

Colono: Also A European Pottery Tradition?

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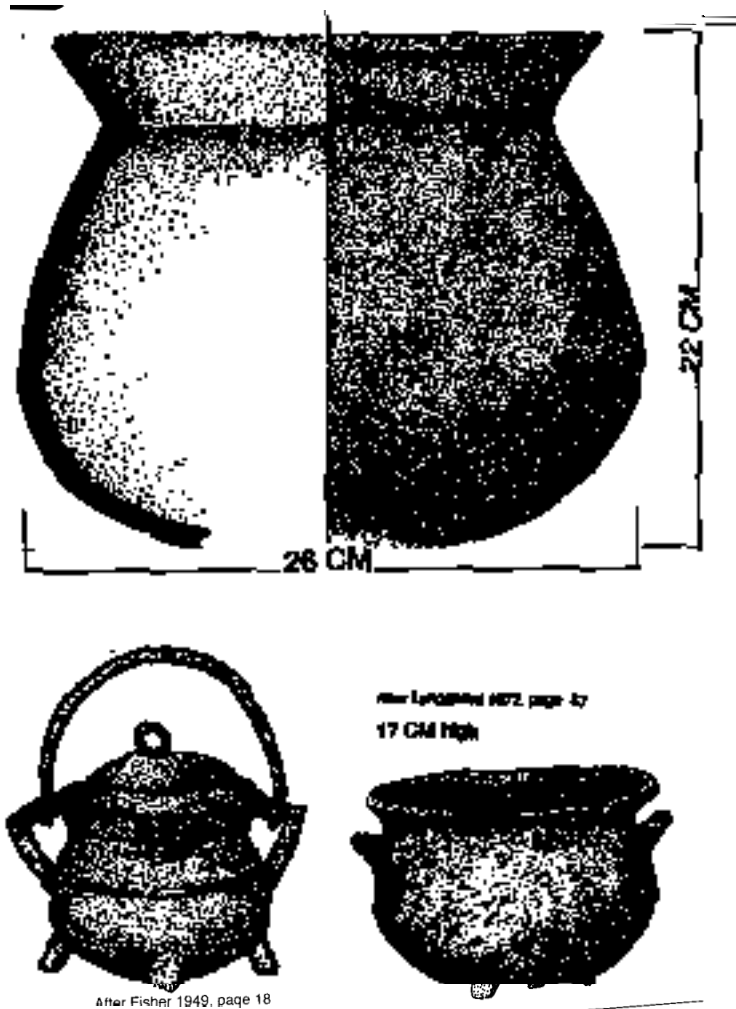


Fig. 1 The cooking pot form occurs frequently among hand-built pottery. At top is the “colono” pot recovered from the seventeenth-century Hallowes Site in Virginia. The iron pot at lower left was said to be a product of the Saugus ironworks in Massachusetts, at about the same time. The “black pot” clay cooking vessel at lower right was made in Jutland, probably shortly before World War I.

Abstract

Across the southeastern United States, artifact assemblages from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries commonly include wares that are grouped under the all-encompassing name of “colono” ware. These burnished, hand-built, low fired, unglazed ceramics are attributed routinely to slave or Native American sources. While such attributions undoubtedly are true for some periods and for some localities, such explanations ignore the possibility that some of the wares were made by European settlers as well, consistent with an ancient European tradition. This paper surveys the European, as well as African and Native American low-fired wares that could have contributed to a complex array of similar, but distinct, local creole potting traditions that flourished during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, surviving into the twentieth century, just as similar traditions survived until recently in Europe and Africa.

From the Chesapeake region southward, American historical archaeologists have described local low-fired ceramic wares under such collective names as “colono,” or “colono-Indian,” or “Afro-Cruzan” or “Afro-Caribbean” (White and Heath 1995). Various authors have ascribed this pottery to African slaves and/or Native Americans, sometimes imitating forms introduced by the dominant European-American culture (Ferguson 1992: 6). Such attributions spring from two dubious assumptions:

1. Researchers have tended to lump “colono” wares, assuming that all the wares in a particular region, state, or locality derive from a single parent tradition among a single ethnic group. Lumping obscures subtle regional, ethnic, and temporal differences between and within wares, even within small geographical areas.
2. Analysts, including myself, have presumed that “colono” materials were created either by African or Native American folk potters, often imitating European forms. Such presumptions have arisen from the mistaken belief that European settlers did not possess a tradition of built-up, low-fired pottery.

