THE JOHN DE LA HOWE SITE:

A STUDY OF COLONOWARE ON THE SOUTH CAROLINA FRONTIER

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

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by

Margaret W. Cooper

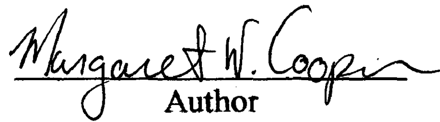
1998

APPROVAL SHEET

this thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts



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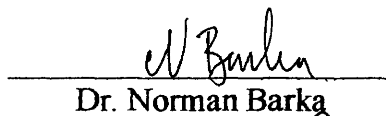

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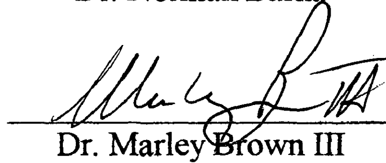

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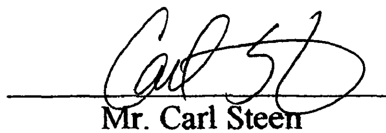


Mr. Carl Steen

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	v
LIST OF TABLES	vii
ABSTRACT	viii
INTRODUCTION	2
CHAPTER I. THE ORIGINS OF COLONOWARE: PREVIOUS INTERPRETATIONS	7
CHAPTER II. THE SETTLEMENT AND EXPANSION OF SOUTH CAROLINA	16
CHAPTER III. THE DE LA HOWE SITE: COLONOWARE ON THE FRONTIER	29
CHAPTER IV. POTTERY PRODUCTION IN THE MAINLAND BRITISH COLONIES	48
CHAPTER V. COLONOWARE IN THE SLAVE COMMUNITY	77
CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSION	90
APPENDIX A	95
APPENDIX B	100
APPENDIX C	101
BIBLIOGRAPHY	102
VITA	

AKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Norman Barka, Dr. Marley Brown, and Carl Steen for their thoughtful reading and criticism of this document, and for the significant role they have each played in furthering my education in archaeology. I would also like to thank my family for the support they provided during the course of completing this thesis.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure | Page

1. The West Indies. 19
2. Indigenous populations of South Carolina. 21
3. South Carolina's Coastal Zone. 25
4. The 18th century South Carolina Backcountry. 27
5. Location of the de la Howe site. 31
6. De la Howe site plan. 34
7. Distribution of Colonoware at the de la Howe site. 37
8. Colonoware from the de la Howe site. 41
9. Illustration of River Burnished pottery. 56
10. Coastal Plain of Virginia. 61
11. Colono-Indian pottery. 62
12. Suggested shapes of Courtland Series vessels. 64
13. Colonoware from Spier's Landing. 71
14. Colonoware and Catawba rims, Yaughan and Curriboo. 72
15. Colonoware bowls from the Howell site. 73

16. Colonoware bowl with footring from Spring Island. 74

17. Estimated occurrence of Colonoware over time. 87

18. Distribution of Colonoware in South Carolina. 88

LIST OF TABLES

Table | Page

1. Population estimates for Colonial South Carolina. 23
2. Colonoware vessels recovered at the de la Howe site. 39
3. Description of River Burnished pottery. 59
4. Description of sites used for Colonoware comparison. 67
5. Description of Colonoware from selected sites. 69
6. Comparison of de la Howe to Lowcountry Colonoware. 79
7. Colonoware from archaeological sites in South Carolina. 84

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines an assemblage of Colonoware pottery excavated from the John de la Howe's Lethe Farm (38MC637) site, a late eighteenth-century farm owned by John de la Howe and located in the frontier region, or Backcountry, of South Carolina. This pottery assemblage is unique as it is one of only two known historic sites containing Colonoware in this area of the state. The ultimate goal of this examination is to determine the origins of the Colonoware recovered from the de la Howe site.

Many varieties of hand–built pottery were produced in colonial and post–colonial America, and many of these varieties have been labeled as Colonoware. However, in this thesis Colonoware is defined as a specific ware type through a comparative analysis of hand–built pottery from many different areas, with an emphasis on pottery from the South Carolina coastal zone, known as the Lowcountry. The results of this comparison show that Colonoware was a common ceramic type on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century plantations and farms in a core area within the Lowcountry region, especially in the areas where African and African American slaves lived. A comparison between the de la Howe Colonoware and the Lowcountry Colonoware illustrates an unmistakable connection between them.

The connection between the de la Howe and Lowcountry Colonoware begs the question of why this tradition persisted on the frontier, when even in the Lowcountry the production of this ware was very localized. The answer presented in this thesis is that Colonoware production was more than a function of basic need, but also a symbol of unity between those who produced and used this pottery. Despite the separation of the de la Howe slaves from this core-area of Colonoware production, this practice had become tradition in their daily lives.

Tradition, as evidenced by the persistence of Colonoware pottery, was established among the enslaved community soon after their arrival into the New World. Yet tradition was negotiated on an individual basis among people who did not necessarily share any traditions previously. Similarities in broad–based values were channeled into specific material forms to solidify the ongoing negotiative process. The Colonoware tradition originated from this process of communal establishment among the various dislocated individuals on South Carolina plantations in the eighteenth century. With the establishment of these traditions, individuals such as the de la Howe slaves were no longer dislocated, but grounded within a community.

THE JOHN DE LA HOWE SITE:

A STUDY OF COLONOWARE ON THE SOUTH CAROLINA FRONTIER

INTRODUCTION

Researchers of human culture often perceive differently the basic cultural processes that guide individuals through episodes of intense cultural contact and change, such as the colonization of America. Often, these perspectives hinge on the issue of cultural origins. Concepts of origins are indicative of the influence that Old World or Pre–Columbian cultures are believed to have had on the formation of American culture. In North America, early twentieth-century perspectives regarded African Americans as having only a passive role in the establishment of North American culture (Phillips 1918). Others believed that the Middle Passage stripped Africans of their native cultures (Elkins 1959). On the other hand, it has recently been proposed that originally African practices have been incorporated into modern American folk culture (Ferguson 1992). This thesis will approach the question of cultural origins and the ramifications on cultural formation through a material culture study of Colonoware pottery from the eighteenth-century frontier of South Carolina. The isolated production of this pottery on the frontier highlights the general exclusion of Colonoware to a portion of the Lowcountry region of South Carolina. The rise, maintenance and decline of this tradition amongst the slaves in the Lowcountry illustrates the formation and endurance of a new cultural community forged through a combination of remembrances and new experiences in the New World.

Over the past three decades archaeologists have become increasingly involved in the study of the African-American past, and they have embraced some of the new models of cultural contact by both historians and anthropologists (Fairbanks 1974; Otto 1975; Ferguson 1978, 1992, Singleton 1980, 1985; Moore 1981; Armstrong 1990; Deetz 1993). Though limited to the preserved remains of past societies, historical archaeologists are privileged with a historical medium unfiltered by the perspectives of literate society of the time. Many archaeologists have drawn their interpretive theories from Melville Herskovits, a pioneer in the study of the African diaspora. Herskovits used the issue of cultural origins to debunk contemporary racist ideologies. According to critics Whitten and Szwed (1970), Herskovits attempted to show that present-day cultural differences between black and white society had an "honorable basis" in legitimate African cultures. In Herskovits's major work, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941), he studied the presence of "Africanisms," or cultural traits that he believed originated in Africa. The publication of this work set the tone for much future research.

Following the publication of Herskovits's book *The Myth of the Negro Past*, anthropologists studied the African diaspora in larger numbers. Talbot described the work of his contemporaries as a venture "into the bush" in a search to find legitimate "Africanisms" (1970:24). Likewise, many historical archaeologists eager to find evidence of African American culture searched for artifacts reminiscent of Africa (Ferguson 1978, 1991, 1992; Singleton 1980; Otto 1984; Deetz 1988, 1993: Wheaton and Garrow 1985; Yentsch 1996; Emerson 1988). In these studies individuals were considered as members of an ethnic group, a "symbolically ascriptive and exclusive

subculture with which to identify (Staski 1990:122)." That is, a group whose membership is fixed, often by birthright, and whose boundaries are maintained through the use of symbols (Staski 1990). However, these symbols are difficult to find in the archaeological record.

McGuire (1982;161) stated that the major objective of ethnic studies is "to explain how ethnic boundaries emerge, how they are stabilized and maintained through time, and how they ultimately disintegrate or are transformed." He goes on to add, "since boundaries are maintained through the use of symbols, the visibility, extent, and number of such symbols provide one measure of this process (161)." To many researchers of the African American past certain objects such as blue hexagonal beads, incised tobacco pipes, cowry shells, and slave-made pottery, or Colonoware, were believed to have invoked memories of Africa, and thus stood as symbols of ethnicity; however, there is much disagreement surrounding the origins of these items and their validity as ethnic "markers."

Disagreement has been particularly acute concerning the origins of the Colonoware pottery tradition. Colonoware was first identified in 1962 by Noël Hume in an article entitled "An Indian Ware of the Colonial Period." Noël Hume considered the ware to be a Native American ceramic that had arisen through the colonial experience. Initially, most archaeologists agreed with Noël Hume, but in 1978, Leland Ferguson challenged his interpretation. Ferguson argued that the ware actually represented an African tradition displaced through the context of slavery. This argument received support from many archaeologists working in South Carolina and Virginia, while others

were not convinced and continued to agree with Noël Hume's original interpretation that the ware represented the work of Native American potters. Today, most archaeologists working on historic sites in the Southeast can still be found on one side or the other of this debate.

All of the discussions involved in this debate surrounding the slave experience hinge on the concept of origins. Understanding the origins for the cultural practices of the enslaved community does have much to reveal about cultural process. Mintz and Price (1976:61) reflected this sentiment as they stated, "One promising strategy...for plotting the rise of Afro-American cultures would be to focus on the beginnings, from which we can look forward, rather than simply to extrapolate backward on the basis of perceived similarities with Old World cultures."

As stated previously, this thesis concerns the origins of a specific Colonoware assemblage from the South Carolina frontier. This assemblage contains over 5,000 sherds of hand–built, low–fired pottery recovered from previous archaeological excavations at John de la Howe's Lethe farm in McCormick County (Steen et al. 1996). Historical research has provided that during the third quarter of the eighteenth century the de la Howe site was occupied by Dr. de la Howe, his close friend Miss Rebekah Woodin, a housekeeper, and at least fourteen African-American slaves (Steen et al. 1996). This site is the only one in the county with a Colonoware assemblage of its kind. Archaeological evidence indicates that, of the slaves on farms and plantations in McCormick County, only the slaves from the de la Howe farm made their own pots (Steen 1996).

What can this site tell us about the origins of Colonoware? To answer this

question, this thesis begins with a presentation of the previous theories of the origins of Colonoware in Chapter I, followed in the next chapter by the historical context of the settlement of the de la Howe site. Chapter III presents a formal analysis of the de la Howe Colonoware assemblage, and in Chapter IV the de la Howe Colonoware is compared to other examples of hand built pottery found in Virginia, Florida, North Carolina, the Caribbean, and South Carolina. An exploration into the distribution of Colonoware pottery and its anomalous occurrence on the frontier is presented in Chapter V, and finally, the conclusions of this research are presented in Chapter VI.

The results of this study suggest that Colonoware did not originate in pre-contact America, Africa or Europe, but was created by the diverse individuals brought together through the forces of colonialism. Documentary evidence suggests that at least four of the slaves living at John de la Howe's Lethe Farm had come to the frontier, known as the Backcountry, from the Lowcountry region of South Carolina, and they alone produced Colonoware in this area of the Backcountry. The de la Howe site was as a satellite to a unique Lowcountry community in which Colonoware production played a significant role. Thus, this pottery tradition was responsive to conditions, needs and desires encountered by a particular group of slaves in the New World after the settlement of South Carolina. Furthermore, Colonoware served as a boundary marker of this group, solidifying a newly formed cultural community and preserving it for several generations. Colonoware does not speak of transported cultural practices, but highlights the presence of a community of slaves created within the volatile social climate of colonial South Carolina.

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGINS OF COLONOWARE: PREVIOUS INTERPRETATIONS

In 1962, Ivor Noël Hume introduced colonial hand–built pottery to archaeologists in an article entitled "An Indian Ware of the Colonial Period." In this article he described a low fired, lump formed or coil made earthenware which had been encountered with "disturbing regularity" in colonial European contexts in Tidewater Virginia. Noël Hume hypothesized that these wares were manufactured by Native Americans and sold as trade items to the colonists.

Noël Hume based this hypothesis on a comparison of these wares to pottery finds from historic Native American contexts. He reported that plain, burnished wares had recently been collected from the Pumunkey and Mattaponi reservations, and that similar wares, including some in European vessel forms, were excavated from colonial–period Nottoway and Meherrin settlements along the Nottoway River. Based on this information, Noël Hume confirmed his hypothesis and created the term "Colono-Indian Ware" for this ceramic. Noël Hume, as well as many archaeologists to follow, sought to understand the origins of this hand built pottery. His hybridization of the term "Colono-Indian" reflected his hypothesis that this pottery represented a blend of styles of European and Native American pottery traditions.

Following Noël Hume's article, increased excavation on historic sites in Virginia and South Carolina provided many opportunities for archaeologists to raise additional questions about who had created this hand–built pottery. Recent debate concerning the origins of this pottery has focused on connections to either Native American (Hodges n.d.; Mouer et al. n.d.) or African traditions (Ferguson 1978, 1992; Deetz 1993), and at least one researcher has proposed a European connection (Heite 1993). The nature of this debate has widened the scope of hand–built pottery research, yet conflicts persist concerning the basic assumptions of the identity of the pottery manufacturer, use of the pottery, and pottery tradition(s) employed in its creation.

African Origins

In 1978, Leland Ferguson challenged Noël Hume's assumption that Native Americans were the sole creators of colonial hand–built pottery. During the period of increasing archaeological research on historic sites in South Carolina, Ferguson recovered hand–built pottery vessels with even more "disturbing regularity" than in Virginia. Not only were the South Carolina wares recovered in higher frequency than in Virginia, but also in different forms, which were not comparable to historic Native American wares found in the surrounding areas. Based on this body of new information, and prompted by an observation made by colleague Richard Polhemus, Ferguson questioned Noel Hume's conclusions. Polhemus, on a visit to West Africa, commented to Ferguson on the striking similarity of varieties of West African ceramics with "Colono-Indian" Ware. Upon learning of this connection, Ferguson noted that this ware was often highest in frequency

near the slave quarters, and posited that the slaves themselves may have manufactured the wares for their own use. Ferguson suggested that perhaps the source of this hand–built pottery tradition discovered on historical North American sites actually lay in Africa. With the intention to avoid ethnically loaded terminology, Ferguson introduced the new term "Colonoware."

Concurrent with the discussion of the origins of Colonoware, archaeologists had begun to address topics such as ethnicity and diversity (for example, Fairbanks 1974; Otto 1975, 1977; Moore 1981; Singleton 1980, 1985; Deagan 1983; McGuire 1979, 1982; Schuyler 1980). This push towards understanding the previously neglected histories of minorities forced archaeologists to confront the frustrating difficulties of the recovery of non-European material culture in a European dominated economy. In light of these difficulties, Colonoware granted researchers with a newfound opportunity to study the experiences of African Americans.

A majority of the research into the African American past has taken the form of acculturation or creolization studies, with an increasing shift over time from the former to the latter (Wheaton and Garrow 1985; Deetz 1988, 1993; Ferguson 1991, 1992; Joyner 1984; Groover 1994). Acculturation studies emphasize cultural change in one group upon contact with another, and creolization studies emphasize the cultural exchange between two groups in contact. Both acculturation and creolization studies have extracted meaning from hand built pottery by building a relationship between the form, distribution and use of pottery and symbolic cultural expression.

An example of this approach is James Deetz's 1988 article published in the

magazine *Science.* Based on his own archaeological research and data collected from other excavations, Deetz concluded that slaves had made Colonoware from South Carolina to Maryland. The forms of the wares, he noted, were different from one region to another, yet the differences were only in degree and not in kind. Differences in form, Deetz claimed, were important because they reflected the experiences that Africans had faced in different colonies. Slaves in Virginia, for example, had lived as indentured servants on more or less equal terms with whites for the first few decades after their arrival. Deetz argued that during this time, slaves acquired the desire for more European–styled cooking pots. Therefore the Colonoware in Virginia was often made in European forms. However, Deetz noted, slaves in South Carolina had a very different experience. From the initial settlement of the colony Africans were racially ascribed to slavery. At several points in the colonial period Africans outnumbered whites in the colony and often lived in isolation from white influence. Deetz concluded the creators of hand built pottery were African slaves, once unified by a common cultural heritage in Africa, but separated by their experiences in the New World. For these reasons, Deetz argued, the Colonoware in South Carolina reflected a more traditional African influence, while the forms of the Chesapeake wares were closer to European forms.

In 1992, Ferguson presented his latest theories on Colonoware and cultural change in a book entitled *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800.* In this work, Ferguson described Colonoware as a symbol of social interaction. In concurrence with Deetz, Ferguson argued that the formal diversity of Colonoware from South Carolina to Virginia represented the different ways that African Americans had

adapted their traditional African culture. In addition, a significant part of *Uncommon Ground* was dedicated to a review of the evidence for slave manufacture of Colonoware. Initially, Ferguson looked to Africa for comparative pottery traits that could confirm the production of similar traditions in the New World. This task proved to be unmanageable, however, due to the large variation of potting techniques in West Africa and the lack of archaeological information from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century African sites. Ferguson decided instead to prove an African connection through an analysis of pottery from colonial British sites inhabited by dislocated Africans and African-Americans. Ferguson studied over one hundred hand built pottery vessels excavated from South Carolina and Virginia and found evidence of local manufacture through the presence of ceramic wasters, the lack of similarity with Native American vessels, and the large quantity of wares found near the slave quarters. Further, Ferguson (1992:110) proposed that an inscribed "X" on the base of some of the vessels possibly contained religious symbolism based on the similarity of this design to those representing the West African Bakongo cosmogram.

Ferguson analyzed the evidence of African connections through a creolization model of cultural interaction. Ferguson argued that Colonoware represented a cultural connection to Africa mingled with new cultural components learned through New World contact with European and Native American cultures. He also stressed that such cultural changes occurred through a process of two-way exchange, not unidirectionally as some acculturation models have implied (Ferguson 1992:xl). The resultant cultural composition was one of both continuity and cultural acquisition. Eventually, Ferguson

argued, the practices once contained in the African community would become part of the larger American folk culture.

AMERICAN ORIGINS

Not all archaeologists were persuaded by the evidence for the African origin of Colonoware. Most disagreement came from archaeologists working in Virginia. Mouer and several of his colleagues (Mouer et al. n.d.) presented the position that Colonoware was in fact a product of Native American manufacture, and they argued that the search for African connections actually undermined the contributions of Native Americans. They claimed that researchers who attributed hand–built pottery production on colonial sites solely to African potters implied that Native Americans were too weak in number, too powerless or too peripheral to have contributed to the material culture of the period. Moeur returned to the ethnographic evidence presented by Noël Hume (1962) and compared the archaeological specimens of pottery from colonial sites to the pottery recovered from the Mattoponi and Pamunkey Indian reservations. These researchers concluded that the comparative evidence for Native American manufacture was strong.

Mouer et al. cited several pieces of evidence to support their claim that the Native Americans had produced Colonoware pottery. First, hand–built pottery with shell temper was collected from the surface on a Pamunkey Indian reservation in Virginia (McCary 1976), and on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Meherrin and Nottoway settlements, Binford recovered similar wares without shell tempering. In addition, similarity was found between Camden Plain wares from a seventeenth-century Native American

settlement on the Rappahanock River (MacCord 1969) and the "Colono-Indian" ware described by Noël Hume. The Camden wares were believed to have antecedents in the late-prehistoric Potomac Creek wares. Crushed shell tempering, found in many hand–built pottery vessels from the British settlements of the Tidewater region, was also a predominate feature of the prehistoric Townsend and Roanoke wares (Mouer et al. n.d.). Mouer argued that the regional variation in hand built pottery could actually reflect the regional distribution of major pottery–producing Native American groups.

Mouer also sited historical accounts of Native Americans making and selling their wares. In the late seventeenth century, Durand de Dauphine remarked that near the Rappahannock River, Native American women produced "pots, earthen vases and smoking pipes, the Christians buying these pots or vases fill them with Indian corn, which is the price of them" (from Mouer et al. n.d.). Meanwhile, nothing was ever written by diarists about slave manufacture of pottery. This was true in both Virginia and South Carolina.

Even proponents of an African origin for Colonoware have conceded that hand–built wares were produced by Native Americans for trade during the historic period. Baker (1972), Ferguson (1989, 1992) and Wheaton and Garrow (1985, 1989) described one such tradition known as River Burnished or Catawba Ware. These wares were described as well made, burnished trade wares found as a minority ceramic type on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century plantations, towns, and frontier sites in South Carolina (Ferguson 1992). But, Ferguson (1992) and Wheaton and Garrow (1985) argued that, though Native Americans manufactured some wares, they did not manufacture all of the

hand–built pottery found in colonial contexts. Rather, they claimed that there were two concurrent but distinguishable pottery traditions in South Carolina, and possibly in Virginia as well.

