

**THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF LATE 18TH- AND 19TH-
CENTURY CERAMICS - A TRANS-ATLANTIC PERSPECTIVE**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis engages in a comparative analysis of late 18th- and 19th- century ceramics from six sites (two in each region) in Pembrokeshire, Wales, the Outer Hebrides, and central Virginia. The research involves two levels of analysis. On one level, the thesis explores what comparative analysis can tell us about the lives and social environments of the people who lived at the sites and used the pottery found in the assemblages under discussion. On the second level, the thesis successfully tests a new theoretical and methodological model for the archaeological analysis of later post-medieval pottery through the comparative analysis. This model consists of two levels, the minimally interpretive level of vessel identification, and the interpretive level of vessel analysis. A historiography of historical and post-medieval archaeology is included, along with an in-depth critique of traditional analytical methods. No comparative study of this scale has previously been undertaken in historical archaeology.

Through the comparative analysis, the thesis establishes that vessel form is a far more consistent indicator of differences and similarities between social groups than vessel decoration. In particular, teawares (cups and saucers) are shown to indicate varying interactions between regional and national identities in the British Isles, while indicating a more directly status-oriented social differentiation between European- and African-Americans in Virginia. It is conclusively demonstrated how the large-scale, theory-informed comparative analysis of industrial-era pottery can contribute invaluable insights towards our understanding of the 18th and 19th centuries.

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

New theories replace old ones not because the old ones are disproved, but merely because they lose favour (Glassie 1975:13)

This thesis explores the importance and potential of the comparative analysis of later post-medieval ceramics by examining assemblages from several eighteenth to nineteenth century poor, rural sites along the Atlantic coasts of Great Britain and the United States. This comparative analysis takes place within the framework of a new theoretical and methodological model for later post-medieval ceramics analysis that will be tested through this research.

Comparative analysis of the archaeological record is vitally important to our understanding of the past. Variation between assemblages from different geographical areas can help to identify previously unknown regional, national, and cultural differences; and where those differences are known beforehand, comparative analysis can identify how those differences affect the archaeological record. Comparative analysis can also help to identify or confirm economic, social and status relationships within and between social hierarchies and groups. The sites examined in this thesis come from very different areas where these variations have already been identified or have been assumed; the sites are: Pwll Mill and Llystyn Mill, two cottages in north Pembrokeshire, Wales; two crofters' cottages on the Outer Hebridean islands of South Uist and Barra; a slave quarter on a small plantation in Bedford County, Virginia and the Stewart/Watkins house, a poor white artisan's house on a very prominent plantation - Thomas Jefferson's Monticello - near Charlottesville, Virginia. Hitherto, these sites have largely been studied in isolation. This thesis marks the first attempt to engage in such a large-scale comparative analysis of the pottery of sites on both sides of the Atlantic, and thus the first attempt to study how the obvious differences between the sites might be reflected or informed by the archaeological record, specifically the ceramics record. This thesis will help to establish a frame of reference whereby more confident statements and conclusions about regional, national, social, and cultural influences affect, are reflected in, and are informed by the archaeological record

can be made. The ceramics record from each site or region will initially be discussed in separate chapters (chapters 3-5), with the full comparative analysis of all of the sites contained in chapter 6.

The sites selected for this research have been chosen for a several specific reasons. Each site ranks at or near the bottom of the local socio-economic scale, thus the status and economic circumstances of each site's wider socio-cultural environment are broadly analogous. Any variations or lack thereof in status or economy between the assemblages should therefore provide a wealth of information about the socio-economic differences or similarities between the sites. The geographical distribution of the sites is also intentional. The Welsh and Scottish sites were part of a single nation, but nonetheless were at the geographical periphery of Great Britain. Furthermore, there are obvious cultural and linguistic differences between the sites and the central metropolitan culture. Indeed, none of the British sites were English speaking, but rather Welsh and Gaelic. The American sites are close geographically, but - one a slave site, one a white artisan's house - a world apart culturally. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that within the lifetime of many of the various site inhabitants, Virginia, Wales, and Scotland had all been part of a single world empire. Comparative analysis of the ceramics record will permit the examination of the divergences and similarities between the various sites in the immediate aftermath of the breakaway of a component of that Empire.

Ceramics have been chosen as the vehicle for analysis due to their vitally important position in the material record. Pottery is virtually universal on domestic sites of the period under analysis; it typically occurs and survives in large quantities, and it can provide unrivalled information on date, economy, and status. No other single class of artefact can consistently provide such an invaluable source of data for eighteenth and nineteenth century domestic sites. These points are discussed in more detail in chapter 2.

Finally, this thesis has a very specific theoretical and methodological agenda. It has become increasingly clear that the traditional analytical paradigm of "trade, date, and function/status" that has sustained so much British ceramics analysis of the past is inadequate for the multiple issues raised by the analysis of

eighteenth and nineteenth century ceramics. Furthermore, it has also become clear that in order to survive and develop as a discipline, post-medieval ceramics analysis must embrace a more theory-informed approach. As a result, this thesis suggests replacing “trade, date, and function/status” with a two-level methodological and theoretical paradigm that explicitly acknowledges the influence of interpretive theoretical approaches. When using this paradigm, the archaeologist will initially identify ware, form, and date, and will then engage in a more interpretive approach by considering the interlocking issues of function, status, economy, and meaning. This approach is discussed in detail in chapter 2. The individual site and comparative analysis in this thesis provides the ideal arena in which to rigorously test this new paradigm. To help the reader understand the theoretical strands that have influenced this approach and the research design as a whole, a full discussion of the theoretical backgrounds of post-medieval and historical archaeology - as well as a definition of those terms - can be found in the following section.

AN INTRODUCTION TO POST-MEDIEVAL AND HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Post-medieval and historical archaeology, as disciplines, have largely developed in the second half of the 20th century. Broadly defined, post-medieval archaeology is a largely European discipline that, as its self-explanatory title suggests, concentrates on sites dating after the medieval period - generally focussing on the 16th, 17th and early 18th centuries. This thesis concentrates on the British aspect of post-medieval archaeology. Equally broadly defined, historical archaeology is a largely North American discipline that concentrates on the archaeology of sites dating from the European settlement of the New World to the present day. Considerable work in historical archaeology has also taken place in Australasia and South Africa, although this thesis by necessity concentrates on North American and Britain. Despite their comparatively brief histories - at least compared to some forms of archaeology - both subfields have produced voluminous bibliographies. This chapter seeks to explore some of the highlights of post-medieval and historical archaeology, with a particular focus on theoretical developments.

I - EARLY YEARS

As organised disciplines, historical and post-medieval archaeology date from the second half of this century - although in both cases earlier antecedents can be traced. For example, Cotter has expressed the opinion that "the first recorded deliberate use of archaeological techniques at a North American site in order to solve an historical problem" (Cotter 1993:5) was the British Boundary Commission's July and October 1796 efforts to establish the boundary between Canada and the new United States on the New Brunswick/Maine border; excavations on St. Croix Island in the river of the same name conclusively proved that the island was the site of Champlain's 1604 settlement, thus definitively fixing the boundary between Province and State. Given that this North American example was carried out by a British institution, it may be considered as a happy early example of both historical and post-medieval archaeology.

Post-Medieval Archaeology

To a certain extent, post-medieval archaeology can be said to have grown out of a need to study the growing amount of finds - especially pottery - generated by sites with both medieval and post-medieval pottery. For example, the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology grew out of the Post-Medieval Ceramics Research Group, itself founded in 1964 in order to study ceramics dating between 1450-1750. These dates were chosen for very specific reasons; 1450 traditionally marked the decline of medieval pottery traditions and the arrival of significant amounts of imported wares while 1750 traditionally marked the beginning of English porcelain production (Barton 1967:102-3). Butler, first editor of Post-Medieval Archaeology, was both somewhat more cautious about dates but more detailed about themes when he defined the new society's period of interest as:

"The period of the unification of states within the British Isles, the establishment of Britain upon the path of maritime colonial expansion and the initial stages of industrial growth. Perhaps it is unwise to lay down more precise dates, though in North America it conveniently corresponds to the period extending from the arrival of the first European settlers up to the Declaration of Independence. In Britain both ends of the period are indistinct." (Butler 1967:1-2)

Many of the earliest references to post-medieval finds in the British archaeological literature are references to pottery. Medieval pottery begins to

appear in the archaeological literature in the eighteenth century, the earliest record apparently being a reference in the minutes of the Society of Antiquaries of London (Hurst 1991:7-8). The first appearance of post-medieval pottery would have to wait another century, but it is perhaps surprising that the first known publication of post-medieval pottery is as early as 1847: four sixteenth-century Tudor green jugs were illustrated in the 1847 volume of the Archaeological Journal (Hurst 1991:12). It was also in the mid-nineteenth century that William Chaffers published his seminal report on pottery recovered from Blackfriars. Much of his work on the medieval pottery was focused on differentiating the material from Roman pottery, but in one brief paragraph Chaffers formulated a theory of analysis for medieval pottery that was to become equally applicable to post-medieval pottery. Chaffers stated that medieval ceramics should be “considered in regard to their utility and domestic economy, not to their elegance of form or fineness of material” (quoted in Hurst 1991:18). Years ahead of its time, this was perhaps the first attempt to separate the archaeology of medieval (and, by association, post-medieval) pottery from a purely art-historical tradition. It should be noted, however, that one of the frustrations of studying later post-medieval pottery (ceramics dating from 1847, for example) is the archaeologist’s reliance on art and collectors’ volumes rather than archaeological sources.

There has always been a strong sense of continuity between the medieval and post-medieval periods, particularly in the early years of post-medieval archaeology’s development. Early seminal figures in the development of medieval and post-medieval pottery such as Gerald Dunning - perhaps the first archaeologist to properly develop Chaffer’s division outlined in the previous paragraph (Hurst 1991:19) - John Lewis, John Hurst, and Kenneth Barton were perfectly happy to move between both worlds. This flexibility, or unwillingness to be restricted by artificial boundaries, is reflected in various tributes and *estschriften* to the above authors (eg. Evison et al 1974; Gaimster and Redknapp 1992; E. Lewis 1991a; Vyner and Wrathmell 1987), all of which concentrate on either medieval or post-medieval ceramics, but all of which also include papers from the other period. Indeed, it is only with the arrival of the refined white-bodied earthenwares (such as creamware, pearlware and whiteware) following the advent of industrialisation in the eighteenth century that the sense of continuity begins to break down somewhat. But even in the mid to late 19th century it remains

possible to see continuity in the manufacture of folk-pottery, as evidenced by John Lewis' study of the Ewenny potteries of Glamorgan (J.M. Lewis 1982).

Finds studies were far from the only element to contribute to post-medieval archaeology. Indeed, such were the roots of the field that it would evolve from several separate post-medieval elements that only became a defined discipline of 'post-medieval archaeology' in the 1960's. The development of the post-medieval landscape and urban development, to briefly note but two examples, have a strong sense of continuity with earlier periods, although both also contain unique elements of their own - enclosure and improvement in the rural landscape for example (Crossley 1990: 7-20; 75-84). One inevitably unique aspect of the post-medieval period is the rise of industrial Britain in the wake of the industrial revolution. The relationship between post-medieval and industrial archaeology in Britain has never been satisfactorily resolved, however. By 1970, Post-Medieval Archaeology's literature summary was considering publications examining archaeology up to 1800 instead of the original 1750 date (Butler 1970), but by the mid-1970's, calls for a separate Society for Industrial Archaeology reached fruition (Riden 1973). As a result, while industrial sites post-dating 1750 have produced a voluminous literature within the sub-discipline of industrial archaeology, non-industrial sites - rural farms, for example - post-dating 1750 reside in an uncomfortable, unresolved limbo between industrial and post-medieval archaeology. This situation is at best unsatisfactory, and must be remedied if post-medieval archaeology is to continue to develop and grow.

Historical Archaeology

Despite the existence of different traditions and the very different paths the two disciplines were to later take, the early development of historical archaeology in North America contains some parallels with that of its transatlantic cousin. Not least of these parallels was the near-contemporaneous founding of the disciplines' respective societies in 1967. The roots of historical archaeology can be traced back to the 19th and early 20th centuries. John Hall's 1856 excavation of his ancestor's house in the American State of Massachusetts has been referred to as "the earliest example of historic [sic] archaeology known" (Deetz 1996:40). In the process of excavating his ancestor's house, Hall carefully noted site stratigraphy, mapped many of the artefacts in place, and those finds that survive to this day still

bear labels relating them to the site map. By 1910, Carl Russell Fish was musing on the possibilities of studying Wisconsin's historic "monuments" from an archaeological perspective (Fish 1978). By the late 1930's, Arthur Woodward could complain of the inadequacy of contact period Native American sites that failed to fully consider the European element. Woodward's early attempt at a bibliography of contact period sites, however, contained only 10 references, four of which he had written himself (Woodward 1978). Throughout the twenties and thirties, the excavation of American historic sites continued to gain pace as major restoration projects such as Colonial Williamsburg sought to use the nascent discipline as an aid to accuracy (J.C. Harrington 1978a:3). Other sites, such as Jamestown, were excavated as Depression-era work projects designed to set the unemployed to work on historic period excavations (Cotter 1993:7).

The beginnings of historical archaeology as a coherent independent discipline in North America are, however, usually dated to Harrington's seminal 1955 paper "Archaeology as an Auxiliary Science to American History" (J.C. Harrington 1978a), later referred to as "a pioneer statement delivered at a time when no one was listening" (I. Noel Hume 1969:337). Harrington used the work of the previous decades to argue strongly for the existence of a "historical archaeology" which he argued was better associated with history, although he acknowledged the strong anthropological element in American historical archaeology's formative development, a situation in which he saw both limitations and opportunities (J.C. Harrington 1978a:5-6).

Following the publication of Harrington's paper, the field grew apace. In 1958 Cotter predicted the inevitability of a "Society for Historical Archaeology" (Cotter 1978). By 1965 Fontana had asserted that "many archaeological concepts can be rigorously tested in historic sites" (Fontana 1978:23-6). In 1969 Ivor Noel Hume, then director of archaeological research at Colonial Williamsburg, published the first book length summary of the discipline, appropriately titled Historical Archaeology. Noel Hume's book was more of a popular how-to guide than a serious attempt to summarise both method and theory, but it rapidly became recognised as a classic - despite the presence of what in retrospect are rather dated ideas on dowsing and women's roles in archaeology (eg. I. Noel Hume 1969:60). As Harrington had done nearly 15 years earlier, Noel Hume

bemoaned the number of anthropologists working in historical archaeology, claiming that the unique 'historical' nature of the discipline rendered the anthropological approach redundant (I. Noel Hume 1969:12-3). In fact, writing in the pages of Post-Medieval Archaeology, Noel-Hume launched a vivid attack on the anthropological tendencies of American historical archaeology:

"The absence of knowledge on the part of the student prompts him to seek it in the only way he knows how - through the methods of anthropology and pre-history. Thus he wastes time and funds laboriously compiling useless pottery typologies in the quest for dating and nomenclatures that should be sought amid the vast corpus of material already published on the subject." (I. Noel Hume 1967:104-5)

As will be seen, however, despite Noel Hume's cogent critique, events in North America were to turn him into a Canute-like figure vainly protesting against the rise of the anthropological tide:

Noel Hume's importance transcends his authorship of Historical Archaeology; he is also one of the few prominent figures to have successfully moved between the worlds of American historical archaeology and British post-medieval archaeology. Indeed, in addition to being one of the founder members of the Society for Historical Archaeology, he was also the first Vice-President of the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology. The scarcity of figures who have managed to bridge the transatlantic can, at least in some part, be associated with the very different traditions that formed the two disciplines. In the Americas, historical archaeology represents a very real break with the past. While both fields can be further subdivided by period, conceptually there is either prehistoric or historical archaeology. No other options exist, and the European/African/Asian traditions in American historical archaeology are vastly different from those of prehistoric archaeology. In Britain - as previously noted - post-medieval archaeology very much organically developed from the earlier, medieval period. Indeed, many of the figures involved with the foundation of the Society for Medieval Archaeology in 1957 would also be involved with the foundation of the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology ten years later. While these differences between the British and American archaeologies of the more recent past may make the lack of any other transatlantic figures comparable to Noel Hume understandable, they certainly do not make the situation any more desirable.

The early years of historical and post-medieval archaeology just discussed

were not known for their overt focus on theory. As mentioned, some discussion took place in the United States over whether the new discipline was better associated with history or anthropology. On both sides of the Atlantic there was discussion of to what extent historical and post-medieval archaeology were stand-alone disciplines or merely “ancillary” to wider historical concerns (Cotter 1957:31; Pajer 1990) - an argument that still occasionally rears its head in Britain (eg. Cherry 1986:189). At this stage in both fields’ development, however, the focus was still very much on the identification and description of new types of finds and sites. Because of this focus on identification and lack of an overt focus on theory, historical and post-medieval archaeology would remain quite close in spirit until the end of the sixties. Noel Hume’s 1970 Artifacts of Colonial America perfectly encapsulates the spirit of the earliest period of development of the disciplines; while the book identifies finds discovered on North American sites, it is very much rooted in the descriptive, British, medieval and post-medieval tradition that its author was trained in. Starting in the late sixties, however, a historical archaeology influenced by the rise of the New Archaeology in America would rapidly diverge from its British counterpart.

II - PROCESSUALISM

In 1968, one year before the publication of Noel Hume’s Historical Archaeology, American archaeology was transformed by the publication of Lewis and Sally Binford’s New Perspectives in Archeology. While the papers in the book were largely prehistoric in focus, New Perspectives was to prove hugely influential for historical archaeology as one of the seminal descriptions of the new, processual archaeology. Two quotes in particular spell out the American processualist agenda: “In the papers that follow it will be argued that scientific methods and techniques can be developed only when they are relevant to certain aims and only with regard to the properties of the empirical data utilized” (Binford and Binford 1968:1) and “Archeology [sic] shares with other anthropological sciences the aim of explaining differences and similarities among cultural systems. We are, therefore, concerned with cultural theory and processual arguments which treat problems of the interrelationship of cultural ... variables which have explanatory value.” (Binford and Binford 1968:2). To the processualists, material culture reflected this patterned behaviour, and was

therefore the result of anthropologically definable processes. The mention of anthropology is also significant, for from the late 60's the discussion in historical archaeology over whether the new discipline was closer to history or anthropology was, for better or for worse, decisively settled in favour of the latter.

This development was perhaps inevitable. While early historical archaeologists such as Noel Hume and Cotter had a background closer to history, the vast bulk of American archaeologists as a whole - of which Binford serves as a perfect example - were trained in the anthropological tradition of American prehistoric archaeology. Indeed, at the founding meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, of the somewhat over a hundred interested individuals in attendance, only a tiny minority were specialists in non-Native American sites, while the vast majority had been trained in anthropology and had little or no background in colonial or post-colonial history (I. Noel Hume 1967:104).

While early processualism was largely American and anthropological, its influence was by no means restricted to either of the latter. Indeed, in applying the processualist model to medieval archaeology, Rahtz offers an excellent summary of some of processualism's central concepts: there would be "a rejection of inductive thinking, the idea that facts think for themselves, that data is [sic] collected and then ordered to turn into history", instead, the emphasis would be on "a formal hypothetico-deductive approach, the generation and testing of hypotheses in a rigorous manner". Within this approach, systems theory would also be prominent - the concept that human activity consists of interacting sets of systems to be examined individually and in total (Rahtz 1981:8) Thus, processualism strove to form an objective, neutral and value-free analysis of the archaeological data.

The scientific-anthropological-processualist paradigm outlined above rapidly gained currency in North America, and soon led to one of the seminal works in historical archaeology, Stanley South's Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology (South 1977). South sought to explicitly apply the 'emerging nomothetic paradigm' of processualism to historical archaeology. Today, some of South's rhetoric seems somewhat confrontational and outdated, not least the characterisation of the "Failure of the End-product to Competently Employ

Science” as cow “f.e.c.e.s. [sic]” (South 1977:329). But South saw himself at the forefront of an archaeological revolution, and if this does not necessarily always make his rhetoric forgivable, it at least makes some of his more *outré* remarks understandable.

South’s approach can be demonstrated by his development of pattern recognition in historical archaeology (South 1977:83-139). South sought to identify a ‘Carolina Artifact Pattern’ (amongst other examples) through “frequency variations from a number of historic sites of British colonial origin in the Carolinas” (South 1977:83). Artefact groups were divided into different functional categories - kitchen, architecture, clothing, etc. - and percentage ranges were established for each category. If site assemblages fell within the variability range then, according to South, they could be assumed to belong to a broad cultural group. In essence, South’s pattern analysis sought to provide a quantifiable and ostensibly scientific method to study cultural similarity and variability in artefact assemblages. South’s assumptions still strongly influence the categorisation of artefacts in the United States, in contract (cf. John Milner Associates 1994) and academic (eg. Zierdan 1999:77-79) archaeology. One might well question, however, the validity of a system where three categories comprise over ninety percent of the assemblage (and one of those over sixty percent alone) and that further permits possible variations of well over ten percent within those three categories.

Nonetheless, the influence of pattern analysis spread to analogous approaches. An example using spatial patterning of artefacts, rather than assemblage patterning can be seen in King and Miller’s spatial midden analysis at the Van Sweringen site in St. Mary’s City (Maryland, USA). This attempted to demonstrate the process of culture change - from “Dutch” to “English” - through shifts in midden distribution patterns. The early Dutch deposition pattern was observed to shift to a more typically English pattern as the Van Sweringen family became acculturated to the dominant English-based culture of early colonial Maryland’s capital (King and Miller 1991).

Unlike historical archaeology, post-medieval archaeology remained largely unaffected by the processualist movement, especially the concept of archaeology as anthropology. This is not to say that British archaeology as a whole was not

aware of, or failing to contribute to, a new paradigm - far from it. The first edition of David Clarke's Analytical Archaeology was published in 1968, the same year as Binford and Binford's New Perspectives in Archeology. Clarke advocated many of the same methodological issues as the processualists, noting later that "the proper treatment of qualitative and quantitative observations has introduced a welcome precision and a proper appreciation of error, facilitated the testing of predictions and, above all, such measurement structures have revealed new empirical relationships and generated fresh new theory - new problems" (Clarke 1973:88). Recognition of a more analytical approach (eg. Clarke 1968; 1973), calls for more overt quantification in archaeological data (eg. Orton et al. 1993:166-81) and the exploration of mathematical approaches to culture change (eg. Renfrew and Cooke 1979) have all featured prominently in the British archaeological landscape.

Substantial differences remained, however, between quantitative approaches in Britain and North America. As noted, American archaeology - whether historic or prehistoric - established strong disciplinary links with anthropology, to the extent that archaeology became an anthropological subdiscipline, taught almost exclusively in anthropology departments. British archaeology, of course, maintained a more distinct identity, and text-aided periods continued to have much stronger links to history than their American counterpart. Furthermore, Clarke's quantitative methodology was much less dogmatic in intent than that of American processualism. To a certain extent, the processualists believed that they had reached the end of archaeology's theoretical development. South's conceptual "polearm of archaeology" (South 1977:6) symbolically places processualism at the tip of archaeology's development; there is no room (and by implication, no need) for further development. Clarke was far more flexible; it is hard to imagine either South or Binford writing "each archaeology is of its time, but since many deplore the time, they will certainly be unhappy with its archaeology" (Clarke 1973:85) or claiming that "at least part of the confusion about explanation in archaeology arises from the mistaken belief that there is one universal form of archaeological explanation structure appropriate at all levels, in all contexts" (Clarke 1973:97).

This American theoretical dogmatism, as well as the insistence on

archaeology as anthropology, may be partially responsible for the lack of processual models in British post-medieval archaeology. There have of course been exceptions. Mytum, for example, has examined language use on Welsh gravestones as a vehicle for culture differentiation (Mytum 1994) while Gilchrist and Morris have noted the importance of regional patterning in church archaeology (Gilchrist and Morris 1996:114-6). These studies are, however, comparatively recent, and are the exception rather than the rule. Attempts were also made to introduce processual approaches to medieval archaeology (eg. Rahtz 1981), but these too remained in the minority. Indeed, Champion has noted that:

“to the extent that much of the early theoretical debate focused on questions about the nature of explanation and the explanation of the processes of social change, it may be that those who operated predominantly in the Classical, Roman, and medieval fields felt such concerns to be irrelevant to those periods with an established framework of historically documented narrative” (Champion 1991:145)

III - INTERPRETIVE ARCHAEOLOGY

Reaction to processualism, both for and against was swift, and the climate of debate was occasionally overtly hostile - as demonstrated by Iain Walker's satirically titled “Binford, Science and History: the Probabilistic Variability of Explicated Epistemology and Nomothetic Paradigms in Historical Archaeology” (Walker 1972) a vituperative essay in defence of the historical approach at the expense of anthropology. Later, Shanks and Tilley stated that the real reason behind the new archaeology was not so much a drive for scientific accuracy as a drive for disciplinary (as opposed to individual) prestige (Shanks and Tilley 1992:32) - if archaeology were to become “scientific”, it would thus become respectable. This cogent critique was also made by Champion (1991:152), albeit less forcefully. Shanks and Tilley also went so far as to write that “mathematics is usually an irrelevant diversion in an attempt to understand the social world” (Shanks and Tilley 1992:35), and that “the failure of archaeologists to discover laws reduces the explanations archaeologists make to mere explanation sketches” (Shanks and Tilley 1992:44). While perhaps a little extreme, these quotes do summarise some of the primary objections of the post-processualists to the processualist paradigm.

Many of the most lasting and influential contributions to the post-processualist reaction were British in origin. Ian Hodder was particularly influential in expressing the post-processualist agenda, notably in his book Reading the Past, originally published in 1986 (Hodder 1991). One of Hodder's central points was the rejection of the processualist concept of objective and neutral data as objective in favour of a recognition that "*whatever* questions one asks about the human past ... frameworks of meaning intervene" (Hodder 1991:121) - the roles of context and interpretation must be acknowledged more fully. Hodder has continued to develop this concept over the last decade. Recently, Shanks and Hodder have proposed the title "interpretive archaeology" (the term preferred in this dissertation) rather than "post-processual archaeology" and have defined the main points of interpretive archaeology as follows (Shanks and Hodder 1995:5): Data are no longer objective and neutral, the interpreter's role is recognised. Archaeologists construct narratives from the past, but are grounded in the preconceptions of the present. Archaeology is concerned with meanings, particularly interpretive meanings. Interpretation should be less concerned with cause than with understanding the uncertain. Different interpretations are possible, and a plurality of interpretations can be suited to different purposes and needs. Interpretation is therefore creative, but also serves to pay critical attention and response to the interests and needs of different groups and constituencies. Shanks and Tilley (1992:105-6) have taken a more explicitly philosophical approach, directly tying interpretive approaches to hermeneutics. This even more explicitly relativist approach is explored through the following points: Interpretation is not optional, but indeed inescapable. Presuppositions inevitably influence understanding. Data only exist as we conceptualise them. When understanding the past, we place our own opinions constructively and productively in relation to that past. Despite the obvious temptations, the hermeneutic approach does not appear as yet to have led any archaeologists down the dangerous slope of overt radical solipsism.

The explicit recognition of a plurality of approaches and the inevitability of interpretation has led to criticism of the relativism inherent in interpretive archaeology - if there is no single correct approach, how can there be any incorrect approaches? One solution for interpretive archaeology is to distinguish

between epistemic and judgemental relativism (Shanks and Hodder 1995:19). Epistemic relativism acknowledges that knowledge is based in a particular time and culture. Facts and objectivity are not absolutes, but constructs. Judgemental relativism additionally holds that all forms of knowledge are equal. While undoubtedly attractive, this division is perhaps slightly too abstract to be of use in everyday practice. Ultimately, if dogmatic processualism's main flaw is a rigid adherence to scientific positivism, then dogmatic post-processualism's flaw is the following relativist paradox: under the recognition of a plurality of approaches, any theoretical perspective that provides an internally coherent worldview to as many archaeologists as processualism does must itself be a valid perspective.

The textual model of material culture and the move away from a strictly objective paradigm has permeated archaeology on both sides of the Atlantic. In Britain, interpretive archaeology has also led to archaeologists in text-aided subdisciplines to question the level of traditional disciplinary links with history - though by no means to the same extent as the North Americans. Champion in particular has written of the 'tyranny of the historical record', complaining that the programme of historic period archaeology is set and indeed limited by the culturally biased 'historic vision', and suggesting that alternative conceptual frameworks be developed (Champion 1990:91). Indeed, Champion is of the opinion that "the archaeology of the historically recorded periods of Europe ... inevitably reflects the [perceived] superiority both of Europe as a cultural identity and of history as its record" (Champion 1990:89).

In practical application, interpretive archaeology has found expression in the search for meaning, for example the meanings inherent in style (eg. Conkey and Hastorf 1990; Shanks and Tilley 1992:155). But this search for meaning has involved a wide range of approaches. On both sides of the Atlantic, the search for 'alternative frameworks' has led to the examination of strata of society that were under-represented in the past. In Britain, for example, marginalised Welsh (Mytum 1994) and Hebridean communities (Symonds 1998, 1999) have been examined, while in the Americas, the archaeology of slave-related sites has flourished in recent years (eg. Ferguson 1992; Singleton and Bograd 1995). This is not to claim that interpretive archaeology has directly led to the study of slavery (or any other topic), but rather that the freeing of the conceptual framework has

indirectly led to a wider examination of the subject's contextual background. Hodder noted that a wide range of approaches had influenced his approach, including Marxism, structuralism, and feminist critiques (Hodder 1991:182). Exploring this plurality of opinion is the best way to examine practical applications of interpretive approaches in historical and post-medieval archaeology. But if interpretive archaeology was influenced by these approaches, then they have in turn been influenced in return - not only by interpretive archaeology, but also by the earlier processualist paradigm.

IV - DEETZ, STRUCTURALISM AND HUMANISM

The structuralist approach of James Deetz and Henry Glassie, a theoretical strand closely related to processualism, was developed in the mid-1970's. The two men, particularly Glassie, were themselves strongly influenced by the anthropological structuralism of Claude Levi-Strauss . Glassie published the classic Folk Housing in Middle Virginia in 1975. He sought to investigate the use of a "grammar" of vernacular architecture in Virginia, or how the selection of certain architectural traits by house builders demonstrated the deeper cultural logic at work. This was also placed in a wider theoretical context:

"Structuralism is social scientific modernism. It is modernist in its concern with principled abstraction rather than particularist realism. The structuralist's interest is in process more than product, in hidden law more than manifest shape, in relations more than entities, in the universal, the unconscious, the simultaneous, the systematic" (Glassie 1975:41)

The focus on culture process and laws placed Glassie within the processualist tradition, but the more interpretive musings on the culture of Middle Virginia and the call for a "more human history" (Glassie 1975:3-12) would prove to be hugely influential on the work of his colleague and friend James Deetz

In 1977, Deetz published In Small Things Forgotten, a small book (fewer than 200 pages) intended as a work of popular archaeology that in retrospect is probably the most influential work on a page for page basis in historical archaeology. In the book, Deetz expresses the concept of archaeology as the study of material culture, where material culture does not simply refer to excavated objects but rather to "that sector of our physical environment that we modify through culturally determined behavior [sic]" (Deetz 1977:24). In short, any

object manipulated by man or woman. Furthermore, in working in historical archaeology, and therefore historical material culture, the relationship between objects, cognition, and culture change becomes the logical vehicle for archaeological analysis (Deetz 1977:23). In Small Things Forgotten has been accused of being superficial; the cursory examination of the cultural causes of the American Civil War (Deetz 1977:28) and the examination of three stages of colonial American development (Deetz 1977:36-41) seem particularly simplistic in light of Fischer's later work on the role of British culture in North America (Fischer 1989). These criticisms are undoubtedly unfair as a 184 page book intended for a lay audience can only include so much detail.

As with Glassie, Deetz's approach is strongly structuralist in influence, and Orser and Fagan indeed refer to his work as "historical structuralism" (Orser and Fagan 1995:190). The theme of culture change so evident in Deetz's work fits in quite neatly with the "culture process" aims of Binford and his followers. One of the most influential elements of Deetz's work, the identification of the "Georgian world view" was an overt attempt to identify the process of culture change; in brief, Deetz hypothesised that the renewed contacts between Britain and the American colonies in the 18th century led to the introduction of a new conceptual order based on Georgian concepts of balance, order and rationalism, and further that the process of adapting this new conceptual order could be observed in American material culture (Deetz 1996:62-4). Much of Deetz's early work demonstrates a close affinity to the more mathematical focus of many processualists; indeed, his 1965 collaboration with Dethlefsen on the spatial aspects of seriation (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1965) can be seen as an early example of the mathematical rigour later encouraged by Binford and South. But to simply refer to Deetz as a processualist would be a gross oversimplification; from a wider perspective, Deetz's approach can be seen as a merging of sorts between the overtly scientific archaeology proposed by Binford and South and a more humanistic tradition, and as such Deetz-influenced analysis has been used by both processualists and those engaged in a more interpretive paradigm.

The Deetz-derived humanist tradition in historical archaeology deserves to be examined more closely, particularly as historical archaeologists are prone to using the term "humanism" without any consistent attempt to define the meaning

or context. The modern origins of humanism are in the Renaissance movement that

“rejected any emphasis upon logic ... in favour of the practical arts of life in society - of persuasion (rhetoric), and its ancillary disciplines like politics, history, and poetry - although they [the humanists] shared an interest in dialectic, the art of argument. More broadly, it may be said that the humanists were absorbed with the place and potentialities of the human individual in this world...” (McConica 1991:6)

These traditions, in a slightly different form, also informed and infused strands of Deetz’s work. His search for meaning in the archaeological record, particularly in the ordinary objects of everyday life is very much a focus on “the practical arts of life in society” and the “potentialities of the human individual in this world”. From there, it was but a small step for interpretive archaeologists to reject “emphasis upon logic” - or processualism. Indeed, the search for ideology and meaning so central to Deetzian humanism is inherently compatible with interpretive archaeology - although the move away from processualism has not necessarily met with approval from Deetz himself (Deetz n.d.). Deetz’s finest achievement, however, is the extent to which archaeologists of all theoretical backgrounds have used and been influenced by his work; as Deetz himself has recently noted:

“after 30 years in the business, I have first been a culture historian, then a New Archaeologist, then a structuralist, and now apparently a passionate post-structuralist. The fact is, I am not doing things that differently from the way I did in the ‘60’s. I don’t think I have changed at all; the transformations have been in the way my work has been perceived by others” (Brown 1997:4)

Ironically, a paper published in Post-Medieval Archaeology in the late sixties anticipated many of the themes that would later inform Deetzian humanism. Jenkins’ “Post-Medieval Archaeology and Folk Life Studies” is a plea to “breathe life into the dry bones of cultures”; “The possession of a material object is but a starting point in the study of the lore, custom and language associated with that object” (J.G. Jenkins 1968:3-4). Furthermore, Jenkins expressed the opinion that post-medieval archaeology could contribute to the study of the way of life of communities of any size unaffected by industrialisation, strongly implying in the process that this was irrespective of the date of the community in question (J.G. Jenkins 1968:5). Elements of this approach can be seen in some post-medieval studies such as John Lewis’ previously mentioned study of folk-pottery from Ewenny (J.M. Lewis 1982), but - regrettably - it never became nearly as strong an influence in Britain as Deetzian humanism was in

North America.

Deetzian humanism was far more explicitly anthropological in its conception than Jenkins' archaeology of folk life, although as of this writing, the humanist approach has lost many of the overtly processualist overtones that tied it so closely to anthropology. Several practitioners, notably Ingersoll, have pushed the Deetzian ethos to the limits of traditional archaeology, completely eschewing the analysis of excavated objects in favour of the analysis of any human-manipulated object, such as the American Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Virginia (Ingersoll and Nickell 1987) or Star Wars toys (Ingersoll et al. 1992). But it is precisely because Deetzian humanism is so object-centred that it has become so central to historical archaeology.

V - MARXISM

Traditional Marxism requires little introduction as a theoretical perspective, and the background has been well dealt with elsewhere, both in general reviews of archaeology and in the form of more specific critiques (eg. Renfrew and Bahn 1996:451-2; Hodder 1991:57-79). Strands of Marxist theory have influenced archaeology throughout this century, and the evolutionary-progressive model that traditional Marxists are so fond of, and that is firmly rooted in the work of Marx and Engels themselves (eg. Marx and Engels 1996:15-17), held particular appeal for many prehistorians earlier in this century (eg. Childe 1936:17-41; 1963:13-27). Historical archaeology has also been influenced by the Marxist paradigm, as this section will demonstrate.

Within historical archaeology (and it is very much within historical rather than post-medieval archaeology that Marxism is most often used), classical Marxism is to a certain extent compatible with processualism; the evolutionary, dialectical/scientific model can easily be reworked into a study of how "power relationships shape the direction of cultural response to environmental shifts" (Paynter and McGuire 1991:3) in historical archaeology. Sichone provides a typical model of this evolutionary, processualist Marxism in his study of how the urbanisation of the rural Rhodesian population led to transformation of, "incorporation into, and the subordination of, one culture by another" (Sichone 1995: 291). As a once tribal society increasingly participated in a modern political

and economic/capitalist system, it tended to lose its separate identities; separation from physical and spiritual roots led a detribalisation of the urbanised African. The colonial ruling class, however, tended to perceive detribalised Africans as 'troublemakers', and it was thus in the interest of the ruling elite to either discourage urbanisation or encourage a persistence of tribal identity where urbanisation is inevitable. The urbanised population does indeed adopt some European cultural traits, including material culture (clothing, for example), but the result is a new culture neither wholly European nor purely African (Sichone 1995:291-6).

Yet at the same time, the humanist-Deetzian model has also led to a humanist 'neo-Marxism' within historical archaeology. The latter near-oxymoron makes much more sense when it is remembered that Deetzian humanism itself has strong roots in structuralism. The two primary differences between traditional and neo-Marxism are the replacement of a strictly class-based model with a multitude of competing social groups and hierarchies, and the move away from a strictly processual/evolutionary model; changes still occur in a society, but they are neither necessarily progressive nor inherently predictable. Mark Leone is one of the leading Marxists in historical archaeology. As early as 1973, Leone was moving to a neo-Marxist position by focusing on the role of ideology and cognition in the spatial divisions of an ostensibly economically egalitarian society, namely the Mormons of Utah and Arizona (Leone 1978). Ideology remained central to Leone's work, much of which would come to concentrate on the role of power in Annapolis, the second colonial capital of Maryland; for example, Leone has studied how sound - particularly music - can be used as material culture to regulate the social environment (Leone et al. 1992)

For a specific and more complete example of how the Leone-led Annapolis school has examined the interaction of material culture, ideology and hierarchy through a more interpretive approach, one need only turn to Leone and Shackel's examination of the role of items of dining-related objects in 18th century Annapolis. To Leone and Shackel, knives, napkins, forks and other items of formal and segmented dining were part of the Deetzian Georgian conceptual structure common to colonial America (though studied solely through Annapolis in this specific case) which emphasised the individual and the structured partition of

everyday activities. These dining objects did more than merely denote rank, order and hierarchy - they also helped to create it. Thus forks, tureens, plate warmers, and pudding cups not only reflect a formal segmentation of dinner, but also indicate the expansion of an etiquette that could not exist without the items in question (Leone and Shackel 1987:48-49). But this alone does not explain the reasons behind the shift in table habits. This is explained as part of a wider process: "A rapidly developing hierarchy successfully used a series of innovations in ideas, manners, and habits, with the associated equipment, to justify hierarchy, to sustain it, to increase the distances between the groups, and to perpetuate the results of the [Georgian] shift in Annapolitan society" (Leone and Shackel 1987:56). In retrospect this appears to be an overly simplistic attempt to marry Deetz's Georgian worldview to Marxist hierarchy, but it remains a fascinating attempt to examine the contextual ideology and meaning of material culture.

VI - OTHER APPROACHES

The previous sections of this chapter have offered a broad perspective on the competing theoretical ideologies of historical and post-medieval archaeology, but by no means has this been a complete overview. Especially since the advent of interpretive archaeology, archaeologists have developed a wide variety of approaches and perspectives to study interacting and competing social, cultural, and economic contexts. This section briefly examines two of these, gender studies and the study of ethnic, national and global issues, in order to demonstrate some of the wider breadth and depth of current theory in historical archaeology.

Gender Studies

Gender-based historical archaeology seeks to move beyond a traditional androcentric dual model of gender roles - "men hunt, women gather; men produce, women process" (Seifert 1991:1) - and develop a more critical evaluation of gender roles and ideology. Traditionally, this sort of analysis has been perceived as 'feminist', but an archaeological evaluation of gender roles need not necessarily be solely feminist in its approach. Indeed, in this historiography, gender-informed archaeology serves as but one example of the wide variety of studies of social interaction available in the archaeological literature of more

recent periods.

Mary Whelan's study of a historic-period Sioux Burial ground provides a strong example of a gender-based processualist study. Particularly intriguing is Whelan's assertion that it is fallacious to automatically associate sex with gender, as other cultures do not necessarily distinguish sex and gender on the same basis as in Western society; "Gender categories are arbitrary constructions of culture, and consequently, gender-appropriate behaviours vary widely from culture to culture" (Whelan 1991:23). Of particular interest to Whelan were bead patterns. These appeared to not only correlate to gender divisions based on the size and colour of the beads, but also appeared to suggest that age was a factor in historic Sioux gender categories. Indeed, when an attempt was made to correlate artefacts specifically by sex, no such correlation could be identified; when gender identification was examined irrespective of the deceased's sex, then correlation did occur (Whelan 1991:26-9).

Anne Yentsch has produced several studies and reports that are notable for combining several different theoretical strands (eg. Yentsch 1991a; 1991b). To take but one example, Yentsch has examined how the deeply embedded meaning of space effects the symbolic meaning of ceramics in a male/female dichotomy; thus the symbolism of ceramics derives not only from the social rank of the people who use the vessels, but also from the social space where the vessels are used and stored (Yentsch 1991b:193). The division of space is considered to be an issue of gender, thus "domestic or inner space (i.e., feminine space) parallels and mirrors community or exterior space (i.e., masculine space)" (Yentsch 1991b:197). Symbols (structuralism/humanism), Marxism, and Gender are all elements of Yentsch's analysis. As the author herself notes, "As symbols, ceramic vessels were part of a prestige structure associated with food use. Their differential use by various status groups was a mechanism by which one status group was set apart from another: thus to study variation on ceramic assemblages is to study the archaeology of inequality" (Yentsch 1991b:215). Whether domestic spatial relationships are indeed so distinctly gender-related may be open to question, but the fusion of different theoretical strands in Yentsch's work makes her arguments particularly seductive.

Ethnic, National and Global Issues

The study of the closely-related issues of ethnic identity, national identity and globalisation have become increasingly important to archaeologists in the last decade. Perhaps no archaeological issue is so fraught with political implications, whether it be the excavation of a slave cemetery in New York City (S.P.M. Harrington 1993) or the use of archaeology to bolster nationalist ideology in the Balkans (Kaiser:1995). While all of the theoretical perspectives discussed in this chapter have been applied to issues of identity, this is an area that can frequently transcend such theoretical boundaries.

Part of the problem in discussing ethnicity and nationality is defining where the boundaries between the two lie. The problem becomes particularly acute when race is also considered. There is broad agreement amongst most modern historians that 'nations' are largely an invention of late 18th and 19th century political movements (eg. B. Anderson 1991; Colley 1996; Hobsbawm 1990), but there is far less agreement over definitions of ethnicity. Banks (1996:4-5) usefully provides several quotes illustrating the shifting boundaries of 'ethnicity' as a technical term before ultimately concluding that the word is used for:

"... a collection of rather simplistic and obvious statements about boundaries, otherness, goals, and achievements, being and identity, descent and classification, that has been constructed as much by the anthropologist as by the subject" (M. Banks 1996:190)

Rather than engaging in depth with the definitions of either term, it is perhaps simplest if a quick definition of how the relevant terms are used in this thesis is offered. A 'national group' refers to a self- or externally-defined group of people who reside within a defined geographical area and whom have long-standing historical, cultural, and linguistic ties to that area. An 'ethnic group' is a self- or externally-defined group of people with historical, cultural and linguistic ties to a geographical area other than the one in which they reside. Race is subsumed into both categories as appropriate. Archaeologists and historians familiar with nationalist theory will no doubt recognise the limitations of these definitions (particularly as concerns self or external definition), but they will serve adequately for the comparisons between Wales, Scotland, and Virginia in this thesis.

In North American historical archaeology, considerations of ethnic identity

have recently been paramount over those of regional and national identity. This is only to be expected given historical archaeology's original development in the Americas, a part of the world where the vast majority of inhabitants are self-consciously descended from 'immigrants' and where an individual's family nation or region of origin can be as important to identity as an individual's actual nation of citizenship. Perhaps no area of the archaeology of North American identity has caused as much recent discussion or has been studied quite so intently as African-American archaeology, which is often (though by no means always) associated with the contexts of plantation archaeology and slavery. These studies have at times taken the form of the study of creolisation, a process whereby the complex interaction of widely different cultures leads to the transformation of those cultures. For example, the interaction of slave communities (themselves comprised of several differing African cultures) with European and Native cultures in the Americas led to the formation of a new culture neither wholly African nor wholly European (Ferguson 1992:xli-xlv). In practice, the rise of Afro-Centrism in the United States has led to the identification of African elements in the creolised culture at the expense of other influences. Jamieson's study of African-American burial practices in the Americas (Jamieson 1995) is a case in point. Jamieson's extensive consideration of the African influence on these burials is a fascinating and valuable addition to the archaeological literature, but only a brief, cursory consideration is given of the more European norm that eventually replaced the African practices by the mid-19th century, yet this appears to be an equally valid area of research, albeit an academically unfashionable one.

The study of interacting and competing cultures in the modern era also necessitates a consideration of more global and international issues. Orser's work on the development of the "modern world system", the growth of international mercantile capitalism, and transplanted communities (eg. Orser 1994; 1996) explicitly recognises the need to study trans-national issues in the archaeology of the post-medieval world. British post-medieval archaeology has also increasingly recognised the need to study international issues, as Ewins's recent study of the affects of the American market on Staffordshire pottery production amply illustrates (Ewins 1997).

Australasian and South African historical archaeology has studied these

issues particularly closely, which is perhaps inevitable for the archaeology of societies that were arguably colonial until the 20th century. To take but two examples, in Australia, Connah has examined the adaptation, both successful and otherwise, of British material culture to the landscape of New South Wales (Connah 1983; 1998), while in South Africa, Markell, Hall and Schire have examined the interaction and cultural adaptation of Dutch planters, slaves, and (to a lesser extent) KhoiKhoi pastoralists at the Cape of Good Hope (Markell, et al.1995). Yet despite these examples, there has been little coherent attempt, with the notable exception of Orser, to develop a coherent theory of global interaction within historical or post-medieval archaeology. Fortunately, it appears that this state of affairs is rapidly changing, and this area promises to be one of the more interesting aspects of historical archaeology in the immediate future.

VI - CONCLUSION

Ultimately, despite the heat generated by theoretical argument in archaeology, there is nothing new about the central conflict between processualism and post-processualism. Disagreements over emphasis on the rational (processualism) or the ideational (post-processualism) have informed Western thought for centuries. For example, as early as Classical Greek philosophy, two primary tendencies can be identified, "one passionate, religious, mystical, otherworldly, the other ... empirical, rationalistic" (Russell 1961:41). In other words, the classic conflict lies between the subjective approach and the objective approach. As a relatively new discipline, it was inevitable that archaeology would eventually participate in this supra-theoretical dialectic. Historical and post-medieval archaeology, as even more recent sub-disciplines, have engaged in the debate in even more concentrated form, with Noel Hume, South, Deetz and others rapidly tumbling forth one after the other in a mere thirty years, for an average of one primary theoretical perspective a decade. To a certain extent, the inherent differences between British and American historical archaeology lies in the fact that the former has tended towards the subjective while the latter has tended towards the objective. That processualism originated in North America and post-processualism in Britain only serves to reinforce the point.

This thesis is very much placed in the more theory-informed context of historical archaeology. Nonetheless, the work herein owes a great debt to many aspects of post-medieval archaeology, and by no means should the conscious adoption of historical archaeology be considered a wholesale use of North American practice at the expense of British practice. This thesis uses the best of both traditions to help build a distinctive and mature British historical archaeology, free from the narrow anthropological focus of its American counterpart. Given the complex interacting multiple issues of status, ideology, identity (to name but a few) that form and inform historical archaeology, the humanist-interpretive paradigm is by far the most appropriate approach for this thesis. As will become abundantly clear in chapter 2, the rigidly quantitative-scientific paradigm so beloved of the rationalist, processualist New Archaeologists is inadequate as a model for the analysis of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century ceramics. Yet this should not be construed as a total rejection of all elements of processualist archaeology; a focus on meaning and ideology need not by itself obviate a careful consideration of process, logic, and quantification when appropriate. Certainly, the careful quantification of archaeological data was one of the great advances of the New Archaeology, although one should be careful to remember that quantification does not by itself turn a discipline into a science. On a related note, a focus on the small-scale remains of everyday life need not obviate a careful consideration of the larger social forces and movements that affect a site's environment. It is within this theoretical environment that the next chapter will discuss method and theory in ceramics analysis.

CHAPTER 2 - METHOD AND THEORY IN CERAMICS ANALYSIS

"Each archaeology is of its time, but since many deplore the time, they will certainly be unhappy with its archaeology" (Clarke 1979:85)

This chapter has three primary functions. First of all, it contains a brief historiography of ceramics analysis within the same framework as the previous chapter. Secondly, this chapter builds upon the theoretical discussions in the historiographies to advance a new theoretical and methodological model for later post-medieval ceramics analysis. Finally, a critique is offered of several traditional methods of ceramics analysis and possible adaptations of these, as well as new approaches, within the framework of the paradigm.

I- POTTERY HISTORIOGRAPHY

Pottery analysis has contributed one of the largest bodies of work to the archaeological literature, largely due to the three salient points that make ceramics vitally important to archaeology - their abundance, their durability, and their use as a cultural indicator (A. Anderson 1984:17; Rice 1986:191-200). Given that the earliest archaeological references to pottery date to the fifteenth century (Orton et al. 1993:5), it is virtually impossible to compile a comprehensive historiography of pottery analysis. In the second half of this century both post-medieval and historical archaeologists have further contributed a considerable body of work to this ever-expanding bibliography. Given the size of the corpus of pottery analysis, the following section is specifically limited to British and American ceramics analysis within the theoretical framework outlined in chapter I.

Early Years

Some of the early influences on, and landmarks of, the early development of post-medieval ceramics analysis have already been mentioned in chapter 1. While these early studies were intrinsically atheoretical, at the same time they represent a tradition of artefact description that was, and indeed remains, a particular strength of British post-medieval archaeology. Whether describing sixteenth- and seventeenth-century imported French jugs (Hurst 1974), the pottery

of the Donyatt kilns (Coleman-Smith and Pearson 1988), post-medieval ceramics recovered from Exeter (Allan 1994:98-226), or offering a quick, short overview of post-medieval pottery (Draper 1984), British archaeology has developed a considerable corpus of excellent studies that aid in the identification of materials pre-dating 1750. Unfortunately, post-medieval archaeology so far has far less of a tradition of identifying the wares that post-date 1750. While notable exceptions exist (eg. Ewins 1997), the studies of the pottery of this period that do exist usually focus on kilns and production (eg. J.M. Lewis 1982); while this is an important area of research, it does mean that treatments of the wares in question occasionally suffer somewhat from a lack of the corpus of typologies available for earlier materials.

The tradition of identification and description was also strong in the early years of historical archaeology. Of particular note are Ivor Noel Hume's previously mentioned Artifacts of Colonial America (1970) and the often underrated work of his late wife Audrey Noel Hume (eg. A. Noel Hume 1968). The Noel Humes were British, and their contributions to the field fall very much within the British descriptive, historical tradition as opposed to the American anthropological tradition. Of course, atheoretical descriptive work was also common in the first decade of historical archaeology (eg. Thomas 1973; Von der Porten 1973). With the advent of processualism, historical archaeologists moved away from description and identification of ceramics in favour of what might be described as 'quantifying and understanding the material record'.

The basic need to describe and catalogue ceramics meant that descriptive works never entirely disappeared from the North American literature (eg. Carskadden and Gartley 1990; Samford 1997; Sussman 1979). Ironically, however, the move to processualism and the repudiation of the descriptive tradition has meant that many of the standard reference works used by North American ceramicists are art history volumes (eg. Coysh and Henrywood 1982; 1989; Godden 1991; Kovel and Kovel 1995; Comstock 1994), many of which are British. There is little in the American archaeological literature to compare with Gaimster's survey of medieval and post-medieval German stoneware, which not only describes the materials in question, but does so from a specifically archaeological perspective (Gaimster 1997). However, given that up to the

second half of the 19th century the bulk of industrial wares in North America were manufactured in Britain (Ewins 1997), historical archaeology should not be overly criticised for failing to type materials that, geographically, are more easily studied in the British post-medieval tradition.

One important early pottery study - though of pipe stems rather than tablewares - that deserves special mention is J.C. Harrington's 1954 article "Dating Stem Fragments of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Clay Tobacco Pipes". Harrington noted that while pipe bowls had been extensively studied, the 5,000 bowls recovered at Jamestown were heavily outnumbered by 50,000 stem fragments. Harrington also noted a tendency for stem bores to become smaller over time. He measured the 50,000 stem fragments with drill-bits measured in 64ths of an inch increments, and statistically proved the relationship between bore diameter and time (J.C. Harrington 1978b:63-5). Harrington never intended the system to be more than a potentially useful observation, but it would prove to be the inspiration for what was in turn one of the landmarks of processualist finds analysis: the Binford pipestem formula.

Processualism

The most immediate impact of the New Archaeology on American ceramics analysis was an overt drive towards quantification of the data as part of the overall movement to make historical archaeology more "scientific". The more prominent of these new analytical methods will be critiqued in more detail in part III of this chapter, but a survey of the most important points follows.

Amongst the most influential of the new analytical methods of processualism was Lewis Binford's 1961 development of Harrington's clay pipe dating system. Binford developed an equation that stands as the first known explicit use of a regression formula in historical archaeology. The equation in question was: " $Y=1931.85 - 38.26X$ ", where Y is the date to be determined, 1931.85 is the theoretical date that stem bore holes would disappear if the observed narrowing were to continue, 38.26 the mean interval in years between changes in units of measurement used (64ths of an inch), and X the mean bore diameter in the sample under analysis (Binford 1978:66). Later research would suggest that the formula was most useful under highly specific circumstances -

particularly given that pipe stem bore holes rather spectacularly failed to disappear in late 1931. Nonetheless, Binford's work stands as a watermark in the processualist drive towards a more "scientific" archaeology.

The principle of the regression formula would reappear in historical archaeology in the form of the mean ceramic date formula (MCD) in South's Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology (South 1977:217-8). The MCD calculates a mean date of occupation for a site based on the median date of manufacture for the vessels found on the site. As explored in section III of this chapter, the MCD has been criticised for a number of methodological failings, but it has nonetheless gained wide acceptance in North America. Use of the MCD is particularly common in the historical archaeology "grey literature" of contract archaeology and museum reports (eg. Cheek et al. 1994; Heath 1991; Pogue and White 1991).

George Miller's CC index values (G. Miller 1980; 1991) also fit into the processualist framework, although since they were generated from documentary (rather than archaeological) sources, it could be argued that Miller's work falls outside the strictest definition of American processualism. Miller, unlike South, has also never claimed an explicitly theoretical background for his work. Nonetheless, Miller's method seeks to provide a statistical framework for measuring the economic status of ceramic assemblages dating from the late eighteenth to mid nineteenth centuries. Given this statistical framework, the method has held obvious appeal for processualist archaeologists. As with the MCD, Miller's system has enjoyed widespread acceptance in North American site reports, notably (but by no means exclusively) in plantation archaeology and related literature (eg. Adams and Boling 1991; Gruber 1991; Heath 1991). Extensive attempts have also been made to use the CC Index value as part of a wider examination of economic and status-related issues (eg. Spencer-Wood 1987). As with the MCD, the CC index has some methodological problems, which are discussed in section III of this chapter.

The impact of the New Archaeology on British ceramics practice and methodology was very different than in North America. Instead of the American drive towards a science of archaeology, Britain developed a relationship perhaps

best described as science with archaeology. Certainly there was a drive towards quantification, statistical analysis and even, to a certain extent, the recognition of patterns in the ceramics data (Orton et al. 1993:166-181), and regression formulae have been used to study regional variations in ceramics (Hodder & Orton 1976:98-126). Yet it is important to note that the latter examples are very much from the wider corpus of British pottery analysis rather than post-medieval pottery analysis. Of more direct relevance, there has been considerable application of science to the identification of post-medieval pottery - recent examples include neutron activation analysis on Rhenish stonewares (Hook 1997) and studies of the chemical composition of various post-medieval wares (Gaimster and Hook 1995). Yet while these examples demonstrate the willingness of post-medieval archaeology to use the latest scientific methods to aid identification and classification, by no means do they represent a move towards a British processualist post-medieval archaeological 'science'.

Interpretive Archaeology & Humanism

With the advent of post-processualism, analysis in historical archaeology became more focussed on context and meaning rather than the generation of statistical analytical methods from supposedly objective data; ceramics analysis has followed this general trend. At the same time, much of the most interesting ceramics analysis in historical archaeology grew out of not only the post-processualist tradition but also out of a Deetz-influenced humanist examination of the wider meaning of finds. Given post-processualism's explicit acceptance of a plurality of approaches, and the frequent inter-linking of theoretical strands, many of the examples cited below contain elements of both post-processualism and humanism, and often further contain elements of Marxism, regional/national identity, and other approaches.

Until recently, the post-processualist and humanist traditions have not had a particularly strong influence on British post-medieval pottery studies. Nonetheless a considerable corpus of work that considers wider issues of meaning and interpretation undoubtedly exists. It would be wrong to suggest that these works form a intentional body of theory-informed work or a coherent school of analysis, but at the same time their existence suggests that post-medieval pottery analysis examines interpretation, meaning and ideology far more

frequently than some critics might claim.

Take, for example, David Gaimster's chapters on stoneware as both a utilitarian and social material, and stoneware as a medium for political and religious propaganda in his 1997 tome German Stoneware 1200-1900. Gaimster identifies "three elements of the cultural use of ceramics: function, use and meaning" (Gaimster 1997:115), where the intended function of a vessel is separate from the actual use and both of these factors are distinguished from a vessel's meaning, or the "social role of stoneware in European society" (Gaimster 1997:115). The differentiation between function and use itself allows for a consideration of secondary and unusual functions (or uses) within a vessel's wider social context, of which Scott's discussion of how ordinary tablewares were used in food preparation serves as an excellent example (Scott 1997). The explicit distinction of social meaning from function and use, however, permits an even more in-depth examination of ideology and social context. Gaimster, for example, notes how a double-headed medallion representing a Reformation-period view of the Pope as anti-Christ was frequently reproduced on 16th-century tankards which therefore served as "vehicles for the translation of polemical and propagandist images into the ceramic medium" (Gaimster 1997:148), while the images of family arms or portraits of contemporary princes and potentates could be used by "groups eager to display their fealty and political sympathies, even within the home environment" (Gaimster 1997:153). Placed within Gaimster's tripartite structure of analysis, these studies of meaning gain particular cogency and strength.

While Gaimster is particularly explicit about his agenda, his work hardly represents the only example of a consideration of meaning and interpretation, and a small sampling of examples follows. The report on the Donyatt pottery excavations discusses three dishes that portray Siamese twins from Somerset. Extensive consideration is given to the vessels' social context, and the authors note that changes in the dishes' inscriptions may reflect shifts in public mood and opinion towards the twins (Coleman-Smith and Pearson 1988:178-81). Allen's description of four Bellarmine stoneware "witch bottles" from Hampshire (Allen 1991) includes a discussion (albeit an exceptionally brief one) of secondary function, meaning, and social context. Both John Lewis (1982) and Elizabeth

Lewis (1991b) consider the social background of the Ewenny and Blackwater potteries respectively. Elizabeth Lewis offers the more indepth study (indeed, the potters' environment is the main topic of her paper), but John Lewis' Ewenny Pottery study is particularly notable from the perspective of this dissertation for including the mid to late nineteenth century. Matthews' (1999) discussion of the archaeology of Chester's industrial poor is also notable for including ceramics in its broad examination of the potentialities of status and meaning. It is also the most explicitly theoretical (and Marxist) of these examples. Valuable and informative though the above work is, none of it (with the notable exception of Matthews) can realistically be described as a theory-informed corpus of work. Nonetheless, it does prove that the necessary base for a wider interpretive analysis does, and always has, existed within British post-medieval ceramics analysis.

In historical archaeology, despite the greater role of theory in North America, the practical application of interpretive approaches has been far more implicit in historical archaeology than was the case with explicit applications of processualist models. There is no interpretive counterpart to South's Method and Theory In Historical Archaeology. In addition, the interaction of Deetz-influenced humanism (in its non-processualist form) with interpretive approaches necessitates that, when studying North American archaeology, the two paradigms should be considered together. Deetz himself devotes an entire chapter to pottery in In Small Things Forgotten. Of particular note in this chapter is Deetz's development of Binford's three level structure of function: 'technomic function' is "strictly utilitarian", 'socio-technic function' "involves its [the artefact's] use in a social rather than a technological way", and 'ideo-technic function' "sees the use of artifacts [sic] in religious and ideological contexts" (Deetz 1996:74-5). While Deetz was careful to state that archaeologists should recognise that objects function on all three levels (which have some obvious parallels to Gaimster's model discussed earlier), in practice many admirers of Deetz's work have tended to focus on the 'ideo-technic'. Yentsch's examination of the interaction of gender, space, and pottery cited in section IV serves as an excellent example of a study of the ideo-technic by one of Deetz's more prominent followers. It is this focus on the ideo-technic, on ideology and meaning, that has provided the necessary means for interpretive and humanist theory to interact.

Examinations of ideology have become extremely important to North American scholars studying African-American and plantation archaeology. The various discussions and studies of what has become known as 'Colono Ware' provide an excellent example. This ware was originally named 'colono-indian ware' by Noel-Hume, who believed that the non-European (in form and fabric) coarse earthenware, largely found on plantation sites, had been made by Native Americans - primarily on the theory that slaves would have developed European tastes in pottery and food (Noel-Hume 1962, cited in Ferguson 1992:6-7). It was only later that archaeologists began to look at potential African influences in the pottery. More recently, instead of applying a model of three independent and separate societies (African - European - Native American) to the question of who made the pottery, it was instead recognised that Colono Ware was produced mainly by African-Americans, but as part of a complex interaction between three different, but inextricably linked, cultural groups (Ferguson 1992:22). Once the role of the black population was recognised, it was a relatively simple matter to identify possible ideological signifiers on that pottery, such as potential Bakongo cosmograms (Ferguson 1992:110-16). Similar ideological principles could even be applied to European wares discovered on slave sites; the practice of smashing or perforating the base of ceramic and glass vessels found on slave and free African-American graves has been directly tied to Bakongo funerary practices (Thompson and Cornet 1987). Initially this plantation-derived model may seem to have little relevance to British archaeology, but if Welsh cottagers and Hebridean crofters are perceived as farmers tilling the land on the margins of society - often for landowners who had consciously adopted an 'alien' (English) culture - then a basis for comparison becomes far more evident.

But the ideological approach is not necessarily without potential pitfalls. Given the complex social interactions that revolve around any interpretation of meaning, archaeologists must be aware of the differences between intended and actual ideology, and how meaning can shift depending on a vessel or assemblage's context. For example, a swastika printed as a one of a series of good-luck symbols on an early twentieth-century saucer might have an entirely new potential connotation when used by Americans of German descent post-1933 (Yamin 1998). Adrian and Mary Praetzellis have done some particularly cogent

work in this regard. During work on the Chinese community of Sacramento, California, the Praetzellises noted that they had found large amounts of European, as opposed to Chinese, pottery in 19th century Chinatown sites. This was not a result of a process of acculturation, where the Chinese community rejected their Chinese heritage in favour of Anglo-American culture, but rather resulted from the purchase of Chinatown's ceramics by an American middleman (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1998). Any archaeologist using an interpretive approach must be aware of the multitude of competing and cooperating social interactions that help to form a site's ideological basis.

The preceding surveys of historical and post-medieval archaeology and ceramics analysis must inevitably lead to a final summation of this thesis' theoretical and methodological approach. The conclusion to chapter one acknowledged the existence of "supra-theoretical dialectic". Yet it is important to note that a recognition of this dialectic does not free an author from his or her inherent theoretical biases. Thus the theoretical framework of this thesis is mostly within the post-processualist, interpretive approach that originated in Britain, but it also includes large-scale themes and considerations of social development and change perhaps more usually associated with American processualism. A certain stress is placed on interpretation, but the quantification of data born of processualism is not rejected, although it is examined critically. What is absolutely rejected is the concept that quantification can lead to a purely objective "scientific" archaeology. At the same time, this thesis does not adhere to the radical relativism sometimes associated with some of the more theoretical interpretive approaches; put succinctly, this thesis holds that while there may not be a single right answer, there are plenty of wrong ones.

II - A NEW MODEL FOR CERAMICS ANALYSIS

Amongst the more interesting aspects of the preceding historiographies and the acknowledgement of the supra-theoretical dialectic are the implications for interactions between historical and post-medieval archaeology, and particularly comparative ceramics analysis between those two sub-disciplines. As argued in chapter 1, North American archaeology will tend towards an objective-processualist worldview due to its roots in an anthropological study of prehistory.

British archaeology will tend towards a more subjective/post-processualist worldview due to its more diffused multi-period roots. As the first part of this chapter has demonstrated, ceramics analysis in historical archaeology has indeed developed systems that aim to understand the ceramics record through quantification. Yet arguably an increasingly blind dependence on the quantification of data has had a negative effect on North American reports, many of which appear to believe that the mere existence of spreadsheets somehow imparts scientific respectability to a document. Post-medieval archaeology, on the other hand, remains largely atheoretical. To the effect that the objective worldview affected British ceramics analysis as a whole, it was in enabling British archaeology to describe (rather than 'understand') the ceramics record. Recent developments (particularly the work of Gaimster and Matthews) do suggest that an implicit idealist post-processualist perspective is taking root, but post-medieval ceramics analysis is still typified by the description and development of typologies.

Within this context, this thesis advances the proposal that development of ceramics analysis on both sides of the Atlantic requires a new model that can help to structure and contextualise a wide panoply of inter-linking approaches. For Britain, the development of this new paradigm will encourage the continuing development of theory-informed analysis away from the constraints of the traditional focus on "date", "trade" and "function and status". For North America, this new model would offer an opportunity to contextualise the different methodological concerns of ceramics analysis in historical archaeology. Finally, as theory-informed post-medieval ceramics analysis continues to grow, this new model will provide a framework within which historical and post-medieval ceramicists can communicate and share analysis despite the inevitable differences in theoretical sympathies identified in this thesis.

A Critique of the Traditional British Analytical Model

Before proposing the model, it is necessary to offer a critique of the traditional conceptual framework used in British ceramics analysis. While it is firmly believed that the model will be relevant for both post-medieval and historical ceramics analysis, it is appropriate to focus on British archaeology in this instance, as it is British archaeology that - perhaps unexpectedly - has developed the most overt and coherent conceptual categorisation of ceramics analysis. In British

ceramics analysis, pottery has traditionally had three main functions in archaeological analysis. They are date, trade, and the single combination of function and status (Orton et al. 1993:23-30). A model which is this broad and general can be made to fit most needs, but it is arguably inadequate for sites post-dating 1750 given the specific methodological issues arising from the study of the pottery of the industrial period. Furthermore, this traditional model arguably constrains wider interpretive analysis through its narrow focus on three subjects.

Each aspect of the traditional 'big three' will be discussed in turn before an alternative is offered. The first category is date. There is no real need to analyse this category in detail. The usefulness of pottery to dating is, and will remain, central to ceramics analysis. Indeed, said usefulness is enhanced in historical archaeology due to the tight dates that can be ascribed to wares through the documentary record and through makers' and registration marks (the prints and impressions that a pottery firm places on the bottom of a vessel to identify its own work). For example, the Davenport firm (wares of which are common on both sides of the Atlantic) has been operating since c.1793. The cross-referencing of the available data can often pinpoint a particular Davenport mark to a tight 10 year period of manufacture (eg. Godden 1991:189-191), and Davenport is by no means unusual in this regard. This is in obvious contrast to earlier periods where such tight dating is at best unusual.

The next traditional area is trade. This is a more involved issue that contains several different aspects, one of which is identifying the point of origin in order to identify trade routes and markets. This is a far less vital aspect for the analysis of industrial pottery. Ewins' work (1997) proves that trade and economy remains important on the large-scale macro-level, but this is less true on the individual site level. The domination of ceramics production by a few manufacturing centres (particularly Staffordshire), the standardisation of fabric, the proliferation of makers' marks, and perhaps most importantly the improvement of global, national, and local transport and trade links means that identifying point of origin is both considerably easier but yet somehow less vital to our understanding of the past. Staffordshire vessels are as likely to be found in New South Wales and Newfoundland as north Pembrokeshire - and even more isolated areas such as the Falklands (Barker 1996). While the origin of wares

may prove of some interest in some cases, only locally made coarsewares will prove to be of consistent interest in providing useful information about local economies. But this is a largely methodological example. 'Trade' also implicitly includes a consideration of wider economic issues. Given the complexity of industrial economies, trade cannot be examined through an economic lens alone. In addition to economy, issues of consumer choice, social interaction, and status are all part of the study of consumption in the 18th and 19th centuries (eg. Buckham 1999). As such "trade" is an inadequate category to fully examine the full inter-linked issues of social economy and consumption so important to an analysis of the material culture of the more recent past.

Finally, there is the joint category of status and function. Instead of a single category, these should be seen as separate, though inevitably interrelated, issues. In Pottery in Archaeology, Orton, Tyers and Vince state that these categories are the "most neglected" (Orton et al. 1993:28). While this may well be true for archaeological ceramics analysis as a whole, both of these categories have a strong tradition in the literature of historical archaeology. As demonstrated in the historiographies, questions of function are extremely important to historic and post-medieval ceramics analysis (eg. Allen 1991; E. Scott 1997; Thompson and Cornet 1987). Orton, Tyers, and Vince refer to status as "even less accessible than function" (1993:29). While this might be true to a certain extent, status has nonetheless frequently been central to ceramics analysis in historical archaeology. As the historiographies demonstrated, this is particularly true for plantation archaeology (eg. Adams and Boling 1991; Ferguson 1992; Heath 1991).

This is not to claim that the importance of function and status vary across periods, but rather that they are more accessible to archaeologists studying the more recent past. Two of the primary reasons for this accessibility are the amount of available documentation, and the greater similarity of ideologies and meanings of the recent past with our own. Perhaps this seems self-evident, but there are wider implications. For example, the economic element of status can be deduced - at least to a small degree - by examining manufacturer's price lists (Ewins 1997; G. Miller 1991), while parts of the social elements of status can be studied through the greater visibility of social hierarchies, structures and etiquette, all of which were rigidly documented in the nineteenth century (Pool 1993:33-58) - though

perhaps not always quite so rigidly adhered to. Furthermore, while 18th and 19th century society and culture were by no mean identical to the present, major elements of function and meaning from these centuries remain current in the present. For example, while the functional forms of 17th century vessels appear to contain many categories with little relevance or meaning to the modern household, such as caudle pots, sillabub pots, chafing dishes and betty lamps (eg. Beaudry et al. 1991), Scott's analysis of form and function through 18th and 19th century cookbooks (Scott 1997) is made all the easier by the use of terminologies that are still current. The wealth and complexity of the available data thus gives the archaeology of the more recent past opportunities to examine a wider and more detailed arena of information than is suggested by the traditional British model of "date-trade-function/status". Inadequate though it might be, at least British analysis has a conceptual model; North American ceramics analysis has no similar explicit model to follow, and the existence of a theory-informed model equally applicable to research on both sides of the Atlantic is potentially of tremendous benefit in contextualising shared research.

