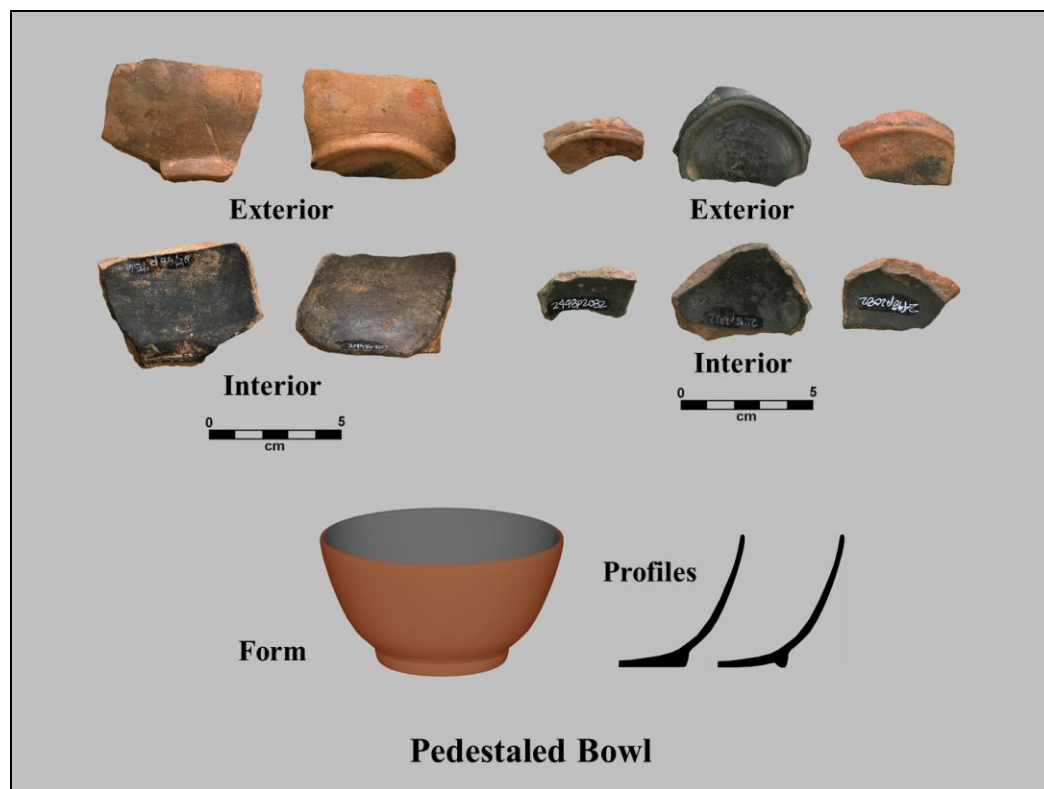


Figure 4.12. Pedestaled bowl reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town (based on Riggs *et al.* 2006:74).

Table 4.6. Basal sherd sample size.

| Site | Total Base- Body Junction Sherds (n) | Base-Body Junction Sherds Classified (n) | % | Total Assemblage Analyzed |
|----------------------|---|---|-----------|--|
| Tivoli, Main House | 14 | 14 | 100 | Yes |
| Tivoli, Slave Cabins | 34 | 34 | 100 | Yes |
| Edenmoor | 62 | 50 | 81 | Yes |
| New Town, Locus 2 | 63 | 52 | 83 | Yes |
| Old Town | 104 | 65 | 63 | Yes |
| New Town, Locus 4 | 294 | 81 | 28 | No |
| New Town, Locus 5 | 306 | 112 | 37 | No |
| New Town, Locus 3 | 528 | 328 | 62 | No |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>1405</i> | <i>736</i> | <i>52</i> | <i>-</i> |

1761-1780 and 1781-1790s) and New Town (SoC 632; ca. 1790s-1820) that I conducted between 2003 and 2010. Also examined were ceramics from the William R. Davie plantation, Tivoli (ca. 1805-1828), including the main house (SoC 636 and 38CS299; the latter is material from the Davie house site excavated by Legacy Research Associates) and the plantation's slave cabins (SoC 637), and material from the Edenmoor farmstead (38LA560; ca. 1790s-1820). Ceramics from the Old Town site included in this study appear to have been associated with two cabins, perhaps pre- and post-Revolutionary occupations, while research at New Town included ceramic material from four contemporaneous cabin sites, designated Loci 2, 3, 4, and 5. It must be noted that the Old Town assemblage contains more vessel forms than are described here, as some forms could not be identified from relatively small rim sherds. Recent RLA excavations at post-Revolutionary Old Town cabin sites reveal that prior to New Town, there was much greater variety in ceramic production; however, that topic is beyond the scope of this study.

Using hand-drawn rim profiles from partially reconstructed vessels, three-dimensional models of Catawba vessels were produced using Design CAD 3000. The vessel categories were established using two primary criteria: 1) Catawba vessel forms, rim, and lip attributes that consistently co-occur, and 2) resemblance to European vessel forms.

Broad and Narrow Rim-Bevel Bowls

Broad Rim-Bevel Bowls: Named for the sharply-defined, broad, beveled facet found on rim interiors (typically about 2 cm in width), broad rim-bevel bowls have gently incurving walls with slightly excurvate rims (the latter characteristic is presumably due to pressure applied in creating the broad bevel; Figure 4.13). Lips are typically interior beveled, squared, or rounded. Broad rim-bevel bowls have flat bases that are proportionally somewhat smaller than the bases found on other bowl forms (Riggs et al. 2006:70). A vessel's stability is determined by the breadth of its base relative to its maximum vessel diameter and the position of its center of gravity (Hally 1986:278-279). Broad rim-bevel bowls, with their relatively narrow base diameter and high center of gravity, may not have been quite as stable as other Catawba hollowares. Documented specimens range from 10 to 28 cm in diameter, with an estimated median diameter of 22 cm (Table 4.7).

The histogram of broad rim-bevel bowl orifice diameter in Figure 4.14 suggests several size classes, with modes at 10 cm, 15 cm, 22 cm, and 28 cm (n=37). Except for two rim sherds, one recovered at Locus 4 and one at the Tivoli main house, these bowls were typically unpainted (Table 4.7). Broad rim-bevel bowls were made at both Old Town and New Town.

Formal and aesthetic elements suggest that broad rim-bevel bowls were tablewares. They possess a distinctive rim decoration, and with proportionally small bases, and thus a higher center of gravity, appear less stable than pans or thickened rim jars. Estimates of orifice diameter indicate a substantial number were produced in sizes suitable for individual serving vessels.

Narrow Rim-Bevel Bowls: Hollowares with straight or incurvate walls, narrow rim-bevel bowls are characterized by a narrow bevel (2-5 mm in width) applied to the interior rim, just at the edge of the lip (Riggs et al. 2006:72; Figure 4.15). Lips may be interior beveled (the latter bevel being separate from the rim bevel), rounded, squared, or tapered. On small vessels, the rim bevel is typically very narrow, and it may be difficult to distinguish along portions of the lip, especially when the lip itself has been given an interior beveled.

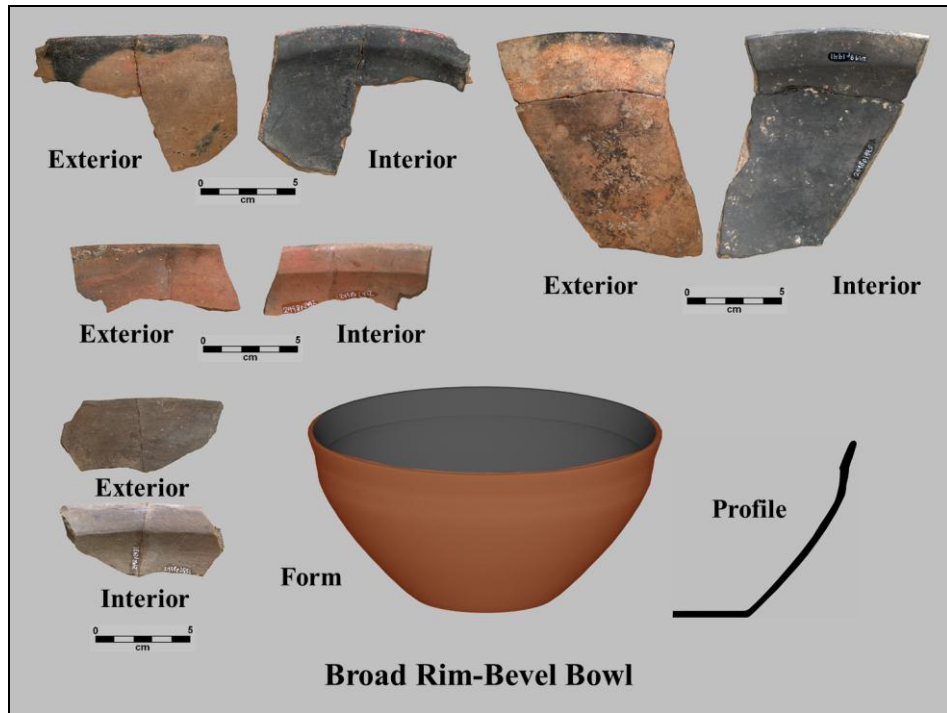


Figure 4.13. Broad rim-beveled bowl reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town (based on Riggs *et al.* 2006:71).

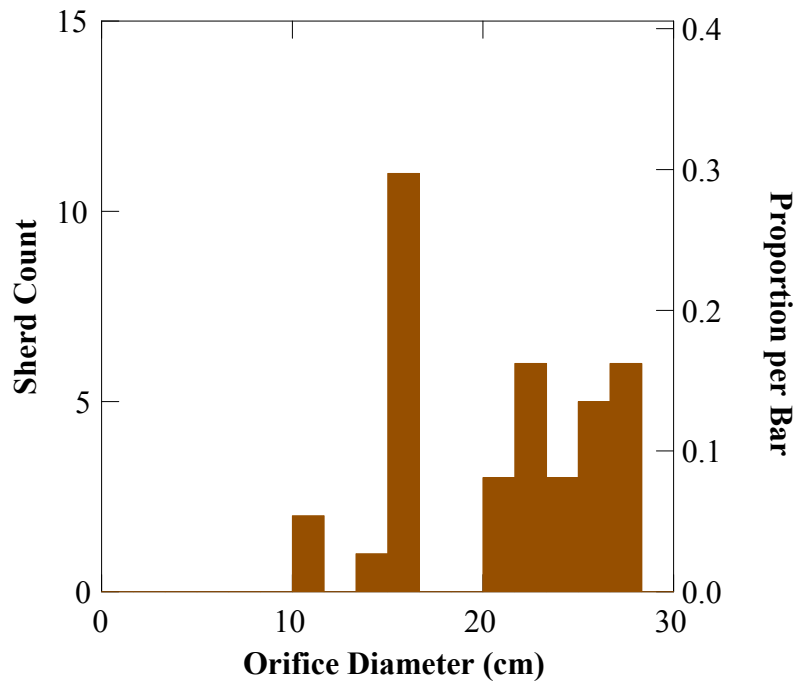


Figure 4.14. Histogram of broad rim-bevel bowl orifice diameter at Old Town and New Town.

Table 4.7. Old Town and New Town-era Catawba vessel overview.

| Vessel Form | Orifice Diameter Range (cm) | Median Diameter (cm) | Painted (%) | n |
|--------------------------|--|---------------------------------|------------------------|----------|
| Broad rim-bevel bowl | 11-28 | 22 | 2 | 121 |
| Narrow rim-bevel bowl | 8-28 | 19.5 | 33 | 174 |
| Pan | 16-29 | 25 | 0 | 214 |
| Globular bodied jar | 8-22 | 11 | 12 | 86 |
| Thickened rim jar | 10-27 (15-27)* | 19.5 (20)* | 0 | 229 |
| Flaring rim bowl | 9-28 | 16 | 29 | 113 |
| Miscellaneous hollowares | 2-30 | 15 | 1 | 138 |
| Soup plate | 17-26 | 23 | 21 | 294 |

*Figures in parentheses exclude possible child's toys.

Narrow rim-bevel bowls range in diameter from 8-28 cm in diameter (Table 4.7); this category includes cups, teabowls, and serving bowls in a variety of sizes. The histogram for narrow rim-bevel bowl orifice diameter in figure 4.16 suggests several size classes, with modes at 8 cm, 16 cm, 20 cm, and 27 cm (n=78). Most vessels in this category had flat bases, but some had pedestal bases or foot rings. The rim bevel on these vessels apparently served as a platform for painting; whereas 8% of all New Town-era rim sherds rim examined in this study are painted (n=1369, Table 4.3), 33% of narrow bevel rims are painted (n=174; Table 4.7). Narrow rim-bevel bowls were not identified in the Old Town assemblage. The frequency of painting and range of sizes produced suggest that these vessels were tablewares, although large, unpainted versions are similar to pans.

Pans

Resembling English milk pans and brass cooking kettles, pans are trapezoidal vessels with flaring walls (Figure 4.17); pan lips are beveled so that the lip edge is horizontal in profile. Unlike traditional English milk pans, Catawba pans do not appear to have had spouts (note that spouts on English milk pans were often little more than thumb impressions).

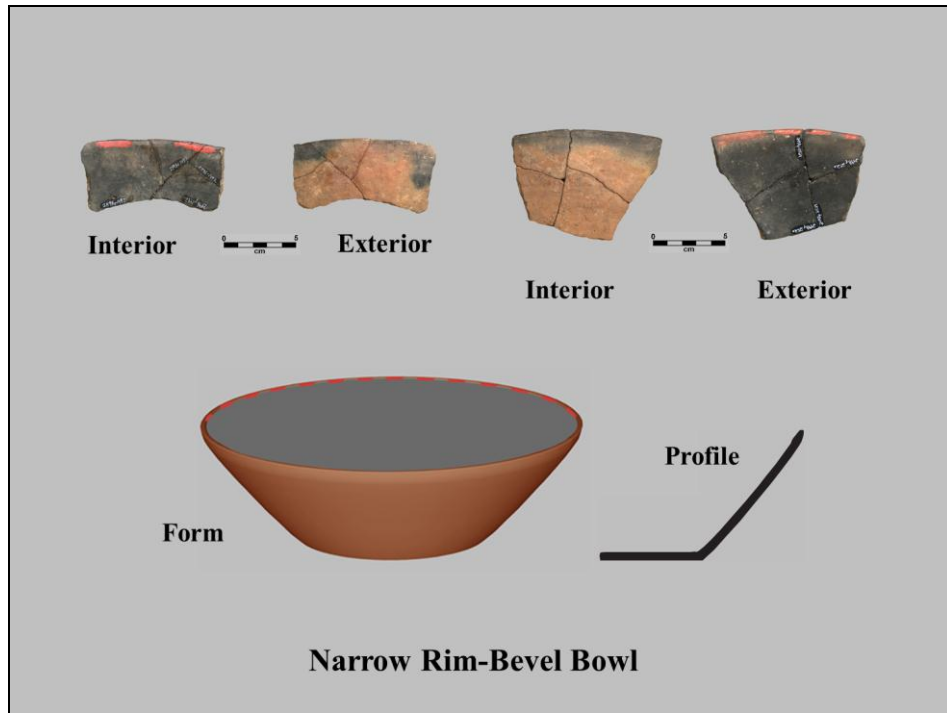


Figure 4.15. Narrow rim-bevel bowl reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town (based on Riggs *et al.* 2006:71).

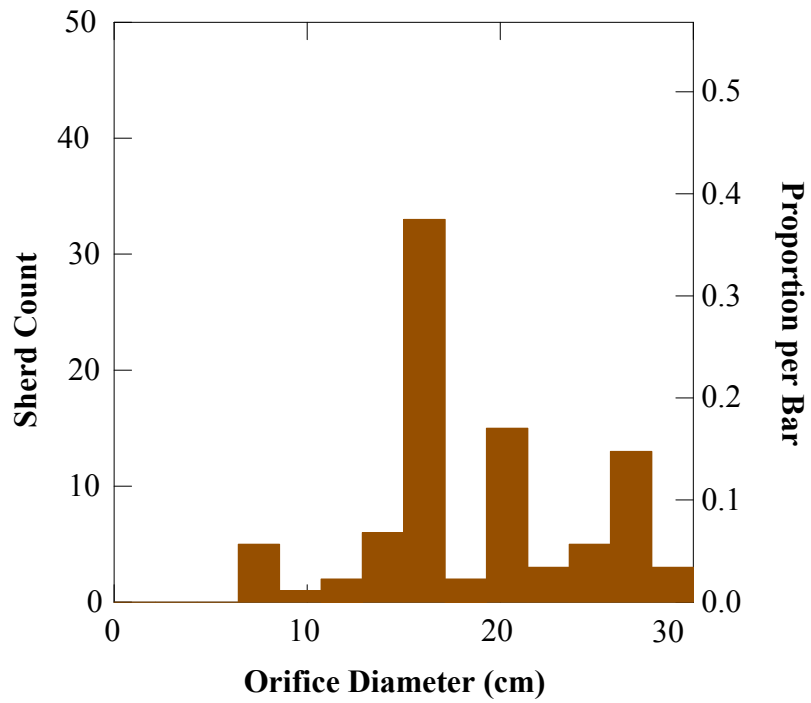


Figure 4.16. Histogram of narrow rim-bevel bowl orifice diameter at New Town.

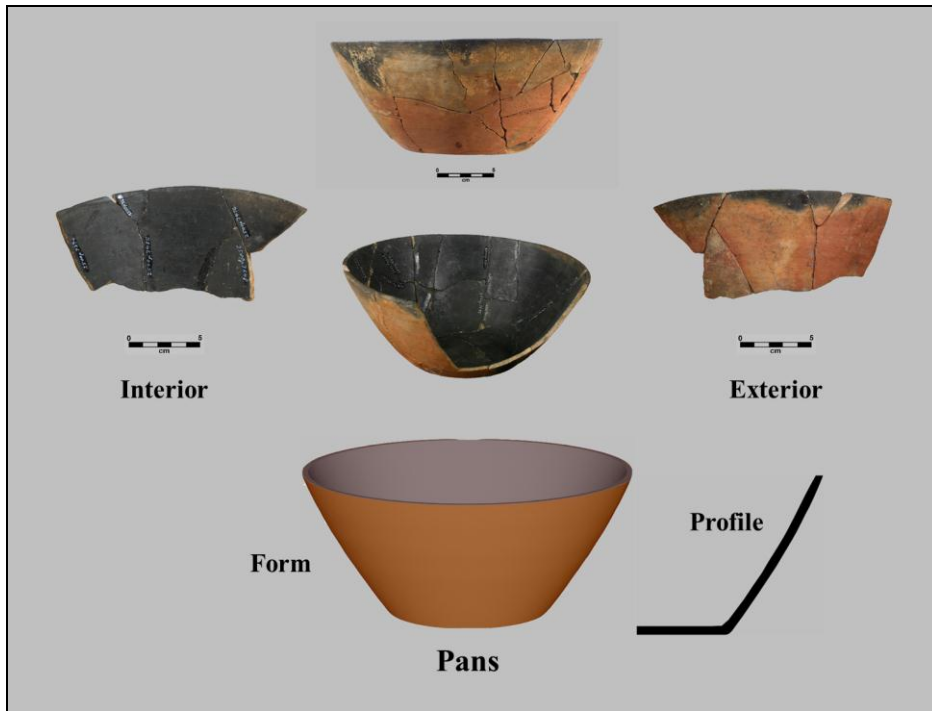


Figure 4.17. Pan reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town (based on Riggs *et al.* 2006:71).

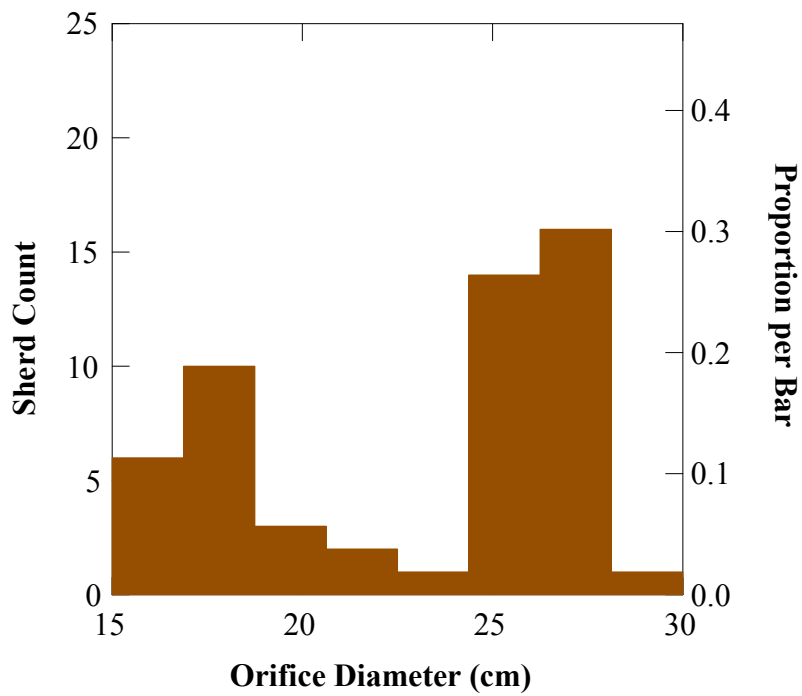


Figure 4.18. Histogram of pan orifice diameter at Old Town and New Town.

It does not appear that pans were painted. Documented pans range in size from 16 to 29 cm in diameter (Table 4.7). The histogram in Figure 4.18 suggests at least two size classes for pans, with a smaller size of approximately 16-18 cm and a larger size of approximately 25-27 cm (n=53); the one complete specimen recovered from Locus 4 has an orifice diameter of 27 cm. Pans were made at Old Town and New Town.

Jars, Bottles, Pitchers, and Handled Pots

Jars with globular bodies and short restricted necks and excurved or everted rims range from 8-22 cm in orifice diameter, with a median diameter of 10 cm (Table 4.7; Riggs *et al.* 2006:72); jar lips may be squared, rounded, interior beveled, or tapered. The histogram of jar orifice diameter in Figure 23 suggests three distinct size classes, with modes at 10 cm, 16 cm, and 22 cm. Small jars with diameters ranging from 8-12 cm appear to emulate the English “drinking pot” (Figure 4.19 and Figure 4.20). Of the jars for which orifice diameter could be determined, 85% fell within this range (n=47).

Larger sized jars range from 15-22 cm in diameter; of the globular bodied jar rims identified in this study for which orifice diameter could be determined, only 15% fell within this range (n=47). These vessels appear to be analogues of English chamber pots, pipkins, or porringers (Riggs *et al.* 2006:72). Footed cooking pots with globular bodies, restricted necks, handles, and gently curved bases are pictured in Harrington (2006 [1908]:101), referred to there as a “tripod cooking vessels.”

Two globular-bodied, handled pots were identified in the assemblage at New Town cabin locus 3. The identified vessels have squat, bulbous bodies, everted rims with sharp interior bevels, large loop handles, and orifice diameters of 16 cm and 18 cm (Figure 4.21). There is no direct evidence that these vessels were footed; however, similar to the footed vessels depicted by Harrington, they may have had gently curved rather than flat bases, which would be quite unusual for Catawba vessels. If indeed they were footed, these vessels would have been analogous to English pipkins; lacking feet, they would have been analogous to porringers or chamber pots.

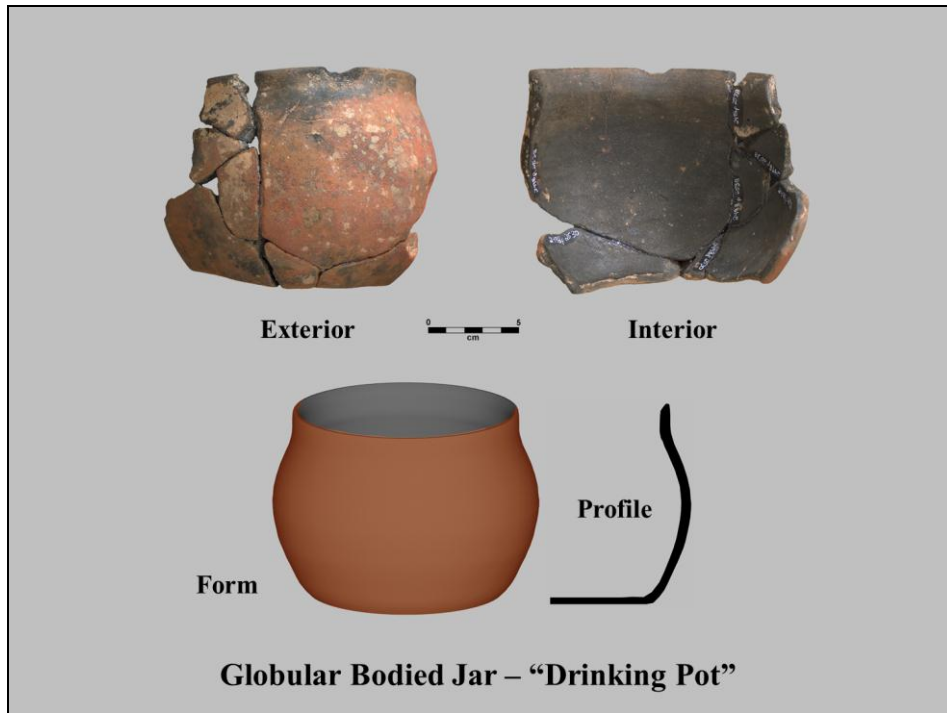


Figure 4.19. Globular bodied jar reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town (based on Riggs *et al.* 2006:73).

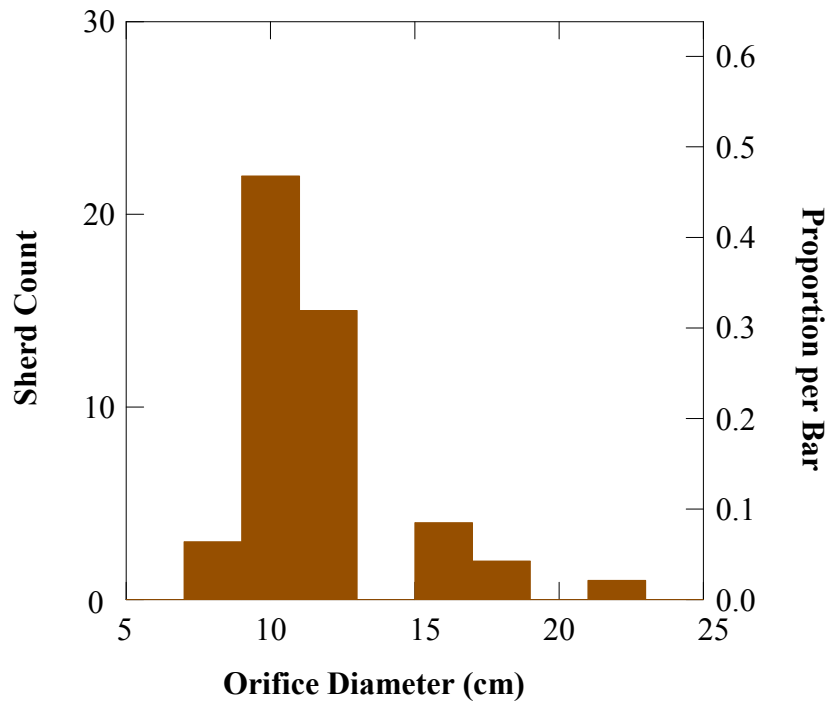


Figure 4.20. Histogram of globular bodied jar orifice diameter at Old Town and New Town.

Table 4.8. Globular bodied jar rims at Old Town and New Town-era sites.

| Site | Orifice Diameter Range (cm) | Median Diameter (cm) | Painted (%) | n |
|--------------|--|---------------------------------|--------------------|----------|
| Old Town | 10-22 | 11 | 41 | 17 |
| New Town-era | 8-18 | 10 | 4 | 69 |

Although they seem to be similar in terms of the range of sizes produced, globular bodied jars at Old Town and New Town-era sites differ considerably in terms of the frequency of painting. Of the New Town-era globular-bodied jar rims examined in this study, only 4% exhibited painting (n=69, Table 4.8); two of the painted sherds were recovered from the main house site at Tivoli and one from Locus 3. In comparison, 41% of Old Town jar rim sherds were painted (n=17, Table 4.8).

Fragments of pitchers and wide-mouthed bottles (along with what are presumably bottle stoppers) have been identified, although these vessels could not be sufficiently reconstructed to enable CAD modeling. These vessels have restricted necks similar to jars, but their necks are significantly taller. In addition to larger bottles, a small keg-shaped bottle with a stopper was recovered from New Town locus 3 (see Riggs *et al.* 2006). A variety of jar forms were present at Old Town and New Town-era sites.

Thickened Rim Jars

These are relatively large globular bodied jars with recurvate walls and excurvate, thickened rims. The rims have a small ridge on the exterior surface of the rim, located just below the lip (Figure 4.22; Riggs *et al.* 2006:72). Lips are interior beveled, squared or rounded. These relatively large vessels appear to have been used for cooking and perhaps storage as well. Thickened rim jars were present at Nassaw Town, although the vessels at Nassaw had rounded rather than flat bases. At least one thickened rim jar was identified at the Old Town site; sherds from thickened rim jars were also identified in recent RLA excavations at the post-Revolutionary Ayers Town Site (38Yk534, c. 1781-1790s; Brett Riggs, personal communication, 2011).

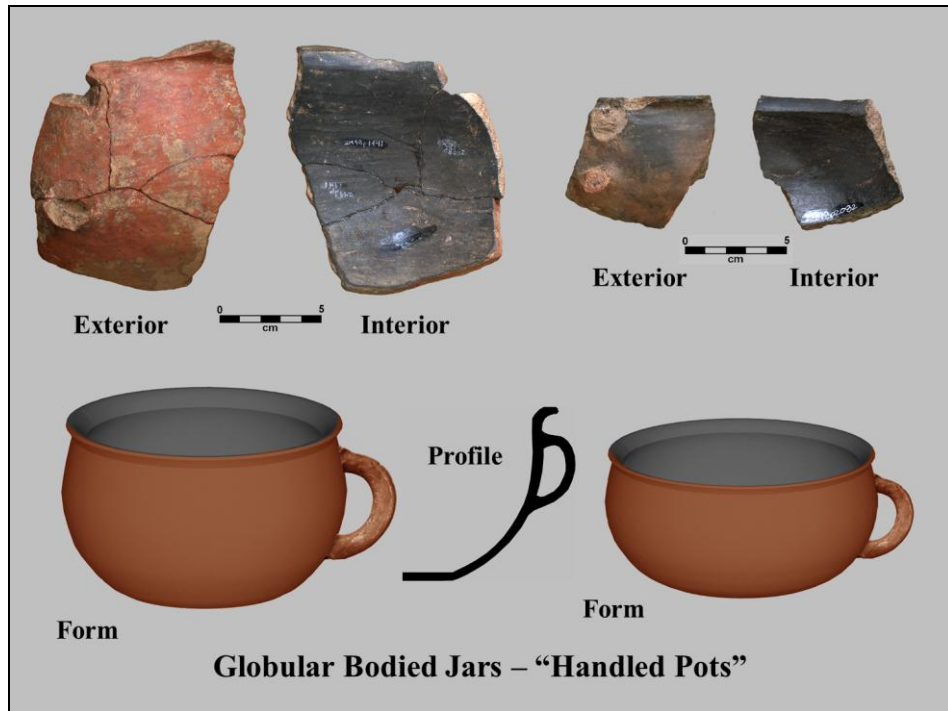


Figure 4.21. Handled pot reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town, Locus 3 (based on Riggs *et al.* 2006:75).

Documented thickened rim jars range from 10 to 27 cm in orifice diameter, with a median diameter of 19.5 cm (Table 4.7). Four sherds with 10 cm diameters have been identified at New Town cabin loci 3 and 5 (two sherds at each cabin), and a single very crudely made sherd with a 6 cm diameter was recovered at Locus 5. The latter is certainly a child’s toy. As drinking-pot-sized thickened rim sherds are quite uncommon, it seems possible that the small, but better crafted vessels were toys made for children by adults. If the latter sherds are excluded, the orifice diameter range for thickened rim jars is 15-27 cm with a median diameter of 20 cm (Table 4.7). The histogram of thickened rim jar orifice diameter in Figure 4.23 suggests three size classes, with a mode at 10 cm, another at 17 cm, and yet another at 23 cm (n=60).

Based upon their general shape and size (see Hally 1986 on vessel form and function), and the presence of what appears to be scorched food and soot found on a number of these vessels, it

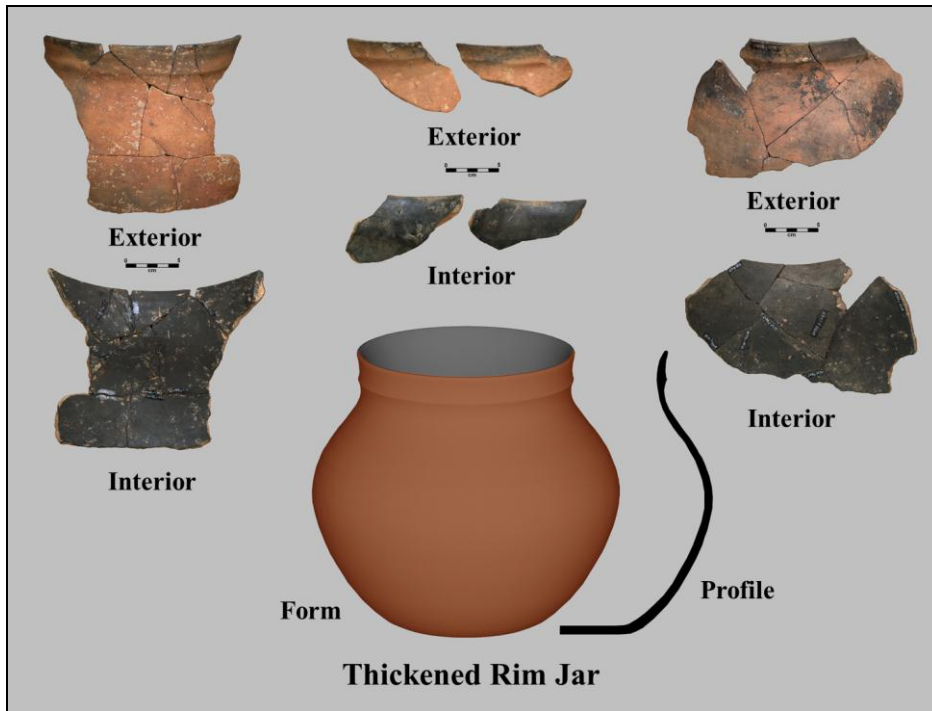


Figure 4.22. Thickened rim jar reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town (based on Riggs *et al.* 2006:73).

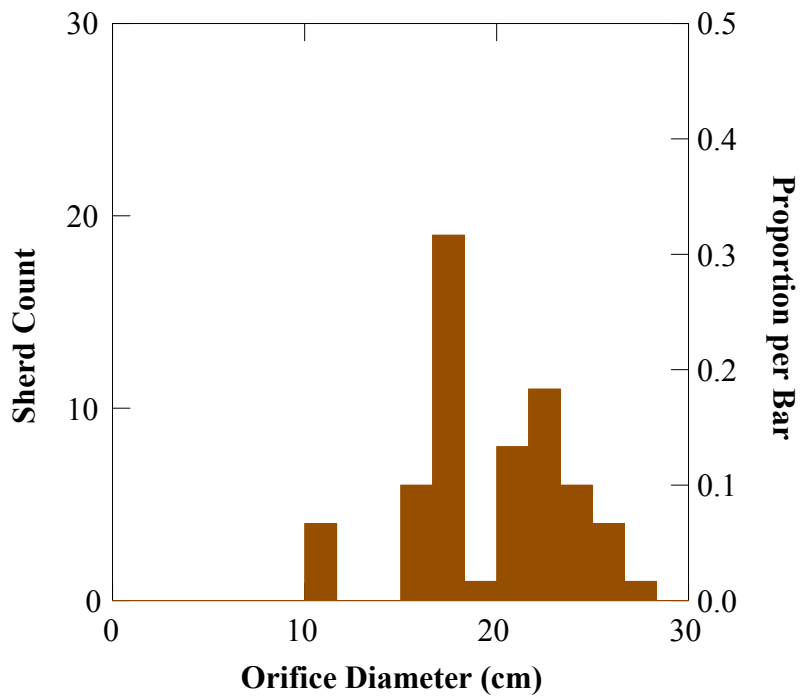


Figure 4.23. Histogram of thickened rim jar orifice diameter at New Town.

seems likely that thickened rim jars were often used for cooking, although they may have been used for storage as well. To the extent that they were used for cooking, thickened rim jars would have been analogues of cast-iron cooking vessels. Unlike globular bodied jars, painting was not identified on any of the more than 200 thickened rim sherds examined, which is not surprising given that these vessels were most likely not tablewares.

Flaring Rim Bowls

Shallow bowls with angled, more or less straight sides and flat, flaring rims (Figure 4.24), smaller versions of these vessels are analogous to English patty or tart pans, which were used for serving tarts or pastries and were especially popular in the latter half of the eighteenth century (Lippert 1987:208-210). Flaring rim bowls range in orifice diameter from 9-28 cm, with a median diameter of 16 cm (Table 4.7).

Flaring rim bowls appear to differ in size at Old Town and New Town-era sites. Flaring rim bowls at Old Town came in a broad array of sizes, ranging from 10 cm to 28 cm in diameter, with a median diameter of 17.5 cm (Table 4.9); obviously, the large vessels in this range did not directly emulate English patty pans. Flaring rim bowls at New Town appear to have been produced in a narrower range of sizes; specimens range only from 9-18 cm in diameter, with a median diameter of 16cm (n=8; Table 4.9).

A comparison of histograms for flaring rim bowl orifice diameter at Old Town and New Town-era sites suggest several size classes (Figure 4.25). The histogram for New Town-era bowls has modes at 9-10 cm and 16 cm (n=8). The histogram for Old Town bowls has modes at 13 cm, 16 cm, 21 cm and 25 cm (n=28).

Flaring rim bowls are among the most often decorated Catawba wares, with 29% of all flaring rims painted (n=113, Table 4.7). Flaring rim bowls appear to have been painted more often at Old Town than at New Town (34% vs. 25% of rim sherds); 12% of flaring rims at New Town had

Table 4.9. Flaring Rim bowls at Old Town and New Town-era sites.

| Site | Orifice Diameter Range (cm) | Median Diameter (cm) | Painted (%) | Scalloped-edge (%) | n |
|--------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|----------|
| Old Town | 10-28 | 17.5 | 34 | 0 | 53 |
| New Town-era | 9-18 | 16 | 25 | 12 | 60 |

scalloped edges, a decorative treatment not seen on the Old Town flaring rim bowls examined in this study (Table 4.9).

Miscellaneous Hollowares

This is essentially a residual category, containing holloware rim sherds that could not be assigned to the other types. At Old Town, this category may contain a greater variety of vessels than at New Town-era sites, as Old Town miscellaneous holloware rims occur in both grey and buff clays, several Old Town specimens exhibit painted decoration, and a significant percentage are highly polished along with interior and exterior smudging (traits associated with tablewares rather than food preparation wares). Miscellaneous holloware rims at New Town do not exhibit painting. However, sherds associated with one vessel at Locus 2 were decorated with shallow incising, and 10% of all miscellaneous holloware rims at New Town exhibit interior and exterior smudging; half of these are polished as well (appendix A). While most New Town-era miscellaneous hollowares may have been food preparation or cooking vessels, at least some appear to have been some form of tableware. The only positively identified form is represented by a single specimen, described below.

Footed Beaker: This vessel was reconstructed from podes to rim, and was recovered from New Town cabin Locus 2. This flat-bottomed, tripodal beaker-shaped vessel had gently curved walls and an orifice diameter of 8 cm (Figure 4.26). Based upon handle fragments and sherds with handle attachments of similar curvature, thickness, and coloration found in the same contexts, it seems likely that this vessel not only had feet, but a handle as well. This form appears to be analogous to footed ceramic coffee pots manufactured by Moravian potters at the time. Thirty-five sherds from this

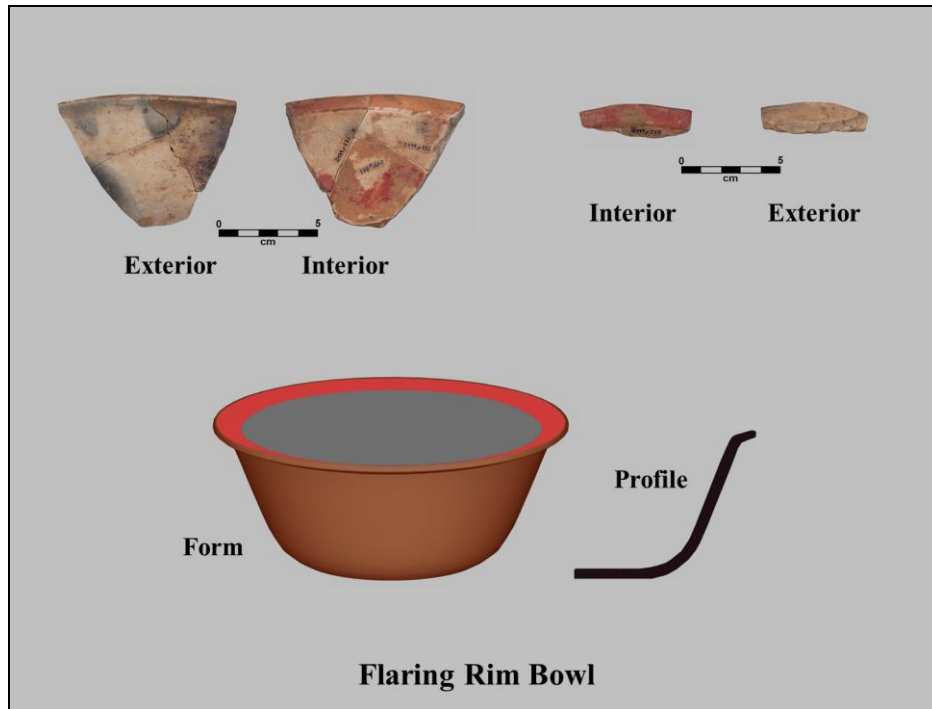


Figure 4.24. Flaring rim bowl reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town (based on Riggs *et al.* 2006).

vessel were decorated with shallow incised line consisting of exterior rim stripes and a simple cross-hatch pattern at the base, apparently emulating decorations on annular wares.

Soup Plates

Catawba flatwares emulate English soup plates. These plates have flat bases with no foot-rings, shallow, rounded wells, and broad, well-defined marleys (Figure 4.27). Plate marleys are generally slightly concave in shape, sometimes with narrow bevels near the lip, while lips may be rounded, squared, or beveled. Plate diameters range from approximately 17 to 26 cm (Table 4.7); most are the size of standard dinner plates (Riggs *et al.* 2006:72). The diameter of plate rims was generally difficult to measure; however, the histogram of plate rim diameter at Old Town and New Town-era sites in figure 4.28 suggests several size classes. At Old Town, plates came in two well-established sizes, with obvious modes at 17 cm and 23 cm (n=24; refitting sherds from two scalloped-

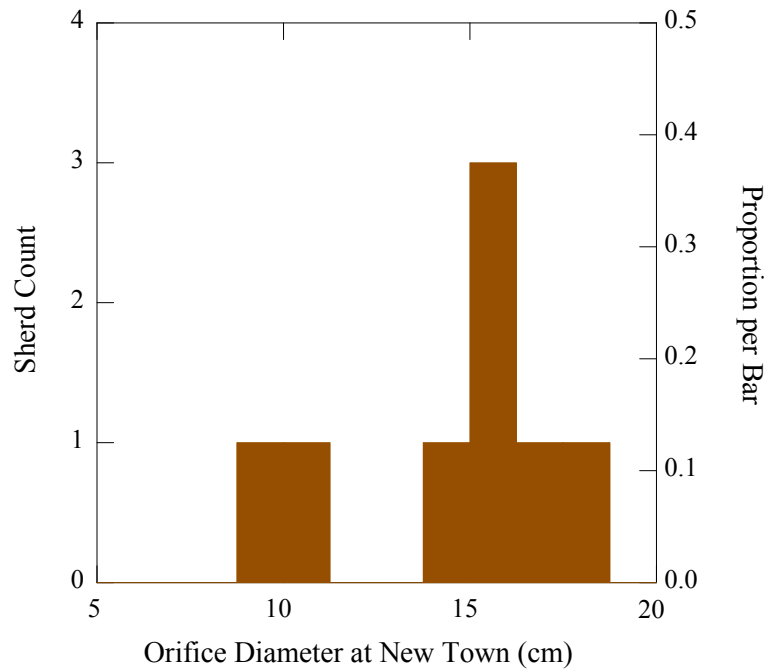
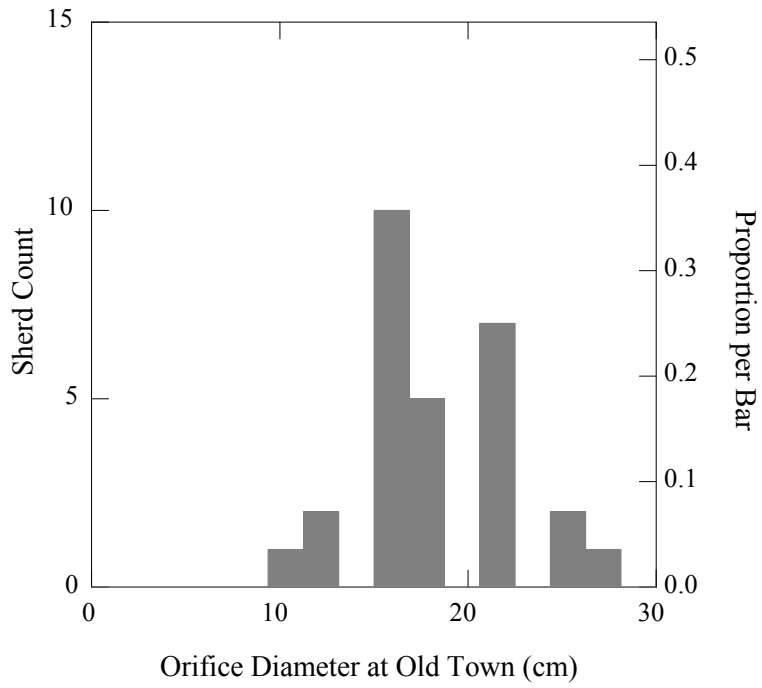


Figure 4.25. Histogram of flaring rim bowl orifice diameter at Old Town and New Town.

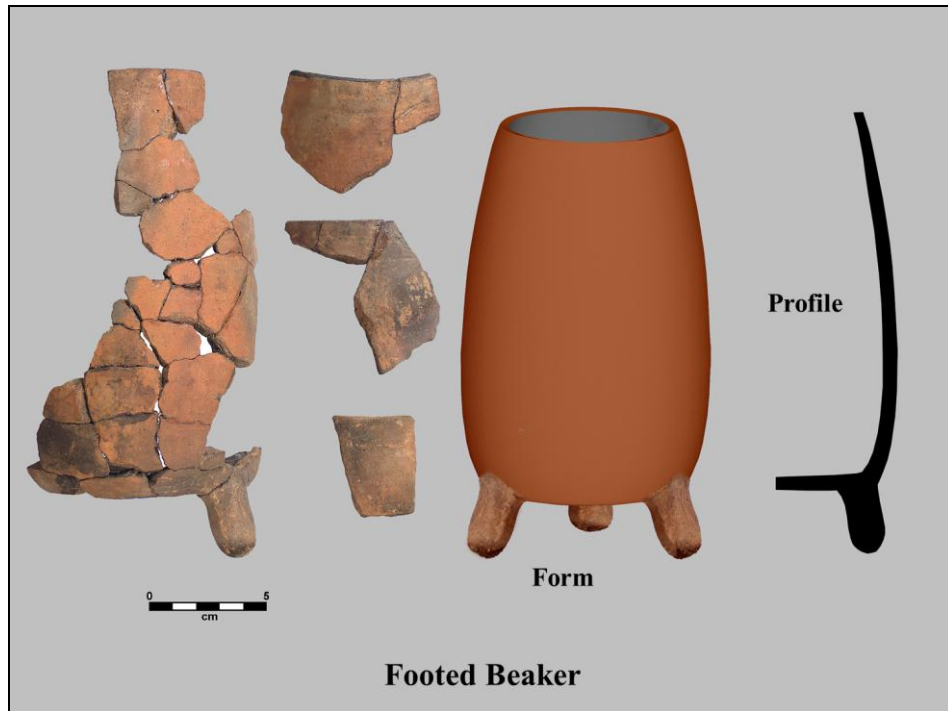


Figure 4.26. Footed beaker reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town (Riggs *et al.* 2006:76).

edge soup plates clearly represent vessels of different size). At New Town-era sites, additional modes at 20 cm and 26 cm may represent two more size classes (n=30), however, with the general difficulty of measuring plate rim diameter, this question is not easily resolved.

At both Old Town and New Town-era sites, plates had rounded-edge or scalloped-edge rims. Some plates also possessed painted edge decoration, with black pigment used on Old Town plates, and orange pigmented sealing wax used at New Town. Decorations at Old Town were typically swagged lines with dots (see Figure 4.7). At New Town, designs included rim striping in solid, dashed, and zig-zagging lines, along with dots, small circles or ovals, and small perpendicular lines.

Most plate rims at Old Town were made of the distinctive grey clay found at that site (94%, n=31, Table 4.10); 74% were painted and 77% had scalloped edges. Of the plate rims at New Town-era sites, 14% are painted, and only 19% had scalloped edges (n=263, Table 4.10). The apparent decrease in production of soup plates with scalloped-edge rims at New Town suggests that these

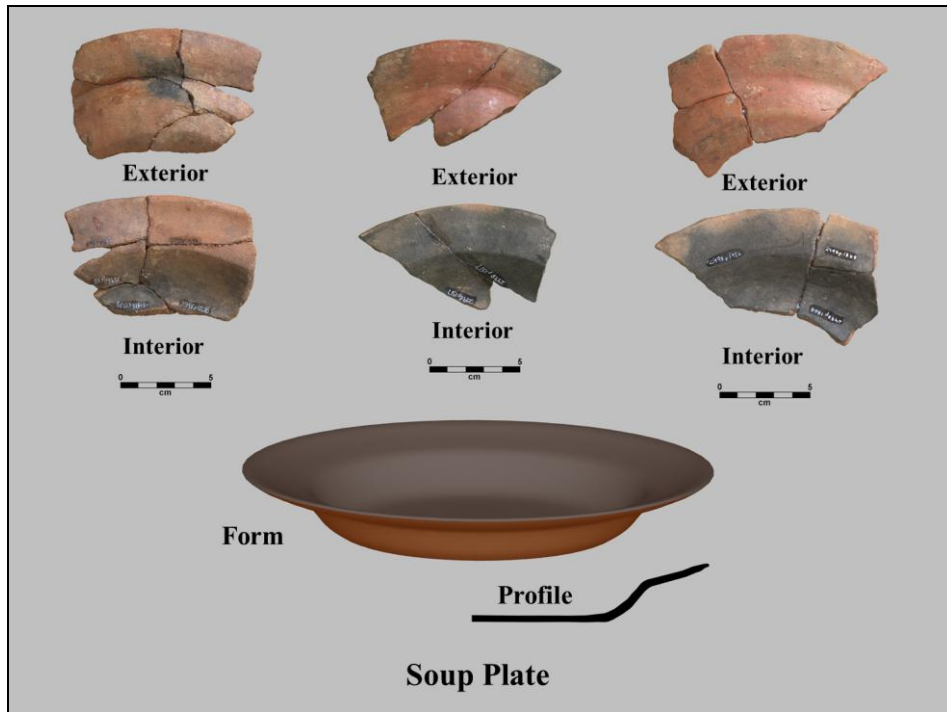


Figure 4.27. Soup plate reconstruction with representative sherds from New Town (based on Riggs *et al.* 2006:74).

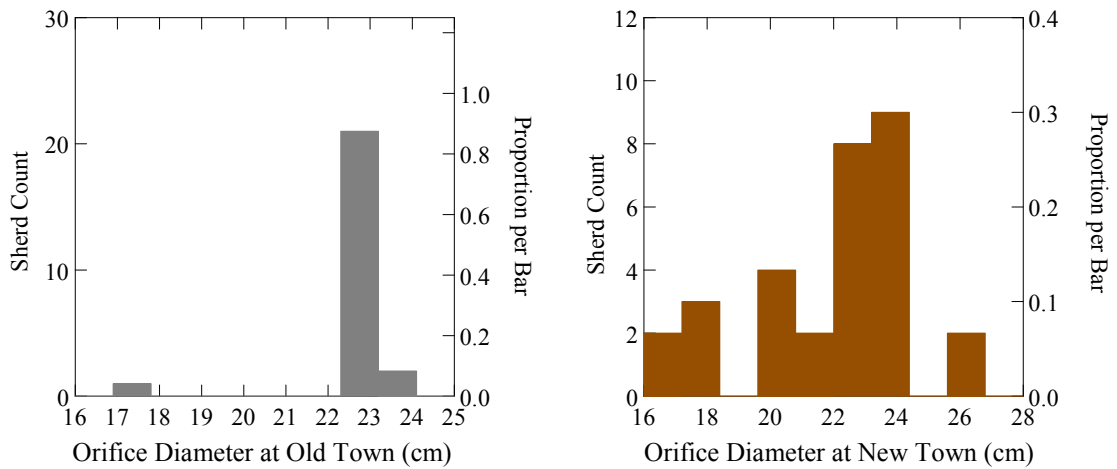


Figure 4.28. Histogram of plate orifice diameter at Old Town and New Town.