Though the argument between proponents of Native American or African origins of Colonoware was often divisive, many agreed that there was little evidence for European manufacture of Colonoware. Ferguson (1992:42) stated, "Since European culture lacked a strong tradition of hand-built, open-fired pottery, white people seemed the least likely candidates." Likewise, Mouer stated, "No evidence of the production of hand-built, open-fired, burnished earthenwares in English colonial towns and plantations has been uncovered" (n.d.:14).

However, Heite (1993) has proposed that evidence of hand built pottery produced by Europeans does exist in Virginia. In reaction to the above statement made by Ferguson, Heite asserted that Europeans had a strong tradition of hand–built pottery. Specifically, clay cooking pots which resembled iron forms were often made by women at home for domestic use. This tradition, Heite argued, has received little attention from archaeologists.

To further his point, Heite turned to the John Hallowes site in Virginia. A hand built pottery vessel was recovered from a 1651 to 1680 context beneath a front porch addition of the Hallowes's home. The vessel appeared very similar in form to contemporaneous iron pots. Heite noted that this vessel also closely resembled pottery from Northern Europe. One such ware was Barvas ware, produced in Scotland into the present century (Steen et al. 1996). Another hand–built pottery, known as Jutland Black

Pottery, was produced in Denmark from the Iron Age into the present century (Kaufman 1979; Heite 1993). Heite did not intend to argue that all or even most hand–built pottery was produced by Europeans, but rather to insist that the search for cultural antecedents should include all possibilities, and that these possibilities be explored through systematic formal and descriptive research and not through general similarities. Heite added, "Our impulse to identify a single point of origin for a culture trait may reflect nineteenth-century cultural competitiveness tempered with a hefty dose of diffusionism, racism and Social Darwinism"(1993:1).

These varied discussions surrounding the origins of Colonoware have not provided any complete answers. Perhaps this is because certain possibilities never entered into the debate. These previous theories have often taken a contextual approach in their discussions (Ferguson 1992; Deetz 1993), but there is little mention of variation within similar contexts. This analysis of the Colonoware from the de la Howe site is intended to provide a new angle to this old topic. I believe that a contextual analysis is the first step towards understanding who produced and used Colonoware and where this pottery tradition originated. Beyond this, a specific analysis of the Colonoware itself is needed. This pottery analysis begins with the historical events that eventually led to the settlement of the de la Howe site, where this pottery was produced, a contextual approach, which is performed in conjunction with a discussion of the physical properties of Colonoware over time and space. With this method, I hope to arrive a better perception of the role of Colonoware within the broader cultural context and provide a better understanding of where and why this pottery form originated and persisted.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTLEMENT AND EXPANSION OF SOUTH CAROLINA

No first–hand accounts have been recovered from the potters who created Colonoware or other varieties of hand built pottery and very few historical documents mentioned the production and use of hand–built pottery. However archaeological research has proven that a large amount of pottery was produced during the colonial and post–colonial periods. This pottery production was intricately linked to historical context. This is not to suggest that the production of Colonoware was purely environmental, as this thesis will show that variation existed within a particular conditional setting such as the agricultural plantations of the South Carolina Lowcountry. The individuals who lived in colonial South Carolina were initially extremely diverse, though over time communal bonds and cultural practices drew some these individuals together. Documentary and archaeological data has contributed to an understanding of the historical context of South Carolina, which may shed some light on who these potters were, where they came from, and with whom they interacted.

In order to begin the story of the settlement of South Carolina, it is necessary to step back a few years before settlement to Barbados, a small Caribbean island that played a great role in shaping the future of South Carolina. Barbados is an island in the West Indies, colonized by the British in 1627. The early settlement was based upon cultivation

of tobacco, cotton, ginger and indigo (Handler and Lange 1978). These crops were raised on small farms with the labor primarily supplied by indentured servants (Lange and Carlson 1985). However, by the late 1630s, sugarcane was reintroduced to Barbados and quickly became the primary staple. The next twenty years saw the firm establishment of a plantation slave system. By 1680, Barbados had become the richest British colony in the Americas (Handler and Lange 1978). The large–scale sugar plantations that dominated this settlement had allowed rich settlers to monopolize land and resources. As a result, many small landholders were bought out and displaced. Overcrowding and natural disasters compounded the problems on Barbados, which eventually lead settlers to migrate to other colonies such as Surinam, Jamaica, Antigua, Tobago, and a small proportion to Carolina (Wood 1974). Yet this small number was significant in the formation of this new mainland colony.

The system of plantation slavery in South Carolina was primarily influenced by the experiences the early settlers brought from Barbados. The settlement of South Carolina was distinct from other areas in North America in that it was the goal of the colonizers at the outset to implement large, slave-based agriculture (Ferguson 1992:59). By the second generation of settlement, enslaved Africans and African Americans constituted a majority of the population. The rest of the population included British and continental Europeans, immigrants from the West Indies and the northern colonies, and various Native American groups. By 1720, Africans outnumbered the Europeans by two to one (Wood 1974). The colony's entrepot of Charleston provided an inlet for these newly–imported Africans. It is likely that at least 40% of all slaves imported for the

British mainland colonies had entered through South Carolina (Wood 1974).

Colonial Settlement of South Carolina

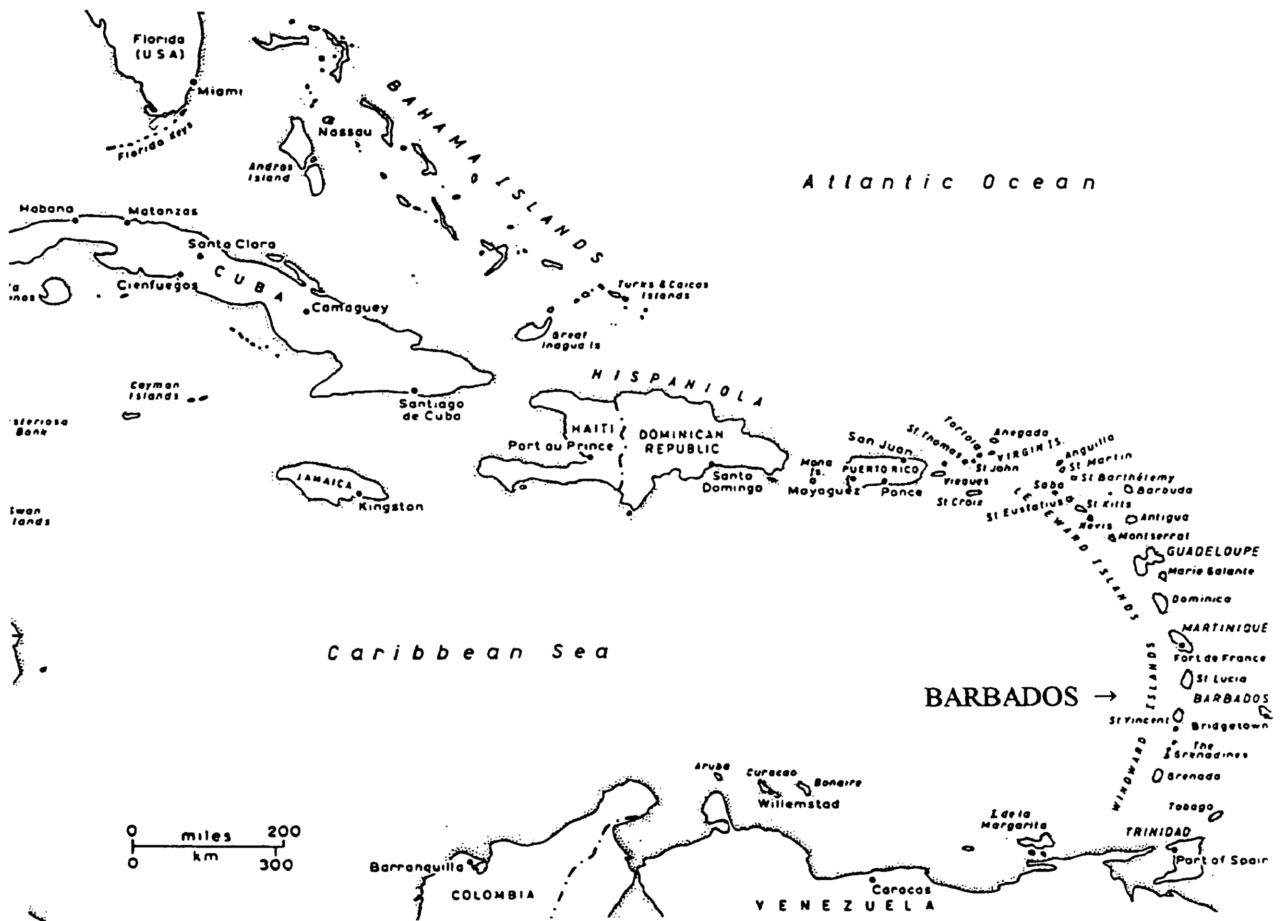
At the time of European contact in the early sixteenth century, Spanish explorers found a landscape inhabited by various Native American groups in the area that was to become South Carolina (Merrell 1989). Initially, French and Spanish explorers vied for control of these lands, but in 1670 it was the British who established the first permanent settlement at Charles Town.

Charles Town was established on the west bank of the Ashley River. The settlement was later moved to a peninsula at the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers where Charleston presently exists. Small farms were established along these two rivers. The Barbadian emigrants that came to the colony brought with them African slaves to serve as labor on these farms. Initially, only a few Africans came with the Barbadians to this new colony; however, importation of slaves quickly increased (Edgar 1998). British, Northern colonists, French Huguenots, and other Europeans added to the new immigrant population.

The settlers were initially governed by a private group of the King's supporters known as the Lords Proprietors. These eight Lords established a hierarchical system of land grants and ownership. Later in the seventeenth century, migrants were actively sought from other areas such as New York and New Jersey. The goals of the Proprietors were to establish a colony for the production of various noncompetitive staples and to establish an English presence closer to the Spanish colony in Florida (Lewis 1984). In

FIGURE 1

THE WEST INDIES



the early eighteenth century, rulership of the colony was changed from proprietorship to direct royal rulership.

In the early years of the colony settlers experimented with different crops for export, such as sugar, grapes, ginger, and others (Kovicik and Winbury 1987). However, it was the trade with Native Americans that supported the colony in these early years and remained important through the eighteenth century (Clowse 1971). The deerskin trade was considered one of the most precious commodities of the early settlement. In 1707, over 120,000 deerskins were sent to England from Charleston (Edgar 1998:136). Along with deerskins, another product of the Indian trade was Indian slaves. By 1720, there were 2,000 enslaved Native Americans in South Carolina. Many others had been exported to colonies in the West Indies. The revenues from these trades gave planters more money to invest in agricultural development (Snell 1972). But it was the introduction of rice agriculture to the Lowcountry region of South Carolina that insured the colony's success. The Africans who lived in the colony during the two decades after 1695, when rice was introduced, were already familiar with the methods for planting rice and provided the knowledge and skills required for rice agriculture to be successfully implemented (Wood 1974).

The slave system on rice plantations was characterized by absenteeism. Harsh conditions and extreme heat lead the planters to retreat to town houses in Charleston and Beaufort during the summer growing season. White overseers or black drivers supervised the work on the plantation. This was similar to conditions in the Caribbean, but distinct from other mainland colonies (Genovese 1976). Often slaves were granted

FIGURE 2

INDIGENOUS POPULATIONS OF SOUTH CAROLINA

(from Kovacik and Winberry 1986)

autonomy through the task labor system. Instead of driving the laborers in gangs, slaves were assigned individual tasks. The length of the working day could be about six to ten hours, but an efficient man or woman could finish early to devote more time to personal activities, such as gardening, hunting, basketry, and raising livestock or producing other goods for sale (Genovese 1976). Despite this, slaves in South Carolina had to endure reputedly harsh driving conditions when compared with the Upper South (Genovese 1976). Historian Forrest McDonald wrote, "The South Carolina planters' callous disregard for human life and suffering was probably unmatched anywhere west of the Dnieper" (in Genovese 1976:54). In the early seventeenth century there was a positive population growth among the slaves; however, by 1720 the natural population growth had declined, while importation from Africa had increased (Genovese 1976). At this time, planters became suspicious of slave revolt amongst West Indian slaves and they began to import more individuals directly from Africa (Edgar 1998:63).

Slave births and the importation of Africans were not the only means by which slaves were acquired in the colony. There was also a surprisingly significant Native American slave trade. Native American slavery was practiced more widely in South Carolina than in any other mainland colony (Snell 1972). Native American slaves were often a product of intertribal warfare. The British learned that they could manipulate this warfare to advance their own economic position. Intertribal disputes were even encouraged by the colonists with the supply of ammunition. These disputes served the interests of the colonists by weakening Spain's missionary positions in Florida, politically dividing regional Native American populations, and supplying the settlers with thousands

TABLE 1

POPULATION ESTIMATES FOR COLONIAL SOUTH CAROLINA

Date	Total Population	White Population	Black Population
1670	148	143	5
1680	1,000	?	?
1690	4,500	?	?
1700	7,000	4,000	3,000
1710	10,000	4,500	5,500
1715	16,000	6,000	10,000
1720	19,000	7,000	12,000
1730	30,000	10,000	20,000
1740	45,000	?	?
1750	65,000	25,000	40,000
1760	83,000	31,000	52,000
1765	120,000	40,000	80,000
1775	180,000	80,000	100,000
1790*	249,073	140,178	108,895

Source: Kovacik and Winberry 1987

*Date of first United States census.

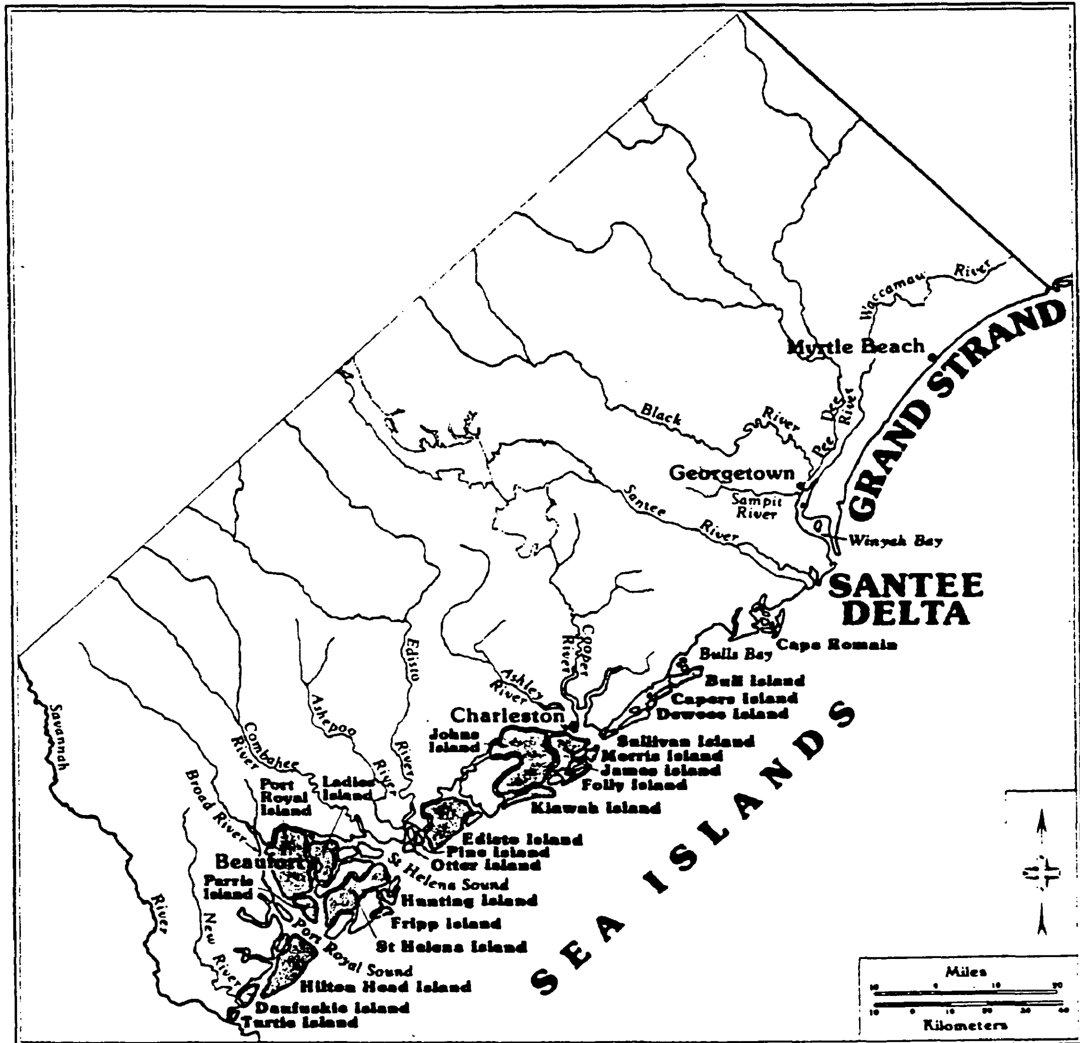
of slaves (Snell 1972). Perhaps because of the likelihood that slaves would escape if kept in South Carolina, many of the captured Native Americans were sold to the West Indies or other northern colonies. However some individuals were held within the colony. In 1720, the number of Native American slaves working in the colony peaked at an estimated 2,000 individuals (Snell 1972).

Native American slaves lived and worked on rice plantations with Africans. The children which resulted from a Native American and African American union where known as "mestizo," yet were legally defined as African-Americans (Snell 1972). Plantation owner John Norris advised other planters to purchase "Fifteen good Negro Men... Fifteen Indian Women to work in the Field... Three Indian women as Cooks for the Slaves, and other Household-Business" (in Crane 1929:113). By the mid-eighteenth century, the number of Native American slaves had sharply declined. In the late seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century, the formation of identity had become a fluid and negotiated process amongst Native Americans who had survived the onslaught of war, enslavement and disease. Many tribal remnants joined the Catawba, Cherokee, Creek, and other more numerous groups, leaving most of the region open for colonial settlement.

Initial colonial expansion centered on the entrepot of Charleston. Early settlement of South Carolina was confined to the areas between the Santee and Edisto Rivers along river channels that connected the colonists to Charleston. In 1715, the Yamasee War was fought and won by the colonists to remove the Indian threat from the lands west of Charleston. Around 1711, Port Royal was established with the new town of

FIGURE 3

SOUTH CAROLINA'S COASTAL ZONE



(from Kovacik and Winberry 1986)

Beaufort south of Charleston to serve the naval store industry emerging in this region; however, Beaufort did not grow rapidly until after 1730 (Clowse 1971). During the 1720's, Charleston grew to a population of 3,000, the rice market was promising and slave labor increased, though constant fears of slave insurrections clouded visions of prosperity and growth (Meriwether 1940). Garrisons were erected in the frontier for trade with the Indians and defense against them (Meriwether 1940). Settlers began to penetrate the coastal areas north of the Santee River in search of more good land for rice production (Clowse 1971), and in 1729 the town of Georgetown was established on the Winyah Bay to serve these planters.