The New Model

With these various issues and agendas in mind, this thesis proposes a ceramics analysis model that replaces the traditional date, trade, and function-status model with a dual-level structure comprised of minimally interpretive issues, and interpretive issues (table 2.1). This is not a total rejection of the "big three" as much as it is an adaptation. Indeed, the strength of this model is not that it attempts to say anything intrinsically new, but rather that it enables the ceramicist to pull together existing theoretical and methodological threads into a single coherent structure.

Central to the themes in this section is the concept that ceramics analysis is not the absolute objective practice that processual approaches implicitly assume it is, but is instead subjective at all levels, though to varying degrees. With ware and form types an objective identification is possible in many cases, but a subjective, interpretive element creeps in even on the most basic level based on the identifier's own knowledge and experience. Ceramics analysis cannot rest on the assumption that identification is always based on definable absolutes. Miller, for example, has noted that the transition from creamware and pearlware to

LEVEL 1 - MINIMALLY INTERPRETIVE ISSUES:

WARE -- FORM -- DATE

LEVEL 2 - INTERPRETIVE ISSUES:

STATUS -- ECONOMY -- FUNCTION -- MEANING

TABLE 2.1
THE NEW CERAMICS ANALYSIS MODEL

whiteware was a gradual process (G. Miller 1980). As a result, identification of these transitional wares can be highly subjective and five different ceramicists might well produce 5 different vessel counts. Vessel form identification can be similarly problematic, for example when attempting to separate cups, bowls and saucers from one centimeter square rim sherds. While some standardisation of forms occurs with the advent of industrialisation - thus rendering identification somewhat simpler - the subjective element must be recognised. Thus other areas of analysis, such as function, status, and meaning, which depend on these basic building blocks of analysis, by necessity rest on at least slightly subjective foundations. The actual structure of the new model will now be examined in detail.

Within the “minimally interpretive” category are ware identification, form identification, and date identification. This is the most basic level of the model. Without these basic building blocks of identification, further analysis would be impossible. Ware and form are much easier to identify post-1750 than for earlier periods due to the standardisation of types due to industrialisation, the level of available documentation, and the sheer scale of available comparable information from industrial kiln sites. The same is true for the most part for vessel date - though those studying industrial wares are hardly immune from arguments over standardisation of ware and form descriptions (eg. Brooks and Heck 1995). Nonetheless, in most cases, identification is usually considerably easier for the historical archaeologist than for earlier ceramicists.

Within the “interpretive” category are placed the more difficult issues of function, status, economy and meaning. Each of these vitally important and inextricably linked categories require a somewhat more detailed examination. First of all status; once again documents exist that can considerably aid interpretation of status-related issues. Historical archaeologists have far more evidence to aid in the understanding of the relationships between different social groups than those working in earlier periods. To take an example from chapter 5, Thomas Jefferson kept meticulous records of all of his plantation transactions, including extensive lists of his slaves and their role on the property (eg. Chambers 1993:68,133). Despite this greater accessibility, interpretation is both necessary and inevitable. While the economic aspect of status may be partially reducible to statistical method, the social aspect cannot be adequately quantified.

Considerable work has been done on the economy of ceramics. Miller's examination of price lists to develop the CC index (G. Miller 1980; 1991) is only the most famous. More recently, Ewins' (1997) and Gaimster's (1997:51-114) research has greatly contributed to the understanding of the mechanics of international pottery trade on the macro-level. Individual sites have also featured in research, of which Heath's groundbreaking work on slave-merchant interaction in central Virginia (Heath 1997) stands as a particularly important example. Yet if 'economy' appears to stand on documentary foundations that are comparatively firm, the interaction of price and local economy with other interpretive issues adds a welter of modifiers that demand more in-depth interpretation. It cannot, for example, be assumed that all expensive ceramics in an assemblage were purchased by the household that generated that assemblage. This has often been demonstrated with regards to slave-related sites (eg. Adams and Boling 1991; Brooks 1994). It should never be assumed that there is a straightforward relationship between cost and economy. Archaeologists should always be aware of other interpretive issues, particularly as regards consumer choice (eg. Buckham 1999).

Function may initially seem to be a relatively straightforward category, but considerations of secondary and/or unusual functions are still uncommon in the British post-medieval literature. For the most part, British reports implicitly assume that function follows form (some exceptions can be found in the historiography). If one accepts that vessel function is more readily accessible to those studying more recent periods, whether through cookbooks (Scott 1997), catalogues (Bosomworth 1991), or simple familiarity with still-existing forms and functions, then the inevitable corollary is that secondary - and indeed tertiary and beyond - functions are also more readily identifiable. For example, which vessels are used on an everyday basis, and which are used for display? What significance might this difference in function have? Ceramics reports must contain a careful consideration of these issues.

The final interpretive category is meaning, and here this thesis specifically refers to the potential wider ideological meaning not only of an assemblage, but also of individual vessels. This is the category that arguably has the weakest

tradition on both sides of the Atlantic, at least as far as attempts to apply ideology to analysis on a practical basis are concerned (again, exceptions can be found in the appropriate section of the historiographies). It is also probably the most difficult for archaeologists to access. Realistically, there will be situations when the ideological meaning of an assemblage as a whole remains inaccessible. On the other hand, awareness of the relevant ideological issues that might affect a particular site as occur on individual vessels may well prove invaluable. Edwards' (1998) and Sobel's (1987) individual work on African-American ideology provides a particularly useful example in this regard. Both authors clearly demonstrate the wide variety of cultural factors, both African and European, that inevitably impact any interpretation of slave-related sites.

With the structures of the model in place, it is important to set explicit parameters, both theoretical and methodological, on how it is hoped this structure will be used. From a methodological perspective, the model helps the ceramicist to conceptualise the interactions and relationships between different levels of analysis. It further serves to strengthen method by explicitly listing the major themes of interpretive ceramics analysis; the researcher is thus forced to at least acknowledge these issues. Although there will undoubtedly be cases where the categories of the interpretive level are not equally applicable to the analysis of each assemblage, use of the paradigm will nonetheless strongly encourage the researcher to consider each category carefully before deciding which ones to apply.

On the theoretical level, it is important to note that the categories of the model are intentionally loosely defined. Each site is different and requires a different interpretive focus. Each analyst is different and will bring their own different experiences and interests to analysis. Because these differences must be acknowledged, it would be wrong to propose a framework that would restrict individuals to a single, rigid, doctrinaire approach to analysis. Instead, individuals are encouraged to apply the model according to their own different needs and requirements, to approach each category afresh. Thus while this section has identified economy, status, function, and meaning as major themes in ceramics analysis, no attempt has been made to define them too closely. To do so might unduly direct individuals into this author's worldview, something which any

recognition of the importance of context and experience renders intolerable.

Before moving on to a critique of traditional analytical techniques, it is worth briefly considering how this overtly post-processualist interpretive paradigm fits into the supra-theoretical dialectic. As with so many models, methods and frameworks in archaeology, it takes little to turn something proposed in one intellectual tradition into something usable in the other. With this ceramics paradigm, it is the use of language that holds the key. The two levels of the framework and the categories in each level are not themselves inherently part of one theoretical framework or another, it is the description of each level as "minimally interpretive" and "interpretive" that signals the theoretical perspective. If the first level were to have been named "identification" and the second "hypotheses" there is absolutely no reason why the framework could not have been proposed by a processualist. The application of method frequently slides between the opposing materialist and idealist worldviews, and ceramics analysis is no exception.

III - TRADITIONAL ANALYTICAL METHODS

The development of a new model for ceramics analysis in historical archaeology necessitates an indepth critique of some of the traditional analytical techniques specifically developed for historical and post-medieval ceramics analysis. North American historical archaeology has developed the vast majority of specific methods for the analysis of industrial pottery, so by necessity this section concentrates on American method - although British and international method are used where appropriate for comparative purposes. This section will concentrate on the two methods that arguably dominate everyday ceramics analysis in North America: the Mean Ceramic Date Formula of Stanley South (1977), and the CC Index Values of George Miller (1980, 1991). Before these methods can be critiqued, it is necessary to consider the impact of approaches to vessel counts, without which no mean date or CC index could be calculated.

Vessel Counts

A minimum vessel count (or MVC) is, as the name suggests, intended to provide a means to estimate the number of vessels that occur on a site. A

number of different methods exist to calculate the number of vessels occurring on a site. This issue, and the background thereof, has been discussed in considerable depth by Orton and his collaborators (eg. Orton 1985; Orton and Tyers 1990; Orton et al. 1993:166-175), and indepth discussion of all the various counting methods used by ceramicists need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that there are four primary methods for counting an assemblage: sherd counts, weight counts, the estimated vessel equivalent (*eve*) and estimates of vessels represented (*evrep*) Of these, Orton and his colleagues strongly advocate basing quantification based on *eves* (Orton and Tyers 1990:97; Orton et al. 1993:171-173)

Despite Orton's best efforts to spark debate and provide solutions, vessel counting remains one of the great unspoken mysteries of both historical and post-medieval archaeology. Very few, if any, reports specifically state the method used to quantify their pottery. This has very serious implications for comparative ceramics analysis. Different count methods usually result in slightly different counts, therefore there is a serious risk that the analyst comparing assemblages is not actually comparing like with like. The method used for counting the vessels in this thesis is a form of minimum vessel count (MVC), itself perhaps best visualised as a form of *evrep*. As will be seen, this is an admittedly imperfect method, but as all counting methods will ultimately prove to be imperfect under most circumstances, this was by far the best option that could be feasibly used herein.

The specific form of MVC used in this thesis identifies vessels by the occurrence of rim sherds and unique body sherds. Most vessels are identified by the grouping of mending and/or identical rims, although some vessels were identified by the presence of clearly unique body sherds. This calculates what might be termed as a "sensible minimum" rather than an absolute minimum - the latter would always be ludicrously reductive 'one' for each form and ware. A "sensible minimum" is simply a common sense statement and assertion that there are at least this many vessels in this assemblage, and that this minimum is acceptably close (though in most cases somewhat lower) to the actual number of vessels. Some specific methodological issues do arise from applying this method to industrial ceramics, notably in comparing decorated pearlware with undecorated creamware. In brief, the number of undecorated vessels will often

be somewhat underestimated as more decorated vessels will be identified from unique body sherds. However, it is held that as long as the inherently subjective element of most vessel counts is acknowledged, this should not prove to be an insurmountable obstacle.

Other count methods available were rejected for a variety of reasons. Sherd counts can be dismissed out of hand as wildly inaccurate. A shattered shelledged plate, for example, will produce far more undecorated fragments than decorated simply because the decoration is restricted to a small fraction of the vessel (the rim). A count based on vessel weight presupposes that the weight of a complete vessel is known. No comparative typology of weight exists for industrial ceramics, and given the sheer scale of the project, no attempt was made to create one here. Without this hypothetical typology, weight counts were thus impossible. A similar problem exists for counts based on rim and/or vessel completeness. While the standardisation and regularity of form in industrial materials might superficially indicate that this is the most satisfactory method available, in reality, the high level of fragmentation in many of the assemblages discussed in this thesis rendered this method impractical. This is further complicated by site conditions and excavation method; in most sites, excavation recovered a sample, rather than anything resembling a totality, of the assemblage. With the Quarter Site (chapter 5) in particular, any count based on completeness would have gravely underestimated the vessels occurring as many vessels were identified by single sherds, many half an inch (2 cm) in diameter or less. But the final reason for selecting a MVC over all other counting methods is a matter of quite straightforward methodology. The two sites in chapter 5 had already been counted before this research was undertaken, and the method used to count the vessels was an MVC. Since methodological consistency was absolutely necessary for the comparative analysis in chapter 6, the MVC was the only count realistically available.

Any discussion of counting methods can only serve to demonstrate that vessel counts, supposedly the solid objective root of all further ceramics analysis, by necessity contain a subjective element. The accuracy of each count will vary depending on the counting method, excavation techniques, the fragmentation of the assemblage and, inevitably, the experience of the researcher. The important

element of a count is thus not the total accuracy, but rather the degree of confidence in their relative accuracy. While all counts in this thesis are as accurate as feasibly possible, they are under no circumstances held to be rigidly quantified absolutes. As the following methodological discussions will make clear, the subjective element of counts means that they are perhaps not the best foundation upon which to base supposedly rigorous quantitative and 'scientific' analysis.

The Mean Ceramic Date

Stanley South's Mean Ceramic Date formula (hereafter referred to as the MCD) was originally published in Method and Theory in Historical Archeology (South 1977:217-8) and has become a commonly accepted analytical tool for ceramics in North American historical archaeology. As discussed in the first part of this chapter, South's system ostensibly permits the archaeologist to calculate a mean date of occupation for a site based on the dates of the site's pottery. The mathematical formula and concepts involved in the MCD (not to mention its original published source) very much highlight the technique as a child of processualist archaeology. The ubiquity of the MCD in North American practice unfortunately serves to mask some serious flaws.

On a practical level, the mean ceramic date is supposed to work as follows. A vessel count is calculated for the site (South originally suggested using sherd counts, but most reports today use a vessel count). Each ware type's median date of manufacture is multiplied by the vessel count for that type. The figures for each ware type are then added together, and then divided by the total number of vessels. This final figure is theoretically the mean date of occupation for the site (South 1977:217-218). While South only originally postulated using overall ware type dates, it is possible to further "refine" the system by using decorative techniques. In other words, while pearlware dates from c.1780-c.1820 (median date 1800), rococo shelledge pearlware dates from c.1780-c.1810 (median date 1795) and polychrome painted pearlware dates from c.1790-c.1820 (median date 1805) (Andrews et al. 1996:23).

The first important flaw with the MCD is methodological, and lies in the previously discussed vessel count discrepancy. As noted earlier, an MVC will

tend to underestimate the number of undecorated vessels in an assemblage. The undecorated wares (predominantly creamware) in the period 1760-1820 can often represent an earlier sample as decorated wares become more common only with the introduction of pearlware in c.1780. By underestimating the presence of undecorated wares, a vessel count will thus probably cause an MCD to produce a later date than the actual mean date for the assemblage. The opposite problem exists when working on later American sites dating from c.1820-1880. The return to popularity of undecorated wares (in the form of ironstone/white granite) around 1850 will cause the MCD to tend towards earlier dates than the actual assemblage mean.

The second problem with the MCD is economic. The MCD makes no allowance for regional variation in availability, acquisition and consumption, and instead implicitly assumes that a single mathematical formula can account for all of these issues, irrespective of a site's geographical, social, or economic context. While obviously no site can acquire a ware type before the invention of that type, it would be dangerous to assume that each ware type is introduced everywhere uniformly, peaks in popularity uniformly, or stops being acquired uniformly - cessation of production does not translate into an immediate cessation of acquisition. For example, Ewins' recent examination of the economics of the Staffordshire ceramics trade amply demonstrates how unevenly wares were distributed across the American continent (Ewins 1997). Furthermore, exports to North America skyrocketed upon the conclusion of the War of 1812 and the Napoleonic trade embargo. Many of the materials dumped onto the market were out of date, and thus do not accurately reflect date of manufacture.

The final problem with the MCD is mathematical. This is a fundamental problem, as it is central to the MCD's whole theoretical *raison d'être*. In essence, the MCD is not a mean date, but rather a mean of median dates. This point has been discussed in previous research (Brooks 1992:31-5) but a more sophisticated and concise analysis is now possible. The MCD, in essence, is an algebraic expression of a unimodal probability curve with a peak of probability occurring in the direct centre of the curve (table 2.2). However, ceramic probability curves never adhere so rigidly to this formula; table 2.2 demonstrates this discrepancy through real probability/popularity curves adapted from Samford's (1997:16) work

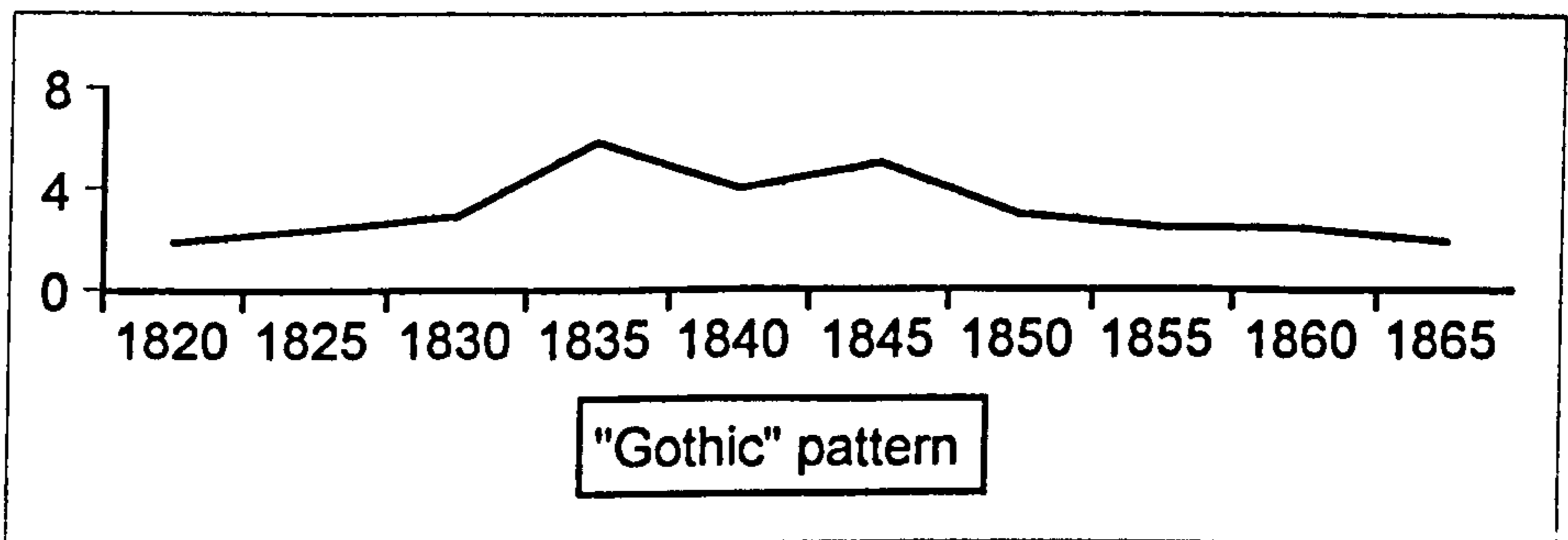
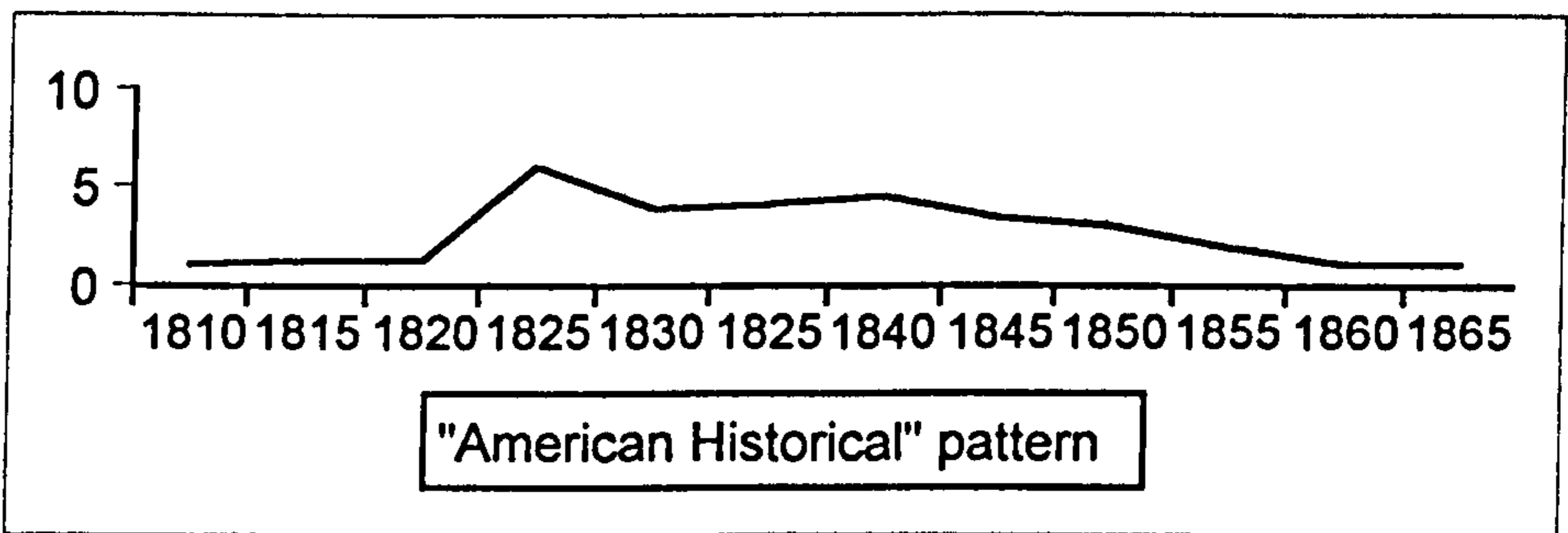
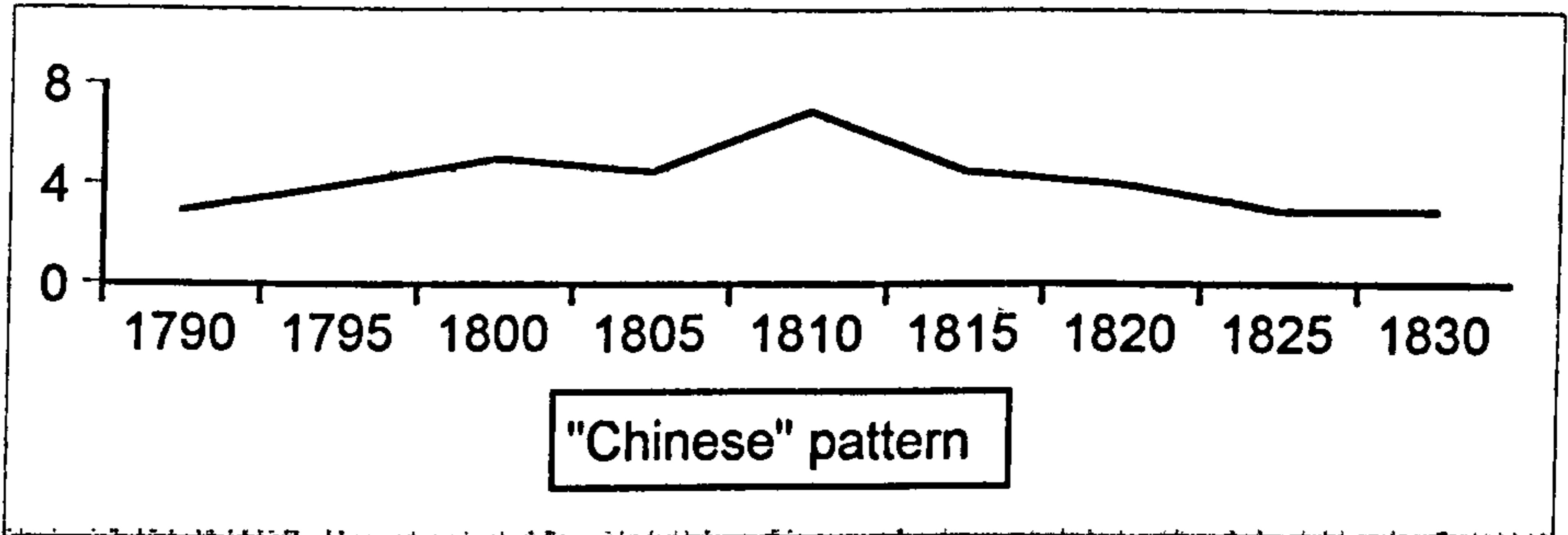
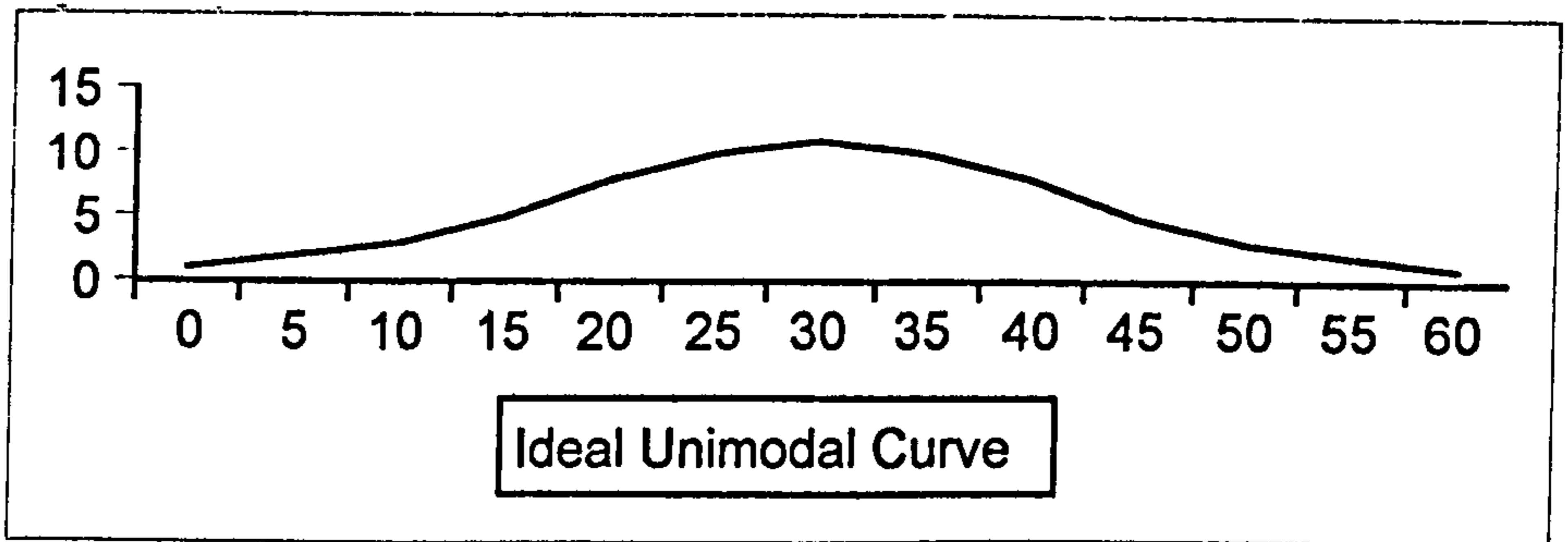


TABLE 2.2
UNIMODAL PROBABILITY CURVES

Data adapted from Samford 1997:16.
X-axis = years
Y-axis = frequency of occurrence.

on transfer print dating. Real finds in real life do not generate ideal unimodal probability curves. Thus the MCD does not calculate the actual mean date of ceramic occurrence, but rather the mean of the median dates of the ceramic types in an assemblage. The distortion that this will cause is unpredictable and will vary depending on the types of ceramics found in an assemblage, but given that this observation undermines the entire basis of the MCD, it cannot be dismissed. Short of seriating virtually every available ware and decoration dating between 1750 and 1900 and calculating actual mean dates from that data, it is difficult to see how this problem can be resolved

Deetz's statement that "the value of this [dating] technique is demonstrated in its use: it works" (Deetz 1996:25) must be reexamined in light of the above issues. Of the 11 examples originally used by South in 1977 to demonstrate the MCD, six sites show a variation of 5 to 21 years from a site's actual mean date of occupation. The objection voiced by this author in 1992 - that 5 to 21 years would make a prehistorian or classicist ecstatic, but is far more of a problem with historic sites where documentary and other evidence can also pinpoint a site's occupation period (Brooks 1992:33) - is still valid. Sites with short periods of occupation may well produce MCDs completely outside the site's actual dates. Furthermore, analysis of sites with several periods of occupation that rapidly follow on from one another (such as the Welsh sites in chapter 4) will raise further questions, especially when different households are involved in the different periods. For example, how should a site's mean period of occupation be considered under these circumstances - by household or overall occupation?

Despite all of these problems, the MCD can still be used for analysis as long as the researcher is aware that he or she is dealing with a flawed instrument of estimation rather than a scientifically valid producer of absolute dates. There are circumstances where a "mistake" in the MCD may itself raise interesting issues. Some American archaeologists, for example, have attempted to use earlier than expected MCDs to demonstrate timelag, the principle that poorer households will acquire cheaper, out of date goods, thus producing an earlier MCD (Deetz 1996:26-7). Ultimately the MCD is a flawed tool, perhaps useful as a general guide under some limited and highly specific circumstances, but certainly not as a rigorous "scientific" method.

CC Index Values

Miller's CC Index Values, formulated and then revised in two separate articles in 1980 and 1991, were one of the most statistically thorough analytical methodological tools proposed in historic ceramics analysis in the last 15 years. As with the Mean Ceramic Date, CC index calculation has become virtually ubiquitous in historical archaeology - although unlike the MCD, the CC Index is limited to the study of 18th and 19th century materials. Unfortunately, also as with the MCD, there are several serious methodological concerns with the method.

The CC index provides a means to quantify - and then compare - the economic value of an assemblage. In theory, this can be particularly useful given the usual absence of anything more than a broad knowledge about a site's economic background, from "poor" to "wealthy". By examining potters' price lists and price-fixing agreements, Miller developed a series of scaled, temporally-adjustable values for different decorative techniques. The minimum value on this scale, always for undecorated wares, is 1.00; all other decorative techniques are expressed as a ratio above this. To take into account temporal changes in cost and fashion, a range of dates is available for calculation, with the indices adjusted accordingly. For example, in 1816, a 10 inch shelledge plate was worth 1.43 times the value of its undecorated counterpart, while a transfer-printed plate was worth 2.86 times as much. Under Miller's system, index values are calculated for plates, bowls, and teawares (cups and saucers), although the practice of calculating an overall value from combining those three groups is reasonably widespread. To calculate a CC index value, take the value for each decorative technique from the charts Miller provided (the 1991 revisions rather than the 1980 originals), multiply this figure by the number of vessels occurring in that decoration, add these figures together, and then divide by the total number of vessels occurring in that category. The final figure theoretically provides the quantified and comparable index value for that part of the assemblage.

The first and most contentious problem with the CC index arises from the sheer inconsistency of methods of calculation. Unfortunately, Miller's printed instructions on how to calculate index values are at best ambiguous (Brooks and Heck 1995:2-4). For example, there is little guidance on how to consider

teawares; while cups are separated according to size (“London” or “Irish”), there is no attempt to discuss how the saucers associated with the cups should be considered (G. Miller 1991:15-21). Similarly, plates are divided according to rim size, from a 5 inch “muffin” to a 14 inch dish (G. Miller 1991:14), but there is no attempt to guide the researcher working with highly fragmented assemblages where rim diameter can at best only be estimated. Finally, although Miller argues throughout both papers for the adoption of a form and decoration typology based on the original potters’ terminology, this typology is only widespread in Miller’s own work. This complicates comparisons with research that uses a more traditional typology. Because of these ambiguities, ceramicists can produce widely varying CC index values for the same assemblage.

Once again, the vessel count presents potential problems for an analytical technique. In this case, the CC index assumes that the undecorated wares are the least expensive, with (roughly speaking) increasingly elaborate decorative techniques becoming ever more expensive. As an MVC may underestimate the number of undecorated wares, then by implication it also overestimates the economic value of a total assemblage. Perhaps a more serious issue is that the CC Index fails to consider some vessel types at all. Neither porcelain nor coarse earthenwares appear in Miller’s tables. Porcelain was the most expensive ware available while coarse earthenwares were the least expensive, and both often comprise a significant portion of the assemblage. Their exclusion therefore potentially has a significant impact on analysis. Some researchers have attempted to include porcelain by assigning it an arbitrary value of 6, the maximum index value available (eg. Heath 1991:69), but as this is by no means a universal practice (and a somewhat arbitrary one), it further complicates calculation and comparison.

Finally, the CC index, like the MCD, suffers from its failure to consider regional variation in availability and price. To reiterate, the Index is based on precise ratios of values of decorative techniques, often calculated to two decimal points. While these ratios are adjusted by date, there is no attempt at geographical adjustment - although this would admittedly be a mammoth task even if it were possible. Furthermore, the laws of supply and demand will cause regional variation in cost due to regional variation in availability, not to mention the

regional variations in taste observed by Ewins (1997). These variations may be relevant both to the totality of the assemblage (thus complicating comparison between sites) and within the assemblage (thus complicating analysis for a single site). This alone should discourage a researcher from using the CC index as an unadulterated status indicator - a practice that is far too common and which can throw up some unusual results. Most glaringly of all, the CC index utterly fails to consider British markets, which often differed significantly from their American counterparts (see chapter 6). This renders the CC index virtually worthless in British analysis.

It should be stressed that despite the flaws and discrepancies in vessel counts, mean dates, and economic indices, discussed above, this thesis by no means proposes that quantification should be abandoned. Indeed, it is explicitly accepted that methods that allow archaeologists to coherently manage and quantify their data are absolutely necessary. At the same time, it must be recognised that quantification can mask a considerable amount of subjectivity and interpretation - it is not a means to an artificially scientific objectivity. This is an especially important point to consider given the parameters of the analytical paradigm advanced in section 2 of this chapter. Following these various discussions, it is possible to consider some new methods of and approaches to analysis that address the issues raised in this chapter.

IV - SOME MODEST PROPOSALS

If traditional methods are to be criticised, then it is incumbent on the criticiser to consider alternatives to those methods. This section of the chapter therefore offers several approaches to the analysis of industrial-period ceramics within the context of the new interpretive paradigm previously discussed in section II. The examination of status and economy, for example, can still be addressed through the assumptions that are at the foundation of CC indices. Despite the problems with implementing the CC Index, Miller's ultimately valuable work rests on far more solid foundations than the MCD. The precise ratios may not reflect possible regional or local differences, but the basic relationships between the value of the most common decorative techniques appears to be constant; transfer-printed wares are more expensive than painted wares, which are more

expensive than shelled wares, which are in turn more expensive than undecorated wares. Furthermore, while Miller does not provide ratios for porcelain, it is commonly accepted among archaeologists that the latter was consistently more expensive than earthenwares. From these assumptions, it is possible to build a table that quickly expresses these relationships in percentage form (table 2.3), therefore allowing a researcher a quick and easy method of comparing different assemblages' relative worth. This system by no means claims to adhere to the same levels of quantitative rigour assigned to the MCD or CC Index value - it is intended as a quick guide rather than a "scientific" method - but it does address some of the problems inherent in CC Index calculation. The simplicity of calculation should avoid some of the methodological pitfalls of the CC Index, while the more general relationship between decorative techniques should address many (though perhaps not all) of the issues arising from regional variation. This thesis rigorously tests this proposed new method in the subsequent case studies. Unfortunately, the issue of distortion from MVCs cannot be entirely eliminated, but if the same MVC system is used for each site under analysis, at least any distortion will be consistent across the sites.

Dating an assemblage or a site through pottery dates by no means need rely on overly complicated pseudo-scientific mathematics. The vast corpus of British and American typological work, as discussed in the first section of this chapter, easily provides dates of manufacture for most common - and many uncommon - wares and decorations. Simple application of the basic archaeological principle of *terminus post quem* will be adequate to date many assemblages and depositions. In sites with more involved stratigraphy, it may well be necessary to combine analysis of TPQs with a common stratigraphic technique such as the Harris matrix (Harris 1989). But this is hardly a revolutionary proposal; British archaeologists have been applying this common sense advice almost since the beginning of the discipline.

As far as inconsistencies in counting methods are concerned, it would be a mistake to believe that expected differences in counts are a severe problem. Instead they are an unavoidable part of ceramics analysis. On a practical basis, the impact of counting differences can be minimised if an analyst explicitly states at some point in a report the method used to count the vessels therein. This will

Porcelain

Transfer Prints

Painted

Shelleged

Undecorated

TABLE 2.3

DECORATIVE CATEGORIES IN STATUS/ECONOMY ANALYSIS

The above categories show the ranking of the most common tableware decorative techniques (counting porcelain as a 'decoration' in this instance) ranked from most expensive to least expensive, starting at the top.

permit another analyst to replicate those counting conditions should they wish to do so for comparative purposes. This common sense good practice recommendation has been followed throughout the case studies in this thesis. Those of a more mathematical inclination than this author may wish to consider the application of Bayesian adjustments to vessel counts. This mathematical method recognises the impact of uncertainty to counts by allowing for adjustments to a count by assigning “degrees of certainty” to totals (A.C. Brooks FIMA, CMA, pers. comm., 20 November 1999), and may well prove a way forward for many archaeological counts. The practical application of Bayesian adjustments on the archaeological record still requires further testing and this method has therefore not been used in this thesis, but this may well prove to be a future way forward.

Within the structure of this thesis' analytical paradigm, the single area with the greatest need for expansion is the subjective, qualitative, and potentially frustrating “meaning” category. “Meaning” is, of course, a theoretically loaded word in archaeology, but in this context, it refers to the ideological meaning - whether social, political, or otherwise - of both the entire assemblage and of individual vessels. There are many examples of analyses of the ideological meaning both of whole assemblages and a site's wider material culture (as extensively discussed in the historiographies of this and the first chapter), but the potentially equally important analysis of individual vessels' meaning is far more neglected.

Any analysis of a vessel's meaning will require an understanding of a range of contexts, both on the local and wider scale. To take but one example, recent research has addressed issues of the creation and manipulation of British, Scots, and Welsh identities on 19th transfer-printed wares, but as this research acknowledged, the ideological meaning consciously or unconsciously ascribed to a vessel at its point of production can vary greatly from that ascribed at the point of consumption (Brooks 1997; 1999). A North American example illustrates this point perfectly: a blue painted Staffordshire pearlware vessel recovered from the Quarter Site (see chapter 5) included a motif similar to a BaKongo cosmogram. The original Staffordshire potter was almost certainly unfamiliar with late eighteenth century BaKongo cosmology, thus the vessel demonstrates how the potential meaning can shift as context changes. Unfortunately, the study of the

meaning of decorative motifs for the pottery of this period is still in its infancy, and is usually tied to highly specific circumstances - such as the painted pearlware vessel mentioned above. Until more extensive specific examinations of this type of information have taken place, the best current course of action is for the researcher to be aware of the socio-historical context of his or her site, and use this information and its potential implications when engaging in an interpretive analysis of the assemblage's decorative techniques.

To conclude both this examination of methodology and the chapter, it is worth briefly discussing the importance of comparative analysis to ceramics analysis. Initially, suggesting a program of comparative analysis may seem simply like common sense; after all, local, regional, and national variations in the ceramics record cannot be determined until different assemblages are compared. Within historical archaeology there is indeed a tradition of sorts of comparative analysis, examples of which include Adams and Boling's CC index-based survey of plantation sites (Adams and Boling 1991) or Orser's more ambitious comparison of sites in Ireland and Brazil (Orser 1996). The fact that many of these studies contain data gathered and calculated by a single analyst does, however, mask a basic problem in comparative analysis: the sheer variety of slightly (and sometimes significantly) different methods used to calculate counts, indices and other quantified information means that while individual sites' data may be broadly accurate, it is frequently not directly comparable. Thus instead of having a vast body of comparative data, the 18th and 19th century North American ceramics analyst faces a series of potentially near mutually exclusive reports.

The British archaeologist working on assemblages from the same period faces both advantages and disadvantages. The most obvious disadvantage is that the lack of widespread investigation of industrial-period assemblages (from non-industrial sites) means that there is a lack of assemblages to compare. The advantage is that British analysts do not have to unlearn the inconsistent methodological habits of their American counterparts, and it should be possible to form a more consistent set of directly comparable data from assemblages once those assemblages are available. Orton, Tyers, and Vince state that the uses of comparisons of assemblages are only seriation, inter-site spatial distribution, and

intra-site variation (Orton et al. 1993:168). To limit comparisons to these three categories is, however, unnecessarily restrictive, modest and unambitious. As the subsequent case studies will amply demonstrate, comparisons of inter-site variation within a specific methodological and theoretical framework can greatly enhance our understanding of the archaeological record of the 18th and 19th centuries.

CHAPTER 3 - NORTH PEMBROKESHIRE

"Mae Cymru a'i thrigolion wedi dyfod rywfodd yn wrthrychau sylw cyffrediniol. Daw Saeson fel gwybed dros Glwadd Offa, ar lun Golygyddon, Adroddywyr Paparau Newydd, Dirprwywyr Llywodraeth, a rhyw fwnws o'r fath: a gwelir y gweilech hyn, yn llawnder eu hurddas swyddogol, yn bwrw golwg arnom, yn ffurfio eu barn am danom, ac yn cymryd arnynt ddeall pob peth am ein rhif, ein moesau, ein crefydd, a'n ffasïynau, ac yna heb wybod mwy am danom na'r twrch daear am yr haul, a ddychwelant gan wneyd eu storïau, a llunio y chwedlau mwyaf rhyfedd, digrif, a disail.

(Wales and her Inhabitants have somehow become the object of general interest. Englishmen, in the shape of Editors, Newspaper Correspondents, Government Commissioners and suchlike creatures, are crossing Offa's Dyke like flies; and these wily knaves, in the fullness of their official dignity, look us up and down, and take upon themselves to understand everything about our numbers, morals, religion, and fashions, and then, knowing no more about us than moles about the sun, they return whence they came concocting their stories and fashioning far-fetched, absurd and baseless fables about us)

(*Y Diwygiwr*, June 1847, cited and translated in I.E. Jones 1992:103)

I - INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains an analysis of assemblages from two farm sites in north Pembrokeshire. In addition to pottery analysis, it also considers the social background of the sites within the theoretical model of the previous chapter. This analysis has three purposes: firstly to study the ceramics from the two sites within their wider social context in order to examine how that social context both informs and is informed by the ceramics record; secondly to expand the analysis in point 1 by a comparative study between the two assemblages, and finally to prepare the groundwork for the comparative analysis of all of the assemblages in chapter 7 of this thesis.

The sites of Pwll Mill and Llystyn Mill are located in the valley of the Clydach river, a tributary of the Nevern river in north Pembrokeshire (fig.3.1). The Clydach serves as the boundary between the local parishes of Newport and Nevern and joins the Nevern river shortly before the latter empties into Newport bay. Five sites were originally excavated between 1985-1988 (Mytum 1988), and



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WALES



CENTRAL CEMAES AND THE CLYDACH VALLEY WITH NEWPORT, PEMBROKESHIRE

(Ordnance Survey 1:50,000 sheet 145, 1980 edition)

FIGURE 3.1 - NORTH PEMBROKESHIRE

a preliminary analysis of four of the pottery assemblages - Pwll Mill, Llystyn Mill, Parcau, and Fron Haul - was undertaken in 1992 (Brooks 1992). This original analysis identified economic and status hierarchies between the four assemblages, but also found the traditional analytical methods used on the assemblages to be inadequate. This initial research also recommended developing new methods or adapting old ones. As discussed in the previous chapter, those methods and structures have now been explicitly developed, enabling a more in-depth and complete analysis to take place. Two of the four assemblages originally studied, Pwll Mill and Llystyn Mill, were chosen for the analysis in this thesis. These two sites were selected as they permit the examination of a small cross-section of local society. Both of these sites were inhabited by the marginalised rural poor at a time of great disruption in rural Wales, but they are by no means identical. Pwll Mill is a single building cottage while Llystyn Mill is a more elaborate mill complex. A more complete description of both sites may be found in the second part of this chapter.

II - LATE GEORGIAN AND VICTORIAN CEMAES

This section offers a discussion of the social environment of the two sites discussed in this chapter. While the focus is inevitably on north Pembrokeshire in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the situation in other parts of the county and Wales as a whole is also considered. The region of Pembrokeshire where the sites are located is known as Cemaes, also variously written as Cemais, Kemes, or Cemes. The name of this region dates back at least to a *cantref* (an ancient local division of medieval Wales) of the Welsh principality of Deheubarth. This *cantref* had become one of the Norman Marcher Lordships of south Wales by 1100 (E.T. Lewis 1972:47). Cemaes has continued to enjoy a sense of identity through to this century; in 1933, the obituary of Sir Martine Lloyd, last of the Lloyds of Bronwydd (a family with an important role to play in this chapter) referred to the deceased as the "Lord of the Barony of Kemes" and "the only Lord Marcher in the Kingdom" (*The Times* 6 Apr. 1933 - cited in D. Jenkins 1971:26). Modern street signs in the town of Newport refer both to the Barony of Cemaes and current Lady Marcher, although the survival of the latter title owes more to Elizabethan whimsy and Victorian high romance than to early 20th century reality. Throughout its history, Cemaes has been recognisably Welsh in

culture and language, and is indeed sometimes regarded as the “heartland of the [Welsh] language” (Evans 1993:13) in Pembrokeshire.

The Demographic Transformation of Wales

Before returning to Pembrokeshire and Cemaes, an overview of the social and demographic transformation of Wales as a whole is necessary. As John Davies notes in his landmark history of Wales, “All periods, of course, are ‘periods of change’, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the changes which the people of Wales underwent between 1770 and 1850 were of a fundamental nature” (Davies 1993:320). In 1770, most of the Welsh population worked in a rural setting, but by 1851 this was true for only a third of the population. In 1770, it took days to travel from London to Pembrokeshire; in 1851 the same trip took hours. In 1770 Anglicans were the majority in most districts in Wales, but by 1851, eight out of ten of the Welsh population were nonconformists. In 1770, Wales was quietly governed by the landed elite; by 1851, demands for mass representation were increasingly unavoidable. Finally, there were approximately 500,000 people in Wales in 1770. In the 1851 census, the figure stood at 1,163,000 people (Davies 1993:319).

This population growth in the late Georgian and early Victorian periods was also inevitably important to developments in Pembrokeshire. In 1801, the population of Pembrokeshire stood at 56,280; in 1861, the figure stood at 96,278, an increase of 71% (Evans 1993:4). Yet great though the county’s population growth in this period undoubtedly was, it pales in comparison to the 125% growth in the same period in England and Wales as a whole (Evans 1993:4-8). Pembrokeshire has always been a strangely divided county, with the line of the *landsker* splitting the region into a Welsh north and an English south (eg. Mytum 1999). Unlike both southeast Wales and the towns of southern Pembrokeshire, the population of the rural parishes of northern Pembrokeshire peaked in the middle of the 19th century, and declined for several decades thereafter. The rise and fall in rural population growth can be seen quite clearly by studying the population figures in some of the parishes of Cemaes. To take the two parishes most relevant to the sites in this chapter, the population of Nevern was 1283 in 1801, peaked at 1744 in 1821, and had fallen to 982 by 1901, while Newport reached its peak of 1,798 in 1831, (Census of Great Britain 1852:34-5; E.T. Lewis

1972:301). Similarly, the nearby parishes of Eglywswrw and Meline peaked in 1821 and '41 respectively, while the 1851 census tellingly records for a nearby parish that "emigration and the removal of labourers to the Merthyr Tydfil iron-works have caused a decrease of the population in the parish of Bridell" (Census of Great Britain 1852:34-5).

There were other seismic changes further contributing to and resulting from the changing demographic patterns in the region. Every bank in Pembrokeshire closed in the banking crisis of 1825-6, causing many farmers to lose their savings (Davies 1993:355). In the wake of the end of the Napoleonic Wars, market prices for the agricultural goods of north Pembrokeshire collapsed, reaching rock bottom in 1842 following Peel's tariff reforms and the temporary collapse of the Merthyr Tydfil mining industry. Furthermore, the 1839-41 growing season was a disaster, and corn had to be imported, further stretching farmers' limited resources (Howell 1993:83-4) and leading to "a state of semi-starvation and spiritual malaise" (Williams 1955:185). The Rebecca riots of the late 1830's and 40's were ostensibly over turnpike abuses, but they should be seen as a reaction against the disintegration of rural conditions in general (Davies 1993:379). It is perhaps significant that local tradition has long popularly (though most probably inaccurately) identified the original "Becca" as Thomas Rees of Mynachlog-Ddu - a parish of Cemaes (John 1976: 80; Williams 1955:188-9). On top of these misfortunes and abuses, the expansion of the south Wales coalfields in the early nineteenth century led to a massive internal migration from depressed rural areas to the new industrial areas (Davies 1993:351).

The changes in Welsh religious demographics must also be briefly mentioned, if only for their eventual political contributions to a sense of Welsh identity. Despite the well-intentioned moves of Thomas Burgess, Bishop of St. David's from 1803-25, to reform the Church of England in Pembrokeshire - which included supplying the Welsh-speaking congregations of Pembrokeshire with Welsh-speaking clergy (Brinkley 1993:369) - it was clear by the early nineteenth-century that the Anglican church in north Pembrokeshire was being overtaken by the rising tide of nonconformism.

Between 1847 to 1848, the Commissioners of Inquiry Into the State of

Education in Wales published their self-titled report. Unfortunately for all concerned, the means of everyday communication in Wales was a language that the commissioners were incapable of understanding. Furthermore, the bulk of Welsh-language publications were religious in nature, and the bulk of these - given developments over the previous decades - were non-conformist (I.E. Jones 1992:118-120). The facilities for education in rural Wales were for the most part woefully inadequate, but due to the innate language (and presumably denominational) prejudices of most of the commissioners, their report also drew a connection between the Welsh language, nonconformism, and sexual immorality (Davies 1993:390-391). The reaction back in Wales to what became known as the *brad y llyfrau gleison* (the treachery of the blue books) was fierce, as the quote that opens this chapter demonstrates. I.E. Jones and Davies both argue that this reaction was instrumental not only in spreading a greater consciousness of Welsh identity throughout Wales, particularly for the nonconformists, but also eventually led to a greater political awareness and radicalisation of large portions of the Welsh population (Davies 1993:391-2; I.E. Jones 1992:103-165).

Society in Cemaes

But what of Cemaes itself during this period of change? Serenely (perhaps more in self-image than practice) gliding above the rural turmoil were the landed proprietors of Pembrokeshire - the apex of local society. At the head of this elite group were the 25-30 families who constituted the large landowners with estates of at least 3000 acres and rents of at least £3000 per annum. These large landowners controlled a third of all the rated property and rents in the county (Evans 1993:13-16). Of particular relevance to this chapter are the Lloyds of Bronwydd (south Cardiganshire), the owners of Llystyn Mill, and the Bowens of Llwyngwair (just outside Newport, Pembs.), the owners of Pwll Mill. The Lloyds of Bronwydd held the largely honorary title of "Lord Marcher of Cemaes", and in 1873 owned 7,946 acres across southwest Wales. To the people of north Pembrokeshire the Lloyds were not just *gwyr mawr* (great men), but *gwyr mawr iawn* (very great men) (Evans 1993:15; E.T. Lewis 1972:25-9). The other large landowners in Cemaes were the Bowens of Llwyngwair, Nevern, who owned 5,360 acres in southwest Wales (Evans 1993:15), and who were a local family with longstanding roots in the area. The Lloyds had only inherited their Cemaes titles in the second half of the 18th century, whereas the Bowens had been

sheriffs of northeast Pembrokeshire four times in the 17th century alone (E.T. Lewis 1972:78-9).

If the great landed proprietors of Pembrokeshire stood at the very top of the social pyramid, then the farm labourers were near the very bottom. It is to this category that the Pwll Mill and Llystyn Mill inhabitants belong; only the landless rural poor encroaching onto the wasteland ranked lower. There were two categories of farm labourer in rural Pembrokeshire. The first category were the unmarried farm servants who would actually live on the farm premises. Of more direct interest to this study were the *gweithiwy* ("workers"), the married labourers with their own cottages. These labourers were on a weekly wage and lived rent free or on a reduced-rate rented smallholding. Some were fed at the farmer's expense, others were paid more and fed themselves. Some worked directly for the landowner, others worked for the landowner's tenant. There was tremendous variation in pay, depending on a host of conditions, but by the late 19th century, an outdoor labourer in northern Pembrokeshire could typically expect 6s. a week. It is important to stress that most tenants were on yearly leases, not the life leases that until recently had characterised local rural life. As a result, the population of Cemaes was highly transient, a phenomenon exacerbated by rural disruption and the lure of the coalfields.

It is difficult in this space to concisely explain the complex interaction of duties and interdependence that existed between cottagers (the labourers) and the landowners and tenants. In addition to the fixed rate of pay that labourers could expect, there was also a barter economy dependent on both the exchange of labour and the exchange of goods (J.G. Jenkins 1976:19). For example, cottagers with smallholdings might be given manure with which to fertilise their potato crop in exchange for work on the corn harvest (J.G. Jenkins 1976:20-22). In north Pembrokeshire, there was also a form of tenancy half way between the labourer and the somewhat more independent smallholding farm tenant: the bound tenant. In exchange for 6s. a week and a 3-5 acre smallholding, the bound tenant leased his labour to the farm irrespective of the season. While farm work was not guaranteed year round, the bound tenancy did at least provide work for the wife and children of the labourer in the form of daily management of the smallholding (Evans 1993:20-21). It should be stressed that the interdependent

labour obligations and relationships on land were based on the farms themselves rather than families (D. Jenkins 1971:117). With the advent of annual tenancies, the cottagers had little long-term stake in the land; irrespective of the interdependence, the cottager could be forgiven for a feeling of alienation towards the land for which he was ostensibly partially responsible.

The farms of Pembrokeshire themselves were of a mixed nature, with an emphasis on livestock rearing and the corn harvest (Howell 1993:78; J.G. Jenkins 1976:20-21). Prior to the 1850's, farming in north Pembrokeshire was largely unimproved; a combination of factors led to this lack of 'progress', including the inherent conservatism of the farmers, the lack of capital of smallholders, the reluctance to invest what capital existed in case it led to an increase in rent, landlords who were themselves short on funds - or simply neglectful - and the aforementioned collapse of market prices and general rural unrest (Howell 1993:82-5). The Pembrokeshire Herald could with some justification state that "It has truly been said that Pembrokeshire is half-a-century behind the English counties in the practice of agriculture" (cited in Howell 1993:80), although it should be noted that there was nothing inherently unusual in this; Pembrokeshire was frequently at the tail end of an east to west sweep of innovation and/or change in the British isles, a pattern that can also be observed in the development of 19th century cottage architecture in the county (Smith 1975:313). Certainly there was no active agricultural society in Pembrokeshire until the 1840's. The Lloyds of Bronwydd did appear to have a reputation in some quarters as reasonably forward looking landowners who were prepared to support their tenants - their tenants were one of two groups to dominate the prizes at the Tivyside Agricultural show in 1845 (Cragoe 1996). This reputation does not appear to have been universally shared, however, as the next paragraph will demonstrate. On the other hand, given the level of upheaval in rural Pembrokeshire in this period, one might well question whether any landlord could have completely improved his small tenants' lot; for example, well-meaning attempts by some landowners to reorganise leased smallholdings to make sure that they were large enough to support their tenants only reduced the number of holdings available, thus inadvertently encouraging outward migration (Davies 355).

On top of the ongoing problems and upheaval in Cemaes, the inhabitants

of Llystyn Mill and Pwll Mill had to deal with competition between the two main local landlords, the Lloyds and the Bowens. D. Williams has written that in the 1820's the Bowens encouraged the inhabitants of Newport to stop paying quit rents claimed by the Lloyds from local encroachment onto wasteland. A careful examination of the documentary evidence provides a more complicated picture. In the early 1820's George Bowen wrote to Thomas Lloyd suggesting that they or their representatives meet to discuss ongoing encroachment onto Newport common by impoverished local families (National Library of Wales; Llwyngwair deeds and documents). Many of the families were Bowen tenants, but Lloyd's claim as Lord of the Manor was complicating rent collection and enforcement. One can only assume that Thomas Lloyd's reply was negative, as by the 1840's he had asked for legal advice from the Inns of Court on whether he could pursue legal action against George Bowen for encouraging tenants to withhold rent and for casting doubts on Lloyd's rights as Lord of Cemaes (National Library of Wales; Bronwydd deeds and documents). The legal advice was negative: Bowen apparently was only encouraging his own tenants not to pay rent, and there was no proof of malicious intent in any statements that Bowen may have made about Lloyd's titles. In essence, Lloyd was attempting to assert rights under a title that had lost all effective power several centuries beforehand, and his solicitor was unable to support him.

This dispute is more than an esoteric argument over a powerless, anachronistic Norman title. It dramatically summarises the difficulties faced by the Welsh rural poor in the first half of the nineteenth century. The transient labouring population of Cemaes was under so much pressure, both economic and demographic, that it was forced to encroach onto the marginal common land at the feet of the Preseli Hills. Yet while this population was struggling to survive in the overpopulated landscape of north Pembrokeshire, the local landlords were engaged in a squabble over who would collect their rent. It is within this socio-economic context that the ceramics of Llystyn Mill and Pwll Mill will be examined.

III - CERAMICS REPORTS

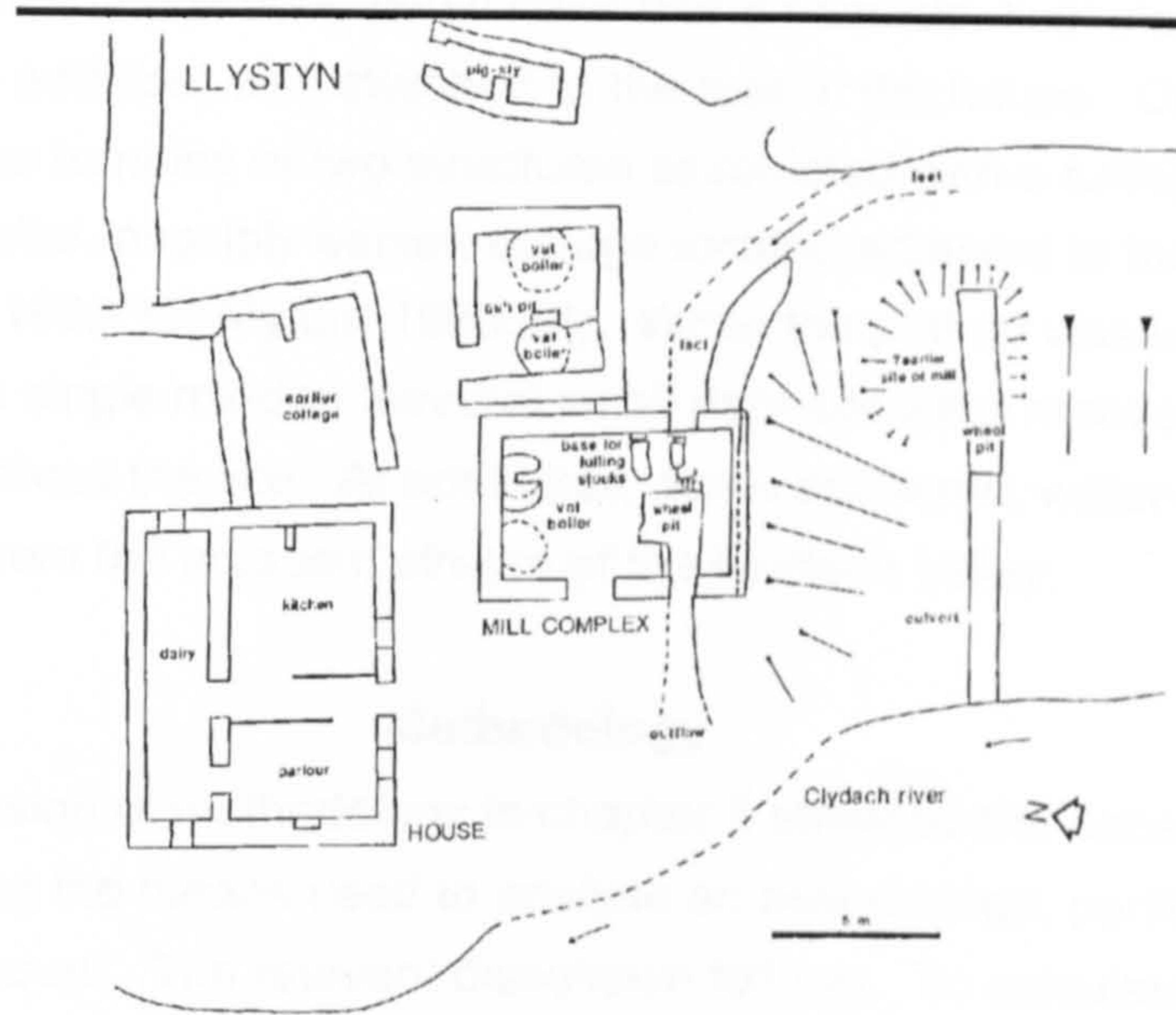
This section of the chapter contains the archaeological analysis of the ceramics assemblages from Llystyn Mill and Pwll Mill as well as descriptions of both sites and a discussion of specific site methodology. The basic building

blocks of ware, form and date are identified separately for each site, and an interpretive and comparative analysis of both sites takes place at the end of the section. It must be stressed that as wide-ranging and inclusive as the pottery reports in this and the following two chapters are, they are not intended to be the final definitive word on the assemblages of the various sites. The analysis in these case studies is intentionally weighted towards certain comparative concepts and methodologies that will aid the overall comparative analysis in the final two chapters - hence the stress on the contents of the assemblages, on the decoration, form and function thereof, rather than their wider environment and distribution. Furthermore, a study on this scale needs to set firm boundaries in order to remain manageable; it would be impossible to include every angle of analysis. For example, while site distribution and formation processes are entirely valid areas of research, they have not been discussed to the same detail that would have been the case with a full, site-specific pottery report. This should by no means, however, discourage other researchers from investigating additional issues relevant to these assemblages.

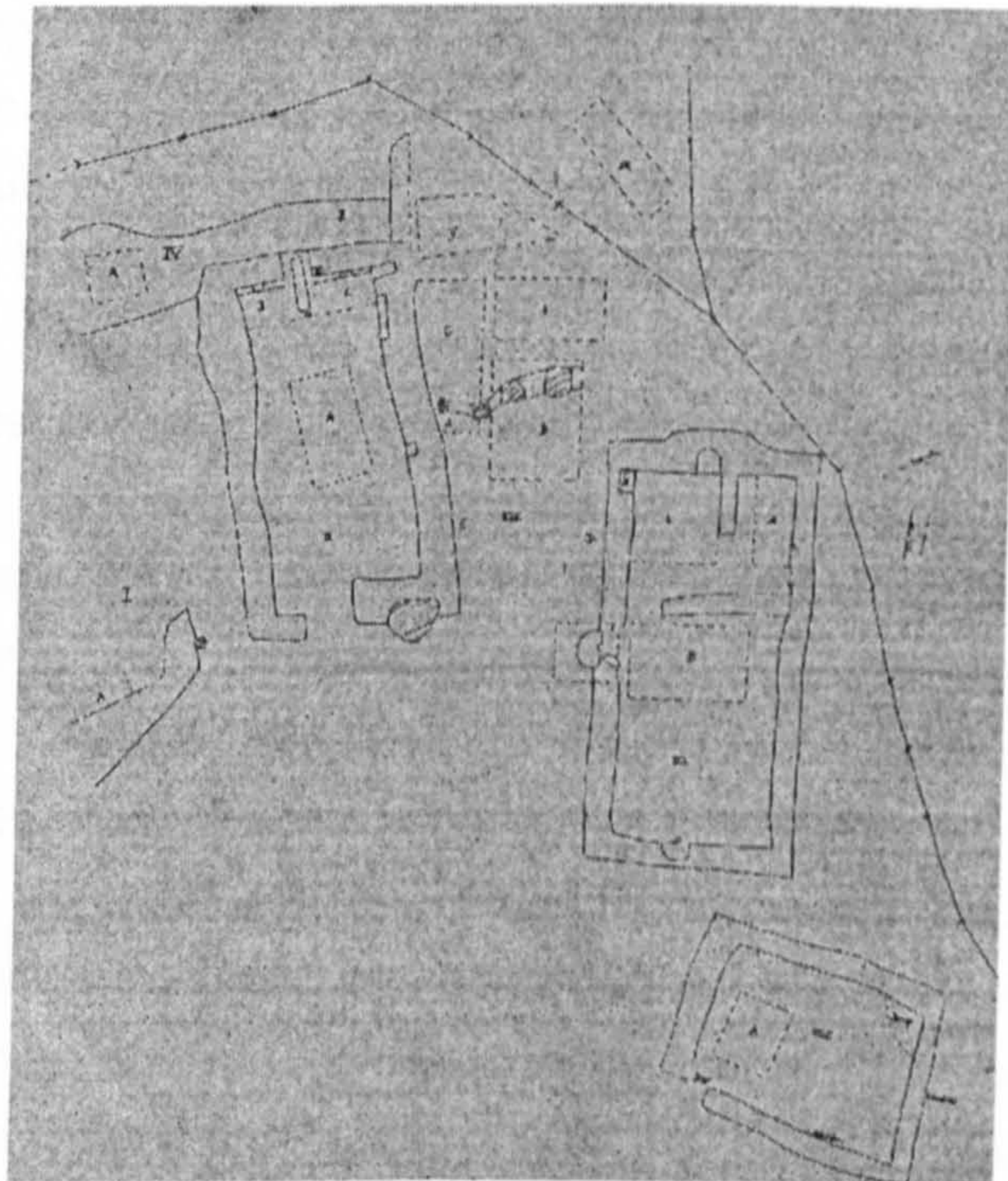
Site Descriptions

The Pwll Mill site is adjacent to the southwest bank of the Clydach river in the parish of Newport, Pembrokeshire (figs. 3.1; 3.2). The building is typical of the cottages of the lowest stratum of the Welsh rural poor, the *pobol tai bach* (people of the little houses). The 1992 report describes the interior of the building as follows: "the cottage is divided into two parts, a main room with a fireplace at one end, and a later addition that served as a bedroom" (Brooks 1992:17). The main room was most probably divided into a parlour and a kitchen-living room, although no traces of the original partition survive (Mytum 1988:34). Despite the small size of the buildings, it was not unusual for large families of more than ten people to live in these small rural cottages (Owen 1991:33). The site's ceramics were largely excavated from a single-context midden adjacent to the cottage, although a small number of scattered fragments were recovered from across the site.

Llystyn Mill is a more elaborate site than Pwll Mill. The site itself is located upriver and to the south of Pwll Mill, on the east bank of the Clydach in Nevern parish (figs. 3.1; 3.2). The evidence on the ground clearly indicates that the main



LLYSTYN MILL



PWLL MILL

FIGURE 3.2 - LLYSTYN MILL AND PWLL MILL SITE MAPS

cottage at Llystyn was a two-storey *ty singl* (single house - eg. D. Jenkins 1971:92). The ground floor plan is similar to that of Pwll Mill, with two rooms arranged in a row; the first floor would have had a near-identical plan. A dairy barn (a common addition) was attached to the rear of the house. Other buildings on site include the remains of two structures associated with a fulling mill, and the remains of a smaller, possibly earlier, cottage located adjacent to the main building (Brooks 1992:18; Mytum 1988:36). While the pottery was largely excavated from a single midden, several small deposits were recovered from other locations across the site. At both sites, some scattered, water-worn remains were recovered from the adjacent stream of the Clydach valley.

Methodology

The discussion of methodology in chapter 2 stressed the necessity of explicitly explaining the means used to analyse an assemblage, particularly the minimum vessel count. The relevant discussion follows. To calculate the minimum vessel counts for this chapter, each assemblage was separated by ware type, and each ware was then counted separately. Common ware types with large numbers of fragments were further separated by decorative technique and, where relevant and possible, form. The counts for each ware type and decorative technique were calculated by counting the number of distinct rims and then including any unique body sherds that were clearly separate vessels, but not represented by a rim fragment. This system was not rigidly adhered to, however. In these assemblages, after separation by ware, decoration, and form had occurred, each group frequently contained only one or two clearly identifiable vessels. In these cases, a straightforward and accurate count could easily be compiled - it would have been ludicrous to apply rigid counting methods in the latter circumstances. This will frequently be the case with relatively small and not particularly fragmented assemblages - which does not lessen the need to be aware of the issues. The major exceptions to the above were the coarse earthenwares, particularly the green and black-glazed wares. Distinguishing vessels from unique body sherds with these wares was considerably more difficult, and it is these types that offer the most potential for problematic distortions in the counts. Nonetheless, all counts are as accurate as methodological and assemblage limitations permit.

The vessel counts were recorded on forms based on a system originally used to record pottery from the nearby cottage site, Fron Haul, in the early 1990's (Brooks 1992:23-24), but since considerably adapted. This system permits the easy cross-referencing and comparison of wares, forms and decorations, and also translates directly into easy to read tables. Examples include tables 3.1 and 3.3. All percentages in this thesis have been rounded to the nearest whole number, and therefore may not add to 100. Beyond these points, this chapter follows the methodologies and practices outlined in the previous chapter, particularly with a view to following the proposed new methodological and theoretical model.

Llystyn Mill Assemblage

As described in chapter 2, the first three elements of any assemblage analysis should be the identification of ware, form, and date. The 1992 sherd count for the Llystyn Mill assemblage was 738 sherds (Brooks 1992:50). The 1998 vessel count for the assemblage is 116 vessels, for an average of slightly over six sherds per vessel. Several ware types were recovered from Llystyn Mill (table 3.1 - please see appendix A for definitions and illustrations of ware types). Fifty-nine refined white earthenware vessels were identified, subdivided as follows: 3 Creamware vessels (2% of the total assemblage), 3 ironstone/white granite vessels (2%), 12 Pearlware vessels (10%), and 41 whiteware vessels (35%). Two other types of refined earthenware were also identified: 6 yellowware vessels (5%) and a single refined redware mug (<1%). Twenty-three porcelain vessels (20%) were identified. The assemblage also featured 10 stoneware vessels (9%) - mostly brown saltglazed or Bristol glazed, but including a single white saltglazed plate - and 17 coarse redware vessels (15%), mostly 19th century black-glazed redware (probably buckleyware) but including a single green lead-glazed vessel, probably North Devon gravel-tempered ware.

A total of 13 identifiable vessel forms occur at Llystyn Mill, 15 if the two "unidentified" categories are included (please see appendix A.2 for a discussion of vessel form). The forms are: 23 plates (20%), 1 platter (<1%), 9 cups (8%), 15 saucers (13%), 25 bowls (22%), 6 jug/pitchers (5%), 2 jars (2%), 2 tureens (2%), 3 bottles (2%), 3 teapots (2%), 1 mug (<1%), 1 colander (<1%), and 4 storage vessels (3%). The two unidentified categories include 18 unidentified hollow vessels (16%) and 3 unidentified flat vessels (2%). As expected, the refined earthenware and porcelain vessels are very different in form from the stoneware

TABLE 3.1 - Llystyn Mill Vessel Counts

	FORM:	pl	pt	cp	sc	bw	ig	jr	tr	te	bt	mg	cl	st	hl	fl	totals
WARES	DEC.																
Creamware																	3
	undec.	1													1		2
	mold/glaze						1										1
Pearlware																	12
UGTP	willow	5															5
	chinois.														1		1
moulded				1	1												2
shelledge	blue	2															2
dipt	mocha						1										1
	fingerpntd							1									1
Whiteware																	41
TP/blue	floral	2			2	1									1		6
	scene	1															1
	willow	7															7
	chinois.								1						1		2
	other	2				1											3
flow blue	floral	1													1		2
	other					1											1
TP/mulb.	floral					1			1								2
TP/black	scene					1									1		2
	poly enml.														1		1
annular						1											1
shelledge	blue	1	1														2
spongeware	cut					2									1		3
	sponged					1									1		2
painted	poly														1		1
enamelled	mono														1		1
	poly/lustre					1											1
moulded								1							1		2
lustreware						1											1
Ironstone																	3
spongeware	cut					1											1
annular						1											1
undecorated																1	1
Rf. Redwre																	1
enamelled	lustre											1					1
Porcelain																	23
decal	decal					1											1
moulded	chels. sprig			1	1										1		3
TP/blue	chinois.			1													1
TP/black	floral					1											1
enamelled	poly					2											2
	mono					4				1							5
lustreware						1											1
moulded						2											2
paint/mould				3													3
TP/Mould.	willow			1						1							2
undec.				1											1		2
Tableware	totals	22	1	8	15	14	3		2	2		1			13	2	83
		26	1	10	18	17	4		2	2		1			16	2	
Yellowware																	6
	undec.			1		1								1		1	4
	annular					1											1
	mocha					1											1
Stoneware		1						2	2		1	3			1		10
Redware							8	1							4	4	17
FINAL		23	1	9	15	25	6	2	2	3	3	1	1	4	18	3	116

Key to vessel form abbreviations: pl=plate; pt=platter; cp=cup; sc=saucer; bw=bowl; ig=jug; jr=jar; tr=tureen; te=teapot; bt=bottle; mg=mug; cl=colander/strainer; st=large storage; hl=unidentified hollow; fl=unidentified flat

3.1

3.1

3.1

and coarse redware vessels (the former being largely tablewares, and the latter being largely utilitarian wares). The refined earthenware and porcelain include all but one of the plates, all but one of the teapots, and all of the cups and saucers. The stoneware and coarse earthenware vessels include all of the storage vessels and bottles. The only form categories where any considerable overlap occurs are the bowls and jug/pitchers. Table 3.1 cross-references the ware types and vessel forms, therefore providing a more complete picture of the assemblage. The relatively high number of unidentified hollow vessels, especially amongst the whiteware, was unexpected. It is assumed that a majority of these vessels are large cups or small bowls identified through unique body sherds or very small rim sherds - precise identification of these vessel forms is frequently impossible when using only small fragments.

