Low Country Gullah Culture

Special Resource Study and Final Environmental Impact Statement

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Southeast Regional Office
Atlanta, Georgia



















Low Country Gullah Culture

Special Resource Study and Final Environmental Impact Statement

July 2005

National Park Service
Southeast Regional Office
Planning and Compliance Division
100 Alabama Street, SW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

www.nps.gov

This document may be cited as:

National Park Service. *Low Country Gullah Culture Special Resource Study and Final Environmental Impact Statement*. Atlanta, GA: NPS Southeast Regional Office, 2005.

Table of Contents

1 Purpose and Need for the Study

Introduction 1
Management Alternatives 2
Public and Community Involvement 3
- Meeting Transcripts 4
- Transcript Analysis 4
- Small Meetings in Key Counties 6
- Preliminary Alternatives 8
- Community Meetings: Round Two 8
- Writing the Report 9

Scholarly Overview 9

2 Affected People and Environment

Gullah and Geechee Peoples: History, Language, Society, Culture, and Change 13
Historical Overview 14
Development of the Plantation Economy 21
The Quest for Freedom 23
Tidal Irrigation Methods Improve Efficiency of Rice Production 27
The Role of Gullah/Geechee People in the Plantation Economy 33
The Task System: How it Fostered Gullah/Geechee Culture 37
The Impact of Gullah/Geechee Ancestors on the Coastal Landscape 41
From Slavery to Freedom to Gated Resorts: Gullah/Geechee Communities from the Civil War to the Present 43
Demographic History 51
Gullah/Geechee Language 55
Gullah/Geechee Traditions, Crafts, and Arts 59
- Literature and Art 59
- Crafts, Arts, and Foods 61
- Sweetgrass Baskets: A Blessing from God, a Proud Tradition, and a Valuable Investment 67
- Performing Arts 69

African Cultural Survival in Gullah/Geechee Culture: A Dramatic Case Study 73
Gullah/Geechee Institutions 74
The Impact of Coastal Development on Gullah/Geechee People 81
Phillips Community: A Case Study 90
Gullah/Geechee Revitalization 93

3 National Park Service Standards for National Significance, Suitability, and Feasibility

Relating the NPS to Gullah/Geechee Peoples and Culture 99
NPS Standards for National Significance, Suitability, and Feasibility 99
National Significance of the Gullah/Geechee Culture 100
- Gullah Culture Special Resource Study Statement of National Historical and Cultural Significance - Professor Richard A. Long, Emory University 101

Suitability of the Gullah/Geechee Culture 104
Feasibility of the Gullah/Geechee Culture 104

4 Alternatives

Alternative A: Gullah/Geechee Coastal Heritage Centers 107
Alternative A, Site I: Three Sites Combined in Partnership to Form the Northern Anchor 110
Alternative A, Site I- A: Tibwin Plantation 111
Alternative A, Site I- B: Hampton Plantation State Historic Site 113
Alternative A, Site I- C: Charles Pinckney National Historic Site 116
Alternative A, Site II: Museum and Research Center Penn Center, Penn Historic District, St. Helena Island, South Carolina 118
Alternative A, Site III: New Coastal Heritage Center, McIntosh County, Georgia 121
Alternative A Area Map 124
Alternative B: Expanding the Gullah/Geechee Story 125
South Carolina 126
Georgia 126
Florida 126
Alternative B Area Map 128
Alternative C: Gullah/Geechee National Heritage Area 129
Alternative C Area Map 131
Alternative D: Alternatives A and C in Combination 132
Alternative E: No Action 133
Cost Estimates of Alternatives A – E 134
Alternative A: Gullah/Geechee Coastal Heritage Centers 134
Development Cost 134
Operations and Maintenance Cost 134
Alternative B: Expanding Gullah/Geechee Story 134
Development Cost 134
Operations and Maintenance Cost 134
Alternative C: Gullah/Geechee National Heritage Area 134
Alternative D: Alternatives A and C in Combination 135
Alternative E: No Action 135
Most Effective and Efficient Alternative: Alternative C 136
Environmentally Preferred Alternative: Alternative C 137
Partial Listing of Potential Partners for NPS Alternatives 138
Partial Listing of Colleges and Universities within the Study Area 140

5 Environmental Consequences

Environmental Impact of Alternatives A- E 141
Impacts of Visitor Experience and Educational Potential 141
Alternative A 141
Alternative B 141
Alternative C 141
Alternative D 142
Alternative E 142
Impacts on Gullah/Geechee Culture 142
Alternative A 142
Alternative B 142
Alternative C 142
Alternative D 143
Alternative E 143
Impacts on Cultural Sites and Structures 143
Alternative A 143
Alternative B 143
Alternative C 143

Alternative D 143
Alternative E 144
Impact on the Economy and Local Communities 144
Alternative A 144
Alternative B 144
Alternative C 144
Alternative D 144
Alternative E 145
Impacts on the Natural Environment 145
Alternative A 145
Alternative B 145
Alternative C 145
Alternative D 145
Alternative E 145
Environmental Justice 146
Alternatives A, B, C, and D 146
Cultural Resource Preservation Tools and Methods 146
Conservation Easements 146
National 147
South Carolina 147
Georgia 148
North Carolina 148
Florida 148
Certified Local Government Programs 148
State Historic Preservation Offices 149
Archaeological Resources 149
Historic Landscape Initiative 149

6 References

References Cited 151
Additional References and Suggested Reading 161

7 Low Country Gullah Culture Special Resource Study Information

Acknowledgements 243
Interns 243
Content Reviewers 244
NPS Editorial Reviewers 244
Photographs 244
College of Charleston students who coded transcripts 244
Partners 244
Key to Cover Photographs 245
NPS Gullah/Geechee Special Resource Study Team 246

8 Appendices

Appendix A: Authorization for Low Country Gullah Culture Special Resource Study A1
Appendix B: Field Work Itinerary and Activities B1
Appendix C: Comments from Community Forums (Fall 2002) C1
Appendix D: *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage* by William S. Pollitzer D1
Appendix E: *The Gullah of South Carolina: A Bbliography of Materials on the Gullah People* by Roslyn Saunders E1
Appendix F: *Overview and Synthesis of Scholarly Literature* by Melissa D. Hargrove F1


NORTH
CAROLINA
SOUTH
CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
50 MILES FROM SHORE
WILMINGTON
LITTLE RIVER
GEORGETOWN
CHARLESTON
BEAUFORT
SAVANNAH
DARIEN
BRUNSWICK
JACKSONVILLE
AREA MAP

1 Purpose and Need for the Study

Introduction

The Low Country Gullah Culture Special Resource Study (SRS) was authorized by Congress to determine whether or not the National Park Service (NPS) should have a role in preserving Gullah culture and if so, what that role might be. The enabling legislation for the SRS was introduced in 1999 by United States Congressman James Clyburn (D- South Carolina) and was authorized in the Interior Appropriations Act of 2000 (see Appendix A). This act directed the NPS to determine the national significance of Gullah culture, as well as the suitability and feasibility of adding various elements of Gullah culture to the National Park System. The standards used to determine national significance, suitability, and feasibility are listed in greater detail in Chapter 3. Under the guidelines of this study, the NPS was directed:

- to analyze the multi- faceted components of Gullah culture (known as Geechee in Georgia and Florida) using the established criteria for the study of areas for potential inclusion in the National Park System and;
- to evaluate the resources of the Gullah/Geechee people and cultural landscape for potential national significance and;
- to determine how these resources could be protected, interpreted, and used for the benefit of the Gullah/Geechee people and the general public and;
- to make recommendations to Congress based on those criteria.

Special resource studies generally focus on one site or tract of land that is being considered for protection. This study, however, focuses on the life ways and traditions of a living culture in the Low Country and Sea Islands, a semi- tropical area filled with palmetto trees and live oaks draped with Spanish moss that lies along the southeastern coast of the United States. The Sea Islands are situated just off the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia and are separated from the mainland by a maze of creeks, gently meandering tidal rivers, and marsh lands. The influence of the ocean on the coastal plain extends about 30 miles inland with the flow of tidewater rivers. Boundary lines of many coastal counties, as well as the boundaries of this study, reflect this natural demarcation. Most of the rice plantations, and therefore the largest concentrations of Gullah/Geechee people, were within the tidewater river area.

The NPS held community and stakeholder meetings to gather advice and feedback on desired outcomes of the study. These meetings assisted the NPS in developing alternatives for managing associated cultural and natural resources and creating interpretive and educational programs. Preliminary alternatives were first presented at community forums in October and November 2002. Responses from these meetings were incorporated into the final alternatives, which are presented in this document. Summaries of these public comments are in Appendix C.

The Gullah/Geechee study area stretches along the southeastern coast roughly from the Cape Fear River near the North Carolina/South Carolina line to the St. John's River near Jacksonville, Florida and 30 miles inland following estuarine boundaries. The land mass of this area, which is included in the coastal plain and the 79 barrier islands that hug the coast, encompasses approximately 12,315 square miles, nearly the size of the state of Maryland. Counties included in this region are the

northeastern Florida counties of Duval and Nassau; the Georgia counties of Bryan, Camden, Chatham, Glynn, Liberty, and McIntosh; the South Carolina Counties of Beaufort, Charleston, Colleton, Georgetown, Horry, Jasper, and parts of Berkeley and Dorchester; and the North Carolina counties of Brunswick and New Hanover. Four metropolitan areas are located within this region: Myrtle Beach, South Carolina; Charleston, South Carolina; Savannah, Georgia; and Jacksonville, Florida. According to the 2000 census, only 20% of the Low Country population lived in rural areas.

The Gullah/Geechee story represents a crucial component of local, regional, and national history. Preserving and interpreting Gullah/Geechee culture and its associated sites is significant to people of all racial, regional, and ethnic backgrounds and is vital to telling the story of the American heritage. Through this study, the NPS has sought to determine whether it has a role in the interpretation and preservation of this unique culture. While the NPS may be able to do a great deal to assist in interpretation of the culture, the preservation of lands lies largely in the hands of government entities that regulate property taxes and control real estate development, and the Gullah/Geechee people themselves. As stated later in this document, the NPS may be able to support preservation efforts by assisting Gullah/Geechee communities in making contact with private and/or public funding organizations, offering training courses to assist them in preservation endeavors, and providing grants to assist communities in preserving cultural and heritage resources.

In May 2004, the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) named the Gullah/Geechee culture, coastline, and Sea Islands to its list of 11 Most Endangered Historic Sites. The NTHP designation describes threats from new bridges and roads that "have opened the area to intensive development and tourism, and sprawling resorts, residential subdivisions and strip malls are sprouting everywhere. Family cemeteries, archaeological sites and fishing grounds are being paved over or put off- limits by new owners, and familiar landmarks – stores, churches, schools and houses – are being demolished or replaced with new structures." (See www.nationaltrust.org/11Most/2004/gullah-geechee.html.)

Management Alternatives

This report explores four concepts for the future protection, interpretation, and management of Gullah/Geechee cultural resources, as well as a no action alternative. Each of the four action alternatives, which are summarized below, presents viable options for the interpretation of Gullah/Geechee culture. These alternatives are not mutually exclusive and could be adopted in part or *in toto*. Pursuant to Public Law 105- 391, known as the National Parks Omnibus Management Act of 1998, the study also identifies the most *effective and efficient* alternative for protecting significant resources and providing for public enjoyment. Selection of the most effective and efficient alternative, as well as other recommendations contained in this study, do not guarantee future funding, support, or any subsequent action by Congress, the Department of the Interior, or the NPS.

Under *Alternative A*, three coastal heritage centers would be established through partnerships among the NPS and other government agencies and nonprofit organizations. The centers would be dispersed along the southeastern U.S. coast where host and neighboring communities could provide support. The centers would interpret the history and evolving culture of the Gullah/Geechee people from colonial times to the 21st century and would provide learning opportunities for the casual visitor, students, and residents of nearby communities. Coastal heritage centers would provide interpretive information and serve as gateways to historical and culturally significant places chosen by local communities for visitation.

Under *Alternative B*, existing national park units would collaborate with state and local park sites located in the project area to administer multi- partner interpretive and educational programs.

Cooperative agreements among agencies would identify and delegate administrative, operational, and program functions for each partner.

Under *Alternative C*, a National Heritage Area (NHA) would be established to connect and associate Gullah/Geechee resources. The NPS would provide startup and related administrative assistance for the heritage area. Overall management of the heritage partnership would eventually be administered by one or more local entities that would guide and oversee the goals and objectives of the heritage area. The NPS has identified Alternative C as the most effective and efficient alternative.

Under *Alternative D*, Alternatives A and C would be joined together as a single alternative to create a NHA anchored by coastal heritage centers. The centers would provide educational information and serve as gateways that would direct visitors to historical and culturally significant places that have been chosen for inclusion as sites and stops within the NHA. As in Alternative A, the centers would be operated through partnerships among the NPS and other government agencies and nonprofit organizations.

The management alternatives, including the most effective and efficient alternative, are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

Public and Community Involvement

The project began with a series of six public meetings held in communities along the Southeast coast. The meeting sites originally selected were Jacksonville, Florida; St. Simons Island and Savannah, Georgia; and St. Helena Island, Charleston, and Georgetown in South Carolina. In response to requests from participants, a seventh meeting was held in Little River, South Carolina, a small community which lies on the South Carolina/North Carolina line.

From the outset, the project team recognized the inadequacy of the usual public meeting procedure for reflecting the concerns of Gullah/Geechee people and communities. For that reason, a concerted effort was made to find local sponsors for the meetings. Often, these were churches or other community institutions where participants could feel welcome and comfortable.

Typically, a representative from the sponsoring organization gave welcoming remarks. In keeping with Gullah/Geechee custom, clergymen or elders in the audience opened and closed each meeting with prayer. Following the prayer, SRS team members used visual aids to explain the study process and its objectives. All meetings were recorded via audiotape, videotape, court reporter, or combinations of these methods (See Appendix C). At the request of the transcriptionist, the facilitator of the first meeting suggested that participants speak in English rather than Gullah. His remarks provoked polite but critical response from some of the more outspoken audience members and set the tone for occasional use of the Gullah language during the meeting (Behre 2000; Frazier 2000).

Initial Community Meetings		
Date	*City/Town*	*Location/Sponsor*
May 2, 2000	Charleston, SC	Emanuel AME Church
May 16, 2000	Georgetown, SC	Bethel AME Church
June 1, 2000	St. Helena Island, SC	Penn Center
June 6, 2000	Jacksonville, FL	Ritz Theatre & LaVilla Museum
June 8, 2000	St. Simons Island, GA	Lighthouse Museum/Old Post Office
June 13, 2000	Savannah, GA	First Bryan AME Church
August 28, 2000	Little River, SC	St. Paul AME Church

The meetings were generally well- attended, and many people expressed their thoughts, feelings, and suggestions. Some discussed the importance of Gullah/Geechee heritage, cooking, music, language, and traditions and their significance in the lives of all Low Country residents. Others talked of Gullah artists, writers, musicians, artisans, and craftsmen who have made substantial contributions to the cultural fabric of America and have not received recognition. Many stated that the Gullah people are ready, willing, and able to tell their own story in their own words.

At two of the meetings, Jacksonville, Florida, and Little River, South Carolina, both of which are located near the boundaries of the study area, some of the attendees stood and stated that they had come out of curiosity, not understanding that they themselves were a part of the Gullah/Geechee culture. Some of these people thanked team members for "telling me who I am." Such comments may be a reflection of assimilation pressures on Gullah/Geechee social identity.

Meeting Transcripts

Project personnel realized early that community meetings were of great importance to the study and thus required more than an impressionistic assessment of the comments. Accurate statistical information was needed to glean the maximum benefit from the remarks made by the more than 100 speakers who attended one or more of the seven community meetings. To this end, verbatim transcripts of each meeting were prepared under contract with local court reporting companies.

Transcripts of meeting tapes were reviewed and edited for accuracy by Alada Shinault- Small, an African American affiliated with the Avery Research Center for African American History and Culture at the College of Charleston. Shinault- Small is familiar with the people and speech patterns of the study area. She also analyzed sign- in sheets and prepared a demographic summary of those in attendance by gender, community, organizational affiliation, and race ("race" refers to categories commonly understood by the general public and as used in the U.S. census).

A scope of work for a detailed content analysis was prepared in the NPS Southeast Regional Office, and the work was contracted to James K. Dias, Ph.D., a statistician experienced in the social sciences. The contract was let through a cooperative agreement with the Historic Charleston Foundation.

Meeting transcripts and the transcript analysis document will be archived at the Avery Research Center for African American History and Culture in Charleston, South Carolina.

Transcript Analysis

Meaningful content analysis required an empirical derivation of topics and concepts from a sample of the transcripts. Five College of Charleston students from the Low Country area were selected to assist in this process. This transcription coding team, directed by Shinault- Small, included four female students and one male student, all of whom were African American and came from diverse socio-economic backgrounds.

Working independently, the students produced a collective master list of key words and concepts in the transcripts. Once this master list of keywords was completed, the final coding list of topics and concepts was derived by *post- hoc* analysis of consensus among the panelists. Using this completed list, the panel coded all of the transcripts for key concepts. Dr. Dias used the raw coding data produced by the panel, to conduct the statistical content analysis of the transcripts. The content analysis, by its nature, represents frequency of topics and makes no attempt to represent the intensity of sentiments expressed by speakers.

Transcript Data (White Speakers)	
Key Topics and Themes, (White Speakers)	*Frequency of Mention*
Individual/Family History	13
Rice/Indigo/Gullah Culture/History	12
Area History	11
Cultural Preservation	9
Geographic Sites	8
Educational Activities [informal and formal]	8
Preservation of Culture	7
Community Involvement	6
Unknown local history	5
Architectural Preservation	5

Transcript Data (Black Speakers)	
Key Topics and Themes (Black Speakers)	*Frequency of Mention*
Individual/Family History	57
Educational Activities [informal and formal]	37
Cultural Preservation	33
Cultural Pride	32
Youth Involvement in Education Process	29
Rice/Indigo/Gullah Culture/History	27
Area History	26
Unknown Local History	24
Community Involvement	23
Gullah Language	22

Full results of the analysis of the seven initial community meetings are presented in the final contract report. Most notable results from the study as contained in the executive summary include:

- Only 9% of the speakers identified themselves as specifically affiliated with a Gullah/Geechee organization;
- 66% of the speakers were black;
- The majority of speakers, both white and black, were female;
- Since some individuals attended more than one of the seven meetings, adjustments were made to prevent double- counting of these individuals;
- In the course of their remarks, speakers collectively mentioned some 200 place names, 14 church congregations, and nine traditional customs pertaining to religion.

Of 124 keywords and concepts mentioned in the transcripts, the top ten in frequency of mention, by race of speaker, follow in the tables above. Other frequently mentioned topics, especially from African American speakers, included traditional arts/sweetgrass baskets, oral history, land retention, community empowerment, economic growth, and cemetery/graveyard accessibility and preservation.

There were no statistically significant differences in key word rankings by meeting location, race, organizational affiliation, or gender. Nonetheless, there were some interesting if not statistically significant tendencies. For example, Individual/ Family History ranked number one for both white and black speakers. While Educational Activities ranked second with black speakers, it ranked only sixth with white speakers. Conversely, Rice/Indigo/Gullah Culture/ History ranked second with white speakers but only seventh with black speakers. Gullah Language, which ranked tenth with black speakers, did not appear in the top ten for white speakers (Dias 2001).

It is noteworthy that family history was one of the most frequently mentioned concerns in the first series of community meetings in 2000. Increasingly, researchers have focused attention on the family and kinship structures of Gullah/Geechee people and the impact of current economic and demographic change.

In addition to the bare statistical results, a detailed examination of meeting transcripts provided important general insights and guidance for subsequent community outreach and ethnographic understanding of Gullah/Geechee communities. Likewise, the specifics of the content analysis became an important factor in the development of alternatives that were responsive to the views expressed by meeting participants. After the transcript analysis was completed, a summary of the results was widely disseminated via newsletter. No attempt was made to assess any possible influence this distribution of data might have had on subsequent feedback from Gullah/Geechee people.

Small Meetings in Key Counties

As previously stated, project personnel recognized the inadequacy of the usual public meeting procedure for reflecting the concerns of Gullah and Geechee people and communities, whose ways of life past and present are the object of this study. Applied anthropological experience has demonstrated the shortcomings of the standard public meeting format for reaching "culturally different" populations. These shortcomings include unfamiliarity with public speaking, small-community group pressure to refrain from external airing of differences of opinion, and physical disabilities and familial responsibilities that can impair accessibility to large public forums.

Recognizing these drawbacks to open communication, the project team sought to create opportunities for a broader spectrum of Gullah/Geechee people to participate in the process and to express their views and concerns in more comfortable settings. Fieldworkers accomplished this task over a three- year period by making multiple visits to communities within five key counties, beginning with Michael Allen (Education Specialist, Charles Pinckney National Historic Site) in the year 2000 who built on contacts he had made with Gullah and Geechee people that predated the official start of the SRS. The counties chosen for this part of the research were Glynn and McIntosh counties in Georgia and Beaufort, Charleston, and Georgetown counties in South Carolina.

The principal researcher for this study was Cynthia H. Porcher, a Low Country native and former community health outreach specialist with more than thirty years experience in the area. Ironically, this study returned her to the Sea Islands of Beaufort County, South Carolina, the site of her first field research study during the late 1960s. The differences she observed in the cultural landscape of the islands were striking. Three interns provided assistance to the chief fieldworker. They were Alyssa Stewart Lee, graduate student in City and Regional Planning at Georgia Institute of Technology, and two who were studying cultural anthropology, Jonna Hausser Weaver from State University of West Georgia and Kareema Hunter from Georgia State University. Two Mt. Pleasant basketmakers, Vera Manigault and Jeanette Lee, accompanied researchers on some of the trips. The lead fieldworker and one of the interns were white; the other two interns were of African American descent.

During the fieldwork phase of the project, community leaders in the key counties accompanied the principal researcher to a large number of culturally significant sites related to Gullah/Geechee culture. The lead researcher conducted a photographic inventory of these sites and collected GIS data in selected areas.

Several speakers at public meetings in 2000 expressed their concerns about the number of outside researchers who have come into Gullah communities to study or write about their culture. Over the years numerous researchers have, in fact, visited these communities and used the acquired information for their own purposes with little or no feedback to the communities involved. Many researchers have never reported their findings in non- academic forums, asked for editorial assistance, or sent copies of their work to those who helped them. As a result, Gullah/Geechee people say they have felt exploited and believe that they should share in any financial gain made from telling their story. Commodification by the tourist industry of baskets, basketmakers, and other elements of the culture may in fact take dollars from the people themselves. (*cf*. Hargrove 1997, 2002)

Special Resource Study field researchers spent a great deal of time building rapport with community leaders. Frequently, the lead researcher became involved in local preservation efforts and fundraising activities. Through singing, laughing, worshipping, praying, sharing meals, and talking into the "wee hours" with Gullah/Geechee people in the key counties, close relationships were developed. Through these relationships, SRS field researchers realized that such experiences were crucial to their understanding of the hopes, fears, and goals of Gullah/Geechee people at the grassroots level, who might not consider attending, much less speaking, at a community meeting. Other field researchers have spent long periods of time in Gullah/Geechee communities and also formed close relationships.

However, this level of community involvement with grass-roots people is extremely rare in NPS special resource studies such as this.

Unlike some previous researchers and writers, the SRS team made a concerted effort to provide feedback about the progress of the study to local Gullah/Geechee communities. This has been accomplished through newsletters, follow-up meetings, personal contact, sharing of photographs, and social interaction. Likewise, an earlier draft of this report was distributed to key individuals in Gullah/Geechee communities as well as to respected external specialists for review and commentary.

In field trips to Gullah/Geechee communities, the principal researcher and her assistants employed methods like those described in the NPS Applied Ethnography Program specifications for a Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Project (REAP). These methods included transect walks (and drives) with local residents, mapping of key social and cultural sites (whether marked by a building or other man-made structure or not), formal interviews with community members, participation in naturally occurring functional equivalents of "focus groups" (*e.g.,* church meetings), photo-documentation of events, and informal interviews with meeting and event participants. Although a full-fledged REAP was not performed for any single community, collectively, the results of community visits (some repeatedly) provide an area-wide baseline of preliminary ethnographic information for future planning and research. See Appendix B for details of fieldwork activities.

Using the standard ethnographic method of participant observation, the lead researcher and her Gullah/Geechee acquaintances began to share stories of their childhoods. The stories were interspersed with comments such as, "YOU did that, too? I thought only WE did that!" These revelations led to a much clearer understanding of the extent of the shared cultural traditions of black and white southerners and helped to foster greater appreciation of the significance of Gullah/Geechee people to American culture. Although the lead researcher interacted with a broad spectrum of Gullah/Geechee people in terms of age, gender, and occupation, there were certain categories of people, such as teenagers and small children, who were underrepresented in her contacts.

One of the most extreme incidents of positive feedback occurred in a small community meeting at a church near Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina. Following the lead researcher's presentation on the progress of the SRS, an elder from the community asked to see the slide program again. After the meeting, the white-haired lady approached the lead researcher, held both her hands and said, "Write down your name for me 'cause I'm gonna remember you. I'm goin' home and tell my grands about you. You tol' me about my culture; you tol' me my history. When I say my prayers tonight, I'm gonna thank God for you."

While such expressions of interest in Gullah/Geechee traditions and culture are frequent, some Gullah and Geechee people do not wish to dwell on negative aspects of bygone eras nor pursue history for history's sake. For example, in rural Johns Island, South Carolina, SRS researchers talked to some people who wanted to put "all that stuff" behind them. Such sentiments appear to be longstanding on Johns Island. When Guy and Candie Carawan (1989) lived on the island during the 1960s, they frequently heard comments such as, "Why would we want to dig up the past and talk about slavery, segregation, and all that stuff." People were well below the poverty level, often had poor housing, and did not have access to good medical care. Past history appeared to be less important to those people who are struggling for survival in the present.

Today on Johns Island, poverty is still an issue, but there is growing interest and conscious effort to perpetuate selected elements of Gullah historical heritage. The Senior Citizens' Center sponsors a Gullah Theatre group. All presentations are made in the Gullah language, and young people who participate must practice carefully with the elders to be sure they have learned correct pronunciation of their lines. Pride in Gullah heritage and language appears to be spreading among the young people on the island.



Richard Sussman of the SRS team answers questions about alternatives, St. Simon's Island meeting, 2002.

Preliminary Alternatives

When the transcript analysis was complete, the SRS team gathered in Atlanta to brainstorm project alternatives based on community input. Seven draft alternatives were developed. Porcher took these alternatives back into the communities for further comment. Numerous informal meetings were held at churches, community gatherings, private residences, over lunch – any time and place that a group was gathering. Some meetings included presentations featuring local sites, and discussion of the preliminary alternatives. The process of overall evaluation was difficult in the beginning, as nearly every community wanted a center of its own. Eventually, groups became willing to take a more detached view and consider the alternatives as a whole. Based on information from these informal meetings, the SRS team was able to go forward with three alternatives that were later presented at a second round of formal community meetings.

Community Meetings: Round Two

A follow- up series of large venue public meetings was held during the fall of 2002. These meetings were held in the same locations as the original meetings in 2000, but were conducted as workshops rather than as open forums. The three action alternatives were presented at separate stations in the meeting room. Maps and graphic representations helped to clarify the alternatives.

The SRS team answered questions, discussed and explained alternatives, discussed alternatives, and encouraged every participant to write comments on easel pads provided at each station. Team members were available to record comments for those who were uncomfortable with writing. Participants were urged to share literature from the meetings with church and community organizations. They were also invited to contact team members by telephone, letter, and/or e- mail to make further comments or suggestions. All responses to these suggested preliminary alternatives were considered in the development of the final list of alternatives presented later in this document.

The workshop format of the 2002 meetings did not allow for a transcript analysis comparable to that of the first round of meetings. However, all of the comments received have been recorded and are presented in Appendix C. Reaction to the format of the second round of meetings was mixed. Some of the participants seemed to be satisfied with the individual interpersonal approach, while others said that the workshop format did not allow for sufficient public expression of preferences.

Community Discussions of Proposed Alternatives		
Date	*City/Town*	*Location/Sponsor*
October 15, 2002	Charleston, SC	Avery Research Center
October 17, 2002	Jacksonville, FL	Urban League Center
October 21, 2002	St. Simons Island, GA	Emanuel Baptist Church
October 22, 2002	Savannah, GA	First African Baptist Church
October 24, 2002	St. Helena Island, SC	Penn Center
October 29, 2002	Little River, SC	St. Paul AME Church
November 4, 2002	Georgetown, SC	Bethel AME Church

It is important to note that some issues and community concerns brought forth at these meetings fall outside the traditional purview of the NPS. Among these issues are:



Participants discuss alternatives presented at the St. Simon's Island Gullah/Geechee SRS community meeting.

- Land retention and zoning;
- Property tax rate controls and other means of protecting longtime landowners;
- Creating job opportunities at NPS sites within the study area that do not conform to the standard guidelines for employment as defined by the Office of Personnel Management (OPM), for which making exceptions are beyond the authority of local park administrators;
- Cemetery access and preservation;
- More readily obtaining status in the National Register of Historic Places for culturally significant lands whether or not they contain archaeological sites or historic buildings;
- Routinely permitting Gullah/Geechee basketmakers to harvest raw materials on federal properties;
- Direct sales of Gullah/Geechee crafts on NPS sites.

For additional information on agencies and programs that may provide help, see "Cultural Resource Preservation Tools and Methods" later in this document.

Writing the Report

After completion of both rounds of community meetings and review of the literature, Cynthia H. Porcher, principal researcher, and J. Anthony Paredes, NPS regional ethnographer, coauthored a preliminary draft of the main document for review by the SRS team. Other members of the team provided editorial advice and wrote sections of the report. A small panel of historical and cultural professionals in the NPS Southeast Regional Office then reviewed the draft report.

Following this review, Porcher and Paredes prepared a revised draft for internal NPS review at the regional and national levels. Once that review was complete, a draft report was distributed to a panel of experts on Gullah/Geechee and African American history, society, and culture. The peer panel was comprised of individuals from academic institutions, museums, and Gullah/Geechee communities themselves. With the compiled comments of NPS in- house and peer panel review, the SRS team prepared the draft for public review, which was announced on December 1, 2003, with request for comments by February 1, 2004. The deadline was later extended to February 17, 2004. This final version of the report was revised to reflect the suggestions, concerns, and comments received from organizations, agencies, and private individuals.

Scholarly Overview

Gullah/Geechee people and their culture have been subject to intense academic research by anthropologists, sociologists, ethnographers, folklorists, linguists, and archaeologists for more than 100 years. They may well be the most extensively studied African American population in the United States. From the onset, much of this study has focused on the distinct creole language traditionally spoken by the Gullah people of South Carolina, which is known as Geechee in coastal Georgia.



Map illustrating areas from which enslaved Africans were brought. *Courtesy SC ETV Commission*

Equally important to this linguistic research are studies of Gullah and Geechee folklore and oral traditions. In addition, there is a longstanding body of research on Gullah/Geechee arts, crafts, music, and religious customs.

For the past several decades, historians and social scientists have devoted increased attention to research on Gullah/Geechee social traditions and community life. More recently, applied researchers from a number of disciplines have examined the effects of multiple economic and social stresses on Gullah/Geechee communities and the psychological and cultural responses of Gullah/Geechee peoples to those stresses. Paralleling the social and cultural research on Gullah/Geechee people is a small but significant body of biomedical, anthropometric, and genetic study of the Gullah/Geechee population (Pollitzer 1999).

As a result of this extensive scholarly investigation of Gullah language, history, culture, and population genetics, it became quite clear that the Gullah/Geechee people are the most distinctive of all African American populations in the United States. Recognizing the relevance of Gullah/Geechee studies in academic and scientific arenas, the SRS team was careful to ensure that the external academic credibility of the study be maintained, as well as, seeking to incorporate the grassroots views of the culture by Gullah/Geechee people themselves.

Shortly before this SRS began, the ethnography program of the NPS Southeast Regional Office contracted two Gullah- related projects. One of these studies was a broad historic and demographic overview of coastal South Carolina, Georgia, and Northeast Florida. The University of Georgia research team, which conducted the study, was led by an anthropologist, Benjamin Blount, who had several years of research experience on the African American commercial fishermen of Georgia (Blount 2000). Results of the project served as an initial foundation for tracking population change in the Gullah/Geechee region. The other project was an annotated bibliography prepared by an independent researcher, Roslyn Saunders of Georgetown, South Carolina. The Saunders bibliography is presented in Appendix E.

Near the beginning of the SRS, the late William S. Pollitzer, emeritus professor of anthropology at the University of North Carolina, published his authoritative synthesis of Gullah history, culture, and population biology, *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage* (1999). Pollitzer's book won the 2000 George Mooney prize from the Southern Anthropological Society and the John B. Cowelti Award from the American Culture Association. His work brought together a vast body of research that traced the origins of Gullah/Geechee people to West and Central Africa and detailed their distinctiveness as a population group.

The historical scope of Pollitzer's study began with the period of slave importation and continued through the 20th century. He discusses the demographic and economic pressure placed on the culture by rapid coastal economic development and points out that the very survival of the Gullah/Geechee as a people is at risk.

Pollitzer's work demonstrates that the Gullah/Geechee people are a distinctive biological population with less European admixture than other African Americans. He further demonstrates how the Gullah/Geechee people show greater continuity with African and Afro- Caribbean languages and

cultures than do most other African American groups in the United States. Pollitzer prepared a condensation of this monumental work on the Gullah people for inclusion in this study. The condensed work is included here as Appendix D by permission of the publisher and may not be further reproduced from this report.

Despite his wide- ranging synthesis of published studies, Pollitzer did not claim his work to be an exhaustive search of scholarly literature. There is limited coverage of very recent publications and of unpublished theses and dissertations. To compensate for this limitation, the SRS team commissioned a survey of Gullah/Geechee literature. This study, contracted through the Historic Charleston Foundation, was conducted by Melissa D. Hargrove, a University of Tennessee doctoral student in cultural anthropology, who has been conducting ethnographic research in various Gullah/Geechee communities since 1997. Beginning with Saunders' annotated bibliography, Hargrove synthesized the results of many documents, both published and unpublished.

Prominent researchers of Gullah culture, including Pollitzer himself, reviewed Hargrove's draft report. The resulting revised report is included here as Appendix F. This document reaffirms the distinctiveness of Gullah language, people, and culture, while providing an introduction to the current cultural stress faced by the Gullah/Geechee people. In addition to the work by Saunders and Hargrove, members of the SRS research team, particularly the principal researcher, did considerable library and Internet research on pertinent topics.

2 Affected People and Environment

Gullah and Geechee Peoples: History, Language, Society, Culture, and Change

Since scholars are not in agreement as to the origins of the terms "Gullah" and "Geechee," the vernacular use of the terms will suffice for the purpose of this study. Gullah people are, therefore, those located in coastal South Carolina and Geechee people are those who live along the Georgia coast and into Florida. Geechee people in Georgia refer to themselves as Freshwater Geechee if they live on the mainland and Saltwater Geechee if they live on the Sea Islands. In some circumstances, the term "Geechee" has been used as a blanket term to describe people who live in the Low Country, regardless of ethnicity. "Geechee" has also been used in a derogatory manner to show disdain for African American people from the Low Country region, regardless of specific location.

Gullah/Geechee people of today are descendants of enslaved Africans from various ethnic groups of west and central Africa who were brought to the New World and forced to work on the plantations of coastal South Carolina, Georgia, North Carolina, and Florida. According to the records of the Port of Charleston, South Carolina, their African origins include Angola (39%), Senegambia (20%), the Windward Coast (17%), the Gold Coast (13%), Sierra Leone (6%), and Madagascar, Mozambique, and the two Bights (5% combined) (Pollitzer, 1999:43).

Once in the Low Country, men and women of various African ethnic groups mixed in ways that did not occur in their homeland. On the plantation, enslaved Africans met other enslaved Africans from more ethnic groups than they ever would have encountered in a lifetime of living in Africa. Diverse African cultural traditions, languages, and religions were mixed and fused in combinations that did not exist in Africa. This new culture, African in origin but unlike any particular African culture, developed and flourished along the southeast Atlantic coastline and barrier islands. The new culture came to be called Gullah or Geechee, depending on geographic location (Joyner 1994).

Gullah/Geechee people are survivors – unique groups of African Americans who lived near the coast and on barrier islands that were separated from the mainland by creeks, rivers, and marshes. Because of their geographic protection from outsiders and strong sense of family and community, Gullah/Geechee people maintained a separate creole language and developed a distinct culture, which included more of the African cultural tradition than in the cultural patterns of African American populations in other parts of the United States.

The isolation of sea island communities from outsiders was vital to the survival of Gullah/Geechee community cultures. Although Gullah/Geechee people traveled to and from the mainland and to nearby islands, outsiders seldom came into their communities, especially after the Civil War. The separation of Gullah/Geechee people, which began in colonial times in response to tropical fevers, later became an isolation of choice. People chose to come back to their homes, their families, their language, and their way of life – a slow- paced life among majestic trees, tidal marshes, and dirt roads traversed by ox and mule carts – places where small boats, horses, mules and feet were the primary forms of transportation. Thus, within these rural communities, people were able to maintain the language, arts, crafts, religious beliefs, folklore, rituals, and food preferences that are distinctly connected to their West African roots. The islands were accessible only by boat until the first bridges were built around 1950.



Before bridges, flat bottomed boats were used to travel in the creeks, cuts, and canals between islands and to the mainland. *Charleston Museum*

Coastal development, changing job markets, and population shifts have forced many Gullah/Geechee people to leave their ancestral family lands. The traditional economy of farming, fishing, hunting, and small- scale marketing of subsistence products has been replaced by a suburban and resort service economy. These changes threaten Gullah/Geechee cultural survival and their distinct identity as a people who have survived since colonial times.

Many traditional Gullah/Geechee communities have been lost to real estate development, encroachment by outsiders, and the resulting economic hardship. The remaining communities have become models for understanding negative as well as positive impacts of burgeoning tourism and large scale economic development in coastal regions of the American South. Despite the losses of recent decades, the Gullah/Geechee people remain a testament to the power of human adaptability and survival amid major stresses and assaults from many fronts in the rapidly changing economic environment of the modern world.

Historical Overview

Gullah/Geechee people of today trace their ancestry primarily to the enslaved Africans who were forced to live and labor in the coastal counties of South Carolina, Georgia, southern North Carolina, and northern Florida. Africans from diverse societies and environments – men, women, and children – were taken forcibly from their homes and families and sold into slavery. Often, African kings and warlords took prisoners from rival groups and kept them as slaves or traded them for guns, ammunition, and clothing, or even to settle debts. Sometimes, Africans were kidnapped after being enticed by brightly colored merchandise; sometimes, villages were burned and raided (WPA 1985). At the beginning of European expansion into Africa, Arab slave traders continued to transport captive people from the interior of Africa, just as they had done for centuries. Following the European discovery of the Americas, these enslaved people became forced emigrants in the Triangular Slave Trade between England, Africa, and the New World.

According to African scholar Walter Rodney, the scope of the Atlantic slave trade conducted along the Upper Guinea Coast during the latter half of the 18th century has not yet been fully understood. He believes that the development of the Gullah culture along the coast of South Carolina supports his contention. During that timeframe the Africans who arrived "transferred a medium of culture, communalism, and spirituality that assimilated with the existing African traditions, both of which necessarily adapted to Euro- American ambiance." Rodney, who believes that Africa's loss was America's gain, revealed his thoughts on the tragedy of the Atlantic slave trade in the following statement.

> The impression that African society was being overwhelmed by its involvement with the European economy was most strongly conveyed at points when Africans conceded that their slaving activities were the consequences of the fact that nothing but slaves would purchase European goods. Yet European consumer goods

> contributed nothing to the development of African production. Only the rulers benefited narrowly, by receiving the best cloth, drinking the most alcohol, and preserving the widest collection of durable items for prestige purposes. It is this factor of realized self- interest which goes some way towards explaining the otherwise incomprehensible actions of Africans toward Africans (Rodney 1981:253).

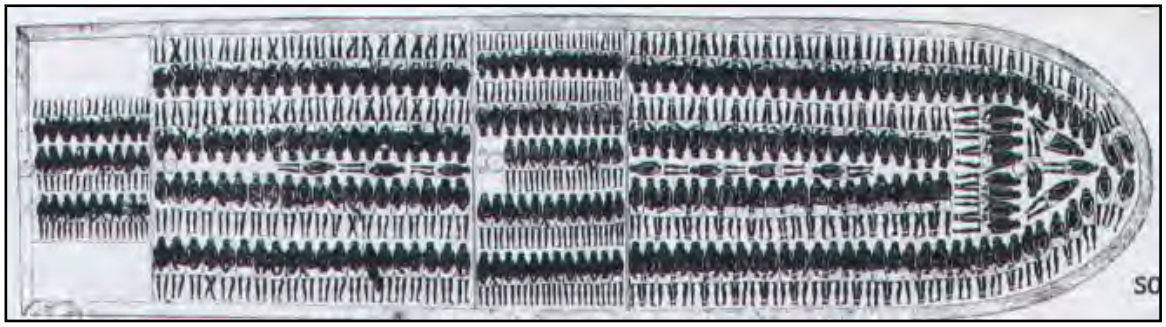
When considering the African roots of Gullah/Geechee people, it is important to remember that Africa is not a country, *i.e.*, there is no single African culture but a diverse mix of cultures and languages in widely varying environments from deserts to rain forests. Enslaved Africans did not bring a unique set of cultural, linguistic, and spiritual practices that could be considered a singular African heritage. Gullah and Geechee people did not, therefore, derive from a single society in one environment, or from a single geographic location in Africa but from many places with diverse environments, cultures, and languages (Levine 1978). Rather than sharing a common African culture, they created a new creole culture in the Low Country and Sea Islands (Hine and Thompson 1998). There is evidence that some planters made a concerted effort to purchase slaves who came from different areas of Africa so they would not be able to communicate with one another and would be less of a threat to the vastly outnumbered European population (Edgar 1998).

The British slave trade became known as the Triangular Slave Trade due to the three- stop passage taken by many slavers. Ships left England loaded with goods such as cloth, guns, and ammunition and sailed to the slave trading ports of West Africa where they traded their wares for captive Africans. The captives were warehoused in forts or large castles or held in open *barracoons* (outdoor prisons) at slave ports such as Goree in Senegal, James Island in the Gambia River, and Bunce Island in the Sierra Leone River. Each fort had a "door of no return" through which captive Africans left their homeland for the last time. As the survivors of imprisonment waited to be herded onto slave ships, they had no control over their destiny and no idea that they would never again set foot on their native African soil (Clarke 1995). Once the forced emigrants were loaded, slavers set sail for the New World to trade their human cargo for sugar, molasses, indigo, naval stores, and other products for the third leg of the triangular route, which led them back to England.



Avery Research Center for African-American History and Culture

The second leg of the triangular trade route – the voyage from Africa to the New World – was called the Middle Passage. The Middle Passage was the most horrendous leg of the trip because there was human cargo in the



Cut away diagram of 1790 slave ship hold showing cramped conditions of enslaved Africans.

holds. Slave merchants shopped for slaves as if they were merchandise. They hired doctors to examine and inspect the captive Africans, so that only those who would bring a good price in the Americas were selected for the voyage. Characteristics such as physical fitness, healthy eyes, good teeth, and absence of venereal disease were basic requirements. The physician accompanied the captives on the voyage and monitored infectious diseases such as small pox, yellow fever, and dysentery (flux) that were often rampant aboard ship. Upon advice from the doctor, captives with symptoms were thrown overboard to prevent the spread of sickness (Palmer 1992).