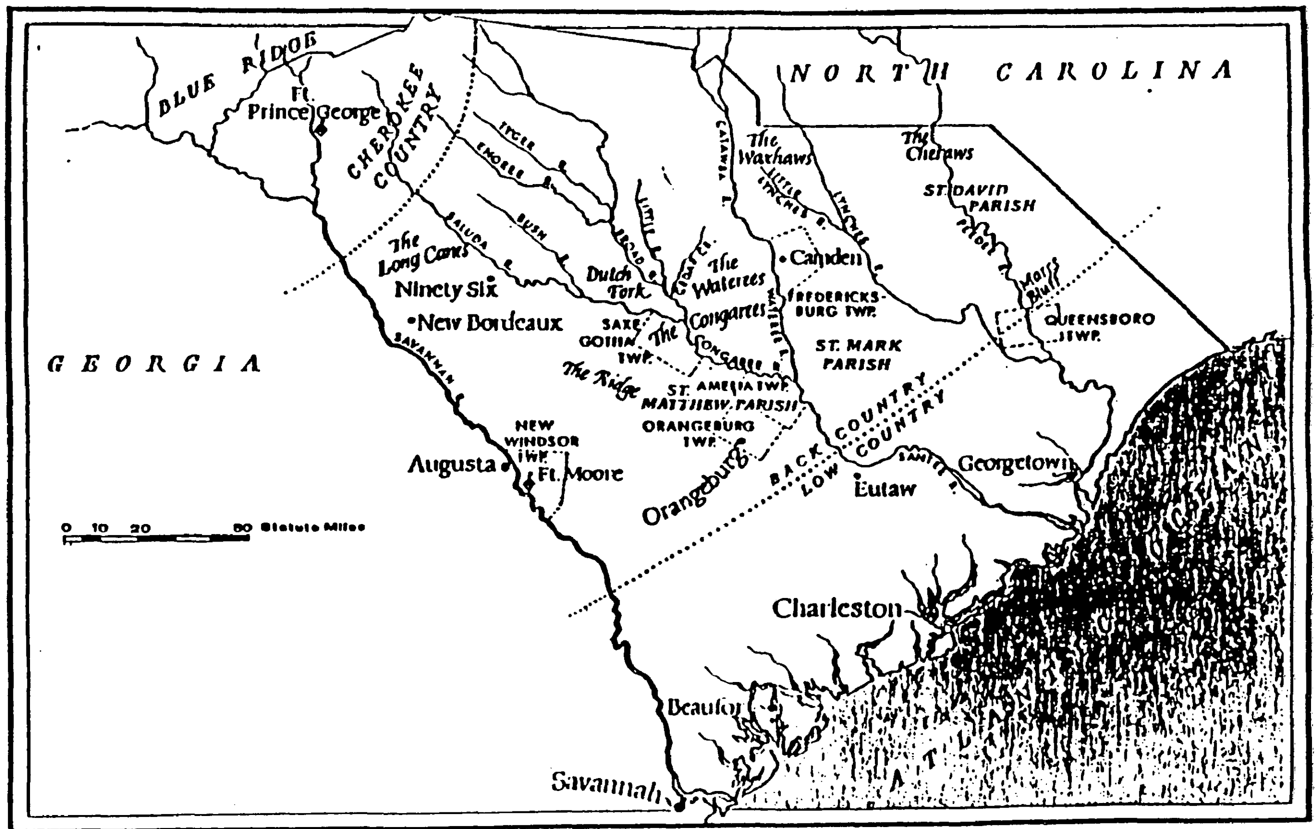
FRONTIER SETTLEMENT

As the colony grew, pressures began to arise from surrounding areas as well as from within. The racial divide, which separated planters and slaves, made many planters nervous about the possibility of slave revolt (Meriwether 1940). Strained relations with Native American groups also threatened the safety of the colonists. A second phase of settlement pushed colonizers into the interior, known as the Backcountry. These settlements were comprised of small farms which produced grains, indigo, and later cotton. The frontier establishments were encouraged in hopes of attracting more European settlers to balance the racial mix and secure the colony's borders (Meriwether 1940), as well as to diversify the economic base of the colony.

The initial expansion of the colonial settlement occurred with the establishment of inland townships in 1731. Kingston, Williamsburg, Queensbourough, Orangeburg,

FIGURE 4

THE 18TH CENTURY SOUTH CAROLINA BACKCOUNTRY



(from Brown 1963)

Purrysburg, Saxe Gotha, New Windsor and Amelia townships were created along earlier trade routes. Not all townships were successful, but some succeeded in attracting settlers from Europe and the northern colonies. The western portion of the state was not initially settled due to the proximity of aboriginal settlements. The conclusion of the Cherokee War in 1761 opened this area for colonial expansion as well (Lewis 1984).

The end of the threat of Native American insurrections prompted a second phase of expansion into the Backcountry. New townships were soon established to secure these lands. Between 1762 and 1765 the townships of Boonsesborough, Londonborough, Belfast, and Hillsborough were established. Hillsborough was settled by French Huguenot emigrants in response to an episode of religious persecution in Europe. Eventually, this township was renamed New Bordeaux (Steen 1996). Here John de la Howe established his farm, Lethe. With this background established, this analysis turns to a closer examination of this particular place in history.

CHAPTER III

THE DE LA HOWE SITE: COLONOWARE ON THE FRONTIER

The John de la Howe site is located on the western interior of South Carolina in McCormick County, about 200 miles from the original British settlement at Charles Town. From ca.1775 to 1806 a farm existed on this site, owned and occupied by Dr. John de la Howe and his friend Rebecca Woodin, along with a housekeeper and about fourteen African or African-American slaves (Steen et al. 1996).

Archaeological excavations on the de la Howe site recovered over 5,500 sherds of Colonoware. Presently it is the only site in McCormick County where Colonoware has been recovered (Steen et al. 1996). Moreover, in the entire region of the colony west of the Lowcountry, Colonoware has been recovered on only one other site, the Howell site in Richland County. How and why this unique Colonoware assemblage came to this frontier farm are the driving questions for this study.

HISTORY OF THE JOHN DE LA HOWE SITE

In 1716, John de la Howe was born in Northern Europe, possibly in France. Sometime around 1764, he moved to the Charleston area. At the same time, many

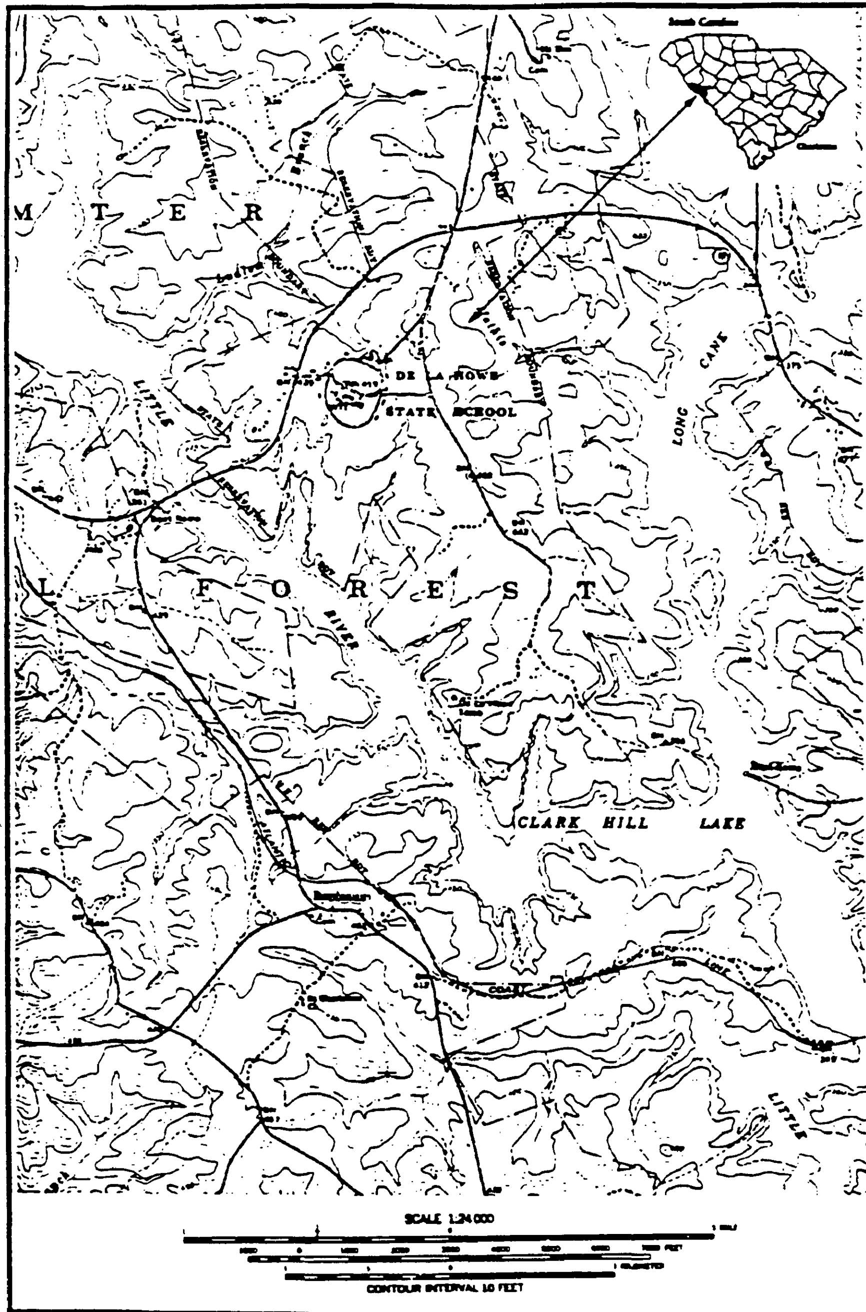
French Huguenots came to the colony to escape religious persecution. These immigrants settled in the Hillsborough Township and in the Lowcountry. De la Howe reportedly lived in Charleston for several years where he practiced as a physician. In 1766, he married Anne Walker Boyd, a widow, and lived in a "mansion on Church Street" (Gibert 1983:56). At that time, de la Howe was 51 years old.

Sometime after his marriage to Anne Boyd, John de la Howe began to acquire land in the Backcountry. Some of this newly acquired land was located in the Hillsborough Township in present day McCormick County. In 1775, an advertisement in the *Charleston Gazzette* suggested that de la Howe had begun to make use of his Backcountry property. De la Howe announced that he was seeking, "An Overseer well acquainted with the management of Negroes having a few of his own and willing to make indigo in the French way upon a healthy plantation in the Back country..."(*Charleston Gazette*, Feb. 10-17, 1775).

Initially, de la Howe himself did not move to any of these properties, and he probably acted as absentee landlord. He lived in Charleston and Jacksonboro until 1785, at which time he chose to retire to his property in New Bordeaux. De la Howe's wife, Anne Walker Boyd, did not accompany him to the farm at the time of his retirement. Though he and his wife were never divorced, de la Howe had taken another woman, Miss Rebekah Woodin, with him to the frontier. Meanwhile, Anne Walker Boyd resided on Lesesne Plantation in Berkeley County. Ironically, de la Howe named the farm "Lethe," after "a river in Hades whose waters cause drinkers to forget their past."

FIGURE 5

LOCATION OF THE DE LA HOWE SITE



De la Howe produced indigo at Lethe Farm and practiced medicine in New Bordeaux until his death in 1797. In his will, de la Howe left his estate in trust for the establishment of an agricultural school. For a short time after his death, Lethe farm continued to operate under the supervision of an overseer. The estate was liquidated in 1806. At this time, buildings may have been salvaged, but many were simply abandoned. In the late 1820's the de la Howe School began its operation, where it has remained up to the present.

Enslaved Africans and African-Americans lived and worked on Lethe Farm. Following the death of John de la Howe in 1797, one of his slaves was manumitted in his will: "my old man, Bacchus, shall be free and manumitted as I have considered him to be many years ago ...." De la Howe's estate inventory listed fifteen slaves: Pompey, James, Molley, Tuminy, Brister, Matilda, Liza, Little Molley, Boze, Little Bucky, Ben, Sam, Jack, Felice, and Beck.

Other documents written during John de la Howe's lifetime also mentioned his slaves. In a 1769 mortgage regarding de la Howe's property 25 miles from Charleston in Jacksonboro, the slaves Bacchus, Molley, Matilda, and Jack were mentioned as part of de la Howe's holdings. In May of 1777 the *Charleston Gazette* printed the following ad:

> Run away on the first day of may instant, a negroe boy named Charlestown, his country name Tam-o; he speaks very plain, is about 17 years of age, of slender limbs, black complexion, and large lips and eyes; had on a home spun jacket and trousers, with an oznaburg shirt, and having heretofore offended in the same way, is branded on one cheek **d h**... By John de la Howe.

Tam-o may never have lived on Lethe Farm, or perhaps he was the same individual mentioned in the estate inventory as Tuminy and later again as Tammina. The slaves who lived at Lethe Farm may have been born in Africa or America. The slave described in the above ad was probably born in Africa. The term "country name" often suggested the name of an individual's place of origin or the name that one formerly had in Africa. It may also refer to this individual's private or "basket" name, a name usually used only among slaves (Joyner 1984:217). A "basket" name can refer to the day of the week the person was born, or another preferred African name. Families of slaves lived together on Lethe Farm. Matilda and Liza were listed as mother and daughter, and the 1806 estate sale of John de la Howe's property mentioned two slave families who were sold off together. Some of these slaves may have even been born at Lethe Farm while some had lived and worked together in the Lowcountry before coming to this frontier farm.

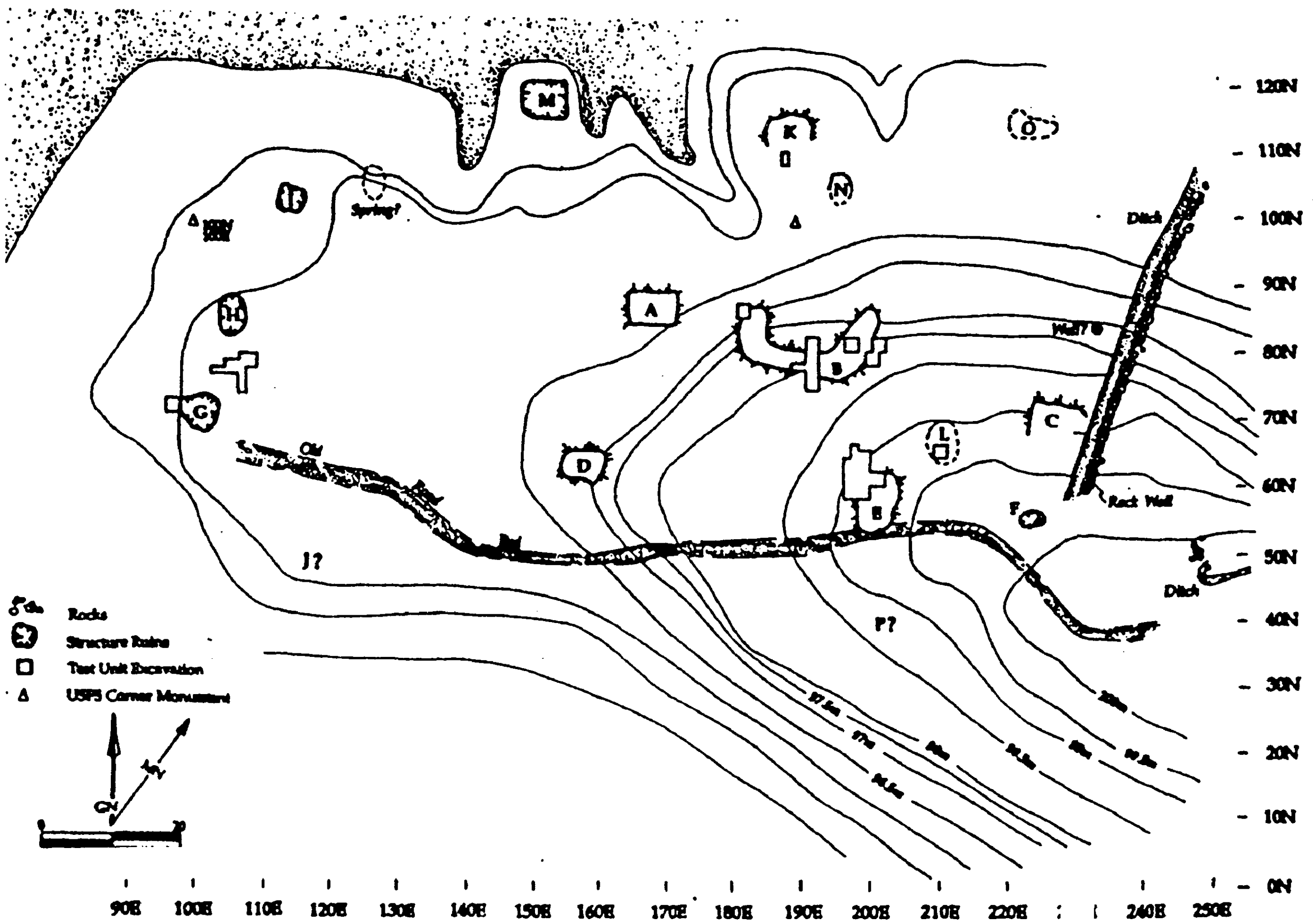
ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Archaeology at the de la Howe site began in 1991 and continued for three field seasons. A sample of less than 2% of the site was excavated. Shovel tests were spread out over the entire area to obtain an overall picture of the site. Larger test units were placed near important structures. The excavation revealed the existence of at least fourteen structures on the farm. Over 12,460 quantified artifacts were recovered.

Archaeological and historical research identified these structures as follows: Dr. de la Howe's house, a kitchen, a loom house, a granary, a store, a cutting house, an overseer's house, a slave dwelling, a spring house, two outbuildings, two possible

FIGURE 6

DE LA HOWE SITE PLAN



structure B= main house; structure E= kitchen.

(from Steen et al. 1996)

dwellings, a structure of indeterminate function, and two possible structures. Larger block excavations were concentrated near the main dwelling, the kitchen, and the overseer's house.

Dr. de la Howe had the main dwelling constructed in the classic French *Poteaux en Terre* style. This consisted of a post–in–ground structure with clay filling in the interstices. The building was about 36 feet by 30 feet in size. This structure has provided archaeologists with an intriguing opportunity to study the European architectural tradition of clay-walled construction (Steen 1996). In the Southeast, some scholars have considered construction of clay-walled houses to be an African cultural practice (Wheaton and Garrow 1985); however, at the de la Howe site, Dr. de la Howe chose to build a clay-walled house for himself while his slaves apparently dwelled in log houses (Steen et al. 1996).

The kitchen was a rectangular frame structure placed on fieldstone foundations. Excavations in the kitchen midden recovered over 5,000 sherds of Colonoware, 1,200 European ceramics and glass, 375 white clay and reed stemmed pipe fragments, 62 Colonoware pipe fragments, and about 10 kilograms of faunal material representing both domestic and wild species. The material recovered from the kitchen represented the highest artifact frequency of the site. It is likely that much of the activity on the farm occurred at the kitchen, where slaves prepared the meals for the master's table and cooked and ate their meals communally. Additionally, domestic–related artifacts found at the kitchen suggested that the structure possibly served as a dwelling, perhaps for a slave, overseer or cook (Steen et al. 1996).

COLONOWARE

The Colonoware assemblage recovered at the de la Howe site comprised 73% of the total ceramics, and 47% of the total artifacts recovered from all structures and excavation units combined. Colonoware was present in varying amounts over the entire site. The greatest concentration was in the kitchen area, where over 5,000 sherds were recovered. This represented 83% of the total ceramics found in this area. By contrast, only 347 Colonoware sherds were found at de la Howe's dwelling, which comprised 28% of the total ceramics from that area.

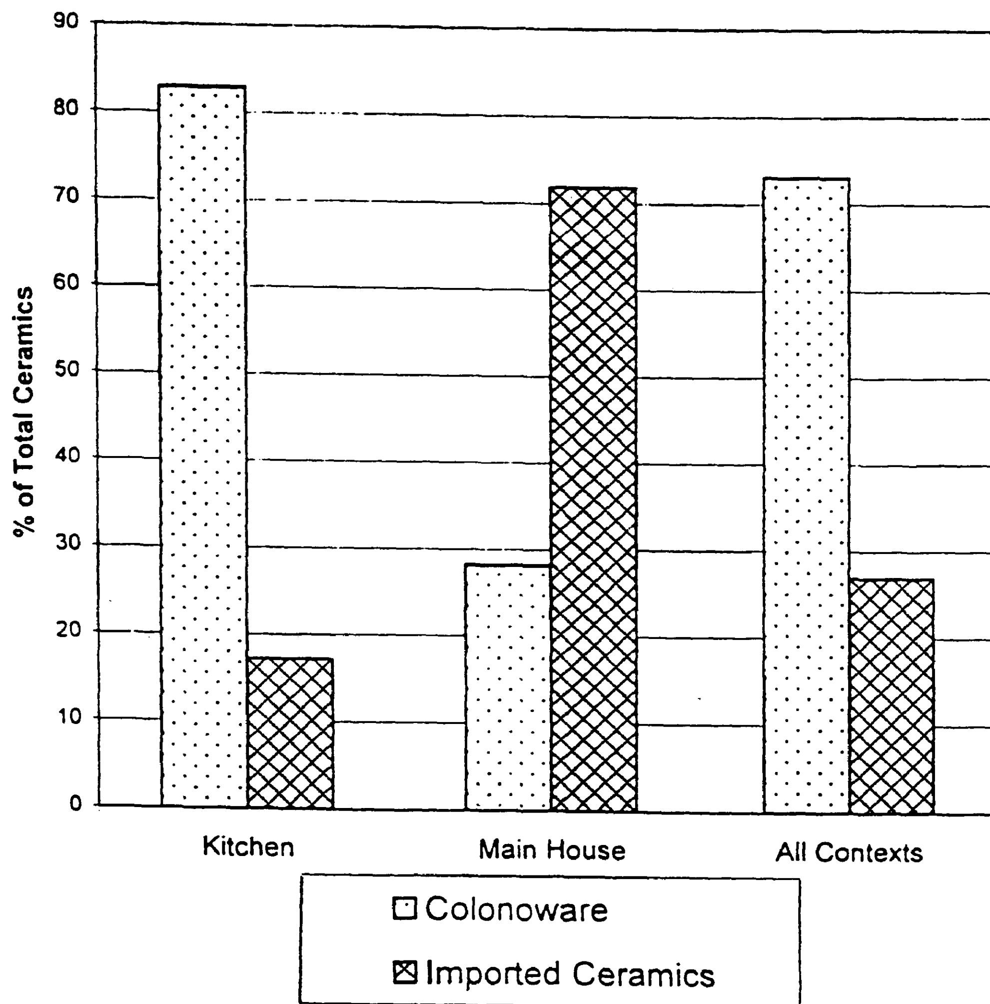
Analysis of the de la Howe assemblage produced forty-six identifiable vessels based on rim variation. Only rims measuring 2.5 cm or larger in dimension were used to determine the minimum number of vessels. It is likely that many more individual vessels were present but too fragmentary for identification.