A wide variety of decorative techniques were identified on the assemblage's vessels (please see appendix A.3 for a discussion of decoration). Given that many of these, especially when used in combination, occur only once, no attempt has been made to break them down by percentage as with ware type and vessel form. By far the most common decorative technique, however, are the various transfer printed wares, of which there are 35 (30%) on whiteware, pearlware and porcelain. Of the transfer prints, by far the most common pattern is the willow print, found on 12 of the 35 transfer prints. Willow was immensely popular in the nineteenth century (Coysh and Henrywood 1982:402), to the extent that it could cost considerably less than other transfer-printed vessels. Indeed, Miller takes this into account in his economic scaling by treating willow separately from other transfer prints (G. Miller 1991:13-14). All other decorative techniques that occur in the assemblage comprise less than 5% of the total assemblage. Table 3.1 provides a complete picture of decoration, ware, and form.

The majority of the identified wares date from 1820-1900. The opposite ends of this spectrum are represented by the willow printed and painted whiterwares (TPQ:1820) and the decal-printed porcelain (TPQ:1897). The peak of deposition occurs between 1840-70, a supposition supported by the identified prints and maker's marks (see below). A few scattered items, such as the decal-printed porcelain saucer (TPQ:1897), date from the very end of the 19th century and potentially even the beginning of the 20th century. There are also a small

number of vessels that date approximately from 1750-1820, namely white saltglazed stoneware, North Devon Gravel-tempered Ware, Creamware, and Pearlware. Other than the pearlware (1780-c.1820/30), none of these earlier materials are particularly common.

An attempt was made to see if there was any correlation between the distribution of the aforementioned earlier materials and the location of the structure identified as an earlier cottage. Unfortunately, the evidence is inconclusive. The quantities of earlier material are so small that it is impossible to state to what extent they date from a previous site occupation, are old vessels owned by later occupants, or - more likely - some combination thereof. An examination of the context records does demonstrate that a few fragments of early materials are associated with the earlier cottage, but these are hardly common enough to enable a division of the assemblage into temporal components associated with different structures or to date the earlier structure with any confidence. This is hardly a surprise given that some considerable disturbance of the site must have occurred when the old cottage was replaced by the more recent structure. Ultimately, the evidence demonstrates that there was at least intermittent late 18th-century occupation of the site, probably associated with an earlier cottage, but the necessary ceramics evidence for a firmer statement is simply not there.

Several maker's marks and transfer prints from the assemblage have been identified. Several vessels are undeniably Welsh in origin or intended destination. Two "Colandine" pattern vessels (c.1840-c.1875), probably from the Llanelly [sic] Pottery (Pugh 1995:45-49), a "Lazuli" pattern ware from the Swansea Dillwyn pottery of 1831-50 (Coysh and Henrywood 1982:354), and a "willow" pattern plate probably from the Swansea D.J. Evans and Co. pottery of 1861-70 (Coysh and Henrywood 1982:354) constitute the wares positively identified as originating in South Wales. At least one vessel was specifically made for Pembrokeshire; a stoneware jug impressed with "SIMEON JOHNS/Spirit Merchant/ MILFORD" also features a maker's mark of "Powell, Bristol". The mark and vessel glaze point to a date of manufacture of anywhere between c.1835-1900, but if Simeon Johns can be identified, then a much tighter date can be assigned. Unfortunately, for the time being, the precise identity of Simeon Johns, not to mention this Milford

merchant's connection (if any) with Llystyn Mill, remains unknown. Finally, there is a single example of the "Asiatic Scenery" pattern by an unidentified maker; however, Coysh and Henrywood have identified Joseph Harding as the maker of some examples of an identical pattern (Coysh and Henrywood 1982:29; 1989:22-3). Harding operated from c.1850-c.1851, further confirming the mid-nineteenth century date of the bulk of the pottery.

The data from the Llystyn Mill assemblage strongly supports some of the assertions on methodology made in chapter 2. A comparison between the decoration percentages as calculated from both the sherd and vessel counts quickly displays the inaccuracies of the former and the desirability of using the latter (table 3.2). In particular, the percentages for printed, undecorated, and coarse earthenwares display severe discrepancies. In the vessel count, printed refined earthenware vessels comprise 28% of the assemblage, as opposed to only 19% for the sherd count. Undecorated refined earthenware vessels comprise only 2% of the vessel count as opposed to 16% of the sherd count. This is easily explained: decorated vessels are not necessarily decorated over their entire body, thus a sherd count will vastly overestimate the amount of undecorated wares, and underestimate the amount of the various decorated ware types. The coarse redware discrepancy is also easy to explain. The vessel count shows that these comprise 15% of the total assemblage, but the sherd count puts the figure at 29%. Simply put, coarse earthenware vessels are usually larger than their refined counterparts. As larger vessels will produce more fragments, coarse earthenware will be overestimated in most sherd counts.

Pwll Mill Assemblage

The 1992 sherd count for Pwll Mill was 1371 sherds (Brooks 1992:59). The current vessel count for the site is 88, or 15.6 sherds per vessel. The discrepancy between the Llystyn and Pwll Mill sherds-per-vessel counts is undoubtedly due to the higher percentage of large form coarse earthenwares at Pwll Mill. As noted above, larger vessels produce more sherds.

The wares recovered from Pwll Mill were very similar to those recovered from Llystyn Mill, but the materials frequently occurred in very different percentages (table 3.3 performs the same function for Pwll Mill that table 3.1 does

	By Vessel	By Sherd
Decoration		
Porcelain	20	22
Printed	28	19
Painted	3	1.5
Shelledge	3	0.5
Undecorated	2	16
Coarse Redware	15	29

TABLE 3.2
DECORATION OCCURENCE BY PERCENTAGE;
VESSEL COUNT VERSUS SHERD COUNT AT LLYSTYN MILL

With the exception of the painted and shelleged sherd count categories, all numbers have been rounded to nearest whole number, and may not add to 100.

for Llystyn). Twenty-nine refined white earthenware vessels were recovered, which were subdivided as follows: 3 creamware vessels (3% of the total assemblage), 9 pearlware vessels (10%) and 17 whiteware vessels (19%). Four other types of refined ware were identified: 6 refined redware vessels (7%), 4 yellowware vessels (4%), 1 delft/tinglaze vessel (1%), and 1 white saltglazed stoneware mug (1%). A total of 7 porcelain teawares (8%) were identified, and particularly notable amongst these is a single Chinese porcelain saucer. The most obvious differences between the two sites occur in the coarsewares: only 2 stoneware vessels (2%) were identified, but 38 coarse redware vessels (43%) were identified. The latter were further subdivided into 20 North Devon gravel-tempered ware vessels (23%), 6 slipware vessels (7%), and 12 black-glazed redware vessels (14%).

A total of 12 identifiable vessel forms were found at Pwll Mill. Once again, these are broadly similar to the forms identified at Llystyn Mill, but some different categories do occur, particularly amongst the North Devon wares. The forms are 12 plates (14%), 4 cups (4%), 10 saucers (11%), 17 bowls (19%), 7 jug/pitchers (8%), 4 pots (4%), 6 milkpans (7%), 3 teapots (3%), 1 bottle (1%), 5 mugs (6%), 1 chamberpot (1%), and 7 storage vessels (8%). In addition, there are 6 unidentified flat vessels (7%), 4 unidentified flat vessels (4%), and one vessel with a completely unidentifiable form. Once again there is the expected dichotomy of form distribution between the refined wares and the coarse wares. Of particular note are the milkpan, pot, and jug/pitcher forms; not only do these exclusively occur on coarse redwares, but they also only occur on earlier vessels.

The Pwll Mill assemblage does not contain nearly the variety of decorative techniques that were a feature of the Llystyn Mill assemblage. For example, only 5 different decorations are found on the porcelain at Pwll Mill, as opposed to the 11 different decorations identified on Llystyn Mill porcelain. To a certain extent this is simply a result of there being less of everything at Pwll Mill, but there are notable absences as well. Furthermore, some decorations occur in much smaller relative amounts when calculated by percentage. There are no enamelled whitewares in the assemblage, no decal prints, and a noticeably smaller percentage of transfer-printed vessels. Only 7 transfer-printed wares (8%) were identified at Pwll Mill, and only three of these are willow pattern. On the other

TABLE 3.3 - Pwll Mill Vessel Counts

	FORM	pl	cp	sc	bw	ig	po	mp	te	bt	mg	ch	st	hl	fl	un	totals
WARES	DEC.																
Creamware																	3
	undec.		1														1
	annular				1												1
	enamelled	1															1
Pearlware																	9
UGTP	willow	2															2
painted	mono													1			1
shelledge	blue	3															3
	green	1															1
dipt	mocha				1												1
	engn. trnd.										1						1
Whiteware																	17
TP/blue	floral			1					1								2
	scene			1													1
	willow				1												1
	engn. trnd.				1												1
	annular				1												1
shelledge	blue	1															1
spongeware	cut				1												1
	sponged	2															2
	spatter				2												2
painted	poly		1	2													3
undecorated															2		2
Rf. Redwre																	6
slipped	enamelled								1								1
	incised										1		1				2
moulded											1						1
undecorated											1		1				2
Delft															1		1
White saltglazed											1						1
Porcelain																	7
chinese	enamelled			1													1
moulded	chels. sprig			3													3
	scalloped			1													1
	enamelled			1													1
TP/blue	floral			1													1
Tableware	totals	10	4	9	8				2		5		1	2	3		44
Yellowware																	4
	undec.				1												1
	annular				1												1
sponged	cut				1												1
Drk. Glaze									1								1
Stoneware										1			1				2
Redwares																	38
N. Devon					1	6	4	6					1		2		20
slipware		2		1		1								1		1	6
black glaze					5								5	1	1		12
FINAL		12	4	10	17	7	4	6	3	1	5	1	6	4	4	1	88

Key to vessel form abbreviations: pl=plate; cp=cup; sc=saucer; bw=bowli; ig=jug; po=pot; mp=milkpan; te=teapot; bt=bottle; mg=mug; ch=chamberpot; st=storage; hl=hollow; fl=flat; un=unidentified

2-3

2-3

2-3

2-3

hand, there are also 6 slipped coarse redware vessels, including a sgraffito jug, and a Staffordshire-type slipware saucer. The latter vessels are noticeably earlier in date than the bulk of the assemblages at either site. No distribution analysis was possible with the Pwll Mill materials as the vast majority of the assemblage was recovered from a midden excavated as a single context.

No maker's marks were identified on any of the Pwll Mill vessels, but even without this useful source of information it has been possible to identify two temporal components within the site's assemblage. The first component consists of the 26 North Devon gravel-tempered and slipware vessels, as well as the single Delftware and white saltglazed vessels, and probably the Chinese porcelain saucer. The date of manufacture of this component most probably dates between 1750-1780. Some slight caution is necessary as the Ewenny pottery of south Wales continued to produce slip-glazed earthenwares into the mid-19th century (J.M. Lewis 1982). Furthermore, studies of later post-medieval folk pottery traditions in Pembrokeshire are practically non-existent. As such, the possibility that a local folk industry continued to produce materials in an earlier tradition cannot currently be totally ruled out, although the lack of similar materials from contemporaneous local sites makes this appear unlikely.

The second temporal component at Pwll Mill consists of the whitewares, the bulk of the porcelain and the yellowware and dates from c.1820-1850. The *terminus post quem* for yellowware is 1830 (Andrews et al. 1996:23), obviously pointing to an occupation after that late date. The terminal date of 1850 is suggested by the lack of flow blue transfer-prints and other mid-nineteenth century wares, together suggesting a *terminus ante quem* of c.1840-50. The only identified transfer print (see below) was produced between 1833-47, and probably dates towards the end of the site's occupation. Of the remaining materials, the pearlware and, to a certain extent, the creamware, belong to the period between 1780-1820, and indeed, some of the redwares could also belong to this period. This strongly suggests ongoing, though perhaps haphazard, occupation between 1780-1820. Eighty-eight vessels is a remarkably small number for a 90-100 year period of occupation. There are at least two possible explanations, neither of which are mutually exclusive: occupation of the site was probably not continuous - and may indeed have been highly intermittent - and the adjacent Clydach river

(from which several fragments were recovered) may have provided site inhabitants with a convenient dumping ground away from the main body of the site.

The lack of maker's marks also meant that ascribing vessels to particular factories or regions was impossible in most cases. As with Llystyn Mill, the black-glazed redwares are most probably Buckley wares from north Wales. The earlier 18th century materials are much harder to ascribe, although south Wales and north Devon and Somerset are the most likely sources. There is also a single piece of early slipware that probably originated in Staffordshire. Most disappointing was the lack of success at identifying transfer-printed wares. The only identified pattern (other than willow) was a saucer of the Copeland and Garrett (Stoke, 1833-1847) "Byron Views" series (Coysh and Henrywood 1982:64, 92). The other 18th and 19th century refined earthenwares could originate from any British factory, although Staffordshire and south Wales are the most likely sources. The only other known source for a vessel is the single Chinese porcelain saucer, which must have undergone a remarkable peregrination to reach Cemaes - but drawing further conclusions from a single vessel would be inappropriate at this level of analysis. In general, the materials in Pwll Mill assemblage are far less readily identifiable than their counterparts from Llystyn Mill.

Assemblage Analysis

The Pwll Mill and Llystyn Mill assemblages provide an invaluable insight into the material culture of period rural households in Pembrokeshire. Because of the impermanent nature of site occupation, neither of the assemblages can be considered to be the product of a single coherent family unit or household. They must rather be analysed as representative assemblages of social groups in a particular geographical area. This is by no means a disadvantage as it permits the researcher to consider the assemblages from two important perspectives: firstly as the material culture of a region rather than of individuals, and secondly as the material culture of a society of transient rural labourers. As such, the differences and similarities between the assemblages become particularly important.

Most of the methods used in this chapter have already been discussed, but

a few additional comments are necessary. The early component of the Pwll Mill assemblage has been excluded from comparisons of decoration, but not of form. This has been done in order to increase the validity of the comparative data. Due to the industrialisation of the pottery industry, direct comparisons of decoration between industrial and non-industrial wares are impossible; many decorative techniques (transfer prints, mocha, etc.) only come into existence with the advent of industrialisation. Vessel forms were also affected by industrialisation, but most types retain analogous examples on either side of the industrial divide, thus making cross-temporal comparisons of form more meaningful than for decoration. Full definitions of typological terms may usually be found in the appropriate appendices, but a brief definition of the terms 'tableware' and 'utilitarian ware', so vital to this chapter, would undoubtedly be helpful. This issue is discussed at length in chapter 6, but in essence, tablewares are the vessels for which the primary intended function is the serving and consumption of food and drink. Utilitarian wares are typically intended for the storage and preparation of foods, and also for non-food related activities. Perhaps quixotically, chamberpots are included with tablewares (see chapter 6). As always, it bears repeating that percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

Economy and Status

The most significant difference between the Llystyn and Pwll Mill ceramics appears through a direct comparison of the relative value of the two assemblages. In keeping with the methods outlined in chapter 2, table 3.4 compares the most common decorative techniques on tablewares (with porcelain listed as a separate category) by economic value. No attempt has been made to calculate CC indices for these assemblages. North American readers of a traditional methodological bent may nonetheless be interested to know that, according to CC index figures informally calculated for this chapter, the Llystyn Mill inhabitants were wealthier than Thomas Jefferson. It is recognised that the latter is itself a potentially important point, and a more complete discussion of trans-Atlantic relative values takes place in the comparative context of chapter 6.

In any case, there are intriguing differences between the two Welsh assemblages. At Llystyn Mill, 63% of the tablewares are either transfer-prints or porcelain, the two most expensive types of pottery commonly available (table 3.4).

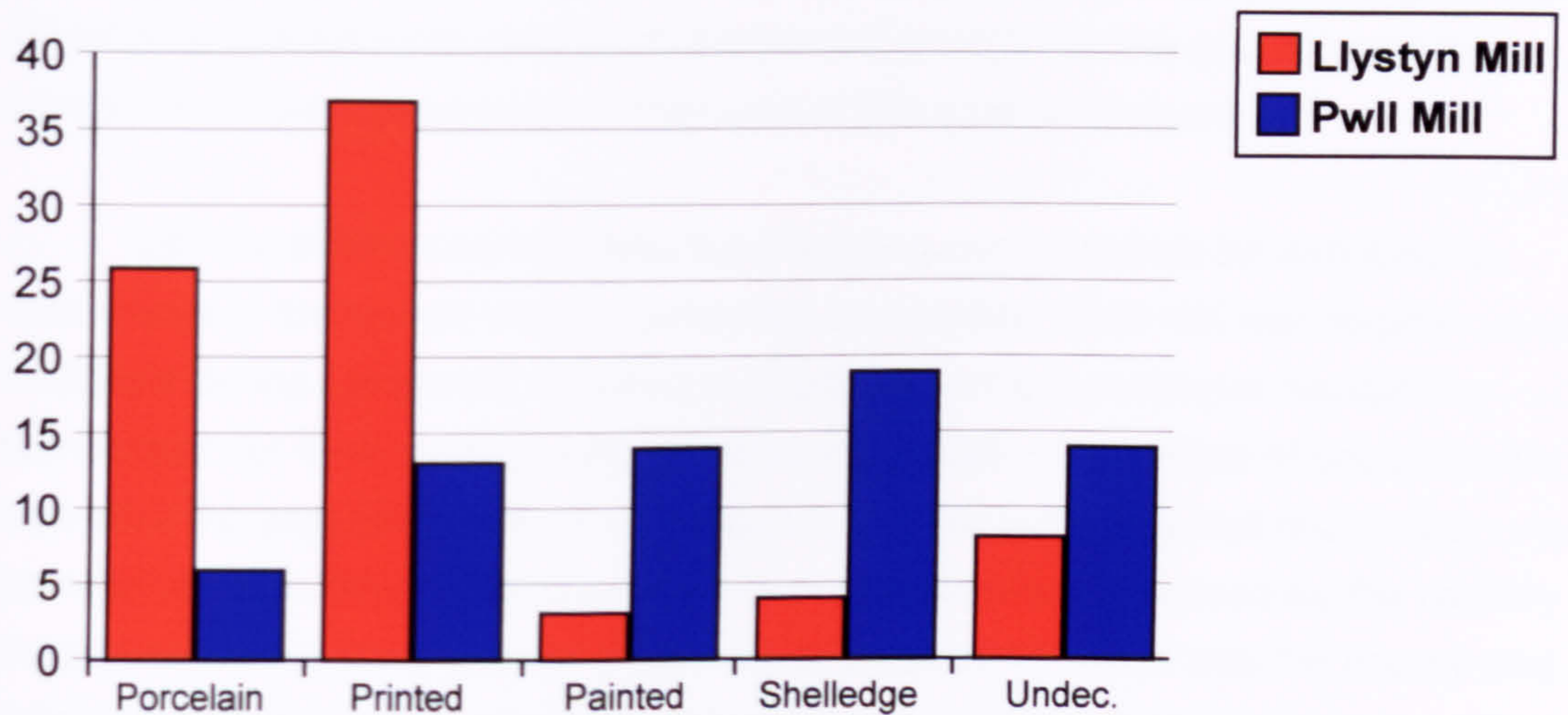


TABLE 3.4
DECORATIVE TECHNIQUES OF TABLEWARES
AT LLYSTYN MILL AND PWLL MILL

Y-axis is %; totals have been rounded to nearest whole number, exclude 'other' categories, and thus do not add to 100. Originals in colour.

Thus Llystyn Mill was usually occupied by households with the ability to acquire these items - whether through direct purchase, barter, cast-offs or shifts in the cost of the wares. At the same time, there is little coherency of decoration across the assemblage, suggesting a lack of choice or ability to choose when acquiring specific types. At Pwll Mill there is a far more even distribution of decorative techniques, with the five primary types all ranging from 10%-14% of the assemblage. The latter site is, of course, much smaller and less elaborate than Llystyn Mill, and it thus comes as little surprise to see that the assemblage is, as a whole, less expensive than Llystyn's. Nonetheless, it is always encouraging when ceramics analysis data confirms the information on the ground, and this serves as encouragement for further use of this type of analysis.

Yet the differences between the two sites cannot purely be ascribed to differences in household size, importance, and status. Pwll Mill was largely inhabited during the period of greatest expansion of greatest rural disruption, competition for land, and poverty, while Llystyn Mill's main period of occupation was after the population began to fall again and the economy had recovered somewhat. In addition, transport links to Pembrokeshire improved as the century progressed, permitting a wider range of goods to be imported into the county and adjacent regions. Certainly the number of local merchants specialising in pottery sales dramatically increases somewhere after 1850. In 1830, John Griffiths of Cardigan was the only china and earthenware dealer between Fishguard and Cardigan (Pigot and Co. 1830:828). By 1835, Griffiths had been joined by three other dealers (Pigot and Co. 1835:747). In 1850, there were still four specialist merchants in the region, although one of these was now based in Fishguard (Hunt and Co. 1850:6, 35). But only eight years later, there were nine regional pottery dealers: six in Cardigan, one in Fishguard, and two even in Newport (Isaac Slater 1858:39, 53, 104). This sudden increase in specialist merchants is not only an indicator of the improved transport links to western Wales, but also appears to indicate a revival in the local economy following the disruptions of the early 19th century.

Recent as-yet unpublished analysis carried out by this author on a nearby 19th-century assemblage from the Pant Teg reinforces many of the points raised in this section. Compared to both Llystyn Mill and Pwll Mill, the Pant Teg

assemblage is remarkable for its strict division of form and decoration. Plates and serving tureens are almost invariably transfer-printed vessels, and most of these are a single pattern (“Asiatic Pheasants”). Similarly, bowls are almost invariably the much less expensive stamped and painted wares. Concentrating for the moment on economy and status, this demonstrates that for those with the economic means and stability, the Cemaes pottery consumer could exercise a large amount of choice and control over the goods acquired. This strongly suggests that the lack of a similar coherence of assemblage at Llystyn Mill and Pwll Mill is caused by the inherent instability and poverty of the households rather than the local availability (or lack thereof) of pottery.

Thus by comparing the two Welsh sites to each other, (with supplementary data from another local site) the differences between the relative values of the assemblages are most probably produced by a combination of three main factors. Firstly, the differing social conditions and status of the intermittent households, as suggested by the more elaborate Llystyn Mill site structures, ties in neatly with the higher value of the Llystyn assemblage. Secondly, while higher status and greater purchasing power do not necessarily follow on from each other, it seems reasonable in this instance to assume a connection. Finally, improvements in the local economy, closely tied to the increased local availability of goods (including pottery), probably contribute to the greater value of the Llystyn assemblage. Yet this may well seem to be a somewhat tentative series of conclusions, ridden with ‘seems’ and ‘probably’. This is not due to a theoretical (or indeed practical) reluctance to make firm statements of fact. Instead, it stems from the comparative approach so central to this thesis. Until contextualising comparative analysis with the thesis’ other isolated rural sites has taken place, all conclusions must, by necessity, be considered preliminary.

Function and Status

With the discussion of economy and status in place, it is time to move on to an evaluation of function and status. The starting point of this evaluation is a comparison of vessel forms, specifically the tablewares, between the two assemblages. While form and function do not automatically follow on from each other, comparisons of form that keep in mind the intended function of a vessel can provide a useful starting point for analysis - as long as they are not considered to

be the final analytical word on the subject. As this subsection will reveal, the significant differences that occurred in the comparisons of decoration do not necessarily occur in comparisons of form. Indeed, there are at least as many similarities between the two sites' form distributions than there are differences.

Of the eleven tableware forms that occur on either site (table 3.5), eight comprise at least 5% of one of the assemblages: plates, cups, saucers, bowls, jugs, teapots and pots. It is on these categories that this analysis focusses. Of the seven (relatively) common forms, four vary between the two assemblages by 5% or less (plates, saucers, teapots and jugs), while four vary by more than 5% (cups, bowls, mugs and pots). Of the forms that vary by more than 5%, the variation is always less than 10%, but this hides different ranges of significance. Without resorting to strict statistical definitions or tests of 'significance', it is clear that the difference between the bowls (26% at Llystyn Mill, 20% at Pwll Mill) is far less significant than the difference between cups (more than twice as common at Llystyn Mill) or mugs (nine times more common at Pwll Mill). Finally, the pots at Pwll Mill are solely part of the earlier component of the latter assemblage, and are thus not as directly comparable.

Mathematics aside, the raw data of the quantified comparison may be summed up as follows: the only significant variations between common, contemporaneous elements of the same assemblages are between cups and mugs. All other common form distributions are similar, with the exception of bowls, which exist in an uncomfortable statistical limbo between similarity and difference. As a whole, the form distributions follow a similar pattern to the bowls - neither overwhelmingly similar nor particularly different. At the very least, it is clear that these two sites are not pointing towards any spurious 'Rural Wales' or even 'Cemaes' ceramics pattern for the rural poor. A full consideration of these form distributions requires a discussion of the factors that have contributed to differences between the assemblages.

The connection between vessel form and function deserves to be explored more completely, particularly as pertains to bowls. The rural Welsh diet provides a particularly good context for this analysis. *Cawl*, a bacon and vegetable stew, was the most prevalent item in the rural diet (Owen 1991:10). This stew would

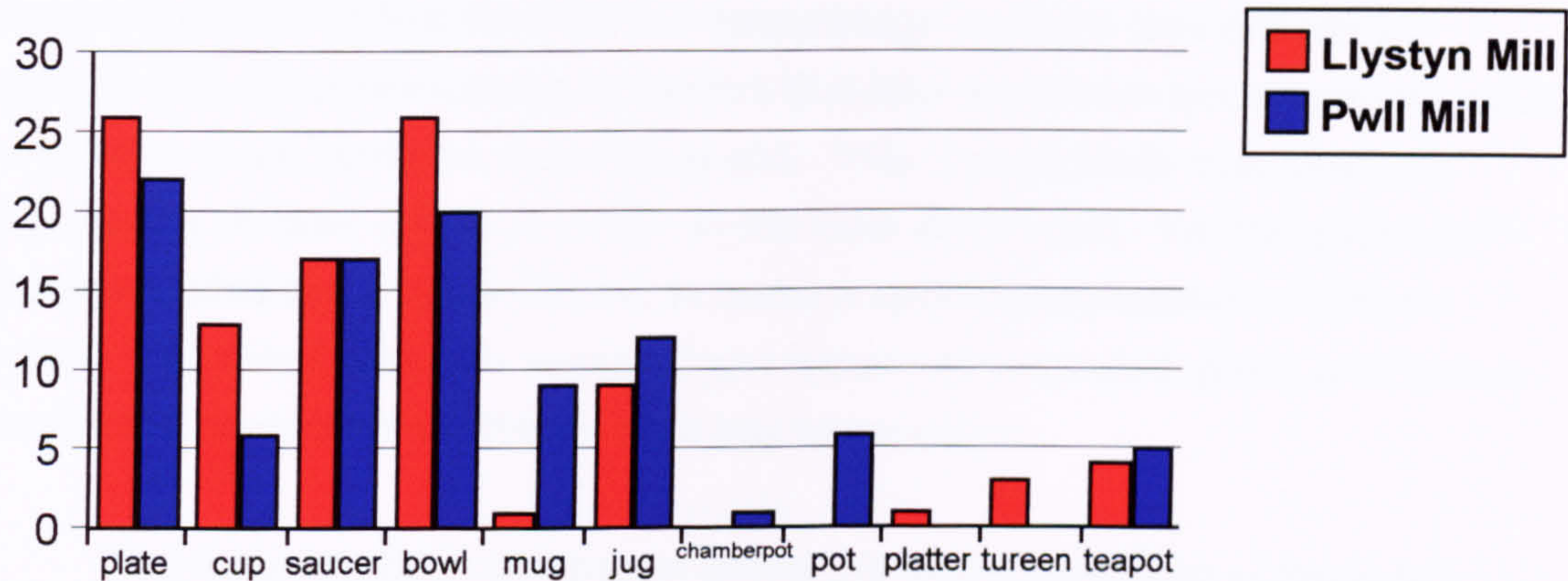


TABLE 3.5
TABLEWARE FORM DISTRIBUTIONS
AT LLYSTYN MILL AND PWLL MILL

Y-axis is %; totals have been rounded to nearest whole number, exclude 'other' categories, and thus do not add to 100. Originals in colour

have required hollow vessels, primarily bowls, for consumption. If *cawl* was a major part of household diet, a high percentage of bowls would be expected in the assemblages. Bowls make up 20% of the Pwll Mill assemblage and 26% of the Llystyn Mill assemblage (table 3.5). Thus bowls make up a fifth to a quarter of each assemblage. Furthermore, it is likely that the number of bowls is under-represented as *cawl* was frequently eaten from wooden rather than ceramic bowls and even on largely 19th century sites these wooden vessels would be unlikely to survive except in unusual circumstances. Given that this thesis has already established that the Pwll Mill assemblage contains less expensive vessels, it is not unreasonable to believe that less expensive wooden bowls would have been more common at the latter site. This is particularly true given the importance of *cawl*, and thus bowls, to the rural Welsh diet. Yet the data from these two sites alone is insufficient to make a definitive conclusion on these points. The role of wooden vessels must remain an educated guess until further analysis of contemporary Welsh sites has taken place.

The wider question of whether bowls are indeed common at these two sites, and what that might indicate about rural diet can, however, be answered directly in this thesis - specifically through the comparative analysis with other sites that takes place in chapter 6. For the time being, an example from the unpublished Pant Teg analysis will serve to set the scene. It will also be remembered that the Pant Teg data demonstrated a clear difference between bowls (typically used for stews such as *cawl*) and plates (for more solid meals) - the former were almost invariably inexpensive painted and printed wares while the latter were expensive transfer-printed wares. This strict correlation between expensive and inexpensive decorations and specific forms strongly suggests that *cawl* and similar stews were conceptually lower-status diets of the poor. Further comparative analysis will help to demonstrate whether this is a regional or wider practice.

This leaves the discrepancy between cups and mugs between the two assemblages. It is significant in this instance that the overwhelming majority of identified cups (eight out of nine) at Llystyn Mill are porcelain, while the much smaller number and percentage of Pwll Mill cups are evenly divided between porcelain and earthenware. Meanwhile, all of the Pwll Mill mugs are earthenware,

and most of these are relatively inexpensively decorated. Once again a sharp division between form and decoration/cost exists between vessels intended for similar activities. This time, however, the activity is drinking rather than eating. The 18th-century innovations in British tea-drinking (eg. Weatherill 1996:158-9) had clearly percolated through to Pembrokeshire by the 19th century: both sites feature teapots, and both sites have identical percentages of saucers. It is possible therefore that the mug-cup discrepancy is largely economic: in keeping with the higher overall value of the Llystyn Mill assemblage, the latter features more expensive teacups than inexpensive mugs. Yet the latter explanation is unsatisfactory. It does not explain why teacups should be more expensive than mugs, nor does it explain why the two sites should have different cup-mug ratios, but identical percentages of saucers. A more complete picture emerges through a joint consideration of function and meaning, particularly as concerns the use of vessels in display.

Function and Meaning

The use of a wooden dresser as a vehicle for the display of pottery is well-documented across the British Isles (eg. Vincentelli n.d.:18-23; Webster 1999). Surviving examples with early 19th-century pottery are frustratingly rare, but those examples that do exist typically feature a range of vessel forms, but with a decorative emphasis overwhelmingly towards the upper end of the decorative scale, specifically transfer prints. Vincentelli further notes that:

“In the 18th century, it was fashionable for the gentry to collect porcelain and fine china and the spread of tea-drinking necessitated the production of all kinds of new ceramic forms ... The new industrial methods of production of domestic ceramics and ornaments made them available to ordinary people. They too could enjoy the luxury of decorating their houses and their tables with brightly coloured pottery. They too, could take pride in their household choices and display their personal taste.” (Vincentelli n.d.:18)

This combined stress on the gentry, the spread of tea-drinking, personal taste, and the increased availability of pottery holds the key both to the cup-mug discrepancies and the saucer similarities. Several inter-locking issues are at work. First of all, tea-drinking's British roots lie in a sophisticated, almost ritualistic consumption associated with expense and status (eg. Weatherill 1996:158-159). Only in the late 18th and early 19th centuries did the industrialisation of ceramic production make teawares more widely accessible to the British public. It will also be remembered that it was only from the 1850's that pottery merchants became a

widespread phenomenon in and near Cemaes - something which itself suggests a measure of local economic recovery. Thus the central period of occupation at Llystyn Mill coincides with a period where the rural poor of Cemaes would suddenly have had access to pottery forms (and decorations) originally associated with a higher level of status than that typically enjoyed by local cottagers. The actual function of the cups is almost moot - their presence alone signals domestic pride and aspirations towards status display.

The inhabitants of Pwll Mill did not own teacups in large numbers, although they owned at least three teapots. It will be interesting to see as the comparative analysis in this thesis develops whether or not there is a negative correlation between the distribution of teacups and mugs that ties into the wider economy and status of the sites. If mugs prove to be overwhelmingly more common on poorer sites, this will prove to be an important point in establishing the status role of teawares and mugs in ceramics assemblages. Yet this still leaves open the issue of Pwll Mill's incongruously large number of saucers, which are almost three times as common as cups. Given the points raised in the previous few paragraphs, it can only be assumed that the Pwll Mill saucers were intended for display, although whether this would be on a dresser or in some other context remains an open point. Given the almost total lack of cups, the Pwll Mill saucers are bereft of the other form necessary for their primary function. It seems likely, therefore, that these saucers were acquired for their symbolic status display context, and that furthermore, the Pwll Mill inhabitants were clearly unable to engage in this status display to the extent of their Llystyn Mill neighbours.

Meaning, Identity and Ideology

So far, this discussion has only dealt with the status connotations of meaning and display, but the ideological aspects of pottery are by no means restricted to status. Material culture often contains many different levels of meaning, both linked and separate. Take, for example, issues of national and regional identity. Past research has shown that transfer-printed pottery often contains themes relevant to British and Welsh identity (Brooks 1997; 1999). In other material culture, Mytum's study of inscriptions on Welsh Anglican and non-conformist gravestones has clearly demonstrated that material culture can demonstrate regional and national conceptions of identity. In this example, non-

conformist gravestones were more likely to be in Welsh than Church of England gravestones (Mytum 1994), therefore demonstrating that a sense of Welsh identity was more prevalent amongst chapel-goers than their Anglican counterparts. The choice of gravestone and inscriptions by the individual, however, involves an interaction between the consumer and producer (eg. Buckham 1999) that does not occur in ceramics acquisition. Thus while material culture can reflect and be informed by concepts of regional and national identity, there is no universal methodology that can be applied to the analysis of these points for all classes of artefacts.

A full discussion of meaning, and identity for the Pwll Mill and Llystyn Mill assemblages is difficult at this stage of analysis. Focusing for the moment on regional identity, the small number of transfer-prints means that it would be pointless to try and claim any significance in the lack of British or Welsh-themed transfer prints. Most other decorative techniques feature abstract designs. In the absence of vessels which are individually identifiable, wider study is necessary. Yet this proves to be similarly difficult. While Welsh materials are found at both sites (the Colandine and Lazuli patterns), so are objects made in England for Wales (the Bristol-made jug for Simeon Johns of Milford). Therefore the assemblages as a whole display materials from both England and Wales, and - difficulties of identification without maker's marks aside - probably primarily the former. The lack of comparative data further hampers efforts to examine to what extent the non-transfer-printed wares, particularly the spongewares, might be favoured in Wales. This would help to clarify whether the presence of such materials is linked to a conscious or unconscious expression of Welshness, or whether they were simply purchased because they were readily available. The same is true of variation in vessel form and the other variables inherent in the assemblage. The primary problem is that no control has been established. No contemporary British assemblages have been analysed and compared with a view to recognising their potential regional meaning and ideological content. This is a problem that this thesis seeks to remedy, and this point will be raised again throughout the dissertation. This problem once again highlights the importance of the type of comprehensive comparative analysis advocated by this thesis.

Yet if the ideological meaning of the assemblages remains hard to decipher

until the comparative analysis has taken place, this does not obviate the importance of those vessels that were used for display. Clearly their meaning to the owners was more important than a naked display of status or aspiration. The last word on this topic should surely belong to the owners themselves:

“I suppose my dresser is a bit like an altar. It’s a kind of special experience to stand in front of it. I am still slightly haunted by that part of my life [first marriage] and it brings back the good bits”

“Often when I am polishing it [the dresser] I wonder how they felt. I wonder how they felt. I wonder what kind of life they had... It gives me pleasure because I think [sic] it is a link with my aunt who was such a lovely person” (interviews cited in Vincentelli n.d.:21)

IV-CONCLUSION

Despite the discussion of pottery, and the various tables and charts in this chapter, it should not be forgotten that the eventual goal of this analysis is to inform us about the people that lived on the various sites examined in this thesis. In this chapter, the people who inhabited the sites are poor, transient households at the margins of Pembrokeshire society, and the assemblages have much to offer in telling us more about the everyday life of these people.

The ceramics analysis has demonstrated that even at these lower rungs of society, there was status differentiation between the households of the two sites. This differentiation appears to have been continued across the period of the sites’ occupation, demonstrating that the inhabitants at the more elaborate Llystyn Mill site were better off, or enjoyed a higher status than their counterparts at Pwll Mill. This difference is probably emphasised by the wider availability of pottery from the 1850’s. Comparisons of form have shown that despite similarities in the forms associated with eating, forms associated with drinking vary considerably. This is almost certainly related to the high status and quasi-ritual roles of teawares. The assemblage analysis has also demonstrated the undoubted frustrations that rural households in Cemaes must have faced during this period. The lack of decorative consistency within the assemblages and the small number of vessels overall all reflect the poverty, lack of consumer choice, and brevity inherent in each household’s occupation of the site.

Yet this analysis has also raised questions that this chapter cannot answer by itself. As was noted throughout the analysis part of this chapter, questions of

identity, the importance of certain forms, and regional variation require comparative study before they can be properly and comprehensively addressed. These issues impact not only the analysis of the assemblages as a whole, but also of the households that lived there. The next two chapters will examine four more assemblages, from the Outer Hebrides in Scotland and Thomas Jefferson's plantations in Virginia. Finally, chapters 6 and 7 will contain the necessary full comparative analysis.

CHAPTER 4 - THE WESTERN ISLES

*“Seallaibh mun cuairt duibh
Is faicibh na h-uaislean
Gun iochd annt’ri trughain
Gun suairceas ri daimhich*

“Look around you and see the nobility
Without pity for poor folk
without kindness to friends;

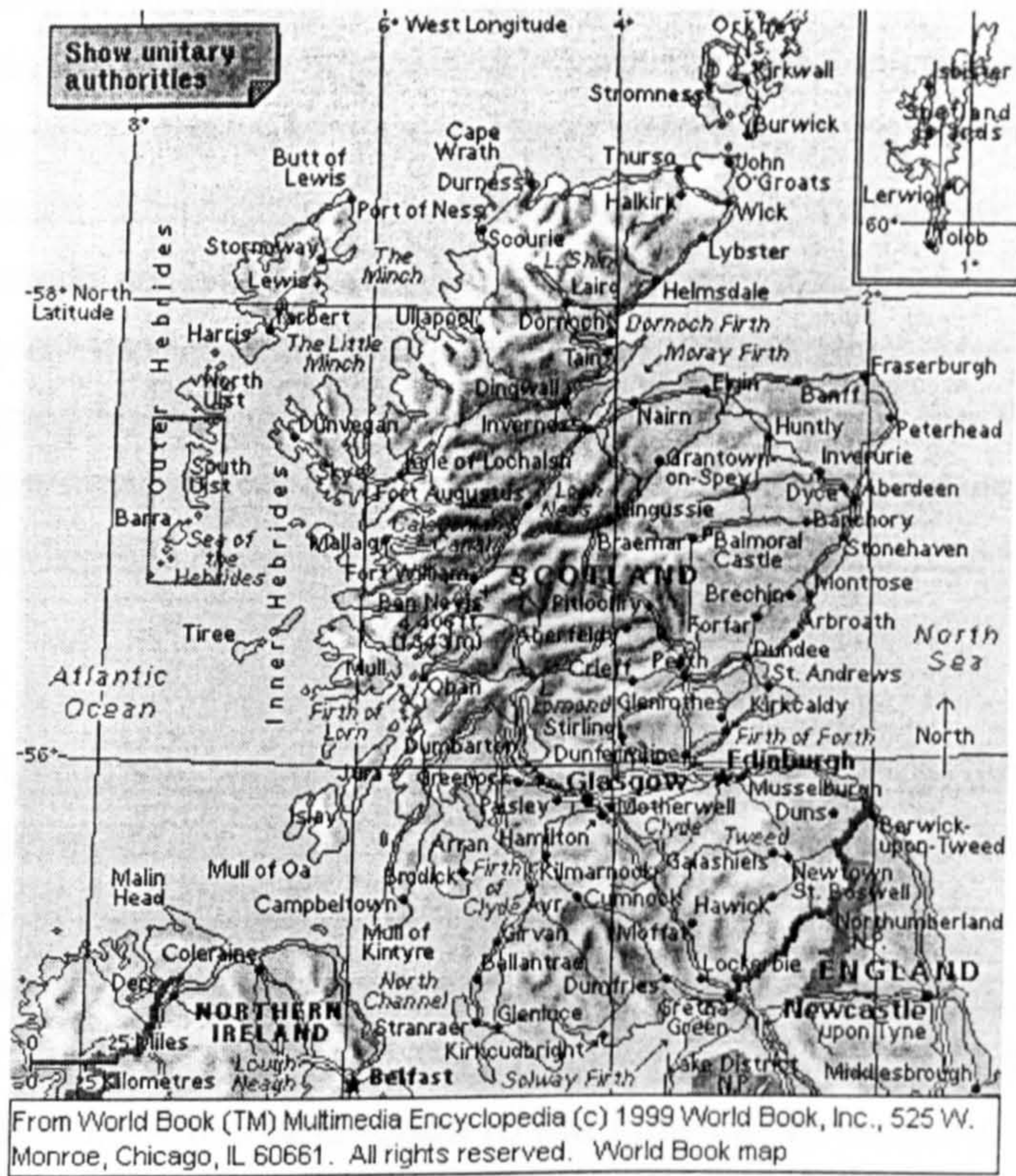
*‘S ann a tha iad am barail
Nach buin sibh do’n talamh
‘S ged dh’fhag iad sibh falamh
Chan fhaic iad mar chall e”*

They are of the opinion that you do
Not belong to the soil, and though
They have left you destitute they
Cannot see it as a loss.”
(Traditional Hebridean Folk Song)

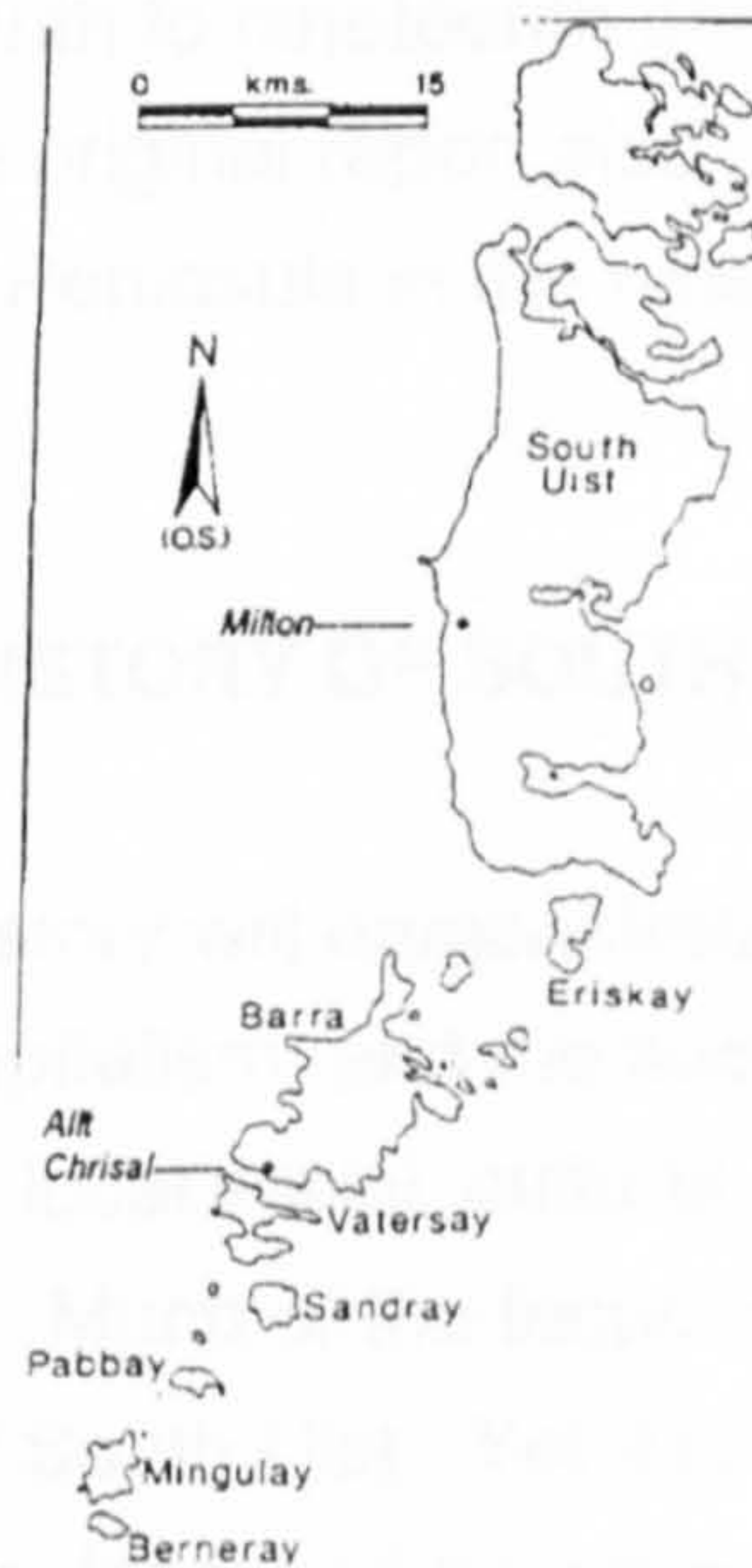
I - INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the assemblage from House E, Milton, in central South Uist, and the Allt Chrisal farmstead on the Tangaval peninsula, Barra. Barra and South Uist are both islands in the Outer Hebrides or Western Isles. The overall structure and goals of this chapter are very similar to those in chapter 3, and once again the pottery reports and the social backgrounds of the sites are discussed within the theoretical model proposed in chapter 2. To emphasise some of the points made at the beginning of the previous chapter, this analysis has two purposes; firstly, to study the ceramics from the site within their wider social context in order to examine how that social context both forms and is informed by the ceramics record. Secondly, the chapter seeks to prepare the groundwork for the comparative analysis of all of the assemblages in chapter 7 of this thesis. In a significant departure from the previous chapter, one of the sites, the Barra farmstead, has been taken from a previously published report (Branigan and Foster 1995) rather than having been analysed specifically for this thesis. This permits a simulation of realistic everyday circumstance, where the ceramicist will often be required to rely on others' work for comparative analysis. The methodological issues arising from this necessary practice are also addressed in this chapter.

House E is a cottage in the township of Milton on the eastern, Atlantic coast of South Uist (fig. 4.1). Since the mid-1990's, the archaeology department at the University of Sheffield has been conducting a research programme titled the “Flora MacDonald Project” after the Jacobite heroine born and memorialised in Milton. The project has two aims, firstly to map the village of Milton, and



SCOTLAND



THE SOUTHERN OUTER HEBRIDES

FIGURE 4.1 - THE WESTERN ISLES

secondly to “examine the responses of the eighteenth and nineteenth century Hebridean population ... to the social and economic changes wrought by the infamous ‘Highland Clearances’” (Anon. 1997; ARCUS 2000). While not directly related to this thesis, Sheffield’s archaeology department also plans to integrate the Flora MacDonald project work with other archaeological research undertaken by the University on earlier settlement patterns in South Uist. The Sheffield Archaeology Department and the Stoke-on-Trent Museum of the Potteries (where the materials were temporarily archived) generously granted permission to this author to independently analyse the ceramics from House E in Milton for this thesis.

Sheffield University has also previously engaged in an extensive archaeological survey of the Tangaval peninsula on Barra, an island to the south of South Uist (fig. 4.1). The Barra data in this chapter is taken from Branigan and Foster’s 1995 report Barra; Archaeological Research on Ben Tangaval. The report describes the development of the Tangaval peninsula from the earliest geographical evolution of the landscape to the nineteenth century. This thesis uses the pottery data from the excavations at Allt Chrisal, on the south of the Peninsula. While the latter excavations also included neolithic and iron-age components, it is the eighteenth to nineteenth century farmstead that has been included in this chapter. The original report also contains a short but invaluable discussion of “The Tangaval Peninsula in the nineteenth century: the census data” (McNeil 1995).

II - A SOCIAL HISTORY OF SOUTH UIST AND BARRA

The following social history will demonstrate how the integration of the landlords into wider British capitalism, and the subordination of island life to the kelp industry transformed the local social, cultural, and economic landscape in the later 18th and 19th centuries. Much of the focus is almost inevitably on the larger and more prominent island of South Uist. Yet it should be stressed that the wider social changes and processes described herein are relevant for both communities. Despite different traditional landlords, the two islands shared a common overall culture and heritage; indeed, they had been united in a single parish until 1733/4 (McNeil 1995:187).

Before the the sweeping changes that would affect the Highlands and Islands of Scotland from the eighteenth century, South Uist and Barra were essentially small, isolated, semi-feudal societies on the outer margins (geographically, economically, and conceptually) of the Scottish and British states. The vibrant international connections with Scandinavia and Ireland of earlier periods had long since faded away. South Uist was the virtually feudal property of the MacDonalds of Clanranald while Barra was similarly owned by the MacNeills. The end of Hebridean isolation following the industrial revolution and the Jacobite collapse at Culloden would lead to significant, arguably catastrophic, changes in the fabric of this deeply conservative and traditional society. For much of its history, Scotland has been split down the middle by a linguistic, geographic, and cultural divide between the Gaelic Highlands and Islands and the more cosmopolitan Lowlands. Arguably not until the reign of James IV (1488-1513) would the Lowland-based Scottish state make any effective attempts to extend its jurisdiction into the Highlands (Mackie 1991:114-5), and not until the aftermath of the Battle of Culloden in 1746 would the new British state attempt to 'pacify' the Gaels of northern and western Scotland. The events that followed the Jacobite defeat at Culloden were indeed inevitably of central importance to developments in the Highlands and Islands, and 1746 thus provides a convenient starting date for this chapter's overview of Hebridean, and particularly South Uist society.

The Hebrides After Culloden

MacInnes (1988:73) has stressed that many of the factors that would transform Hebridean society, such as migration to North America, tenurial change, and population growth, were already underway before 1746, but there is no doubt that the pace of change in the Islands was accelerated by developments in the second half of the eighteenth century. Yet while South Uist and Barra were undoubtedly affected by the central government's post-Culloden attempts to destroy Gaeldom - "a deadly poison threatening the body politic" (Devine 1994:28-9) in the central government's view - no military roads or garrisons were set up on these isolated Catholic outposts of Gaelic society. The initial transformation of Hebridean society is thus best understood as the result of collateral post-Culloden change and the resulting disruption of the social order. Amongst the most important elements of this change was the transformation of the Highland laird from the leader of an extended kin group on the margins of the Scottish state to a

commercial landowner connected to the wider networks of British capitalism.

Following the failure of the Jacobite rebellion of 1745, the central government passed acts aimed at removing the “traditional trappings” of the Highland landowners. As a result, the latter increasingly moved towards the conclusion that social status would from now on depend on the amount of funds at their disposal rather than their local kin network. (Hunter 1976:11). As Samuel Johnson accurately - if somewhat melodramatically - noted in 1774,

“Their [the landowners] pride has been crushed by the heavy hand of a vindictive conqueror, whose severities have been followed by laws, which, though they cannot be called cruel, have produced much discontent, because they operate upon the surface of life, and make every eye bear witness to subjection” (Johnson 1984:97).

Meanwhile, particularly from the 1760's, there was a marked increase in Highland commerce as the demand for Highland and Island goods in the rest of Britain dramatically increased (Devine 1994:32-3). Some well-meaning attempts to promote new local industry in the islands failed through a combination of unprofitability and an inability to compete with southern industry. These efforts were soon abandoned in favour of the highly profitable export of raw materials (Hunter 1976:11-12). Faced with the restrictions on traditional society from the Disarmament Acts, an increased exposure (both forced and willing) to wider British culture, and the money-making opportunities that could come from that exposure, it comes as little surprise that the Lairds and landowners shifted their attention from their traditional roles to their new role and status within the capitalist metropolitan culture. MacInnes has indeed noted that the significance of Culloden at least partly lies not in the subsequent reprisals, but rather in the landowners' subsequent “escape from traditionalist expectations” (MacInnes 1988:72). In sum, the imminent demise of the traditional clan was not solely the result of government oppression, it was also caused by the Lairds' embracing of 'progress', and their willing acculturation into the British metropolitan society.

The change in landlord priorities, combined with market pressures and the search for a means to fund these priorities led to a massive population displacement throughout the Highlands. The precise nature of this displacement varied regionally. In the Outer Hebrides, it usually entailed the replacement of the communal *baile* township with crofts (Devine 1994:33-5). The Hebridean crofting

communities were in essence a series of individual smallholdings with the grazing land still held in common, but with the arable land held by individual tenants (Devine 1994:33-5). As described below, the crofts enabled the landlord to rationalise and control the local population. Milton itself was one of the very few townships that continued to be held in *tack*, with subtenants labouring on small parcels of land under a leaseholder (Symonds 1999:111), but this was very much the exception rather than the rule, and would prove to be no protection from the hardships endured by the islanders as a whole. The move to alien, standardised communities was no doubt as traumatic for the residents of South Uist and Barra as it was for the rest of the Highlands. Nonetheless, the Islands would - for the time being - escape the additional disruption of forced migration that characterised the mainland clearances. The population of the Islands was far too valuable to remove. South Uist in particular was the most productive (Hunter 1976:31) centre of an industry that completed the transformation of the Islands, an industry to which virtually all Island life was subordinated. That industry was kelping.

The Rise and Fall of the Kelp Industry

Kelp is an alkaline by-product of seaweed used in the production of soap and glass. Seaweed had always been important to island culture, particularly as a fertiliser. During periods of seaweed shortage, traditional hymns would implore “*A Chriosda, thoir mo chuid*”(O Christ, grant me my share!), while the subsequent arrival of a new supply was equated with the arrival of ‘warrior Michael’, ‘womanly Brigit’ and ‘mild Mother Mary’ (Fenton 1986:74). Prior to the second half of the 18th century, seaweed was chiefly used for manuring the barley crop (Fenton 1986:77), but the emphasis would change dramatically in the following decades.

During the Napoleonic Wars, the Hebridean kelp industry was suddenly converted into a vital part of the British war effort when supplies of cheaper Continental alternatives were cut off in the 1790’s. The price of kelp was £10 a tonne in the 1790’s, a price which would double to £20 a tonne during the war economy of the early 1800s (Hunter 1976:16). In the 1770’s, Hebridean kelp production stood at 2,000 tonnes a year, a figure which would rise to 5,000 tonnes a year in the 1790’s, and to 7,000 tonnes a year by 1810 (Devine 1994:42-3). During this period, Clanranald’s income from kelp production on South Uist grew

to £9,454, nearly double the income of £5,297 from land rental (Hunter 1976:17). The MacNeills of Barra came to similarly depend on their kelp income to remain solvent (McNeil 1995:187). In the Islands as a whole, a landlord's typical expenses from kelping were £3.12s per tonne, while the kelper's wages were £1-£3 per tonne even when the price of kelp was £20 a tonne. Yet these profits were not reinvested in the Island in order to improve industry or agriculture;

“Clanranald never ploughed anything back into the Uists in the form, for instance, of new harbours or roads or of encouragement for new industry or a more diversified farming. He [MacDonald of Clanranald] was content to spend the Kelp money on conspicuous consumption and in adding to and servicing the heavy debt charge on his estate” (Smout 1969:37)

The effect of the kelping industry on the local population was dramatic. The primary motivation behind the transformation of the Highlands into crofting communities was to turn the local population into labourers, with agriculture only a secondary concern. As Devine has noted, “too much land would act as a distraction from other profitable tasks” (Devine 1994:48). Indeed, the average croft was designed so as to prevent the crofting family from maintaining itself from their smallholding. The crofts were intentionally reduced in size in order to force the family into dependence on outside labour; it has been estimated that the typical crofter required 200 days of additional work to avoid ‘chronic destitution’ (Devine 1994:47). Furthermore, the landlords raised rents to artificially high levels utterly unrelated to the value of the crofting land. The crofters' inability to pay these rents further forced the tenants to turn to kelping to supplement their income, and this of course meant that the landlord regained a large part of his wage bill as rent. The crofters were also severely restricted in their ability to realise individual profits from kelping as the landlord was both the sole owner of and market for the seaweed and kelp (Hunter 1976:18). Those lands that continued to be held in *tack*, such as Milton, were no better off; here too the family plots were too small to serve as viable farms, forcing the tenants into kelp farming just as surely as the crofters (Symonds 1999:111). What little agriculture and fishing the crofters and subtenants were able to undertake was further undermined due to the kelp season coinciding with the main growing and fishing seasons (Ennew 1980:22).

The Islands faced other demographic problems. The population of the

Islands increased dramatically as the landlords realised that more people translated into more labour and thus more production. This realisation was put to practical purpose by restrictions on population movement and the expansion of the potato crop. South Uist's population increased by a staggering 211 percent between 1755 and 1831 (Hunter 1976:31). Calculations based on figures in McNeil (1995:187-9) suggest that Barra's population grew by a lesser, but still significant, 100 percent between 1755 and an 1821 peak. Emigration, an obvious response to the increased hardships of the Islanders, was severely restricted by the Passenger Act of 1803. This act of Parliament, which Clanranald actively supported, ostensibly regulated vessel safety for the benefit of passengers, but its primary - and successful - purpose was to cripple emigration by more than doubling, and sometimes tripling, the cost of passage overseas (Hunter 1976:25). Virtually the only Islanders who could emigrate were the tacksmen, the traditional (often hereditary) middlemen between the Laird and the tenants. The virtual disappearance of the tacksmen through emigration served to deprive the Outer Hebrides of their nascent middle class of educated small landowners as well as the group traditionally responsible for moderating relations between the landowner and tenant (Smout 1969:336). It should be noted that Milton was one of two South Uist townships to retain a tacksman in 1827 (Hunter 1976:40; Symonds 1999:111), but these were almost powerless exceptions in a sea of social change.

As noted at the beginning of this section, MacInnes observed (1988:73) that many of the forces and processes that led to the transformation of Hebridean society were already underway by the middle of eighteenth century. Equally importantly, Smout has stressed that the Hebridean population had always been poor (Smout 1969:330). The significant ideological change in this period was the outlook of the landlords rather than the wealth (or lack thereof) of the Highlanders. This ideological change led to profound social change. Contemporary observers were by no means completely blind to developments. Samuel Johnson, following his 1773 tour of the Highlands and Islands, presciently predicted the consequences of the removal of the tacksmen and the commercialisation of the land:

“According to these schemes, universal plenty is to begin and end in universal misery. Hope and emulation will be utterly extinguished; and as all must obey the call of immediate necessity, nothing that requires extensive views, or provides for distant consequences will ever be performed” (Johnson 1984:97).

Ennew (1980:21) records similar sentiments from a 1793 visitor to the islands.

As traumatic as the changes outlined above undoubtedly were, the socio-economic system based on kelping rapidly came apart. With the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, the markets for foreign alkali sources were reopened. Almost simultaneously, a chemical process perfecting the extraction of alkali from salt was perfected. The Highland landlords battled to maintain high tariffs on foreign alkali sources, but by 1825, the British soap and glass manufacturers convinced the government to lower or even abolish import duties. In the face of these pressures, the market price of kelp collapsed (Devine 1994:51-2; Hunter 1976:35). In the thirteen years between 1815 and 1828 the price of a ton of kelp fell from £20 to £3.13s.4d. Profits collapsed from an annual average of £2,535 to £180 a year (Hunter 1976:35-6). Unfortunately, the Island estates had been organised in the naive assumption that the kelp boom would be permanent. The islanders and landlords both felt the consequences of this drastic fall in prices, but kelping was by now so integral to the island communities that it was impossible to abandon without causing the entire financial structure of the islands to collapse. As Clanranald's South Uist factor observed, "If the kelp is given up, the small tenants cannot continue to pay the present rents, because the work they got enabled them to pay for portions of ground so small that they could pay nothing from produce" (Hunter 1976:36). The value of commodities that might have cushioned the blow to kelp also suffered. Cattle prices halved and herring bounties were withdrawn - the latter occurring just as over-fishing eliminated herring from coastal regions. Of the Highland staples, only sheep and wool remained profitable (Devine 1994:51-2; Smout 1969:327).

Under these circumstances, the crofters were no longer an irreplaceable labour force working in a highly profitable industry, but rather a redundant population taking up valuable land and unable to pay a viable rent. On Barra, Roderick MacNeill attempted to maintain his income through the construction of an alkali works in 1831. The total failure of this industry and the subsequent bankruptcy of MacNeill left the islanders in a state of total destitution (McNeil 1995:187). On South Uist, Clanranald took a more radical approach and began to plan for the removal of the crofters to make way for more profitable sheep farms. The 1803 Passenger Act was repealed in 1827. In that same year, Duncan Shaw,

Clanranald's South Uist factor, drew up a plan to 'evacuate' nearly half of the population of South Uist and the adjacent island of Benbecula to North America, with only the best keeping regions left more or less undisturbed. A (temporary) lack of government support forced Clanranald to modify the ambitious plan, but the broad outline of Shaw's proposal was followed through to the end of the 1830's (Hunter 1976:39-40). Unfortunately for both the crofters and Clanranald, the emigrants tended to be the tenants with the most initiative and money, leaving the 'poor and weak' in worse condition than ever (Hunter 1976:42). As South Uist was gradually depopulated, the income from sheep farm rental proved to be inadequate to cover the landlord's debt. South Uist was put up for sale in 1839 despite Clanranald attempts to cling on to the land (Devine 1994:67). Barra had been placed on the market a year earlier. Both islands were purchased by Colonel John Gordon of Cluny, a wealthy Aberdeenshire financier and landowner, who rapidly gained a reputation for being one of the most negligent and ruthless of the new Highland landlords (Devine 1994:59; Hunter 1976:60).

For reasons that will become clear later in the chapter, the purchase of South Uist and Barra by John Gordon marks a convenient end point for this social history. It is nonetheless worth briefly noting that the condition of the islanders would worsen, rather than improve, in the subsequent decades. Whatever remnant traditionalist qualms that the old landowners may have had over the wholesale clearance of the islands were hardly shared by Gordon. The new landowner, now with the full support of the government, evacuated most of the remaining destitute population in the 1840's (Virtual Hebrides 2000). A similar period of "ferocious" clearance occurred in Barra (McNeil 1995:187). The remaining population would continue to suffer under Gordon's tenure during the potato famine - a Hebridean as well as an Irish event. Told that 8,000 bolls (1 Scottish boll = 6 imperial bushels) of meal were necessary on Barra, South Uist and Benbecula, Gordon sent 900, and there was said to be 'greater wretchedness and privation' on the colonel's lands than on any other Highland and Island estate (Hunter 1976:60). To the Victorian observer, the Highlands and Islands offered a puzzling example that "Improvement" and "progress", contrary to the dominant ideology of the period, did not always change conditions for the better.

Traditional Hebridean Society

It may seem that this social history has treated the inhabitants of South Uist as a remarkably passive group given the tremendous social upheavals in the century after Culloden. The factors leading to this apparent passiveness are worth briefly exploring as they provide a useful insight into important aspects of the changing Hebridean society. Symonds dismisses the concept of passiveness entirely, noting that resistance can take covert form, including such actions as “foot dragging, dissimulation, false compliance ... and so forth” (Scott, cited in Symonds 1999:112), that are often misinterpreted by the outside observer. Yet even Symonds places his discussion of ‘domination and resistance’ in the context of the late 1820’s sheep clearances rather than the transformation wrought by kelping. Ennew rightly notes that the “constant shiftings and uprootings of population” (Ennew 1980:23) made effective organisation by the local population almost impossible, but traditional Island cultural attitudes, particularly the concept of ‘*duthcas*’ were perhaps even more important.

The Gaelic word *duthcas* describes the traditional relationship between the Highland laird and his tenants, with specific reference to the laird’s role as the guarantor and protector of land possession. This role was particularly important in a society where the majority of the population *de jure* had no absolute legal right to the land they worked. Rights of security to the land were in particular very much *de facto* rather than *de jure* (Devine 1994:39-41). As long as the laird maintained his role as leader of a kin group, *duthcas* was central across Highland society, but once the laird began to focus on the commercial value of property, *duthcas* only retained any meaning for the tenants. Yet despite the social disruption caused by the abandonment of the old laird-kin connection, the islanders clung to a concept that had been central to centuries of tradition. MacInnes has summarised the result as follows:

“That the occupiers of the soil adhered tenaciously to the traditionalist concept of *duthcas* is testimony more to the cultural disorientation rather than outright cultural alienation... Unlike contemporaneous Irish Gaels who were able to direct polemical attacks against the alien English forms of government ... Scottish Gaels seem prisoners of their own culture, thoroughly perplexed, demoralised and disorientated by the process of Anglicisation effected by the assimilation of the clan elite into the British Establishment” (MacInnes 1988:72)

Thus one of the central causes of initial island passiveness was that

transformation was wrought by the traditional local landowners rather than 'colonial' outsiders. That emigration deprived the region of those with the money and initiative who might have been expected to negotiate, moderate or resist the transformation of Hebridean society doubtlessly exacerbated this disorientation and demoralisation.

Lest this appear to be too bleak a picture, it should be noted that islanders did indeed harbour considerable resentment towards their traditional landlord and his rent collectors. Symonds has, as noted, discussed dominance and resistance in a South Uist context, while political activity by the highland and island population of Scotland would eventually establish crofter's rights. Yet the earlier period encompassed by this chapter remains something of a blind spot. Whether or not the South Uist folk tale of "How Gille Padra' Dubh Paid His Rent" is true, it does suggest that some individuals were not quite so universally passive as the literature might suggest:

"Clanranald's factor had his house at Loch Eynort and the place has been called *Rubha Taigh a'Mhail*, 'The Rent House Point' ever since... Gille Padra' Dubh came down to pay his rent there; he was to pay it in grain. The grain used to be weighed by the peck. The last peck measure of his grain wasn't full, and the factor wouldn't accept it, as it was short. What did Gille Padra' Dubh do but catch hold of the factor and stick his knife at the factor's throat and hold him above the peck measure until he had filled it with his blood. 'It'll be full now,' he said. That's as true as can be. That was the last rent ever collected there!" (Virtual Hebrides 2000)

In summary, the ceramics from South Uist and Barra must be examined in a context of ongoing poverty and frequent social disruption. This social disruption was a result of changing landlord attitudes and the effects of the kelp industry. While traditional cultural attitudes were maintained by the islanders despite all of the challenges, these attitudes often exacerbated the poverty and disruption. With this background in place, it is time to move on to the assemblages themselves.

PART III - CERAMICS DATA

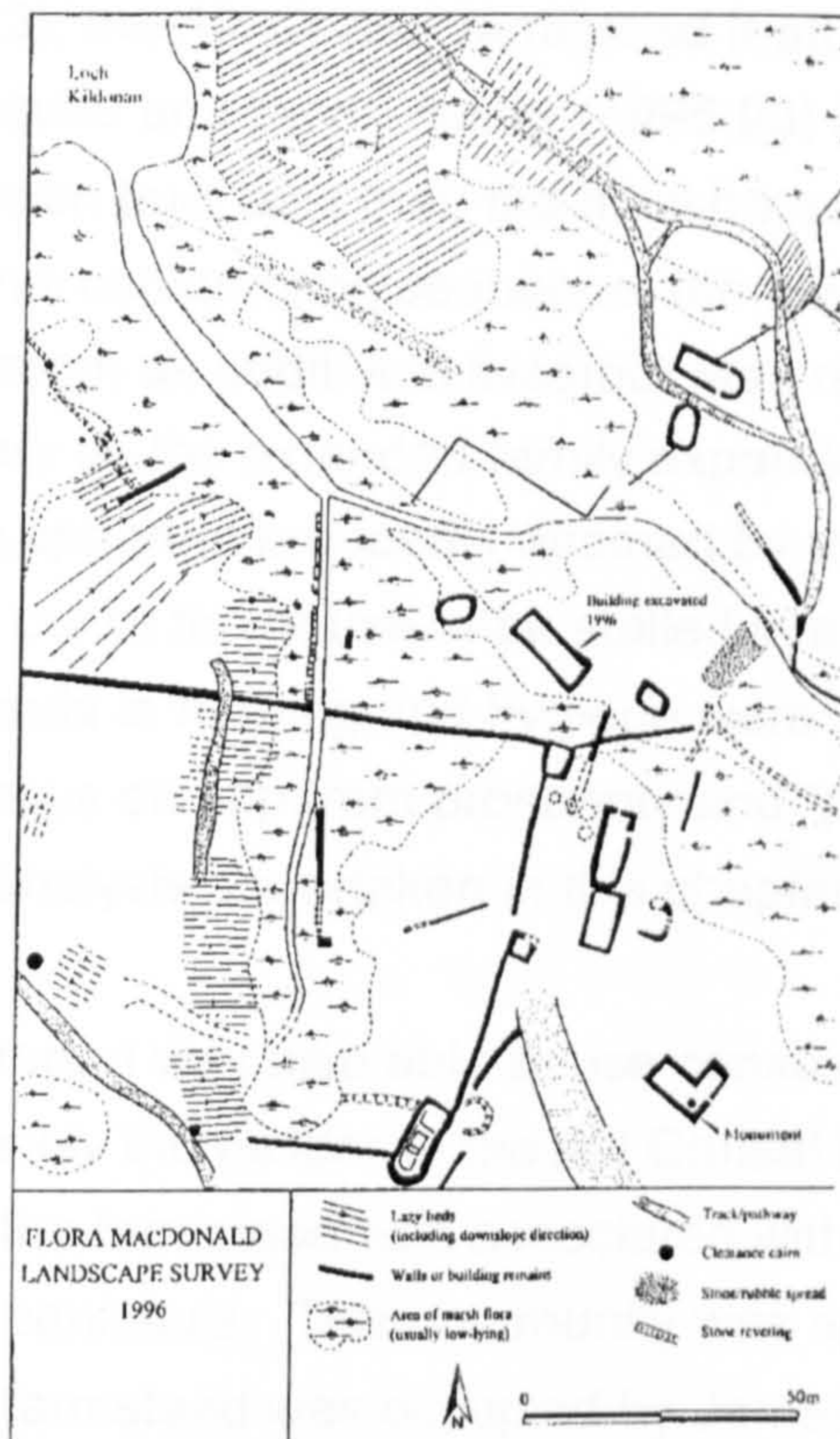
This section of the chapter contains the presentation of the archaeological data from the ceramics assemblages from House E, Milton, South Uist and the

farmhouse at Allt Chrisal, Barra. Brief descriptions of the sites and a discussion of the specific analytical methodologies used for this chapter are also included. The issues arising from the use of previously published data in a comparative context are also explored in some detail.