Table 4.10. Soup plate rims at Old Town and New Town-era sites.

| Site | Diameter Range (cm) | Median Diameter (cm) | Grey Paste (%) | Buff Paste (%) | Painted (%) | Scalloped-Edge (%) | n |
|--------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|----------|
| Old Town | 17-24 | 23 | 94 | 6 | 74 | 77 | 31 |
| New Town-era | 17-26 | 22.5 | - | 100 | 14 | 19 | 263 |

vessels may have some temporal significance; one possible explanation for this trend is improved access to imported wares resulting in less desire for Catawba-made plates that closely emulated European-made scalloped-edge wares.

Catawba Pottery Assemblage Summaries

Table 4.11 contains a summary of Catawba rim sherd assemblages for the sites examined in this study (see appendix A). Soup plate (rounded-edge and scalloped-edge), thickened rim jar, pan, and narrow beveled rims are the most common rim forms, with rims from these vessels constituting an average of 21%, 17%, 16%, and 13% respectively of all assemblages.

There is considerable variation in the proportion of these rim forms among assemblages. Soup plate rims range between 10% and 34% of assemblages, with Tivoli possessing the lowest and Edenmoor possessing the highest percentage of any assemblage (Table 4.11). At Old Town, scalloped-edge plate rims predominate (77% of plates), while at every New Town-era site, rounded-edge plate rims are much more prevalent (81% of plates).

Thickened rim jar rims range between 8% and 31% of assemblages, with Edenmoor possessing the lowest percentage and Locus 2 the highest. Pan rims range between 7% and 25% of assemblages, with Edenmoor possessing the lowest and the Tivoli main house yielding the highest percentage. Finally, narrow-beveled rims range between 6% and 21% of assemblages, with Edenmoor possessing the lowest percentage and Locus 3 the highest; narrow rim-bevel bowls were not identified at the Old Town cabin examined in this study (Table 4.11).

Table 4.11. Percentages of Catawba rim forms in Old Town and New Town-era assemblages.

| Rim Forms | Tivoli | | | | | New Town Locus | | | | | Average % | n |
|----------------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|------|-----|-----------|---|
| | Old Town (n=153) | Edenmoor (n=107) | Main House (n=63) | Slave Cabins (n=90) | 2 (n=125) | 3 (n=322) | 4 (n=200) | 5 (n=309) | | | | |
| Soup plate, rounded-edge | 4.6 | 26.2 | 9.5 | 16.7 | 8.8 | 13.4 | 24 | 21 | 16.3 | 223 | | |
| Soup plate, scalloped-edge | 15.7 | 8.4 | 0 | 0 | 4.8 | 7.5 | 2.5 | 1 | 5.2 | 71 | | |
| Broad rim-bevel | 3.3 | 10.3 | 4.8 | 4.4 | 7.2 | 13.4 | 13.5 | 6.1 | 8.8 | 121 | | |
| Narrow rim-bevel | 0 | 5.6 | 12.7 | 20 | 8.8 | 21.4 | 12 | 12.6 | 12.7 | 174 | | |
| Pan | 5.9 | 6.5 | 25.4 | 15.6 | 13.6 | 14.9 | 21 | 19.4 | 15.6 | 214 | | |
| Flaring rim | 34.6 | 10.3 | 6.3 | 3.3 | 4.8 | 4.3 | 7.5 | 2.3 | 8.3 | 113 | | |
| Globular bodied jar | 11.1 | 9.3 | 12.7 | 8.9 | 11.2 | 4 | 1 | 4.5 | 6.3 | 86 | | |
| Thickened rim jar | 0 | 8.4 | 12.7 | 15.6 | 31.2 | 15.8 | 13.5 | 26.2 | 16.7 | 229 | | |
| Miscellaneous holloware | 24.8 | 15 | 15.9 | 15.6 | 9.6 | 5.3 | 5 | 6.8 | 10.1 | 138 | | |

Broad-beveled rims, flaring rims, and globular bodied jar rims appear in lower frequencies than the aforementioned types, constituting 9%, 8%, and 6% of all assemblages on average (Table 4.11). Again, there is considerable variation in the proportion of these rims among assemblages. For New Town-era sites, broad-beveled rims range between 4% (Tivoli slave cabins) and 14% (Locus 4). At 35%, flaring rims are much more prevalent in the Old Town assemblage than any in New Town-era assemblage. Much as with scalloped-edge soup plates, it seems possible that flaring rim bowls constitute a sort of temporal marker. At New Town-era sites, proportions of flaring rims ranged between 2% at Locus 5, and 10% at Edenmoor. For globular bodied jar rims, proportions ranged between 1% (Locus 4) and 13% (Tivoli main house).

Miscellaneous holloware rims make up 10% of assemblages on average (Table 4.11); however, given that this residual category contains multiple vessel forms, different households with similar percentages may have been utilizing entirely different vessels or combinations of vessels. With 25%, Old Town also possessed the highest percentage of miscellaneous hollowares, and at Old Town this category may contain even more vessel forms than at New Town-era sites. For miscellaneous hollowares at New Town-era sites, proportions ranged between 5% (Locus 3), and 16% (Tivoli main house and slave cabins).

Catawba Pottery Basal Sherd Assemblages

Basal sherds were examined in order to determine the frequency of pedestals, or foot-rings, and flat bases. Some bases possess foot-rings that directly emulate those found on British ceramics, while some are less foot-ring than solid pedestal. For practical purposes, they are both pedestals and will be referred to as such. Regardless of their appearance from the underside, from a practical perspective, vessels with pedestals more closely emulated European analogues in terms of overall aesthetics.

As with imported wares, Catawba-made pedestal bases occur on hollowares. For pedestal sherds, data was collected on paste color (relevant at Old Town), diameter, and thickness (measured

Table 4.12. Base forms on Catawba vessels.

| Site | Pedestaled Base | | Flat Base | | Total (n) |
|----------------------|-----------------|----|-----------|----|-----------|
| | n | % | n | % | |
| Old Town | 17 | 26 | 48 | 74 | 65 |
| Edenmoor | 11 | 22 | 39 | 78 | 50 |
| New Town, Locus 3 | 58 | 18 | 269 | 82 | 327 |
| New Town, Locus 4 | 6 | 7 | 75 | 93 | 81 |
| New Town, Locus 2 | 3 | 6 | 49 | 94 | 52 |
| Tivoli, Slave Cabins | 2 | 6 | 32 | 94 | 34 |
| Tivoli, Main House | 1 | 5 | 21 | 95 | 22 |
| New Town, Locus 5 | 3 | 3 | 109 | 97 | 112 |

at the vessel wall when possible). Based upon examination and measurements of pedestals, they are assumed to be decorative elements occurring on tablewares. Of the pedestal sherds examined, diameters range between 3.5 cm and 11 cm, suggesting that pedestals occurred on hollowares ranging between approximately 7 and 22 cm in diameter. The median diameter of pedestals is 7 cm, suggesting that pedestals occurred primarily on small individual serving vessels (n=33 Appendix B).

The Old Town assemblage contained the highest percentage of pedestal bases (26%; Table 4.12). At New Town Loci 2, 4, and 5, and at the Tivoli main house and slave cabins, pedestals range between 3% (Locus 2) and 7% (Locus 4) of base sherds examined. At Locus 3 and Edenmoor, pedestal sherds made up 18% and 22% of base-body juncture sherd assemblages.

As with grey paste, flaring rim bowls, and scalloped-edge soup plates, pedestaled bases on Catawba serving wares may represent a temporal marker. This issue will be addressed in Chapter 5, as part of more detailed analyses of the uses of Catawba vessels in the different households examined.

Tobacco Pipes

Although most ceramic analysis in this study is focused upon vessels used in food preparation and consumption, tobacco pipes are another craft item produced and marketed by Catawba potters worthy of consideration. At Nassaw Town and Old Town, Catawba pipes were carved from stone or hand-modeled from clay. At New Town, Catawba pipes were constructed using press molds rather

Table 4.13. Catawba and kaolin pipes and fragments.

| Site | Catawba | | Kaolin | |
|--------------|---------|-----|--------|----|
| | n | % | n | % |
| Nasaw Town | 95 | 9 | 1004 | 91 |
| Old Town | 47 | 82 | 10 | 18 |
| New Town | | | | |
| Locus 2 | 67 | 99 | 1 | 1 |
| Locus 4 | 71 | 99 | 1 | 1 |
| Locus 3 | 139 | 99 | 2 | 1 |
| Locus 6 | 168 | 99 | 1 | 1 |
| Locus 5 | 139 | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Tivoli | | | | |
| Main House | 1 | 67 | 2 | 33 |
| Slave Cabins | 1 | 86 | 6 | 14 |
| Edenmoor | 7 | 46 | 6 | 54 |

than hand-modeling or carving (see Figure 4.9). Large quantities of Catawba pipe fragments and whole pipes were recovered from New Town Catawba cabin sites. Relatively small quantities were recovered from Nassaw Town, Edenmoor, and Tivoli. Along with Catawba-made pipes, fragments of kaolin pipes were also recovered at from the sites examined; substantial quantities at Nassaw Town and relatively little at the other sites (Table 4.13). The cultural significance of variation in pipe ceramic assemblages will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Imported Wares

Whereas the Catawba pottery assemblages incorporate a considerable variety of functional types, including cooking, storage, and serving vessels, for the most part, imported ware assemblages utilized in this study represent fine tablewares (although it is evident from examining the various assemblages that some of these wares were utilitarian vessels). Based upon Miller's (1980; 1991) work on the relative cost and cultural status attached to different imported wares, I believe that comparing imported ware and Catawba pottery assemblages offers insights into the market access and cultural orientation of the different households examined; these questions are addressed in Chapter 5.

The term “Imported Wares” refers to European-made (or perhaps Anglo-American made in the case of redwares, some stonewares, and Carolina creamwares) ceramics. Imported ceramic wares were analyzed to determine ware type, decoration, vessel portion (basal/footing, neck, rim/lip, body, etc.) and vessel form (i.e. bowl, plate, etc.) whenever possible.

Imported ceramics were organized according to established pottery types. The following are the primary categories used to organize ceramic data in this study: Coarse Earthenware, Semi-refined earthenware, Refined Earthenware (including Creamware and Pearlware), Stoneware, and Porcelain.

Coarse earthenwares were primarily used for food preparation and storage rather than table service. While little or no coarse earthenware was recovered at the Catawba sites, substantial quantities were recovered at Edenmoor and the Tivoli main house and slave cabins.

Semi-refined earthenware includes slipware and tin-enameled ware. Except for small quantities in the Nassaw Town and Edenmoor assemblages (and Locus 6, which is not examined in detail), semi-refined wares were not recovered at the sites examined.

The vast majority of imported wares from all the sites examined in this study were refined earthenwares. Refined earthenwares include creamware, pearlware, and whiteware; with one sherd recovered, Edenmoor was the only New Town-era site that yielded any whiteware (note that some whiteware from a substantially later component of the Tivoli Site was excluded from this study). Substantial quantities of creamware were recovered from every site examined in this study except Edenmoor. Creamware is most commonly associated with “Queen's ware,” the cream-colored earthenware Josiah Wedgwood began producing in the 1760s. Although produced alongside pearlwares through the 1820s, creamware is significantly less common in the archaeological record after approximately 1810, by which time pearlware had become the most popular tableware in America (Noël Hume 1969:123-130; Noël Hume 1972:236).

Pearlware is the most ubiquitous type in any of the imported ware assemblages examined in this study. Commonly associated with the “Pearl White” wares created by Josiah Wedgwood and

first marketed by him in 1779, pearlware exhibits a blue-tinted glaze; this blue tinting emulated the color of Chinese porcelains (Miller 1980:16-17; Noël Hume 1969:128-130).

Extremely hard and durable, stonewares typically exhibits thicker bodies than other wares and were commonly used for larger storage or food preparation vessels such as jugs, crocks, bottles, or churns, although fine stonewares were also used as table wares. (Noël Hume 1969). At least some stoneware was identified at every site examined in this study; however, they are proportionally more abundant in the Tivoli main house assemblage.

Porcelain is a highly refined, very hard, vitreous ware (South 1977:210). Porcelains were the most expensive wares available and are relatively uncommon on most archaeological sites. While little or no porcelain was recovered at the Catawba New Town and Edenmoor sites, substantial quantities of porcelain were recovered at the Tivoli main house and slave cabins. Similarities in decoration suggest that porcelains at the slave cabins were recycled from the main house.

George Miller's (1980, 1991) work on the classification and relative cost of imported wares was used to establish sub-assemblages for some quantitative analyses (discussed in Chapter 5). Miller (1980:1-3, 15) effectively argues that separating decorative types on the basis of ware type (e.g., hand painted creamwares, pearlwares, and whitewares) may make sense in terms of establishing site chronology, but makes little sense from a cultural perspective for nineteenth-century wares.

Miller's (1980:1-3) research on documents relating to the production and distribution of English ceramics suggests that for some wares (primarily pearlware and whiteware) decoration was the primary means through which wares were distinguished by producers, distributors, and consumers. Except for porcelain, the relative prices—and desirability—of most pottery was determined by how it was decorated. Analysis of variability in the proportions of decorated pearlwares in assemblages (see Chapter 5) addresses questions related to market access and cultural understandings among the households examined in this study.

Ware Decoration

The primary decorative types found in the imported ware assemblages include shell-edging, hand painting, annular banding, and transfer printing. Although the basic ware types discussed above have their usefulness, pearlware is highly problematic as an analytic category, as manufacturers, distributors and consumers identified pearlwares primarily on the basis of decoration other than the glaze found on the vessel (Miller 1991:5).

Although creamware was sometimes decorated, undecorated or minimally decorated creamwares (such as simple lined wares) were very popular with consumers from their inception in the 1760s through the end of the eighteenth century (Miller 1980:16). However, pearlware was more often than not decorated; indeed, undecorated pearlware was rare and it was decoration that gave pearlware its great popularity (Miller 1980:16). The following represent the most commonly occurring decorative treatments, were identified as distinct types in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century documents relating to the manufacture and distribution of English pottery (Miller 1980, 1991) and are the basis for several categories used in quantitative analyses of imported wares in this study:

“Dipped” or Annular Wares: Annular wares typically had slip applied in simple bands and broad zones, along with decoration such as wheel rouletting, or clay appliqué. The broad slip zones were also decorated on many dipped wares. Marbelized slip, cat’s eye, finger or worm trailed, and “mocha” (referring to dendritic fern designs painted on slip zones) are common forms of slip zone decoration. Simple annular wares could be produced by minimally skilled individuals (Miller 1980:3-4).

Dipped or annular decoration was primarily limited to bowls, mugs, pitchers, and chamber pots. According to Miller (1991:6), banded and slip decorated annular wares were the cheapest hollowares available with decoration. Dipped wares were present at every New Town-era site examined in this study; however, they were most abundant at Catawba New Town and the Tivoli slave cabins.

Painted Wares: Underglaze paint colors were limited to blue, green, olive green, brown, and mustard yellow prior to the 1820s, with blue, brown, and green being the available colors prior to 1795. Underglaze and enameled-upon-glaze hand painting occurred in a variety of forms on creamware and pearlware vessels; next to transfer-printed wares and porcelain, hand painted pearlwares were among the most expensive wares available (Miller 1991:6-9; 1980:4). Designs on hand-painted pearlwares recovered from the sites examined in this study ranged from relatively simple spatter decorations (recovered in very small quantities at all but Locus 4) and lined and banded wares, to complex landscape, floral, and geometric designs. Blue, brown, and polychrome hand-painted sherds appear in substantial quantities in every New Town-era assemblage examined in this study.

Although different decorative styles are often recorded for sherds included in this study, most painted wares were combined into a single category (referred to as simply “hand painted”) for the purposes of analyses discussed in Chapter 5. In some cases this was unavoidable; for example, small pearlware rim sherds with only simple lines may represent lined wares with no other decoration; however, they may also represent vessels with blue or polychrome designs painted below the rim. Such sherds could not be definitively identified as lined wares, only as hand painted wares.

Shell Edging: Shell edging is found most commonly on pearlware and whiteware plates. “Edging” generally consists of two distinct elements: molded patterns along plate rims that typically consist of scalloping and incised lines and a simple, easily applied band of underglaze paint used to highlight the molding. Either green or blue underglaze paint was used on early edged wares, but by about 1840, green edging became rare (Miller 1991:5-6). Edged wares were the cheapest tablewares available with decoration (Miller 1980:4). Shell-edged plates and soup plates are found in every New Town-era imported ware assemblage examined in this study.

Transfer-Printed Wares: In transfer printing, a design was transferred from a pigment-covered engraved plate to paper that was applied to a vessel. Next to porcelains, transfer-printed

wares were among the most expensive available (Miller 1991:8-9; 1980:4). Transfer printed wares are found in every New Town-era assemblage examined in this study.

Imported Ware Assemblage Summary

The size of imported ware assemblages varies considerably among the sites examined (Table 4.14; Appendix C). New Town Locus 2, the Tivoli slave cabins and main house yielded the smallest quantities of imported wares, with 636, 678, and 719 sherds respectively. Locus 3 and Edenmoor sites yielded somewhat larger quantities of imported wares, with 1235 and 1356 sherds respectively. New Town Loci 4 and 5 yielded over 2000, and Locus 6 nearly 5000 sherds. The small assemblage from Old Town is not examined in detail, nor is the very large assemblage from Locus 6.

Refined earthenwares constitute the bulk of every imported ware assemblage. At New Town cabin sites these wares represent over 98% of the assemblages. At Edenmoor and the Tivoli slave cabins, refined earthenwares represent 91.4% and 95.6% of imported ware assemblages. At the Tivoli main house, refined earthenwares constitute only 74% (Table 4.14).

Coarsewares were the next most abundant ware type. At New Town Locus 4 and the Tivoli slave cabins, no coarseware sherds were recovered. At New Town Loci 2, 3, and 5, coarsewares represent approximately 1% or less of assemblages, while at Edenmoor and the Tivoli main house, they represented 4.5% and 10.3% of assemblages respectively (Table 4.14).

Stonewares were recovered at every site; however, at the New Town sites and the Tivoli slave cabins, stonewares represent 1% or less of the assemblages. At Edenmoor, stonewares represent 2.5% of the assemblage, while at the Tivoli main house, they represent 6.8% of the imported wares recovered (Table 4.14).

Porcelain was absent or scarce in most assemblages. At New Town Loci 4 and 5, no porcelain was recovered. At Edenmoor and New Town Loci 2 and 3, small quantities of porcelain represent less than 1% of assemblages. At the Tivoli main house and slave cabins, relatively substantial quantities of porcelain represent 8.9% and 3.4% of assemblages (Table 4.14); identical

Table 4.14. Percentages of imported ware types in New Town-era assemblages.

| Ware Type | Edenmoor (n=1356) | Tivoli | | New Town Locus | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| | | Main House (n=722) | Slave Cabins (n=678) | 2 (n=636) | 3 (n=1235) | 4 (n=2779) | 5 (n=2107) | |
| Coarseware | 4.5 | 10.3 | 0 | 1 | <1 | 0 | <1 | |
| Stoneware | 2.5 | 6.8 | 1 | <1 | <1 | 1.3 | <1 | |
| Semi-refined earthenware | 1.5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Refined earthenware | 91.4 | 74 | 95.6 | 98.7 | 98.9 | 98.7 | 99.1 | |
| Porcelain | <1 | 8.9 | 3.4 | <1 | <1 | 0 | 0 | |

enameled decorations on sherds at these sites suggest that porcelain, and likely other wares as well, were laterally cycled from the main house to the slave cabins.

Other than at Catawba cabin Locus 6 (not examined in this study), semi-refined earthenwares were only identified at Edenmoor, and constitute only 1.5% of the imported wares at that site (Table 4.14). A total of 18 tin-enameled earthenware sherds were recovered there; two slipware sherds were found there as well (see Russ 2009).

Summary and Conclusion

Archaeological researchers have identified Catawba pottery in assemblages recovered from a variety of Lowcountry contexts; these finds conform to the geographic and temporal outlines of the Catawba pottery trade described in documentary accounts. Examination of pottery recovered from the Catawba village sites of Nassaw Town (inhabited 1750s), Old Town (inhabited ca. 1762-1780 and 1781-1790s), and New Town (inhabited 1790s-1820s) suggests a time frame for the inception of the Catawbas' pottery trade, dramatically expands the known range of vessel forms produced by Catawba potters, and provides insights into diachronic change in Catawba pottery.

The absence of colonoware forms at Nassaw Town indicates a post-1759 inception for the Catawbas' pottery trade. Catawbas may have begun manufacturing these wares while encamped at Pine Tree Hill (ca. 1760-1762), or perhaps while visiting the Lowcountry on extended slave catching expeditions. The abundance and sophistication of these wares at Old Town (ca. 1762-1780 and 1781-1790s) suggest rapid acquisition of knowledge regarding Anglo foodways and rapid development of technical expertise. Although some vessel forms could not be reconstructed, the Old Town assemblage obviously contains a greater array of vessel forms than later New Town assemblages, suggesting that Catawbas were experimenting with potential products and market niches. In addition to producing a greater array of vessel forms, Old Town potters utilized more paste recipes, producing dark and light bodied wares, and utilized more pigments, with red and black paint occurring on vessels.

By the time of New Town, Catawba potters appear to have settled on a narrower array of products, both in terms of vessel form and aesthetic considerations, as light bodied wares and black pigment were abandoned. Catawba pottery assemblages recovered from New Town-era Catawba cabin sites and nearby consumer contexts tend to be dominated by soup plates, cooking pots, pans, and large serving bowls. Smaller serving bowls, jars, pitchers, and bottles represent smaller components of assemblages. A single footed beaker that appears to emulate Moravian footed coffee pots suggests that Catawba potters nevertheless continued to experiment with vessel forms. Small, but nevertheless significant frequencies of podes and unclassifiable rim sherd recovered from all sites examined in this study hint at vessel forms that remain to be documented.

Excavations of households represented by the New Town, Edenmoor, and Tivoli sites described in this chapter yielded a wealth of archaeological evidence, including Catawba-made and imported European ceramic assemblages. Abundant and diverse arrays of artifacts, including surprisingly large quantities of imported wares, recovered from Catawba cabin sites at New Town demonstrate the degree and impact of Catawbas' participation in the growing market economy. Through reconstructing Catawba vessel forms and determining their associated functions, comparisons of these assemblages in Chapter 5 demonstrate several different approaches to using Catawba pottery. These comparisons, along with examination of broader patterns in the rich artifact assemblages yielded by Catawba cabin sites reveal the impact of commercial activity on Catawbas' material existence.

CHAPTER 5

MATERIAL PERSPECTIVES ON CATAWBA CULTURE AND ECONOMY

Utilizing the data presented in Chapter 4, this chapter explores cultural and economic similarities and differences among Catawbans. The primary goal is to develop insights into the relationships between patterns in Catawba material culture and the different economic strategies practiced by Catawbans. Ethnographic and ethnohistoric research on itinerants and other mobile groups provide a comparative framework for these analyses. An additional question of interest is the degree to which cultural differences between itinerant and non-itinerant households may reflect wealth disparities among Catawbans at New Town. Analyses primarily involve archaeological evidence, but documentary sources are also used to illuminate and elaborate discussions.

The first half of this chapter is devoted to examining Catawba pottery and imported ware assemblages from the Catawba Old Town, New Town, Edenmoor, and Tivoli sites. Assemblage variability is discussed in terms of the functional characteristics of vessels and their usage. This discussion is tied to an examination of the role of economic and cultural factors in assemblage variability, particularly market access and ethnic identity.

The next section of this chapter provides a broad view of culture and economy among Catawbans, focusing on the impact of Catawba itinerancy. Archaeological and documentary evidence, along with ethnohistoric and ethnographic examples, provide insights into differences in architecture and lifestyle at Catawba New Town. Also examined is material evidence of hospitality and socializing among Catawbans. Identity is discussed, both within the context of native tradition within the Southeast, and the circumstances related to British colonialism and the development of Catawba

itinerancy. In connection with identity, items used for personal adornment are examined, including glass beads, silver jewelry, and tobacco pipes. Finally, the relationship between Catawba itinerancy and the use of imported wares among Catawbans is examined. While some aspects of Catawba life are broadly shared, others are argued to be specifically related to the different economic strategies pursued by different households. Some cultural differences among Catawbans may be related to economic disparities, but differences in economic expenditures related to different lifestyles, economic pursuits, and roles in the Catawba community are nevertheless important considerations. In the final section of this chapter, the larger question of potential wealth disparities between itinerant and non-itinerant Catawba households is explored through comparisons of New Town Catawba households to Removal period Cherokee households described by Riggs (1999). These comparisons are useful in obtaining a broad view of Catawba participation in the market economy.

Analyzing Ceramic Assemblage Variability

As is so often the case in archaeology, the evidence examined in this study is fragmentary; analysis and interpretation of ceramic assemblages presented in this chapter are based upon collections of rim sherds and base sherds rather than collections of vessels. The question is, then, what do these bits and pieces tell us about the actual uses of material culture?

Potential assemblage variability is first examined in terms of the relationship between vessel form, function, usage, and breakage. As ceramic vessels do not function in a cultural vacuum, the latter discussion is tied to an exploration of the impact of market access and cultural affinity on the choices made by households in terms of the ceramics examined in this study. Variation in imported ware assemblages potentially related to site chronology is also discussed.

Vessel Form, Function, Usage, and Assemblage Variability

One issue of importance is that of the relationship between rim sherd assemblages and actual activities involving pottery. Large vessels tend to break into more pieces than smaller vessels; thus, large cooking vessels will tend to produce more sherds than smaller individual serving wares (Orton

1982:170). Welch and Scarry (1995:416), in their efforts to analyze Mississippian ceramic assemblages, suggested that due to the large number of sherds a single relatively large vessel might produce, the presence of large vessels at a site might skew sherd ratios in some fashion. *All things being equal*, rather than a preponderance of food preparation and cooking vessels, sherd ratios might simply reflect the relative size of vessels being used.

However, all things are not necessarily equal in terms of ceramic use and breakage. In their ethno-archaeological study of pottery manufacture, use, and breakage, DeBoer and Lathrop (1979:127-128) made some useful observations: small serving wares have a relatively high turnover rate due to both frequent use and portability and to thin-walled construction and consequent fragility. In comparison, larger storage and food preparation vessels are less frequently used, moved less often, have thicker walls, and possess correspondingly longer life spans. In addition, by the very nature of their use, individual serving wares, which are provided to each diner at a meal, will outnumber larger vessels, which are used communally. On a one-to-one basis, large vessels will produce more sherds than small ones; however, *in practice* the opposite may often be true, as smaller, yet more abundant and fragile serving vessels are handled – and broken – considerably more often than larger storage and cooking vessels.

Clive Orton (1982:161) remarked that a preponderance of coarse cooking vessels over fine tablewares more likely indicates that the tableware were well-cared for, or ‘curated,’ while the cooking pots were treated with less care and thrown away when cracked or foul, than that there were more cooking pots than table vessels in use at any one time. While Catawba pottery assemblages clearly contain “fine,” polished tablewares and coarse cooking pots, in households using both Catawba pottery *and* imported European-made wares, which wares were handled most often, and which were more carefully curated? In households purchasing Catawba pottery and imported wares, relatively expensive imported wares (especially refined earthenwares and porcelain) may have been carefully curated, while inexpensive Catawba pottery was used more often, treated with less care, and readily replaced when broken or fouled. For Catawba households, in which imported wares were

obtained through purchase or barter, but Catawba pottery was simply made from scratch, differences in rim sherd assemblages seem likely to represent real differences in the types of vessels used.

This discussion has implications for a number of ware types presented in Chapter 4. The relatively high durability of stoneware, along with the fact that stonewares in the assemblages examined in this study were most often storage and food preparation vessels (although some stoneware sherds in the assemblages represent tablewares), suggests that small percentages of stonewares in assemblages understate their importance in foodways in some households. Vessels that are both exceptionally durable and, relatively speaking, seldom moved or handled will tend to be broken less often and somewhat under-represented in the archaeological record. While utilitarian coarseware vessels may not be quite as durable as stoneware, the same is likely to be the case. Larger Catawba-made vessels used in cooking and food preparation, such as thickened rim jars and pans, while obviously not as durable as cast iron or stoneware vessels, are also subject to the same general considerations in terms of frequency of relative handling, fragility, and breakage: if thinner-walled and more fragile Catawba-made serving wares occur in larger quantities, and are used and broken more often, larger utilitarian wares would not necessarily be expected to dominate assemblages. Thus, Catawba pottery assemblages with relatively large frequencies of these wares say something significant about the use of Catawba serving wares in those households.

Much like their Catawba-made counterparts, imported serving wares in the assemblages were relatively thin-walled and fragile vessels. If possessed in relatively large quantities, and subjected to frequent handling, such vessels were more likely to break and enter the archaeological record. However, Catawba wares may have been used to extend the use-life of imported wares. In some households, Catawba tablewares such as foot-ringed bowls may have been subjected to everyday use, while relatively expensive imported wares, especially porcelains, were saved for special occasions.

The relationship between the sherds recovered from a site and the material objects and activities that occurred there is complex. My analyses proceed under the assumption that variation in ceramic assemblages between sites, or between different time periods, reflects real differences in the

uses of artifacts (Orton 1982:161). Examination of different aspects of Catawba pottery and of Catawba- and European-made wares reveal different approaches to using Catawba pottery in the households examined in this study.

Market Access, Identity, and Assemblage Variability

Market access and ethnic identity are factors to consider in assessing assemblage variation. Market access has both geographic and economic dimensions. Geographic isolation may be a factor in the acquisition of goods for some backcountry households during the study period; however, in research on market access and settlement patterns in eighteenth-century New York, Baugher and Venables (1987: 31-36) note that geographic isolation was not necessarily a significant limiting factor for interior farmers who, despite living relatively far from urban areas or market towns, often managed to haul substantial quantities of a wide array of good over considerable distances. With respect to geography, stores did not open in the immediate study area ca. 1805 (Louise Pettus, personal communication, 2005); however, prior to this, Camden, Yorkville, Charlotte, and Salisbury were relatively nearby sources for many goods for the households examined in this study, locations that both settlers and traveling Catawbans would have had access to.

Socio-economic class and purchasing power were likely to have been more important factors in determining the quantities and types of good possessed by many households of European ethnicity during the study period (Baugher and Venables 1987: 38, 50; the same is largely true for native households as well, but with certain provisions). European and American elites were trend-setters for the consumption of many types of commercially manufactured goods (Goodwin 1999). Thus, Miller's (1980, 1991) ranking of imported ware types by relative price essentially mirrors the relative status and desirability attached to these wares by Anglo elites. However, by the end of the eighteenth century, the vast proliferation and falling prices of many types of manufactured goods made them available to all but the poorest classes. Increasingly large segments of European and colonial society sought to reproduce the lifestyles of elites; imported European ceramics were one class of goods

through which such efforts were made (Deetz 1996: 55-60; Goodwin 1999; Leone, Potter, and Schakel 1987: 288; Weatherhill 1993: 215). With broadening access to consumer goods, different class strata within European and colonial American society participated in a burgeoning consumer culture, limited by purchasing power, and significantly informed by the tastes of European and American elites (see Douglass and Isherwood 1996:vii-ix, 38, 62-63). As Baugher and Venables noted,

The British ethos created a substantial homogeneity in British colonial America, despite the pluralistic components of its colonists. The economies of the British Empire were integrated with its politics and political philosophy, and both were intertwined with aspects of British fashion and culture, all impacting on the colonial state of mind. In a colonial world of many national backgrounds, material culture and the aspirations which prompted its acquisition served as a social glue [Baugher and Venables 1987:38].

Although many European ethnic groups participated in the British consumer regimen, for American Indian communities, the use of European material culture and the aspirations which prompted its acquisition are not as straightforward. The specific nature of social and economic involvement with Euro-Americans must be considered in examining the consumption of commercially manufactured goods in native communities. For example, Riggs (1999) described how westernized Cherokee and Anglo-Cherokee households engaged in market-oriented surplus agricultural production and possessed substantial assemblages of European tablewares that demonstrated conformity with ideologies and consumption patterns of middle- and upper-class Anglo households. Such patterns were not evident in traditional Cherokee households, who engaged in small-scale subsistence activities, possessed small, low-valued material assemblages in which aboriginal items were prominent, and subscribed to a traditional Cherokee value system in which the inordinate personal accumulation of wealth was seen as a serious character defect (Riggs 1999; Thomas 1958). These divergent lifeways and ideologies among Cherokees represented the emergence of distinct ethnic groups within the larger Cherokee polity, and were the source of considerable conflict among Cherokees (Riggs 1999:vii).

The cultural and ideological divergence among Cherokees provides an interesting contrast to the western Canadian *Métis* (Burley 1989). The *Métis* were emerging as a distinctive ethnic group between 1800 and 1840. Liaisons between native women and British traders were common from the beginning of the fur trade in the seventeenth century; these relationships were frequently long-term and were actively encouraged by British trading companies, as family alliances often brought trading advantages. As British women were for many years prohibited at trading posts, British soldiers and clerks also took native wives. Native women in these relationships were often expected to acquire British manners and the acquisition and use of British ceramics with appropriate “social protocols” was a key component of displaying “civilized behavior” (Burley 1989: 97-102).

For a time, relationships with British men enhanced the status of some native women and their children. However, by 1820, it was no longer considered appropriate for British men to take native wives; mixed-race individuals were thus effectively barred from participation in British colonial society and were forced to confine their interactions to native spheres. In those interactions, they retained some of the enhanced status achieved through involvement with the British, and brought with them certain cultural traits as well, such as the use of imported serving wares (Burley 1989:102-105). The subsequent spread of those cultural traits was part of the development of a distinctive and relatively unified ethnic group, the Canadian *Métis*.

In both the Cherokee and Canadian *Métis* examples, large-scale adoption of European material culture was a result of interaction with Europeans; however, the use and meaning of those wares was conditioned by specific cultural and historical contexts related to the development of very different ethnic groups. The latter examples are useful in considering ceramic assemblages in the Catawba households examined in this study.

The Old Town assemblage features very little in the way of imported wares, but a wide variety of European-influenced vessel forms made by Catawba potters. The New Town households utilized both Catawba pottery and an abundance of imported wares. Thus, it appears that Catawba-made versions of European vessel forms were adopted before imported wares themselves became an

important part of Catawba foodways. The question is, then, did the relative lack of imported wares in the Old Town assemblage reflect a lack of market access (economic or geographic) at that time?

The Old Town site yielded a wide variety of other commercially manufactured goods, suggesting that neither geographic isolation nor economic access were significant issues. The issue was most likely not what goods were available, but rather, what goods Catawbas desired at that time.

For Catawbas, acquisition of significant quantities of imported wares occurred within the context of the development of their pottery trade. Recall that itinerant groups are ethnic units typically identified in terms of their commercial activities (Rao 1987:18). The widespread use of imported wares among New Town households may have been an outgrowth of the Catawba pottery trade, perhaps a means through which Catawba potters displayed commercial success and knowledge and expertise in the realm of Anglo ceramics. However, this question is not easily addressed, as imported wares were used in both itinerant and non-itinerant households at New Town, and the extremely fine-grained chronological data necessary to determine the specific sequence of cultural transmission is simply not available.

As will be examined in analyses of documentary evidence in Chapter 6, there appears to have been a link between Catawba pottery and Catawba identity. To the extent that Catawba pottery and identity became linked, even Catawba individuals not directly engaged in the itinerant pottery trade would most likely have participated in some facets of this activity (e.g., making Catawba pottery and using it along with imported wares) as a means of expressing Catawba identity (this topic is further explored later in this chapter).

Chronological Change and Assemblage Variability

Variation in both Catawba-made and imported ware assemblages may have economic, cultural, and chronological significance. With respect to Catawba pottery, decorated Catawba pottery is considerably less abundant in New Town assemblages than in the Old Town assemblage, as are serving ware forms such as scalloped-edge plates and flaring rim bowls. As the Old Town household

examined in this study relied entirely upon Catawba wares for everyday usage, this variation may reflect the large-scale acquisition of imported serving wares. This issue will be examined in later in this chapter.

In terms of imported wares, creamware is potentially problematic. While estimates of mean ceramic dates and occupation spans suggest that sites examined are temporally comparable (see Table 4.1), variability in the percentage of creamware may yet have some chronological significance.

Creamware represents less than 1% of refined earthenwares at Edenmoor, between 6% and 24% at Catawba cabin sites (Loci 3 and 4 respectively), nearly 40% of the Tivoli slave cabins, and 50% at the Tivoli main house (Table 5.1). Creamwares were available during the New Town era; they were among the most inexpensive wares available at the time. Greater abundances of creamware at Catawba cabin Loci 2, 3, and 5 (20%, 24%, and 17% respectively) may represent economizing in those households. However, they may represent somewhat earlier acquisition of imported wares relative to Locus 4, or used wares acquired in lieu of cash rent payments. The abundance of creamware at the Tivoli main house may represent goods brought in by Davie from Halifax, or material from the 1790s occupation by his overseer. Material at the slave cabins may reflect a combination of goods brought from Halifax and inexpensive wares purchased by Davie for his slaves while at Tivoli. The relative dearth of creamware at Edenmoor may reflect a somewhat later occupation start, or a struggling settler household that initially had poor access to consumer goods.

The inability to definitively answer this question suggested the selective analysis of imported wares. While creamware substantially declined in popularity between 1790 and 1810, pearlware and porcelain did not. All of the New Town-era households possessed substantial quantities of pearlware. Pearlwares range from nearly 50% of refined earthenwares at the Tivoli main house to 99% at Edenmoor (Table 5.1). In order to avoid potentially conflating culture and chronology, I have constructed sub-assemblages (Table 5.2) composed of pearlware and porcelain sherds, with pearlwares categorized according to the status-hierarchy of decorative types outlined by Miller

Table 5.1. Creamware and pearlware as percentages of refined earthenwares in New Town-era assemblages.¹

| Ware Type | New Town Locus | | | | | Tivoli | | | Edenmoor ² (n=1020) |
|-----------|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| | 2 (n=613) | 3 (n=1188) | 4 (n=2712) | 5 (n=2066) | Main House (n=514) | Slave Cabins (n=639) | Edenmoor ² (n=1020) | | |
| Creamware | 20 | 24.3 | 5.7 | 17.1 | 50.2 | 38.2 | <1 | | |
| Pearlware | 80 | 75.7 | 94.3 | 82.9 | 49.8 | 61.8 | 99.7 | | |

¹ Excludes indeterminate refined earthenware sherds

² The Edenmoor Site also yielded a single whiteware sherd

Table 5.2. Percentages of porcelain and decorated pearlware rim sherds in New Town-era assemblages.

| Ware Type | Tivoli | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------|--|
| | Edenmoor (n=117) | Main House (n=62) | Slave Cabins (n=63) | 2 (n=80) | New Town Locus 3 4 5 (n=143) (n=409) (n=287) |
| Annular | 1.7 | 0 | 6.3 | 7.5 | 4.2 20.5 16.7 |
| Shell-edged | 47 | 19.4 | 36.5 | 32.5 | 47.6 37.4 42.2 |
| Hand painted | 44.4 | 24.2 | 42.9 | 18.8 | 35 24.2 20.6 |
| Transfer-printed | 6 | 30.6 | 9.5 | 40 | 12.6 17.8 20.6 |
| Porcelain | 0.9 | 25.8 | 4.8 | 1.3 | 0.7 0 0 |

(1980, 1991). Variation in these assemblages is more likely to reflect differences in culture and market access than site chronology, enabling more fine-tuned assemblage comparisons.

Due to the fact that shell-edged pearlware is only identifiable through rim sherds, while other types may be identified by decorations occurring on other portions of the vessel, I have only incorporated rim sherds in these assemblages in order to avoid the under-representation of edged wares. In summary, edged, hand painted, and transfer-printed wares are the most abundant types. Edged ware rims range between 19% of rim sherds at the Tivoli main house and nearly 48% at Locus 3. Hand painted pearlware rims range between 19% of rim sherds at Locus 2 and 44% at Edenmoor. Transfer-printed pearlware rims range between 6% at Edenmoor and 40% at Locus 2 (Table 5.2).

“Dipped” or annular ware rims are considerably less abundant than the latter wares at every site. No annular ware rim sherds were recovered at the Tivoli main house; at the other sites, annular wares range from 2% of rim sherds at Edenmoor and nearly 21% at Locus 4. Not surprising given its relatively high price (see Miller 1980, 1991), porcelain was rare or absent at most of the sites, constituting 1% or less of the New Town and Edenmoor assemblages. Porcelain represents 26% of the Tivoli main house and almost 5% at the Tivoli slave cabin assemblages (Table 5.2). These imported ware rim sherd assemblages provide an additional means of exploring cultural and economic variation among households and will be re-visited later in this chapter.

Usage of Catawba Pottery

The foregoing discussion of factors influencing variability in Catawba-made and imported ware assemblages provides a framework for examining the use of Catawba pottery in the different households examined in this study. Variation in the use of Catawba pottery by New Town-era households is addressed in terms of overall reliance on Catawba ceramics, the different combinations of Catawba vessels forms used by the households, comparison to the Old Town assemblage, imported ware assemblage diversity, and the articulation of Catawba pottery and imported ware assemblages.

Perspectives gained on the uses of Catawba pottery in New Town-era households feed into a larger discussion of cultural and economic differences between Catawbas.

Overall Reliance on Catawba Pottery

A simple yet effective means of understanding how Catawba pottery was used in the different households is gained from examining Catawba pot sherds as a percentage of both Catawba and imported ware sherds recovered at each site (Table 5.3; Figure 5.1). Variation in this percentage reveals a spectrum of reliance upon Catawba pottery among the New Town-era households.

With 49%, the Tivoli main house is the only site at which Catawba sherds constitute less than half of the total sherds recovered (Table 5.3, Figure 5.1). Some portion of this assemblage may well relate to an occupation by Davie's overseer prior to his arrival at Tivoli; thus, Davie's reliance upon Catawba pottery may be somewhat less than is apparent.

Nearest to Davie in terms of overall reliance, Catawba sherds constitutes 58% of the total in the Tivoli slave quarters assemblage. In terms of ceramics, it seems possible that the Tivoli slaves benefited materially from their relationship with the Davie household. The unusually high percentage of porcelain (3.4% of all imported wares, exceeded only by the main house assemblage at 8.9%; Table 4.14) along with similarities in wares decorations suggest that the slaves at Tivoli received some of their imported wares from the Davie household. Davie may have provisioned his slaves with Catawba pottery as well, as the Catawba pottery assemblages at the main house and slave quarters are remarkably similar (Table 4.11). On the other hand, the slaves at Tivoli may have had opportunities to acquire Catawba and imported wares for themselves. Since provisioning and acculturation would to some extent produce similar effects, this question is not easily addressed.

While perhaps occupying a preferable social position, the Edenmoor household resides in the middle of the reliance spectrum along with the Tivoli slaves. For Edenmoor, Catawba pottery makes up 68% of the total sherds recovered (Table 5.3; Figure 5.1). Although the Edenmoor household appears to have had greater access to coarsewares and stonewares than the Tivoli slaves, Edenmoor

Table 5.3. Frequencies of Catawba-made and imported ceramic sherds at New Town-era sites.

| Site | Imported (n) | Catawba (n) | Imported (%) | Catawba (%) |
|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Tivoli | | | | |
| Main House | 722 | 690 | 0.51 | 0.49 |
| Slave Cabins | 678 | 955 | 0.42 | 0.58 |
| Edenmoor | 1356 | 2931 | 0.32 | 0.68 |
| Catawba New town | | | | |
| Locus 2 | 636 | 2196 | 0.22 | 0.78 |
| Locus 4 | 2779 | 10166 | 0.21 | 0.79 |
| Locus 6 | 4802 | 21628 | 0.18 | 0.82 |
| Locus 5 | 2107 | 11866 | 0.15 | 0.85 |
| Locus 3 | 1235 | 16087 | 0.07 | 0.93 |

yielded less transfer-printed wares and porcelain than the Tivoli slave assemblages (Tables 4.14 and 5.2). One important consideration is the fact that imported wares and Catawba pottery at the Edenmoor site were probably obtained exclusively through purchase or barter, while the Tivoli slaves may have been provisioned, and Catawbas obviously manufactured their own pottery. Thus, the Edenmoor household probably faced greater monetary costs in maintaining adequate supplies of goods for food preparation and consumption, and if so, perhaps had greater economic incentives to make extensive use of Catawba pottery.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the Catawba households appear to have had the greatest level of reliance upon Catawba pottery. In analyzing overall reliance among Catawba households, I have included data from cabin Locus 6, a dirt-floored cabin presumed to have been inhabited by itinerant Catawbas. Although I do not have detailed information for the ceramic materials at that site, data on the percentage of Catawba pottery is nevertheless useful. Among Catawba households, the percentage of Catawba sherds ranges between 78% for Locus 2 and 93% for Locus 3.

The apparent range in overall reliance among Catawbas is perhaps somewhat deceptive. If pottery is compared in terms of weight instead of sherd counts (which serves to control for

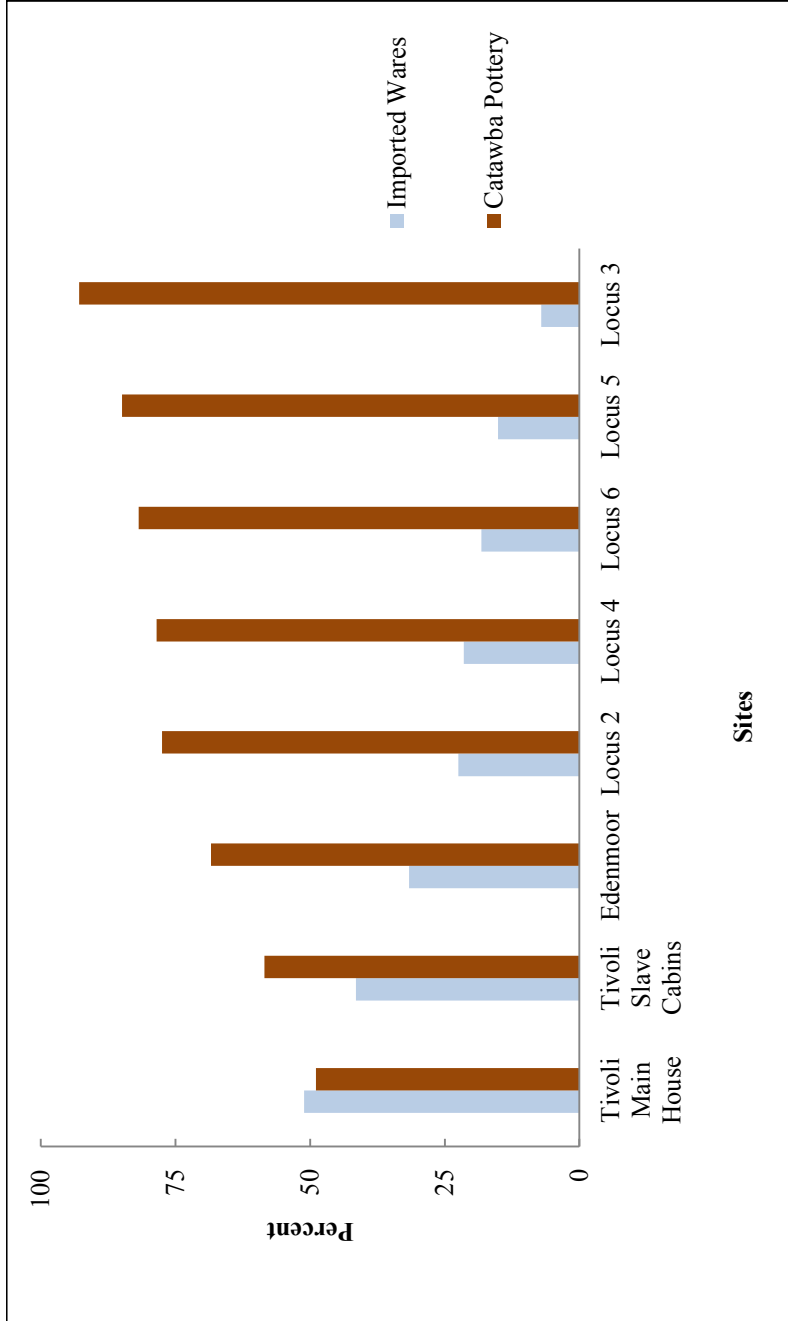


Figure 5.1. Percentages of Catawba-made and imported ceramic sherds at New Town-era sites.

differential site formation processes), the percentage of Catawba pottery at New Town cabins ranges between 89% at Locus 4 and 96% at Locus 3, suggesting that there was no significant difference in the extent to which Catawba households relied upon Catawba pottery (Table 5.4). Although I do not have weight data for the Tivoli and Edenmoor sites, it seems likely that the distinctions between these households and the Catawba households would remain essentially unchanged. From a broad perspective, whatever cultural and economic differences may have existed between Catawba households, in terms of overall reliance upon Catawba pottery, Catawbas exhibit great similarity. Whatever else their distinctive lifestyle may have entailed, the Sally New River and Colonel Ayers households do not appear to have differed from other Catawbas in terms of overall reliance upon Catawba pottery.

The pattern observed is perhaps what would be expected given what is known of the inhabitants of the various sites: the wealthy planter's household exhibits the least reliance upon Catawba pottery. Catawbas, who manufactured and used these wares, exhibit the greatest reliance. The plantation slave and backcountry farmstead households fall in between. It cannot be said with certainty whether the Tivoli slaves purchased Catawba pottery and imported wares for themselves. However, the Edenmoor household most likely did. Maintaining an adequate collection of kitchen wares with far less financial means than the planter, the Edenmoor household's reliance on Catawba pottery is nearly as great as demonstrated by some Catawba households.

One final factor to consider in this discussion is the attitudes that the various households might have had toward Catawba pottery; reliance upon Catawba pottery most likely had both cultural and economic dimensions. For Catawbas, Catawba pottery most likely had many positive associations and was connected with their ethnic identity. Given the ubiquity of pottery and pottery making tools and supplies (i.e., burnishing stones and colored sealing wax) at New Town, to a great extent, making, using, and selling Catawba pottery must have represented a way of life for Catawbas.

In the Scots-Irish Davie household, Catawba wares may have served as colorful curios. If the Edenmoor site's inhabitants were indeed of European origin, then much as in the Davie household,

Table 5.4. Percentage of Catawba pottery in New Town ceramic assemblages, based on weight, measured in grams.

| Site | Imported Weight (g) | Catawba Weight (g) | Total Weight (g) | Percent Catawba |
|---------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Locus 2 | 624 | 7832.5 | 8456.5 | 93 |
| Locus 4 | 2980 | 24688.5 | 27668.5 | 89 |
| Locus 6 | 4433.5 | 38318 | 42751.5 | 90 |
| Locus 5 | 2532.5 | 30308 | 32840.5 | 92 |
| Locus 3 | 1501 | 31951 | 33452 | 96 |

imported wares were probably more desirable than Catawba pottery for most uses. Nevertheless, for any household of relatively limited means attempting to maintain an adequate collection of imported wares, Catawba pottery would have represented an excellent means of economizing.

Variation in Vessel Forms Used in Households

Examining overall reliance on Catawba pottery provides useful information, but comparing differences in the specific vessel forms used in the different households provides more fine-grained perspectives. Comparisons of the proportions of food preparation and serving vessels in Catawba pottery assemblages reveal distinct approaches to using Catawba pottery. When read against overall reliance on Catawba pottery and imported ware assemblage diversity, these comparisons reveal interesting similarities and differences within New Town-era households.

The Catawba rim sherd assemblages (Table 4.11) represent a wide variety of vessel forms used by a substantial number of households. As noted in previous discussions of rim sherd assemblages, all things being equal (relative abundance of vessels, frequency of handling, and vessel fragility), large vessels should produce more sherds on a site than small vessels, and it is possible that the presence of relatively few large vessels might skew sherd assemblages.

As noted in the description of Catawba vessel forms (see Table 4.7), soup plates, thickened rim jars, pans, and narrow rim-bevel bowls are certainly categories that contain the largest of Catawba vessels (in terms of rim circumference). However, certain factors indicate that all things are not equal in terms of the use of Catawba pottery. For example, narrow rim-bevel bowls were almost evenly divided between individual serving sizes and larger vessels; thus, relative over-representation of this category in the slave cabin and Locus 3 assemblages is not necessarily a straightforward matter (Table 4.11, Figure 4.16). Soup plates are both relatively large vessels (in terms of rim circumference) *and* individual serving wares, yet they are under-represented at the Tivoli main house, slave cabins, and Locus 2 (Table 4.11). Although many rim sherds from broad rim-bevel bowls were from relatively large vessels (Figure 4.11), this category is under-represented in the Tivoli main

Table 5.5. Percentages of serving and food preparation wares in New Town-era Catawba pottery assemblages.¹

| Site | Serving Wares (%)² | Food Preparation Wares (%)³ | Percent of Total Assemblage | Total Assemblage (n) |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Locus 2 | 18 | 45 | 63 | 125 |
| Tivoli, Main House | 16 | 38 | 54 | 63 |
| Locus 5 | 24 | 46 | 70 | 309 |
| Tivoli, Slave Cabins | 20 | 31 | 51 | 90 |
| Locus 3 | 25 | 31 | 56 | 322 |
| Locus 4 | 34 | 36 | 70 | 200 |
| Edenmoor | 45 | 15 | 60 | 107 |

¹ Based on data contained in Table 4.11, Appendix A.