In 1745, a slaver belonging to the Asciento Company arrived at Charleston with a cargo of Africans. John Newton, who later became a priest of the Church of England, was mate on the vessel. Newton called upon his experiences in the slave trade when he wrote the well- known hymn "Amazing Grace." Newton's own description of the voyage from Africa follows:

> I find by my journal of a voyage to South Carolina that we left the Windward Coast of Africa with 218 slaves, and buried 62 [at sea] on our passage over, while many more died on our arrival and were buried ashore.
>
> When the weather will not admit the slaves being brought on deck, the heat and smell of the rooms would be insupportable to a person unaccustomed to them. If the rooms can be constantly aired, and they not detained too long on board, perhaps not many die; but the contrary is often their lot. They are kept down to breathe the hot and corrupted air for sometimes a week; this added to the galling of their irons, and the despondency which seizes their spirits, soon becomes fatal.
>
> Every morning several instances are found of the dead and living, like the captives of Mezentius, fastened together.
>
> Epidemical fevers break out and infect the seamen likewise. And thus the oppressed and the oppressor fall by the same stroke.
>
> Usually two- thirds of a cargo of slaves are males and it is always taken for granted that they will gain their liberty if possible. They are always chained to rings fastened on the decks.
>
> I have seen slaves that were guilty of insurrection subjected to the most unmerciful whippings, continued till the poor creatures have not had power to groan under their sufferings. I have seen them agonizing for days under the torture of a thumbscrew.
>
> I have seen even worse – but I cannot mention it.
>
> I have heard a captain boast of his conduct toward a number of slaves who attempted to rise up on him. After he had suppressed the insurrection, he sat in judgment upon the insurgents; and, not only in cold blood, adjudged several of them to die, but studied with no small attention, how to make death as excruciating as possible. For the reader's sake I repress the recital of the particulars.
>
> From the women there is no danger of insurrection; and they are carefully kept from the men. A mate purchased a woman with a fine child and because the child cried he threw it into the sea. The child was silenced, but twas not so easy to pacify the mother and she was too valuable to throw into the sea.
>
> Poor Africans! The only liberty of which they have any notion is an exemption from being sold. But they are never secure. It often happens that the black that sells one of his race on board a ship, is himself within the same week bought and sold by one of his superiors, to the same vessel.

> When the slaves were landed in South Carolina, some families that were separated in different parts of the ship showed joy when brought together.
>
> After a careful perusal of what I have written, weighing every paragraph distinctly, I can find nothing to retract. – Rev. John Newton. London (Newton 1998)



"Of this mixture [gunpowder, lemon-juice, and palm oil], the unresisting captive received a coating, which by the hand of another sailor, was rubbed into the skin, and then polished with a 'danby brush,' until the sable epidermis glistened like a newly-blackened boot ... It was not the first time those unfeeling men had assisted in the spectacle of a slavers' cargo being made ready for market." [Caption from UVA image LCP-31] *University of Virginia Libraries*

While there were ships built specifically for the transport of African slaves, many slaver vessels were converted livestock ships that carried upwards of 500 enslaved Africans in space designed to hold 200. Captive Africans were frequently chained together head to foot, and forced to lie back to belly in their own excrement and vomit. Women and children were held on separate levels from the men. Most slavers traveled in spring and summer so that the captives could be kept naked, as slavers did not want to spend extra money on clothing (Teague and Cowan 1969). While privations were agonizing due to the "close packing" of the legal slave trade, they became excruciatingly worse with the dense packing of the smuggling trade. By the 1840s, a three- foot head clearance was considered the norm for the stowage cargo and some ships had less than two feet vertical clearance (Davidson 1993:22).

Rice, yams, corn, salt fish, peas, palm oil and beans were used to feed the captives. Most slave vessels had a twice daily feeding schedule with the mixture served from large tubs. Captives were given wooden spoons and gathered around the food tub in groups of ten. Sharks that followed slave vessels were frequently caught to supplement the food supply (Rawley 1981). Depending on weather conditions, the Middle Passage voyage lasted between five and twelve weeks and frequently was a time of mutinies and revolts. The stench arising from the slaver ships was said to be so intense that it was noticeable on shore before the ships were visible on the horizon.

Although food and water were strictly rationed during the voyage, an effort was made to "fatten" the captives before they were sold. To make their skin look healthy and shiny, captives were rubbed with a combination of gunpowder, lemon juice and palm oil and then polished with a "danby brush."

> They came ashore in nakedness and hunger, but were lucky to be alive. The months before had been a living nightmare; for many now the deliverance from that nightmare would be a brief prelude to death itself. The slave trade had begun to kill them; disease would finish the job. And whatever the survivors would then remember could be only a series of jagged and traumatic sufferings. Seized in their villages along the West African coastline, these once able- bodied men and women had been dragged to slave prisons on the coast itself, infamous *barracoons* where, well-guarded by their captors, they had lingered for weeks, even months, until a slaving ship bound for the Americas at last came by, and anchored for just long enough to buy them from their captors (Davidson 1993:21).

While there is no way to determine how many lives were lost in the Middle Passage, only about one third of those who left Africa are said to have survived the journey. The bodies of the millions of


TO BE SOLD, on board the Ship *Bance-Island*, on tueſday the 6th of *May* next, at *Aſhley-Ferry*; a choice cargo of about 250 fine healthy

NEGROES,

juſt arrived from the Windward & Rice Coaſt. —The utmoſt care has already been taken, and ſhall be continued, to keep them free from the leaſt danger of being infected with the SMALL-POX, no boat having been on board, and all other communication with people from *Charles-Town* prevented.

Auſtin, Laurens, & Appleby.

N. B. Full one Half of the above Negroes have had the SMALL-POX in their own Country..

18th century advertisement announcing the sale of a cargo of slaves aboard the ship Bance-Island, then anchored off Charleston, SC, during a smallpox epidemic. *Library of Congress, Washington, DC*

Africans thought to have perished during the voyages were thrown overboard to the waiting sharks. According to oral tradition, if it were possible to view the floor of the Atlantic Ocean, there would be a trail of human bones that stretches from Africa to the Americas (Clarke 1995).

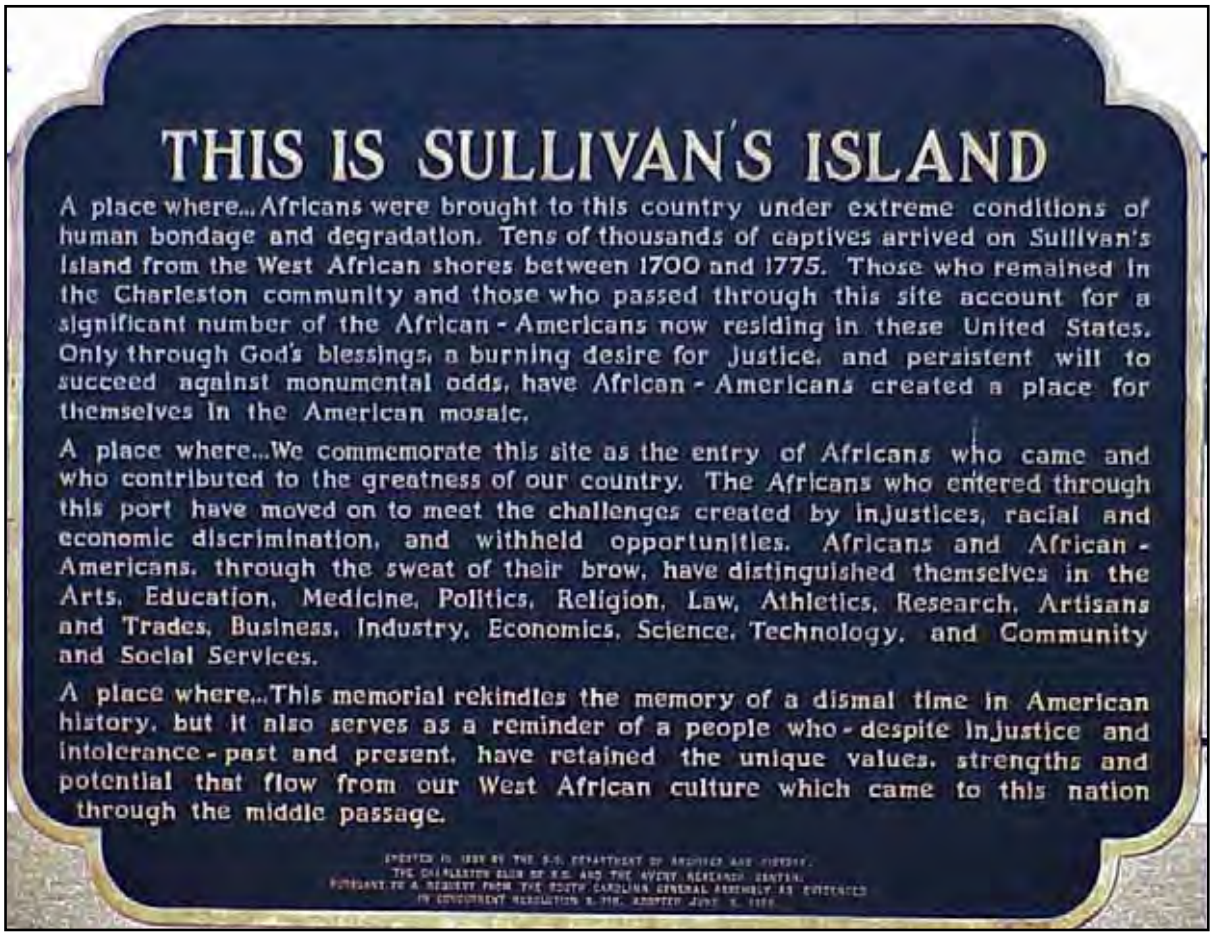
Over 90% of enslaved African people were sold in South America – primarily Brazil – or in the Caribbean islands. Because of the well-established plantation system in the islands, many enslaved people who were destined for the Low Country went first to the West Indies where they were "seasoned" – acclimated to the diseases and slavery conditions of the New World. Although there was a mortality rate of about 30% during the seasoning period, slaves were considered more valuable if they had undergone the process. Since many of the early Carolina colonists came from Barbados, Nevis, and other islands of the British West Indies; they were familiar with the slave labor system and brought slaves and the system with them to the colony. The Caribbean connection was the primary source for enslaved Africans who entered the Carolina Colony during the 17th century and remained important throughout the history of the Low Country slave trade.

The transatlantic slavers not only carried human cargo to the American colonies, but also brought diseases that were endemic in Africa. *Anopheles* and *Aedes* mosquitoes, vectors that carried deadly malaria and yellow fever, were inadvertent passengers (Tibbetts 2000). These very insects may have contributed to the survival of African traditions along the southern coastline, as Africans from the subtropical regions of Africa had a degree of genetic immunity to these diseases. Mosquitoes capable of carrying malaria already existed in the Low Country and undoubtedly became carriers of the milder forms of the disease by biting European settlers from areas where the fever was endemic (Pollitzer 1999). Mosquitoes began to carry the most deadly *Falciparium* form of malaria after coming in contact with Africans (See discussion of population genetics, which follows in the Demographic History section).

By the early 18th century, Charles Town in South Carolina had replaced the Chesapeake area as the largest trans- Atlantic slave market on the coast of British North America. Africans destined for the Charles Town market were first unloaded on Sullivan's Island, near the present site of Fort Moultrie, where they were quarantined in pest houses, usually for a minimum of ten days (Littlefield 1986). There are records indicating the existence of a pest house on Sullivan's Island as early as 1712 (Waring 1964).

When James Oglethorpe founded the Georgia colony in 1732, slavery was not permitted, and for the first few years, the colony failed to thrive economically. In 1750, Georgia became the last of the colonies to legalize human bondage, paving the way to develop a plantation economy like South Carolina to her north (DeLoach 1931).

In 1750, when slavery became legal in Georgia, Africans brought through the port at Savannah were held in pest houses on Tybee Island, near what is now Fort Pulaski National Monument. Both Fort



Historical marker, Sullivan's Island, SC, near Fort Moultrie. Although some people have referred to Sullivan's Island as the Ellis Island for Africans, the analagy seems questionable. Immigrants to Ellis Island came voluntarily, while Africans came to Sullivan's Island against their wills and in chains. *Carlin Timmons, NPS*

Moultrie and Fort Pulaski were built using the labor of enslaved Africans who were rented from nearby plantations. Although there are no remaining pest house structures in South Carolina or Georgia, there is a historic marker on Sullivan's Island near Fort Moultrie, a unit of Fort Sumter National Monument. The marker commemorates not only the enslaved Africans who landed there but also those who lost their lives in the treacherous Middle Passage. Historic maps indicate that the Sullivan's Island pest house was located west of what is now the Ft. Moultrie Visitor Center (Hofbauer 1997a, 1997b; Quick 1997).

If archeological remnants of Sullivan's Island pest house buildings existed today, they would probably be located under water on the land side of the island or beneath existing private homes. The Tybee Island pest house building, located near Lazaretto Creek, was badly damaged during an 1893 hurricane and was never rebuilt. When the U.S. Highway 80 Bridge over Lazaretto Creek was relocated in 1960, the construction project apparently destroyed any remnants of the original pest house structures. There are a few remaining graves in the area that may date to the time of the Lazaretto Creek pest house.

The total number of enslaved Africans who entered North America at Sullivan's Island may never be known, but it is estimated that 40% of all African Americans today can trace their roots to that small barrier island near Charleston, South Carolina. Peter Wood suggests that Sullivan's Island was to Africans as Ellis Island was to European immigrants (Wood 1974); however, this comparison is rather

specious given that immigrants to Ellis Island came by choice and those to Sullivan's Island came by force.

Once the captive Africans had endured the required quarantine period in pest houses and were deemed free of infectious disease, a merchant or merchant company took responsibility for them and arranged for their sale (Littlefield 1986). Before being placed on the auction block and sold to the highest bidder, Africans were stripped naked, washed, shaved, and rubbed with palm oil. Wounds or scars on their bodies were filled with tar. Before making purchases, potential buyers inspected the teeth and bodies of enslaved men and women in minute detail. According to historian Sharla Fett, "With the commodification of black bodies came the objectification of African American health. The intersection of medicine with the southern political economy produced a narrow definition of slave health …" (Fett 2000:32).



By 1790, Low Country population was 78% black. The black majority in South Carolina and Georgia continued well into the 20th Century.

While historians are in disagreement over exactly how many enslaved Africans were shipped to the New World, between 1451 and 1870 an estimated 12 to 15 million slaves were exported from Africa. Close to 70% of slave sales occurred between 1700 and 1850. However, less than 10% of the total number of captive Africans was sold in North America. After disembarking their human cargo in the Americas, slaver ships were loaded with commodities such as cotton, sugar, tobacco, molasses, and rum for European markets. Thus, every leg of the triangular journey was profitable to the British Crown, thus creating wealth based on human misery.

The Rice Coast of Africa, encompassing the modern countries of Senegal, Gambia, Guinea- Bissau, Sierra Leone, and Liberia, is a region of diverse culture, language, and geography that extends about 700 miles from the Sahara Desert to the rain forest. According to Pollitzer (1999), nearly 61% of enslaved Africans brought into South Carolina and Georgia between 1749 and 1787 came from the rice- growing regions of West Africa, either directly or by way of the Caribbean. Many of these people had been slaves in their native land; thus they were somewhat prepared for commercial plantation rice cultivation along the Carolina coast.

Rice plantations were large operations with independent internal economies – not unlike the manor system of the Old World. Agriculture was not, therefore, the only skill required to keep the plantation operational. Many enslaved men and women had been skilled artisans in Africa – blacksmiths, potters, coopers, carpenters, fishermen, miners – and brought valuable skills to their new homeland. Many enslaved women had knowledge of herbal cures, nursing the sick, and midwifery. Some slaves were trained to perform specialized trades after they arrived in the colonies. All of these skills contributed to the financial success of the plantation and the wealth of the planter (Chase 1978; Goodson 1987; Haller 1972).

> Although the early rice planters along the Carolina coast were aware that Africans were as diverse as Europeans, they molded them into a cohesive workforce, ignored ethnic distinctions, and discouraged native customs. For survival, slaves had to submerge differences and create a common culture. Later, white historians homogenized them and constructed stereotypes of the 'Negro' that obliterated their varied ethnicity … While many aspects of Gullah life have been reported, no one has synthesized this varied information to present a complete and integrated picture (Pollitzer 1999).

After European colonization, slavery in the Americas was always closely connected to the idea of race. In earlier times and elsewhere in the world, enslaved peoples were often from nearby places and, thus, of the same physical type and of similar culture as were the masters who owned them. As these slaves became free, they often could return home or could readily mix and assimilate within the larger society of their former masters. Their prior slave status would soon be forgotten. In contrast, the form of slavery that Europeans established in North America firmly linked that "peculiar institution" to the notion of categorically distinct races – a system that was the basis for racial prejudice (Degler 1959).

Development of the Plantation Economy

> *"The only commodity of Consequence produced in South Carolina is Rice, and they reckon it as much as their staple Commodity, as Sugar is to Barbados and Jamaica, or Tobacco to Virginia and Maryland." – James Glen, 1761* (Milling 1951: 95)

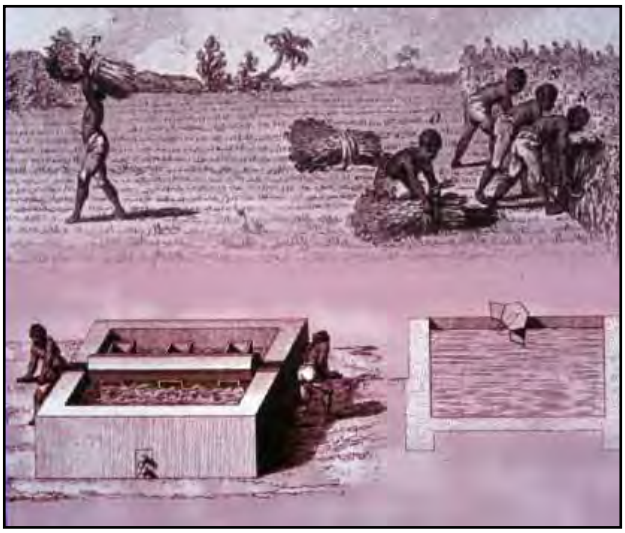
South Carolina was chartered in 1670 as a proprietary or for-profit colony. Most of the original settlers came to Carolina from Barbados, and some brought enslaved Africans along with them. As such, it was very important to identify lucrative staple crops and products for export. Sugarcane, though successful in the West Indies, failed in Carolina, as did olives, ginger, and grapes. Sugarcane was later to become a successful crop in the Georgia Colony and the Florida territory. At the beginning of the colony, there was no predominant labor force and no principal economic activity. In the late 17th century, every able-bodied person engaged in hard physical labor just to survive, and in most cases, colonists worked side by side with indentured Europeans, captive Indians, and enslaved Africans. They usually lived together under the same roof in barracks-like buildings. For a variety of reasons, there was a shift to importation of enslaved Africans, who could neither escape to their homelands nor easily blend into the predominantly European population. Thus, the effects of slavery lived on in the form of presumed white superiority which bred racism and intolerance. Nonetheless, in a few places in the Americas, peoples of African descent were able to reconstitute their own separate societies to some extent. In South America, some like the Saramanka of Surinam (Price 1996; Price and Price 1999) achieved almost complete autonomy in their jungle refuge. Others, like the Gullah/Geechee people, while not autonomous, did enjoy a degree of insulation from racial oppression in their largely isolated Low Country and Sea Island communities.

Estimated Population of South Carolina, 1670-1775

Year	*Whites*	*Blacks*	*Indian Slaves*	*Total*
1670	170	30	- - -	200
1680	1,000	200	- - -	1,200
1690	2,400	1,500	100	3,900
1700	3,300	2,400	200	5,900
1710	4,200	4,300	1,500	10,000
1720	6,500	9,900	2,000	18,400
1730	10,000	20,000	500	30,500
1740	15,000	39,200	- - -	54,200
1750	25,000	40,000	- - -	65,000
1760	37,100	57,000	- - -	94,100
1770	42,200	82,000	- - -	124,200
1775	- - -	102,000	- - -	- - -

Source: US Census Data

During the late 1670s, cattle were brought from the Virginia colony to provide meat and dairy



Indigo harvesting and processing in SC. *NPS*

products for early Carolinians. Plans were to confine the cattle in pastures, as was the European custom, and to butcher them each winter, saving only a few animals to replenish the herd. Barbadians were somewhat familiar with open range grazing, but the enslaved Africans had more experience. Herds soon began to free graze, not unlike the large herds along the upper Guinea coast in West Africa (Carney 2001; Ver Steeg 1984; Wood 1974). Since forage was plentiful, there was no need for herd-attenuating slaughters. Cattle herds multiplied and flourished on their own with few labor requirements. Ownership was determined by a system of branding. Thus, raising livestock for export was the key to economic survival during the first 30 years of the colony, and planters in many regions of the Americas exhibited a preference for slaves with knowledge of cattle- raising and equestrian skills (Carney 2001).

The task of raising and tending the cattle quickly fell to the enslaved Africans, some of whom came from Senegambia, a region in West Africa where cattle raising was a common part of local agriculture. Some of the British colonists came from Barbados, where they had been familiar with open grazing methods. Consequently, the herding and husbandry skills from both places were creolized into a South Carolina colonial method (Otto 1986, 1987; Wood 1974). These men were called "cowboys" in much the same way as male house servants were referred to as "house boys" (Edgar 1998). Feral hogs that remained from early Spanish colonies were raised, also by the free- range method, in large numbers for both the table and the export trade.

At the beginning of the 18th century, naval stores (tar, pitch, rosin, and turpentine) and timber for the British ship building industry were the most successful exports. The naval stores industry, which utilized the vast forests of longleaf pine, was important to the economic development of the states along the southeastern Atlantic coast from the 18th through the early 20th centuries (Harmon and Snedeker 1997). Deer hides were obtained through trade with American Indians, but enslaved Africans generally processed, counted, and weighed the hides for shipment. Salt meats, wood, and barrel staves – made almost exclusively by enslaved Africans – were shipped to West Indies in return for sugar, molasses, currency, and more slaves. The money and slaves earned from the export of salt meats, hides, and naval stores enabled Carolina planters to purchase additional lands and to plant rice (Dethloff 1982).

Since every colony searched for a single staple crop that would create wealth, experimentation with exotic crops was encouraged. Rice became the favored crop in South Carolina, but commitment to rice came about slowly (Wood 1974). The English first began to experiment with rice in the 1680s, but the transition from naval stores, mixed agriculture, and cattle rising to a rice- based economy took several decades. Rice cultivation techniques and free- range cattle farming are but two examples of the African influence on coastal plantation life (Wood 1974).

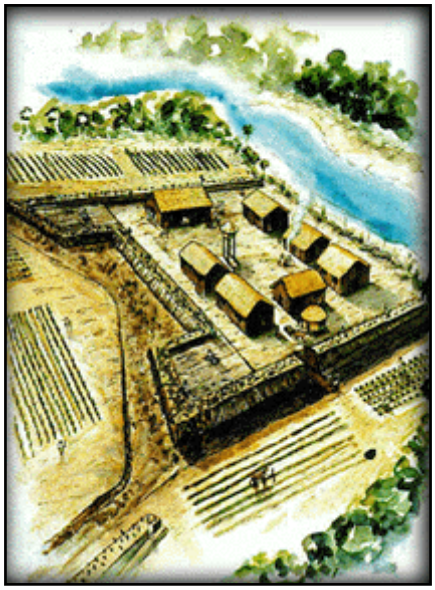
During the early decades of rice cultivation, rice was grown on dry land and later in inland swamps. The colossal amount of labor required to shape plantations from wilderness and swamp created instability between slaves and planters. Survival and success during this frontier period required a state of mutual interdependence and negotiated relationships. The back- breaking labor required to clear land and swamps for rice culture was extremely taxing on the enslaved workers. Many lost their

lives in the process; others attempted escape even though the risks of capture and death were great, as death seemed preferable to their enslaved condition (Carney 2001; Edgar 1998).

Indigo was first grown in an attempt to diversify the rice economy and to utilize land that was unsuitable for rice production. Beginning near Charles Town, indigo production quickly spread rapidly throughout the low country and into the middle and back country. Between 1744 and 1774 indigo became a major cash crop as production increased from just a few pounds to over a million pounds per year. The dye was exported to England from the 1740s until the American Revolution. Cotton replaced indigo as a market crop after 1800 (Edgar 1998; Wallace 1909).

The Quest for Freedom

Even during the early years of the Carolina colony, enslaved Africans were unhappy with their condition of forced servitude and dreamed of freedom. The royal edict of 1733 created religious sanctuary for runaway slaves in the Spanish Florida colony, and word quickly spread northward through Georgia, where slavery was prohibited, to the rapidly expanding plantations of Carolina, where over 30,000 enslaved Africans labored in the rice fields. Many were emboldened to make escape attempts, despite the knowledge that captured runaways were tortured or executed as an example to others. Slavery became legal in Georgia in 1750, and soon after, Georgia slaves began to attempt the difficult escape route to the Florida sanctuary (Landers 1999). In many respects, the flight to Florida was a precursor to the Underground Railroad, and is one of the many types of resistance attempted by enslaved Africans before slavery was finally abolished.

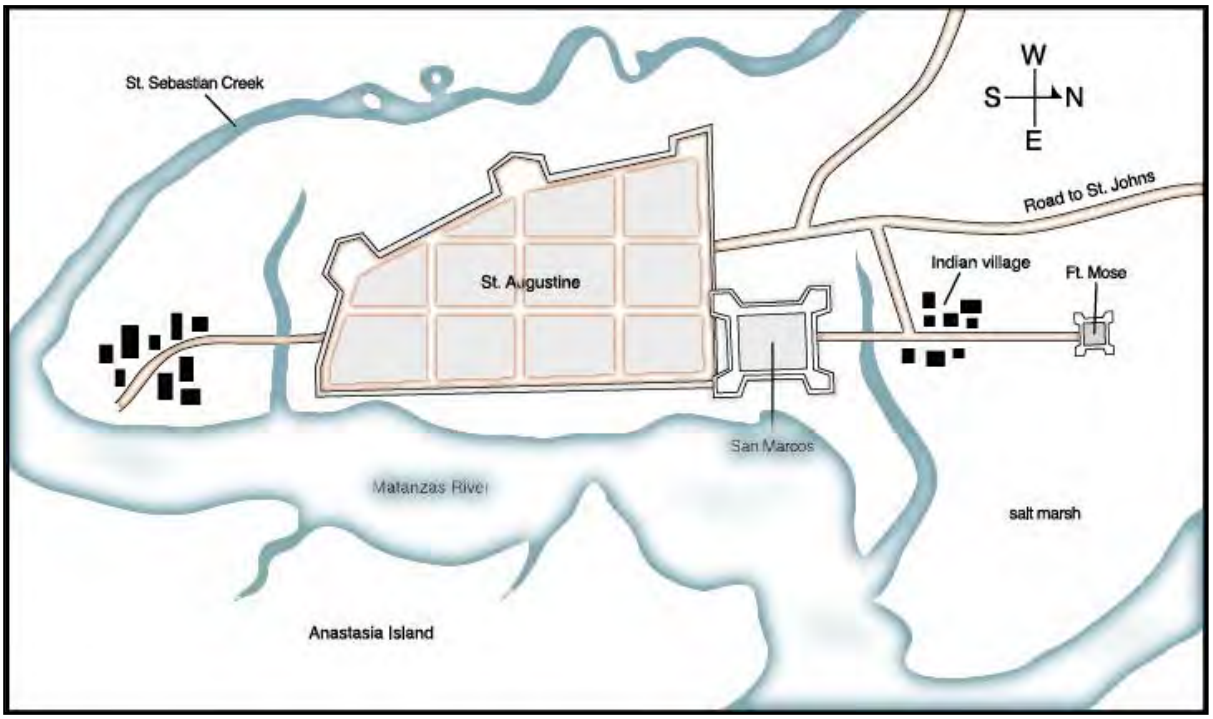


First North American free black town at Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, near St. Augustine, FL. *NPS*

On March 15, 1739, Governor Montiano of Florida granted unconditional freedom to all fugitives from Carolina. He also freed runaways who had been given previously to important citizens to satisfy the debts of his financially strapped government. When the Crown reviewed Montiano's actions, it approved his decree and ordered that in addition to freedom for Carolina slaves who had arrived in Florida thus far, "all those who in the future come as fugitives from the English colonies" should be given immediate freedom in the name of the king. The royal edict was ordered to be posted in public places so that no one could claim ignorance of the ruling.

The new settlement of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, located about two miles to the north of St. Augustine, was established between March and November 1738 by a group of about 100 runaway slaves from South Carolina. Mose, thus, became the first legally sanctioned free black settlement on the North American continent ("Holding the Fort" 1987). When they arrived in Florida, runaways had joined the Spanish militia and formed a free black company. Francisco Menendez, a Mandingo who was also an escaped slave, became Captain of the Fort Mose militia. With Menendez at the helm, the freedmen used their skills as carpenters, ironsmiths, and stonecutters to build a walled fort for the protection of St. Augustine and thatched shelters for themselves. Captain Sebastian Sanchez, a royal official, supervised the construction of the fort to ensure that it met military requirements.

The village was surrounded by fertile lands, hardwood forests, and grassy savannahs filled with wild game of all descriptions. The salt water creek that ran through the settlement provided fish and



Map of Ft. Mose showing its relationship to St. Augustine. *NPS*

shellfish of all types. The freedmen and women soon dug new fields and planted crops. Until those crops could be harvested, the governor provided corn, biscuits, and beef from government stores.

A priest was assigned to the new settlement to baptize children, train adults in the Catholic catechism so that they could be candidates for baptism, and to perform marriages and other sacraments. Mose thus became a village of converts. Most of the new Florida settlers were men, as women were frequently unwilling to leave children or aged family members, who were unable to make the dangerous journey through the swamps to Florida. Because there were only five women in the group, the men quickly made unions with local African and Indian women (Landers 1999).

On November 21, 1738, a group of 21 men, women, and children left Port Royal, located in what is now Beaufort County, South Carolina, on a stolen launch, and made it safely to St. Augustine, Florida. Governor Montiano granted their request for asylum, and they joined their countrymen at Mose, where they began new lives as freedmen. In early 1739, Carolina authorities traveled to St. Augustine to request return of their runaways. Governor Montiano, however, refused, citing the royal edict of 1733 that granted religious sanctuary. William Bull, then Governor of South Carolina later wrote that the planters were very dissatisfied "to find their property now become so precarious and uncertain." He further added that Carolina planters "feared that Negroes, which were their chief support, may in little time become their Enemies, if not their Masters, and that this Government is unable to withstand or prevent it." In April of 1739, a frustrated South Carolina legislature voted to offer bounties for escaped slaves, even for adult scalps "with the two ears," as examples to deter other slaves from attempting escape (Landers 1999:33- 4).

A team of archaeologists, led by Kathleen A. Deagan of the Florida State Museum, began excavations at Fort Mose in 1985. Artifacts from the dig became part of a traveling exhibition designed to enhance understanding of the African American experience in the Americas. Fort Mose was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1994 and is the premier site on the Florida Black Heritage Trail (MacMahon and Deagan 1996). According to Robert L. Hall of the University of Maryland in

Baltimore County, the dig reflects a "renewed interest in black resistance to slavery in the New World" (quoted in *Scientific American* 1987:19).



"Black Lucy" stands idle near the old jail, a relic of the days when she met ships at the wharfs and picked up free black mariners for imprisonment while their ships were in port.

The Stono Rebellion, which occurred on Sunday, September 9, 1739, was the largest slave uprising in the Colonies before the American Revolution. Before daylight that morning, a group of about a dozen "Angolan" slaves, led by slave named Jemmie, met in St. Paul's Parish, about 20 miles south of Charleston, South Carolina. They burst into Hutchenson's Store at the Stono Bridge, killed the shopkeepers, and stole all the guns and ammunition. Once armed, the men and women organized themselves into military formation led by two drummers and a standard bearer. As they marched south, presumably toward St. Augustine, Florida, they shouted, "Liberty!" Along the way, up to 100 others joined the ranks, as they raided plantations, burned houses, and executed Europeans. That afternoon, the slaves stopped to rest in a large field near the Edisto River. By that time, they had marched about ten miles and had killed 20 to 25 whites (Wax 1982; Wood 1999).

Late in the afternoon, a retaliatory force sent by Governor Bull, set out to capture the runaways. They overtook the group in a field near Jacksonboro, South Carolina, where the rebels had stopped for what the white pursuers saw as "drunken dance." John Thornton, however, later identified the "dance" as a traditional feature of war in Central Africa. Thornton contends that the slaves were probably not from Angola but from Kongo, commonly referred to as the Angola Coast by slave traders. Kongo was a Catholic kingdom where many people spoke Portuguese. Thornton, as well as many contemporary Carolinians, believed that the rebels might well have understood both the offer of religious protection to Catholics and have been able to understand the Spanish language because of its kinship to Portuguese (Thornton 1992). In the ensuing attack, about 40 Africans and 20 Europeans were killed. Nearly all of the Africans who were not killed on the first day of battle were soon captured and executed. If any of the runaways escaped death, they may have sought sanctuary at Mose. Although the rebellion had lasted only one day, it led to a "heightened degree of white repression and a reduced amount of black autonomy" in Carolina (Wood 1974). Both of these factors made the risks of escape to St. Augustine seem even more worthwhile to enslaved Africans.

In June of 1740, a group of 150 slaves rebelled along the Ashley River near Charles Town, South Carolina. Although they presumably sought freedom in Florida, these slaves chose a particularly difficult time for their escape, as Georgia and South Carolina were at that very moment attacking Spanish Florida. Fifty of the rebels were captured by Carolinians and were hanged at the rate of ten per day to frighten other slaves against attempting to escape. Nothing is known of the fate of the remaining 100 escapees (Landers 1999).

Fort Mose proved vital in defending St. Augustine during Oglethorpe's attack in 1740, even though the small fort was destroyed by the British during the attack. British sources later described the fort as constructed of stone, "four square with a flanker at each corner, banked with earth, having a ditch without on all sides lined round with prickly royal and had a well and house within, and a look- out" (*St. Augustine Expedition of 1740* 1954: 25).

After the war, the people of Fort Mose joined the community of St. Augustine until 1752 after a second Fort Mose was constructed near the site of the first. The former enslaved Africans, who were



Enslaved Africans were often hired out for public works projects or for other tasks when they were not needed by their own masters. In Charleston, SC, such slaves were required to wear a metal badge, such as the ones above, on their persons at all times to prove they were not runaways. *Avery Research Center*

predominantly from the British colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, lived there as free people until 1763 when the First Treaty of Paris gave Florida to Great Britain. At that time the inhabitants of Fort Mose and most other subjects of the Spanish Crown relocated to Cuba. Today the site of Fort Mose is a National Historic Landmark.

Slaves continued to escape and revolts until freedom came. The white minority feared Negro uprisings, and passed many laws restricting the movement of slaves. Often runaways did not stray far from home, choosing to either "lose themselves" in the bustle of a city such as Charleston or Savannah or hide in the woods, where they could pilfer food from nearby plantations. Those who attempted to reach the northern free states usually escaped through the swamps or by boat to avoid the armed slave patrols, colloquially referred to as "pateroles," that were constantly in search of runaways.

One of the best- known rebellions was attempted in 1821. Denmark Vesey, a literate and charismatic free Negro who lived in Charleston, planned the insurrection. He was familiar with the Haitian slave revolt and kept in touch with black leaders there. Vesey recruited a band of between 6,600 and 9,000 Negro men during the four years of planning. They met in secrecy at a farm which could be reached by water so that they could avoid the slave patrols. Just before the uprising was to take place, Vesey's plans were betrayed by some of his followers. Vesey blamed the failure of the rebellion on human frailty.

The white men's vengeance was swift and sweeping. One hundred thirty- one Negroes were arrested, but they refused to confess. Twenty- two slaves were hanged together on one gallows. With the hangman's rope around their necks, many cried out to their fellow slaves to keep revolting until freedom came. Only the protests of slave owners who did not want their property destroyed prevented widespread slaughter of all those involved (Buckmaster 1993).



A group of slaves escape by boat. *UNC, Southern History Collection*

As a result of Vesey's attempted rebellion, new and stricter laws were passed to control the movement of slaves. Slave patrols were increased. Slave travel between plantations was curtailed. Negroes were not allowed to congregate in groups. Negro seamen who came into the Port of Charleston were picked up in a cage- like prison wagon at the docks and taken to jail,

where they were detained from the time of their ship's arrival until it again set sail. Ship's captains were required to pay room and board for their detained seamen. The prison wagon came to be called "Black Lucy" and still stands today on the grounds of the old Charleston Jail. In addition, slaves who were hired out to work in the city were required to wear metal tags on their bodies so that they could be readily identified.



Map depicting tidal rice cultivation in SC. *SCDAH*

Tidal Irrigation Methods Improve Efficiency of Rice Production

The tidal method of rice production and irrigation was introduced in South Carolina during the 1750s. The new system improved yields and revolutionized rice cultivation in the coastal Southeast between 1783 and the early 19th century. This highly productive method was practical only on the lower stretches of a few rivers from the Cape Fear River in North Carolina to the St. John's River in northern Florida. Creation of a tidal rice plantation or conversion of an existing rice plantation to the tidal method required a substantial capital investment and a tremendous amount of back- breaking labor. Slaves cleared riverside swamps of timber and undergrowth, surrounded them with earthen levees, and then constructed an intricate system of dams, dikes, floodgates, ditches, and drains. The planters relied on the rise and fall of the tide to irrigate their fields several times during the growing season to encourage rice growth and control weeds and pests. The entire hydraulic apparatus of a rice plantation required constant maintenance by skilled slaves.

The tidal irrigation method marked the beginning of major rice production in Georgia. Far fewer enslaved Africans, however, were imported into Georgia than South Carolina to her north. Until 1766, most slaves came to Georgia via the West Indies and/or Charles Town. At about that time, Georgians began to establish their own trans- Atlantic connections for direct slave trade with Africa; however, Charleston still remained the major *entrepot* (Wax 1984).

As rice became more and more prominent in the economy, slaves from the rice growing regions of Africa became highly prized for their technical knowledge and skills in rice cultivation and irrigation. Some West Africans had experience in clearing swamps, building dikes, and using the tides to irrigate fields. They all understood the necessity of coating the seeds with clay so that they would not float to the surface when the fields were flooded. When the grain was ripe, children were sent to the fields to chase away the rice birds (bobolinks) just as they had done in Africa (Littlefield 1991; Carney and Porcher 1993).

Rice was not only the favored staple food of these enslaved laborers, but also was a part of their cultural identity. Rice came with them in the slave vessels and was processed during the voyage by captive women aboard the ships. Because it had been loaded on ships in its unprocessed state, any rice

remaining after the voyage would have been suitable for planting. Although first used for export and to feed slaves and farm animals, rice later became the favored staple food in the homes of European colonists.

> When New World slaves planted rice in the spring by pressing a hole with the heel and covering the seeds with the foot, the motion used was demonstrably similar to that employed in West Africa. In summer, when Carolina blacks moved through the rice fields in a row, hoeing in unison to work songs, the pattern of cultivation was not one imposed by European owners but rather one retained from West African forebears. And in October when the threshed grain was "fanned" in the wind, the wide, flat winnowing baskets were made by black hands after an African design (Wood 1974: 61).

Rice planting on the Windward Coast of Africa had been a time of celebration, a time of renewal and promise. In the New World, however, as enslaved Africans worked under the blazing sun and faced the lash of the whip; there was only misery, rampant disease, and fear of death. Yet they still sang – not the songs of celebration, but songs that bespoke escape and freedom. Work songs with their veiled references to freedom were part of their African heritage and helped to maintain the rhythm of their tasks and perhaps to make their arduous labor more bearable (Parrish 1992).

Rice exports from South Carolina began at about 12,000 pounds in 1698 but increased to 18 million pounds by 1730. In 1770, 83 million pounds of rice were exported, predominantly from South Carolina and Georgia (Kolchin 1994). During the summer months, there were thousands of acres of rice fields full of the ripened grain. The fields were said to present a level and unbroken surface such that one could look up and down the river for miles and see no obstruction. Although rice production drove the economy, rice was never grown to any large extent on the Sea Islands, since salt water would be poisonous to the crop. Some sea islands, however, had fresh water ponds that allowed rice to be grown for local consumption (Emerson 1911; Johnson 1930).

In 1750, when slavery became legal in Georgia, South Carolina planters were lured southward by new investment opportunities along the Georgia coastline and into the northeast corner of Florida. Georgia planters soon became concerned about slaves escaping to freedom in Florida (Landers 1999). In 1765, naturalist John Bartram noted the presence of flourishing rice plantations along the Savannah and Ogeechee Rivers. These plantations extended into the Altamaha Delta and southward along the Satilla River, where Bartram observed African slaves clearing the swamps (Slaughter 1996).



John Seabrook's Wharf, Edisto Island, Charleston County, SC, ca. 1862-1863 from US Navy Photographs of the War of the Rebellion. Note Sea Island cotton drying on the ground. *Library of Congress American Memory Collection*

As the Revolutionary War loomed on the horizon, both South Carolina and Georgia made extensive use of hired slaves (actually leased from their owners) in war preparations. Hired Negroes from the Gullah/Geechee coast performed many public works functions in the cities and assisted in the construction of defensive fortifications, particularly in Charleston and Savannah areas. Enslaved Africans were not allowed to bear arms, as the vastly out- numbered colonists always feared revolt. When a British invasion of South Carolina was threatened in the spring of 1776, a law was passed ordering execution for any Negro who joined British forces, supplied provisions, or provided intelligence to them. To

thwart that pending attack, a fort was built on Sullivan's Island, key to the defense of Charleston Harbor. Hired slaves did much of the work in the construction of the palmetto log fort – later called Fort Moultrie – that staved off the British attack. The supply of Negro labor never met the demands of the military, thus, if owners balked at leasing their laborers, their slaves were impressed into service. Thus, enslaved men played an important but involuntary role in the defeat of the British (Quarles 1973).



Negro workers pick cotton while overseer watches from his horse. *Penn Center Archives*

Early in the war, Congress considered enlistment of Negroes, but the plan was voted down by southern delegates. As the war progressed, it became apparent that the Continental Army needed reinforcement from any possible source. Thus, driven into action by the British occupation of Savannah and the opening of a second British campaign to subjugate the South, on March 29, 1779, Congress recommended to South Carolina and Georgia that they "take measures immediately for raising three thousand able- bodied negroes." Slave owners were to receive a sum of not more than $1,000 for "each active able- bodied negro man of standard size, not exceeding thirty- five years of age." Enslaved Africans who served "well and faithfully" to the end of the war were to receive $50 and their freedom (Farley 1978; Quarles 1973:60, quoting from *Journal of Continental Congress* XXIII: 387- 388).