Some authors, however, have mentioned and then dismissed the unexplored possibility that European hand-built potting crafts might have been a factor in creation of the American colono tradition (Mouer, 1993; Henry 1992: 3). This paper explores that possibility.

Colono wares have been made and used in the southeastern United States from the seventeenth century to the present (Ferguson 1980). During that time, European, African, and Native American peoples together created a peculiarly American culture by a mutual assimilation process characterized by Daniel Mouer (1993) as “creolization.” Virtually every manifestation of culture in America is a creole to some degree.

This paper sets forth a research challenge for a fresh, more aggressive, reinterpretation of the origins of the various colono wares.

Vessel forms reported from many localities include imitations of English-style individual service dishes, but there are also cooking pots similar to iron pots; non-European pottery forms; and European-style storage vessels. These forms occur at different times in different localities, strongly suggesting that the “colono” label has been broadly applied to unrelated wares that arose from different antecedents or combinations of antecedents. To make sense of colono, therefore, one must attempt to identify the different cultural sources and historical events that might have mixed to spawn each local tradition.

Colono pottery encompasses a broad spectrum of local variations, introduced at different times in different places and used for different purposes. At Limerick plantation in South Carolina, for example, colono materials are found in contexts of the later eighteenth century, imitating European tablewares (Lees and Kimery-Lees 1979). Moreover, it was observed that such wares are not found on Native American sites in South Carolina. In Virginia, by contrast, such pieces, imitating European tablewares, have been found on seventeenth-century Native American sites (MacCord 1969) and on the surviving Pamunkey and Mattaponi reservations (Heath 1996:150) in contexts from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.

Wheaton and Garrow (1985:249) attempted to compare and contrast African slave-made pottery and the Catawba wares used by slaves in their study of two eighteenth-century South Carolina plantations, where both wares were eventually replaced by European-made goods. On the Alabama coast, colono table wares attributed to the local Indians “in the shape of European plates and pitchers” have been found in the Old Mobile site (1702-1710) and other eighteenth-century sites (Old Mobile Project Newsletter 1995; Cordell 2002). Clearly the native-made colono wares at Old Mobile cannot be lumped into a single series with other traditions that developed independently hundreds of miles away at different times. In both Virginia and South Carolina, colono pottery appears to be more abundant on slave sites that are removed from urban or river markets where European goods might be more readily available (Mallios 1999: 134-135). However, in one Virginia site, we can identify a

European-trained potter on the Hallowes site, that yielded a colono vessel (Figure 1).

Previous speculation about ethnic origins of colono wares has been restricted to examining either African or American native traditions, discounting the existence of similar European potting traditions. This appears to be an error of logic. If we avoid presuming homogeneity, it should become possible to consider that some local components, at least, of the “colono” tradition, arose in part from European sources, and that different mixtures of influences might be detected at work in each local tradition.

It has been observed in Virginia (Henry 1992) that the wide variety of forms made during the seventeenth century eventually merged into more uniformity of form and style during the eighteenth and subsequent centuries. Standardization over time is typical when an evolving folk craft matures to become a recognizable “tradition” (Turnbaugh 1985: 7)

Definition of the wares

Generally speaking, “colono” ceramics share certain characteristics across the region:

1. They are low-fired, in open fires or primitive kilns, where a single vessel might exhibit evidence of both reducing and oxidizing conditions.
2. They are shaped either by coiling or by building up from slabs or loaves, sometimes with the aid of a turntable and sometimes on a mat or other stage. Paste sometimes is tempered with fine crushed shell, sand, or angular stone.
3. Surfaces are smoothed and burnished.
4. Vessel forms often imitate commercial glazed ceramic tablewares, iron pots, or other expensive fabrics.