² Soup plates and flaring rim bowls

³ Thickened rim jars and pans

house, slave cabin, locus 2, and locus 5 assemblages (Table 4.11). Ultimately, there is substantial variation between assemblages for all ware types, and the largest vessel forms are not over-represented across the board.

An effective means of comparing the assemblages is obtained through examining the percentage of serving wares versus food preparation wares (Table 5.5). Welch and Scarry (1995) made a similar comparison to examine status related variation in Mississippian foodways. Differences in the proportions of these wares should reflect significant differences in the day-to-day uses of Catawba pottery.

At New Town-era sites, soup plates and flaring rim bowls may be considered serving wares, while thickened rim jars and pans may be categorized as food preparation wares (based upon form, function, size, and decoration or lack thereof; see Chapter 4). Together, these ware types constitute between 50% and 70% of all ware types in the Catawba pottery assemblages (Table 5.5).

These ware types had a variety of European-manufactured analogues. Catawba pans could readily have substituted for a variety of coarseware and stoneware vessels. Thickened rim jars appear to have been used as cooking vessels in Catawba households. In his musings on Catawba pottery,

William Gilmore Simms (2003 [1841]: 218-219) noted that Catawba wares had their value to the citizens of South Carolina, remarking that Catawba cooking pots were considered the ideal vessel for cooking okra soup, even going so far as to claim that they were far superior to iron vessels for the preparation of “this truly southern dish.” It seems likely that the cooking pot that Simms suggested as a substitute for iron vessels was the thickened rim jar. Finally, Catawba-made flaring rim bowls and plates obviously had a variety of creamware and pearlware analogues.

In comparing the percentages of these ware types, there seem to be three groupings (Figure 5.2): In the assemblages from Locus 2, the Tivoli main house, and Locus 5, food preparation wares are substantially more abundant than serving wares. These might be characterized as kitchen, or hearth assemblages. At the Tivoli slave cabins and Loci 3 and 4, the percentages are more even, with serving wares slightly more abundant than food preparation wares. These might be characterized as balanced assemblages. At Edenmoor, tablewares are considerably more abundant than food preparation wares; this could be characterized as a table assemblage (Table 5.5 and Figure 5.2).

In using Catawba pottery, the strategies employed by the various households were probably conditioned by several factors. These include access to other kitchen and table wares, cultural attitudes toward imported wares and Catawba pottery, and the monetary cost of Catawba pottery.

Upon his death in 1820, Davie’s estate was valued at more than \$46,000.00; among his possessions was an impressive collection of fine china and glassware (Davis and Riggs 2004b:4). Each of the New Town-era imported ware assemblages contains large proportions of refined earthenwares. Nonetheless, the Tivoli main house exhibited the lowest overall reliance upon Catawba pottery, and that site’s imported ware assemblage contains the largest proportions of coarseware, stoneware, and porcelain sherds (Figure 5.1, Table 4.14). In terms of evenness of distribution across imported ware categories, the main house assemblage provides a useful comparative perspective for examining the other assemblages.

Given Davie’s greater access to consumer goods, it is no surprise that his household demonstrates the least reliance upon Catawba pottery. Given Davie’s position in South Carolina

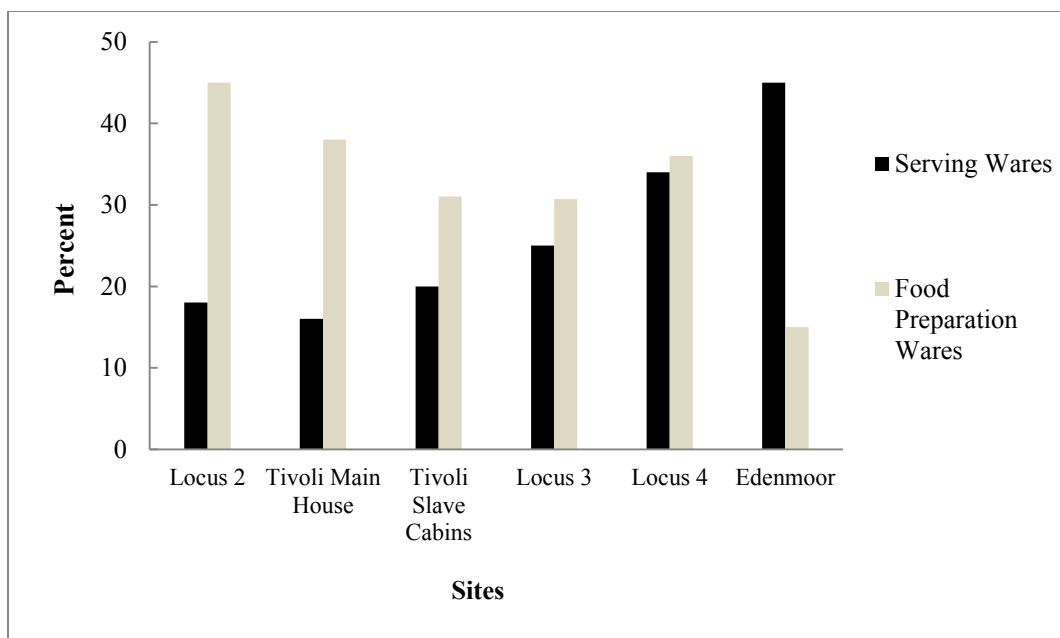


Figure 5.2. Percentage of serving and food preparation wares in New Town-era Catawba pottery assemblages.

society, it also comes as no surprise that Catawba-made plates and serving bowls are a relatively small component of this assemblage. To the extent that Catawba pottery was used in his household, it appears to have performed more in background roles, and its value was surely more functional than economic. Nevertheless, as suggested by Simms’s remarks regarding Indian cooking pots, Catawba kitchen wares at Tivoli may have possessed both functional and symbolic value.

Without question, the other households examined possessed less financial resources than Davie. While the Loci 2 and 5 assemblages demonstrate relatively high proportions of Catawba-made kitchen wares, in these households, Catawba pottery was more heavily relied upon than in Davie’s household (Figures 5.1 and 5.2), most likely serving to augment other kitchen and tablewares. In comparison to the Davie household, the Loci 2 and 5 imported ware assemblages contain very small proportions of utilitarian coarsewares and stonewares (Table 4.14, Figure 5.3).

The Loci 2 and 5 assemblages contain exceptionally large proportions of thickened rim jar sherds (Table 4.11); indeed, at 31%, Locus 2 had twice the proportion of this ware type found in any

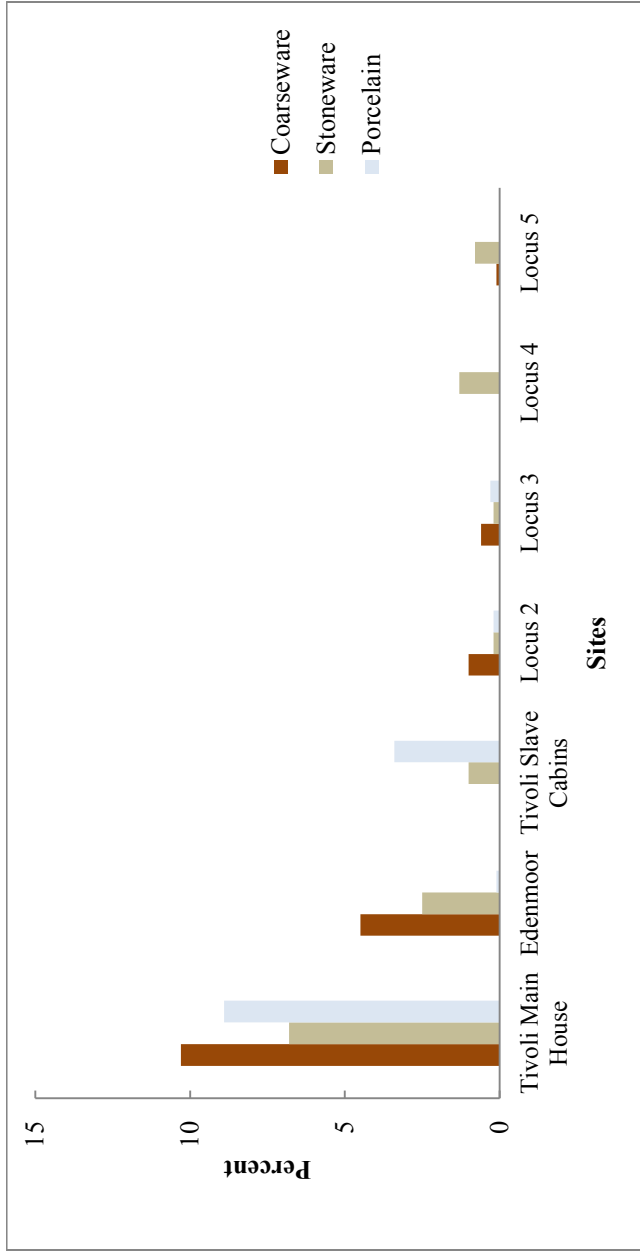


Figure 5.3. Percentages of imported ware types in New Town-era assemblages.

assemblage except Locus 5 (26%). Much as at the Tivoli main house and slave cabins, the Loci 2 and 5 sites both yielded fragments from cast iron cooking vessels. Given McReynolds Shebalin's (2011:60-68) detailed examination of metal artifact frequencies at New Town, there is no evidence that the prominence of thickened rim jar sherds in these assemblages is related to a lack of cast iron wares. Indeed, there is no evidence of any significant difference in the relative abundance of these wares in New Town households (Theresa McReynolds Shebalin, personal communication, 2011). Nevertheless, it appears that Catawba-made cooking vessels played a prominent role in the Loci 2 and 5 households and were used alongside cast-iron vessels. Given the likelihood of a strong connection between Catawba pottery and Catawba identity, it would not be surprising if cooking food in Catawba pots was a symbolically important act in Catawba as well as white households, although that symbolism would have been of a very different nature. The fact that Loci 2 and 5 represent itinerant *and* non-itinerant households supports this possibility. Indeed, fairly substantial percentages of thickened rim jar sherds occur in every Catawba household's assemblage (Table 4.11), even as fragments of cast iron vessels were recovered from each Catawba cabin locus as well.

The abundance of Catawba-made kitchen wares at Locus 2, the Tivoli main house, and Locus 5, and the relative dearth of Catawba-made plate rims, provides an additional insight into the question of overall reliance upon Catawba pottery at these sites. Whereas pans and thickened rim jars would tend to create more rim sherds than smaller flaring rim bowls, plates are another matter. Although plates are individual serving wares, they are also relatively large vessels in terms of rim circumference. Thus, to the extent that kitchen wares dominate these assemblages, and plate rims are relatively few in number, Catawba pottery was perhaps handled less often and less visible than in other households. At the same time, European-made wares may have been handled more often and were perhaps more prominent.

This would have been especially true at Tivoli. In the Davie household, substantially greater quantities of utilitarian coarseware and stoneware vessels were employed compared to the other households, and Catawba cooking pots were most likely overshadowed by numerous and varied metal

cooking vessels. Even as Catawba wares appear to have been mostly relegated to Davie's kitchen, within the Davie kitchen Catawba wares probably resided in the background as well. Nevertheless, given Simms's remarks regarding Catawba cooking pots, Catawba pottery may have been valued for certain culinary purposes in the Davie household.

The Tivoli slaves and the Loci 3 and 4 households appear to have engaged in a more balanced approach to combining Catawba-made and imported wares. The question of provisioning by Davie complicates analysis of the slave quarters assemblage; nevertheless, much as for Loci 2 and 5, the imported ware assemblages from each of these sites contain extremely small proportions of coarseware and stoneware (Figure 5.3); Catawba-made wares undoubtedly filled these gaps.

One factor that distinguishes the balanced assemblages, especially Loci 3 and 4, is greater reliance upon Catawba-made plates. To the extent that plates were more frequently used in these households, Catawba wares would have been handled more often and were probably more prominent than at the Tivoli main house and Loci 2 and 5.

It should be noted that in addition to relatively greater proportions of plates, the Locus 3 and Locus 4 Catawba pottery assemblages feature much greater proportions of broad and narrow rim-beveled bowls (see Table 4.11); while the latter vessels were often relatively large, they most likely functioned as tablewares. With apparently greater reliance upon Catawba-made tablewares (including plates, flaring rim bowls, and rim-beveled bowls), these households may have possessed less access to imported tablewares, or perhaps directed somewhat less financial resources into the acquisition of imported tablewares than the Loci 2 and 5 households. If the Loci 3 and 4 households possessed market access that was more or less equivalent to the Loci 2 and 5 households, either larger households or frequent and numerous guests might result in greater reliance upon Catawba-made tablewares as well. In particular, the relatively high proportions of large tablewares (i.e., rim-beveled bowls) at Loci 3 and 4 suggest the possibility of greater quantities of food being prepared by these households than was the case at Loci 2 and 5.

Based upon archaeological evidence and observations of modern Catawba potters by Blumer (2004), McReynolds Shebalin (2011:71) has argued that some aspects of ceramic production at New Town may have been cooperative affairs involving multiple families. From patterns of artifact density at New Town, McReynolds Shebalin (2011:71) reasons that Locus 3 may have been a center of ceramic production where residents from neighboring households came together to work and socialize. Assuming (for the present argument) more or less the same degree of market access as other Catawba households (an issue addressed later in this chapter), if the Locus 3 household often entertained visitors from other Catawba cabins, augmenting their supply of imported tablewares with Catawba pottery would have been a fitting means for the Locus 3 household to meet the demands placed upon them by frequent visitors engaged in cooperative pottery production.

Again, assuming roughly equal market access, greater reliance upon Catawba tablewares in the Locus 4 household may be connected to a desire to project Catawba identity. Documentary and archaeological evidence suggest that Locus 4 may have been the residence of Sally New River (McReynolds Shebalin 2011:143). Calvin Jones (1815) suggested that Sally engaged in a more westernized lifestyle than other Catawbas, pursuing sedentary farming. Archaeological and documentary evidence indicate that she may have stood out from other Catawbas through adherence to western ideals of orderliness, appearance, and virtue (McReynolds Shebalin 2011:150); for example, Jones (1815) made a point of noting that Sally was an “industrious” and “respectable” individual who abstained from spirits. Perhaps the conspicuous use of Catawba tablewares by Sally was a means of downplaying cultural differences between herself and Catawba visitors through demonstrating participation in a quintessentially Catawba activity.

According to McReynolds Shebalin (2011:56-57), analysis of artifact densities at New Town suggests that Locus 4 was a relatively small household. Although her household may have been small, Sally apparently received white visitors with considerable frequency. Documentary accounts indicate that Sally was the Catawba Nation’s “gatekeeper.” Visitors to the Catawba Nation consistently describe meeting her, while historians describe her as an individual possessing

considerable familiarity with local settlers (see Brown 1966; Merrell 1989; Pettus 1999, 2005). In the account of his 1786 visit to the Catawba Nation, Elkanah Watson described being hosted by Sally New River:

The wife of the chief [New River] fed my horse, and supplied me with a meal of smoked venison, placed in a small tub upon the floor. She did all in her power to render me comfortable, if not with the grace of a Parisian lady, undoubtedly with equal kindness of heart [Watson 1856: 258].

Perhaps the use of Catawba-made serving wares became a means of signaling Catawba identity to white as well as Catawba guests.

An additional possibility relates to Sally New River's apparent sedentism. As suggested in the Lady Liston (1797) account, when other adults were absent from a village, children probably congregated in the house or houses of those adults who remained at home (at least for meals and shelter). If some older children were left at home while their parents were away, Sally may have been responsible for feeding more mouths than actually resided in her household.

The possibility of the relative abundance of Catawba-made tablewares at Loci 3 and 4 being related to hospitality and socializing provides an additional perspective on the Loci 2 and 5 assemblages: the relatively high proportions of thickened rim jars at the latter sites may reflect relatively fewer diners rather than exceptionally great reliance upon Catawba-made cooking pots.

The Edenmoor site yielded the only Catawba pottery assemblage in which serving wares significantly outnumber food preparation wares. Ironically, the Edenmoor imported ware assemblage also featured greater quantities of coarsewares and stonewares than all but the Tivoli main house assemblage (Table 4.14, Figure 5.3). Unlike the Catawbas, who made their own pottery, and the Tivoli slaves, who may have been provisioned, the Edenmoor site's occupants probably obtained their ceramics exclusively through purchase or barter. Even if Edenmoor had somewhat greater market access than Catawbas (suggested by apparently greater diversity of imported wares and less reliance upon Catawba pottery), the necessity of purchasing both imported wares and Catawba pottery may have prompted additional economizing measures. For a household of relatively limited means that

may have been culturally inclined to favor imported wares over Catawba pottery, the desirability of imported serving wares may have resulted in their being curated through reliance upon Catawba serving vessels.

Comparisons of the proportion of food preparation and serving vessels in Catawba pottery assemblages reveals distinct approaches to using Catawba pottery. In comparing the William R. Davie and Edenmoor households, the relationship between market access, imported ware assemblage diversity, reliance upon Catawba pottery, and Catawba vessel usage is clear: greater wealth is accompanied by greater diversity of imported wares, lower reliance upon Catawba pottery, and far lower reliance upon Catawba-made serving wares.

When Catawba households are considered, the relationship between these variables is not as straightforward. Catawbas' imported ware assemblages are characterized by considerably lower proportions of utilitarian coarsewares and stonewares than either the Davie or Edenmoor households. Catawbas also relied more heavily upon Catawba pottery than either of the latter households. However, Catawbas seem to have employed divergent strategies in using their own pottery. Loci 2 and 5, much like the Davie household, relied more heavily upon food preparation wares. Loci 3 and 4 relied somewhat more heavily upon serving wares, yet neither of the latter households approached Edenmoor in this regard. The ability of Catawbas to manufacture their own pottery is certainly a factor here. Market access may be a factor in these differences as well; however, cultural explanations are perhaps equally, if not more, likely.

It is noteworthy that Loci 4 and 5, the cabins presumed to have been occupied by sedentary farmers, exhibit different approaches to using Catawba pottery. The same is true for Loci 2 and 3, Catawba households presumed to have been itinerants. The cultural and economic differences between Sally New River and Colonel Ayers and the other New Town Catawbas do not seem to be related to the use of Catawba pottery in any simple fashion.

Variation in Decorative Elements of Catawba Pottery

Much as with European-made wares, decoration on Catawba pottery is found on tablewares. Decorative treatments on Catawba wares include painting and formal elements such as pedestaled bases and scalloped rims. Substantial percentages of Catawba wares in the Old Town assemblage were delicately crafted vessels that closely emulated certain decorative aspects of imported serving wares (see Tables 4.2, 4.11, and 4.12). The use of pedestaled serving bowls, grey bodied wares, scalloped-edge soup plates, and flaring rim bowls may demonstrate a relationship between imported wares and reliance upon Catawba-made serving wares. This analysis provides diachronic perspectives on the acquisition of imported wares by Catawbas, and synchronic perspectives on assemblage variation at New Town-era sites.

Whereas more than 60% of the rim sherds in the Old Town assemblage were composed of grey paste (primarily used in serving wares), these wares were absent in New Town-era assemblages (Table 4.2). These light bodied wares may have emulated refined earthenwares and white salt-glazed stonewares. Of the Old Town plate rim sherds, 77% had scalloped edges, while only 19% were scalloped at New Town (Table 4.10). Moreover, scalloped-edge plates were not found at Tivoli, where reliance upon Catawba pottery in general and serving wares in particular were rather low. Flaring rims represent nearly 35% of the Old Town assemblage; at New Town they constitute an average of only 8% (Table 4.11). Finally, pedestal sherds represent 26% of base-body juncture sherds at Old Town, but less than 10% for all New Town-era sites except Edenmoor and Locus 3.

As these comparisons suggest, these differences may have certain temporal significance. Decrease in the overall prevalence of these “fineware” traits is most likely related to the niches filled by Catawba pottery in the households of both Catawbas and their customers. The Old Town household examined in this study seems to have relied entirely upon Catawba-made serving wares for its everyday needs, whereas the New Town-era households relied upon a combination of Catawba- and European-made wares. Among Catawbas, it certainly seems that the acquisition of substantial collections of imported wares was preceded by sophisticated knowledge of those wares, and

accompanied by a broad decrease in a variety of decorative elements on Catawba pottery. With the added perspectives provided by the Tivoli and Edenmoor assemblages, it appears that for Catawbas and backcountry settlers, the prevalence of Catawba-made vessels closely emulating imported wares may have been linked to access to imported wares or the niches filled by Catawba pottery in a given household.

Households relying heavily upon Catawba-made serving wares for everyday use may have been especially interested in more finely-crafted decorative wares, whereas households with relatively little reliance upon Catawba serving wares may have had more limited interest in such pottery. Decorative elements such as pedestaled bases, scalloped rims, and flaring rims would have added to the time and effort required to produce pottery, and perhaps added to the price for customers as well. It seems likely that for Catawbas, pottery produced for their own household use was influenced by a combination of attunement to broader market trends (a question examined later in this chapter), personal preferences, and their own level of access to consumer goods. Thus, if certain decorative elements and light bodied wares were falling out of fashion with customers, and a Catawba potter could afford to purchase and replace imported serving wares herself, she may well have reduced production of decorative serving wares for sale and personal use. This may have been the case for the Loci 2 and 5 households, as they appear to have relied primarily upon larger food preparation vessels rather than individual serving wares, and these assemblages contain very small percentages of pedestaled sherds.

Pedestaled bowls are among the most delicately crafted Catawba wares and provide a ready means of testing this apparent shift in pottery production. The Old Town, Edenmoor, and Locus 3 base sherd assemblages contain the highest percentage of pedestal sherds (26%, 22%, and 18% respectively; Table 12). For New Town Loci 2, 4, and 5, and both Tivoli assemblages, pedestal sherds are much less abundant (3-7% Table 4.12). Differences in the proportion of pedestal sherds were examined using Fisher's exact test, a non-parametric, or "distribution free" contingency test not requiring any assumption that specifies the exact form of the population (Blalock 1979:247).

Fisher's test is typically used where samples are small ($n < 50$) or when the data are very unevenly distributed among a table's cells, such that some cell values are less than 5 (Blalock 1979:290-293).

The obtained samples are treated as though they belong to an actual population. The table cells are considered samples, drawn from the population at random, without replacement. The question is how likely the given results are had this procedure actually been carried out (Blalock 1979:292-293). In terms of significance testing, the null hypothesis is no difference between the assemblages. Tests were conducted using SYSTAT version 9.0; these are one-tailed tests for which a .05 significance level was selected. Table 5.6 provides the results; in comparison to the Old Town assemblage, only Edenmoor and Locus 3 are considered likely to be from the same "population" with respect to the prevalence of pedestaled base sherds.

Loci 2, 5, and the Tivoli sites demonstrated the lowest reliance upon Catawba serving wares; these assemblages also have the lowest proportions of pedestal sherds. Along with the highest percentage of pedestaled sherds, the Edenmoor assemblage also had the highest percentages of flaring rims and scalloped-edge plate rims; Edenmoor relied more heavily on Catawba serving wares than any other site. Although the frequent use of Catawba "finewares" may have been constant throughout the Edenmoor occupation, this reliance may reflect delayed access to imported serving wares by a settler family arriving in the backcountry with few economic resources.

The Loci 3 and 4 assemblages are relatively balanced in terms of the use of Catawba-made serving and food preparation wares. This balance appears evident in the prevalence of decorative elements on serving wares in these assemblages. The Locus 3 assemblage had relatively high proportions of pedestaled sherds and scalloped-edge plate rims, but relatively few flaring rims. Locus 4 had a relatively high percentage of flaring rims, but few scalloped-edge plate rims and pedestal sherds.

Analysis of Catawba "fineware" traits such as pedestaled bases and scalloped edges supports the conclusions reached through examining Catawba pottery rim sherd assemblages: although Catawbans may have relied more heavily upon Catawba pottery than the households at Tivoli and

Table 5.6. Fisher's exact tests of differences in the proportion of pedestaled sherds in base sherds assemblages.

| Assemblage | Pedestal (n) | Flat Base (n) | Pedestal (%) | <i>p</i> | Significant at .05 |
|-----------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|----------|--------------------|
| Old Town ¹ | 17 | 48 | 26 | - | - |
| Edenmoor | 11 | 39 | 22 | 0.386 | no |
| Locus 3 | 58 | 269 | 18 | 0.122 | no |
| Locus 2 | 3 | 49 | 6 | 0.003 | yes |
| Locus 4 | 6 | 75 | 7 | 0.002 | yes |
| Locus 5 | 3 | 109 | 3 | 0.0001 | yes |
| Tivoli, main house | 1 | 21 | 5 | 0.024 | yes |
| Tivoli, slave cabins | 2 | 32 | 6 | 0.012 | yes |

¹*p* values and significance for each assemblage are derived from comparisons to Old Town.

Edenmoor, no Catawba household relied extensively upon Catawba-made serving wares. That particular distinction goes to the Edenmoor household; Catawba pottery may have been an economical choice for households of limited means, but it was not free. For Catawbas, essentially free access (i.e., in terms of monetary cost) to supplemental wares may have enabled them to spend more money on consumer goods such as imported serving wares.

There is some variation in terms of how Catawbas used their pottery, but in terms of their approaches to using Catawba pottery, itinerant and non-itinerant households are split, with Loci 2 and 5 apparently favoring kitchen wares, and Loci 3 and 4 striking more of a balance between kitchen and serving wares. One possibility for these different approaches may reside in social functions played by these households: Locus 3 may have served as a center for cooperative pottery production, while Sally New River acted as “gatekeeper” to the Nation. In either case, somewhat greater reliance upon serving wares may have been related to socializing and entertaining visitors. While Catawba households appear to have used Catawba pottery in different way, these differences do not readily correspond to the different economic strategies of itinerant and non-itinerant households.

Broader Cultural and Economic Implications of Catawba Itinerancy

This discussion provides a broad overview of culture and economy among Catawbas, focusing on the impact of Catawba itinerancy on different facets of Catawba life. Archaeological and documentary evidence, along with ethnohistoric and ethnographic examples, are utilized to understand the cultural and economic implications of differences in lifestyle and material culture at Catawba New Town. Examination of material evidence related to personal adornment suggests broad similarities among Catawbas. Nevertheless, despite some cultural characteristics being broadly shared, others are argued to be specifically related to the different economic strategies pursued by different households at Catawba New Town. Although some cultural differences identified among Catawbas may be related to economic disparities (such as differences in dwelling and imported ware

assemblages) differences in spending and behavior related to the different lifestyles and tastes possessed by Catawbas are likely to be important factors as well.

Itinerancy and Architecture

Differences in the houses constructed by New Town Catawbas are likely to have been directly related to the lifestyles and values possessed by their inhabitants. In their examination of western Canadian *Métis* wintering villages, Burley *et al.* (1992: 96-100) argued that due to high mobility, *Métis* families invested relatively little energy in upgrading and maintaining their houses compared to sedentary communities. Excavations at Old Town and New Town demonstrate the presence of Anglo-style log cabin construction. Archaeological evidence indicates that cabins at New Town Loci 4 and 5, the presumed residences of Sally New River and Colonel Ayers, had wood floors raised on stone foundation blocks and chimneys with stone-lined fireboxes, while the Catawba cabins at Loci 2, 3, and 6 had relatively simple and expedient dirt floors and unlined fireboxes (Riggs and Davis 2004a:36-37).

The Locus 4 site featured two adjacent wood floored cabins, each of which had a stick and clay chimney on the west end of the house (Figure x); these structures may represent a “dogtrot cabin.” Common in much of the Southeast, dogtrot houses consisted of two adjacent rooms connected by a covered breezeway; one room was used for living and sleeping space, the other as a kitchen (Greiner 2007; Riggs 1999). However, as McReynolds Shebalin (2011:113-114) notes, the breezeway between the structures would have been unusually wide, and dogtrot cabins constructed with double chimneys generally have them on the far ends of the house. Another possibility is that the cabins were sequentially occupied, with the initial cabin perhaps later used as a detached kitchen. In either case, Sally New River’s presumed residence would have been considerably more substantial than those inhabited by other Catawbas.

Archeological evidence of different architectural styles at New Town is complemented by documentary evidence. In 1815, traveler Calvin Jones noted that while all Catawba cabins had

chimneys, only those of Sally New River and Colonel Ayers had wooden floors. In addition to noting what he considered important architectural distinctions, Jones described New River and Ayers as industrious. References to farming occur as a subtext in the Jones account, in which he notes, “Great scarcity of corn now. Sally New River said the lazy ones had gone to look for corn. Airs she says works like a negro.” From these remarks by Sally, it seems reasonable to conclude that both Sally and Ayers were more dedicated to farming than some other Catawbas. Insofar as farming was traditionally women’s work among southeastern Indians, Sally’s comment regarding Ayers is particularly interesting: Ayers was demonstrating conformity with white attitudes toward gender, class, and farm labor (certainly with respect to whites who lacked sufficient slave labor to avoid actually performing farm work).

Sally’s willingness to criticize other Catawbas in front of an outsider, and her remark that Ayers “works like a negro,” appear to demonstrate agreement with Jones’ interpretive framework in terms of the value of farming (it also seems to demonstrate a complex blend of native and white attitudes regarding the relationship between gender, race, class, and farm labor). At any rate, Calvin Jones took Sally’s evaluation one step further, referring to other Catawbas as “lazy drunken wretches.” Ironically, Jones noted that he found Catawba men away hunting and fishing, while Catawba women were busy making pottery. For Jones, laziness would thus seem to be a matter of cultural interpretation rather than actual engagement in subsistence activity.

The associations and judgments made by Jones (1815) regarding the dwellings and lifestyles of Catawbas provide insights into the larger, cultural dimensions of architecture. Buildings often involve the construction of meaning through cultural associations, serving to constitute and reproduce social knowledge in much the same way as occurs in many other spheres of life (Psarra 2009:6).

The Jones account contains implied connections between the relatively substantial dwellings of New River and Ayers and particular types of subsistence activity; these modes of living are evaluated in terms of industriousness, whereas other Catawbas are viewed as indolent. These associations and evaluations are part of a broader European discourse on the essential differences

between Indians and Europeans in which civilization is equated with agriculture, sedentism, and industry, while savagery is equated with hunting, nomadism, and indolence (this topic is addressed at greater length in Chapter 6).

We have no such window into the Catawbas' side of this debate. While traveling Catawbas were most likely familiar with the basic elements of this discourse, and may well have understood their own itinerancy in terms of Indian tradition and rejection of white culture and values, it can be confidently said that itinerants throughout the world engage in similar "discourses" related to mobility, lifestyle, and identity. Ethnographic research on English travellers (Okely 1975, 1983:129-130) and Gypsy-Americans (Nemeth 2002) describes how itinerants frequently emphasize their commitment to mobility through discourse and symbolic practices, even during periods in which they are relatively sedentary (Okely 1983).

For itinerant Catawbas, the materials and labor needed to construct floored houses were clearly available, as they had already constructed basic log cabins. With a few more logs, and a bit more time and effort, they could have emulated the models displayed by respected community leaders New River and Ayers. However, the addition of floors may not have made much practical sense, given the extra time and effort required for such construction, and itinerant Catawbas' long periods of absence, during which David Hutchison (1843) described their seldom-occupied houses as "going fast to decay." On a symbolic level, such construction would probably not have made much sense either, as it would have represented a symbolic commitment to a lifestyle they did not practice, and whose adherents held them in somewhat low regard.

Traveling and Hospitality

Among the *Métis*, Burley et al. (1992) noted that a mobile lifestyle placed a premium on information exchange, sharing, and hospitality, enacted materially through items such musical instruments, tobacco pipes, and imported European serving wares. Catawba cabin sites have consistently yielded similar evidence of socializing and hospitality. Brass and iron mouth harps and

tobacco pipes have been recovered at every cabin site; rum bottle glass, glass fragments from tumblers and decanters, and a wide variety of imported serving wares are also frequently recovered.

Given the considerable investment in material culture related to food, drink, tobacco, and entertainment apparent at Catawba cabin sites, it would appear that sharing and hospitality were important values in Catawba society. During the months spent traveling, friends and family would have been separated for extended periods of time, experiencing hardships and adventures on the road, all the while gathering important information on the continued support of influential planters. The months spent on the reservation would have been important times for weary travelers to rest, renew their community ties through socializing, and exchange valuable information.

Although material evidence of socializing and hospitality has been recovered from every Catawba cabin site, certain elements of the related suite of artifacts appear in lesser quantities at some cabins than at others. While Loci 2, 3, and especially Locus 6 yielded large quantities of glass, considerably less glass fragments were recovered from Loci 4 and 5. The relative dearth of glass fragments at the latter sites may reflect the careful removal of potentially hazardous waste by the industrious New River and Ayers (McReynolds Shebalin 2011:97, 104). However, less generation of glass refuse is another possibility (McReynolds Shebalin 2011:97).

In his visit to New Town, Calvin Jones (1815) was impressed by Sally New River's industriousness and respectability, especially her refusal to drink spirits. Jones described the Ayers household as engaging in the drinking of spirits, but nevertheless referred to Ayers as "industrious." On the other hand, Jones referred to most other Catawbas as, "lazy drunken wretches," suggesting greater levels of "indolence" and alcohol consumption than New River and Ayers engaged in.

In his 1826 description of the Catawba Nation, Robert Mills (1826:115) connected indolence and the consumption of alcohol among Catawbas to imprudent management of rental income. The Catawbas' tenant David Hutchison (1843; quoted in Brown 1966:292) voiced a similar judgment, linking traveling, indolence, and drinking among Catawbas to land leasing.

On one level, Jones, Mills, and Hutchison are commenting upon the degree of leisure time possessed by itinerant Catawbas (McReynolds Shebalin 2011:29), and the refusal of most Catawbas, especially women, to adhere to western standards of “industry” and “respectability.” Through their itinerant pursuits and land leasing, many Catawbas apparently possessed ample time to drink and socialize, enjoying a lifestyle that many European individuals would have found either enviable or deplorable, depending upon their commitment to the Protestant Ethic.

The different lifestyles pursued by Catawbas had economic consequences that European observers recognized and judged harshly. Those judgments on the deleterious effects of excessive drinking on health and social life aside, differential participation in social drinking is worth considering from an economic perspective: individuals engaged in frequent drinking were spending considerable sums of money on this activity. Individuals who abstained or drank moderately (Sally New River and possibly Colonel Ayers) saved money that could be spent on other goods. While the potential difference in monetary expenditure suggested here cannot be quantified (although in terms of the relative abundance of glass, it may have visible material consequences), it is nevertheless an economic factor that must be considered in any comparisons between itinerant and non-itinerant households.

Itinerancy and Indian Identity

Although itinerants are often loathed and distrusted, an exotic appearance is nevertheless part of their stock-in-trade. Among itinerant groups the use of self-imposed ethnic markers that distinguish them from surrounding populations appears to be characteristic (Rao 1987:18).

European observers frequently commented upon the exotic appearance of Catawbas. In March of 1791, the Reverend Thomas Coke visited the Catawba. Of his meeting with the Catawba and their chief, he wrote:

Their general [New River]...was adorned with a great variety of bits of silver. He also had a silver breastplate. Almost all the men and women wore silver nose-rings, hanging from the middle gristle of the nose; and some of them had little silver hearts

hanging from the rings...In general they dressed like the white people [Coke 1791, quoted in Brown 1966: 288].

In the account of her 1797 visit to the Catawba Nation, the Lady Liston noted similar jewelry. From her account, it is clear that the nose ornaments described by Coke were not only common among adults, but among children as well:

The young Indian Men are very handsome & the children would be extremely pretty, if they were not often disfigured by Nose jewels [Liston 1797].

In his 1786 account, Elkanah Watson was also struck by the Catawbas' exotic appearance:

We entered their cabins, where I saw several straight-limbed, handsome young girls, daubed with paint, and decorated with feathers, rings, and brooches [Watson 1856: 257].

In 1815, Calvin Jones reported a kaleidoscope of impressions regarding Catawba appearance, including the familiar and exotic:

First went to Sally New Rivers...rings in her ears... Went to Colonel Airs. A girl with painted cheeks... Saw 2 women with blankets, one with her papoose at her back – one smoking a Cherokee Tomahawk. Dress in the English fashion... Wear plates on the neck with their names on them and bracelets 3 inches wide on their wrists...One woman with only a shift and a dozen brooches around the bosom [Jones 1815].

Items associated with personal ornamentation have been recovered from every Catawba cabin site. The consistent appearance at Catawba cabins of glass beads, silver earrings, chains, and bangles, and the description by Liston and Coke of distinctive and commonly worn nose ornaments, demonstrate a unified construction of native costumes to mark Catawba identity (Riggs and Davis 2008:12; Figures 5.4 and 5.5). As noted by Coke and Jones, Catawbas frequently mixed English and native modes of dress.

Among Catawbas, identity construction was most likely conditioned by several factors. Although glass, silver, and brass were European-made materials, the manner in which these materials were used by Catawbas were part of pan-Indian adornment traditions that Catawbas shared in with many other Southeastern tribes. Interaction with English settlers obviously influenced the choice of clothing for many Catawbas, but did not constrain the use of non-western decorative flourishes.



Figure 5.4. Glass beads and ornaments recovered from Old Town (Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

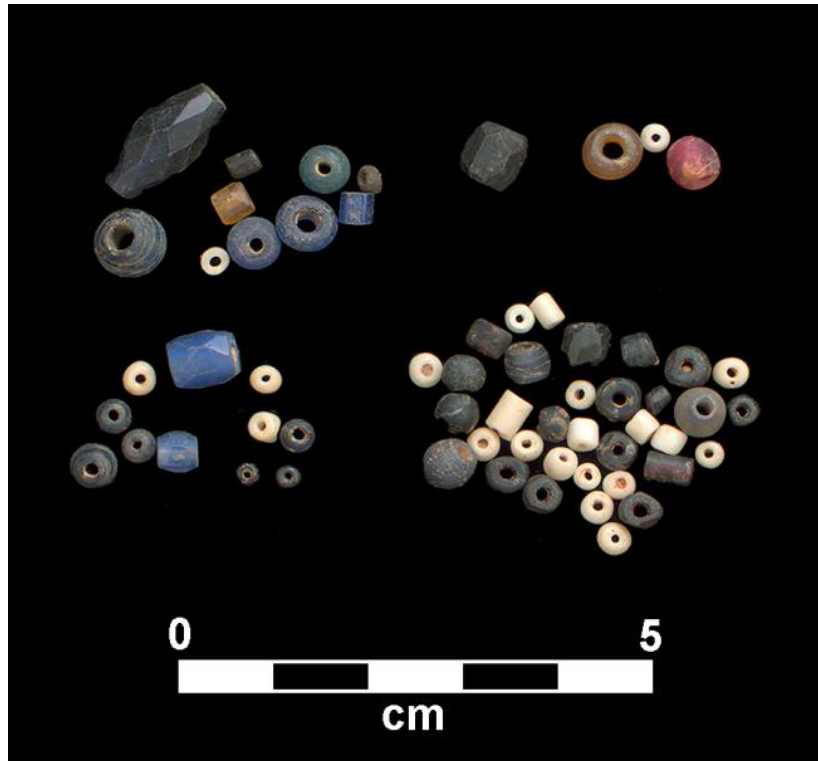


Figure 5.5. Glass beads and ornaments recovered from Locus 3 at New Town (Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

As the Catawba Nation shifted from a confederation composed of multiple tribal groups with separate identities to a more or less unified society with a distinct ethnic identity, the establishment of new cultural characteristics specifically symbolizing Catawba identity would have been an important and perhaps inevitable process. The “nose jewels” noted by Coke and Liston may represent such a trait.

Hardening western perceptions of race in America during the early nineteenth century were an important consideration. For Catawbas in Federal period South Carolina, the rising tides of anti-Indian sentiments leading up to Indian Removal presented distinct imperatives. In his research on the historic Catawba, Charles Hudson (1970: 55-56) outlined three ways in which Indians were incorporated into South Carolina colonial society. During the early eighteenth century, many Indians were enslaved, often captured by rival Indian groups. Some survived as de-tribalized, settlement Indians, most of whom owned no land and survived at the fringes of white society through such marginal enterprises as tenant farming and poaching. Occupying the last category were “national” Indians. With their status as ethnic groups officially recognized by the European colonial powers, national Indians were able to maintain reservations and exercise limited political, economic, and cultural autonomy. The construction and maintenance of a distinctive Indian identity would thus have been an important part of Catawba survival during the colonial era. With tensions between whites and Indians rising during the early nineteenth century, the question for Catawbas was how their distinctive Indian identity was perceived by whites.

As some Catawbas became increasingly invested in mobile commercial pursuits, distinctive ornaments such as silver nose bangles and earbobs would take on a new role. As itinerants, Catawbas on the road would have sought to project an image of themselves as exotic “wild savages,” and to differentiate themselves from the vice-ridden “degraded savages,” or settlement Indians who occupied an increasingly marginal status as “free people of color” in South Carolina society (Riggs and Davis 2008:16).

At the same time, the threat posed by dangerous wild savages such as the Seminoles and Cherokees necessitated a balancing act: Catawbas needed to be exotic “wild savages” without being perceived as a threat. The strategic significance of the goods and services provided by Catawbas provided this balance, with Catawba women presenting a non-threatening Indian identity linked to the domestic sphere and Catawba men engaged in activity that served to uphold the racial order established by the planter class.

Pipes and Catawba Identity

Glass beads and silver nose bangles were not the only means through which Catawbas displayed their identity. In addition to nomadism and exotic appearance, wherever they are found, itinerant groups are often defined in terms of the commercial activities in which they engaged as well (Rao 1987: 18). To those familiar with Catawba history, pans and cooking pots are well-known symbols of Catawba identity. Although not specifically referenced in documentary accounts, tobacco pipes may have played a role as well.

Pipes and pipe smoking were an integral part of Indian spiritual, diplomatic, and economic practices. Documentary evidence demonstrates that pipes and smoking played an important role in bridging the gap between Indian and Europeans modes of communication and exchange (Bollwerk 2007; Mallios 2006).

The importance of smoking in Catawba life is evident in the substantial quantities of pipe ceramics recovered at Nasaw, Old, and New Town. The continued role of smoking in diplomacy and communication between Indians and Europeans is demonstrated in Elkanah Watson’s 1786 account of his visit to the Catawba Nation:

I stated to them the probability of a new war with England, on account of that government having retained the western posts on our territory, in violation of the treaty of peace. The king lit up a large pipe, and we each took three or four whiffs. I produced my bottle of rum, my only credential. We circulated the bottle and pipe alternately, drinking from the former, without the intervention of any other vessel. I observed every countenance sedate and attentive, and although they appeared warmly interested in the event, they maintained in the discussion in which they engaged, the utmost decorum, one only speaking at a time [Watson 1856: 257].

Smoking among Catawbas was not limited to “ceremonial” contexts, nor was it limited to adults. In her 1797 visit to the Catawba Nation, Lady Liston noted a boy, perhaps four years of age, smoking a pipe “with all the gravity of a philosopher.” Much as with the wearing of “nose jewels,” smoking was a practice that Catawbas were introduced to at an early age.

As tobacco and pipe smoking became widely popular with Europeans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a veritable deluge of European-made pipes flooded the colonies, including native communities (Bollwerk 2007). The increasing frequency of kaolin pipes on early- to mid-eighteenth-century native sites in the Mid-Atlantic and Southeast regions (see for example Ward and Davis 1993, 1999) demonstrates the impact of colonial trade on Indian pipe production. This impact is obvious at 1750s Catawba Nasaw Town, where kaolin pipe fragments outnumber native-made pipes by a ratio of nearly 11 to 1 (n=1099; Table 5.7).

Although aboriginal pipes decrease in frequency on Indian sites throughout the Southeast and Mid-Atlantic during the eighteenth century, at Catawba Old Town, a dramatic reversal of this trend occurs. Whereas at Nasaw Town, kaolin represents over 90% of total pipe ceramics, at the Old Town household examined in this study, kaolin constitutes less than 20% (Figure 5.6; Table 5.7). The apparent resurgence of Catawba-made pipes at Old Town may be related to the construction of a unified Catawba identity in wake of the 1759 small pox epidemic. Given the importance of smoking in Catawba life, the use of Catawba pipes, along with Catawba pottery, may have been a means for people from diverse tribal backgrounds to participate in the construction of a shared Catawba identity.

Pipes at Old Town were hand-made. It is unclear whether Catawba pipes were being produced as commodities at this time; however, this certainly seems possible, given that Catawbas were clearly marketing a variety of other craft items at that time, including pottery, baskets, and reed mats (see Smyth 1784). The mold-made pipes produced at New Town dominate pipe assemblages at every cabin site in that settlement; of the nearly 600 pipe fragments and whole pipes recovered at the New Town cabin sites, only 5 are kaolin (Figure 5.6; Table 5.7; note that two fragments of a

Table 5.7. Frequencies of Catawba and kaolin pipes and pipe fragments.

| Site | Catawba (n) | Kaolin (n) | Catawba (%) |
|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Nassaw Town | 95 | 1004 | 9 |
| Old Town | 47 | 10 | 82 |
| New Town | | | |
| Locus 2 | 67 | 1 | 99 |
| Locus 4 | 71 | 1 | 99 |
| Locus 3 | 139 | 2 | 99 |
| Locus 5 | 139 | 0 | |
| Locus 6 | 168 | 1 | 99 |
| Tivoli | | | |
| Main House | 1 | 2 | 33 |
| Slave Cabins | 1 | 6 | 14 |
| Eden Moor | 7 | 6 | 54 |

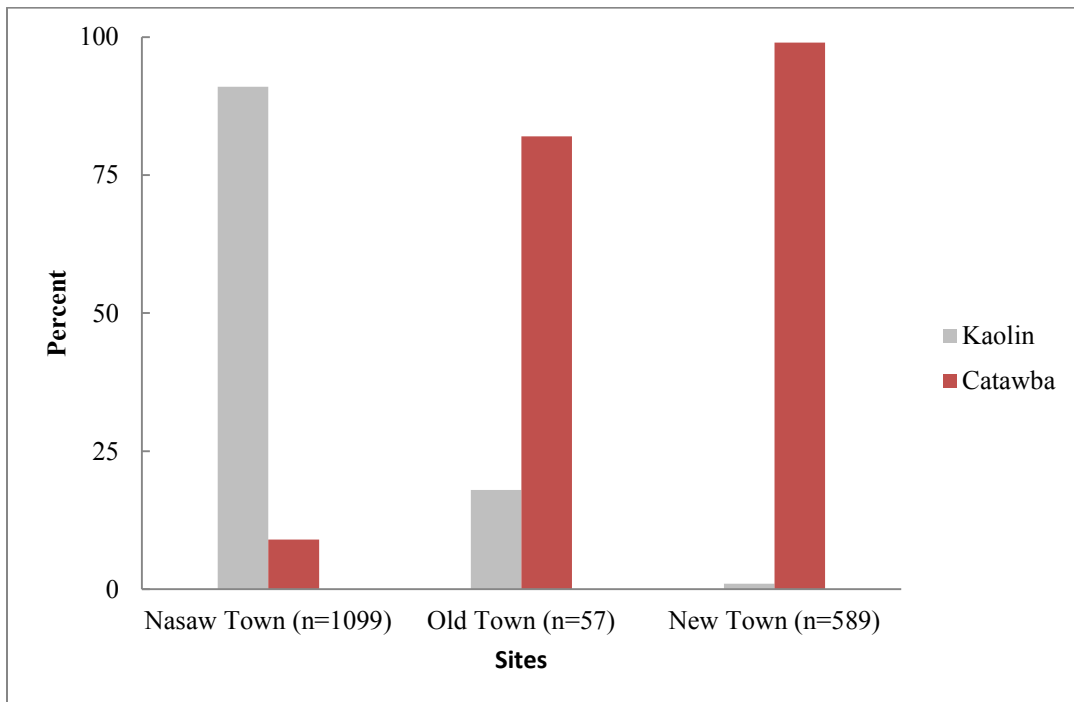


Figure 5.6. Percentages of Catawba and kaolin pipes and pipe fragments at Nassaw Town, Old Town, and New Town.

Moravian green-glazed pipe were recovered at Locus 3). Catawba pipes were overwhelmingly favored by all households at New Town, regardless of whatever cultural differences existed among Catawbas.

Ironically, even as Catawbas at New Town had almost completely rejected European-made pipes, as the foregoing analyses made clear, they were acquiring substantial quantities of European-made serving wares. It is interesting to note that whereas imported serving wares were used in relatively private, domestic settings, tobacco pipes would have been used in both private and public. From a marketing perspective, using European dishes in private would have been invisible to the Catawbas' customers. However, using European pipes in public would have been counter-productive in terms of marketing Catawba pottery and displaying Catawba identity to outsiders (Plane 2010:45-46). Considering the long-standing importance of smoking in Indian life, and the consistent link between the identities and commercial activities of itinerant groups, the resurgence of pipe production among Catawbas is perhaps not surprising.

The abundance of pipe ceramics at New Town stands in stark contrast to the small quantities recovered at Edenmoor and Tivoli (Table 5.7). In the nineteenth century Anglo world, tobacco use was widespread through all social classes but with considerable variation in terms of frequency of use. Among the upper and middle classes, smoking was associated with leisure and contemplation. Among the lower class, smoking was associated with work and raucous entertainment. Smoking was common among lower class women, but among the upper and middle classes, smoking by women was often considered disreputable behavior (Gojak and Stuart 1999:40-42). Although both kaolin and Catawba-made pipes were recovered at Edenmoor and the Tivoli sites, the relative dearth of pipe ceramics at these sites suggests that compared to Catawbas, smoking played a much smaller role in the lives of these sites' inhabitants.

Imported Wares, Catawba Identity, and Attunement to Social Environments

Itinerants are often highly sensitive to the socio-cultural environments they interact with, as attunement to the cultural norms and material needs of host communities are critical factors in commercial success (Berland and Salo 1986:3). Every cabin site at New Town yielded substantial quantities of imported wares; however, assemblage composition varies between itinerant and non-itinerant households. The imported ware assemblages of the Loci 2 and 3 households bear greater similarity to those of local customers at Edenmoor and Tivoli than do those of Loci 4 and 5.

Attunement to host culture is first examined through analysis of imported ware assemblage diversity; diversity here is defined in terms of richness, or the number of categories represented in an assemblage. With each of the four ware types present (i.e., coarseware, stoneware, refined earthenware, and porcelain), the Davie and Edenmoor households possess relatively rich assemblages. It is expected that Catawbas with frequent involvement in the pottery trade and a keen awareness of the tastes of their customers would possess similarly rich assemblages compared to Catawbas who were relatively uninvolved in selling pottery.

Keith Kintigh's diversity program, DIVERS, was used to analyze and illustrate the richness of the assemblages. Kintigh's program combined the data from all of the samples to create a single assemblage, from which arbitrary samples were repeatedly drawn (e.g., 250 trials were run for a sample size of 500 sherds; 125 were run for a sample size of 5000 sherds). DIVERS then created a statistical range of expected diversity for each sample size (Kintigh 1984).

In order to compare assemblages of different sizes, expectations for assemblage diversity, given sample size, are developed. Assemblages are compared, not directly with each other, but instead to the expected diversity for each size sample. In this way, the otherwise confounding problem of differential sample size is minimized (Kintigh 1984:45). Numerous simulations were run by DIVERS, for sample sizes ranging from 500 to 5000 sherds. Along with the actual richness values of the samples, mean diversity was plotted for the range of trials, along with an interval around the

means that includes 90% of the trials. This interval is analogous to a 90% confidence interval in statistical testing (Kintigh 1984:47-48).

Variation among the assemblages is potentially attributable to several factors: sampling error, the cultural rules governing the construction of “proper” assemblages, and the purchasing power of each household (which potentially limits adherence to whatever cultural rules are in play). DIVERS provides an opportunity to minimize the effects of sample size and create a *ceteris paribus* baseline to assess the degree to which assemblages differ.

In the graphical output depicted in Figure 5.7, the mean diversity values for trials run at a given sample size are represented by crosses tightly hugging the upper margin of the graph; with one exception, the trials for each sample size yielded a mean richness value of four (the 250 trials run for sample size 500 yielded a mean richness of 3.99). As for the “confidence interval,” since virtually all of the arbitrary samples that were drawn yielded richness values of four, the upper and lower limits of the 90% interval similarly hug the upper edge of the graph; a value of four is the expected diversity at every sample size. The Tivoli main house, Edenmoor, Locus 2, and Locus 3 samples, with each of the four ware types present in the assemblages, match the expected diversity derived by DIVERS. Although the Loci 2 and 3 households possess some ware types in very small quantities (specifically porcelain, coarseware, and stoneware), much as at the Davie and Edenmoor households, they do possess some of each ware type.

Falling below the expected diversity are the Tivoli slave quarters, Locus 4, and Locus 5 samples; the slave quarters assemblage lacks coarseware, the Locus 5 assemblage lacks porcelain, and the Locus 4 sample lacks porcelain and coarseware. The relatively low diversity of the Tivoli slave cabin assemblage may be related to sample size. Given the very large assemblages recovered from the Locus 4 and 5 households, non-conformity with Anglo rules for assemblage composition is proposed as a likely explanation for relatively low diversity. Indeed, in terms of sample size, the substantially smaller samples from Loci 2 and 3 are considerably more likely to have exhibited lower richness than either the Locus 4 or 5 assemblages.