As a result of the Revolutionary War, many southern planters suffered major financial losses due to the interruption of trade, the loss of the indigo market with England, and the loss of many enslaved laborers. In the years following the war, large numbers of new slaves were imported from Africa to fill the void. Sea Island planters sought economic salvation in luxurious long staple, black seed cotton that was later to be known as Sea Island cotton. Sea Island cotton was developed in 1786 by William Elliott of Hilton Head Island, South Carolina. First grown successfully as a commercial crop around 1790, this fine cotton could only be grown in a small section of the coastal zone south of Charleston to northern Florida. Unlike the low- growing plants of short staple upland cotton, the bushy plants of Sea Island cotton grew six to eight feet tall (Richard D. Porcher, personal communication 2003).

Continued crop development by seed selection increased the quality of this long staple cotton, which is said to be the finest cotton ever grown. After a time it became apparent that sea island cotton of the highest quality was grown on James, Johns, Edisto, Wadmalaw, and St. Helena Islands in South Carolina, and cultivation was later curtailed on the Georgia and Florida islands.

> On the barrier islands … The soil, temperature, and rainfall patterns had proven ideal for growing the long- staple cotton prized by manufacturers of luxury textiles – cotton so fine that it was ginned by hand and packed in bags rather than bales, so valuable that it commanded several times the price of the short- staple cotton grown in the upcountry, so particular in its quality that some planters sold their crops year after year directly to English buyers in private bargains, rather than go through normal market channels. The land that made it all possible kept its fertility only through annual applications of mud dug from the swamps and hauled to the fields by the slaves (Harris 2001: 11, 15).



Negro field workers carrying bundles of Sea Island cotton from the fields. Sea Island cotton was bagged rather than baled. The cotton was weighed, bagged, and taken to the cotton dock for shipment to England. Note that bundles were carried on the workers heads in the African tradition. *Charleston Museum*

Virtually the entire crop of Sea Island cotton was shipped to the textile mills of England where the long silky fibers were woven into the finest muslins and laces. Despite recent research in both England and the United States, no examples of these fine fabrics have been found to exist today (Richard D. Porcher, personal communication 2003). Later, during the American Civil War, because of strong British demand for Sea Island cotton, many believed that the British would come to the aid of the Confederacy and that the war would be over quickly. However, that was not to be the case, and cultivation of the cotton was disrupted by the war. Sea Island cotton was eventually totally lost to the boll weevil.

Profits from the triangular slave trade helped to fund the rapid mechanization of industry in England. The 1793 invention of the cotton gin, at roughly the same time as the advent of mechanized textile production in England, were key components of what became known as the Industrial Revolution. The new machines made short staple cotton profitable and ensured the growth and spread of cotton agriculture. Since the supply of long staple cotton could never meet the demand, many varieties of poorer quality short staple, green seed cotton were planted outside the coastal zone to meet the growing demands of the world market.

Although the importation of slaves had been voluntarily banned in South Carolina in 1787, planters called for change, as they needed a new influx of African slaves to harvest their highly profitable cotton crops. Between 1804 and 1808, over 40,000 enslaved Africans, most of whom came from Angola, were transported into South Carolina.

The importation of new slaves from Africa was abolished in 1808, but the law did not prohibit internal slave trade. Planters became more reliant on the natural reproduction of existing slaves, and encouraged the formation of slave families for that purpose. Since enslaved Africans were not so easily replaced, their healthcare became more important.

During this time, there was a dramatic rise in the internal slave trade, which was not regulated by federal government mandates. Speculators purchased gangs of slaves at estate or bankruptcy sales and sold them to planters who needed to increase their labor force. In addition to slaves entering the market from estate and bankruptcy sales, surplus enslaved Africans from the upper south, where tobacco had exhausted the soil, were sent "down the river" to the plantations in Georgia and South Carolina, which were in need of additional labor for cotton and rice. Slavery extended westward through this process (Littlefield 1983; Russell 1999; Smith 1985).

Being sold from rural to urban settings or from one region of the south to another frequently caused great emotional pain and suffering for enslaved Africans and resulted in the loss of contact with family members. Perhaps the most difficult adjustment was for a slave accustomed to living in the city who was sent to live on a remote plantation. According to John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger in their book *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation*:



Ruins of slave hospital at Retreat Plantation, St. Simons Island, GA. The building once stood two and one half stories high and contained ten rooms. Two women lived there to provide traditional medicines and nursing care. A doctor was summoned from Darien when necessary. Doctors were frequently paid on a "per head" basis to care for both black and white plantation residents. This practice may represent an early form of managed healthcare.

> Lymus, a twenty- eight- year- old Charleston bricklayer, was sold to Thomas Butler King, a planter on St. Simons, a barrier island fronting on the Atlantic Ocean and surrounded by salt marshes and tidal streams. A few years later, the famous Englishwoman Frances Anne (Fanny) Kemble gave her impression of the condition of slaves on St. Simons: the 'filthy and wretched' quarters, the meals of corn grits and 'small rice' (unfit for market), and the 'inhumanity of allowing a man to strop and lash a woman, the mother of ten children; to extract from her, toil.' Lymus discovered as well that the slaves on St. Simons were different from himself in dress, manner, beliefs, and speech, speaking Gullah with its African rhythm and inflections. A short time after his arrival, he managed to escape from the island and was seen on the road going from Darien to Savannah. He 'will probably endeavor to make his way back to Charleston,' King's agent wrote, hiring himself out at plantations along the way (2000:54).

Although banned in the United States, importation of African slaves was legal in the Florida territory until 1821. There were undoubtedly many thousands of captives from Africa who were legally imported into the Florida territory prior to 1821 and smuggled into Georgia and South Carolina. Ports known to have served as receiving centers for slave smuggling were Beaufort and surrounding islands in South Carolina, Cumberland Island, Darien, and Harris Neck in Georgia, as well as St. Mary's and Fernandina in Florida. The newly enslaved African people came directly from Africa and brought a re- infusion of African customs, traditions, and culture to the creolized Africans on Low Country plantations. The rapid influx of new Africans led to a caste- like social system in many slave



Ruins of tabby slave cabin, Kingsley Plantation, Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve, near Jacksonville, FL.



18th century drawing depicting crowded conditions aboard slaver vessels. *SCDAH*



Tending the rice trunk. *Charleston Museum*

communities. American-born slaves believed they had better skills and therefore deserved higher status. New arrivals were assigned less desirable tasks and remained on the bottom rung of the social structure until they learned the ways of the slave communities. Creolization was, therefore, a continuous process during the slave era.

Zephaniah Kingsley, son of a loyalist who was forced to leave Charleston during the Revolutionary War, was a major player in the illegal slave trade. Although Kingsley bought, married, and later freed an enslaved Negro woman, he was, nonetheless, a staunch advocate of the slavery system. The Spanish Crown granted Kingsley 3,300 acres of land in Florida on condition that he introduce Negro slaves in sufficient numbers to improve and cultivate the land. Thus, Kingsley, his wife, and 74 slaves arrived in Florida in 1803. He later purchased a large plantation on Fort George Island, just north of what is now Jacksonville in Duval County, Florida. He and his wife, Anna Madgigene Jai, who was an African princess, lived and raised their children there. The plantation, now called Kingsley, is part of Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve. The Kingsley slave cabins were arranged in a circular pattern similar to African villages. It is believed that Kingsley's wife, herself an African and former slave, influenced the arrangement of the buildings to follow African tradition (Fairbanks 1974; Williams 1950).

By 1813, Kingsley had developed a slave trading business at the mouth of the St. John's River on King George Island, which proved to be a strategic location for smuggling slaves into isolated areas on the Georgia and South Carolina coasts. For a time, Kingsley engaged in his own triangular slave trade route by sailing to Liverpool, England, with his crop of Sea Island cotton, purchasing textiles and other products, and then sailing on to the west coast of Africa to purchase Negroes.



Carrying bundles of rice on a South Carolina plantation. *GWU Exhibit: "The Cultural Landscape of the Plantation."*



Planting a rice field, probably in NC, late 1800s. *NC Dept. of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History*

When foreign slave trade became illegal in Florida in 1821, there were profiteers who bred and trained captive human beings for the Georgia and South Carolina slave market. Zephaniah Kingsley is, perhaps, one of the best documented examples. Kingsley had extensive enough holdings, acreage, and slaves to continue with his slave business after the ban on foreign slave trade. Kingsley raised, trained enslaved Africans to be exceptional field hands or skilled laborers. He then illegally transported and sold these "seasoned"slaves to rice plantations in Georgia and South Carolina and to the cotton plantations of the Sea Islands. Records show that "Kingsley's Negroes" were held in high regard on the illegal market and brought an excellent price, as cotton and rice plantations were in constant need of new labor (Gray 1973; May 1945; Rehder 1999; Smith 1973, 1985; Williams 1950).

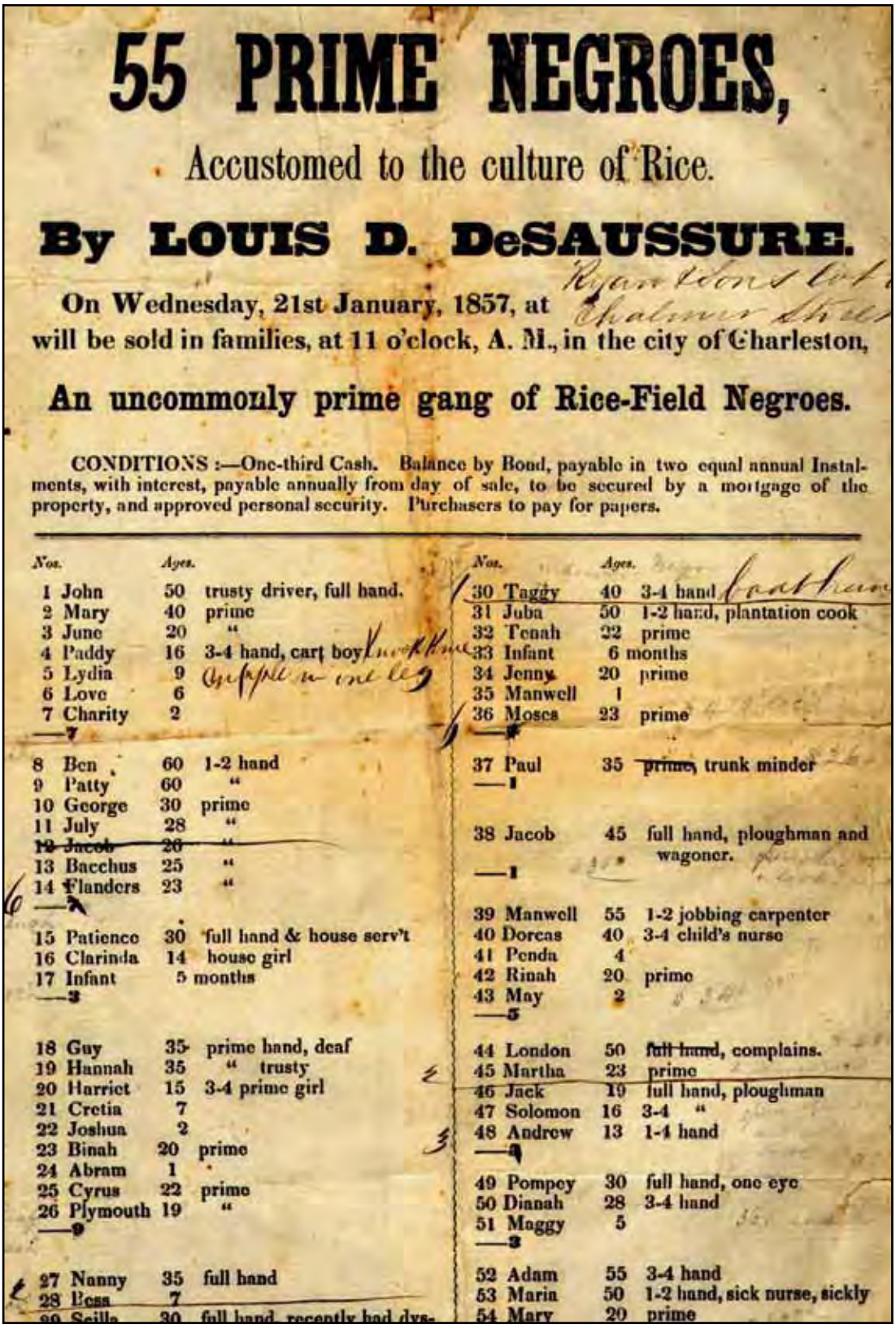
Conditions aboard smuggler vessels were horrendous. Lieutenant Patrick Forbes, captain of HMS *Bonetta*, was carrying out orders from the British government orders to suppress the smuggling of slaves along the African coast. In 1848, Forbes wrote the following eyewitness account of conditions aboard a smuggler ship:

> The form of stowage is that the poor wretch shall be seated on his hams, and the head thrust between the knees, and so close that when one moves the mass must. Because of this stowage, the body of the victim becomes contracted into the deformity of the position, and some that die during the night stiffen in a sitting posture; others, who outlive the voyage, are crippled for life …" (Davidson 1993:22).

The Role of Gullah/Geechee People in the Plantation Economy

When enslaved Africans arrived in the Low Country, they may have recognized some similarities between their new home and the native land they had been forced to leave. They surely realized that the Low Country area was suitable for growing rice, and some were able to acquire enough seed to grow rice for their families. These enslaved Africans eventually shared their knowledge of rice cultivation with plantation owners and talked of the many growing methods in their native West Africa.

Peter Wood (1974) and Daniel Littlefield (1991) first emphasized the diffusion of rice cultivation skills from West Africa to South Carolina. Judith Carney, referring to the research of Wood and Littlefield, noted that rather than studying the impact of one culture upon another, they pointed out the way in which:



55 PRIME NEGROES,

Accustomed to the culture of Rice.

By LOUIS D. DeSAUSSURE.

On Wednesday, 21st January, 1857, at Ryan's Yard, Chalmer Street will be sold in families, at 11 o'clock, A. M., in the city of Charleston,

An uncommonly prime gang of Rice-Field Negroes.

CONDITIONS :—One-third Cash. Balance by Bond, payable in two equal annual Instalments, with interest, payable annually from day of sale, to be secured by a mortgage of the property, and approved personal security. Purchasers to pay for papers.

Nos.		Ages.	
1	John	50	trusty driver, full hand.
2	Mary	40	prime
3	June	20	"
4	Paddy	16	3-4 hand, cart boy
5	Lydia	9	
6	Love	6	
7	Charity	2	
—7			
8	Ben	60	1-2 hand
9	Patty	60	"
10	George	30	prime
11	July	28	"
~~12~~	~~Jacob~~	~~26~~	~~"~~
13	Bacchus	25	"
14	Flanders	23	"
—7			
15	Patience	30	full hand & house serv't
16	Clarinda	14	house girl
17	Infant	5 months	
—3			
18	Guy	35	prime hand, deaf
19	Hannah	35	" trusty
20	Harriet	15	3-4 prime girl
21	Cretia	7	
22	Joshua	2	
23	Binah	20	prime
24	Abram	1	
25	Cyrus	22	prime
26	Plymouth	19	"
—9			
27	Nanny	35	full hand
28	Bess	7	
29	Scilla	30	full hand, recently had dys-

Nos.		Ages.	
30	Taggy	40	3-4 hand
31	Juba	50	1-2 hand, plantation cook
32	Tenah	22	prime
33	Infant	6 months	
34	Jenny	20	prime
35	Manwell	1	
36	Moses	23	prime
—6			
37	Paul	35	~~prime~~, trunk minder
—1			
38	Jacob	45	full hand, ploughman and wagoner.
—1			
39	Manwell	55	1-2 jobbing carpenter
40	Dorcas	40	3-4 child's nurse
41	Penda	4	
42	Rinah	20	prime
43	May	2	
—5			
44	London	50	~~full hand~~, complains.
45	Martha	23	prime
46	Jack	19	full hand, ploughman
47	Solomon	16	3-4 "
48	Andrew	13	1-4 hand
—4			
49	Pompey	30	full hand, one eye
50	Dinah	28	3-4 hand
51	Maggy	5	
—3			
52	Adam	55	3-4 hand
53	Maria	50	1-2 hand, sick nurse, sickly
54	Mary	20	prime

Sale handbill showing names, ages, and skills of enslaved Africans to be sold.
Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University

> … Africans from diverse ethnicities, thrown together in slavery, created a new way of life in coastal Carolina, where a crop known only to some of them became the plantation staple. The association of agricultural skills with certain African ethnicities … called for a research perspective emphasizing … culture in relationship to technology and the environment (2001:14).

South Carolina rice culture, which began during the late 17th century on the mainland, used the upland or dry land method of cultivation, which was dependent upon rainfall for irrigation. By the early 18th century, most planters were growing rice in freshwater inland swamps, where a portion of the swamp was dammed to provide a reliable water supply for irrigation. This method provided higher yields and profits, as the crop was not dependent on rainfall. In the 17th and early 18th centuries, before the inland swamp and tidal methods of rice cultivation became prevalent, the average yield was 1,000 pounds clean rice per acre. By the 1770s the figure had risen to 1,500 pounds per acre (Edgar 1998).



Gullah workers on rice barge near Georgetown, SC, ca. 1890. *SCDAH*

In the 1730s a few planters began to experiment with the tidal rice cultivation in which the power of the tidewater rivers was harnessed to irrigate the crop. Because of the tremendous expense involved in creating the fields for tidal cultivation, few planters utilized this method until after the American Revolution (Edgar 1998; Chaplin 1992).

The transition from inland swamp cultivation to tidal rice cultivation required extraordinary physical labor. Enslaved Africans cleared mammoth virgin cypress-gum forests with trees as large as five feet in diameter. Using only hand tools, oxen, and sweat to do a back- breaking job that would be difficult even with today's mechanical implements, enslaved Africans built earthen dikes, ten to twelve feet in height. Many lost their lives to alligators, venomous snakes, and disease. The region around what is now Georgetown County, South Carolina, contained the largest number of rice plantations and yielded the largest exports of processed rice.

As George Rogers wrote in his *History of Georgetown County, South Carolina*:

> [The low country portion of the] Georgetown District was the principal rice-growing area in the United States. In 1840 the district produced 36,360,000 of a total national crop of 80,841,422 pounds of rice … In 1840 Georgetown District came very close to producing one- half of the total rice crop of the United States (1970: 324).

Captain Basil Hall, 19th century world traveler and author, recorded his observations of rice cultivation as follows:

> [Rice] is the most unhealthy work in which the slaves were employed, and they sank under it in great numbers. The causes of this dreadful mortality are the constant moisture and heat of the atmosphere, together with the alternate floodings and dryings of the fields, on which the negroes are perpetually at work, often ankle deep in mud, with their bare heads exposed to the fierce rays of the sun (1829).



Two women hulling rice, using a mortar and pestle in the African tradition. Sapelo Island, GA, ca 1900. After the rice was pounded with pestles to remove the tough outer hull, it was carried up into the winnowing house to finish the cleaning process. *GADAH*

Swampy mosquito- filled rice fields favored diseases such as malaria, amoebiasis, cholera, and yellow fever – diseases which were deadly to Europeans, American Indians, and enslaved Africans. Many Africans, from the Rice Coast of West Africa, however, possessed a degree of immunity to malaria. Rice planters were often absentee owners who spent the sickly months from early May to late October in the pinelands and the winter social season in their elegant city homes. As a consequence, the year- long process of rice production was frequently managed by the slaves themselves under the direction of a white overseer and a black driver (Pollitzer 1999; Young 1993).

Rice harvesting began with the threshing of the rice. Stalks were then tied into bundles and left on the ground with the heads outward. Enslaved Africans walked down the rows with a flailing stick to beat the grain from the stalks with flailing sticks. The "rough rice" was husked with a mortar and pestle made of very soft pine. This process required a skilled tapping and rolling motion to keep whole grains intact. According to historical accounts, a skilled worker could produce 95% whole grains, while a careless, fatigued, or less skilled worker might break more than half of the grains. Hulls and chaff were then separated from the grains by the winnowing process, which involved tossing the grain into the air from a fanner basket.

Enslaved Africans, however, did a great deal more than clear swamps, dig ditches, prepare rice fields for cultivation, and labor through the year- long process of rice production. The aforementioned tools and techniques came directly from West Africa (Edgar, 1998; Littlefield 1981, 1995; Carney and R. D. Porcher 1993; Clowse 1971). Carney refers to the transfer of rice and rice growing techniques to the Americas as the "diffusion of an indigenous knowledge system" (2001:6).

According to Carney, early records and recent archaeology show that over 100 years before the colonization of South Carolina, an irrigated rice system that harnessed the tides to flood the fields was in place along the estuaries of the Gambia River in West Africa. Africans also used the upland rice method, where rain water was collected in holding ponds to irrigate the fields. These knowledge systems, well established on the floodplains of West Africa, were brought across the Atlantic Middle Passage by slaves who shared their agricultural knowledge with their European owners (Carney 2001; Carney 1993).

The floodgates used in tidewater rice production were referred to as rice trunks in South Carolina. David Doar, descendant of a rice planter, was curious about the use of that term and solved the mystery before writing a book on rice culture, which was published under the sponsorship of the Charleston Museum. In this volume, Doar stated:

> For years the origin of this name [rice trunk] bothered me. I asked every old planter I knew, but no one could enlighten me. One day a friend of mine who planted on one of the lowest places … said to me with a smiling face: 'I have solved that little trunk question. In putting down another one, I unearthed the granddaddy of plug trunks made long before I was born.' It was simply a hollow cypress log with a large hole from top to bottom. When it was to be stopped up, a large plug was put in tightly and it acted on the same principle as a wooden spigot to a beer keg (1936:12).

Although the plug trunk was later replaced by a mechanical hanging gate that regulated the flow of water into the rice fields, the terminology remained the same throughout the colonial period. The term rice trunk was, thus, a carry over from the earliest method of water control in the Low Country – a method used in West Africa during that time period and still used today for mangrove rice production in Africa (Carney 2001). The emergence of rice as the chief export crop along the southeast coast was largely due to this transfer of knowledge from West Africa – agronomic knowledge of cultivation methods, systems of water control, and milling techniques. There is documentary evidence to show that in the period between 1695 and 1715, as rice took hold in the colony, the population of African slaves grew equal to and then surpassed the European population. Enslaved Africans from the rice growing regions demonstrated their engineering expertise in tidal rice production, which is a function of coastal geomorphology, hydrology, and rainfall. Historically, enslaved African ancestors of Gullah/ Geechee people were unique among Africans for their major roles in the development of the rice plantation and the agricultural economy of the region (Carney 1993, 2001).

The Task System: How It Fostered Gullah/Geechee Culture

> *"Don't done your task, driver wave that whip, put you over a barrel, beat you so blood run down."* Hagar Brown, former slave, The Oaks Plantation near Georgetown, South Carolina. – UNC, Southern Historical Collection

The task system was predominant along the South Carolina, Georgia, and north Florida coasts, and differed significantly from the dawn- to- dark gang system practiced in the other colonies. Despite differences in work patterns, enslaved Africans from both the gang and task systems created work rhythms by singing as they labored in the fields. Many of these work songs had secret meanings that referred to freedom, escape, flight to Africa, and sometimes even death (Hargis and Horan 1997).

Rather than working sun- up to sunset, task system slaves were assigned a specific amount of work that was to be completed in one day. This measure of work was called a task, and for an able- bodied field hand, this task could vary from one- fourth acre to one- half acre to be worked depending on the difficulty of the required work. Children and older people were assigned a half task or a quarter task according to their abilities. Once the day's task was complete, their work was done for the day. Slaves were accountable for the results of their labors, but were not necessarily under constant supervision. Slaves were sometimes rented to other plantations or public works projects. In some cases, the funds generated went to the master, but slaves were generally allowed to keep a part or all of the money they earned.

Thus, workers had time for themselves or to help family members who worked more slowly. Elderly slaves were given partial tasks that varied according to their abilities. Those who were unable to work took over child care and other domestic duties in the slave village (Close 1997). In the evenings or on Sundays, enslaved Africans often went to work for themselves, cultivating small gardens adjoining their homes on nearby vacant land. They were able to raise poultry and livestock, fish, gather oysters and crabs, produce handicrafts, and to play music, sing and dance with others in their slave community. At times they were forced to perform for the master, his family, and guests.

Not only did the task system inspire individual initiative and foster development of a strong work ethic, it also encouraged family, religious, and community activities by which the slaves were able to carry on their African- derived customs and practices without fear of interference. There were, of course, some slave owners who foiled these practices by ensuring that assigned tasks were impossible to complete, but most planters saw the perquisites of the task system as morale boosters for their labor force (Hargis and Horan 1997).



Former slave playing banjo, ca. 1902. African in origin, the banjo was often played by slaves in their quarters. Often, under the guise of humor, slave musicians both mocked and criticized their masters. *GWU Exhibit: Culural Landscape of the Plantation; V.C. Schreck, GWU Folklife Exhibit*

Under the task system, enslaved Africans could accumulate money and property. Some were even able to buy freedom for themselves or family members (Hargis and Horan 1997; Morgan 1983). Enslaved men and boys hunted and fished extensively to supplement table rations drawn from their owners and sold excess meat, fish, and skins or traded them for clothing and other goods. Some enslaved Africans established elaborate trading systems for their crops and crafts. Since most plantations had river access, many of the goods were bartered and sold along the rivers, which were the major transportation routes of the day (Crook 2001).

Enslaved Africans had many talents that helped keep the village- like plantation running smoothly and required little or no added expense to the owners. Planters relied on slaves to provide their services as blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, spinners, tanners, coopers, weavers, and other artisan skills. In addition to these skills, enslaved Africans were talented at medicine, midwifery, cooking, quilting, music, song, and dance. As a result of these many skills, enslaved people saw themselves as competent, gifted people who were being held unjustly in bondage against their wills. They often used their talents to portray their work in humorous terms or to secretly deride their masters as in the song below:

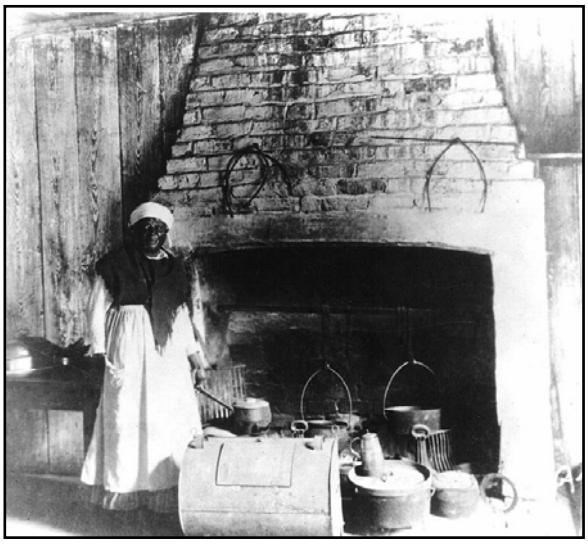
> My old Mistis promise me
> Dat when she died, she gwine set me free.
> But she lived so long and got so po'
> Dat she lef me diggin' wid er garden ho'.
> – Song remembered by former slave Abram Harris of South Carolina

Charles Fairbanks's excavation of a deteriorating slave cabin on Kingsley Plantation, Ft. George Island, Florida, was one of the earliest attempts to view slave life from an archaeological prospective. Since the masses of southerners, both black and white, were illiterate, they did not record their daily experiences for posterity as did the upper class. Consequently, historians are dependent upon the work of historical archaeologists to discover the lost legacy of enslaved Africans and ordinary white people who lived in the planter- dominated society of coastal Georgia and South Carolina (Otto and Burns 1983). Fairbanks documented stories of both fishing and hunting by slaves to supplement their rations. He not only found a lead slip- sinker weight but also found lead shot, a gunflint, and a percussion cap in slave refuse (Ascher and Fairbanks1971; Fairbanks 1974; Ehrenhard and Bullard 1981).

> Probably no historian … will ever know how much our portrayal of Southern society would have been altered if small planters and poor whites [and slaves] had left as many records as the large planters have. In a sense, all studies based on literary sources are selective, the people they describe are selective, the generalizations apply



Last standing slave cabin, Oryzantia Plantation, Hobcaw Barony, Georgetown County, SC.



Kitchen building at Refuge Plantation, Camden Co., GA. Ca. 1880. Note heavy iron cooking pots hanging in fireplace. *L.D. Andrew, from GWU Exhibit: "The Cultural Landscape of the Plantation."*

> only to that small percentage of the population which has left written records (Blassingame 1979).

The American Revolution brought about even more slave autonomy in the Low Country and Sea Islands. The general disruption of war and the military obligations of white men increased the existing tendency toward owner absenteeism and served to increase the isolation between enslaved Africans and the white population. Immediately after the war there was a major surge in the importation of new African slaves to compensate for wartime losses and to secure slave laborers before the federal government curtailed the practice. The late 18th century was, therefore, a time of owner absenteeism, slave isolation, the task system, and an internal slave trade economy. During this period, Gullah/Geechee language and culture took firm root and became the embodiment of the coastal region's cultural distinctiveness (Kolchin 1994).

The fact that enslaved Africans had a measure of independence, free time, and responsibility on the rice plantations is not only testimony to their diligence, ingenuity, skill, and adaptability but is also a source of connection and loyalty to the land itself – a connection that continues to the present in Gullah/Geechee communities and often continues among Gullah/ Geechee people who have left the coastal area. This love of and spiritual connection to the land is yet another reason why loss of family lands has dealt such a devastating blow to the social structure and cultural values of these communities (Armstrong 1980).

Although the task system may have made life a little easier for slaves on coastal plantations, in no way did it compensate for the yoke of slavery under which they were forced to live and work. Like the gang slaves, those under the task system sang work songs that often had secret meanings referring to freedom, escape, or flight to Africa. In some cases the songs called for freedom through death (Hargis and Horan 1997; Parrish 1992).

Although some privileges were granted to laborers under the task system, the fact remains that they were still slaves and were under the direct control of their masters. These human beings were chattel, personal property of their masters, and were subject to arbitrary beatings and other harsh punishments.



Gullah/Geechee farm workers hoeing ricefields, ca. 1900.
Charleston Museum

Enslaved Africans were continuously under the threat of being taken to the auction house and sold to satisfy the debts of their master or his heirs, or, even worse, that their families would be split up and sold. Slaves never accepted their condition, and engaged in work stoppages and work slow downs as a means of protest. They knew their own worth and knew that they produced the crops that made the planters wealthy. Some even kept mental notes of what they believed they were owed. When freedom came, many slaves felt that the plantation where they had been enslaved was rightfully theirs.

While working under the task system provided limited independence and small amounts of personal time to field workers, the task system did not apply to household slaves. Often domestic slaves are imagined as having easier lives than those who worked in the fields – once again conjuring Hollywood images of smiling black mammies in the big house, cooking and tending to the children. According to Catherine Clinton in *The Plantation Mistress*, this antebellum Mammy never existed (1982: 201- 02):

> This familiar denizen of the Big House [Mammy] is not merely a stereotype, but in fact a figment of the combined romantic imaginations of the contemporary southern ideologue and the modern southern historians … Not until after Emancipation did black women run white households or occupy any significant number of the special positions ascribed to them in folklore and fiction.

Clinton believes that "Mammy" was created by antebellum white southerners to depict a familial relationship between black women and white men in response to antislavery attacks from the North. After the war the "Mammy" image may have been embellished for the sake of nostalgia (1982). Cheryl Thurber echoes these sentiments in her "Development of the Mammy Image and Mythology" (1992).

While their work may have been physically easier than field work and their living conditions and clothing slightly better, the work assigned to domestic slaves was never- ending. They were generally on 24- hour call – some were even required to sleep on a pallet near their mistress's bed. Domestic servants were allowed little time for their own meals and practically no time with their own families. When they were permitted to eat, they ate the leftovers or scraps from the family meal. Field hands, however, had more leisure time and freedom of movement with Sundays and later afternoons off to tend their own fields (Harper 1985).

Cooks and their helpers spent most of their time in the kitchen building, where the cooking fire was kept blazing all day and banked at night. The kitchen was an inferno- like sweatshop, particularly during the hot summer months. The cook's work was dangerous, as she was constantly lifting heavy pots, sometimes causing her long skirts and sleeves to come very close to the fire. Although they may have cooked meals for the planter, they were not allowed even to taste what they had prepared until after the master and his family finished their meal. Covered walkways led between the kitchen building and the dining room of the main house. These walkways came to be called whistle walks, as slave women were forced to whistle while carrying food so that they could not eat along the way. Frequently, they were required to eat while squatting before the kitchen fireplace as they cooked for the next meal.

House slaves were more often sexually abused and exploited than field hands. Enslaved women may have survived the Middle Passage only to see themselves and their daughters confronted with yet another terror. Mulatto children fathered by the master or his sons were rarely acknowledged. In her *Diary from Dixie*, Mary Boykin Chesnut, who was mistress of Mulberry Plantation, a major rice producer on the Cooper River in Berkeley County, South Carolina, wrote:

> God forgive us, but ours is a monstrous system, a wrong and iniquity … [A slaveholder's] wife and daughters in the might of their purity and innocence are supposed never to dream of what is plain before their eyes as sunlight, and they play their parts of unsuspecting angels to the letter (Chestnut 1997).

Some masters flaunted their slave relationships, while others kept their illicit liaisons secret. Some of these men sold their mulatto offspring to protect their wives, while others insisted that these children become house slaves. In either case, such children were often separated from their black families. Since it was almost impossible for wives involved in these triangular situations to get out of their marriages, they sometimes took out their frustration in unfair, cruel behavior toward their household slaves.

Planters endeavored to promote and regulate slave marriages for a number of reasons, the most common of which was their hope that slave marriages would yield offspring and thereby increase their wealth. Slave women were ordered to report pregnancies to the overseer, who supposedly granted them lighter workloads. The productive role of women working in the fields and their reproductive roles created an interesting interplay between the annual cycles of crop production and the birth of children.

Procreative activities were subtly coordinated by the nature of the work the women performed. Cheryll Ann Cody studied the reproductive histories of 1,000 slave women on the Ravenel cotton plantations in South Carolina, and found that many enslaved women bore their children in strong seasonal patterns that reflected plantation work and planting schedules. Over one third of the slave children were born during the months of August, September, and October, which indicates that a large number of these women became pregnant during the months of November, December, and January, when labor requirements were reduced due to completion of the harvest and harsh weather (Cody 1996).

The seasonality of conceptions and births had a severe impact on the survival rate of slave infants. Late summer and early fall, times when many women were in their last months of pregnancy, was also the time of the most demanding labor on cotton and rice plantations, and led to a high rate of infant mortality. Women who had given birth were frequently allowed three weeks respite from field work and increased allotments of food and clothing. However, the fact that they were forced to labor in the fields right up until the time of delivery and return to the fields so soon after, indicates that the planters' primary interest was in plantation production rather than reproduction issues (Schwalm 1997).

The Impact of Gullah/Geechee Ancestors On the Coastal Landscape

The labors of Gullah/Geechee ancestors left an indelible mark on the Low Country environment. The Low Country is a place where natural, historic, and cultural resources are inexorably intertwined to form this distinctive setting. Early settlers who came to the Carolina Colony found tall virgin forests of longleaf pine. These forests were the source of the first export products, naval stores, timber, and deerskins. For the deerskin trade, European settlers depended upon indigenous peoples beyond the frontier to supply the trading houses of Charleston, Savannah, and elsewhere. As fields were cleared



Enslaved Africans shooting rice birds (bobolinks). The birds often appeared on plantation tables. *Charleston Museum*



Enslaved African children sitting near slave quarters on a South Carolina rice plantation. *Charleston Museum*

for agriculture, lumber from felled trees could be exported. Thick cypress- gum forests grew along the river banks.

Then came the process that would change the terrain forever. Rice became king, but its status was attained through the forced labor of enslaved Africans. They cleared the cypress- gum forests, where trees were so thick that it was impossible to see the sky. On this land they built an extensive dike system with rice trunks or sluice gates to control the periodic flooding of rice fields. Even today it is nearly impossible to look out over a coastal waterway and not see lingering images of rice fields – imprints of unique patterns of forced human labor. The patchwork outlines of these former rice fields remain as silent tributes to the enslaved Africans who built them.

The blood, sweat, and back- breaking physical labor of these Africans, direct ancestors of the Gullah/Geechee people, made a lasting mark on the tidal river ecosystems of the Low Country. These slave- built structures have remained highly visible and valuable contributory elements of the coastal environment for nearly 200 years. In addition to clearing forests and constructing the rice fields, slaves built boats and canals to carry rice through the salt marshes to the rivers. The rice culture in South Carolina and Georgia caused the most extensive environmental changes of that era along the eastern seaboard.

University of South Carolina archaeologist Leland Ferguson described a rice plantation in terms that may make clear the magnitude of physical labor demanded of the enslaved Africans (1992):

> These fields are surrounded by more than a mile of earthen dikes or 'banks' as they were called. Built by slaves, these banks … were taller than a person and up to 15 feet wide. By [1800], rice banks on the 12½ mile stretch of the East Branch of the Cooper River measured more than 55 miles long and contained more than 6.4 million feet of earth … This means that … working in the water and muck with no more than shovels, hoes, and baskets … by 1850 Carolina slaves … on [tidal] plantations like Middleburg throughout the rice growing district had built a system of banks and canals … nearly three times the volume of Cheops, the world's largest pyramid.

Many abandoned rice fields are now covered over with wild grasses that provide feasts for many thousands of birds and provide havens near the shoreline for river alligators. The pulpwood industry developed around second growth forests. Without the intrusion of rice fields into the cultural landscape of South Carolina and Georgia, there might not be as many lush marshes to serve as

breeding grounds for shrimp and other marine organisms. The wetlands and estuaries along the tidewater river systems that serve as wildlife refuges would be considerably smaller. There would be far fewer migratory and aquatic/marine birds.

Plantation owners of today have become an important force in land conservation efforts and have provided a model for rural land use and conservation nationwide. Tens of thousands of acres of plantation lands have been placed in conservation easements during the past 25 years, thus preventing development and logging. These protected private lands have become the heart of larger conservation efforts such as the ACE Basin (Ashepoo, Combahee, and Edisto River Basin); where over 40,000 acres are currently under protection. The Historic Ricefields Association strongly promoted establishment of The Waccamaw National Wildlife Refuge in the forested floodplains of the Pee Dee and Waccamaw Rivers (Tibbetts 1999).

Ironically, wildlife refuges and conservation easements, while staving off development and protecting the land and its floral and faunal habitats, do not address the plight of landless Gullah/Geechee people. While the land may be protected, its resources are still denied to the people who historically lived there. By law, the lands, waters, seashores, and marshes become unavailable to those who would hunt, fish, shrimp, crab, gather oysters, and collect wild plants for medicinal and craft uses. Under the terms of some forms of natural resource protection, access to baptismal sites and other places of cultural significance may become off- limits to traditional users. Gullah/Geechee culture is traditionally tied to the land, the water, and their natural resources, therefore making access to land and waterways a truly vital part of any efforts to preserve traditional life ways of Gullah and Geechee peoples.

Researchers with the Sea Grant Consortium are currently studying the areas along the Cooper River where breached impoundments are allowing the land to grow thick with vegetation. Unless these dikes are replaced or repaired, the fields could become cypress- gum forests once again. Some landowners want to rebuild the dikes and manage for waterfowl. Boaters and fisherman want the breached dikes to remain as they are because unrepaired impoundments (rice fields) provide excellent fishing sites. (Tibbetts 1999)

At present, environmental scientists are studying the ecology and plant progression of abandoned rice fields within the context of historical land use patterns. They are collecting data and trying to understand the ecological interaction between the river and various stages of plant growth within the fields. As their database grows, scientists hope to be able to predict the impacts of various management options and know more about the ecological consequences of each.

The rice culture and other agricultural endeavors, along with related traditions that have evolved over the centuries, combine to make the Gullah/Geechee people and their surroundings significant in both the regional and national experience. Continued use of this region by Gullah/Geechee people, whose culture and traditions helped to shape the landscape and were in turn shaped by the coastal environment, serves to further enhance the significance of the land and the people.

From Slavery to Freedom to Gated Resorts: Gullah/Geechee Communities From the Civil War to the Present

> *I felt like a bird out of a cage. Amen. Amen. Amen. I could hardly ask to feel any better than I did on that day.* – Houston Holloway, former slave from Georgia recalling the time when slavery ended

> *We has a right to the land where we are located. For why? I tell you. Our wives, our children, our husbands has been sold over and over again to purchase the lands we now locates upon; that the reason we have a divine right to the land … And then didn't we*

> *clear the land, and raise the crops of corn, of cotton, of tobacco, of rice, of sugar, of everything?* – Former slave Bayley Wyat, 1866

The famous Cornerstone Speech was delivered extemporaneously on March 21, 1861, by Alexander Hamilton Stephens, Vice President of the Confederacy, to the largest crowd ever to assemble at the Athaeneum in Savannah, Georgia. His remarks were interrupted by frequent bursts of applause from the audience. Although no official printed version of the speech exists, the text was later printed in the *Savannah Republican* (Cleveland 1886: 717- 729):

> … the new [Confederate] Constitution has put at rest forever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institutions – African slavery as it exists among us – the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization … The prevailing ideas entertained by him [Jefferson] and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally and politically … Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the idea of a Government built upon it – when the 'storm came and the wind blew, it fell' (Cleveland 1886: 717- 729; Stephens 1862: 44- 46).

At the beginning of the Civil War in April 1861, the slave population of America was estimated to be about 4,000,000. Many thousands were hired out by their masters to build Confederate fortifications and to work as contract laborers for the Confederate Army.

Early in the war, there was no plan to use Africans as soldiers in either army. U.S. Army General David Hunter, however, recruited slaves from Hilton Head and Port Royal Islands in South Carolina, to form the 1st South Carolina Volunteer Infantry Regiment. Both the federal government and Secretary of War Edwin Stanton opposed the radical idea and forced Hunter to disband the regiment. Viewpoints changed later that year, and the War Department authorized General Rufus Saxon, Hunter's successor, to raise 5,000 troops of African descent. Many of the original soldiers recruited by Hunter were mustered into the 51st Massachusetts Regiment under Captain Thomas Wentworth Higginson. In January 1863 the troops came together at the John Joyner Smith plantation, now the site of the U.S. Naval Hospital in Beaufort, South Carolina, to hear the Emancipation Proclamation read for the first time.

In 1864, the regiment was redesignated as the 33rd Regiment of the United States Colored Infantry. They saw considerable action along the coasts of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida and participated in the occupations of Charleston and Savannah. In addition, they saw action at the Battle of Honey Hill in Jasper County, South Carolina and at the capture of Confederate fortifications on James Island in Charleston County, South Carolina. A historical marker located in the Beaufort National Cemetery now commemorates their contribution to the war effort. The text of the marker follows:

> The 1st South Carolina Volunteer Infantry Regiment was raised from the sea island slaves living near Port Royal. Elements of the regiment were formed on Hilton Head in May 1862. In August 1862, the regiment was reorganized near Beaufort at the Smith plantation. It was commanded by the noted abolitionist Thomas Higginson who led the regiment on raids along the Georgia coast. On January 1, 1863, the regiment was formally mustered into the United States Army. The regiment saw extensive service on the South Carolina, Georgia and Florida coasts. On February 8, 1864, the regiment was redesignated as the 33rd Infantry Regiment of the United States Colored Troops. The regiment assisted in the occupation of Charleston, Savannah, Augusta, and other points until it was mustered out on January 31, 1866.