Of the forty-six analyzed vessels, there were thirty bowls, twelve jars, three plates, and one cup. The bowl form is far and away the most common, making up 65% of the total.

The bowls were created in the following different forms: open (n=18), shallow and open (n=6), deep and incurved (n=2), and open with a flared rim (n=4). The bowls were all spherical, except one with straight walls, and the bases were rounded at the heel with a flattened center. The height of the bowls ranged from 3 to 13 cm, with the majority in the 6 to 7 cm range. Orifice diameter ranged from 10 to 20 cm, with the majority in the 16 to 18 cm range. The wall thickness for all the bowls averaged 8.5 mm.

FIGURE 7

RELATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF COLONOWARE SHERDS AT THE DE LA HOWE SITE



Most rims were direct with the exception of the deep bowls, which had slightly incurved rims, and the flared rim bowls, which had rims similar to the rim of a European chamberpot. The greatest variation between vessels was exhibited in lip formation. Lips on bowls were rounded (n=15), flat (n=6), pointed (n=3), interior tapered (n=2), interior bulged (n=2), and exterior beveled (n=2).

The jars were distinguished by constricted necks and everted rims. All of the jars in this collection were globular in form. The vessel height was estimated to be from 14 to 17 cm; however, some wide basal sherds and thick multipodal foot elements indicated that a few larger varieties were also in the collection, though no rims associated with the larger jars were identified. Jar necks were no more than 1.5 cm tall, and the rims ranged from 2 to 2.5 cm wide. One anomalous rim appeared to be interior and exterior thickened and less than 1 cm wide. The lips of the jars were rounded (n=10) or pointed (n=2). Jar openings were wide and ranged from 12 to 16 cm across. The average wall thickness was 8.5 mm, comparable to the thickness of the bowls. One basal sherd, however, was 12 mm thick.

There were several handles and foot elements. Though none were associated with any particular vessel, they were likely attached to the jars. Twenty-four handle fragments and one complete handle were present in the collection. All handles were hand-molded and ranged from 1.2 to 2.0 cm in diameter. The complete handle was rounded, 12.8 cm in length and extending 3.4 cm from the vessel. Handles were attached by first pressing holes completely through the wall of the jar, where next the handle was fitted, smoothed onto the vessel's surface and smeared into the interior of the

TABLE 2

COLONOWARE VESSELS RECOVERED AT THE DE LA HOWE SITE

Vessel Form	**Number of Identified Vessels**
Medium Bowl	18
Jar	12
Shallow Bowl	6
Flared-Rim Bowl	4
Plate	3
Deep Bowl	2
Cup	1
Total Identified Vessels	*46*

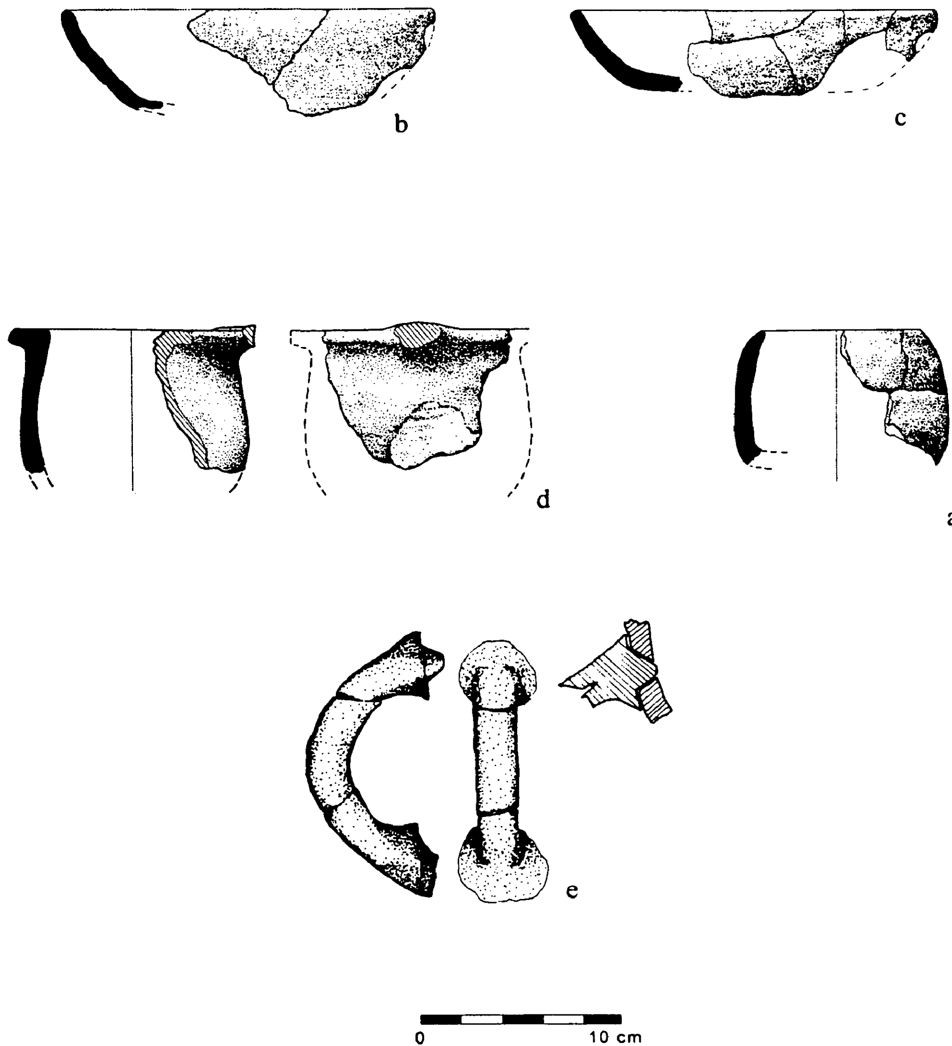
vessel with the protruding handle ends. This method of handle attachment is rare in pottery production, perhaps because this method is very prone to breakage. This was born out in the de la Howe collection, as breaks were often observed at the handle attachment area. These handles may have been attached with experimental techniques.

Foot elements were cylindrical, hand molded and formed a tripodal-base. They ranged from 2.5 to 3.5 cm in diameter and were about 5.0 cm in length. The bases of the feet were gently rounded to flat. For both the handles and the feet, no corresponding vessels were identified. Three plates and one cup were also represented in the collection. The plates were flat and circular, yet the surfaces were uneven. The plate diameters were estimated at 16 cm, 18 cm, and 29 cm across. The large size of these flat vessels suggested they were plates, yet it is possible that these vessels were also used as lids or for other functions. There were no visible cut marks on the surfaces of the plates. The edges of the plates were raised approximately 1.5 to 3.0 cm in height. The rims were simply straight and rounded, though one exhibited a fingernail groove around the perimeter. The wall thickness averaged 8.9 cm.

The cup was a small, cylindrical vessel. It had a 6 cm orifice diameter and an estimated vessel height of 7 cm. The walls of the cup were straight with a tapered rim and the base was gently rounded. The presence of decorated sherds was also noted. Very little decoration occurred on these Colonoware vessels, but some incising was noted. One bowl had two parallel lines, incised approximately 1.3 cm below the rim at horizontal angles to the rim. The decoration was incomplete due to breakage. They were applied before the vessel was fired. One bowl or jar basal sherd also had two incised

FIGURE 8

COLONOWARE FROM THE DE LA HOWE SITE



a. cup; b. bowl; c. bowl; d. flared-rim bowl; e. handle

lines applied on the exterior before the vessel was fired. The lines were parallel and slightly arched. One body sherd was noted to have four, small punctates on the exterior. The impressions were possibly made with a thin stick and applied before the vessel was fired.

Though not included in this analysis, the collection contained several interesting Colonoware pipes. Seventy-two pipe fragments were found, the majority of which from the kitchen midden (Steen 1996). The pipes were hand-formed from the same local clay as the pottery vessels, and the pipes fired in similar conditions to the Colonoware vessels. The pipes were elbow shaped and the pipe stem would have been fitted with a reed. The surface ranged from smoothed to burnished in finish. Most pipes were undecorated; however, one pipe had a rouletted stem, while another exhibited an incised cross-hatching design. Colonoware pipes have been found on other sites in South Carolina, but a complete study has not been performed. This collection represented several complete examples perfect for the subject of future research.

Archaeological evidence suggests that at de la Howe's Lethe Farm, the most frequently used ceramic was Colonoware. In contrast this does not apply to the main house. John de la Howe mostly used ceramics imported from England and other European ports. Only one single piece of a French ceramic and one French wine bottle were recovered from the main house, though French ceramics would have been available to de la Howe. However, de la Howe did not bother to import his ceramics from his native land and he likely chose British ceramics because they were very easily obtainable.

Why then, did the enslaved inhabitants of the farm chose to use Colonoware vessels? Furthermore, where were these vessels acquired, and how were they used?

The answers to these questions lay partially in the collection itself. The Colonoware assemblage contained several indications that it was manufactured on Lethe farm by the slaves who lived and worked on the property. Due to the high concentration of Colonoware near the kitchen, where the slaves cooked and ate their meals together, there can be little doubt that it was the slaves who used the pottery. Evidence such as irregular walls and rims, which were common in this collection, suggests that the de la Howe pottery was not a trade ware purchased from off the farm. Such irregularities were not common in trade wares because they rarely met market standards. The de la Howe assemblage was very fragmentary and it was difficult to determine the presence of ceramic wasters, which are often the hallmarks of local pottery production. However, one vessel recovered from the kitchen midden exhibited a large spall fracture. It was possible to determine by the surface fire-clouding that this fracture occurred in the original firing (see Ferguson 1992:31). This vessel could not have been sold, but it was certainly used at the de la Howe site. There has not been any evidence of a pottery kiln found at the farm, but the vessels exhibit characteristics of open firing at low heat, which does not require a permanent kiln. Open firing is performed with a bonfire technique, which leaves very little evidence behind.

The bonfire technique was and is practiced in many places in the world. A 1984 study conducted by Roderick Ebanks clearly documented open firing techniques. This

study provides information about how the firing was performed and what evidence this activity leaves behind. Ebanks conducted this study in Jamaica in 1984 by interviewing and observing Mrs. Louisa Jones, or Ma Lou, a traditional Afro-Jamaican potter.

At the time of the interview, Louisa Jones produced pottery by hand, as did her mother, her maternal aunts and her female cousins. Louisa Jones collected the potting clay in her back yard or an area nearby. After processing the clay, it was coiled and formed into cooking pots, "Yabbah" bowls, cooking jars and other forms. After the pots were dried in the shade for several days, the firing process began (Ebanks 1984:33-35).

To commence the firing Jones created a bed of wood on the ground. The vessels were then stacked together in a pile upon this bed of wood, with the largest pots toward the bottom. More wood was placed around this pile so that all of the pots were covered. Next, extra wood was stacked on top and coconut palm fronds were placed around and on top of the pile. A fire was started slowly with burning coals sprinkled over the pile. The fire was then allowed to blaze for one hour as it was fueled with more coconut palm fronds and grass. After the pots were fired, the pile was left to smolder for another hour. The pots were then removed from the ashes with sticks and left to cool. Upon cooling, the pots were ready for use (Ebanks 1984:35-36).

Ebanks noted that after the firing the broken vessels and ashes were cleared away. All that remained of the bonfire kiln was a circle of burned soil 15 ft in diameter (1984:35). This ethnographic example indicates that clear evidence of a bonfire firing would be difficult to recover in an archaeological investigation.

The Colonoware at the de la Howe site exhibited the qualities of open fired vessels produced by methods similar to those employed by Louisa Jones. Varied red, brown, grey and black colors were exhibited on single vessels and reduced cores were observed on a majority of the sherds. These colors and reduced cores are indicative of low firing temperatures and oxygen variation. During the firing process the materials in the clay were incompletely oxidized, resulting in darker hues instead of the bright red to buff colors produced through complete oxidation of iron-rich soils (Rice 1987). Color variability also results from stacking the pots in a pile during firing. In the de la Howe collection, single vessels displayed strikingly different colors on the interior and exterior sides. Such irregularities may result from irregular stacking of the vessels, with some vessels facing towards the heat source and others facing away from the heat source during firing.

The de la Howe Colonoware was most likely fired with the bonfire techniques similar to those of Louisa Jones. However, the coconut palm leaves that Louisa Jones used to fuel the blazing fire would not have been available to the de la Howe potters. These potters must have used different types of quick burning material.

Perhaps the most convincing evidence to suggest the on–site production of the de la Howe pottery collection was the complete absence of this ware on any other sites in the area. Although there have not been many archaeological excavations in McCormick and neighboring Abbeville County, those sites that have been excavated have not produced any Colonoware. The de la Howe site is currently located within Sumter National Forest.

The National Park Service has conducted extensive archaeological surveys of the National Forest under Federal regulations for Cultural Resource Management (Elliot 1984a, 1995; Drucker et al. 1984; Steen 1994; Southerlin et al. 1994). Through these surveys, thousands of acres were tested and both historic and prehistoric sites were recorded. In all of these tests, no Colonoware was found.

The surveys also included the Badwell Plantation site, contemporary with de la Howe's Lethe Farm. James Louis Petigru owned Badwell Plantation and a number of slaves. At this site only five sherds of unidentified, unglazed pottery were found (Drucker et al. 1984). These results do not compare to the numbers or forms recovered from the de la Howe site. Another plantation contemporary with the de la Howe site was Fort Independence, a dwelling that was fortified during the Revolutionary War. It was located only eight miles from the de la Howe site. This site has undergone more extensive excavations than other sites in McCormick County (Bastian 1982). A wealthy trader occupied the site and operated from his dwelling. This trader also employed slave laborers. Here again, no Colonoware was recovered.

Evidence from the de la Howe Colonoware assemblage suggests that it was both produced and used by the slaves on Lethe Farm. The heavy reliance on Colonoware pottery vessels at de la Howe's farm, taken together with the absence of this pottery on other contemporaneous sites in McCormick County, illustrates cultural differences between the Lethe Farm slaves and the slaves on neighboring plantations. With this conclusion several more questions are raised. Why did the slaves at the de la Howe site

produce such a large amount of Colonoware while other slaves in the area produced none at all?

The slaves at the de la Howe site made choices different from others in their surroundings, and in effect set themselves apart through the production of pottery. Yet, the slaves at the de la Howe site were engaged in activities similar to the many other individuals who did produce pottery in other areas at this time. An examination of this wider circle of potters may illustrate some of the reasons why the de la Howe slaves chose to make Colonoware on Lethe Farm. Colonoware has been reported from areas as far afield as Northern Virginia (Parker and Hernigle 1990) to below Charleston (Eubanks et al. 1994), but upon closer inspection, Colonoware pottery similar to that recovered from the de la Howe site actually had a specific and surprisingly bounded range of occurrence. The distribution of Colonoware will be explored in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

POTTERY PRODUCTION IN THE MAINLAND BRITISH COLONIES

The recovery of a large and unique assemblage of hand–built pottery from archaeological excavations at the de la Howe site promotes a further investigation into the significance of the pottery to the individuals who produced and used it. Particularly, why did the individuals on Lethe Farm choose to make these numerous pottery vessels while the slaves living nearby on Badwell and Fort Independence plantations did not? A wider scope is necessary to begin to answer this question. Various types of hand built pottery have been recovered from urban and domestic eighteenth-century sites in South Carolina and Virginia. A survey of the varieties of hand built pottery recovered from other colonial sites provides evidence for individual interaction between the potters. It is the nature of these interactions that gives rise to pottery traditions and confers meaning to the pottery produced.

DEFINING COLONOWARE

In order to compare the de la Howe Colonoware assemblage to other examples of hand–built pottery, the term "Colonoware" must first be understood. The definition of Colonoware has been altered with almost every new study, which has led to confusion,

misunderstanding and conflicting information. Ferguson created the term "Colono Ware" in his 1978 article "Looking for the 'Afro' in Colono-Indian Pottery," and he defined this term as a broad category for hand built, low-fired pottery found in any historic context. Ferguson dropped the prefix "Indian" from the term "Colono-Indian," which Noël Hume had used to characterize the pottery found in Virginia. Ferguson clearly intended for the term to be unspecific, especially regarding the ethnicity of the potters. In his recent work, Ferguson has continued to use the term in a general sense. He states, "I considered Colono Ware to be a very broad category on the order of 'British ceramics,' that would include *all* low-fired, handbuilt pottery found on colonial sites, whether slave quarters, 'big houses,' or Indian villages" (Ferguson 1992:19).

Yet soon after Ferguson created the term "Colono Ware," its meaning began to shift from general to more specific. Leslie Drucker completed one of the first formal studies of hand built pottery in South Carolina excavated from the Spiers Landing site in Berkeley County. In her conclusions she chose to make the following specification: "In order to provide data useful to the continuing study of whether or not Afro-American populations within the colonies produced as well as used low-fired, unglazed earthenwares..., the Spiers Landing study distinguished Colono ware as a cruder, simpler type of earthenware than the previously described Colono-Indian ware" (1981:77). For Drucker, this provided a more useful framework for study, yet such specifications were not made uniformly by all archaeologists.

Barbara Heath (1996:155) wrote in broad terms when she referred to the wares found in Virginia as "Colonoware." Heath made no attempt to imply that slaves had

manufactured this pottery. In contrast, she stated that many archaeologists in Virginia believe that "Colonoware" arose from prehistoric Native American pottery traditions.

James Deetz used terminology boldly in his book *Flowerdew Hundred* (1993) when he stated, "archaeologists have given two names to this pottery, Colono-Indian ware and just plain Colono ware. The two names reflect a deep difference of opinion about exactly who was responsible for producing this pottery" (1993:80). By using the term "Colonoware" without the Indian prefix Deetz implied the pottery was manufactured by another distinct group, adding a stringent qualification to the term similar to that used by Drucker (1981). These qualifications supported Deetz's conclusions that, based on the available data, Colonoware was made by African and African-American slaves (1993:101). Further, this slave–made pottery "has a continuous distribution throughout the Old South, from Maryland to Georgia and west into Tennessee. While exhibiting some variation, particularly in shape, it is all the same pottery, and the variations in fact provide a basis for a convincing explanation of its production and the identity of its makers" (Deetz 1993:83). The definition of Colonoware used by Deetz suggests that despite formal changes in the ware, the manufactures all shared a common basic pottery style brought to the New World from Africa.

Other archaeologists believed that different types of hand–built pottery created by different groups of people could be distinguished from one another. Thomas Wheaton and Patrick Garrow recovered a large assemblage of hand–made pottery from the archaeological excavation of Yaughan and Curriboo plantations in Berkeley County,

South Carolina. Wheaton and Garrow reported, "two types of ceramics, Colono and Catawba, occurred on the plantations... Colono was made by slaves and Catawba was made by Indians for sale or trade" (1983:241). The formal contrasting of one group of pottery from another designated not only a specific, but a qualified, definition to the term "Colonoware."

Since Ferguson's creation of the term the meaning has changed from general to specific. In this analysis "Colonoware" is used in a specific sense. Following Drucker, these specifications are made in order to better understand the individuals who created this pottery. In this effort, Colonoware must be distinguished from the other types of hand built pottery produced during the colonial and post-colonial period.

HAND–BUILT POTTERY VARIETIES

In 1972, Steven G. Baker performed one of the earliest archaeological studies of colonial hand–built pottery in South Carolina. Baker recovered pottery from archaeological excavations at an urban site in the extinct frontier community of Cambridge in present–day Ninety Six. The 1790 to 1830 life-span of a dwelling on this site corresponded with the growth and decline of the Cambridge community, and within the cellar of this dwelling Baker found portions of 10 different vessels of hand–built pottery.

Baker analyzed this pottery and determined that coiling and modeling techniques had been used to form the clean, untempered clay. The pots exhibited a smoothed to highly burnished surface treatment. There were two varieties of this ware, one with a

mottled orange or buff to black and bluish-grey surface color, and the other with a smother fired, jet black and glossy surface. The vessel forms included a trivet pot, a handle for a mug or pitcher, the base of a footringed bowl and 11 flat bottomed bowls, with incurving, straight, and flared rims. Appendages included lids, handles, footings and spouts. Baker also found evidence of painting or staining as decorative techniques on both the mottled and smothered varieties. All of these wares were classified as Catawba pottery.