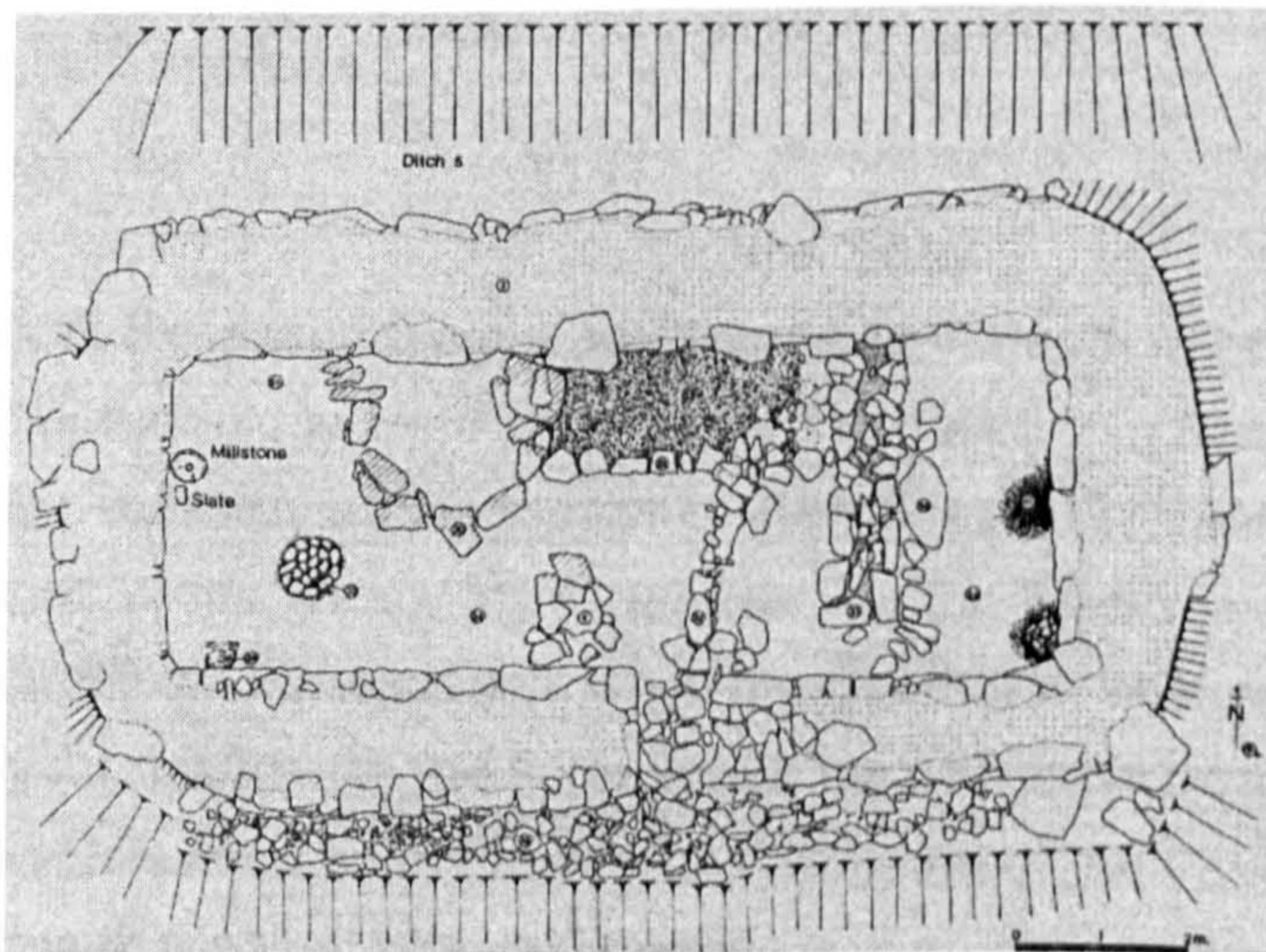
Site Descriptions

In the late 18th and 19th centuries, the village of Milton consisted of several dispersed blackhouses and other structures near Loch Kildonan (fig 4.2). There is no apparent central plan to the village. 1996 was the 250th anniversary of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Hebridean escape, and one of the larger blackhouses was excavated in the hope that it could be identified as the birthplace of Flora MacDonald. As the ceramics analysis section of this chapter will emphasise, it soon turned out that the material culture excavated from the site dated from the late 18th and early 19th centuries, thus meaning the house was a later structure. MacDonald was born in 1722 (Anon 1997:304). Nonetheless, the Milton excavation stands as one of the very few examples (along with the Pembrokeshire cottages in the previous chapter) of the excavation of an isolated rural home within the specific context of post-medieval or historical archaeology, and as such provides an invaluable addition to post-medieval archaeology. Indeed, the lack of a direct connection with MacDonald may make the site all the more important as an excavated 'normal' household.

A full description of the multi-period Allt Chrisal excavations (Foster 1995) may be found in the Brannigan and Foster report. Very briefly, approximately 27 sites were identified in the Allt Chrisal stream valley. These sites consisted of approximately six neolithic and beaker sites (the precise number of these is uncertain), a single iron age site, and 20 "modern" sites. The vast majority of the latter are associated with a late 18th - 19th century geographically isolated farmstead centred on a traditional Hebridean blackhouse. These sites include stone clearance cairns, stone shelters, a drying house, a byre, and kelp burning kilns (Foster 1995:51; fig 4.4). The pottery was recovered from the blackhouse (site T26), the drying house (T25) and the byre (T27). The construction materials of the blackhouse and associated buildings appear to conform to the Hebridean norm as described above. However, whereas the traditional blackhouse combines human living space and livestock byre into a single building (Walker and



MILTON, SOUTH UIST
excavated building in centre
(Anon. 1997:304)



ALLT CHRÌSAL BLACKHOUSE, BARRA
(Branigan and Foster 1995:66)

FIGURE 4.2 - SOUTH UIST AND BARRA SITE MAPS

McGregor 1996:3), the Allt Chrisal farmstead features a separate, though adjacent, blackhouse and byre. Foster (1995:93) advances the theory that the byre may have been built later than the blackhouse and suggests three possibilities for this construction sequence: the external byre may have been built to provide more room as additional livestock was required; the byre may have become necessary as the extended family expanded through the blackhouse; finally, "given the apparent prosperity attained by this farmstead, the animals may have been taken out of the house to be stalled in a separate byre as an indication that prevailing trends in farming and hygiene were being observed" (Foster 1995:93). This focus on apparent prosperity and "prevailing trends" has particular relevance to the analysis undertaken in this chapter.

The 1995 report was also able to use census research to identify the occupier and possibly the builder of the Allt Chrisal blackhouse. Despite its relative isolation, the farmstead was associated with the Gortien settlement on Barra's Tangaval peninsula. This community was apparently relatively prosperous. The farmstead was occupied by James Campbell (Shaimeus Ian Chalein), and was possibly built by his father. Census data clearly demonstrates that Campbell was living elsewhere by 1835 (Foster 1995:69). This information has some interesting implications for the ceramics record which will be discussed in the relevant sections.

Methodology

Before the assemblages are discussed in depth, a brief description of the analytical methodology used to generate the data is required. This discussion is particularly necessary as the means of identification for the Hebridean assemblages varies greatly from that used for the Welsh assemblages in the previous chapter. For example, while the South Uist analysis was carried out specifically for this thesis, the same materials were also being analysed on behalf of Sheffield University by the staff of the Museum of the Potteries in Stoke-on-Trent. While these dual strands of analysis were carried out independently, they did not occur completely in isolation. The Stoke analysis therefore inevitably affected the analytical methodology used for this chapter even though the results of the Stoke analysis were only viewed after the analysis for this chapter had been completed. A brief description of the extent of that influence and its effect on the

analysis is therefore necessary.

The staff at the Museum of the Potteries had already sorted the materials by general ware type and had produced a preliminary catalogue of materials (Barker and Goodby 1997) before the analysis in this chapter was begun. It is important to note that the Barker and Goodby catalogue was intended to serve primarily as a catalogue of materials rather than as a vessel count. The catalogue was not consulted during the analysis for this chapter as this might have unduly prejudiced identification. The only exception to this self-imposed rule was to check differences of opinion between this author and the sorting undertaken by Barker and Goodby. It should be stressed that differences of opinion as pertains to identification were in any case minor, involving only a whiteware sponge-stamped vessel and a soft-paste porcelain vessel. One major difference in analytical methodology between the South Uist materials and the Pembrokeshire assemblages is that no mending was undertaken for the former. Mending undoubtedly aids the identification of vessels, but in this case it would have unduly prejudiced any future analysis undertaken by Barker and Goodby. Any difficulties that may have been caused by this lack of mending were, however, more than mitigated by Barker and Goodby's existing sorting by ware type.

As noted, the Barra materials differ from the previous assemblages discussed in this thesis in being taken from a pottery catalogue (Foster 1995:117-118) within a previously published report (Branigan and Foster 1995). As was stated in chapter 2, the identification of pottery is necessarily a subjective process. Thus it is hardly a surprise that Foster's Barra data is presented in a different format, and with some slightly different typological descriptions, than those typically used in this thesis. For the most part, these differences present no significant methodological problems; the ware and form names largely follow a common typology, and where typologies do differ, there has been no difficulty in assigning the Barra vessels to the categories described in the appendices. A more significant issue is the suspicion that some of the Barra wares might have been miscatalogued or misidentified. For example, vessel 20, described as "Hard white fabric. Rolled over rim broken away revealing unglazed surface; outer surface rusticated with orange peel effect.", and catalogued with creamware (Foster 1995:118), reads very much like a description of a light-bodied saltglazed

stoneware vessel, perhaps even white saltglazed stoneware. It is, of course, impossible to confirm or refute these suspicions without access to the original materials, and the misidentification of stoneware as creamware would be an egregious enough error that the vessel in question might simply be an unusual, but correctly identified, piece. The very fact that it is impossible to prove this either way demonstrates some of the potential pitfalls of using exterior data in comparative analysis. Use of such data is inevitable, and ultimately the researcher must accept that differences of opinion will exist. When differences of opinion do occur, it is incumbent on the analyst to note their existence in order to minimise future confusion. This principle has been followed in the descriptions of the assemblages below.

South Uist

The Milton vessel count is 156 vessels. These vessels occur across thirteen basic ware types (table 4.1). 97 refined white earthenware vessels were identified, subdivided as follows: 36 creamware vessels (23% of the total assemblage), 48 pearlware vessels (31%), 6 whiteware vessels (4%), and 7 ironstone vessels (4%). Other earthenware types included 8 tinglaze vessels (5%), and single examples of buff earthenware and refined redware. Miscellaneous coarse red earthenwares (redwares) comprise 16 vessels overall (10%). 13 porcelain vessels (8%) were also identified, and these can be further subdivided into 7 Chinese porcelain vessels, and 6 European porcelain vessels. Unusually, most of the stonewares recovered were of types used as tablewares. 8 white saltglazed vessels (5%) and a single black basalt vessel were identified, and 5 miscellaneous utilitarian stonewares (3%) were also recorded.

A total of 10 identifiable forms occur at House E, 12 if the two unidentified forms are included. The forms are: 41 plates (26%), 24 cups (15%), 14 saucers (9%), 21 bowls (13%), 11 jugs (7%), 4 jars (2%), 3 teapots (2%), 1 bottle (<1%), 1 figurine (<1%), 4 storage vessels (2%), 27 unidentified hollow vessels (17%) and 5 unidentified flat vessels (3%). 10 identified forms is a remarkably small distribution given the number of vessels recovered, and this will be explored in detail later in the chapter. Another distinctive feature of the assemblage is the almost total lack of large utilitarian forms, and what storage vessels do occur tend to be fairly small forms such as jars. The usual sharp form dichotomy between

4-1

4-1

4-1

Key to vessel form abbreviations: pl=plate; cp=cup; sc=saucer; bw=bowl; jg=jug; jr=jar; te=teapot; bl=bathtub; fg=figurine; st=large storage; hl=unidentified hollow; fi=unidentified flat

		pl	cp	sc	bw	jg	jr	te	bt	fg	st	hl	fl	totals
Creamware														36
	undec.	7	3		1							2		13
ind slip	annular		1		1									2
	fanned				2									2
	unk./other				1							2		3
enamelled	poly/lustre		2											2
	annular						1							1
OGTP				1								2		3
edged	royal	4												4
	feather	1												1
	raised	3												3
shelledge	blue	1												1
moulded					1									1
Pearlware														48
undecorated		1					1							2
UGTP	willow	2										1		3
	chinois.				1									1
	floral		2	2								1		5
	unid.				1									1
	black floral											1		1
painted	mono		1	1		1						1	1	5
	poly		2	2	1									5
enamelled				1								1		2
shelledge	green	1												1
	blue	9		1										10
sponged					2							1		3
ind. slip	other			1	1	5						2		9
Whiteware														6
sponged					1									
enamelled					1									
edged		1												
gilt rim			1											
green glzd												1		
decal		1												
Ironstone														7
undecorated		2												
stencilled		1												
canary yltw				1										
decal				2										
UGTP				1										
Tinglaze														8
undecorated								1						
painted	mono												2	
	poly				1							4		
Buff earth	brown glze								1					1
Rf. Redwre														1
jackfld?	black				1									
Bkck basalt	eng. turned								1					1
Wht. stglz														14
edged		7				1								
undecorated						1	1					1	1	
rim band			1											
green glzd	not salt!											1		
Porcelain														13
chinese	enamelled			2								1		7
	painted		3	1										
european	decal			2										6
	enamelled									1				
	undec		1	1										
	gilt		1											
TOTALS														
Stoneware														5
buff/brown								1	1		1	1		
grey								1						
Redware														16
black glzd											3			
slipped			1	3	1							1	1	
brown glzd				2				1					1	
coarse local?													1	
lustrous													1	
FINAL		41	24	14	21	11	4	3	1	1	4	27	5	156

the coarsewares and stonewares on the one hand and the refined earthenwares and porcelain on the other does not appear to be a feature of this assemblage. This is not simply due to the presence of white saltglazed stoneware (typically a tableware); only forms that occur in the coarse earthenwares also fail to occur in the refined earthenwares or tableware stonewares. The relatively high number of unidentified hollow forms is almost certainly due to the difficulty in distinguishing small hollow forms when the latter are highly fragmented.

An extensive range of decorative techniques occurs in the assemblage. These techniques are quite evenly spread, with only the 21 undecorated (13%) tablewares making up more than 10% of the assemblage. If the edge moulded and shelled vessels (the latter a precursor of the former) are combined, then 29 vessels (18%) contain some form of edged decoration. Thus undecorated and edged vessels are by far the most common types. Particularly notable are the number and range of decorated creamwares, a ware that is more usually an undecorated type. 23 of the 36 creamware vessels, or almost two thirds, are decorated. While this is an unusually high percentage of decorated creamware, the range and types of decorations are typical of the period.

The majority of the identified wares date from c.1770-1830. There is evidence for either earlier occupation or the survival of earlier ceramics to a later period; the small quantities of white saltglazed stoneware could date as early as 1740. The tin-glaze, Chinese porcelain and possibly one of the slipped redwares could also possibly predate 1770. However, the presence of these early materials in the assemblage may have an economic explanation rather than indicating the presence of an earlier occupation at House E (see assemblage analysis, below). On the other side of the scale, there is an almost total break between 1830 and a small number (13) of modern materials dating as early as the 1890's, but mostly from the twentieth century. The 1770-1830 date fits in quite neatly between the beginning of the period of greatest population expansion and commercialisation and the beginning of wholesale clearances in South Uist.

Except for two 20th century vessels, no makers marks were identified in the assemblage. One vessel marked "Crown Clarence/Staffordshire/England", with a distinctive crown design, was made by the Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd.

(Longton, Staffs.), and dates from 1962 (Godden 1991:169). Another vessel is probably marked "C&E" (the E is hard to read), and is most probably a product of the Staffordshire Cartwright and Edwards firm, but the mark could date from any time from 1880 onwards (Godden 1991:130). One of the transfer-printed pearlwares bears a close similarity to the Henshall & Co. (1790-1828) and Herculaneum (1793-1841) "Flowers and Leaves" pattern (Coysh and Henrywood 1982:141), but given the laxity (or rather, downright lack) of contemporary copyright laws this adds little new information in the absence of a maker's mark. Two additional pieces have been given tentative factory designations by Barker and Goodby. One white saltglazed stoneware vessel was attributed to the Spode factory, while a white (but not saltglazed) stoneware vessel has been tentatively attributed to Whieldon (Barker and Goodby 1998). This concludes the minimally interpretive description of the South Uist assemblage.

Barra

The 1995 Brannigan and Foster identifies 33 later post-medieval vessels recovered from the Allt Chrisal farmstead. As noted earlier, there are no apparent significant differences between the Foster typology and that used in this thesis. The 33 vessels occur in seven basic ware types (table 4.2). Of these 33 vessels, 18 are pearlware (54%), 4 are whiteware (12%), 4 are stoneware (12%), 3 are probably refined Jackfield redware (9%) and 2 are coarse redware (6%). There are also single creamware and white saltglazed stoneware vessels. The total lack of porcelain is potentially particularly significant. It is important to note that due to the small overall number of vessels recovered from Allt Chrisal, percentages under ten percent usually do not indicate statistically significant quantities unless otherwise noted.

Only nine identified forms occur in the Allt Chrisal assemblage (ten if the unidentified flat vessels are included), which is hardly surprising given the small overall number of vessels. Nonetheless, the form distributions are deeply significant, as will be discussed in the interpretive analysis. The 13 bowls (39%) comprise the overwhelming plurality of the vessels. All other forms make up less than a third of this figure, and only four other identified forms comprise more than a single vessel. The latter are 4 plates (12%), 3 teapots (9%), 3 jars (9%), and 2 mugs (6%). A cup, saucer, jug and bottle were also recovered. Finally, 4

TABLE 4.2 - BARRA POTTERY

	FORM	pl	cp	sc	bw	jg	jr	te	bt	mg	hl	totals
WARES	DEC.											
Creamware	undec.	1										1
Pearlware												
UGTP				1	1							
painted	mono.		1									
	poly.	1			2							
paint&enamel					1							
shelledge	blue	1										
beaded rim					1							
dipt	mocha				1							
	eng.turn.									1		
	other				3							
annular					1							
unid.					3							
Whiteware												
lustreware										1		
annular											1	
UGTP	black										1	
painted	poly.										1	
Rf. Redware												
Jackfield								3				
White sltglzd											1	
Tableware	totals	3	1	1	13			3		2	4	27
Stoneware							3		1			
Redwares		1				1						
FINAL		4	1	1	13	1	3	3	1	2	4	33

Key to vessel form abbreviations: pl=plate; cp=cup; sc=saucer; bw=bowl; jg=jug; jr=jar; te=teapot; bt=bottle; mg=mug; hl=unidentified hollow.

unidentified hollow vessels (12%) also occur in the assemblage.

Given the lack of variety of form in the Barra assemblage, the diversity of decoration is perhaps slightly unexpected. Indeed, there are 10 types of decorative technique spread over the 18 pearlware vessels alone. Thus all of the major types of decoration are represented, albeit typically in very small numbers. There are 3 transfer-printed vessels, 5 painted vessels, a single shelledged plate, and a single undecorated vessel. In addition, there are 5 dipt vessels spread across three subcategories. No other decorative techniques occur on more than one vessel. No decorative techniques stand out as unusual or otherwise worthy of special attention.

The assemblage as a whole dates from c.1780-1830. These dates are based on the predominance of pearlware (c.1780-c.1820) and the presence of limited quantities of whiteware (c.1820+). Other than a possible white saltglazed stoneware vessel and a creamware plate (1762-c.1820), none of the vessels date earlier than 1780. The creamware in any case easily fits within the proposed occupation dates. No maker's marks or other identifiable features are listed in the Branigan and Foster report. From a somewhat subjective perspective, the ceramics data suggests that the main period of occupation was c.1800-1820, although this is impossible to confirm in the absence of any illustrations in the Barra report. Given the ceramics dates it seems certain that the Allt Chrisal farmstead is associated solely with the James Campbell family. All fully identified ceramics date from within the latter's known period of occupancy. Furthermore, given the presence of kelp burning kilns associated with the farmstead, and the proposed c.1800-1820 date of occupation, it seems likely that Allt Chrisal should be associated with the social and economic changes wrought by the kelp industry. The site was occupied when the industry was at its height, and abandoned shortly after the industry collapsed.

It is worth briefly noting that the dates of occupation listed in the pottery section of the Barra report are virtually identical to those described above: "the last few decades of the 18th century and the first quarter of the 19th century" (Foster 1995:117). The report's rationale for arriving at this date is, however, slightly curious. Foster is quite correct to note that the predominance of

pearlware is a clear indication of the date of occupation. The assertion that willow pattern transfer-prints are a feature of the mid-19th century, and that their absence serves as a *terminus ante quem* of sorts (Foster 1995:117) is, however, quite mistaken. While willow became extremely popular in the Victorian period, the pattern was already standardised and widespread by the first decade of the 19th century (Coysh and Henrywood 1982:402). The lack of willow should instead be associated with a general lack of transfer prints in the assemblage. A far more reliable *terminus ante quem* is the almost total lack of post-1820 whitewares, except for three vessels with decorative techniques that easily fit into the 1820-30 transitional period for refined white earthenwares. This concludes the 'minimally interpretive' description of the Barra assemblage. With the basic building blocks of both sites in place, it is possible to move on to a more interpretive analysis.

Assemblage Analysis

A comparison of the Milton and Allt Chrissal materials offers an invaluable perspective on the material culture of isolated Hebridean households in a period of rapid social change. It should be stressed that, unlike the Welsh sites in the previous chapter, the Hebridean sites are not geographically adjacent, but are rather on different islands. At the same time, a common shared cultural heritage existed between Barra and South Uist. An interpretive analysis of economy, status, function and meaning must thus inevitably consider similarities and differences in the assemblage through a range of relevant socio-cultural factors.

Economy and Status

The method used in this thesis to offer an initial comparative consideration of economy and status is an analysis of the decorative techniques that occur on the tablewares within different assemblages. As with the previous chapter, porcelain is included as a 'decorative technique', although it is in fact a separate ware type. Clear and significant differences occur in these comparisons between the South Uist and Barra assemblages, most notably as pertains to porcelain. The differences in the sizes of the two assemblages are also significant. Before discussing these differences in detail, a quick word of caution is necessary. As the Barra assemblage is so small, the use of pure percentages is potentially misleading. In order to minimise this potential problem, the discussion of the comparative data within this chapter implicitly takes the small size of the Barra

assemblage into account; all misleading figures have been filtered out of the discussion.

The rather striking difference in the overall sizes of the Hebridean assemblage provides a useful starting point in any discussion of economics and status. The Allt Chrisal assemblage (33 vessels) is less than a quarter of the size of the Milton assemblage (156 vessels). The difference in length of occupation is a mere ten years, so this can hardly be advanced as a primary explanation. Differences in disposal patterns also appear unlikely to be a significant cause of differences of assemblage size. The sites shared a very similar culture, and both blackhouses were near the convenient dumping ground provided by the sea. Nor can geographic isolation be a sole primary factor; while the Allt Chrisal blackhouse was relatively isolated by land, the surrounding sea lanes were an imperfect barrier to trade. Indeed, Jones notes that the pottery found in the Islands “was often sent home by women away for the fishing season (D. Jones 1996:46). Yet it appears likely that the larger, more populous island of South Uist, by far the more profitable keeping centre of the two islands, would have been a more attractive market for travelling pedlars. It was these pedlars who were the typical source for many of the goods, including ceramics, that reached the islands (J. Symonds Pers. Comm. 19 Jan 2000). Thus the differences in assemblage size initially appear to indicate differences in the overall circumstances of the two islands as much as they indicate differences in the individual circumstances of the households.

While the relative sizes of the assemblages might reflect some economic differences between the islands as a whole, these are not an adequate indicator of status. It would be entirely possible for the status connotations of the materials that do occur to be similar despite the obvious discrepancy in assemblage size. This issue can only be resolved by a comparison of the decorative techniques occurring on each site's tablewares. Table 4.3 demonstrates that significant differences do indeed occur in the distribution of the decorative techniques. Yet the differences are made hard to interpret by a peculiarity of the Barra assemblage: more than half of the tablewares fall into the catch-all “other” category. In an assemblage where five vessels alone comprise fully 22% of the tablewares, some idiosyncrasies are perhaps only to be expected, but to have

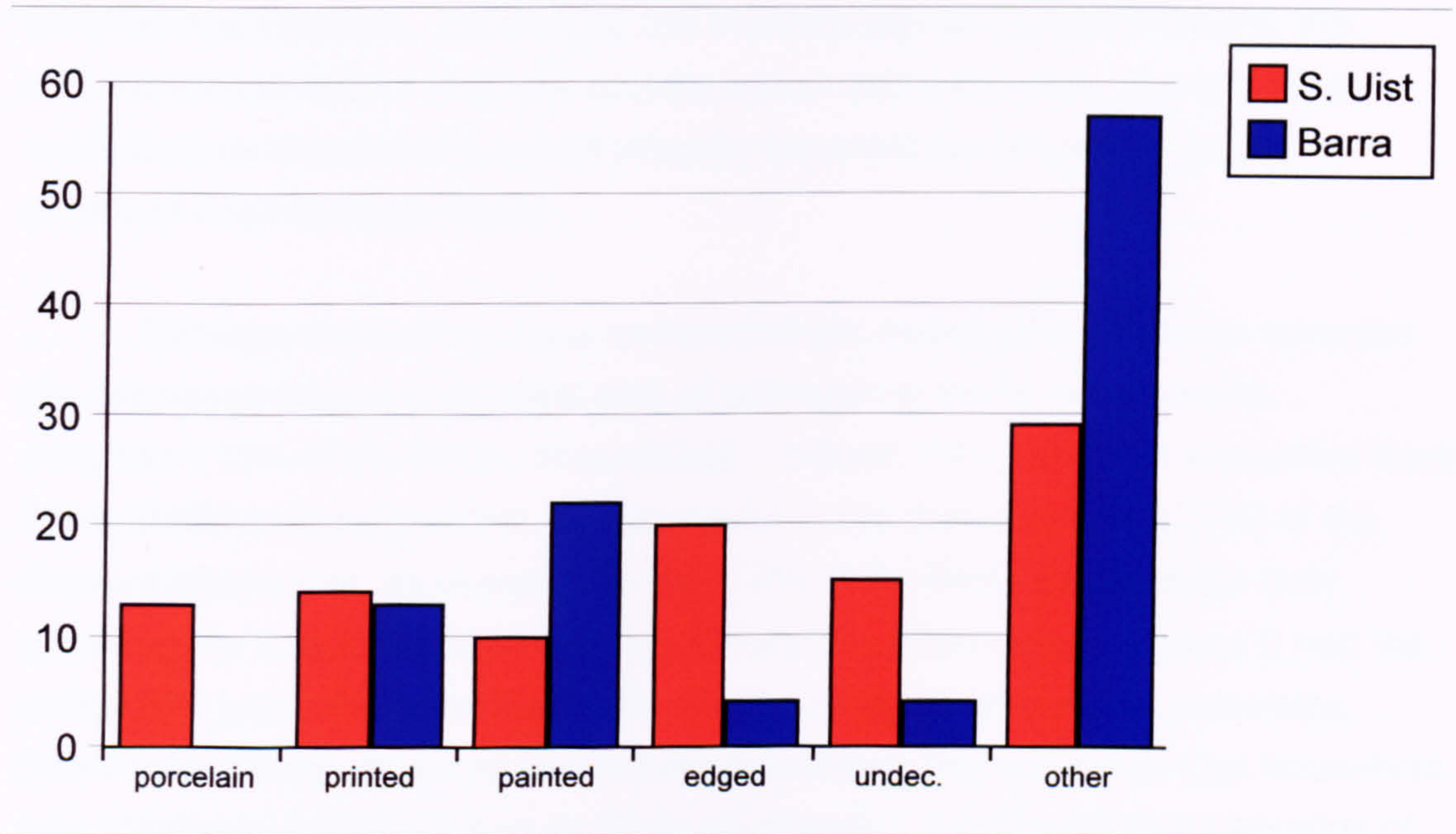


TABLE 4.3
HEBRIDEAN DECORATIVE COMPARISONS

Y-axis is %; totals have been rounded to the nearest whole number and may not add to 100.
 Originals in colour.

more than half of the relevant wares in "other" does suggest that the system has broken down somewhat in the case of the Barra materials. In this case, most of the 'other' fall into three main categories, none of which consist of more than five vessels. These are 5 dipt vessels, a couple of annular vessels and 3 vessels with unidentified decoration. From a purely methodological perspective, it would seem that any domestic sample of fewer than 30 or 40 vessels renders a rigid comparative analysis worthless; in this case, 23 tablewares were included in the relevant Barra sample. Drawing firm conclusions from these figures alone would be a fatuous exercise. Yet despite the methodological disappointments, the comparisons in table 4.3 do still provide some useful pointers. Comparative analysis is rendered more complicated by the small Barra sample, but by no means is it rendered pointless.

Perhaps the most obvious and potentially meaningful difference between the two assemblages is the total lack of porcelain at Barra, a type which comprises 13% of the Milton assemblage. Indeed, if the two most expensive ware types at Milton are combined, they comprise more than a quarter (27%) of the relevant tablewares, as opposed to only 13% of the Barra assemblage (fully admitting the limitations of the latter). Clearly the inhabitants of House E had the ability, and presumably the desire, to acquire relatively expensive porcelains. This might initially appear to support the hypothesis that the South Uist household was (relatively) better off than its Barra counterpart. Yet the apparent paradox of the House E assemblage is that the two least expensive categories, edged and undecorated wares, themselves comprise 35% of the latter assemblage. These very inexpensive types are notably lacking from the Barra assemblage, with only a couple of examples of each.

As a whole, the differences between the assemblages permit them to be characterised as follows: House E has a fairly even distribution of decorations, with no particular type dominating within the tablewares. Barra, on the other hand, is characterised by a concentration of decorations in what might be termed the 'middling' categories of decoration. The Allt Chrisal assemblage has very little in the way of either very expensive or inexpensive wares. This is particularly noticeable in the decorations that are grouped into the 'other' category. The most

common 'others', such as dipt and annular wares, are hard to specifically pin down in relation to other decorations, but broadly speaking, they are more expensive than edged wares, but less expensive than printed wares. To fully understand and interpret the context of these differences, between the even distribution of South Uist and the 'middling' concentration of Barra, it is necessary to discuss the role of form and function within these Hebridean assemblages.

Form and Function

Any discussion of Hebridean ceramics must include a consideration of the differences between primary and secondary function. In particular, the extent to which ceramics are used for their intended function, the consumption and/or preparation of food and drink (chamberpots and the like aside), or other functions, particularly the use of vessels for display on Hebridean dressers. By deconstructing the barriers between different types of function, a more complete interpretation of the assemblages becomes possible.

The means by which a discussion of form becomes possible is through a comparison of the different tableware forms within the assemblages. The data from this comparison is featured in table 4.4. Striking differences between the two Hebridean assemblages are readily apparent. One item that immediately springs to attention is the total predominance of bowls at Allt Chrisal. After the unidentified forms have been redistributed, bowls comprise fully 52% of the tableware assemblage. No other form comprises more than 13% of the assemblage. Cups and saucers are virtually non-existent, with only one example of each (3%) within the assemblage. The distribution of forms at House E, on the other hand, is far more even. Plates (31%) and bowls (23%) are the most common forms, but five of the seven tableware forms make up at least 10% of the assemblage. In contrast to the Barra assemblage, bowls comprise slightly less than a quarter (23%) of the South Uist tablewares.

The discussion of function in chapter 3 noted the hypothesis that poor rural households in the 18th and 19th centuries were more likely to adhere to a liquid stew-based diet. If this is the case, then a significant portion of any such assemblage should consist of bowls. The Barra assemblage seems to very much conform to the expected distribution, to a highly encouraging extent. What few

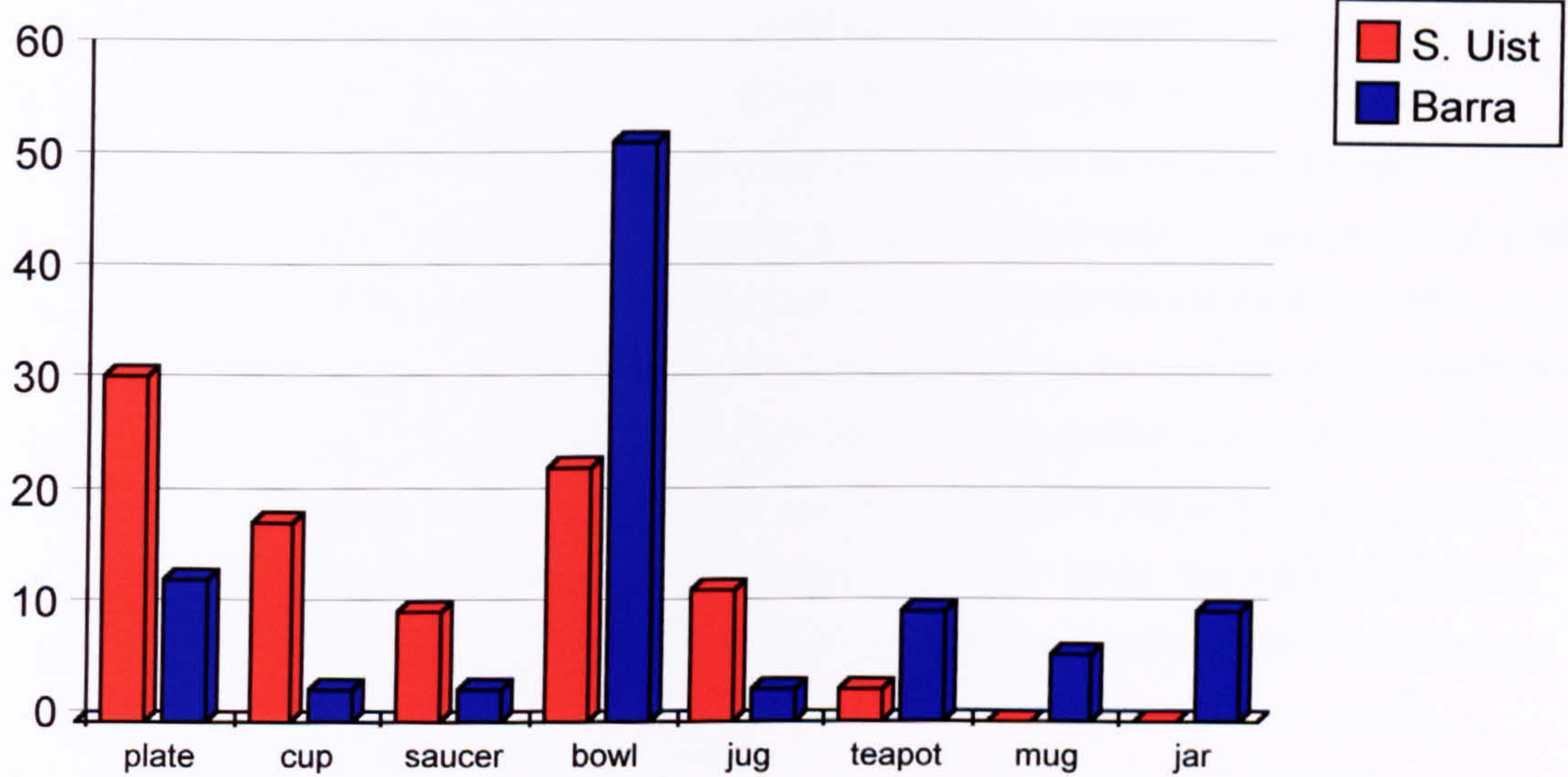


TABLE 4.4
HEBRIDEAN FORM COMPARISONS

Y-axis is %; totals have been rounded to nearest whole number, exclude 'other' categories, and thus do not add to 100. Originals in colour.

tablewares do occur at the site are very strongly oriented towards the consumption of food, and given the number of bowls, that food would very much appear to be stew-based. Certainly with only 33 vessels (and only 27 tablewares) recovered from a period of occupation lasting up to 40 years, it appears unlikely that any significant display element is contained within the Allt Chrìsal assemblage, a conclusion reinforced by the lack of expensive, high-status wares in the assemblage. That such wares exist in the South Uist assemblage demonstrates that they were indeed available to Hebridean blackhouse inhabitants.

The possibility that the Allt Chrìsal ceramics themselves are display items (the everyday functional pieces thus 'missing' from the assemblage for whatever reason) is relatively easy to refute. Carruthers' (1996) and D. Jones' (1996) surveys of the Scottish home contain several examples of Hebridean and Highland dressers. The extant examples in both papers clearly demonstrate that the most common vessel form used for display on these dressers are plates. Bowls and even cups and saucers occur, but not nearly as prominently or with the frequency of plates. That a small number of the Barra materials might be display pieces, or that wooden or other vessels are missing from the assemblage are strong probabilities that cannot be dismissed, but ultimately, the vast majority of the Barra tablewares must be assumed to have been used for their primary function.

It is also worth noting in passing that the prevalence of bowls within the Barra tablewares has a strong influence on the decorative distributions within the same materials. Decoration is conditioned by form; certain decorations are more common on certain forms and virtually absent on others. The common decorative techniques in the Barra assemblage, such as painted, dipt, and annular are techniques associated (though not necessarily exclusively so) with bowls. Those that are noticeably absent or rare, such as porcelain, shelledge and undecorated, are commonly associated with teawares and plates, forms that occur infrequently within the Barra assemblage. Thus the concentration of 'middling' decorations in the Barra assemblage is to a large part a simple side-effect of the form distributions. Economic and cultural factors no doubt conditioned the selection of form, but within this particular assemblage, the impact of those factors on form

distribution is far more important than their impact on decorative distribution. It would be interesting to see to what extent this would be the case with other very small assemblages, but this would require comparative research with sites other than those included in this thesis, and is thus outside the purview of this discussion.

A very different pattern emerges at Milton. Plates are the plurality of this assemblage at 31%, while bowls comprise 23% of the assemblage. The recovery of a porcelain figurine in the assemblage clearly demonstrates the existence of a display element, and also suggests a level of disposable income beyond mere subsistence. Yet this should not be taken as an indicator of “wealth”. Wealth is very much a relative concept. A comparative analysis with Allt Chrìsal only demonstrates that Milton was more prosperous than the former. It is significant that there are only ten identified vessel forms at House E across a wide range of decorative techniques. The small number of basic forms strongly points to a limited range of goods - a range no doubt further limited by the logistical difficulties involved for travelling pedlars transporting ceramics across the Minch. The almost total lack of large, bulky storage vessels in the assemblage further supports the idea that difficulties in transporting goods may have been an important factor in supply. Initially, the wide range of decorations (as opposed to the limited forms) may appear to contradict this argument, but decoration has virtually no impact on ease of transportation. Indeed, the lack of consistency of decoration clearly demonstrates that matching decorations were not a consideration in the acquisition of these materials for either the consumer, the supplier, or indeed perhaps both.

Other factors that indicate the overall poverty of, and limited supply to, the Islanders include the presence of repair marks in some of the tablewares. Clearly the House E inhabitants felt it necessary to repair the ceramics they had rather than simply purchase new materials. Additionally, the South Uist assemblage features several wares that predate 1770. Some of these, especially the Chinese porcelain, would have been considerably more expensive in their period of initial distribution than might be expected in a destitute Hebridean Islander’s assemblage. Yet by the end of the 18th century, these wares would have been unfashionable wares that cost considerably less. It is thus possible that some of

these early materials were sold off cheap to the rural poor when more Metropolitan markets would no longer have been interested. This might well be true of the white saltglazed stoneware, although it is worth noting that this is a particularly durable ware type, and thus might well have been brought to House E by the household from their previous residence. Households, after all, rarely move to a new house without any possessions at all to their name.

One of the particularly noticeable aspects of the two Island assemblages is the lack of large utilitarian vessels. These make up only a small percentage of what few coarse earthenwares occur at all. Even the coarse locally made *craggan* wares so important to Hebridean tradition, and used extensively with milk (Webster 1999:69-70) appear to be missing from both assemblages, with the possible exception of a couple of small, extremely coarse fragments recovered from House E. That *craggan* is missing from the assemblages appears to indicate that the difficulties involved in bringing large utilitarian wares across the Minch was not the only factor at work in the near-absence of these wares from the assemblages. The most likely explanation, assuming that large preparation or storage vessels would have been an integral part of small-holding farm life in some capacity, is that wooden vessels were frequently used in these capacities. In the absence of the specific archaeological evidence, this must remain speculation, but it serves as a useful reminder to be wary of the potential tyranny of the ceramics record. As supremely useful as pottery is to archaeological interpretation, it rarely - if ever - tells the full story.

Meaning and Status

The South Uist assemblage was produced by a better-off, higher status household than the Barra assemblage. This bald fact masks some important wider issues of meaning and ideology that can be recovered through comparative analysis. This is particularly true, as it was to a certain extent in chapter 3, of the teawares. The presence of porcelain cups and saucers and a black basalt teapot clearly demonstrates that the House E household was interacting with the wider British implications of tea-drinking (as discussed in the function and meaning subsection of chapter 3). While the Praetzellises have often warned about the dangers of assuming that the presence of certain types of pottery indicates 'acculturation' of one society into the worldview of the pottery makers (eg.

Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1998), there appears little reason to doubt that some Hebrideans were enthusiastically embracing the material culture of Imperial Britain, at least as far as tea was concerned. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the presence of *craggan* teawares as recovered on the Isle of Lewis (Webster 1999:56). *Craggan* is an extremely coarse Hebridean ware, and the existence of these crude replica teawares has often, probably correctly, been seen as a Hebridean attempt to emulate 'mainland' culture (Curwen 1938:282; Webster 1999:57).

Tea drinking was common across all British social groups and classes by 1800 (Pool 1993:208-9), but the more ritual, socially hierarchical aspects of tea-drinking (even including special 'teagowns' for women) are perhaps best expressed by the simple fact that ceramic teawares are so often in the most expensive types available, such as porcelain. Quite apart from indicating the spread of the British Imperial worldview, that the expensive transfer prints and porcelains at Milton are indeed largely teawares, suggests that the site inhabitants were very much aware of the wider status implications. That cups and saucers are virtually absent at Barra emphasises the relative poverty and isolation (cultural, geographical, or both) of this site. There is little doubt that tea was consumed at Allt Chrisal; three teapots were recovered from the site. But the fact that there are more teapots than cups and saucers combined demonstrates that the household was drinking their tea from mugs rather than the cups and saucers associated with the tea-drinking rituals of the elite. Whether this was through conscious choice, ignorance, poverty, or a combination thereof is, of course, a different matter.

It is important to close this discussion with a quick word on context. This sub-section's ultimate conclusion is that the South Uist site inhabitants were of a higher status than their Barra counterparts. This higher status is best expressed by their interaction with the emerging British Imperial-metropolitan worldview, an interaction that mirrored the behaviour of the traditional landlords. The Barra assemblage is far more indicative of a traditional Hebridean reliance on stews and milk; the Imperial worldview has had virtually no impact, and adherence to tradition causes the generation of a 'low-status' assemblage. It might be argued that as Foster argues that the Allt Chrisal farmstead was 'prosperous' (Foster

1995:93), that the differences between the assemblages are status divisions based on cultural discrepancies rather than economics. This could well be a factor, but the types and overall numbers of materials at Allt Chrìsal do indicate that the site was additionally less prosperous than House E. As noted earlier, wealth is relative, and Foster never satisfactorily addresses what determines Allt Chrìsal's 'prosperity' in relation to other Hebridean sites.

The fairly explicit implication is that 'British' culture was high status while Hebridean culture was low status. To the modern observer, this distinction appears to be outmoded prejudice, but the division was very much alive within the lifetime of contemporary Hebridean residents. The title of Curwen's 1938 Antiquity paper, "The Hebrides: A Cultural Backwater" is itself indicative of past attitudes. More recently, Webster eventually despaired of identifying a Hebridean tradition in extant dressers and pottery, noting that "Hebridean families have sought to put behind them a history of poverty. In so doing they have resisted the role of guardians of timeless tradition that the outside world has attempted to impose upon them" (Webster 1999:71-2). The analysis in this chapter captures the Hebrides on the cusp of that rejection of the traditional past. Faced with destitution and insurmountable poverty, their traditional cultural values undercut by their landlords' drive for profit, the Islanders slowly, but remorselessly and perhaps inevitably, came to embrace elements of the British worldview that was transforming their lives. The 'rejection' of the past was by no means total; it should instead be seen as a syncretic process that eventually merged elements of both traditions. The South Uist assemblage was produced by a household that was much further along that path than their Barra counterparts, but the use of industrial pottery - whether Lowland or Staffordshire - even in the more traditional context of the latter site proves just how inevitable that process was.

IV - CONCLUSION

The previous paragraph serves as a perfect conclusion to the interpretive portion of this chapter's interpretive analysis. There are, however, a couple of important methodological points that should be stressed before this thesis moves on to the third and final case study. Firstly, this analysis - as with the previous chapter - has demonstrated the importance of comparing a range of assemblage

aspects. If only the decorative techniques had been examined, the relative amounts of different types might well have been misleading. Only through a comparison of decoration and form - both specific examples and as a whole - could a more complete picture emerge. An analyst concentrates on one aspect to the detriment of the other to his or her peril. The first point is to note that this chapter serves as a reminder that two sites from very similar socio-cultural backgrounds can contain vastly different material culture. The superficial similarities of blackhouses on Catholic, Gaelic islands in the Outer Hebrides were not reflected in these assemblages. It should never be assumed that geographic and cultural proximity will yield similar results. This chapter has amply demonstrated that sites located in the same national or ethnic context can interact with other national or social contexts in quite different ways. The next chapter, concentrating on sites in Virginia, provides yet another perspective: two sites in the same national and regional context, but with very different ethnic backgrounds.

CHAPTER 5 - VIRGINIA

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"

Thomas Jefferson - the American Declaration of Independence.

"Am I not a man and a brother"

Inscription on a Wedgwood ceramic cameo

I - INTRODUCTION

This chapter marks something of a change of pace from the preceding two chapters of archaeological analysis. Instead of rural sites within the British Isles, this chapter examines rural sites in Virginia, in the United States. The specific sites are a slave quarter at the Poplar Forest plantation, and a white craftsman's family's house at the Monticello plantation. Both of these central Virginia plantations, the latter famously so, belonged to Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States and author of the American Declaration of Independence.

The Jefferson connection is a contributing factor to another significant difference between the sites in the previous two chapters and those in this chapter. The Welsh and Hebridean sites were owned by at best locally famous landlords, and excavated within an archaeological tradition (the archaeology of eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain) still in its infancy. The Virginia sites, in contrast, were owned by one of the more prominent statesmen of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the slave quarter was excavated within archaeological tradition (plantation and African-American archaeology) that have been among the more active strands of recent historical archaeology.

Poplar Forest is located in Bedford County, Virginia, in the outlying suburbs of the city of Lynchburg. The term "Poplar Forest", unless otherwise specified, is used throughout this chapter as a term of convenience to refer to Jefferson's two adjacent Bedford County properties of Poplar Forest (or 'Tomahawk') and Bear Creek. Monticello is located in Albemarle County, on the outskirts of Charlottesville (fig. 5.1). An interim report on the ceramics analysis from the original Poplar Forest Quarter Site was written in 1996 (Brooks 1996a). The

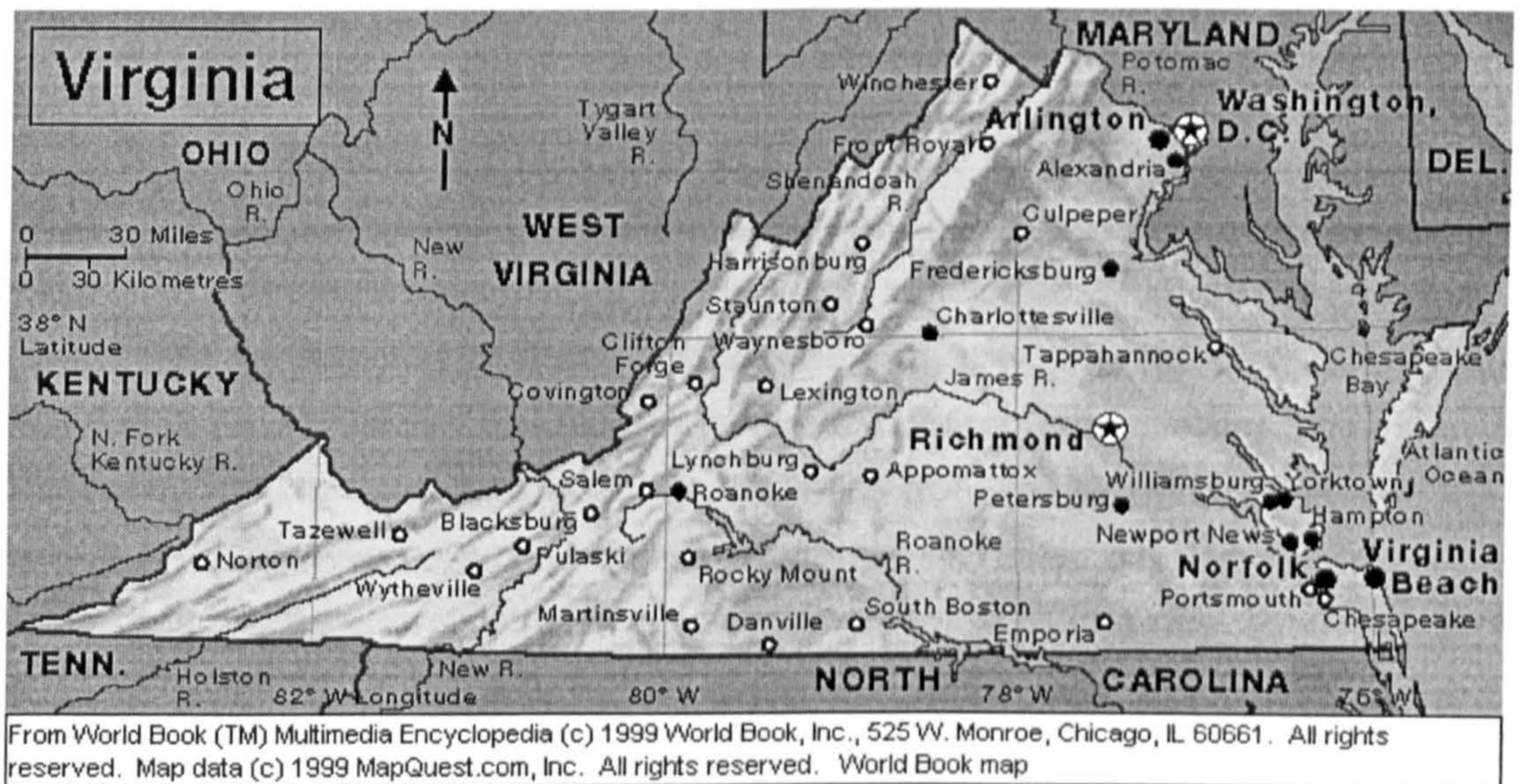


FIGURE 5.1 - VIRGINIA

Poplar Forest is located just southwest of Lynchburg

Monticello is located just east of Charlottesville

ceramics from Monticello's Stewart/Watkins site were analysed as part of an overall site report in 1991 (Heath 1991). Both reports are part of the 'grey literature' (informal in-house publications) common in North America; related formal publications have also recently been produced (Heath 1999; Heath and Moncure in press). Much of the analysis in these previous reports was presented in a traditional North American processualist-influenced manner; while the work is uniformly of a high standard, adaptations have been necessary in order to enable the data to fit the specific methodological and theoretical principles advanced in this thesis. New interpretations and conclusions are also offered in several cases in this chapter.

One of the goals of this chapter is to compare the pottery assemblages from an isolated rural slave quarter and a somewhat less isolated white artisan's house from two plantations owned by the same individual. This will not only help to contextualise the sites for those perhaps unfamiliar with archaeology in Virginia, but will also help to further set the framework for the comparative analysis in chapter 6. The previous reports on the ceramics from the two sites examined the social and interpretive contexts of the assemblages in varying detail, and a summary of this work, with additional information where necessary, is offered in the following section in order to further contextualise the data.

II - JEFFERSON'S VIRGINIA

The very prominence of Thomas Jefferson renders the title of this section of chapter 5 problematic. Should "Jefferson's Virginia" refer to Virginia as a whole during Jefferson's lifetime, or only to those parts of the state with which Jefferson is particularly associated? This chapter uses both definitions interchangeably, although special emphasis is placed on his 'home' plantations of Poplar Forest, and (to a lesser extent) Monticello. Volumes have been written about the archaeology of slavery (eg. Ferguson 1992; Singleton 1985; Singleton and Bograd 1995; Yentsch 1994), American slavery in general (eg. Drescher 1999; McColley 1964; Sobel 1989), the life of Thomas Jefferson (eg. Brodie 1974; Malone 1981; Peterson 1960), Jefferson and slavery (eg. Heath 1999; J. Miller 1977; Stanton 1996), and the politics of all of the above (eg. S.P.M. Harrington 1993). While by necessity this section touches upon all of these in order to frame the analysis, by no means should it be considered a complete overview of all of the relevant

topics. It is instead solely intended to offer the necessary context for understanding the archaeological discussions later in the chapter. Those interested in a wider examination of the issues are directed to the books (and their bibliographies) cited above.

'The South's Peculiar Institution'

The institution of slavery was central to Jeffersonian Virginia. The first Africans had arrived in Virginia by 1620, and from this date, slavery was gradually codified, institutionalised and entrenched into Virginian society. By the Federal period, slavery was essential to the overwhelming majority of large scale labour in the State. This was true not just of plantation field-work, but also of coopering, smithing, and public works (the state government was itself a slave-owner). Even some cargo ships from Virginia to the Caribbean (although the slave element was restricted to less than half of the crew) relied upon enslaved labour (McColley 1964:18-20). The Virginia economy was completely dependent on the export of staple cash crops, particularly tobacco. Paradoxically, these cash crops were produced in such voluminous quantities that prices were usually kept too low for the landowner to accumulate a large profit from tobacco-based agriculture. To further complicate matters, tobacco was (and remains) a labour-intensive crop that rapidly wears out the soil in which it is planted (McColley 1964:26). Tobacco was favoured not because it was the most profitable crop available, but rather because it was the least unprofitable. Indeed, Jefferson was always incapable of paying off his debts through agricultural profits (eg. Chambers 1993:118-120), despite the large size of his holdings. Under these circumstances, the attraction of unpaid slave labour to a Virginia planter growing an at best marginally profitable crop is obvious.

The enslaved population was not simply important as unwaged labour, however. They were also vital to the agrarian economy as property. The average wealthy Virginian landowner was highly dependent on the value of his slaves for that wealth, particularly as liquid assets. John Reynolds and John Moorman, both of Campbell County (the county immediately to the east of Poplar Forest's Bedford County) serve as typical examples. According to the 1782-1800 Campbell County willbooks, Reynolds' five slaves were valued at £390, while all of his remaining property was valued at £70 - almost 85% of his total property value

was held in slaves. John Moorman was both wealthier and somewhat more diversified, but even his 18 slaves, valued at £3,267, comprised just over 62% of his total property (McColley 1964:79). Slaves were also regularly accepted as payment in lieu of cash, as demonstrated by an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette and Independent Chronicle* of the 22nd of December, 1787: "The Subscriber has for sale, six hundred acres of land.... I will take Negroes in payment and allow a good price for them".

The value of slaves as both labour and property is amply demonstrated by Jefferson's own reluctance to sell slaves to cover his ever-increasing debts. While residing in Paris as American minister to France, Jefferson considered the possibility of selling both land and slaves. He rejected both options. He considered land to be "the only sure provision for my children" while he significantly refused to sell slaves "as long as there remains any prospect of paying my debts with their labour". To the latter statement, Jefferson added the characteristically contradictory remark "in this I am governed solely by views to their happiness" (Chambers 1993:13). It should be noted that Jefferson did countenance the selling of some 'liquid assets' - namely slaves - upon his return from France to the new United States. Several sales of his slaves were held through the early 1790s, although Jefferson was to complain of the 'miserable' profits, "the Negroes having averaged only £45 apiece" (cited in Chambers 1993:16).

Slavery at Poplar Forest

Both archaeology and the documentary record have contributed significantly towards our understanding of the everyday life of slaves at Poplar Forest. Much of the documentary evidence is supplied through Thomas Jefferson's own writings. Jefferson was a meticulous record-keeper, and his Garden and Farm books (Jefferson 1987) contain extensive reliable, though occasionally somewhat cryptic, information about the wider plantation communities, particularly at Monticello and Poplar Forest. These records are invaluable. To take but one example, the Farm book contains regular complete lists of all of the slaves in Albemarle and Bedford Counties. In 1810, for example, there were 84 slaves at the two adjacent Bedford County plantations (56 at Poplar Forest proper, 28 at Bear Creek), ranging in age from the five month old infant

Shepard, to “old Judy. abt. 1728” (Chambers 1993:65,68; Jefferson 1987:382-5). Family relationships are also expressed in the list; the line “Hanah. Cate’s. 70. Jan” notes that Hanah was Cate’s daughter, and that the former was born in January 1770. Hanah’s five children, are also listed in the margins (Chambers 1993:68; Jefferson 1987:398). In addition to complete lists of slaves, the Farm Book also contains extensive lists of how various goods, such as shirts, blankets, hats, beds, and socks were distributed amongst the slaves (eg. Jefferson 1987:422-5). The latter lists of goods are largely directed towards the Albemarle plantations, although unpublished records also exist for Poplar Forest (B.J. Heath, pers. comm. May 1999).

The Farm Book, whatever its undoubted value, only contains information about activities approved of and monitored by Jefferson. There is no direct information about the other everyday activities at Poplar Forest. On this count, archaeology has proved vital. Lead shot, some of it used, and faunal remains excavated at slave-related areas have demonstrated that the enslaved population at Poplar Forest hunted wild animals to supplement their diet. Furthermore, they had access to firearms in order to do so (Heath 1999:60-61). Patten has theorised that certain objects discovered at Poplar Forest (and indeed elsewhere), such as quartz crystals, reworked glass and ceramics, beads, and polished stones, may have been gathered in ‘spirit bundles’, and are evidence of African or African-influenced religious beliefs (Patten 1992). Ceramics analysis at the Wing of Offices, a utilitarian block post-dating the Quarter Site and adjacent to the 1809 main house, has demonstrated that many ceramics were handed down to and re-used by the slave community (Brooks 1994). In sum, the combination of documentary and archaeological evidence provides the archaeologist with an extensive basic level of information that is simply not present for the Pembroke or Hebridean sites discussed in the previous two chapters.

Jefferson’s Attitudes Towards Slavery

Given this thesis’ emphasis on meaning, ideology, and the multiple levels thereof, a brief consideration of Thomas Jefferson’s own views on slavery should be included. A stumbling block for many who encounter Jefferson for the first time is the paradox between the statesman who so idealistically proclaimed in the American Declaration of Independence that “all men are created equal; that they

are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” and the plantation owner who owned more than 200 slaves, and only freed five of these in his will. Opinion differs over the extent to which Jefferson was a racist hypocrite, a relatively benevolent slave-owner far in advance of his time, an unintentional hypocrite trapped by Virginia establishment opinion, or a romantic who may well have unambiguously embraced emancipation had he not fallen passionately in love with a slave.

Jefferson’s own writings on slavery reveal a man who was abundantly aware of the contradiction between the public idealism of a statesman and the perceived needs of a Virginia planter. In this he was hardly alone, and McColley discusses in detail how widespread this paradox was in Revolutionary and Federal Virginia (McColley 1964:115-6). In the end, Jefferson was intellectually defeated by the contradictions inherent in his ownership of slaves. His final word on the subject, a letter written two months before his death, is a sad, almost touching admission of that defeat; slavery is never mentioned directly, but ‘this evil’ was (perhaps) to be addressed at some point in the future - but not in his own time. The letter ends with an admonition that, as cautiously unspecific as the letter is, it should not be released to the public (Jefferson 1984:1516). Whether or not Jefferson’s recognition of, and struggles with, the contradictions inherent in his position makes his views any more excusable to the modern observer continues to be a matter for debate, but he was hardly atypical for his age.

Poor Whites in Virginia

So far, this chapter has very much focused on slaves and planters, despite the fact that one of the two sites involved belonged to a poor white (and quite patently free) craftsman’s family. This initial focus reflects a basic reality about plantation research: far more work has been done on slaves and planters than on the ‘middling’ population of the plantation. Indeed, Heath’s work on the Stewart-Watkins site (Heath 1991), used extensively in this chapter, has been cited as particularly noteworthy not only for its examination of “the social position and power relationships within Jefferson’s labor [sic] hierarchy”, but for being one of the very few archaeological studies to extensively consider non-planter whites in the agrarian south (Singleton and Bograd 1995:23). While archaeological reports on the urban poor and middle classes of the South are not unknown (eg. Cheek et

al. 1994), the unavoidable conclusion is that their rural counterparts are relatively neglected archaeologically.

Despite this archaeological neglect, the portion of Virginia's population that fell between the planters and slaves was important both socially and historically. The people of late 18th century Virginia lived "not only in a biracial population, but also in a biracial society". As Sobel (1987) has so rightly pointed out, Virginia was "a world they [blacks and whites] made together". Late 18th and early 19th century Virginia is thus best approached not by studying African-Americans or whites in isolation, but rather by comparing and contrasting their material culture. Furthermore, archaeologists should not concentrate solely on the large-scale slaveowners and their slaves, but should include the middling and poor white population. While the majority of slaves were owned by a small fraction of the Southern population, the majority of slaveowners were relatively poor households who owned a small number of slaves. Many whites owned no slaves at all. Furthermore, it cannot be assumed that the white population held to a particularly 'English' worldview; Scots, Ulster Protestants, Huguenots and Germans all contributed to the creation of Virginia society. Everyday life in the Federal period rural South revolved around myriad interacting, competing, and synthesised worldviews. Recent work in this regard, such as K. Lewis' work on "The Making of a Colonial Landscape on the South Carolina Frontier" (K. Lewis 1999) promises a more holistic approach to the social landscape of the South, and it is within this context that the analysis in this chapter takes place. Similarly, while this initial segment may have been slightly guilty of presenting the institution of slavery as an institution governed by the economics of agrarian capitalism, it should not be forgotten that slaves were people, and people with a rich and intricate social life that existed within and alongside the often harsh realities of plantation life.

III - CERAMICS REPORTS

This section of the chapter contains the archaeological analysis of the ceramics assemblages from the Quarter and Stewart/Watkins sites as well as descriptions of both sites. An indepth description of the analytical methodology is offered for the Quarter Site; a similar description is impossible for the Stewart/Watkins site as the analysis was originally carried out by other

researchers. The basic building blocks of ware, form and date are identified separately for each site, and an interpretive and comparative analysis of both sites, with some additional data from other relevant sites in Virginia, takes place at the end of the section. For those interested in further information on the sites, an extensive in-depth report on the Stewart/Watkins site may be found in Heath (1991), while a full Quarter Site report is forthcoming in the near future.

Site Descriptions

The Quarter Site (fig. 5.2) is located on a slope on the eastern boundary of the property currently held by the Corporation for Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest. The site was originally discovered during archaeological testing in 1993 along the line of a proposed tree-screen intended to shield the property from the adjacent suburban development. One of the original test pits located the remains of a root cellar, and by 1996 the Poplar Forest archaeology staff had uncovered the remains of 3 structures and associated features. In keeping with common American archaeological practice, the top strata of ploughed soil was universally sieved in order to study artefact distributions across the site, thus the pottery in this chapter was not recovered solely from sealed contexts. Soil samples were also saved from ploughzone in each 10 foot square excavation unit and from many features in order to study their chemical content. Structure 1 is a duplex cabin, probably a two family dwelling, with a small root cellar in the west room, two (superimposed) cellars in the east room, and a probable chimney at each end. Structure 2 is a single room structure, used during part of its lifespan as a dwelling, with a large area of fill overlying a smaller pit containing brick and ash. Structure 3 is a square single family dwelling; fill was discovered on the western, unploughed side of the structure (Heath 1999). Extensive ploughing of the area took place for decades following the abandonment of the site, but only on the eastern third of the site. Erosion on the sloped location has also undoubtedly affected site formation. While the ploughing has remove damaged features located on the eastern portion, it did provide an excellent opportunity to study the methodological issues arising from studying a partially ploughed site. Past research strongly supports the conclusion that the partial ploughing and erosion have not significantly affected data recovery or analysis at the Quarter Site (Brooks 1996b; Heath and Moncure in press). This is consistent with other American research that has demonstrated that spatial relationships remain visible

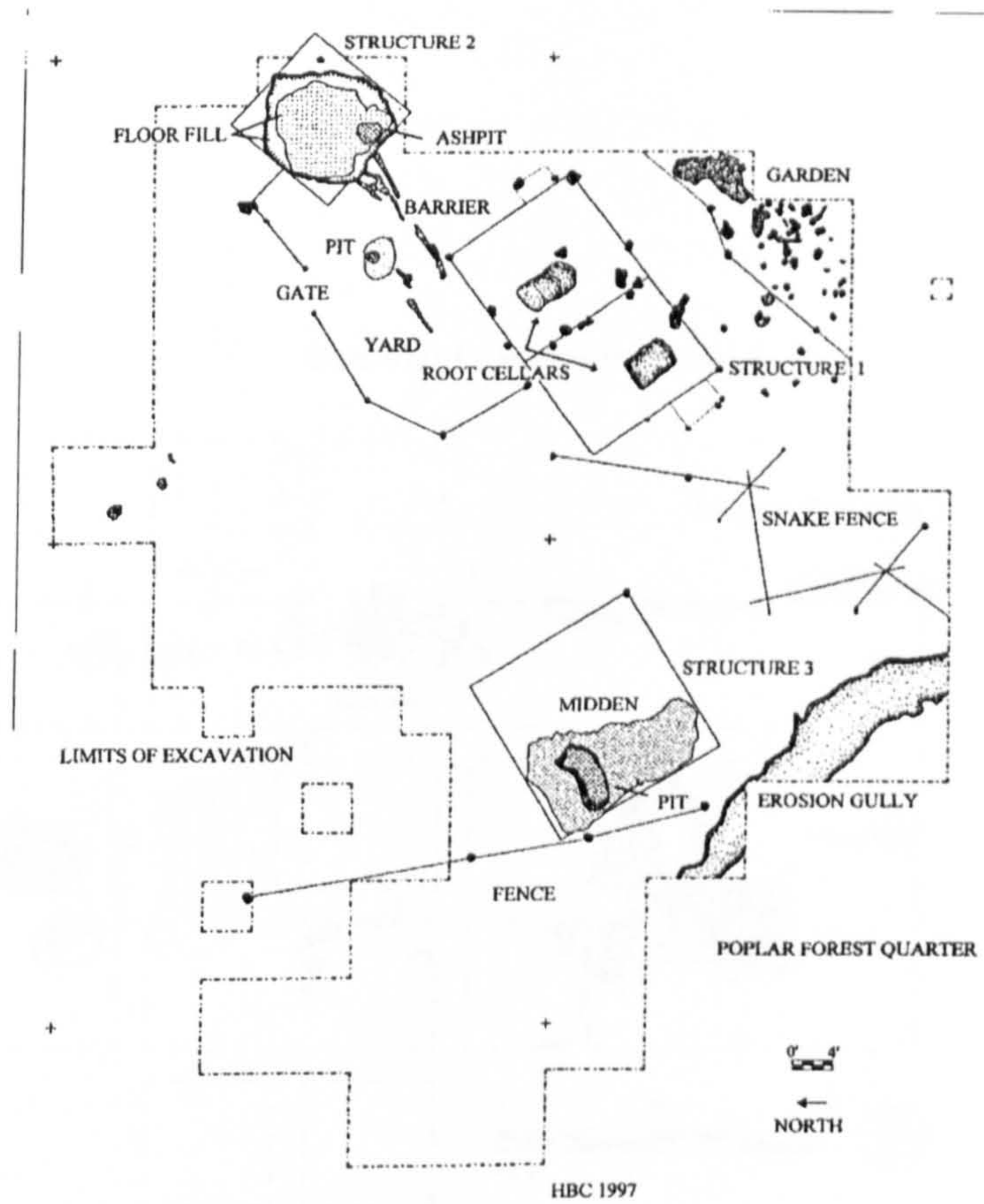


FIGURE 5.2 - THE QUARTER SITE

(Courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest)

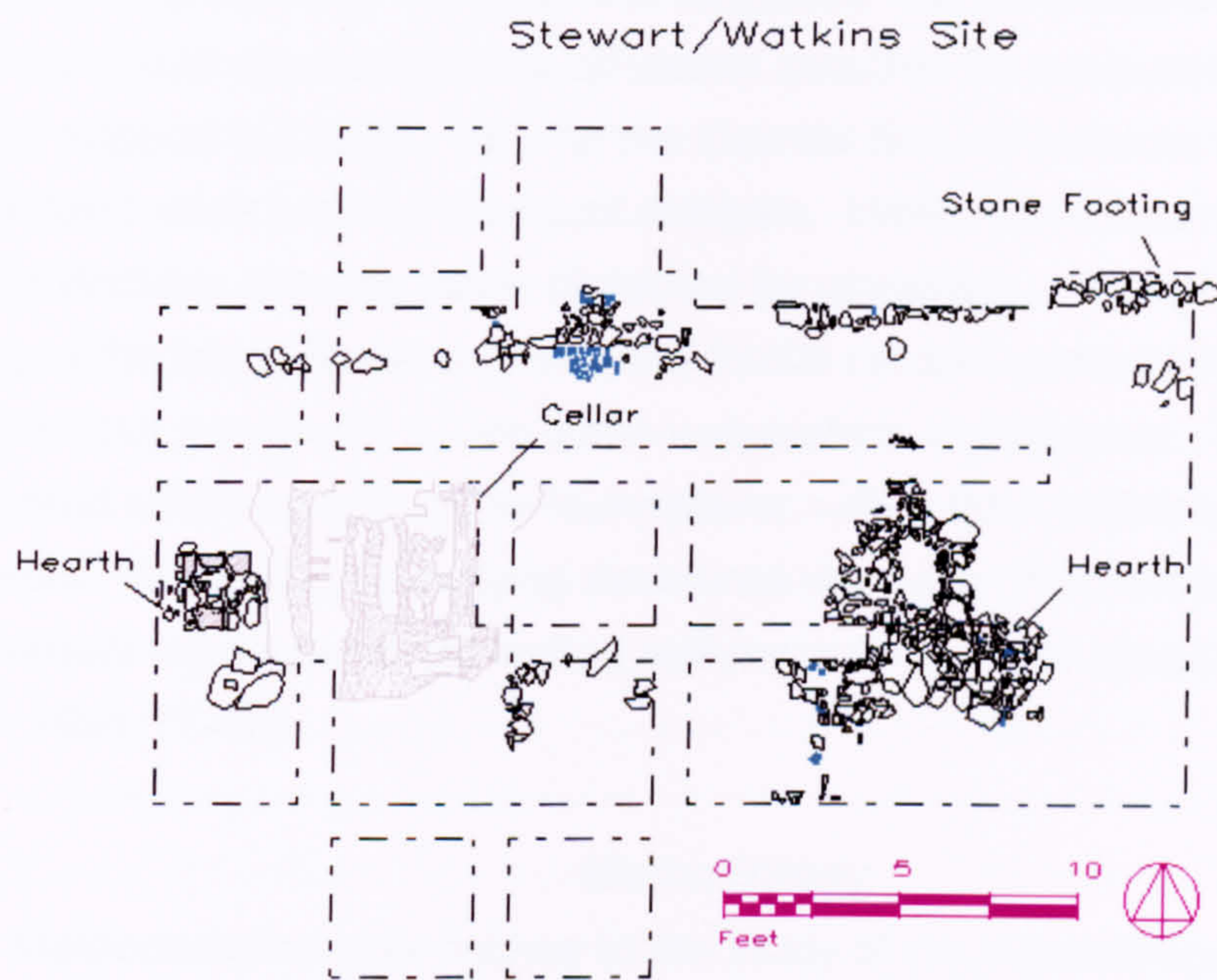


FIGURE 5.3 - THE STEWART/WATKINS SITE

original in colour

(Courtesy of Department of Archaeology, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation [Monticello])

on ploughed sites despite some inevitable diffusion of the edges of depositional areas (eg. King 1988; Pogue 1988:43-55; Riordan 1988).