President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in October of 1862, but it did not become effective until the first day of January 1863. During that period, rebel states who re- joined the Union would be allowed to keep their slaves. The proclamation applied only to "rebellious states" and stated "that all persons held as slaves are, and henceforward shall be free." The proclamation not only opened the door for newly freed slaves to enlist in the Union Army but also specifically called upon them to enlist. Black soldiers had not been recruited prior to that time because they were prohibited from enlisting by an obscure federal law from the 1790s. Under the Proclamation, freedmen would be welcomed "into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service." Lincoln further stated, "The colored population is the great available and yet unavailed of force for restoring the Union."



Robert Scott Smalls (1839-1916) was born into slavery in Beaufort County, SC. He served in both the SC Senate and the US Congress, and a delegate to the SC Constitutional Convention.

After the Emancipation, some newly freed slaves left the plantations and joined the Union Army, but many adopted a "wait and see" stance. Some evacuated with their masters' families; some stayed behind and farmed the land where they once had been enslaved.

Freedmen who opted for service in the Union Army faced additional difficulties created by racial prejudice, which was rampant even in the North. Segregated units were formed, usually consisting of black enlisted men commanded by white officers. Although many blacks served in the artillery and infantry, discriminatory practices within the military resulted in the assignment of large numbers of freedmen to the performance of non- combat, support duties as cooks, laborers, and teamsters. African American soldiers were paid $10 per month, from which $3 was deducted for clothing. White soldiers were paid $13 per month, from which no clothing allowance was deducted. Black soldiers faced much greater peril and suffering than did their white counterparts if they were captured by the Confederate Army.

In spite of their many hardships, African American soldiers comprised about 10 per cent of the Union Army. They served the Army well and distinguished themselves in many battles even though it is estimated that one third of all African American enlistees lost their lives, most to disease. By the time the war was over, around 180,000 African American soldiers had joined the fight.

Circumstances were different in the Union Navy. African American sailors were generally experienced harbor pilots or cargo workers. Although no former slaves served as officers, there was no segregation aboard ship. Quarters were much too small, and the workload much too heavy for racial segregation to occur.

Robert Scott Smalls, who was born a slave in Beaufort County, South Carolina, is one of the best-known Gullah participants in the Union war effort. He was taken to Charleston as a youth, where he worked at a variety of jobs along the waterfront and learned many seafaring skills. Smalls was never satisfied with his enslaved status and was determined to free himself. He taught himself to read and write, mastered the difficult currents and channels of Charleston Harbor, and waited for his chance to escape.



Funding is being sought to create a park at the Mitchellville Site, Hilton Head Island, SC.

During the Civil War, Smalls became the *de facto* pilot of a transport steamer, the *Planter*, which was under contract to the Confederates. On the evening of May 12, while the *Planter* was docked in Charleston Harbor, the white Confederate officers went ashore to attend a party and left the black crew alone. Before dawn on May 13, 1862, while the ship's white officers slept, Smalls smuggled his wife and three children aboard the *Planter* and took command of the vessel. As Smalls had been the wheelman, he was familiar with Charleston Harbor as well as Confederate gun and troop positions. He and his crew of 12 slaves sailed the *Planter* past the other Confederate ships in the harbor, gave the correct whistle signal as he passed the Confederate forts in the harbor, and sailed out to sea.

When he had sailed beyond the range of Confederate guns, Smalls hoisted a white flag and delivered the *Planter* to the commanding officer of the Union blockade. Smalls and his black crew were welcomed as heroes, and the ship was received as contraband. Later, Smalls stated that he intended the *Planter* to be a contribution by black Americans to the cause of freedom.

President Lincoln later received Smalls and his crew in Washington where he thanked them for their bravery and valor. Congress passed a bill, which was signed by Lincoln, which awarded prize money to Smalls and his associates for their gallantry. Smalls was given official command of the *Planter*, a position he held until the end of the war (Miller 1995; Sterling 1958; Uya 1971).

Following the war, Smalls returned to his home state of South Carolina and entered politics. He served in the South Carolina Senate from 1868 to 1870. In 1875 he was elected to the U.S. Congress as a Republican for the first of five terms. While serving in the Congress, Smalls fought for equal travel accommodations for black Americans and for the civil and legal protection of children of mixed racial parentage. He was one of the six black members of the South Carolina constitutional convention of 1895. After leaving Congress, Smalls was duty collector for the port of Beaufort. He retained his interest in the military and served as a major general in the South Carolina militia.

On November 1, 1895, Smalls made the following statement, "My people need no special defense, for the past history of them in this country proves them to be the equal of any people anywhere. All they need is an equal chance in the battle of life." This statement has been carved in stone at the site of his memorial at Tabernacle Baptist Church in Beaufort, South Carolina.

Although there are documented reports of enslaved Africans fighting as soldiers in both the Confederate Army and Navy, there is controversy surrounding the issue of numbers. The Confederate Army, like the Union Army, was segregated, but also like the Union Navy, the Confederate Navy was not segregated by race (Werlich 1990).

> As a major port, Charleston had a pool of local seamen, who formed the nucleus of [Admiral John Randolph] Tucker's crews. Beauregard readily permitted his navy colleague to seek recruits from the ranks of the general's army. Long before Richmond, in desperation, seriously considered placing blacks in the army, Tucker's squadron had at least three black sailors, freemen serving on the *Chicora* (Werlich 1990: 62).

After the fall of Charleston, Tucker and his men evacuated to Virginia, where he organized a naval battalion which participated in several land engagements including the defense of Richmond. They later marched with the Army of Northern Virginia to Appomattox and are listed on the surrender rolls. Charles Cleaper, Joseph Johnson, and J. Heck – Tucker's three black sailors from the *Chicora* – were the only African American soldiers to participate in General Robert E. Lee's campaign (Werlich 1990).



The sewer comes to Sunrise Drive in the Harrington section of St. Simons Island, GA. For sale signs soon followed.

Slaves often went to war with their masters and were servants or stewards. In South Carolina and perhaps in other areas, the legislature voted pensions for "faithful negroes (*sic*) who stood by their masters" (*The Chattanooga Times* March 7, 1923 quoted in Segars and Barrow 2001:74). Other black southerners served in non-combatant roles as teamsters, musicians, hospital attendants, blacksmiths, hostlers, foragers, cooks, wheelwrights, and laborers on fortifications and were paid the same wage as Confederate privates. Although in today's military these support functions are performed by soldiers, such was not the case at the time of the Civil War (Segars and Barrow 2001).

Toward the end of the war, however, the Confederate Army was desperately in need of more soldiers, and some people began to speculate that it might be better to use slaves to fight than to lose the war. Up until the very last weeks of the war, members of the Confederate Congress, as well as General Robert E. Lee and President Jefferson Davis, were hotly debating the question of whether to use slaves in the Southern armies. In March of 1865, the Confederate government began actively recruiting and enlisting black soldiers. In early 1865, Robert E. Lee publicly advocated the enlistment of black troops, and in March, the Confederate Congress authorized raising 300,000 new troops "irrespective of color." General Ordinance No. 14 stated:

> "No slave will be accepted unless with his own consent and with the approbation of his master by a written instrument conferring the rights of freedmen …" (U.S. Army Official Records: 1161; Rollins 1994: 26).

On January 12, 1865, Major- General William Tecumseh Sherman, who was in the midst of his infamous "march to the sea," met with Secretary of War Edwin Stanton and 20 black clergy and community leaders from Savannah, Georgia, to discuss the future of former slaves after their emancipation. In his memoirs, Sherman states that he asked the black leaders if they preferred to live among the white people or in separate communities. Garrison Frasier, spokesman for the group, replied, "I would prefer to live by ourselves, for there is a prejudice against us in the South that will take years to get over." Nineteen of the twenty black men agreed. Sherman and Stanton considered this information, and four days later on January 16, 1865, Sherman issued Special Field Orders Number 15, in which he set aside:

> 1. The islands from Charleston south, the abandoned rice- fields along the rivers for thirty miles back from the sea, and the country bordering the St. John's River, Florida, are reserved and set apart for the settlement of the negroes now made free by the acts of war and the proclamation of the President of the United States.
>
> 2. At Beaufort, Hilton Head, Savannah, Fernandina, St. Augustine, and Jacksonville, the blacks may remain in their chosen or accustomed vocations; but on the islands,

> and in the settlements hereafter to be established, no white person whatever, unless military officers and soldiers detailed for duty, will be permitted to reside; and the sole and exclusive management of affairs will be left to the freed people themselves, subject only to the United States military authority, and the acts of Congress. By the laws of war, and orders of the President of the United States, the negro is free, and must be dealt with as such …
>
> 3. Whenever three respectable negroes, heads of families, shall desire to settle on land, and shall have selected for that purpose an island or a locality clearly defined within the limits above designated, the Inspector of Settlements and Plantations will himself, or by such subordinate officer as he may appoint, give them a license to settle such island or district, and afford them such assistance as he can to enable them to establish a peaceable agricultural settlement. The three parties named will subdivide the land, under the supervision of the inspector, among themselves, and such others as may choose to settle near them, so that each family shall have a plot of not more than forty acres of tillable ground, and, when it borders on some water channel, with not more than eight hundred feet water- front, in the possession of which land the military authorities will afford them protection until such time as they can protect themselves or until Congress shall regulate their title … (Sherman 1875).

Thus, each family was to receive 40 acres of land and, when available, an army surplus mule to work the land. Sherman assigned General Rufus Saxton to implement the Order. According to Sherman, he wanted to "… give the freedmen protection, land and schools as far and as fast as he can" (1990). The Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands was formed to assist with land acquisition and to provide schools for the newly freed people throughout the South. Eventually over 40,000 blacks were settled on 40- acre tracts. However, many were driven from their newly acquired land during the summer and fall of 1865, when President Andrew Johnson reversed Sherman's order, issued special pardons to Confederate rebels, and returned much of the property to its former owners. Thus, among African Americans, the phrase "40 acres and a mule" has become synonymous with an empty promise.

Slavery in the United States was finally outlawed on January 31, 1865, by the 13th Amendment to the United States Constitution, which states:

> Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Strategies to disfranchise and further undo the empowerment gained by African Americans drove both the South's economic and social policies immediately following the Civil War. The implications of these policies for African Americans were the significant push factor that drove the out- migration of Gullah/Geechee people. In 1900, migration patterns of most African Americans were limited geographically. Almost 90 % of all African Americans lived in the South and many continued to stay until the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s created another large out- migration (See Demographic History section).

Scholarly opinion is mixed as to when racial segregation became standard practice. According to George Tindall:

> At the end of the Reconstruction period the pattern of racial segregation had not been rigidly defined. [During the next 20 years] segregation became an established and unquestioned fact in all the institutions and relationships between the two races" (1966:291).

Joel Williamson, on the other hand, believes that "well before the end of Reconstruction, separation had crystallized into a comprehensive pattern which, in essence, remained unaltered until the middle of the twentieth century" (1965:275).

After freedom came, Gullah/Geechee people acquired land in many ways. Some received lands via the Special Field Orders, some joined in groups to purchase lands, others claimed land that had been abandoned by its former owners. Land ownership became and continues to be a very high priority for these previously enslaved peoples. Small settlements, often beginning as intergenerational family compounds, sprang up – sometimes on lands where new landowners had previously been enslaved. These small communities, bound together by family ties, helped one another through the time of extreme poverty in the immediate aftermath of the war.

Subsistence farming and fishing were the greatest sources of table food and income. Open lands were also available for hunting and provided yet another means to supplement the table. Utilizing the resources available to them, Gullah/Geechee people developed an economic base that ensured community solidarity and self- sufficiency. Because of this independence, Gullah/Geechee people were not subjected to the share cropping system to the same extent as were freedmen farther inland. Elders of these socially well integrated Gullah/Geechee communities passed on distinct language, stories, customs, and social practices to each new generation. In this respect, women were especially important in the transmission of distinctive Gullah/Geechee family rituals and esoteric cultural lore.

Able- bodied family members provided table food and other resources to the elders, the disabled, and those unable to fend for themselves. This system of providing food and resources continued to function during the Great Depression, as close family ties and sharing of sustenance kept communities together. Development and crystallization of distinct free- holder Gullah/Geechee communities and family compounds continued through the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Toward the end of the 19th century, the timber industry, seafood processing, subsistence farming, and commercial fishing contributed to a "Golden Age" of Gullah/Geechee economic self- sufficiency, relative freedom from outsider intrusion, and blossoming of performing and graphic arts.

The late 19th century also saw the construction of the United States Naval Station, Port Royal, which lies along Port Royal Sound [Beaufort County, SC]. The base was re- named as a Marine Corps Recruit Depot in 1915 and continues to play a significant role in the local economy.

The early 20th Century brought about the "discovery" of Gullah/Geechee language and culture by artists and scholars. During the same timeframe, there was a parallel "discovery" by those desiring Gullah/Geechee natural resources and lands. Northern commercial fishermen with capital and large motorized vessels slowly began to replace small independent black fishermen and shrimpers from Charleston to Florida. Some African American men went to work on the larger vessels; others shifted to the pulpwood industry. Gilded Age magnates, automobile touring, and bridges brought the first major wave of modern outside land pressure, stress, and influence to coastal communities of the Gullah and Geechee people.

World War II brought significant changes to the area. In addition to the Marine base at Parris Island, the government acquired lands in the Harris Neck Community in McIntosh County, Georgia, to build coastal defense air strips. The post- war boom and the invention of air conditioning further stimulated an influx of middle class Americans in significant numbers as year- round residents of the coast.



This 1950s era barbershop (above) stands abandoned in the Harrington community, St. Simons Island, GA.



These St. Simons Island row houses (left) were built in the 1940s to house employees of Sea Island resorts. The houses now stand empty, but could possibly be adapted for re-use as bed and breakfast cottages.



This 100 year-old structure was once Boney Brown's Store and family residence on Squire Pope Road, Hilton Head Island, SC. Although the Brown-Grant family had hoped to save the building, it was recently demolished.



During the 1940s and '50s, Hazel's Café was a thriving restaurant in the Southend Community on St. Simon's Island, GA. Today the building is used for private parties.



Charlie Simmons once owned the gasoline powered boat that made daily runs from Broad Creek on Hilton Head Island to Daufuskie, Beaufort, and Savannah. The building above once served those waiting to catch the boat. It was later made into a "juke joint" and then a fish camp. A restaurant is now planned for the site.

Thus, Hilton Head Island, ironically the location of administrative headquarters for the Freedman's Bureau in the early days of Reconstruction, became, one hundred years later, the type- case reference point for massive social displacement and economic "swamping" of Gullah/Geechee people and their culture. "We don't want another Hilton Head" is commonly used nowadays as a precautionary warning against unbridled development of undisturbed locales yet to be "discovered" by outsiders. In some areas, land use conflicts have been occurring for decades, but in some parts of the region many landowners ignored planning issues until quite recently (Heflin 1993).

Many Gullah/Geechee people, who live in rural communities, have traditionally relied on septic systems and well water. Improperly located systems, more maintenance and increased population density, however, may lead to septic system failure and contamination of groundwater.

In such cases, even these rural residents may request access to public sewer and water. Ironically, developers often join residents in lobbying for new water and sewer lines. New water and sewer lines frequently attract rapid growth of large residential subdivisions and subsequent commercial strip development. As commuter traffic clogs the roadways, residents demand new or expanded roads, which attract even more people. The increased services lead to higher taxes, rural sprawl, and ultimately to the suburban sprawl that is rampant along the coasts of both South Carolina and Georgia (Tibbetts 2001).

Although Gullah/Geechee people have made gains in civil rights, the intrusions of development and the subsequent population explosion along the coast have brought a growing awareness of the imminent loss of their language, their culture, their traditional way of life. Gullah/Geechee people do not seek to live in the past or to arrest the flow of history. Rather, they are a living, changing people – a culture of survivors who seek to adapt and thrive in the 21st century in new ways, but without exploitation, without gentrification or commodification, and without the intrusion of a "New Plantation" economy (Pinsky 1983, 1992).

Demographic History

Until recently, the Gullah/Geechee people of the Low Country and Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia were for the most part a genetically isolated and insulated population. Due to the continued importation of slaves into the 19th Century, this population was among the last in the United States to receive a genetic contribution directly from Africa. Because of their isolation, the Gullah/Geechee people are more closely related anthropometrically to their West African ancestors than other African American populations. They also show less evidence of European ancestry (Pollitzer 1999).

When Europeans and Africans first arrived in coastal South Carolina and Georgia, the area was fairly thickly populated by American Indians, but as a result of the introduction of exotic diseases from Europe and Africa, there was a quick die- off of the Indian population along the coast. Through the early years of the colonies, small pox, pneumonia, tuberculosis, swamp fevers and agues plagued white colonists and their enslaved African and American Indian laborers. While small pox struck all races with equal force, tuberculosis and respiratory ailments took a higher toll on the black population. However, when faced with the swamp fevers such as malaria and yellow fever, there was from the beginning a noticeably lower rate of morbidity and mortality among the enslaved population. This immunity among slaves was only partial, but was also inheritable. Planters may not have known the reason for this immunity, but they quickly recognized the economic advantages of the condition. Thus, planters and their families moved away from the swampy rice fields during the mosquito season and left the plantations to be managed, for the most part, by the slaves themselves (Dobyns 1983; Pollitzer 1958; Waring 1964; Wood 1974).

Through the early 20th century, the African- derived population was the demographically dominant population. This was due in part to the frequency of the hemoglobin beta gene (HBB) found on chromosome 11p15.4. This gene occurred at a higher rate in Gullah/Geechee people than in other African American populations, but was about equal to the West African rate. Carrier frequency of HBB varies significantly around the world, but high rates are generally associated with regions such as coastal Africa and Mediterranean countries where there is a high incidence of malaria. Carriers of the gene in its heterozygous form (inherited from only one parent) exhibit a significant degree of protection from malaria, a disease that plagued the Low Country through the 18th and 19th centuries.

The cost of this genetic adaptation was, however, very high. The same gene in its homozygous state (inherited from both parents) causes sickle cell anemia, and early death. Those born entirely without the trait were subject to lethal malarial infections that led to high infant mortality. Sickle cell anemia has appeared in Gullah/Geechee people at a higher level than in other African American populations. As increasing marriage to non- Gullah/Geechee people continues to dilute the gene pool, the sickle cell trait is occurring with less frequency (Curtin 1968; McNeill 1977; Pollitzer 1999; Wood 1974).

The black majority dominated the Low Country until well into the 20th century (Wood 1974). As the population of the Low Country grew between 1900 and 1950, the coastal regions and Sea Islands grew 115% in comparison to an average of 104% for the states of South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. The national growth rate during that period was only 99%. The population increase of whites drove the overall growth rate. The African American population exhibited a fairly stagnant rate of change.

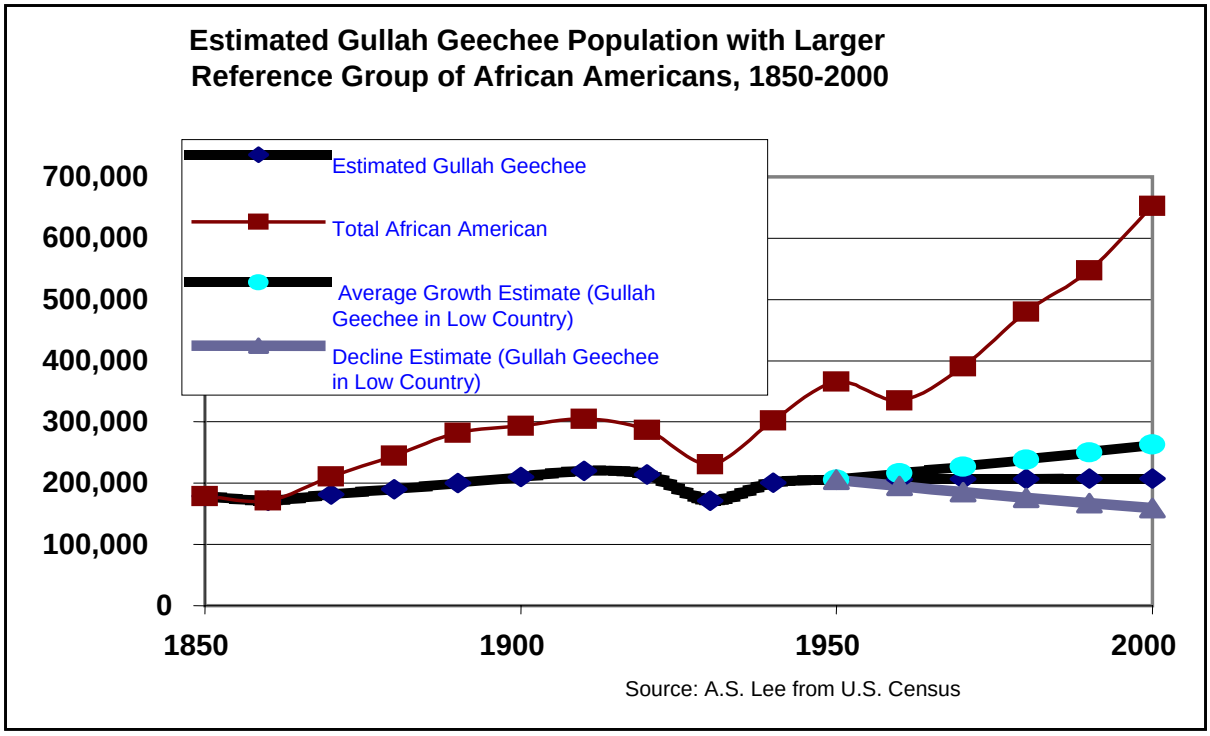
The first half of the 20th century reflects the most dramatic rate of change for racial composition in the Low Country. The ratio of black to white population, which had been 3 to 1 in 1850, declined to 2 to 1 in 1900 and to 1/2 to 1 in 1950. The white population of Georgia began to exceed the black population during the 1930s; while in South Carolina this change did not come about until the 1950s. The large deviation of racial population ratios may be attributed to a combination of several factors, including white migration into the area, black emigration to the North or to Low Country cities, agricultural trends, health care, and military presence (See chart to follow).

Between 1900 and 1930, tens of thousands of Gullah/Geechee people left the South and headed north where they could escape the poor southern economy and the segregationist Jim Crow laws. During that period, the population of St. Helena Island, South Carolina, decreased from 8,285 to 4,458 (Kiser 1932). This out- migration resulted in a second diaspora of Gullah/Geechee people and extended the reach of their culture far from the coasts of Georgia and South Carolina and into the heart of urban America. As Al Calloway, one of the commentators on the public review draft of this report stated:

> Most Americans have no idea how many African Americans are 'touched' by what some of us grew up calling 'Geechee.' The church I grew up in – The Metropolitan AME Methodist Church in Harlem, New York City – had an original membership of mostly first generation removed South Carolinians and Georgians. They came from the Charleston area and the islands around, as well as from coastal Georgia. The red rice, greens, candied yams, deep fried chicken and cornbread cooked every Sunday at church, and the accents and strange words used and understood, especially by the adults, gave a sense of belonging to a tradition far different from the fare encountered outside those walls. The music was haunting, spiritual, deep gospel. All the way from Mother Africa.

Shifts in Total African American Population 1995 - 2000			
State	*In*	*Out*	*Net Gain*
Florida	168,862	117,576	51,286
Georgia	253,237	122,488	130,749
North Carolina	142,875	89,504	53,371
South Carolina	77,555	61,302	16,253
Total Net Gain	642,529	390,870	251,659
Source: US Census Data			

Coastal Population Growth 1850-2000			
Location	*1850-1900*	*1900-1950*	*1950-2000*
United States	229%	99%	86%
South Carolina, Georgia, Florida	146%	104%	238%
Study Area	75%	115%	151%
Source: US Census Data			



Around the middle of the 20th century, there was significant immigration into the study area by African Americans and others from different regions of the United States. At the same time, there were increased incentives for Gullah emigration from the region, thus increasing Gullah/Geechee out- marriage. In general, genetic isolation of the traditional local African American population has been reduced, with a concomitant reduction in Gullah/Geechee population distinctiveness to whatever extent it previously existed.

The trend of African American population decline as a percentage of the total population began to change with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This legislation delineated the framework for



Charlie Mule cart view of Sapelo Island, Cultural Day 2002. *Diedre Laird, SC Desk, Charlotte Observer*

equal status under the law for all Americans. During the mid 1970s, as job opportunities dwindled and racial tensions intensified in northern urban areas, fewer blacks left the area. While the African American population has increased steadily since the 1960 census, the proportion of African Americans has remained steady at approximately 30% of the total population (Lee 2002). Blacks started returning to the South from other regions between 1975 and 1980. Since that time, the Northeast and Midwest have experienced net losses in African American population, while the West and the South have experienced gains.

Because of Gullah/Geechee out- migration and the immigration of African Americans from other regions, it is difficult to determine from available census data just how many Gullah/Geechee people specifically live in the South Carolina/Georgia coastal area at present. Similarly, attempting to estimate the total number of Gullah/Geechee people everywhere in the world today would be virtually impossible. Nonetheless, by projecting local historic African American demographic growth rates using pre- 1950 census data, the project team estimates that there are between 159,222 and 262,623 Gullah/Geechee people within the total African American population of 652,701 reported in the 2000 census for the coastal counties of South Carolina and Georgia.

Cultural survival does not, however, require genetic isolation. Indeed, some degree of continuing out- marriage has always been adaptively advantageous to small human populations – culturally, socially, politically, and genetically. The same is true of the Gullah/Geechee population under the current conditions of stress and change. Nonetheless, perception of the loss of Gullah/Geechee social integrity resulting from persistent and expanding marriage to non- Gullah in combination with other social changes – may be perceived as a major stressor

Gullah/Geechee Language

> *If you get the full Gullah, it's a song language. That's the deep Gullah. It is a song language and not a deaf language like English. The speaker of a song language doesn't mean exactly just the words alone, but when he has once spoken them, he really couldn't have said it any better. If you catch the song, you can tell exactly what he means. – Sam Gadsden, born 1882 (Lindsay 2000)*

A unique creole language is spoken along the Sea Islands and adjacent mainland of South Carolina and Georgia. The linguistically distinct Gullah language is found in both South Carolina and Georgia, but the language and its speakers are typically referred to as "Geechee" in Georgia. As a creole language, Gullah began as a pidgin, a simplified speech used for communication among people of different languages. The pidgin likely began in the castles and *barracoons*, outdoor prison- like enclosures where captives were held before being loaded onto the slave ships. The language, with its vocabulary and grammatical roots in European and African languages, developed for practical purposes as a way for Africans and their captors from different linguistic origins to communicate with one another.

Creolization is a linguistic process that emerges from pidgin speech codes. If a pidgin becomes the only form of communication for a succeeding generation of speakers, the processes of linguistic evolution takes over to produce a complete language. Thus creole languages have their own phonological, syntactical, and grammatical rules even though the vocabulary is derived from the ancestral languages which gave rise to the pidgin (*cf.* Hall 1965).

This ability to communicate was instrumental in the blending of diverse cultural experiences and retention of African roots. As the Atlantic slave trade continued to flourish, vocabulary from English, French, Portuguese, and other European languages were added to the mix to facilitate communication with European slave owners. The Gullah/Geechee language is the only distinctly African American creole language in the United States. It has indirectly influenced the vocabulary of the American South and has contributed to traditional Southern speech patterns.

Although many Gullah/Geechee words are derived from English, Gullah is decidedly not a dialect of English. Gullah is recognized by linguists as a separate language distinguished from English by mutual unintelligibility, *i.e.*, native speakers of only Gullah or only English would not be able to understand one another. Even during the Ebonics controversy of the 1990s, the integrity of Gullah as a language was not seriously questioned by linguistic scholars.

In addition to its phonological and syntactic distinctiveness, Gullah has retained certain lexical items and morphological features derived from various African languages. Gullah existed as a largely ignored linguistic phenomenon until the research of Lorenzo Dow Turner (1949) in the 1940s. Turner, a North Carolina native who was the first professionally trained African American linguist, demonstrated that Gullah/Geechee languages contained linguistic features drawn directly from the languages of West Africa. It was these Africanisms, first noted by Turner, that were for many years the focus of Gullah linguistic studies. More recently, however, linguists have produced highly technical studies of such aspects of Gullah language as stress patterns, tense- mood- aspect, and variations in auxiliary verb use (Hopkins 1994). Although challenging for the layman to understand, such technical studies of the Gullah language contribute to general scientific understanding of the nature of human language and linguistic change.

Although Turner died in 1972, his widow Lois Turner Williams believes that his research should live, not only as a chronicle of the past but also as a lesson for the present. "He understood the structure of their [Gullah] speech didn't come about because of any laziness or an inability to make the proper sounds," as had been frequently put forth by some. His research clearly demonstrated that Gullah

Gullah	English
ooman	woman
oonuh	you
tittuh	sister
enty?	Is that so?
buckruh	white man
E	he, she, it, his, her
day clean	dawn
coota	turtle
krak teet	talk
nyam	eat
gwine	going
wegitubble	vegetable

speech patterns are not an indicator of intelligence but from the Gullah/Geechee language and culture that had been passed down through the generations by oral tradition (Richissin 1997).

Despite its legitimacy as a language, use of Gullah or Geechee was for many years considered to be a mark of low status and ignorance and, thus, was a source of pejorative remarks. Many people, including educators, viewed it as substandard or broken English, and encouraged children to give up their native language in favor of so- called "standard English." There was, of course, no option for learning English as a second language, since Gullah was not widely viewed as a legitimate language at that time. Since Emancipation, distinctive Gullah language and folk culture have been subjected to strong acculturative forces and concomitant pressure to assimilate rather than remain ethnically distinct. Assimilation came more rapidly for people in mainland communities that did not have the protection of isolation.

Delo Washington, St. Helena native and retired professor from California State University at Stanislaus, describes the negativity once associated with use of the Gullah language:

> For a long time, it was considered negative to be Gullah, though we didn't grow up feeling negative about ourselves. But we were considered strange people with a strange language. You couldn't get a job speaking that way. In the '60s, scholars and others began to take a different view of the Gullah- Geechee culture. Africa was seen in a more positive light, particularly by African Americans (Glanton 2001).

Contempt for the language and derision toward those who use it were recently discussed with one of its most famous speakers, United States Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas. Thomas, who was born in Pin Point, Georgia, a small tidewater community southeast of Savannah, remembers his Geechee beginnings. In December 2000, Justice Thomas participated in a televised question and answer session with high school students. When asked why he did not pose questions in oral arguments before the Supreme Court. Thomas replied,

> … But I'm going to give you a more personal reason, and I think this is probably the first time I ever even told anybody about it … When I was 16, I was sitting as the only black kid in my class, and I had grown up speaking a kind of a dialect. It's called Geechee. Some people call it Gullah now, and people praise it now. But they used to make fun of us back then. It's not Standard English. When I transferred to an all-white school at your age, I was self- conscious … I was trying to speak Standard English. I was thinking in Standard English but speaking another language … I just started developing the habit of listening … I didn't ask questions in college or law school. And I found that I could learn better just listening … ("In His Own Words" 2000; Wermiel 2002).

Over the past several years, Justice Thomas has become more interested in learning about his ancestry and cultural heritage and in sharing the experiences of his youth. He has recently expressed an interest in researching and writing a book about his Gullah/Geechee heritage. "This is a passion of mine, starting to work on a book. For years I've been interested in figuring out all of this" (Davis 2001;

Milloy 2000). Some Gullah/Geechee people within the study area have expressed negative feelings toward Justice Thomas because they believe he has not claimed his heritage and does not contribute to Gullah preservation efforts.

The Gullah language passed through the generations as an oral tradition and has no widely accepted written form. The absence of a standard written form of the language makes preservation even more difficult. As with any living language, Gullah/Geechee continued to evolve through the centuries, but since the mid 1950s the language has changed substantially. The language has incorporated more and more "standard" English loan- words. Accents, cadences, and speech patterns are becoming more anglicized. Loss of the language is of grave concern to many people who attended the Special Resource Study public meetings.

The elders are dying, and young people in many communities often seem to have no interest in learning to speak "that funny way that old folks talk," as was stated by a meeting participant. For that reason, many of those in attendance at SRS public meetings felt strongly that educational programs were necessary so that their young people could learn to have pride and respect for their ancestry, heritage, culture, and language. Some organizations are providing cultural education for the children in their communities, including instruction in the language. Extinction of the language would mean not only a loss to linguistic science but also the disappearance of a mode of practical communication and artistic expression that is at the core of Gullah/Geechee cultural identity.

The Gullah language is at a critical point for its survival. Gullah is now most frequently spoken in the home or by the elders of the community, although young people are beginning to take more interest in their cultural heritage. By the late 20th century, as the number of native speakers of Gullah dwindled, pride and concern for the preservation of the language began to surge in some communities. Formal artistic use of Gullah language is increasing among writers, storytellers, performance artists, and even tour guides. Some common Gullah words and phrases, which were heard frequently during this study, are illustrated in the table above (Frazier 1995; Geraty 1998).

Although their work is sometimes considered controversial by some Gullah people, non- Gullah people have contributed to the preservation of Gullah language and plantation spirituals. Virginia Mixson Geraty, a public school librarian, spent much of her life documenting the Gullah language that she first heard as a five year- old child on Yonges Island, South Carolina. As she once recalled, "I just fell in love with the language. It sounded like the women were singing" (*Post and Courier* Editorial: A10). She recognized the problems incurred by Gullah- speaking students at her school and sought ways to help them survive academically within a system that did not yet recognize Gullah as a true language.

Geraty, who died in 2004, made the study and preservation of the Gullah language her passion and her life's work, beginning at a time when people who spoke Gullah were ridiculed. Former South Carolina state Representative Lucille Whipper, a member of the steering committee for the International African American Museum in Charleston, was quoted as saying that Mrs. Geraty was ahead of her time, explaining: "I give her credit for early on recognizing the significance of the Gullah language and its impact on our culture, and being very persistent in her attempts to preserve Gullah and give it the respectability that is now more accepted. We have come a long way from thinking it was degrading to recognize the positive influence of Gullah" (Hardin 2004).

The Society for the Preservation of Spirituals, a group of white planter descendants, was formed in 1922 to sing African American spirituals in the Gullah language. They feared that the congregational style of singing this powerful music would be lost as printed hymnals became more and more prevalent. Determined to preserve the traditional style of performing Gullah spirituals, members resolved to collect Low Country spirituals, to sing them as authentically as possible in Gullah, and to pass the tradition on to the next generation. In 1936, the society acquired a recording device that made recordings on aluminum discs. Members carried the machine in a Model T Ford, jacked up the car,

wrapped a belt around the axle to power a generator, dropped a microphone through the church window, and recorded services at African American churches in Charleston and surrounding Sea Islands. The 50 aluminum disks recordings are now deposited in the Archive of American Folk Song. In 2004, the society published a book and compact disc of the spirituals collected and sung by three generations of members. Since African Americans are now actively involved in the preservation and performance of their musical heritage, the society no longer performs in public, but members still gather to sing the songs they love and consider to be a part of their own heritage (*Spirituals of the Carolina Low Country* 2004).



African American monument, Savannah, GA.

Gullah/Geechee Traditions, Crafts, and Arts

The distinctiveness of Gullah/Geechee culture is clearly defined through a variety of artistic and craft traditions. Many writers and scholars have studied and/or described and analyzed metalworking, quilting, basketry, net making, woodcarving, music, and folklore.



Philip Simmons, born in 1912 on Daniel Island, has spent most of his life in Charleston, SC. He is known worldwide for his ironworking skills.

Some of the earliest scholarly research on Gullah folklore was by Elsie Clews Parsons (1923), a major figure in early American anthropology. Following in Parsons' tradition have been dozens of folklorists, musicologists, ethnologists, literary scholars, and others who have attempted to describe, analyze and place into functional context the arts and crafts of Gullah/Geechee people.

Gullah/Geechee people have a rich tradition of oral literature and history including legends, folktales, stories, and accounts of supernatural events such as spiritual attacks by hags and other evil entities (Hufford 1976; Ross 1980). Gullah/Geechee also articulated their oral history through songs. Some elements of Gullah/Geechee culture have been popularized through the creative arts in such works as George Gershwin's folk opera *Porgy and Bess* (1934).

Gershwin's opera, the best known of all American operas, was based on *Porgy*, a novel by DuBose and Dorothy Heyward (2001), which was set in Charleston, South Carolina, but several of its key characters and themes are clearly Gullah in culture. Julia Peterkin received the Pullitzer prize for her novel *Scarlet Sister Mary* (1928), in which she candidly portrayed Gullah women and the richness of rural black culture in a manner than was unusual for her time. Peterkin's novels were also dramatized but did not achieve the success of *Porgy and Bess*.

Literature and Art

Generations of Americans have delighted in the *Uncle Remus* tales, which have left an indelible if somewhat distorted imprint on American mass culture. The *Uncle Remus* tales, despite being recorded by a white journalist, are now generally held by African American scholars as good representations of the animal folktales told by enslaved Africans on Turnwold Plantation near Eatonton, Georgia. Since the slave culture was primarily one of oral tradition, Joel Chandler Harris' 19th century documentation of the folklore and stories may have, in fact, helped to preserve them. Although the *Uncle Remus* tales were collected on an inland plantation, they derive from the traditions of enslaved Africans of the Gullah/Geechee coast. Further impressing the tales of Br'er Rabbit on American popular culture was Walt Disney's *Song of the South*, a motion picture adaptation of the *Uncle Remus* stories. Although controversial for its benign view of slavery and portrayal of contented slaves, the Disney movie left a lasting mark on American culture (Brausch 2000; Flusche 1975).

The *Uncle Remus* stories were animal trickster tales in which animals took on human emotions and behaviors − a blend of ancestral African elements with American experience − clear examples of cultural exchange. While ethnologists may debate the specific African, European, or American Indian sources for these tales, they are a coherent body of oral literature, which is a distinctly Gullah/Geechee creation. The tales usually portrayed weak characters outwitting the strong and fostered the idea of freedom within the confines of slavery. Br'er Rabbit, a classic animal trickster, was likely called "Buh Rabbit" in the Low Country and Sea Islands. Gullah/Geechee children learned



Ron Daise, of St. Helena Island, SC, historian, author, and performer.

many lessons from these stories, not the least of which were derived from allegories of the manipulation of power by the weak as well as the strong.

Perhaps more directly authentic to the study area but less well-known are the tales in the volume *Bo Rabbit Smart for True: Folktales from the Gullah* (Jaquith, *et. al*., 1981). Jaquith adapted her stories from the 1949 recordings of Albert Stoddard, who was born on Daufuskie Island, SC, in 1872. When he returned to Daufuskie after completing college, Stoddard began the task of writing the stories in Gullah. When he was 77 years old, Stoddard recorded the stories – just as he had heard them in his youth – for the Archive of Folksong of the Library of Congress (Stoddard, 1949).

Today, many Gullah/Geechee performers, artists, and community activists are telling their own stories. Ron and Natalie Daise, who wrote and starred in the nationally televised children's program *Gullah- Gullah Island*, are among the best known of these performers. Ron Daise, a native of St. Helena Island, has written several books and produced recordings on Gullah themes. Storytellers such as Carolyn "Jabulile" White, Minerva King, Alada "Muima" Shinault- Small, and others travel around the country recounting the animal stories of their island childhoods.

Artist John W. Jones of Columbia, South Carolina, bases his paintings on the vignettes or images of enslaved Africans that appeared on Confederate currency. Jones' work was featured in "Confederate Currency: The Color of Money," an exhibition at the Avery Research Center at the College of Charleston. In reviewing the exhibit, Steve Lopez of *Time* magazine said, "… John W. Jones took the romanticized slave- labor scenes from Confederate money and reproduced them in oil paintings paired with the bills themselves. The effect is to punctuate the exploitation of blacks for profit."

Jonathan Green, a native of Gardens Corner in Beaufort County, South Carolina, is world- renowned for his painting. Green, who draws inspiration from his Gullah/Geechee heritage, the people of his



Artist Jonathan Green expresses his Gullah heritage through colorful paintings.



Inlet Bounty depicts the use of traditional handmade castnet and the spiritual connection of Gullah/ Geechee people to the water. – Image provided by Jonathan Green

experience, and the memories of his youth in South Carolina; proclaims his Gullah ancestry through his brightly colored paintings. Green's paintings, reflecting Gullah lifestyles through colorful dress, foods, and scenery, are in the permanent collections of several major galleries (Buckman 2003).

Casting in the creeks with handmade nets is not only a cultural tradition but also reflects the spiritual connection of Gullah and Geechee people to the water. Jonathan Green depicted this connection in his painting entitled *Inlet Bounty*.

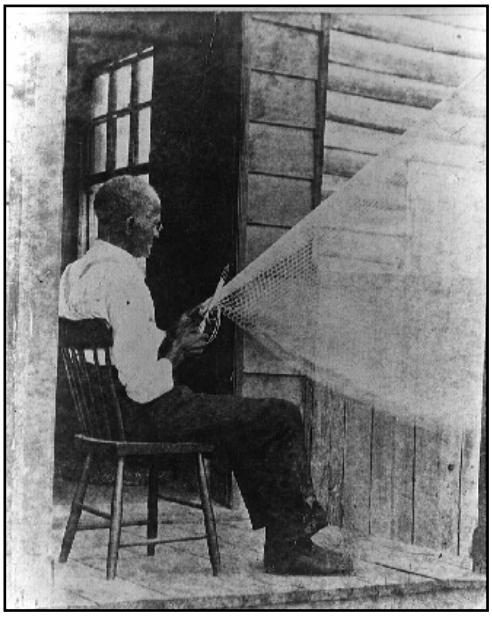


Ce Ce Williams of McClellanville, SC, demonstrates his net-making skills, Charles Pincknev NHS. Mt. Pleasant. SC.

Crafts, Arts, and Foods

Gullah/Geechee arts and crafts – including traditional cuisine – show promise for becoming highly marketable and profitable commodities and important symbols of the continued viability of Gullah/Geechee culture. Traditional arts and crafts are second only to language as a rallying point for Gullah/Geechee cultural awareness and ethnic consolidation.

Practitioners of the traditional Gullah/Geechee art of making cast nets are becoming harder and harder to find. Charles C. Williams, better known as "Ce Ce" of McClellanville, South Carolina, is one of the few remaining net makers in the area. He learned the art from his father, and he is afraid that he will be the last net maker in his family. According to Williams, knitting handmade nets requires a great deal of time and patience – more time and patience than many of today's young people are willing to invest. Nylon nets are much cheaper, but says Williams, "This here cotton lasts forever, if you take care of it." He is now making small nets for display purposes. Williams is adapting his art to the market. There are other net makers still working on sea islands such as Sapelo, Wadmalaw, St. Helena, and several other locations within the study area. Many of the current netmakers are, however, older men who fear that the net making tradition will die with them.



Former slave from coastal Georgia knitting a net, early 20th century. *Georgia Historical Society*

Enslaved Africans, who were transported to the Low Country, brought with them a rich heritage of textile art, including a tradition of sewing strips of cloth into larger patterns (Twining and Baird 1991). Enslaved women were often called upon to assist European women with their quilt making and thus learned European styles and techniques. When quilting for their own families, however, enslaved women combined their African textile traditions with European quilting methods, thus creating a unique creolized art form. Many of their patterns, particularly the strip quilt, showed a clear continuity with West African textile tradition (David 1989; Joyner 1985).