To substantiate this claim, Baker consulted ethnographic studies of Native American pottery making, including reports of Catawba and Pamunkey pottery manufacture (Holmes 1903; Harrington 1908; Speck 1928; Fewkes 1944). Baker cited the following quote, which describes the production of the smother-fired wares:

> Mr. James Mooney, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, described to the author [W. E. Meyer] the following method which he had seen the Catawbas use in making their finest black ware: After the vessel or other object has received its final shape, and before it is baked, it is given a high polish by much rubbing with certain very hard and smooth stones or mussel shells with edges properly shaped by grinding. Over these unbaked, highly polished objects selected fragments of oak bark are piled, and the heap is then carefully and closely covered with a large inverted unbaked pottery vessel... Over this unbaked pot a large amount of oak bark is piled and then set on fire. This produces considerable heat and bakes the large inverted vessel.

> The penetrating heat finally sets fire to the oak bark fragments underneath it, which, being shut off from a full supply of air, burn after the manner of charcoal and produce a strong, penetrating black, which reached to a great depth into the ware, thus producing the beautiful color. The glossiness arises from polishing. (Meyer 1928, in Fewkes 1944: 91)

Baker also used historic documentation of the Catawba pottery trade to associate with the vessels he recovered. William Gilmore Simms, a romantic novelist of the nineteenth century, made references to the Catawba in order to create an historical setting for his novels. His writing reflects reality woven with fiction, and his desire to portray his characters as "true to the Indian as our ancestors knew him at an early period, and as our people in certain situations may know him still" (Barre 1941: 7). The following description was provided by Simms in his tale "Caloya; or, the Loves of a Driver," written in 1841:

> When I was a boy, it was the custom of the Catawba Indians— then reduced to a pitiful remnant of some four hundred persons, all told— to come down, at certain seasons, from their far home 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 Lowcountry empty handed, in groups or in families, they squatted down on the rich clay lands along the Edisto, raised their poles, erected their sylvan tents, and their 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. Their production had their value to the citizens, and, for many purposes, were considered by most of the worthy housewives of the past generation, to be far superior to any other. I remember, for example, that it was a confident faith among the old ladies, that okra soup was always inferior if cooked in any but an Indian pot; and my own impressions make me not unwilling to take sides with the old ladies on this particular tenet. Certainly, an iron vessel is one of the last which should be employed in the preparation of this truly southern dish.

In this description, Simms indicated how the Catawba made and traded their wares, and how they were used by the people that bought them.

One historical source that Baker consulted provided not only a description of the ware, but a reason as to its demise. Trade of this ware greatly diminished in the mid-nineteenth century but picked up with the Arts and Crafts revival of the 1920's and Catawba Indians continue to produce pottery today. This following was a second–hand account written by Anne K. Gregorie in 1925:

> Mr. Phillip 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, till 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.

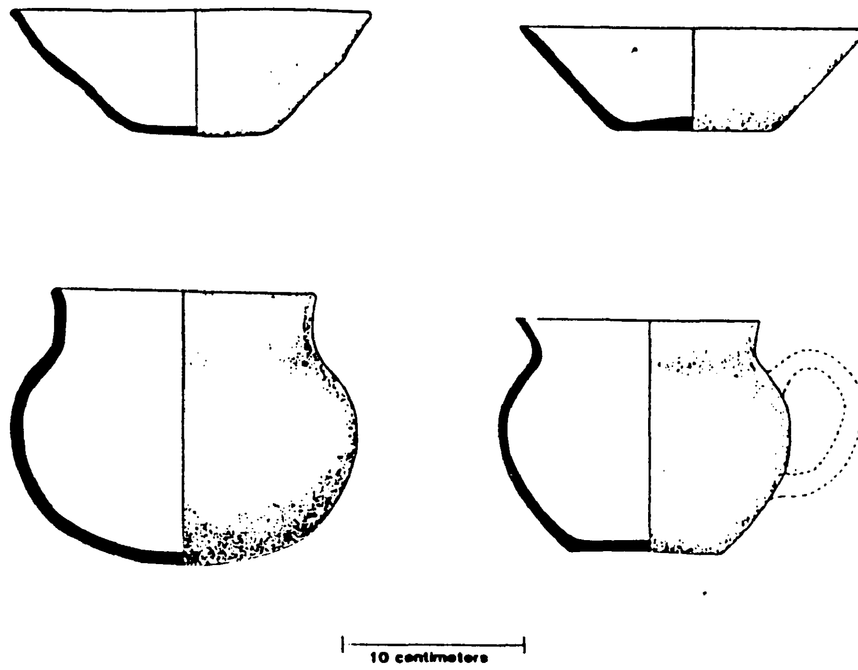
This reference indicated that the slaves, along with the ladies that Simms described, used Catawba wares as utilitarian wares in the early nineteenth century. The reason that the ware discontinued in this capacity may well have been the effects of the industrial revolution on the ceramic industry. The sudden availability of inexpensive and durable wares in the late eighteenth century may have lessened the demand for the Catawba wares (Ferguson 1992).

The pottery–making techniques of the Catawbas in the historic period were unique, perhaps because of major cultural changes that occurred at this time (Steen and Cooper n.d.). In the early colonial period, many of the Native American tribes in the area experienced displacement and depopulation (Hudson 1976). The Catawba responded by incorporating these dislocated and culturally heterogeneous individuals. Because of this, and the enormous impact of a European presence, there was discontinuity in the pre- and post-Contact pottery forms of the Catawba (Baker 1972).

Since Baker's 1972 report archaeologists have attempted to further distinguish the Catawba wares from other wares recovered on archaeological sites. Wheaton and Garrow (1989) subdivided the hand–built pottery they recovered from Yaughan and Curriboo plantations into two distinct subsets of Colonoware, Variety "Yaughan" and Variety "Catawba." This approach was quickly criticized by Ferguson on the basis that Colonoware had not been defined as a ware type, and thus "Yaughan" and "Catawba" were defined as varieties of a non–existent type (1989:186). This criticism was well-founded for this research, though in another previous article by Wheaton and Garrow

FIGURE 9

ILLUSTRATION OF RIVER BURNISHED POTTERY



(from Ferguson 1992)

(1985), they contrasted rather than related Colonoware with Catawba ware. This earlier article did not suggest that "Colonoware" (a.k.a. Yaughan) and Catawba were two varieties of one type, but rather two completely separate, albeit poorly defined, types.

Ferguson also argued that direct connections to the Catawba nations had not been established because no archaeology had been performed in the Catawba River Valley. Thus no direct comparative ceramic specimens had been collected other than a single vessel in the Charleston Museum that was purchased at Yaughan Plantation in 1805 supposedly from a Catawba woman (Ferguson 1989: 185). Ferguson offered the term "River Burnished" as a more generic name for the ware until a firm connection to the Catawba Nation could be established. Ferguson provided a description of River Burnished Pottery based on archaeological specimens excavated from Berkeley, Dorchester and Charleston Counties in the Lowcountry, and from the Brattonsville site in York County.

Hand–built pottery is not restricted to South Carolina. Smooth bodied, hand–built pottery has been recovered from Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia. In North Carolina and Georgia hand–built pottery was recovered on a few archaeological sites. Stanley South (1976) recovered pottery in his excavations of New Brunswick, North Carolina, which he termed "Brunswick Burnished." The overall quantity of the finds in North Carolina and Georgia was quite small compared to South Carolina and Virginia (Anthony 1986).

Hand built pottery has been consistently recovered from archaeological sites in Virginia. These sites are located in the Tidewater region, the southern frontier of

Southampton County, Northern Virginia, and in the Piedmont region of Virginia. Much of this pottery is characterized by a smoothed or burnished surface, among other qualities. The pottery frequently occurs on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century plantation and urban contexts. These smooth bodied wares first appeared in the Tidewater region by 1660, if not earlier. Recent finds at the Peleg's Point domestic site in James City County may push this date back one or two decades (*Daily Press*, *Williamsburg Edition* 1997). The frequency of these wares increased throughout the eighteenth century, and are not believed to have continued into the nineteenth century (Heath 1996). At this point, little is known about the nineteenth-century wares, which have appeared only in Northern Virginia and the piedmont (Heath 1996).

The distribution of these smooth-bodied wares range from plantations, farms and cities in Charles City, Gloucester, James City, King William, Lancaster, New Kent, Northumberland, Westmoreland and York Counties (Egloff and Potter 1982). The pottery is characterized by a compact, refined paste, with a shell tempered fabric and plain or burnished surfaces. It ranges from buff to dark grey in color (Noël Hume 1962).

The ware usually comprises less than 10% of the total ceramics found on colonial European sites. The most prominent vessel form is the flat bottomed bowl with a slightly everted rim (Noël Hume 1962). However, about 5% of the wares were found in imitation European forms, such as pipkins, porringers, chamberpots, and plates (Henry 1980; Heath 1996).

A different variety of pottery was recovered from the seventeenth-century Pettus and Utopia sites and the eighteenth-century Kingsmill Quarter found on Kingsmill

TABLE 3

DESCRIPTION OF RIVER BURNISHED POTTERY

Surface finish	Burnished with a tool that leaves horizontal marks approximately 1-3 mm wide. The burnishing produces a non-uniform luster.
Thickness	Side walls are relatively thin ranging from 3-7 mm. The average thickness is approximately 5 mm. Basal sections may be more than 1 cm thick.
Color	Many vessels appear to have been intentionally reduced during firing to produce an even, black finish. A variety of colors resulting from reduction (blacks and greys) and oxidation (buff through reddish brown) occur.
Body	Fabric consists of fine-grained materials including mica. Major non-plastics are small particles of sand.
Decoration	Lips of bowls are often decorated with small facets. A small number of the vessels are painted with black and red lines and dots. The red paint is sometimes a "day-glo" hue. Painting is usually on the interior rim of bowls and on the exterior shoulder and neck of jars and pitchers. One vessel, a bowl from the Cooper River, has a "J" incised into the fired body on the interior base.
Shape	Straight sided, unrestricted bowls with flat bottoms. Globular jars with relatively straight necks. Pitchers with spouts and handles.
Method of manufacture	Modeling was used. The size of some vessels suggests that coiling was also used. Handles were put on with plugs which were inserted into holes in the vessel walls and smoothed on the inside. Vessels are well-fired.
Date Range	Late 18th century to early 19th century.

Source: Ferguson 1989: 188

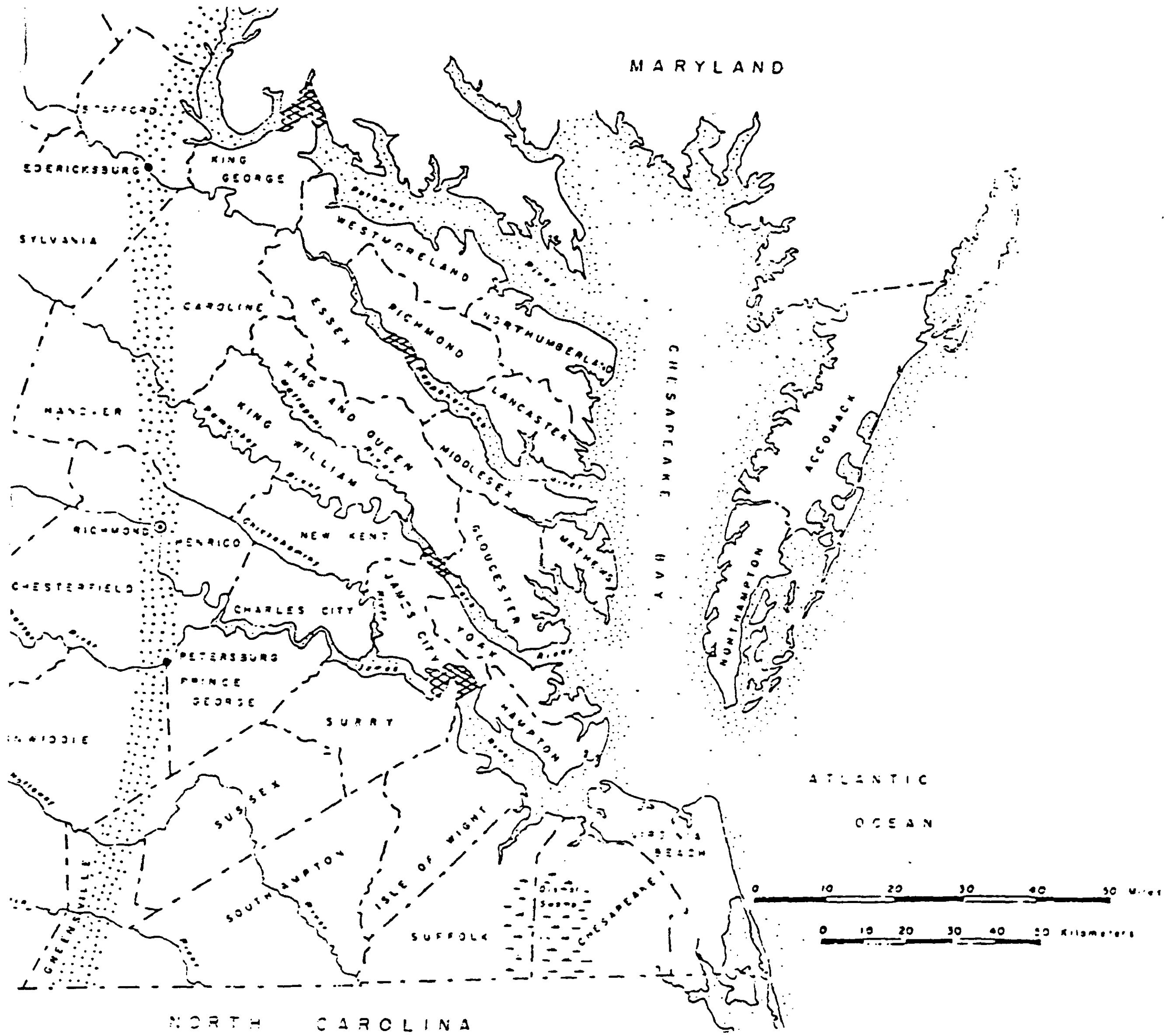
Plantation near Williamsburg (Kelso 1984). These wares exhibited misfiring and spall fractures, indicating that production occurred on site (Ferguson 1992:44). The wares were also thicker and less finely made than other Tidewater examples. The vessels included flat bottomed bowls, tripodal pipkins and pots with some shell inclusions in the paste (Ferguson 1992). In analyzing these wares, Ferguson concluded that they were produced by African-American slaves. Other scholars have declined to make this conclusion based on the evidence available (Moeur et al. n.d.).

Much of the pottery found in the Tidewater and surrounding regions closely resembles the pottery recovered from historic Nottoway, Meherrin and Weanock Indian sites. Lewis Binford excavated these sites along the Nottoway River in Southampton County and dated the pottery to the mid-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth centuries. The results of these excavations provided Binford with two new ceramic series, to which he assigned the terms "Courtland Series" and "Werekeck Series" (Binford 1965). The Courtland series was described as consisting of a compact, fine textured and sand tempered fabric which had been well fired to a cream or buff color. The forms represented were shallow bowls, plates, and small handled mugs. The surfaces were either plain or burnished. Rims varied from straight, horizontal, or scalloped. Bases of the vessels often had footrings. The Werekeck series was similar to the Courtland series in all characteristics except the addition of a crushed shell temper.

Binford also described a change in the form of the vessels over time. Deep, smooth-bodied bowls that lacked appendages were the earliest forms on these sites. Yet in the later vessels, Binford noted a greater variety in vessel forms, including shallow

FIGURE 10

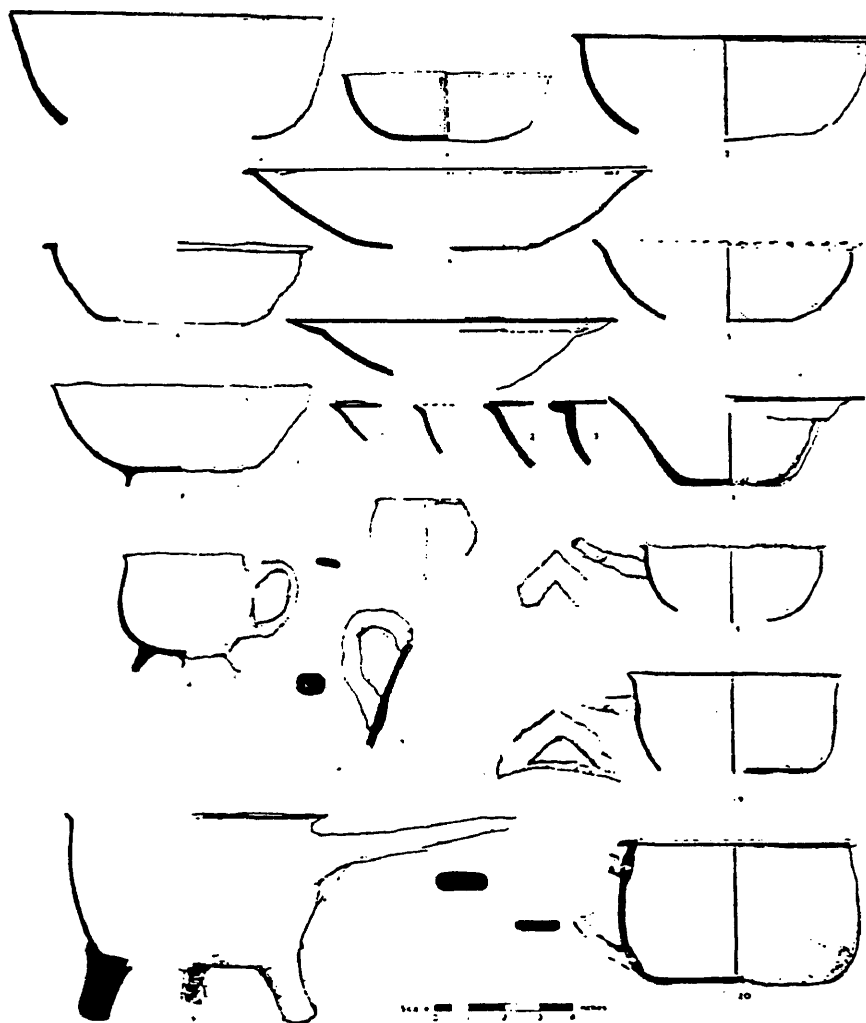
THE COASTAL PLAIN OF VIRGINIA



(from Egloff and Potter 1972)

FIGURE 11

COLONO-INDIAN POTTERY



(from Noël Hume 1962)

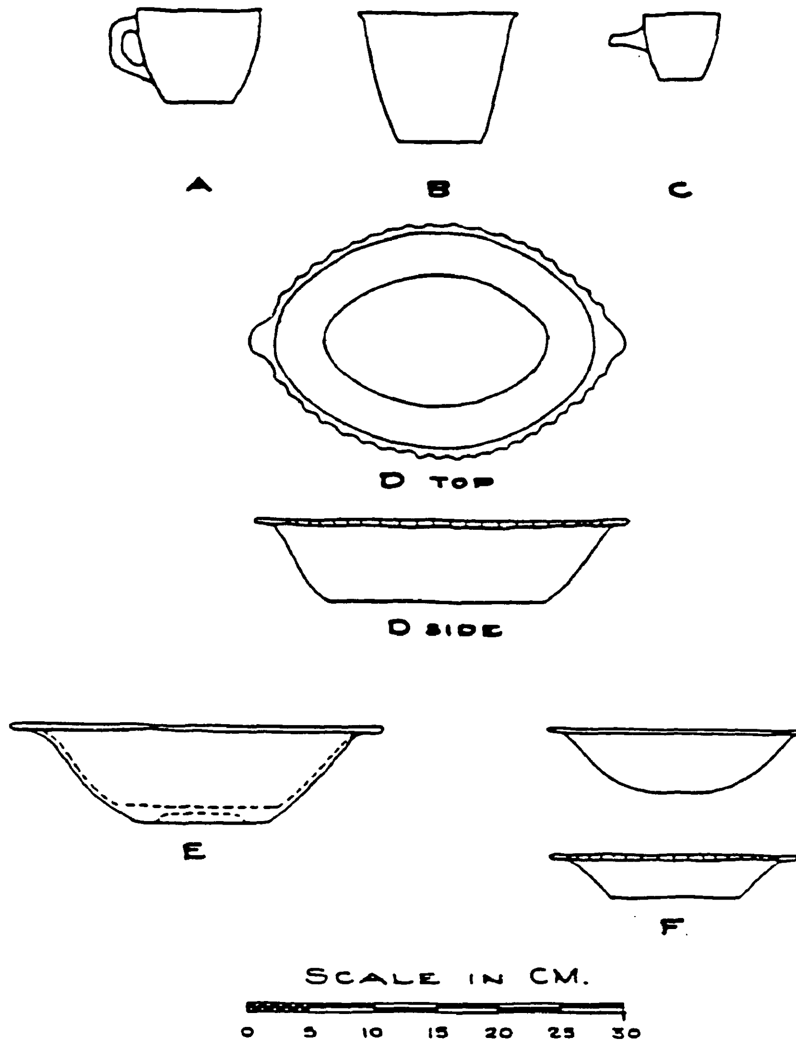
bowls, plates, platters and handled mugs. The frequency of burnishing also increased over time as well as the tendency to have ringed bases and scalloped rims (Binford 1965:86). It is important to note that gradual, stylistic changes were observed in these collections. Gradual changes were not reported for the pottery recovered from European contexts.