5. Colono vessels sometimes are found in association with the imported or more expensive wares upon which they might have been modelled.

Noël Hume Identifies Colono-Indian

The wares were first reported under the name of “colono-Indian” by Ivor Noël Hume in collections from tidewater Virginia (Noël Hume 1963: 283). In a 1966 report of an eighteenth-century site, he described the colono material under the heading of “Indian Pottery” (Noël Hume, 1966). Almost as an aside, Noël Hume (1962: 9) noted that some vessels had a “plugged” handle not commonly found on English wares of the eighteenth century, “but it was a frequent feature of English earthenwares from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries.” He hastened to add that he was “making no attempt to read any significance into that fact.”

An archaic English construction method on “Indian” pottery could indeed have been significant, but Noël Hume, like the rest of us, presumed that the wares were created by Indians, not by colonists. The Catawba retained this method of attaching handles in South Carolina into the twentieth century (Harrington 1908).

Adding an African dimension

Leland Ferguson called attention to the possibility that African potters could have originated much of the handbuilt pottery in South Carolina, where blacks outnumbered whites in 1740 by a ratio of two to one, and half the blacks were African-born (Ferguson 1992: 43). He suggested that the word “Indian” should be dropped from the ware name, which has since occurred in common usage. From the outset, he ruled out European makers (Ferguson 1978: 69):

“It is possible that all three of the major ethnic groups in eastern North America made the wares, but I think we can rule out Euro-Americans since they dominated the ceramic market with European products. The wares were most certainly made by either Indians or Afro-Americans”

The late James Deetz, took the “Africanist” position and asserted that “most scholars working with colonoware now agree that it was made ... by slaves” (Mouer 1993: 125).

There certainly were potters among the enslaved population. Kerry Ogata suggests that African-American folk healers might have kept the African hand-built pottery tradition alive into the nineteenth century in South Carolina. Certain traditional cures were prepared in traditional hand-built pots (Ogata 1995) even beyond the end of slavery.

In Virginia, much colono pottery has been attributed to the large remnant Indian population that still maintains organized reservations. Both ethnographic and archæological evidence points to Native potters during much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, while a few pieces are acknowledged to be African-American in origin (Mouer 1993: 125).

Ferguson claimed to see African traits in the Virginia wares. Part of his justification for attributing Virginia hand-built pottery to African slaves was expressed in his book *UncommonGround* (Ferguson 1992: 46): “Since European culture lacked a strong tradition of handbuilt, open-fired pottery, and since black slaves always outnumbered Indians by a large number on Virginia plantations, the odds were in favor of the African Americans.”

Ferguson’s justifications presume two incorrect fundamental **assumptions:**

First, there were relatively few Africans in Virginia at the critical time. Virginia colono wares first appeared during the middle years of the seventeenth century, when the Virginia workforce was dominated by English, Irish, and Scottish indentured servants. In 1681, there were an estimated fifteen thousand white indentured servants in Virginia but only three thousand Africans (Morton 1960: 301). At the time, the total population of English-dominated Virginia was estimated at 43,596 (Bureau of the Census 1960: 756). The bottom rung of the social and economic ladder was dominated by Europeans at the time colono

pottery came into common use. A 1669 estimate of population of the Powhatan tribes was 725 bowmen, or about 2,900 people (Rountree 1990: 96). So the total of Indian and African inhabitants, both free and bond, was less than half the number of European servants in service at the time when colono pottery became an important part of the local pottery repertoire. Indian and European servants were easily more numerous than Africans on the more remote Virginia farms, at least until the last years of the seventeenth century. In fact, by the latter years of the seventeenth century, from the 1644 insurrection onward, the tribal Indians in Tidewater were increasingly isolated on reservations removed some distance from the white settlements.