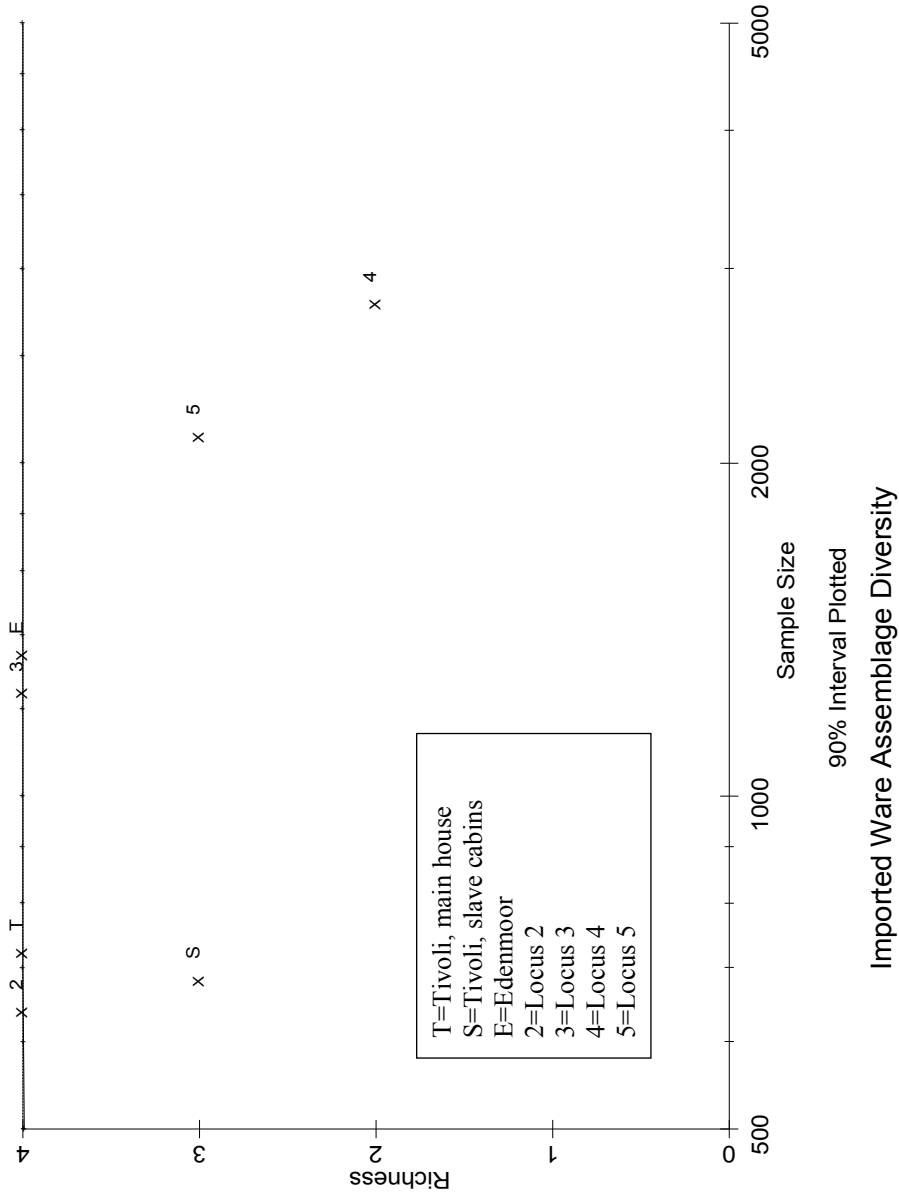


Figure 5.7. Comparisons of imported wares assemblage richness with 90% interval plotted for simulated samples. Note that mean richness and upper/lower interval values = 4 for all trials.

Attunement to the cultural norms and material needs of customers also appears to be visible in the Loci 2 and 3 pearlware and porcelain rim sherd assemblages described previously in this chapter (see Table 5.2). These sub-assemblages are constructed in accord with Miller's (1980, 1991) research on imported ware types and status. Generally speaking, the least expensive decorated pearlwares available were edged and annular wares; the former were flatwares, while the latter were hollowares. Edged wares were inexpensive, but very widely used throughout the Anglo world. Annular wares were the least expensive hollowares available with decoration (Miller 1980, 1991), and as Deetz (1996:234) notes, they are often found on sites associated with individuals who held a subservient station in life. For example, annular wares are commonly found on slave sites throughout the south.

Next in order of relative expense and associated cultural status were hand painted pearlwares, transfer-printed pearlwares and finally, porcelain; these ware types were manufactured in an array of vessel forms. It is expected that for Catawbas engaged in the pottery trade, possessing a keen awareness of the tastes and material needs of their customers would potentially be reflected in their own use imported serving wares. Figure 5.8 depicts the distribution of ware types in the imported ware rim sherd assemblages; percentages of annular and edged wares are shown separately, while hand-painted, transfer-printed, and porcelain wares are combined as "upper-tier wares."

Three groupings are evident in Figure 5.8. In the Tivoli main house, Locus 2, and slave quarters assemblages, upper-tier wares predominate, followed by significant proportions of edged wares, and finally annular wares are present in small percentages or absent (ranging from 0% at Tivoli to 7.5% at Locus 2). Not surprisingly, the Davie household's assemblage features the greatest percentage of upper-tier wares, and lowest percentage of edged and annular wares (note that three annular ware body sherds were recovered at the Tivoli main house, but no rim sherds were found). Although featuring small percentages of annular wares, and far less porcelain, Locus 2 and the slave quarters nevertheless exhibit broadly similar assemblages.

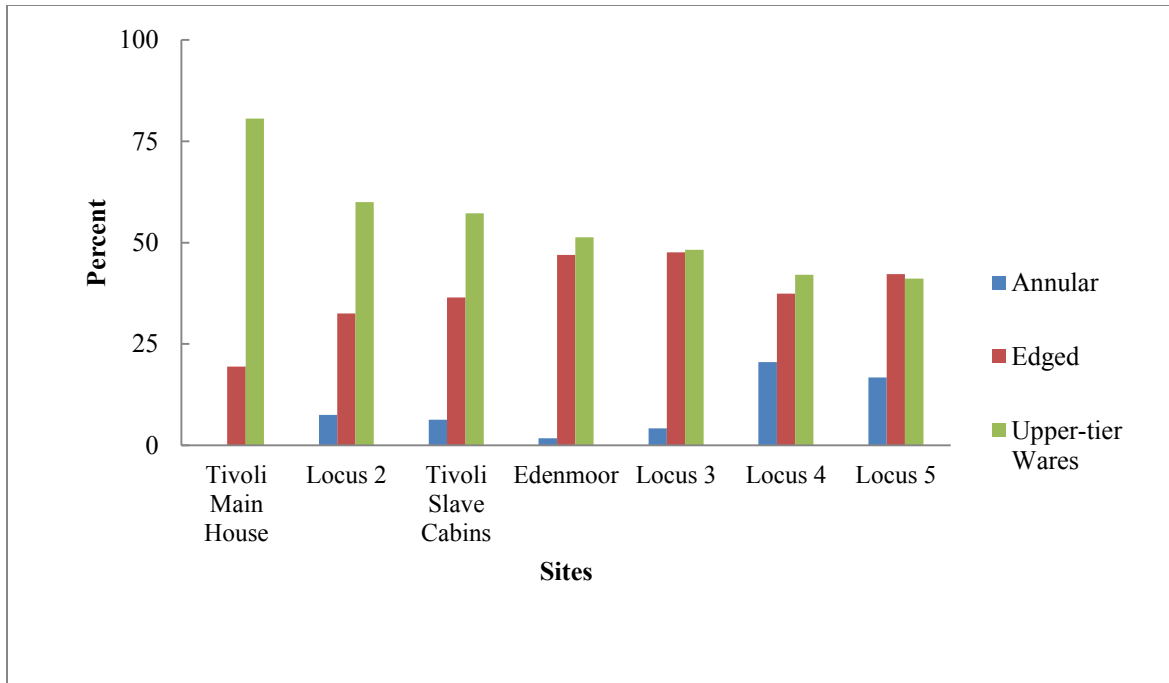


Figure 5.8. Percentage of porcelain and decorated pearlware rim sherd frequencies in New Town-era assemblages.

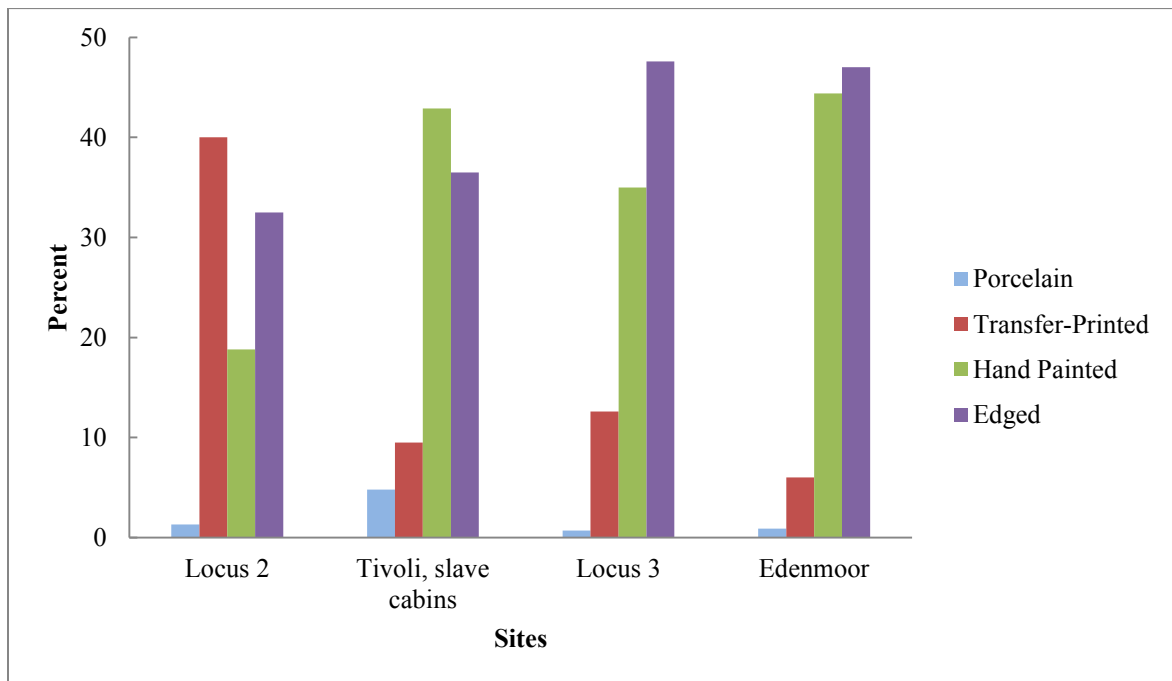


Figure 5.9. Percentage of upper-tier and edged wares at Locus 2, Tivoli slave cabins, Locus 3, and Edenmoor.

In the Edenmoor and Locus 3 assemblages, edged and upper-tier wares are present in roughly even proportions, annular wares occur in very small quantities (< 5%), and porcelain in yet smaller amounts (< 1%). In the Loci 4 and 5 assemblages, upper-tier wares and edges wares are present in roughly even frequencies; however, annular wares are considerably more abundant than at any other site (20% at Locus 4 and nearly 17% at Locus 5; Table 5.2, Figure 5.8).

For the Davie household, the cultural rule governing imported serving ware assemblage composition may be bluntly summarized as, “acquire the greatest possible quantities of upper-tier wares. Although a certain percentage of edged pearlwares are permissible, annular wares are to be avoided.” Purchasing power apparently limited the ability of some households to adhere to these rules. At Edenmoor, the slave quarters, Locus 2, and Locus 3, trade-offs seem to have been made between upper-tier wares and edged wares: with respect to upper-tier wares, each step down the price-status ladder is accompanied by an increased percentage of edged wares (Figure 5.9). Annular wares were acquired by these households, but in relatively low quantities that do not seem to fluctuate significantly despite apparently limited access to more expensive wares. Note that in addition to making do with lower cost suites of imported wares, the Locus 3 and Edenmoor households relied upon Catawba-made serving wares more heavily than Locus 2 and the Tivoli slaves.

The Loci 4 and 5 households appear to have operated according to a somewhat different set of rules. At these households, annular wares appear to have more desirable, having been acquired in substantially greater quantities than found at the other sites (Table 5.2, Figure 5.8). This may reflect a lack of concern for attitudes toward annular wares in the Anglo world and among itinerant Catawbans.

One potential explanation for this difference has to do with the use of Catawba-made jars and pitchers. Except for the Locus 3 assemblages, which featured low quantities of both ware types, there appears to be an inverse relationship between the percentage of annular wares and the percentage of Catawba-made globular bodied jars at each site (Figure 5.10). While Catawba-made jars occur in a variety of shapes and sizes, drinking jars and pitchers were directly analogous to annular ware “mugs and jugs.” At the Tivoli main house and Edenmoor in particular, Catawba-made “mugs and jugs”

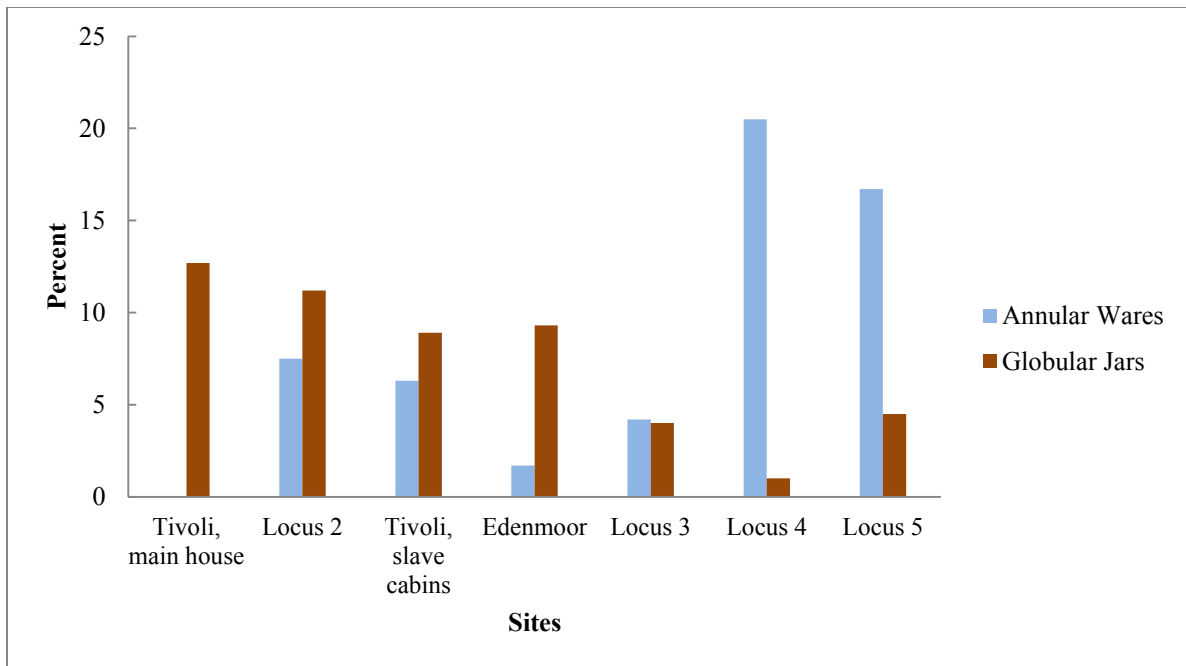


Figure 5.10. Percentages of annular wares and globular bodied jars in Catawba pottery and imported ware assemblages. Data from Tables 4.11 and 5.2.

may have been more desirable than the imported variety. Given the low-status associations of annular wares, the colorful nature of Catawba pottery may have made these vessels an attractive alternative in European households (i.e., assuming the Edenmoor inhabitants were of European ethnicity).

The analysis of overall reliance upon Catawba pottery demonstrated great similarity between Catawba households, while the comparison of Catawba-made serving and food preparation vessels produced somewhat mixed results with respect to practices within itinerant and non-itinerant households. However, based upon analyses of imported ware assemblage richness, and variation in imported serving-ware types, the Locus 2 and 3 households seem to have exhibited greater familiarity with, or greater adherence to, the cultural norms of local customers than the Locus 4 and 5 households.

The latter analysis may also offer a window into potential differences in market access or spending habits among itinerant Catawba households: compared to Locus 3, Locus 2 more closely matches both the Catawba pottery and imported serving ware usage patterns of the Davie household. With respect to imported serving ware usage in particular, Locus 3 and Edenmoor appear to have had a great deal in common, with both households relying more heavily upon less expensive imported wares; Locus 3 and Edenmoor also relied more heavily upon Catawba-made serving wares than Locus 2.

Cultural Differences and the Catawba Economy

Cultural differences among Catawbas appear to have been interpreted by European observers in terms of a dichotomy between industrious farmers and indolent, impoverished, “degraded” savages. An important goal of this study has been to identify cultural similarities and differences among New Town Catawbas, and examine those findings with respect to the different economic strategies they pursued.

European observers were quick to draw cultural distinctions between farmers at New Town and other Catawbas. However, other than cultural differences, it is not clear to what extent the different economic strategies pursued by Catawbas might have been accompanied by significant wealth disparities. In any event, material collections from Catawba households indicate that European observers remarking upon the indolence and impoverishment of itinerant Catawbas overlooked intensive participation in the market economy. Contrasting New Town households with the economic and material lifestyles of Removal period Cherokee households described by Riggs (1999) provides a material basis for detailed interpretations of documentary accounts in Chapter 6.

Patterns of Culture among Catawbas

Archaeological and documentary evidence reveal certain cultural similarities among Catawbas at New Town. Many individuals wore English-style clothing (see Coke 1791, Jones 1815); however, glass beads, silver ornaments, feathers, and face paint were common accents that added an

exotic, Indian flavor to Catawba appearance (see Watson 1856; Coke 1791, Liston 1797, Jones 1815). By the time of Calvin Jones' visit to New Town, traditional-style dwellings had been abandoned in favor of Anglo-style log cabins. All households appear to have manufactured Catawba pipes and pots; these wares were used along with imported European serving wares. With the waning of colonial-era trade, Catawbas universally embraced land leasing as a means of generating critical income.

Nevertheless, archaeological and documentary evidence demonstrate that significant cultural differences existed among Catawbas as well. Sally New River and Colonel Ayers were committed to a westernized lifestyle, apparently embracing Anglo ideals regarding domicile, sedentism, and subsistence activity. Other Catawbas embraced itinerancy; women sold pottery, pipes, and other wares, while men worked as slave catchers for planters. Itinerant Catawbas augmented their commercial pursuits with traditional foraging, but may have curtailed their reliance upon farming.

Ethnic identities involve interrelating characteristics through which group members enact their shared identity (Orser 2004: 79). Some of these characteristics may be used as signals and emblems of cultural differences, while others may be ignored; radical differences between actors may be downplayed or even denied (Barth 1969: 14). Among Catawbas, documentary and archaeological evidence indicate that there was considerable cultural variation between members of this ethnic group. This variation involved significant differences in lifestyle and material culture; however, it is not clear to what degree these differences represented wealth disparities among Catawbas.

Documentary accounts frequently depict itinerant Catawbas in terms of indolence and desperate poverty, yet these evaluations were invariably connected to cultural biases held by white observers. Depictions of excessive drinking and wasted rent money (see Jones 1815; Mills 1826; Hutchison 1843) suggest that itinerant Catawbas may not have managed their money prudently; however, despite the potential similarity in outcomes, poor wealth management is not the same as poverty (although the former may indeed result in the latter).

Available evidence suggests that commercial activity was a trait associated with Catawba ethnicity (explored in Chapter 6). While some Catawbas appear not to have been engaged in itinerant commercial pursuits, land leasing was a commercial venture that all Catawbas apparently had in common. While documentary evidence suggests that Catawbas received far less per acre than their sub-leasing tenants received, rents provided an important stream of cash and goods that Catawba families were able to rely upon for more than half a century. Nevertheless, the quantity and quality of lands leased out by Catawba families, and their ability to negotiate with tenants appear to have varied substantially. According to lease records, Sally New River and Jesse Ayers owned or shared rights to at least eight different leases, while Billy Canty and Rebecca Marsh owned only one lease each (Pettus 2005:32; Merrell 1989:231). In 1815, Sally New River conducted twelve transactions with her numerous tenants and collected \$18.05 in cash, twelve yards of cloth, one-half bushel of salt, two bushels of wheat, one pound of coffee, and two pairs of horseshoes (Merrell 1989:231). It is unlikely that individuals with relatively few leases or poor lands would have fared as well.

The fact that Sally lived on the reservation year round, was more westernized than other Catawbas, and apparently developed good rapport with local whites may have provided her with a distinct advantage in dealing with tenants. She also seems to have managed her money more in accord with Protestant notions of thrift and propriety: whereas Sally abstained from liquor, archaeological and documentary evidence indicate that other Catawbas spent substantial sums of money on alcohol (see McReynolds Shebalin 2011:97; Jones 1815; Mills 1826; Hutchison 1843).

It is not clear whether Sally New River and Colonel Ayers sold any of their agricultural produce; with labor from two slaves, and perhaps with help from family members as well, they may have been able to generate small surpluses. However, whatever surpluses they may have produced seem more likely to have fed other Catawbas than to have been sold, especially if Sally was left to watch children while their parents were away.

One potential indication of wealth disparities between itinerant and non-itinerant Catawbas is evidence of differential access to horses. Substantial quantities of riding tack hardware and other

artifacts, such as snaffle bits, stirrups, horseshoes, and wagon hardware, demonstrate the importance of horses in Catawba life. Horses were not only a means of transportation, but also constituted a “mobile, liquid, and self-reproducing form of wealth” (Riggs and Davis 2008:15). This was true for Catawbas and their tenants, as lease records indicate that horses (of varying quality) were sometimes given to Catawbas in lieu of cash rents (Jones 1815; Pettus 2005; Merrell 1989).

In examining artifact frequencies at New Town cabin sites, McReynolds Shebalin (2011:75) conducted correspondence analyses that indicate a close association between Loci 4 and 5 and horse tack. Greater abundances of horse tack at Loci 4 and 5 might indicate greater wealth in these households; however, itinerancy is a confounding variable. As McReynolds Shebalin (2011:56) also notes, analyzing artifact frequency is problematic when comparing sites with differences in occupation intensity. Differences in the abundance of horse tack may indicate that the Locus 4 and Locus 5 households had greater access to horses. However, as horse tack broken on the road to Charleston would obviously not be deposited at New Town, it may simply indicate that some Catawbas were at home with their horses much more often than others.

While Catawba leaders Sally New River and Colonel Ayers may have fared better in land leasing than some other Catawbas, and may have generated more substantial food resources from farming than other households, they would not have had access to income generated by itinerant pursuits. Income from itinerant pursuits would have provided Catawba families with significant access to consumer goods. Analyses of imported ware assemblages suggest that compared to the Locus 4 and 5 households, Loci 2 and 3 had richer imported ware assemblages with greater quantities of the most expensive serving wares. However, these differences may very well indicate differential expenditures and greater attunement to the tastes of customers rather than differential purchasing power. At the same time, greater quantities of creamware in some Catawba households might represent economizing. Nonetheless, these differences do not readily correspond to broader distinctions between itinerant and non-itinerant households: although the Locus 4 imported wares

assemblage contained relatively little creamware (6% Table 5.1), the Loci 2, 3, and 5 assemblages contain very similar proportions of creamware (17%, 20%, and 24%).

These fine-grained comparisons perhaps obscure a broader, more important point: all Catawba households were engaged in commercial activity, and all households possessed abundant and diverse arrays of consumer goods. Indeed, between land leasing and itinerant pursuits, some Catawba households were perhaps more heavily committed to commercial activity than others.

Archaeological and documentary evidence related to Removal period Cherokee households in North Carolina provide a broad comparative perspective. Westernized *métis* Cherokees were intensively engaged in commercial activity, and were able to acquire “large arrays of commercially manufactured goods, which clearly denote Western modes of domestic and economic life.” In material collections from Anglo-Cherokee households, commercially manufactured goods such as imported ceramics were far more abundant than native-made items. In contrast, traditional, fullblood Cherokees were generally uninvolved in commercial activity. In material collections from these households, native-manufactured items, particularly Qualla series ceramics, are far more abundant than commercially manufactured goods (Riggs 1999:397-408, 538).

In comparison, Catawba households present some interesting contrasts. There appear to have been cultural differences among New Town Catawbas, with households exhibiting differential commitments to western modes of domicile and productive activity. Nevertheless, all Catawba households actively participated in commercial activity, and possessed substantial quantities of commercially manufactured goods. At the same time, much as in traditional Cherokee households, native technologies are clearly prominent in *all* Catawba material collections. Nevertheless, in terms of the manufacture and use of native pottery and pipes in Catawba households, there is one underlying distinction of critical importance: whereas reliance upon native-made ceramics in the traditional Cherokee households represented a lack of involvement in commercial activity and a rejection of western material lifestyles, the use of Catawba pottery and pipes at New Town was intricately interwoven with participation in the market economy and the embrace of a distinctive, but

nevertheless active, consumer lifestyle. To the extent that itinerant Catawbas were responsible for forging a connection between Catawba pottery and Catawba identity at New Town, these individuals may have set the tone for all Catawbas in terms of the broad usage and meaning of those wares.

Summary and Conclusions

Comparisons of Catawba pottery and imported ware assemblages from New Town-era households reveal broad similarities between Catawbas in terms of overall reliance upon Catawba pottery. In comparison to their customers, Catawba households relied much more heavily on Catawba pottery; in particular, Catawba households made considerably less use of imported ceramic kitchen wares, with assemblages containing relatively little coarseware and stoneware in comparison to consumer contexts.

There were considerable differences in how Catawba pottery was used in the various households examined in this study. At William R. Davie's plantation estate Tivoli, both at the main house and at the slave quarters, Catawba-made serving wares such (i.e., plates and flaring rim bowls) are relatively scarce. At Edenmoor, a local farmstead presumed to have been occupied by European settlers, Catawba-made serving wares represent nearly half of the total assemblage. At Tivoli, the relative scarcity of Catawba-made tablewares certainly reflects broad access to imported wares (and the cultural importance of those wares as well), while at Edenmoor, reliance upon Catawba-made serving wares may reflect more limited market access and the curation of imported serving wares through the use of Catawba pottery.

At New Town, there was some variability in the uses of Catawba pottery as well. At Loci 2 and 5, Catawba-made serving wares appear to have been less prominent than in other Catawba households, whereas the Loci 3 and 4 households relied upon a more balanced combination of Catawba-made kitchen and tablewares.

Greater reliance upon tablewares at Locus 3 may have been related to hospitality and socializing involving cooperative pottery production. As the Catawba Nation's gatekeeper, Sally

New River appears to have frequently received outside visitors; greater reliance upon Catawba tablewares may reflect hospitality directed toward outside guests in this household. In addition, as an individual who was probably at home more frequently than other adult Catawbas, Sally may have been responsible for feeding children whose parents were away, necessitating greater production of tablewares.

Although each of the Catawba households examined yielded fragments of cast-iron cooking vessels, each household also made use of Catawba cooking pots (presumed to have been thickened rim jars) as well. The same was also true at the Tivoli and Edenmoor sites. William Gilmore Simms (2003 [1841]:18-20) claimed that Catawba cooking pots were highly valued for certain culinary purposes in white kitchens. The same may well have been the case in Catawba households as well. Thickened rim jars were certainly used to augment cast iron vessels; however, much as in white households, their value may have been more than merely functional.

Despite some differences in the vessel forms present in Catawba pottery assemblages from New Town households, the use of imported serving wares by Catawbas was as universal as the making and use of Catawba pottery itself. The widespread use of imported serving wares among Catawbas may have been an outgrowth of the Catawba pottery trade; although sophisticated colonoware vessels were recovered at Old Town, the intensive use of imported wares is not evident until later New Town. If this is the case, it may be that itinerant Catawbas spearheaded this development in ceramic usage, while sedentary Catawbas followed their lead. Catawba leaders such as Sally New River and Colonel Ayers undoubtedly possessed prestige among Catawbas, and often acted as the Catawba Nation's representatives in interactions with whites. However, through their commercial activities, itinerant Catawbas also interacted frequently with whites, and in some respects, may have possessed more nuanced perspectives on white society and culture than Catawbas who were not engaged in itinerant pursuits. This appears to have been the case with imported serving wares, as the itinerant households at Loci 2 and 3 possessed imported ware assemblages that more

closely resemble materials recovered from Tivoli and Edenmoor than the sedentary households at Loci 4 and 5.

New Town Catawbas appear to have possessed broad cultural similarities in terms of the use of many artifacts likely to have been associated with Catawba identity, including Catawba pottery, pipes, ornaments and jewelry. To some extent, these similarities reflect all Catawbas' participation in pan-Indian traditions related to modes of dress and personal adornment. In the same vein, relatively abundant quantities of pipe ceramics at Nasaw, Old, and New Town (compared to Tivoli and Edenmoor) demonstrate the importance of tobacco and pipe smoking among Catawbas.

At the same time, Catawba itinerancy most likely placed a premium on the conveyance of a distinctive Indian identity, and probably forged a link between Catawba identity and Catawbas' commercial pursuits. Thus, while Catawbas at Nasaw Town relied primarily upon kaolin pipes, Catawba households at Old and New Town relied almost exclusively upon Catawba-made pipes.

Differences in economic pursuits and associated lifestyles and values appear to have had material consequences. The floored cabins of Sally New River and Colonel Ayers were obvious examples of these differences, representing the more westernized lifestyles and values of these sedentary farmers. For the itinerant households at Loci 2 and 3, the overall similarity of European-made ceramic assemblages to those recovered from Tivoli and Edenmoor appears to demonstrate greater attunement to the material needs and values of local customers.

Cultural differences between Catawbas appear to have reflected very different lifestyles and values; however, European observers interpreted those differences in terms of a dichotomy between industrious farmers and indolent, impoverished savages. Obvious cultural biases aside, broad comparisons between Catawba and Removal period Cherokee households clearly demonstrate the material consequences of differential involvement in commercial activity. Some differences in wealth and access to consumer goods may have existed at New Town, but cultural differences in that community most certainly did not reflect a lack of participation in the market economy among itinerant Catawbas!

Some of the dissimilarities between Catawbas were obviously known of by the Catawbas' tenants and by visitors to the Nation. Chapter 6 compares how Catawbas were viewed on their home base with evidence of how Catawbas were viewed at a greater distance, namely by their customers in the lowcountry. This perspective will enable an understanding of the interlocking nature of the Catawbas diverse commercial pursuits.

CHAPTER 6

EUROPEAN RACIAL DISCOURSE AND CATAWBA ITINERANCY

This chapter focuses specifically upon European perceptions of the Catawba, examining documentary accounts of Catawba life. Reading these accounts synthetically, and in concert with archaeological evidence, demonstrates how Catawbas capitalized upon European stereotypes of the Indian. Through manipulation of these stereotypes, itinerant Catawbas managed their image in order to maximize their economic success.

Comparative analysis of the accounts reveals how Catawba behavior could directly influence white observers' interpretations of Catawbas; that influence is derived from practical knowledge of European discourses on Indians. This understanding enables a comparison between white observers' descriptions of Catawbas on their reservation and white perceptions of traveling Catawbas in the South Carolina Lowcountry. These perspectives provide critical insights into the efforts of itinerant Catawbas in maintaining patron-client relationships with elite planters.

Dearth, Bias, and the Analysis of Documentary Evidence

In *Practicing Ethnohistory*, Patricia Galloway (2006: 33-37) points to dearth and bias as the primary nemeses facing analysts of documentary accounts as they attempt to reconstruct the history of American Indian groups. These are certainly issues in researching the Catawba and their pottery trade, as few accounts of Catawba life exist and these accounts are clearly fraught with considerable bias. The difficulty facing researchers is determining what can be made of a relatively small body of evidence.

Galloway (2006:33-34) notes that European attitudes toward the societies and activities of Indians ranged from “fear and hatred to loving contempt.” In describing Indian lifeways, European observers rarely saw beyond their own ignorance, preconceptions, and personal agendas. Thus, as Muller (1997:56-57) notes, accounts written primarily by men emphasize male activities, and hunting and warfare thus figure prominently, while women’s activities are ignored or trivialized. Coming from societies with extensive peasant agrarian traditions in which hunting was largely an elite activity, Europeans exhibited certain biases toward Indian subsistence practices. As archaeological and ethnographic researchers have amply demonstrated, foraging is a viable and complex subsistence strategy (see for example, Sahlins 1972), and the mixture of foraging and agriculture practiced by Indian societies throughout North America comfortably supported large populations. Yet, the importance of wild and domesticated plant foods provided by Indian women was often downplayed or outright ignored by European observers. With the bulk of Indian subsistence thus removed from the picture, men’s hunting could be dismissed as a frivolous and unreliable activity that promoted indolence and subjected Indians to endless wandering and the constant threat of starvation. Thus, in his essay, “North American Indians” (2003 [1828]: 13), William Gilmore Simms applauded the civilizing influence of white traders, who in settling among savage Indians often employed the men for wages and taught them the previously unknown virtues of labor, fixed abodes, exchange, and agriculture. Simms believed that through this education, Indian men would eventually have been able to provide for their families.

The documentary evidence examined in this study consists of different types of narratives. Galloway (1995) describes the construction of coherent and meaningful narratives as a process of carefully selecting and organizing specific threads from the “complex interwoven skein of many often disconnected events” that make up lived human experience. The criteria for selecting events for narrative construction vary according to cultural and discursive conventions.

In the process of constructing written narratives, authors do not work in cultural and historical vacuums (Galloway 1995:17-18), and for any author, existing literature represents a useful repository

of discursive conventions. Even by the mid 1800s, the extent of fictional and historical writing on American Indians was sufficiently limited that literate individuals could keep abreast of important literary and scholarly developments. For example, from his papers and published works, it is clear that Simms read widely on Indians, studying the writings of Cadwallader Colden, John Heckewelder, William Bartram, Theodore Irving, Thomas Jefferson, John Lawson, James Adair, Lewis Henry Morgan, and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft with great interest (Guilds 2003: xix-xxi; Hudson 2003: xl). From this list of authors, Simms clearly had his finger on the pulse of more than a century of writing on Indians.

The influence of existing literature upon authors prompted archaeologist and historian Ernst Curtius (1963:15) to remark that, “The ‘timeless present’ which is an essential characteristic of literature means that the literature of the past can always be active in that of the present.” Thus, Galloway (1995:18) notes that narratives need to be analyzed in order to discern the echoes of the fictional and historical literature of the past.

Discourse as Data

In order to assess discursive bias in documentary accounts, Galloway (1995: 16-17) suggests using the methods of literary analysis. A narrative’s form, the “plot” or “discourse,” which is intended to convey culturally sanctioned meanings, is to be distinguished from its content, which may describe real people and events in the world (Galloway 1995, 2006; Muller 1997: 56-58). Through this method, the reliability of a narrative’s content may be determined, and fact perhaps separated from fiction.

The researcher must determine how an author’s desire to tell a particular type of story may have influenced the inclusion, omission, alteration, or interpretive leavening of facts. Following Galloway’s lead, I employ the literary method in the analysis of documentary accounts of Catawba life. In addition to separating the form and content of these accounts, the form, or discourses are also treated as valuable data. Analyzing this other source of data serves to enhance perspectives on the

cultural context in which the pottery trade occurred, resolve contradictions between different bodies of evidence, and illuminate the interplay between European racial stereotypes and the strategic actions of Catawbas.

Accounts of the Catawba are similar in many respects, as the observers were from roughly similar backgrounds and the same group was being observed. Nevertheless, there are some important differences in the accounts as well. The accounts examined in this chapter were written at different times, spanning from 1772 to 1843. The accounts depict Catawbas in different locations; most involve visits to the Catawba Nation, but one observer witnessed Catawbas both on their reservation and traveling in the Lowcountry selling pottery. The accounts also differ in terms of the discursive frameworks used to depict Catawbas as well. The challenge in this analysis is determining what factors contributed to differences in the accounts.

Based upon conventions in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European discourse on Indians, I argue that the authors of the accounts had limited conceptual frameworks available for interpreting their experiences with the Catawba and constructing their narratives. Through comparisons of the accounts, and comparisons between the accounts and archaeological evidence, differences in the discourses utilized in the accounts are related to the settings in which Catawbas were observed, and to the actions of Catawbas. These observations are useful in understanding the larger social and economic benefits that Catawbas derived from their itinerant pursuits.

Analysis of Discourse in Accounts of the Catawba

Discussions of documentary accounts of Catawba life proceed under several important assumptions that I examine in the course of my analysis. I assume that the authors were participating in the same general discursive conventions governing how Indian lifeways were interpreted and described. This familiarity is demonstrated through similarity in the structure, language, and themes of the accounts. As a consequence of working within the same discursive framework, European observers viewing the same Indians in roughly the same circumstances produced broad similarities in

the narratives they constructed. At the same time, not all authors had the same personal agendas, and their personal interests and unique experiences influenced their writing, producing differences in the accounts. I attempt to identify these factors as well.

Finally, differences in the behavior of Catawbas and in the contexts in which Catawbas were viewed produced significant differences in the accounts. These variables are isolated and explained with reference to the conventions of European discourse on Indians.

Eighteenth-Century Documentary Accounts of Catawba Life

Although only a handful of European accounts of life on the Catawba Reservation survive, they are quite grim in their overall assessment of Catawba life. The authors of these accounts were obviously familiar with discourses on Indian savagery, degeneration, and extinction. While short on factual details, the accounts offer considerable insights into how Catawbas were perceived by European observers, and how Catawbas' strategic behavior could influence those perceptions. Eighteenth-century accounts of Catawba life were written between 1772 and 1797.

John Smyth, 1772

In his visit to the Catawba Nation, Smyth was in search of uncivilized, wild savages and he began his account with the appropriate imagery:

Having hired a person at Charlottesburg, who was well acquainted in the nation, and conversant in their language and customs, to serve as my guide, and interpreter, if there should be occasion, we arrived at the nation that evening. Our horses were turned out loose, and we lodged in a wigwam belonging to a family of these Indians, in which my guide was very intimate. My bed was a large bear's skin, with a blanket to cover me, and I slept on the ground, before the fire [Smyth 1784:184].

Smyth (1784:193) encountered Indians that to a European observer perhaps embodied some elements of wild savagery; they lived in wigwams, used bear skin blankets, and according to Smyth, the "sole occupation" of the men was war, hunting, fishing, fowling, and smoking tobacco. He also noted that women cultivated the soil, attended to domestic tasks, and produced a variety of craft items that they "carried about" and sold to settlers.

Nevertheless, Smyth was fully prepared to be disappointed by the Catawba, remarking,

I am told that there can be no certain determined judgment formed of the manners and appearance of the native, uncivilized, wild, western Indians, from these, who seem indeed, in a great measure, to have lost that martial independent spirit for which that whole race of mankind have been ever distinguished, to be sinking fast into degeneracy and a state of servility and dependence, inferior even to the most indigent of the whites [Smyth 1784:193].

In his search for the savage Catawbas, Smyth (1784:184-185) had hired a guide who was “well acquainted in the nation, and conversant in their language and customs,” to serve as his interpreter, “if there should be occasion” (as the “person” is not identified racially, it seems likely that he was white). However, upon meeting with Catawbas, Smyth was “not a little surprised to find that they all spoke English very intelligibly.” Catawbas informed him that they understood and spoke English “as well as their own language,” a detail Smyth’s would-be interpreter had apparently failed to mention.

Smyth was particularly struck by stories of the Catawbas former greatness and precipitous population decline and wrote at length on that subject. Noting that the Catawba possessed nearly 150,000 acres of “rich, fertile land,” Smyth (1784:192) lamented, “should their depopulation continue as rapidly as is has been hitherto, in a very few years this enormous, immense estate will center in a single family.”

In discussing the vanishing of the Catawba Nation, Smyth (1784:186-187) identified three proximal causes: the first described are the ill effects of spirituous liquors and small pox (as for the latter, Smyth also blamed the Catawbas’ “injudicious” treatment of that malady, which Smyth referred to as “wretched ignorance and folly”).

The final cause of the Catawbas’ population decline described by Smyth (1784:189-190) is the “frequent abortions of the young unmarried women,” which according to Smyth, rendered Catawba women barren later in life. Smyth took a keen interest in the “promiscuous intercourse” of young Catawba women, who he described as “devotees to incontinence and the Cytherian rites.”

In discussing the Catawbas' decline, Smyth relied heavily on the language of Indian degeneration, writing,

This once numerous, powerful, and even lately very respectable nation, is now dwindled away almost to nothing...and such they are, as would excite the derision and contempt of the more western savages, for these are in a kind of state of civilization, which the Indians consider as enervating effeminacy, and hold it in the utmost abhorrence [Smyth 1784:185-186].

Nonetheless, Smyth was not unsympathetic to his Catawba hosts, noting,

Nothing can be more simple, submissive, and obliging than the behavior of every individual I met with in the Catawba nation, male and female, and there was only their habitual nastiness, coarse fare, and rude accommodations that were any wise disgusting to me, during my residence among them [Smyth 1784:194].

Despite his sympathy for Catawbas' plight, Smyth portrayed them as ignorant, intemperate, indolent, and promiscuous, exhibiting the worst characteristics of Indian and white society, and precious little of the romantic qualities of wild Indians. In keeping with discourse on degenerate savages, Smyth heavily emphasized the poverty, misery, and desperation of the Catawba, for example, noting,

The Catawbas afford a melancholy example, and striking, but insuperable proof, of the ruin and fatality brought on any Indian nation, by the intemperance and vicinity of the settlements of the whites...the Catawbas are indeed a poor, inoffensive, insignificant people, enveloped in filth and nastiness of person [Smyth 1784:186, 192].

Smyth wrote at considerable length on the Catawbas' struggles with small pox and liquor; whatever specific information he possessed most likely came from his guide and interpreter.

Although he recorded his general impressions of the Catawba, other than extolling the physical handsomeness of the Catawba chief, Smyth provided nothing at all in the way of physical description of Catawba individuals. This is in sharp contrast to Smyth's (1784:179-183) very lengthy and detailed description of the lifeways, clothing, and accoutrements of back woods white settlers in the previous chapter of his book.

Smyth's disappointment in the Catawbas as representatives of Indian savagery is apparent. Having obtained detailed information on the Catawbas' decline, and meeting Catawbas who were

fluent in English and lived in a “kind of state of civilization,” in crafting his account Smyth remained focused on themes of Indian degeneration and the vanishing race.

Elkanah Watson, 1786

Elkanah Watson’s account is recorded in his memoir as a brief adventure narrative. It is apparent from certain passages in his memoir that Watson had not only read Smyth’s book, but had also, in certain places, retraced Smyth’s actual footsteps. For example, in writing of his brief stay with Judge John Williams of Nutbush, North Carolina (present day Williamsborough), Watson (1856: 252) remarked, “This was the same gentleman, who was called a Mulatto in a book of travels by one Smith, a worthless Tory. The judge had a swart complexion, but was an accomplished gentleman, possessing high talents, and genuine Southern hospitality.” While passing through North Carolina, Smyth (1784: 123) did indeed visit Williams at his home in Nutbush. Of his visit he wrote, “Here I also called at one Williams’s, a lawyer, who is said to be, and is very much like a mulattoe.”

Watson produced an account of the Catawba that mixes themes of wild and degraded savagery. Setting the stage for his visit to the Catawba, Watson wrote,

I carried letters to the courteous Gen. Polk, and remained two days at his residence...Having expressed a wish to visit the Catawba Indians, Gen. Polk accompanied me to the Indian foot-path. This I pursued alone on horseback, leaving...my carriage at the tavern. My curiosity had been strongly excited to see to see an Indian people in their native savage condition, that I might contrast them with the polish and refinement of France [Watson 1856: 256-257].

In setting the stage for his encounter with Catawbans, Watson (1856: 257) remarked, “I confess it was somewhat trying to my nerves to penetrate thus solitarily without a guide or protector, into the mazes of a gloomy wilderness, and amid the haunts of a savage race.” In this passage, Watson accomplished two important goals for his narrative: he established himself as an intrepid explorer, and established his departure from the civilized world.

When Waston (1856: 257) entered the Catawba village, “the young Indians and squaws fled in every directions, the men being absent on a hunting expedition.” Although no one he met in the Catawba village understood English, Watson eventually managed to find his way to the residence of

the Catawba chief, New River, who also “spoke no English.” To induce New River to send for an interpreter, Watson “intimated by signs” that he had an important message. New River eventually acquiesced, sending for a young Catawba man who had been educated at William and Mary to act as guide and interpreter (the young man was John Nettles; Merrell 1989: 240-241). Watson described this fellow as “a sensible and well-informed person; but a perfect Indian in his appearance and habits.”

With the aid of the Catawba interpreter, Watson (1856: 257) was finally able to converse with the chief and several “savage warriors.” Watson told them of the possibility of a new war with England. While they spoke, “the king lit up a large pipe, and we each took three or four whiffs.” Watson noted, “I produced my bottle of rum, my only credential. We circulated the bottle and pipe alternately, drinking from the former, without the intervention of any other vessel.” In addition to meeting with the chief and savage warriors, Watson also visited Catawba cabins, where he observed “straight-limbed handsome young girls, daubed with paint, and decorated with feathers, rings, and broaches.”

After a day of intrepid exploration among the savage Catawbas, Watson wrote,

Afterwards I proceeded to a white tavern, where I laid down in my clothes, with my pistols under my head. My curiosity was but partially satisfied, and I returned the next day to the Indian wigwam; obtaining all the information I desired, and seeing enough to afford abundant sources of reflection and meditation [Watson 1856: 257].

On the first day of his visit to the Catawbas, Watson appears to have been satisfied with meeting authentic, wild savages. However, upon “reflection and meditation,” his second visit seems to have left him with a somewhat different impression, as he ends his account with the language of degeneration and the vanishing race:

These Indians were extremely nasty, wallowing in dirt and filth, having course [sic] fare and rude accommodations. In common with every other Indian tribe in proximity to the whites, they exhibited a melancholy picture of the singular and fatal ravages of the vices...Thirty years before, the Catawbas had been a terror to the Southern Colonies, but were now objects of contempt [Watson 1856: 257-258].

Nevertheless, much like Smyth, Watson was not without sympathy for the Catawba. In the end he noted, “I found among them a degree of civil hospitality and submissive kindness, which would have done no discredit to their white neighbors” (Watson 1856: 258).

Note that in describing Catawbas specifically in terms of *nastiness, filth, course fair, and rude accommodations*, Watson mirrors Smyth’s account. From the details leading up to and following Watson’s visit, along with his description of John Nettles and other details of his experiences at the Catawba village, there is no reason to believe that he did not visit the Catawba. Rather, this represents what Galloway (1995: 18) referred to as “echoes” of the literature of the past.

In contrast to Smyth, Watson traveled without a guide and met Indians who, except for a single interpreter, spoke no English (although Watson made no mention of Smyth’s encounter with English-speaking Catawbas). The Indians that Watson met remained unknowable and exotic. Unable to penetrate beneath surface impressions, Watson focused on superficial symbols of Indian savagery such as feathers, face paint, jewelry, a shared tobacco pipe, and a tub of venison served on the floor.

Thomas Coke, ca. 1791

The Methodist Bishop Thomas Coke visited the Catawba in 1791 while engaged in missionary work. He penned a brief account of Catawba life that blends images of romantic savages, the vanishing race, and Indian degeneration:

We now made a visit to the Catawba Indians. Their Nation is reduced to a very small number, and [they] chiefly live in a little town, which in England would be only called a village...Our plan is to erect a school among them, which we think the most probable way of doing them good in the first instance, as the generality of them understand nothing of the English language.

Their General [New River], who is a tall, grave, old man, walked with a mighty staff in his hand: Round his neck he wore a narrow piece (I think) of leather, which hung down before, and was adorned with a great variety of bits of silver. He also had a silver breastplate. Almost all the men and women wore silver nose-rings, hanging from the middle gristle of the nose; and some of them had little silver hearts hanging from the rings.

In general they dressed like the white people. But a few of the men were quite luxurious in their dress, even wearing ruffles, and very showy suits of clothes made of cotton. The little money they save by their small plantations (for they are not fond of labour) they lay out, I suppose, in purchasing these things of the whites. Their houses are not uncomfortable—far superior to the mud-houses in which the

poorest of the people in Ireland dwell; though we could not procure a single table from one of their habitations, to stand upon whilst we were preaching: but chairs they had in abundance.

One of their chief men, who spoke the English language, came to Mr. Asbury and me, before we began to preach, desiring us in the name of his Nation to intreat [sic] the Whites to assist them against some Indians, who, they had reason to believe, were at that time lurking in the neighboring woods in order to destroy them.

We found on inquiry that parties of Indians from a distant nation, whose inveteracy against this little handful of people is not to be erased, have made frequent incursions upon them, and have been too successful in their devastations. We therefore spoke in behalf of this poor little nation, as far as prudence would justify on so delicate a subject.

A little time ago (we were informed,) one of the Indian girls of this little town with whom a gentleman not far distant had been criminally intimate, carried her child to him, informing him he was the father. The gentleman would by no means allow he had ever seen her; on which she took her child by the heels, and dashed its brains out before his face, and left it on the ground.

O that the Lord would look down with pity on that miserable people, and open a Gospel-door among them! [Coke 1791, quoted in Brown 1966:287-289].

Much like Smyth and Waston, Coke noted the Catawbas' dwindling numbers. In common with Smyth, Coke described the impact of white vices on the Catawbas, citing an episode of sexual indiscretion involving an Indian girl and (presumably) a white "gentlemen," that ended in infanticide.

Similar to Watson, Coke encountered Indians who spoke little English, and much as in Watson's account, Coke focused upon the strange or exotic aspects of Catawba appearance, describing in detail a silver breast plate, nose rings, and bangles worn by Catawbas. He noted that they dressed like whites in general, but also describes luxurious, showy suits of cotton worn by some. In describing their houses, he is struck by an abundance of chairs, but no tables.

Lady Liston, 1797

Much as Elkanah Watson, Lady Henrietta Liston described the Catawba in somewhat romantic terms, focusing on elements of the exotic:

Early next morning we set out, accompanied by a guide, who was to serve as Interpreter, to visit the Nation...This is a Tribe of Indians, the remains of the Catawba whose number is now reduced to three hundred...We crossed the Catawba River &...reached one of their Towns.

The Indians settled in the midst of their natural Enemies – the Whites – are obliged in some measure to adopt their customs & their Vices...They have given up the name of King, in compliance to the Republick & their Chief substitutes a Military title. The General was at another Town, more distant, for they are settled in three

Towns. The Col., the next in rank, presides in the one we happened to visit. He is esteemed the most sensible & valliant of his Tribe. Our first respects were paid to him & it being yet early, we found the old Warrior sitting in a Chair, at the side of the fire, with a blanket jacket. His Wife, or as our Interpreter styled her – his Lady, sat on a Stool, with a Savage look squalid & nasty, a woolen Petticoat & a blanket about her naked shoulders her long black hair hanging loose.

The young Indian Men are very handsome & the children would be extremely pretty, if they were not often disfigured by Nose jewels. The fine clear dark olive is set off by brilliant black eyes, & there is a characteristic mild sparkling in the eyes of an Indian, / & a quantity of shining black hair. The Squaws, & all the elder people appear a shade paler, which is no advantage, & the females, except in extreme youth – with their high cheek bones, appeared very ugly. The Col. & a few of the older Men spoke a little bad English...On the Colonels fire stood a pot, & there was a hoecake on the hearth. I asked what was in the Pot, he said Deers flesh for breakfast, but did not offer us any.

In the course of our visits through the Town, we entered several of the Wigwhams...The fire is in the middle. In one of them we found a sick Indian lying half naked, on a Deerskin near the fire, & in all of them the half naked wretches lay indolently on skins round the fire place. In another Wigwham was a Woman lately delivered. She sat at the fire & the child in her lap, which she covered with her blanket at our entrance. I expressed a desire to see it, & with great difficulty the Interpreter prevailed with her to indulge me. I asked the reason for her reluctance & was told, she was afraid lest the eyes of a Stranger should be evil. I assured her that mine though [page 28] not beautiful, had been very fortunate.

Before departing we again paid our Compliments to the Colonel, who we were told expected to see us. We found that, upon hearing from the Servants who we were, he had drest himself, in an old green cloth Coat with gold binding, which buttoned very imperfectly over his naked body.

At night we reached Charlotteville, being near two hundred miles from Charleston [Liston 1797].

In her account, Lady Liston utilized some of the language of Indian degeneration and the vanishing race, noting the Catawbass' reduced numbers and their adoption of the customs and vices of nearby white settlers. However, the bulk of her account is focused on Indian exoticism, with Liston noting numerous details regarding the appearance, behavior, and customs of the Catawbass.

Apparently her guide felt compelled to inform her of the participation of Catawba warriors' in the Revolution, as she described how Catawba leaders, "in compliance to the Republic," adopted military titles after serving in Revolutionary militias (see Brown 1966; Merrell 1989). Documentary sources indicate that Catawbass took great pride in their military service to the Republic, a pride apparently shared by many white South Carolinians as well (Merrell 1989: 219-221).

In her initial encounter with a Catawba village leader, she received a somewhat cool reception from the Colonel, who only spoke “a little bad English” When she asked what was cooking on his fire, he explained that he was having venison for breakfast, but offered her no food. However, recall that the Colonel felt compelled to apologize for the absence of men away hunting, apparently concerned at the impression made by a relatively empty village. The absence of nomadic hunters may indeed have contributed to Liston’s impression of the Catawba, as throughout most of her account she remains focused upon images of exotic, wild Indians.