Quilting began on the plantations to supplement the blankets that were distributed by masters about every three years. Slave women frequently gathered in the evenings, after completing their work in the fields, to make warm and colorful quilts. Thus, quilting was both a time of work and a time of social



Andrew Rodrigues tells the story of an enslaved African woman who was forcibly taken from her homeland to a new and different life in the Low Country. The "story quilt" was designed and constructed by his wife Vermelle "Bunny" Rodrigues, Pawley's Island, SC.

interaction. Quilts were usually made in the bright colors of African tradition rather than the softer colors preferred by Europeans.

The most common designs were patchwork, mosaic designs constructed from many types of cloth, although they also made pieced, strip, and appliquéd quilts. Enslaved women also made mattresses, which they stuffed with Spanish moss or stained cotton, and pillows stuffed with chicken or goose feathers (David 1989; Joyner 1985; Tournier 1984).

Today in the Low Country and Sea Islands, Gullah/Geechee women continue to follow the quilting traditions of their ancestors. Patchwork, strip, and appliquéd quilts are frequently seen in craft shops, festivals, and craft shows. "Story quilts," such as the one pictured here, are popular collectors' items and are also used in educational presentations. There are African American quilting groups in Georgetown, on Wadmalaw Island, and other locations throughout the region.

Beginning during slavery and continuing into the present, blacks and whites in the Low Country area have eaten the same vegetables, fruits, game, and seafood from the local area. Some items were imported from Europe and some, such as okra, rice, yams, peas, hot peppers, peanuts, sesame seeds (locally known as benne seeds), sorghum, and watermelon came from Africa via the slave trade – even though some of these domesticated plants may have originated in South America or Asia. American Indian foods such as corn, squash, tomatoes, and berries added to the blend.

Rice became the staple of choice for Europeans, who at first looked upon it as fodder for livestock, food for slaves, or a commodity for export. Geobotanists agree that coffee, America's favorite non-alcoholic beverage, originated in Ethiopia, where the wild berries were generally mixed with fat and eaten. Kola nuts, which had been chewed as a stimulant in Africa for centuries, became the basic ingredient in "cola" drinks throughout the world (Boswell 1949; Fox 1964; Knox and Huffaker 1996).

Enslaved Africans mixed bacon, peas, seafood, vegetables, chicken, or ham with rice to make pilau (commonly called "perlow"), and many of these dishes are still served today in Low Country homes. Hoppin' John, okra rice, and red rice are among the best known examples (Grime 1976; Hess 1992). Black cooks also created stew- like mixtures of seafood and/or meats with vegetables and served them over the ever- present rice. Okra soup is still a Low Country staple. At meal time in Low Country homes of both races, the rice is put on the stove first; then comes the decision of what to cook to go with it. Traditionally, the family rice pot, which must be a heavy pot with a tight- fitting lid and of appropriate size for the family, is used at every meal. The rice pot itself becomes so much a part of family tradition that it is actually handed down in the family as a treasured heirloom.

Gantt and Gerald (2003) cite the following slave recipe for cooking rice:

> *Fust t'ing yo' roll up yo' sleeves 'es high as yo' kin, en yo' tak soap en yo' wash yo' hand clean. Den yo' wash yo' pot clean. Fill um wid col' wata en put on de fia. Now w'ile you' wata de bile, yo' put yo' rice een a piggin en yo' wash um well. Den when yo' dun put salt een yo' pot, en bile high. Yo' put yo rice een en le'um bile till 'e swell, den yo' pour off de*



Smoked mullet is a crowd favorite on Cultural Day, Sapelo Island, Georgia. *Diedre Laird, SC Desk, Charlotte Observer*



Home cooked Low Country foods are favorites at the annual Cultural Day Festival on Sapelo Island, GA. One of many menus available at Sapelo Island's annual Cultural Day celebration. *Diedre Laird, SC Desk, Charlotte Observer*

> *wata en put yo' pot back o de stove, fo' steam.* – Goliath, a former slave of F. W. Allston, Brookgreen Plantation, ca.1937

Average weekly food ration given in the 1800s, Brookgreen Plantation, Murrell's Inlet, South Carolina:

10 quarts rice or peas	
1 bushel sweet potatoes	1 peck meal
1 pint molasses	1 peck grits
2 pounds pork	bacon and beef (summer)

Enslaved African cooks had creative genius when it came to making "sumpin" from "nuttin" in their own kitchens – they were experts at stretching their rations, adding fish and game to the mix, or making communal stews shared with neighbors in the tradition of their African ancestors. They also added vegetables grown in their own gardens and leftovers from their masters' hog killings. Many of these "variety meats" such as pigs' feet, ears, jowls, heads, and entrails are still favored treats in many Gullah/Geechee households today.

As described above, enslaved cooks applied African cooking methods and seasoning to the ingredients available to them in plantation kitchens and their own homes. English, French, and Spanish traditions common to the area also contributed to the mix. Grits, corn bread, butter beans, chili peppers, file, squash, and other items came from American Indians in the region. In the process of cooking with the great variety of foods available in their environment, creative black women unintentionally invented what is now known as southern cooking, although credit for this accomplishment is rarely if ever given. According to Joyner (1999), "The combination created a distinctive southern cuisine, originated and perfected by black cooks in white kitchens, as well as in their own homes."

Food has always played a very important role in the social traditions of all southerners. Family gatherings, funerals, religious occasions, celebrations, and Sunday dinners are often accompanied by tables heavy- laden with a great variety of meats, seafood, vegetables, rice dishes, and desserts.



Elijah Ford is one of several retired men in the Phillips Community who sew sweetgrass baskets.

Frequently, certain family members are given the honor of preparing specific dishes for such family meals and do so until they die or are no longer able to cook.

Food is also a key component of celebrations and festivals. Penn Center's Heritage Days, Sapelo Island's Cultural Day, St. Simons Island's Georgia Sea Island Festival, the Beaufort Gullah Festival, and many other festivals, both large and small, are known for fine foods prepared in traditional ways by local residents. Gullah/Geechee cooking – southern cooking – is definitely in the mainstream and is no longer confined to Gullah/Geechee communities.

Two of the most important outward signs of Gullah/Geechee ethnicity – coiled basketry and musical shouts – have lately achieved great prominence. Both the design and construction techniques relating to the art of coiled basketry have clear roots in African culture. Early baskets were made for various practical agricultural and domestic uses in the plantation economy and were generally made by men or elders who were unable to work in the fields. Basketry and other crafts became part of the bartering system and became another source of income for enslaved Gullah/Geechee people. Such artisan skills became even more important for economic survival in the lean years immediately following the Civil War (Derby 1989).

Dale Rosengarten (1986) tells the story of Gullah/Geechee basketry from its African roots to its earliest beginnings in late 17th- century Carolina.

> Among the most readily identifiable products of this cultural tenacity are coiled sea grass baskets produced along the Southeastern coast. They belong to a basket sewing tradition – centered today in the small community of Mt. Pleasant just north of Charleston – that has survived in America for over 300 years.

Rosengarten describes the evolution of this African craft from agricultural necessity to art form. Although her work is generally highly regarded, a few modern basket makers take exception to Rosengarten's use of the term "sea grass" to describe what they call "sweetgrass baskets." To such comments, Rosengarten offers this explanation:

> I'd like to clarify why McKissick Museum used the term "sea grass" in the subtitle of the exhibition and catalogue called *Row upon Row*. We wanted a term that would refer to both bulrush [*scrirpus robustus*] "work" baskets, common during the era of rice plantations, and sweetgrass [*muhlenbergia filipes*] "show" baskets, a Mt. Pleasant specialty since the early 20th century. Bulrush has again come back into wide use by the basket makers, so we felt calling the tradition "sweetgrass" was not inclusive enough. We decided on "seagrass" because it was used historically and doesn't refer to any particular plant (Rosengarten, email communication, 2003).

This seemingly minor difference in vocabulary is a good example of how local perceptions of Gullah/Geechee practices can be at odds with scholarly descriptions using the more general and abstract terminology characteristic of academic discourse.

Although basketmaking was common on many of the Sea Islands, the art form has persisted and proliferated around Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina, due to market demand and the creativity and innovation of local artisans. Early in the 20th century, basket makers around Mt. Pleasant began



Sweetgrass basket marker stands at the intersection of Hamlin Road and US Highway 17, Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina.



Cecelia Anderson of Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina, is shown sewing a sweetgrass basket, ca. 1930. *Charleston Museum*

making "show baskets" to sell to tourists and local retailers. These baskets differed from the traditional "work baskets" in style, artistic design, and use of palm [*sabal palmetto*] leaf rather than palm butt for sewing the rows together. Basket makers were quick to adapt their styles to the market and constantly invented new styles and shapes (Hofbauer 1997a).

Around 1916, Clarence Legerton, a white entrepreneur from Charleston, recognized the artistic and commercial value of sweetgrass "show" baskets and formed the Sea Grass Basket Company at 263 King Street, as a mail order source. Legerton, who later changed the name of his business to Seagrassco, purchased thousands of dollars worth of baskets for about 50 cents apiece from Mt. Pleasant area women. Sam Coakley, a Mt. Pleasant area resident, served as liaison between Legerton and the basketmakers.

In 1930, a few months after the Grace Memorial Bridge, which crosses the Cooper River between Charleston and Mt. Pleasant, was opened to traffic, Lottie Swinton placed a chair along Highway 17 and began to sell baskets to tourists. Other basket makers soon followed suit and began displaying their wares in simple stands along the road (Derby 1980).

Mrs. Betsy Johnson had a sweet shop on the highway, where she sold cakes, sodas, candy, and sandwiches. Her husband Eddie Johnson hammered nails into the outside wall of the store to display baskets for sale. Johnson soon purchased baskets from others in the community to increase the inventory.

The practice continues today, and as a result, the section of US Highway 17 that stretches between Mt. Pleasant and McClellanville, South Carolina, has come to be known as the "Gullah Highway" (Rosengarten 1986). The road is also referred to by some local basket makers as AME Highway after Goodwill African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church which is located on the same stretch of road. A historical marker commemorating the long Gullah tradition of sewing sweetgrass baskets was erected in 1972 by the Christ Church Parish Historical Society and the Original Sweetgrass Marketplace Coalition. The marker is located at the site of the first roadside basket stand at the intersection of Highway 17N and Hamlin Road (Hofbauer 1997b; Quick 1997).

Following the success of roadside sales, basket makers soon began to display and sell their wares in downtown Charleston at the City Market. In the mid 1970s, around the time of the United States

Bicentennial, sweetgrass baskets and their makers became recognized both nationally and internationally as Gullah/Geechee cultural icons.

The Smithsonian Institution was crucial in this recognition of the artistic and intrinsic value of the baskets, and within a few years, sweetgrass baskets were featured in museums and galleries around the world. (Gullah baskets, probably collected by northern tourists before the 1940s, show up in such distant and out- of- the- way places as the Booth Memorial Park Museum in Stratford, Connecticut.)

During the late 20th century and continuing into the present, basketmaking became a focal point for dynamic change and evolution in Gullah/Geechee culture, as basket makers continue to develop new styles and forms to meet a growing demand for their work. Vera Manigault of Mt. Pleasant is now sewing "colorful baskets," which feature natural dyes of several colors.

According to Manigault, she received the idea and the process in a vision and has since obtained a trademark on the name and the technique (Manigault, personal communication 2000). Manigault has traveled throughout the United States to tell about the rich history of sweetgrass basketry and to demonstrate her craft.

Like most basket makers in the area, Manigault continues to develop her artistic talents in new and different basket forms and styles. Today's basketry often bears little resemblance to the utilitarian baskets once used for agricultural purposes. Napkin rings, earrings, hair ornaments, and even electric lamps are frequently available at roadside stands. These items are in themselves testament to the ever-changing dynamic nature of Gullah/Geechee culture, while remaining connected to the past. In addition to traditional roadside stands, sweetgrass baskets are now available for sale at craft fairs, in gift shops, and on the Internet.

Basketry also serves as a symbolic flash point for conflicts with economic developers over such issues as access to raw materials and commodification of the baskets and their makers. Sweetgrass once grew like a weed on barrier islands, in roadside ditches, and along the edges of farmer's fields. However, as rural areas are developed, collecting longleaf pine [*pinus palustris*] needles, sweetgrass, and palm has become more and more difficult and may soon put this cottage industry at risk (Hicks 2004; Hitchcock 1995). Frequently, South Carolina basket makers are forced to purchase their raw materials from sources in Florida; some are returning to the use of bulrush to replace all or part of the sweetgrass (Wexler 1993). The principal researcher in this study learned firsthand that collecting basket materials frequently involves snakes, bees, chiggers, mosquitoes, and other hazards including occasional trespassing.



Vera Manigault, a Mt. Pleasant area basketmaker, demonstrates the art of sewing sweetgrass baskets. *Diedre Laird, SC Desk, Charlotte Observer*

As a result of the decline in local sweetgrass availability, a few publicly minded businesses and communities are planting sweetgrass as an ornamental plant so that basketmakers will continue to have access to the materials of their craft. Some private developments now open their gates for sweetgrass collection, and some even encourage it. Land manager Karl Ohlandt of Dewees Island has been replenishing sweetgrass behind the dunes. Each year Ohlandt invites basket makers to take the ferry to Dewees to harvest the grass (Hicks 2004). In addition, the United States Forest Service has

recently published a report, which states that the local supply of sweetgrass is rapidly dwindling due to the building boom in the Charleston area. The Forest Service is doing its part to keep sweetgrass alive by growing test plots in the Francis Marion National Forest (Hart, Halfacre, and Burke 2004).

Both sweetgrass baskets and their makers are now recognized as major tourist attractions, and baskets have become high- end collectibles. In popular representations of the South Carolina Low Country, coiled sweetgrass baskets have become almost synonymous with Gullah/Geechee culture.

In 1988, Dale Rosengarten, then affiliated with the McKissick Museum at the University of South Carolina, and Henrietta Snipes, a Mt. Pleasant basketmaker, founded the Sweetgrass Cultural Preservation Society in order to "help our young people to develop their skills and to preserve our heritage in the art of basket making." Now a non- profit corporation, the group has changed its name to the Original Sweetgrass Marketplace Coalition, but continues with the same mission. M. Jeannette Lee, a Mt. Pleasant basket maker who now serves as coordinator of the group, says members make presentations, educate tourists about baskets and their history, and teach sweetgrass basketmaking in the schools. Lee received the Jean Laney Harris Folk Heritage Award in 2000 in recognition of her continuation of traditional arts that have been passed down through generations of South Carolinians. Martha Gaillard, Lee's mother, was born to sharecropper parents in a slave cabin on Boone Hall plantation. Jeannette Lee wrote the following brief history of the basketmaking tradition.

Sweetgrass Baskets: A Blessing from God
A Proud Tradition and a Valuable Investment

Because of their ancestors' ability to cultivate rice, Africans from the Windward or Rice Coast of West Africa were particularly sought after to become enslaved persons in the…Atlantic Slave Trade. These enslaved persons felt that they would never get to return to their homeland, so they tried to bring any scrap of material that would remind them of home. So they brought pieces of their culture with them in their heads or secreted away on their bodies.

The sweetgrass basket is an example of a significant retention of the African heritage transported across the Atlantic. The sweetgrass basket, originally designed as a tool of rice production and processing, had a very real and significant religious connection for the displaced Africans.

From the Bible, we find the words bulrush and palm. These items, prevalent in Africa, proved to be a very welcome connection to the homeland. Incorporating these two ingredients in their handicraft kept the Africans close to their beloved homeland and continually reinforced their relations with their faith in the God of their salvation.

The sweetgrass basket can be traced to ancient handicraft. It is one of the oldest African crafts in America. It made its appearance in South Carolina during the 17th century. The first known sweetgrass basket in South Carolina is the fanner used for rice winnowing.

The early sweetgrass baskets were strictly for agricultural purposes. They were used in the planting and harvesting of the coastal money crops – rice, cotton, and others. The agricultural baskets were made of bulrush, sweetgrass, and split oak. Later, longleaf pine needles were introduced to the mix.

On many plantations, particularly Boone Hall, even after slavery, basket making continued. There were buyers who came in, while some ladies sold their baskets in the city market. Buyers and sellers rode the ferry to and from Charleston for the basket trade.

After the 1890s, sweetgrass baskets evolved from their agricultural purpose to other everyday uses. These baskets were no longer made from bulrush. The baskets were made from sweetgrass, pine needles, and palmetto, as they are today. These materials were found to enhance the appearance of the baskets.

Around 1948, plastics of various colors were introduced to replace the palmetto strips. Its use did not last long because there was only one supplier of the plastics. Most basket sewers reverted to palmetto strips.

The monetary value of sweetgrass baskets surged with the opening of the Grace Memorial Bridge in 1929 and the paving of Highway 17 in 1931. One lady of vision, Lottie "Winee" Moultrie Swinton, began a long-standing tradition by placing a chair along the highway to display baskets for sale. Lydia Spann Graddick [Jeanette Lee's grandmother] quickly followed. Soon others joined in, and roadside basket stands were born.

The art and craft of basket making is handed down from generation to generation. It requires a lot of patience, as well as creativity. Each piece is unique in that there are no set patterns; each artist develops his/her own style.

Sweetgrass baskets are very durable. Their uses range from practical daily use to show pieces. They are a large part of the Charleston area's attraction to tourists. Each year gathering materials for use in the baskets becomes more difficult as the Lowcountry's marshes are lost to developers.

Sweetgrass basket sewing is viewed as a gift from God. The basketmakers profess to continue their craft as long as there is material available. The art form is continuing to be passed down to new generations.

Today, sweetgrass baskets are displayed on roadside stands along Highway 17 just north of Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina, and in the Charleston City Market. Sewers also display their wares at the "Four Corners of Law" at Broad and Meeting Streets in Charleston. Show pieces are found in the Charleston Visitors Center, Charleston International Airport, Gibbes Art Gallery, the Smithsonian Museum, and other centers.

On November 22, 1997, a historical Sweetgrass Basket Makers' Marker was erected to commemorate the legacy and history of sweetgrass baskets. The marker was placed at the intersection of Hamlin Road and Highway 17 where the first basket stand was located. The historical marker was erected by the Original Sweetgrass Basket Makers Coalition and the Christ Church Parish Historical Preservation Society, Inc.

– M. Jeanette Lee, Coordinator, Original Sweetgrass Basket Makers Coalition



Jeanette Lee's baskets at Penn Center Culture Day.

Performing Arts

Less tangible than baskets, cast nets, quilts, and food is the growing success and popularity currently experienced by the growing number of performers of traditional Gullah/Geechee music. Many of these groups reach out to their audience and create an interactive performance that enables those in attendance to share in the singing, clapping, and rhythms of the music. Among the most notable of these are the McIntosh County Shouters, the Georgia Sea Island Singers; the Moving Star Hall Singers of Johns Island, South Carolina; the Brotherhood Gospel Singers of Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina; and the Plantation Singers of Charleston, South Carolina. Appreciation of traditional Gullah/Geechee music has increased to the point that some groups, such as the Hallelujah Singers, who are not native Gullah/Geechee people, are now performing the music.



Georgia Sea Island Singers perform at Charles Pinckney National Historic Site, Mt. Pleasant, SC.

Frankie Quimby, leader of the Georgia Sea Island Singers says, "I'm a firm believer that you can't know where you're going until you realize where you've come from. We have dedicated our lives to trying to preserve that rich heritage and culture that our ancestors handed down to us" (Quimby, personal communication 2000). The Georgia Sea Island Singers have performed both at the Smithsonian and the White House. They performed at the 2004 G8 Conference at Sea Island, Georgia, and have plans for another White House visit.



McIntosh County Shouters. *McIntosh County Shouters*

The McIntosh County Shouters of Bolden, Georgia, are among the last active practitioners of one of the most venerable of African American song, rhythm, and movement traditions, the shout, also known as the ring shout. The tradition of the shout itself is actually in the fervor of the hand clapping and audible foot work, rather than in the song.

First described by outsiders in 1845, the stylistic antecedents of the ring shout are indisputably African in origin and proliferated in the Gullah/Geechee religious institution of the praise house. Only members of the praise house could watch or participate in the shout. New members were frequently asked to lead the shout to demonstrate their skills (Simpson 1985) and as a rite of welcoming and initiating them to the local "praise house" congregation (Washington 1994). The shout grew in popularity in the study area when slave owners outlawed the use of drums for fear that slaves would use them to communicate between plantations. Washington describes the shout as "affirming the longevity of shared African memories, nestled within accepted aspects of American religious culture" (Washington 1994:71).

The shout consists of call-and-response singing and rhythmic dance movements in a counterclockwise circle. Shouters progress around the circle with a shuffling movement wherein feet are never crossed and never leave the ground. There are interlocking, percussive body rhythms and a type of group devotion embedded in the shout that has made it a lifeline to the West African cultural



Prayer Meeting on a Georgia Plantation: "Religious dancing of the Blacks, termed 'Shouting'. Although dating from the post-emancipation period, this scene is evocative of the late slave period. Only a portion of the author's detailed description is given here: "Just before they break up, when the 'spirit is upon them' ... they engage in a kind of shaker dance, which they term singularly enough, shouting ... A ring of singers is formed in an open space in the room, and they, without holding on to each other's hands, walk slowly around and around in a circle ... They then utter a kind of melodious chant, which gradually increases in strength, and in noise, until it fairly shakes the house, and it can be heard for a long distance ... I know of nothing similar to this dancing or shouting, in the religious excercises of any other class of people. It is entirely unknown among the white Christians here" (Stearns 1872:371-2). *University of Virginia Library online digital images (http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/slavery)*

legacy through times of slavery and into the 21st century. Shouters of today move in a counter clockwise circle, pounding canes on the wooden floor or a sheet of plywood in a manner not unlike early foot drums. This rhythmic movement has been described as "playing the body parts with percussive strength" or "interpretation of the parts of the body as independent instruments of percussive force" (Thompson 1981).

Art Rosenbaum of the University of Georgia, who has been crucial in documenting the ring- shouting tradition, describes it as "an impressive fusion of call- and- response singing, polyrhythmic percussion and formalized, dance- like movements" [that has] "had a profound influence on African American music and religious practice." The shout tradition has been maintained, both by isolation and by "community cohesiveness and sufficient economic support for survival" (Rosenbaum 1998). Perhaps the latest incarnation of simple percussive rhythms is demonstrated in the recent *Stomp* phenomenon on Broadway and among African American college students (Fine, 2003; Rath 2000).

Gullah/Geechee entrepreneurs have formed tour businesses in Charleston, Savannah, St. Helena Island, Hilton Head Island, and many other places. Alphonso Brown, musician, choir director, and story teller, now runs Gullah Tours in Charleston. One of the highlights of his tours is a visit with famed Charleston blacksmith and gate maker, Philip Simmons.

Today, all over the Low Country, Gullah/Geechee performers, artists, and community activists are telling their own stories. Nearly every community has story tellers, crafts people, artists and/or

performers who are keeping alive the story of the Gullah/Geechee people and their African connections. Some have written books and/or produced plays. Festivals are held up and down the coastline to celebrate Gullah/Geechee culture, traditions, and foods. While these festivals provide a day or two of entertainment and extraordinary foods, they also serve as an educational resource for those from within Gullah/Geechee communities as well as outsiders.

These performers and countless others have elevated Gullah/Geechee music to a level of worldwide recognition and appreciation. Gullah/Geechee musicians have performed nationally and internationally in such places as the White House, the Olympic Games, Moja Arts Festival, Newport Festival, Piccolo Spoleto Festival, Carnegie Hall, in governor's mansions, on national television, and in several PBS documentaries, including the recent *This Far by Faith: African American Spiritual Journey* (2003).

Musical traditions of the Gullah/Geechee people have also heavily influenced both the music of the Low Country and the music of the entire nation. According to Joyner (1999):

> … Most white southerners grew up with the songs of black southerners falling upon their ears … Most southern whites understood that the songs of black southerners somehow captured the essence of the southern irony, of the southern tragedy, and of the southern hope … They were profoundly influenced by the songs of their black neighbors … In the convergence of various African cultures and European cultures in the American South, white southerners had their old cultures Africanized by their black neighbors and black southerners had their old cultures Europeanized by their white neighbors.

Some of this musical syncretism, *i.e.*, the blending of elements of two or more cultures into a distinct new cultural form, is well- known today as jazz, blues, and gospel.

The ethnological sleuthing of scholars such as Mary Twining and Dale Rosengarten has produced some very dramatic evidence for direct, specific African origins of Gullah quilting patterns, basketry, and music. The musical connection is well- illustrated by the poignant story portrayed in the documentary, *The Language You Cry In* (1998), and merits further discussion here.



Anita Singleton-Prather, Gullah storyteller from St. Helena Island, SC, performs as "Aunt Pearlie Sue," Charles Pinckney NHS. *C. Timmons, NPS*



This 1930s photograph shows oyster boats at the docks on Lady's Island, Beaufort Co., SC, waiting for the next run to the oyster banks. Today all of the oyster and crab factories in the area have been closed. *WPA*



Charleston's famous mosquito fleet, described in DuBose Heyward's Porgy and Bess, was challenged by larger motorized vessels and was finally destroyed in a 1940 hurricane. *Charleston Museum*



Charles "CeCe" Williams of McClellanville, SC, demonstrates the traditional practice of net casting with one of his hand made nets. Residential development has made water access much more difficult. - Diedre Laird. SC Desk, Charlotte Observer

African Cultural Survival in Gullah/Geechee Culture: A Dramatic Case Study

During the early 1930s, Lorenzo Dow Turner, an African American linguist, catalogued over 3,000 names and words of African origin along the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia. When he visited the small fishing village of Harris Neck in McIntosh County, Georgia, he met Amelia Dawley, who could sing a five line song in an African language. Amelia did not know the meaning of the song, but she knew that she had learned it from her grandmother who told her never to forget the song because it was her connection to the ancestors. Turner did not recognize the language, but it was later identified by Solomon Caulker, a graduate student from Sierra Leone as Mende, his native tongue. Although Caulker had never heard that specific song, he recognized its type as an old hymn, a women's song once used to call villagers together for a funeral.

In the 1980s, forty years after Turner's visit to the Georgia coast, Joseph A. Opala, an American working at Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone, was studying the Bunce Island slave trade. Many enslaved people had been sent from Bunce Island to rice plantations in Georgia and South Carolina. Opala joined forces with Sierra Leonean linguist Tazieff Koroma and ethnomusicologist Cynthia Schmidt to find the roots of Amelia Dawley's song. Remarkably, they found an old woman named Baindu Jabati in the remote village of Senehun Ngoal who had preserved a strikingly similar song. The song was a funeral dirge no longer used in the village. Baindu's grandmother had taught her the song and told her that someday a lost kinsman would return who would be recognized by this song.

Opala and his team traveled to Georgia where they located Mary Moran, daughter of Amelia Dawley. Mary remembered hearing her mother sing the song and was able to sing it herself for the researchers. A reunion trip to Africa was immediately planned but was later postponed due to wars in the region. In 1997, Mary and 14 members of her family traveled to the African village of Senehun Ngola, where they were greeted with warmth and jubilation. Opala asked Nabi Jah, 90- year- old chief of the village why a Mende woman exiled two hundred years ago would have preserved this particular song. Nabi Jah replied that to him the answer was obvious. "That song would be the most valuable thing she could take. It could connect her to all her ancestors and to their continued blessings." Then he quoted a Mende proverb, "You know who a person really is by the language they cry in."

Perhaps an unknown Mende woman, kidnapped and taken thousands of miles from her home, believed that her village funeral song would connect her and her descendants forever with their lost family in Africa. Her descendants today, in both Africa and America, can indeed use her song to trace their connections to one another after more than two centuries.

A documentary film, appropriately entitled *The Language You Cry In* (1998), was produced to commemorate the story of Amelia's song and the reunion trip to Africa. In his review of the film, Philip D. Morgan, commented:

> That a Mende burial song has survived among the Gullah people and can be traced to a particular location in Sierra Leone is a testament to the remarkable tenacity and spirit of an enslaved people. It also took impressive scholarly sleuthing to recover the precise links between an African village and a diaspora population in Lowcountry South Carolina and Georgia … (1998).

The government of Sierra Leone has issued repeated invitations for Mary Moran and her family to make a return visit to their home in Africa. "We regard you," one official letter from the Sierra Leone Government said, "as the descendants of Mende people taken forcibly from our shores more than two hundred years ago."

Amelia Dawley's Song
Ah wakuh muh monuh kambay yah lee luh lay tambay
Ah wakuh muh monuh kambay yah lee luh lay kah.
Ha suh wileego seehai yuh gbangah lilly
Ha suh wileego dwelin duh kwen
Ha suh wileego seehi uh kwendaiyah.
Everyone come together, let us work hard;
the grave is not yet finished; let his heart be perfectly at peace.
Everyone come together, let us work hard:
the grave is not yet finished; let his heart be at peace at once.
Sudden death commands everyone's attention, like a firing gun.
Sudden death commands everyone's attention, oh elders, oh heads of family
Sudden death commands everyone's attention, like a distant drum beat.
– (translated by Tazieff Koroma, Edward Benya, and Joseph Opala


Wilson Moran wears African clothing he brought back from the reunion trip to Africa.

Mary Moran's son Wilson has been involved in this special resource study from the beginning and has added valuable insights and comments to the process. Moran took the field research team on a tour of the area around Harris Neck in McIntosh County, Georgia, and shared the story of the Geechee community once located there. According to Moran, Harris Neck was once a thriving community with a church, a cemetery, a school, and a post office. Residents were not dependent on cotton culture or sharecropping. Moran recalled his grandfather's self- sufficiency on the 111 acres of land he once owned. The family grew table crops, raised animals, fished, and trapped mink and other animals for meat and skins. Moran remembers traveling up and down the coast to barter for whatever else they needed.

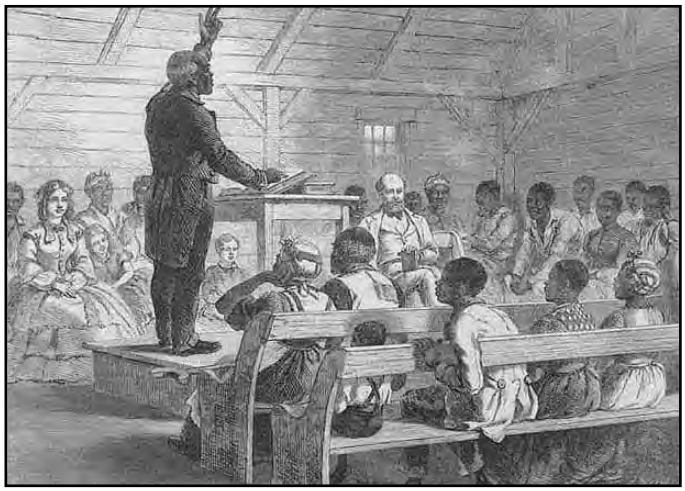
After the tour, Moran invited the field research team to share a meal in his home and introduced them to his wife Ernestine and to his parents. Members of the field research team chatted with her as she fried fish for supper. As of this writing (Fall 2004), Mary Moran is alive and in good health.

During the 1940s, the Harris Neck lands were condemned for strategic military defense purposes, and the 75 families living on the property were relocated. Thus, the Harris Neck Community ceased to exist in 1942. The property is now included in the Harris Neck National Wildlife Refuge, administered by the U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service. Amelia Dawley is buried in a small community cemetery inside the refuge. Today the Moran family still raises some table crops, and Wilson is "in the creek" (fishing, shrimping, or gathering shellfish) as often as possible. He takes pride in teaching his grandson the traditional skills and stories he once learned from his own grandfather.

Gullah/Geechee Institutions

Even before Emancipation, a distinct body of social institutions and cultural traditions evolved to sustain and order Gullah/Geechee community life. Relative isolation and autonomy from a minority white population in the Low Country and Sea Islands helped to sustain the traditions of Gullah/Geechee populations. While sharing general characteristics with similar communities worldwide, *e.g.*, importance of wider kinship connections, these institutions and traditions support the persistence of unique Gullah/Geechee communities.

In these institutions and traditions, Gullah/Geechee communities sometimes show close similarities to other Afro- American creole cultures of the Western Hemisphere, as well as direct parallels to specific African analogs. Sometimes, the similarities can be striking, as in the funerary custom found in both South Carolina and the Virgin Islands. For example, both on St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands, and in at least some Gullah/Geechee communities, there is a death rite of passing an infant or young child across the body of a deceased relative to ensure the spiritual well- being of the child (Creel 1988; Hjerpe 2000:18; Nichols 1989).



Slaves and the master's family worship together on a South Carolina plantation. (Reproduction of a draw99ing from the Illustrated London News, December 5, 1863.) *US Gov't Publications*

Despite the absence of official political institutions in most Gullah/Geechee communities, leadership and social control have been effectively maintained by kinship and religion. Through multi- family residential compounds, extended kinship ties, and respect for elders, Gullah/Geechee people historically maintained a high degree of social solidarity and insularity from outsiders. Women served as leaders in some areas of religious life and frequently played a central role in perpetuating the distinctive Gullah/Geechee traditions.



Slave funeral in the woods of a coastal rice plantation. Woodcut, 1859. - Granger Collection, New York

Religion and spirituality have always played a major role in Gullah/Geechee family and community life. During slavery times, slaves worshipped with great enthusiasm, since religion offered a refuge from their many miseries and offered hope for the future. Some masters required slaves to attend church with their families. In such cases, slaves generally sat in a gallery that was designated for their use. Other plantation owners hired preachers, some of whom were white, to lead the slaves in Sunday worship services. Some masters and their families attended religious services on the plantation together with the slaves and with a black preacher in the pulpit. Slaves often turned scriptures to their own purposes. Thus, Moses became a model for their own dreams of freedom, and African traditions were woven into the Euro- Christianity they practiced.

Almost every plantation had a praise house, a small shack where the Negroes met nightly for religious services (Crum 1969). Religious and community life was centered around these praise houses, as the buildings used for both spiritual and civic activities. Even in slavery days, Gullah/Geechee people had their own internal community standards of conduct and those who did not follow the community

rules were punished. The elders managed these grassroots courts, and generally were able to keep strict order in the community. Many of these praise houses are still standing and some remain a vital part of Gullah/Geechee spiritual life.

Funerals were frequent events for enslaved Africans, since deaths occurred by the thousands, particularly among children. In the coastal region, historians estimate that nearly 90% of enslaved African children died before they reached the age of 16. Funerals were generally held outside and at night, possibly so that people from other plantations might attend, but more likely because that was the only time that people were not working. Creel cites the story of a 19th- century slave funeral as related by a former South Carolina bondsman. The funeral was for Mary, a very pretty and popular young woman who died after a lingering illness (1988:314- 15).

> The coffin, a rough home- made affair, was placed upon a cart, which was drawn by an old Gray, and the multitudes formed in a line in the rear, marching two deep. The procession was something like a quarter of a mile long. Perhaps every fifteenth person down the line carried an uplifted torch. As the procession moved slowly toward "the lonesome graveyard" down by the side of the swamp, they sung the well-known hymn of Dr. Isaac Watts:
>
> When I can read my title clear
> To mansions in the skies,
> I bid farewell to every fear
> And wipe my weeping eyes.
>
> Mary's baby was taken to the graveyard by its grandmother, and before the corpse was deposited in the earth, the baby was passed from one person to another across the coffin. The slaves believed that if this was not done it would be impossible to raise the infant. The mother's spirit would come back for her baby and take it to herself.
>
> … the corpse was lowered into the grave and covered, each person throwing a handful of dirt into the grave as a last farewell act of kindness to the dead … A prayer was offered … This concluded the services at the grave.

Graves were traditionally marked in a number of ways from sticks to stone slabs to a unique style of carved wooden grave markers. Some graves were marked using plants, such as cedars or yuccas. Frequently, glass, china, or objects belonging to the deceased were used to decorate the grave. At times, conchs and other shells of various kinds have been used to mark or even outline gravesites, and this practice has continued into the 21st century. The use of seashells to mark graves, while not unique to Gullah/Geechee people, has been described by people in the study area as a connection to the water that brought them and would hopefully take them back to Africa after death. Although generations of the same family might be interred within a cemetery, they were not necessarily buried in adjoining plots (Creel 1988; Vlach 1977).

Slave cemeteries were generally located on marginal property, frequently thickly covered in trees and vines, which was not likely to be used by the planter for any other purpose. Local people often say that their enslaved African ancestors preferred sites that were beside water so that their souls might easily return to Africa. Many of these cemeteries continued to be used after the Civil War and are now being lost to development.

Parsons (1923) observed that the most African American burial grounds were:

> … hidden away in remote spots among trees and underbrush. In the middle of some fields are islands of large trees the owners preferred not to make arable, because of the exhaustive work of clearing it. Old graves are now in among these trees and

> surrounding underbrush … [Burial spots were] ragged patches of live- oak and palmetto and brier tangle which throughout the Islands are a sign of graves within, – graves scattered without symmetry, and often without headstones or head- boards, or sticks …



Jonna Hausser Weaver, NPS Intern

Located near the slave quarters of Thomas Spalding's plantation and sugar mill complex, Behavior Cemetery on Sapelo Island, Georgia, is the only remaining African American burial ground on the island. At one time there was a black settlement called "Behavior" on the southern end of the island near the cemetery site, but now the only surviving black settlement on the island is Hog Hammock, located about a mile from the cemetery. Early grave markers include short posts at either end of the graves and epitaphs on wooden boards nailed to adjoining trees. Personal belongings of the deceased were often placed on the graves, including cups, dishes, oil lamps (to light the journey home), and alarm clocks (to sound on Judgment Day). Most recent markers are made of local cement but there are a few granite grave stones and metal funeral- home markers. Although oral tradition holds that burials have taken place at this site since slavery times, the death date on the oldest extant marker is 1890. Earlier markers may have been destroyed during the Civil War. Burials continue today at Behavior Cemetery, which was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1996 (National Register Information System, GA).



Mary Jenkins Praise House, one of several remaining praise houses on St. Helena Island.

Development along the coastline has exposed many of these formerly hidden cemetery sites and other sacred places to public view and has made them subject to theft, vandalism, and destruction, which have taken a heavy toll on these sacred places. The cemetery at Sunbury, Georgia, which contained wooden grave markers of a style that could be connected to African tradition, was recorded and photographed by scholars before the markers were stolen or destroyed (WPA1986).

Historical evidence affirms that Christian religious instruction was employed to control slave life and ease the task of plantation management. Ironically, this religious control planted a seed of Gullah/Geechee self- perception as a distinct ethnic group. Or, as Margaret Washington (1994) observed, "The Gullah called themselves 'a peculiar people,'" a phrase taken directly from the New Testament:

> But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people that ye should shew forth the praise of him who had called you out of darkness into his marvelous light [1 Peter 2:9].

Such sentiments as these provide a powerful force for the fruition of the strongest expressions of Gullah/Geechee ethnicity at the turn of the 21st century.

Although many Gullah/Geechee people subscribe to the basic tenets of European Christianity, African- derived practices and customs appear as a fundamental part of Gullah/Geechee expression





Retreat Plantation is now a gated club. Retreat Burying Ground, in use since 1800, is currently surrounded by a golf course. Although the cemetery is on private property, families of those buried in the cemetery are allowed to visit grave sites. Burials still take place in the cemetery. Many private owners of traditional Gullah/Geechee cemeteries are not as cooperative with relatives of those buried at the sites. *Jonna Hausser Weaver, NPS Intern (2002)*

of Christian worship. According to Joyner (1994), the Christian concept of afterlife was juxtaposed to the concepts of many African religions. Under those belief systems, the afterlife was to be very much as life had been on earth. Thus, for Africans of those religious beliefs who had come to America, afterlife would be a continuation of enslavement. Therefore, acceptance of the Christian idea of afterlife became an integral component of Gullah/Geechee Christianity.

After the close of the Civil War, local Gullah/Geechee settlements began to establish their own congregations and erect church buildings. Some of those early churches, such as First African Baptist Church on Daufuskie Island, have been listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Churches of various denominations are located all over the countryside in the study area such that even very small communities may have more than one church. Small cemeteries frequently adjoin church buildings.

On Johns Island, South Carolina, enslaved Africans first held religious meetings near Gregg Plantation. The services were held outdoors as bush arbor camp meetings within a simple structure consisting of a roof supported by uprights [bush arbor]. Hebron Presbyterian Church later became the first building to house the congregation. The church, which still stands on Bohicket Road, was built by John Chisolm and Jackson McGill, two black craftsmen. Newly freed slaves salvaged wood from Kiawah Island, more than a mile, where a ship carrying a cargo of timbers had wrecked. The organizing pastor was Reverend Ishmael Moultrie, a freedman from St. Helena Island who had been trained at the Penn School. Hebron Church was home to the first African Americans to be trained as missionaries in the Presbyterian Church (Behre 2004).

In addition to formal worship services in churches, Gullah/Geechee people follow religious practices associated with praise houses and other more private places of religious experience. Baptismal sites and burial grounds are likewise important markers of Gullah/Geechee life, places of cultural expression, and symbolic repositories of culture- history.



Hebron Presbyterian Church, Johns Island, SC, was built with salvaged wood from a shipwreck that washed ashore on nearby Kiawah Island. Plans are underway to remodel the building as a senior citizens' center.





First African Baptist Church, located within the Daufuskie Island Historic District, has been restored. The praisehouse, once associated with the church, was demolished in 2002.

Moving Star Hall, a praise house on Johns Island built just after the Civil War, was once a gathering place for the community. The weathered clapboard building was not only an important meeting place but also a "tend the sick" and burial society, a secret lodge, and a house of worship. During the Sunday night worship services, those in attendance expressed themselves freely. Each person took a turn at preaching, testifying, praying, or raising a song. The Moving Hall Singers were organized there in 1962 (Carawan 1989, 1995).

Mrs. Alice Wine, an elder in the community, had this to say about Moving Star Hall:

> We don't have class meeting in the hall anymore. I miss it. We don't have it now because all these young preachers have moved everything to the church. What are a few people going to do in a big old church like that? If the people turn out, it never be too large. I like to go to the hall 'cause you have your way. You can exercise better. You can feel yourself. You can do the same thing in the church, but the church is so big.
>
> We used to have watch meetings on Christmas night. We turn out in the hall and be there till sunrise. On New Year's, people go all night and be there till New Year roll in, then they go to preaching. And about five or six o'clock, then the ladies take over to testify. You don't find that now. Some people can't even say their prayers. A lot of people miss it.

Sam Polite, senior praise house elder on Benjamin Fripp's plantation, St. Helena Island, South Carolina, was a man with white hair and worn, lined face. He was unsure of his exact age, but knew he had "ben a man fore 'gun shoot'" – *i.e.* the Battle of Port Royal, November 1861 (Washington 1994:47). Polite was seen as a man of vision and wisdom, a prophet to his people. In 1934 Rossa Cooley, then superintendent of the Penn School, recorded a sermon in which Polite made the following remarks ("The Long Look" 1994):

> God done gib de white folk a heap of things … but he ain't forgotten us … 'cause he gib us Religion and we have a right to show it out to all de world. De Buckra [white people] deys got de knowing of the whys and hows of religion, but dey ain't never got the feel of it yet. I tink God ain't have much respect for no kind of religion without de feeling. De Book say, 'They that worship me must worship me in spirit and in truth.' There might be some truth in deys- all religion, but there ain't much spirit in a religion dat's all in de head.