If the earliest hand-built pots were made by plantation servants, as Ferguson suggests, then the numbers would favor European indentured servants or Indians, and not Africans, as candidates for the first colono potters. Therefore, in order to unravel the history of such wares, it will be necessary to look at both the earliest examples of colono wares, before creolization blurred the cultural antecedents that went into the final expression of the eighteenth-century wares (Heite 1993). Some of the earliest Virginia colono specimens have been found in an unequivocally Indian context (MacCord, 1969).

Following Ferguson's cue, and setting aside abundant evidence to the contrary, recent colono research in the United States has become almost a branch of African-American studies. In connection with an "African-American Cross Cultural Workshop" at the 1995 meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, a national inventory of colono-ware was published (White and Heath, 1995). The publication consisted of questionnaire forms submitted by researchers, describing colono finds. A videotape was also created. The clear presumption was that colono is slave pottery, even though the submitted forms reflected finds that could more likely be derived from Native American and European-American contexts.

European Tradition

The notion persists among American archaeologists that hand-built pots could not have been made by Europeans because Europe had no such tradition. Meyers (1999, p. 208) stated, “While it is difficult to tell whether Africans engaged in wheel-thrown pottery manufacture, one may be reasonably confident that Europeans did not produce handmade ceramics.” No source for this statement was cited, and it clearly is not based on evidence.

In fact, northern European and Mediterranean society had a long history of hand-built, domestic-made unglazed pottery, in parallel with professionally produced, wheel-thrown glazed pottery. The appearance of “colono” wares in America may be interpreted as just another incident in a long European tradition that was thriving at the time in areas that contributed many settlers to America.

At least from the time of the Roman Empire, Europe has maintained a dual pottery tradition, in which wheel-thrown, kiln-fired commercial pottery has co-existed with hand-built low-fired home-made domestic pottery. In some places this duality exists today. D. P. S. Peacock (1982) explored the ethnography of pottery production in the Mediterranean and Europe in order to place in context the Roman pottery that was the subject of his study. He found a persistent tradition of hand-built, low-fired, home-made, pottery that has persisted throughout Europe and in Mediterranean Africa from Roman times.

At the time of Peacock’s survey, women in isolated parts of Europe and Mediterranean Africa were still producing utilitarian wares that could easily be mistaken for some kinds of American colono ware or prehistoric pottery. In the Balkans, the Canary Islands, Brittany, Italy, North Africa and Corsica, Peacock found that women were selling hand-built pots recently, if not currently (Peacock, 1982, pp. 17- 24).

Modern Berber women, for example, still make an open-fired hand-built pottery for family use, while a commercial pottery industry existed in the male community. The high decorative quality of the home-made pots has made them popular with tourists in Algeria and Tunisia. The Berber potting tradition

thereby was moved by commercial pressure from a household support activity to a profitable tourist operation.

Ireland

An Irish peasant pottery tradition was reported to survive even into the twentieth century (Holleyman, 1946, p. 206). The north of Ireland was home for two different hand-built wares, one of which is called “everted-rim ware” by archæologists there.

Both wares survived in the folk tradition from the period before seventeenth-century English “plantation” settlements. Cooking pots with everted rims were among the commonest examples of this ware, some specimens of which have been dated to the sixteenth century (O’Sullivan 1998: 152-153). Excavations in an English “plantation” site has yielded evidence that the locals sold their hand-built pottery to the invading English Protestant settlers (Orloff Miller, personal communication). Cooking pots, rather than tableware, are the most common reported materials in these wares.

Jutland

Hand built non-commercial pottery must have been common throughout Europe and the Mediterranean basin, but the tradition appears to have died in most areas with the introduction of cheap commercial ceramics. Fortunately, a few of the surviving traditions were recorded before they died out completely.

The best-documented European built-up potting tradition is Danish “black pottery” made by farm women in Jutland, manufactured and sold in quantity until the First World War. As in Ireland, the wares included a large number of cooking pots with everted rims. Clays were tempered with fine sand. Pots were built up from loaves held on the maker’s lap, and smooth stones were used for burnishing. The pots were left to air-dry, and then were “cured” in a smoke house over a peat fire, which dried the pots and deposited an oily coating. The pots were then fired in a pit with a reducing atmosphere. In latter years this second firing was conducted under an upturned iron pot. Black pot production

in some years was as high as 1,300,000, or about 3,000 pots per maker (Lynggaard 1972; Madsen 1983; Steensberg 1940).