Much as Elkanah Watson did in his visit to the Catawba, Lady Liston and her guide poked about in the Catawbas’ houses. Despite her own acknowledgment of the early hour of arrival, they disturbed the rest and privacy of sick and sleeping individuals, and harassed a woman who had only recently delivered a child.

Before leaving, she returned to the Colonel’s house to find that, “upon hearing from the Servants who we were,” he had donned “an old green cloth Coat with gold binding.” The coat was most likely part of a uniform he had acquired while serving in the Revolutionary War (Merrell 1989: 219). Perhaps the Lady Liston’s servants had made it known that she was the wife of a British diplomat. The Colonel may have been dressing up in deference to an important visitor. The fact that Catawbas had once forcibly evicted tenants they learned were Tories, even going so far as to tear down their houses (Merrell 1989: 219), suggests another possibility: he may have been expressing his sympathies with respect to the Republic. In any event, until it was learned that she was a “noteworthy” individual, Liston faced a reticence in Catawbas similar to that experienced by Elkanah Watson.

Summary of Eighteenth-Century Accounts

The travelers cited thus far observed the same Indians, in the same place, within a thirty-year span at the end of the eighteenth century. However, each arrived with certain preconceived expectations, and they were certainly influenced by both prior experience and discourses they

encountered in literature, folklore, and casual conversation. Smyth found what his local guide appears to have told him to expect: degraded savages facing imminent extinction. Liston found bejeweled, half-naked, nomadic savages (who she was told, only grew corn as provisions for traveling) indolently lounging in their wigwams. The missionary Thomas Coke prayed for the Catawbas' salvation, and in describing the condition of their everyday lives, used the poorest Irish as a frame of reference. Given Coke's extensive missionary travels and the long, unpleasant history of British colonization in Ireland, it is not surprising that the Irish fared poorly in comparison to Catawbas. Watson seemed intent on casting himself as an intrepid explorer penetrating a forbidding wilderness, in which he found savage warriors and painted squaws.

In addition to their own desires and preconceptions, it also seems that the traveler's impressions were influenced by how the Catawbas handled their unexpected guests. Each visitor utilized images of degeneration and the vanishing race in their narratives, but unlike Smyth, the accounts of Watson, Liston, and Coke did not dwell upon these images. Instead, the Watson, Liston, and Coke accounts focus upon aspects of Catawba appearance and behavior which are suggestive of wild savagery, such as nomadic warriors, wigwams, and exotic costuming and behavior.

This emphasis on the Catawbas' appearance and behavior may simply be a matter of their own biases and tastes. Nevertheless, unlike Smyth, the Indians encountered by Watson, Liston, and Coke were mostly unable to speak or understand any English at all. Largely deprived of the ability to communicate directly with their hosts, for Watson, Liston, and Coke, the Indians remained separate and exotic, unknowable, except through symbols, signs, and the aid of interpreters. This is in stark contrast to Smyth's experience of the Catawba. In 1772, Smyth found Indians who all spoke English very intelligibly; this undoubtedly played a role in his willingness to accept that the Catawba were in "a kind of state of civilization." Recall that Smyth had employed an interpreter and guide who was familiar with the Nation, spoke the Catawba language, and was "very intimate" with the Catawba household in which Smyth lodged. Ironically, the intimately familiar interpreter aided Smyth not

through linguistic translation, but apparently by inducing the Catawbas to reveal their familiarity with English language and culture.

“Inability” to speak English would have provided Catawbas with an excellent means of avoiding or managing interactions with unwanted guests. It also appears to have had the additional effect of influencing the frame of reference used by white observers to classify and describe the Catawba.

Whether Catawbas were perceived as wild or degenerate savages was certainly influenced by the biases and desires of white observers. Nevertheless, that Catawbas were in some instances fluent in English, and in others largely unable to speak or understand a word, suggests that they were at times active participants in determining the outcome of such encounters. Having interacted with Europeans for nearly a century, the Catawba surely had considerable knowledge of Indian stereotypes and a sense of how to manipulate them to suit their needs. Researchers such as Saunt (2005), Yarbrough (2008), and Greene (2009) maintain that by the late eighteenth century, Indians had a full understanding of European perceptions of race. Even among Enlightenment intellectuals European ideas of race were expressed in simple and limited stereotypes; it would thus be surprising for Indians who frequently interacted with Europeans to have lacked a practical understanding of these concepts.

Nineteenth-Century Documentary Accounts of Catawba Life

The nineteenth-century accounts of Catawba life examined here were written between 1815 and 1843. For the most part, these accounts focus heavily on the themes of degraded savagery and the vanishing race.

Calvin Jones, 1815

Calvin Jones frequently shifted between exoticizing the Catawba (often describing their silver jewelry) and lamenting their abuse of alcohol and inevitable decline. He described the Catawba as,

lazy drunken wretches...almost all drunkards...Nation declining. During the war had 40 or 50 warriors in service. Now not more than 30 in the nation...Women have but

few children, many none. Children die - all suffer from too much whisky and too little bread. In 40 years probably extinct [Jones 1815].

The Jones account is unique in that it describes cultural differences among the Catawbas. He first visited the houses of community leaders Sally New River and Jacob Ayers. Of New River he wrote,

Mother half-white – rings in her ears – making a sifter of reeds. drinks no spirits – pointing to her Nephews. ‘I like this colour, me no like half- whites.’ [Jones 1815].

Jones specifically describes Sally New River and Jacob Ayers as industrious, in contrast to other Catawbas who are said to be drunken and indolent. What is perhaps more interesting is Sally’s comment regarding her presumably darker skinned Nephews. Even as Sally—*the daughter of a white trader and half-white mother*—distinguished herself culturally from other Catawbas, she professed to Jones a dislike for mixed-race individuals, implying a dislike of whites and an affinity for Indians! Was Sally’s apparently self-denigrating remark a strategic move to avoid too thoroughly distancing herself from her fellow Catawbas? Or was it a subtle expression of disdain for white people in general?

Of course, it would help to know what precisely Sally meant in distinguishing between half-whites and other Catawbas. In his account, Jones (1815) noted, “Most of the Indians a little mixed.” This comment complicates any attempt to read Sally’s remark strictly in terms of western conceptions of race. In research on Cherokee identity during the Removal period, Riggs (1999), Yarbrough (2008), and Greene (2009) describe how in addition to lineage, factors such as self-identification, physical appearance, community perception, and behavior influenced racial identification among Indians. Perhaps by “half-white,” Sally was referring to a great deal more than simply lineage and skin color. Research by historian Louise Pettus (1999) portrays Sally New River as a “witty and shrewd” individual. Sally’s bold comment suggests a highly sophisticated and multi-layered understanding of race and culture in the South.

New River and Ayers are distinguished from other Catawbas primarily on the basis of their floored dwellings and an implied commitment to sedentary agriculture. It appears that to Jones, the

behavior of these individuals approximated western norms regarding domicile and productive activity. Within racial discourse at the time, sedentary agriculture was a critical distinction between civilized and uncivilized races; for Jones, the material circumstances and behavior of Catawbas other than New River and Ayers represented degenerate savagery.

Professor Blackburn, 1816

In 1815, Professor George Blackburn of South Carolina College was commissioned by the Legislature to supervise the creation of a South Carolina State map. In the course of his survey, he visited the Catawbas. The following account of Blackburn's visit was published by Robert Mills in his 1826 atlas, *Statistics of South Carolina*:

We stopped at a little village consisting of four families of these Catawba Indians; I expected to see General Scott the Catawba chief, but the General was absent. I saw however his brother Billy, a man about 55, who had a degree of gravity about him that I thought commendable. I brought the usual present to an Indian camp, (a jug of whiskey,) and asked Billy if I might treat the ladies, who crowded around us; Billy gave his dissent to drams for women, and I obtained leave to treat the ladies only by earnest entreaty. Billy was shrewd, but very good humoured. Mr. Keg [alias Capt. Keg] had for wife an Indian woman, the daughter of Capt. Billy; as fine a figure, and as beautiful a face as I ever saw, save that her cheeks were not beds of roses. She was young, diffident, and retired, and absolutely refused to take a dram; her natural manner evinced her a genuine child of nature. I examined a silver ornament, she wore pendant from her neck, and in doing so I touched her bosom,—she slightly blushed—the inscription was an eagle; she wore a better dress than the other Indian women; her ornaments were mostly silver, but they gave her an air of superiority, and her modesty, and diffidence, proclaimed her the queen of the Catawba ladies. We have been told that the Indian women are daringly bold; Jenny had nothing of this; she retired from my touch like the mimosa, and with embarrassed *mauvaise honte*, and played, or pretended to play, with a little laughing Indian baby.

My compass attracted attention: I drew the needle round with a piece of iron, —an old Indian woman named Sally, tried what a stick would do, to attract it in the same way; this was in the true spirit of the Newtonian Philosophy; she then applied her finger, all in vain. I showed her that my fingers could attract the needle, but she soon perceived that I had a penknife concealed in my hand, and producing her piece of steel for striking fire, she did even so. The Indians laughed, and I was deemed no conjurer...[Blackburn 1816, quoted in Mills 1826].

Professor Blackburn's interest in the Catawbas is largely focused upon two themes: the intelligence of Indians, and the alleged promiscuity of Indian women. Debates on the cognitive deficiencies of Indians had long been part of European discourse on Indians, and continued to a

subject of interest to white scientists and intellectuals throughout the nineteenth century (see Bieder 1986; Gould 1981). For Blackburn, his visit provided him with an opportunity to test the Catawbas' intelligence.

As for Blackburn's other interest, eighteenth-century travelers from John Lawson to John Smyth frequently noted the prevalence of casual sex and domestic partnerships between Anglo men (often traders) and Indian women in the southern colonial backcountry (see Godbeer 1999:91). In noting, "We have been told that the Indian women are daringly bold," Blackburn acknowledged his familiarity with this discourse. In offering whiskey to Catawba women against the wishes of Catawba headman Captain Billy, and in his lascivious "flirtation" with Captain Billy's daughter, Jenny, Blackburn draws attention to one of the difficulties most likely faced by Catawba women on the road: sexual harassment. Traveling in small family groups, sometimes far from the relative safety of home, Catawba women were likely to have faced situations in which they received unwanted attention from white men. As this incident in their own village makes clear, Catawba men possessed limited ability to shield Catawba women from such attention.

Robert Mills, 1826

In his 1826 atlas, *Statistics of South Carolina*, the architect Robert Mills (1826:114-115) echoed the Jones account, writing that "the Catawba Indians are now reduced, from habits of indolence and inebriation, to very few; their number does not exceed 110 of every age." According to Mills, "the natural character of these Indians is shrewdness, and before they degenerated, they possessed a quick apprehension, and some of those qualities of the heart which would do honor to man in the highest state of civilization."

The bulk of the account is given to a description of the Catawbas' reservation land and lease system:

The remains of this nation now occupy a territory 15 miles square, laid out on both sides of the Catawba river, and including part of York and Lancaster districts. This

tract embraces a body of fine lands, well timbered with oak, &c. These lands are almost all leased out to white settlers, for 99 years, renewable, at the rate of from 15 to \$20 per annum for each plantation, of about 300 acres. The annual income from these lands is estimated to amount to about \$5000. This sum prudently managed, would suffice to support the whole nation, (now composed of about 30 families,) comfortably. Yet these wretched Indians live in a state of abject poverty, the consequence of their indolence, and dissipated habits. They dun for their rent before it is due, and the 10 or \$20 received are frequently spent in a debauch; poverty, beggary and misery follow, for a year. What a state of degradation is this for a whole people to be in, all the result of neglect of duty on our part, as guardians of their welfare [Mills 1826:114-115]

Not surprisingly, Mills is unaware of the poor return Catawbas typically received on their leases. His solution to the Catawbas' problems is one that Catawbas had eagerly sought to avoid for some time: administration of the proceeds of land leasing by the State of South Carolina (see Merrell 1989).

David Hutchison, 1843

The final account of life in the Catawba Nation is contained in a letter penned by David Hutchison, a Scots-Irish tenant of the Catawba. Apparently referring to the years after the Revolution, Hutchison claimed that Catawba women had abandoned farming, and become "as lazy, indolent, and intemperate" as Catawba men. Hutchison also noted that Catawbas seldom occupied their houses, which being unattended, "went fast to decay" (Hutchison 1843, quoted in Brown 1966: 291-292).

In explaining why Catawbas were seldom home, Hutchison focused on the familiar themes of Indian degeneracy: drunkenness and indolence, writing that Catawbas "spent their time in traveling about collecting their rents and lying about still-houses and grog shops." His account is particularly interesting because unlike the other authors, he actually lived on the Catawba Reservation, from the 1780s until the time of his death in 1845 (Brown 1966: 290). Nevertheless, Hutchison appears ignorant of anything beyond the most superficial details of the Catawbas' lives.

Summary of Analysis

In general, the accounts present similarly gloomy portraits of Catawba life. While the Catawbans undoubtedly suffered real hardships, there are nevertheless elements of the documentary evidence that are contradictory. Moreover, certain aspects of these accounts do not fit with the archaeological evidence.

By most accounts, Catawba Reservation life was characterized by indolence. Yet when John Smyth, Elkanah Watson, Lady Liston, and Calvin Jones visit the Reservation, they find Catawba men away hunting and fishing, or women busily engaged in craft production. This apparent contradiction is likely due to the unwillingness of Catawbans to engage in *civilized* pursuits, such as farming for men and spinning for women (see for example Perdue 1998; Saunt 2003).

In order to persist in their “savage” pursuits, Catawba men and women engaged in commerce. In part, their “indolent” lifestyle was funded through the leasing of reservation land, an enterprise David Hutchison clearly believed was contributing to Catawba degeneracy. Hutchison was not alone in perceiving land leasing as a corrupting influence among Indians; Cherokee men who attempted to rent their land to white sharecroppers were discouraged from doing so by government agents because it might promote “indolent savagery” rather than civilized farming among Cherokees (Perdue 1998: 125-126).

The Catawbans’ pottery trade provided another means to avoid civilized pursuits. In her research on the trade in Indian souvenir art, Phillips (1998:24-25) notes frequent complaints by Indian agents that Indians often preferred selling craft items to farming, although at times the agents grudgingly admitted that such pursuits could be quite lucrative.

Observers also tended to characterize Catawba Reservation life in terms of abject poverty (see Smyth 1784; Jones 1815; Mills 1826). Yet, contrary to post-Revolutionary descriptions of destitution, archaeological assemblages indicate that Catawba families had considerable access to a wide variety of consumer goods.

Archaeological and documentary evidence related to Removal period Cherokee households in North Carolina provided a useful comparative perspective. Westernized *métis* Cherokees were heavily engaged in commercial activity, acquired “large arrays of commercially manufactured goods,” and made relatively little use of native-manufactured items. In contrast, traditional Cherokees largely refrained from participation in the market economy, possessed only meager quantities of consumer goods, and relied heavily upon native technologies in their everyday lives (Riggs 1999: 538).

There do appear to have been significant cultural differences among New Town Catawbas. However, analyses of material culture remains indicate that these cultural differences are not accompanied by large-scale differences in access to consumer goods, or in reliance upon native-manufactured items. However, while native technologies are clearly prominent in Catawba material collections, the nature of Catawba pottery directly reflects cultural knowledge and technological expertise gained through substantial involvement in the market economy.

It could be argued that some of the differences between itinerant and non-itinerant households discussed in Chapter 5 do in fact reflect some level of wealth disparity among Catawbas, but these are most certainly distinctions of degree rather than kind. While itinerant Catawbas at New Town certainly occupied a tenuous position in South Carolina society, they had nevertheless effectively integrated themselves in the market economy, and were able to acquire considerable quantities of Western goods. However, the path to the marketplace taken by itinerant Catawbas was very different from that of their sedentary neighbors, and was viewed by whites as the antithesis of civilized conduct.

Discourse in a Fictional Account of the Catawba Pottery Trade

Separating form and content is a critical exercise in analyzing narratives of Indian life. If one is interested in the form as well as the content of narratives, one account of the Catawba provides a great wealth of information. The short story, “Caloya; or, the Loves of the Driver,” written by

William Gilmore Simms in 1839, not only provides a window into the conduct of this trade, but also offers important insights into how traveling Catawba were perceived by European observers at that time.

Simms (1806-1870) was the best-known author of the *ante bellum* South. In addition to being a renowned author, he was also a member of the planter class, owning two Lowcountry plantations along the Edisto River. In his many stories and novels, he firmly upheld the racial hierarchy of the South; despite his clearly articulated racism, scholars consider his views of American Indians to have been relatively sympathetic for his time (see Guilds 2003; Hudson 2003).

Simms considered his fictional writing to represent a living history of his region. Indeed, Simms saw the fiction writer as uniquely situated with respect to historiography:

The truth is...the chief value of history consists in its proper employment for the purposes of art...It is the artist who is the true historian. It is he gives shape to the unhewn fact, who yields relations to the scattered fragments,—who unites the parts in a coherent dependency, and endows, with life and action, the otherwise lifeless automata of history... For what is the philosophy of history but a happy conjecturing, of what might have been from the imperfect skeleton of what we know. The long analysis of probabilities keenly pursued through buried fragments and dissolving dust, is the toil of an active imagination, informed by experience, obeying certain known laws of study, and recognizing, as guiding rules, certain general standards of examination. The dull seeker after bald and isolated facts is no philosopher, nor can he claim even the doubtful merit of being a pioneer [Simms 1845a: 23-25].

Simms freely admits to taking artistic license with certain elements of his Indian writings, particularly Indian history, myth and religion. However, in terms of general background information, Simms claims to have strove for realism and truthfulness, insisting of his writing,

The material employed will be found to illustrate, in large degree, the border history of the South. I can speak with confidence of the general truthfulness of its treatment. The life of the planter, the squatter, the Indian, and the negro--the bold and hardy pioneer, and the vigorous yeomen--these are the subjects. In their delineation, I have mostly drawn from living portraits, and, in frequent instances, from actual scenes and circumstances within the memories of men. More need not be said. I need not apologize for the endeavour to cast over the actual, that atmosphere from the realms of the ideal, which, while it constitutes the very element of fiction, is neither inconsistent with intellectual truthfulness, nor unfriendly to the great policies of human society [1845b: v].

Simms certainly spent more time actually observing Indians than any other white author of his day (Simms made four lengthy trips to the Western frontier, journeys that took him through parts of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi; Hudson 2003: xxxvi- xxxviii).

Nevertheless, what may be understood by realism in Simms's Indian writing is simply the subtle deployment of European racial discourse. As revealed in his fiction, letters, and essays, Simms's views on Indians fit neatly into the categories of racial discourse outlined in this study: Indians were either wild savages, or half-civilized, degraded savages. In either case, Simms was clear that Indians' only hope for survival was through embracing civilized lifeways.

In "Caloya; or, the Loves of the Driver," Simms relates his impression of Catawbas engaged in their pottery trade, which he witnessed as a boy in the vicinity of Charleston (Simms 2003 [1841]: 218). He also incorporates impressions of Indians he acquired in his travels. Simms's portrait of degraded savagery in "the Loves of the Driver," is in keeping with his descriptions of the Catawbas on their Reservation in 1825, and of "settlement" Indians he described begging on the streets of Mobile (Simms 2003 [1828]:15; Simms 2003 [1835]:29). Much as in the other accounts, degraded savages are depicted as indolent, drunken, impoverished, and servile.

In crafting their accounts of life on the Catawba Reservation, the Anglo observers previously cited in this study utilized images of Indian degeneration and the "vanishing race." To any knowledgeable European observer at that time, factors such as diminished numbers, alcohol abuse, and sedentary reservation life signaled Indian degeneration and extinction as an appropriate frame of reference. Although Catawba men continued to hunt and fish, and Catawba women continued to produce hand-made pottery and baskets, by virtue of their sedentary existence, intemperance, and dwindling numbers, they were no longer truly wild savages. In crafting his short story, Simms combined his impressions of the Catawba pottery trade and Catawba Reservation life, and his knowledge of current events. In doing so, he deftly combined images of wild savagery, Indian degeneration, and the vanishing race in a single narrative.

Set in the time of his boyhood (circa 1815-1820), “the Loves of the Driver” features two Catawba characters: a Catawba woman, who is an industrious potter, and her husband, who is a stereotypical degraded savage. In portraying these characters, Simms depicted his experiences with the Catawbas using the discursive categories familiar in his day: the potter, Caloya, is depicted as a noble and beautiful wild savage, engaged in an ancient, but dying tradition; she represents Simms’s romantic boyhood view of Catawbas traveling and making pottery in the Lowcountry. Her husband, Richard Knuckles, is depicted as indolent, drunken, and “degraded” both in morals, and in physical appearance and stature; he represents Simms’s view of the Catawbas on their Reservation in 1825, and presumably, his interpretation of settlement Indians in general.

In describing the Catawba’s pottery and their trade, Simms reveals a clear sympathy for the Catawba as loyal and useful wild savages; precisely the image cultivated by Catawba warriors and anxious colonists during the eighteenth century. Simms claims that Catawba potters traveled in small independent groups,

probably governed by the well-known policy of the European Gipseys [sic], who find it much easier, in this way, to assess the several neighbourhoods which they honour...without provoking apprehension and suspicion...harmless usually, and perfectly inoffensive, they were seldom repelled or resisted, even when they made their camps contiguously to a planter’s settlements [Simms 2003 [1841]: 220-221].

In Simms’s story, the Catawbas set up their camp on land that is actually located on a plantation. The dashing young owner of the plantation on which the Catawbas camped welcomes the Indian’s presence, stating that his land is “the place...where they have been getting their clay ever since my grandfather settled this plantation...I am pleased that they should come to the accustomed place for their clay” (Simms 2003 [1841]: 224).

In his story, Simms, speaking as narrator, claims that Catawba pottery had long been of value to “the citizens,” especially, “worthy housewives,” among whom it was considered far superior to other wares, noting that it was,

a confident faith among the old ladies, that okra soup was always inferior if cooked in any but an Indian pot...certainly an iron vessel is one of the last which should be

employed in the preparation of this truly southern dish [Simms 2003 [1841]: 218-219].

In this passage, Catawba pottery is linked to domestic space and traditional southern foodways. The connection between domesticity and Catawba pottery, and the willingness of Simms's fictional planter to allow the Catawbas to camp on his land speaks to the nature of the Catawba's role in South Carolina colonial history and culture. Much as in romantic portrayals of noble, full-blood Gypsies (see for example Okely 1975: 65-68), the itinerant Catawbas, as wild savages loyal to Anglo South Carolina, were separate and exotic, but subservient to the needs of civilized society.

In Simms's story, the Catawba couple travel alone; as a consequence of Richard Knuckles' "degraded" character and "bestly habits," the couple was cast out of the band with which they had been traveling. In the course of the story, Knuckles dies, in part due to the ravages of alcoholism, although the proximate cause of death was a fight between the Indian and a plantation slave. The slave, named Mingo, was the driver of the estate and had romantic designs on the beautiful potter. The violent confrontation between the slave driver and the jealous spouse very nearly engulfed Caloya; fortunately, the dashing young planter appeared in the nick of time, protecting the potter's virtue and restoring order between the races.

After burying her husband, the potter returns to her people. A year later, when the Catawba are once again making their pottery circuit, Caloya returns to the plantation, along with others of her tribe and her new husband—"a tall and manly looking hunter." In recognition of the planter's benevolent paternalism, the woman presents him with a pair of moccasins and leggings that were "neatly made and fancifully decorated with beads" (Simms 2003 [1841]: 272-273).

At the time of Simms's writing in 1839, the Catawba Nation was in crisis. After the death of a prominent community leader named Sally New River in 1820, Catawba society began to fragment. Under pressure from the state legislature, in the late 1830s the Catawbas decided to cede their land to South Carolina and relocate among the Cherokee in North Carolina. Simms was presumably aware

of these developments. Invoking images of Indian degeneration and the vanishing race, Simms as narrator remarked,

The Catawbas seldom now descend to the seaboard. They have lost the remarkable elasticity of character which particularly distinguished them among the aboriginal nations, and, in declining years and numbers...the ancient potteries are almost entirely abandoned...I am afraid that I have seen the last of the Indian pots! [Simms 2003 [1841]: 219-220].

The cession of Catawba land and relocation of some Catawbas to North Carolina certainly influenced Simms's narrative. Nonetheless, Simms's invocation of degraded savagery and the vanishing race is in perfect accord with much earlier documentary accounts of life on the Catawba Reservation, accounts describing the Catawba's degeneration and imminent demise that had been appearing with regularity since the 1770s (see Smyth 1784; Watson 1856; Coke 1791; Jones 1815; Mills 1826).

What distinguishes Simms's perspectives on the Catawbas from those of earlier observers is his association of Catawba pottery with wild savagery and nomadism, and his emphasis on the usefulness of Catawba pottery. John Smyth (1784) dismissed Catawba pottery as "ill-formed and half-baked" earthen ware, "sold for the most worthless invaluable considerations." Smyth's evaluation of Catawba pottery may simply be a matter of taste; however, Smyth lacked Simms's historical and contextual perspectives. The Smyth narrative is one of disappointment. He had traveled far to find "native, uncivilized, wild Indians." He found instead sedentary reservation Indians, "sinking fast into degeneracy...servility and dependence."

Simms describes the Catawba potters traveling "at certain seasons from their far home in the interior to the seaboard," where they "squatted down...raised their poles, erected their sylvan tents, and...established themselves a temporary abiding place" (Simms 2003 [1841]: 218). In his narrative, Simms used Catawba pottery as a symbol for Indian savagery and the usefulness of the Catawba Indians; however, Simms was referring very specifically to pottery traded in the Lowcountry, produced by nomadic wild savages, rather than sedentary, degraded savages. Nomadism was one of the essential characteristics that served to distinguish uncivilized races such as Indians and Gypsies

from civilized Europeans. Indeed, Simms made this connection himself when he compared the Catawba's pattern of movement to that of the "European Gipseys."

Thus, in his visit to the Catawba Reservation in 1825, and in the dissolution of the Catawba Nation in 1839, Simms saw degraded savages and a vanishing race, much as did John Smyth in 1772. However, Simms interpreted his experience of the pottery trade in the Lowcountry, which he witnessed circa 1815 (the year in which Calvin Jones visited the Catawba), through a different lens—that of wild savagery. The Indians witnessed by Smyth, Jones, and Simms were the same, but the context in which they were observed made for a world of difference.

Aside from some minor details relating to the pottery trade and southern cuisine, the events in Simms's story are obviously fictional. Yet, in terms of discourse, the narrative contains an abundance of "facts," presenting Catawba Indians in a manner readily intelligible to any of Simms's readers—educated elites, much like himself.

In addition to representing the planter's view of Indians, Simms's story also provides critical insights into how planters conceived their own place in the South—worldly and culturally sophisticated (Leath and McInnis 1999), guarantors of the established social order (Joyner 2005: 9; Waterhouse 2005: 87-88), and paternalistic figures with the deepest of roots in Southern society (Baird 2006).

Since the 1600s, British colonists in the New World had relied heavily upon Indian imagery to symbolize the misrule of Old World elites and to define their new social order (Deloria 1998; Berkhofer 1978; Bieder 1986). As Deloria (1998) notes, images of the Indian played an important role in how Anglo colonists understood themselves, enabling colonists to

imagine themselves a legitimate part of the continent's ancient history. Indians and the land offered the only North American past capable of justifying a claim of traditional custom and a refiguring of the rhetoric of moral economy. Native people had been on the land for centuries, and they embodied a full complement of the necessary traditions [Deloria 1998:24].

When the dashing planter in Simms's story generously welcomes the Catawbas' annual return to his land, defends the virtue of Caloya, and receives a gift of beaded moccasins and leggings

from her in return, Simms establishes the depth and legitimacy of the planter's role in South Carolina, justifying their land ownership as well as moral and political authority. In accommodating the seasonal visits of itinerant Catawbas to their plantations, and entertaining the Catawbas' occasional pleas for land and hunting rights, planter's paid a small price for "ownership" of an important symbolic resource.

Summary and Conclusions

Documentary accounts analyzed in this chapter provide limited insights into Catawba life. The accounts are few in number and generally brief. As a source for factual information on Catawba everyday life, the accounts are of limited value. Most of the authors were unfamiliar with the Catawbas and spent only the briefest time interacting with them. Many subjects of profound interest to the anthropologist or ethnohistorian were of no interest at all to the authors. Moreover, in constructing their accounts, the authors were constrained by a racial discourse that offered very limited frameworks for the interpretation and communication of their experiences with the Catawbas.

Even in the case of William Gilmore Simms, who claimed "an early and strong sympathy" for Indians, and had spent more time interacting with Indians than most authors on the subject, the limitations imposed by racial discourse are glaringly obvious. Nevertheless, when read in concert, and compared to archaeological evidence, what may be the greatest limiting factor in these accounts is a source of considerable explanatory power.

Post-colonial theorists use the concept of "hybridity" to refer to the complicated nature of cultural transmission between colonized people and colonists, and the ability of colonized people to manipulate European culture and discourse as camouflage (Bhabha 1994, McClintock 1995). An excellent example of this phenomenon is Indians "playing Indian" for white people, using white stereotypes of the savage to market souvenirs and cultural performances (Philips 1995, 1998; Moses 1996; Raibmon 2005).

Based upon examination of documentary and archaeological evidence, it is obvious that Catawbas adopted a variety of European practices and material culture. Through comparative analysis of documentary account of Catawba life, it appears that European observers perceived Catawba hybridity in terms of degraded or romantic savagery largely based on the contexts in which Catawbas were encountered, and the behavior of Catawbas in those contexts. Even on their reservation, a setting in which Catawbas seem to have been quite vulnerable in terms of the scrutiny of white observers, feigning ignorance by simply refusing to speak English offered Catawbas some relief from the impositions of unwanted guests. That same refusal also appears to have lent Catawbas an air of romantic savagery. At the very least, presenting nosy visitors with this refusal must have provided Catawbas with a good laugh and a sense of agency and personal dignity.

From Simms's story, Catawba itinerancy seems to have given Lowcountry South Carolinians the impression that Catawbas were more "wild" than was perceived by observers viewing them on their reservation. Through their exotic Indian costuming and their itinerant pottery trade, Catawbas blended traditional craft techniques with their knowledge of Anglo foodways and stereotypes of Indians. The product was a sophisticated adaptation to the market economy that hinged upon manipulation of white conceptions of savage and nomadic races (Riggs and Davis 2008:15).

The available evidence indicates that Catawbas were sufficiently aware of white stereotypes of the Indian to capitalize upon them in their commercial activities; however, they may not have been aware of the larger symbolic importance of Indians to many whites. Nevertheless, through the role they played in South Carolina society, particularly the patron-client relationships they established with elite planters, Catawbas benefited from a synergistic effect, as the goods and services they offered planters satisfied intangible needs that went considerably beyond their functional and economic values. The ability of itinerant Catawbas to maintain relationships with planters such as William R. Davie, and to present them with an image that was simultaneously flattering to both the planters and the Catawbas, was critical in the Catawbas' ability to maintain ownership of their reservation in the decades between the Revolutionary War and the Treaty of Nations Ford.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Between the establishment of Charles Town in 1670 and the American Revolution, Catawba society experienced profound transformations. A political economy based upon domestic production and reciprocal exchange was swept away, and Catawba Indians found themselves drawn into global capitalism, commodity exchange, and fierce competition between imperial powers.

Along with new political and economic institutions, Europeans brought their beliefs regarding race to the New World. European racial ideologies became deeply intertwined with their political and economic systems (Berkhofer 1978); concepts such as “civilized” and “savage” became the terms through which whites defined themselves and Indians, and the terms under which Indians interacted with whites. Within colonial interactions, relational hierarchies in the political and economic realms were replicated in racial classifications. The identities of both Indians and Europeans were transformed, but not all participants had equal power in this process (Raibmon 2005). To a significant extent, the ability of Indians to resist European racial ideologies was determined by their ability to resist European imperialism itself.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, Indian populations in eastern North America had declined dramatically, while settler populations had grown exponentially. Many Indian societies had become dependent upon trade with European colonies, particularly upon European-manufactured goods. However, the winding down of colonial-era warfare and trade foreclosed the primary means through which Indians satisfied their material needs. These trends are abundantly evident with the Catawbans. After decades of serving as military allies of colonial South Carolina, their cultural and

economic survival was threatened by devastating population losses, the passing of the frontier, and settler encroachment (Heath 2004; Merrell 1989).

As warfare and hunting became untenable economic strategies for Indians throughout eastern North America, they were forced to seek alternative means of subsistence. Numerous Indian groups throughout the Northeast shifted to commercial activities, developing itinerant trades in decorated aboriginal clothing, weapons, pipes, baskets, and other craft items (Phillips 1998:21-22). During the 1760s, Catawbas also engaged in a shift toward commerce, with men acting as itinerant slave catchers for South Carolina planters, and women marketing a variety of handicrafts to customers at both local and distant markets. To these activities, Catawbas added the leasing of reservation land to white settlers (Merrell 1989). This suite of commercial activities developed by the Catawba is unique, not only in the South, but apparently along the entire eastern seaboard.

The Catawbas' ability to adapt to the end of the frontier era appears to have been directly related to their success during that period. Through their ability to forge mutually beneficial political and economic alliances with colonists, particularly with elite planters, Catawbas managed to maintain their relevance despite shifting geo-political circumstances and their own declining numbers (Heath 2004).

Military service to Anglo elites, first for the British Crown, then for the American Revolutionaries, yielded both economic benefits and considerable political capital, enabling Catawbas to maintain critical claims to ancestral land (Heath 2004; Merrell 1989). By leasing large portions of that land to settlers who often possessed few economic resources, Catawbas managed to maintain an out-sized importance to local whites, even as their significance to Lowcountry elites diminished. Catawba leases gave poor settlers access to land on generous terms; however, inviting hundreds of settler families onto the Catawba Nation created a long-term problem that necessitated the continued goodwill of powerful South Carolinians.

Catawbas had long been valued by the British for their martial prowess, based upon a reputation for exceptional ferocity in battle (see Brown 1966; Heath 2004; Merrell 1989). To some

degree, the Catawbas' ability to cultivate this reputation indicates awareness of European conceptions of Indians. This knowledge was certainly useful in the marketing of their itinerant trades as well.

In marketing goods and services, itinerant groups often take advantage of poorly developed markets and infrastructure (Okely 1983). In their itinerant trade, Catawbas capitalized on such circumstances through the door-to-door marketing of low-cost utilitarian goods. In addition, the decorative nature of some goods sold by Catawbas clearly fed growing demand for what eighteenth-century European consumers referred to as "curiosities" (Phillips 1998:6). As Bolig (2004) has noted, itinerants do not simply find markets ready to exploit, but play an active role in developing those markets as well. For many itinerant groups, the cultivation of an exotic identity is as critical to their success as the goods and services they sell. For itinerant Catawbas, an exotic Indian appearance and goods that effectively reflected that exoticism were probably a lucrative combination.

The importance of plantations as markets for the Catawbas' goods and services dovetails with the Catawbas' pre-existing relationships with planters, while local markets for handicrafts constituted by tenants on the reservation were partly a product of the Catawbas' own doing. The interlocking nature of the Catawbas' commercial activities was both a factor in their economic success, and likely to have been a matter of necessity as well.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, Catawba warriors were frequently summoned to Charleston by colonial officials anxious to secure their military services (Brown 1966; Heath 2004; Merrell 1989). In the latter half of the eighteenth century, as Catawbas found themselves surrounded by land-hungry settlers, the importance of relationships with influential planters in retaining their land rights remained critical.

Itinerant groups frequently develop patron-client relationships as part of their economic strategies (Bolig 2004). In their role as "ethnic soldiers," Catawbas warriors had already developed such relationships with British colonial officials (Heath 2004). The key question for Catawbas was how to maintain those relationships in a radically changed environment. When they first began making and selling Anglo-style pottery to settlers, Catawbas were probably not aware that these

products would provide continued access to planters throughout Piedmont and Lowcountry South Carolina. Nevertheless, the goods and services marketed by Catawbas became a means of remaining visible to South Carolina elites, and of continuing in the role of loyal and useful subjects developed by Catawbas nearly a half century earlier.

Documentary Accounts and a Case Study of an Itinerant Group

Read in concert, documentary accounts provide important insights into the broad patterns of Catawba itinerancy. They also reveal cultural diversity among Catawbas that has significant implications for an archaeological case study of an itinerant group on its home base.

Itinerant groups often diversify their activities, typically by shifting between a mobile and sedentary lifestyle, combining commercial activity with food production or extraction, or marketing a variety of goods and services (Bolig 1987, 2004; Rao 1987). Documentary evidence provides insights into this diversification among Catawbas.

As a consequence of its durability, and its ubiquity on Catawba sites, Catawba pottery is an important focus of this study; material evidence of other craft items produced by itinerant Catawbas during the study period have not survived. However, documentary accounts indicate that Catawba women sold baskets, reed mats, moccasins, and bows and arrows in addition to pottery.

Calvin Jones (1815) described some Catawbas as committed to farming and a sedentary lifestyle. Accounts by Jones (1815) and David Hutchison (1843) suggest that other Catawbas shifted their productive emphasis toward commercial activities. Accounts by Edwin Scott (1884), Phillip Porcher (Gregorie 1925), and William Gilmore Simms (2003 [1841]) indicate that some of that commercial activity involved seasonal long-distance travel. Through hunting and fishing, Catawba men produced food for Catawba families and commodities that could be sold in markets. In addition to these activities, the entire Catawba Nation appears to have been involved in land leasing. By combining these various activities, Catawbas developed a remarkably flexible economic strategy that served the needs of individual families and the greater Catawba Nation for nearly 70 years.

The members of ethnic groups often vary in terms of the expression of cultural characteristics that identify the group; documentary accounts indicate significant cultural differences among Catawbas. Catawba leaders Sally New River and Colonel Ayers are described as industrious, sedentary farmers living in floored dwellings. Other Catawbas are described as indolent, impoverished, and living in dirt-floored houses, with women making pottery, and men hunting and fishing (Jones 1815). The latter are presumed to be the itinerants described in other accounts.

Archaeological identification of distinct differences in cabin architecture at Catawba New Town provided the ability to link the individuals named above with specific cabin sites (McReynolds Shebalin 2011), allowing the material lives of these individuals to be contrasted with other households, and yielding insights into the material consequences of the different lifestyles practiced by Catawbas.

Archaeological Perspectives on Catawba Itinerancy

Archaeological investigation at Nassaw Town, Old Town, and New Town revealed the rapid evolution of the Catawba pottery trade. Excavations of 1750s Nassaw Town indicate that the Catawba pottery trade developed after the devastating small pox epidemic of 1759 (Riggs 2010). The quantity and quality of colonowares at Old Town (ca. 1762-1780 and 1781-1790s) reveals the success of the pottery trade and its impact upon Catawba material culture.

The Old Town assemblage seems to demonstrate a greater variety of vessel forms, paste colors, and decorations than is seen at New Town, indicating experimentation with products and market niches. At New Town-era sites, soup plates, cooking pots, pans, and large serving bowls are prominent types. Also identified were smaller serving bowls, jars, pitchers, and bottles. A single footed beaker, perhaps emulating Moravian footed coffee pots, suggests that Catawba potters continued to experiment with new products. Continued analysis of Catawba pottery assemblage will hopefully reveal additional vessel forms. While fewer vessel forms appear to have been produced by

New Town potters, vessel forms were nevertheless produced in a variety of sizes, mirroring size distinctions found in European-made wares.

Excavations of the New Town, Edenmoor, and Tivoli sites described in Chapter 4 yielded substantial quantities of both Catawba pottery and imported European wares. Large collections of imported wares and a wide variety of other goods found at New Town cabin sites indicate the extent of Catawbas' participation in the market economy. Imported wares also provide additional insights into Catawba itinerancy.

Itinerant groups often possess keen awareness of the culture and politics of the communities they interact with, especially in relation to the goods and services they provide (Berland and Salo 1986: 3; Okely 1983). For itinerant Catawbas, this awareness seems to have included knowledge of certain aspects of the foodways of Europeans and African slaves, specifically the different vessel forms used and the cultural significance of different imported wares.

Analysis of Catawba and imported ware assemblages from New Town-era households revealed broad similarities among Catawbas in terms of their overall reliance upon Catawba pottery. Catawba households relied more heavily upon Catawba wares than their customers at Edenmoor and Tivoli. Greater reliance upon Catawba wares was accompanied by relatively lower usage of utilitarian coarseware and stoneware than was demonstrated by the Edenmoor and Tivoli assemblages.

New Town-era ceramic assemblages indicate different approaches to using Catawba pottery. Kitchen wares and jars are major components of the Tivoli assemblages; at the Edenmoor farmstead, serving wares are much more prevalent. At William R. Davie's house in particular, the background roles played by Catawba pottery reflect a very high degree of market access. At Edenmoor, the abundance of Catawba-made serving wares probably indicates relatively limited market access and the curation of more valued imported serving wares through the use of Catawba pottery.

The Loci 2 and 5 households at New Town made relatively little use of Catawba serving wares. Locus 2 was most likely occupied by itinerants, and Locus 5 by Catawba leader Colonel

Ayers. The Loci 3 and 4 households utilized a combination of kitchen and tablewares. Locus 3 was most likely occupied by itinerants, and Locus 4 by Sally New River. Greater reliance upon tablewares in these households may have been related to household size or hospitality and socializing.

Most notably, no Catawbas appeared to rely as heavily upon Catawba-made serving wares as the Edenmoor Site's inhabitants. The Edenmoor household probably possessed greater market access than Catawbas. However, for Catawbas, the relative abundance of these wares reflected the connection between pottery and Catawba identity, and the relatively unlimited, cost-free access to these wares enjoyed by Catawbas (i.e., in terms of monetary cost). Thus, for Catawbas, heavy reliance upon Catawba pottery carried no social stigma, and represented greater monetary savings than was realized by the Edenmoor household.

Catawba-made cooking pots, or thickened rim jars, were used alongside iron cooking vessels at Tivoli, Edenmoor, and the New Town cabin sites. William Gilmore Simms (2003 [1841]:18-20) claimed that Catawba cooking wares were considered ideal for certain culinary purposes; an exotic "Indian flavor" appears to have been part of this estimation. Simms's remarks suggest that in the various households examined in this study, the value of these and other Catawba wares was often more than merely functional and economic.

The pre-Revolutionary Old Town household examined in this study relied entirely upon Catawba pottery for its everyday needs. In contrast, the New Town households utilized a wide variety of imported wares alongside Catawba pottery. Broadly speaking, there was relatively little variation in the use of imported wares by New Town Catawbas: serving wares dominate assemblages at each cabin site.

Old Town serving wares were finely crafted and were more frequently decorated than New Town wares. The fact that full-fledged development of colonoware forms preceded the large-scale acquisition of imported serving wares at New Town indicates that substantial use of these wares was an outgrowth of the Catawba pottery trade. Much as in the development and usage of colonoware

forms, itinerant Catawbas are likely to have been change agents in this aspect of Catawba material culture.

New Town Catawbas appear to have possessed broad cultural similarities in terms of items likely to have reflected Catawba identity, including Catawba pottery, pipes, ornaments, and jewelry. The use of glass beads and silver jewelry by Catawbas reflect broad participation in pan-Indian traditions related to modes of dress and personal adornment. In the same vein, the abundance of pipe ceramics at Nassaw Town, Old Town, and New Town (compared to Tivoli and Edenmoor) demonstrate the continued importance of tobacco and pipe smoking among Indians.

Although Indian tradition is certainly a factor in these aspects of Catawba culture, traveling and the marketing of goods and services by itinerant Catawbas seems to have placed a new importance on the projection of an exotic Indian identity. Although Catawbas at Nassaw Town overwhelmingly favored kaolin pipes, there was a dramatic resurgence of Catawba-made pipes at Old Town and New Town. Thus, even as smoking remained important among Catawbas, the pipes used by Catawbas shifted; this shift is coincident with the development of Catawba itinerancy.

Cultural Variation at New Town

However much prejudice pervades his account of the Catawbas, cultural distinctions described by Calvin Jones (1815) nevertheless reflect very different economic pursuits and values among Catawbas. These different lifestyles had significant material consequences.

The floored cabins of Sally New River and Colonel Ayers were obvious examples of these differences, representing the more westernized lifestyles and values of these sedentary farmers. Among itinerant households, the continued use of dirt-floored cabins may reflect a conscious distinction between their own lifestyle and that modeled by New River and Ayers. In the Loci 2 and 3 itinerant households, highly diverse imported ware collections more closely mirroring the configuration of assemblages from Tivoli and Edenmoor demonstrate greater awareness of the consumer lifestyles and tastes of local customers than possessed by New River and Ayers.

Some differences in the material lives of Catawbas reflect very different lifestyles and values. However, these differences do not necessarily indicate differential access to consumer goods. Sally New River may have engaged in more prudent money management than itinerant Catawbas, and appears to have reaped greater rewards from land leasing as well. However, itinerants possessed additional sources of income not available to sedentary individuals, certainly faced greater costs associated with transportation, and may have made greater expenditures related to hospitality and socializing.

Documentary accounts of Catawba life frequently depict Catawba life in terms of indolent savagery and desperate poverty, and dismiss the subsistence activity of itinerant Catawbas (Jones 1815, Mills 1826, Hutchison 1843). Comparisons between material collections from Catawba New Town and Removal period Cherokee households examined by Riggs (1999) highlight the degree to which cultural biases blinded white observers of Catawba society to the viability of Catawbas' itinerant pursuits. In traditional Cherokee households genuinely isolated from the market economy, small quantities of commercially manufactured goods represent very small proportions of material collections. Cultural differences and spending habits aside, all of the Catawba household examined in this study were deeply involved in commercial activity, and reaped both substantial and broadly similar material benefits. However, due to the unwillingness of itinerant Catawbas to conform to western norms regarding "civilized conduct," their subsistence activities were devalued by white observers.

Documentary Perspective on Catawba Itinerancy and Identity

Dearth and bias are important factors in the analysis of documentary accounts of Catawba life. Patterns in the biases occurring in these accounts are a source of considerable insights regarding the link between itinerancy and Catawba identity. Establishing this link provides an understanding of the relatively intangible, yet nevertheless important diplomatic aspects of Catawba itinerancy.

Catawba leaders such as General New River, and his wife Sally, and Colonel Ayers were individuals from respected lineages who occupied traditional leadership roles (Brown 1966; Merrell 1989). They were influential community leaders who represented the Nation to South Carolina officials, Indian agents, and visiting dignitaries such as Lady Liston and Thomas Coke. Accounts often mention them by name and describe them in detail; from such accounts, we have some sense of them as individuals with distinct personalities.

For other Catawbas, information is considerably more limited. More often than not, they appear only as “savage warriors,” “women carrying infants,” or “lazy drunken wretches.” Nevertheless, in their travels throughout South Carolina, itinerant Catawbas appeared before a broad audience and acted as unofficial diplomats of the Catawba Nation. Analysis of documentary accounts provides an understanding of how those diplomats were received.

Comparative analysis of documentary accounts suggests that European observers perceived Catawbas as “degraded” or romantic savages based on the contexts in which Catawbas were observed, and the appearance and actions of Catawbas. For example, on their reservation, Catawbas appear at times to have feigned ignorance of English as a means of discouraging unwanted visitors. In comparison to an account of Catawbas who acknowledged understanding English, a language barrier appears to have lent Catawbas an air of romantic savagery.

While most accounts described Catawbas on their reservation, William Gilmore Simms depicted Catawbas in the Lowcountry selling pottery. Examining Simms’s perspective, Catawba itinerancy seems to have given Lowcountry South Carolinians the impression that Catawbas were more “wild,” and more numerous, than was perceived by observers viewing them on their reservation.

Through their exotic Indian costuming and their itinerant pottery trade, Catawbas blended traditional craft techniques with their knowledge of Anglo foodways and racial stereotypes, marketing their products via white stereotypes of “savage” and nomadic peoples (Riggs and Davis 2008:15). The goods, services, and *performances* of itinerant Catawbas were a factor in the “hands-off” attitude the South Carolina legislature demonstrated toward Catawbas for decades, enabling Catawbas to

retain some measure of economic autonomy, and to travel freely displaying a distinctive Indian identity at a time when anti-Indian sentiments elsewhere in America were rising to a fever pitch.

Documentary evidence indicates that Catawbas were aware of white stereotypes of Indians and capitalized upon them in their interactions with whites. Given their relatively limited perspective, they may not have been aware of the larger symbolic importance of Indians to many whites. Nevertheless, through their commercial activities, and their patron-client relationships with elite planters, itinerant Catawbas benefited from the symbolic importance that whites attached to Indians, as the goods and services they offered planters, and others, satisfied needs that went beyond their functional and economic values.

Whites may have viewed the Catawba pottery trade through the distorting lens of racial stereotypes; nonetheless, as Simms's story demonstrates, the obviously well-crafted nature of Catawba pottery and the equally apparent arduousness of the Catawbas' itinerant lifestyle made a significant impression on their customers.

At the time of the 1840 Treaty of Nations Ford, Catawba society was undergoing a period of fragmentation and dispersal, and Catawbas curtailed their itinerant trade in the Lowcountry. However, by 1850, Catawbas were re-established on their reservation; they quietly began rebuilding their society and continued their pottery trade on a local basis (Harris, Blumer, and Riggs 2008:104).

When William Gilmore Simms lamented the Catawbas' loss of their "remarkable elasticity of character" in 1839, he was referring to the underlying vibrancy, tenacity, and adaptability of Catawba society that was evident in the pottery trade. From his limited perspective, Simms was unaware that Catawba potters marched steadily on. By 1900, Catawba potters were shifting their production from kitchen and dining wares to items such as miniature clay canoes, animal effigies, and jars adorned with "chief's heads." Catawba potters had found a new market in the growing tourist trade; Catawba wares were popular items in souvenir shops in Cherokee, North Carolina (Harris *et al.* 2008:104).

As the twentieth century wore on, Catawbas found additional markets, first in exhibitions for museums, historical reconstructions, and colleges, and later in art shows in Columbia, South Carolina,

and at the Smithsonian Institution. In producing pottery for the Indian arts and crafts market, Catawba potters commanded higher prices than was possible in the tourist trade, and created sophisticated new forms for relatively discerning and affluent art buyers (Harris *et al.* 2008:104).

In the present day, the connection between Catawba pottery and identity is remarkably strong. As Harris *et al.* note,

The Catawba Indian community...is renowned for its elegant, traditional hand-built pottery. Catawba wares reside in major national and international museum collections—one Catawba jar even graces the White House library. The distinctive burnished earthenware vessels have come to symbolize “Catawbaness” to the world. Within the Catawba community, pottery—and potting—represent group identity to a remarkable degree [Harris *et al.* 2008:102].

The powerful connection between Catawba pottery and Catawba history and identity is reflected in comments by Catawba master potter Marcus Sanders, who on the American Indian Pottery website wrote:

Clay is the lifeblood of the Catawba Indian Nation. Without clay, there would be no Catawba Nation today [Sanders n.d.].

In addition to art galleries and museum shops, Catawba pottery is now marketed on the internet. In commenting upon the online marketing of Catawba pottery, Marcus Sanders noted two important benefits:

First the potters who live in absolute obscurity are able to face a world-wide market. Second, Indian pottery collectors can watch this website and find pieces of the quality and price they can afford and make purchases [Sanders, n.d.].

From Sanders’ remarks, it is clear that Catawba potters continue to act as unofficial ambassadors to the world at-large. It is equally clear that nineteenth century reports of the Catawbas’ imminent demise—and the loss of their “remarkable elasticity of character—were greatly exaggerated.

Appendix A. Catawba Pottery Rim Sherd Assemblages.

Table A.1 contains a list of codes used in tables A.2-A.9. Tables A.2-A.9 contain the Catawba pottery rim sherd data that were utilized in this study.