The Stewart/Watkins site (fig. 5.3) is located on the south side of Monticello mountain, just out of sight of the main mansion, and sheltered from the extremes of climate that are often a feature of the mountaintop. Today, the site is located along a path connecting the Jefferson family cemetery with the visitor car park. The site was initially surveyed in 1981, and full-scale excavations began in the late 1980's. The site was excavated in 10 foot squares oriented to the visible surface remains of the building. Outside of a core area, but still associated with the grid, additional 4 foot quadrants were randomly selected for excavation to test for any outlying support buildings. As with the Quarter Site, all soil was sieved, and some soil samples were kept for chemical analysis. Unlike the Quarter Site, the Stewart/Watkins site was never disturbed by ploughing, although episodes of logging in the late 19th century and the 1920s caused some surface disturbance. Tree and root growth did cause some sub-surface disturbance. The site consists of a central structure with stone foundations, with a later addition on the side of the house. No additional outlying structures were identified, although an early 20th century refuse dump (of limited relevance to the core structure) was located (Heath 1991:17-47).

Methodology

Methodological approaches to the study of the assemblages in this chapter were complicated by two unavoidable problems. These were the high level of fragmentation in the Quarter Site assemblage, and - as with the Barra assemblage in the previous chapter - the problems inherent in using an assemblage originally analysed by a different archaeologist.

The initial report on the Quarter Site ceramics contained a discussion of an important methodological problem. Using a sherd count, for every fragment of pearlware, there was 1.38 fragments of creamware, yet for every identified creamware vessel, there were 1.6 pearlware vessels. From a different perspective, there are an average of 53 sherds to each pearlware vessel, but 68 sherds to each creamware vessel (Brooks 1996a:38-9). Given that a very similar breakage pattern occurred within the assemblage for these two ware types, some

discrepancy in the count must exist. This issue has arisen in other archaeologists' research. George Miller has discussed a range of explanations for similar discrepancies, of which the most accurate is undoubtedly "...a higher percentage of the transfer-printed vessels were identified from the original population because of the ability to recognise a difference from a smaller sherd" (G. Miller 1986:70). Put simply, decorated vessels, such as pearlware, are much easier to identify from individual fragments than undecorated vessels, such as creamware.

The wider methodological issues arising from vessel counts were discussed in chapter 2, and need not be reiterated here. However, given that the discrepancy described in the previous paragraph will only largely depend on the level of fragmentation within an assemblage (the more fragmented, the worse the discrepancy), it is a perfectly valid question to ask whether like is being compared with like. The short answer is no. Even eliminating the variable of different researchers' experience and technique, it is virtually impossible that any two assemblages will have been formed, excavated, and analysed under identical conditions. This has always been true; ceramics reports virtually never compare like with like. The real difference between this thesis and past comparative work is that this thesis openly acknowledges the inherent subjectivity of all ceramics analysis. As noted in chapter 2, there are no simple answers to this issue, but open acknowledgement and awareness of the potential problems helps to minimise the difficulties. The analysis in this thesis has been undertaken in the assumption that whatever differences do exist do not obviate the basic validity of the data. This point will be returned to in the final chapter. It is worth noting, however, in the context of this paragraph, that the Stewart/Watkins and Quarter Site assemblages are as close as two assemblages can be (see page 22), and that the creamware/pearlware discrepancy exists at all sites from this period, though to an unpredictable degree.

Another basic methodological issue arises from the comparison of the two sites in this chapter. The Stewart/Watkins ceramics are listed by ware, ware and decoration, and ware and form (Heath 1991:49,149), but nowhere are ware, decoration and form cross-referenced as they are in this thesis. This is by no means a criticism; different researchers, often with different agendas, will inevitably use different methods. Fortunately, discussions with the original report

author resulted in the locating of the original cross-referenced vessel counts, which were kindly provided for this analysis. Thus charts in a format identical to that used in the rest of the thesis could be generated. Nonetheless, the lack of identical charts in the original report highlights a potential problem in comparing data with previously published or independently analysed materials. Similarly, there were inevitably minor differences in type descriptions between the materials in the two assemblages, particularly where some unusual forms are concerned. Fortunately, these are almost universally minor, and do not affect the analysis. In this instance, the lack of significant differences is probably a side-effect of the former professional association between the two authors, although for consistency's sake, some adaptation of type descriptions contained in the Stewart/Watkins site did occur. Nonetheless, these differences once again serve to highlight a potential problem in comparative analysis that all researchers should be aware of.

The Quarter Site Assemblage

The data analysis in this sub-section is adapted from the Poplar Forest archaeology department's unpublished preliminary report "Analysis of Ceramics and Glass from the Quarter Site" (Brooks 1996a). By the conclusion of the 1996 excavation season, 4910 sherds had been recovered from the Quarter Site. The 1996 minimum vessel count for the site is 131 vessels. Of these, 53 vessels (40%) are pearlware, 33 (25%) are creamware, 19 (14%) are coarse redware, and 17 (13%) are stoneware. Small quantities of tinglaze, Chinese porcelain, whiteware, refined redware and black basalt comprise the remainder of the assemblage (table 5.1). From a purely methodological perspective, it will be readily apparent that the ratio of sherds to vessels is much higher at the Quarter Site than at any of the sites analysed in previous chapters. For example, at Pwll Mill there is an average of just over 15 sherds per vessel, while at the Quarter Site the similar figure is just over 37 sherds per vessel - more than twice Pwll Mill's average. This difference stems from the high level of fragmentation from ploughing (as discussed above) at the Quarter Site rather than any peculiarities within the actual vessels themselves.

One noteworthy aspect of the Quarter Site ware types is the presence of locally-made American wares within the assemblage. While the refined

TABLE 5.1 - QUARTER SITE POTTERY

	pl	cp	sc	bw	jg	te	mg	tr	jr	bt	st	cs	ch	hl	fl	totals
creamware																33
undecorated	18	2	1	1			2					1	1	2		28
edged	2															2
mocha				1												1
annular				2												2
pearlware																53
painted mono		2	3			1								1		7
painted poly		5	4	2		1								1		13
enamelled	1															1
blue UGTP								1						1	2	4
brown UGTP		1														1
dipt				2										1		3
shell 1810+	18															18
shell rococo	3															3
shell other			1					1						1		3
whiteware	1													1		2
delft															1	1
black basalt						1								1		2
ref redware														1		1
porcelain		1	2													3
tableware	43	11	11	8		3	2	2				1	1	10	3	95
redware				10	2			1					1	4	1	19
stoneware					4				2	3	6			2		17
totals	43	11	11	18	6	3	2	3	2	3	6	1	2	16	4	131

Key to vessel form abbreviations: pl=plate; cp=cup; sc=saucer; bw=bowl; jg=jug; te=teapot; tr=tureen; jr=jar; bt=bottle; mg=mug; cs=castor; ch=chamberpot; st=large storage; hl=unidentified hollow; fl=unidentified flat

tablewares (three Chinese porcelain vessels apart) are all European in origin, the vast majority of the stonewares and coarse earthenwares are American. Included within these locally made wares are several slightly lustrous iron-oxide based glazed vessels of a style common throughout southern Virginia and North Carolina. There are also several fragments of under-fired stonewares, tentatively identified as within the Upper Shenandoah valley tradition of "Rockingham county salt-glazed earthenware" (Comstock 1994:330). Nearby Rockbridge (not to be confused with Rockingham) county did contain at least two active potters in the late eighteenth century (Russ 1989:480), so the tradition was active during the period of the Quarter Site's occupation. As of 1996, attempts to identify these wares more closely had been unsuccessful.

A total of 13 vessel forms were identified at the Quarter Site, 15 if the unidentified hollow and flat categories are included (table 5.1). The forms are: 43 plates (33%), 11 saucers (8%), 11 cups (8%), 3 teapots (2%), 2 mugs (2%), 18 bowls (14%), 3 tureens (2%), 6 jug/pitchers (4%), 2 jars (2%), 3 bottles (2%), 6 storage vessels (4%), 1 castor (1%), 2 chamberpots (2%), 16 unidentified hollow vessels (12%), and 4 unidentified flat vessels (3%). As usual, there is a strong correlation between form and refined and coarse wares. The latter are confined to 6 identified forms, with only bowls of the common forms (loosely defined as those comprising at least 5% of the assemblage) entailing any significant overlap between coarsewares and refined wares. The only form that can be considered 'unusual' (if a subjective opinion can be permitted to slip in) is the single creamware castor, which is discussed in the analytical section.

All of the common decorative techniques occur within the Quarter Site assemblage, and the pearlware and creamware very much conform to the stereotypical division between decorated pearlware and undecorated creamware. For creamware, 30 of the 33 vessels (91%) are undecorated, except for a minimal raised rim in some cases. All of the 53 pearlware vessels are decorated, of which 24 (45% of the pearlware) are shelledged (in five different variations thereof), 21 (40%) are painted, 5 (9%) are transfer-printed, and 3 (6%) are industrial slipwares (specifically annular and mocha wares). The single decorated piece of whiteware is also transfer-printed. Most of the remaining vessels feature decorations within the expected norms; the tin-glaze vessel is painted, the Chinese porcelain

enamelled, and the refined redware and the black basalt are engine-turned. The presence of an enamelled pearlware plate is somewhat unusual, but the overglaze decoration is too faded for further analysis.

The dates of occupation for the Quarter Site, as determined by the ongoing analysis at Poplar Forest, are c.1790-c.1812. The terminal date is suggested by the documentary and topographic evidence on the reorganisation of the plantation in 1812 - a new boundary line ran through the middle of structure 1, requiring the demolition of the latter (Heath 1999:65). The beginning date of c.1790 is suggested by the ceramics, specifically the lack of any seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century materials such as colonoware, white salt-glazed stoneware, early dark-cream creamware, or significant amounts of tin-glazed wares. Evidence from vessel mends demonstrates that even-scallop-curved shelledged plates (1810-20) predominate at structure 3 while undecorated lighter yellow creamware plates (1770-1820) predominate at structure 1. While there is some overlap in dates, the shelledge wares very much date from the end of the site's occupation. Additional evidence from the distribution of cut nails (TPQ 1805), which predominate at structure 3, further suggests that structure 3 is slightly later in date than structure 1 (Brooks 1996a:8; Heath 1999:41). The precise nature of this temporal relationship remains a matter of conjecture, but it appears likely that structure 3 was constructed later than structure 1 - although it is also likely that their period of occupation overlapped to some degree. The structure 2 sample is too small for detailed analysis. The presence of a single "Chinese Bird Catchers" pattern whiteware plate (c.1820-30), a pattern most probably associated with the 1826-8 Eppes occupation of Poplar Forest (Brooks 1994:17-8), is undoubtedly a stray anomalous fragment, probably resulting from the later agricultural use of the site.

Given chapter 2's methodological discussion, it is worth noting that the archaeological evidence from nails and mapped, mended ceramics contradicts and supplants the evidence from the mean ceramic dates generated for structures 1 and 3. These were essentially identical: 1801.02 for structure 1 and 1801.36 for structure 3. Ploughing and erosion at the site has, of course, caused some diffusion amongst the distribution of ceramics. As a result, the vessels that lie tightly within a recognisable activity area, and are associated with an individual

structure (such as individually mended vessels) can provide useful dating information. However, the diffusion caused by later site disturbances has had a centripetal effect on the totality of each structure's assemblage, causing similar dates and distributions when all of the vessels that occur near a structure (rather than those that only occur at a specific structure) are considered. Given the site formation processes at work, and that the totality of the archaeology evidence suggests different (though overlapping) periods of occupation for the structures, the original mean ceramic dates for the structures should be considered somewhat unreliable.

No maker's marks, and no transfer-printed patterns beyond some willow and the Chinese Bird Catchers anomaly, were identified at the Quarter Site. Indeed, no other decorative techniques or vessels could be identified to their source. Some vessels such as a stippled transfer print (TPQ 1805), and the aforementioned shelledged plates nonetheless provided an occasional more specific *terminus post quem*. The lack of a wider sample of tightly dated materials is an unavoidable side-effect of the fragmented nature of the assemblage. Most vessels were simply too broken, or identified from too small a piece to permit more specific identifications.

The Stewart/Watkins Site

The data analysis and vessel counts in this section are taken and adapted from the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation [Monticello] archaeology department's in-house report on the Stewart/Watkins site (Heath 1991). These counts were thus not carried out by this author. As with the Barra materials (see chapter 4), this is intentional. The Stewart/Watkins site was primarily selected for this thesis in order to enable the comparative analysis of both slave and poor white sites from Virginia with the Welsh and Hebridean sites. But the inclusion of Stewart/Watkins also enables the ongoing consideration of the methodological issues that arise during the comparison of assemblages analysed by different individuals and organisations.

One hundred and twenty-five vessels were identified in the Stewart/Watkins assemblage (table 5.2). Only six main ware types were recovered from the site: 61 pearlware (49%), 38 creamware (30%), 16 Chinese Porcelain (13%), 7

TABLE 5.2 - STEWART/WATKINS POTTERY

	pl	pt	cp	sc	bw	yg	cr	di	te	mg	bt	ch	st	ld	hl	fl	totals
creamware																	38
undecorated	11	1	1		1					2		1			5	2	24
OGTP			4	2													6
edged	5	1							1								7
enamelled															1		1
pearlware																	61
painted poly			11	16	2		1		2	1					6		40
painted mono	1		2	1								1		1	3	2	11
dipt										3							3
enamelled						1											1
shelledged	1	4															5
'lined'	1																1
unid. refined															1		1
porcelain																	
enamelled			2	3				1							1	2	16
painted mono	4		1	1													9
dipt																	6
enam.&paint.																1	1
tablewares	23	6	21	23	3	1	2	1	3	6		2		1	17	7	116
stoneware											1				4		7
																	2
redware								1									
Totals	23	6	23	23	3	1	2	2	3	6	1		2	1	21	7	125

Key to vessel form abbreviations: pl=plate; pt=platter; cp=cup; sc=saucer; bw=bowl; yg=jug; cr=creamer; di=dish; te=teapot; bt=bottle; mg=mug; ch=chamberpot; st=large storage; ld=lid; hl=unidentified hollow; fl=unidentified flat

stoneware (6%) and 2 coarse redware vessels (2%). A single unidentified refined earthenware vessel is also contained within the assemblage. The refined tablewares are all British imports with the exception of the Chinese porcelain. Of the stonewares, 5 are American, 1 is British, and 1 is unidentified. At least 1 of the coarse redwares is American, and has been identified as Pennsylvania slipware.

A total of 14 identified forms occur at Stewart/Watkins, although the single lid would originally have been associated with another vessel. If the unidentified forms are included, the total number of form categories is 17. The forms are: 21 plates (17%), 6 platters (5%), 21 cups (17%), 23 saucers (18%), 3 bowls (2%), 2 jug/pitchers (2%), 1 creamer (1%), 2 dishes (2%), 3 teapots (2%), 6 mugs (5%), 1 bottle (1%), 2 chamberpots (2%), 3 storage vessels (2%), 1 lid (1%), 20 unidentified hollow vessels (16%), 9 unidentified flat vessels (7%) and a single completely unidentified vessel (1%).

Painted wares are by far the most common type of decorated ware found in the Stewart/Watkins assemblage. 52 painted refined earthenwares (41 polychrome, 11 monochrome) were identified - more than half of the 100 refined earthenwares. When the 5 painted porcelain vessels are added, the 57 painted vessels comprise 42% of the total assemblage. The 24 undecorated refined earthenwares are the next most common category, with the 13 enamelled vessels (11 of which are porcelain), 12 edged wares (5 shelledge, and 7 various other rim treatments) making up the bulk of the remainder of the vessels. The painted, undecorated, enamelled, and edged wares together comprise 85% of the total assemblage. Identified painted decorations include the "Chinese House" pattern, and a motif described at Monticello as the "slave" pattern - apparently due to its association with a slave site elsewhere on the plantation. There are also 6 overglaze transfer prints, 3 dipt/industrial slip vessels, 1 slipped redware, 1 rouletted stoneware, and 1 unidentified decoration. Conspicuous by their absence are underglaze transfer prints. Indeed, but for the 6 early overglaze transfer-printed creamware vessels recovered from the site, not a single transfer print occurs in the assemblage. This is quite remarkable, and will be discussed further in section IV.

The Stewart/Watkins site was dated through documentation rather than through the pottery, but an examination of the site assemblage dates is still revealing. The house was built in 1800 and occupied from 1801 to c.1810 in two periods of occupation. The Stewart family occupied the property from 1801 to late 1808 or early 1809, and the Watkins family inhabited the property for a year from early 1809; given the differences in occupation length, the data (and the original report) are inevitably weighted towards the Stewarts (Heath 1991:4-5). Heath's discussion of the dating evidence (1991:50-55) notes that the Southian mean ceramic date for the site is 1796, obviously too early to be an occupation mean. As is common in American practice, Heath then uses the early date as a starting point for a discussion of "time-lag", whereby early MCDs on poor and slave sites are explained as a result of the site occupants acquiring cheap, out of date materials rather than more expensive current pottery. In this analytical process, the MCD becomes a tool that helps to explain dating idiosyncrasies in the assemblage as a whole.

Yet use of the MCD was clearly unnecessary in this instance. Examination of individual vessels quite obviously demonstrates the presence of types that are far too early for the site. Amongst these are a dot-diaper-and-basket clouded creamware plate (c.1740-1760), two fragments of early dark creamware (pre mid-1770's), an "altar of love" Chinese porcelain saucer (c.1740-78), a Chinese porcelain dish with enamelled decoration typical of the 1760s and 70s, and overglaze-printed creamware with "The shepherd and the sheep" and "the tea party" patterns typical of the mid 1760s to the 1790s. All of these are quite explicitly listed in the report (Heath 1991:50-51). The latest TPQ for any vessel is for a single sherd of Albany-slip stoneware (TPQ 1805). The examination of individual vessels within the report is therefore at least as informative as the MCD, and arguably more so since it requires close perusal of the relevant ceramics. The analytical implications of the early materials and time lag are discussed in detail in section IV below.

IV - COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The Quarter and Stewart/Watkins sites and their assemblages provide several intriguing contrasts. On the one hand, we have a slave community on an

isolated plantation in Central Virginia located several days travel away from their owner's primary plantation and home, though within walking distance of two towns (Lynchburg and New London) with merchants and shops. On the other hand we have two poor white artisan families who live on that primary plantation. Comparative analysis has previously taken place between the Stewart/Watkins site and slave areas at Monticello's "Mulberry Row" (eg. Heath 1991:51-8). The preliminary Quarter Site report also compared the Quarter Site assemblage to a range of relevant Virginia sites (Brooks 1996a:11-18), although this analysis was comparatively unsophisticated.

Thus this chapter provides an opportunity to engage in a highly specific cross-cultural comparison of assemblages within a relatively tight geographical and economic (though not status) framework. It furthermore sets the scene for the unprecedented trans-Atlantic comparisons in chapters 6 and 7. The goal of this analysis is not to identify specifically African or European cultural elements within assemblages. While vitally important, the latter archaeological approach has been extensively dealt with in previous work (eg. Armstrong 1985; Ferguson 1992:109-120; Edwards 1998); readers interested in this aspect of African-American archaeology are directed to Singleton and Bograd's excellent 1995 historiography. Instead, just as the Outer Hebrides and north Pembrokeshire were analysed as single units, this chapter considers central Piedmont Virginia as a single holistic socio-geographical area. This should not be considered an attempt to mask the significant differences that existed between the enslaved and poor white communities. Instead, this chapter seeks to de-emphasise specific cultural traditions until after the data has been generated, in a perhaps optimistic attempt to de-politicise the contexts of African-American archaeology. Socio-cultural differences within the assemblages will inevitably play a part in this chapter, but to consider this comparison as a holistic whole, to properly consider the syncretic nature of Piedmont Virginia, no one site or culture is being stressed over the other.

Before undertaking the analysis, it is worth briefly noting that the two assemblages in this chapter provide the ideal templates for the comparative analysis carried out in this thesis. Both sites fall within the same rough temporal period (c.1790-c.1815). With the exception of stray post-occupation fragments,

no vessels have been excluded from the sample for temporal reasons in order to carry out the analysis. Both assemblages were excavated using virtually identical field techniques, and differences in post-excavation methodology were minimised (though not eliminated) by the professional association between the authors of the two original reports (eg. Brooks 1996a; Heath 1991). Finally, unlike the previous two chapters, where the methodological framework in chapter 2 was explicitly followed throughout, this chapter uses the framework more implicitly. This has been done in order to test the flexibility of that framework. The interpretive level issues of economy, status, function and meaning are still explicitly drawn together in the chapter conclusion, but they are more implicit in the sections and subsections leading to that conclusion.

Comparisons of Decoration

As noted in previous chapters, comparisons of ceramic decoration have often been used to make statements about how issues of economy and status are formed and informed by assemblages. This has particularly been the case within plantation archaeology, most usually using Miller's CC indices. While CC index values have been generated for both of the assemblages in this chapter (Brooks 1996a:11; Heath 1991:69), this analysis uses the more generalised decorative comparison system outlined in chapter 2 and used in the previous two chapters.

A comparison of the Quarter Site and Stewart/Watkins refined tableware decorations proves to be quite revealing (table 5.3). The Quarter Site figures demonstrate a clear progression of quantity from the uncommon expensive porcelain (only 3% of the assemblage) to the common inexpensive undecorated materials (32%). This is a remarkably regular progression, with each less expensive category more common than the preceding more expensive materials. The Stewart/Watkins assemblage does not contain nearly as clear cut a progression. The three most common categories at Stewart/Watkins are painted wares (44%), undecorated wares (21%) and porcelain (14%) - the middle category, the least expensive, and the most expensive. Comparing the two sites, only two of the five categories, the undecorated and transfer-printed wares, have distributions within 10% of each other.

As raw data alone these are significant differences, and differences not

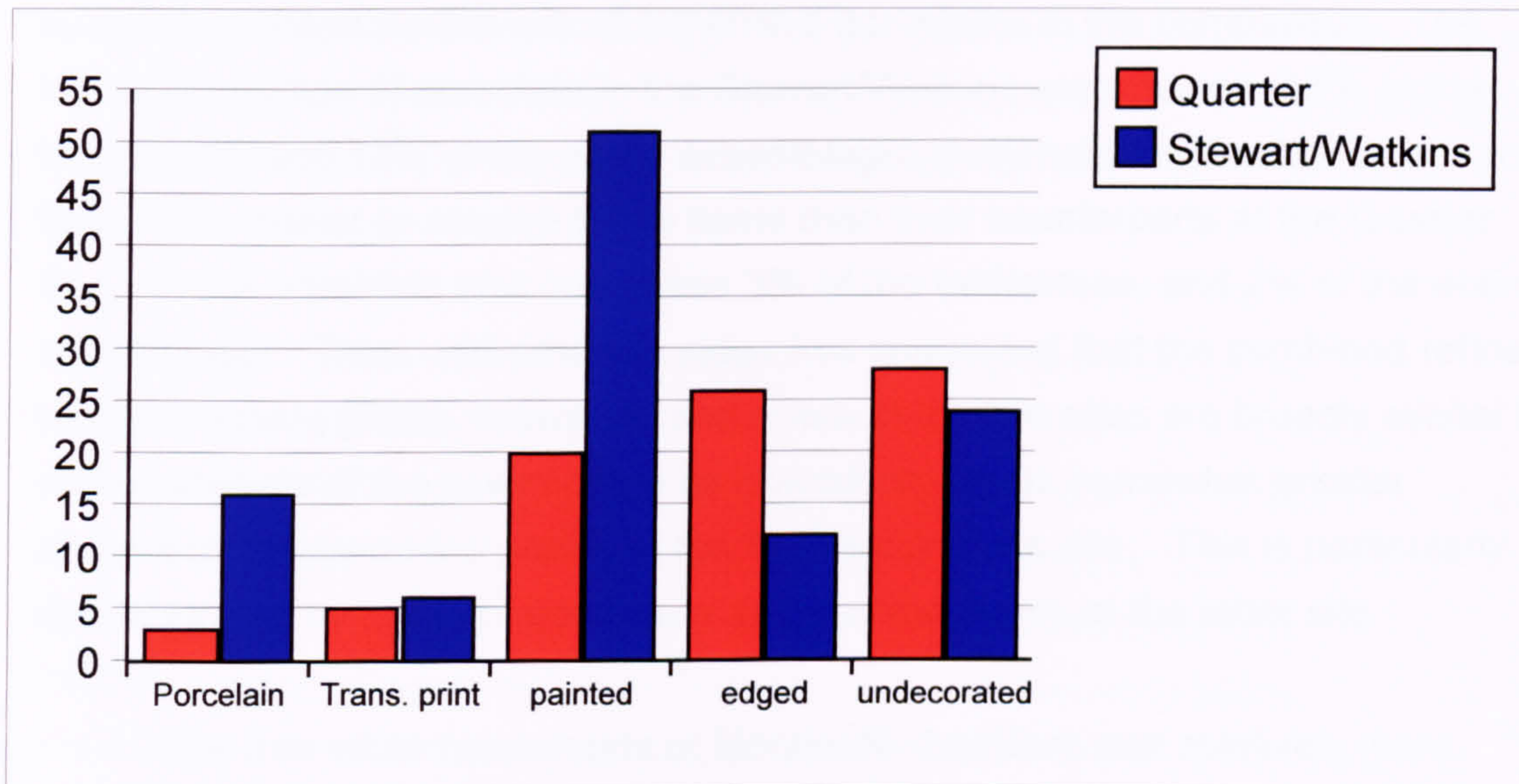


TABLE 5.3
VIRGINIA DECORATIVE COMPARISONS

Y-axis is %; totals have been rounded to nearest whole number, exclude 'other' categories and thus do not add to 100. Original in colour.

revealed by CC index calculation. The relevant CC index figures calculated for the preliminary report (Brooks 1996a:11; Heath 1991:69) show that the Quarter plates and bowls are slightly more expensive than their Stewart/Watkins counterparts, and that the situation is reversed for the teas. The index means for the total assemblages are almost identical: 1.43 for the Quarter, and 1.47 for Stewart/Watkins. In this particular instance, the unquestioning use of the CC index proves to be incapable of teasing out the subtleties in these assemblages. The most glaring problem in this instance is the lack of any consistent mechanism by which to measure the role of expensive porcelains in the comparison. The higher proportion of porcelain in the Stewart/Watkins assemblage (16% of the tablewares, and 13% of the entire assemblage) demonstrates that the inhabitants found it far easier to acquire these items than their counterparts at the Quarter Site, where porcelain only comprises 3% of the tablewares, and 2% of the entire assemblage. Thus, while the CC index has suggested that the combined refined white tableware plates, teawares, and bowls at the two sites are broadly similar in value, analysis of the assemblage as a whole suggests somewhat greater acquisition power and/or status at the Stewart/Watkins site. This is particularly demonstrated by levels of porcelains and painted wares at the latter site.

The free white households at Monticello therefore own relatively more expensive pottery than the enslaved households at the Quarter Site. By itself, this would be as undramatic a conclusion as ever graced an archaeological report. But it is also a misleading conclusion. Past research has shown that the slaves located directly next to Jefferson's main house at Monticello owned more expensive ceramics not only than either Stewart/Watkins or the Quarter, but indeed more expensive ceramics than many households from a variety of socio-cultural backgrounds (Brooks 1996a:11; Gruber 1990; Heath 1991:69). Thus whatever status/economy difference exists between the Stewart/Watkins and Quarter Site assemblages cannot necessarily be simply explained away through the differences between free and enslaved household economy. Other factors, such as household acquisition, must be considered. Before these other factors can be fully discussed, an examination of form comparisons is necessary.

Comparisons of Form

As seen in the previous two chapters, variations and similarities in form

distributions can provide information about all of the categories in the interpretive level of this thesis' model. When comparing the Quarter and Stewart/Watkins tablewares, three prominent differences in the data are immediately clear from studying the three sets of form comparison in table 5.4. Firstly, that teawares (cups and saucers) are more than twice as common at Stewart/Watkins than at the Quarter (combined totals of 49% versus 22%). Secondly, plates are relatively more common within the Quarter Site assemblage than at Stewart/Watkins (38% versus 22%). Finally, bowls are virtually non-existent at Stewart/Watkins (3%), but comprise over a fifth (21%) of the Quarter Site assemblage. At both sites, plates, cups, saucers and bowls make up by far the largest segment of the assemblage, and it is on these forms that the analysis focusses, although the other forms will by no means be ignored.

The difference between the plate distributions between the two assemblages turns out to be somewhat misleading. While the percentage of plates is higher at the Quarter than at Stewart/Watkins, the ratio of plates to bowls at each site suggests something else entirely. At the Quarter Site, the ratio of plates to bowls is 1.8:1. At Stewart/Watkins, the ratio is an astonishing 7:1. Clearly bowls are a relatively insignificant part of the Stewart/Watkins assemblage. In seeking for a reason for the misleading plate percentages, we need turn only to the teawares, which are far more common at Stewart/Watkins. So common, in fact, at almost half the tableware assemblage, that all other direct percentage comparisons are distorted.

The importance of teawares at Stewart/Watkins, the lack thereof at the Quarter, and the relative importance of bowls at the Quarter Site can be examined through both status and ideology/meaning. Tea-drinking in particular has been studied through a neo-Marxist status-oriented perspective, in a thematic extension of Leone and Shackel's discussion of the role of dining-related material culture in 18th century Annapolis. As noted in chapter 1, Leone and Shackel argue that this material does more than denote rank, order and hierarchy, it helps to create these very categories (Leone and Shackel 1987:48-49). Shackel (1993:107-9; 112-4), using Braudel (1979:250-5) as his main source, has extended these themes to teawares - cups and saucers. Shackel argues that tea-drinking in the Western world was an activity originally synonymous with social elites. Tea-drinking was

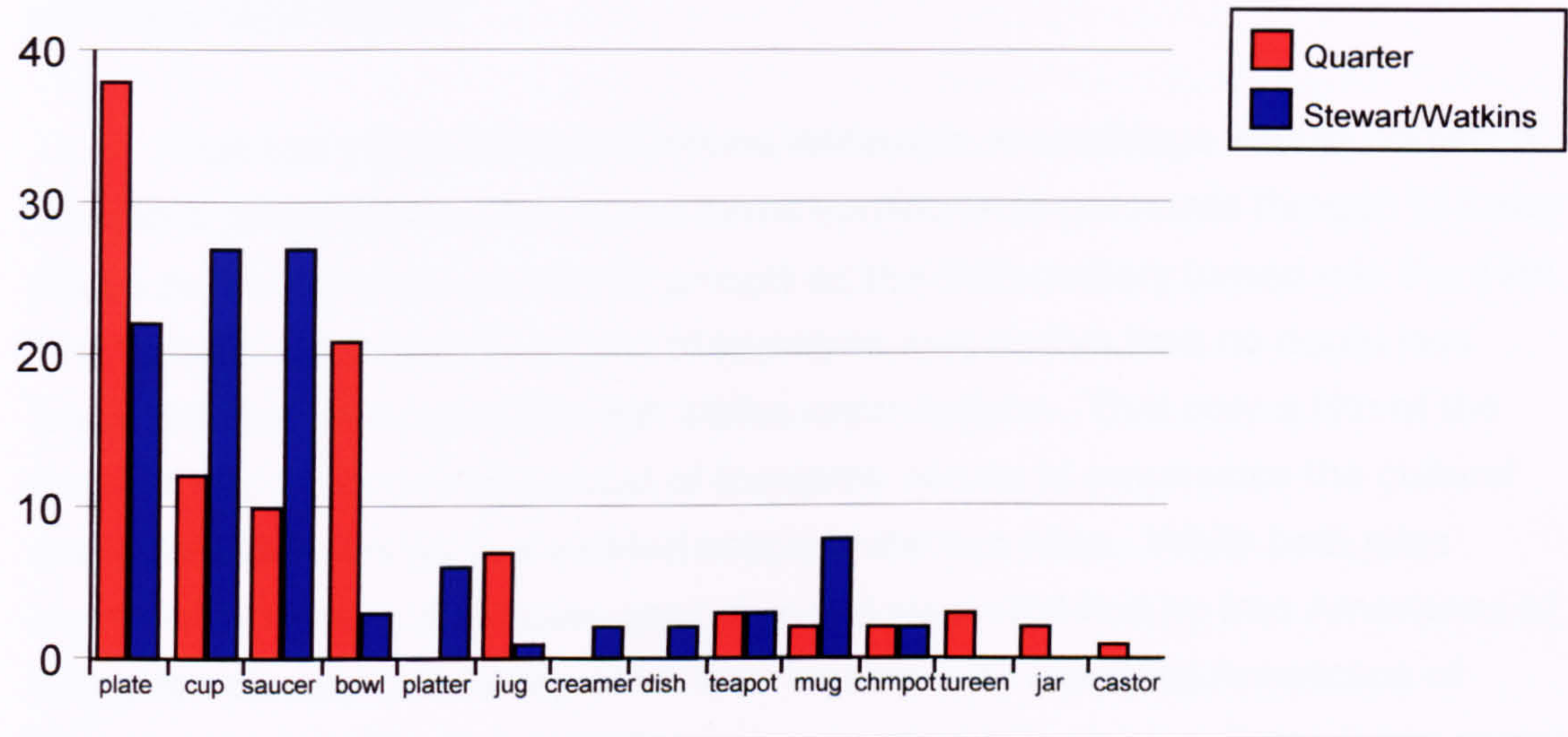


TABLE 5.4
VIRGINIA FORM COMPARISONS

Y-axis is %; totals have been rounded to nearest whole number and may not add to 100. Original in colour.

both formed by and helped inform the hierarchical segmentation of everyday life. It furthermore represented a conspicuous display of leisure time; those who had the time for the social rituals associated with tea were not tied to subsistence manual labour. Shackel's research demonstrates that in 18th century rural colonial Maryland, different socio-economic groups owned sets of tea cups in direct proportion to their wealth. The poorest group owned no teawares at all (Shackel 1993:108-9).

That half of the Stewart/Watkins tableware assemblage should consist of teawares demonstrates that these forms continued to permeate through to lower status American socio-economic groups as the 18th century turned into the 19th. The 'conspicuous leisure' aspect of teawares was by this time no doubt less important than more general high status connotations. That only a fifth of the Quarter Site assemblage consist of teawares serves to emphasise the cultural and status differences that existed between the two sites. While both sites' households were undoubtedly poor, one site was inhabited by free Americans of European descent, while the other was inhabited by enslaved Americans of African descent. The teaware distributions reflect this socio-cultural divide central to Federal period Virginia. Yet at the same time, the fact that fully a fifth of the Quarter Site tablewares are teawares - a vessel form originally associated with an elite European tradition - is itself intriguing. Once again, this raises the issue of vessel acquisition, of who was acquiring the Quarter Site ceramics and why.

Other vessel form differences also bear examination, particularly the massive discrepancy between the plate to bowl ratios at the two sites. Ferguson (1992:106-7) has noted that "while white colonists [in South Carolina] served food on platters and plates, slaves kept using predominantly bowls". Ferguson further postulates that the latter are part of an "African culinary grammar Slaves still simmered their food, ate with their hands, and used bowls", a pattern that still existed in the mid 19th century. It is worth noting that the number of bowls is almost certainly underestimated at the Quarter Site given that wood was (and is) abundant in the region. Wooden and other organic vessels would have provided a cheap and readily available alternative to ceramics, an alternative that would not have survived in the archaeological record. At least one skilled cooper was associated with the Quarter Site, as evidenced by the recovery of two croze

groove planing irons. And while coopering and carpentry are very different skills, it does not require too much of a leap of faith to believe that an individual with the skill and wherewithal to make wooden vessels was in some way associated with the Poplar Forest plantation community.

Yet in the context of a comparison between the Stewart/Watkins and Quarter Site assemblages, some nagging doubts exist over Ferguson's assertions. Certainly bowls are virtually totally absent from the Stewart/Watkins assemblage, as one would expect from the "white food grammar". Certainly the ratio of bowls to plates is much more even at the Quarter Site, as one would expect from the "African food grammar". But Ferguson's otherwise excellent discussion does not allow for the possibility that African-American vessel distributions would exhibit a pattern similar to that at the Quarter Site, where overall plates are nearly twice as common as bowls. Even allowing for the probability that organic material bowls are missing from the Quarter Site assemblage, plates are clearly a large enough portion of the site assemblage that they cannot be ignored. The role of the Quarter Site plates (and indeed the bowls) within the interlocking framework of economy, status, function and meaning requires a discussion of vessel acquisition.

One final issue needs to be discussed before this chapter's long-promised investigation of acquisition can take place, and that is the difference in coarseware vessel distributions between the sites. In this context, 'coarseware' refers to all stonewares and coarse redwares, irrespective of functional categories such as 'tableware' or 'utilitarian ware'. The coarsewares comprise 27% of the Quarter Site assemblage, but only 7% of the Stewart/Watkins assemblage. This is a fundamental difference. Heath notes that several of the Stewart/Watkins vessels were undoubtedly used for food preparation and storage - notably a heavily sooted slipped dish - but that food at the site "was commonly prepared in non-ceramic vessels" (Heath 1991:75-6). While the number of coarsewares at the Quarter may indicate a slightly higher level of in-house food storage, the difference is more probably economic. Coarse redwares, ignored in the CC Index, are almost invariably cheaper than refined earthenwares, and thus presumably more readily affordable for a slave community. It is therefore significant that many of the Quarter Site coarsewares are not utilitarian forms, but are rather tableware

forms, such as bowls.

Vessel Acquisition

As is now clear, no analysis of the two assemblages in this chapter can be complete without a discussion of the means of vessel acquisition at the two sites. In particular, an examination of to what degree the various site inhabitants were able to express a choice over the acquisition of their ceramics is necessary. Heath raised this issue in the original Stewart/Watkins report (Heath 1991:55-70), but it is her groundbreaking research on independent slave purchases in the environs of Poplar Forest (Heath 1997) that permits a proper contextualisation of this debate. It is worth noting that the overall economic circumstances of the wider communities in each case are broadly similar. Poplar Forest was located near both the major local trade route of the James river and the town of New London, which was an important local merchant centre until the late 18th century. Monticello was located near a thriving established town, Charlottesville, that served as a major local centre. Additionally, both areas are located in the upper Virginia Piedmont, literally in the foothills of the Blue Ridge, and roughly the same distance from the Virginia ports. Thus, while some differences in local microeconomic conditions undoubtedly occur, differences in local availability are broadly speaking not overly significant.

Heath (1991:58-60; 68-70) considered in some detail the issue of who - Jefferson or the families themselves - originally acquired the Stewart/Watkins ceramics. The documentary evidence was somewhat inconclusive, though it favours the view that the majority of the materials were purchased by the family. While evidence exists that Jefferson exerted some influence on the acquisition of goods for his free workers, the precise nature of this transaction remains unclear. The archaeological evidence, on the other hand, is far more conclusive. Comparative analysis between different Monticello subsites revealed that Jefferson's slaves on Mulberry Row (within sight of the main house) actually owned more expensive ceramics than the free residents at Stewart/Watkins. Heath concluded that while the old 'hand-me-downs' discarded by the Jefferson household were a major component of the Mulberry Row assemblages, the Stewart and Watkins families were largely purchasing their own material. The hand-me-downs given to the slaves were thus originally purchased by a much

wealthier family. Furthermore, the Stewart/Watkins materials show signs of extensive wear; “in sum, when supplying their households, the hired white craftsmen and their families bought a fairly limited range of wares, and used them until they were worn out” (Heath 1991:70). Yet it is worth noting that Heath’s research also uncovered evidence of exchange between Stewart/Watkins and Mulberry Row in the form of matching decorative sets.

The same issues of hand-me-downs and direct purchase exist in any discussion of the Quarter Site. The results of hand-me-downs have indeed been observed elsewhere at Poplar Forest, at the “Wing of Offices”, a utilitarian work space adjacent to the plantation’s 1809 main house (Brooks 1994). However, the Wing was only constructed in 1814, and is thus associated with Jefferson’s later frequent visits to his Bedford Plantation. The Quarter Site largely pre-dates regular Jeffersonian occupation of Poplar Forest. It is important to emphasise, however, that the cast-off process need not rely solely on a simple owner-slave equation. While Jefferson’s trips to Bedford County during the site’s occupation were at best irregular, the on-property overseers may potentially have been a source of more expensive materials. Indeed, Bowling Clarke, Poplar Forest manager from c.1788 to 1801, became a major landowner in his own right, and evidence suggests that he lived in a fairly comfortable manner (Marmon 1991:35-7). Furthermore, Jefferson’s visits became more regular from 1809, so the property owner may have theoretically been a more active participant in any hypothetical goods exchange in the last three years of the site’s occupation. On a closely-related note, there is no documentary evidence that Clarke was ever paid or reimbursed for providing the enslaved community at Poplar Forest with new or used ceramics (B.J. Heath pers. comm. May 1999).

Despite the overseers and Jefferson, the archaeological and documentary evidence, particularly the former, strongly suggest that hand-me-downs are not a significant part of the Quarter Site assemblage. Only a small number of expensive vessels such as porcelain, black basalt, and transfer-printed wares, occur at the site (table 5.1). Combined, these expensive, costly types are only 8% of the total assemblage. Inexpensive shelledged and undecorated wares, on the other hand, comprise 41% of the assemblage - and this figure excludes the even less expensive coarsewares. The absence of significant quantities of the more

expensive wares types typically associated with hand-me-downs suggests that the researcher must look elsewhere to see how the bulk of the Quarter Site materials were acquired.

Heath's research has clearly demonstrated that Bedford County slaves were purchasing goods, including ceramics, for their own use. The records of local merchant John Hook include accounts for 16 slaves at his Bedford County store, and over 30 slaves at his Franklin (adjacent to Bedford) County store. A wide variety of goods were acquired by the slaves, including ceramics (Heath 1997:6). Archaeological and documentary evidence demonstrates that the Quarter Site inhabitants would have been able to participate in a cash economy, at least to a limited extent. Excavations at the Quarter Site and the almost adjacent North Hill slave quarter have recovered coins. Furthermore, virtually all of the ceramics date to the period of the site's occupation, demonstrating that these materials were new acquisitions rather than old cast-offs. In the case of several shelledged plates with a TPQ of 1810, some materials date from a mere two years before the site's abandonment. Jefferson's own records clearly demonstrate that his slaves were regularly paid cash for undertaking tasks outside their normal duties, and Jefferson also purchased poultry and eggs from slave women (Heath 1999:50). Additionally, local prices plummeted during a late eighteenth-century price war as Bedford and Franklin county merchants fought to establish themselves in a potentially profitable market (Martin 1993:219-45). This price war undoubtedly made goods more affordable to the rural poor, whether slave or free. But Hook's enslaved customers also engaged in a barter economy, exchanging food and crafts for goods. Heath identifies this barter economy as indicative of a "network of economic ties" (Heath 1997:6) between slaves and free whites. The previously mentioned Monticello ceramics exchanges between the Stewart/Watkins site and Mulberry Row may also be seen as part of this network.

The importance of Heath's research cannot be underestimated. As she has noted, "Archaeologists studying slavery have been hampered by the notion that the flow of goods was always unidirectional: masters gave slaves new provisions or recycled old or undesirable goods..." (Heath 1997:6). Instead, slaves can be seen as active participants in local economies. They are both able and willing to not only make choices in the acquisition of goods, but to actively

participate in the creation of their material landscape. This process inevitably involves considerable interaction, both social and economic, with the local free population. If slaves are thus actively creating and expressing choice in their material landscape, then archaeologists can begin to consider ceramics assemblages as indicative of slave preference rather than planter discards.

A quick caveat is necessary. The level to which slave-acquired goods and cast-offs occur is likely to vary from site to site. But in this instance, the totality of the evidence suggests that the Quarter Site assemblage consists largely of materials chosen by the slaves. Thus, the two assemblages in this chapter can be compared and contrasted as two assemblages that reflect the choices of the households that owned the materials. This permits a final consideration of the more ideological aspects of the differences and similarities explored in this chapter.

V - CONCLUSION

Once the differences and similarities between the two assemblages are cross-referenced with the conclusions on vessel acquisition, the only possible conclusion is that the teawares are at the crux of any integrated discussion of economy, status, function and meaning within the Stewart/Watkins and Quarter Site ceramics. The same is true to a lesser extent with the plates and bowls. It must be taken as a given that the enslaved population at Poplar Forest exercised a high degree of choice in their ceramics acquisition. Therefore the differences in the assemblages are not caused by economic circumstances, as the latter may be held to be broadly similar at the two sites.

The differences in the assemblages can be studied from two different perspectives. At the Quarter Site, the relative lack of teawares strongly suggests that the Poplar Forest slaves were unwilling to participate in the full ideological connotations of tea-drinking. These are the very vessel forms whose ideological roots rested in North America's European tradition. If the Quarter Site households had wanted to fully participate in this element of the European cultural sphere, relatively inexpensive teawares were readily available to the rural poor - as clearly evidenced by the Stewart/Watkins assemblage. Yet paradoxically, the presence

of small quantities of teawares demonstrates that the Quarter slaves were aware of the status connotations of certain teawares. Chinese porcelain, black basalt, and particularly pearlware and creamware cups, saucers and teapots occur in large enough quantities, both in numbers and percentages, that their presence cannot be explained away as stray representatives of another worldview. These vessels represented a particular high status context that could exist separately from their particular social context; these contexts were intertwined for free white households, but separate for the slave households. Their presence thus indicates an awareness of and willingness to participate in the overt status-linked ideology of teawares while remaining outside the more socially-linked ideology.

Past research on African-American data appears to reinforce this point when the plates and bowls are compared. The relative importance of bowls within the Quarter Site assemblage might well indicate an element of Ferguson's "African culinary grammar", especially when the virtual absence of bowls within the Stewart/Watkins Euro-American assemblage is taken into account. Yet at the same time, the fact that plates are nearly twice as common as bowls, in an assemblage generated through household choice, indicates some level of participation in the European-rooted cultural milieu of Piedmont Virginia. If the details of that participation are not quite as accessible with the plates and bowls as they are with the teawares, it nonetheless undeniably took place. The same is true with individual vessel forms, such as the creamware castor, that by themselves could be seen as stray vessels devoid of any wider ideological significance. Combined with the totality of the assemblage, however, they once again indicate awareness of, and participation with, Euro-American Virginia.

None of this should be taken as a denial that significant differences in social and ideological behaviour and perception existed between Americans of African and European descent. Within other archaeological examples, these differences are amply demonstrated in considerations of concepts of 'trash' (Edwards 1998) and uses of yard space (Heath and Moncure in press). Anyone who has visited modern Piedmont Virginia will know that substantial differences exist to this day, as evidenced by the visible self-segregation of local churches, for example. Yet it similarly cannot be denied that the rural poor of Virginia, whether of African or European descent, lived in a shared, syncretic social environment,

where each group contributed to each other's world. The Stewart/Watkins households engaged in exchanges (including pottery) with the Mulberry Row slaves. The Poplar Forest slaves acquired pottery from local merchants. However separate the two social groups inevitably were, that separation blurs and eventually merges along the margins of interaction.

The comparative analysis of these two assemblages is still not complete. The conclusions in the preceding paragraphs on "African" and "European"-influenced material culture have been made solely within the context of rural Piedmont Virginia. Given that actual European contexts have been examined in the previous two chapters, this thesis provides an excellent opportunity to examine the particulars within the Virginian assemblages that might indeed be European (or at least British). This is particularly important for the Stewart/Watkins assemblage, which in this chapter has somewhat played second fiddle to the Quarter Site. Thus the wider comparative analysis in the following final two chapters will permit not only a proper contextual analysis of the wider social construction of the various assemblages, but also of the individual elements, such as teawares, of which those assemblages are themselves constructed.

CHAPTER 6 - INTER-REGIONAL SITE COMPARISONS

I - INTRODUCTION

The previous three chapters have each identified and discussed two assemblages from very different geographic regions. This penultimate chapter compares all six of the assemblages. Combined with the concluding chapter on wider methodology and theory, we have reached the very core of this thesis. While there have been previous attempts to consider international comparisons in historical archaeology (eg. Hudgins 1999; Orser 1996), no prior trans-Atlantic studies on the scale of this chapter have been attempted in historical archaeology. While Lawrence (2000) has begun an ambitious international comparison of 19th-century colonial ceramics from the same period, this work is still at best tentative due to a lack of British sites in the comparisons. Finally, the specific methodological and theoretical framework of this thesis, as outlined in chapter 2, marks a significant departure from previous 19th-century comparative pottery studies.

There are three primary purposes to this chapter. Firstly, as an overall theme running through each of the following sections, the chapter endeavours to establish whether or not such large-scale comparative ceramics analysis is feasible. Secondly, the chapter examines differences and similarities between the assemblages in order to explore economic and social aspects of the sites. The latter is done not just to gain more information about each individual site and region, but also to explore economic and social similarities and differences across the Atlantic. Finally, the chapter seeks to explore the effectiveness of the specific analytical techniques used for the comparative analysis.

The chapter is organised as follows: after a brief discussion of the comparative methodology, there are in-depth examinations of the comparative implications of form and decoration. A third analytical section examines the importance of other potentially significant issues. All of this data is then brought together in a final section in order to specifically discuss the contributions of the comparative analysis towards our understanding of the six individual sites. All of the discussions implicitly take place within the theoretical and methodological

structure proposed in chapter 2.

II - METHODOLOGY

Any attempt to compare ceramics assemblages from six 18th and 19th century sites inevitably presents a minefield of analytical problems and opportunities arising from the richness and variety of the data. Under these circumstances, a comprehensive examination of every variable is impossible. In order to make the analysis manageable, this chapter focusses on a limited number of the most informative variables carefully selected for their potential for providing comparative data. Foremost amongst these variables are vessel form (section IV) and vessel decoration (section V), vessel characteristics that were extensively investigated in the previous chapters. Additional issues, including a combined analysis of form and function, are discussed in section VI.

The remainder of this section contains an explanation of the methodology used to generate the charts and figures throughout this chapter. Some of this information can also be found in earlier chapters, but is repeated here for the sake of clarity. The information contained in this section is nonetheless vitally important, as it helps other researchers to either duplicate results or to use the data herein in their own comparative research without concern that they may be using a different methodological approach. As always, percentages throughout the chapter have been rounded to the nearest whole number, and therefore may not add to 100.

Form

The comparative form charts in section III of this chapter refer throughout to 'tablewares'. This is a somewhat inexact term as Webster (1999:71), amongst others, has noted. For example, tables were one of the last pieces of 'mainland' furniture to reach the Outer Hebrides, rendering the term somewhat anachronistic for that region. Furthermore, the term 'tableware' conceptually downplays the potential polyfunctionality of each vessel. For the purposes of this chapter (and the thesis), 'tableware' may be defined as all refined earthenwares and porcelain (excluding items solely for display, such as figurines), and most coarseware and stoneware forms adjudged not to be large or long-term storage items. In effect,

the only excluded forms are bottles, figurines, large storage vessels, stoneware jars, a huge yellowware colander and the Pwll Mill milkpans. The form typology in appendix B helps to clarify many of the issues arising from this division. No narrow limitation of function is implied by the inclusion or exclusion of forms as 'tableware'. The inclusion of chamberpots with tablewares is admittedly slightly incongruous, and is the result of habit rather than consistency. Nonetheless, the latter exception aside, the resulting division separates those vessels largely used for the consumption and preparation of food as well as display from those used largely for long-term storage and potentially non-domestic contexts. If there is some blurring of boundaries, then it should simply be stressed that no separation would be entirely objective and ideal; all ceramics analysis by necessity contains a subjective element.

As in the earlier chapters, the unidentified hollow wares were redistributed according to the following system: the number of vessels within each hollow form was added together. The percentage of each hollow vessel as a portion of this sum was calculated. The unidentified hollow vessels were redistributed (rounded to the nearest whole number) amongst the identified hollow forms according to each of the latter's percentage of total identified hollow forms. For example, if bowls at one site comprise 45% of identified hollow forms, and there are 24 unidentified hollow vessels within the same assemblage, then 11 bowls (45% of 24) are added to the bowl count. Where relevant, the same system was followed for unidentified flat vessels. All form percentages in this chapter assume a redistribution of unidentified forms unless otherwise specified.

The separation of the tableware forms reveals that a total of 16 tableware forms were identified at the six sites. The forms categories are plate, platter, cup, saucer, bowl, jug, creamer, dish, teapot, mug, chamberpot, lid, tureen, jar, castor, and pot. The percentage spread (among tablewares only - not the entire assemblage) across each assemblage and the total number of vessels included for each site is shown on table 6.1. Some forms inevitably prove to be more common than others, and a few types typically dominate each assemblage. To further ease comparison, only the most common forms were included for the comparative analysis in section III. The 'most common forms' were defined as those forms that comprised more than 5% of at least two tableware assemblages.

	Llystyn	Pwll	Quarter	Stew/Wat	S. Uist	Barra
FORMS						
(By %)						
plate	26	22	38	22	31	13
platter	1			6		
cup	13	6	12	27	18	3
saucer	17	17	10	22	10	3
bowl	26	20	21	3	23	52
jug	9	12	7	1	12	3
creamer				2		
dish				2		
teapot	4	5	3	3	3	10
mug	1	9	2	8		6
chamberpot		1	2	2		
lid				1		
tureen	3		3			
jar			2		3	10
castor			1			
pot		6				

TABLE 6.1
TABLEWARE FORM DISTRIBUTIONS

TOTAL NUMBER OF VESSELS PER ASSEMBLAGE						
	Llystyn	Pwll	Quarter	Stew/Wat	S. Uist	Barra
	93	64	120	117	135	33

An exception was made for Barra, for which it was decided that a form would have to encompass more than 10% of the assemblage. The latter figure was intended to compensate for the smaller size of the Barra assemblage, where three vessels alone would comprise 10% of the tableware assemblage. As can be seen on table 6.1, this in any case proved to be a moot point as no forms were dependent on Barra for inclusion.

Seven forms met the criteria for selection for comparative analysis. These form categories were plate, bowl, cup, saucer, jug, teapot, and mug. Table 6.2 (see page 171) confirms just how common these forms are within each assemblage. With one exception, the seven types comprise 90% or more of the assemblage. The exception was the Stewart/Watkins site, but even here the seven types still encompass over 85% of the tablewares. Other forms are not totally excluded from the analysis in this chapter, but they are not central to the overall comparisons. Where relevant, they are discussed on an individual basis.

Decoration

The analytical comparison of decoration did not require nearly as much preliminary mathematics as the comparison of form. As with the previous three chapters, this comparison is loosely based on Miller's CC indices (G. Miller 1980; 1991). Back in chapter 2, it was noted that Miller's data can be used to produce a broad scale where transfer-printed wares are more expensive than painted wares, which are more expensive than shell-edged wares, which are more expensive than undecorated wares. Miller does not include porcelain, but other research demonstrates that the latter is more expensive than any decorated earthenware (eg. Heath 1991:68). As with previous chapters, the short-hand term "decorative technique" is used to collectively refer to the five categories even though porcelain is a separate ware type rather than a decoration.

Two important points must be raised here. Firstly, even though the basic relationship between the decorations remains the same between 1790 and 1860, the relative costs of each type are not constant through this period. This is, in fact, a central point of Miller's work, and will be discussed extensively in section V and in the final chapter. Secondly, due to the limitations of Miller's system, this

section of the analysis only includes the following ware types: creamware, pearlware, whiteware and porcelain. This part of the analysis is therefore dealing with smaller sub-assemblages than section IV. This is particularly true of the Barra site, where only 23 vessels are included, and to a certain extent of Pwll Mill where 37 vessels are included.

Finally, table 6.9 (page 189) clearly demonstrates that the five decorative techniques central to section V of this chapter do not necessarily comprise as high a percentage of each sub-assemblage as do the forms selected in section IV. For the two American sites, over 90% of the selected vessels are indeed in the five decorative technique categories. For the two Welsh sites and the South Uist site, the percentages drop to 70-80% - still a significant majority of each group. At Barra, however, the five decorative techniques comprise less than 45% of the sub-assemblage. The peculiarities of the Barra assemblage were discussed in chapter 4, and are further elaborated in section V of this chapter. With the exception of Barra, it is nonetheless clear that excluded decorative techniques are more important than the excluded forms are to form analysis. While the five categories remain the core of section V, the relatively higher amounts of other decorative techniques requires that they are examined somewhat more closely than the forms excluded from table 6.2.

III - THE VARIABLES

Before any presentation and interpretation of this chapter's comparative data can take place, there must be a consideration of some of the different factors that potentially condition the form distributions at each region and site. These factors are often quite different in nature, and can be socio-cultural, economic, historical, and indeed methodological. The different variables (a term that is not used here in a strict statistical sense) are briefly discussed here in order to help contextualise the interpretation that follows. All of the interpretive variables implicitly fit the analytical model described in chapter 2. Consideration of the methodological variables, however, requires a different approach.

There is little doubt that the sites come from a wide variety of different socio-cultural backgrounds. This is indeed part of the whole point of this thesis.

Welsh-speaking Wales, the Gaelic islands of the Outer Hebrides, Virginian poor white artisans, and the enslaved African-Americans of the Quarter Site hardly shared the same socio-cultural environment; the social histories in the case study chapters alone prove the point. Yet it is worth reiterating that all of the six sites would have been part of the same world (British) empire within the lifetime of many site inhabitants. Through one of history's many ironies, the four sites that remained part of that empire speak completely different languages (Welsh and Gaelic) both from each other and that empire's metropolis. Meanwhile, the two American sites continued to speak the same world language despite the fact that one of those sites was inhabited by the descendants of enslaved Africans whose socio-cultural outlook and ideologies in all probability differed greatly from either the imperial metropolitan culture of Britain or the emergent Federal American or Southern American culture. The exploration of similarity and difference in this chapter will help to identify which aspects of a ceramics assemblage might be influenced by socio-cultural differences, and which might be influenced by other factors.

It was originally intended to intentionally minimise economic variation between the different sites by selecting sites associated with the rural poor. It would be naive, however, to assume that all six sites fit within a single narrow 'poor' economic band. Nonetheless, all six sites are rural, and all six sites were inhabited by households that can be subjectively considered 'poor'. Yet there is a world of difference between economic purchasing power (or lack thereof) and status. Furthermore, the ability to acquire certain items is not just factored by demand, but also by supply. Thus status and economy must also be considered as factors in this analysis.

Temporal, or historical factors must also be considered. While all of the sites' periods of occupation overlap, they are by no means identical (see table 6.11). Culture, economy, status and consumer choice do not remain constant through time. The potential complicating factor of the War of 1812 on American supply (eg. Ewins 1997:23) has been fortunately largely avoided through the termination date of the American sites, but the latter conflict was hardly the only issue to potentially affect assemblage formation. Thus the potential impact of various external forces over time must be considered in this chapter.

The potential role of methodological differences in excavation and analysis post-occupation environment must be briefly addressed. There can often be significant differences in excavation practice in historical archaeology on either side of the Atlantic. This is not the place to fully discuss the evolution of field practice in Britain and North America; a couple of examples will suffice to illustrate the point. At the American sites all soil, including the ploughed soil above the surviving features was meticulously sieved (Heath 1991;1999). At the Welsh sites, on the other hand, there was no 'plowzone [sic] screening', and much of the ceramics were recovered from middens specifically excavated for the recovery of finds. In addition to ploughing, the Quarter site and Stewart/Watkins sites are located on hillsides, and were presumably prone to some erosion. This is not to suggest the superiority of one excavation over another - all excavations were conducted under the highest professional standards - but simply to note that they were different. It is entirely likely that different patterns of ploughing and erosion lead to different recovery rates (eg. Brooks 1996b). It is also possible that different excavation techniques do likewise. However, given the high standards of excavation at the various sites, it is assumed throughout that the pottery saved in each case was at the very least representative of the totality of the assemblage, and that therefore comparisons remain statistically valid.

If field techniques and site environment can potentially affect recovery, then post-excavation analysis can present similar problems. Given the subjective nature of ceramics analysis (as asserted throughout this thesis), there is no guarantee that two different ceramicists will agree entirely when cataloguing pottery. It must therefore be noted that in the form analysis in section III of this chapter, the only two sites that are significantly different are those originally analysed by second parties. Fortunately, these differences do not arise through methodological factors. The Stewart/Watkins materials (Heath 1991) were analysed by the archaeologist who supervised this author's analysis of the Quarter site. Thus the terminology and typology used at the former site are virtually identical to that used at the sites originally catalogued by this author. The Barra site is obviously somewhat different in this regard. However, a cross-referencing of form and decoration terminology shows that the vessel descriptions used in Foster (1995) are almost entirely within the same parameters as those used in the assemblages analysed for this thesis. Therefore, post-excavation analysis is not

held to be a significant methodological variable in this instance. Researchers should, however, always be aware of the possibility of significant discrepancies in this regard.

IV - FORM AND FUNCTION

The identification of form is one of the basic building blocks of ceramics analysis. Form also has an important role in deciding a vessel's function - although this relationship is rarely absolute. This section compares vessel form variation between the six sites. The section particularly seeks to discover whether similarities and variations in the assemblages result from cultural, economic, status, or other considerations, whether solely or in combination. Through identifying what elements condition form variation across assemblages, it will be possible to increase our knowledge and understanding of the individual sites and assemblages. The international socio-geographic scale of the comparisons in this chapter is almost unprecedented in the comparative analysis of industrial-era ceramics. As a result, while much of the data discussed hereafter is of tremendous interest and potential importance, the conclusions are often not definitive. It should be remembered that this thesis is examining the potential of this type of analysis as much as it seeks to reach final conclusions, and that only six sites are included. Thus this analysis raises interesting new questions ripe with potential for future research more often than it answers old questions.

Initial Results

Table 6.2 shows the different occurrence of the seven most common form types at each of the six sites. Some similarities and differences are already evident in this chart: the very high percentage of bowls at Barra, or the relatively high percentage of cups and saucers at Stewart/Watkins, for example. Nonetheless, full interpretation of this chart presents challenges best met through a different type of chart. As such, table 6.3 maps the similarities and differences in the form distributions between each site. Percentages of individual forms that vary by 0-5% between two sites are considered similar. Percentages that vary by 10% or more are considered different. Percentages that vary by 6-9% are considered to be neither similar nor different. The more forms that fall into the 0-5% range when two sites are compared, the more similar those two sites' form

TABLE 6.2 - FORM DISTRIBUTIONS

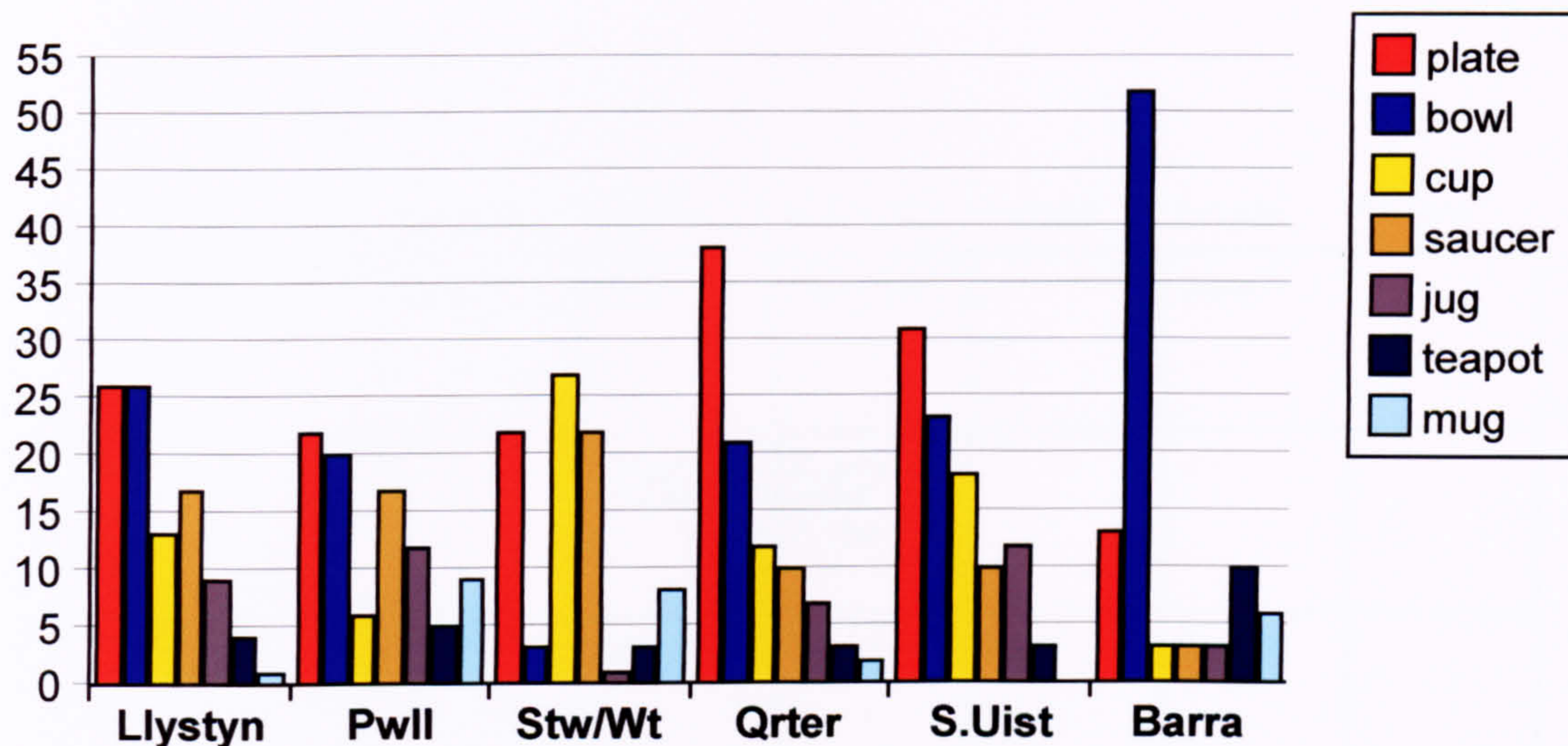


Table 6.2a

Form Distributions of Seven Most Common Forms

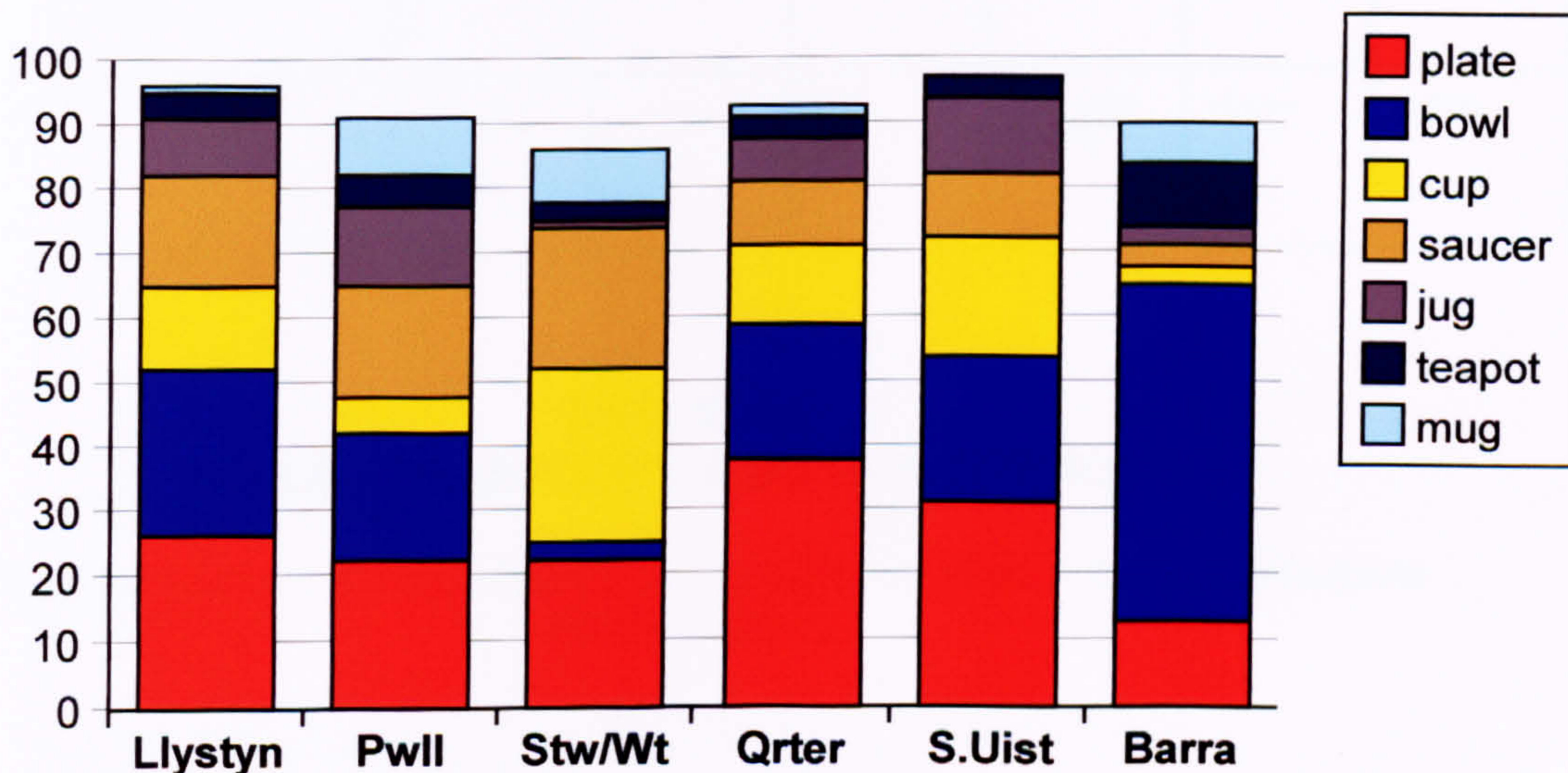


Table 6.2b

Seven Most Common Forms as Percentage of Total Tableware Assemblage

Y-axis on both charts is % of total. Totals have been rounded to nearest whole number, exclude 'other' categories, and thus do not add to 100. Originals in colour

	7 Forms 0-5% 7 Forms 10%+	6 Forms 0-5% 6 Forms 10%+	5 Forms 0-5% 5 Forms 10%+	4 Forms 0-5% 4 Forms 10%+	3 Forms 0-5% 3 Forms 10%+	2 Forms 0-5% 2 Forms 10%+	1 Form 0-5% 1 Form 10%+	0 Forms 0-5% 0 Forms 10%+
Llystyn		S. Uist	Quarter	Pwll Barra	Stew/Wat	Stew/Wat	Barra Quarter	Pwll; S. Uist
Pwll				Llystyn; Stew/Wat	Quarter; Barra; S. Uist Stew/Wat	S. Uist; Barra	Quarter	Llystyn
Stew/ Wat				Pwll Quarter	Llystyn Pwll; S. Uist; Barra	Barra Llystyn	Quarter; S. Uist	
Quarter			Llystyn; S. Uist	Stew/Wat	Pwll	Barra Barra	Stew/Wat Llystyn; Pwll	S. Uist
S. Uist		Llystyn	Quarter		Pwll Stew/Wat; Barra	Pwll	Stew/Wat	Barra Llystyn; Quarter
Barra				Llystyn	Pwll Stew/Wat; S. Uist	Stew/Wat; Quarter Pwll; Quarter	Llystyn	S. Uist

TABLE 6.3
FORM SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

Percentages at top of table refer to percentage variation in form distributions
(original in colour)

variations are. Conversely, the more forms that vary by at least 10%, the more different those sites will be.