Iceland, then a Danish territory, naturally was a market for hand-built Danish pots. Scattered finds of “grey wares” in Iceland provide evidence for the trade (Sveinbjarnardottir 1996: 110). To date there has been no analysis of the role of this Danish folk pottery in the formerly Danish province of the United States Virgin Islands.

Craggans

It may be difficult for us today to realize that there were communities in Queen Victoria’s Britain where only the vicar owned a fork. In such poverty, the only pottery was made at home and baked over an open peat fire.

Remote Scottish islands in the North Atlantic retained a tradition of hand-built low-fired pottery right up to the twentieth century, out of economic necessity. While poor mainland Scots favored “treen” (woodenware) for the cheapest domestic vessels, tree-poor western islands preserved a potting tradition. The pots, called “craggans,” were made by poor women as late as the 1920s. Because their houses had sand floors, craggans in some island communities were round bottomed. Travel accounts relate that, as recently as 1863, water in such pots was brought to a boil by dropping in hot stones (Curwen 1938: 282) .

A collection of flat-bottomed craggans from the island of Coll included a bulbous form of a storage jar, not unlike Jamaica’s round-bottomed Afro-Caribbean yabbas (Mann 1907). Both may have been interpreted as copies of commercial wheel-thrown jars.

During the nineteenth century, some craggan wares were made for the tourist trade in imitation of factory-made tea sets, which became popular among collectors. Material culture of the modern Hebrides has been compared to that of the British Iron Age (500 B.C. - AD 1000), when most implements of daily life were locally produced. Windowless “black houses” without chimneys were still

occupied on the islands of Lewis and Skye on the eve of World War II. Grain was milled at home in a quern, and livestock shared the house with the people. Double stone walls insulated with a turf core were identical to houses of the Viking age and not unlike traditional Icelandic houses (Curwen 1938). These impoverished western islands, not surprisingly, provided large numbers of emigrants to America (Quail 1979).

Coarse home-made pottery and stone tools dominated the material culture of Hirta, in the St. Kilda group, west of the Hebrides, until about 1840, when cheap manufactured crockery finally came available. Like the residents of other isolated western islands, St. Kilda people preserved hand-built potting traditions into the present century. Home manufactures provided flat-bottomed cooking crocks and other utilitarian vessels even after factory-made pottery came into the market (Emery 1996: 187).

Farther south in the Atlantic, cave-dwelling peasants on the island of Grand Canary were making hand-built pottery as recently as 1913. The red burnished pots were made from volcanic clay, which was “ground up with a round pebble from the torrent-bed, upon a flat stone.” Pots were air-dried and then fired in an open heap of dry brush-wood (Notes and News, 1936).

American Traditions

During the latter part of the colonial period, Catawba Indian women in South Carolina made and sold large amounts of pottery, which was used largely by enslaved African-Americans. Archaeologists today identify this colono variety as “River Burnished,” found in vast quantities on slave sites of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, where it may constitute 90% of the ceramics (Steen *et al.* 1996: 125-138).

When M. R. Harrington visited the Catawba in 1908, he found nineteen houses occupied by Indians, whose main occupation was making pottery for sale. Like their ancestors, early twentieth-century Catawba women made what pottery would sell, and not necessarily what was needed by the community.

Cooking pots imitating iron kettles, with and without legs, were reportedly used by the Catawba people (Harrington 1908).

Catawba pottery in 1908 was built of coils, air dried, burnished, and then baked over an open fire. Perhaps significantly, handles and legs were attached by punching a hole through the body and stuffing the end of the attachment through, as Noël Hume (1962) had described.