The Courtland and Werekeck pottery series, along with additional reports of smooth-bodied vessels from colonial period Native American sites (Egloff and Potter 1982; MacCord 1969), and ethnographic examples (Speck 1928) have led researchers (Mouer et al. n.d.) to argue a Native American connection to the smooth-bodied wares found on colonial plantations and towns. The pottery recovered from both Native American and European contexts exhibited stylistic representations of European ceramics in the smoothed or burnished surfaces, lack of decoration, scalloped, straight or everted rims, footrings, flat bases, and a clean, compact fabric. Such "European" styles did emerge in the Courtland and Werekeck pottery series over the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

The interpretations surrounding the hand built pottery recovered in Virginia exemplify the difficulties archaeologists must face if they wish to determine the cultural affiliation of specific formal attributes. The lesson that is learned from Virginia is that the cultural affiliation of material culture cannot be determined with certainty without time depth. As previously mentioned, Edward F. Heite illustrated this point in his 1993 article "Folk Technology Transfer and Creolization Reconsidered." Heite found a unique pottery vessel on the Hallows Site in Westmoreland County, Virginia, home to the John

FIGURE 12

SUGGESTED SHAPES OF COURTLAND SERIES VESSELS



(from Binford 1965)

Hallows family in the seventeenth century (Buchanan and Heite 1971). A rotund cooking pot shaped like an iron kettle had been in use on the site between 1651 and 1680. Heite compared the vessel to Jutland Black ware, produced as a cottage industry in Denmark during the seventeenth century. This European ware was hand–built, burnished and fired without the use of a kiln (Heite 1993:8). Based on technical and formal similarities alone hand built, burnished pottery could be attributed to Native Americans, Europeans or Africans.

Researchers have found convincing evidence to support the existence of a Native American pottery tradition in colonial Virginia. Whatever the ultimate interpretation regarding the origins of these smooth-bodied ware may be, the difference between the Virginia wares and the Lowcountry Colonoware remains fundamental to the understanding of the origins of either of these wares.

LOWCOUNTRY COLONOWARE

A vast number of hand–built pottery fragments have been recovered from the Lowcountry region of South Carolina. Descriptions of this pottery have been presented in unpublished archaeological site reports, and Ferguson (1992) performed comparative analysis of this pottery. The term Colonoware has effectively been used by archaeologists to describe wares found in the Lowcountry of South Carolina on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century plantation contexts (Drucker 1981; Wheaton, Friedlander and Garrow 1983; Zierden et al. 1986; Groover 1992; Eubanks et al. 1994; Kennedy et al. 1994; Espenshade 1996).

I hope to delineate the specifications used by these archaeologists in an analysis of the formal, spatial and temporal distribution of Colonoware. A basic formal description was compiled from six site reports: Yaughan and Curriboo (Wheaton, Friedlander and Garrow 1993); Lesesne and Fairbank (Zierden et al. 1986); Spiers Landing (Drucker 1981); the Howell site (Groover 1992); Colleton River (Kennedy et al. 1994); and Spring Island (Eubanks et al. 1994). These reports were chosen because of the detailed descriptions they contained. In addition, these sites are separated spatially and temporally, providing depth to this analysis.

The Yaughan and Curriboo pottery assemblage was recovered from two neighboring plantations located on the Santee River in upper Berkeley County. These plantations were occupied from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. Between 80 and 90 enslaved individuals were estimated to have lived on Yaughan plantation, and between 40 and 100 slaves resided on Curriboo plantation. The pottery was recovered from limited excavation of the slave quarters.

The pottery assemblage from Lesesne and Fairbank was recovered from two neighboring plantations located on the Cooper River in lower Berkeley County. These plantations were occupied during the eighteenth century. John de la Howe's wife, Anne Walker Boyd, resided at Lesesne plantation after John moved to McCormick County. The number of slaves that resided on these two plantations is unknown. The pottery was recovered from multiple contexts across these two plantations.

The Spiers Landing site represents an isolated slave quarter discovered in Berkeley County. The quarter was a component of nearby Fountainhead Plantation.

TABLE 4

SITES INCLUDED IN THE COLONOWARE COMPARISON

	Yaughan and Curriboo	Lesesne and Fairbank	Spiers Landing	Howell Plantation	Colleton River	Spring Island
County	Berkeley	Berkeley	Berkeley	Richland	Beaufort	Beaufort
Context	Slave quarter	Multiple	Slave quarter	Multiple	Slave quarter	Slave quarter
Date range	Mid 18th- mid 19th century	Early-late 18th century	mid-late 18th century	mid-late 18th century	Early 19th century	19th century
Description	Plantation	Plantation	Plantation	Farm	Plantation	Plantation
Enslaved occupants	80-103	Unknown	Unknown	14-106	118	170-345
Reference	Wheaton, Friedlander and Garrow 1993	Zierden et al 1986	Drucker 1981	Groover 1992	Kennedy et al 1994	Eubanks et al 1994

Archaeological evidence suggested that the site was inhabited during the mid to late eighteenth century.

The Howell Farm site is in Richland County. Like the de la Howe site, it is the only site in its county that contained such an assemblage. The pottery was recovered from the fill of an abandoned cellar. The farm was occupied from the mid to late eighteenth century. Documentary evidence indicated that initially fourteen slaves lived on this farm with the owner and his family, yet at the time of the owner's death, the number of slaves had grown to 106.

Colleton River Plantation was located near Hilton Head Island in Beaufort County and occupied during the nineteenth century. An estimated 118 slaves lived on this plantation. The pottery assemblage was recovered from the slave quarters.

The Spring Island Plantation was located on the southern portion of Spring Island in Beaufort County. The plantation was occupied in the nineteenth century, and an estimated 170 to 345 slaves worked on this plantation during this time. The pottery assemblage was recovered from the Bonnie Shore slave row.

All of these assemblages exhibited similar pottery characteristics, regardless of the associated dates of occupation or site location. In all cases the fabric of the pottery was medium to course in texture, with sand temper added to the clay. Mica specks were also visible in the clay for the Lesesne/Fairbank and Colleton River assemblages. All of the assemblages exhibited a surface finish ranging from roughly hand smoothed to burnished, with the majority of the vessels somewhere in between. The pots were believed to have been manufactured with a combination of hand modeling and coiling

TABLE 5

COLONOWARE ASSEMBLAGES: POTTERY CHARACTERISTICS

	Yaughan & Curriboo	Lesesne & Fairbank	Spiers Landing	Howell Plantation	Colleton River	Spring Island
Vessel Forms	Bowls, Jars minority: chamber-pot, plate, handles	Bowls, Jars minority: cup, pan, plate, bottle, chamber-pot, handles	Bowls, Jars	Bowls, Jars	Bowls,	Bowls minority: pitcher, plate, chamber-pot, handles
Paste	Coarse fabric with sand temper	Medium fabric with sand temper, mica inclusions	Medium fabric with sand temper	Coarse fabric with sand temper	Medium to coarse fabric with sand temper, mica inclusions	Medium fabric with fine sand temper
Surface treatment	Roughly smoothed to burnished	Roughly smoothed to well smoothed	Finger to pebble smoothed	Smoothed	Smoothed to burnished	Smoothed to burnished
Firing conditions	Incomplete oxidation	Well oxidized to reduced	Incomplete oxidation	Incomplete oxidation	Incomplete oxidation	Reduced
Method of manufacture	Coiled, hand modeled	Possible hand modeled or coiled	Hand modeled with possible coil	Possible Hand modeled or coiled	Hand modeled	Hand modeled, possible combination coiled
Majority form	Bowl	Bowl	Bowl	Bowl	Bowl	Bowl
Rim	Direct	Direct, strait, tapered minority: folded, inverted	Strait minority: inverted	Direct	Direct	Direct
Lip	Rounded, exterior beveled, exterior thickened, tapered	Rounded, flat minority: beveled, bulbous	Rounded minority: flat, beveled	Rounded, flat	Flat, rounded, beveled, cut	Cut minority: notched
Body	Spherical	Spherical, open minority: strait sided	Spherical, open	Spherical minority: strait sided	Spherical, open	Spherical
Base	Rounded	Rounded, flat minority: footrings	Flat	Rounded heel with flat center	Rounded heel with flat center minority: footrings	Flat with footrings
Second Majority Form	Jar	Jar	Jar	Jar	None	None
Rim	Everted, outsloping	Everted	Everted	Flared		
Lip	Rounded, flat	Rounded, flat	Rounded	Rounded, flat		
Body	Globular	Globular	Globular	Globular		
Base	Rounded minority: multipodal	Rounded, flat minority: multipodal	Flat	Rounded heel with flat center		

techniques.

Additional decorations on the pottery were infrequent. The following decorations were described: finger impression; notched lips; paint or slip on exterior; incised "X" in center of footring; pre- and post-firing incision of parallel or geometric lines; possible cord impressed and possible stamped designs. In addition, an assemblage of pottery recovered from Pine Grove Plantation (Steen 1992) was reported to exhibit thimble stamped decoration, and a sherd from Drayton Hall plantation was incised with the initials "MHD" (Ferguson 1992). The bowl was the most common vessel form on all of these sites. The eighteenth-century sites also contained numerous jars. No jars were recovered from the nineteenth-century sites, Colleton and Spring Island. Other vessel forms were reported on half of the sites, including cups, pans, plates, bottles, chamberpots, and pitchers. Handled vessels also existed on half of these sites. Other types of vessels were reported from other Lowcountry sites. These include delft-style ointment pots from Pine Grove Plantation (Steen 1992) and a teapot found on Hampton Plantation (Ferguson 1992:86).

The majority of the bowls from all six sites were open and spherical with direct, or straight, rim forms. Two of the collections, Lesesne /Fairbank and Howell, also contained straight–sided vessels, though these were much less common. Most of the bases were rounded at the edge with a flattened center. Flat, foot-ringed bases were a less common variety. Rarest were simple flat bases. Most of the variation between sites was seen in the style of lip treatment. Rounded rims were the majority, but other rim forms included flat, interior and exterior beveled, bulbous, exterior thickened and

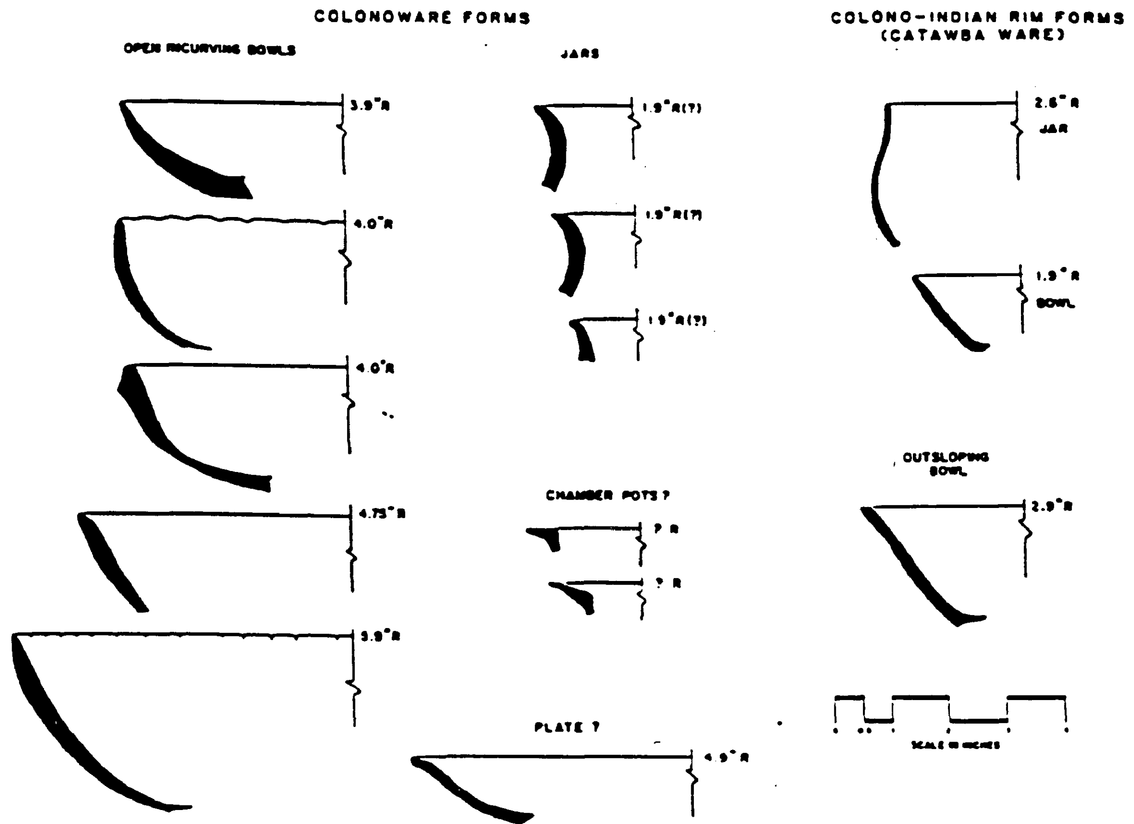
FIGURE 13

COLONOWARE FROM SPIERS LANDING

(from Ferguson 1992)

FIGURE 14

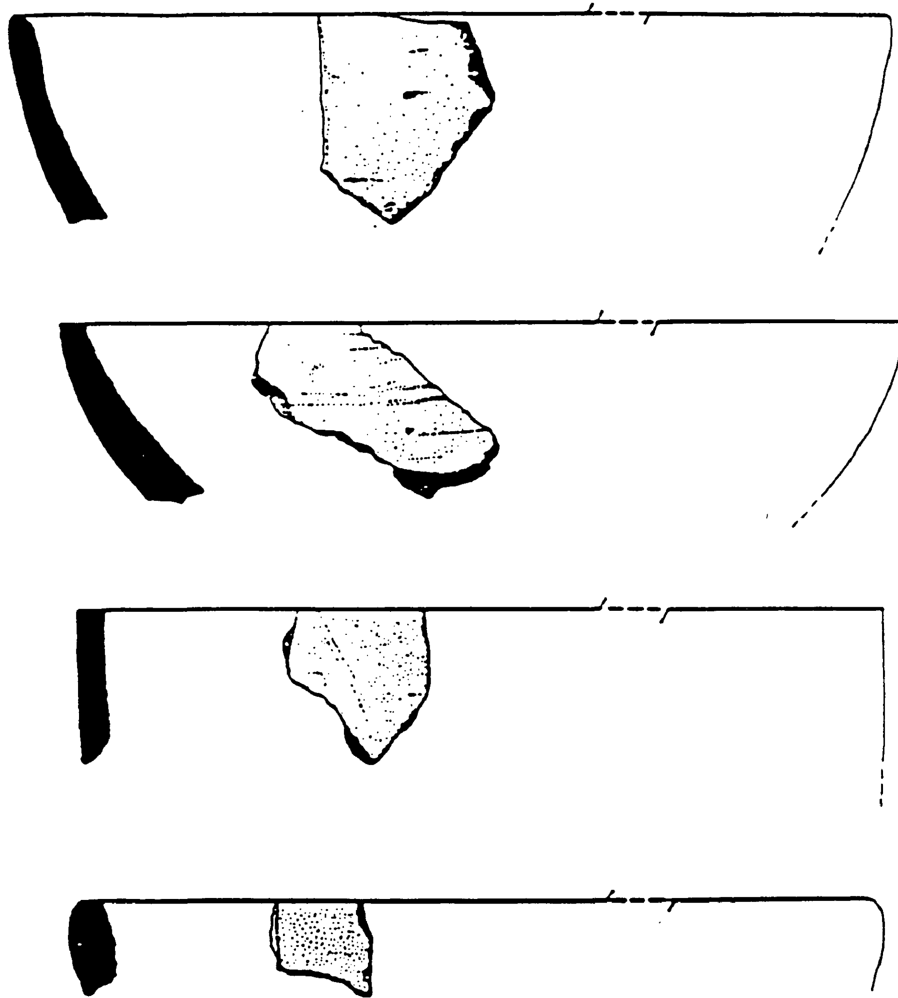
COLONOWARE AND CATAWBA RIMS FROM YAUGHAN AND CURRIBOO



(from Wheaton, Friedlander and Garrow 1983)

FIGURE 15

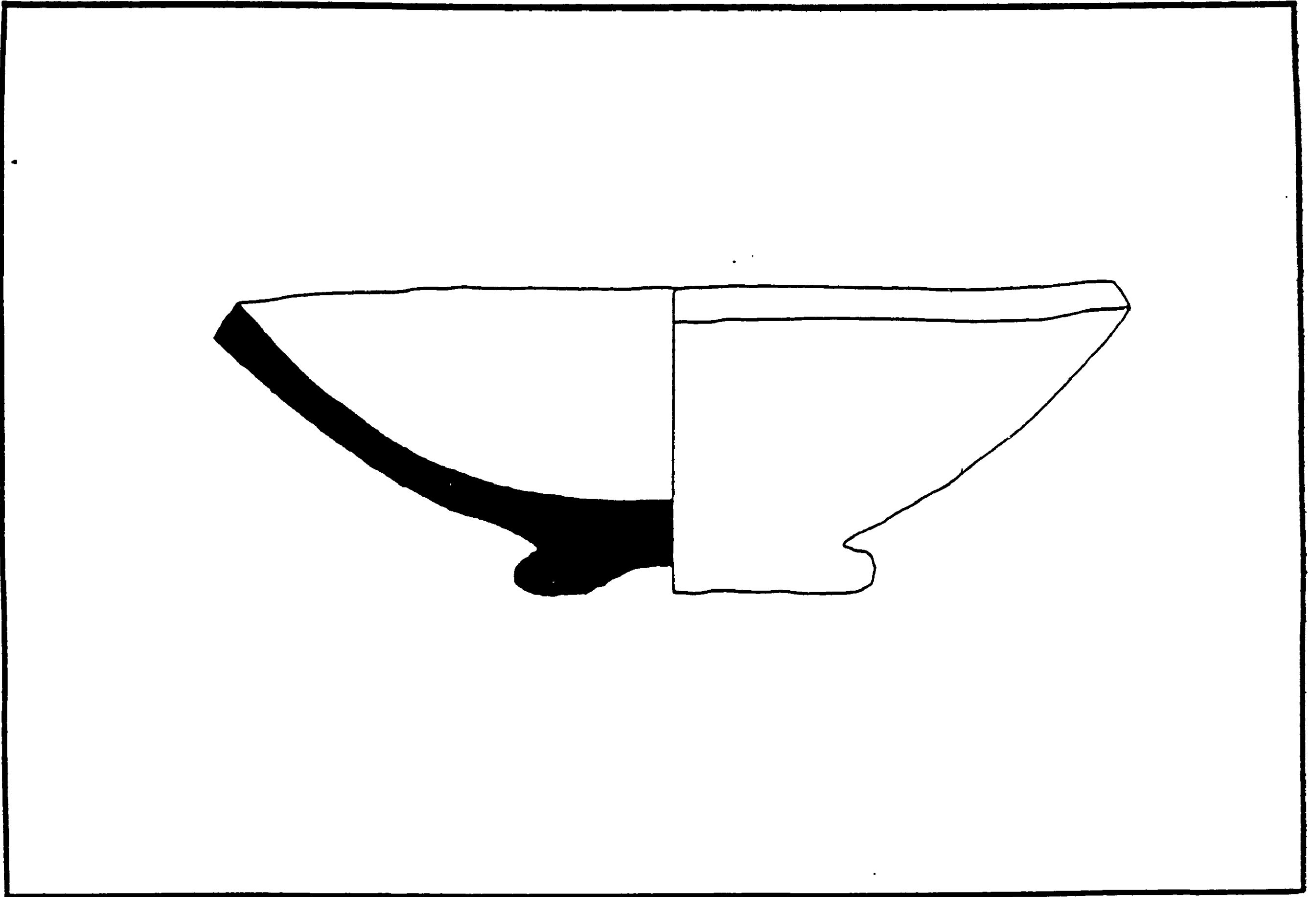
COLONOWARE BOWLS FROM THE HOWELL SITE



(from Groover 1992)

FIGURE 16

COLONOWARE BOWL WITH FOOTRING FROM SPRING ISLAND



(from Eubanks et al. 1994)

tapered. Rims that had been cut with a knife were identified in the two nineteenth-century collections, Colleton and Spring Island.