Today, church services and church- related events, which frequently involve the serving of food, appear to be generally well- attended. Sunday services often last for several hours and may include



Baptism rites conducted in SC Sea Islands. Image part of Doris Ulman's photographic study of Gullah people, 1929-1933. *Liturgical Art Collection, University of Notre Dame*

discussion of broader social issues either in the sermon or in discussions before or after the formal services. Thus, the church draws families and communities together into a larger social group. Although religious issues are foremost, church services also serve as a social space for the communication of secular ideas and as social and political forums for the community.

Historically, black churches have been drawn consistently into the community to deal with important issues of a nonreligious nature. As a result, churches have evolved as focal points of social change. From helping displaced families after the Civil War to a leadership role in the Civil Rights movement to health issues such as diabetes, hypertension, and HIV – black churches have confronted and continue to confront social, economic, and political problems facing the African American community. It is not by chance that a black church, First African Baptist Church in Savannah, was the site of General Sherman's first reading of Special Field Orders Number 15 and was later chosen by Dr. Martin Luther King for the first delivery of his "I Have a Dream" speech in July of 1963 (Billingsley 2002).

Kin- ties and religion continue to serve as a powerful bonding force among Gullah/Geechee people despite the stresses of dispersion due to emigration and breakup of family land holdings. There is grave concern, however, that continued family stress over land issues may lead to dissolution of kin loyalties.

With population disruption, sites of religious expression have become even more important as anchors of communities and help to foster a sense of historical continuity for Gullah/Geechee people as they encounter the challenges of the present. Although the same may be true of former schools and other meeting places, it is the preservation of religious places that is often of greatest concern.

Baptismal sites are important spiritual markers of Gullah/Geechee community life. Traditionally, many churches in Gullah/Geechee communities conducted baptismal rites in the ocean or tidal creeks. The activities began on the high tide and lasted all day, so that sins could be washed away with the ebbing tide. Many baptismal sites, as is true of family burial places, are becoming increasingly inaccessible to Gullah/Geechee people. Golf courses, resorts, fences, beachfront development, boat landings, marinas, and the coastal population explosion are all encroaching upon and in some cases overtaking these sacred sites.

At the foundation of Gullah/Geechee cultural identity are African- influenced values and principles such as belief in God, communal rather than individual identity, honoring the continuity of life by respecting kinship bonds and ancestors, respect for nature, respect and honor toward elders, and respect for the destiny of the soul (Parks 2003).

Because of their tradition of strong spiritual connections, religious institutions frequently play a leadership role in the community. These institutions have shown remarkable versatility and vitality in helping Gullah/Geechee communities adjust to rapidly changing circumstances. Several of these churches participated in this project by inviting the NPS team to hold meetings in their buildings. Frequently, community activist and/or preservation meetings are held in churches. Given the current atmosphere of expanding stresses on community life, churches and other religious organizations may have begun to reach the limits of their capacity for maintaining social and cultural cohesion.

As rural populations have become smaller, rural congregations dwindle in size, praise houses fall into disrepair, and access to baptismal and funerary sites becomes more difficult. School houses, traditional gathering places for children from the community, have fallen victim to the racial integration of school systems. Consequently, many Gullah/Geechee community activists within the study area have taken on preservation projects related to these traditional cultural sites. Particularly noteworthy are the "Rosenwald" schools within the study area, which along with "Rosenwald" schools across the South were named in 2002 by the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) as one of America's 11 Most Endangered Historic Sites (http://www.nationaltrust.org/11Most/2002/rosenwald.html). As these community institutions are lost, Gullah/Geechee people face yet another blow to their cultural identity.



Amy Roberts of SSAAHC views the place where she was baptized. Emanuel Baptist Church, St. Simons Island, GA, used this beach as a baptismal site until the mid 1960s. The church was founded in 1890 and rebuilt in 1904. Most churches in the area added indoor baptismal pools in the mid 1960s.

The Impact of Coastal Development on Gullah/Geechee People

Bill Saunders grew up on Kiawah Island, a barrier island south of Charleston, South Carolina. In 1972, Kiawah was purchased by the Kuwaiti government and was subsequently developed by the Sea Pines Corporation, which also developed Hilton Head Island in Beaufort County, South Carolina. Saunders currently (2004) lives on Johns Island near Charleston and serves on the South Carolina Public Service Commission. His personal retrospective on the subsistence existence of Gullah/Geechee islanders before 1950 and the impact of coastal development on their communities follows:

As a kid growing up on the islands in the thirties and forties, there was really no need for money. A lot of us now in our 30s and 40s are realizing we weren't so bad off then. When we were young, we looked at things as being awful. Now that attitude has changed. When I was a kid we grew our own rice, we had our own grits grinder, and we made our own pestle and mortar with which to clean our rice. We had our own smokehouse, killed our own meat, and we ate everything that was in the river in season. This time of year now you can go anyplace and buy oysters. People then never ate oysters after April. Crab wasn't eaten in the winter. All of these things replenished themselves during that time. Now we destroy them by eating them all the time.

Most of our clothes were made of material from feed bags or things that something had been bought in. We made our own mattresses, pillows, and so forth. My grandfather used to build roofs out of something that now I can't find anyone to make, or any one of the old fellows to even discuss it. They made a roof out of "palin." They had an instrument (a draw shave) they made that (when struck with a wooden mallet) would slice through pine and cut into very thin stripping like paneling, and they would overlap these strips on the roof. You could see right through it, but it wouldn't leak when rain hit it; it would just swell up. We made chimneys out of clay on the islands. We took the clay, grass, and other things and would do coloring with it. We used to make beautiful floors from rubbing colored clay onto church brick.

Most people needed to hold on to money for their nickel- and- dime insurance. Most illnesses that came up, someone had a remedy for it; we called it root medicine. They would take roots and things (such as "life- everlasting" for colds) and boil them into a medicine. We would also pack open wounds with sand or sugar. Nowadays you get a little cut, you go to the nearest hospital emergency room. There were so many things to be done and work was hard. We worked from "can see to can't see," from sunup to sundown. We were more independent and didn't recognize it. We are more dependent now than we have ever been. Most of us my age now are relooking at the past and looking at the present and saying maybe we need to go back to some of the things we came through that we didn't like too well.

People from the universities have been writing about these islands, about African heritage, and all that. I would say that as far as the islanders were concerned, I don't think that there was much pride in heritage of the past, but they were proud period. I don't think that they used to connect themselves to Africa, you know "Roots" type stuff, but they were and are just real people who show their heritage. My grandfather and many people I know never had anything, but they were so independent, they were proud of what they did for themselves. They decided what they were going to do, and what they were not going to do. They were just beautiful people. Between 1945 and 1960, we lost that. So many things changed in that era that caused a lot of people to lose sight of being proud (Saunders 1980: 481- 482).



The first inklings of massive impacts on post- Civil War Gullah/Geechee cultural stability came during the 1920s and 1930s when wealthy industrialists from the North discovered the abundant wildlife and mild winter climate of the Low Country and adjoining islands. Early

20th- century industrial magnates, such as Bernard Baruch, R. J. Reynolds, Howard Coffin, and Tom Yawkey, bought failed rice plantations from their bankrupt owners and established hunting lodges for themselves and their friends. In some cases, Gullah/Geechee people who were living on this land were allowed to continue their farming and/or work for the new landowner, while other new owners forced black families from the land.

With land ownership tangled in years of subdivision of property among families and inheritance of land without recording new deeds (heirs' property), Gullah/Geechee people could not prove their ownership rights to their home sites. As years passed and more people died intestate, the property became more entangled in communal ownership. Many were forced from their land and/or the land and waterways where they had traditionally farmed, hunted, and fished to supplement their tables and their incomes.



Collecting clams for supper – trespassing required now.

The pressures began even earlier for Gullah/Geechee people who were involved in commercial fishing. Proximity to the sea fostered an early tradition of seafood harvesting, ranging from cast netting to small- scale commercial shrimp boats. Economic gain from catching and selling seafood began before the end of slavery and continued into the 20th century. The African American shrimping fleet was a major factor in the development of commercial fishing in the region. Competition came from more sophisticated fishermen with greater capital resources. According to Benjamin Blount (2000), the formerly self- sustained Gullah/Geechee fishing boat captains were largely replaced by others and their role reduced to that of laborers in the fishing industry. Pollution from the expanding timber industry, recent catastrophic hurricanes, and pressures on commercial fishing worldwide have also contributed to further decline of the maritime economy of Gullah/Geechee people.

The military has also played a significant role in the process of change. The Marine Training Center at Parris Island in Beaufort County, South Carolina, was constructed during the 1880s. During World War II, traditional Gullah/Geechee lands in McIntosh County, Georgia, were used by the federal government for coastal defense purposes.

The great transformation, however, began in 1957 when Charles Frasier launched the construction of Sea Pines Plantation on Hilton Head Island. The availability of air conditioning made the Sea Islands more appealing to affluent people. It was not very long before other developers joined in, and resorts sprang up all over the island. Although only about 20% of the island was actually owned by Gullah/Geechee residents, much of the remaining land was owned by absentee landlords who allowed free access to their property. The absentee landlords quickly sold out to developers. Between 1950 and 2000, the population of South Carolina Low Country counties increased by 151%, while the national population as a whole increased by only 86%.

Before construction of Sea Pines Plantation, Gullah/Geechee residents had been free to hunt and fish all over Hilton Head Island. Suddenly, fences and gates blocked much of the land. Residents were cut off from their hunting and fishing grounds as well as their traditional burial grounds. Fences meant that Gullah/Geechee islanders could no longer "go in duh creek" to get supper. The Sea Pines story has been repeated on islands all over the study area.

Nick Lindsey, local historian, asked an old friend on Edisto to talk about the differences between the "old days" and today (2000), "Everything change up now. In the old day, money? Take him or leave him, be all right. Now? Must have him now. Everything change up now." Often, the changes brought



This Daufuskie Island, SC, Community Center was once the schoolhouse where Pat Conroy once taught.

about by development and modernization seem to require the discarding of the "old ways" in favor of different behavior patterns – assimilation into the ways of the newer community.

Novels such as *The Water Is Wide* and others by Pat Conroy (1972) expressed the distinctive beauty of his beloved Carolina coast in a way that appealed to people worldwide. Although it was not the author's intent, the popularity of these stories hastened the influx of people to the area. There was a resulting population shift on the Sea Islands from the traditional rural black majority to an affluent white majority. These dramatic demographic changes brought intensified racial prejudice and segregation to the islands where Gullah/Geechee people had lived for years in relative isolation from the outside world. Although Daufuskie Island, South Carolina, which Conroy called Yamacraw in his novel, still has no bridge to the mainland, nearly half of the island has been overtaken by resort development. The demarcation between planned resort communities and traditional rural agricultural lands is dramatic.

Resorts, golf courses, and coastal suburban development on the islands led to steadily increasing property values and skyrocketing taxes. Island economies changed from rural subsistence farming to a service- based economy. Native islanders were often unable to bear the tax burden, and many were forced to leave their homes. Not just Gullah/ Geechee people but all islanders of modest means, black and white, have been adversely affected by the rising taxes caused by development and population growth.

With losses of land and easy access to fishing and hunting came a decline of Gullah/ Geechee self sufficiency and autonomy. Displaced and landless Gullah/Geechee people increasingly turned to hourly labor, out- migration, or both. Although some islanders chose to remain in the vicinity to work in the resort industry, they soon found that only minimum wage service sector jobs were available to them. Low wages have forced these landless resort workers to face ever- increasing commuting distances in order to find affordable housing (Thomas 1980). Many young blacks are trapped in the low- wage, low- skill job market of the resorts. "It could be argued – and is – that white development brought economic betterment to black chambermaids and to a generation of career caddies. However, a chambermaid- caddy economy never made anyone except motel owners solvent" (Good 1969:120).

During the 1960s, as the number of outsiders relocating to the islands rose to a peak, there was a second major out- migration of Gullah/Geechee people to the North. They were essentially pushed from their homeland by loss of land for agriculture, lack of job training, lack of skilled jobs, and few opportunities for advancement (Lemann 1992). Many of these people sent their children home to the islands in the summertime, so that the youngsters could get to know their relatives and experience the simplicity of island life. Others, however, may have forever lost the connection to their ancestry and culture. It is interesting to note that some of the people who left in the 1960s are now returning to their roots and are among the most active in trying to preserve Gullah/Geechee community and tradition. Some of the "returnees" spoke with the field research team and expressed a strong, almost irresistible, spiritual need to return to their ancestral roots in the Low Country.

The construction of Interstate 95 in the mid 1970s was a major factor in the transformation of coastal zones. I- 95 is the major north/south corridor and is, thus, one of the most heavily traveled interstate

highways in the United States. Coastal regions of the study area, other than specific resort developments, were still relatively remote and isolated until after the construction of I- 95. The highway not only gave easy access to Hilton Head Island and its neighboring resorts in South Carolina but also created access to pristine islands and beaches. Development along I- 95 in Georgia has been slower to occur, perhaps because the highway lies along the inland edges of great salt marshes. These marshes are likely to be viewed by uninitiated tourists as "swamps", rather than as the highly productive ecosystems that they, in fact, are. Almost 50% of the remaining salt marsh along the eastern seaboard of the United States lies along the Georgia coastline and much of it is currently protected by government agencies.



Morris Island 2004; note Fort Sumter in the distance. *Carlin Timmons, NPS*

In addition to loss of traditional Gullah/Geechee lands, burial grounds, and culturally significant community landmarks, there are several historic properties with strong Gullah/Geechee connections that are currently at risk of loss to development. Among these is Morris Island, which is located in Charleston Harbor adjacent to Fort Sumter National Monument. During the 1700s, the island was known as Coffin Island, probably because a pest house and its associated burial ground were there.

During the Civil War, Morris Island was used by the Confederates as part of the defense of Charleston. During the Seige of Charleston in July of 1863, Union forces landed on the south end of the island. On July 18, 1863, the 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, an African American regiment portrayed in the movie *Glory*, led a fateful assault against Battery Wagner and earned itself a place in America's history. As a result of their courage in battle, Union forces were able to recruit 200,000 African American soldiers and sailors. The assault failed to take Battery Wagner and resulted in 246 deaths, 880 wounded and 389 captured. Thirty four of the deaths and 146 of the wounded were from the 54th Massachusetts. Ninety- two soldiers of the 54th were captured. In 1900, Sergeant William Carney of the 54th Massachusetts became the first African American soldier awarded the Medal of Honor for his bravery during the Wagner assault. Although the geography and size of this barrier island have changed substantially since the Civil War, the "remains of Morris Island stand as a memorial to the brave men who fought and died there" (Wise 1994).

Morris Island, which is visible from Fort Sumter National Monument, looks very much as it did in the 1860s. As there is no bridge to the island, the only access is by boat. Today the island, which is privately owned, faces an assault of a different kind. A developer has proposed to build 20 multi-million dollar residential units on a 62- acre parcel of this critically sensitive, historically important barrier island. The Civil War Preservation Trust has named Morris Island to its Most Endangered Battlefields List and the Morris Island Coalition, a group composed of many local and national organizations, is working to prevent development (http://www.MorrisIsland.org).

James Island, near Charleston, South Carolina, is another traditional Gullah Sea Island that has been overtaken by suburban sprawl. In the 17th century, a colonial town was established on James Island, and by 1720, St. Andrew's Parish Records indicated a population of 215 white taxpayers and 2500 slaves. Gullah descendants of these enslaved Africans, who farmed and fished on the island, remained the predominant population until the 1950s when James Island began to be developed as a Charleston suburb. Unlike Hilton Head, James Island is not a resort community, but the residential and commercial sprawl have gradually overcome the rural agricultural character of the island. A few black communities, such as Sol Legare, struggle to survive.



Slave cabins at McLeod Plantation, Charleston County, SC.

Similar to Charles Pinckney National Historic Site in Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina, a small piece of the island's rural past remains virtually undisturbed in the midst of 21st century suburban sprawl. McLeod Plantation, first owned by Morris Morgan in 1696, is the last survivor of the 17 plantations originally located on James Island. Samuel Perroneau, who purchased the property in 1741, is believed to be the first to cultivate the land. The slave cabins, which still exist on the property, were constructed by his son-in-law. Although producing indigo and raising beef cattle were the primary foci in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, McLeod later became one of the South's largest Sea Island cotton plantations, encompassing 900 acres at its heyday, and producing a large crop of Sea Island cotton with a labor force of 70 enslaved Africans.

The finest Sea Island cotton was produced on James, Johns, and Wadmalaw Islands, all located just south of Charleston, South Carolina. In his *Memoirs*, General William Tecumseh Sherman describes James Island as it appeared in 1846, "Looking down the bay on the right was James Island, an irregular triangle of about seven miles, the whole island in cultivation with sea island cotton" (1990:33).

As was customary in those times, planters maintained dual residency and left an overseer with the slaves to cultivate the property. William Wallace McLeod purchased the property in 1851, and the existing main house structure was built by enslaved Africans.

During the Civil War, the property was occupied for a time by Confederate troops who used the main house as a field hospital. During the final days of the war, the famed 54th and 55th Massachusetts regiments occupied the plantation and again used the main house for a hospital. Black soldiers who died there are buried in the slave cemetery, which still exists today. After emancipation, more than 20,000 displaced newly freed slaves were temporarily housed on the plantation grounds. The main house was used as a field office for the Freedmen's Bureau of Charleston.

Agricultural use of the property began again in the late 19th century and continued well into the latter half of the 20th century, when the owner began to sell off parcels of the property. Today McLeod, which is currently owned by the Historic Charleston Foundation, is surrounded by suburban residential and commercial development. Although located just minutes from downtown Charleston, the complex retains its rural character. The mature allee of live oaks extends to Wappoo Cut. A complete antebellum ensemble that survives at McLeod includes the main house, a slave street with five frame cabins, a kitchen, dairy, gin house, barn, and other agricultural buildings, all of which date from the revitalization of the property in the 1840s and 1850s for the production of sea island cotton.

At the present time, plans are underway for the McLeod property to be sold to the American College of the Building Arts, an organization with close ties to the Charleston community. Phillip Simmons, world-renowned Gullah iron worker and National Heritage Fellow, is one of the founders of the school. The college will not only teach a new generation of artisans the lost skills and crafts once practiced by enslaved Africans and other craftsmen in the Low Country, but also will serve as stewards and interpreters of this historic property.

Sapelo Island in McIntosh County, Georgia, is a 16,500-acre barrier island with no bridge connecting it to the mainland. A ferry boat, operated by the State of Georgia, transports people and supplies to and from the island from a dock in Meridian, Georgia. Approximately 96% of Sapelo land is now

owned and administered by the Georgia Department of Natural Resources (DNR). Hog Hammock, which originated *ca.*1834 as one of several slave settlements on the island, is one of the last intact Geechee island communities on the Georgia coast. The 434- acre settlement was named for Sampson Hog, an enslaved African once owned by Thomas Spalding. Approximately 60 people currently reside in Hog Hammock.



First African-Baptist Church, Raccoon Bluff, Sapelo Island, GA, has been restored with assistance from SICARS, SCAD, and Georgia DNR. The church is now listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

American Indians occupied Sapelo Island when Spanish explorers established a mission there in 1566. Patrick MacKay purchased the island in 1762 and introduced large- scale plantation agriculture and slave labor. Upon MacKay's death, the land was sold to John McQueen of South Carolina. McQueen later sold the land to a group of French royalists who had fled the French Revolution. The Frenchmen divided the island into plantation tracts including Chocolate, Bourbon, and Raccoon Bluff on the north end of the island. In 1800, the lands were sold to Edward Swarback, and English sea captain, and Richard Leake, father- in- law of Thomas Spalding. When Leake died in 1802, Spalding inherited the south end of the island.

Thomas Spalding was an agriculturist, banker, and politician, who led the island through its only significant money making period. McIntosh County tax records indicate that by 1825, Spalding's land holdings totaled 7,910 acres. He relied on his workforce of 400 enslaved Africans on Sapelo to produce Sea Island cotton, sugarcane, corn, and rice. Balili, a slave who served as an overseer of Spalding's vast plantation, was the most influential enslaved African on the island. He was a Muslim and maintained writings in Arabic that are now held in the University of Georgia Library. Balili helped to ensure the survival of African traditions by instilling African customs and teaching the Gullah/Geechee language to slaves on Sapelo. During the Spalding era, there were at least five slave settlements on the island: Raccoon Bluff, Shell Hammock, Belle Marsh, Lumber Landing, and Hog Hammock.

In January 1865, when General William T. Sherman issued Special Field Orders 15, which decreed that freed slaves be given land on which to live and farm, Spalding's freed slaves established self- sufficient freedmen communities at Shell Hammock, Hog Hammock, Raccoon Bluff, and Behavior, where they engaged in timbering or farming. Many of these citizens became indebted to unscrupulous financial speculators and subsequently lost their property. Thus, the Spalding family was able to regain control over the island. It is believed that the Spalding family forced all blacks, who were not Spalding slaves or their descendants, to leave the island (Cyriaque 2001, Olsen n.d.).

Richard J. Reynolds, tobacco heir from North Carolina, purchased Sapelo in 1934. Between the late 1940s and 1960, all black residents of the island were forced to leave Raccoon Bluff, Lumber Landing, Belle Marsh, Hanging Bull, and Shell Hammock and were consolidated into the Hog Hammock area. Hog Hammock residents, who are direct descendants of Africans brought to Sapelo in the early 1800s and freedmen who purchased property after the Civil War, have held on to their land for over 130 years. The community includes approximately 434 acres of land located in the south- central area of the island. The settlement once had a population of over 300, but isolation and lack of career opportunities have contributed to a steady decline. Today, there are about 70 permanent residents, some of whom are renting rooms and creating craft items to encourage tourists to visit the island.



Last state-operated school boat takes Sandy Island children to school on the mainland.

Some coastal islands such as Sandy Island, located between the Waccamaw and the Great Pee Dee Rivers in Georgetown County, South Carolina, and across the Intracoastal Waterway from Murrell's Inlet, South Carolina, are protected from development. Two small Gullah villages with about 120 residents remain on the southeast corner of the island. Most of the residents are descended from the slaves of around a dozen rice plantations that once flourished on the island. Islanders commute across the Intracoastal Waterway to jobs on the South Carolina's Grand Strand. Island children ride the only state- operated school ferry in South Carolina.

The pristine beaches of Sandy Island, South Carolina, were once seriously threatened. Textile magnate Roger Milliken and the late industrialist Craig Wall owned most of the 12,000- acre island and were determined to build a bridge from the mainland and develop an exclusive gated community. Although they struggled for 10 years, Milliken and Wall were never allowed to construct the bridge. Thus, Sandy Island, once the largest privately owned fresh- water island on the East Coast, was sold in 1996 to the State of South Carolina for 11 million dollars. It is now managed by the Nature Conservancy as part of the newly created Waccamaw National Wildlife Refuge (WNWR). Although the preserve is open to the public and has several boat landings and nature trails, the rights of property owners adjacent to the WNWR are protected. Thus, Sandy Island landowners may continue to live within their communities without fear of encroachment and resort development (Huntley 1997: 1A).

The Sea Islands are not the only areas at great risk. Mainland Gullah/Geechee communities are also threatened by increasing coastal development and population growth with the resulting encroachment into rural neighborhoods. Sandfly Community, a historic freedmen's hamlet near Savannah in Chatham County, Georgia, has been fighting a battle to keep Target and/or Wal- Mart from building in their tiny community. Ironically, these chain stores expect to draw their customer base from nearby resort islands rather than the Sandfly community itself. Thus far, Sandfly residents have succeeded in stopping the construction of a Target store, but a new 24- hour Super Wal- Mart is currently under construction. The fight is continuing, but the outlook is discouraging (Jacobs 2004).

Once there were several postbellum freedmen communities in or near Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina, in upper Charleston County. Among these are Green Hill, Phillips, Snowden, Scanlonville, Hamlin,

Six Mile, Seven Mile, and Ten Mile. The Town of Mt. Pleasant Historical Commission has been erecting markers to designate these historically significant black neighborhoods.



Green Hill, first called Spark Hill, was established in 1870 when Hardy Green bought 30 acres of land. It was a farming community where produce and livestock were raised and transported by boat to the Charleston City Market. In the 1920s and 1930s, goods were transported by mule drawn wagons to a ferry at Shem Creek. The road they once traveled to reach the ferry is now known as Mathis Ferry Road. According to local lore, Mathis Ferry is a corruption of Matthews Ferry, named for William Matthews, who is believed to have built both the house at Snee Farm and the one at Tibwin, two existing Low Country plantations that will be discussed later in this report. Electricity came to the community in 1942 and paved roads in 1951. The area was annexed into the Town of Mt. Pleasant in 1983.

Today, Green Hill is a thriving residential community. Most homes are owner occupied, and many of these owners are descendants of the first Spark Hill property owners. Although somewhat secluded off Mathis Ferry Road, the community is currently surrounded by upscale residential development. Some residents believe that their neighborhood may not survive. East Cooper Habitat for Humanity has recently begun building homes in Green Hill. Several have been completed and 14 more are to be built in 2004 (Parker 2004).



Snowden residents, though surrounded by suburban development, appear to be holding onto their lands. Snowden, however, is facing a struggle to obtain a public wastewater system. Surrounded on two sides by modern affluent subdivisions, Snowden residents are still dependent on septic tanks, many of which are malfunctioning. According to residents, much of the undeveloped land in the community cannot be utilized unless a sewer system is in place. That leaves a great deal of marsh front property unavailable for subdividing among heirs. Drainage ditches carry runoff from overflowing untreated wastewater. During hot weather, the ditches are infested with mosquitoes and other insects, which are drawn to the foul odor. The untreated wastewater eventually finds its way to the neighborhood marshlands and from there to the Wando River. Construction of the sewer system is not due to begin until July 2005 and will take a year or more to complete (Vari 2004).



Hamlin is being crowded by the upscale Hamlin Plantation subdivision, which threatens to raise property values and taxes for lifelong Hamlin residents. Their ancestors sacrificed to purchase the land, and the land therefore provides a connection to those ancestors. Land values are of no consequence to these residents, who have no intention of selling their land unless forced to do so.

Both Scanlonville and Phillips are under serious threat and have sought help from the South Carolina Department of Archives and History to be designated as historic communities. Both communities have been thwarted in their preservation efforts by





the lack of standing historic structures at least fifty years old, as ordinarily required for National Register of Historic Places status. Another tack for pursuing potential National Register status could be for the communities to seek recognition as either cultural landscapes or "traditional cultural properties."

Scanlonville was formed as a voluntary association of freedmen, who sought to be landowners. Robert L. Scanlon purchased the 614- acre Remley Plantation at auction and held the land in trust for the Charleston Land Company. By 1870, the land had been platted into home sites, farm lots, and a communal park and cemetery. Although Chicora Foundation prepared an archaeological and historical study of the neighborhood for submission to the South Carolina Department of Archives and History (SCDAH) for historic neighborhood designation, the lack of standing structures was cited as the reason for refusing such designation. The cemetery, however, was approved for listing in the National Register.

Phillips Community: A Case Study

Phillips Community is located along South Carolina Highway 41, in an unincorporated area of Charleston County just northwest of Mt. Pleasant. The community began in 1878 when ten- acre parcels of land from Phillips Plantation were "sold to the Negroes" for $63.00. To these new freedmen, $63.00 was a princely sum. Extant plats and maps verify the sale, timeframe, and boundaries of the land transfer. The fact that descendants of the original purchasers have held on to the land for well over 100 years, signifies the depth of family connection and commitment to the land and is a tribute to their once enslaved ancestors.



Phillips Plantation, once part of Laurel Hill and Boone Hall Plantations, was the first plantation owned by Dr. John Rutledge, who came to South Carolina from Ulster, Ireland. Rutledge married Sarah Hext, granddaughter of John Boone of Boone Hall, and acquired the land that became Phillips Plantation through the marriage. Rutledge's sons John and Edward gained national prominence as delegates to the First and Second Continental Congresses and later as governors of South Carolina. John was a signer of the Constitution and became the second Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Edward is known as the youngest signer of the Declaration of Independence.



Rev. Henry Palmer, Sr., tends the goats and hogs in his yard. Although surrounded by surburban development, Phillips is still predominantly rural.



Benj. Bennett, Co. A. 128, U. S. C. I.

Today, as it has been for more than a century, Phillips is a small, rural Gullah/Geechee community that still occupies the footprint of the original settlement. Landowners in the area are descendants of the freedmen who purchased the land more than 125 years ago. Since families never thought it necessary to subdivide the land and have individual ownership, land was shared among family members. As family groups have grown, the land has been shared to form family compounds. Because much of the land was not formally transferred by wills and registered deeds, most of the community land base has become a classic example of "heirs' property."





Two of the oldest houses in Phillips. Vernacular architecture is giving way to modern brick houses and mobile homes.

Phillips is currently bordered on all sides by upscale residential development. Parker Island, location of the traditional cemetery, has been reborn as River Town Country Club. Graves have been vandalized and many grave markers have been stolen. Elders in the Phillips community remember when there were many stones, but as of this writing, there are but four remaining grave stones, all dating to the 19th century, one of which is for Benjamin Bennett, a veteran of the United States Colored Infantry during the Civil War. Currently, there is no protection for this cemetery. The remaining stones and unmarked graves lie in the rear of private subdivision lots where they are inaccessible to descendants and unprotected from further vandalism.

A logging bridge once existed between Phillips and Parker Island. The bridge was not only a link to the cemetery, but also a neighborhood gathering place where people swam, fished, caught crabs, and socialized. Once construction of the River Town Golf Club was completed, contractors bulldozed the bridge access on the Parker Island side and destroyed the cultural link which had existed for many generations.



Richard Habersham stands on the old bridge that once connected Phillips to Parker Island.



Tomb of Dr. John Rutledge SC Hwy. 41, Phillips Community.



One of two abandoned wells in the Phillips Community. Well was constructed with bricks handmade on Parker Island, which is now River Town Country Club.

Not only have Phillips residents lost their path to Parker Island, but they have also lost their neighborhood gathering place. Chemical runoff from the golf course has had a serious impact on the marshes and waters of Horlbeck Creek. The fish and crabs are no longer abundant. Fiddler crabs, though plentiful on the Phillips side, decline in number and disappear entirely as one approaches the golf links. Even places of traditional cultural expression like the Parker Island Bridge, are compromised by the impact of real estate development.

The most valuable cultural resource in these places is strong family connection to the land, a link that has existed for more than 125 years. Such stories of cultural loss have been repeated again and again in Gullah/Geechee communities within the study area. Vernacular architecture is gradually giving way to brick houses and mobile homes.

Now an even greater threat looms over this historic neighborhood. Plans are under way to widen South Carolina Highway 41 which runs through the Phillips Community. The road widening project has been designed to reduce traffic congestion caused by upscale residential development nearby. Although other options may be available, the path of least resistance seems to be through this historically black village. Dr. John Rutledge's brick tomb lies hidden from public view, adjacent to Highway 41 in the Phillips Community and would be lost in the road widening project. Phillips residents see this tomb and the Rutledge connection to Phillips as a part of their own history. Another piece of their story may soon be lost. If, however, the Town of Mt. Pleasant chooses to use federal funds for this road project, there still may be hope for saving these culturally important sites.

Phillips Neighborhood Association, a grassroots organization led by Richard Habersham, has been gathering historical data, holding meetings, and trying to work to save the community. Communities like Phillips or Scanlonville, which have few historic buildings remaining, could seek recognition as "traditional cultural properties" through the National Register of Historic Places. "Traditional" in this context refers to those

beliefs, customs, and practices of a living community of people that have been passed down through the generations, usually orally or through practice. Information on evaluating and documenting traditional cultural properties is contained in National Register Bulletin 38. For more information, see www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb38.



Meeting of St. Simons African American Heritage Coalition (SSAAHC), First African Baptist Church

Gullah/Geechee Revitalization

Historically, societies under stress from war, rapid economic change, population losses, and political oppression frequently undergo what anthropologist Anthony F. C. Wallace (1970) calls "revitalization processes" of socio- cultural change in order to survive. Oftentimes, these processes take various forms of "nativism," described by an earlier anthropological theorist, Ralph Linton (1943). Nativism includes not only "nativistic movements," such as the 19th- century Ghost Dances of the Plains Indians or the Cargo Cults of Melanesia, but also other less obvious forms of "nativism" evidenced in, for example, "the Englishman's insistence on dressing for dinner even when alone in a remote outpost of empire" (237). In Linton's scheme, nativism can assume many forms, which may be analyzed as various combinations of the "magical" and "rational," the "perpetuative" and "revivalistic." In the model developed by Wallace, revitalization movements depend upon a consciously conceived effort by charismatic leaders to conceptualize a new goal culture, convert followers to this vision, and attempt to establish a new "steady state" of social "equilibrium."

These concepts and models of revitalization and nativism have special relevance for understanding what Gullah/Geechee people are doing today to grapple with the increasing forces of modernization, urbanization, and globalization that endanger their collective cultural memory and their traditional social identities. In their struggles, Gullah/Geechee people confront the problems of specific local communities and in their cultural world at large – sometimes stretching far beyond the Carolina/Georgia coast.



Gullah/Geechee people are pursuing many approaches to cultural survival. A number of communities have organized festivals and other fundraisers to support cultural education and historic preservation movements to rescue and restore significant buildings and/or educate communities and their children in the importance of their culture and heritage. Lorraine White, a music teacher at Alston Middle School, and Becky Dingle, Social Studies Coordinator for the Dorchester County, South Carolina, School System, received a grant from the South Carolina Humanities Council to teach students about Gullah culture. White, a descendant of Drayton Hall slaves, coordinated the year- long program. Field trips included Drayton Hall and the Avery Institute.

Local artists such as sweetgrass basket makers and professional dancers came to Alston to talk with the students. The program was designed to immerse both black and white students in the Gullah culture in an effort to promote understanding and acceptance of others. Together White, who is black and Dingle, who is white, developed a poignant program with Dingle telling a story that is liberally



SSAAHC members posted this sign to discourage land sales in traditional African American communities. *Jeanne Cyriaque, Georgia DNR*



Amy Roberts examines deteriorating window sill, Harrington School House. SSAAHC hopes to restore the school as a museum or community center on St. Simons Island, GA.

sprinkled with White's singing. After the conclusion of the grant program, White and Dingle have continued to present their programs in schools and other venues throughout the area.

Amy Roberts and the St. Simons African American Heritage Coalition (SSAAHC), a 501(c)(3) non-profit corporation established in 2000, are working not only to teach children about their culture, but also are trying to save the historically black Harrington School building on the Island. In the spring of 2002 SSAAHC launched a land retention initiative; owners placed bright yellow signs on their property declaring, "Don't Ask – Won't Sell." Fundraising activities – from weekly barbecues to an annual Georgia Sea Island Festival – have helped in their efforts. The Trust for Public Land is now working with SSAAHC to assist in the acquisition of Harrington School.

A key part of SSAAHC's purpose has been to teach the area young people about their rich cultural heritage so that they will learn to take pride in their Geechee ancestry. To this end, the group sponsors bus trips to culturally significant sites such as Penn Center, Seabrook Village, and American Beach. As part of this project, Vera Manigault of Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina, traveled to St. Simon's Island to demonstrate her craft and teach them basic basketry skills.

Sapelo Island Cultural and Revitalization Society (SICARS) was founded in 1993, incorporated in 1994 as a Community Land Trust, and achieved 501(c)(3) non- profit status in 1995. The organization's mission is to "address systemic threats to the survival of the community through land retention strategies, land use planning, and policy reform. These threats include tax and government planning agendas that directly affect our community and encourage or directly create the loss of descendant-owned land." Believing that the Sapelo Island community "… can take ownership and responsibility for our future only to the extent that we can develop an accountable, representative, and well-informed leadership," SICARS has taken political action to halt further land losses through public education on heirs' property, land retention, tax reforms, and zoning laws (SICARS home page http://www.sapeloislandgeorgia.org).

SICARS sponsors, organizes, and promotes heritage/cultural tourism events such as the annual Cultural Day Festival to teach both Gullah/Geechee people and outsiders about the richness of Gullah/Geechee culture and to raise funds for community projects. SICARS, with the assistance of the Savannah School of Arts and Design (SCAD) and the Georgia State Preservation Division of the Department of Natural Resources, restored the First African Baptist Church building at the historic

Sapelo Island settlement site known as "Raccoon Bluff." Raccoon Bluff, sold to freedmen in 1871, is the only part of Sapelo never owned by the Spalding family (Olsen n.d.).



Marquetta L. Goodwine, Founder, Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition.

SICARS has recently received a Georgia Heritage grant to develop a restoration plan for Farmers' Alliance Hall, which was built in 1929 by the Colored Farmers' National Alliance and Cooperative Union. The main floor was historically used as a brokering agency for local Geechee farmers, while the second floor was the local Masonic Hall and meeting place for the Order of the Eastern Star. Today the Farmers' Alliance Building serves as the backdrop for entertainment at the annual Sapelo Cultural Day festival. Ray Crook, who has spent a number of years working on the Gullah/Geechee archaeology of Sapelo Island (2001), collaborated with local Geechee historian Cornelia Bailey to record oral histories and traditions of elders from Hog Hammock Community. The proceeds from the resulting publication were dedicated toward the restoration of Farmers' Alliance Hall (Crook *et al.* 2003). Long- term plans include creation and construction of a living history village project on 16 acres near Hog Hammock. SICARS also plans a study to determine the feasibility of purchasing its own ferry boat to transport residents and visitors to and from Sapelo.

One of the newer organizations in the study area is the Daufuskie Island Historical Foundation (DIHF), a 501(c)(3) non- profit corporation. DIHF was organized in 2001 for the preservation of the cultural heritage of Daufuskie Island, South Carolina, and for acquisition, preservation, and restoration of historical sites, documents, and artifacts. The Foundation has purchased two historic structures on the island – Mt Carmel Baptist Church and the Brothers and Sisters Oyster Society Hall – both of which were listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1982 as part of the Daufuskie Island Historic District (National Register Information System, SC). The church building has been restored for use as an island historical museum.

Newly formed preservation groups, such as DIHF, and grassroots organizations such as SSAAHC and SICARS, are but a few of many similar organizations along the Gullah/Geechee coast. Working in concert with more external non- profit organizations, such as the South Carolina Bar Foundation and the Penn Center, local community- based organizations throughout the study area are fighting to keep their traditional homelands from being overrun by suburban sprawl and resort development. These groups seek to heighten awareness of heirs' property problems and educate their constituents about conditions that make traditional communal land ownership unworkable today.

By far the most dramatic and visible movement – locally, nationally, internationally – to affect Gullah/Geechee cultural revitalization region- wide is the Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition (Goodwine 2000). The Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition was founded in 1996 in Brooklyn, New York, by Marquetta L. Goodwine, a native of St. Helena Island, South Carolina, who returned to full-time residence on the island around 1999. Director Goodwine describes the organization as a community- based organization that "promotes and participates in the preservation of Gullah and Geechee history, heritage, culture, and language; works toward Sea Island land re- acquisition and maintenance; and celebrates Gullah/Geechee culture through artistic and educational means electronically and via 'grassroots scholarship'" (Goodwine, Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition home page).

Goodwine and the Coalition worked with the Beaufort County Planning Commission to establish specific zoning protection for Gullah lands by establishing a "Cultural Protection Overlay (CPO) District." As of this writing, Beaufort County is believed to be the only county in the United States to have specific laws to protect Gullah culture. The laws establish this CPO District "to preserve traditional land use patterns and to retain established customs and rural way of life" (Beaufort County Planning Department, Electronic document 1). In addition to the CPO, these laws provide protection for family compounds, lands that have remained within a family for a period of 50 years or more, "to allow longtime rural residents to protect a traditional way of life and provide affordable housing for family members, who in turn will help stabilize and preserve the county's rural communities." Owners of such family compounds, working within the prescribed guidelines, are granted density bonuses that allow for traditional clustering of family residences (Beaufort County Planning Department, Electronic document 2).

In addition to leading the practical efforts of the Coalition, Goodwine proselytizes for an almost quasi- transcendental achievement of cultural solidarity, consolidation of Gullah/Geechee ethnic identity, and even "nationhood" of Gullah and Geechee people throughout the Low Country and Sea Islands. Such a development is a specific manifestation of panhuman processes of social and cultural change identified by anthropologist Wolf (1994). For her efforts, according to Goodwine, some of her followers "enstooled" her in 2001 as "Queen Quet, Chieftess of the Gullah/Geechee Nation." The group has adopted a formal constitution and a national flag. Goodwine's more far- reaching efforts include a videotaped message – *Yeddy Wi: Gullah/Geechee Living Ways* – which was presented to the First International Conference on the Right to Self- determination & the United Nations, Geneva, Switzerland, in 2000 (Kly 2001).

Goodwine also leads an effort to win eventual reparations for past wrongs to Gullah/Geechee people, with reparation funds to be managed by her and the "Wisdom Circle Council of Elders of the Gullah/Geechee Nation" (Goodwine, 2002; *cf.* Kly 1994a, 1994b). Nonetheless, she recently wrote in response to the public review draft of this document, "… the ultimate goal of the Gullah/Geechee Nation is not reparations … It is self- determination and empowerment of Gullah/Geechee people to return to being self- sustaining."

The coastal area, which Goodwine describes as a "Gullah/Geechee nation," though having no federal recognition or status, has all the earmarks of classic revitalization movements. Such movements have been described by anthropologists as processes for indigenous peoples and others whose cultural identity and way of life is threatened (*cf.* Paredes 1974). Strictly speaking, Gullah/Geechee people are not indigenous to North America. The point may be made, however, that despite ancestral roots in Africa, Gullah or Geechee culture developed in America as a distinct "creole" society. In this respect, Gullah/Geechee language and culture could be said to be "indigenous" to the Low Country and the Sea Islands. Whether or not they are "indigenous," Gullah/Geechee people presumably are covered by the "United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities," as Goodwine (1998) has suggested.

As with some leaders of revitalization movements throughout history, Goodwine attracts followers with near religious fervor while repelling others who look at the movement with skepticism, among whom are many Gullah/Geechee people themselves. Some people grant unwavering loyalty to Goodwine's political and cultural legitimacy and view her as a true savior of her people; others dismiss her as a self- serving opportunist. Some change their minds. Although to outsiders Goodwine might sometimes appear to be speaking for all Gullah/Geechee people, many prefer to speak for themselves or through less- publicized grassroots organizations in their own communities.

From small- scaled localized efforts at saving historic buildings to the more sweeping vision of "Queen Quet," much that Gullah/Geechee people do today can be comprehended within a framework of ideas discussed by renowned anthropologist Wolf under the rubric of "peoplehood"

(see also Deloria 1969). Peoples disfranchised, marginalized, and oppressed by the expansion of nation- states, colonial empires, and industrial economies;

> … arise and define themselves as against others also engaged in the process of development and self- definition. There is hardly a study of an ethnic group now that does not describe how the locals use 'agency' to 'construct themselves' in relation to power and interest. This is … much to the good. It transcends the bland, power-irrelevant relativism of much of the talk about "culture" (Wolf 1994:6).