The Catawba also were making reed-stem smoking pipes in moulds that seem absolute copies of the pipe molds introduced by the Moravians at Bethabara during the eighteenth century and found among white pipemakers in Virginia. How much more of the European pottery-making tradition had been absorbed by the Catawba, we cannot know without further research.

Nola Campbell of Rock Hill, South Carolina, was interviewed for the *Foxfire* project in 1983. Mrs. Campbell, a descendant of the Catawba, was making the pottery for purely decorative purposes. She was born on the reservation ten years after the Harrington visit, and continued the tradition. For the *Foxfire* reporters, she built coiled pottery (Adams and Shropshire 1985). Air-dried pots were pre-heated in her modern kitchen oven before being fired in a pit, a **practice** similar to the pre-firing known from Jutland.

Today's Catawba potters have absorbed influences from sources that cannot be readily sorted at this late date. The eighteenth-century "River Burnished" type clearly has evolved into a modern tourist-targeted descendant of colono pottery, but the Catawbas' technology clearly is no longer purely Native American, and hasn't been for a century.

Virginia

Along the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers in northern Virginia, hand-built colono pottery existed during the seventeenth century on sites that also included "pure" European and Native ceramics. One of these sites was occupied by an English family, and the other was occupied by a Native family.

Camden (44Ce3), in Caroline County, Virginia, was a small domestic site occupied by a Native American family during the third quarter of the seventeenth century (MacCord 1969). The identity of the occupant was suggested by a silver treaty medal inscribed to the “King of Machotick.”

Of the 8,900 sherds of native-made pottery, only 177 (1.9%) were classified as “colono” ware. These vessels were all European forms, mostly shallow, self-rimmed bowls with slightly everted rims, seven to twelve inches in diameter (17 to 30 cm). There was also a miniature cup and a ladle. All the colono vessels were tableware; food preparation vessels retained pure native forms and finishes. Clearly, from the evidence, it appears that copied European vessel forms were designed to accommodate adopted foodways using individual place settings, possibly at a table.

Vessel forms followed foodways in the opposite direction, too; among some slave populations in the deep South, the Indian corn dish called hominy was traditionally cooked in an Indian pot (Singleton 1991: 4).

The connection between vessel forms and their contents, and consequently the connection between vessel forms and foodways, cannot be ignored. Catsup bottles, for instance, have remained virtually unchanged for a century and a half, while the recipe has evolved from a hot sauce to a mild vegetable puree (Heite 1990). Today, a jam jar in the supermarket will frequently bear a lid with a pattern imitating the cloth covers that traditionally covered ceramic jam pots and later glass jars, as the modern jelly jar evolved. Colono ware imitating English table settings is not surprisingly a clue to adoption of English foodways and table manners.

The Hallowes Site in Westmoreland County, Virginia (44Wm6) was a mid-seventeenth-century house site excavated by the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission and a team of volunteers in 1968-1969 (Buchanan and Heite 1971). It contained the first post-in-ground “earthfast” house reported in the Chesapeake region (Keeler 1978: 182), a style of construction that had been abandoned in England for centuries (Clarke 1984: 37) but nonetheless had survived sufficiently

robust in the folk tradition to be transferred to America, where it became common on the Chesapeake frontier.

European-style pottery from the site included specimens made by local redware potter Morgan Jones, who is known to have visited the site, where he got drunk at a wedding (Buchanan and Heite 1971: 47). Clearly, the site occupants were not driven to use “colono” pottery because better wares were unavailable. Among the vessels on the site was a Rhenish stoneware piece with a medallion dated 1632 (Noël Hume 1974: 109).

A nearly complete hand-built pot (Figure 1) was found near the porch of the house, and was reported separately, among the supposedly Native American materials (Buchanan 1976: 197). This pot clearly imitated the shape of an iron pot of the period, with a flared rim. Because the bottom is mostly missing, there is no way to determine if the pot had feet, but its lineage from iron pots of the period is clearly demonstrated by comparison to the shape of the well-known contemporary “Saugus” iron pot from Massachusetts (Fisher 1949).