The data in table 6.3 provides some fascinating results. The three most similar sites are Llystyn Mill, South Uist, and the Quarter site. At these three sites, at least five of the seven forms are always within 5% of each other. Indeed, six out of the seven forms at Llystyn and South Uist are within 5% of each other. Only saucers vary by more, and these by less than 10%. Indeed, in only one case at these three sites does any single form vary by 10% or more in a comparison; this proves to be the plates between the Quarter site and Llystyn. This level of similarity, given the number of potential variables, is definitely worthy of further exploration. Pwll Mill seems to inhabit a middle ground of sorts; while it is always more similar than different, with three or four forms in the 0-5% range, comparison shows that almost as many forms fall in the 10% plus range. The site that Pwll Mill is most similar to is Llystyn Mill, with four forms in the 0-5% range and no forms in the 10% plus range. The two sites that are unquestionably the most different from the other sites are Stewart/Watkins and the Barra site. A quick perusal of the data quickly demonstrates that in only one comparison with another site do the distributions from one of these two sites contain four forms that are within 0-5% of another assemblage. This is between Stewart/Watkins and the Quarter site, but even in this instance the other three forms vary by at least 10%. When South Uist and Barra are compared, there are no forms at all in the 0-5% bracket, and three forms that vary by at least 10%.

The similarity between the Quarter site, Llystyn Mill, and South Uist assemblage form distributions is remarkable. The cultural differences between these three sites, between Welsh-speaking Wales, the Gaelic Hebrides, and African-American households, need hardly be stressed. Furthermore, the South Uist and Barra assemblages, from two sites within the same socio-cultural sphere, are the most different sites amongst the six. The Quarter and Stewart/Watkins sites, both from the same region (though conceptually a world apart) are also significantly different. Indeed, the only two sites from the same region that can be said to be similar are the two Welsh cottages. While the sample size of sites is small, the data is undoubtedly significant. A careful consideration of the interacting roles of ideology, economy, and status is necessary within this form

and function context.

Ideology and Culture

The cultural backgrounds of the three similar sites raises interesting questions in terms of the use of form and function as a cultural/ideological determinant. While this issue has been raised in the study of African-American assemblages (eg. Ferguson 1992:xlii-xliii), this has by no means been universally accepted (eg. Pogue and White 1991:44). The data in table 6.3 appears to support the doubters. Summarising again, assemblages from the same region are usually very different, while sites from very different regions are quite similar.

In support of culturally-determined variation, it might perhaps be argued that there are cultural and ideological differences between the slave population of the Quarter site and the free whites of the Stewart/Watkins site. This is true, but some caution is necessary. As Sobel has noted in The World They Made Together:

“Wherever blacks lived in eighteenth-century America, they affected the collective consciousness, and people in all classes - the elite, the ‘middling sort,’ the poor, and the slaves - shared values. Their world views were *not* identical ... but they were related to each other in an organic fashion” (Sobel 1989:233).

By the end of the 18th century, “both blacks and whites held a view of quasi-English and quasi-African views” (Sobel 1989:233). There were important ideological and cultural differences, the understanding of which is vitally important to the understanding of the archaeological record, but this should not exclude an awareness of the innate syncretic nature of late colonial and Federal Virginia society. Differences can appear less overwhelming from the eastern side of the Atlantic as they would when working within the southern USA and with a narrower comparative base.

This discussion inevitably leads to the observation that if the two American sites were to be studied in isolation, then the cultural factor would appear to be a vitally important element in the form distribution differences. A wider comparison, however, makes this issue appear less dominant (though its role should never be dismissed). If the differences in distribution between the two American sites are primarily culturally determined, then - based on the form distributions - it would be necessary to believe that the very different Welsh and Gaelic cultures have a

closer cultural affinity to the African-American Quarter site than to the poor European-American Stewart/Watkins site. This is highly unlikely. For similar reasons, it seems unlikely that the differences between the South Uist and Barra assemblages are solely culturally determined. It is possible, as discussed in chapter 4, that the South Uist site was more closely connected to the emerging 'British' worldview of the United Kingdom, whereas the Barra site was more traditionally Hebridean. It is also possible that this connection leads to the differences in form distribution. Once again, if the sites were to be studied in isolation, this cultural difference might well prove to be the primary determinant, but - as with the Virginian sites - wider comparison demonstrates that other factors form part of the overall analytical equation. Thus while cultural and ethnic elements are undoubtedly a factor in overall form distribution, it is clear that other elements must also be considered. Foremost amongst these other elements are issues of economy and status.

The theory that the rural poor relied on a stew-based diet has been raised several times in the case studies of the previous three chapters. This theory is not without precedent and has been examined at various specific regions in the past. Examples include the bacon and vegetable *cawl* of the Welsh cottagers (Brooks 1992:37-9), the boiled stews and sauces of West Africa (Ferguson 1992:94), the importance of milk-based foods in the Hebridean diet (Webster 1999:69), and the 'incongruous mixtures' of the slaves and overseers of the coastal Carolinas (Otto 1980:10). This issue was also examined in the preliminary Quarter site ceramics report (Brooks 1996a:14-17), although the specifically Virginian focus of the latter restricted the comparative scope. The wider geographic nature of the comparisons in this thesis provides the perfect opportunity for clarifying the status relationships, or lack thereof, between different vessel forms.

Any discussion of specific vessel forms must consider the role of missing vessels within an assemblage. The term 'missing' in this context refers to items that are unrecoverable within the assemblage, particularly wooden and other vessels made from easily biodegradable materials. Other materials, such as pewter, might be unrecoverable for other reasons (eg. Martin 1993). Inevitably, not all food-related materials are recovered through archaeological excavation. Both slave communities and Welsh cottagers are known to have made use of

wooden vessels. Similarly, wooden bowls predominated in the Highlands and Islands before the 19th century (D. Jones 1996:46), and there is no reason to believe that use of these materials suddenly ceased in 1800. Pewter is another potential 'missing' artefact type. In North America, pewter vessels had largely been replaced by inexpensive earthenware by the early 19th century (Martin 1993), but this replacement was not total. In Scotland, Walter Geikie's 1830's illustrations of Lowland cottages contain sketches of what are probably pewter plates (D. Jones 1996:52-3), although it should be stressed that the Lowland examples should not be taken as an accurate guide to island practice. Ultimately, it is assumed in this thesis that the absence of wood and other materials from the archaeological record does not significantly undermine the comparative analysis undertaken herein, although an awareness of the potential problems is necessary. It should also be remembered that the analysis is not intended to investigate every interpretive or material culture aspect of the sites; only ceramics are being compared in this assemblage, and it is important to stress that as important as the the data and conclusions in this thesis are, they are relevant for ceramics analysis only.

Returning to the issue of the relative occurrence of form types, a comparison of the ratio of plates versus bowls (table 6.4) presents some interesting data. At Llystyn Mill, the two figures are identical, for a 1:1 ratio. Pwll Mill and South Uist have 1.3 plates to every bowl. The Quarter site, somewhat surprisingly, has 1.8 plates to every bowl. The two sites that are very different are, once again, the Stewart/Watkins site and Barra. The former has 7 plates to every bowl, while the latter has four bowls to every plate. Obviously bowls are a virtually insignificant part of the Stewart/Watkins assemblage, while they are the majority of the Barra assemblage. With the exception of the Quarter site, the other ratios are close to, or indeed are, even. While this data opens some potential areas of enquiry, at this point all that can be said in the way of conclusions is that two sites appear to have different plate/bowl ratios from the others. Full interpretation only becomes possible when the plates and bowls are themselves compared to the cups and saucers, two form types that are hereafter grouped together as "teawares".

Chapter 5 contained a brief discussion of the social role of teawares in the

Plates - Bowls

Llystyn:	1:1
Pwll:	1.3:1
Quarter:	1.8:1
Stewart/Watkins:	7:1
South Uist:	1.3:1
Barra:	1:4

TABLE 6.4
Plate Versus Bowl Ratios

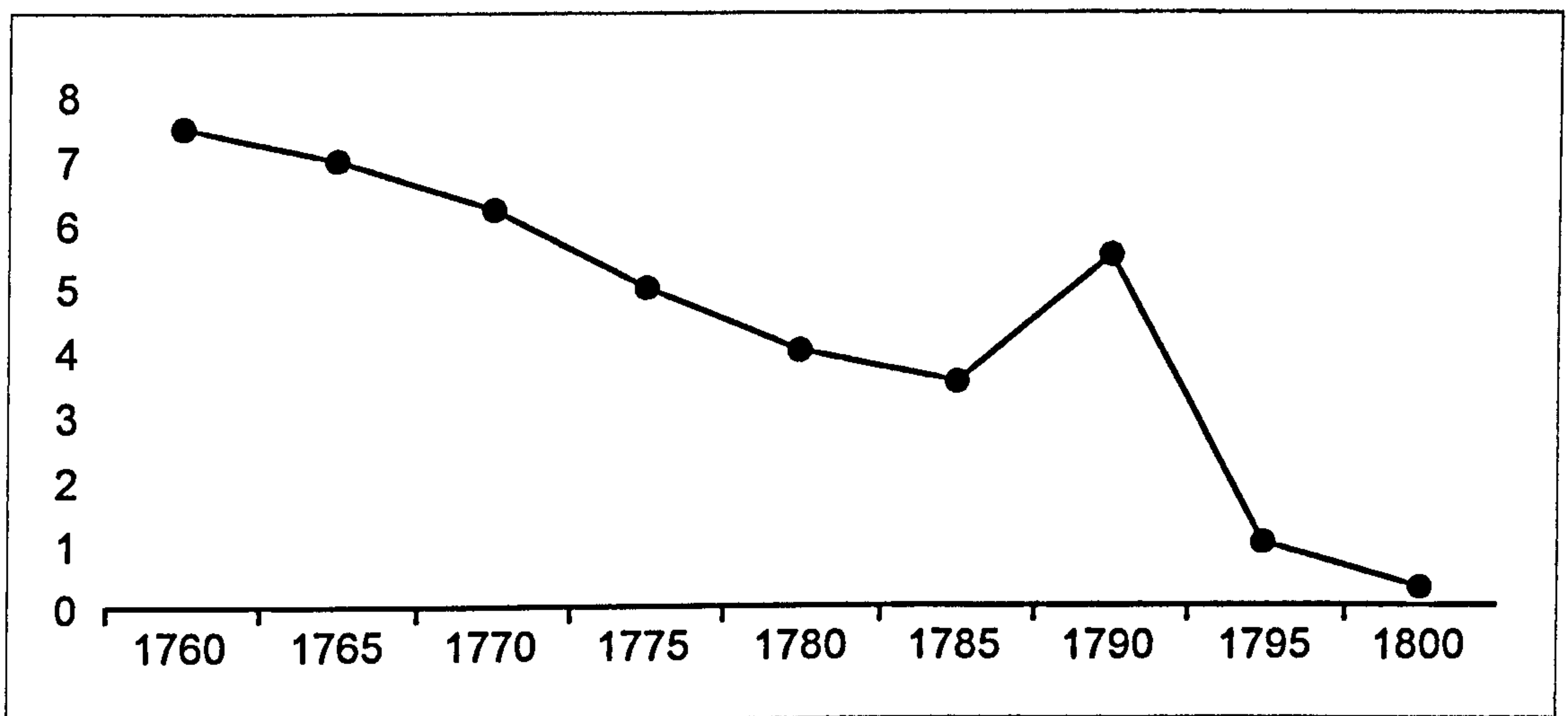


TABLE 6.5
Approximate Value of China Imports 1760-1800 (£0,000's)
(adapted from: Copeland 1990:161)

Teawares - Plates & Bowls

Llystyn:	1:1.7
Pwll:	1:1.8
Quarter:	1:2.7
Stewart/Watkins:	1.9:1
South Uist:	1:1.9
Barra:	1:10.8

TABLE 6.6
Teaware Versus Combined Plate & Bowl Ratios

USA. The main points of this discussion are worth repeating here. Shackel (1993:107-9; 112-4), using Braudel (1979:250-5) as his main source, discusses how Western tea-drinking was, in its 17th-century origin, initially synonymous with social elites. Tea-drinking was also indicative of the 'segmentation' of everyday life, and represented a 'conspicuous display' of leisure time. Shackel's research demonstrates that in colonial rural Maryland, by 1770 different economic groups in society owned sets of cups in proportion to their wealth. The poorest group owned no teawares at all (Shackel 1993:108-9). Non-archaeological research suggests similar distributions in 18th century Britain. The drinking of tea was seen as a highly sociable activity, associated with leisure; while no doubt upper-class in origin, "by the mid-eighteenth century to drink tea was an expected part of the behaviour of people of middle rank" (Weatherill 1996:157-9). The distribution of forms in the six assemblages indicates that further diffusion of teawares to the rural poor had occurred by the 19th century.

Shackel's research, however, also clearly demonstrates that the ownership levels were not always consistent by wealth through the 18th century. It is entirely possible that the distribution may have changed again by the early 19th century. British data from Copeland (1990:160-1) offers circumstantial evidence in support of this possibility. Table 6.5, adapted directly from Copeland, shows the dramatic effect of the production of affordable refined white earthenwares on Chinese porcelain imports. Creamware is introduced in 1762, and thereafter Chinese imports fall continuously in value until the early 1780's. At this point, probably influenced by the fashionability of Chinese-style decorations on Pearlware (ironically directly inspired by Chinese porcelain), Chinese imports briefly revive in value before collapsing to below £1,000 pounds a year in the late 1790's. With cheaper alternatives readily available, the value of Chinese porcelain collapsed. Given the increasing accessibility of cheaper teawares in the 19th century, the occurrence thereof on all of the six sites is no surprise. This is particularly true of the American sites when it is remembered that only the least expensive earthenwares were exported to the United States before the war of 1812 (Ewins 1997:22-3).

While distributions and prices may change, Shackel's observation that tea-drinking had status connotations remains true for the early 19th century. The

significant change from the 18th century Chesapeake is that those connotations had been diluted by the decreased cost and increased availability of teawares. A material culture that entailed conscious, conspicuous display of wealth and status available solely to the rich became items that could have been used and/or displayed by much less wealthy individuals. Within this context, the ratios of teawares to plates and bowls in table 6.6 become particularly significant. For the sake of simplicity, table 6.6 compares teawares against plates and bowls combined. This is partially data-led, and partially function-led. From a data perspective, the relative amounts of plates and bowls are already known from table 6.4. From a function perspective, the intended function for both plates and bowls was the consumption of food, even if the nature of that food could differ tremendously. Teawares, however, were - in origin - associated with the consumption of a particular liquid within a particular social context. Of course, intended and actual function are two entirely different concepts, but for the sake of this discussion the intended function is the primary consideration. In table 6.6, three sites, Pwll Mill, Llystyn Mill, and South Uist, have virtually identical ratios of teawares against plates and bowls, with the former almost twice as common as the latter. The Quarter site has nearly three times as many plates and bowls as teawares. At Barra, the difference is even greater, with almost eleven plates and bowls for every teaware. The Stewart/Watkins site also stands out. The latter is the only one of the six sites where teawares outnumber plates and bowls. There are almost two of the former for every one of the latter combined category.

Comparing the data from tables 6.4 and 6.6, it would appear that there is a strong correlation between wealth and status and the distributions of plates, cups, and saucers. Furthermore, the nature of this correlation shifts when crossing socio-geographical boundaries. In each case, where two sites are from the same geographical region, but have probable or overt differences of wealth and/or status, the wealthier or higher status site has a higher ratio of plates to bowls, and a higher ratio of teawares to both of the latter than its poorer or lower status counterpart. This is particularly true of the teaware comparison. For example, Stewart/Watkins has seven plates for every bowl compared to the Quarter's 1.8 plates to every bowl; Stewart/Watkins has 1.9 teawares to every plate and bowl compared to the Quarter's 2.7 plates and bowls to every teaware. Of course, that there were status divisions between Stewart/Watkins and the Quarter site,

between free whites and slaves, is a given. These differences are less immediately visible between the Hebridean sites. The island of South Uist was wealthier than Barra, and the raw comparative data in chapter 5 suggested the same was true of the respective sites. Tables 6.4 and 6.6 confirm this. South Uist has 1.3 plates for every bowl, compared to Barra's four plates for every bowl. Similarly, South Uist has 1.9 plates and bowls for every teaware compared to Barra's 10.8 plates and bowls. Finally, Pwll Mill and Llystyn Mill, the sites that are closest geographically, and share the most similar (though by no means identical) conditions of both status and economy have very similar distributions - virtually identical in the case of table 6.6. To a certain extent, this confirms the analysis of the previous three chapters, but the implications for wider comparative analysis are vitally important.

It is now clear that economy and status are the primary determinants in form distributions. It would be inaccurate to state that cultural factors are unimportant as status is itself culturally determined. It would, however, be accurate to state that from an overall perspective, economy and status are far more important than *ethnicity*. For overall form distributions, the three most similar sites are the ethnically diverse South Uist, Quarter, and Llystyn Mill sites. It is particularly important in this context that South Uist and Llystyn Mill are far more similar to an African-American site than a European-American site; this alone suggests the relative invisibility of the ethnic factor in overall form distribution. Also important are the radical differences in the Barra and South Uist assemblages from two sites with a virtually identical ethnic background. Similarities cut across cultural and ethnic boundaries. On the other hand, analysis of the relative distributions of specific forms commonly associated with issues of economy, status, and wealth (namely plates, bowls and teawares) demonstrates clear differences between sites of different economic and/or status backgrounds, and clear similarities between the two (Welsh) sites from the same economic and geographical group.

Yet if ethnicity is a relatively unimportant factor over the totality of the sites, then nationality is supremely important for the British sites. Nationality is also inextricably linked with status in these cases. Chapters 3 and 4 contained discussions of how the assemblages helped identify the interactions between

traditional Welsh and Gaelic culture and the emerging British worldview of the 19th century (eg. Colley 1996). The differences in teaware distributions within the chapters were specifically attributed to the latter phenomenon. Yet it is important to stress that it is not argued that presence of significant quantities of teawares somehow signifies a conscious adoption of the British metropolitan worldview. It is instead held that the teawares were acquired primarily for their status connotations; that those connotations served as one of the vanguards of the British Imperium in the Celtic fringe was simply a side-effect of a desire to acquire vessels with status connotations. In this context, it is important to stress that teawares, and indeed tea-drinking, were in origin unquestionably alien to the Celtic fringe. They were aspects of material and social culture that originated in the elite and middling classes of Metropolitan Britain (eg. Weatherill 1996:158-9), rather than in Wales or the Hebrides. Thus for the British sites, ideology, economy, and status are all inextricably intertwined.

The free whites of the Stewart/Watkins site, on the other hand, were patently not interacting with an emerging British worldview to nearly the same degree. With the Virginian sites, a different interaction was in place. As argued earlier, since the Quarter site generated an assemblage that is similar in form distribution to other sites, the latter assemblage cannot be held to indicate the presence of a specifically 'African culinary grammar' (eg. Ferguson 1992:106-7); European assemblages related to the rural poor have exceptionally similar distributions. It is not argued here that enslaved African-Americans had abandoned socio-cultural practices of African ethnic origin, but simply that vessel form distributions as a whole are not visibly conditioned by this ethnicity. Indeed, such are the differences between the Stewart/Watkins assemblage and the other five assemblages, that it appears most likely that the inhabitants of the former are specifically, probably consciously, differentiating themselves from another element of the local rural poor, namely the enslaved population. Thus it appears likely that differences in form distribution between the Quarter site and Stewart/Watkins assemblages are not caused by the slaves differentiating from the norm by embracing their ethnic roots, but rather by the free whites differentiating themselves from the enslaved population by consciously acquiring a vessel form with specific status connotations. Further comparative analysis between European and African-American sites is necessary before the precise nature of

these relationships can be understood.

An important corollary conclusion also arises from this analysis. To reiterate a point made earlier, the intended function for both plates and bowls was the consumption of food, even if the nature of that food could differ tremendously. Teawares, however, were - in origin - associated with the consumption of a particular liquid within a particular social context. Therefore one might hypothesise that poor or low status sites will have a higher percentage of 'functional' plates and bowls than 'social' teawares. This is not to argue that 'the poor' used plates and bowls solely in functional contexts, and teawares solely in social and ideological contexts. Instead, it is possible that poor and low status sites with relatively restricted consumption, might well place more emphasis on what might be termed 'raw functionality' in an assemblage. 'Raw functionality' in this context refers to an emphasis within an assemblage on plates and bowls rather than teawares where the former are more directly functional than the 'social' teawares.

This hypothesis does appear to be borne out by the analysis. Indeed, table 6.7 appears to reveal a hierarchy of functionality. In this hierarchy, the Barra site is the most directly functional, while the Stewart/Watkins is the most 'social'. As this mirrors the economic/status information, it would appear that the level of 'raw functionality' in an assemblage is directly impacted by the economy and status of that assemblage. Further comparative analysis across wider economic and status boundaries than found in this thesis is required before this point can be fully confirmed and defined.

There are also some issues arising from this analysis for which only highly tentative conclusions can be drawn at this time. The first of these tentative points might well serve to further contextualise the economy and status element of teawares, and the 'hierarchy of functionality' from the previous paragraph. It is possible that there is a negative correlation between the percentage of cups and mugs. At five of the six sites, when cups comprise more than 10% of the assemblage, then mugs comprise less than 5% of the assemblage (Llystyn, Quarter, and South Uist - see table 6.3), but when cups are less than 10% of the assemblage, then mugs are more than 5% of the assemblage (Pwll Mill and

Most Social	Stewart/Watkins:	1.9:1	.....	7:1
	Llystyn:	1:1.7	.....	1:1
	Pwll:	1:1.8	.....	1.3:1
	South Uist:	1:1.9	.....	1.3:1
	Quarter:	1:2.7	.....	1.8:1
Most Functional	Barra:	1:10.8	.....	1:4

TABLE 6.7
HIERARCHY OF FUNCTIONALITY

This table is based on tables 6.4 and 6.6 (page 177). The results must be considered tentative. There is no doubting that the site with the greatest relative number of teawares is also the site with the lowest relative number of bowls (Stewart/Watkins), and thus may be considered the most “social” of the assemblages. Similarly, the site with the lowest relative number of teawares is also the site with the highest relative number of bowls (Barra), and thus may be considered the most “functional”. The relationship of the other four sites (which have much closer ratios in both comparisons) is, however, less consistent.

Barra). It is possible that relatively low numbers of cups and relatively high numbers of mugs represents 'raw functionality'. Drink is consumed from mugs, which would have lacked the specific social connotations associated with the cup teaware form. Some caution is necessary here, however. It is true that Barra is a poorer assemblage with a higher level of raw functionality than that at South Uist, and these two sites conform to the expected mug-teacup division. Additionally, while Llystyn Mill and Pwll Mill have many similarities across several form categories, it appears likely (see chapter 3) that Llystyn is somewhat better off than Pwll. The cup/mug differences between these two sites might well support this argument. The American sites, however, present some difficulty in this regard. The Quarter site presents the second highest level of raw functionality as represented by the comparisons in table 6.7, but there are almost no mugs in the assemblage. Furthermore, the Stewart/Watkins site has both a very high percentage of cups, and a relatively high percentage of mugs. Further comparative research is therefore necessary to identify whether the cup-mug relationship is often valid, merely a coincidence, or somewhere in-between. There is another, potentially even more significant, possibility: that the negative correlation is only valid in British contexts. If true, this would be an important observation, but further comparative research would once again be necessary.

Another as yet tentative point revolves around the role of individual forms. There is no doubt that in large-scale comparative analysis, it is considerably easier to study the totalities of an assemblage, or the most common forms therein. It is equally clear from the analysis in this chapter that large-scale analysis of form reveals that the totality of a form assemblage is determined more by status differences than by ethnic differences. Yet this should not obscure the possibility that ethnic differences can be seen in individual forms. For example, if a mug with a pierced base had been recovered from the Quarter site, this might well have indicated the survival of African cultural practices (Thompson and Cornet 1987) at the site. The ability to study this point further is unfortunately hampered by the exceptional level of fragmentation in the Quarter site assemblage. No complete mug bases were reconstructed. A very different problem exists for the British sites. No adequate archaeological survey of industrial-era production in Scotland and Wales has been carried out to identify potential Welsh or Scots-specific forms. Until such a survey takes place, the ethnic or national aspects of individual

forms must remain murky ground. Indeed, the primary focus of the relevant British literature is directed towards decoration rather than form (eg. Brooks 1997; 1999; Kelly 1993; Cruickshank 1982; Webster 1999:68).

Tentative conclusions aside, the primary findings of this section may be summarised as follows: the higher the percentage of teawares within a late 18th or early 19th century assemblage associated with the rural poor, then the more likely it is that the household generating the assemblage is differentiating itself from the traditional function-oriented ceramics acquisition of the rural poor. The precise nature of this differentiation differs across socio-cultural boundaries, making it impossible to quantify the precise relationship on an international level. In the British sites, the conscious or unconscious aspect of teaware acquisition is less important than the fact that it served as a vehicle (one of many) for the transmission of British culture to the Celtic fringe through the status connotations of teawares. In Virginia, the status connotations are alone the primary factor, with the free whites of the Stewart/Watkins site probably acquiring certain vessels with status connotations in order to differentiate themselves from the local slaves. These status connotations transcend any narrow ethnic categorisations.

V - DECORATION

Along with form, decoration has been the primary focus of previous interpretive analysis in the study of more recent ceramics. Discussions of the role of decorative technique of industrial-era pottery in North American historical archaeology have previously been dominated by economic issues. This is largely due to Miller's important work in the economic scaling of decorative techniques, discussed extensively in chapter 2. The case studies in chapters 3 through 5 indeed used an adaptation of Miller's work in order to examine economy and status. To the extent that British historical archaeology has studied decoration, however, it has been to identify how socio-historic movements have been reflected in decoration (Brooks 1997; 1999) or, in keeping with the typological tradition of post-medieval archaeology, to identify which decorations were designed where (Cruickshank 1982; Kelly 1993; Webster 1999). This section of the chapter uses comparative analysis in order to examine how several different factors might have impacted the decorative distributions across the six sites.

One previous study that is indispensable to any trans-Atlantic comparison of decoration is Ewins' (1997) "Supplying the Present Wants of Our Yankee Cousins...": Staffordshire Ceramics and the American Market 1775-1880. This ground-breaking work in ceramics history makes it abundantly clear that significant differences often existed in British and American supply and taste, particularly as pertains to decoration. For example, in the last three decades of the 18th century, the pottery exported to the American market was specifically tailored to the lower end of the market; as one Staffordshire merchant noted in 1787 "It appears to me that the very inferior kind [of pottery] is most likely to suit the market at present" (cited in Ewins 1997:19). There were obvious exceptions to this market habit, such as the Tidewater Virginia gentry, but as a whole, the American market in the late colonial and Federal periods was used by the Staffordshire potters to liquidate cheap surplus goods. Josiah Wedgwood's attitude was typical:

"Only after reassurances had been obtained ... that these 'inferior' wares would not return to interfere with the prime European and home market did Wedgwood supply the ... goods" (Ewins 1997:21).

The War of 1812 marks the turning point. The conflict between Britain and the United States caused significant disruption to Trans-Atlantic trade, but following the muddled January 1815 conclusion of this minor distraction from the Napoleonic wars, the ever-expanding and maturing American markets were once again open to British goods. The United States would not only never again be a market for off-loads, but would come to strongly affect Staffordshire production in its own right.

The cut-price nature of wares exported to the new USA prior to the War of 1812 has important implications for the American sites. The British sites, particularly the Welsh sites, on the other hand, are potentially affected by an entirely different development in the American market: the popularity of 'white granite' in the middle of the 19th century. The introduction of white granite, often referred to as 'ironstone' (see appendix A), around 1845 marks what Ewins refers to as the 'third phase' (Ewins 1997:44-6) in the development of the American market. In this phase, the demands of taste in the British and American markets moved in radically different directions. In particular, by 1850, the most popular Staffordshire ware in the United States was the white-grey bodied, usually undecorated or moulded white granite. The effect of the popularity of this ware on

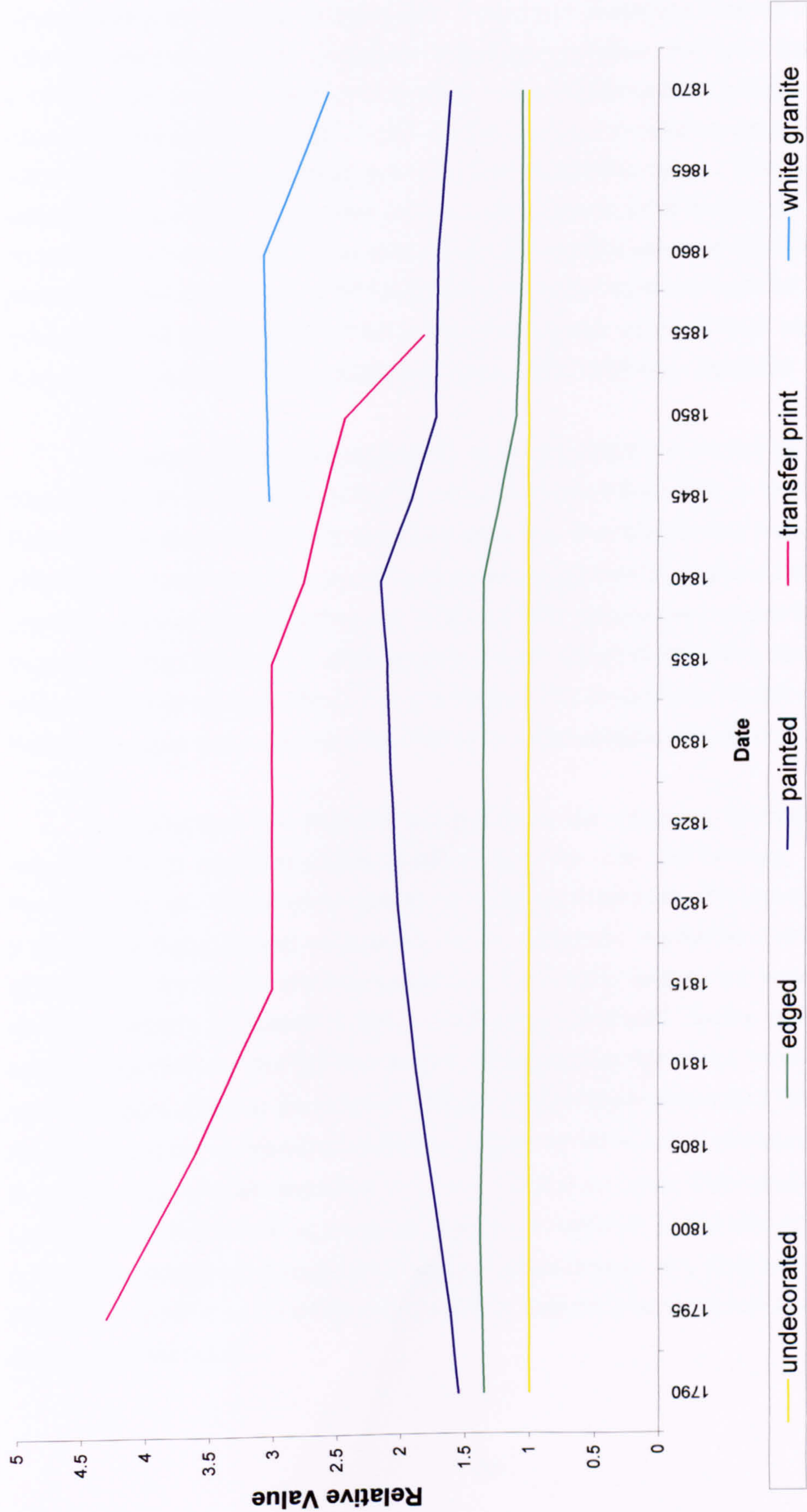


TABLE 6.8
RELATIVE VALUE OF DECORATIVE TECHNIQUES
 (original in colour)

other pottery can be seen in table 6.8. This table charts the relative price of different ten inch diameter plates as calculated by Miller (1991:14) from c.1790 to c.1870. After an inevitable fall in relative value following their initial introduction, transfer-printed plates remain more or less constant in relative value from 1810 to 1830. From that date they begin to plummet in relative value. This collapse in value coincides almost precisely with the introduction of white granite, which upon its introduction has almost precisely the same relative value as transfer-printed plates did up to that point. Ultimately, white granite replaced transfer prints as the 'prestige' earthenware to such an extent that transfer prints almost vanish from American archaeological contexts between 1850-1880 (eg. Samford 1997:4).

The appearance of white granite does not affect the American sites in this thesis, both of which are abandoned decades before the ware is developed. Furthermore, table 6.8 clearly demonstrates that the relationship between the different decorative techniques is indeed as suggested throughout the earlier chapters, further strengthening the validity of the decorative comparisons in this thesis. On the other hand, white granite might paradoxically have very real relevance for the British sites. For this thesis, this means the Welsh sites, as the Hebridean sites were also abandoned before the introduction of white granite.

As the Llystyn and Pwll mill assemblages demonstrate, transfer-prints singularly fail to vanish from Welsh contexts in the mid-19th century. Furthermore, the rise of white granite is a largely American phenomenon featuring a ware type made almost exclusively for the American market and virtually totally absent from the British archaeological record; even in factory contexts it has remained largely unstudied in Britain until very recently (K. Banks 1998). It is entirely possible that the fashion-based closing of the American market to transfer-prints affected the price of this decorative type within the United Kingdom. As the necessary research to quite the degree of Miller's has not been carried out in this country, this is impossible to prove, but it is an issue that needs to be considered in the following analysis. In sum, in addition to the ethnic, economic, and status variations considered in the form discussion, any discussion of decoration must also consider more specific cultural and temporal shifts in taste, supply, and demand.

TABLE 6.9 - DECORATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

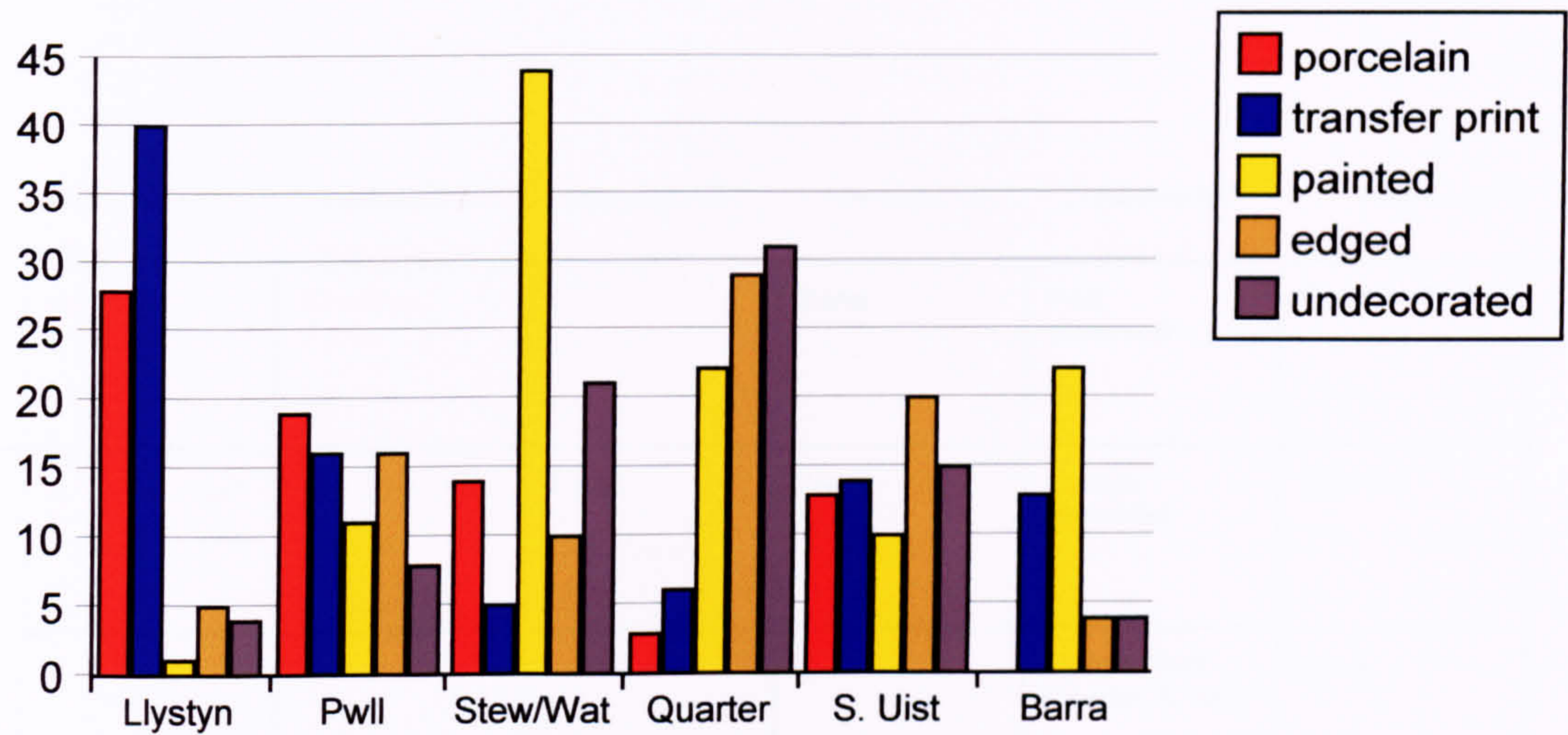


Table 6.9a

Distributions of Selected Decorative Techniques

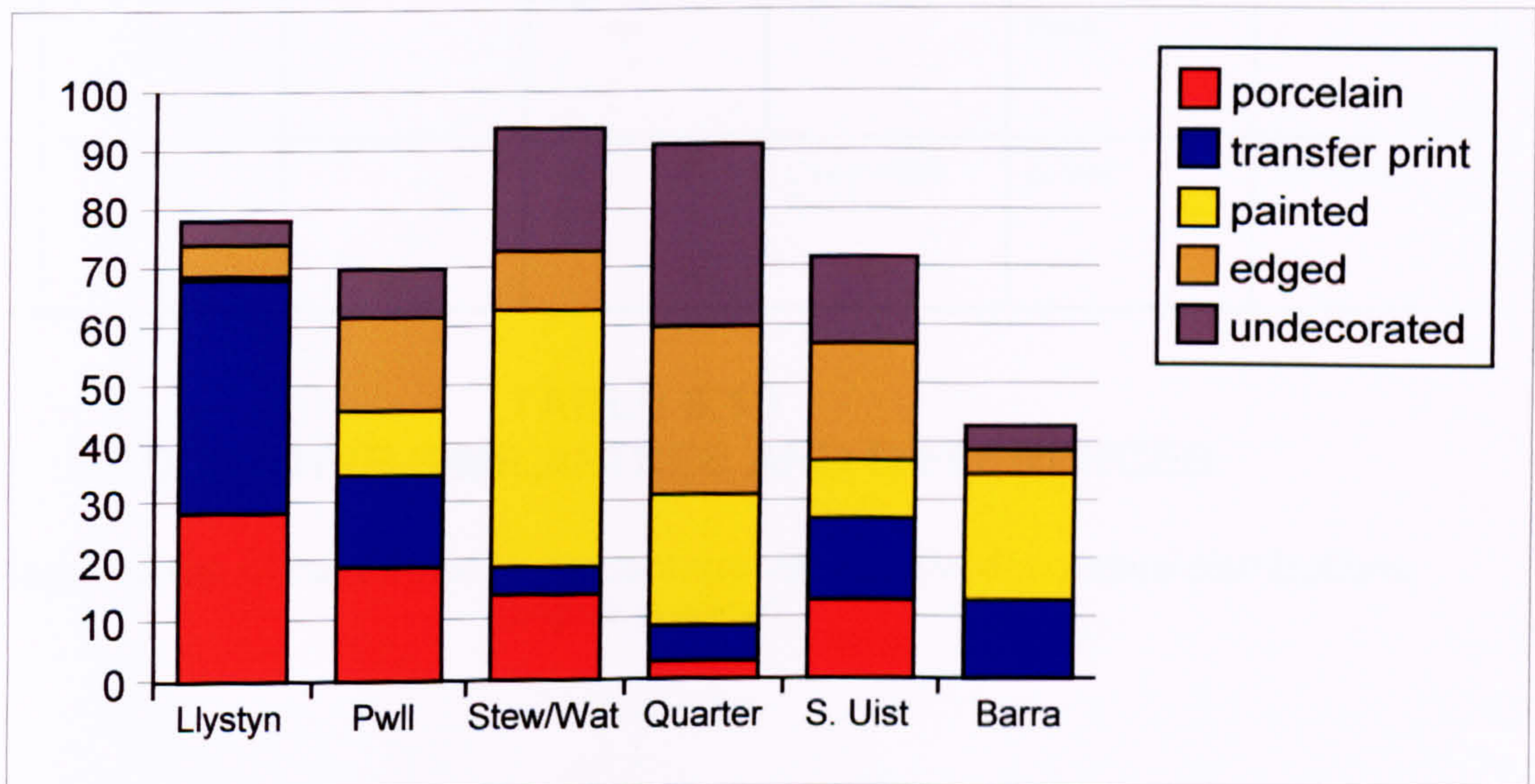


Table 6.9b

Selected Decorative Techniques as Percentage of Relevant Wares

Y-axis on both charts is % of total. Totals have been rounded to nearest whole number, exclude 'other' categories, and thus do not add to 100. Originals in colour

	5 Decorations 0-5%	4 Decorations 0-5%	3 Decorations 0-5%	2 Decorations 0-5%	1 Decoration 0-5%	0 Decorations 0-5%
	5 Decorations 10%+	4 Decorations 10%+	3 Decorations 10%+	2 Decorations 10%+	1 Decoration 10%+	0 Decorations 10%+
Llystyn	Quarter	Stew/Wat; S. Uist	Pwll; Barra	Barra	Pwll; Stew/Wat	Quarter; S. Uist
Pwll	Quarter		S.Uist Llystyn; Stew/Wat; Barra	Barra	Llystyn; Stew/Wat	Quarter; S. Uist
Stew/Wat		Llystyn; Quarter	Pwll; Barra	S. Uist	Llystyn; Pwll; Quarter; S. Uist	Barra
Quarter	Llystyn; Pwll	Stew/Wat	S. Uist	Barra Barra	Stew/Wat	Llystyn; Pwll; S. Uist
S.Uist		Llystyn; Barra	Pwll Quarter	Stew/Wat	Stew/Wat; Barra	Llystyn; Quarter Pwll
Barra		S. Uist	Llystyn; Pwll; Stew/Wat	Llystyn; Pwll; Quarter Quarter	S. Uist	Stew/Wat

TABLE 6.10
DECORATIVE SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

Percentages at top of table refer to percentage variation in decorative distributions
(original in colour)

Table 6.9 shows the distributions of the five relevant decorative techniques across the six sites. Some differences are readily apparent. There are large quantities of porcelain and transfer-printed wares at Llystyn Mill (nearly 70% of the assemblage). More than 40% of the Stewart/Watkins site consists of painted wares. The Quarter site assemblage is biased towards inexpensive materials. Pwll Mill and South Uist contain a relatively balanced distribution of materials. Finally, the Barra assemblage is clearly focussed on other decorative materials entirely. Table 6.10 contains a comparison of similarities and differences as used in table 6.3 for form. It is immediately clear that the differences between the assemblages far outweigh any similarities. This is the opposite of what was observed between the form distributions. Indeed, with one exception, more than half of the decorative techniques at each site vary by at least 10% from four of the other five sites. The exception is South Uist, but even here three of the five other decorative distributions vary by at least 10% across more than half of the decorations. Furthermore, the number of significantly different distributions outnumbers the significantly similar distributions in 13 of the possible 15 comparative combinations. The two exceptions are Barra and the Quarter site, where the differences and the similarities are equal (two each), and Pwll Mill and South Uist where three decorations are similar and none are significantly different. Only these latter two sites can be considered more similar to each other than different.

Given the form distribution similarities, this is an extraordinary level of difference between the sites. Furthermore, a wide variety of factors - none of which are dominant - appear to be causing these differences. Economy cannot be the primary determinant; while Llystyn Mill is better off than Pwll Mill, it seems unlikely that the difference could be as dramatic as the scaling in table 6.9 suggests. The comparison of the Stewart/Watkins and Quarter site assemblages might initially appear to indicate a decoration-economy relationship, particularly given the almost perfect bias to less expensive materials at the Quarter site. Yet here, it is more likely that the status/economy bias of form, rather than decoration, is at work. Almost half of the Stewart/Watkins forms are teawares, and while the latter could be undecorated or transfer-printed, in the early 19th century they are most commonly painted or porcelain. Factors of fashion and time are also at work. The changes in American taste have previously been explored, but in

general, decoration is far more prone to significant shifts across time than form. For example, quite apart from the white granite issue, transfer prints go through several rapid changes in emphasis and style in the 18th and 19th centuries (Coysh and Henrywood 1982:8-11; Samford 1997). As table 6.11 shows, all of the sites' periods of occupation overlap with each other, but by no means are these periods identical. Thus shifts in taste and supply are affecting decorative distribution. The only possible conclusion is that the sheer number of variables overwhelms and complicates the decorative data. With so many different factors at play, large-scale international comparisons of decoration will usually produce more differences than similarities.

Yet if large-scale comparisons collapse under the weight of the available variables, this is not the case with more specific analysis. It is precisely the scale and nature of the comparative differences that renders some of the individual comparisons so interesting and potentially significant. Shifting tastes in decoration across time are particularly important for Llystyn Mill. That 70% of the latter assemblage consists of the two most expensive decorative types, porcelain and transfer prints, seems astonishing. The figures for South Uist and Pwll Mill, the sites with the next highest amounts of these materials, are 27% and 35% respectively. The similarities in form distribution suggested a not too dissimilar background of economy and status between these sites, making the differences in decoration all the more remarkable. The answer to this paradox ironically almost certainly lies across the Atlantic.

As white granite became popular, transfer prints almost vanished from the American market. Clearly they remained popular in the United Kingdom. By 1850, thirty million pieces of earthenware were being exported annually from Britain to the United States. This was admittedly a peak, but between 1825 and 1855, the number of pieces exported never fell below thirteen and a half million. This was also an extremely profitable market; the value of exports in 1835 (when seventeen and a half million pieces were exported) was just under £250,000, more than double the £112,500 value of pieces exported to Europe (Ewins 1997:6). Under these circumstances, it is entirely possible that when the demand for transfer-printed wares ceased in North America, these wares would have been off-loaded cheaply on to the domestic market where some demand obviously

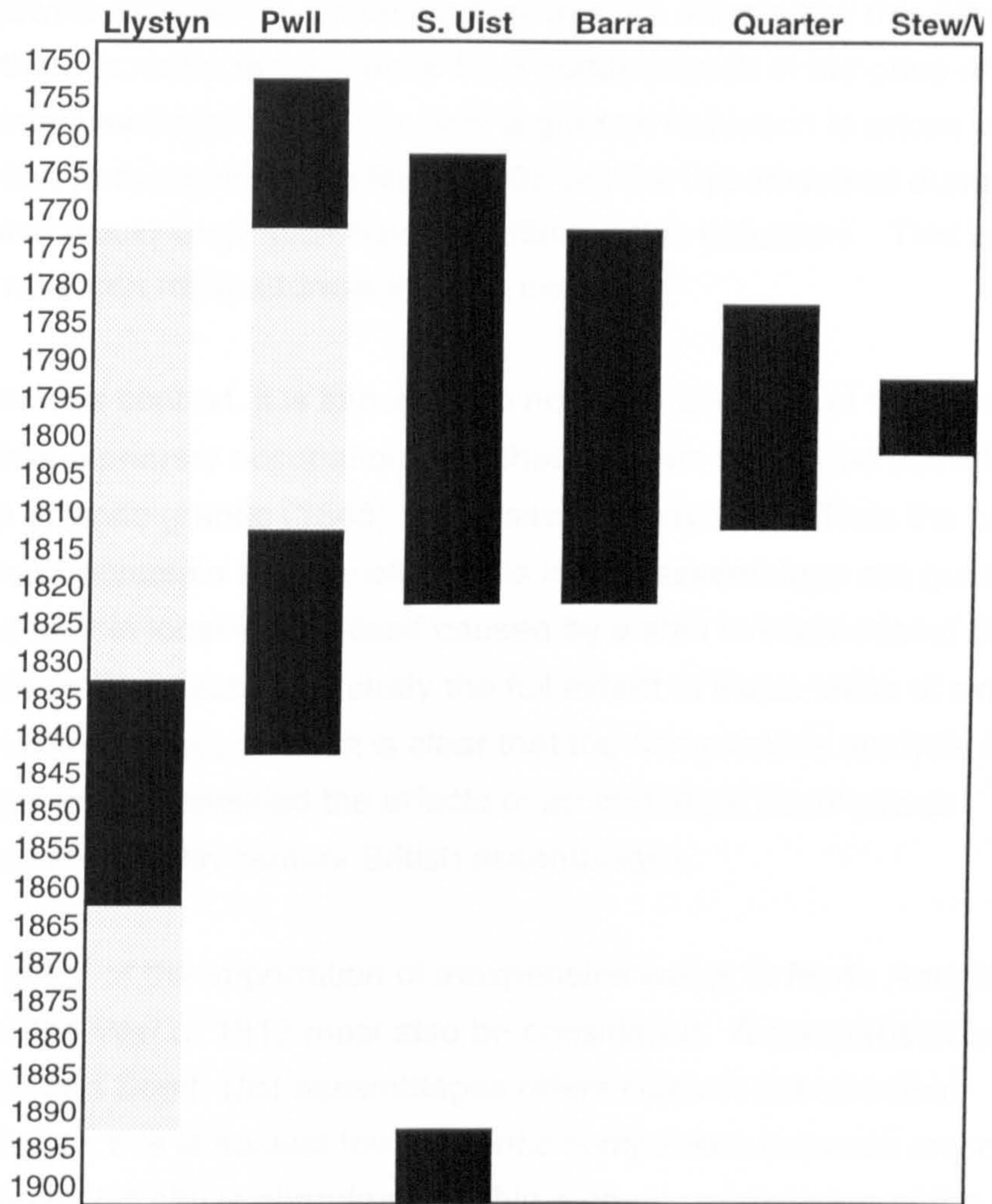


TABLE 6.11
PERIODS OF OCCUPATION
 (dotted bars indicate intermittent occupation)

remained. Given that white granite was consciously made in imitation of French porcelain (Ewins 1997:46-7), porcelain may also be affected by this principle. Currently, there is no known evidence for a sudden crash in the price of British transfer-printed wares in the 1840's, only a gradual reduction in prices over time (David Barker, pers comm., 10th May 2000), but the hypothesised dumping of transfer-prints would very much have contributed this reduction. This is a point that future research must address in more detail.

Within this context, it is important to note that only one of the six sites in this thesis has a primary occupation date that includes the period post-dating the introduction of white granite (1845). That site is Llystyn Mill. Thus the high percentages of porcelain and transfer prints in that assemblage are quite probably caused by a shift in local supply itself caused by a shift in international demand. Further analysis is necessary to study the full extent of these shifts at similar sites across the United Kingdom, but it is clear that the comparative analysis in this thesis has potentially revealed the effects of an important international phenomenon within 19th century British assemblages.

The effect of the importation of inexpensive wares to North America in the years before the War of 1812 must also be considered. A comparison between the American and South Uist assemblages offers clues in this direction. In terms of temporal span, this is easiest trans-Atlantic comparison between any of the sites; the South Uist site is abandoned within a couple of decades of the American sites, does not appear to share the Welsh sites' complicating factor of periods of intermittent occupations and the assemblage has a much larger sample size than the Barra site. It is abundantly clear that the Hebridean site has a much greater quantity of porcelain and transfer prints than its American counterparts. The combined totals of the latter at the three sites are 27% for South Uist, 19% for Stewart/Watkins, and only 9% for the Quarter site. If the American post-1810 price drop in transfer-prints also occurred in the United Kingdom, then it might be reasonably argued that the higher South Uist figure is affected by that drop. On the other hand, the relative value of the least expensive, undecorated wares remains constant, and here there are consistently more undecorated wares at the American sites (21% at Stewart/Watkins, 31% at the Quarter site) than at South Uist (15%). Furthermore, there is undoubtedly a greater spread of a greater

variation of decorative techniques at the Scottish site. In addition to the five listed decorative techniques, 16% (similar to the other type percentages) of the South Uist assemblage consists of some sort of industrial slipware (see appendix C). While wider comparative analysis is necessary to finalise this point, it would appear likely that the immaturity of the American ceramics market prior to 1812 will cause poor rural British sites to have higher quantities of expensive wares, lower quantities of inexpensive wares, and greater variation of decoration than contemporary American sites. This is additionally significant given the high percentage of teawares within the Stewart/Watkins assemblage. In the latter case, a desire to acquire forms (teawares) of high status did not translate to an ability to acquire a wide range of expensive high status decorations.

Given that the decorative techniques outside of the five main categories in table 6.9 comprise more than 20% of four of the six sites, a discussion of other types of decoration is clearly in order. An examination of spongewares and industrial slipwares in particular reveals new and valuable information. Many discussions of spongeware consider it to be a distinctively Scottish phenomenon in origin (Cruickshank 1982; Kelly 1993; Webster 1999), although a wide range of other European and North American manufacturers also existed (Cruickshank 1982:5; Kelly 1993:8-19). Kelly's work on Scottish spongeware locates major centres of production in Greenock, Bo'ness (Barrowstouness), Glasgow and Kirkcaldy (Kelly 1993:15). The supposed cultural specificity of spongeware can be examined through this thesis' decorative data.

Webster has examined pottery, particularly spongeware, on surviving 19th-century Hebridean (especially South Uist) dressers, and observed that

"...wherever goods can be sourced, they are almost always of Scottish manufacture. I should emphasize here that I am not equating the desire to buy Scottish products with simple anti-English nationalism. I merely wish to suggest that there does appear to be a Hebridean preference for Scottish products, and that we do not yet fully understand the reasons for this preference." (Webster 1999:68)

In essence, Webster asks whether the preference for spongeware is a uniquely Scottish cultural phenomenon, a simple matter of proximity and accessibility, the result of some other factor. Of course, none of these possibilities are mutually exclusive.

The data from the Welsh sites suggests that economy, accessibility and

proximity are the primary factors at work; there is no exclusive, or even special, relationship between spongeware and Scotland. The near-total lack of spongewares at the Hebridean sites included in this thesis is not itself an indicator; spongeware appears to have a *terminus post quem* of 1835 (Kelly 1993:15), and the Hebridean sites were abandoned in the mid-1820s. Far more relevant in this case is the presence of spongewares at the Welsh sites. There are five spongeware vessels at both Llystyn Mill and Pwll Mill, and these are the single most common decorative technique excluded from table 6.9 at both sites. Furthermore, spongeware has been recovered from at least three other contemporary north Pembrokeshire sites (Brooks 1992; 1999). As spongeware was manufactured at the Llanelli pottery (Cruickshank 1982:5; Kelly 1993:15), a local source for these materials was readily available. It is clear that spongeware is not a purely Scottish phenomenon.

The presence of spongewares, and additionally industrial slipwares, on rural British sites is instead most likely driven by economy. While Miller's CC indices do not translate directly to this side of the Atlantic, it is clear from his data that these two decorative techniques are the two cheapest decorative techniques (other than undecorated examples) available for bowls (G. Miller 1991:22). Bowls are indeed the most common vessel form for both spongewares and industrial slipwares at the British sites. Thus at sites that predate the introduction of spongewares, industrial slipwares will be amongst the very cheapest bowls available. This is particularly visible within the Barra assemblage. More than half of this site's tablewares are bowls, less than half of this site's assemblage consists of the decorative techniques listed in table 6.9. Section IV of this chapter definitively identified the Barra assemblage as indicative of poor and/or low status, and biased towards 'raw functionality'. The site predates the introduction of spongewares. When all of these factors are considered, it is inevitable that industrial slipwares are revealed to be the most common decorative technique in the Barra assemblage.

Several important conclusions have been drawn through this discussion of decorative technique. First of all, shifts of taste, fashion and supply across time mean that a comparison of decorative technique in assemblages across a large geographic, cultural, and social span contains too many variables to be useful.

Even a five year shift will occasionally render comparison problematic. A comparison of decorative technique is probably best reserved for sites of similar geographic and temporal range. Nonetheless, discussion of the temporal problem has demonstrated that dramatic differences will often occur in contemporaneous British and American assemblages. Even more significantly, changes in American fashion dramatically impact British assemblages, as revealed by the large quantities of transfer-prints and porcelain at Llystyn Mill. Differences in the Trans-Atlantic market also affect earlier comparisons, as prior to 1812 the American market was used by British potters to off-load inferior goods. Finally, this section has clearly demonstrated that the use of spongeware cannot be thought of as a primarily Scottish cultural phenomenon. The presence of spongeware at poor Welsh sites and industrial slipwares at poor Hebridean sites depends at least as much on date, local supply, and - most importantly - the low cost of these wares as it does on their potential cultural significance.

VII - REMAINING ISSUES

This final analytical section of this chapter discusses the remaining relevant points arising from the comparative analysis. The two particular issues considered here are the role of coarsewares and utilitarian wares within an assemblage, and a more holistic consideration of the interaction between form and decoration.

Coarsewares

When compared to tablewares and refined earthenwares and porcelains, coarsewares and utilitarian wares are often relatively unexamined in domestic assemblages post-dating the industrial revolution. The majority of wares in these assemblages are typically tablewares, and the majority of ceramics analytical techniques are therefore understandably focused on refined earthenwares. Furthermore, coarsewares are most often locally-made materials; as different ware types will occur at different sites, coarse and utilitarian wares are usually not as useful for widespread comparative analysis as their refined counterparts. Finally, identifying types, particularly ware, is usually far more difficult for coarsewares than for refined wares. Nonetheless, coarsewares should never be ignored as analysis frequently provides useful additional information. And if it is

true that the number of coarseware vessels is usually much smaller than the number of refined vessels, it is equally true that the coarseware *volume* of an assemblage is comparatively much higher, as the vessels themselves are often much larger. In this section (and this section only), the term 'coarseware' will be used as a generic shorthand term to refer to coarse redwares, yellowwares, and stonewares. It is important to note that under this definition 'coarseware' should not be considered to be the opposite of 'tableware'. A portion of the coarsewares do indeed overlap with the 'tableware' category (see also appendices A and B).

That the assemblage coarsewares only take up a small portion of this comparative chapter can be directly ascribed to the reasons outlined in the previous paragraph. The American coarsewares are locally made, and thus often differ significantly in fabric and glaze from their British counterparts. This is particularly true of the lustrous dark-brown to black glazed redwares and underfired stonewares found at the Quarter site. The Quarter site coarsewares were most likely made in Virginia. Apart from some Bristol stonewares from the Welsh sites, the point of origin of most of the Welsh and Hebridean coarsewares remains unknown, and for the time being unknowable. From the available evidence, it appears that the six sites' coarseware needs were indeed for the most part supplied locally, but until comprehensive research on the relevant 19th century materials occurs in Britain, this will remain somewhat speculative.

With the notable exception of Pwll Mill, coarsewares comprise under 30% of each assemblage, and as little as 7% at the Stewart/Watkins site. The high 45% figure at Pwll Mill is easily explained; as the only site with a significant period of occupation predating the large-scale introduction of refined earthenwares in the 1760's, a high level of earlier coarsewares (North Devon Gravel Tempered Ware in this instance) is only to be expected. Were the Pwll Mill materials to be restricted to those post-dating industrialisation, the percentage of coarseware materials at the site falls to approximately 25%.

Some interesting preliminary conclusions do emerge from these figures. It appears likely that differences in the households is impacting the distribution of coarsewares. For example, the South Uist and Barra sites are occupied at a period when local farming activities were subordinated to the production of kelp.

Llystyn Mill, on the other hand, was located in an area where agricultural production was paramount. The higher percentage of Llystyn Mill coarsewares, in particular large vessels designed for storage, might well indicate this more directly agricultural orientation. On the other hand, given the size of many of the Welsh coarseware vessels, this might simply reflect the difficulty of transporting large, heavy goods across the Minch to the Outer Hebrides. Yet the extraordinarily low percentage of coarsewares at Stewart/Watkins does appear to support some sort of activity-based factor. If the Stewart/Watkins teawares do indicate an overt bias towards status and leisure, then a lack of overtly utilitarian coarsewares in that household might be an attempt to further emphasise (consciously or unconsciously) status within the plantation community. If this is the case, then presumably the Stewart/Watkins site had access to food storage and preparation facilities within the wider Monticello plantation community. While the role of household occupation in determining coarseware percentage may appear rooted in common sense, it is clear that broader comparisons are necessary to fully explore this point.

The role of the Quarter site coarsewares in a wider comparative model deserve special mention. This is particularly true of the redware bowls. While no figures similar to a Miller CC index exist for estimating the cost of coarse redwares, it is most likely that coarse, locally made materials were far less expensive than refined earthenwares from Staffordshire. It is notable, therefore, that the majority of the Quarter site bowls are redwares. This is the only site where one of the seven most common tableware forms is more common as a coarseware than as a refined earthenware (excluding, of course, the early element of the Pwll Mill assemblage). If bowls are indeed associated with stews and the diet of the poor, then this would appear to confirm the lowly status of the Quarter site slaves at that time. But even more than this, it confirms the need to conclude the analytical section of this chapter by briefly bringing together the issues of form and decoration.

Form and Decoration

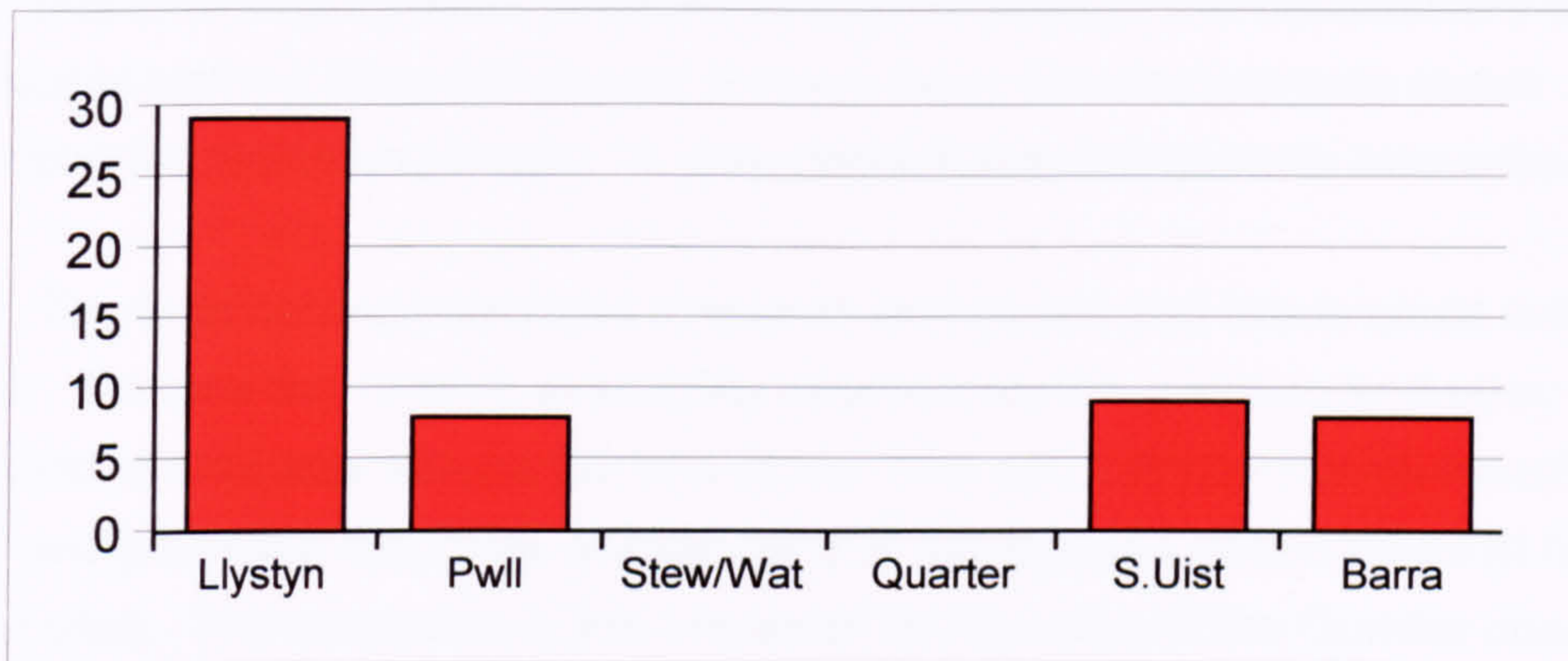
This chapter has so far treated form and decoration as largely separate issues, but the two often condition each other. As noted previously, the high percentage of painted wares at Stewart/Watkins is itself conditioned by the high

percentage of teawares at the site. Similarly, at Barra, the high percentage of bowls at this poor rural site leads to a high percentage of industrial slipwares. The coarseware bowls at the Quarter site do not fit neatly into the refined earthenware decorative categories, but here form, function and ware type also impact each other.

Given this mutual conditioning, the status relationships between plates, bowls and teawares can finally be clarified. Table 6.12 shows the percentages of bowls, plates and teawares from each sites' tableware assemblage that are transfer printed or porcelain. These figures are generated from the numbers of each form prior to the redistribution of unidentified forms. Surprisingly, with the exception of Llystyn Mill, and possibly (to a much lesser extent) Stewart/Watkins, the number of expensive plates is no different from the number of expensive bowls. Indeed, with the exception of Llystyn Mill, expensive transfer printed and porcelain wares never comprise more than 17% of the plates or bowls. The most likely conclusion is that the rural poor, across all social and cultural boundaries, considered plates and bowls to be largely functional. Individual examples would have been used for cultural or status display, as clearly evidenced by surviving dressers in 21st century Wales and the Hebrides, but as a whole, this section of each tableware assemblage was oriented towards the serving and consumption of food.

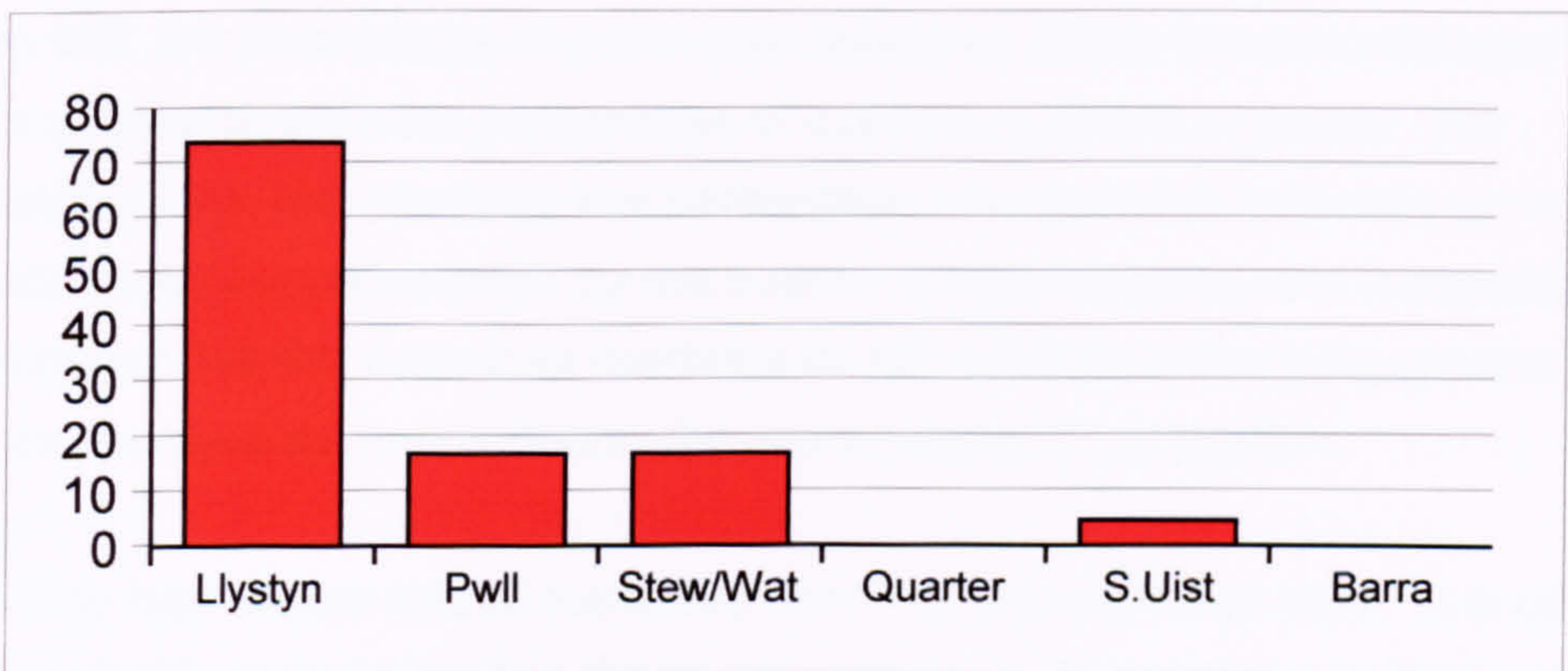
But what of the exception? Llystyn Mill, of course, was occupied after the decline in price of transfer prints and possibly porcelain made these materials more affordable, thus explaining the relative abundance of materials at this site. At this site, a much higher percentage of plates than bowls are 'expensive' (74% to 29%). Recent research at a relatively wealthier farm site in North Pembrokeshire called Pant Teg suggests a conceptual difference between plates and bowls. At this site, bowls were oriented towards spongewares, while plates were oriented towards porcelain and transfer-prints. This research has suggested a divide between bowls associated with traditional 'Welsh' culture and plates as associated with the encroaching 'metropolitan' culture (Brooks 1999). A final consideration of the vitally important interactions between different world cultures is dealt with in depth in the last chapter. The important point here is that the Llystyn Mill data, with the Pant Teg analysis, suggests that where a household

TABLE 6.12 - TRANSFER-PRINTED AND PORCELAIN PLATES, BOWLS AND TEAWARES



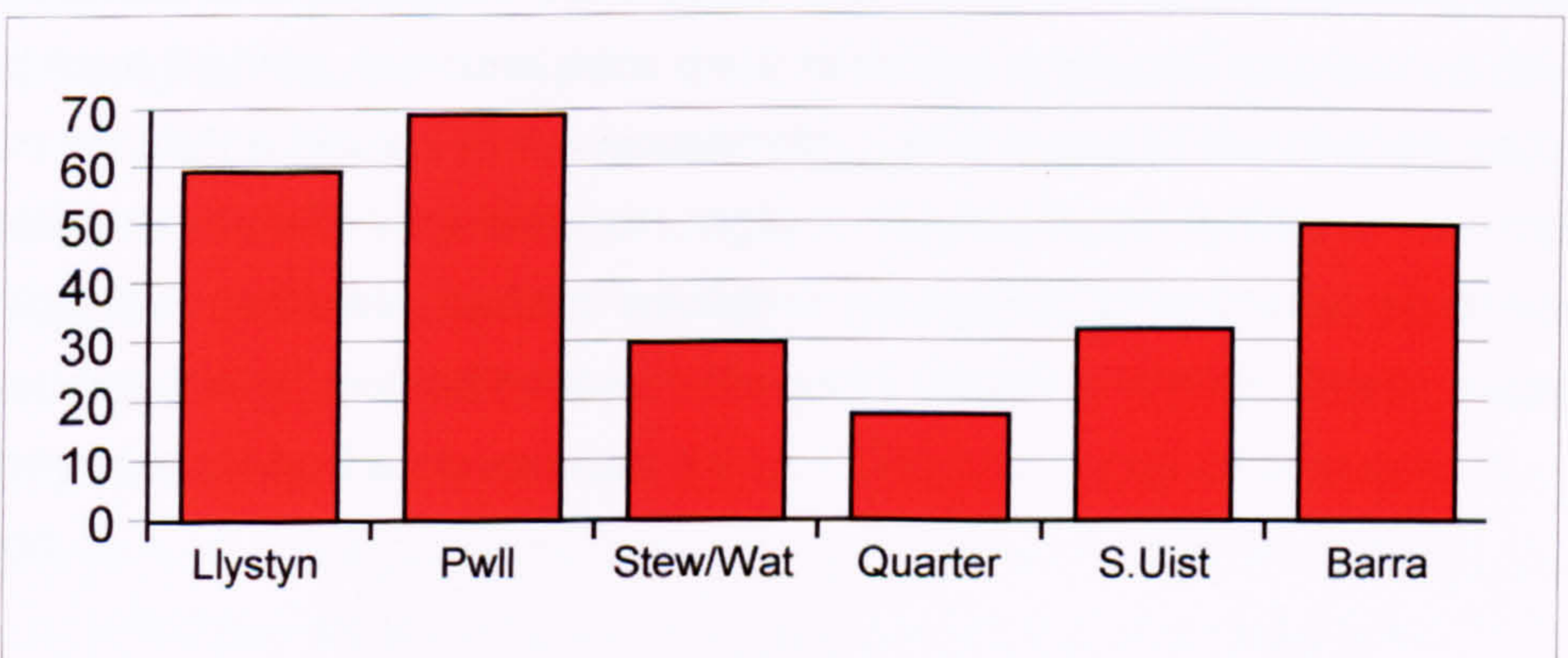
6.12a

Percentage of Bowls that are Porcelain or Transfer Prints



6.12b

Percentage of Plates that are Porcelain or Transfer Prints



6.12c

Percentage of Teawares that are Porcelain or Transfer Prints

Y-axis on each chart is %. Totals have been rounded to nearest whole number and may not add to 100. Originals in colour

could afford larger amounts of transfer-printed and porcelain plates and bowls, a cultural and status distinction was indeed drawn between these forms. This distinction is almost invisible in earlier rural poor sites as the household's limited disposable income does not appear to have been directed towards status distinction for plates and bowls. It was instead directed towards teawares.