Conditions along the Gullah/Geechee coast at the beginning of the 21st century are ripe for classic processes of cultural revitalization and affirmations of "peoplehood." Tourism, rapid economic development, land losses, and dwindling community autonomy are major stresses. Added to these is a decline in traditional sources of income from fishing, lumbering, and agriculture. These multiple stressors from many directions place Gullah/Geechee people in an at- risk condition which Faulkenberry, *et al*. (2000: 94, 95) described as a culture of servitude:

> Sam Vaughn, a white business owner, echoed a deep concern for the future, shared by many residents: 'We've got a whole culture … of servitude [on the islands]. A hundred years ago they had plantations. They were owned by white masters … [African Americans] lived … outside the plantation … What do we have now? We have a plantation, that's run by people who've moved to the community who want the same kind of services. We have buses that transport people from outlying areas off the plantation to come and do the plantation work.'
>
> Insightful African and Euro- American residents recognize the danger in allowing this new 'culture of servitude' to develop even more … without … [certain] … modifications, the ecological and economic impact of tourism and development along South Carolina's coast will exacerbate class and racial divisions, further erode the social fabric of the islands, increase the psychological frustration and despair of the lower middle class, and commodify existing cultural traditions. On the other hand, with prudent and immediate actions to eliminate the expanding 'culture of servitude,' the pleasurable quality of life in this beautiful part of the United States will continue.

Development of gated communities has rendered some sacred sites and cemeteries inaccessible. Not only do some Gullah/Geechee people feel choked out of their communities, but also in some respects, they view resort development as virtual reincarnation of the plantation system. Some of these people expressed their frustration to the SRS research team. With only minimum wage service sector jobs available, they feel subservient once again to their resort "masters." Many of these exclusive communities have even used the word plantation as part of their names (Pinskey 1982, 1993).

In her review of scholarly writing, Hargrove (2000) has described the inexorable confluence of external pressures for change on one Gullah community. She concludes with a hopeful note that this NPS Special Resource Study could itself serve as a catalyst for reconstituting Gullah social vitality. It is, indeed, the conundrum of this SRS that the study itself has become intertwined with the very cultural resource that it purports to study, i.e., contemporary Gullah/Geechee culture. The SRS has become one of a suite of ongoing activities that Gullah/Geechee people and communities seek to turn to their advantage in order to "save our culture."

The very existence of all the many Gullah/Geechee efforts at cultural preservation and revitalization could be seen as evidence in themselves of the precariousness of Gullah/Geechee survival. Even so, the fact remains that the survival of a recognizable, distinct Gullah/Geechee culture is questionable. Indeed, Gullah/Geechee people of Georgia are included in a recent scholarly work entitled

Endangered Peoples of North America: Struggles to Survive and Thrive (Greaves 2002). As William Pollitzer so bluntly yet hopefully wrote:

> The sea islanders of today are threatened by the ever- increasing pace of modern life with its economic demands. They are not a museum piece, relics of the past, but rather survivors of enslavement, bondage, discrimination, and white privilege – fellow human beings entitled to work out their own destiny. Hopefully the best of sea island life, language, customs, and values can be preserved, even as the people take advantage of new opportunities and move into mainstream America.
>
> The Gullah people can cherish individual differences and take pride in a unique heritage … The Sea Islands will then become more than the 'see islands' for tourists; … and the Low Country will become the High Country of the African American experience (1999).



Children play on the grounds of Farmers' Alliance Hall, which serves as the backdrop for the annual Cultural Day celebration on Sapelo Island. *Diedre Laird, SC Desk, Charlotte Observer*

3 National Park Service Standards for National Significance, Suitability, and Feasibility

Relating the NPS to Gullah/Geechee Peoples and Culture

If there is to be any involvement of the NPS in Gullah/Geechee society and culture, it must be in accordance with NPS standards and meet the criteria for national significance, suitability, and feasibility, as set forth in NPS Management Policies. If an area meets the standards of national significance, additional information is gathered about its suitability and feasibility as a potential addition to the National Park System and alternatives for management and protection.

NPS Standards for National Significance, Suitability, and Feasibility

National Significance: According to NPS Management Policies an area may be considered nationally significant only if it meets all the following criteria:

- Area is an outstanding example of a particular type of resource;
- Area possesses exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the natural or cultural themes of our nation's heritage;
- Area offers superlative opportunities for public enjoyment or scientific study;
- Area retains a high degree of integrity as a true, accurate, and relatively unspoiled example of a resource;
- In addition to the above criteria, an area that is determined to be nationally significant must also meet criteria for suitability and feasibility in order to qualify for potential inclusion in the park system.

Suitability: An area is considered suitable for addition to the National Park System if:

- It represents a natural or cultural resource type that is not already adequately represented in the National Park System;
- It is not comparably represented and protected for public enjoyment by other federal agencies; tribal, state, or local governments; or the private sector.

Feasibility: To be feasible as part of the National Park System, an area must be of sufficient size and appropriate configuration, considering natural systems and/or historic settings to ensure sustainable resource protection and accommodate public use. The area must also have potential for efficient administration at a reasonable cost. A number of factors are taken into consideration when assessing feasibility. Specific factors that are considered include:

- Current and potential uses of the study area and surrounding lands for preservation, interpretation, research, education, and recreation;
- Land ownership patterns within the proposed area;

- Current and potential threats to the cultural, natural, and historical resources;
- Degradation of existing resources;
- Staffing requirements to administer a new NPS unit or NPS partnered site;
- Local planning, land use, and zoning requirements in the study area;
- Level of both local and broader public support;
- Both economic and socio- economic impacts of a new unit designation to the National Park System.

National Significance of the Gullah/Geechee Culture

The Gullah/Geechee people of the Low Country and Sea Islands of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and North Carolina are a distinctive people. They are also the only African American population of the United States with a separate, long- standing name identifying them as a separate people. They are distinct among African American peoples in this development of a tradition that depends as much upon maritime resources as upon land resources. Historically, they are speakers of the only true African American creole language of the continental United States.

Gullah/Geechee people are the most African of African Americans in physical type, language, and culture; yet, they are a uniquely American cultural type formed by the fusion of African cultural heritage and American experience. Through the diffusion and expansion of their population, the Gullah/Geechee people have become the source for many elements noted in other African American cultures. Of all African American cultures in the United States, the folk customs, oral history and literature, crafts and arts of the Gullah/Geechee people show the strongest continuities with indigenous cultures of Africa. The Gullah/Geechee culture also bears strong similarities to creole and maroon cultures of the Caribbean.

Thus, Gullah/Geechee cultural heritage, culinary practices, music, language, and traditions have made significant contributions, not only to the lives of southerners but also to all Americans. Today, Gullah/Geechee lands, landmarks, structures, sacred sites, language, cultural identity, and their very existence as a distinct population are under extreme stress from rampant coastal development, population growth, lack of recognition, and lack of significant financial resources. Most Americans do not know of their existence or of the role they played in the formation of America. Today, there is a brief window of time in which there will be an opportunity to save this living people and their cultural landscape and to preserve a significant part of American heritage.

In many respects, the Gullah/Geechee cultural region directly parallels that of the Afro- Carib Garifuna people of Belize. The “cultural space” of these Garifuna people was selected in 2001 by UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, a distinction for which the Gullah/Geechee people themselves might qualify (Global Garifuna Network, Electronic Document; UNESCO, Electronic Document).

Recognizing the pivotal place that Gullah/Geechee people, language, folklore, and culture have occupied in African American scholarship, the NPS Special Resource Study team commissioned one of the most outstanding and erudite of African American scholars, Professor Richard A. Long, to prepare a statement on the national significance of Gullah/Geechee culture. Long holds the Atticus Good Chair at Emory University and was founder of the Center for African and African American Studies at Atlanta University. Dr. Long’s statement follows:

Gullah Culture Special Resource Study Statement of National Historical and Cultural Significance - *Professor Richard A. Long, Emory University*

The cultural group known as the Gullah/Geechee people is an African- descended American population associated geographically with off- shore islands (the Sea Islands) and coastal areas of South Carolina and Georgia, an area which, particularly in South Carolina, is known as the Low Country. The Gullah area extends geographically, in the view of some observers, to adjoining coastal areas of North Carolina and northern Florida, though a strong claim may be made only for the occasional presence of isolated Gullah clusters in the latter state.

Historically, the Gullah area is associated prominently with, among others, the following South Carolina Islands: Johns, Wadmalaw, Edisto, St. Helena, Hilton Head; and the Georgia Islands: Tybee, Ossabaw, Sapelo, St. Simons, Jekyll, and Cumberland. The coastal cities of Charleston and Beaufort, South Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia, have been the urban spaces which are considered integral to Gullah culture, and *entrepots*, sites of settlements and centers from which important influences have radiated.

The Gullah, long forming the bulk of the African American population in the geographical region delimited above, are coeval in historic depth with the earliest European Americans in the region. The plantation economy, the dominant social and economic matrix of the region, was initiated in the late 17th century by British immigrants from the Caribbean seeking to duplicate on the mainland the Barbadian enterprise. These immigrants brought in their trained enslaved Africans and subsequently fulfilled their increasing labor needs by further importations of enslaved Africans, both from the Caribbean and directly from Africa.

A number of factors gave rise in the 18th century to Gullah culture among the descendents of the enslaved Africans and successive waves of the newly enslaved. This culture has many distinctive traits, most dramatically a language, now recognized as a fully mature creole language rather than a variety of "broken" English. The most prominent factor in the rise of Gullah culture was the relative isolation of the large African population which worked the plantations, producing successively sugar- cane, indigo, rice and cotton. Over a few generations, the interactions among the Africans of various origins, and the relative sparseness of direct European intervention, produced a viable neo- African culture. A description of the African origins of the Gullah population is provided in William Pollitzer, *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1999); the processes by which the Gullah culture was created are detailed in Charles Joyner, *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

Gullah culture may be viewed usefully through three frames. The first, a diasporic frame, takes into account the Gullah and the plantation societies of the Caribbean; the second, a national frame, considers the Gullah in relation to wider plantation society in the United States; a third frame is the consideration of the Gullah as an autonomous group.

Within the diasporic frame many comparisons have been pursued. The development of Haitian peasant culture with its distinctive language (Haitian Creole), religious syncretism (vodun), burial customs, crafts, verbal arts—storytelling and proverbial discourse, offers an interesting but relatively unexplored parallel. The persistence of African folklore among the Gullah and in the Caribbean has been the subject of considerable inquiry beginning with the comparative researches of Elsie Clews Parsons, *Folk- Lore of the Sea Islands, South Carolina* (Cambridge: American Folklore Society, 1923) and extending to a recent study by Mella Davis, *African Trickster Tales in Diaspora: Resistance in the Creole- Speaking South Carolina Sea Islands and Guadeloupe* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1998).

The diasporic perspective has been brought to bear most intensively on the study of the Gullah language, the first scientific study of which was Lorenzo Dow Turner's, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979). A re- evaluation of Turner's work was undertaken by Michael Montgomery and others in *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994).

The setting of Gullah culture within the national frame requires an overall concept of African American Culture which posits a folk- rural culture having been created in plantation America during the 18th century in the Upper South (Maryland and Virginia) and the Lower South (South Carolina and Georgia) and then extended with the extension of the plantation economy to the states of, the Deep South (Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana) in the early 19th century. This folk- rural culture was characterized by a much more intimate contact between European and African Americans and consequently developed variations from European practices rather than stark contrasts with them: language, religion, musical practice, social structure, in the African American folk- rural culture may be regarded on a spectrum in which Gullah culture may be seen as a neo- African pole, the other pole being African Americans totally assimilated to European American norms.

With Abolition, there was begun a general migration toward cities, North and South, which produced an African American folk- urban culture. This trend was less profound among the Gullah, marking another distinction between them and larger African American culture.

As an autonomous group, the Gullah people, their culture, and their geographical setting have had an extended presence in the American mind, beginning with the work of South Carolina writer, William Gilmore Simms (see Nell Munroe Nixon, "Gullah and Backwoods Dialect in Selected Works by William Gilmore Simms" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1971). Fanny Kemble's *Residence on a Georgia Plantation, 1838- 1839* (1963) provided a view of plantation life in the Gullah area at a crucial moment in American history. Yet another perspective on Gullah life was provided by the New England writer Thomas Wentworth Higginson in *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (1869).

The Sea Islands area was the site of an ambitious Abolitionist project at Port Royal, memorably chronicled by Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (Indianapolis: Bobbs- Merrill, 1964). A classic of African American autobiography, *The Journals of Charlotte Forten*, edited by Ray Allen Billington (1953), provides a vibrant day- to- day account of the "experiment."

Delineations of the Gullah, the Sea Islands, and of Charleston interweave with the flowering of African American consciousness and cultural activity which occurred in the 1920's. In 1922, a racially insensitive compiler, Ambrose Gonzales, aroused interest with his folkloric collection *The Black Border: Gullah Stories of the Carolina Coast* (Columbia, SC: State Publishing Company). Two South Carolina novelists emerge later in the decade: DuBose Heyward, author of *Porgy* (1925) and Julia Peterkin, author of *Scarlet Sister Mary* (1929). Porgy was successfully dramatized for Broadway. *Scarlet Sister Mary* received the Pulitzer Prize and was also dramatized, though less successfully. *Porgy* was transmuted into the Gershwin opera *Porgy and Bess* (1934), the best known of all American operatic works.

A culminating moment in the examination of Gullah culture was provided by a book which came out of the Georgia Writers Project of the 1930s; the African background of Gullah culture was highlighted through the autobiographical vignettes of Gullah life compiled in *Drums and Shadows* (1940). Coincident with the black consciousness of the 1960s, and inspired both by *Drums and Shadows* and Turner's *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*, a current of scholarship on the Gullah language began to flow which has continued until the present. In addition to the collective volume edited by Montgomery, already cited, another collected work has appeared: *Sea Islands Roots: African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia,* edited by Mary A. Twining and Keith E. Baird (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1991). Individual and highly specialized studies have appeared. For Littlefield, *Rice*

and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: LSU press, (1981) and two decades later, Judith Ann Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

The visualization of Gullah culture has been a continuing project beginning in the 1920s with the portrait sketches undertaken by Winold Reiss on St. Helena Island. More recent have been the photographic installations of Carrie Mae Weems, *Sea Island Series* (1992), the film, *Daughters of the Dust* (1991) by Julie Dash, and the paintings of Jonathan Green, published in *Gullah Images* (Columbia, South Carolina: USC Press, 1996).

It is of great interest to note that the broader African American culture is frequently characterized or represented by evidence from Gullah culture. One need look no further than the seminal collection of songs compiled primarily at Port Royal during the Civil War. Appearing in 1867 as *Slave Songs* of the United States, this work is the fount of the written tradition on African American folk music. Generalizations about African American folklore and folk life sometimes repose primarily on Gullah evidence. A consequence of this tendency is a penchant for asserting that somehow Gullah culture is more "authentic" or fundamental than other manifestations of African American culture. Such a reading, of course, is a distortion of history and a disservice both to Gullah culture and to African American culture generally.

The Gullah world is a unique socio- cultural entity of intense historical and intellectual interest to scholars, artists, tourists and to those indigenous to that world. Its geographical extension and high profile sites such as Penn Center and the Charleston Market make the Gullah area an eminently feasible entity for public patronage and appreciation in a manner similar to other present and proposed National Park Service areas characterized by their embodiment of cultural history. The Gullah world provides an outstanding and indeed unique American example of an historical process, that of creolization as it is now understood by anthropology and linguistics. The Gullah area offers superlative opportunities for public use and enjoyment as well as for scientific study. The Gullah experience is an exceptional illustration of cultural creativity within the context of the American experience. The Gullah world manifests a high degree of integrity as a true, accurate, and relatively unspoiled example of an American resource.

A wide range of scholarly projects have addressed Gullah culture during the last half- century and a number of research institutions in Charleston and elsewhere have recently placed Gullah culture on their agenda. Nevertheless, a strong coordinating presence such as only the National Park Service can offer is necessary if the full value of these various endeavors is not to be dissipated, since these endeavors are dispersed over state boundaries and deployed in both private and public organisms. No entity comparable to Gullah culture is currently in or likely to be proposed to the National Park Service.

Richard A. Long, Ph. D., Professor
Graduate Institute of Liberal Arts
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

Suitability of the Gullah/Geechee Culture

For the reasons described below, the Gullah/Geechee culture meets the criteria of suitability for addition to the National Park System:

- The Gullah/Geechee culture is distinctive and is not yet represented and protected as an entity in the National Park System, or by any other agency. Several existing NPS sites tell a part of the story, but none has its main interpretive focus on this unique culture;

- The Gullah/Geechee story of slavery and its realities is uncomfortable for many people, regardless of race. School books have rarely presented the story in any semblance of its harsh reality. These captive African people were forcibly taken from their homeland, survived the treacherous Middle Passage, and sold into slavery. Thus, albeit unwittingly and without credit, they became major contributors to the economic success, infrastructure, and cultural fabric of the states and nation. Their story must be told;

- The opportunity to interpret Gullah/Geechee culture within the NPS is timely, given the current interest in US/African affairs. Dr. Condelezza Rice, National Security Advisor to President George W. Bush, made the following statement on 3 July 2003, ". . . Africa is a part of America's history. You know, Europeans and Africans came to this country together − Africans in chains. Slavery was, of course, America's birth defect. And we've been trying to deal with the consequences of it ever since and to bring about reconciliation. The President on Goree Island is going to have a chance to talk about that experience, but also to look forward to the tremendous contributions of African Americans to this country. So America is a country of immigrants, but, of course, our experience with Africa has this other piece that wasn't exactly an immigrant experience. And yet it is the motherland, of course, a source of cultural pride for a substantial part of America's population."

- Historic sites of importance to the European settlers of the Low Country have been, for the most part, identified, mapped, and studied in great detail. Gullah/Geechee historic, archaeological, and cultural sites have not been so well documented and many are already lost;

- The Gullah/Geechee study area is an assemblage of rich and varied resources representing a unique aspect of historical archaeology and culture;

- The study area represents a complex mixture of people and their origins, traditions, customs, beliefs, and folkways of interest to the included states and to the entire nation.

- The coastal patterns of natural, estuarine, scenic, and cultural resource features, qualities, processes, uses, values, and relationships should be conserved;

- The Gullah/Geechee study team, with the advice of many people from the affected communities, has concluded that a wide array of themes and concepts can be developed and interpreted accurately and effectively through the proposed alternatives.

Feasibility of the Gullah/Geechee Culture

The Gullah/Geechee culture, language, and lands are in imminent danger of loss to encroaching resort development, general coastal population growth, and the emigration of their people for higher education and professional employment. In some cases, tiny frame houses have been taxed at enormous rates due to their location on or near resort islands. Some historically Gullah/Geechee islands, such as Hilton Head, are almost totally lost to development. Other areas are losing ground by

the day. Defining some means of preserving and interpreting this fragile culture is of the utmost urgency or all will be lost. In all of this, as one Gullah woman (Joyce Coakley) commented on the public review draft of this report, "Careful consideration should be given to the skill, expertise, and collective memory of the senior citizens of the community" (22 Jan 2004).

The feasibility of Gullah/Geechee sites within the NPS is greatly enhanced by the formation of partnerships among federal, state, and local entities. The primary goal of these relationships would be to develop cooperative programs through the use of existing public lands, thus avoiding the expenditure of public funds for land acquisition. Appropriated funds could be directed towards preservation, restoration, and program development that serve to commemorate Gullah/Geechee history and culture. All of the alternatives presented in this study would require funding, some more than others, but without land acquisition costs the feasibility of all alternatives is greatly enhanced.

4 Alternatives

Alternative A: Gullah/Geechee Coastal Heritage Centers

The Gullah/Geechee SRS is an unusual undertaking for the NPS because it is directed toward a living people and their evolving culture and because the cultural community boundaries cross state lines. Alternative A presents a departure from traditional NPS initiatives in response to this non- traditional study.

Three Gullah/Geechee coastal heritage centers, located in South Carolina and Georgia and convenient to the study area, would be established through partnerships among government agencies and nonprofit organizations. Ideally, these centers would be established and developed through cooperative use of existing public lands, requiring no funding for land acquisition or removal of lands from the Gullah/Geechee communities. Funding could thus be directed toward preservation, restoration, construction, and interpretation of Gullah/Geechee history and culture. Under this alternative, grants could also be available to assist in local preservation and revitalization projects.

Some existing NPS parks already include information on Gullah/Geechee people, history, and culture as part of their interpretive activities. For example, Charles Pinckney National Historic Site includes exhibits on Gullah contributions to the development of the Low Country during colonial and early American eras. These exhibits are in accordance with the Site's establishing legislation, which mandates furthering the appreciation and understanding of Charles Pinckney the man but also of the local social and cultural characteristics of his life and time as exhibited on Snee Farm. Conversely, Kingsley Plantation (a unit of Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve) has sponsored in recent years a "Heritage Celebration" as part of its interpretation of that plantation that brings together a variety of modern- day African American performers and demonstrators, including Gullah basketmakers and Geechee "shouters."

These existing NPS efforts in educating the public about Gullah/Geechee people and culture are consistent with the established missions of the park units that have undertaken such efforts. Such activities are necessarily and appropriately selective and limited in their presentation of the larger Gullah/Geechee story. Alternative A would facilitate and coordinate interpretation of different aspects of the Gullah/Geechee experience at different locations without any modification of the existing mission of established NPS units. Hence, for example, the primary mission of Charles Pinckney National Historic Site would remain the celebration and interpretation of Charles Pinckney's role at the Constitutional Convention and the life of the early nation.

The NPS would seek to recruit well- qualified individuals from the Gullah/Geechee community to assist in developing and presenting these interpretive programs. Legislation would be sought to facilitate recruitment and employment of Gullah/Geechee persons with roots in the surrounding communities. In addition, Gullah/Geechee businesses would be considered in the awarding of outsourcing contracts related to the coastal centers. Gullah/Geechee artisans and crafts people would have the opportunity to perform and sell their products directly to the public at these locations.

High school students and young adults from Gullah/Geechee communities would be encouraged to participate in such programs as Youth Conservation Corps (YCC), Student Conservation Association (SCA), and AmeriCorps. Work experience with these organizations could provide special consideration to those seeking NPS employment.

Training and assistance could be made available to community groups seeking National Register status or historical markers for local historic sites. These groups could also be directed toward grants and other funding for any local projects that may not qualify for grants described within this alternative. Community education programs, seminars, and conferences could be sponsored jointly through resulting partnerships.

All three coastal heritage centers would present an interpretive overview of Gullah/Geechee history and culture, but each site might also emphasize a particular piece of the story that is relevant to the locale. Each center would thereby complement the others by featuring a different operational and interpretive emphasis. In combination, these units would, therefore, offer diverse programs and services that provide comprehensive interpretive, educational, and resource preservation experiences relating to Gullah/Geechee people − their language, their culture, their history, as well as current issues facing Gullah/Geechee people and their communities. The centers might well serve as catalysts for local preservation efforts.

Leaders in some Gullah/Geechee communities have expressed serious reservations with regard to increased visitation in their communities − "The last thing we need is more tourists!" (Goodwine, personal communication 2002), while Gullah/Geechee communities, such as Hog Hammock on Sapelo Island, Georgia; actively seek heritage tourism and its possible economic benefits. The location of heritage centers adjacent to but not within Gullah/Geechee communities would appear to address both issues. Should economic growth and development occur as a result of the centers, entrepreneurial and employment opportunities would be close to but not intrusive upon historic sites. Visitors to the heritage centers could be directed into the communities that seek to increase heritage tourism rather than those who prefer privacy.

Coastal heritage centers would serve as gateways by offering interpretive materials, descriptive maps, and contact information for historical and cultural sites within the study area. This gateway system would serve to provide educational/interpretive materials to visitors, while protecting fragile sites within the neighborhoods and communities from a mass influx of people. Visitors who desire more detailed information and/or persons seeking to determine their own ancestral ties to the Gullah/Geechee culture would be directed to make contact with resource people within the communities.

The three projected sites in this alternative are dispersed in strategic locations along the coast where host and neighboring communities could provide support for the centers. Thus, these centers would not relegate Gullah/Geechee history and culture to a museum environment but rather would seek to interpret the history and evolving culture of the Gullah/Geechee people into the 21st century. Centers would serve 21st century Gullah/Geechee people by providing opportunities for them to research their roots and cultural heritage and by creating a venue for educational programs dealing with issues facing their communities today. Residents of Gullah/Geechee communities would be encouraged to participate as partners in the interpretive process so that their voices might be heard in visitor programs. Centers would be most effective if they sought the advice of neighboring Gullah/Geechee communities and encouraged local people to participate in the interpretation of their culture.

The selection of plantations as Gullah/Geechee interpretive sites may at first summon the stereotypical image of enslaved Africans happily working on the plantation, and the master living in his fine plantation house. The plantation was, however, one of the first places where enslaved Africans demonstrated their innate intelligence, agricultural knowledge, multiple artisan skills, and musical/artistic ability. The plantation is the place where accurate interpretation can dispel the erroneous stereotypical images of *Gone with the Wind* and replace them with a vision of the harsh reality of slavery.

There are already a number of historic plantation houses open to the public, but many of these focus on the "big house" and the planter's family. If enslaved Africans are mentioned at all, the interpretive

material may focus on the story of one enslaved African or one enslaved family who was particularly loyal to the master. Interpretation at these sites generally omits the fact that as many as nine out of ten people who lived on the plantation were enslaved Africans. Although there has been some effort in recent years to include the slavery story, a great deal of work needs to be done before visitors at these sites will hear any semblance of the real story (Loewen 2000). Alternative A presents an opportunity to develop a model on which other plantation sites could base their interpretive programs.

For many years, slavery was described as a benign institution under which enslaved people were well cared for and did not mind being controlled by their masters. The slave narratives, however, collected during the 1930s – recollections of elders who had themselves been slaves in their younger days – presented actual memories of slavery times. Reading their words or hearing their voices removes slavery from the abstraction of a distant time and forces a connection to the challenges and plight of these enslaved human beings. Although the accuracy of these reminiscences has sometimes been questioned due to the methods used to collect the oral histories, the stories are, nonetheless, dramatic reminders of what many people choose to deny or forget (Blasingame 1979). In most cases, however, the slave narratives contradict the stereotypical smiling slave images that still remain in the minds of many and replace them with the story of captive human beings who longed to control their own destinies. Freedom was foremost in the minds of these captive human beings, a fact which was demonstrated by their efforts to escape even from the slaver ships that brought them to the Americas. Slave uprisings were a fact of life from early colonial days and put fear in the hearts and minds of the white minority. Clearly, slavery and its inhumanity still haunt the collective historical memory of Americans.

The interpretation of the realities of life for all inhabitants of the study area may be met with skepticism and apprehension – even shame and embarrassment – from various segments of the population. Yet, an agency such as the NPS—in its effort to present a fair and balanced interpretation of the Nation's heritage—addresses such issues even though they may be painful or uncomfortable to some visitors.

There is no simple solution to the interpretation of controversial issues. If the ultimate interpretive goal here is to tell the whole story, or at least as much of the story as can be accurately portrayed, then all sides must be represented and synthesized into a comprehensive interpretation of the past – warts and all. Only then will it be possible to understand the struggles and appreciate the myriad contributions of Africans to the fabric of America. Knowledge and understanding may, therefore, effect reconciliation, mutual respect, cohesion, and national well- being.

Alternative A, Site I: Three Sites Combined in Partnership to Form the Northern Anchor

The first coastal heritage center project involves partnerships between the U.S. Forest Service (USFS), South Carolina Parks, Recreation, and Tourism (SCPRT), and the NPS for the combined use of Tibwin Plantation, Hampton Plantation State Historic Site, and Charles Pinckney National Historic Site. All three sites are located just off U. S. Highway 17 in upper Charleston County. An interpretive center, serving these locations, would be constructed on Highway 17 at an undetermined site.

Tibwin, Hampton, and Snee Farm (Charles Pinckney National Historic Site) each have an important story to tell. Each of the sites was owned by founding families of South Carolina. Each had numerous enslaved Africans who cleared the land, constructed the homes, planted the crops, and made other significant contributions to the infrastructure and wealth of the state and nation. Together, these sites have a synergistic relationship that enhances interpretation of South Carolina from the earliest colonial beginnings, to the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the Revolutionary War, the framing and signing of the Constitution, the growth of the new nation, the Civil War, and beyond. The three sites represent a 300- year continuum of coastal history intertwined with the story of the Gullah/Geechee people, their language, their skills, and their historic ties to Africa, their unique New World culture, and their contributions to the American story. Gullah/Geechee people and their culture are an inseparable part of the fabric of what is often thought of as southern culture. Telling a more complete story at these three sites will underscore the contributions and significance of the Gullah/Geechee people to the development of state, regional, and national history and culture.

Hampton, Tibwin, and Snee Farm provide many interpretive opportunities relating to early agricultural practices associated with indigo and rice production and processing, production of table crops, and fishing. Additional possibilities for education and interpretation include:

- Displays and demonstrations of traditional Gullah crafts, festivals, programs, concerts, and other special events;
- Educational programs through collaboration with partner organizations. Topics might include traditional arts and crafts, land tenure, heirs' property issues, historic preservation, economic development, grant writing, heritage tourism, and agricultural tourism;
- Production of sweetgrass and other raw materials for basket makers;
- Heirloom agriculture and early agricultural methods;
- Rice cultivation, both upland and tidal;
- Traditional game hunting methods;
- Traditional fishing, shrimping, crabbing, and oyster gathering;
- Traditional cooking methods;
- Water transportation;
- Production and interpretation of medicinal herbs;
- Visual arts;
- Music and rhythms;
- Construction and use of traditional percussion instruments;
- Quilting and other textile arts.



In 2002, the house at Tibwin was stabilized and re-roofed by the NPS Williamsport Preservation Center.

Alternative A, Site I-A: Tibwin Plantation

Tibwin Plantation, dating from an early 18th- century land grant to John Collins, is one of the oldest English agricultural sites on the South Carolina coast and was perhaps home to one of the earliest populations of enslaved African people. The Collins family retained the land until 1794 when the property was sold to William Matthews, one of the largest landowners east of the Cooper River. Matthews is believed to have built a one and- a- half- story cottage at Tibwin *ca* 1805, and is also credited with building a similar cottage at what is now Charles Pinckney National Historic Site.

Tibwin is one of the last surviving coastal plantation homes between Mount Pleasant and Georgetown. Because of its location on salt water, only upland rice could be grown on the property. A rice mill, said to have been designed by Jonathan Lucas, a skilled English millwright who invented the water powered rice mill, was located in the area.

Tibwin is not well- known outside the McClellanville area, possibly because the property was privately owned until it was purchased by the USFS in 1996 as part of an approximately 338- acre tract between the Francis Marion National Forest and the Cape Romaine National Wildlife Refuge. Although severely damaged by Hurricane Hugo, Tibwin is considered to be the most historically significant building in the 260,000- acre Francis Marion National Forest.

There are several Gullah/Geechee communities in the surrounding area with close ties to the Tibwin land. Local residents, along with Historic Charleston Foundation (HCF), and Robert Morgan, USFS archaeologist, have been working together to find a means of preserving the Tibwin house. Morgan has worked diligently to keep the plight of the house before his agency and the public. HCF applied for and received a rural development grant from the Forest Service to make a thorough study of the Tibwin house. Ralph Muldrow, architectural historian at the College of Charleston, undertook the



Map courtesy Santee Historical Society

study and presented a detailed document to the Foundation. Muldrow resisted suggestions that the house be "mothballed" or dismantled and stored, stating, "Once you take it down, it will end up in a dump" (Behre 2001).

For many years, the Tibwin project has been a preservation challenge. Federal law requires agencies to take into account how their activities will affect historic properties and encourages their preservation and use. Although the property is owned by the USFS, the agency receives virtually no funding to care for historic buildings. Because Tibwin is on federal property, it was difficult to raise private funds to protect and restore the house. Residents of the adjoining Gullah community and area preservation groups have expressed their strong support for this project (Behre 2001).

The house at Tibwin was constructed by enslaved African artisans, and according to Muldrow, "Even with half of it rotted away, the house is still stronger than many others. You just have to have the determination to bring it back" (Behre 2002). The original structure was once situated closer to the water, but was moved to its present site after an 1822 hurricane. Hand hewn beams bear carved markings that indicate the placement of these timbers when the house was rebuilt on higher land. The original Tibwin house was of simple story and- a- half construction, quite similar to the farmhouse at Charles Pinckney National Historic Site, but there have been additions and remodeling over the years.

The NPS Williamsport Preservation Center recently replaced the roof and stabilized the farmhouse. Basic renovation would be required before the building could be opened to the public. Outbuildings on the Tibwin site could be restored or rebuilt for use as an artisan center for demonstrating and teaching Gullah arts, crafts, and music. The USFS may be able to locate suitable habitats on the property for a sweetgrass demonstration plot for teaching cultivation of the grass and its use in traditional Gullah basketry.

In addition to remnants of the plantation past, Tibwin's lands feature a rich natural environment, including tidal marshes, freshwater ponds, hardwood bottomlands, pine uplands, Carolina bays, and wetlands that support marine life, songbirds, waterfowl, raptors, alligators, and other wildlife. The USFS has established waterfowl refuge areas on the Tibwin property that bounds the Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway. This restricted area would not be open to visitation. There is, however, the possibility that a viewing tower could be constructed so that visitors might observe the rich and diverse population of waterfowl on the refuge. Water access for fishing and shrimping is available to visitors at nearby locations. Special events, such as youth hunts and hunts for the mobility impaired, are traditionally held at Tibwin. For safety reasons, public visitation might be limited or banned during these events.



During the late 1750s, enslaved artisans renovated the simple farmhouse at Hampton Plantation into the 13-room Georgian-styled mansion that exists today.

Alternative A, Site I-B: Hampton Plantation State Historic Site

Hampton Plantation State Historic Site, a 322- acre park located on the South Santee River, was once a major rice plantation owned by Daniel Horry II. Enslaved African artisans constructed the original one and- a- half- story farmhouse, which was quite similar to the houses at both Tibwin and Snee Farm. During the late 1750s enslaved artisans renovated the farmhouse into the 13- room Georgian-styled mansion that exists today. The large Adamesque portico is said to have been added in preparation for George Washington's visit to Hampton during his southern tour.

Daniel Horry II's second wife was Harriott Pinckney, daughter of Eliza Lucas Pinckney and sister to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. After Horry's death in 1785, Harriott and her mother stayed at Hampton and were there to greet George Washington when he stopped for breakfast on May 1, 1791. President Washington also stopped for breakfast at Snee Farm (CHPI), which he referred to as the "Country Seat of Governor Pinckney," on May 10 of the same year.

The latest restoration of the house includes cutaway sections of walls and ceilings that illustrate the building's evolution from simple farmhouse to grand mansion. The house has been left unfurnished to highlight architectural and construction details. A historic kitchen building is located adjacent to the main house. Archaeological sites record the story of the rice and decline of the Low Country Rice Culture and the enslaved Africans whose labor made great wealth possible.

Both upland and tidal rice were grown at Hampton, and in 1850, over 250,000 pounds of rice were grown and processed with the labor of enslaved Africans. The majority of the tidal rice fields at Hampton were located on Hampton Island across Wambaw Creek from the main house. This island is now owned by the USFS. SCPRT has indicated a willingness to investigate providing visitor transportation to the island, if the land is made available for interpretation.

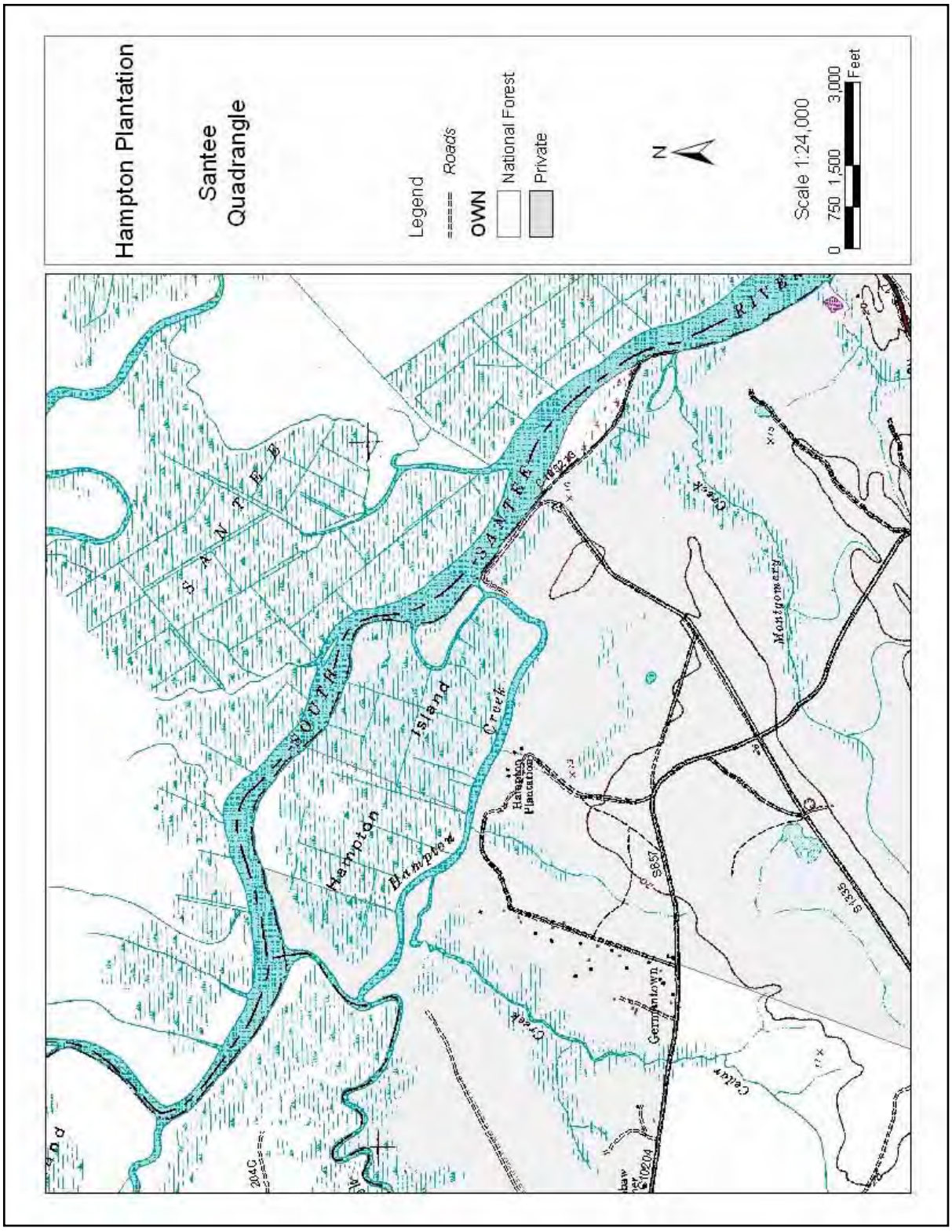
Hampton, now a National Historic Landmark, was once home to the Horry, Pinckney, and Rutledge families, who were prominent planters, major slaveholders, and political leaders. Ledgers from Hampton Plantation are archived in the Library of Congress. These records show that newly freed slaves stayed at Hampton and were paid for their labors. Descendants of these slaves still live in neighboring communities, and some own property that was once part of Hampton. The park includes miles of nature trails and areas for picnics and family reunions.



This chimney at Hampton was built by freedman using materials salvaged from other structures.



1936 Aerial photograph of Hampton Plantation showing Hampton Island where tidal rice was grown. *USFS*



Courtesy US Forest Service



This Low Country cottage, built ca. 1828, serves as a visitor center and museum for Charles Pinckney National Historic Site, Mt. Pleasant, SC. *Carlin Timmons, NPS*

Alternative A, Site I-C: Charles Pinckney National Historic Site

Charles Pinckney National Historic Site, a 28- acre park located on Long Point Road in Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina, is all that remains of Snee Farm, the smallest of the seven plantations owned by Charles Pinckney.

Pinckney was a four- term governor of South Carolina and a principal framer and signer of the United States Constitution. He married Mary Eleanor Laurens, daughter of Henry Laurens, who was a major importer and seller of enslaved Africans. Laurens was also named to attend the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, but ill health forced him to stay at home.

At the Constitutional Convention, Charles Pinckney adamantly refused to allow even the mention of slavery into U. S. Constitution. He believed that any attempt by convention delegates to halt the slave trade would be met with vehement resistance in the South, and could derail the entire Constitution process. Pinckney's insistence that slavery not be addressed protected his own lifestyle as well as that of his wealthy family and friends. As a result of his arguments, the labor- intensive cultivation of rice continued at the expense of the enslaved African workers. Pinckney also proposed that the legislative branch consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives, with the House elected proportionate to the white population. Under Pinckney's proposal, a slave would be counted as only three- fifths of a person for the purpose of representation.

Charles Pinckney was cousin to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, whose mother, Eliza Lucas Pinckney, was instrumental in the establishment of indigo culture in the Carolina Colony. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, also a signer of the Constitution, was the first major slaveholder to speak out in favor of religion for slaves. In 1829, Pinckney addressed the Agricultural Society of South Carolina. His thoughts on providing religious instruction to enslaved Africans were not, however, altruistic in nature:

> Nothing is better calculated to render man satisfied with his destiny in this world, than a conviction that its hardships and trials are as transitory as its honors and enjoyments; and that good conduct, founded on Christian principles, will ensure superior rewards in that which is future and eternal. A firm persuasion that is both our interest and duty to afford religious instruction to the blacks, induces me to dwell on this subject.

Pinckney believed that if "true religion" became part of their lives, slaves would become happy in their lot and be "more anxious to promote their owner's welfare."

Records at Charles Pinckney National Historic Site tell of the 46 slaves who worked the plantation in 1787. The Low Country farmhouse at Snee Farm was built around 1828 by William Matthews, who is thought to have also built the house at Tibwin. Early drawings show that the houses were of quite similar construction, though both have undergone additions and renovations that render these architectural similarities more difficult to see. Archeologists have identified and marked the locations of the slave village and many of the outbuildings associated with the Snee Farm site. New wayside interpretive signs will be in place in the near future. Pinckney owned a total of 240 slaves at his various plantations.

Tyson Gibbs, assistant professor in the Institute of Anthropology at the University of North Texas at Denton, Texas, was funded by the NPS Applied Ethnography Program to document the lifeways of peoples traditionally associated with National Parks. The NPS program is designed to document the life experiences of various populations living on and near NPS properties in the United States. Gibbs's work will be a valuable addendum to the research conducted in this SRS. According to Gibbs (2002):

> What makes the Snee Farm project unique is the availability of descendants of persons associated with the Snee Farm Plantation at various points over the past 100 years. Many of the descendants of the original slaves also once worked for owners of Snee Farm properties . . . . The core mission of the Snee Farm project was to locate former employees and relatives of former employees of Snee Farm Plantation and to interview them about their experiences as part of the Snee Farm work force . . . . [many of whom] have lived in Mt. Pleasant for several generations . . . . Such continuation of family connections is one of the interesting features of the workers in many South Carolina plantation properties.

Charles Pinckney National Historic Site is located near the Gullah basket stands on Highway 17. Several surviving Gullah settlements are also in the vicinity. Descendants of Pinckney slaves worked on Snee Farm until the mid 20th century.