The jars exhibited less variation between sites. The body shape for all of the jars was globular and all rims were everted. The lip treatment on these vessels varied from rounded or flat, though rounded was by far the most common. A large majority of the bases were rounded at the heel with a flattened center. A minority of the bases were flat. Two assemblages, Yaughan/Curriboo and Lesesne/Fairbank, also contained multipodal elements on the bases of jars. Handles were reported from the Yaughan/Curriboo, the Lesesne/Fairbank and the Spring Island assemblages.

The majority of the vessels in all of these assemblages had been fired in an incompletely oxidizing or reduced atmosphere. This atmosphere is created by rapid firing at low temperatures, which produces variable surface coloring of the pottery vessels. Reduction of the clay minerals indicates that very little oxygen was present during the firing and it creates a black surface color. This can be created by smothering the pottery with impenetrable materials such as manure (Marriot 1948) or wood bark (Fewkes 1994). Irregular pot stacking during the firing can cause some pots to be reduced by preventing the oxygen from flowing freely through the stack of pots.

Wheaton et al. (1983) and Ferguson (1992:84) have presented evidence that the pottery was fired on–site at Lowcountry plantations. The presence of poorly fired or misfired vessels, the occurrence of toys and miscellaneous clay objects, the existence of poorly formed vessels and the use of local materials all confirm the possibility that the pottery was made on the plantations themselves. Also, the slight variation between

plantations observed in this analysis indicates that a single or small number of potters supplied the pottery for each locale, adding his or her unique signature to the pots while keeping to the overall traditional forms.

In summary, different varieties of hand–built pottery have been reported from archaeological excavations on colonial and post-colonial sites in the Southeast. However, only the Lowcountry wares provided clear evidence of manufacture on the plantations (Wheaton et al. 1983; Ferguson 1992) with spatial and formal continuity. Most importantly, the Lowcountry Colonoware was clearly related to the pottery recovered from the de la Howe site. With this definition, this analysis turns to an investigation of the role this pottery had within the Lowcountry and the de la Howe communities.

CHAPTER V

COLONOWARE AND THE SLAVE COMMUNITY

The individuals who lived on Lethe Farm produced pottery unique to McCormick County, yet this pottery was very similar to that made in the Lowcountry region over 200 miles from the farm. This tradition reflected shared cultural values that the slaves in the Lowcountry and those on Lethe Farm shared. Pottery making is a technical skill that may encompass cultural expressions in art, self-sufficiency, cuisine and unity. It is difficult to recover the meaning these pots held for those who made or used them, but this practice, at least archaeologically speaking, set them apart from other social groups and even other slaves both within the colony and beyond.

The pottery assemblage recovered from the de la Howe site was manufactured with both modeling and coiling techniques and fired on the farm. The potters produced numerous open bowls, globular jars and other forms exhibiting a smoothed to burnished surface and minimal, if any, decoration. The vessels were fired in an open bonfire, of which no trace has been recovered. Most of the vessels on the de la Howe site were recovered from the midden of the separate kitchen, where the meals were cooked and eaten. The characteristics of the Lethe Farm pottery assemblage were very similar to Lowcountry Colonoware. In fact, the Lethe Farm pottery can be considered as part of

this Lowcountry tradition.

Bowls and jars predominated both the Lowcountry and de la Howe collections. Minority vessel forms in the de la Howe assemblage, such as cups, plates and straight–walled bowls, were similar to the less common Lowcountry Colonoware vessels. Reports from the Lowcountry excavations illustrated the presence of chamberpot-style rims (Wheaton et al. 1983; Zierden et al. 1986). Similar vessels were found at de la Howe site and were described as flared rim bowls because they were small vessels and would not have served as chamberpots.

A particularly close similarity existed between the de la Howe assemblage and the Lesesne/Fairbank Colonoware. Both collections contained the relatively rare cup and straight–sided bowl forms, as well as multipodal bases among the jars. Fairbank Plantation was owned by the family of Anne Walker Boyd, John de la Howe's wife, and members of her family had married into the neighboring Lesesne family. When de la Howe moved to Lethe Farm, Anne Walker Boyd remained at Fairbank. It is possible that the slaves at Lethe Farm had once lived at Fairbank, or perhaps knew or were related to the slaves there, and that these relations were reflected in their pottery production techniques.

Both the Lowcountry and de la Howe vessels were predominately spherical or globular, reflecting a basic round shape. In contrast, most of the pottery produced in the region before European contact was ovoid in basic shape and became more angular during the colonial period with the addition of flat bases and straight vessel walls. European ceramics often exhibit similar angular properties. Most of the de la Howe and

TABLE 6

COMPARISON OF DE LA HOWE AND LOWCOUNTRY COLONOWARE

Pottery Characteristics	**Lowcountry Colonoware**	**De la Howe Colonoware**
Paste	Medium to coarse with sand temper, some mica inclusions	Medium to coarse with sand temper
Surface treatment	Roughly smooth to burnished	Roughly smoothed to burnished
Firing conditions	Incomplete oxidation, some reduced, some well oxidized	Incompletely oxidized, some reduced, some well oxidized
Method of manufacture	Hand modeled with coiling	Hand modeled with coiling
Vessel Forms		
Majority	Bowls; Jars	Bowls; Jars
Minority	Chamberpot; plate, pitcher, cup, pans, bottle	Flared rim bowl, plate, cup
Majority vessel form	Bowl	Bowl
Rim	Direct (minority: inverted, tapered, folded)	Direct (minority: restricted, flanged)
Lip	Rounded (minority: flat, cut, beveled, notched, tapered, thickened)	Rounded (minority: flat, pointed, tapered, bulbous, beveled)
Shape	Spherical (minority: straight sided)	Spherical (minority: straight sided)
Base	Rounded w/ flat center (minority: flat, footring)	Rounded w/ flat center
Secondary vessel form	Jar	Jar
Rim	Everted (minority: outsloping)	Everted
Lip	Rounded (minority: flat)	Rounded (minority: flat)
Shape	Globular	Globular
Base	Rounded (minority: flat, multipodal)	Rounded (minority: multipodal, flat)
Decoration	Incised 'X', geometric patterns, parallel lines; slip coating, thimble stamped, finger impressed, notched lip, possible cord impressed/ stamped	Incised parallel lines, punctated, possible complicated stamped, paint/slip

Lowcountry Colonoware vessels were undecorated, and the few that were had clean, simple designs. The most common decorations in the Lowcountry, occurring on very few vessels, were incised lines or "X" figures, and a black or red paint or slip. The decorations in the de la Howe assemblage were incised parallel lines and a black paint or slip coating. These understated decorations contrasted greatly with pre-Columbian pottery decorations, which emphasized textured or stamped surfaces and with European ceramics, which were often glazed. The close association between the de la Howe assemblage and the pottery produced in the Lowcountry suggests a common bond between the potters at the de la Howe site and the Lowcountry potters. Archaeological information indicates that Colonoware production spread to the South Carolina frontier when the de la Howe slaves moved to the Backcountry region of South Carolina.

Colonoware Distribution

Though the de la Howe pottery was produced far from the Lowcountry region, most of the Colonoware in South Carolina was produced within a very small area. Unfortunately, exactly when and where Colonoware first emerged still remains unclear. The earliest archaeological evidence of hand–built pottery existing on a colonial European site was reported from the defensive ditch of Charles Towne Landing, created in 1670 and excavated by Stanley South in 1971. Ferguson surmised that the low fired pottery from the ditch was made by Africans who had been recently brought from Barbados (1992:82). However, this assumption was based on a very small collection. There was no evidence that this pottery was produced in South Carolina and not in

Barbados. It would not be surprising that a ship from Barbados contained Barbadian pottery, but it would be interesting if the slaves who came from that ship continued to produce this pottery in South Carolina. There is no evidence to support the latter possibility, and there was no formal continuity between the Barbadian pottery and Colonoware.

The individuals on Barbados did set the precedent for pottery production by slaves within the British colonies. However, Barbadian slaves did not produce Lowcountry Colonoware or even a stylistic predecessor to Colonoware. The local pottery tradition of Barbados included wheel thrown redwares produced mainly for industrial use. These redwares were of very high quality and were often glazed (Lange and Carlson 1985). Thomas C. Loftfield recently recovered a few sherds of black, hand–built pottery on a seventeenth-century site. He noted that these were extremely rare, and that even at that early time period wheel thrown pottery was in production (Loftfield 1996). The pottery in the West Indies was produced by African slaves but there is no evidence that Lowcountry Colonoware originated from any of these islands. However, Lowcountry Colonoware and the West Indian pottery may have both emerged out of similar circumstances.

Ferguson described the earliest colonial pottery found on plantations surrounding the Charleston peninsula as similar to pottery made by free Indians, with decorative techniques such as complicated stamping and painting on the sherds, though he warned that very little archaeology has been done on late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century sites. Ferguson (1992:83) cited Richard Polhemus, who reported finding the

lower half of a round bottomed pot with a roughened, charred surface on the ground floor hearth of Newington Plantation, located on the Ashley River west of Charleston. Newington began as a successful plantation until it burned down in 1715. Ferguson speculated that this vessel had been used for cooking by a Native American slave. Archaeological research has not been able to pinpoint the exact location and conditions in which the first Colonoware pot was produced. Information about the emergence of Colonoware can be gleaned from a larger comparative analysis.

Comparative data was collected from twenty-six rural sites excavated in the Lowcountry region to determine when, where and in what quantities Colonoware was produced. The sites were chosen based on the thoroughness of excavation, the data presentation and the accessibility of the reports. The following information is based on the results of this comparison.

After the burning of Newington Plantation in 1715 the slaves in the South Carolina Lowcountry began to produce large amounts of Colonoware. Unfortunately, there is a serious lack of archaeological data from this very period. During the 1726 to 1750 occupation period of Limerick Plantation, Colonoware was heavily used. Lees (1980) reported finding over 1,400 sherds of Colonoware, 77% of the total ceramics, from the earliest occupation period. Colonoware comprised over 80% of the total ceramics recovered from the ca.1760 Curriboo slave quarter, and at the Yaughan quarter, occupied between 1750 and 1790, Colonoware comprised over 90% of the total ceramics (Wheaton and Garrow 1983). The percentage of Colonoware drops slightly to 78% of the total ceramics recovered from the Tanner Road quarter, occupied between 1790 and 1830

(Babson 1988).

Archaeological data from the Lowcountry indicates that the production of Colonoware increased steadily from ca. 1740 to 1790, with its peak occurring in the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century. Slaves continued to manufacture Colonoware, though in lessening quantities, through the first four or five decades of the nineteenth century. After that point, Colonoware production ceased as suddenly as it had commenced. The Campfield slave quarter in Georgetown County, occupied between 1820 and 1860, produced only 37 fragments of Colonoware, amounting to less than 20% of the total ceramics (Zierden 1983). Excavations at Midway Plantation in Georgetown County, occupied between 1850 to ca.1870, produced absolutely no Colonoware, though the excavations included a slave site (Trinkley 1992).

Of the twenty-six sites containing Colonoware used in this analysis, twenty-four were located in the Lowcountry. Twenty-two, or 91.7% of the Lowcountry sites, were located in Berkeley, Charleston, Georgetown and Dorchester Counties. Underwater archaeology has confirmed that Colonoware was also used in Colleton County (Ferguson 1992: Appendix 1), though no sites from this county were used in this analysis. Smaller assemblages of Colonoware have also been recovered within the city of Charleston, though with less consistency (Ferguson 1992: Appendix 1). South of Charleston in Beaufort County, only two sites, or 8.3% of the total, contained significant Colonoware assemblages. These two sites, Spring Island and Colleton River plantations, were somewhat anomalous in that both were occupied later in the nineteenth century than most of the other Colonoware producing sites.

TABLE 7

COLONOWARE ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Site	County	Context	N Colonoware	% total ceramics	Approx. range of occupation
Crowfield	Berkeley	Slave	113	95.80	1730-1820
Yaughan (76)	Berkeley	Slave	11,348	92.04	1750-1790
Curriboo	Berkeley	Slave	3,333	88.22	1740-1760
Willbrook (340)	Georgetown	Slave	3,663	83.10	1780-1820
de la Howe	*McCormick*	*Kitchen*	*5335*	*82.83*	*1775-1806*
Willbrook (291)	Georgetown	Slave	1,231	81.30	1750-1790
Tanner Road	Berkeley	Slave	463	78.00	1790-1830
Crowfield	Berkeley	Kitchen	713	77.30	1730-1820
Pine Grove	Berkeley	Slave	683	70.00	1750-1850
Snee Farm	Charleston	Kitchen	81	68.60	1750-1820
Green Grove	Charleston	Slave	2,718	68.00	1730-1760
Yaughan (75)	Berkeley	Slave	2,545	65.90	1750-1790
Colleton River	Beaufort	Slave	3,476	63.60	1815-1845
Lesesne	Berkeley	Slave	1,264	62.20	1700-1800
Spiers Landing	Berkeley	Slave	1,230	55.91	1780-1830
Middleton Place	Dorchester	Kitchen	3,383	55.00	1725-1865
Howell	Richland	Kitchen	N/A	53.64	1750-1820
Broom Hall	Berkeley	Slave	72	51.80	1750-1840
Willbrook	Georgetown	Kitchen	232	46.50	1780-1820
Turkey Hill	Georgetown	Slave	1,939	44.40	1800-1850
True Blue	Georgetown	Kitchen	N/A	44.00	1780-1820
Bonny Shore	Beaufort	Slave	723	43.70	1810-1865
Limerick	Berkeley	Kitchen	4,818	38.54	1720-1850
Hampton	Charleston	Kitchen	466	35.57	1750-1830
Lesesne	Berkeley	Planter	6,473	34.20	1700-1800
Oatland	Georgetown	Slave	1,777	30.90	1800-1840
Snee Farm	Charleston	Planter	63	28.50	1750-1820
de la Howe	*McCormick*	*Planter*	*347*	*28.17*	*1775-1806*
Long Point	Charleston	Kitchen	84	27.00	1720-1765
Richmond Hill	Georgetown	Slave	207	22.48	1780-1860
Campfield	Georgetown	Slave	37	19.40	1820-1860
Drayton	Charleston	Kitchen	1,600	16.18	1740-1890
Green Grove	Charleston	Planter	1,145	12.00	1730-1820
Oatland	Georgetown	Planter	121	4.40	1800-1840
Long Point	Charleston	Planter	57	2.00	1800-1840
Richmond Hill	Georgetown	Planter	4	0.22	1760-1860

The relative lack of Colonoware north of Georgetown County and south of Colleton County raises some complex issues. Beaufort County contained many plantations with large slave work forces in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is also recognized as the birthplace of the Gullah language (Joyner 1984). Yet several historic sites excavated in this county have produced only small amounts of hand built pottery. For example, at Cotton Hope Plantation, occupied from 1750 to around 1860, Colonoware comprised only 12.5 % of the total ceramics excavated from nearby a slave or overseer's dwelling (Trinkley 1990). Another plantation site, known as 38BU1289, was occupied in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the peak of Colonoware production in other areas of the Lowcountry. However, only 1.9% of the total ceramics excavated from this plantation were classified as Colonoware (Kennedy et al. 1993:85). The total ceramic assemblage recovered from the slave quarters of the River Club site and the Dataw Island site contained only 6.5% and 0.4%, respectively (Kennedy et al. 1994).

These sites were occupied during the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, when Colonoware production was very strong in other areas of the Lowcountry. Despite the very similar living conditions on these plantations, disparity existed in Colonoware production across the Lowcountry plantations, reflecting differing cultural practices among slaves living on different plantations. This disparity in material culture may represent social boundaries, heretofore unrecognized, between Lowcountry slaves living in plantation contexts.

LOWCOUNTRY CONNECTIONS

John de la Howe's Lethe Farm was occupied by at least fourteen slaves during the period when Colonoware was used heavily in the Lowcountry. The slaves on Lethe Farm produced as much Colonoware as the Lowcountry slaves were making at that time. Colonoware comprised over 80% of the total ceramics recovered from the de la Howe kitchen, which was also the communal eating place for the slaves, and perhaps also a residence for some of these individuals (Steen et al. 1996). The Colonoware produced on Lethe Farm represents an anomaly, not in form or quantity, but in its location far from Charleston and the Lowcountry Plantations. However, the slaves at Lethe Farm had once lived in the heart of the Lowcountry where Colonoware production was most prevalent. These slaves continued to produce this pottery on the frontier in the same quantity and forms that they had produced in the Lowcountry.

There has been only one other historic Backcountry site, the Howell site, where a Colonoware assemblage was recovered. Colonoware recovered from a trash deposit on the Howell site in Richland County comprised over 50% of the total ceramics. This was the site of the Thomas Howell Plantation, occupied from approximately 1740 to 1820 by the Howell family and their slaves. The Howell family migrated to South Carolina from Maryland, and within two generations the number of slaves that the Howell family owned increased from fourteen to over one hundred individuals. There is no historical evidence to suggest where the slaves on the Howell Plantation came from except that it does not appear that the slaves were brought from Maryland.

FIGURE 17

ESTIMATED OCCURRENCE OF COLONOWARE OVER TIME

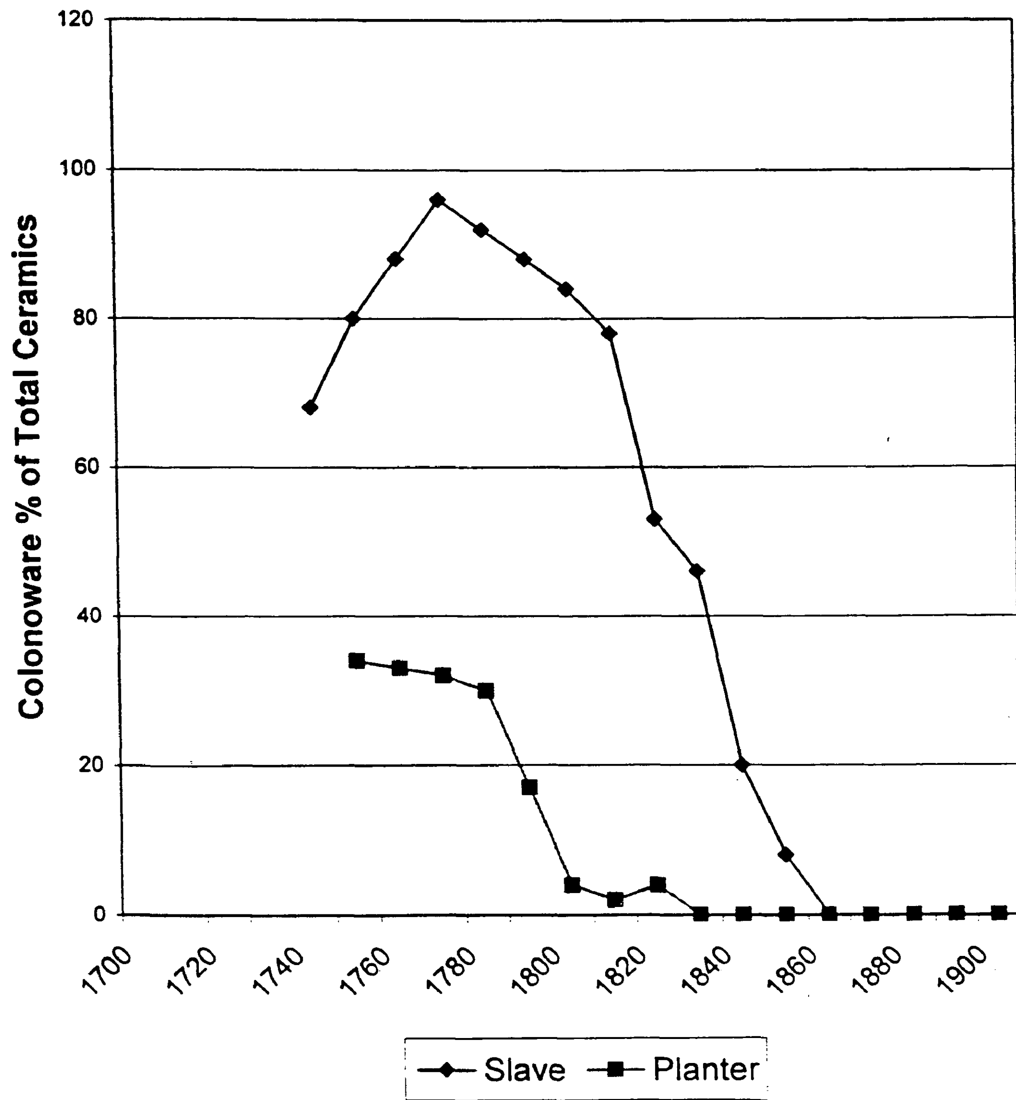
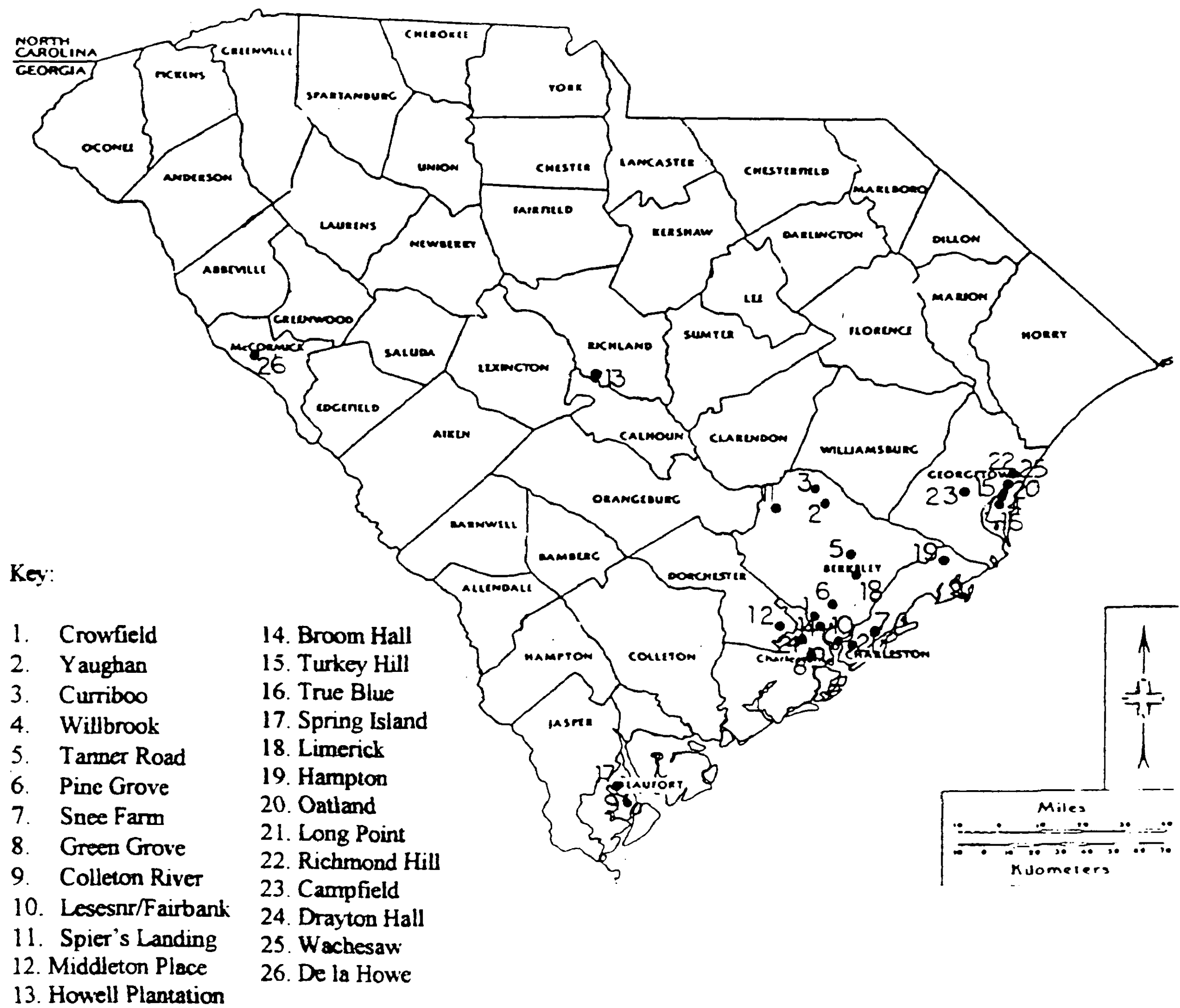