Table A.1. Codes used in tables A.2-A.9

| Vessel form | | Rim Form | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|------------|--------------------------------|
| brbb | broad rim-bevel bowl | ev | everted |
| nrbb | narrow rim-bevel bowl | ex | excurvate |
| flrb | flaring rim bowl | exib | excurvate with interior bevel |
| gbj | globular bodied jar | exrbl | excurvate with ridge below lip |
| trj | thickened rim jar | fl | flaring |
| pre | plate, rounded-edge | flrbl | flaring with ridge below lip |
| pse | plate, scalloped-edge | in | incurvate |
| mh | miscellaneous holloware | inib | incurvate with interior bevel |
| | | st | straight |
| | | stib | straight with interior bevel |
| Paste Composition | | Lip Form | |
| c | coarse | ib | interior bevel |
| f | fine | r | rounded |
| Surface Treatment | | sq | squared |
| bur | burnished | t | tapered |
| pla | plain | | |
| pol | polished | | |
| Vessel Color (interior/exterior) | | Decoration | |
| b/b | buff/buff | se | scalloped-edge |
| s/b | smudged/buff | bib | broad interior bevel |
| g/g | grey/grey | rbl | ridge below lip |
| s/g | smudged/grey | | |
| s/s | smudged/smudged | | |

Table A.2. Old Town Catawba pottery rim sherd assemblage.

| Vessel Form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------|----------|--------------------------|------------|
| brbb | 15 | 3.3 | f | bur | s/s | exib | sq | bib | buff paste |
| brbb | 15 | 3.3 | f | bur | s/s | exib | sq | bib | buff paste |
| brbb | 15 | 3.3 | f | bur | s/s | exib | sq | bib | buff paste |
| brbb | 15 | 3.3 | f | bur | s/s | exib | sq | bib | buff paste |
| brbb | 15 | 3.3 | f | bur | s/s | exib | sq | bib | buff paste |
| flrb | 10 | 2.4 | f | bur | s/b | fl | r | bib | buff paste |
| flrb | 13 | 3.8 | f | bur | g/g | fl | r | | |
| flrb | 13 | 3.8 | f | bur | g/g | fl | r | | |
| flrb | 16 | 2.2 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | single row of black dots | |
| flrb | 16 | 2.2 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | single row of black dots | |
| flrb | 16 | 2.2 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | single row of black dots | |
| flrb | 16 | 2.2 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | single row of black dots | |
| flrb | 16 | 2.2 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | single row of black dots | |
| flrb | 16 | 2.2 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | single row of black dots | |
| flrb | 16 | 2.2 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | single row of black dots | |
| flrb | 16 | 2.2 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | single row of black dots | |
| flrb | 16 | 2.2 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | single row of black dots | |
| flrb | 16 | 2.2 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | single row of black dots | |
| flrb | 16 | 2.2 | f | pol | s/s | fl | indet. | | buff paste |
| flrb | 17 | 4.0 | f | pol | s/s | fl | sq | | buff paste |
| flrb | 18 | 4.7 | f | bur | g/g | fl | r | red paint | |
| flrb | 18 | 4.7 | f | bur | g/g | fl | r | red paint | |
| flrb | 18 | 4.7 | f | bur | g/g | fl | r | red paint | |
| flrb | 18 | 4.7 | f | bur | g/g | fl | r | red paint | |
| flrb | 21 | 3.3 | f | bur | b/b | fl | ib | | |
| flrb | 21 | 3.3 | f | bur | b/b | fl | ib | | |
| flrb | 21 | 3.3 | f | bur | b/b | fl | ib | | |
| flrb | 21 | 3.3 | f | bur | b/b | fl | ib | | |

Table A.2. Old Town Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------|----------|--------------------------|------------|
| flrb | 21 | 3.3 | f | bur | b/b | fl | ib | | |
| flrb | 21 | 3.3 | f | bur | b/b | fl | ib | | |
| flrb | 21 | 3.3 | f | bur | b/b | fl | ib | | |
| flrb | 25 | 4.0 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | | |
| flrb | 25 | 4.0 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | | |
| flrb | 28 | 4.7 | f | bur | s/s | fl | r | | buff paste |
| flrb | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | g/g | fl | ib | | |
| flrb | indet. | 2.2 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | single row of black dots | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | single row of black dots | |
| flrb | indet. | 2.1 | f | bur | g/g | fl | ib | | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | | |
| flrb | indet. | 2.4 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.4 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.4 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | | |
| flrb | indet. | 2.7 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | | |
| flrb | indet. | 2.5 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | red paint | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.0 | f | bur | g/g | fl | ib | | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.0 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | | |
| flrb | indet. | 2.7 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | | |
| flrb | indet. | 2.5 | f | bur | g/g | fl | sq | single row of black dots | |
| flrb | indet. | 2.1 | f | bur | b/b | fl | ib | | |
| flrb | indet. | 2.2 | f | bur | b/b | fl | ib | | |
| flrb | indet. | 2.2 | f | bur | b/b | fl | r | | |
| flrb | indet. | 2.2 | f | bur | b/b | fl | r | | |
| flrb | indet. | 2.8 | f | bur | b/b | fl | sq | red paint | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/s | fl | sq | | |

Table A.2. Old Town Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------|----------|---------------------------|------------|
| flrb | indet. | 2.1 | f | bur | s/s | fl | r | | |
| flrb | indet. | 2.1 | f | pol | s/s | fl | ib | | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.0 | f | bur | s/s | fl | r | | |
| flrb | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/s | fl | ib | | buff paste |
| gbj | 10 | 3.4 | f | pol | s/s | ex | ib | | |
| gbj | 11 | 3.3 | f | bur | g/g | ex | sq | | |
| gbj | 11 | 3.0 | f | bur | g/g | ex | sq | | |
| gbj | 11 | 3.0 | f | bur | g/g | ex | sq | | |
| gbj | 11 | 3.0 | f | bur | g/g | ex | sq | | |
| gbj | 11 | 3.0 | f | bur | g/g | ex | sq | | |
| gbj | 11 | 3.0 | f | bur | g/g | ex | sq | | |
| gbj | 11 | 3.0 | f | bur | g/g | ex | sq | | |
| gbj | 11 | 4.5 | f | bur | b/b | ex | r | black swag & dot over red | |
| gbj | 11 | 4.5 | f | bur | b/b | ex | r | black swag & dot over red | |
| gbj | 12 | 3.2 | f | bur | g/g | ev | sq | | |
| gbj | 12 | 3.2 | f | bur | g/g | ev | sq | | |
| gbj | 12 | 3.3 | f | bur | s/g | ex | sq | black wavy line w/dots | |
| gbj | 12 | 3.3 | f | bur | s/g | ex | sq | black wavy line w/dots | |
| gbj | 12 | 3.3 | f | bur | s/g | ex | sq | black wavy line w/dots | |
| gbj | 12 | 3.3 | f | bur | s/g | ex | sq | black wavy line w/dots | |
| gbj | 22 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | ex | ib | | |
| gbj | indet. | 3.2 | f | bur | g/g | ex | sq | black dot on rim exterior | |
| mh | 9 | 2.0 | f | bur | g/g | ex | sq | | |
| mh | 9 | 2.0 | f | bur | g/g | ex | sq | | |
| mh | 10 | 3.3 | f | pol | s/s | ex | r | | |
| mh | 14 | 3.8 | f | bur | g/g | in | sq | | |
| mh | 15 | 3.5 | f | pol | s/s | in | sq | | buff paste |
| mh | 15 | 3.5 | f | pol | s/s | in | sq | | buff paste |

Table A.2. Old Town Catawba pottery rim sherd assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------|----------|-------------------|------------|
| mh | 15 | 3.5 | f | pol | s/s | in | sq | | buff paste |
| mh | 15 | 3.5 | f | pol | s/s | in | sq | | buff paste |
| mh | 15 | 3.5 | f | pol | s/s | in | sq | | buff paste |
| mh | 15 | 3.5 | f | pol | s/s | in | sq | | buff paste |
| mh | 15 | 3.5 | f | pol | s/s | in | sq | | buff paste |
| mh | 30 | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | ex | sq | | buff paste |
| mh | 30 | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | ex | sq | | |
| mh | indet. | 2.8 | f | bur | g/g | ex | r | exterior punctate | |
| mh | indet. | 2.9 | f | bur | g/g | ex | sq | | |
| mh | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | g/g | ex | r | | |
| mh | indet. | 2.5 | f | bur | g/g | in | sq | | |
| mh | indet. | 3.1 | f | bur | g/g | in | r | | |
| mh | indet. | 2.5 | f | bur | g/g | st | sq | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/g | st | sq | | |
| mh | indet. | 2.5 | f | bur | b/b | ex | sq | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | b/b | in | sq | red paint | |
| mh | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | b/b | st | r | | |
| mh | indet. | 2.1 | f | bur | s/b | ex | r | | |
| mh | indet. | 3.4 | course | pla | s/b | ex | r | | |
| mh | indet. | 5.3 | f | bur | s/b | st | r | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.0 | f | pla | s/b | st | r | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | st | sq | | |
| mh | indet. | 2.1 | f | pol | s/s | in | r | | buff paste |
| mh | indet. | 2.1 | f | pol | s/s | in | r | | buff paste |
| mh | indet. | 3.3 | f | pol | s/s | in | t | | |
| mh | indet. | 2.4 | f | pol | s/s | in | sq | | |
| mh | indet. | 3.7 | f | pol | s/s | ex | sq | | |

Table A.2. Old Town Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------|----------|------------|---------------------------|
| mh | indet. | 3.1 | f | bur | s/s | ex | sq | | |
| mh | indet. | 2.8 | f | bur | s/s | ex | sq | | |
| mh | indet. | 2.1 | f | pol | s/s | in | sq | | |
| mh | indet. | 2.6 | f | bur | s/s | in | sq | | |
| mh | indet. | 6.4 | f | bur | s/s | st | sq | | |
| pan | 25 | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | row of black dots on ext. |
| pan | 25 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | |
| pan | 25 | 6.0 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | |
| pan | 27 | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.2 | f | bur | g/g | ex | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | ex | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 2.7 | f | pol | s/s | in | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.7 | f | pol | s/s | st | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 2.7 | f | pol | s/s | st | ib | | |
| pre | 17 | 3.8 | f | bur | g/g | in | ib | | |
| pre | 24 | 2.4 | f | bur | g/g | st | r | | |
| pre | 24 | 2.4 | f | bur | g/g | st | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | g/g | fl | ib | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | g/g | st | sq | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.1 | f | bur | s/g | st | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | b/b | in | ib | | |
| pse | 23 | 4.5 | f | bur | g/g | in | sq | | se, black swag and dots |
| pse | 23 | 4.5 | f | bur | g/g | in | sq | | se, black swag and dots |
| pse | 23 | 4.5 | f | bur | g/g | in | sq | | se, black swag and dots |
| pse | 23 | 4.5 | f | bur | g/g | in | sq | | se, black swag and dots |
| pse | 23 | 4.5 | f | bur | g/g | in | sq | | se, black swag and dots |
| pse | 23 | 4.5 | f | bur | g/g | in | sq | | se, black swag and dots |

Table A.3. New Town Locus 2 Catawba pottery rim sherd assemblage.

| Vessel Form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|
| brbb | 23 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/s | exib | sq | bib | |
| brbb | 25 | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | |
| brbb | 25 | 4.3 | f | bur | b/b | exib | ib | bib | |
| brbb | 25 | 4.3 | f | bur | b/b | exib | ib | bib | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | exib | r | bib | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | |
| brbb | indet. | 5.3 | f | bur | s/s | exib | ib | bib | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/s | exib | sq | bib | |
| flrb | 12 | 4.1 | f | pla | b/b | fl | r | | |
| flrb | 17 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/s | fl | sq | | |
| flrb | 17 | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | fl | r | | |
| flrb | 18 | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | fl | sq | | |
| flrb | 18 | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | fl | sq | | |
| flrb | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | fl | sq | | |
| gbj | 9 | 2.2 | f | pla | s/b | ex | t | | |
| gbj | 12 | 3.4 | f | bur | s/b | ex | ib | | |
| gbj | 12 | 3.4 | f | bur | s/b | ex | ib | | |
| gbj | 12 | 3.4 | f | bur | s/b | ex | ib | | |
| gbj | 12 | 3.6 | c | pla | s/b | ex | sq | | |
| gbj | 14 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | ex | sq | | |
| gbj | 14 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | ex | sq | | |
| gbj | 14 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | ex | sq | | |
| gbj | 14 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | ex | sq | | |
| gbj | 15 | 2.7 | f | bur | s/b | ex | r | | |
| gbj | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | ex | sq | | |
| gbj | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | ex | sq | | |
| gbj | indet. | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | ev | r | | |
| gbj | indet. | 2.9 | f | bur | s/b | ex | sq | | |

Table A.3. New Town Locus 2 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------|----------|--------------------------|---------------|
| mh | 8 | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | st | sq | | footed beaker |
| mh | 8 | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | st | sq | | footed beaker |
| mh | 8 | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | st | sq | | footed beaker |
| mh | 8 | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | st | sq | | footed beaker |
| mh | 8 | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | st | sq | | footed beaker |
| mh | 8 | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | st | sq | | footed beaker |
| mh | 8 | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | st | sq | | footed beaker |
| mh | 8 | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | st | sq | | footed beaker |
| mh | 12 | 2.8 | f | pol | s/s | inc | t | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | inc | r | | |
| mh | indet. | 3.4 | f | bur | s/b | st | t | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | inc | r | | |
| nrb | 12 | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | nib, orange rim striping | |
| nrb | 17 | 3.2 | f | bur | s/b | incib | ib | nib | |
| nrb | 20 | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | incib | r | nib, orange rim striping | |
| nrb | 20 | 3.3 | f | bur | s/b | incib | sq | nib, orange rim striping | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.3 | f | bur | s/b | incib | r | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | 5.8 | f | bur | s/b | incib | ib | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | incib | r | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.4 | f | bur | s/b | incib | r | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | 5.3 | f | bur | s/b | incib | ib | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | 5.3 | f | bur | s/b | incib | ib | nib | |
| pan | 17 | 3.6 | f | bur | s/b | inc | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | inc | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.3 | f | bur | s/b | inc | ib | | |

Table A.3. New Town Locus 2 Catawba pottery rim sherd assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|
| pan | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | inc | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | inc | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | inc | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | inc | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | inc | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | inc | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 6.0 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | inc | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.6 | f | bur | b/b | inc | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | inc | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | inc | ib | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | b/b | incib | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | inc | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.2 | f | bur | s/b | incib | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.6 | f | bur | b/b | incib | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | s/s | inc | ib | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | inc | ib | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/s | inc | ib | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | b/b | incib | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | incib | sq | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | incib | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | incib | ib | | |
| pse | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | incib | r | | |
| pse | indet. | 3.0 | f | bur | s/b | inc | r | | |
| pse | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | incib | r | | |
| pse | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | b/b | inc | r | | |
| pse | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | incib | r | | |

Table A.3. New Town Locus 2 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|
| pse | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | inc | sq | | |
| tj | 16 | 4.1 | c | pla | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | |
| tj | 16 | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | |
| tj | 18 | 5.1 | f | bur | s/s | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | 18 | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | 18 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | 18 | 6.0 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | |
| tj | 18 | 6.0 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | |
| tj | 18 | 5.7 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | |
| tj | 18 | 5.3 | c | pla | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | 19 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | 19 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | 19 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | 19 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | 19 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | 19 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | 19 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | 19 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | 20 | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | 20 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | 20 | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | 21 | 4.1 | f | bur | b/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | 22 | 5.2 | f | bur | s/s | exrbl | r | rbl | |
| tj | 22 | 5.0 | f | bur | s/s | exrbl | r | rbl | |
| tj | 22 | 5.0 | f | bur | s/s | exrbl | r | rbl | |
| tj | 23 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | |
| tj | 23 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | |
| tj | 23 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | |
| tj | 23 | 5.1 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | |

Table A.3. New Town Locus 2 Catawba pottery rim sherd assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|
| tj | 23 | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | |
| tj | 23 | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | |
| tj | 24 | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | 26 | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 4.0 | f | pla | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 5.2 | c | pla | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 3.6 | f | pla | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/s | exrbl | sq | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 4.7 | f | pla | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 5.3 | f | pla | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 4.4 | c | pla | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | |

Table A.4. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery rim sherd assemblage.

| Vessel form | Sherd | | | Vessel | | | | Lip form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----|----------|------------|----------|
| | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Rim form | | | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | b/b | exib | r | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 5.7 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | b/b | exib | r | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | b/b | exib | r | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | b/b | exib | sq | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | b/b | exib | r | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 5.4 | f | bur | b/b | exib | sq | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | b/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | b/b | exib | sq | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | exib | r | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | 22 | 3.6 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | 28 | 5.1 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | 22 | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | exib | sq | bib | | |
| brbb | 28 | 5.1 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | 28 | 5.1 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | 28 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | 22 | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | 22 | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | 24 | 5.3 | f | bur | b/b | exib | sq | bib | | |
| brbb | 16 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | exib | sq | bib | | |
| brbb | 16 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | exib | sq | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 5.7 | f | bur | b/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | b/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 5.9 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/s | exib | ib | bib | | |

Table A.4. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery rim sherd assemblage (continued).

| Vessel form | Orifice Sherd | | Vessel | | | | | Lip form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----|-------------------|-------------------|----------|
| | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Rim form | | | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 5.3 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exib | r | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | 23 | 5.5 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | 25 | 5.0 | f | bur | b/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | 25 | 5.0 | f | bur | b/b | exib | ib | bib | | |
| brbb | 26 | 4.5 | f | bur | indet./b | exib | sq | bib | over-fired sherds | |
| brbb | 26 | 4.5 | f | bur | indet./b | exib | sq | bib | over-fired sherds | |
| brbb | 26 | 4.5 | f | bur | indet./b | exib | sq | bib | over-fired sherds | |
| flrb | 18 | 3.1 | f | bur | s/s | fl | ib | | | |
| flrb | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | fl | ib | | | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.1 | f | bur | b/b | fl | t | | | |
| flrb | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | b/b | fl | t | | | |
| flrb | 10 | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | fl | sq | | | |
| flrb | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | fl | t | | | |
| flrb | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | b/b | fl | ib | | | |
| flrb | 17 | 3.9 | f | bur | b/b | fl | ib | | | |
| flrb | 16 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | fl | ib | | | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | fl | ib | | | |
| flrb | indet. | 2.7 | f | bur | s/s | fl | ib | orange rim stripe | | |

Table A.4. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel form | Orifice | | Sherd | | | | Vessel | | | | Comments |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|------------|--------------------|--|----------|
| | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Rim form | Lip form | Decoration | | | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/s | fl | sq | | | | |
| flrb | indet. | 4.0 | f | pol | s/s | fl | ib | | | | |
| flrb | 9 | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | fl | r | | orange rim stripe | | |
| gbj | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | ex | ib | | | | |
| gbj | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | ex | r | | | | |
| gbj | 8 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | ex | ib | | | | |
| gbj | 9 | 3.0 | f | bur | s/b | ex | sq | | | | |
| gbj | 8 | 3.1 | f | bur | s/s | ex | sq | | | | |
| gbj | indet. | 4.1 | f | pol | s/s | ex | r | | | | |
| gbj | 10 | 4.5 | f | pla | s/b | ex | sq | | | | |
| gbj | 10 | 4.5 | c | pla | s/b | ex | sq | | | | |
| gbj | 10 | 4.5 | c | pla | s/b | ex | sq | | | | |
| gbj | 18 | 5.4 | f | bur | s/b | ev | indet. | | | | |
| gbj | 16 | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | ev | r | | pot w/handle | | |
| gbj | 16 | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | ev | r | | pot w/handle | | |
| gbj | 10 | 5.4 | f | pol | s/s | ex | ib | | pot w/handle | | |
| mh | 2 | 4.0 | f | bur | b/b | st | sq | | pitcher? | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | cylindrical bottle | | |
| mh | indet. | 5.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | | |
| mh | indet. | 5.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | | |
| mh | indet. | 5.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | | |
| mh | 10 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | | |
| mh | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | | |
| mh | 8 | 3.4 | f | bur | b/b | in | r | | | | |
| mh | 9 | 2.1 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | | |

Table A.4. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery rim sherds assembly (continued).

| Vessel form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Vessel | | | | Lip form | Rim form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------|----------|----------|-----------------|----------|
| | | | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | form | | | | |
| mh | 19 | 3.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | t | | | |
| mh | 12 | 3.1 | f | pol | s/s | in | sq | | | |
| mh | 8 | 2.7 | f | bur | b/b | ex | sq | | | |
| mh | 8 | 4.2 | f | bur | b/b | ex | sq | | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | |
| mh | 9 | 2.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | indet. | | bowl w/flooring | |
| nrbb | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | | |
| nrbb | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | b/b | stib | r | nib | | |
| nrbb | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | nib | | |
| nrbb | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | stib | sq | nib | | |
| nrbb | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | nib | | |
| nrbb | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | b/b | inib | r | nib | | |
| nrbb | indet. | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | nib | | |
| nrbb | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | | |
| nrbb | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | stib | sq | nib | | |
| nrbb | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | | |
| nrbb | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | nib | | |
| nrbb | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | nib | | |
| nrbb | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | b/b | inib | r | nib | | |
| nrbb | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | | |
| nrbb | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | nib | | |
| nrbb | 23 | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | | |
| nrbb | 23 | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | | |
| nrbb | 27 | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | nib | | |
| nrbb | 27 | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | nib | | |
| nrbb | 27 | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | nib | | |
| nrbb | 27 | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | nib | | |

Table A.4. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Vessel | | | | Rim form | Lip form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------------------|------------|----------|
| | | | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Color (int/ext) | | | | |
| nrb | 27 | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | nib | | |
| nrb | 20 | 4.1 | f | bur | b/b | stib | sq | nib | | |
| nrb | 27 | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | nib | | |
| nrb | 21 | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | nib | | |
| nrb | 21 | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | | |
| nrb | 27 | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | nib | | |
| nrb | 27 | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | nib | | |
| nrb | 16 | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | nib | | |
| nrb | 20 | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.3 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib | | |
| nrb | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | nib | | |
| nrb | 20 | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | stib | sq | nib | | |
| nrb | 20 | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | stib | sq | nib | | |
| nrb | 20 | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | stib | sq | nib | | |
| nrb | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/s | stib | sq | nib | | |
| nrb | 16 | 4.5 | f | bur | b/b | stib | ib | nib | | |
| nrb | 20 | 3.2 | f | bur | s/s | stib | ib | nib | | |
| nrb | 20 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | | |
| nrb | 18 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | stib | sq | nib | | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | nib, dashed orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | nib, dashed orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | 26 | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib, dashed orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | 26 | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib, dashed orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | 26 | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib, dashed orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | 26 | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib, dashed orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | 26 | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib, dashed orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | 16 | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | nib, dashed orange rim stripe | | |

Table A.4. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Vessel | | | | Rim form | Lip form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------|----------|------------------------------------|--------------------|----------|
| | | | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | form | | | | |
| nrb | 28 | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib, dashed orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | 28 | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib, dashed orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | 28 | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib, dashed orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | 16 | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | nib, dashed orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.6 | f | bur | s/b | stib | sq | nib, orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.6 | f | bur | s/b | stib | sq | nib, orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | 24 | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib, orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | 24 | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib, orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib, orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | 16 | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | nib, orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | 16 | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib, orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | 16 | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib, orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | 14 | 3.6 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib, orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | 16 | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib, orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib, orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | 24 | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib, orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | 24 | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib, orange rim stripe | | |
| nrb | 8 | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | nib, dashed orange & incised lines | cup (child's toy?) | |
| nrb | 8 | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | nib | | |
| nrb | 8 | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | nib | | |
| nrb | 26 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | b/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |

Table A.4. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Vessel | | | | Lip form | Rim form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|
| | | | | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Color (int/ext) | Color (int/ext) | | | | |
| pan | 27 | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | 27 | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 3.1 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | b/b | b/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | ib | st | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | b/b | b/b | ib | st | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | ib | st | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 5.5 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 5.7 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 5.7 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | b/b | b/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | b/b | b/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 5.5 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | b/b | b/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | b/b | b/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | b/b | b/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | b/b | b/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | b/b | b/b | ib | in | | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 3.4 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | ib | st | | ib | |

Table A.4. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel | | | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|----------|
| | | | | | Color (int/ext) | Rim form | Lip form | |
| pan | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | |
| pan | 25 | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | |
| pan | 26 | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | |
| pan | 20 | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | |
| pan | 26 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | |
| pan | 26 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | |
| pan | 28 | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | |
| pan | 20 | 3.3 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | |
| pan | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | |
| pan | 28 | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | |
| pre | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | |
| pre | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/s | inib | r | |
| pre | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | |
| pre | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | |
| pre | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | b/b | inib | r | |
| pre | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | b/b | in | ib | |
| pre | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | |
| pre | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | |
| pre | indet. | 2.3 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | |
| pre | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/s | inib | r | |
| pre | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | in | sq | |
| pre | indet. | 3.2 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | |

Table A.4. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Vessel | | | | Rim form | Lip form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------|----------|--------------------------|------------|----------|
| | | | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | form | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.2 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.2 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | | | |
| pre | 23 | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | st | sq | | | |
| pre | 18 | 3.0 | f | bur | b/b | in | ib | | | |
| pre | 26 | 4.7 | f | bur | b/b | inib | ib | | | |
| pre | 20 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | | | |
| pre | 20 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | | | |
| pre | 26 | 4.7 | f | bur | b/b | inib | ib | | | |
| pre | 22 | 3.9 | f | pla | s/b | in | r | | | |
| pre | 18 | 3.0 | f | bur | b/b | in | ib | | | |
| pre | 18 | 3.0 | f | bur | b/b | in | ib | | | |
| pre | 23 | 5.0 | f | bur | b/b | inib | ib | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | | |
| pre | 24 | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | b/b | inib | sq | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.2 | f | pol | s/s | stib | r | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | |
| pre | 24 | 3.8 | f | bur | b/b | inib | sq | | | |
| pre | 23 | 4.6 | f | bur | b/b | stib | r | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | dashed orange rim stripe | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.0 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | orange rim stripe | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | orange rim stripe | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/s | inib | r | orange rim stripe | | |
| pre | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | orange rim stripe | | |

Table A.4. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Vessel | | | | Rim form | Lip form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------|----------|----------------------------|------------|----------|
| | | | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | form | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.2 | f | bur | s/s | in | r | orange rim stripe | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | orange rim stripe | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/s | stib | ib | orange rim stripe | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | orange rim stripe w/dots | | |
| pse | indet. | 3.0 | f | bur | s/b | stib | sq | se | | |
| pse | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | b/b | st | sq | se | | |
| pse | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | se | | |
| pse | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | se | | |
| pse | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | se | | |
| pse | indet. | 3.0 | f | bur | s/s | inib | r | se | | |
| pse | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/s | in | ib | se | | |
| pse | indet. | 3.6 | f | bur | b/b | in | ib | se | | |
| pse | indet. | 3.6 | f | bur | b/b | in | ib | se | | |
| pse | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | se | | |
| pse | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | se | | |
| pse | 24 | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | se | | |
| pse | 22 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | se | | |
| pse | 21 | 3.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | se | | |
| pse | 21 | 3.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | se | | |
| pse | indet. | 4.0 | f | pol | s/s | in | ib | se | | |
| pse | 22 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | se | | |
| pse | 24 | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | se | | |
| pse | 24 | 3.1 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | se | | |
| pse | 24 | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | se | | |
| pse | 24 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/s | inib | sq | se | | |
| pse | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | b/b | in | ib | se, orange rim striping | | |
| pse | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | b/b | st | sq | se, black dots & wavy line | | |

Table A.4. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Vessel | | | | Rim form | Lip form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------|----------|----------------------------|------------|----------|
| | | | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | form | | | | |
| pse | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | b/b | st | sq | se, black dots & wavy line | | |
| tj | 17 | 4.7 | f | bur | b/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 17 | 4.7 | f | bur | b/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 17 | 4.7 | f | bur | b/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 17 | 4.7 | f | bur | b/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 6.1 | f | bur | s/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 24 | 6.5 | f | bur | s/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 24 | 6.5 | f | bur | s/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 24 | 6.5 | f | bur | s/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 7.5 | f | bur | s/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | extrbl | sq | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 17 | 4.7 | f | bur | b/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 17 | 4.7 | f | bur | b/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 17 | 4.7 | f | bur | b/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 17 | 4.7 | f | bur | b/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 17 | 4.7 | f | bur | b/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 25 | 3.9 | f | bur | b/b | flrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | extrbl | sq | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | extrbl | sq | rbl | | |
| tj | 18 | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.9 | f | bur | s/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.3 | f | bur | s/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 25 | 3.9 | f | bur | b/b | flrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 17 | 4.7 | f | bur | b/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 25 | 3.9 | f | bur | b/b | flrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 6.0 | f | bur | s/b | extrbl | ib | rbl | | |

Table A.4. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Vessel | | | | | Rim form | Lip form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|
| | | | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Color (int/ext) | Color (int/ext) | | | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.1 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 20 | 5.0 | f | bur | b/b | b/b | flrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 15 | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | |
| tj | 22 | 7.4 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | |
| tj | 23 | 5.4 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 10 | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 16 | 5.6 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 6.4 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 6.2 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 20 | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 7.0 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | b/b | b/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| tj | 10 | 3.6 | c | pla | b/b | b/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | |
| tj | 22 | 7.4 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | |
| tj | 18 | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |

Table A.5. New Town Locus 4 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage.

| Orifice | | | Sherd | | | Vessel | | |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|------------|
| Vessel Form | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration |
| brbb | 14 | 3.9 | f | pla | b/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | 16 | 3.1 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | 24 | 3.6 | f | bur | b/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 5.7 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 5.5 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | indet. | f | bur | s/b | exib | indet. | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 5.4 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | exib | sq | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exib | sq | bib |
| brbb | indet. | 3.3 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib |

Table A.5. New Town Locus 4 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice | | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel | | | Lip Form | Decoration |
|-------------|---------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|--------|--|------------|
| | Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | | | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | | | |
| flrb | 16 | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | fl | r | orange rim stripe | |
| flrb | indet. | indet. | f | bur | s/b | fl | indet. | se | |
| flrb | indet. | indet. | f | bur | s/b | fl | indet. | | |
| flrb | indet. | 2.5 | f | bur | s/b | fl | r | | |
| flrb | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | fl | r | | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.3 | f | bur | s/b | fl | r | orange rim stripe w/dots | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.3 | f | bur | s/b | fl | r | orange rim stripe w/dots | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.3 | f | bur | s/b | fl | r | orange rim stripe w/dots | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.3 | f | bur | s/b | fl | r | orange rim stripe w/dots | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.3 | f | bur | s/b | fl | r | orange rim stripe w/dots | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.3 | f | bur | s/b | fl | r | orange rim stripe w/dots | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.3 | f | bur | s/b | fl | r | orange rim stripe w/dots | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | fl | r | orange rim stripe w/dots | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | fl | sq | orange rim stripe w/swag & dots | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | fl | sq | orange rim stripe w/swag & dots | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.0 | f | bur | s/b | fl | sq | orange rim stripe w/swag & dots | |
| gbj | 10 | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | ex | sq | se, orange rim stripe, perpendicular lines | |
| gbj | indet. | 4.0 | f | pol | s/s | ex | r | | |
| mh | 10 | 3.6 | f | pol | s/s | in | r | | |
| mh | 16 | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | st | sq | | |
| mh | 16 | 4.0 | f | bur | b/b | st | sq | | |
| mh | 22 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | |
| mh | 22 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | |
| mh | 22 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | |
| mh | indet. | 3.1 | f | pol | s/s | in | r | | |
| mh | indet. | 3.1 | f | pol | s/s | in | r | | |
| mh | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | st | sq | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | in | t | | |

Table A.5. New Town Locus 4 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice | | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel | | | Lip Form | Decoration |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----|------------------------|------------|
| | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | | | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | | | |
| nrb | 8 | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | |
| nrb | 15 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | |
| nrb | 15 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | |
| nrb | 16 | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | nib | |
| nrb | 16 | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | |
| nrb | 16 | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | stib | t | nib, orange rim stripe | |
| nrb | 20 | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | stib | sq | nib | |
| nrb | 24 | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | 5.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.1 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | b/b | inib | r | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | stib | sq | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | nib, orange dots | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | nib, orange rim stripe | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | nib, orange rim stripe | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | stib | sq | nib, orange rim stripe | |
| pan | 22 | 4.2 | f | bur | b/b | in | ib | | |
| pan | 25 | 5.3 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | |
| pan | 25 | 5.3 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | |

Table A.5. New Town Locus 4 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice | | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel | | | Lip Form | Decoration |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|-----------------------------------|----------|------------|
| | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | | | | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 6.2 | f | bur | b/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.7 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.4 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.8 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.8 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | |
| pre | 17 | 3.2 | f | pol | s/s | inib | ib | orange rim stripe | | |
| pre | 17 | 3.2 | f | pol | s/s | inib | ib | orange rim stripe, dots and ovals | | |
| pre | 22 | 3.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | |
| pre | 24 | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | | | |
| pre | indet. | indet. | f | pol | s/s | in | indet. | | | |
| pre | indet. | indet. | f | bur | s/b | in | indet. | | | |
| pre | indet. | indet. | f | bur | s/b | in | indet. | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.6 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | b/b | inib | r | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.2 | f | bur | s/s | in | r | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | |

Table A.5. New Town Locus 4 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel | | | | Decoration |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|------|--|
| | | | | | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Form | |
| pre | indet. | 3.2 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | b/b | inib | sq | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | t | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/s | inib | ib | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | b/b | inib | ib | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | b/b | inib | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | | orange dots |
| pre | indet. | 3.1 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | | orange rim stripe |
| pre | indet. | 3.4 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | | orange rim stripe |
| pre | indet. | 3.1 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | | orange rim stripe |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | | orange rim stripe |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | | orange rim stripe & zig-zag line |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | f | pol | s/s | inib | r | | orange rim stripe, perpendicular lines & circles |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | f | pol | s/s | inib | r | | orange rim stripe, perpendicular lines & circles |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | f | pol | s/s | inib | r | | orange rim stripe, perpendicular lines & circles |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | f | pol | s/s | inib | r | | orange rim stripe, perpendicular lines & circles |

Table A.5. New Town Locus 4 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice | | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel | | | Decoration |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|--|------------|
| | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | | | | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | f | pol | s/s | inib | r | orange rim stripe, perpendicular lines & circles | |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | f | pol | s/s | inib | r | orange rim stripe, perpendicular lines & circles | |
| pre | indet. | 3.6 | f | bur | s/s | inib | sq | orange rim stripe, perpendicular lines & circles | |
| pre | indet. | 3.8 | f | pol | s/s | inib | ib | orange rim stripe, perpendicular lines & dots | |
| pre | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/s | inib | ib | orange rim stripe w/whirls | |
| pre | indet. | 3.4 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | orange swag and dots | |
| pse | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | se, orange dots | |
| pse | indet. | 3.1 | f | bur | b/b | in | ib | se | |
| pse | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/s | in | ib | se | |
| pse | indet. | indet. | f | bur | s/indet. | in | ib | se | |
| pse | indet. | 3.4 | f | bur | b/b | st | ib | se | |
| trj | 17 | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| trj | 20 | 5.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| trj | 24 | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| trj | 25 | 5.1 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| trj | 27 | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| trj | indet. | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| trj | indet. | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| trj | indet. | 5.7 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| trj | indet. | 4.3 | f | pla | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| trj | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| trj | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| trj | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| trj | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | |
| trj | indet. | 5.3 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| trj | indet. | 5.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| trj | indet. | 5.5 | f | pla | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |

Table A.5. New Town Locus 4 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Orifice | | Sherd | | Vessel | | | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|------------|--|--|
| Vessel Form | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | | |
| trj | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| trj | indet. | 5.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| trj | indet. | 6.2 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| trj | indet. | 5.3 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| trj | indet. | 5.9 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| trj | indet. | 5.9 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| trj | indet. | 5.9 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| trj | indet. | 5.9 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| trj | indet. | 5.5 | f | bur | s/b | flrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| trj | indet. | 5.9 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | |
| trj | indet. | 6.3 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | | |

Table A.6. New Town Locus 5 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage.

| Vessel Form | Orifice | | Sherd | | | Vessel | | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|--|--|
| | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments | | |
| brbb | 11 | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | | |
| brbb | 15 | 3.6 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | | |
| brbb | 23 | 5.7 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | | |
| brbb | indet. | 3.3 | f | bur | s/b | exib | r | bib | | | |
| brbb | indet. | 3.3 | f | bur | s/b | exib | r | bib | | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | | |
| brbb | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | | |
| brbb | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | | |
| brbb | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | | |
| brbb | indet. | 5.1 | f | bur | s/b | exib | sq | bib | | | |
| brbb | indet. | 3.6 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | | | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | b/b | fl | sq | | | | |
| flrb | indet. | 2.9 | f | bur | s/b | fl | r | | | | |
| flrb | indet. | 5.6 | f | bur | s/b | fl | ib | | | | |
| flrb | indet. | 5.0 | f | pol | s/s | fl | indet. | | | | |
| flrb | indet. | indet. | f | bur | s/b | fl | indet. | | | | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.3 | f | bur | s/s | fl | ib | | | | |
| flrb | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | fl | sq | | se | | |
| gbj | 10 | 5.4 | f | bur | s/b | ex | ib | | | | |

Table A.6. New Town Locus 5 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice | | Sherd | | | Vessel | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|--|
| | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments | |
| gbj | 10 | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | ex | r | | | |
| gbj | 10 | 2.5 | f | bur | b/b | ex | sq | | | |
| gbj | 10 | 3.3 | c | pla | s/b | ex | sq | | | |
| gbj | 10 | 3.7 | f | bur | s/s | ex | ib | | | |
| gbj | 10 | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | ex | ib | | | |
| gbj | 15 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | ex | ib | | | |
| gbj | 15 | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | ex | ib | | | |
| gbj | 18 | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | ex | ib | | | |
| gbj | indet. | 3.5 | c | pla | s/b | ex | ib | | | |
| gbj | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | ex | sq | | | |
| gbj | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | ex | r | | | |
| gbj | indet. | 4.9 | f | bur | s/s | ex | sq | | | |
| gbj | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | b/b | ex | sq | | | |
| mh | 8 | 3.8 | f | bur | s/s | in | r | | | |
| mh | 16 | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | |
| mh | 22 | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | |
| mh | 22 | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.2 | c | pla | s/b | in | r | | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | |
| mh | indet. | 5.9 | c | pla | s/b | st | r | | | |
| mh | indet. | 3.6 | f | pla | s/b | in | sq | | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | in | sq | | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | st | sq | | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | ex | r | | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | ex | r | | | |

Table A.6. New Town Locus 5 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice | | Sherd | | | | Vessel | | | | | Comments |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|------------------------|--|--|--|----------|
| | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | | | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | ex | r | | | | | |
| mh | indet. | 5.2 | c | pla | s/b | in | r | | | | | |
| mh | indet. | 3.0 | f | bur | s/s | in | sq | | | | | |
| mh | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | | | |
| mh | indet. | 5.3 | f | bur | b/b | st | sq | | | | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/s | in | sq | | | | | |
| mh | indet. | 5.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | sq | | | | | |
| nrb | 8 | 2.6 | f | bur | b/b | exib | ib | nib | | | | |
| nrb | 14 | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | nib | | | | |
| nrb | 15 | 3.7 | f | pla | s/b | inib | r | nib | | | | |
| nrb | 15 | 3.3 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | nib | | | | |
| nrb | 15 | 2.9 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | nib | | | | |
| nrb | 15 | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib | | | | |
| nrb | 16 | 3.6 | f | bur | s/s | stib | r | nib | | | | |
| nrb | 16 | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib | | | | |
| nrb | 16 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | nib | | | | |
| nrb | 16 | 5.3 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib, orange rim stripe | | | | |
| nrb | 16 | 5.3 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib, orange rim stripe | | | | |
| nrb | 17 | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | nib | | | | |
| nrb | 20 | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib, orange rim stripe | | | | |
| nrb | 20 | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib, orange rim stripe | | | | |
| nrb | 21 | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib | | | | |
| nrb | 21 | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib | | | | |
| nrb | 22 | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.2 | f | pla | s/b | stib | sq | nib | | | | |

Table A.6. New Town Locus 5 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice | | Sherd | | | | Vessel | | | | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|--------|--------------------------|--|--|----------|------------|----------|
| | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Form | Form | | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/s | inib | sq | nib | | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | nib | | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | s/s | stib | ib | nib | | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib | | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.6 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib | | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | nib | | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.0 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | nib | | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | s/s | inib | r | nib | | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | nib | | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib | | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/s | stib | ib | nib | | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 5.1 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | nib | | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 5.7 | f | bur | s/s | inib | r | nib | | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | b/b | stib | ib | nib | | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | nib, orange whirl at lip | | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib, orange rim stripe | | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | nib, orange rim stripe | | | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | nib, orange rim stripe | | | | | |
| pan | 16 | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | | | |
| pan | 16 | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | | | |
| pan | 17 | 3.8 | f | pla | s/b | in | ib | | | | | | |
| pan | 18 | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | | | |
| pan | 18 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | | | |
| pan | 18 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | | | |
| pan | 18 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | | | | |
| pan | 18 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | | | | |

Table A.6. New Town Locus 5 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice | | Sherd | | | Vessel | | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|--|--|
| | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments | | |
| pan | 18 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | | |
| pan | 18 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | | |
| pan | 18 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | | |
| pan | 26 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | 26 | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | | |
| pan | 27 | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | 29 | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | b/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/s | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | | |

Table A.6. New Town Locus 5 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice | | Sherd | | | Vessel | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|--|
| | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments | |
| pan | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | b/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.5 | f | pla | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.1 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | b/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | b/b | st | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | |
| pre | 20 | 4.0 | f | pol | s/s | in | r | | | |
| pre | 20 | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | | |

Table A.6. New Town Locus 5 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice | | Sherd | | | | Vessel | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|--|--|
| | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments | | |
| pre | 23 | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | inib | t | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.4 | f | bur | s/s | inib | sq | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.3 | f | pla | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | b/b | inib | ib | | | | |
| pre | indet. | indet. | f | bur | s/indet. | in | r | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 2.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | ex | t | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | b/b | inib | r | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | b/b | in | t | | | | |
| pre | indet. | indet. | f | bur | s/indet. | in | - | | | | |
| pre | indet. | indet. | f | bur | s/indet. | in | - | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/s | in | r | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | st | t | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/s | inib | r | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.6 | f | bur | b/b | inib | r | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.4 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.6 | f | bur | s/s | stib | sq | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | | |

Table A.6. New Town Locus 5 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice | | Sherd | | | | Vessel | | | | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|--|--|--|----------|------------|----------|
| | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | b/b | inib | r | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.8 | f | pla | s/s | in | ib | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | b/b | in | r | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | b/b | inib | ib | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | b/b | inib | ib | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | b/b | in | r | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.4 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.4 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | b/b | in | r | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | b/b | inib | ib | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | b/b | stib | ib | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 5.6 | f | bur | b/b | inib | ib | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | b/b | inib | r | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/s | inib | r | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | b/b | stib | r | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.2 | c | pla | s/b | inib | r | | | | | | |

Table A.6. New Town Locus 5 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice | | Sherd | | | | Vessel | | | | Comments |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|-----------------------|-------------------|--|----------|
| | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | orange rim stripe | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | orange rim stripe | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | b/b | inib | r | orange rim stripe | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | inib | ib | orange rim stripe | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | b/b | inib | ib | orange rim stripe | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | orange rim stripe | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/s | stib | ib | orange rim stripe | | | |
| pre | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | b/b | in | r | | | | |
| pse | indet. | 3.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | se | | | |
| pse | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/s | in | r | se | | | |
| pse | indet. | 3.6 | f | bur | s/s | inib | r | se, orange rim stripe | | | |
| tj | 6 | 2.8 | f | bur | b/b | exrbl | r | rbl | child's pinch pot | | |
| tj | 10 | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | | | |
| tj | 10 | 3.4 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | 16 | 6.5 | f | bur | b/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | 18 | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | 18 | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | 18 | 6.4 | f | bur | b/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | 18 | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | 20 | 5.3 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | 20 | 4.6 | f | bur | s/s | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | 20 | 4.6 | f | bur | s/s | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | 22 | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | | |
| tj | 23 | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | | |
| tj | 23 | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | | |
| tj | 23 | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | | |

Table A.6. New Town Locus 5 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice | | Sherd | | | | Vessel | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|--|--|
| | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments | | |
| tj | 23 | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | | |
| tj | 23 | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | | |
| tj | 23 | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | | |
| tj | 23 | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | | |
| tj | 24 | 6.6 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.4 | f | bur | s/s | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.9 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | indet. | c | pla | s/b | exrbl | indet. | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.7 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.7 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | indet. | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |

Table A.6. New Town Locus 5 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice | | Sherd | | | | | Vessel | | | |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|--|--|
| | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/s | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | s/s | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.3 | c | pla | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.1 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.1 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.1 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | indet. | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | - | rbl | | | |
| tj | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | | | |

Table A.6. New Town Locus 5 Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice | | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel | | | |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|------------|
| | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | | | | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration |
| tj | indet. | 6.3 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 6.7 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | indet. | f | bur | indet./b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 6.9 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 6.6 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 5.6 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 5.6 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 5.6 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 7.8 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | rbl | |

Table A.7. Edenmoor Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd | | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel | | | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----|------------------------|------------|----------|
| | | Thickness (mm) | Color (int/ext) | | | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | | | | |
| gbj | indet. | 4.6 | | f | bur | s/b | ex | sq | | | |
| gbj | indet. | 3.3 | | f | bur | s/s | ex | r | | | |
| gbj | indet. | 5.0 | | f | bur | s/s | ex | sq | | | |
| gbj | indet. | 4.9 | | f | bur | s/s | ex | sq | | | |
| gbj | indet. | 3.6 | | f | bur | s/b | ex | - | | | |
| mh | 12 | 3.3 | | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | |
| mh | 12 | 4.0 | | f | bur | s/b | st | r | | | |
| mh | 14 | 3.5 | | f | bur | s/b | in | sq | | | |
| mh | 16 | 3.6 | | f | bur | s/b | in | sq | | | |
| mh | 25 | indet. | | f | bur | s/b | st | r | | | |
| mh | indet. | 5.0 | | f | bur | s/b | st | r | | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.9 | | f | bur | s/s | in | r | | | |
| mh | indet. | 5.2 | | f | bur | s/b | st | r | | | |
| mh | indet. | 5.8 | | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.7 | | f | bur | s/b | in | sq | | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.3 | | coarse | pla | s/b | in | r | | | |
| mh | indet. | 5.1 | | f | bur | s/b | st | r | | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.3 | | f | bur | s/b | in | sq | | | |
| mh | indet. | 5.2 | | f | bur | s/b | st | r | | | |
| mh | indet. | 3.9 | | f | bur | s/b | st | r | | | |
| mh | indet. | 5.3 | | f | bur | s/b | st | r | | | |
| nrbb | 14 | 4.5 | | f | bur | b/b | inib | r | nib | | |
| nrbb | indet. | indet. | | f | bur | s/s | inib | ib | nib, orange rim stripe | | |
| nrbb | indet. | 4.5 | | f | bur | b/b | inib | r | nib | | |
| nrbb | indet. | 4.0 | | f | bur | s/s | inib | sq | nib | | |
| nrbb | indet. | 6.0 | | f | bur | s/b | stib | sq | nib | | |
| nrbb | indet. | 4.5 | | f | bur | b/b | stib | sq | nib | | |
| pan | 16 | 2.7 | | f | bur | b/b | in | ib | | | |

Table A.7. Edenmoor Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd | | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel | | | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----|----------|------------|----------|
| | | Thickness (mm) | Color (int/ext) | | | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | | | | |
| pan | 16 | 3.2 | | f | bur | s/s | | in | ib | | |
| pan | 16 | 4.0 | | f | bur | s/b | | st | ib | | |
| pan | 24 | 5.2 | | f | bur | s/b | | st | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.7 | | f | bur | s/b | | st | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.2 | | f | bur | s/b | | in | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.5 | | f | bur | s/b | | st | ib | | |
| pre | 24 | 5.3 | | f | bur | s/b | | st | ib | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.7 | | f | bur | s/b | | st | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.4 | | f | bur | s/b | | st | sq | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | | f | bur | s/b | | in | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.3 | | f | bur | s/b | | in | ib | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.7 | | f | bur | s/b | | in | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.9 | | f | bur | s/b | | in | ib | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.0 | | f | bur | s/b | | in | sq | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.6 | | f | bur | b/b | | in | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.8 | | f | bur | s/b | | st | t | | |
| pre | indet. | 6.2 | | f | bur | b/b | | st | ib | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.2 | | f | bur | s/s | | st | ib | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | | f | bur | b/b | | in | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.9 | | f | bur | s/b | | in | ib | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.6 | | f | bur | s/s | | in | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 5.3 | | f | bur | s/b | | st | ib | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.5 | | f | bur | s/b | | st | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.9 | | f | bur | s/b | | in | ib | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.4 | | f | bur | s/b | | st | ib | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.5 | | f | bur | b/b | | st | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.7 | | f | bur | s/b | | in | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.7 | | f | bur | s/s | | in | r | | |

Table A.7. Edenmoor Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel | | | | |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|
| | | | | | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments |
| pre | indet. | 5.5 | f | bur | s/s | st | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.3 | f | bur | s/s | st | r | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.5 | f | pla | s/b | inib | r | | |
| pse | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/s | in | r | | se |
| pse | indet. | 4.0 | pla | bur | b/b | in | sq | | se |
| pse | indet. | 2.9 | f | bur | s/b | st | r | | se |
| pse | indet. | 3.4 | f | bur | s/s | st | sq | | se |
| pse | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/s | st | sq | | se |
| pse | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | se |
| pse | indet. | 4.3 | f | bur | s/s | in | ib | | se |
| pse | indet. | 5.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | se |
| pse | indet. | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | se |
| trj | 19 | 6.0 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | | rbl |
| trj | 20 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | | rbl |
| trj | indet. | 5.2 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | - | | rbl |
| trj | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | s/s | exrbl | sq | | rbl |
| trj | indet. | 5.8 | c | pla | s/b | exrbl | sq | | rbl |
| trj | indet. | 6.4 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | | rbl |
| trj | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | | rbl |
| trj | indet. | 6.4 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | | rbl |
| trj | indet. | 6.4 | c | pla | s/s | exrbl | ib | | rbl |

Table A.8. Tivoli main house Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage.

| Vessel Form | Orifice Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Vessel | | | Comments |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|--------------------------------|----------|
| | | | | | | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | exib | ib | bib | |
| brbb | indet. | 3.1 | f | bur | s/b | exib | r | bib | |
| brbb | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | exib | r | bib, orange rim stripe | |
| pan | 20 | 5.0 | f | pla | s/b | in | ib | | |
| pan | 22 | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | |
| pan | 25 | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 6.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.3 | f | bur | b/b | in | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.4 | f | bur | s/s | st | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 3,3 | f | bur | b/b | st | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/s | st | ib | | |
| nrbb | 14 | 3.0 | f | pol | s/s | inib | ib | orange rim stripe | |
| nrbb | 16 | 3.1 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | orange rim stripe | |
| nrbb | 19 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | stib | sq | orange rim stripe, swag & dot | |
| nrbb | indet. | 3.0 | f | pol | s/s | inib | ib | orange rim stripe | |
| nrbb | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | | |
| nrbb | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | orange rim stripe | |
| frb | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/s | fl | r | | |
| frb | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | fl | ib | orange rim stripe | |
| frb | indet. | 3.4 | f | bur | s/b | fl | r | orange rim stripe | |
| gbj | 10 | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | ex | r | orange rim stripe | |
| gbj | 10 | 3.3 | f | pol | s/s | ex | sq | orange rim stripe & wavy lines | |

Table A.8. Tivoli main house Catawba pottery rim sherd assemblage (continued).

| Orifice | | Sherd | | Vessel | | | | Lip | | Comments | |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|------------------------------------|----------|----------|--|
| Vessel Form | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments | | |
| gbj | indet. | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | ex | r | | | | |
| gbj | indet. | 3.5 | f | pla | s/b | ex | r | | | | |
| nrb | 14 | 3.0 | f | pol | s/s | inib | ib | nib, orange rim stripe | | | |
| nrb | 16 | 3.1 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | nib, orange rim stripe | | | |
| nrb | 19 | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | stib | sq | nib, orange rim stripe, swag & dot | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.0 | f | pol | s/s | inib | ib | nib, orange rim stripe | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | | | |
| nrb | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib, orange rim stripe | | | |
| pan | 20 | 5.0 | f | pla | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | 22 | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | 25 | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 6.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.3 | f | bur | b/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 5.4 | f | bur | s/s | st | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.3 | f | bur | b/b | st | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | st | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.1 | f | bur | s/s | st | ib | | | | |
| pan | indet. | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pan | 26 | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | ib | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 2.9 | f | bur | s/b | ex | sq | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | sq | | | | |

Table A.8. Tivoli main house Catawba pottery rim sherd assemblage (continued).

| Orifice | | | Vessel | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|--|--|--|-----|--|
| Vessel Form | Diameter (cm) | Sherd Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 3.9 | f | bur | s/b | st | r | | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 5.5 | f | bur | s/b | stib | ib | | | | | | | |
| pre | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | | | | | | | |
| tj | 16 | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | | | | | | rbl | |
| tj | 17 | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | | | | | | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | | | | | | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | ib | | | | | | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | | | | | | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 5.4 | f | pla | b/b | exrbl | r | | | | | | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | 4.2 | f | pla | b/b | exrbl | r | | | | | | rbl | |
| tj | 20 | 5.5 | f | bur | b/b | exrbl | sq | | | | | | rbl | |

Table A.9. Tivoli slave cabins Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage.

| Vessel Form | Orifice | | Thickness (mm) | Sherd | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|-------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------|----------|------------|--------------|
| | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | | | | | | | | | |
| brbb | 20 | 5.2 | | | f | bur | s/b | exib | inib | bib | |
| brbb | 20 | 4.8 | | | f | bur | s/s | exib | r | bib | |
| brbb | 27 | 4.5 | | | f | bur | s/b | exib | r | bib | |
| brbb | indet. | 4.2 | | | f | bur | s/b | exib | r | bib | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.6 | | | f | bur | s/b | fl | r | | |
| flrb | indet. | 3.7 | | | f | bur | s/b | fl | r | | |
| flrb | indet. | 2.8 | | | f | bur | s/s | fl | r | | |
| gbj | 8 | 7.0 | | | f | bur | s/b | ex | r | | pitcher neck |
| gbj | 10 | 4.4 | | | f | bur | s/b | ex | r | | |
| gbj | 10 | 3.6 | | | f | bur | s/s | ex | r | | |
| gbj | 10 | 3.4 | | | f | bur | s/b | ex | r | | |
| gbj | 10 | 3.9 | | | f | bur | s/s | ex | sq | | |
| gbj | indet. | 3.3 | | | f | pla | s/b | ex | r | | |
| gbj | indet. | 4.0 | | | f | pla | s/b | ex | r | | |
| gbj | indet. | 4.0 | | | f | bur | s/b | ex | inib | | |
| mh | 12 | 3.3 | | | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | |
| mh | 12 | 3.0 | | | f | bur | s/b | in | sq | | |
| mh | 16 | 4.0 | | | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | |
| mh | 16 | 3.7 | | | f | bur | s/b | st | r | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.1 | | | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | |
| mh | indet. | 5.1 | | | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | |
| mh | indet. | 5.4 | | | f | bur | s/s | in | r | | |
| mh | indet. | 2.7 | | | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.8 | | | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | |
| mh | indet. | 4.4 | | | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | |
| mh | indet. | 3.6 | | | f | bur | s/s | in | sq | | |
| mh | indet. | 3.3 | | | f | bur | b/b | in | sq | | |
| mh | indet. | 5.0 | | | f | bur | s/b | in | sq | | |

Table A.9. Tivoli slave cabins Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice | | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|---------------|-------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|
| | Diameter (cm) | Sherd | | | | | | | | |
| mh | indet. | | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | st | r | | |
| nrb | 12 | | 3.2 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | nib |
| nrb | 14 | | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib, orange rim stripe | |
| nrb | 16 | | 3.8 | f | bur | b/b | inib | r | nib | |
| nrb | 20 | | 3.8 | f | bur | b/b | stib | r | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | inib | nib, orange rim stripe | |
| nrb | indet. | | 4.3 | f | bur | s/b | inib | inib | nib, orange rim stripe | |
| nrb | indet. | | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib, orange rim stripe | |
| nrb | indet. | | 3.8 | f | bur | s/s | inib | r | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib, orange rim stripe | |
| nrb | indet. | | 3.3 | f | bur | s/b | inib | r | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | | 5.0 | f | bur | b/b | inib | sq | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | inib | sq | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | stib | inib | nib, orange rim stripe | |
| nrb | indet. | | 4.6 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | | 3.5 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | nib, orange rim stripe | |
| nrb | indet. | | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | stib | r | nib, orange rim stripe | |
| nrb | indet. | | 4.9 | f | bur | b/b | stib | r | nib | |
| nrb | indet. | | 3.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | sq | nib, orange rim stripe | |
| pan | 16 | | 3.7 | f | bur | s/s | in | inib | | |
| pan | 18 | | 3.6 | f | bur | s/b | st | inib | | |
| pan | 25 | | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | inib | | |
| pan | indet. | | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | in | inib | | |
| pan | indet. | | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | inib | | |
| pan | indet. | | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | in | inib | | |
| pan | indet. | | 4.7 | f | bur | s/b | in | inib | | |
| pan | indet. | | 4.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | inib | | |
| pan | indet. | | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | in | inib | | |

Table A.9. Tivoli slave cabins Catawba pottery rim sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Form | Orifice | | Thickness (mm) | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|---------------|-------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|
| | Diameter (cm) | Sherd | | | | | | | | |
| pan | indet. | | 5.3 | f | bur | s/b | in | inib | | |
| pan | indet. | | 4.9 | f | bur | s/b | in | inib | | |
| pan | indet. | | 4.0 | f | bur | s/b | st | inib | | |
| pan | indet. | | 3.2 | f | bur | s/b | st | inib | | |
| pan | indet. | | 4.2 | f | bur | s/b | st | inib | | |
| pre | indet. | | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | ex | r | | |
| pre | indet. | | 3.6 | f | bur | s/b | in | inib | | |
| pre | indet. | | 3.7 | f | bur | b/b | in | r | | |
| pre | indet. | | 4.5 | f | bur | s/s | in | r | | |
| pre | indet. | | 3.6 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | |
| pre | indet. | | 3.9 | f | bur | b/b | in | r | | |
| pre | indet. | | 4.5 | f | bur | b/b | in | r | | |
| pre | indet. | | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | in | r | | |
| pre | indet. | | 3.8 | f | bur | s/s | in | r | | |
| pre | indet. | | 5.0 | f | bur | b/b | st | inib | | |
| pre | indet. | | 3.2 | f | pla | s/s | st | inib | | |
| pre | indet. | | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | st | inib | | |
| pre | indet. | | 3.7 | f | bur | s/b | st | r | | |
| pre | indet. | | 3.8 | f | bur | s/b | st | r | | |
| pre | indet. | | 4.0 | f | bur | b/b | st | sq | | |
| tj | 15 | | 4.4 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | sq | rbl | |
| tj | 16 | | 5.3 | f | bur | b/b | exrbl | r | rbl | |
| tj | 17 | | 4.5 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | r | rbl | |
| tj | 24 | | 5.0 | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | inib | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | | indet. | f | bur | s/s | exrbl | indet. | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | | indet. | c | pla | s/b | exrbl | indet. | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | | indet. | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | indet. | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | | indet. | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | indet. | rbl | |
| tj | indet. | | indet. | f | bur | s/b | exrbl | indet. | rbl | |

Table A.9. Tivoli slave cabins Catawba pottery rim sherd assemblage (continued).

| Orifice | | Sherd | | Paste Composition | Surface Treatment | Vessel Color (int/ext) | Rim Form | Lip Form | Decoration | Comments |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|
| Vessel Form | Diameter (cm) | Thickness (mm) | Thickness (mm) | | | | | | | |
| trj | indet. | indet. | | f | bur | b/b | extrbl | indet. | rb | |
| trj | indet. | 4.9 | | f | bur | s/b | extrbl | inib | rb | |
| trj | indet. | 4.5 | | f | bur | s/b | extrbl | r | rb | |
| trj | indet. | 4.5 | | c | pla | s/b | extrbl | r | rb | |
| trj | indet. | 5.0 | | f | bur | s/s | extrbl | r | rb | |
| trj | indet. | 6.0 | | f | bur | s/b | extrbl | sq | rb | |

Appendix B. Catawba Pottery Base Sherd Assemblages.