The final contrast between teawares and plates and bowls could not be starker. Despite the relative availability of undecorated, painted, and other inexpensive teawares across the end of the 18th and 19th centuries, transfer prints and porcelain comprise at least 30% of the teaware assemblage at five of the six sites. The exception is the enslaved households of the Quarter site. Only four of the 22 Quarter teawares are 'expensive', but even this low figure contrasts with the total lack of expensive plates and bowls. With the expected exception of Llystyn Mill, the percentage of expensive teawares within the assemblages is always at least double the percentage of expensive plates or bowls. For Stewart/Watkins, the relatively low percentage of expensive teawares is more than adequately compensated by the overall number thereof, and it should be remembered that the American market was still used as a dumping ground for more inexpensive materials during the site's period of occupation.

The high status role of teawares need not be reiterated here. It is clear that the households included in this thesis were aware of the status implications of teawares. Until the 1850's, across all social and cultural boundaries on either side of the Atlantic, and long after the original elite social role of tea drinking had passed from fashion, the rural poor were selecting cups and saucers as the medium for status display in the household. Differences in the precise nature of that medium naturally vary between regions depending on a host of variables. One thing is nonetheless certain: whatever ideological differences, whatever localised variations, existed between the sites, whether Welsh, Gaelic, slave or free, they at least had a conceptual grasp of the status role of teawares in common.

VIII - CONCLUSION

Before moving on to the final chapter it is worth summarising the new

information that this large-scale comparative analysis has taught us about the individual sites and their inhabitants. This is particularly important given the focus on overall comparisons and general methodological issues that have so far dominated this chapter. Despite these occasionally near-metaphysical debates, archaeology remains a study of people, and it is the people who lived at the sites and who used the pottery who deserve to have the final word in this chapter. Also of interest is the way in which the debates from this chapter contradict or refine the conclusions from the previous case studies. In several cases, the wider comparative analysis has led to perhaps unexpected conclusions that must supplant the earlier chapters. These contrasts do not invalidate the earlier case studies, but rather serve as a final reminder of the value of broader comparisons.

Pembrokeshire

Chapter 3 stated that the differences between the values of the two Welsh assemblages stemmed from three factors: differences in social conditions and status, the greater purchasing power of the Llystyn Mill households, and improvements in the local economy from the mid-19th century. A fourth factor related to one of the major points of this chapter can be added: a likely fall in the price of high-status wares (particularly transfer prints), making these items more accessible to the rural poor. This final factor indeed requires a slight reassessment of the Welsh assemblages. It no longer seems adequate to simply state that the larger more elaborate house, as expected, has more valuable ceramics. A more subtle argument is necessary.

Crucial to any reassessment of the Welsh households is the simple fact that comparisons of form and decoration reveal Llystyn Mill and Pwll Mill to be the most similar sites from a single region. This is not to deny the differences that do occur (specifically as pertains to decoration), but rather to note that these sites seem far more similar to each other when one considers the overwhelming differences between South Uist and Barra or Stewart/Watkins or the Quarter Site. Of particular significance are the virtually identical ratios of plates and bowls to teawares at the two sites. This is by far the most significant tableware comparison. Given the deep status and cultural significance of teawares, this strongly suggests that, while we cannot isolate individual site households, a broadly similar cultural outlook existed for the different households at both of the

sites. The different transient cottagers had a shared approach to the significance - both social and functional - of their ceramics, particularly towards the encroaching subconsciously 'British' teawares. Under these circumstances, the fact that Llystyn has the more expensive ceramics seems even more a byproduct of the improved economy and sudden fall in high status pottery prices in the middle of the century. Since the two sites are not entirely contemporaneous, proof remains elusive, but it is highly likely that had Pwll Mill remained occupied for a little longer, those later households would have acquired larger quantities of higher status wares. While a status element cannot be ruled out, the differences between the two assemblages now appear to be based on temporal and economic differences. Cultural differences can be ruled out entirely in this instance.

South Uist and Barra

Chapter 4 concluded with the observation that the South Uist inhabitants were using higher status, more expensive pottery than their Barra counterparts. This difference was caused by the former's embracing of the advancing British metropolitan culture, as symbolised by the teawares. The socio-political environment of the Islands in post-'45 Scotland was particularly relevant. It is worth additionally noting that the larger amounts of pottery at the South Uist site, combined with the relative value thereof, indicate that this household was also generally wealthier than the household of James Campbell at Allt Chrisal, Barra. This is especially true as the two sites were contemporaneous, and thus comparisons are not subject to the economic or price fluctuations that complicate comparisons between the Pembrokeshire sites.

None of the analysis in this chapter negates or contradicts these conclusions, but it has allowed us to contextualise and refine the observations. One of the subtly intriguing points in this chapter's comparisons has been the uncanny comparative similarities between the South Uist assemblage and the Welsh assemblages, particularly the Llystyn Mill assemblage. The similarities between the teaware and plate/bowl ratios between South Uist and Wales once again demonstrates the power of the encroaching metropolitan worldview on the House E household. Additionally, there is a great similarity of overall form distribution between House E and Llystyn Mill, which contrasts to the great

dissimilarities between House E and the Campbell family's pottery at Allt Chrisal. This serves to emphasise that the South Uist and Llystyn Mill distributions are not some generic rural poor pattern; other factors, both cultural and economic, come in to play. From a 'British' perspective, it also serves to emphasise the relative backwardness, isolation and poverty of the Campbell household, and their unwillingness or, more likely, inability to participate in the wider British worldview. That Barra was one of the poorest households in this thesis, perhaps the poorest, is not in doubt - a point only emphasised by the assemblage's rank on the 'hierarchy of functionality'. Yet it is important to stress that from a Hebridean perspective, the Campbell family might well be seen as a staunch bastion of a traditional Gaelic culture against the alien British worldview. From this Gaelic perspective, the Allt Chrisal assemblage is more a product of a brave attempt to hold on to tradition in the face of the total transformation of the Hebridean way of life. Ultimately, 'backwardness' and 'isolation' are exceptionally relative concepts.

Virginia

Chapter 5 ended with speculation over to what degree the differences between the Quarter site and Stewart/Watkins assemblages were caused by African and European cultural elements. The sheer number of bowls at the Quarter site might well have indicated an "African culinary grammar", but the relatively high ratio of plates indicated at least some level of interaction with the more European element of Virginian society. The comparative analysis in this chapter has permitted a much closer examination of this point.

One of the most striking features of this chapter has been the close similarities between the Quarter, Llystyn Mill, and South Uist distributions, with Pwll Mill also displaying some similarities. This clearly demonstrates that the pottery owned by the enslaved households at the Quarter site does not indicate the presence of a uniquely African culinary grammar visible within overall pottery distributions. This is not to claim that pottery form does not indicate cultural characteristics - this thesis, after all, has strenuously argued the precise opposite for teawares - but rather that this specific cultural perspective is invisible in overall form distributions when compared to broadly analogous European assemblages. The possibility also exists that the Quarter site inhabitants were simply acculturated into the more Euro-American worldview of the white Virginians. This

is unlikely for two reasons: firstly there undoubtedly are specifically African-American elements in the totality of finds from the Quarter Site, as Heath (1999) has extensively noted. Secondly, the poor Euro-American Stewart and Watkins families between them generated an assemblage utterly unlike any of the European sites in Wales or the Hebrides - although the Stewart/Watkins teawares would not have carried the same conscious or subconscious "British" subtext in Charlottesville as they would have done in Milton or Fishguard. Nonetheless, the inescapable conclusion in this thesis is that the poor white Stewart and Watkins families are culturally differentiating themselves from their enslaved neighbours rather than vice versa. The implicit hint is that this differentiation is taking place through a new white Southern culture quite unlike its British contemporaries. This is potentially one of the most important findings of this thesis. While only one slave and one poor white site have been included in this study, if these observations continue to hold true in future comparisons, then there are important implications for the archaeology of the American South. The African roots of the syncretic culture of African-American Federal Virginia have rightly been the subject of extensive investigation. The evidence in this thesis suggests that the time has come for a more holistic line of enquiry that also lends some attention to the European roots. While there are undoubtedly African-influenced cultural traditions impacting the use of material culture, these are best seen through individual items rather than the assemblage as a whole.

In conclusion, there can be little doubt after the various discussions in this chapter of the vital contributions that large-scale comparative analysis of ceramics assemblages can make to the archaeological record. Broad cross-cultural and trans-regional analysis clearly helps to more fully contextualise data and may even force an analyst to reevaluate preliminary conclusions. As has been demonstrated in this chapter, this is particularly true of comparisons of form, but a broad panoply of useful analytical techniques are available to the archaeologist prepared to engage in this type of survey. The study of a pottery assemblage in geographical isolation, without any consideration at all of wider inter-regional themes, stands revealed as inadequate archaeology.

CHAPTER 7 - CONCLUSION

Following the intensely detailed examination of the assemblages in chapter 6, it seems appropriate to conclude this thesis with a discussion of the more abstract theoretical conclusions that have been such an important part of this thesis. There are three primary themes in this final chapter. The first theme involves a discussion of methodological issues. While methodology formed an important part of chapter 6, the more theoretical direction of this final chapter permits a broader examination of the issues away from the specific context of the six sites. The second theme involves an exploration of the theoretical conclusions that have arisen from the analysis in this thesis, with a particular view towards the theoretical and methodological model discussed in chapter 2. Many of these theoretical conclusions have been implicit in the previous four chapters, but the discussion in this final chapter permits a more explicit summation of the relevant issues. The final theme, and the conclusion to this entire thesis, involves a discussion of the different strands of meaning and identity that are implicit in much of the discussion in chapters 6 and 7. In particular, this final theme consists of a discussion of the shifting ground of interaction and change in international ideology and meaning within the context of ceramics analysis.

I- METHODOLOGICAL CONCLUSIONS

This first section contains a concluding discussion and summation of the different comparative analytical techniques used in or addressed by this thesis. It is not intended to be a comprehensive summation of ceramics methodology. The focus is instead very much on three particular areas that have either dominated traditional ceramics analysis (as outlined in chapter 2) or were used extensively in the analysis in this thesis. The specific methodological issues discussed hereafter are assemblage dating, the comparative analysis of form and decoration, and finally status analysis.

Vessel Dating

Assemblage dating was last addressed in depth in section III of chapter 2. In particular, the common North American technique of the mean ceramic date

formula (a regression formula born of American processualism) was examined in detail. This technique, it will be remembered, aimed to calculate the mean date of occupation of a site through different wares' median date of manufacture. It perhaps seem strange to return to the MCD in this final chapter given its total absence from the case studies or chapter 6. Yet this very absence itself proves an important point, that the mean ceramic date is a near-irrelevant statistical system born more of dogmatic (and now outmoded) theory than any real need. In retrospect, the MCD was born out of a desire for academic "scientific" respectability in historical archaeology, but a self-confident subdiscipline has no real need for the artificial veneer of "science" found in generating mean dates to two decimal places. Archaeologists were perfectly able to date pottery (and sites) before the MCD, and they surely continue to be able to date pottery and sites without that needless crutch.

In this thesis, it was assumed throughout chapters 3 through 6 that sites could be dated with reasonable confidence without recourse to mathematical sleight of hand. The use of pottery to date a historic site in the absence of documentary evidence requires little more than cross-referencing the relevant *terminus post* and *ante quem* dates with the site's stratigraphy. Industrial-era pottery is particularly useful in this regard given the highly specific dates of manufacture that can often be identified from makers' marks or by comparing styles of decoration with ware type. Given the success throughout this thesis of the above method, the validity of this perspective has been definitively proven, and the MCD has definitively proven to be a paper tiger. It is not impossible that the MCD may prove useful in certain circumstances for examining the issue of time lag (see chapter 5, page 147), but if this is the case, then it will be a secondary tool rather than the primary dating system.

Vessel Form and Decoration

Comparisons of form and decoration have been immensely useful throughout this thesis. These issues were discussed at length in the previous chapter, and it would be needlessly repetitive to once again discuss their relevance both to the individual assemblages and to wider comparative analysis. This final discussion instead concentrates on a more theoretical issue, specifically how comparisons of form and decoration on a broad scale necessitate a

consideration of the interaction between very different geographical scales of archaeology throughout this thesis. The scales in question are the local, the regional, and the interregional. 'Regional' and 'interregional' have been chosen over 'national' and 'international' as the latter terms somehow seem inadequate given that the borders of nations and states often prove to be transient things. Broadly speaking, the two Welsh sites from the same small river valley may be considered 'local' while the Hebridean sites (from different islands) and Virginian sites (several days travel apart in the 18th century) may be considered 'regional'. The analysis in chapter 6 is 'interregional'. No precise definition of these terms of scale are otherwise offered as the geographical context will be all-important ; what would be 'interregional' in Europe might well prove to be 'regional' or even local in North America or Australia

As the previous chapter demonstrated, decoration and form are not affected in quite the same way by the different scales of analysis. To summarise, form offers several means for constructive comparisons on a large scale, particularly as far as teawares are concerned (although the latter are by far the only useful vehicle for form analysis). Form comparisons will prove to be productive for most analysis across all scales. Large scale comparisons of decoration, on the other hand, are often complicated by a large number of variables to the extent that they become virtually meaningless. Comparisons of decoration are thus best reserved for local and regional comparisons. A quick caveat on the latter conclusion is, however, necessary. Decorative comparisons on assemblages generated by culturally related but geographically separated households (such as one would find across many 19th century British colonial contexts) may yet prove fruitful, but this would require further research.

The best way of dealing with these interacting and occasionally contradictory issues of scale is through the approach embodied by this thesis. Broad large-scale comparative analysis should preferably only take place once the analyst is familiar with the smaller-scale comparisons that will eventually form the basis for the wider comparisons. Thus in this thesis, the Welsh, Hebridean, and Virginian sites were discussed at length before they were compared together. The case studies often engaged with issues of individual form, decoration and economy that would have been difficult to discuss in depth in the penultimate

comparative chapter. For example, the discussion of local pottery merchants in Cemaes and Cardigan in chapter 3 would have been ill-suited to the broader discussion of chapter 6. Furthermore, this system of engaging with individual regions first permits conclusions to be tested against each other. For example, comparisons of the Welsh sites suggested that the Llystyn Mill assemblage was more expensive and higher status than the Pwll Mill assemblage. Wider comparative analysis demonstrated that while status differences might well have existed, the difference in assemblage cost were probably affected by temporal changes in trans-Atlantic economy and taste, specifically those brought about by the rise in popularity of white granite in the United States. Only by careful examination of inter-locking scales of comparison of form and decoration can a complete picture of an assemblage be drawn. When undertaking large-scale analysis for the first time, one level of comparison should not necessarily be stressed over another, but rather all levels should be examined as carefully as is feasible. This is particularly important in areas, such as Wales and the Outer Hebrides, where no widespread research has yet taken place, and the analyst is thus deprived of a wider comparative database.

The analysis of decoration in chapter 6 has also clarified the usefulness of Miller's CC index (G. Miller 1980, 1991). For the comparison of American sites, the CC Index is an unrivalled analytical tool for comparing the relative value of refined white earthenwares. This conclusion became abundantly clear through the discussion of decoration embodied in section V of the previous chapter, in particular through table 6.8. Charting Miller's data in table form definitively proves its worth. Miller's data also carefully includes a temporal adjustment, thus enabling the use of different assemblages across relatively long periods of time. While undeniably flawed (see chapter 2), it remains by far the best system of its type available for assemblages from the United States. If some analysts have used CC index values to extend raw information on relative cost into occasionally flawed discussions of status, then this is hardly the fault of either Miller or his system. At no point has Miller himself argued for the CC index as a status indicator.

For British or trans-Atlantic analysis, however, use of the CC Index is pointless. The differences in taste and supply between Britain and the United

States, as discussed extensively in chapter 6, mean that a trans-Atlantic CC index would be worthless; the relative values of different wares on each side of the ocean almost certainly vary far too greatly. The best example is once again white granite. The advent of the latter ware causes transfer-prints to virtually disappear from American contexts, but these continue to be a common decorative technique in Britain. This is only the most obvious example of interregional variation that undermines the use of the CC index outside the United States.

The Deoration Status Scale comparative system used in this thesis is currently the only available means by which to approach this problem. This too is flawed. Certainly it lacks the attention to temporal detail inherent in the CC index system. Additionally it is apparent that British sites contain relatively high percentages of other decorative techniques other than those included in the Scale. Finally, the problems inherent in any large-scale comparison of decoration, particularly as pertains to the large number of variables involved therein, means that the method will work best when comparing two or three assemblages rather than, say, six. Nonetheless, it does provide the only available means to compare British assemblages with each other or with American sites. As used in chapter 6, it is also flexible enough to help examine precisely those factors that complicate its use. As with most tools, it is undoubtedly open to abuse, but when used correctly - in this case as a guide to what factors might be influencing the status of an assemblage - it can undoubtedly be a strong aid to analysis.

Ultimately it is best to see Miller's CC Index and the Decoration Status Scale as measurements of two entirely separate concepts. The CC Index, as noted, is a strict quantification of relative value. The Status Scale, on the other hand, is a measurement of status. The former is immune to changes in cultural perception, except insofar as this changes the value of certain types. The latter, however depends on a knowledge of how shifts in cost and status affect certain decorative techniques. For example, the value of the individual Llystyn Mill transfer prints is lower than their Pwll Mill counterparts, but transfer prints remain a higher status type. If a British CC Index existed, then the values for the two assemblages, adjusted over time, might well be similar, but the Llystyn Mill assemblage would still conceptually be higher status. The Status Scale demonstrates this status difference, a hypothetical British CC Index would not. In

conclusion, the Status Scale perhaps lacks the same level of quantification as the CC Index, but since status is a far less quantifiable concept than value to begin with, this hardly undermines its usefulness in this regard.

II - THEORETICAL CONCLUSIONS

From a theoretical perspective, one of the primary goals of this thesis was to test the theoretical and methodological model for the analysis of industrial-era pottery, as proposed in chapter 2. In brief summary, this model consists of a minimally interpretive level (of ware, form and date) and an interpretive level (of economy, status, function and meaning). Use of this model encourages the analyst to initially focus on the basic building blocks of identification (in the ongoing British tradition of typological identification) before explicitly considering several more abstract interpretive concepts (in a more theoretical tradition).

The comparative analysis in this thesis has conclusively proven the worth of the proposed model. For the Welsh and Hebridean case studies, the guidelines inherent in the model's structure were rigidly adhered to, and the analysis was in both cases an unmitigated success. However, there is no need to adhere quite so strictly to the model. It is important to stress that it can be used equally well as an implicit outline as an explicit set of guidelines. The analysis in the Virginian case study moved somewhat more freely through the analysis, but here the themes inherent in the interpretive level were the implicit (and occasionally explicit) foundation of the chapter, and here too the analysis was undoubtedly a resounding success. There is little need to repeat here the conclusions from each chapter as proof of the worth of the model; it is enough to state that chapter 6 could not have been written if the model had been a failure.

Chapter 6 required a somewhat different approach to the theoretical and methodological model. This is simply because there was no need to identify the minimally interpretive basic building blocs of analysis; these had already been dealt with in the preceding chapters. Chapter 6 instead dealt with most of the interpretive categories of the model, specifically economy, status, and function, directly - both explicitly and implicitly. The fourth interpretive category, meaning, is to be considered at the conclusion of this chapter. It is perhaps true that the

analysis in this thesis has occasionally focussed more on economy and status than the other categories, and no doubt other researchers would choose a somewhat different emphasis for the various areas of interpretation in their work, but part of the importance of the model is its inherent flexibility. It only provides an outline; how the individual archaeologist fills in the details will be a matter of personal taste and the demands of context. After all, not every theme of analysis will be equally important in all circumstances. But the most important element of the model is that it provides a coherent and consistent means by which to advance theory-informed ceramics analysis within British historical archaeology. This is particularly true given that anyone using the model will be forced to address the wider interpretive issues regardless of the stress that the individual places on the individual categories. Finally, by no means should use of the model be restricted to archaeologists of a particular theoretical perspective. If, for example, a processualist feels uncomfortable with the overtly interpretive nature of the model as advanced in this thesis, then he or she need only rename the 'minimally interpretive' and 'interpretive' levels the 'material' and 'hypothesising' levels respectively. The issues that make up the model are universal to theory-informed ceramics

One wider theoretical issue that this thesis has implicitly raised requires a wider discussion, and that is the nature of archaeological data. From a broad perspective, if Shanks, Hodder and Tilley in their various theoretical incarnations are the George Berkeley's of interpretive theory, then this thesis advances a perspective closer to the work of Immanuel Kant. A brief explanation of this statement is necessary. The idealist philosopher Berkeley wrote in the early 18th century that the reality of 'things' only exists as they are perceived. While the individual may be able to make certain inferences, these are only rooted in that individual's prior experiences (Russell 1961:629-31). This is extremely similar to Shanks and Tilley's (1992:105-6) argument that data only exist as they are conceptualised. Kant, however, held that certain propositions (particularly in mathematics) had an *a priori* basis outside experience, even if they were only ultimately knowable through subjective categories (Russell 1961:680). Thus, in this thesis, archaeological data are held to have an existence outside of the archaeologist's own personal experience even if that data are only understandable through subjective interpretation. From this perspective, the use

of the term 'minimally interpretive' for the basic identification of ware does not imply that data themselves are subjective; pottery, after all, exists outside of archaeological interpretation. It is instead the individual's own experience that colours his or her identification of that pottery. Similarly, the quantified figures derived from that data have enough of an *a priori* existence as mathematical concepts that it is the interpretation of the data, rather than its initial creation, that is coloured by an individual's own subjective view of the world. Context and subjectivity are important and necessary concepts in archaeological analysis, but they do not obviate the existence of the everyday reality of material culture.

III - FINAL CONCLUSION

Throughout this thesis it has often been acknowledged that 'meaning' is by far the hardest of the four interpretive categories of the analytical model to address. Economy, status, and function have all received explicit, extensive investigation in this thesis, but meaning has perhaps appeared to take a secondary role. Only the discussions of the role of teawares in conceptions of national and regional identities have openly involved an explicit exploration of meaning and ideology. But meaning has been implicit and inherent in many other discussions throughout this thesis, most notably in considerations of status. Status is, after all, a socially-constructed concept that is reliant on wider social ideologies. Nonetheless, it is important to include a wider consideration of meaning in this thesis, and this - the final conclusion - marks the appropriate place to do so. This last section of the chapter will draw together the themes that have been part of this dissertation into a final holistic consideration of pottery and trans-Atlantic ideology

Before examining the specifics of the role of pottery in the complex world of trans-Atlantic ideology, it is first necessary to offer some wider contextualisation of the issues. One of James Deetz's greatest contributions to North American historical archaeology is his discussion of the adoption of the 'Georgian worldview' in Britain's American colonies. Deetz identified several phases in the cultural development of what would become the United States. From the initial settlement until the Restoration, the American colonies culturally drifted away from Britain. From c.1660 to c.1760, American culture gradually stopped diverging and again moved

closer to the metropolitan Imperial culture. By 1760, both Britain and the future United States shared a common Georgian worldview, and “Americans were more English than they had been ... since the first years of the colonies” (Deetz 1996:60-62).

The problem with Deetz’s Georgian worldview model is that it fails to consider what happens after the War of Independence. Given the trading ties and cultural links between Britain and the United States it seems highly unlikely that convergence and divergence came to a sudden stop on July the 4th 1776. This is not to imply any failure on the part of Deetz, who was dealing specifically with the colonial period, but rather to state the importance of considering how similar relationships between the United Kingdom and the United States would have informed the archaeological record after American Independence. Within this context, Ewins’ recent research on the trans-Atlantic pottery trade becomes even more important. As discussed in the previous chapter, Ewins identified several phases of American ceramic taste and requirements from 1775-1880 (Ewins 1997:18-37). For the sake of this discussion, the important element of Ewins’ work is how American ceramic preferences gradually diverged from those in Britain. In the period between 1775-1810, the new United States was for the most part sent inexpensive British wares; little or no consideration of specifically American tastes was undertaken or considered necessary. In the second phase, from the 1810s to the 1870s, British pottery manufacturers considered American tastes far more closely. Initially, this took the form of British pottery makers including specifically American themes on decorated vessels or exporting specific decorations according to American taste. From c.1840, as American taste was influenced by undecorated French porcelains (themselves a symbol of the continued importance of European culture to an understanding of the USA), British pottery makers designed and exported white granite - a ware type now common in the United States and virtually unheard of in Britain. Clearly similarities and differences between British and American taste continue to be an important influence on the archaeological record in the 19th century.

The concepts just described are, however, as potentially important to considerations of the archaeology of Britain in the 18th and 19th centuries. As the United States became an increasingly important power, both economically and

socially, in the years following Independence its potential influence on the British archaeological record grows. Nowhere is this better illustrated than with the possible effect of American tastes and preferences on the Welsh assemblages, particularly Llystyn Mill. Chapter 6 discussed how the American preference for white granite may well have been responsible in some part for the increased availability and accessibility of transfer-printed vessels once the latter more or less disappeared from the American market. The subsequent increased accessibility of these wares may well have been partially responsible for the higher number of high status wares at Llystyn Mill compared to the earlier Welsh site of Pwll Mill. Indeed, if it is accepted that the higher status wares were part of the advance of British metropolitan culture into rural Wales, then arguably the American preference for white granite was an indirect cause of this advance. The relevance of trans-Atlantic influences on the archaeological record of both sides of the Atlantic is clear.

Part of the problem of fully considering this issue is that, during the late 18th and 19th centuries, 'American' and 'British' ideologies are not consistent across all geographical and social boundaries within the United Kingdom or United States. The American Civil War, for example, was a direct result of the ideological contradictions and tensions contained within the early US socio-cultural worldview. The United States is - and always has been - an extraordinarily heterogeneous country. While the examples may seem clichéd, there is a world of difference between coastal Carolina slaves, Virginia planters, Bostonian dockworkers, and an Ohio frontier family. These differences are, of course, openly and extensively acknowledged throughout the American historical archaeology literature, but it is nonetheless important to stress that "American society" and its ideologies is the sum of very different constituent parts rather than a single coherent ideological whole. International comparisons must take this into account.

Similarly, both Scotland and Wales (never mind the United Kingdom) contained (and still contain) internal cultural divisions. Scotland was for centuries culturally divided between the Gaelic Highlands and the more heterogeneous Lowlands. Long before the Act of Union of 1707 or the accession of James VI to the English throne, the still-independent Scottish state often had to resort to force

to control the tribal societies of the Highlands (eg. Mackie 1991:114-115). In some ways the only real difference after Culloden was that attempts to control the Highlands originated in London rather than Edinburgh. Yet while the Gaelic-speaking part of Scotland inexorably shrank over the 19th and 20th centuries, South Uist and Barra are Gaelic in the present day. In Wales, widespread linguistic and cultural divisions only really developed from the 19th century, but Pembrokeshire ("little England beyond Wales") had contained the linguistic and cultural division of the landsker for centuries.

For all of these reasons, instead of thinking in terms of monolithic 'British' and 'American' terms, it is better to think of several interlocking sets of worldviews. While it is not intended to suggest any formal structure or division, this thesis has both implicitly and explicitly considered the interactions of at least five primary cultural areas. In Britain these are the 'Metropolitan', 'Welsh' and 'Scots Gaelic' worldviews, while in the United States there were the 'national' and 'Southern' worldviews. Even these views are far from monolithic; the Southern worldview additionally contains 'Euro-' and 'African' subcategories. Perhaps it is best to consider these interactions in the context of set theory; while the precise nature of the the illustration will change according to the context, a Venn diagram could potentially provide a useful model for picturing shifting worldviews.

While this final section has used the occasional example from earlier in the thesis, for the most part it has served as a theoretical discussion of ideologies. But there are direct and important implications for the comparative analysis of ceramics. This is not just true for the analysis that has taken place in this thesis, but for all similar future analysis. This is no longer a matter of the specifics of the archaeological ceramics interpretation, but rather of the grand sweeping meta-narratives that underpin that work, of the cultural streams and eddies of national and regional identities that underpin analysis on both sides of the Atlantic. In particular, the analysis will now come to focus on the broad similarities that pottery played in these identities on both sides of the Atlantic, but often with quite different outcomes. This can be seen in the context of two invented nations whose history took two very different courses: a 'Britain' that has in some form or another persisted until the modern day, and a 'South' that died in 1865.

The previous chapters concluded that, in a British context, teawares symbolised the encroachment of the emerging British metropolitan identity into the more traditional cultures of the Hebrides and West Wales. That metropolitan British identity consisted of an image of a peaceful, rural Britain united against external foes (particularly Napoleon) and self-confidently able to rise above the occasionally violent social movements that punctuated the 18th and 19th centuries (Brooks 1999). This is not to argue that teawares signal a conscious participation in a specific worldview, but rather that they serve as subconscious symbols of the advance thereof. It was further argued in the previous chapter that while teawares clearly interacted with national and regional identities at the British sites, this was not the case at Stewart/Watkins and the Quarter Site. At these sites, it was argued, the teawares served as one means by which the poor whites at Stewart/Watkins could differentiate themselves from enslaved communities such as the Quarter site. Here teawares served as a form of status differentiation - but perhaps in retrospect this is an accident of history. If the American Civil War had turned out differently, teawares could have served as part of a national identity in the American South.

As was made abundantly clear in chapter 5, through discussions of the pottery and Thomas Jefferson's own confused conceptions of slavery, the strict division of the White and African-American worlds was an important part of the worldview of 18th-century Virginia. That in practice Virginian society was highly syncretic does not really impact upon the importance of that worldview; 19th-century Britain, after all, often failed to live up to its own conceptual ideal. For four years (1861-65), the American South did become an independent nation, the Confederate States of America, that incorporated the strong ideological divide between White and Black. Furthermore, that independent nation managed to project an image of separate national identity outside its own boundaries; Gladstone famously remarked:

"We may have our own opinions about slavery; we may be for or against the South, but there is no doubt that Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army; they are making, it appears, a navy; and they have made what is more difficult than either, they have made a nation." (R. Jenkins 1996:237)

That nation died when Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox Court House, and while the South continued to exist as a regional concept, its moment as a national ideology had passed.

This is more than an idle musing on what might have been. As was amply demonstrated by the form of *apartheid* that was practised in much of the South into the second half of the 20th century, an independent South would have featured a rigid hierarchical status division of its white and black inhabitants. Ferguson's archaeological survey of African America notes how in the 1960s "many whites I knew were blindly furious at having the status quo disturbed by 'uppity niggers'" (Ferguson 1992:123). This ideological status division is demonstrated by the distribution of teawares at Stewart/Watkins and the Quarter site. Thus, in the final analysis, the teaware distributions at the Hebridean and Welsh sites reflect and inform the highly successful self-conception of an independent nation state while the Virginian teaware distributions reflect and inform a status division that formed part of a nation that never quite came to be. Nevertheless the constructs of identities that interacted with teaware acquisition at the six sites were more similar than they may first appear. This is not to suggest that the British worldview was or is directly analogous to the racism inherent in the 19th-century South's self-conception, but rather that regional and national identities are often slippery ideals. The perception of the identities is as socially constructed as the identities themselves. Meaning and ideology are an important part of analysis at each of the six sites, but meaning and ideology are not universal truths.

To close this final section, it is worth wondering whether the spread of regional and national identities through the pottery record might well be compared to the spread of Deetz's Georgian worldview. Deetz theorised that

"mechanical where the older [medieval worldview] was organic, balanced where the older had been asymmetrical, individualized [sic] where the older had been corporate, this new way of perceiving the world is the hallmark of our third period, which lasts to the present and accounts for the way in which we ourselves look at reality" (1996:63-4)

Perhaps Deetz is right about the present, but it is easy to overstate the universality of the Georgian worldview. The blackhouses of South Uist and Barra or the small cottage at Pwll Mill belong far more to the organic, asymmetrical past. Indeed, as was discussed in chapter 4, the Hebridean population catastrophically failed to fully understand the rationalised world. Similarly, Ferguson has theorised that many slaves ignored Euro-American culture (which would have included the

'Georgian worldview') "and in doing so they also ignored and resisted the European American ideology that rationalized [sic] their own enslavement" (Ferguson 1992:120).

Thus the Georgian worldview was not a universal truth in Britain and North America. But where the Georgian perspective failed to make any definitive impact on each side, the 19th century saw the definitive encroachment of new nationally specific worldviews. Thus, on the largest scale of all, the comparative analysis in this thesis has demonstrated two somewhat contradictory principles. On the one level, the analysis has shown the importance of continued social and economic influences between Britain and the United States, influences which impact even those sites associated with the rural poor on the margins of society. On the second level, the analysis exists within a framework of the fragmentation of the Atlantic social framework. The British and American were never universally "Georgian", they were instead part of several different syncretic worldviews which diverged even more significantly as the 19th century wore on. The Quarter site inhabitants were African and American. The House E and Allt Chrystal households were - to different degrees - Gaelic and British. Pwll Mill and Llystyn Mill were Welsh and British. Perhaps only the Stewart and Watkins families were Georgian in the Deetzian sense, but if this is the case, then it only emphasises the fragmentation of the Atlantic world, for the Stewart/Watkins pottery assemblage is utterly unlike any of the other five.

This thesis has only examined only one aspect of material culture, namely pottery, and this conclusion has only looked at one aspect of ideology and meaning, namely national and regional identities. It should be stressed that pottery is not the only means of archaeological analysis; the investigation of other types of material culture would further enrich our understanding of the issues discussed herein. Nonetheless, as noted back on page two of chapter 1, "Pottery is virtually universal on domestic sites of the period under analysis; it typically occurs and survives in large quantities, and it can provide unrivalled information on date, economy, and status. No other single class of artefact can consistently provide such an invaluable source of data for eighteenth and nineteenth century domestic sites." It is also worth noting that only six sites' assemblages have been examined in this thesis; as comparative analysis continues to develop and grow, it

may well be that some of the conclusions in this thesis will need to be reevaluated in the future. There are, of course, a myriad of ideological concepts, that can be explored through pottery, including gender (eg. Yentsch 1991b), etiquette (eg. Leone and Shackel 1987) or consumerism (eg. Spencer-Wood 1987); since no study can encompass the totality of these themes, this thesis has concentrated on national and regional identities. It is both hoped and indeed encouraged that other researchers will explore other areas of meaning in the future. Nonetheless, despite these necessary qualifications, this thesis has conclusively proven the value of the large-scale comparative analysis of 18th and 19th-century pottery, particularly within the theoretical and methodological framework advanced in the thesis. This is not just true of the identification and analysis of the specific, such as local ware distributions and status differentiation, but also of the large-scale meta-narratives that underly the interpretation of meaning. A coherent theory-informed structure that merges the best of both British and American historical archaeology now exists for the analysis of later post-medieval pottery both in Britain and internationally.

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APPENDICES

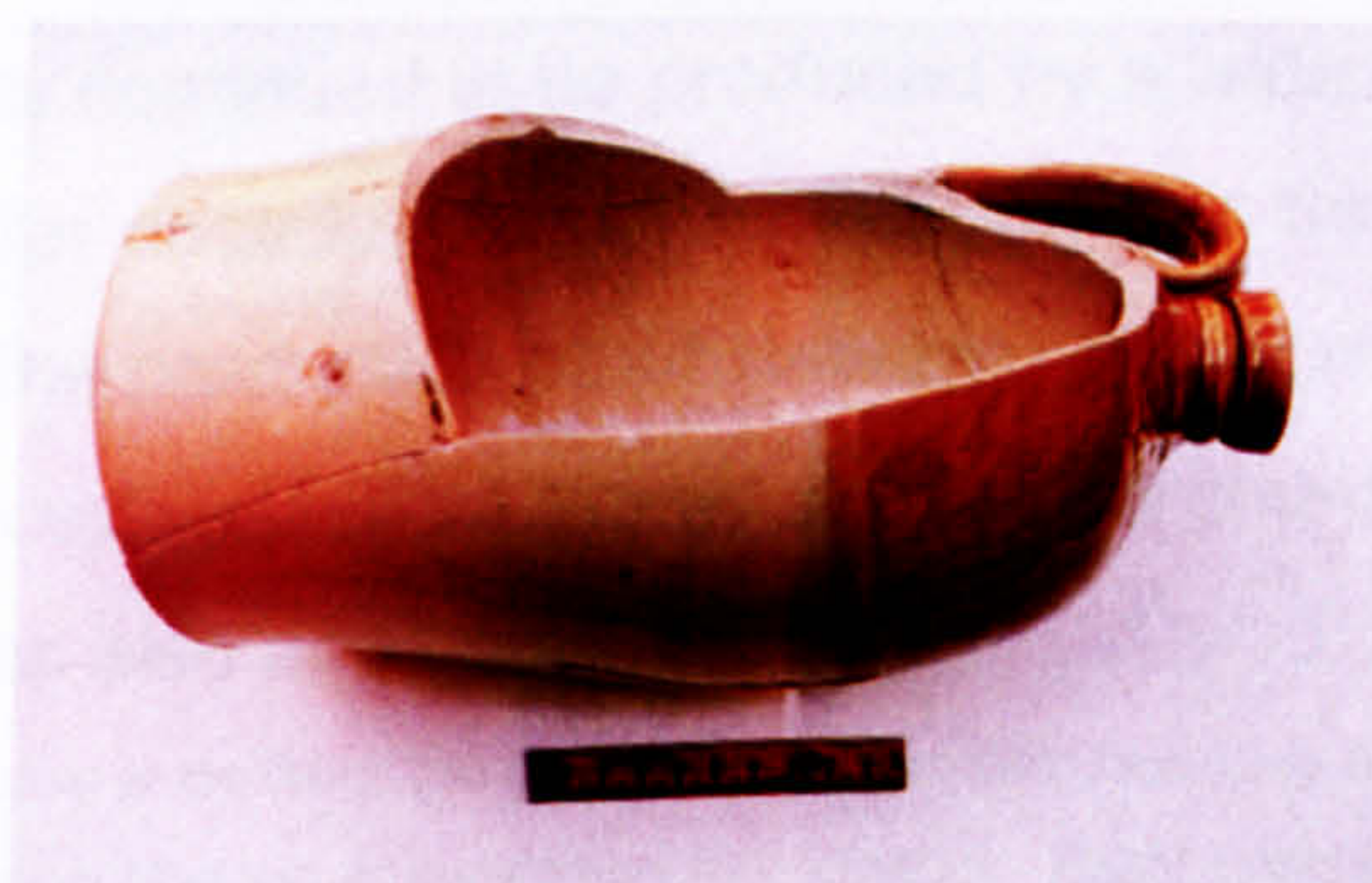
The following appendices serve two functions. The first purpose is to provide images of the pottery from the six assemblages discussed in the text. The second purpose is to provide the formal typology for the various types discussed in the text. The images have been carefully selected in order to provide a representative cross-section of the pottery that occurs at the sites. The standardisation of ware types through industrialisation would render the inclusion of examples from each of the six sites highly redundant, hence the appendices are representative rather than comprehensive. The exceptions are the locally made coarsewares, which are not found across regions, and thus form a larger portion of the appendix images than they typically do of the assemblages. Included herein are the dates (when known), a brief description and, where relevant, some additional background information on each type. For ease of reference, the types are listed in alphabetical order. Information listed in **bold face** is discussed further in the relevant appendix, on ware, form or decoration. Images from one of the six sites (except Barra) are included for specific types where appropriate, and these are credited accordingly. Appendix A contains a glossary of wares, appendix B contains a glossary of form, and appendix C contains a glossary of decoration.

APPENDIX A - A GLOSSARY OF WARES



BLACK BASALT (1768-c.1820): A black stoneware, usually unglazed and **moulded**. One of the many wares perfected by Josiah Wedgwood in the late 18th century, black basalt was used for a variety of forms and functions, from tea sets to ornamental busts. Some rare, expensive and elaborate versions are glazed with a lustrous, metallic surface. Examples recovered from archaeological sites usually take the form of teapots, ewers, and other hollow **tablewares**. Black basalt is still manufactured by the Wedgwood firm, and the archaeological end date of 1820 represents the end of the ware as a common, industrially produced material, rather than a genuine terminal date.

(All examples from the Quarter Site; courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest. Originals in colour)

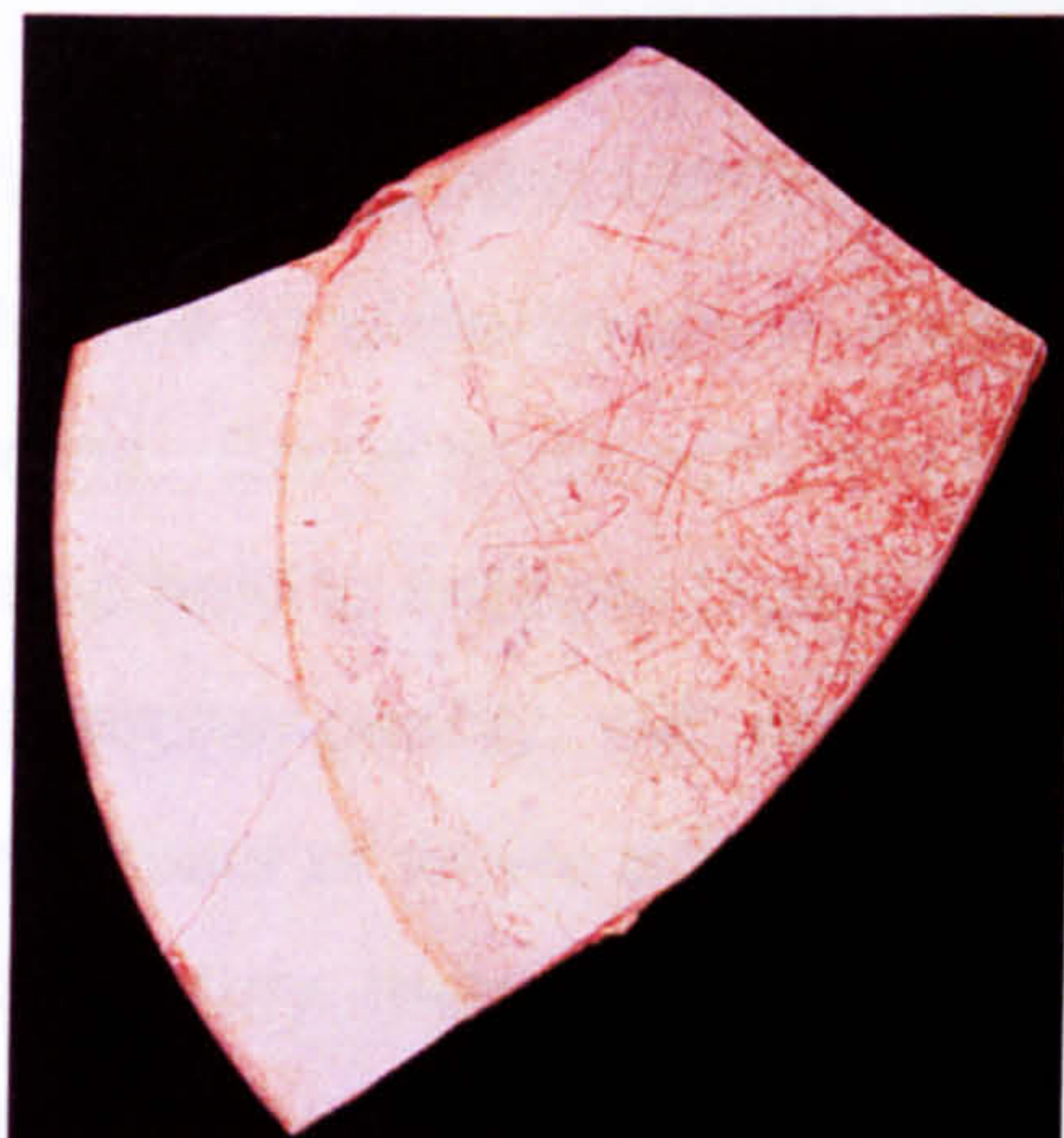


BRISTOL-GLAZED STONEWARE (1835+): A type of **stoneware** glaze developed by the William Powell firm of Bristol, and soon taken up by other stoneware makers. Bristol glaze, a very common type from the mid-19th century, is

characterised by a smooth brown/beige or white/grey surface. The illustrated example is a Powell jug made for Simeon Johns, a Milford wine merchant.

(Example from Llystyn Mill; by the author; all rights reserved. Original in colour.)

COARSEWARE: A generic term used to refer to low-fired utilitarian **earthenwares**. Most coarsewares are variations of **redware**, although **yellowware** is also usually placed in this category.



CREAMWARE (c.1760-c.1830): A refined light cream-bodied earthenware with a clear cream-coloured lead glaze. The glaze tends to pool yellow or yellow-green in foot rings and other crevices. Astbury was producing an experimental cream-coloured ware as early as 1720, but the true precursors are the tortoise-shell and mottled coloured wares of the 1740's and '50's commonly associated with Thomas Whieldon, and referred to as Whieldonware. Plain cream-coloured wares were perfected by Josiah Wedgwood by 1761, and were popularised by Queen Charlotte's purchase of a set in 1762 (hence 'Queen's ware'). Undecorated cream-coloured wares continued to be produced by a wide range of factories until the 1820's. In the latter decade, the amount of colour in the glaze was gradually lessened, leading to the production of **whiteware**. While creamware can to a certain extent be conceptualised as the **undecorated** counterpart of **pearlware**, decorated creamwares also occur.

(Left hand example: creamware plate from the Stewart/Watkins site; courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Thomas Jefferson Memorial foundation [Monticello]. Right hand examples: selection of creamware fragments from the Quarter Site; courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest. Originals in colour).



DELFTWARE (c.1600-c.1800): A highly friable buff paste ware with a thick, separate blue to white tin glaze, frequently **painted** in monochrome or polychrome. Some archaeologists prefer the term 'tin-glaze ware' as 'delft' is sometimes held to indicate Dutch manufacture. This thesis uses the terms more or less interchangeably, with no specific country of origin indicated by 'delftware'. Until the advent of **white saltglazed stoneware** and industrial **finewares** in the mid-18th century, the various tin-glaze wares were the most expensive refined tablewares (excluding porcelain) available. While delft fell out of favour as a table ware from the mid-18th century, it continued to be used for ointment jars and **chamberpots** until the beginning of the 19th century.

(Examples from Pwll Mill; all rights reserved. Original in colour).

EARTHENWARE: The first of the three main overall ceramics groups of historical archaeology. The earthenware category essentially includes all ceramics that are neither **stoneware** or **porcelain**. More specifically, earthenware is a low-fired, opaque, porous ceramic which must be glazed to contain liquids, and is typically fired between the temperatures of 600-1200 celsius. This is obviously a broad category, and it can be further subdivided into **coarsewares** and **finewares**, before being further broken down into individual ware types.

FINEWARE: A generic term often used to describe refined **tablewares**, particularly **creamware**, **pearlware**, **whiteware**, and **ironstone**. Confusingly, **white saltglazed stoneware**, while a **stoneware** rather than an **earthenware**, is sometimes counted as a fineware.



GREEN-GLAZED WARES: A generic term used to describe a variety of common coarse **redwares** found on 18th-century sites. The most common of these by far is **North Devon gravel tempered ware**. These materials were made by a wide variety of potters across several local traditions. No attempt has been made to further identify them in this thesis (with the exception of North Devon materials) given the latter's focus on the comparison of industrial-era materials.

(Examples from Pwll Mill; all rights reserved. Original in colour).

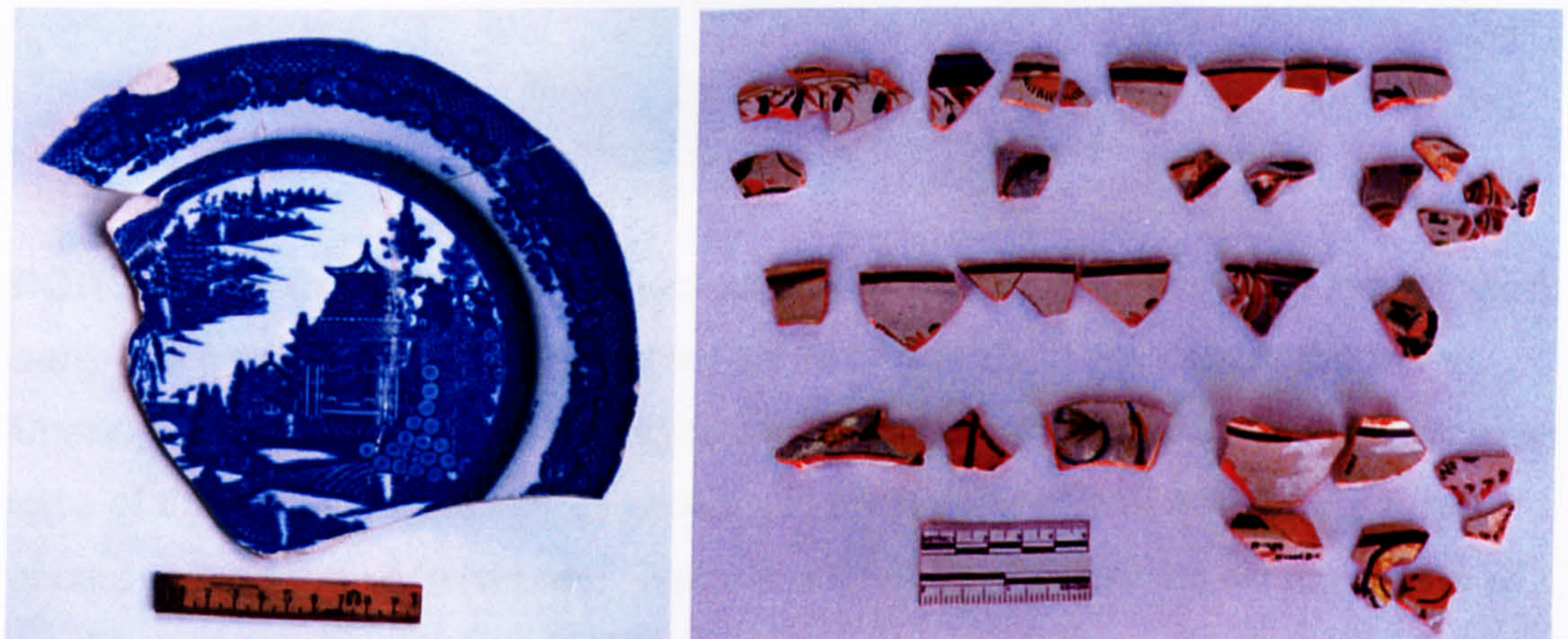
IRONSTONE: (c.1845+): Quite possibly the most infuriatingly difficult to define **fineware** in the industrial period. In so far as it can be defined, it is traditionally a harder and less porous ware otherwise akin to **whiteware**, usually with a white body, although grey to greyish-blue examples also occur. The bluish types should under no circumstances be confused with **pearlware**. Part of the problem inherent in defining ironstone is that the term was originally used as a brand name on certain whitewares (particularly 'Mason's Patent Ironstone' of 1813), and similar terms, such as 'stone china' were also common. This thesis uses the term "ironstone" to refer specifically to a thick-bodied, highly fired (almost non-porous), and usually undecorated refined **earthenware** common in North America from c.1845. The latter is also often referred to as 'white granite'. While this material is traditionally associated with American contexts, observations by this author

suggest that if British archaeology ever comes to grapple consistently with the later 19th century, it may have to consider decorated wares with a similar paste.



NORTH DEVON GRAVEL-TEMPERED WARE: A distinctive, gravel-tempered, coarse **redware**, frequently **green-glazed**, and (despite the name) made on both sides of the Bristol Channel. This ware is extremely common on both sides of the Atlantic on sites with 17th- and early to mid 18th-century components.

(Example from Pwll Mill; all rights reserved. Original in colour).



PEARLWARE (1779-C.1830): A refined white-bodied **earthenware** with a distinctive blue-tinted glaze caused by the addition of cobalt to the glaze. Pearlware occurs with virtually all contemporary decorative techniques. Pearlware was originally an attempt by Wedgwood to produce a whiter bodied material than **creamware**. Early **painted** and **transfer-printed** pearlware often feature Chinese-themed designs, perhaps at least partially due to the blue-tinted ware's passing resemblance to **Chinese porcelain**. As with creamware, pearlware does not suddenly disappear from the scene in 1830, but rather the blue tint is gradually

phased out over the 1820's, eventually leading to **whiteware**.

(Left hand example from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Right hand examples from the Quarter Site; courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest. Originals in colour).

PORCELAIN: The second of the three main overall ceramics groups of historical archaeology. Porcelain was originally developed in southern China in the 9th century. It is a hard, non-porous, vitrified, and slightly translucent ware formed by firing a mixture of special clays at temperatures of c.1280-1400 celsius. The glaze frequently appears to be fused to the paste. There are both Chinese and European variants, which are described individually immediately hereafter.



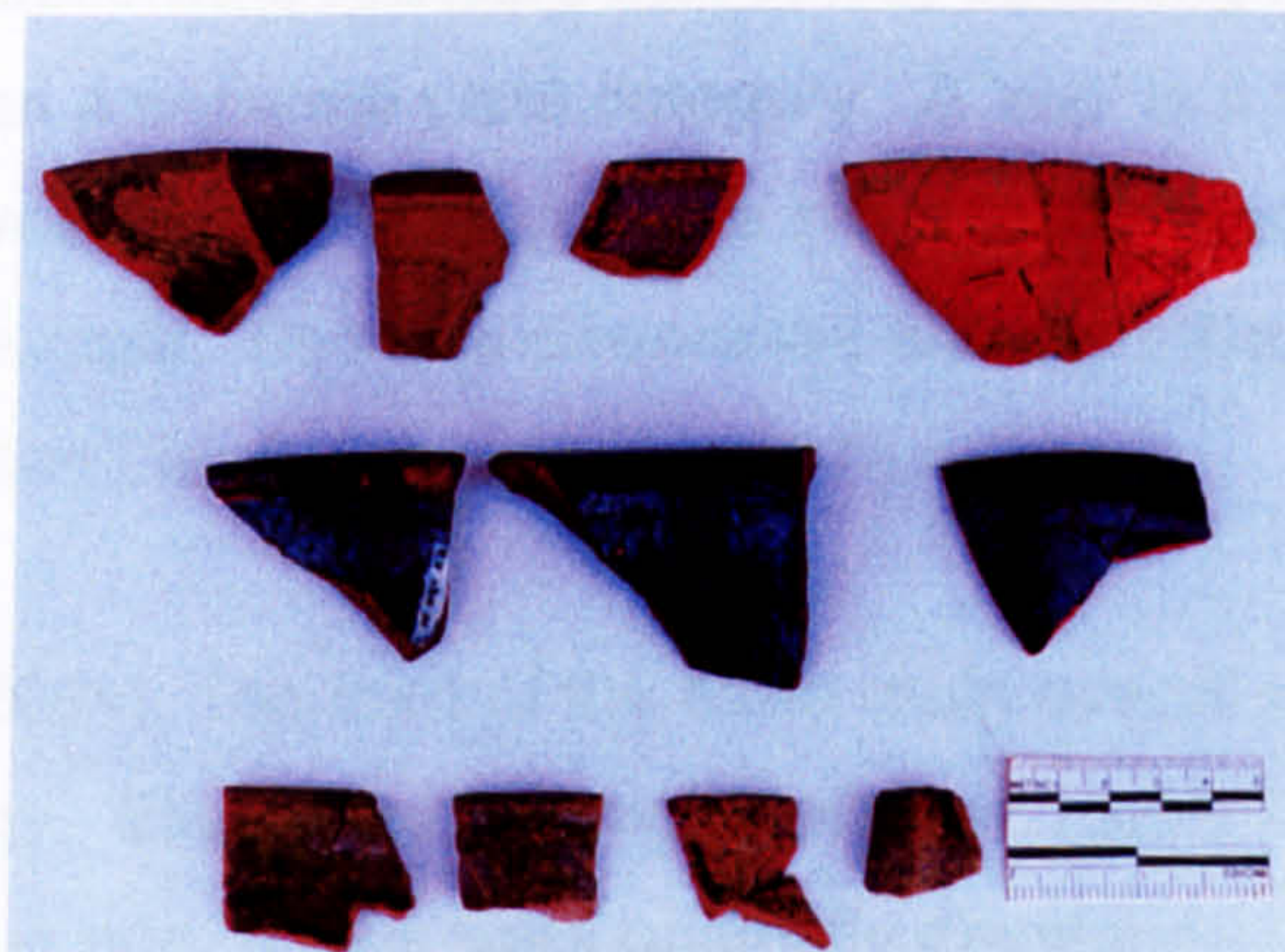
PORCELAIN, CHINESE: The most expensive and desirable ware of the 18th and early 19th centuries. Several different types of porcelain were exported from China, but the one most commonly found on British and American archaeological sites of this period has a light blue body, is frequently **enamelled**, and usually occurs in the form of **teawares**. There were severe restrictions on the export of the most elaborate examples of Chinese porcelain until the early 19th century, and the examples exported up until this date are usually representative of the bottom end of the Chinese market. By the beginning of the 19th century, the development of the European porcelain and cheap alternative **finewares**, as well as the changing political relationship between China and Europe, served to end the large scale European importation of Chinese porcelain.

(Example from Pwll Mill; all rights reserved. Original in Colour).



PORCELAIN, EUROPEAN: European potters had long attempted to imitate Chinese porcelain, but it was only at the beginning of the 18th century that German experiments found a formula that enabled a reasonable imitation to be made. European porcelains were still quite expensive, and much of the early history of British industrial pottery innovation was driven by the search for cheaper alternatives to both types of porcelain. The clay composition of European porcelains are different from their Chinese porcelain (English bone china, unsurprisingly, also contains bone powder), and they are usually much whiter than their Chinese counterparts. They can also frequently be distinguished by the characteristic fine micro-crazing in the glaze.

(Examples from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Original in Colour).



REDWARE: A generic term used in this thesis to describe most coarse red-bodied **earthenwares**. The term is best used on sites that post-date 1760 as prior to this date, coarse red-bodied earthenwares are often the most common elements of an assemblage, thereby necessitating further differentiation of these materials (see **green-glazed wares** and **North Devon gravel-tempered ware**). Even in the industrial period, there are circumstances where differentiation can be useful, but

usually they can safely be lumped into a single catch-all category.

(Examples from the Quarter Site; courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest. Original in colour).

REFINED REDWARE: Another generic term used to describe the much less common refined red-bodied **earthenwares**, typically in the form of hollow **tablewares** such as **teapots**, etc. A wide variety of these wares were made in relatively small quantities by different potters. None of the more common types with separate accepted ware names (such as Jackfield) were recovered from the sites in this thesis, thus necessitating the generic term.

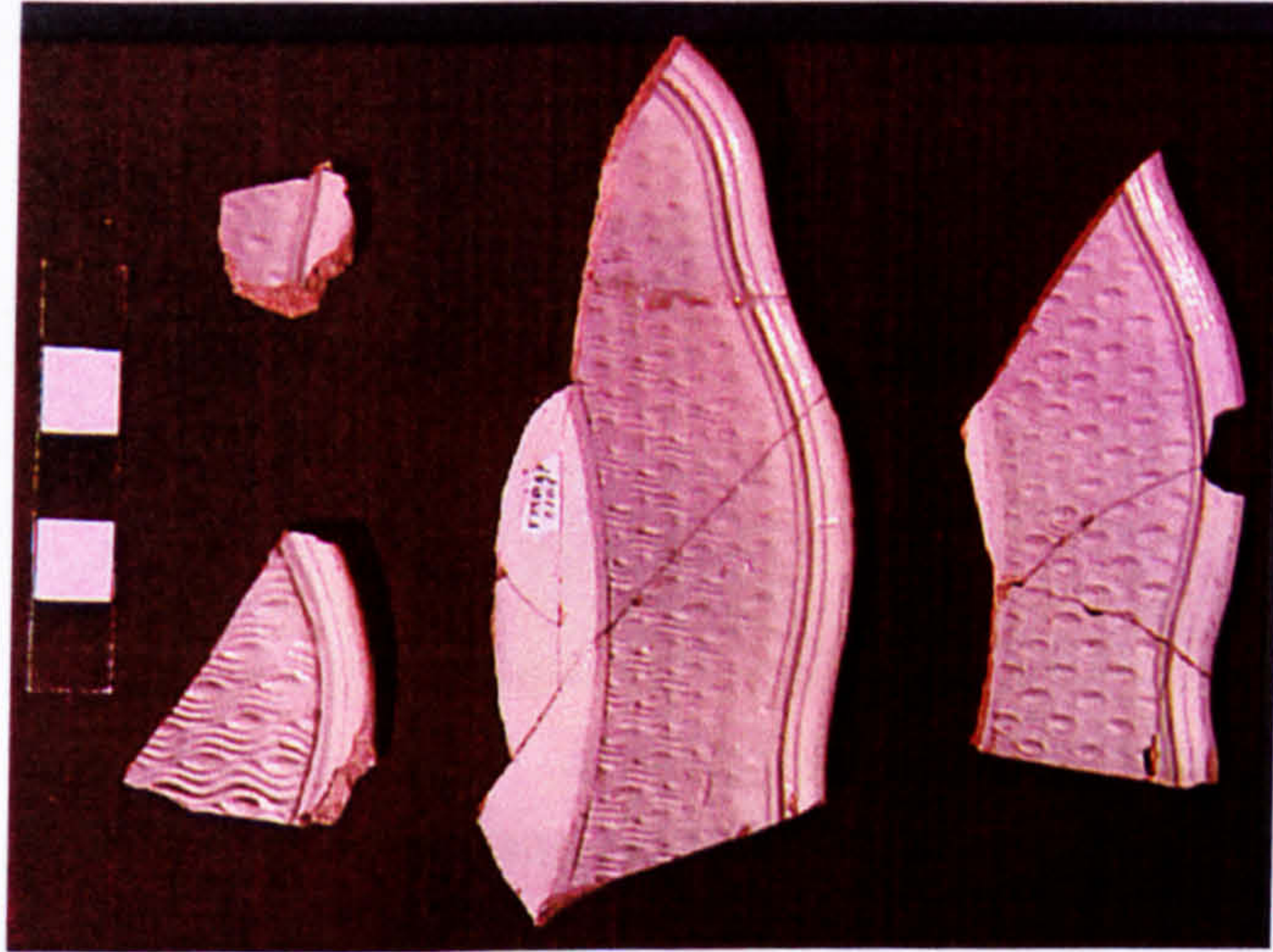
SALTGLAZED STONEWARE: Not really a specific ware type, but rather the term used to describe the most common **stoneware** glaze. Saltglaze is formed by the addition of salt to the atmosphere of the kiln; sodium oxide reacts with the silica in the stoneware to form the distinctive dimpled 'orange peel' surface. Virtually all colours of stoneware - with the notable exception of **black basalt** - can be saltglazed. One of the most important saltglazed stonewares is **white saltglazed stoneware**.

SLIPWARE: A slip-decorated **redware** that strictly speaking refers to a decorative technique rather than a separate ware category. A 'slip' is a coloured clay wash that is applied to a vessel before glazing; the slip may be manipulated in order to provide a decorative motif. See **slip decorated** and **sgraffito** in Appendix B ('A Glossary of Decoration') for further details and illustrations.

STONEWARE (c.1200+): The third of the three main overall ceramics groups of historical archaeology. Stoneware is a highly vitrified, highly fired (usually 1200-1250 celsius), opaque non-porous ware originally developed in 13th-century Germany. The most common body colours are grey and buff-brown, but white, red and black stonewares also occur. By the 18th and 19th centuries, stoneware is manufactured throughout most of Western Europe and parts of North America. Of the many subtypes of stoneware, the most relevant to this thesis are **black basalt**, **Bristol-glazed stoneware**, **saltglazed stoneware**, and **white saltglazed stoneware**.

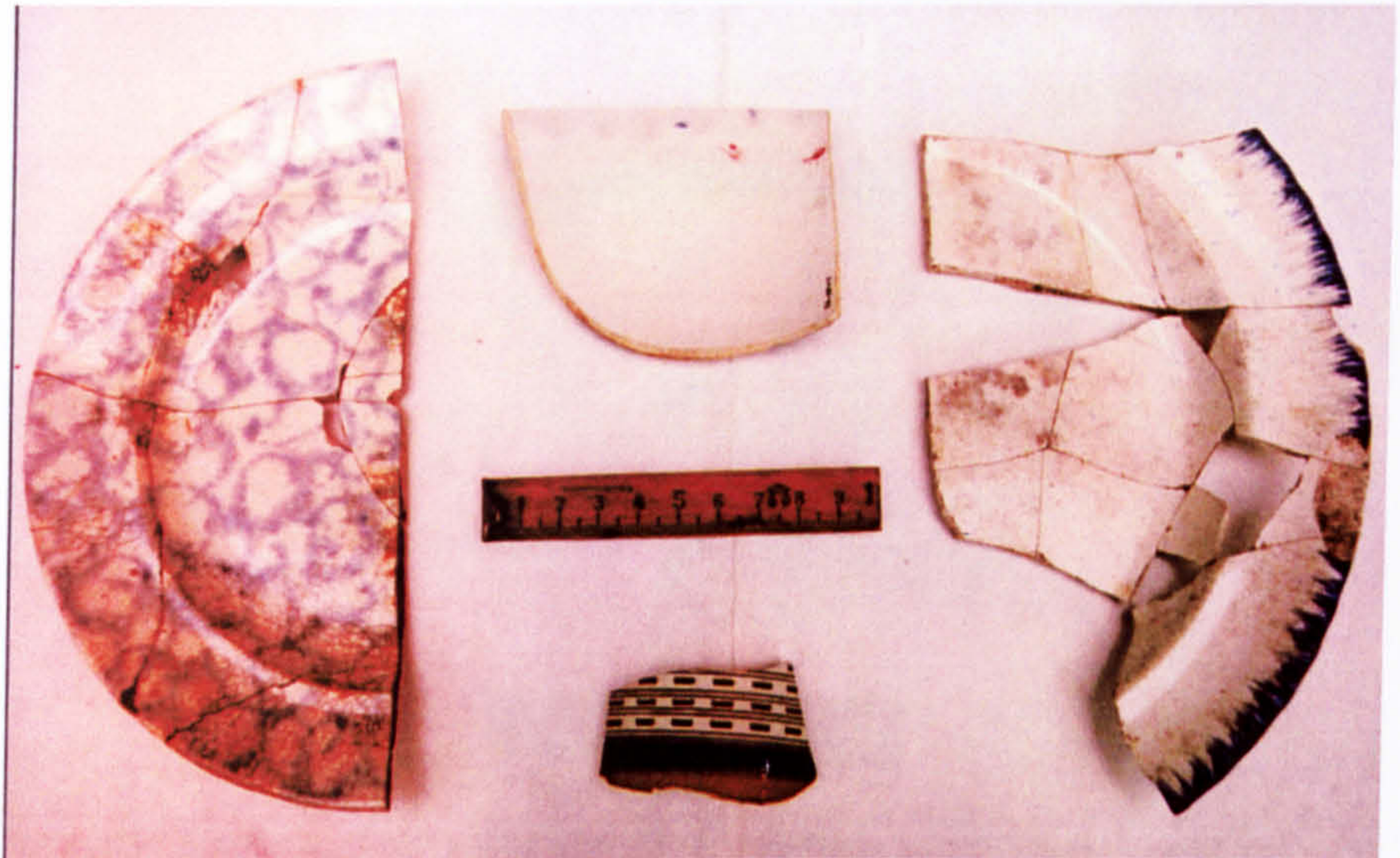
TIN-GLAZE: See **delftware**.

WHITE GRANITE: see **ironstone**.



WHITE SALTGLAZED STONEWARE (c.1720-c.1780): The name of this ware is essentially self-explanatory. Early white stonewares were being made in London as early as the late 17th century, but commercial production of white saltglaze in its best-known manifestation did not begin until the 1720's (in Staffordshire). One of the most important innovations in 18th century pottery production, white saltglazed stoneware was the precursor of the refined white earthenwares such as **creamware**, **pearlware**, and **whiteware**. Unlike most saltglazed wares, white saltglaze is most commonly found in **tableware**, rather than **utilitarian**, forms. White saltglaze was the first (relatively) inexpensive competitor to porcelain, and appeared at the same time that a burgeoning consumerist middle class made such a competitor viable (although a study of cause and effect here might be worthwhile). **Moulded** white saltglazed stoneware (as with the plate rims in this illustration) is particularly common.

(Examples from House E, Milton, South Uist; by kind permission of David Barker, all rights reserved. Original in colour).