FIGURE 18

DISTRIBUTION OF COLONOWARE IN SOUTH CAROLINA:

DATA FROM TWENTY-SIX SITES



The individuals on Lethe farm, and possibly the Howell site as well, introduced the Colonoware tradition to the frontier regions of South Carolina from the core Colonoware-producing area in the Lowcountry. After the certain separation of these slaves from friends and family, the slaves at Lethe Farm chose to continue this familiar practice. The Colonoware produced in both the Lowcountry and the frontier was a material manifestation of many shared cultural values in the forms that those who used the pottery required for culinary practices, the place that this pottery assumed within the daily lives of its users and makers, the feelings of belonging that were involved in the choice to produce this pottery and the meanings that were expressed through its use. The place and time when these cultural values came to be shared by a group of people mark the origins of Colonoware.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The hand built pottery collected in the archaeological investigations at the de la Howe site has presented a new body of evidence concerning the origins of Colonoware. The word *origin* is defined as "something that creates, causes, or gives rise to another." Origins exist at the intersection between old and new, at the point when a new form can be discerned separately from its prototype. The Colonoware recovered from John de la Howe's farm in McCormick County was produced on site, yet it was otherwise indistinguishable from the Colonoware produced hundreds of miles away and many years before this farm was settled. This seamless continuity in potting techniques and style indicates that the de la Howe pottery was not an isolate, but a part of a larger Colonoware tradition.

In this sense, the term "Colonoware" does not apply to the many varieties of hand built pottery produced during the colonial period, but rather to a specific type of pottery recovered almost exclusively from archaeological sites in the coastal region of South Carolina known as the Lowcountry. So defined, Colonoware represents a potting tradition practiced by the enslaved Africans and African Americans living on eighteenth- or nineteenth-century plantations and farms in this area. The individuals who produced

this ware on Lethe farm continued this tradition despite their displacement from the core area of Colonoware production to the South Carolina frontier.

Archaeological evidence shows that Colonoware appeared in the mainland British colonies during the first half of the eighteenth century and proliferated on South Carolina plantations in Berkeley, Charleston, Dorchester, Colleton and Georgetown Counties. Its use grew steadily until 1790, after which time Colonoware use declined until it disappeared around 1850. During this time there were few changes in the basic bowl and jar forms or in the methods used to produce these wares. Ferguson (1992) believed that these vessel forms were essential to African American cooking and eating practices; the globular, clay jars were designed to slowly simmer food over an open fire, while bowls were likely used as serving vessels for the rice, vegetable and meat courses or possibly for drinking.

In excavations on Lowcountry plantations, specifically those areas where the slave community lived and worked, archaeologists have recovered Colonoware ceramics in large amounts, often comprising over 50% of the total ceramics recovered. In the period between 1760-1790, Colonoware consistently comprised 65% to 95% of the total ceramics excavated from those areas occupied by slaves. Colonoware appeared on the scene quickly, became abundant quickly, and disappeared suddenly. Yet the tradition was energetically maintained by its potters for over one hundred years.

Researchers have sought to understand the reasons why Colonoware disappeared so quickly after a period of such abundance. Lees and Kimery-Lees (1980) proposed that economic improvements led to the demise of Colonoware as European ceramics became

more available. Wheaton and Garrow (1985) related the disappearance of Colonoware directly to the process of acculturation. In a later response to Wheaton and Garrow's hypothesis, Teresa Singleton advanced the idea that the disappearance of Colonoware was related to oppression, and that over time the slaves lost the opportunities they once had to manufacture their own pottery or for other forms of self-expression (Singleton 1991). Babson (1988) also related the disappearance of Colonoware to power relations, he believed that Colonoware production was discouraged by whites who sought to maintain their "rights" of control over the enslaved population. Ferguson (1992) suggested that the global forces of industrialization that were rapidly changing American society also had its effect on Colonoware and other cottage-style industries, which were being displaced by more quickly and cheaply manufactured goods.

Yet none of these proposals entirely explains why a tradition as firmly entrenched as Colonoware production would have been so quickly abandoned. Though some of the reasons cited above may have had an effect on the use of this pottery, the demise of Colonoware cannot be understood through singular exterior or interior forces. Numerous forces, known and unknown, influenced the decisions of the potters, and many social changes occurred during the early nineteenth century. At the present this question will remain unanswered.

The processes through which Colonoware emerged in the Lowcountry are similarly obscure. Prototypes for this pottery did not exist in this area before colonization. Little is known about eighteenth-century pottery traditions of Africa, except that these traditions were diverse in nature. It would be difficult if not impossible

to pinpoint one pottery tradition as the prototype of Lowcountry Colonoware, especially as many African slaves did not share a specific cultural tradition before the Middle Passage. Many slaves arrived in South Carolina from Barbados, where a pottery making tradition was practiced. However, no Barbadian styles are prototypical of Colonoware. Rather, Lowcountry Colonoware was composed of a unique blend of style and technique from various traditions, which *became* a singular tradition through colonization and the resulting efforts towards cultural reconstruction.

In 1974, Sidney Mintz stated that items of material culture "are endowed with meaning apparent to those who habitually practice them, acquire them, or invent them; and appropriate practice confirms a network of understandings, of symbolic accords, corresponding to the networks of social relations within which persons define themselves, act, and interact (pg19)." Lowcountry Colonoware was such a meaningful object, given that ethnic identity in colonial South Carolina was momentarily specific yet fluctuated over time. In 1708, the missionary Francis LeJau wrote he was deeply concerned about the "constant and promiscuous cohabiting of Slaves of different Sexes and Nations together." South Carolina's Slave Code of 1712 considered all "Negroes, Indians, mestizos or mulattoes" to be slaves unless they had been freed by their masters. In an interview conducted in the 1930s, an ex-slave was quoted as saying, "Peter and Sampson and David, dem ben an' outlan' people Afrrikan, one ben Gullah and one ben a Guinea- the Gullah ben a cruel people- and de Fullah ben a cruel people, but Guinea ben a tough workin' people, an' Milly ben a Guinea" (In Joyner 1984). Within this context of diversity illustrated by these quotes, Colonoware acquired meaning as a confirmation of

shared beliefs. These beliefs emerged from a scene of social instability and continued through the decades of the demoralizing system of slavery. Whether this confirmation was overt or subconscious, its rapid and firm foundation is illustrative of the processes of cultural formation.

In summary, archaeological research has revealed that Colonoware was a ceramic tradition practiced by a group of slaves unified within a specific place over time. The formation of the tradition was an active process, which could impart a new cultural identity to those individuals who had been estranged from their former cultural institutions. Mintz and Price described the social processes invoked by the slaves in the New World as follows; "What the slaves undeniably shared at the outset was their enslavement; all—or nearly all—else had to be *created by them*"(Mintz and Price 1976:18 original emphasis). The enslaved individuals living together on the plantations and farms of the South Carolina Lowcountry, dislocated through the forces of colonization, formed a firm cultural bond in the New World. This bond served to allay the effects of disenfranchisement or cruelty that slavery presented and permit creativity and spiritual beliefs to flourish. For the slaves in the Lowcountry and on the de la Howe farm in the frontier, Colonoware would serve as a testimony to this bond.

APPENDIX A

FORMAL DESCRIPTION OF COLONOWARE FROM THE DE LA HOWE SITE

MEDIUM BOWL: N=18	
Paste	
Temper	medium sand (n=15), fine sand (n=3)
Texture	medium density (n=14), compact (n=2), coarse (n=2)
Color	brownish-red (n=10), black (n=4), brown (n=3), red and black (n=1
Firing Conditions	incompletely oxidized (n=11), reduced (n=4), relatively well oxidized (n=3)
Interior Surface Treatment	smoothed (n=9), smoothed with luster (n=4), burnished (n=2), roughly smoothed (n=1), wiped (n=2)
Exterior Surface Treatment	smoothed (n=6), smoothed with luster (n=5), burnished (n=4), wiped (n=3)
Form	
Rim	direct (n=16), slight restriction (n=2)
Lip	rounded (n=10), flat (n=5), incurved taper (n=2), pointed (n=1)
Body	spherical (n=17), straight-walled (n=1)
Base	rounded heel with flattened center (n=4), N/A (n=14)
Dimensions	
Wall Thickness	Range of 6.6mm - 12.7mm. Mean = 9.1mm
Orifice Diameter	Range of 14.0cm - 20.0cm. Mean = 16.7cm
Maximum Diameter	At the rim (n=15), At 1.5cm below the rim (n=3)
Estimated Vessel Height	Range of 6.0cm - 7.0 cm (n=4), N/A (n=14)
Decoration	No decoration (n=16), incised, linear decoration (n=1), possible incising (n=1)
Vessel Use Wear	none (n=14), possible charring (n=2), pitted basal exterior (n=1), polished basal interior (n=1)
Method of Manufacture	undetermined (n=8), possibly coiled (n=8), distinctly coiled (n=2)

SHALLOW BOWL N=6	
Paste	
Temper	medium sand (n=5), fine sand (n=1)
Texture	coarse (n=6)
Color	brownish red (n=3), brown (n=2), red and black (n=1)
Firing Conditions	incompletely oxidized (n=3), relatively well oxidized (n=2), reduced (n=1)
Interior Surface Treatment	smoothed (n=3), burnished (n=1), smoothed with luster (n=1), wiped (n=1)
Exterior Surface Treatment	smoothed (n=2), smoothed with luster (n=2), wiped (n=1)
Form	
Rim	direct (n=6)
Lip	rounded (n=2), interior bulge (n=2), flat (n=1), exterior beveled (n=1)
Body	spherical (n=6)
Base	rounded heel with flattened center (n=6)
Dimensions	
Wall Thickness	Range of 5.0mm - 13.3mm. Mean = 8.4mm
Orifice Diameter	Range of 17.0cm - 20.0cm. Mean = 18.3cm
Maximum Diameter	At the rim (n=6)
Estimated Vessel Height	Range of 3.0cm - 4.0cm. Mean = 3.6cm
Decoration	no decoration (n=5), possible black paint (n=1)
Vessel Use Wear	none (n=6)
Method of Manufacture	undetermined (n=3), possibly coiled (n=3)

DEEP BOWL: N=2	
Paste	
Temper	medium sand (n=2)
Texture	compact (n=2)
Color	brownish red (n=1), brown (n=1)
Firing Conditions	incompletely oxidized (n=2)
Interior Surface Treatment	smoothed (n=2)
Exterior Surface Treatment	smoothed with luster (n=1), burnished (n=1)
Form	
Rim	slightly restricted (n=2)
Lip	rounded (n=1), exterior beveled with fingernail groove (n=1)
Body	spherical (n=2)
Base	rounded heel and flattened center (n=1), N/A (n=1)
Dimensions	
Wall Thickness	Range of 7.5mm – 8.9mm

Orifice Diameter	18.0cm
Maximum Diameter	20.0 cm at 3.5 cm below rim
Estimated Vessel Height	8.0cm – 13.0 cm
Decoration	no decoration (n=2)
Vessel Use Wear	none (n=2)
Method of Manufacture	possibly coiled (n=1), undetermined (n=1)

FLARED-RIM BOWL: N=4	
Paste	
Temper	medium sand (n=3), fine sand (n=1)
Texture	coarse (n=4)
Color	black (n=3), brown (n=1)
Firing Conditions	reduced (n=4)
Interior Surface Treatment	smoothed (n=3), wiped (n=1)
Exterior Surface Treatment	smoothed (n=3), burnished (n=1)
Form	
Rim	restricted, flanged (n=3), direct, flanged (n=1)
Lip	rounded (n=2), pointed (n=2)
Body	spherical (n=4)
Base	N/A (n=4)
Dimensions	
Wall Thickness	Range of 7.6 mm – 9.7mm. Mean = 8.4mm
Orifice Diameter	Range of 10.0cm – 11.0 cm. Mean = 10.5cm
Maximum Diameter	At 4.0cm below the rim (n=3), At the rim (n=1)
Estimated Vessel Height	10.0cm (n=1), N/A (n=3)
Decoration	no decoration (n=4)
Vessel Use Wear	possible charring (n=4)
Method of Manufacture	spall fracture with fire clouding, possible on-site manufacture (n=1)
Appendages	Handle attachment on rim, possibly porringer-style form (n=1)

JAR: N=12	
Paste	
Temper	medium sand (n=7), fine sand (n=5)
Texture	coarse (n=7), medium density (n=5)
Color	dark brown (n=6), black (n=3), reddish brown (n=3)
Firing Conditions	incompletely oxidized (n=9), relatively well oxidized (n=2), reduced (n=1)
Interior Surface Treatment	smoothed (n=10), smoothed with luster (n=2)

Exterior Surface Treatment	smoothed with luster (n=5), burnished (n=3), smoothed (n=2), degraded (n=2)
Form	
Rim	everted (n=11), exterior thickened with interior flange (n=1)
Lip	rounded (n=10), pointed (n=2), lip broken (n=1)
Body	globular (n=12)
Base	N/A (n=12), [separate basal sherds indicate thick basal wall, rounded heel with flattened center]
Dimensions	
Wall Thickness	Range of 7.0mm – 11.0mm. Mean = 8.5mm
Orifice Diameter	Range of 12.0cm – 16.5cm. Mean = 13.9cm
Maximum Diameter	Below the rim, unknown size (n=12)
Estimated Vessel Height	N/A (n=12)
Decoration	no decoration (n=11), possible complicated stamped exterior (n=1)
Vessel Use Wear	possible charring (n=6), abrasion around neck interior (n=1)
Method of Manufacture	undetermined (n=19), distinctly coiled (n=2), possibly coiled (n=1)
Appendages	tripodal feet, strap handles, possibly lids

PLATE: N=3	
Paste	
Temper	medium sand (n=3)
Texture	coarse (n=3)
Color	reddish brown (n=2), dark brown (1)
Firing Conditions	incompletely oxidized (n=2), reduced (n=1)
Interior Surface Treatment	smoothed with luster (n=1), smoothed (n=1), wiped (n=1)
Exterior Surface Treatment	smoothed (n=2), wiped (n=1)
Form	
Rim	direct, thickened (n=2), direct (n=1)
Lip	pointed with fingernail groove (n=1), rounded (n=2)
Body	Flat and uneven (n=2), spherical (n=1)
Base	Flat (n=3)
Dimensions	
Wall Thickness	Range of 8.3mm – 9.8mm. Mean = 8.9mm
Orifice Diameter	16.5cm, 26.0cm, 33.0cm
Estimated Vessel Height	Range of 1.0cm – 2.0cm
Decoration	no decoration (n=3)
Vessel Use Wear	none (n=3) [possibly vessels used as plates and lids]
Method of Manufacture	undetermined (n=3)

CUP N=1	
Paste	
Temper	fine sand
Fabric Texture	compact
Color	reddish brown
Firing Conditions	relatively well oxidized
Interior Surface Treatment	wiped
Exterior Surface Treatment	smoothed with luster
Form	
Rim	slightly restricted
Lip	tapered
Body	cylindrical
Base	rounded heel with flattened base
Dimensions	
Wall Thickness	8.0mm
Orifice Diameter	8.0cm
Estimated Vessel Height	7.0cm
Decoration	no decoration
Vessel Use Wear	none
Method of Manufacture	possibly coiled

APPENDIX B

LIST OF SITES AND REFERENCES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

Site	**Reference**
38BU1289	Kennedy et al.1993
Bloody Point (38BK165)	Kennedy and Roberts 1995
Broom Hall Plantation	Elliot 1987
Campfield Slave Settlement	Zierden 1983
Colleton River Plantation	Kennedy et al. 1993
Cotton Hope	Trinkley 1990
Crowfield	Elliot 1987; Trinkley et al. 1992
Drayton Hall	Lewis 1978
De la Howe	Steen et al. 1996
Green Grove Plantation	Carrillo 1980
Haig Point	Trinkley 1989
Hampton Plantation	Lewis 1979
Howell	Groover 1992
Lesesne and Fairbank	Zierden et al. 1984
Limerick	Lees 1980
Long Point Plantation	Poplin and Scardaville 1991
Middleton Place	Lewis and Hardesty 1979
Pine Grove Plantation	Steen 1992
Richmond Hill and Wachesaw	Michie 1987
Snee Farm	King 1992
Spiers Landing	Drucker 1981
Spring Island (Bonnie Shore Slave Row)	Eubanks et al. 1994
Tanner Road	Babson 1988
Willbrook, Oatland and Turkey Hill	Trinkley 1987, 1993
Yaughan and Curriboo	Wheaton, Friedlander and Garrow 1983

APPENDIX C

LIST OF SITE NUMBERS

Site Name	Site Number
Bloody Point	38BK165
Broom Hall Plantation	38BK600
Colleton River Plantation	38BU647
Cotton Hope	38BU96
Crowfield	38BK103
De la Howe	38MC637
Green Grove Plantation	38CH109
Haig Point	38BU634
Hampton Plantation	38CH241
Howell	38RD397
Lesesne and Fairbank	38BK202
Limerick	38BK223
Long Point Plantation	38CH321
Middleton Place	38DR16
Oatland	38GE294
Pine Grove Plantation	38BK1608
Richmond Hill	38GE266
Spiers Landing	38BK160
Spring Island (Bonnie Shore Slave Row)	38BU791
Tanner Road	38BK416
Turkey Hill	38GE297
Wachesaw	38GE264
Willbrook	38GE291
Yaughan and Curriboo	38BK75, 76, 245

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