Tables B.1-B.8 contain the Catawba pottery base sherd data that were utilized in this study.

Table B.1. Old Town Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage.

| Base Form | Vessel Color (interior/exterior) | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at | | Comments |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|------------|
| | | | | Wall (mm) | Wall (mm) | |
| flat | buff/buff | 5 | 10 | | indet. | |
| flat | grey/grey | 6 | 9 | | 3.0 | |
| flat | indet./buff | 7 | 8 | | 1.5 | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | 9 | 14 | | 4.1 | buff paste |
| flat | smudged/buff | 12 | 50 | | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | 12 | 50 | | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/grey | 12 | 20 | | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | 13 | 5 | | 3.7 | |
| flat | grey/grey | 13 | 50 | | 5.8 | |
| flat | grey/grey | 13 | 50 | | 5.8 | |
| flat | grey/grey | 13 | 50 | | 5.8 | |
| flat | grey/grey | 13 | 50 | | 5.8 | |
| flat | grey/grey | 13 | 50 | | 5.8 | |
| flat | grey/grey | 13 | 50 | | 5.8 | |
| flat | grey/grey | 13 | 50 | | 5.8 | |
| flat | grey/grey | 13 | 50 | | 5.8 | |
| flat | grey/grey | 13 | 50 | | 5.8 | |
| flat | grey/grey | 13 | 50 | | 5.8 | |
| flat | smudged/grey | 14 | 5 | | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | 14 | 5 | | 5.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | 14 | 6 | | 5.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | 16 | 8 | | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | 16 | 75 | | 5.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | 16 | 75 | | 5.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | 16 | 75 | | 5.5 | |

Table B.1. Old Town Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color (interior/exterior) | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at | | Comments |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|----------------------|
| | | | | Wall (mm) | Wall (mm) | |
| flat | smudged/buff | 16 | 75 | | 5.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | 16 | 75 | | 5.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | 16 | 20 | | 7.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | 16 | 20 | | 7.5 | |
| flat | indet./buff | indet. | indet. | | 1.9 | |
| flat | indet./buff | indet. | indet. | | 2.3 | |
| flat | buff/buff | indet. | indet. | | 2.6 | |
| flat | buff/buff | indet. | indet. | | 2.6 | |
| flat | buff/buff | indet. | indet. | | 2.6 | |
| flat | buff/buff | indet. | indet. | | 2.6 | |
| flat | buff/buff | indet. | indet. | | 2.6 | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | indet. | indet. | | 3.5 | buff paste |
| flat | buff/buff | indet. | indet. | | 4.0 | red slip on interior |
| flat | grey/grey | indet. | indet. | | 4.3 | |
| flat | grey/grey | indet. | indet. | | 4.4 | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | indet. | indet. | | 4.4 | grey paste |
| flat | smudged/buff | indet. | indet. | | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | indet. | indet. | | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | indet. | indet. | | 5.5 | |
| flat | grey/grey | indet. | indet. | | indet. | |
| flat | grey/grey | indet. | indet. | | indet. | |
| pedestal | grey/grey | 5 | 25 | | 2.4 | |
| pedestal | grey/grey | 5 | 25 | | 2.4 | |
| pedestal | grey/grey | 6 | 13 | | 2.1 | |
| pedestal | grey/grey | 6 | 5 | | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | 7 | 13 | | 4.0 | grey paste |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | 7 | 15 | | 4.6 | buff paste |
| pedestal | indet./indet. | 7 | 10 | | indet. | grey paste |

Table B.1. Old Town Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|--------|--|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | 8 | 6 | | 3.0 | indet. paste color |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | 8 | 15 | | 3.3 | indet. paste color |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | 8 | 5 | | 3.7 | indet. paste color |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | 8 | 5 | | indet. | grey paste |
| pedestal | indet./buff | | 8 | 6 | | indet. | |
| pedestal | indet./grey | | 9 | 8 | | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | 9 | 11 | | indet. | buff paste |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | 10 | 20 | | 6.2 | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | 10 | 5 | | indet. | buff paste; 2 paralell incised lines on base |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | indet. | indet. | | 4.0 | indet. paste color |

Table B.2. New Town Locus 2 Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage.

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 4.0 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | 14 | 15 | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 10 | 10 | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 14 | 10 | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 4.0 | |
| flat | indet./buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 13 | 9 | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 7.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 13 | 6 | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 13 | 6 | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 14 | 15 | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 11 | 8 | 5.0 | |

Table B.2. New Town Locus 2 Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 13 | 5 | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 8 | 8 | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 11 | 6 | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 16 | 8 | 4.0 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | 3.5 | 60 | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 15 | 6 | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 9 | 9 | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 15 | 15 | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 15 | 8 | 4.0 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | 6 | 15 | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 9 | 8 | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 13 | 5 | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 10 | 9 | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 4.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 3.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 5.0 | |
| pedestal | indet./smudged | | indet. | indet. | 6.2 | |

Table B.3. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage.

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | 10 | 10 | 6.0 | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | 9 | 10 | 6.5 | |
| pedestal | indet./smudged | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | indet./buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | indet. | indet. | 2.5 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 5.4 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 5.2 | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | indet. | indet. | 3.9 | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | indet. | indet. | 4.2 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 4.8 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | 11 | 10 | 5.0 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | 8 | 12 | 4.0 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 5.0 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | buff/buff | | 7 | 10 | 4.5 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | buff/buff | | 6 | 5 | 3.5 | |

Table B.3. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| pedestal | buff/buff | | 7 | 10 | 6.0 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | buff/buff | | 7 | 10 | 3.8 | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | 4.5 | 50 | 2.2 | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | 10 | 10 | 6.0 | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | 9 | 10 | 6.5 | |
| pedestal | indet./smudged | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | indet./buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | indet. | indet. | 2.5 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 5.4 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 5.2 | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | indet. | indet. | 3.9 | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | indet. | indet. | 4.2 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 4.8 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | 11 | 10 | 5.0 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | 8 | 12 | 4.0 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 5.0 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |

Table B.3. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|--------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| Base Form | (interior/exterior) | | | | |
| pedestal | buff/buff | 7 | 10 | 4.5 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | buff/buff | 6 | 5 | 3.5 | |
| pedestal | buff/buff | 7 | 10 | 6.0 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | buff/buff | 7 | 10 | 3.8 | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | 4.5 | 50 | 2.2 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | 6 | 15 | 5.1 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | indet. | indet. | 4.2 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | 5 | 10 | 2.3 | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | 8 | 17 | 4.2 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | 6 | 11 | indet. | |
| pedestal | buff/buff | 6 | 25 | 4.3 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | 8 | 16 | 3.8 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | indet. | indet. | 5.4 | |
| pedestal | buff/buff | 6 | 25 | 4.3 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | 7 | 5 | 4.0 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | 7 | 10 | indet. | |

Table B.3. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| pedestal | indet./buff | | 6 | 5 | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | 6.1 | |
| pedestal | smudged/indet. | | indet. | indet. | 4.9 | |
| pedestal | buff/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | buff/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | 7 | 11 | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | 5.5 | 100 | 3.5 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 5.4 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 5.4 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 5.7 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 5.1 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 5.1 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 6.1 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 6.1 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 5.1 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 6.1 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 6.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.6 | |

Table B.3. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | | - | - | 3.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.7 | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | | - | - | 4.2 | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | | - | - | 4.2 | |

Table B.3. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | | - | - | 6.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.5 | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | | - | - | 5.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 2.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 4.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.3 | |

Table B.3. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 2.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 2.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 2.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.9 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 3.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.5 | |

Table B.3. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|--------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| Base Form | (interior/exterior) | | | | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 3.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 3.0 | |
| flat | buff/buff | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 3.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 3.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.5 | |
| flat | indet./buff | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | buff/buff | - | - | 5.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.8 | |
| flat | buff/buff | - | - | 6.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 8.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 3.4 | |

Table B.3. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.5 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 3.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 2.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.5 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 7.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 4.6 | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | | - | - | 4.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 2.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.1 | |

Table B.3. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 7.0 | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | | - | - | 4.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |

Table B.3. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.4 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | | - | - | 3.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.4 | |
| flat | indet./buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |

Table B.3. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | | - | - | 3.6 | |
| flat | indet./buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | indet./buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.8 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 5.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | indet./buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.0 | |

Table B.3. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|--------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| Base Form | (interior/exterior) | | | | |
| flat | buff/buff | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 6.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.6 | |
| flat | buff/buff | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 6.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 3.2 | |
| flat | buff/buff | - | - | 5.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.7 | |

Table B.3. New Town Locus 3 Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 2.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |

Table B.4. New Town Locus 4 Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage.

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| pedestal | buff/buff | | indet. | indet. | 7.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | | - | - | 5.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 7.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 7.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | | 10 | 12 | 5.2 | |

Table B.4. New Town Locus 4 Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | - | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 13 | 8 | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 14 | 13 | 3.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 14 | 10 | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 12 | 10 | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 7 | 10 | 4.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 10 | 15 | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.0 | |
| flat | indet./buff | | - | - | - | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 8 | 16 | 4.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 7 | 50 | - | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | indet./smudged | | - | - | - | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 12 | 10 | 5.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 12 | 10 | 5.1 | |

Table B.4. New Town Locus 4 Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | 12 | 10 | 5.1 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | 13 | 10 | 3.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 9.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | - | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | - | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 3.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 2.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.9 | |
| pedestal | buff/buff | | 10 | 11 | 5.6 | |
| pedestal | buff/buff | | 10 | 10 | 6.2 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.3 | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| pedestal | buff/buff | | 10 | 10 | 6.4 | |
| pedestal | buff/buff | | indet. | indet. | 6.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.3 | |
| pedestal | buff/buff | | indet. | indet. | 6.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.2 | |

Table B.5. New Town Locus 5 Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage.

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 6.5 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 4.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |

Table B.5. New Town Locus 5 Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | | indet. | indet. | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.9 | |

Table B.5. New Town Locus 5 Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 5.1 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 4.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.6 | |

Table B.5. New Town Locus 5 Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 4.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | indet./buff | | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | 9 | 10 | 4.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |

Table B.5. New Town Locus 5 Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color (interior/exterior) | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|------------------|---|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 3.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 6.0 | |

Table B.6. Edenmoor Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage.

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | indet | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | | - | - | indet | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | indet | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 7.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 7.1 | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | | - | - | 4.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.6 | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | | - | - | indet | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 7.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.7 | |

Table B.6. Edenmoor Catawba pottery base sherds assemblage (continued).

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--------|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | - | 5.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | - | 3.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | - | 6.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | - | 5.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | - | 8.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | - | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | - | 6.2 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | indet. | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | indet. | indet. | indet. | 4.0 | |
| pedestal | buff/indet. | indet. | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | indet. | indet. | indet. | 3.0 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | indet. | indet. | indet. | 4.5 | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | 8 | 12 | 3.5 | | |
| pedestal | smudged/smudged | indet. | indet. | indet. | 3.2 | |
| pedestal | smudged/indet. | indet. | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | indet. | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | indet. | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | indet. | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/indet. | indet. | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | indet. | indet. | indet. | 3.4 | |

Table B.7. Tivoli main house Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage.

| Base Form | Vessel Color (interior/exterior) | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|------------------|---|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| flat | smudged/smudged | - | - | 4.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.5 | |
| flat | buff/buff | - | - | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 6.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 6.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 3.8 | |
| pedestaled | buff/buff | 8 | 5 | 3.2 | |

Table B.8. Tivoli slave cabins Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage.

| Base Form | Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| | (interior/exterior) | | | | | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 6.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.6 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.8 | |
| flat | buff/buff | | - | - | 3.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.1 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 3.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.4 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.5 | |
| flat | smudged/smudged | | - | - | 5.2 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.3 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 5.5 | |
| pedestal | smudged/buff | | indet. | indet. | indet. | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.9 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | | - | - | 4.7 | |

Table B.8. Tivoli slave cabins Catawba pottery base sherd assemblage (continued).

| Vessel Color | | Base Diameter (cm) | Portion (%) | Thickness at Wall (mm) | Comments |
|---------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| Base Form | (interior/exterior) | | | | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 3.8 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.1 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 4.5 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.0 | |
| flat | smudged/buff | - | - | 5.5 | |
| flat | buff/buff | - | - | 5.4 | |

Appendix C. Imported Ware Assemblages.

Tables C.1-C.6 contain the imported wares data that were utilized in this study.

Table C.1. New Town Locus 2 imported wares assemblage.

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|--------------------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|--|
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | holloware | | 1 | lead glaze, yellow slip int./black slip ext. |
| coarse earthenware | redware | holloware | handle | 1 | handle fragment, lead glaze, brown slip |
| coarse earthenware | redware | holloware | | 1 | lead glaze, brown slip |
| coarse earthenware | redware | holloware | | 2 | lead glaze, brown slip |
| coarse earthenware | redware | holloware | | 1 | lead glaze, brown slip |
| creamware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | overglaze enamel |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 7 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.1. New Town Locus 2 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.1. New Town Locus 2 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|---------------|-----|----------|
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 6 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | recessed base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | recessed base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |

Table C.1. New Town Locus 2 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rims | 2 | |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding, applique |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding, applique |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding, engine turned rings |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | slip banding, engine turned rings |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding, engine turned rings |

Table C.1. New Town Locus 2 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------|-----|--|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | slip banding, engine turned rings |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding, engine turned rings, applique |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding, engine turned rings, applique |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | footring | 1 | slip banding, engine turned rings, burned |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | slip banding, engine turned rings, marbelized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding, floral sprig applique |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding, marbelized slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding, marbelized slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | slip banding, marbelized slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown slip zone, applique |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown slip zone, applique |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown slip zone, cherub sprig applique |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown slip zone, engine turned rings |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | brown slip zone, engine turned rings |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | brown slip zone, engine turned rings |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown slip zone, engine turned rings |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown slip zone, engine turned rings, applique |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | engine turned rings |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | engine turned rings |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | engine turned rings |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | footring | 1 | engine turned rings |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | engine turned rings, applique |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbelized slip zone |

Table C.1. New Town Locus 2 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------------|-----|---|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbelized slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbelized slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbelized slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbelized slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbelized slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | marbelized slip zone, engine turned rings |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | blue striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | brown rim striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | excurvate, brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | green striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.1. New Town Locus 2 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|--|
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | footring | 2 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue edge striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue edge striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue edge striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue edge striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue edge striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue edge striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue edge striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue edge striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue edge striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue edge striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue edge striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | floral design, brown banding |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 2 | blue and brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue and brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue and brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue and brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue and brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | blue and brown spatter, brown rim striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | blue striping, floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | brown and blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | brown and blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | brown and blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | brown striping, orange & blue dots |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping, orange & blue dots |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | floral design |

Table C.1. New Town Locus 2 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------------|----------|---------|-----|-------------|
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 4 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 4 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 5 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |

Table C.1. New Town Locus 2 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|--------|---------|-----|-------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |

Table C.1. New Town Locus 2 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|---------------|-----|-------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 5 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | footring | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | recessed base | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | recessed base | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |

Table C.1. New Town Locus 2 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim to footring | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rims | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rims | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 2 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 2 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 2 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 3 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 2 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 2 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 2 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 2 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |

Table C.1. New Town Locus 2 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.1. New Town Locus 2 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.1. New Town Locus 2 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|---------------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 9 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | handle | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | handle | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |

Table C.1. New Town Locus 2 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|---------------------|--------------|------------|---------------|------------|-----------------------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | hollowware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | hollowware | rims | 2 | |
| porcelain | hand painted | hollowware | rim | 1 | overglaze enamel |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 3 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 4 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | hollowware | handle | 1 | |
| stoneware | Nottingham | indet. | | 1 | lustrous brown engobe |
| Total | | | | 636 | |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage.

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|--------------------|--------------|-----------|-------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| coarse earthenware | redware | holloware | base | 1 | brown slip, small bottle |
| coarse earthenware | redware | holloware | | 2 | brown slip, small bottle |
| coarse earthenware | redware | holloware | | 1 | brown slip, small bottle |
| coarse earthenware | redware | holloware | | 1 | brown slip, small bottle |
| coarse earthenware | redware | holloware | handle | 1 | brown slip, small bottle |
| coarse earthenware | redware | holloware | neck | 1 | brown slip, small bottle |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim, handle | 1 | brown striping, mustard slip zone |
| creamware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | overglaze enamel, floral design |
| creamware | hand painted | holloware | | 3 | overglaze enamel, floral design |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | base | 1 | pitcher or mug |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 8 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 16 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|----------|-----|----------|
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 8 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | handle | 1 | |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|---------------|-----|-------------|
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | recessed base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | chamber pot |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|---|
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | chamber pot |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | chamber pot |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | chamber pot |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | engine turned rings |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbelized slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding, embossed geometric design |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding, embossed geometric design |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding, painted landscape design |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | embossed zone decoration |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | embossed zone decoration |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | embossed zone decoration |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | embossed zone decoration |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------|-----|---------------------|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | footring | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | footring | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | brown floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|------------------------|
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | gray bands |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | brown edge striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 2 | gray bands |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | green bands |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | green striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | perpendicular striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | decorated both sides |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | green striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | green striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------|-----|--------------------|
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | lid | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | blue edge striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 2 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|-----------|----------|-----|----------------------------------|
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | green striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | brown edge striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | brown edge striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | brown rim striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | green striping |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | green striping, burned |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | green striping, burned |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 2 | |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 2 | |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue edge striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue edge striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 2 | blue edge striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue edge striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | footring | 1 | blue/orange/yellow floral design |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|-----------|---------|-----|-------------------------------------|
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping, floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping, floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 2 | brown striping, floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping, floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping, floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping, floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping, geometric design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping, geometric design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping, grape & vine design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | green & brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | yellow striping, burned |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | yellow with brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | yellow with brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | blue/orange/yellow floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 4 | blue/orange/yellow floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 2 | blue/orange/yellow floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 3 | brown striping, floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping, floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping, geometric design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping, geometric design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping, floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | blue/orange/yellow floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | blue/orange/yellow floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown grid w/ yellow dot design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping w/geometric design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping, floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown striping, geometric design |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|-----------|---------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | brown striping, orange design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | geometric pattern, brown striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | grape & vine design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | grape & vine design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | grape & vine design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | grape & vine design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | grape & vine design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 2 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral design, bowl bottom |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | floral design, orange & blue |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | grape & vine design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | brown striping, blue & orange |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|---------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue floral design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|--------|---------|-----|-------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 4 | blue design |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|---------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue willow pattern |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue willow pattern |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue willow pattern |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue willow pattern |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue willow pattern |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue willow pattern |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | footring | 1 | blue design, burned |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | footring | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | footring | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | footring | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | footring | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | footring | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | footring | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | footring | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | handle | 1 | blue design, burned |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | handle | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | handle | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | recessed base | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design, burned |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|---------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design, blue edge striping |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue willow pattern |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 6 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 7 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 11 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|----------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 7 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 6 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 6 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 6 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 13 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 6 | |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 14 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 7 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.2. New Town Locus 3 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|---------------------|------------|-----------|----------|-------------|-----------------------|
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 3 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 2 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 3 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 2 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 3 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | holloware | rim | 2 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| stoneware | Nottingham | holloware | | 1 | lustrous brown engobe |
| stoneware | Nottingham | holloware | | 1 | lustrous brown engobe |
| Total | | | | 1235 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage.

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|--|
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown fret band below lip |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown fret band below lip |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | green dendritic |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 3 | pink slip; white band of brown frets |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green dendritic |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 3 | green dendritic |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | dark tan band |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbled slip |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown & tan bands |
| creamware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | light green stripe below lip (overglaze) |
| creamware | hand painted | holloware | | 1 | light green stripe below lip (overglaze) |
| creamware | slipped | indet. | | 1 | pink slip |
| creamware | slipped | indet. | | 3 | pink slip |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 6 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | footring | 2 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|----------|---------|-----|----------|
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 4 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|-------------------|-----|---------------|
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | base near footing | 1 | dark tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | base near footing | 2 | dark tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | base w/footring | 5 | pink slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | base w/footring | 6 | pink slip |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|--------------------------------------|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | marblized slip, reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | slip? |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | base w/footring | 2 | slip? |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | footring | 1 | reddish brown design |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | near base | 1 | brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | near base | 1 | brown band & yellow field above base |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | near base | 2 | brown band & yellow field above base |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | medium blue slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | near rim | 1 | green rouletted band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | near rim | 1 | green ribbed band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | near rim | 1 | green ribbed band, "frog's eggs" |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | near rim | 1 | green rouletted band, brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown & reddish brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | embossed green rouletting below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green ribbed band, marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown band & green roulette band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green ribbed band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown band, green rouletting |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 2 | blue band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green ribbed band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | reddish brown & blue bands below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | blue & tan bands below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green band, rouletted zigzag lines |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green band, rouletted zigzag lines |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green rouletted band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green ribbed band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green ribbed band & marblized slip |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|---------------------------------------|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 2 | brown rim stripe, blue spatter |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green rouletted band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown & reddish brown bands below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 2 | green ribbed band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green rouletted band, "frog's eggs" |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green rouletted band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | faint green & tan bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green rouletted band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | reddish brown & blue bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown, reddish brown & brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | reddish brown & blue bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 2 | green ribbed band & marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 4 | blue, brown, & brown rouletted bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green ribbed band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 2 | tan band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | blue & brown bands below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green ribbed band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green ribbed band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown fret band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green rouletted band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 2 | blue & reddish brown bands below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green ribbed band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | tan & reddish brown bands below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | blue band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 2 | brown & tan bands below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown band below lip |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|--|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | reddish brown band & brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | reddish brown band & brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown & reddish brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green ribbed band above marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | blue band over curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green rouletted band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown and reddish brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown bands below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green ribbed band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown bands below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown band & ribbed band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green ribbed band & marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | tan band between brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green rouletted zigzag band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | blue & reddish brown bands below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 8 | rouletted line & leaves band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | rouletted line & leaves band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green ribbed band, "frog's eggs" |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown, white & reddish brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 6 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan slip band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue & tan bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band below rouletted band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 3 | |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | faint green band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | orange slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue, white & reddish brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 3 | tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown & dark brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|----------------------------------|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown & white bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan & white bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | pink slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | tan band, marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | tan band, marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | tan band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | orange slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | brown & tan bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | dark brown |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | brown band & green |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | "frog's eggs" |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | pink slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown, reddish brown & tan bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | thin brown lines |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown swags |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 3 | pink slip |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|------------------------------------|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band & yellow field |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band & yellow field |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown & blue bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown & blue bands; curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown swags & dots |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | blue band; curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | pink slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown swags & dots |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan band; curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue band, curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan & white band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green ribbed band & marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | pink slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | reddish brown & blue bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | blue band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan ribbed band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown & white bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | tan band |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|--------------------------------------|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green ribbed band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | blue band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | tan band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown band; curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue & reddish brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown & tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | "frog's eggs" on tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green ribbed band, "frog's eggs" |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | green ribbed band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 3 | blue & brown bands below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | blue band; curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 3 | blue & brown bands; curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green ribbed band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown & tan bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue & reddish brown bands below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue band over curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue & brown bands, curved flutes |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown band; curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown swags & dots |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green rouletted band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | brown & reddish brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | "frog's eggs" (?) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown dot on tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | "frog's eggs" |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue band over curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue & brown bands, curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | blue & brown bands, curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown band, curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green ribbed band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue band, curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band & yellow field |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | brown & white bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue band & marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | blue & brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan slip (?) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | dark tan band |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|---|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green rouletted zigzag lines |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 4 | tan slip with "frog's eggs" |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | rouletted, blue, circle & brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan & dark tan bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band & green rouletted band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown & tan bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown & reddish brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 3 | brown & reddish brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown & reddish brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown & reddish brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown swags & dots, brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | yellow slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan brown slip with brown "frog's eggs" |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green ribbed band above marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan zone w/ "frog's eggs", green band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown & tan bands |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|--------------------------------------|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown botanical band (leaves & line) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown & blue bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | yellow slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | cream band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown & reddish brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | rouletted band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | orange slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green ribbed band & marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 3 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band, reddish brown slip |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|--------------------------------------|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 10 | |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbled slip (?) |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dendritic on yellow slip, brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dendritic on tan band |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dendritic on tan band |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dendritic on tan band |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 2 | brown band, dendritic on brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dendritic mocha |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dendritic on reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dendritic on tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 2 | dendritic on tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | green dendritic |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 2 | green dendritic |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dendritic on tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dendritic on tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 2 | dendritic on tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dendritic on brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dendritic on cream band |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dendritic on cream band |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dendritic on reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 2 | dendritic on reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dendritic on reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | embossed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | embossed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | embossed | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | embossed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | base w/footring | 2 | floral (light blue & dark blue wash) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | blue speck |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|--|
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | blue dot |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | blue specks |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | flat base | 3 | grass pattern |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | handle | 1 | relief molded, blue floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | curved blue lines |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | curved blue lines |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | near base | 1 | blue line above base |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | near base | 2 | heavy blue line, feather, dark blue wash |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | recessed base | 1 | blue rim striping, floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue line, floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | chinoiserie |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue rim striping, scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue line on lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | leaf; blue line on lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | leaf; blue line on lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 3 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue lines on blue wash |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue rim striping, scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | wide & thin blue lines below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | wide & thin blue lines below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip, scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip, floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 2 | blue line on lip, scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip, scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip, scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 2 | floral; blue lines below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip, floral |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------|---------|-----|--------------------------------------|
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 2 | crossed double lines & swags, floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip, scales & floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip, scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 3 | blue line on lip, scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue smudges; blue line on lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | leaf (light & dark blue wash) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue lines below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip, scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 4 | blue line on lip, scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip, scales and floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip, scales and floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip, scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip, scales and floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip, floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip, scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip, scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip, scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue lines below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue fish scale lines |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue fish scale line |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | feathers |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 2 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue stem |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 2 | blue fish scale lines |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------------|--------|---------|-----|--------------------------------------|
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue trace |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 2 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | hatching inside circles; feather (?) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 2 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue line |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | grass pattern |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | grass pattern |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue line |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | swags & tassels; blue band below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 2 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 2 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue lines on blue wash |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | wide blue band |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue speck |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | curved blue lines |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | leaf design |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------------|--------|---------|-----|-------------------------------|
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue speck |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | curved blue line |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue line |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | wide & thin blue lines |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue specks |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | medium & dark blue scales (?) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue line on lip, scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | leaves & stems |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 2 | floral |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------------|--------|---------|-----|---------------------------------|
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 2 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | leaves |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue speck |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | leaves |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue speck |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue speck |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue speck at sherd edge |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue line above base |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue speck |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 2 | curved blue line |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral (petal) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 2 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral (light & dark blue wash) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral (light & dark blue wash) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue line on lip, scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|----------|---------------|-----|--|
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales & floral (light & dark blue wash) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral (light & dark blue wash) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 2 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales & floral (light & dark blue wash) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue speck |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral (light & dark blue wash) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral (light & dark blue wash) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral (light & dark blue wash) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue petals |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales; floral (light & dark blue wash) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral (light & dark blue wash) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | scales; floral (light & dark blue wash) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | leaves & stem |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | leaves |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | near rim | 1 | yellow & orange floral, brown lines |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | flatware | recessed base | 1 | blue, green & reddish brown floral |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|-----------|---------------------|-----|-------------------------------------|
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | recessed base | 1 | olive band above base |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | recessed base | 2 | green & blue leaves, brown stems |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | brown line below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | flatware | rim | 1 | green & gold leaves |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | blue line on lip, fish scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | geometric brown band below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | geometric brown band below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | geometric brown band below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | dark olive floral; dark olive bands |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | brown line below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | brown line below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 2 | green leaf; brown line below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | brown line below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | green leaf; blue line below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | brown line below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | green speck; brown line below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | brown line below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | green, blue, orange & brown floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | green leaves around brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | green leaves around brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | blue & brown leaves |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim & recessed base | 1 | green & blue leaves, brown stems |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | wide brown stripe below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | blue, yellow & orange floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | green leaves & brown vine |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | green & beige mottles |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | leaf & curved line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | orange leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | curved orange & green lines |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | brown line |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|--------|---------|-----|--|
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dark olive line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown lines |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue, brown & green pattern |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | yellow leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaves & brown stem, brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | faint green band |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown band |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dark olive berries & stem |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue, orange, yellow & brown design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaf & brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown rouletted band |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown lines |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | crossed double lines & swags, floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | orange leaves |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaves |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green & brown floral, brown rim stripe |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaf & brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line & yellow |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | flower petals |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dark olive & yellow floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue leaf & brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 2 | scales |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral (light & dark blue wash) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | scales & floral (light & dark blue wash) |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|---------------------------------|
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue leaf & brown stem |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue floral & brown stems |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue & brown leaves, brown stem |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | band of brown lozenges |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue & dark olive leaves |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | base w/footring | 2 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | base w/footring | 3 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | base w/footring | 2 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | body | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | footring | 1 | brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | footring | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | footring | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | footring | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | near rim | 1 | brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 2 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 2 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | blue & brown spatter |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|-----------|---------|-----|----------------------|
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | indet. | 1 | spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | indet. | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | indet. | 3 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | indet. | 3 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | indet. | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | indet. | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | indet. | 7 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | indet. | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | indet. | 4 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | indet. | 2 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | indet. | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | indet. | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | indet. | 1 | blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | indet. | 2 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | indet. | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | indet. | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | indet. | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | indet. | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | indet. | 2 | blue & brown spatter |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|-----------|---------------|-----|---|
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 2 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 2 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 5 | pitcher |
| pearlware | relief-molded | holloware | handle | 1 | molded classical female figurine, pitcher |
| pearlware | relief-molded | holloware | handle | 2 | molded classical female figurine, pitcher |
| pearlware | relief-molded | holloware | handle | 1 | relief molded |
| pearlware | relief-molded | indet. | handle finial | 1 | relief molded |
| pearlware | relief-molded | indet. | indet. | 1 | relief molded |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|----------|----------|-----|----------------|
| pearlware | relief-molded | indet. | | 2 | relief molded |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | near rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | near rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | near rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | near rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | scalloped edge |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | scalloped edge |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 2 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 3 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 4 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 2 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 2 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 2 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 2 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------------|----------|---------|-----|--------------|
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 3 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 3 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | no embossing |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------------|----------|-------------------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 9 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | embossed |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base near footing | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base near footing | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | foliage |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|----------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | foliage (trees) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | blue wash |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 2 | foliage; chain band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | foliage (trees) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 2 | foliage (trees) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | chain band on blue field |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | pastoral scene, chain band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | pastoral scene; chain band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 2 | pastoral scene (trees) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 2 | blue wash |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | floral band above base |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 2 | chinoiserie |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | chinoiserie |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | flat base | 1 | architectural |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | human face |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | flat base | 1 | pastoral scene |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|----------|-----------|-----|---------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | flat base | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | flat base | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | flat base | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 2 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 2 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | architectural |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 2 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | pastoral scene (castle) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 2 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | architectural |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | architectural |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | architectural (?) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | pastoral scene (shed) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | pastoral scene (building) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | pastoral scene (foliage) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | pastoral (tree & fence) |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|---------------|-----|-------------------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | pastoral (tree & fence) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | chinoiserie (band above base) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | footring | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | marley | 3 | band of small flowers |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | marley | 3 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | marley | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | marley | 7 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | marley | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | marley | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | marley | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | marley | 1 | floral (?) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | marley | 3 | floral (?) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | near base | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | recessed base | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | recessed base | 2 | pastoral scene (animal figure) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | recessed base | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | recessed base | 2 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 2 | chinoiserie |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | chinoiserie |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | band of blue & white dots below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | floral, bead band below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 2 | floral, blue line on lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | floral, bead band below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | floral, bead band below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | floral, bead band below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | floral, bead band below lip |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|---------|-----|--------------------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | floral, bead band below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 2 | floral, bead band below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | band of blue & white dots below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | foliage; blue line on lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | boughs & draped bead band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | floral; bead band below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | floral; blue line on lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | foliage; bead band below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 2 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 4 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | boughs & draped bead bands |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | boughs & draped bead bands |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue line on lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | floral (?); scroll band below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 3 | floral band on brim |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | foliage; band of blue & white dots |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | floral; blue line on lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | boughs & draped bead bands below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|---------|-----|---------------------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | scroll band below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | boughs & draped bead bands below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | boughs & draped bead bands below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 1 | floral (?) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | foliage (?) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | boughs & draped bead bands below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | field of spirals |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 1 | floral (?); field of spirals |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | band of blue & white dots below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | large oak leaf |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | floral (?); field of spirals |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | floral; blue line on lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 2 | floral between bead band & chain band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | floral between bead band & chain band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | floral; half-circle band below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | floral (?) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 3 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 4 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|--------|---------|-----|---------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | short blue lines |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral, beaded band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | pastoral scene |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|--------|---------|-----|--------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | chain band on blue field |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | chain band on blue field |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 5 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | chain band on blue field |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 5 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 4 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue line on lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|--------|---------|-----|-----------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | pastoral scene (man's face) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | architectural |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue wash |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | architectural |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|--------|---------|-----|---------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | foliage; chain band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 4 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | foliage (trees) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | foliage (trees) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | boughs & draped bead band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | foliage (trees) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|---------|-----|---------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue wash |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | foliage; draped bead band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | dark & light blue wash |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | architectural |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | lines on blue wash |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | architectural |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | teacup? with shoulder |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|--------|---------|-----|--------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 4 | foliage; bead band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | bead band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | chinoiserie |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue wash |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|---------|-----|-----------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | floral band above base |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | architectural |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | architectural |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | bead band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 4 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | pastoral scene (man's face) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue leaves |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|--------|-----------------|-----|-------------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | leaves |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | tree branches |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | bead band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 59 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 14 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 2 | pastoral scene (human figure) |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 5 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|----------|-----------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | flat base | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | flat base | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | footring | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | footring | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | footring | 1 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|----------|------------------------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | marley w/recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | marley/base w/footring | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | near base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | near rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | near rim | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | recessed base | 3 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|---------------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | teacup |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 10 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 6 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 7 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 6 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 10 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 14 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 6 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 8 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|---------------------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 10 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 27 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 2 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 2 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 15 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 3 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.3. New Town Locus 4 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|--------------|--------------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|-------------------|
| stoneware | salt-glazed, white | indet. | | 1 | |
| stoneware | salt-glazed, white | indet. | | 1 | |
| stoneware | salt-glazed, white | indet. | | 1 | |
| stoneware | salt-glazed, white | indet. | | 1 | |
| stoneware | salt-glazed, white | indet. | | 1 | |
| stoneware | Westerwald | indet. | | 1 | dark blue painted |
| Total | | | | 2779 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage.

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|------------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|---|
| coarseware | redware | holloware | | 1 | slipped interior with "Rockingham" type glaze |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | 1 broad dk. brown band |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | 2 brown bands |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | 2 brown bands; 2 white bands |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown & blue stripes; shell embossed |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | 3 brown bands; 1 amber band |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | bands (brown, reddish brown) |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | bands (brown, reddish brown) |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | 1 brown band |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | 1 brown band |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | 1 brown band |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | 1 brown band; dash & arc roulette |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | base | 1 | dk orange field; white field |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | 1 brown & ornage bands |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green band with herringbone roulette |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green band; zigzag lines roulette |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green with herringbone rouletting |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | green with herringbone rouletting |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | reddish brown band below lip |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | roulette arcs, swags & dots (brown) |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | zone (brown marbled) |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | 1 brown band |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | 1 brown band |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | 1 brown band; one gold band |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | 2 brown bands; 1 amber band |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | 2 brown bands; 1 white band |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | 2 brown bands; one dk. amber band |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|---|
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | double brown lines & wide brown dashes |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | double brown lines & wide brown dashes |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | band of thin inlaid brown lines |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue, brown bands; rouletted brackets, dots |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown & reddish brown bands, cream slip |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band, "caramel" band, white band |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band, white band, brown band |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown tortoise-spatter |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown, white, tan, white bands |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | dk brown spots on reddish brown field |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | dk yellow field |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 3 | dk yellow field |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | engine turned lines & dashes, slip zones |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | lt brown, dk brown, white bands |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbelized brown |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band; engine turned lines & dashes |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band; engine turned lines & dashes |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown field |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | relief molded flutes, tan slip |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | rilled |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | roulette embossed (reddish brown) |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | roulette zigzag lines (brown) |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | spalled |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | spalled |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | swags |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | swags |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|---------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|---|
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | swags |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | swags & dots |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | swags, bands of dots |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | yellow field; white band |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (brown) |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (marbleized) |
| creamware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (pale yellowish tan) |
| creamware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | black dendritic |
| creamware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dk brown dendritic on reddish brown field |
| creamware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dendritic black on white |
| creamware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dendritic black on white |
| creamware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 3 | dendritic black on white |
| creamware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | pale yellow field with black dendritic |
| creamware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | zone (dk. mustard); mocha |
| creamware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | zone (lt. brown with dk. brown mocha) |
| creamware | embossed | indet. | | 1 | beech leaf; dot chain |
| creamware | embossed | indet. | | 1 | embossed |
| creamware | embossed | indet. | | 1 | embossed (rilled) |
| creamware | embossed | indet. | | 1 | embossed ribs |
| creamware | embossed | indet. | | 1 | embossed; pink |
| creamware | embossed | indet. | | 1 | relief molded (dots; beech[?] leaf) |
| creamware | hand painted, blue | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | 1 blue dot |
| creamware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue floral, brown stem |
| creamware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | spalled |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|-------------------------|
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | handle | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | relief molded |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | relief molded |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | relief molded (ribbing) |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | rolled rim |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | rolled rim |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | spalled |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | spalled |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | spalled |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | marly | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|-------------------|-----|----------|
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim w/handle att. | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|--------------------------------|
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | 2 med. blue lines |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | band (blue) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | band (blue) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | band (blue) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | band (brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | band (reddish brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | bands (brown, tan) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | bands (brown, white) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | bands (tan, brown, white) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | bands (tan, white) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | bands (tan, white) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | blue bands above pink band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown band, yellow rilled band |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|---|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown band, yellow rilled band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown band, yellow rilled band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown band, yellow rilled band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | brown band; rouletted square dots (brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | dk brown band below lip, yellow rilled band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | engine turned ring |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green band with diamond chain rouletting |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green band with diamond chain rouletting |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green band with diamond chain rouletting |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green band with herringbone roulette |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green rilled band at lip, marbled slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green rilled band; brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | marbled slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | reddish brown band with inlaid roulette |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | rouletted (herringbone); green |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | swags and dots (fineline) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim, spout | 1 | white, brown, white, brown, yellow bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | yellow rilled band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | zone (reddish brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | zone (tan) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | zone (yellow-tan) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | band with diamond rouletting |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | "frog's Eggs" on reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | "worm-trailed" blue, brown and lt. brown |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | 1 brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | 1 med. blue line |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|--|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown, white, & reddish brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | double brown lines & wide brown dashes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | double brown lines & wide brown dashes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | double brown lines & wide brown dashes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | double brown lines & wide brown dashes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | double brown lines & wide brown dashes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | band (blue) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | band (blue) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | band (brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | band (brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | band (brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | band (brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | band (brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | band (brown, tan) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | band (brown, white); zone (lt. brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | bands (brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | bands (brown, tan) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | bands (brown, tan, white) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | bands (brown, white) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | bands (brown, white) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | bands (lt.brown, dk. brown, white) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | bands (tan, brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | bands (tan, brown, white) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | bands (tan, brown, white) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue band on ribbed embossing |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue & white bands with brown spot |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | blue, white bands; reddish brown field |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|--|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown "frog's eggs" mottled on tan zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown "frog's eggs" mottled on tan zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown "frog's eggs" mottled on white zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown "frog's eggs" on reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | brown "frog's eggs" on reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown & reddish brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown & reddish brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown & reddish brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown & tan bands below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown & white bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band on white field |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band; engine turned rings |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown bands & reddish brown slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown line |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown marbled zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown mottles on tan field |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown speck; brown line below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown stripe on white field |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown stripe, yellow stripe on white field |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown swags & dots |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown swags & dots |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------|-----|--|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown swags & dots |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown swags & dots |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown zigzag lines & dots |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown, reddish brown & white marbled |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown, white & reddish brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown, yellow bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | daacs roulette band 10 |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green band with herringbone rouletting |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | diamond rouletted band, slip inlaid |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | dk brown band, reddish brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | dk brown on ligh brown field |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | dk brown, white bands; dk tan field |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | dk orange field |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | dk tan field |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | dk tan field |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | Embossed, cream slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | engine turned rings |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | engine turned rings; bands (brown, white) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | engine turned rings; bands (brown, white) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | engine turned rings & dash bands (dk. brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green band wi herringbone roulette |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green band wi herringbone roulette |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green band with diamond chain rouletting |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 3 | green band with diamond rouletting |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green band with rouletted zigzag lines |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green band, herringbone rouletted |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | near rim | 1 | green ribbed band & marbled slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | green ribbed band above marbled slip |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|---|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green ribbed band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green rilled band at lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green rilled band at lip, marbled slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green rilled band below lip; marbled slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | green rilled band; brown marbled band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | green rouletted band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | lt brown zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | lt. brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbled brown/reddish brown/blue |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbled brown/reddish brown/blue |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbled brown/reddish brown/white |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbled brown/reddish brown/white |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbled |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | marbled (blue, brown, white) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | marbled (blue, brown, white) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbled (blue, brown, white, yellow) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbled (blue, white, browns) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbled (blue, white, browns) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbled reddish brown & dk brown |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbled reddish brown & dk brown |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbled reddish brown & dk brown |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbled reddish brown, dk brown & white |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbled |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbled blue, white & brown |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbled slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | marbled slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbled slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbled slip |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|--|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marblized slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | pink slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown & brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | reddish brown & brown bands below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | reddish brown & brown bands below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | brown band & brown dashes below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown band, dash & thin lines in brown |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown, white, & blue bands; shell embossed |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown, white, & dk. brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown field |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown field |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | base w/ footing | 1 | reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown slip with greenish gray spot |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown, dk brown on white field |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | near rim | 1 | relief molded flutes, tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | roulette embossed |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | roulette embossed (green) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | roulette embossed (green) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | roulette embossed (green) |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|--|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | roulette embossed (herringbone; green) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | rouletted (herringbone); green |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | rouletted brown wavy lines |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | swags |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | swags |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | swags (brown on white field) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | swags (brown on white field); band (brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | swags and dots (fineline) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | swags and dots (fineline) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | swags and tassels (brown on white field) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | swags and tassels (brown on white field) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | swags and tassels; brown & white bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | swags and tassels; dot lines |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | swags and tassels; roulette embossed chain |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 2 | tan band below lip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan band over curved flutes |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan field |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan field w/ brown dot |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | white, brown, white, reddish brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | white, brown, yellow bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | white, brown, white, brown, tan bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | white, brown, white, brown, yellow bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | white, brown, yellow bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | white, dk brown, &, reddish brown bands |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|--|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | white, yellow, white, brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | yellow band, white band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | yellow band, white band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | yellow rilled band |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | yellow rilled band; white & brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | yellow, white bands on engine turned scallops |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | yellow, white bands on engine turned scallops |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zigzag lines, inlaid brown slip on white field |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (brown with cable/splotches) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | zone (lt. brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (lt. brown); bands (brown, white) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (lt. brown); dk. brown line |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | zone (marbleized) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (marbleized) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (marbleized) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (marbleized) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (marbleized) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (reddish brown with "frog's eggs) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (reddish brown with "frog's eggs) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (reddish brown with "frog's eggs) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (tan with "frog's eggs) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (tan) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (tan) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (tan) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (tan) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (tan) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (tan); interior |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|----------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|--|
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | zone (tan); mottled (brown, white) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | blue & white bands; tan zone, dendritic |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | black dendritic on reddish brown field |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | brown field; dk brown dendritic(?) |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dendritic on reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dendritic on reddish brown slip |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 2 | dendritic on tan slip |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | dendritic on lt. brown; bands (brown, white) |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | mocha on lt. brown zone; white band |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown field with brown dendritic |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | zone (lt. brown) with mocha |
| pearlware | annular ware, mocha | holloware | | 1 | zone (reddish-brown) with mocha |
| pearlware | edge decorated, blue | indet. | | 1 | embossed (not shell edge) |
| pearlware | edge decorated, blue | indet. | | 1 | shell embossed (not shell edge) |
| pearlware | edge decorated, blue | indet. | | 1 | shell embossed (not shell edge) |
| pearlware | embossed | flatware | brim | 1 | shell edge |
| pearlware | embossed | indet. | | 1 | embossed (feather) |
| pearlware | embossed | indet. | | 1 | shell embossed (not shell edge) |
| pearlware | embossed | indet. | near rim | 1 | tan slip |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | brown band; shell embossed |
| pearlware | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | tan line; shell embossed |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | band |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | blue floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue rim stripe; "fish roe" chain band |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|--|
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue rim striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | blue stripe |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue stripe below lip (internal) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | floral with scales; blue stripe on lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | 2 blue lines below lip (interior) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim? | 1 | 2 blue lines below lip (interior) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | band (blue) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | band (blue) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim? | 1 | band (exterior, below lip) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim? | 1 | band (exterior, below lip) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | band of crossed double lines & swags |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | berries & stems on blue wash |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 2 | blue (indet.) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue floral chain on blue wash field |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue flower |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue flower, stem & leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue foliage |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue indet. |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------------|--------|---------|-----|--|
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue leaves |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue lines |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 2 | blue lines |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue petals(?) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim? | 1 | blue rim striping, floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim? | 1 | blue rim striping; blue floral swags |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim? | 1 | blue rim striping; swag/foilage band |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue scales(?) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue scales(?) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | chinoiserie |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | circles & dots ("peacock feathers") |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | circles & dots ("peacock feathers") |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | feather |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | feathers, blue wash |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | feathers, blue wash |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | feathers, blue wash |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | figural (chinoiserie?) |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 3 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | floral; wide & thin blue lines below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | indet. |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 2 | lines |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | swag/foilage band |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|--|
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown rim band, green & brown foliage |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown rim band, green & brown foliage |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim? | 2 | brown rim striping |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown rim striping with orange & blue dots |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim? | 1 | brown rim striping; brown & blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown stripe (interior) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown stripe below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown stripe below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim? | 1 | brown stripe below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown stripe below lip, brown floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown stripe below lip; green, brown foliage |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown stripe, yellow stripe (interior) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | floral (autumnal colors) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | floral (autumnal colors); overglaze accents |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | handle | 1 | floral (brown) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | floral (green leaves) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim? | 1 | floral (brown, blue); brown rim stripes |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim? | 1 | floral (brown, blue); brown rim stripes |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | green leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | hp band (brown) on interior, spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | footring | 1 | spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | stripe (brown) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | stripe (brown) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | yellow slip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | 1 brown band |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | 1 brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | 1 brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | 1 brown line |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|--------|-----------------|-----|--|
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | 1 brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | 1 brown stripe |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | 2 brown lines |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | autumnal (brown, black); fineline |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | autumnal (yellow, brown) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | yellow, brown, green, mustard, reddish brown |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | autumnal (yellow, orange) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | band (brown) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | band (brown) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue & brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue & green |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | blue & green floral, orange dot |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | blue & green floral, dark olive rim stripe |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue & green leaves, brown stem |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue & yellow leaves, brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue /green floral; brown band |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue dot & brown lines |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue floral, brown stem |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue floral, fineline brown stem |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue floral; brown band |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue flower, brown stem |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue flower, brown stem |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue leaf, brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue, brown floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue, brown floral |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|--------|-----------------|-----|--|
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue, orange & green floral, brown fine line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim? | 1 | brown band, green foliage |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown band; blue "spines" |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown indet. |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 2 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 2 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 2 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim? | 1 | brown line (int. & ext. below lip) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line (stem?) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | brown line above base |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line above base |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | brown line below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | near base | 1 | brown line near base |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|--------|---------|-----|---|
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line, blue floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line, dk orange flower(?) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown lines |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown lines & foliage(?) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown lines, geometric band |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim? | 1 | brown rim striping; blue floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim? | 1 | brown rim striping; exterior spalled |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim? | 1 | brown rim striping; interior spalled |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown speck |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown spot |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown stripe |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown stripe |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown stripe |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | brown stripe below lip, blue floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown, yellow |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dark amber "fruit" with blue "spines" |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 2 | dark olive & blue leaves |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dark olive & blue leaves, dark olive stem |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dark olive & blue leaves, dark olive vine |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dark olive & blue lines |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | dark olive band below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 3 | dark olive band below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dark olive leaf & stem |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dark olive leaf & vine |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dark olive leaves & stem |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 2 | dark olive line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dk orange "fruit" with blue "spines" |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|--------|-----------------|-----|---|
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dk orange floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dk orange flower, brown stems |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dk orange flower, green leaves |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dk orange flower, green leaves |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dk orange, med blue |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | dk yellow stripe bordered by brown stripes |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | dk. amber "fruit" with blue "spines" |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dk. amber flower |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dk. amber flower, brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dk. blue, dk. brown; dk. bmber |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 2 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral (blue, orange) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim? | 1 | floral (blue, orange); brown band below lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral (green leaves) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral (green leaves) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral (green) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral (green) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral (green) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral (green) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 2 | floral (green) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | floral (green, blue) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | floral (green, blue) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral (green, blue) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral (green, blue) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral (green, blue) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral (green, brown) |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|--------|---------|-----|---|
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral (green, brown) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral (green, yellow) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral (green, yellow) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral (grouped leaves; autumnal green) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral (yellow) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | gold; blue |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green & blue leaves (?) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green band; brown feathered obj. |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 2 | green floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green, brown, & dk. amber floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green foliage |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green foliage |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green foliage, blue flower, brown stem |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green foliage, brown stem |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green foliage, brown stem |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green foliage, brown stripe |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaf (?) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | reddish brown stripe |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green, brown, & reddish brown floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaves |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaves, red & blue flowers |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|-----------|----------------|-----|--------------------------------|
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | indeterminate design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 2 | indeterminate design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | large green dot |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | line (brown) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | med. autumnal brown foliage |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | orange leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | orange leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 2 | orange leaves, thin brown line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | orange/blue floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | reddish brown & blue floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | spatter |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | thin dark olive line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | yellow & green floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | yellow slip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | yellow slip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | yellow slip |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | yellow, brown & green floral |
| pearlware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | burned |
| pearlware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | indet. | indet. | | 2 | spalled |
| pearlware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | indet. | indet. | | 2 | spalled |
| pearlware | indet. | indet. | | 4 | spalled |
| pearlware | indet. | indet. | | 3 | spalled |
| pearlware | relief molded | holloware | handle portion | 1 | relief molded |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------------|----------|----------|-----|--------------------------------|
| pearlware | relief molded | indet. | | 1 | relief molded flutes, tan slip |
| pearlware | relief molded | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | brim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | | 2 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | brim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | brim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | brim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | near rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | near rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------------|----------|----------|-----|-----------------------|
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim/brim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | near rim | 1 | diffuse green |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | green on lip; spalled |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | spalled |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 5 | spalled |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | near rim | 1 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|--|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 1 | floral (on line field) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 1 | floral; chain band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | base w/footring | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 1 | ind. |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | base | 1 | romantic; bridge and ruin |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 1 | stylized band at lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 1 | white "frog's egg" chain on dk. blue |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 2 | white "frog's egg" chain on dk. blue |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | architectural |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | architectural |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | base | 1 | architectural with windmill |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | black |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | chinoiserie (dot band; diamond band; willow) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | base | 1 | chinoiserie (willow) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | chinoiserie architectural scene (willow) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | floral (hibiscus?) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | floral (interior) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 2 | floral (interior) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | floral; circle & dot band below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | foliage; scale band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | historical/romantic scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | indeterminate design (diffuse blue) |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|---------------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | landscape (chinoserie? willow?) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | landscape (chinoserie? willow?) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | handle | 1 | stylized foliage filler |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | base | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | handle | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | architectural |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | architectural |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | architectural |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | architectural (?) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | architectural (castle) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | architectural (chimney) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 2 | architectural (doorway) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | architectural (italianate?) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | architectural (italianate?) |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|--------|------------------|-----|---------------------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | bead band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | bead band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | bead band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | black |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 4 | black |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | boughs & draped bead bands below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | transfer print w/brown rim striping |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | bull's head |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | chain band & floral band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | chain band & stylized floral band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | chain motif on band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | near base | 1 | chinoiserie (?) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | chinoiserie (willow) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | chinoiserie (willow) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | chinoiserie (willow) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | chinoiserie (willow) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | chinoiserie (willow) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | chinoiserie (willow) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | chinoiserie (willow) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | chinoiserie (circles; scales; willow) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | chinoiserie geometric fill (willow) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | chinoiserie geometric fill (willow) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | chinoiserie geometric fill (willow) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | chinoiserie stylized tree (willow) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | circle chain |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | diamond band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footering | 1 | floral |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|--------|-----------|-----|------------------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | floral (?) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral (interior & exterior) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral (interior & exterior) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | floral; chain band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | floral; half-circle band below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 2 | floral; half-circle band below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 2 | floral; half-circle band below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | floral; half-circle band below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|--------|---------|-----|-------------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage (interior & exterior) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage (interior) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | foliage (oak leaves) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | foliage; blue line on lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | geometric band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | half-circle band below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | historical/pastoral blue |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | historical/pastoral blue |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | historical/pastoral blue |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 5 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|--------|---------|-----|-----------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 5 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | flat base |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | rim |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|--------|---------|-----|---------------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue line on lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | landscape |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | landscape (chinoserie? willow?) |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|--------|-----------------|-----|--|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | landscape (chinoserie? willow?) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | landscape (foliage) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | landscape (ground & bushes) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | landscape (interior & exterior) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | landscape (interior), exterior indet. |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | landscape (tree) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | landscape foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | landscape with castle, trees, clouds |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | landscape, chain band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | landscape; geometric band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | leaf |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | leaf; half-circle band below lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | pastoral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | pastoral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | pastoral scene |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | pastoral scene (?) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | pastoral scene (small flowers) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | flat base | 1 | pastoral scene (trees in background) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | recessed base | 1 | pastoral scene (trees in background) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | pastoral scene (upside down stool) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | pastoral scene; blue line on lip |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | historical/romantic scene |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|--------|-----------------|-----|---------------------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | scene with human leg, shoe & stocking |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | spiral filled band |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | stylized "bead" chain, foliage |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | stylized foliage filler |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | stylized foliage filler |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | stylized foliage filler |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | stylized foliage filler |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | stylized foliage filler |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | white "frog's egg" on dk. blue |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 5 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|----------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | base | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | base | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | base | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | brim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | brim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | brim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | brim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | base | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | base w/footring | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | base w/footring | 1 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|---------|-----|-------------------------|
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | handle | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | handle | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | handle | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | relief molded (figural) |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|-----------------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base w/ footing | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base w/footring | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | flat base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | handle | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | handle attach. | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | near rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 7 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 7 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 6 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 7 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 9 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|---------------------|------------------------|-----------|---------|-----|--|
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | brown zone |
| refined earthenware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | engine turned ribs |
| refined earthenware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | reddish brown field |
| refined earthenware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 2 | brown line |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | indet. |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 2 | spalled |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 5 | spalled |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 2 | spalled |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | spalled |
| refined earthenware | transfer printed | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | black dendritic on reddish brown field |
| stoneware | British brown | indet. | | 1 | brown |
| stoneware | British brown | indet. | | 1 | brown body, brown glaze |
| stoneware | British brown | indet. | | 1 | gray body, lustrous brown engobe? |
| stoneware | British brown | indet. | | 1 | gray body, lustrous brown engobe? |
| stoneware | British brown | indet. | | 1 | lt gray body; thin glaze, tan |
| stoneware | British brown | indet. | | 1 | |
| stoneware | British brown | indet. | | 1 | |
| stoneware | British brown | indet. | | 1 | |
| stoneware | British brown | indet. | | 1 | |
| stoneware | British brown | holloware | | 1 | gray body, lustrous brown engobe? |
| stoneware | salt-glazed, brown | indet. | | 1 | Fulham? |
| stoneware | salt-glazed, brown | indet. | | 2 | Fulham? |
| stoneware | salt-glazed, brown | indet. | | 1 | Fulham? |