WHITEWARE (c.1820+): A refined white-bodied **earthenware** with a clear lead glaze. Whiteware was not the product of sudden innovation, but was rather the end product of the gradual lessening of the cream and blue tints in **creamware** and **pearlware** - hence the continued use of the term "CC ware" (cream-coloured) by the potters for this ware throughout much of the 19th century. Experimental whitewares were manufactured as early as 1805, and 'Mason's Patent Ironstone' (a whiteware, not an **ironstone**) was introduced in 1813. The popularisation of whiteware nonetheless dates to the 1820's. Whiteware occurs in every conceivable tableware form and with every decorative technique used on **finewares**. Whiteware also marks the beginning of the end of the effective Staffordshire domination of the ceramics market, and versions were made throughout Britain and North America. Indeed, the sheer ubiquity of whiteware and (in American contexts) ironstone in the 19th century raises the issue of whether a traditional division of ceramics by ware type - except in the broadest sense - continues to have any validity for wares post-dating 1830.

(Examples from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Originals in colour).



YELLOWWARE (1830+): A clear lead-glazed yellow-bodied refined **earthenware**, typically thick-bodied. In terms of form (and indeed function), yellowware falls into the middle ground between refined earthenware **tablewares** and coarse earthenware **utilitarian** forms. Yellowware typically occurs in small utilitarian forms such as **colanders**, strainers, **chamberpots**, etc., but **teapots**, **cups**, and **plates** do exist in smaller quantities. **Large storage** forms also exist. Yellowware is frequently **undecorated**, but **annular**, **mocha** (typically blue on white) and occasionally **painted** decorations all occur. While yellowware is obviously the product of industrial manufacture, its versatility of form and function in some ways designates it as the last of the great folk-tradition utilitarian **coarsewares**.

(Examples from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Originals in colour).

APPENDIX B - A GLOSSARY OF FORM

Of the three basic building blocks of pottery identification - ware, form and date - form is undoubtedly the most problematic category. While the broad standardisation of vessel forms wrought by the advent of industrialisation ostensibly renders the task of form categorisation somewhat easier than for earlier periods (see chapter 2), this by no means has led to a rigid standardisation of form typologies for industrial-era pottery. This has led to some surprising inconsistencies, of which Miller's suggestion to refer to small plates of six and seven inch diameter as "muffins" and "twifflers" (G. Miller 1991) serves as but one example. In so much as there is a problem (and there is some danger that the difficulties are being overstated here), it perhaps stems from the similarities of 18th- and 19th-century pottery forms with those used in the modern day and age; a plate is a plate, a bowl is a bowl, a cup is a cup, a mug is a mug. Archaeologists can be forgiven the lack of an impulse to elaborate further. This glossary follows a similar approach; while descriptions and photographs of each type have been included, most forms will already be familiar to the reader. The descriptions and photographs will help in the identification definitions of the more unfamiliar types. Each description also begins with a brief description of the vessel type's primary intended function.



BOTTLE: Vessel for storing liquid. This category includes both larger bottles for beer and wine (etc.) and smaller ink and medicine bottles. Ceramic bottles, unlike **jugs**, usually have a cylindrical body. Glass bottles are far more common than

pottery bottles, but such pottery bottles that are found are almost exclusively made from **stoneware**, as with the examples shown.

(Examples from Llystyn Mill and Pwll Mill; all rights reserved. Originals in colour).



BOWL: Vessel for the consumption of liquid-based foods. Larger bowls are often used for the preparation or serving of foods. Modern bowls and late 18th- and 19th-century bowls are essentially analogous. Bowls occur in virtually all ware types.

(Examples from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Originals in colour).



CASTOR: In Chambers dictionary, “a vessel with perforated top for sprinkling”, hence ‘castor sugar’. In modern terms, the closest analogy would be a salt or pepper shaker, although the original would by no means have been restricted to these seasonings. The only castor identified from the six assemblages was a tiny **creamware** vessel fragment recovered from the Quarter Site, and shown in the above image.

(Example from the Quarter Site; Courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest. Original in colour)

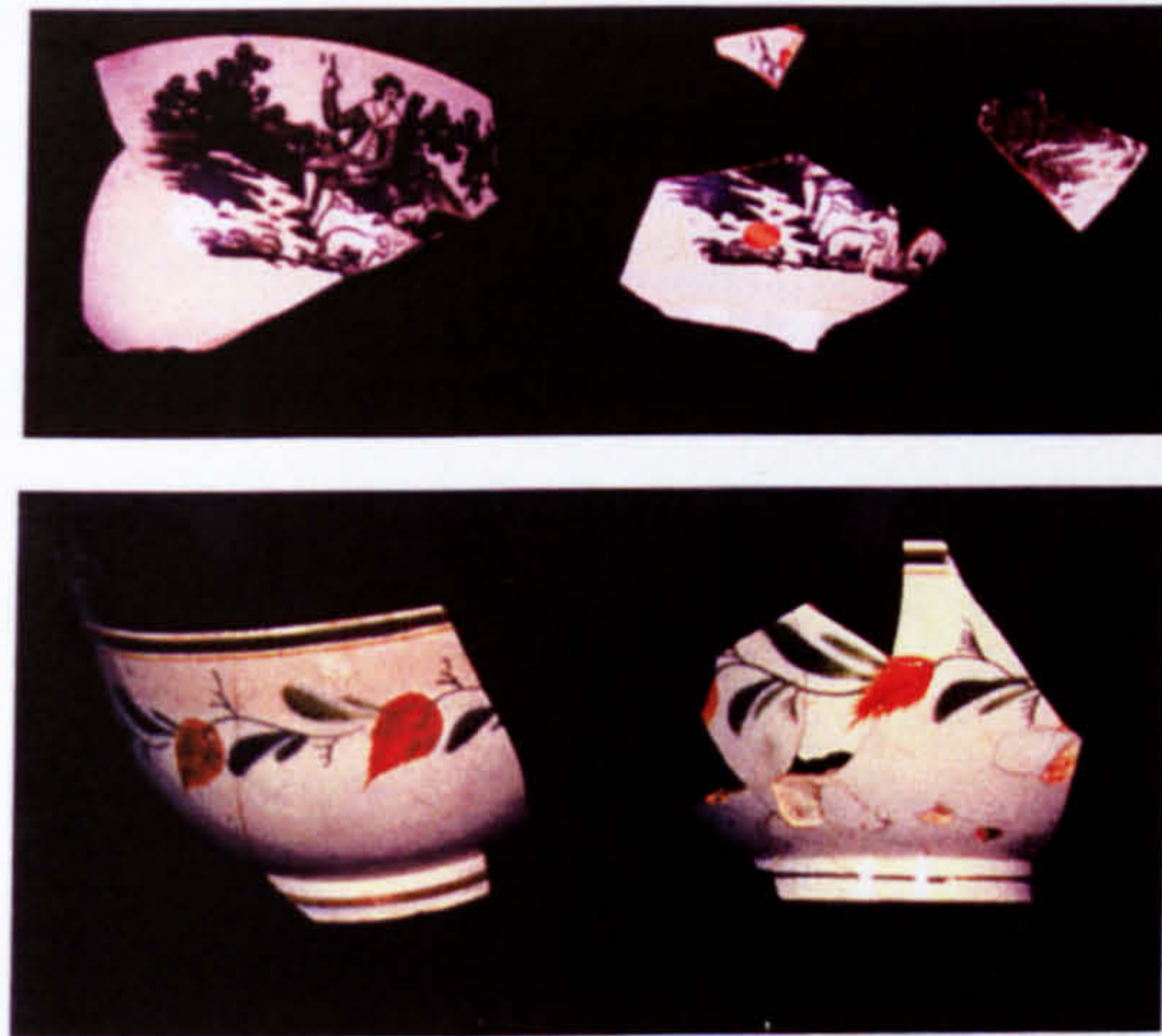
CHAMBERPOT: In Chambers, “a bedroom vessel for urine”, obviously predating the niceties of widespread indoor plumbing. Chamberpots resemble large bulbous bowls with flat rims and often with handles. Chamberpots occur in a wide variety of ware types depending on the period. Unfortunately, no appropriate image for inclusion here could be located amongst the six assemblages.



COLANDER: In Chambers, “a perforated vessel used as a strainer in cookery”. These vessels most often take the form of large bowls with extensive circular perforations along the sides and bottom. Nineteenth-century pottery examples typically (though not exclusively) occur in **yellowware**, as with this example from appendix A.

(Examples from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Original in colour).

CREAMER A small **jug** used for cream, often directly associated with **teawares**. The Stewart/Watkins assemblage contained the only creamer identified in the six assemblages. However, the distinction between a creamer and a generic small jug is often difficult to discern, and the possibility that some creamers are catalogued as jugs in other assemblages cannot be discounted. Given the importance of **teawares**, as discussed throughout the thesis, more attention needs to be paid to this issue. No image is available for the sole example identified as a creamer at the Stewart/Watkins site.



CUP: A vessel used for the consumption of liquid. Differs from a **mug** in that a cup has a curved body with a wider rim than base, but a mug has a straight cylindrical body with a rim and base of (almost) identical diameter. Cups, unlike mugs, are also considered to be **teawares**. There are many slight variations in cup form, for example in the nature of the body curve or in the presence or absence of a handle. Following the advent of industrialisation, cups are typically (though by no means exclusively) made from **finewares** or **porcelain**.

(Examples from the Stewart/Watkins site; courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation [Monticello]. Originals in colour).



DISH: A small, flat or shallow hollow serving or holding vessel. Dishes are non-circular, although they may be ovoid or rectangular. Not all dishes are food-related; many are instead grooming-related, and may have originally held toiletries.

(Example from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Original in colour).

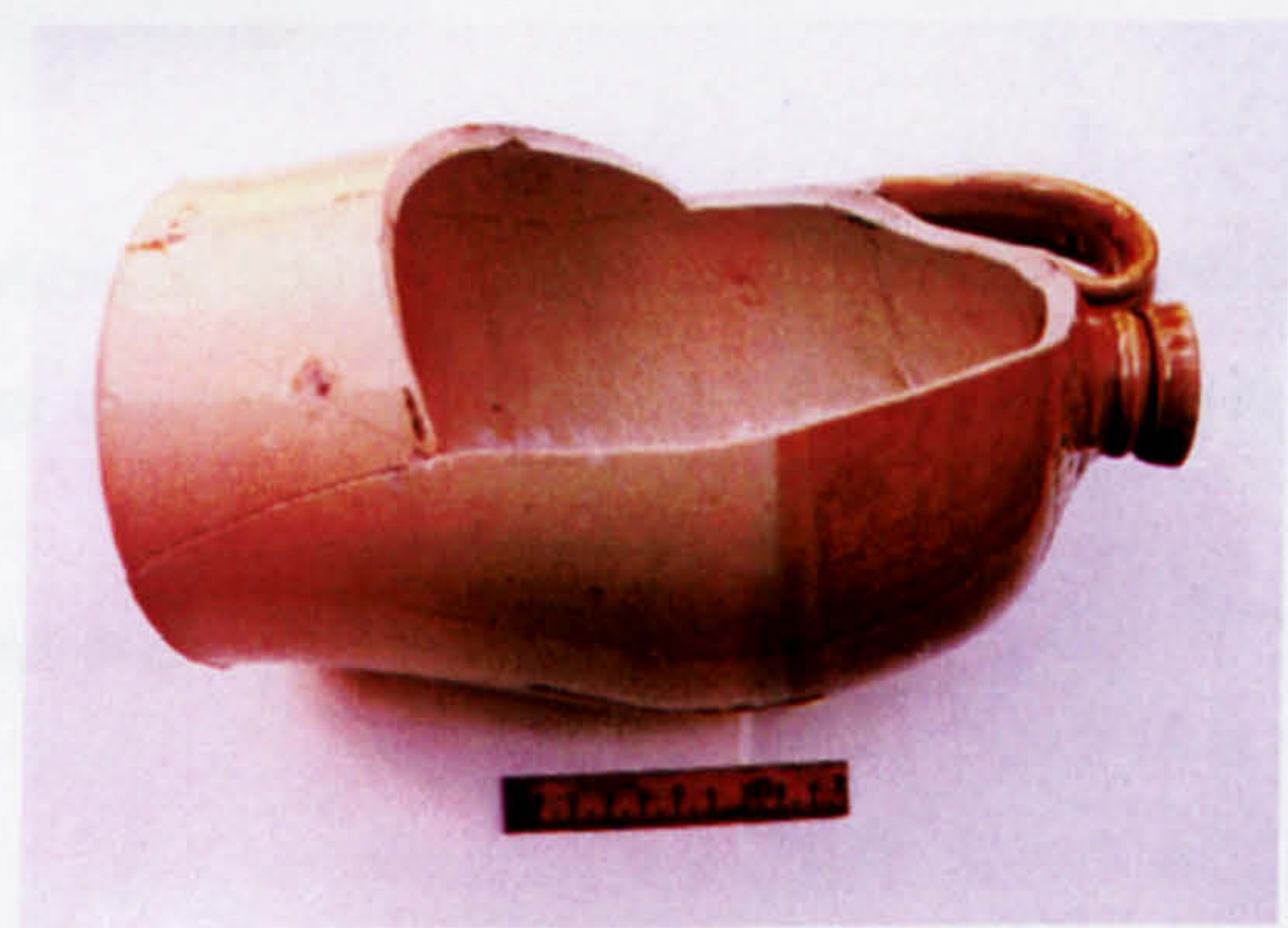
FIGURINE: A decorative figure or pottery mini-statuettes. Only the South Uist

assemblage featured a (porcelain) figurine, of which no photograph is available. Conceptually, these objects can be difficult to place in wider pottery studies as they are usually purely decorative rather than functional (unless one considers decoration to itself be functional). However, as figurines are undoubtedly ceramics, and as many of the vessels in the assemblages in this thesis were used in primarily decorative contexts, it would seem strange to exclude the former from analysis.

FLAT: See **unidentified flat**.

HOLLOW: See **unidentified hollow**.

JAR: A small storage vessel, usually cylindrical in form, and usually with a rim and base of (almost) equal diameter. In form, though not function, perhaps best conceived of as a handle-less **mug**. It is important to note, however, that some polygonal, or even more elaborate **moulded**, jars were made, particularly as the Victorian era reached its climax.



JUG: A vessel used for holding and/or pouring liquids. This is one of the more problematic form categories used in the thesis. There is some disagreement in the archaeological community over whether a distinction should be made between 'jugs' and 'pitchers', although the precise nature of that distinction is one of the problems. For this thesis, the category 'jug' encompasses most vessels with handles used for the holding and pouring of liquids, irrespective of the rim form or

circumference. Typically, the top of the body (though not necessarily the rim or mouth) tends to be wider than the base. The presence of a handle and the wider upper body are the chief characteristics that separate jugs from **bottles** from a simple identification perspective.

(Left hand example from Pwll Mill; all rights reserved. Right hand example from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Originals in colour).

LID: Lids are not strictly speaking a separate form, but are rather the cover for **tureens**, **teapots**, and suchlike vessels. In some rare cases where it was impossible to identify the original form of the vessel to which a lid belonged, but where the lid also clearly represented an otherwise unrepresented vessel, the lid was entered into the catalogue separately.



MUG: A vessel used for the consumption of liquid. Mugs are characterised by cylindrical bodies. See **cup** for a wider discussion of the difference between cups and mugs.

(Example from Pwll Mill; all rights reserved. Original in colour).

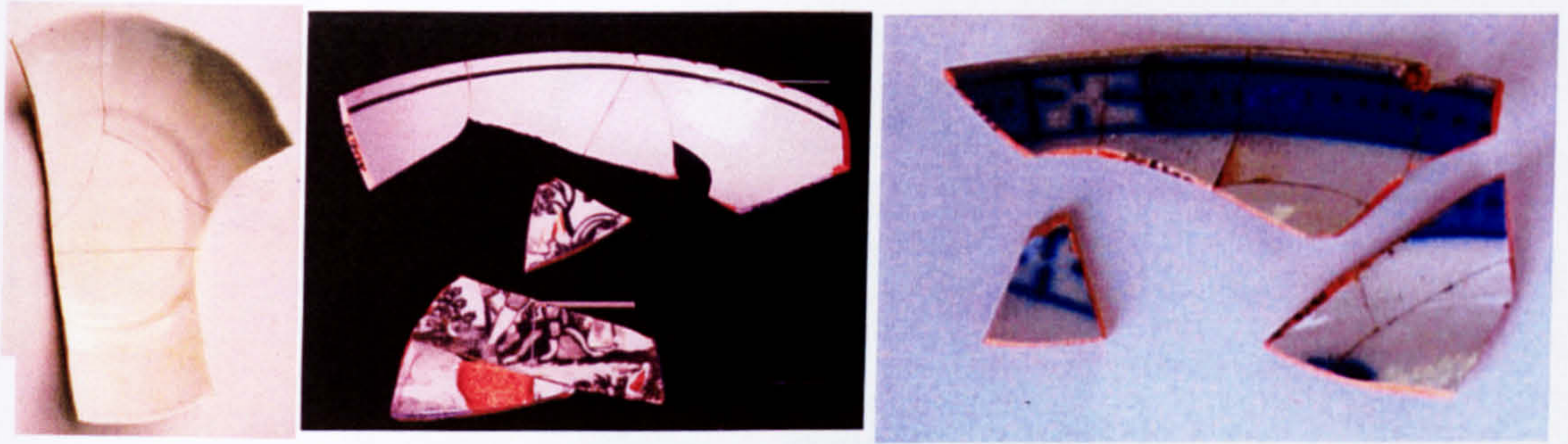


PLATE: A flat vessel used for the consumption of relatively solid foods - although many 18th- and 19th- century plates are deep enough to be considered shallow soup dishes by modern standards. Plates are either circular or polygonal, although polygonal plates have circular centres and bases. A large flat vessel with an ovoid rim or polygonal rim with an ovoid centre is, however, most probably a serving **platter**. Plates come in a wide range of sizes, from under six inches in diameter to over a foot in diameter. Plates (and platters) occur in many ware types, although the various **finewares** are the most common ware types in the industrial era.

(Left hand examples from House E, Milton, South Uist; by kind permission of David Barker, all rights reserved. Central example from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Right hand example from the Stewart/Watkins Site; Courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation [Monticello]. Originals in colour).

PLATTER: A large flat vessel used for serving or presenting relatively solid foods. Platters, unlike **plates**, are usually circular or polygonal ovoids, but otherwise use the same decorative and vessel profile conventions as plates.

POT: A generic term coined for this thesis to solely describe a group of **coarseware** vessels recovered from Pwll Mill. These vessels are too large to be ordinary **tableware bowls** and too small to be **large storage vessels**. As the focus of the thesis was on later industrial wares, the 'pots' term was used to catalogue the early coarsewares in question. This should not be seen as a definitive category should anyone wish to study these vessels in the future.



SAUCER A flat to shallow hollow vessel traditionally seen as the base for a **cup**, but often used for a wide variety of functions. As Chambers has it, “orig[inally] a dish for salt or sauce; a shallow dish, esp[ecially] one placed under a tea or coffee cup”. The primary intended role of the saucers in this thesis is most probably as part of a cup and saucer set (whether functional or for display) and the two forms are often grouped together as **teawares**. Scott (1997) has discussed the various secondary functions of saucers quite extensively.

(Left hand example from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Central example from the Stewart/Watkins Site; courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation. Right hand example from the Quarter Site; courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Thomas Jefferson’s Poplar Forest. Originals in colour).

STORAGE: A generic term used to describe a wide range of large **utilitarian** vessels used for storing foodstuffs - or indeed other materials. Most of these vessels are **coarsewares**, but a significant minority occur in **stoneware**.

TABLEWARES: A somewhat misleading, but nonetheless extremely useful, generic term used to describe ceramic vessels used in the preparation, serving, and consumption of food. To quote chapter 6, “for the purposes of this chapter (and the thesis), ‘tableware’ may be defined as all refined **earthenwares** and **porcelain** (excluding items solely for display, such as **figurines**), and most **coarseware** and **stoneware** forms adjudged not to be large or long-term storage items”. Solely out of (admittedly inconsistent) habit, **chamberpots** are included with tablewares.



TEAPOT: Hollow vessels used for the brewing and pouring of tea, coffee, chocolate, and similar drinks. As can be seen from these examples, the modern teapot is a direct descendent of its 18th- and 19th- century forebears.

(Examples from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Originals in colour).

TEAWARES: A term used to collectively describe **cups** and **saucers**.



TUREEN: Hollow vessel for the serving of liquid-based foods. A tureen is to a **bowl** as a **plate** is to a **platter**. Most tureens take the form of large circular or polygonal ovoid bowls. Many tureens also originally had **lids**, although it is not always possible to match tureens and lids when dealing with archaeological assemblages. Tureens, unlike most bowls, also usually have flat rims.

(Examples from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Originals in colour).

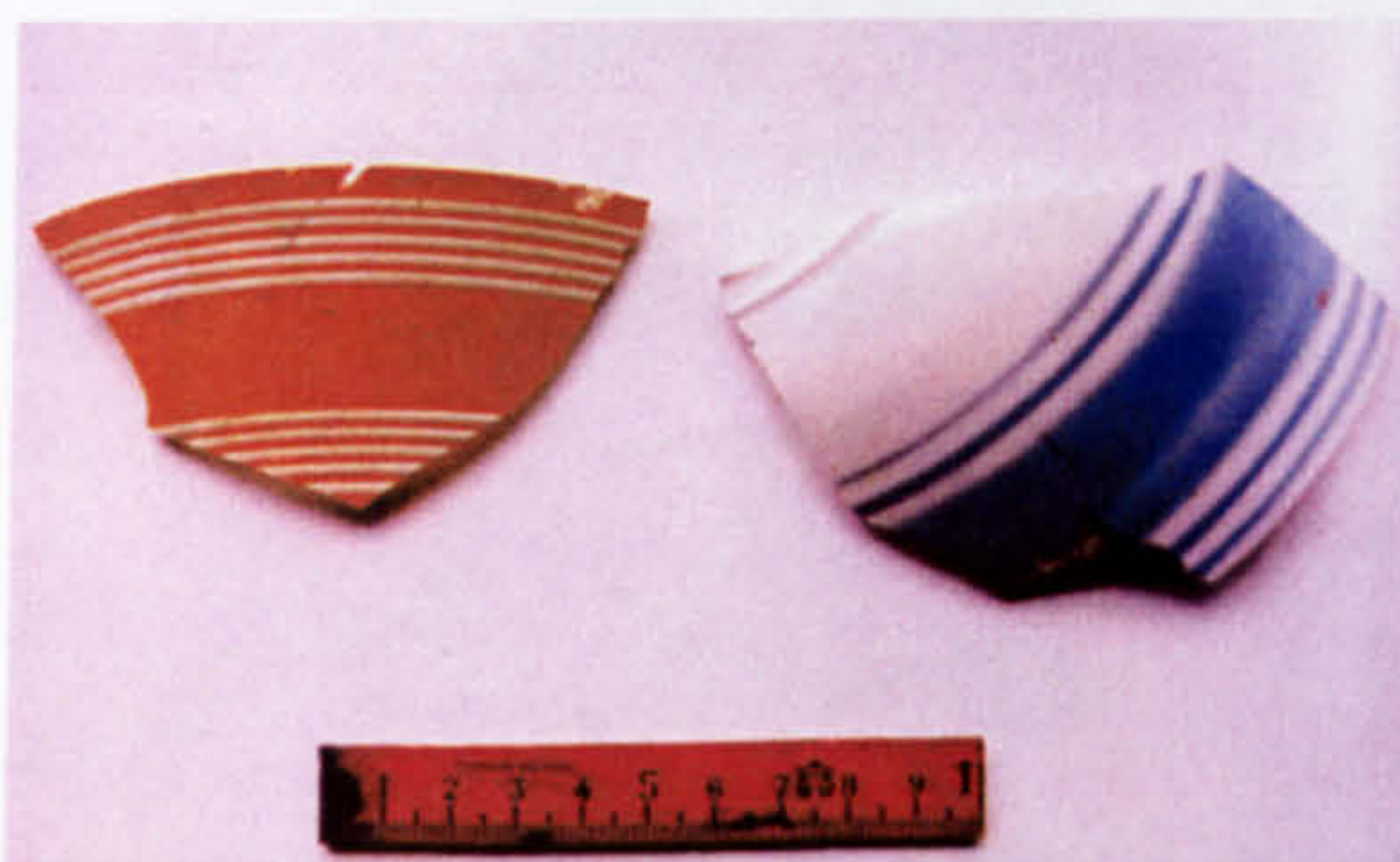
UNIDENTIFIED: A self-explanatory term used to describe vessels of unknown form.

UNIDENTIFIED FLAT: While it is occasionally impossible to identify the precise form of a vessel, it is usually possible in these instances to identify the general form thereof. More specifically, it is usually possible to identify whether an unidentified vessel was flat (such as a **plate, platter, etc.**) or hollow (**bowl, cup, mug, teapot, etc.**). 'Unidentified flat' is a term used to refer to the former.

UNIDENTIFIED HOLLOW: See **unidentified flat** for definition. Unidentified hollow vessels tend to be more common than their flat counterparts as there are more, and more varied, hollow forms than flat forms.

UTILITARIAN: Generic category used to describe almost all vessels, particularly **storage** vessels and their like, excluded from the **tableware** category. However, note that 'utilitarian' most definitely does not include figurines.

APPENDIX C - A GLOSSARY OF DECORATION



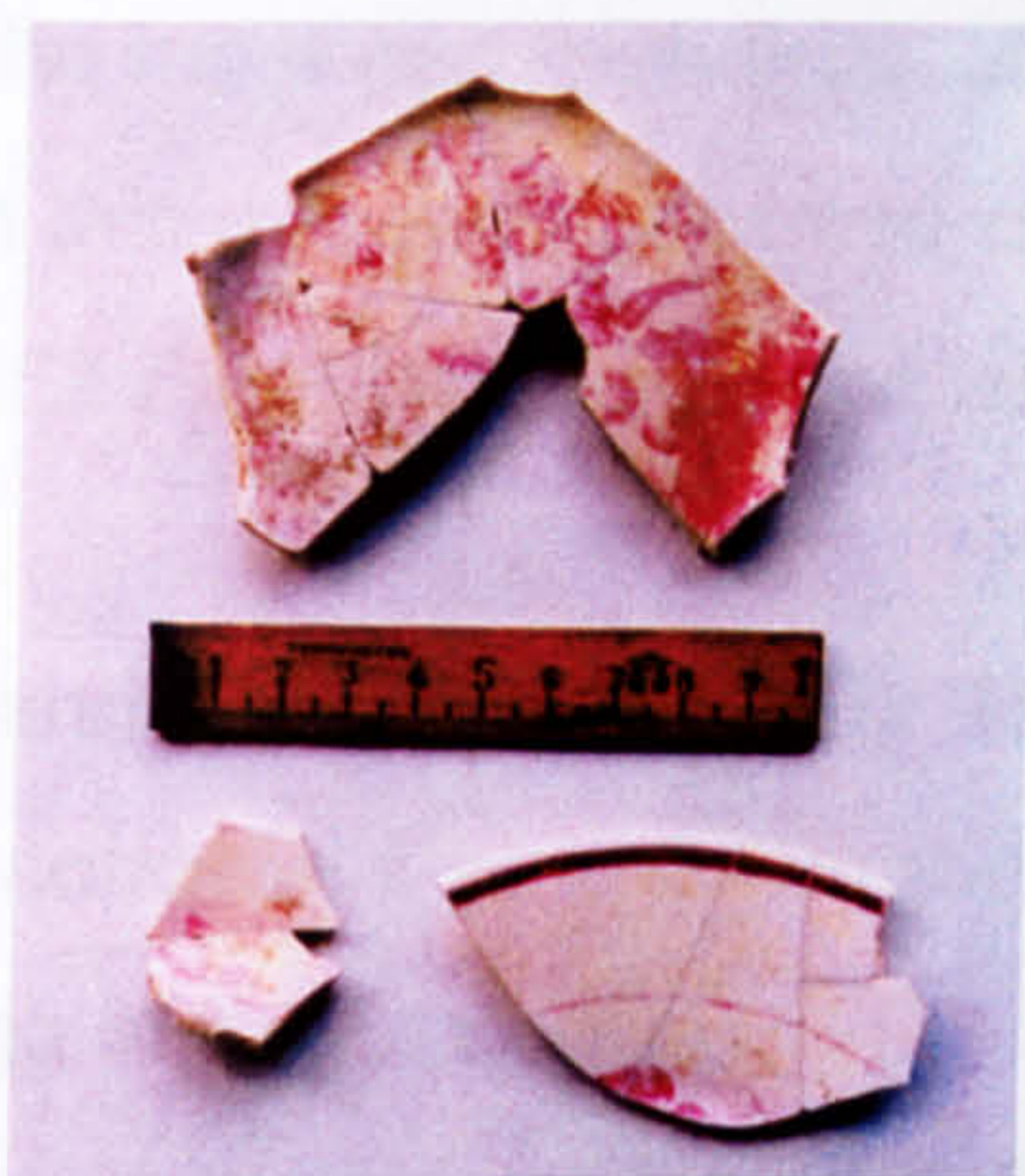
ANNULAR (1790+): Regular horizontal coloured bands, most commonly associated with **bowls**. The earliest examples are found on **pearlware**. The bands consist of a coloured clay slip, and thus annular wares may be counted as a type of **industrial slipware**.

(Examples from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Originals in colour)



CHELSEA SPRIG (first half of 19th century): Small blue applied sprigs of forget-me-nots, cornflowers, and perhaps thistles. Found exclusively on European **porcelain**, most frequently on **teawares**. The 'Chelsea' part of the name is actually somewhat misleading, as Hayden's early 20th-century books record similar materials as typical of the Derby porcelain factory, and the latter were themselves apparently imitations of Angouleme china (Hayden 1904:22). Indeed, these blue sprig decorations appear to be common at British porcelain factories. Specific dating of this type has proven difficult, but it appears to date to the first half of the 19th century.

(Example from Llystyn Mill. Original in Colour)



DECAL (c.1895+): An overglaze decoration similar in detail to transfer prints, but applied via a decal rather than an inked transfer paper. Decals were initially monochrome, but polychrome versions were soon introduced. Decal printing was the last great decorative innovation of the 19th century; indeed, it is introduced so late that it is woefully, if perhaps understandably, under-represented in the archaeological literature. Decal prints are found on all contemporary fineware types.

(Example from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Original in colour).

DIPT (1790+): See **industrial slipware**.



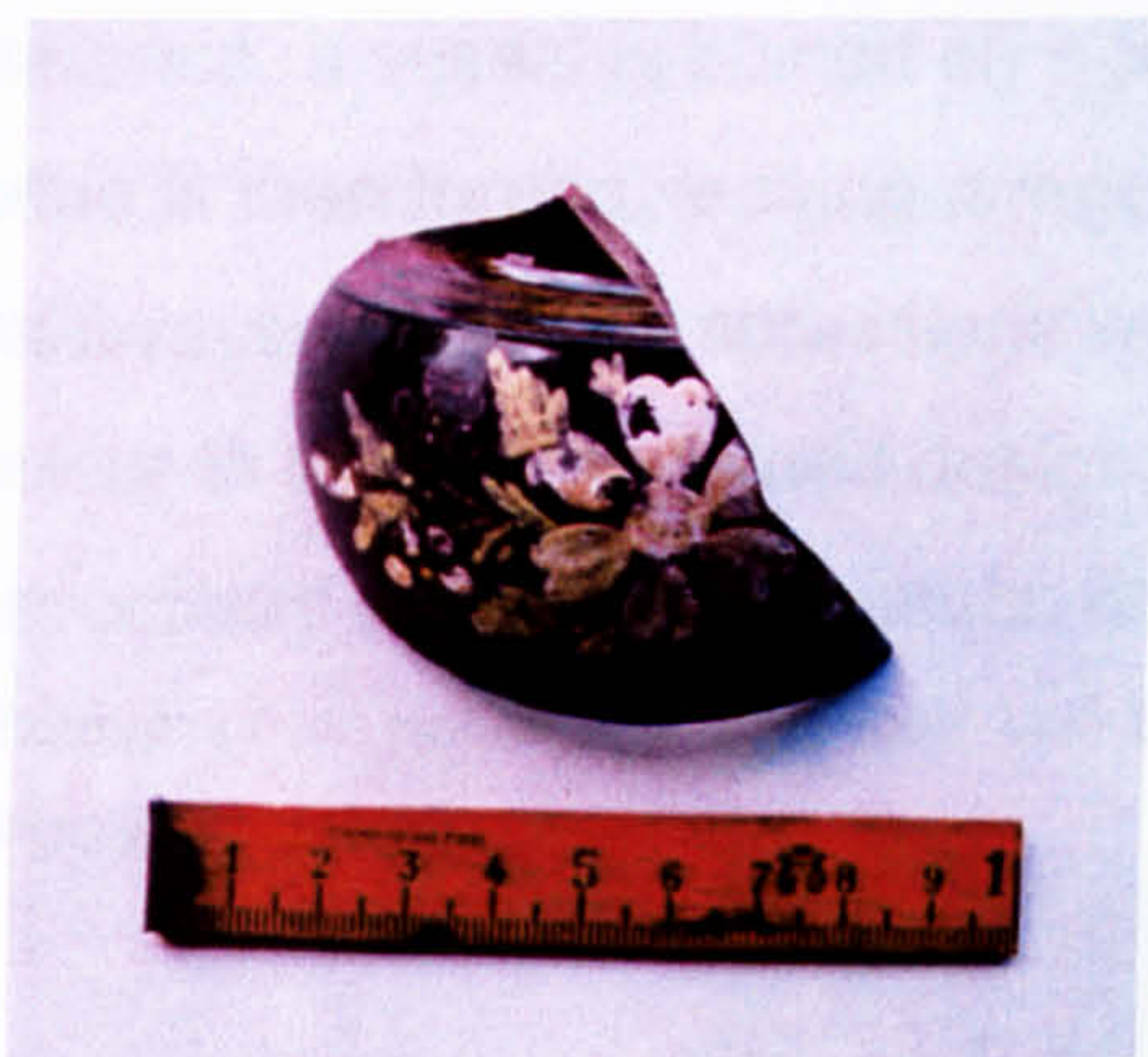
EDGED: The practice of decorating the edge or rim of a vessel originates long before the period discussed in this thesis. The advent of industrial moulds meant that ever more elaborate and delicate rim decorations became possible from the mid-18th century. **White saltglazed stoneware** plate rims in particular were often

elaborately decorated. The most common type of edged decoration, **shelledge**, is discussed elsewhere in this appendix, but two other less-common types, recovered at the Quarter Site and usually associated with **creamware plates**, are quickly described here.

RAISED RIM (top and bottom of image): This rim type was probably not even conceptually conceived as a decoration. It consists simply of a slight rise at the very edge of the plate.

ROYAL RIM (centre of image) (1762-c.1785): A distinctive type of raised rim with regular indentations (or 'scalloping'). This rim type was relatively common in the earlier period of creamware manufacture.

(Examples from the Quarter Site; courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest. Originals in colour)



ENAMELLED: Overglaze **Painted**. Miller's research on vessel costs (G. Miller 1991) indicates that enamelled vessels were more expensive than their underglaze counterparts. Indeed, enamelling is particularly common as a decorative technique on **Chinese Porcelain** (as in the example on the right). Given the much higher cost, this decoration type is not included in the "painted" category of the decorative comparisons of chapters 3 through 6. More specialised types of overglaze paint include **gilt** and **lustre** decorations. Enamels were sometimes applied through the use of stencilling (of which no examples were recovered from the sites).

(Left hand example from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Right hand example from Pwll Mill; all rights reserved. Originals in colour)



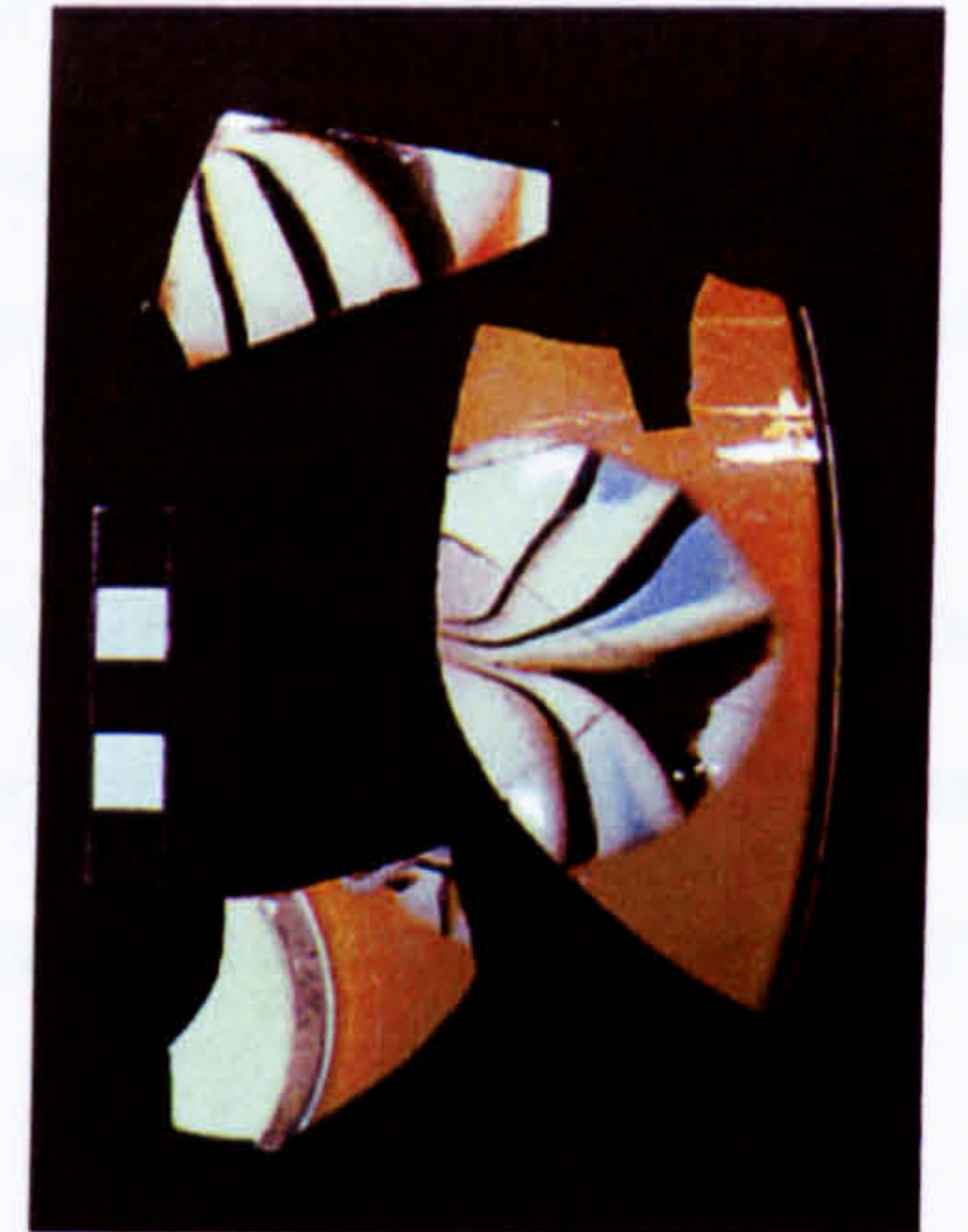
ENGINE TURNED (fl.1795-1830): A decorative technique very much associated with **industrial slipware** techniques, particularly the rims of industrial slipware vessels (as with the top example), but nonetheless not dependent on the latter. In essence, a vessel is placed on a lathe while the fabric is still leather-hard. The lathe is then turned, leaving a regular geometric impressed or incised design on said vessel. These impressions were then often filled with slip in order to provide colour to the engine turned design. Engine turning appears to be exclusively associated with **hollow** vessels, and is most common on **pearlware**.

(Examples from House E, Milton, South Uist; by kind permission of David Barker, all rights reserved. Originals in colour).



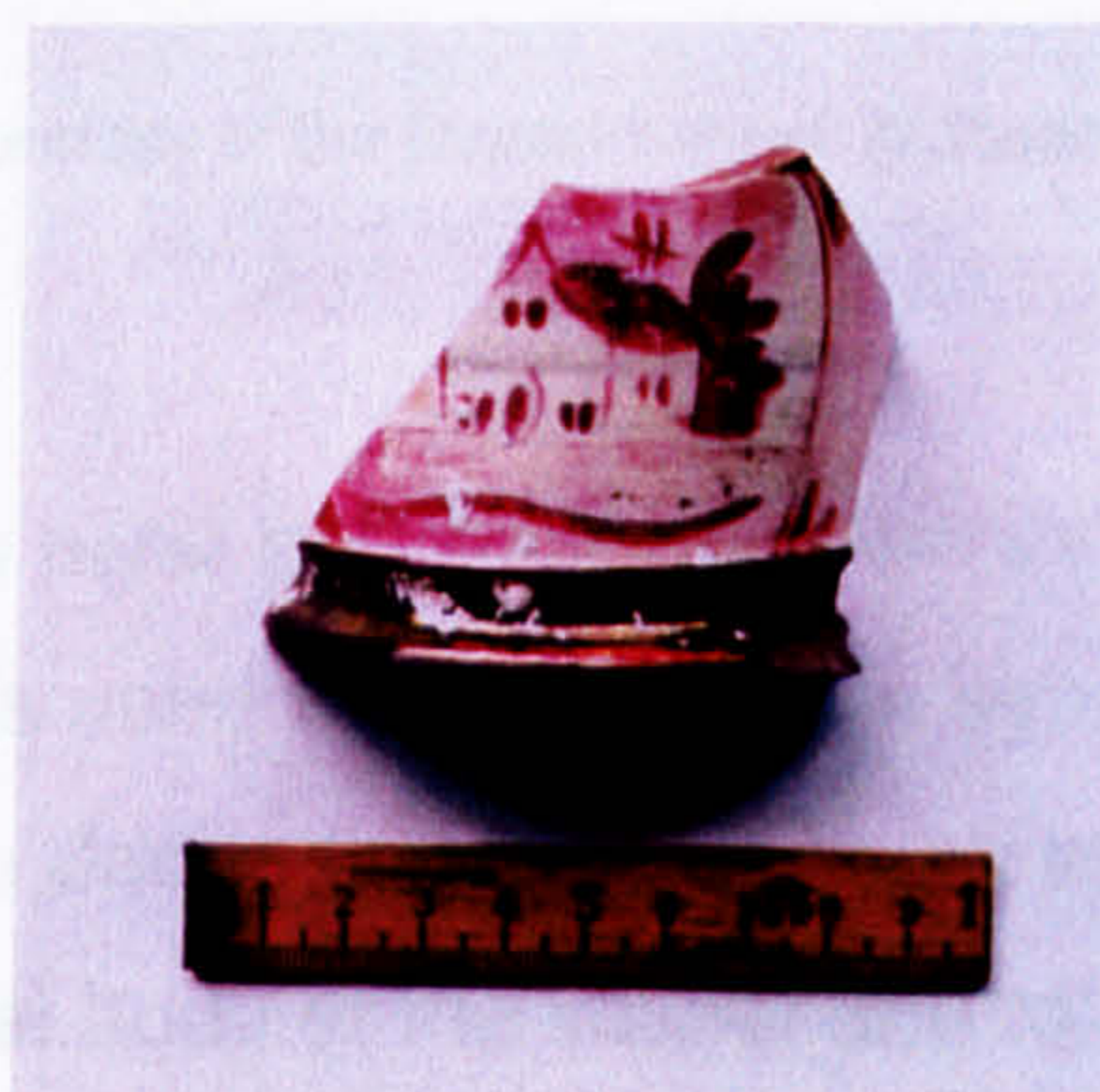
GILT: This category is not a specific type of decoration, but rather refers to the use of gilt paint in decoration, usually as part of an **enamelled** or stencilled decoration. Annular enamelling is particularly common, as on the saucer in the pictured example. While perhaps thought of as a high Victorian practice, Hayden (1909:208) records the use of gilt on the **stoneware** of William Littler in the mid-18th century. Despite this stoneware connection, 19th-century gilded vessels are almost exclusively **fineware** or **porcelain**.

(Example from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Original in Colour).



INDUSTRIAL SLIP (fl.1790-1830) The use of clay slip (a thin layer of coloured clay wash) in industrially-manufactured pottery. Some industrial slip designs, such as **engine turned** and **annular** decorations, relied on industrial techniques for their precision. Other designs, such as **mochaware**, were still applied by hand. There are so many variants of the common hand (or indeed finger) decorated types that a complete catalogue is impossible in this space, and the above images are representative rather than comprehensive. Industrial slipwares are found almost exclusively on **pearlware** and **whiteware hollow** vessels, although some creamware examples exist. The term **dipt** or dipped is also often used to refer to industrial slipware.

(Left hand examples from Llystyn Mill and Pwll Mill; all rights reserved. Right hand examples from House E, Milton, South Uist; by kind permission of David Barker, all rights reserved. Originals in colour).



LUSTREWARE (fl.1790-c.1850): Lustreware involves the use of a metallic, somewhat reflective, paint or glaze for decoration. Gold lustre (quite different

from **gilt**) creates a characteristic pink to purple hue, while the less common platinum lustre creates a silver hue. The metallic nature of the lustre can deteriorate. The earliest experimental lustrewares date to the 1770s, but Josiah and Thomas (Josiah's son) Wedgwood developed the first commercially successful gold and platinum lustres in the early 1790s. The lustre paint is often overglaze, and in these cases may be considered as **enamelled**. Lustre can be found on almost all types and forms of **finewares**, **refined redwares** (as with the example shown), and **porcelain**.

(Example from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Original in colour).



MOCHAWARE: A type of **industrial slipware**. Mochaware is distinguished by its dendritic fern-like patterns (usually, but not necessarily, brown). The dendritic design was apparently originally the by-product of a mixture of stale urine and tobacco juice. However, while this is widely accepted as fact in the archaeological community, finding a citable source to confirm this anecdote has proven impossible.

(Examples from the Quarter Site; courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest. Originals in colour).

MOULDED: A generic term used to describe a wide variety of mouldings on the side of vessels. The term is used to describe both simple moulds, such as ribbed bodies, and more elaborate decorative moulds, such as flowers. The term refers both to moulding the original body of the vessel and to applied sprigs and moulds. The only mould decoration considered separately in this glossary is **chelsea sprig**.



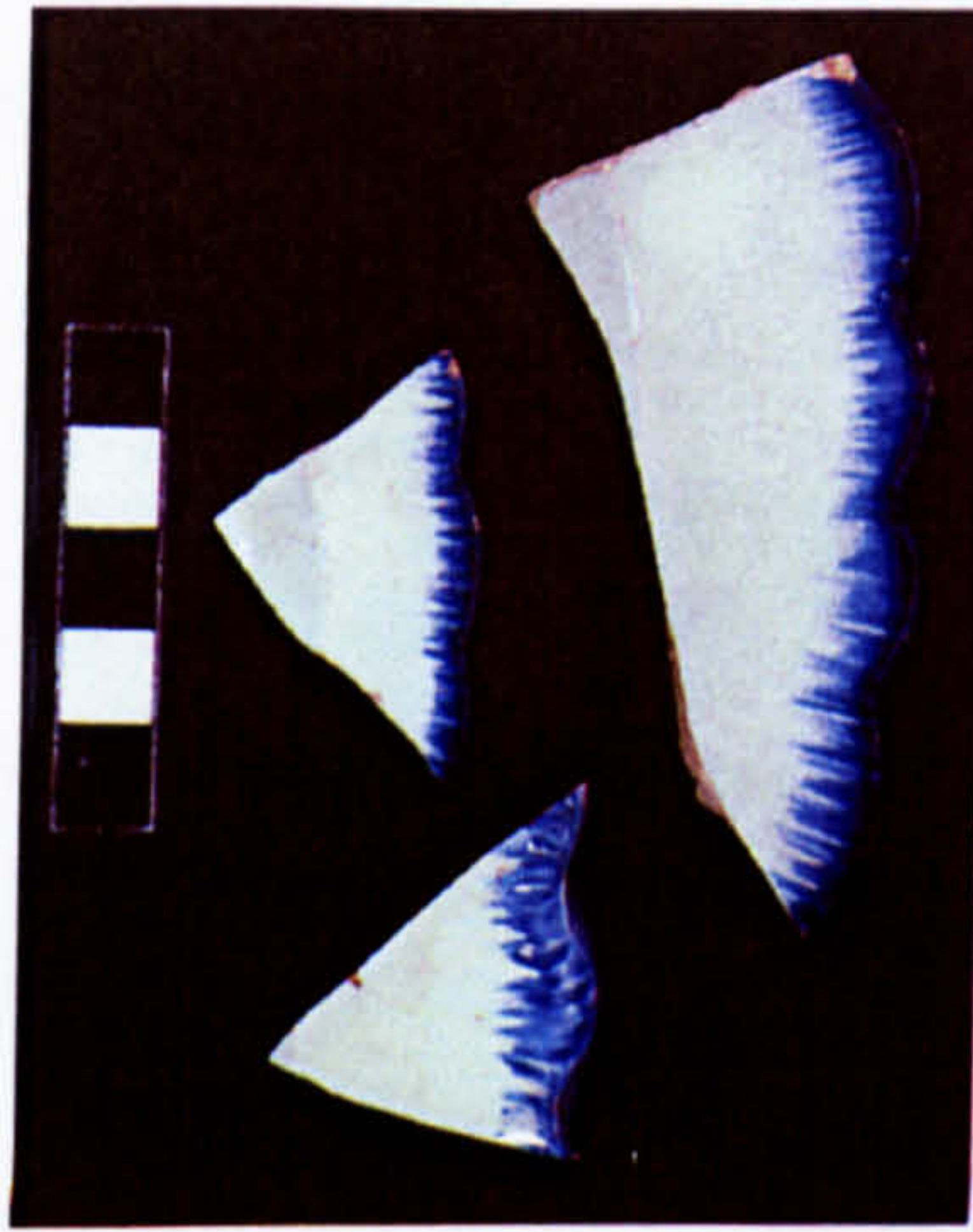
PAINTED: Underglaze painted decorations. These are distinct from **enamelled** vessels, which feature overglaze painting. Painted decorations occur in a wide variety of styles, from floral designs, to scenes, to simple painted bands (the latter should not be confused with **annular decoration**). The roots of painting as a decorative technique date long before the period discussed in the thesis, but **delftware** is the earliest ware type included in the six assemblages to feature painted designs. Painted vessels are often divided into two broad subcategories

MONOCHROME (right hand examples): Painting in a single colour, usually blue.

POLYCHROME (left hand examples): Painting in two or more colours.

Polychrome painted **pearlware** is sometimes further subdivided into early palette (1790-1810), featuring darker colours and earth tones, and late palette (1800-1820), featuring brighter colours.

(Left hand examples from the Stewart/Watkins site; courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation [Monticello]. Right hand examples from the Quarter Site; courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest. Originals in colour).



SHELLEDGED: Shelledged vessels are characterised by the combination of an impressed or (more rarely) moulded rims with a paint along the rim and impressions. The rims of shelledge vessels are often scalloped (regular and uneven). Later examples may lack the impressions or mouldings. The colour of the paint is usually blue, although green paint occurs on a significant minority (approximately a third) of the vessels, and other colours (black, red, brown, etc.) on a very small minority (under a tenth). Shelledge vessels are almost always plates and platters, but including hollow vessels with flat rims, such as tureens and - even more occasionally - chamberpots. Shelledge decorations almost always occur on **creamware**, **pearlware**, and **whiteware**. Voluminous typologies of shelledge sub-types exist, but most rims can be broken down into five broad and largely self-explanatory categories, all of which are painted. Not all of these examples were recovered from the six sites, but they are listed here for the sake of completeness. The dates should be considered approximate only.

ROCOCO (1775-1810): Uneven scalloped rim; impressed.

EVEN SCALLOP WITH CURVED/STRAIGHT IMPRESSIONS AND/OR 'BUD' (1810-1835): Self-explanatory.

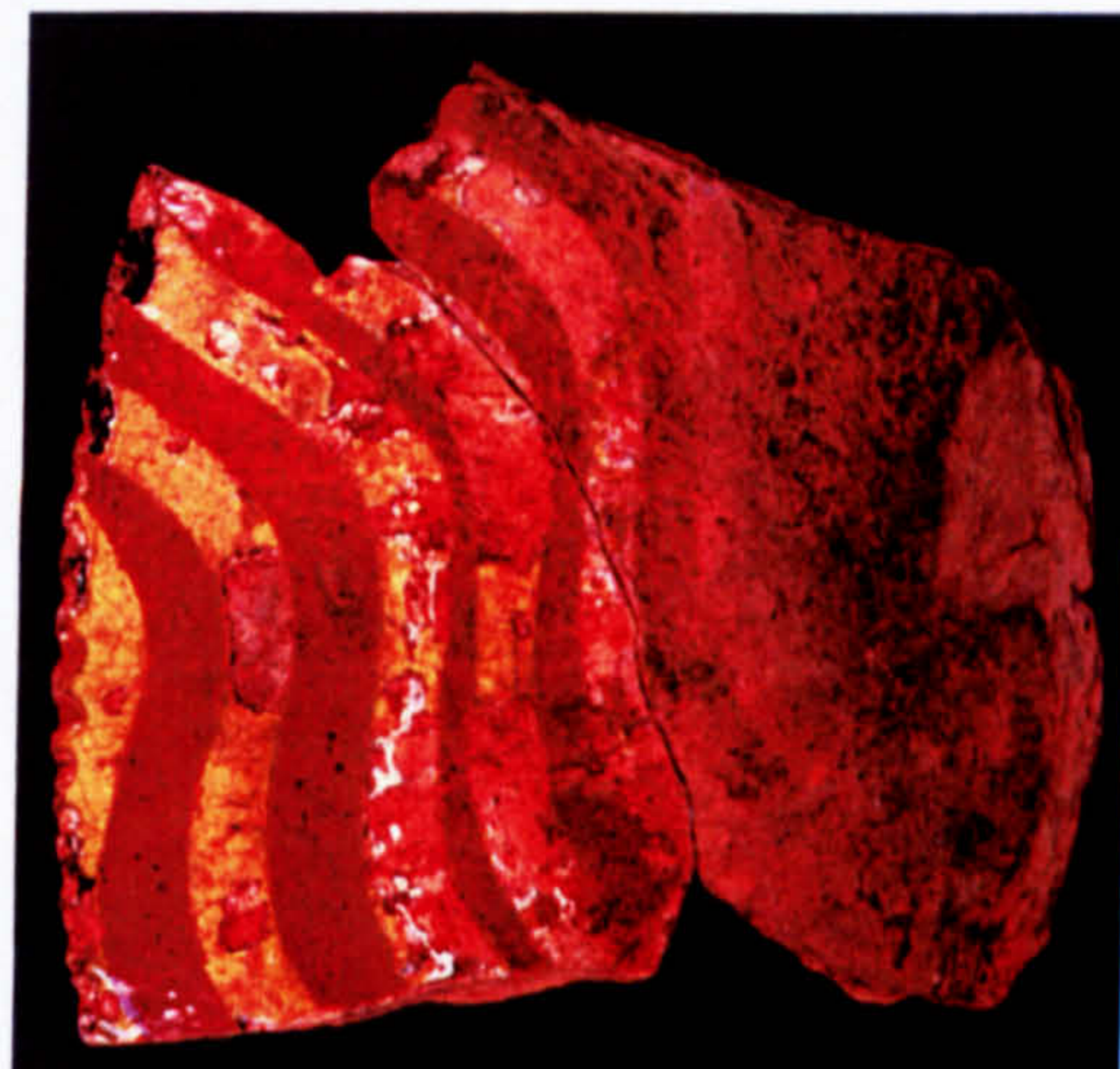
EMBOSSSED (1820-1835): Moulded floral patterns along rim instead of impressions

UNSCALLOPED, IMPRESSED (1830-1860): Self-explanatory.

UNSCALLOPED, NO IMPRESSIONS (1860-1890): The final 'debased'

version of shelledge. Painted only.

(Examples from House E, Milton, South Uist; by kind permission of David Barker, all rights reserved. Originals in colour).



SLIP-DECORATED: Refers to the use of a coloured clay wash (see **slipware**) to decorate a vessel. In the context of this thesis, the term more specifically refers to hand- or tool-applied slips, in order to distinguish from **industrial slipwares**. Slip-decorated vessels are almost always coarsewares, although a type of slip-glaze exists for certain **stonewares**.

SGRAFFITO (left hand examples): A term that refers to the practice of scratching a decoration through a slip to reveal the original clay underneath. The main centres of production for 18th-century sgraffito were the West Country and Wales.

(Left hand examples from Pwll Mill; all rights reserved. Right hand example from the Stewart/Watkins site; courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation [Monticello]. Originals in colour).



SPONGED (1820+): The decoration of a vessel through dabbing an inked sponge across the item. In standard spongeware, the ink is usually blue. Sponged vessels are almost always **whiteware** or **ironstone**. The only significant forms that spongeware does not occur in appears to be **teaware**. Two significant variants exist.

CUT (bottom right): In order to provide a more controlled or specific decoration, the sponge may be cut. The modified sponge is then applied to the vessel. Cut sponge decorations are almost always polychrome. British examples (see chapter 6 for an extensive discussion of cut spongewares) tend to feature repeating geometric and occasionally floral designs, and are particularly associated with bowls. American designs are less abstract, and may feature houses or birds. The American folk tradition is particularly associated with Pennsylvania.

SPLATTER (bottom left): May (tongue somewhat in cheek) be thought of as pointillist minimalism. Instead of dabbing the sponge against a vessel, the sponge (or other tool) is shaken near the vessel. The resulting decoration features many small dots over the surface of the vessel instead of the more abstract traditional sponged design.

(Top example in image from Pwll Mill, bottom examples from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Originals in colour).

TRANSFER PRINTS: (individual images and dates listed below by subtype): No decorative technique on industrial-era wares has been subject to more comment than transfer printing. This is as true of archaeology as it is of art history. Transfer prints are not only an extremely common decorative technique, but the level of detail of design combined with definable stylistic chronologies make this an extremely useful decoration for diagnostic purposes. The earliest transfer-prints were overglaze (1762+; see OGTP, below) and black. The earliest underglaze prints (1780+; see UGTP, below) were blue. Other underglaze colours were introduced from 1810. It would be impossible to discuss the full range of transfer prints in this small space, but some of the major types are defined hereafter. All dates are approximate, and end dates refer to the end of peak production rather than an absolute final date.



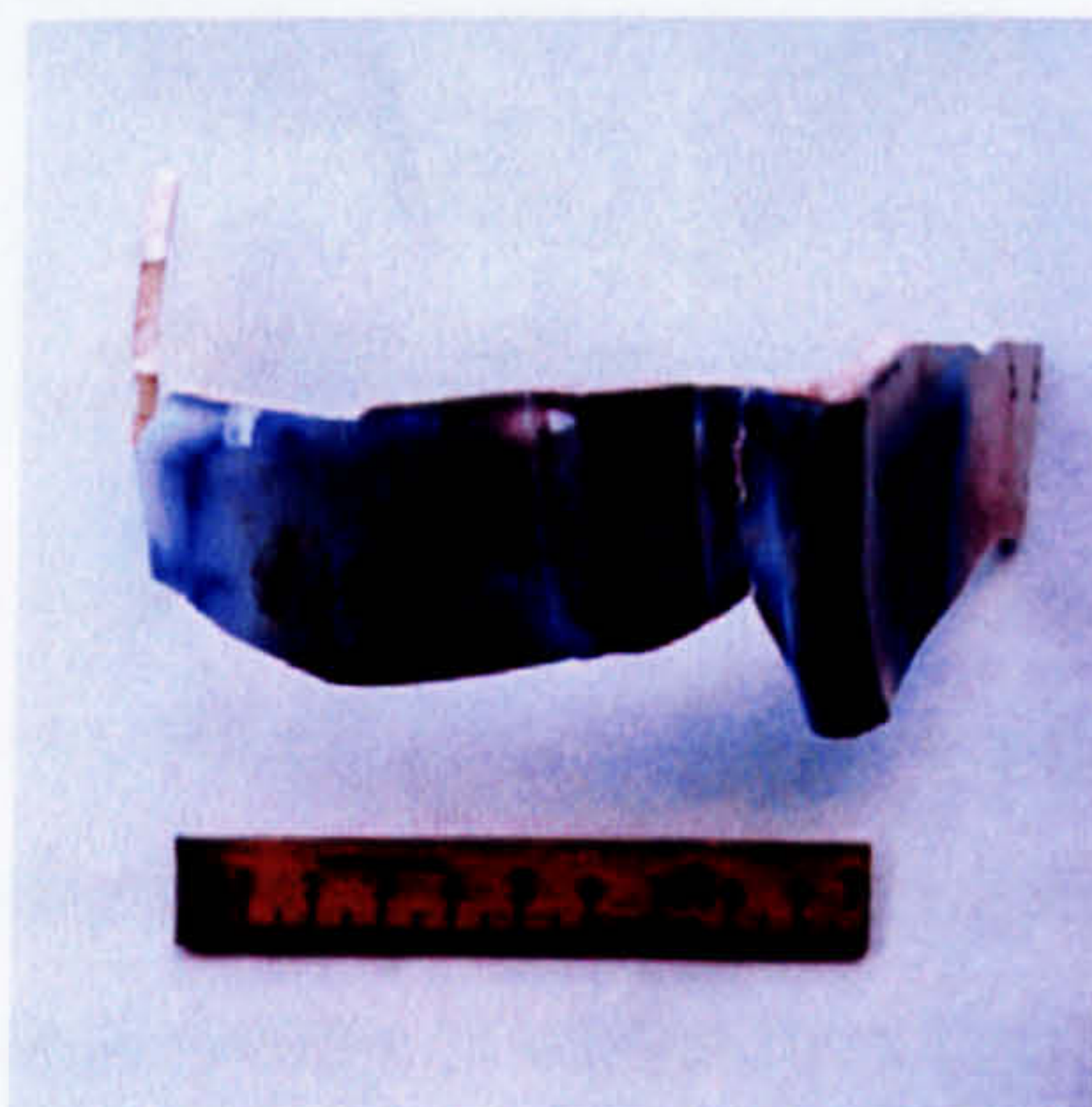
CHINOISERIE (1780-1800) Many of the earliest underglaze transfer prints were imitations of Chinese designs from **porcelain**. Willow (see below) is only the most famous and longest-lasting of these patterns.

(Example from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Original in colour).



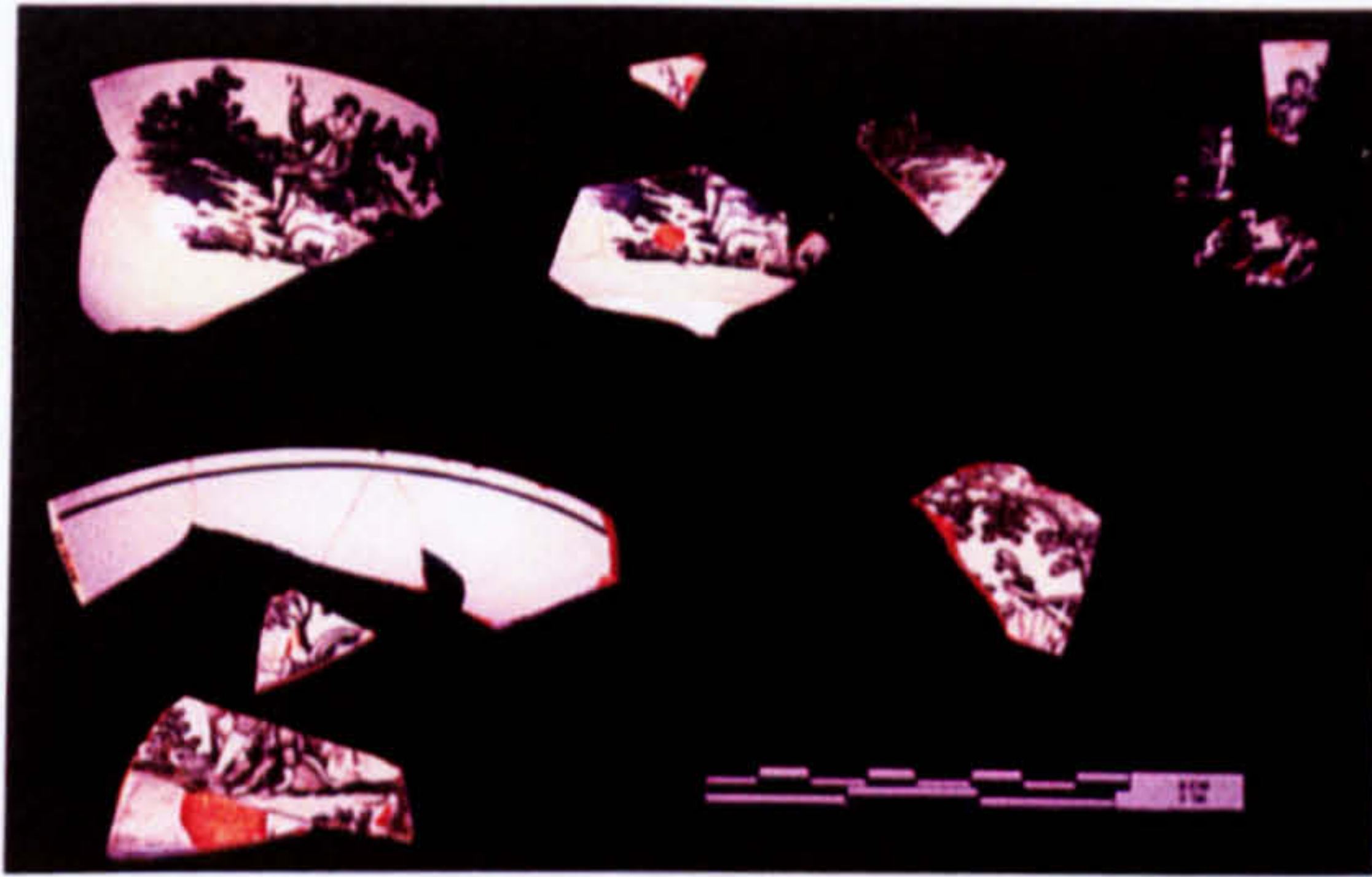
FLORAL: While many transfer prints from 1815 on featured a floral border, “floral” as a term refers to patterns composed entirely of floral motifs. These are most common during the romantic period (1845-1860), but a common enough in other periods that they cannot definitively be ascribed to the romantic era. “Asiatic Pheasants” (as shown) is by far the most common floral pattern.

(Example from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Original in colour).



FLOW (1840+) A technique whereby the ink is allowed to run or “flow” during firing. The resulting pattern is blurred around the edges. Flow blue is the most common colour, but flow black examples are also known.

(Example from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Original in colour)



OGTP: "Overglaze Transfer Print". The earliest transfer prints were black overglaze **creamware**.

(Examples from the Stewart/Watkins site; courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation. Original in colour).



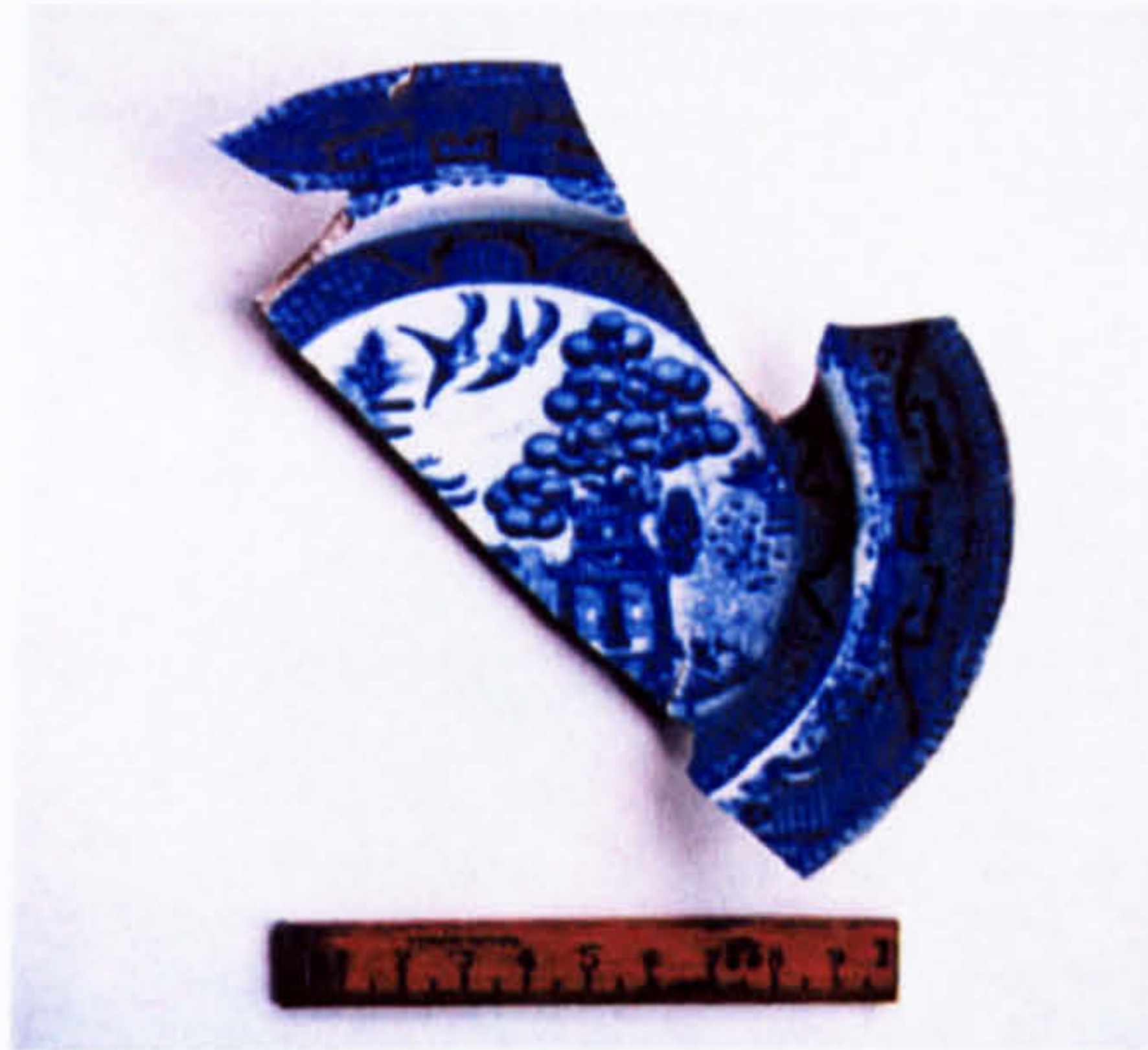
SCENE: It would be impossible here to even begin to describe the vast number of scene prints, whether British, European, romantic, gothic, etc. that occur on transfer-printed vessels. Samford (1997) has constructed the most consistent chronology of styles and subtypes. In this thesis, "scene" refers to most non-floral, non-Chinoiserie prints - excluding the occasional abstract undefinable pattern. The example shown is "Asiatic Scenery" (see chapter 2).

(Example from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Original in colour).

STIPPLING (1805+): From 1805, transfer-printed designs may be distinguished by the use of stippling, or many small dots, in the shading of

a print. It is often helpful to cross-reference stippling or the lack thereof with the actual style of a print; a stippled design always post-dates 1805, but an unstippled design does not necessarily ante-date 1805.

UGTP: "Underglaze Transfer Print". The most common type of printing from 1780. All examples shown in this section, except the **OGTP** prints, are UGTP.



WILLOW: The most common transfer print design bar none. Originally engraved by Thomas Minton in the late 18th century (Coysh and Henrywood 1982:402), and still manufactured around the world (1950's Japanese examples are infamous for their 'fat pigeons'), Willow is virtually ubiquitous on 19th-century archaeological sites. The pattern is made from a composite of Chinese elements, but is utterly meaningless in Chinese landscape symbology. All the quaint myths about Koong-She and Chang escaping from the wrath of Li-Chi through being turned into doves by the gods are, alas, Victorian fabrications.

(Example from Llystyn Mill; all rights reserved. Original in colour).

UNDECORATED: Self-explanatory - any vessel lacking decoration. It is worth noting that during the period dating c.1845-1890, undecorated vessels dominate the American market **fineware** market.