Tripod and flat-bottomed colono pots are found in Virginia collections, imitating European forms, and well adapted to European methods of cooking on level masonry hearths and eating from tables (Ferguson 1992: 44).

Susan Henry examined and classified collections of colono pottery from Pamunkey and Camden and a few other of the earliest Virginia historic sites. By creating an inventory of attributes, she demonstrated convincingly that the analysed seventeenth-century pots appeared to be Native American products, imitating identifiable European forms. In all, five different paste and temper groups emerged from this analysis. She was unable to find any pots that she considered unequivocally African or European, except a few early sherds with apparently African traits (Henry 1992: 154-158).

At the Jordan’s Journey site on the James River in Southside Virginia, a hand-built unglazed bowl was found in a context from before 1622. Burnished inside and out, this vessel had an inverted rim and lug handles. Similar pots are

made even today in Jamaica, and are known archæologically as Afro-Caribbean wares (Mouer 1993: 126).

The Jordan's Journey bowl is unlike most later "colono" pots found in Virginia, but it supports the putative presence of African potters or at least their pottery in the colony during its earliest generation. African influence apparently was negligible, as far as the archæological record reveals, because most of its characteristics do not appear in later reported examples.

Afro-Caribbean wares

Slave society in Jamaica created a ware called "yabba" that still was being manufactured in recent years. Clear connections to African sources have been identified through recent research (Meyers 1999). Yabba forms include cooking pots and jars in European forms, frequently with African decorations, attributed to African slaves. Rims of the yabbas usually are everted.

Table I: Comparison of technologies among twentieth-century hand-built pottery traditions

	Catawba (Wigginton, ed. 1985)	Jutland (Lynggaard)	Catawba (Harrington 1908)	Modern Spain (Peacock 1982)
<i>Vessel forms</i>	Tourist items	Cook pots	Cook pots, bowls	Water jars
<i>Clay preparation</i>	not mentioned	Weathered all winter	Beaten and blended	Beaten and blended
<i>Construction</i>	coiled	loaf built	coiled and drawn up; handles placed in holes	coiled and drawn up
<i>Finish</i>	scraped, burnished	scraped, burnished	scraped, burnished	not mentioned
<i>Drying</i>	air-dried	air-dried	air-dried	air-dried
<i>Pre-firing</i>	in an oven, a few hours	in peat smoke, 3-5 days	propped up around a fire	not mentioned
<i>Oiling or sealing</i>		oily peat smoke		powdered galena
<i>Type of kiln</i>	covered pit, pots under the fire	covered pit, pots under the fire, sometimes upturned iron pot	under the fire in a covered pit where pre-firing had occurred	under the fire in a covered pit
<i>Firing time</i>	3-4 hours	6-7 hours	one day	3-4 hours
<i>Post-firing</i>	rubbed clean		re-fired in a vessel to get black color	

Conclusions and summary

The tradition of hand-built pottery in the American colonies may include elements of a long-standing northern European tradition of using such wares, even in situations where factory-made thrown and glazed pots were readily available. The use, if not the manufacture, of colono wares was entirely consistent with longstanding traditions in the European localities from which Virginia settlers came. In the case of the Hallows pot, the most likely manufacturer was from Britain. His or her contemporary a few miles away at Camden was certainly Native American. During the generations that followed first contact, local traditions in different areas evolved separately from diverse sources.

As Susan Henry Renaud (1996: 180) pointed out so eloquently, a pot may be creole, just as the rest of American culture quickly evolved into a distinctly creole product.

Local creole hand-built pottery traditions were in place in America before the end of the eighteenth century, possibly incorporating yet-undefined separate inputs that could have come from European, African, and Native antecedents, in proportions that varied locally. By the time they became “traditions,” these wares had long-since wandered away from their parent sources. Therefore the future direction of colono research should be local, and not regional or national, and it must focus on the beginnings of the creolization process, if the various influences and technical sources are to be understood.

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LeBeau got me a copy of the Lynggaard book, which provided the impetus for this paper. Special thanks are due to Orloff Miller and Roseanne Meenan for valuable information on Irish potting traditions.

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