Table C.4. New Town Locus 5 imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|--------------|--------------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| stoneware | salt-glazed, brown | holloware | | 2 | Fulham? |
| stoneware | salt-glazed, white | indet. | | 1 | |
| stoneware | salt-glazed, white | indet. | | 1 | |
| stoneware | salt-glazed, white | holloware | | 1 | |
| stoneware | salt-glazed, white | holloware | | 1 | |
| Total | | | | 2107 | |

Table C.5. Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage.

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|--------------------|-------------|-----------|---------|-----|----------|
| coarse earthenware | Edgefield | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | Jackfield | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | Jackfield | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | base | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | holloware | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 2 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 4 | |

Table C.5. Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|--------------------|-------------|-----------|----------|-----|----------------------|
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 2 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 2 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 2 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | brown |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 4 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 2 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 2 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 3 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | lead glazed | holloware | rim | 1 | slipped rim |
| coarse earthenware | redware | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | redware | indet. | | 1 | lead glazed Interior |
| coarse earthenware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | crock rim |
| coarse earthenware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.5. Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|--------------------|------------------------|------------|-------------|-----|---------------------------------------|
| coarse earthenware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| coarse earthenware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | annular ware | hollowware | rim | 1 | dark brown band, medium brown band |
| creamware | annular ware | indet. | rim | 1 | bands (brown & yellow), scalloped rim |
| creamware | annular ware | indet. | | 1 | green and brown swirl |
| creamware | annular ware | indet. | | 1 | green and brown |
| creamware | annular ware | indet. | | 1 | brown |
| creamware | annular ware | indet. | | 1 | brown |
| creamware | clouded ware | hollowware | footring | 2 | brown |
| creamware | clouded ware | hollowware | rim | 1 | brown overglaze |
| creamware | clouded ware | hollowware | rim | 1 | brown mottled clouding |
| creamware | clouded ware | hollowware | | 1 | brown |
| creamware | clouded ware | hollowware | | 1 | brown |
| creamware | clouded ware | indet. | | 1 | brown |
| creamware | clouded ware | indet. | | 1 | brown |
| creamware | hand painted | flatware | | 1 | brown banding |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | olive green line |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | brown band |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | green leaf, brown line |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | thin brown band |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | olive green line |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | flatware | rim, marley | 1 | thin brown band |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | flatware | | 1 | brown |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | hollowware | | 1 | brown |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | hollowware | | 1 | red & green floral (int.) |

Table C.5. Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|-----------|---------------|-----|--------------------|
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaf |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown band |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | overglaze, green |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 2 | red & green floral |
| creamware | indet. | holloware | | 1 | |
| creamware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | mulberry design |
| creamware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | brim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | recessed base | 1 | |

Table C.5. Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|---------------|-----|----------|
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | recessed base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.5. Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 8 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |

Table C.5. Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 6 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.5. Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.5. Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------|----------|-----|----------------------------|
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown, gold, white stripes |
| pearlware | annular ware | indet. | | 1 | yellow and brown bands |
| pearlware | annular ware | indet. | | 1 | brown line and black line |
| pearlware | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | brown banding |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue line and floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue band at rim interior |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue on lip |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue band |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue line and floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | footring | 1 | blue dots |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue dots |

Table C.5. Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|-----------|---------------|-----|--|
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | teacup |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rims | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | footring | 1 | floral design, green leaves |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | footring | 1 | green, blue, dark gold |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | handle | 1 | red |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | recessed base | 1 | green leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | green band, green & pink floral, teacup |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | green band, green & pink floral, teacup |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | blue & brown rim bands, floral design, teacup |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | green floral, burned |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | blue, red, green (ext.); brown band (int.) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | rim | 1 | blue band, green leaf, scalloped |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | base | 1 | floral design, green leaves |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue, red (ext.), brown band (int.), burned |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | red floral, burned |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green floral, burned |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | green & blue floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | green & red floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 2 | green, blue, dark gold |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | green floral, teacup? |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | floral design, green, blue, pink, burned |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | floral design, green, blue, pink, burned |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | base | 1 | green, blue, dark gold, maker's mark, circular |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | underglaze floral (rose), overglaze (black) |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | red & green |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 2 | green leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | rose |

Table C.5. Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|----------|---------------|-----|---------------------------|
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green, gray & red |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue and brown |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown line and black line |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green leaf |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | blue band, green floral |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 2 | green, blue, dark gold |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | green |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dark gold, blue |
| pearlware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | blue (trace) |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 2 | embossed |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | scalloped edge |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | indet. | rim | 1 | scalloped edge |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | footring | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | marley | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | recessed base | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |

Table C.5. Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|---------|-----|--|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design (floral, peony) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design (floral) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue and white bands, burned |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design, scalloped edge with beads |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 1 | blue design, scalloped edge, platter? |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 1 | blue design (trees) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 1 | blue design (floral on interior) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 1 | blue design (geometric grid with dots) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design, decorated both sides |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design (floral) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | mulberry design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | rim | 1 | blue design |

Table C.5. Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|--------|---------|-----|---|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design (trees) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design (chinois series) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | red design (ship's mast) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design (floral in interior, trees in exterior) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design, band with "fish eggs" |

Table C.5. Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|---------------|-----|---|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design (leaf) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design (thin brown band on interior) |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rims | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | base | 1 | maker's mark |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | bowl shoulder | 1 | burned |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | punchbowl |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | marley | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | recessed base | 1 | |

Table C.5. Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | burned |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | rim | 1 | burned |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | burned |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | rim | 1 | burned |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | burned |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | burned |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.5. Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |

Table C.5. Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|-----------|----------|-----|---|
| porcelain | hand painted, blue | holloware | footring | 1 | blue |
| porcelain | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue, molded & ribbed |
| porcelain | hand painted, blue | indet. | rim | 1 | blue |
| porcelain | hand painted, blue | holloware | rim | 1 | blue |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | red band |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | overglaze, bands and dots, teacup |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | flatware | rim | 1 | overglaze gilded (red) |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | red band, gilded dots, overglaze |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | black band, gilded crosses |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | overglaze, red sprig |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown band, gold gilt crosses |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | overglaze, band of gilded diamonds and dots |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | flatware | base | 1 | floral pink, yellow gilded lines |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | pink and purple, gilded |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | red stripe (on rim), fret work and tassles gilded |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | red band, gilded dots, overglaze |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | dark rose, dark green (gilted?) |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | gilded |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | black band, gilded crosses |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | black band, gilded crosses |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | black band, gilded crosses |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| porcelain | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 2 | |
| porcelain | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| porcelain | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| porcelain | molded | holloware | handle | 1 | teapot? |

Table C.5. Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|---------------------|-----------------|-----------|----------|-----|--------------|
| porcelain | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| porcelain | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| porcelain | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| porcelain | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| porcelain (semi) | undecorated | holloware | handle | 1 | |
| porcelain (semi) | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| porcelain (semi) | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | annular ware | indet. | | 1 | blue banding |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | lead glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| stoneware | alkaline glazed | indet. | rim | 1 | |
| stoneware | alkaline glazed | indet. | | 1 | dark green |
| stoneware | alkaline glazed | indet. | | 3 | dark green |

Table C.5. Tivoli main house imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|--------------|--------------------|-------------|----------------|------------|------------------|
| stoneware | salt-glazed, white | indet. | rim | 1 | scatch blue |
| stoneware | salt-glazed, white | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| stoneware | salt-glazed, white | holloware | handle | 1 | handle w/fluting |
| stoneware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| stoneware | Westerwald | indet. | | 1 | incised in blue |
| stoneware | Westerwald | indet. | | 1 | blue painted |
| stoneware | Westerwald | indet. | | 1 | blue-gray |
| Total | | | | 722 | |

Table C.6. Tivoli slave cabins imported wares assemblage.

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|----------|---------|-----|------------------|
| creamware | clouded ware | | | 1 | green clouding |
| creamware | hand painted, blue | flatware | rims | 2 | blue design |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | flatware | | 1 | brown fine line |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | flatware | | 1 | brown fine line |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | flatware | rim | 1 | brown rim stripe |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | flatware | rim | 1 | brown rim stripe |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | flatware | rim | 1 | brown fine line |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | flatware | rim | 1 | brown fine line |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | flatware | | 1 | brown rim stripe |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown rim stripe |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown fine line |
| creamware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown fine line |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |

Table C.6. Tivoli slave cabins imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|----------|-----|----------|
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | base | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 11 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 6 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 11 | |

Table C.6. Tivoli slave cabins imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 15 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 11 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 8 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 6 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 9 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 8 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 11 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |

Table C.6. Tivoli slave cabins imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|----------|
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 8 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.6. Tivoli slave cabins imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------|-----|---|
| creamware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding, engine turned rings |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | combed slip on blue slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | brown bands, engine turned rings (green) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding (brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding, engine turned rings (green) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding (blue and brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding (brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbelized slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip zone (brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 2 | marbelized slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | annular banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbelized slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | annular banding (blue and brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | annular banding (blue) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | marbelized slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | | 1 | slip banding, engine turned rings (green) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | footring | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | footring | 1 | slip banding (brown) |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | slip banding |
| pearlware | annular ware | holloware | rim | 1 | engine turned rings (green) |
| pearlware | annular ware | indet. | | 1 | marbelized slip zone |
| pearlware | annular ware | indet. | | 1 | marbelized slip zone |

Table C.6. Tivoli slave cabins imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------------|-----------|---------|-----|------------------|
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown rim stripe |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | autumnal colors |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | rim | 1 | brown rim stripe |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | holloware | | 1 | spout |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | brown rim stripe |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | autumnal colors |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | floral design |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | hand painted, polychr. | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | | 3 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, blue | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |

Table C.6. Tivoli slave cabins imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------------|-----------|---------------|-----|-----------------------------|
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 2 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | shell edge, green | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | | 1 | blue design, scalloped edge |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | | 1 | blue design, scalloped edge |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | | 4 | blue design, scalloped edge |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | recessed base | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 1 | blue design, willow pattern |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 1 | blue design, scalloped edge |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | flatware | rim | 1 | blue design, scalloped edge |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | holloware | rim | 1 | blue design, embossed edge |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 4 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 3 | blue design |

Table C.6. Tivoli slave cabins imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|------------------|----------|---------------|-----|-----------------------------|
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design, floral |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 4 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design, willow pattern |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 2 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | transfer-printed | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | recessed base | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | recessed base | 1 | |

Table C.6. Tivoli slave cabins imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|----------|-----|----------------|
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | rim | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | | 1 | molded fluting |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | | 1 | burned |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | base | 2 | fluted base |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | fluted base |
| pearlware | undecorated | holloware | footring | 1 | teacup |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.6. Tivoli slave cabins imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-----|--------------------------|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 7 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 7 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 11 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 5 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | embossed edge decoration |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 3 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 4 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 15 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 6 | |

Table C.6. Tivoli slave cabins imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------|---------------|-----|---|
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 2 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| pearlware | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| porcelain | hand painted | flatware | rim | 1 | overglaze enamel, geometric design |
| porcelain | hand painted | flatware | rim | 1 | overglaze enamel, geometric design |
| porcelain | hand painted | holloware | footring | 1 | overglaze enamel, stenciled floral design |
| porcelain | hand painted | holloware | footring | 1 | overglaze enamel, geometric design |
| porcelain | hand painted | holloware | rim | 1 | overglaze enamel |
| porcelain | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | overglaze enamel, geometric design, edge stripe |
| porcelain | hand painted | indet. | | 1 | overglaze enamel |
| porcelain | hand painted, blue | holloware | | 1 | blue design |
| porcelain | hand painted, blue | indet. | | 1 | blue design |
| porcelain | undecorated | flatware | recessed base | 2 | |
| porcelain | undecorated | flatware | | 1 | |
| porcelain | undecorated | holloware | footring | 2 | |
| porcelain | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| porcelain | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| porcelain | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| porcelain | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| porcelain | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| porcelain | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| porcelain | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| porcelain | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |

Table C.6. Tivoli slave cabins imported wares assemblage (continued).

| Ware | Type | Form | Segment | Qty | Comments |
|---------------------|-----------------|-------------|----------------|------------|-----------------|
| porcelain | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| porcelain | undecorated | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | burned |
| refined earthenware | indet. | flatware | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| refined earthenware | indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| stoneware | alkaline-glazed | holloware | | 1 | |
| stoneware | alkaline-glazed | holloware | handle | 1 | |
| stoneware | alkaline-glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| stoneware | alkaline-glazed | indet. | | 1 | |
| stoneware | brown, indet. | indet. | | 1 | |
| stoneware | indet. | holloware | | 2 | |
| Total | | | | 678 | |

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adair, James.
2005 [1775] *The History of the American Indians*, edited by K. E. H. Braund. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Appadurai, Arjun (editor)
1986 Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value. In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, pp. 3-63. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Baird, James M.
2006 Paternalism and Profits: Planters and Overseers in Piedmont Virginia, 1750-1825. In *Cultures and Identities in Colonial British America*, edited by Robert Olwell and Alan Tully, pp. 147-168. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
- Baker, Steven
1972 Colono-Indian Pottery from Cambridge, South Carolina with Comments on the Historic Catawba Pottery Trade. South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology *Notebook* 4(1): 3-30. Occasional Papers of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

1975 The Historic Catawba Peoples: Exploratory Perspectives in Ethnohistory and Archaeology. Report prepared for Duke Power Co. Ms. On file, Department of History, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Barnes, Bettina
1975 Irish Traveling People. In *Gypsies, Tinkers, and Other Travelers*, edited by Farnhm Rehfisch, pp. 231-256. Academic Press, London.
- Barth, Fredrik
1969 Introduction. In *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, edited by Frederick Barth, pp. 9-38. Scandinavian University Books, Oslo.
- Baughner, Sherene, and Robert W. Venables
1987 Ceramics as Indicators of Status and Class in Eighteenth-Century New York. In *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*, edited by Spencer-Wood, Suzanne M, pp. 31-53. Plenum Press, New York.
- Belton, Brian A.
2005 Gypsy and Traveller Ethnicity: The Social Generation of an Ethnic Phenomenon. Routledge, London.
- Bentley, M. M.
1991 The Slaveholding Catawbas. *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 92: 85-98.
- Berkhofer, Robert F.
1978 *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. Random House, New York.

- Berland, Joseph C.
 1982 *No Five Fingers are Alike: Cognitive Amplifiers in Social Context*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- 1987 Kanjar Social Organization. In *The Other Nomads: Peripatetic Minorities in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, edited by Aparna Rao, pp. 247-266. Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, Köln, Germany.
- Berland, Joseph C. and Matt T. Salo (editors)
 1986 *Peripatetic Communities: An Introduction*. Special issue of *Nomadic Peoples*, 21-22:1-6.
- Bhabha, Homi K.
 1994 *The Location of Culture*. Routledge, London.
- Bieder, Robert E.
 1986 *Science Encounters the Indian, 1820-1880: The Early Years of American Ethnology*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Blalock, Hubert M.
 1979 *Social Statistics*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York.
- Blumer, Thomas J.
 1987 *Bibliography of the Catawba*. The Scarecrow Press Inc., Metuchen, New Jersey.
- 2004 *Catawba Indian Pottery*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Bolig, Michael
 1987 Ethnic Relations and Spatial Mobility in Africa: A Review of the Peripatetic Niche. In *The Other Nomads: Peripatetic Minorities in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, edited by Aparna Rao pp. 179-228. Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, Köln, Germany.
- 2004 Hunters, Foragers, and Singing Smiths: The Metamorphoses of Peripatetic Peoples in Africa. In *Customary Strangers: New Perspectives on Peripatetic Peoples in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia*, edited by Joseph C. Berland and Aparna Rao, pp. 195-231. Praeger Publishers, Westport, Connecticut.
- Bollwerk, Elizabeth
 2007 Negotiating with *Nicotiana*: An Investigation of the Role of Tobacco Smoking and Pipes in Native and European Relations in the Middle Atlantic. Paper presented at the 72nd annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Austin, Texas.
- Booraem, Hendrik
 2001 *Young Hickory: The Making of Andrew Jackson*. Taylor Trade Publishing, Dallas, Texas.
- Bourdieu, Pierre
 1977 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

- Brown, Douglas S.
1966 *The Catawba Indians: The People of the River*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Bull, William
1766 Bull to Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations; quoted in Merrell 1989.
- Burley, David V.
1989 Function, Meaning, and Context: Ambiguities in Ceramic Use by the *Hivernant Métis* of the Northwestern Plains. *Historical Archaeology* 23(1):97-106.
- Burley, David V., Gayel A. Horsfall, and John D. Brandon
1992 Structural Considerations of *Métis* Ethnicity: An Archaeological, Architectural, and Historical Study. University of South Dakota Press, Vermillion.
- Butler, Judith
1990 *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Routledge, New York.
1993 *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex."* Routledge, New York.
- Casimir, Michael J.
2004 "Once Upon a Time": Reconciling the Stranger. In *Customary Strangers: New Perspectives on Peripatetic Peoples in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia*, edited by Joseph C. Berland and Aparna Rao, pp. 31-54. Praeger Publishers, Westport, Connecticut.
- Coke, Thomas
1791 Travel journal entry, quoted in Brown 1966: 287-289
- Conkey, Margaret W., and Janet D. Spector
1984 Archeology and the Study of Gender. In *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, edited by Michael B. Schiffer, Volume 7:1-38. Academic Press, London.
- Coulombe, Charles A.
2004 *Rum: The Epic Story of the Drink that Conquered the World*. Citadel Press Books, Kensington Publishing Corporation, New York.
- Curtius, Ernst Robert
1963 *European Literature and the Middle Ages*. Translated by Willard R. Trask. Harper and Row, New York.
- Davis, R. P. Stephen Jr., and Brett. H. Riggs
2004a Introduction to the Catawba Project. *North Carolina Archaeology* 53: 1-41.
2004b Finding Tivoli: An Archaeological Search for William Richardson Davie's Home at Land's Ford, Chester County, South Carolina. Research Report No. 22, Research Laboratories of Archaeology, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
2006 A Summary Report of 2005 Archarological Investigations at Catawba New Town, Lancaster, County, South Carolina. Research Laboratories of Archaeology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Report submitted to National Geographic Society.

- DeBoer, Warren R. and Donald W. Lathrop
 1979 The Making and Breaking of Shipibo-Conibo Ceramics. In *Ethnoarchaeology: Implications of Ethnography for Archaeology*, edited by C. Kramer, pp. 102-128. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Deetz, James
 1996 *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life*. Anchor Books, New York.
- De Jong
 2004 Strangers in Their Own Land: Social Resources and Domestic Fluidity of the Peripatetic Karretjie People of the South African Karoo. In *Customary Strangers: New Perspectives on Peripatetic Peoples in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia*, edited by Joseph C. Berland and Aparna Rao, pp. 155-178. Praeger Publishers, Westport, Connecticut.
- Deloria, Philip J.
 1998 *Playing Indian*. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.
- Dietler, Michael
 2007 Culinary Encounters: Food, Identity, and Colonialism. In *The Archaeology of Food and Identity*, edited by Katheryn C. Twiss, pp. 218-242. Center for Archaeological Investigations Occasional Paper No. 34. Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.
- di Zerega Wall, Diana
 1994 *The Archaeology of Gender: Separating the Spheres in Urban America*. Plenum Press New York.
- Douglass, Mary, and Baron Isherwood
 1996 *The World of Goods: Towards and Anthropology of Consumption*. Routledge, London.
- Dreyfus, Hubert L., and Paul Rabinow
 1983 *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, second Edition. University of Chicago Press.
- Edgar, Walter B.
 2001 *Partisans and Redcoats; the Southern Conflict that Turned the Tide of the American Revolution*. William Morrow – HarperCollins, New York.
- Ethridge, Robbie (editor)
 2009 Introduction: Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone. In *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, pp. 1-62. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Ethridge, Robbie
 2010 *From Chicaza to Chickasaw: The European Invasion and the Transformation of the Mississippian World, 1540-1715*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Fanon, Franz
 1968 *The Wretched of the Earth*. Grove Press, New York.

- Ferguson, Brian R., and Neil L. Whitehead (editors)
 1999 "The Violent Edge of Empire." In *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare*, 2nd edition, pp. 1-30. School of American Research, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
- Ferguson, Leland
 1978 Looking for the "Afro" in Colono-Indian Pottery. The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers, 1977 12:68-86. Columbia, South Carolina
 1989 Lowcountry Plantations, the Catawba Nation, and River Burnished Pottery. In *Studies in South Carolina Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Robert L. Stephenson*, edited by Albert C. Goodyear, III and Glen T. Hanson, pp. 185-192. South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology Research Papers 10. Occasional Papers of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
 1992 *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C.
- Fewkes, Vladimir J.
 1944 Catawba Pottery-Making, with Notes on Pamunkey Pottery-Making, Cherokee Pottery-Making, and Coiling. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 88(2): 69-124.
- Finley, Moses I.
 1976 Colonies—An Attempt at a Typology. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 26 (5th Series) 167-188.
- Fitts, Mary E.
 2006 Mapping Catawba Coalescence. *North Carolina Archaeology* 55: 1-59.
- Fitts, Mary E., Brett H. Riggs, and R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.
 2007 Summary Report of 2007 Archaeological Investigations at Catawba Nassaw Town (38Yk434), York County, South Carolina. Research Report No. 27 Research Laboratories of Archaeology University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
- Foucault, Michel
 1972 *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Translated by A. M. Sheridan Smith. Pantheon Books, New York.
- Galloway, Patricia
 1995 *Choctaw Genesis, 1500-1700*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
 2006 *Practicing Ethnohistory: Mining Archives, Hearing Testimony, Constructing Narrative*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- Garrow, Patrick H., and Thomas R. Wheaton.
 1989 Colonoware Ceramics: The Evidence from Yaughan and Curriboo Plantations. In *Studies in South Carolina Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Robert L. Stephenson*, edited by Albert C. Goodyear, III and Glen T. Hanson, pp. 175-184. South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology Research Papers 10. Occasional Papers of the

South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina,
Columbia

Gilchrist, Roberta

1999 *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past*. Routledge, London.

Gmelch, George, and Sharon Bohn-Gmelch

1987 Commercial Nomadism: Occupation and Mobility Among Travellers in England and Wales. In *The Other Nomads: Peripatetic Minorities in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, edited by Aparna Rao pp. 133-158. Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, Köln, Germany.

Godbeer, Richard

1999 Eroticizing the Middle Ground: Anglo-Indian Sexual Relations along the Eighteenth-Century Frontier. In *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*, edited by Martha Hodes, pp. 91-111. New York University Press, New York.

Gosden,

2004 *Archaeology and Colonialism: Culture Contact from 5000 B.C. to the Present*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Gojak, Denis, and Iain Stuart

1999 The Potential for the Archaeological Study of Clay Tobacco Pipes from Australian Sites. *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 17:38-49.

Goodwin, Lorinda B. R.

1999 *An Archaeology of Manners: The Polite World of the Merchant Elite of Colonial Massachusetts*. Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York.

Gould, Stephen Jay

1981 *The Mismeasure of Man*. Norton, New York.

Gray, Lewis C.

1933 *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*. Carnegie Institution, Washington D.C.

Greene, Lance

2009 *A Struggle for Cherokee Community: Excavating Identity in Post-Removal North Carolina*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Greene, Lance, and Mark R. Plane (editors)

2010 Introduction. In *American Indians and the Market Economy, 1775-1850*, pp. 1-18. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Gregorie, Anne K.

1925 Notes on Sewee Indians and Indian Remains of Christ Church Parish, Charleston County, South Carolina. Contributions from the Charleston Museum 5. Charleston, South Carolina.

Grenier, Alyson L.

2007 Folk Architecture. In *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History & Culture*. Oklahoma

Historical Society. Electronic document, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia>, accessed May 12, 2011.

Guilds, John Caldwell

2003 A Literary View. In *An Early and Strong Sympathy: The Indian Writings of William Gilmore Simms*, edited by John Caldwell Guilds and Charles Hudson, pp. xiii-xxxiii University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

Hally, David J.

1986 The Identification of Vessel Function: A Case Study from Northwest Georgia. *American Antiquity* 51(2): 267-295

Harrington, M. R.

2006 [1908] Catawba Potters and Their Work. Reprinted. *North Carolina Archaeology* 55:89-102. Originally published 1908, *American Anthropologist* 10:399-407.

Harris, Lorene B., Thomas J. Blumer, and Brett H. Riggs

2008 Glimpses of a Nearby Nation The Making of Catawba Pottery with Georgia Harris and Edith Harris Brown. *Southern Cultures* 14(4): 102-111

Harrison, Nathaniel

1727 "An Account of Nathaniel Harrison's proceeding when he went out, by order of Government to meet with the Cautaubau Indians..." in Gooch to Board of Trade, 1727; quoted in Merrell 1989.

Hayden, R. M.

1979 The Cultural Ecology of Service Nomads. *The Eastern Anthropologist* 32:295-309.

Heath, Charles L.

2004 Catawba Militarism: An Ethnohistorical and Archaeological Overview. *North Carolina Archaeology* 53: 80-121.

Hewatt, Alexander.

1971 [1779] *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, 2 volumes. Reprint Company, Spartanburg, South Carolina.

Hilliard, Sam B.

1969 Pork in the Ante-Bellum South: The Geography of Self-Sufficiency. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 59(3): 461-480.

Hodder, Ian, and Scott Hutson

2003 *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Holmes, William Henry

1903 Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States. In *Twentieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1898-1899*, pp. 1-201. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

Hong, Keumsoo

2001 The Geography of Time and Labor in the Late Antebellum American Rural South:

Fin-de-Servitude Time Consciousness, Contested Labor, and Plantation Capitalism. *International Review of Social History* 46: 1-27.

Hudson, Charles M.

1965 *The Catawba Nation: A Social History*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

1970 *The Catawba Nation*. University of Georgia Press, Athens.

1990 *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

2003 An Ethnohistorical View. In *An Early and Strong Sympathy: The Indian Writings of William Gilmore Simms*, edited by John Caldwell Guilds and Charles Hudson, pp. xxxiv-li. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

Hutchison, David

1843 Letter written at the request of Governor James Hammond. Published in *The Palmetto State Banner*, quoted in Brown 1966.

Jacobs, W. R. (editor)

1967 *The Appalachian Indian Frontier: The Edmond Atkin Report and Plan of 1755*. University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

Jones, Calvin

1815 Travel Journal. Unpublished manuscript, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Joyner, Charles

2005 Foreword: A Peculiar Political Culture. In *A New World Gentry: The Making of a Merchant and Planter Class in South Carolina, 1670-1770*, edited by Richard Waterhouse, pp. 7-11. The History Press, Charleston, South Carolina.

Lawson, John

1967 [1709] *A New Voyage to Carolina*, edited by Hugh T. Lefler. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Leath, Robert A., and Maurie D. McInnis

1999 "To Blend Pleasure with Knowledge:" The Cultural Odyssey of Charlestonians Abroad. In *In Pursuit of Refinement: Charlestonians Abroad, 1740-1860*, edited by Maurie D. McInnis and Angela D. Mack, pp. 9-22. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

Leone, Mark P., Parker B. Potter, Jr., and Paul A. Shakel

1987 Toward a Critical Archaeology. *Current Anthropology* 28(3): 283-302.

Lewis, Kenneth E.

1976 Camden: A Frontier town in Eighteenth-Century South Carolina. Anthropological Studies No. 2, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

- Lewis, Lynne G.
1978 *Drayton Hall: Preliminary Archaeological Investigation at a Low Country Plantation*. The Preservation Press, National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States, Washington, D.C.
- Lightfoot, Kent G.
1995 Culture Contact Studies: Redefining the Relationship between Prehistoric and Historical Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 60:199-217.
- Lincoln, Bruce
1989 *Discourse and the Construction Society: Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classification*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Lindsay, Batterman
1899 Kwelth-Elite, The Proud Slave. Published in *Overland Monthly*, 2d Series, 33: 534-539, quoted in Raibmon 2005.
- Lippert, Catherine Beth
1987 *Eighteenth-Century English Porcelain in the Collection of the Indianapolis Museum of Art*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
- Liston, Henrietta
1797 *Tour to the Southern States: Virginia, North & South Carolina's* [sic]. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- Lucassen, Leo
1998a A Blind Spot: Migratory and Travelling Groups in Western European Historiography. In *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups: A Socio-Historical Approach*, edited by Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems, and Annemarie Cottaar, pp. 135-152. St. Martin's Press, New York.

1998b Eternal Vagrants? State Formation, Migration and Travelling Groups in Western Europe, 1350-1914. In *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups*. Edited by Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems, and Annemarie Cottaar, pp. 55-73. St. Martin's Press, New York.
- Lucassen, Leo, Wim Willems, and Annemarie Cottaar (editors)
1998 Introduction. In *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups: A Socio-Historical Approach*, edited by Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems, and Annemarie Cottaar, pp. 1-16. St. Martin's Press, New York.
- Mallios, Seth
2006 *The Deadly Politics of Giving: Exchange and Violence at Ajacan, Roanoke, and Jamestown*. The University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Margo, Robert A.
2000 *Wages and Labor Markets in the United States, 1820-1860*. University of Chicago Press.
- Marx, Karl
1972 [1846] Capital, Volume 1. In *The Marx-Engels Reader*, second edition, edited by Robert C. Tucker, pp. 294-438. W. W. Norton and Company, New York.

- Mauss, Marcel
 1990 [1954] *The Gift : The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*.
 Translated by W. D. Halls. W. W. Norton, New York.
- McClintock, Anne
 1995 *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest*.
 Routledge, London.
- McDowell, W.L. (editor)
 1969 *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, 1754-1765*. South Carolina Department of
 Archives and History, Columbia.
- McReynolds, Theresa E.
 2004 Catawba Population Dynamics during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.
North Carolina Archaeology 53: 42-59.
- McReynolds Shebalin, Theresa E.
 2011 *Domestic Activities and Household Variation at Catawba New Town
 ca. 1790-1820*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University
 of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Merrell, James H.
 1989 *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact
 Through the Era of Removal*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Meyer, Frank
 2004 Biography and Identity in Damascus: A Syrian *Nawar* Chief.
 In *Customary Strangers: New Perspectives on Peripatetic Peoples in the Middle East,
 Africa, and Asia*, edited by Joseph C. Berland and Aparna Rao, pp. 71-92. Praeger
 Publishers, Westport, CT.
- Miller, George L.
 1980 Classification and Economic Scaling of 19th Century Ceramics. *Historical
 Archaeology* 14: 1-40.
- 1991 A Revised Set of CC Index Values for Classification and Economic Scaling of of
 English Ceramics from 1787 to 1880. *Historical Archaeology* 25(1): 1-25.
- Mills, Robert
 1826 *Statistics of South Carolina*. Hurlbut and Lloyd, Charleston, South Carolina.
- Mooney, James
 1894 The Siouan Tribes of the East. *Bureau of Ethnology Bulletin No. 22*. Smithsonian
 Institution, Washington, DC.
- Moore, David G.
 2002 *Catawba Valley Mississippian: Ceramics, Chronology, and Catawba Indians*.
 University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Muller, Jon
 1997 *Mississippian Political Economy*. Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York.

- Moses, L. G.
1996 *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Munson, Patrick J.
1969 Comments on Binford's "Smudge Pits and Hide Smoking: The Use of Analogy in Archaeological Reasoning. *American Antiquity* 34(1):83-85.
- Nemeth, David J.
2002 *The Gypsy-American: An Ethnographic Study*. Mellen Diaspora Studies, Volume 1. The Edwin Mellen Press Ltd., Lampeter, United Kingdom.
- Noël Hume, Ivor
1962 An Indian Ware of the Colonial Period. *Quarterly Bulletin of the Virginia Archaeological Society* 17(1).

1969 *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

1972 Creamware to Pearlware: A Williamsburg Perspective. In *Ceramics in America*, edited by Ian M. Quimby, pp. 217-254. Winterthur Conference Report, 1972. The University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Okely, Judith M.
1975 Gypsies Traveling in Southern England. In *Gypsies, Tinkers, and Other Travellers*, edited by Farnham Rehfisch, pp. 55-84. Academic Press, London.

1983 *The Traveller Gypsies*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Olesen Asta
1987 Peddling in East Afghanistan: Adaptive strategies of the Peripatetic Sheikh Mohammadi. In *The Other Nomads: Peripatetic Minorities in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, edited by Aparna Rao pp. 35-64. Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, Köln, Germany.
- Orser, Charles
1998 The Challenge of Race to American Historical Archaeology. *American Anthropologist* 100(3): 661-668.

2004 *Race and Practice in Archaeological Interpretation*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

2007 The Archaeology of Racialization in Historic America. Volume in the Series, *The American Experience in Archaeological Perspective*. University of Florida Press, Gainesville.
- Orton, Clive
1982 *Mathematics in Archaeology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Perdue, Theda
1998 *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

2003 *Mixed Blood Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South*. The University of Georgia Press, Athens.

Pettus, Louise

1999 Sally New River. Electronic document, (http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~sclancas/records/bios/bio_newriver.htm), accessed April 1, 2011

2001 William Richardson Davie (1756-1820). Electronic document, (http://www.rootsweb.com/~sclancas/records/bio_williamdavie.htm), accessed April 15, 2011.

2005 *Leasing Away a Nation: The Legacy of Catawba Indian Land Leases*. Palmetto Conservation Foundation, Spartanburg, South Carolina.

Phillips, Ruth B.

1995 Why Not Tourist Art? Significant Silences in Native American Museum Representations. In *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, edited by Gyan Prakash, pp. 98-125. Princeton University Press, New Jersey.

1998 *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900*. University of Washington Press, Seattle.

Pinckney, Charles

1754 Charles Pinckney to Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, June 29, 1754, XXVI 78, quoted in Merrell 1989.

Plane, Mark R. (editor)

2010 "Remarkable elasticity of Character": Colonial Discourse, the Market Economy, and Catawba Itinerancy. In *American Indians and the Market Economy, 1775-1850*, edited with Lance Greene pp. 33-52. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Psarra, Sophia

2009 *Architecture and Narrative: The Formation of Space and Cultural Meaning*. Routledge, London.

Raibmon, Paige

2005 *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth Century Northwest Coast*. Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina.

Rainer, Joseph T.

1997 The "Sharper" Image: Yankee Peddlers, Southern Consumers, and the Market Revolution. *Business and Economic History* 26(1): 27-44.

Rao, Aparna (editor)

1987 The Concept of Peripatetics: An Introduction. In *The Other Nomads: Peripatetic Minorities in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, pp. 1-34. Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, Köln, Germany.

- Riggs, Bret H.
 1999 *Removal Period Cherokee Households in Southwestern North Carolina: Material Perspectives on Ethnicity and Cultural Differentiation*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- 2010 Temporal Trends in Native Ceramic Traditions of the Lower Catawba River Valley. *Southeastern Archaeology* 29:31–43.
- Riggs, Brett H. and R. P. Stephen Davis Jr.
 2008 “An Excellent Barrier to the Province”: The Catawba Frontiers in the 18th and 19th Centuries. Paper presented at “The Social Archaeology of Southeastern Colonial Frontiers,” conference, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Riggs, Brett H., R. P. Stephen Davis Jr., and Mark R. Plane
 2006 Catawba Pottery in the Post-Revolutionary Era: A View from the Source. *North Carolina Archaeology* 55: 60-88.
- Robertson, Miriam
 1998 *Snake Charmers: The Jogi Nath Kalbelias of Rajisthan*. Illustrated Book Publishers, Jaipur.
- Ross, A.
 1957 [1856] *The Red River Settlement: Its Rise, Progress, and Present State*. Ross and Haines, Minneapolis, Minnesota, quoted in Burley, Horsfall, and Brandon 1992.
- Rouse, Parke Jr.
 2004 *The Great Wagon Road from Philadelphia to the South*. The Dietz Press, Richmond, Virginia.
- Rudes, Blair A., Thomas J. Blumer, and J. Alan May
 2004 Catawba and Neighboring Groups. In *Handbook of North American Indians: Volume 14, Southeast*, edited by R. D. Fogelson, pp. 301-318. Smithsonian Institute, Washington.
- Russ Terri
 2009 Data Recovery of the Edenmoor Site (38LA560), Lancaster County, South Carolina. Environmental Services Inc. Report of Investigations No. 1263
- Sahlins, Marshall D.
 1972 *Stone Age Economics*. Aldine-Atherton, Chicago.
- Said, Edward W.
 1978 *Orientalism*. Vintage Books, New York.
- 1993 *Culture and Imperialism*. Vintage Books, New York.
- Sainsbury, W. Noel (compiler)
 1955 [1716] Records in the British Public Records Office Relating to South Carolina. Committee of the Commons House of Assembly to the South Carolina Agents [?]. Vol. 4:241. Columbia, South Carolina, quoted in Merrell 1989.

- Salley, A. S. (indexer)
 1928 [1681] Records in the British Public Records Office Relating to South Carolina. Lords Proprietors to the Governor and Council at Ashley River in Carolina, 1663-1684: 116-118. Columbia, South Carolina, quoted in Merrell 1989.
- Salo, Matthew T.
 1987 The Gypsy Niche in North America: Some Ecological Perspectives on the Exploitation of Social Environments. In *The Other Nomads: Peripatetic Minorities in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, edited by Aparna Rao pp. 35-64. Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, Köln, Germany.
 1991 Peripatetics. In *Encyclopedia of World Cultures*, Volume 1, North America, edited by Timothy J. O'Leary and David Levinson, pp. 286-287. G. K. Hall, Boston.
- Sanders, Marcus
 n.d. Electronic document, <http://www.catawbaindianpottery.com>, accessed March 4, 2008.
- Saunders, William L. (editor)
 1968 [1886-1890] The Colonial Records of North Carolina. A Treaty Between North Carolina Commissioners and the Catawba Indians. Volume V: 144a, quoted in Merrell 1989.
- Saunt, Claudio
 2005 *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family*. Oxford University Press.
- Scaife, H. Lewis
 1896 *History and Condition of the Catawba Indians*. Indian Rights Association. Publications. 2d series, no. 31, Philadelphia.
- Schreiber, Katharina
 2005 Imperial Agendas and Local Agency: Wari Colonial Strategies. In *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Gil J. Stein, pp. 237-262. School of American Research Press, Santa Fe.
- Scott, Edwin J.
 1884 *Random Recollections of a Long Life, 1806-1876*. Charles A. Calvo Press, Columbia, South Carolina.
- Scott, James C.
 1972 Patron-Client Politics and Political Change in Southeast Asia. *The American Political Science Review*, 66(1):91-113.
 1990 *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.
- Sellers, Charles
 1991 *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846*. Oxford University Press.

- Shoemaker, Helen, and Shirley T. Wadja
2008 *Material Culture in America: Understanding Everyday Life*. ABC-CLIO Inc., Santa Barbara, California.
- Silliman, Stephen W.
2005 Culture Contact or Colonialism? Challenges in the Archaeology of Native North America. *American Antiquity* 70(1):55-74.
- Simms, William Gilmore
2003 [1828] North American Indians. In *An Early and Strong Sympathy: The Indian Writings of William Gilmore Simms*, edited by John Caldwell Guilds and Charles Hudson, pp. 7-19. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

2003 [1835] Sketches of Indian Character No. 1. In *An Early and Strong Sympathy: The Indian Writings of William Gilmore Simms*, edited by John Caldwell Guilds and Charles Hudson, pp. 25-34. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

2003 [1841] Caloya; or, the Loves of the Driver. In *An Early and Strong Sympathy: The Indian Writings of William Gilmore Simms*, edited by John Caldwell Guilds and Charles Hudson, pp. 218-273. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

1845a *Views and Reviews in American Literature, History, and Fiction*. Wiley and Putnam, New York.

1845b *The Wigwam and the Cabin*. Wiley and Putnam, New York.
- Smith, Erik A.
1983 Anthropological Applications of Optimal Foraging Theory: A Critical Review. *Current Anthropology* 24(5):625-651.
- Smyth, John Ferdinand
1784 *A Tour in the United States of America*. Printed for G. Robinson, Pater-noster Row, J. Robson, New Bond-Street; and J. Sewell, Cornhill.
- South Carolina Archives
1786 Miscellaneous Records in S. C. Archives, quoted in Brown 1966.
- South Carolina State Climatology Office
(n.d.) South Carolina Climate. Electronic document, http://www.dnr.sc.gov/climate/sco/ClimateData/cli_sc_climate.php, accessed March 1st, 2011.
- South, Stanley.
1977 *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*. Academic Press, New York.
- Stein, Gil (editor)
2002 Colonies without Colonialism: A Trade Diaspora Model of Fourth Millenium B.C. Mesopotamian Enclaves in Anatolia. In *The Archaeology of Colonialism*, edited by C. Lyons and J. Papadopoulos, pp. 27-64. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

2005 Introduction: The Comparative Archaeology of Colonial Encounters. In *The*

- Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives*, pp. 3-32. School of American Research Press, Santa Fe.
- Steponaitis, Vincas P., and Keith W. Kintigh
 1993 Estimating Site Occupation Spans from Dated Artifact Types: Some New Approaches. In *Archaeology of Eastern North America: Papers in Honor of Stephen Williams*, edited by James B. Stoltman, pp. 349-361. Archaeological Report No. 25. Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson.
- Stokes, Melvyn
 1996 Introduction. In *The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political, and Religious Expressions, 1800-1880*, edited by Melvyn Stokes and Stephen Conway, pp. 1-20. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Swan, Dale E.
 1973 The Structure and Profitability of the Antebellum Rice Industry: 1859. *The Journal of Economic History*, 33(1): 321-325.
- Thompson, Peter
 1999 *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia
- Towles, Louis Palmer
 1996 *A World Turned Upside Down: The Palmers of South Santee 1818-1881*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- van Dommelen, Peter
 2005 Colonial Interactions and Hybrid Practices. In *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Gil J. Stein, pp. 109-141. School of American Research Press, Santa Fe.
- Voss, Barbara L.
 2006 Engendered Archaeology: Men, Women, and Others. In *Historical Archaeology*, edited by Martin Hall and Stephen W. Silliman, pp. 107-127. Blackwell Studies in Global Archaeology, Volume 9. Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA.
- Ward, Trawick, H. and R.P. Stephen Davis Jr.
 1993 *Indian Communities on the North Carolina Piedmont: A.D. 1000 to 1700*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- 1999 *Time Before History: The Archaeology of North Carolina*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Waterhouse, Richard
 2005 *A New World Gentry: The Making of a Merchant and Planter Class in South Carolina, 1670-1770*. The History Press, Charleston, South Carolina.

- Watson, Harry L.
1996 Slavery and Development in a Dual Economy: The South and the Market Revolution. In *The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political, and Religious Expressions, 1800-1880*, edited by Melvyn Stokes and Stephen Conway, pp. 43-73. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Watson, Elkanah
1856 *Men and Times of the Revolution: Memoirs of Elkanah Watson, Including Journals of Travels in Europe and America, From 1777-1842*, edited by Winslow C. Watson. Dana and Company, New York.
- Weatherhill, Lorna
1993 The Meaning of Consumer Behavior in Late Seventeenth- and Early-Eighteenth Century England. In *Consumption and the World of Goods*, edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter, pp. 206-227. Routledge, London.
- Weber, Max
1968 [1922] *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, edited by Guenther Ross and Clauss Wittich. Bedminster Press, New York.
- Welch, Paul D., and C. Margaret Scarry
1995 Status-Related Variation in Foodways in the Moundville Chiefdom. *American Antiquity* 60(3): 397-419
- Wheaton, Thomas R., Amy Friedlander, and Patrick H. Garrow
1983 *Yaughan and Curriboo Plantations: Studies in Afro-American Archaeology*. Soil Systems, Atlanta, Georgia.
- White, Joseph
1842 White to Richardson, Oct. 16, 1842, Leg. Papers, Indian Affairs, Gov. Corresp.; quoted in Merrell 1989
- Willems, Wim
1998 Ethnicity as a Death-Trap: the History of Gypsy Studies. In *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups: A Socio-Historical Approach*, edited by Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems, and Annemarie Cottaar, pp. 17-34. St. Martin's Press, New York.
- Williems, Wim, and Leo Lucassen
1998 The Church of Knowledge: Representation of *Gypsies* in Encyclopedias. In *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups: A Socio-Historical Approach*, edited by Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems, and Annemarie Cottaar, pp. 35-54. St. Martin's Press, New York.
- Wylie, Alison
1999 Why Should Historical Archaeologists Study Capitalism? The Logic of Question and Answer and the Challenge of Systemic Analysis. In *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism*, edited by Mark Leone and Parker Potter, Jr., pp. 23-50. Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York.
- Yarbrough, Fay
2008 *Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Young, Robert J. C.
1995 *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race*. Routledge, London.