Alternative A, Site II: Museum and Research Center, Penn Center, Penn Historic District, St. Helena Island, South Carolina

Penn School is one of the most historically significant educational and cultural institutions in the United States. The school was established in 1862 by a group of churches and abolitionists from Pennsylvania who formed the Freedmen Association to educate newly freed slaves. Laura M. Towne and Ellen Murray were founders and first teachers at the school, which was located on the lands of the former Pope's Plantation (Wolf 1997). Charlotte Forten, who arrived a few months later, was the first black teacher at the school.



Brick Baptist Church, St. Helena Island, SC.

Classes were first held in a single room on Oak Plantation. Because freedmen understood that learning to read and write would help them achieve self sufficiency, the school quickly outgrew the small classroom. The school was relocated in the Brick Baptist Church, where it stayed for about three years. At that time Penn School was able to purchase a 50-acre tract across from Brick Church. They purchased the land from freedman Hasting Gantt. A prefabricated building was then shipped from Pennsylvania, and became the first Penn School building.

Penn School not only taught literacy skills but also taught vocational skills to newly freed slaves. For over 50 years Native Island Basketry was part of the industrial curriculum. The students were all male. The baskets produced at Penn School were of the older, coarser style, with coils of rush rather than sweetgrass. Each basket produced at the school was marked with a trademark tag, which indicated its origin on the Penn School campus.

Although Penn School is no longer in operation, Penn Center, a non-profit African American cultural and community action foundation, now occupies the campus. Scholars from around the world come to study Gullah/Geechee culture and African American history there. Penn Center is located on St. Helena Island, a sub-tropical barrier island well known for its intact Gullah communities such as Frogmore. Like most Sea Islands, St. Helena is struggling with encroachment and land retention issues due to the population explosion on nearby resort islands. Penn Center has been involved in many community-based projects, such as bringing public water to the islands, helping farmers to establish cooperatives, and advocating better housing and health care for low-income people.

During the Civil Rights' Movement of the 1960s, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his staff met frequently at Penn Center. Dr. King saw the site as a place of retreat where he could formulate his thoughts and write his speeches for the struggle ahead. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, founded by King, held annual meetings at Penn Center. Penn Center was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1974. Since then, the NPS has enjoyed a continuous relationship with the organization and has funded numerous preservation projects on the campus.

In 1988, Penn Center hosted Joseph Saidu Momoh, then President of Sierra Leone. As a result of his visit, a delegation of Gullah/Geechee people from South Carolina and Georgia embarked on a journey to Africa as guests of the Sierra Leonian government. Some three years later, Penn Center, in



Butler Building, Penn Center, site of possible museum/curatorial/learning center facility.

cooperation with the South Carolina Educational Television Network (SC- ETV), produced a documentary entitled, *Family across the Sea*. This video chronicles that reunion visit and explores the remarkable cultural connections between Low Country Gullah/Geechee people and the people of Sierra Leone, Africa.

The historic Butler Building, a stucco classroom building once used by the Penn School, could be adapted for use as a public museum and learning center/research facility. NPS learning center facilities are designed to increase research opportunities for both scholars and lay people and could improve Penn Center's ability to inventory, monitor, and care for the historical and natural resources under its care.

At the present time, documents, photographs, and films related to the history of Penn School are housed in the Folklife Archives at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where they are being well- conserved and preserved. Plans are underway to have these records digitized and/or microfilmed so that they will be available to the general public at the Penn Center. Use of digitized records rather than fragile originals makes the information much more available to the community. These images would be housed in the learning center/public research facility in the historic Butler Building.

The museum would house interpretive exhibits specifically related to Gullah/Geechee history and culture. The facilities in the Butler Building would be in addition to the existing York W. Bailey

Museum, which interprets the history of Penn School. The Butler Building could be designed to house a climate- controlled curatorial facility to house important artifacts related to the Penn School and Gullah/Geechee history.

Other facilities at Penn Center, such as Frissell Community House, could be made available for educational programs and performances. Penn Center, NPS, and community organizations could collaborate on academic meetings, workshops, cultural performances, and other educational programs. Such community programs might include traditional arts and crafts, land tenure, heirs' property, historic preservation, economic development, grant writing, heritage tourism, and agricultural tourism.



York W.Bailey Museum, Penn Historic District, St. Helena Island, SC.



Farmers' Alliance Hall, Sapelo Island, McIntosh County, GA. Restoration plans are underway.

Alternative A, Site III: New Coastal Heritage Center, McIntosh County, Georgia

McIntosh County, Georgia, home of the world renowned McIntosh County Shouters, is a rural county located along the southern Georgia coast. The county, intersected by both U.S. Highway 17 and Interstate 95, is thus an important intercept point for travelers going both north and south along these routes. Highway 99, a spur of Highway 17 which has received designation as a National Scenic Byway, extends through the rural communities of Eulonia, Meridian, Carnegan and on into Glynn County. Unlike most Scenic Byways, Highway 99 is more culturally significant than beautiful at this time.

Historically, McIntosh County is known for rice and sugar production, commercial fishing, and the lumber and pulpwood industries. Many tabby structures exist throughout the county and surrounding area. Sapelo Island, well- known for its intact Gullah community, traditions, and festivals, is located in McIntosh County. According to local historian Buddy Sullivan (2000):

> Few Georgia counties – even those in Sherman's path in late 1864 – suffered the hardship and deprivation of Civil War as much as McIntosh County. The fortunes of the planters were irretrievably lost, the plantations were destroyed, the lumber industry devastated, and the once- thriving seaport town of Darien was destroyed as the result of the 'total war' tactics of a renegade Union field officer.
>
> Darien, the county seat, was burned by federal troops in June 1863. Due to its location at the mouth of the Altamaha River system and proximity to the ocean and because of international demand for Georgia yellow pine timber, Darien was re- built and became a major timber port. The timber boom lasted from 1866 to World War I.

Among the 159 counties in Georgia, McIntosh is listed as 155th in economic ranking and is designated as economically distressed. A small county with a population of 11,000 people, McIntosh is about equally divided demographically between black and white citizens. Only about one- third of the county's land is privately owned, with one- third in state and federal government ownership and the other one- third owned by the timber industry. Both local citizens and county officials have expressed considerable interest and support for this project. While government agencies have suggested sites within the town of Darien, many residents of Geechee communities in the area have expressed opposition to locations within the town. They prefer that the center be located in a rural area of the county.

Many travelers on I- 95 already stop at the outlet mall at Exit 49 near Darien, and many of these visitors may be interested in the learning opportunities at a Gullah/Geechee coastal heritage center. Mall officials have expressed interest in a partnership with this project and would provide promotional space at no charge.

Under this alternative the Georgia Department of Natural Resources (DNR) and/or the Trust for Public Land in partnership with the NPS, would provide an as yet undesignated property for a Gullah/Geechee coastal heritage center to be constructed by the NPS. This center could include museum exhibits (both visual and auditory), demonstrations of artisan skills and crafts, agricultural interpretation (sugar, rice, and Sea Island cotton), interpretation of the fishing and timber industries, appropriate space for musical and dramatic performances and community education programs. There would be a retail outlet for Gullah crafts, books, and visual art. The center would also serve to direct interested visitors to Gullah/Geechee sites in the four- state area and/or to contacts within neighboring communities. Although plans for the center would clearly be dependent on the yet to be designated site, local Geechee consultation and participation would be sought in the design phase of this building and would be continued through its construction and eventual operation.

The Gullah/Geechee coastal heritage center in McIntosh County, Georgia, would thus become the southern anchor point or gateway. From this site visitors could be directed to Gullah/Geechee related sites in the immediate area as well as to those along the entire coast. Gullah/Geechee related sites in this area of Georgia include, but are not limited to:

- Butler Island, Altamaha National Wildlife Refuge, McIntosh County;
- Harris Neck National Wildlife Preserve, Harris Neck, McIntosh County;
- Sapelo Island Visitors Center, Meridian, McIntosh County;
- Hog Hammock Community, Sapelo Island, McIntosh County;
- Seabrook Village, Midway, Liberty County;
- Harrington School, St. Simons Island, Glynn County;
- Hofwyl- Broadfield Plantation, Glynn County.



Tabby ruins are all that remain of the old sugar works and rum refinery at the Thicket, Carnochan Creek, near Darien, McIntosh County, GA.



First African Baptist Church, Darien, GA



Chimney from steam-powered rice mill, Butler Island Plantation, now Altamaha National Wildlife Refuge.



Hofwyl-Broadfield Plantation State Historic Site, located along the marshlands of the Altahama River in McIntosh County, GA. Tabby ruins of the rice mill remain. The house was built by slave labor during the 1850s.

Alternative A Area Map



Alternative B: Expanding the Gullah/Geechee Story

Under this alternative, existing NPS units would collaborate with state and local park sites located in the Gullah/Geechee project area to administer a multi- partner interpretive and educational program. Cooperative agreements among agencies would identify and delegate administrative, operational, and program functions for each partner. It is also possible that private historic sites could be considered for inclusion in this program.

For example, the NPS and the State of South Carolina might enter into a cooperative agreement to create a partnership between Charles Pinckney National Historic Site and Hampton Plantation State Historic Site to collaborate on the development of interpretive educational programs on Gullah/Geechee culture in the Charleston area.

The primary goal of this alternative would be to increase interpretation of Gullah/Geechee history and culture in all appropriate sites within the study area. These sites might then complement each other by providing varied programs on Gullah/Geechee culture to visitors. NPS units best suited to this alternative are:

- Charles Pinckney National Historic Site;
- Fort Moultrie, a unit of Fort Sumter National Monument;
- Fort Pulaski National Monument;
- Cumberland Island National Seashore;
- Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve (Kingsley Plantation);
- Fort Frederica National Monument.

Each of these NPS units has an existing association with the Gullah/Geechee story that is not currently specifically addressed in the enabling legislation. The expansion of interpretive programs and other management functions to include aspects of the story of Gullah/Geechee history and culture would be viable at these parks.

Expansion of the missions of park units to include preservation and interpretation of Gullah/Geechee culture could permit fuller coverage of many more aspects of Gullah/Geechee life, past and present, than is represented in existing efforts. Such expansion could apply principally to those parks within the historic Gullah/Geechee culture which currently do not include Gullah/Geechee history and culture in their interpretive programs as part of their established missions. For those parks that already include Gullah/Geechee history and culture in their interpretive programs, expanding the "Gullah/Geechee story" could enhance public appreciation and understanding of the specific individuals and events for which the park units were established in the first place.

This alternative may require specific enhancement of park legislation for each of the affected units. In developing interpretive programs, park managers could work closely with Gullah/Geechee organizations and individuals in local communities, as well as academicians and researchers, to ensure accuracy and appropriate respect for existing cultural practices and traditions.

NPS costs associated with potential expansion of interpretive programs at up to five existing park units, might include:

- Increase in staff to handle increased interpretive emphasis—possible staff collaboration/sharing with state and local sites;
- Exhibit expansion and upgrading;
- Modest facility expansion to accommodate new and enhanced interpretive programs.

Numerous opportunities exist within the coastal multi- state study area for partnership endeavors among existing NPS units, state park sites, as well as county and local parks. The following list includes some appropriate state and county sites in South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. This list is by no means inclusive; other appropriate sites are welcome as partners in this project.

South Carolina

- Charles Towne Landing State Historic Site (SCPRT);
- Caw Caw Interpretive Center (Charleston County PRC);
- Hampton State Historic Site (SCPRT);
- Edisto Island State Park (SCPRT);
- Hunting Island State Park (SCPRT).

Georgia

- Sapelo Island National Reserve;
- Hofwyl- Broadfield Plantation State Historic Site;
- LeConte- Woodmanston Plantation;
- Butler Island Rice Plantation State Historic Site (Altamaha State Wildlife Management Area).

Florida

- Talbot Island State Park.

Alternative B was frequently discussed at community meetings. Some people expressed fear that these existing units, which may have traditionally told a less than complete story, could not be trusted to tell the full story in an accurate manner. Most people, however, felt that it was worthwhile to move ahead with this process. Many expressed their belief that work on this alternative should begin immediately and without regard to the funding outcomes of the other alternatives.



First African Baptist Church,
Cumberland Island National Sea Shore,
Camden Co., GA.



Butler Island, Altamaha State Wildlife
Management Area, McIntosh Co., GA.



Restored slave cabin, Kingsley Plantation,
Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve,
near Jacksonville, FL.



Harris Neck National Wildlife Refuge,
Harris Neck, McIntosh Co, GA.

Alternative B Area Map



Alternative C: Gullah/Geechee National Heritage Area

Under this alternative, a NHA would be established to connect coastal resources, including cultural landscapes, archaeological sites, historic structures, and places of continuing ethnological importance that tell the story of Gullah/Geechee culture. This multi- state heritage partnership could interpret the entire Gullah/Geechee coastal area. Gullah/Geechee community organizations and associations would have a strong governing role in the administration of any designated heritage area. Appropriate sites within each of the included counties could be designated and listed as important places to visit within the heritage corridor.

A NHA is defined by the NPS as a place, designated by Congress where natural, cultural, historic and scenic resources combine to form a cohesive, nationally distinctive cultural area arising from patterns of human activity and shaped by the geography of the region. These patterns of activity make NHAs representative of the national experience through the physical features that remain and the traditions that have evolved in them. Continued use of NHAs by people whose traditions helped to shape the landscapes enhances their significance. Not only is it important to note that the land base of the Gullah/Geechee coast encompasses an area that historically gave rise to the culture, but this same land base is also the focus of a continuing struggle for cultural survival and the people's tangible and intangible cultural heritage.

A heritage area is both a place and a concept. Physically, heritage areas are regions with concentrations of important historic, cultural, natural, and recreational resources. These are places known for their unique culture and identity, as well as being good places to live and visit. As a concept, a heritage area serves to combine resource conservation and education with economic development, typically in the form of tourism. Usually, there are a number of sensitive sites within a heritage area that may be shielded from public visitation. However, there must be enough sites suitable for public view concentrated within a given area to create a sense of continuity for visitors along the way.

Heritage areas are inclusive of diverse peoples and their cultures because they encompass living landscapes and traditional uses of the land. A recent NPS survey shows that almost 45 million people across 17 states live within NHAs. Heritage areas are just one of a growing number of collaborative, community- based conservation strategies that have developed in recent years to identify, preserve, and interpret resources. By establishing a heritage area, communities work in partnership across jurisdictional boundaries to plan for their future, based on their shared heritage from the past.

NHAs have significance and value in their own right, as they encompass some of the most important cultural resources in the nation. More than 20% of all the National Historic Landmarks in the United States are located in such areas. Also of importance is the regional financial impact of heritage area designation. Gateway communities in particular can benefit from heritage planning that reinvigorates local tourist offerings with real and authentic experiences. The heritage area approach is one more link in a national network of parks and conservation areas between important natural resources and the people who live and work in related gateway communities.

The NPS has outlined four critical steps that need to be taken prior to Congressional designation of a NHA. These steps are:

- Completion of a site inventory and suitability/feasibility study;
- Public involvement in the process of the suitability/feasibility study;
- Demonstration of widespread public support among most residents of the heritage area for the proposed NHA designation;

- Commitment to the proposal from appropriate partners, which may include governments, industry, and private non- profit organizations, in addition to the broad spectrum of local citizenry.

Although the findings of this SRS go a long way towards addressing these critical steps, there is still a significant amount of work that would need to be completed as part of a suitability and feasibility study. A comprehensive site inventory should be of particular significance to the Gullah/Geechee population. Historic sites of importance to European settlers of the Low Country have been identified, mapped, and studied in great detail. African American sites have not been as well documented. An inventory would create a more complete picture of the cultural history and development of the Gullah/Geechee people throughout the study area. Despite much scholarly work on Gullah/Geechee culture, physical sites and places of cultural expression have not been as well documented.

The request for NHA designation must emanate as a grass- roots proposal. Involvement by the NPS would likely be as start- up coordinator, and could include providing initial technical assistance for general planning, resource management, and interpretation. Overall management of the heritage partnership would eventually be administered by one or more local entities that would represent Gullah and Geechee people of each of the states in the NHA. The entity, outlined in the designation legislation, may be a state or local agency, a commission, or a private nonprofit corporation. This entity would guide and oversee the goals and objectives of the heritage area as specified under an agreement with the Secretary of the Interior that would specify measures for administration of the heritage area and related authorities. An important criterion for the prosperity and self- sustainability of the NHA would be a clear indication of the ability of the entity to assume long- term responsibility for management of the area.

Although there is no lack of grass- roots organizations within the study area, no single one has a sufficiently broad constituency, structure, and scope to be the start- up organization at this time. A feasibility study would examine more closely whether the proposed heritage area can achieve self- sufficiency without federal support. Although start- up funding may be available, a heritage area must become financially self- sufficient within a specified time frame, usually ten to fifteen years.

Upon designation, a NHA must develop a management plan to serve as a road map for all stakeholders who support the vision for the area. The plan must be developed within the timeframe specified in the legislation (usually 3- 5 years) and approved by the Secretary of the Interior. For designated areas, the NPS role is:

- to work with the area on the management plan that will guide the heritage development of the region;
- to establish appropriate frameworks and procedures for ongoing oversight, advice, and consultation from residents of Gullah/Geechee communities (as defined in NPS cultural resource management policies);
- to enter into a cooperative agreement that defines the NPS partnership role and to amend this agreement annually to allocate appropriated funds for the identified projects that will be undertaken to further the plan;
- to monitor the expenditure of funds;
- to ensure that the funds are properly matched and meet all other requirements;
- to review annual reports prepared by each management entity.

Alternative C Area Map



Alternative D: Alternatives A and C in Combination

Alternative D combines Alternatives A and C into a single alternative. Alternative D came about as a result of suggestions and comments made by participants in community forums held in 2002. In brief, Alternative D proposes the establishment of heritage centers to serve as gateways or welcome centers that would attract visitors, provide basic interpretive information about Gullah/Geechee culture, and channel visitors to designated sites throughout the Gullah/Geechee NHA. Coastal heritage centers would enhance the visitor experience of Gullah/Geechee culture and heritage through interpretive exhibits, music, art, and a variety of educational programs involving Gullah/Geechee people telling their own stories. The centers could also provide maps of the NHA, information about food and lodging, and interpretive information about historic and cultural sites within communities.

Visitors could be directed to significant sites within every county in the NHA, as well as to persons within local communities for guided tours and/or other experiences. The Gullah/Geechee NHA and coastal heritage centers would work together to direct visitors to NHA designated sites throughout the NHA and to protect fragile cultural and historic sites from excessive visitation. The centers could provide research facilities, meeting space, vending areas, and community learning opportunities that relate to current problems facing the Gullah/Geechee people at large.

Alternative E: No Action

The No Action alternative represents a continuation of existing conditions. There is no NPS role under this alternative. The NPS would have no financial involvement. Several agencies within the area fund, operate, and/or maintain their resources in accordance with their abilities. At this time, there is no unified resource protection program for the Gullah/Geechee study area, but interpretation of Gullah/Geechee culture in NPS sites would continue at the current level. Adoption of Alternative E does not imply that there is no national significance to Gullah/Geechee culture, but that no appropriate action can be identified under NPS mandates.

Cost Estimates of Alternatives A - E

The NPS applies Class C estimates to determine potential development costs for the alternatives described in this SRS. Class C estimates are conceptual and based largely on square foot costs of similar construction or development. Class C estimates are prepared without a fully defined scope of work, which is the case with these alternatives. The accepted industry accuracy range for Class C estimates is from - 30 to +50 percent. A design contingency of 15 to 30 percent is also added to the estimate.

Alternative A: Gullah/Geechee Coastal Heritage Centers

Development Cost: $12 million

The estimated cost assumes total NPS construction and site development costs associated with the three heritage center sites, as described in the *Alternatives* section. Although the NPS would assume all construction and site development costs, this alternative proposes to locate the heritage centers on existing public lands, thereby requiring no funding for land acquisition or removal of lands from Gullah/Geechee communities.

Operations and Maintenance Cost: $1 million annually

The three heritage centers would be staffed with various NPS personnel that would assist with facilities maintenance, visitor use and interpretive services, and resource protection. Through the establishment of cooperative agreements, NPS would seek to share some functions with partners, including other government agencies and non- profit organizations. Consequently, projected NPS costs for annual operations and maintenance could be reduced as other entities assume increased management roles.

Alternative B: Expanding Gullah/Geechee Story

Development Cost: $1 million

The estimated cost assumes extensive development of interpretive programs and exhibits at existing NPS parks in the Gullah/Geechee study area, as described earlier in the *Alternatives* section. Costs include some projected expansion of existing NPS facilities to accommodate the expanded interpretive programs.

Operations and Maintenance Cost: $300,000 annually

The estimated cost provides funding for additional NPS staff to administer expanded Gullah/Geechee interpretive programs and provide other services, including facilities maintenance and resource management and protection. NPS could share some functions with partners, including other government agencies and nonprofit organizations.

Alternative C: Gullah/Geechee National Heritage Area

Federal funding for the establishment of a NHA could be up to a maximum of $1 million annually, not exceeding a total of $10 million over the period of NPS involvement. Overall management of the heritage area would eventually be administered by one or more local entities that would guide and oversee the goals and objectives of the heritage area.

Although there would be no direct NPS ownership or management of resources in the heritage area, except existing NPS units, an agreement between the Secretary of the Interior and the management entity(ies) would specify measures to administer the heritage area. Typically, funding would cover activities such as start- up costs, planning, development, administration, operations, and maintenance.

Although initial funding may be available, a NHA must become financially self- sufficient within a specified time frame, usually ten years.

Alternative D: Alternatives A and C in Combination

This alternative combines the estimated costs of alternatives A and C as described above. Alternative D assumes NPS costs associated with construction and site development for the three heritage center sites plus funding for the NHA.

Alternative E: No Action

No federal funds would be expended under this alternative.

Most Effective and Efficient Alternative: Alternative C

The NPS considers Alternative C, which proposes the establishment of a Gullah/Geechee NHA, to be the most effective and efficient alternative for protecting significant resources and providing for public enjoyment.

A Gullah/Geechee NHA would be cost- effective because it can facilitate the leveraging of funds and resources through a working partnership among federal, state, and local entities. The NPS, along with other federal agencies, can bring national recognition to the NHA and provide other technical assistance on a case- by- case basis. However, overall management of the heritage partnership would eventually be administered by one or more local entities that would represent Gullah and Geechee people of each of the states in the NHA.

As indicated in the *Cost Estimates* section, federal funding for the establishment of a Gullah/Geechee NHA could be up to a maximum of $1 million annually, not to exceed a total of $10 million over the period of NPS involvement. The NHA would essentially become the responsibility of the people living within its boundaries. As its stakeholders, they would ensure that the heritage area's resources are protected, interpreted, and preserved. The federal government would not assume any ownership of land, impose zoning or land use controls in heritage areas, or take responsibility for permanent funding. Likewise, there would be no direct NPS ownership or management of resources in the heritage area, except at existing National Park System units.

During the SRS community involvement process substantial support was voiced for the establishment of cultural heritage centers. Supporters of the heritage area concept also expressed interest in developing such centers as strategic anchors within the heritage area to help attract visitors and bring together members of the Gullah/Geechee community. Many people envisioned the centers serving to promote the NHA as well as specific sites within Gullah/Geechee communities. In addition, many felt the centers could serve as catalysts for other preservation projects within the area and for development of the NHA itself.

Cultural heritage centers could play an important role in preserving Gullah/Geechee culture. Centers could be viable through the implementation of Alternative C if the NHA management entity identifies centers as an important component of the heritage area. Steps for their establishment would be spelled out in the NHA management plan. Such steps could include a funding strategy and potential partnerships for the development and operation of the centers. The plan might also identify strategies for developing and implementing an interpretation plan, or assisting in the rehabilitation of a number of Gullah/Geechee cultural sites.

Environmentally Preferred Alternative: Alternative C

The environmentally preferred alternative is the alternative that would best promote the national environmental policy, as expressed in the National Environmental Policy Act. The environmentally preferred alternative would cause the least damage to the biological and physical environment, and would best protect, preserve, and enhance historical, cultural, and natural resources.

Section 101(b) of the National Environmental Policy Act identifies six criteria to help determine the environmentally preferred alternative. The act directs that federal plans should:

- Fulfill the responsibilities of each generation as trustee of the environment for succeeding generations.
- Assure for all Americans safe, healthful, productive, and esthetically and culturally pleasing surroundings.
- Attain the widest range of beneficial uses of the environment without degradation, risk to health or safety, or other undesirable and unintended consequences.
- Preserve important historical, cultural, and natural aspects of our national heritage, and maintain, whenever possible, an environment which supports diversity and variety of individual choice.
- Achieve a balance between population and resource use which would permit high standards of living and a wide sharing of life's amenities.
- Enhance the quality of renewable resources and approach the maximum attainable recycling of depletable resources.

Based upon the application of the national environmental policy goals set forth above, the environmentally preferred alternative is Alternative C. Although Alternative E would involve the fewest impacts to natural resources because it would not entail any ground disturbing activities, its impacts to cultural resources would be adverse because it would not address ongoing threats to Gullah/Geechee culture and would not afford new opportunities to help perpetuate and increase awareness of that culture. Alternatives A and D would each entail adverse effects to natural resources in the vicinity of the proposed cultural centers. Perhaps more importantly, these alternatives would tend to concentrate effort and expenditures in support of Gullah/Geechee culture in three relatively discrete areas. In contrast, Alternative C would disperse preservation efforts and available funding opportunities to projects throughout a multi- state heritage area, thereby affording a wide a range of benefits to Gullah/Geechee culture and supporting greater diversity and variety of individual choice. Furthermore, Alternative C would achieve the best balance between population and resource use and preservation, thereby permitting high standards of living and a wide sharing of life's amenities. For each of the foregoing reasons, Alternative C is the environmentally preferred alternative.

Partial Listing of Potential Partners for NPS Alternatives

Advisory Council on Historic Preservation
African American heritage and preservation organizations in all 4 states
American College of the Building Arts
American Trails
Amtrak/NPS Trails to Rails partnership
Association of Partners for Public Lands (APPL)
Atlantic Beach Historical Society
Avery Research Center for African American History and Culture, College of Charleston
Berkeley- Dorchester- Charleston Council of Governments
Bureau of Land Management
Carlie Towne Gullah/Geechee People Foundation
Carolina Gold Rice Foundation
Center for Coastal and Environmental Health and Biomolecular Research, NOAA
City of Charleston Department of Cultural Affairs (Piccolo Spoleto and MOJA Arts Festivals)
Charleston County Parks and Recreation Commission (PRC)
Charleston Museum
Chicora Foundation
Christ Church Parish Preservation Society, Inc.
Clemson Extension Service
Coastal Conservation League
Coastal Georgia Historical Society
Coastal Georgia Rural Development Center
Coastal Heritage Society [Georgia]
Colonial Dorchester State Historic Site
County and Municipal Governments in South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, North Carolina
Daufuskie Island Historical Foundation
Departments of education in the four states (South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, North Carolina)
Environmental Alliance for Senior Involvement (EASI)
Environmental Careers Organization
Federation of Southern Cooperatives Land Assistance Fund
First African Baptist Church, Savannah, Georgia
Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina state park systems
Fort Morris State Historic Site
Friends of Snee Farm
Geechee Institute, Savannah, Georgia
Georgia Department of Natural Resources (DNR)
Georgia Historical Society
Georgia Conservancy
Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation
Gullah Festival of South Carolina, Inc.
Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition
Historic Charleston Foundation and McLeod Plantation
Historic Savannah Foundation
Hobcaw Barony (Belle B. Baruch Foundation)
International Museum of African American History
Individual Gullah/Geechee artisans and their representative groups
Landowners on Sea Islands, both private and corporate
LeConte- Woodmanston Plantation National Historic Site
Lighthouse Museum, St. Simon's Island, GA
Lowcountry Council of Governments

Massie Heritage Center
McClellanville Museum
McIntosh SEAD
Melon Bluff Nature and Heritage Preserve
Middleton Place Foundation
Morris Island Coalition
National Trust for Historic Preservation
Neighborhood America
Original Sweetgrass Basket Makers Association
Orton Plantation Gardens, Winnabow, North Carolina
Penn Center, St. Helena Island, South Carolina
Rice Museum, Georgetown, South Carolina
St. James Santee Parish Historical Society
St. Simons African American Heritage Coalition (SSAAHC)
St. Simons Island Land Trust
Sams Memorial Community Economic Development, Inc., Darien, Georgia
Sandfly Community Betterment Association
Sapelo Island Cultural and Revitalization Society (SICARS)
Sapelo Island National Estuarine Research Reserve
Seabrook Village Foundation, Midway, Georgia
Sea Grant Consortium in South Carolina and Georgia
Sea Island Youth Build, United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)
Sea Islands Rural Collaborative
Sewee to Santee Community Development Corporation, McClellanville, South Carolina
Slave Relic Historic Museum, Walterboro, South Carolina
Smithsonian Institution, American Folklife Center, Washington, DC
Snowden Community Civic Association, Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina
South Carolina African American Heritage Commission
South Carolina Artisan Center, Walterboro, South Carolina
South Carolina Bar Foundation, Columbia, South Carolina
South Carolina Coastal Development Corporation, St. Helena Island, South Carolina
South Carolina Department of Parks, Recreation, and Tourism (SCPRT)
South Carolina National Heritage Corridor
South Carolina State University 1890 Research and Extension Program
Southeast Georgia Community Development Corporation
Southern Passages Heritage Coast
State and local historic sites within study area
State and local museums and libraries within the Gullah/Geechee study area
State governments of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida
State Historic Preservation Offices within study area
Tourism groups and Chambers of Commerce within the study area
Town of Edisto Beach, South Carolina
Town of Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina
University of Georgia Extension Service
U.S. Department of Agriculture Liaison Office
U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service
U.S. Forest Service
Watson- Brown Foundation

Partial Listing of Colleges and Universities within the Study Area

Allen University (Historically Black Colleges and Universities)
Armstrong Atlantic University
Benedict College (Historically Black Colleges and Universities)
Charleston Southern University
Claflin University (Historically Black Colleges and Universities)
Clemson University
Coastal Carolina University
Coastal Georgia Community College
College of Charleston
Edward Waters College (Historically Black Colleges and Universities)
Francis Marion University
Georgia Southern University
Georgia State University
Florida A & M University (Historically Black Colleges and Universities)
Florida State University
Morris College (Historically Black Colleges and Universities)
Savannah College of Art and Design (SCAD)
Savannah State College (Historically Black Colleges and Universities)
South Carolina State University (Historically Black Colleges and Universities)
State University of West Georgia
The Citadel
Trident Technical College
University of Florida
University of Georgia
University of North Carolina
University of North Carolina at Wilmington
University of South Carolina
University of South Carolina at Beaufort
Voorhees College (Historically Black Colleges and Universities)

5 Environmental Consequences

Environmental Impact of Alternatives A-E

This chapter analyzes the general impacts that could result from implementing the alternatives described in this study. In addition to impacts on visitor experience and education potential, this assessment includes impacts on Gullah/Geechee culture, historic sites and structures, the economy and local communities, and the natural environment. The five alternatives are compared under each impact category. Existing conditions in the study area are described under Alternative E (no action).

Should Congress choose to authorize one of the alternatives in this study or some other alternative, the NPS will be required to prepare a plan specifying how it will meet its responsibilities under the legislation. As part of the planning process, NPS will undertake a more detailed analysis of the environmental impacts of the authorized actions.

Impacts of Visitor Experience and Educational Potential

Alternative A (Gullah/Geechee Coastal Heritage Centers)

Under this alternative, the NPS and/or its governmental and non- profit partners would operate three cultural centers to present a focused interpretive overview of the Gullah/Geechee culture. Because each center would offer a different operational and interpretive emphasis, visitors and students would have the opportunity to gain a more in- depth understanding of major facets of Gullah/Geechee culture than would be possible under the other alternatives. However, the fact that the cultural centers would be located relatively far apart means that access to this interpretive/educational experience would be more limited than under alternatives B, C and D.

Alternative B (Expanding the Gullah/Geechee Story)

Under this alternative, the NPS and partner agencies would expand the mission of existing park sites to interpret Gullah/Geechee culture. Information about Gullah/Geechee culture would thus be widely dispersed over a multi- state area. Moreover, this alternative would allow the Gullah/Geechee story to be interpreted within the context of particular sites of established historical and cultural importance. Some might view this approach as giving added depth and context to interpretations of Gullah/Geechee culture, while others might feel that it prevents a more focused interpretation of the culture itself.

Alternative C (Gullah/Geechee National Heritage Area)

Establishment of a Gullah/Geechee NHA would allow local communities, organizations, and individuals to come together to achieve goals and implement a vision with respect to interpreting and perpetuating Gullah/Geechee culture. Information about Gullah/Geechee culture would be widely available among a multitude of public and private sites included within the heritage area. Local planners and community activists, with technical assistance from the NPS, would decide how the heritage area is to be promoted to a wide audience and how information about individual sites would

be disseminated to potential visitors. Responsibility for interpretation would largely be shared with individual sites. This alternative requires the greatest amount of commitment and effort from local people in order to be successful.

Alternative D (Alternatives A and C in Combination)

This alternative would provide opportunities for visitor use and education at a combination of cultural centers and sites located within a heritage area. This alternative would combine the benefits of in- depth interpretation of specific themes (cultural centers) and dispersed interpretation of multiple sites (heritage area).

Alternative E (No Action)

Opportunities would remain available for visitors to learn about Gullah culture at various widely dispersed sites throughout North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. However, activities would not be coordinated, and many visitors would not be aware that such opportunities are available.

Impacts on Gullah/Geechee Culture

Alternative A (Gullah/Geechee Coastal Heritage Centers)

Under this alternative, various programs would be made available to assist members of Gullah/Geechee communities. Internship opportunities could be arranged for young people, training could be offered in seeking grants and official recognition for historic sites, and space could be made available at the cultural centers for artisans, performers, and craftspeople and those wishing to demonstrate cultural practices. The NPS would seek to recruit well- qualified individuals from Gullah/Geechee communities to assist in developing and presenting interpretive programs to create a greater appreciation of Gullah/Geechee culture in the public at large. However, interpretive programs would have to meet NPS standards for historical and scholarly presentations, and some members of the community might disagree with the interpretations offered at the centers. Issues regarding who "controls" the Gullah/Geechee story may be more likely to arise under this alternative than under the heritage area concept (Alternative C).

Alternative B (Expanding the Gullah/Geechee Story)

Existing park sites would be encouraged to recruit well- qualified individuals from Gullah/Geechee communities to assist in developing and presenting new interpretive programs. These programs would be designed to expand upon each park's existing purpose and significance to include aspects of Gullah/Geechee culture. As with Alternative A, issues regarding who "controls" the Gullah/Geechee story could arise under this alternative. Given the potentially large number of sites that could be included under this alternative, the potential exists to expose a wide spectrum of the public to Gullah/Geechee culture. This exposure could be beneficial to individuals and communities seeking to increase awareness of the culture and perpetuate cultural practices.

Alternative C (Gullah/Geechee National Heritage Area)

To a greater extent than Alternatives A and B, this alternative has the potential to involve a wide and diverse range of participants in interpreting Gullah/Geechee culture and perpetuating Gullah/Geechee cultural practices. With a management commission that can be made up of local people, and with responsibility for interpretation shared with individual sites, the heritage area concept allows a variety of complementary and even conflicting points of view to find expression, as

befits a living, changing culture. This alternative thus provides Gullah/Geechee people the greatest amount of control over their story. Given the large and diverse array of sites that could be included in a heritage area, the potential exists to expose a wide spectrum of the public to Gullah/Geechee culture.

Alternative D (Alternatives A and C in Combination)

This alternative would combine the benefits from the various programs designed to assist Gullah/Geechee communities with the economic benefits offered by tourism to the cultural centers and the heritage area.

Alternative E (no action)

Opportunities would remain available for members of the Gullah/Geechee community to preserve their culture, protect ancestral lands, and educate visitors about Gullah/Geechee culture. However, funding for these opportunities would be harder to come by and activities would be less coordinated over a large area than under the action alternatives.

Impacts on Cultural Sites and Structures

Alternative A (Gullah/Geechee Coastal Heritage Centers)

This alternative would direct new funding for restoration and preservation of existing structures at the proposed heritage centers. Funding would be concentrated at the sites chosen for such centers, e.g., Tibwin Plantation, Hampton Plantation State Historic Site, and the Penn Center. However, each heritage center would direct visitors to other important Gullah/Geechee sites, thereby raising the profile of these sites and possibly making it easier to engage in private fundraising activities for restoration and preservation. In addition, grants may be available to assist in local preservation projects. Overall, this alternative would likely result in beneficial impacts to fewer sites and structures than Alternative C, but the sites and structures affected would receive more thorough and effective treatments.

Alternative B (Expanding the Gullah/Geechee Story)

This alternative would be limited to existing park sites. Expanding the interpretive focus to include Gullah/Geechee culture would not be likely to result in major enhancements of cultural resources, as most such resources will already be subject to a high degree of protective effort.

Alternative C (Gullah/Geechee National Heritage Area)

Under this alternative, a heritage area commission would work with landowners, communities, institutions, and government offices to document and protect important cultural resources (landscapes and structures) of the heritage area. Technical assistance and grant money may be available to rehabilitate and restore historic structures meeting eligibility requirements. In all likelihood, any such grants would have to be matched by local contributions.

Alternative D (Alternatives A and C in Combination)

This alternative would direct funds appropriated by Congress toward rehabilitation/restoration of specified structures at the cultural centers, as well as qualifying structures in the heritage area. (Please note that there is no guarantee Congress would appropriate any funds for this purpose.) Funds for

structures in the heritage area would come in the form of grants and would likely be subject to a requirement that the grants be matched.

Alternative E (no action)

Opportunities would remain for members of Gullah/Geechee communities to raise funds for historic preservation from foundations and other private and public funding sources. However, fundraising would continue to face the obstacles that have hampered past efforts, including ignorance of Gullah/Geechee culture in society at large and limited availability of government grants and matching funds.

Impact on the Economy and Local Communities

Alternative A (Gullah/Geechee Coastal Heritage Centers)

This alternative would attract visitors to the locations of the heritage centers and would direct some of these visitors to other significant sites in adjacent communities. Economic benefits would depend on the level of visitation generated by the centers. The fact that the three centers would be located relatively far apart would mean that economic benefits to the Gullah/Geechee community would be concentrated in fewer areas under this alternative than under the other action alternatives. However, the centers would be sited in such a way as to protect fragile sites from being overwhelmed by visitors.

Alternative B (Expanding the Gullah/Geechee Story)

This alternative could attract additional visitors to existing park areas by expanding the interpretive focus of these areas to include Gullah/Geechee culture. In addition, the expanded interpretive focus could direct some of these visitors to other important Gullah/Geechee sites in adjacent communities. Given the large number of sites that could be included in this alternative and the occurrence of these sites over a large geographic area, it is possible that the economic benefits of tourism would be more widely dispersed under this alternative than would be possible under Alternative A. Dispersed visitation patterns could also prevent fragile sites from being overwhelmed by visitors.

Alternative C (Gullah/Geechee National Heritage Area)

With proper development and promotion, a heritage area could result in increased tourism for many sites associated with Gullah/Geechee culture, with associated economic benefits and demands on infrastructure. A major benefit of the heritage area concept is that it may make possible the interpretation of more individual sites than would be feasible under alternatives A and B. However, a heritage area can only be successful if local communities and individuals are willing to make the large commitments of time and financial resources necessary to start and maintain a heritage area commission. Although Federal funds may be available to assist with start- up of the commission, a heritage area must become financially self- sufficient within a specified time frame, usually ten years.

Alternative D (Alternatives A and C in Combination)

This alternative would generate localized economic benefits associated with the construction of new cultural centers. Additional benefits would arise over a larger area as a result of tourism to both the cultural centers and sites within the heritage area. Large increases in tourism could result in additional public costs to expand necessary infrastructure.

Alternative E (no action)

Economic opportunities would remain available for members of the Gullah/Geechee community at sites throughout North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. However, efforts to improve these opportunities would not have the benefit of enhanced public awareness of Gullah/Geechee culture that would come from interpretation activities at one or more park units, or throughout a heritage area. In addition, such efforts would lack the resources, in the form of both financial and technical assistance that could be made available under the action alternatives.

Impacts on the Natural Environment

Alternative A (Gullah/Geechee Coastal Heritage Centers)

Restoration and adaptive use of existing structures at the cultural centers would not have long- term impacts on natural resources. Development of new structures − for example, at an as yet undesignated site in McIntosh County, Georgia − could result in long- term disturbance to soils, vegetation, and wildlife habitat over a relatively small area.

Alternative B (Expanding the Gullah/Geechee Story)

This alternative would most likely involve an expansion of interpretive focus only and would not involve any construction of new facilities. However, to the extent that any new facilities were constructed, the result could be long- term disturbance to soils, vegetation, and wildlife habitat over a relatively small area.

Alternative C (Gullah/Geechee National Heritage Area)

Under this alternative, a heritage area commission would work with landowners, communities, institutions, and government offices to document and protect important natural resources of the heritage area. Protection for important natural areas could come in the form of zoning restrictions, conservation easements, or similar measures. No land could be acquired by the commission and private property rights would be protected.

Alternative D (Alternatives A and C in Combination)

Development of the cultural centers, together with construction of new cultural facilities in the heritage area, could result in the loss of some natural resources on a relatively small scale. The heritage commission could provide incentives and take other actions short of acquiring land to provide a measure of protection to important natural resources.

Alternative E (no action)

Under this alternative, present trends with respect to natural resources would remain largely unchanged. Accelerated development in coastal areas would continue to result in losses of important natural areas.

Environmental Justice

Alternatives A, B, C, and D

According to the Environmental Protection Agency, environmental justice is the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people, regardless of race, color, national origin, or income, with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies. Presidential Executive Order 12898, "General Actions to Address Environmental Justice in Minority Populations and Low- Income Populations," requires all federal agencies to incorporate environmental justice into their missions by identifying and addressing any disproportionately high and/or adverse human health or environmental effects of their programs and policies on minorities and low- income populations and communities.

The action alternatives considered in this study would not have adverse health or environmental effects on minorities or low- income populations or communities as defined in the Environmental Protection Agency's Draft Environmental Justice Guidance (July 1996). In fact, the alternatives outlined herein offer various proposed ways for assisting Gullah/Geechee people in improving their economic well- being and perpetuating their culture.

Cultural Resource Preservation Tools and Methods

The action alternatives presented in this study provide different strategies for the preservation and interpretation of Gullah/Geechee culture and outline specific NPS roles and responsibilities in an implementation scenario for each alternative. There are, however, many effective cultural preservation programs and tools available to local communities that are beyond the purview of the alternatives described in this study. As this study has noted, during the public meeting and consultation process, several important issues and concerns were identified that lie outside the direct authority of the NPS to address effectively. Of paramount concern was the increasing loss of land and associated Gullah/Geechee resources due to development pressures and changing local tax bases.

The following programs and tools have proven to be effective in addressing some of the critical concerns identified in this study related to the preservation of Gullah/Geechee culture and associated resources. Two of these programs, the Certified Local Government Program and the Historic Landscape Initiative, are administered by the NPS to assist local communities throughout the country with cultural resource preservation. Each State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) can also provide more detailed information on these and related state- specific tools and programs available for cultural preservation (see list below).

Conservation Easements

A conservation easement is a legal agreement between a landowner and a land trust or government agency that permanently limits uses of the land in order to protect its conservation values. Conservation easements (not withstanding the negative impact of such easements on the traditional culture and life ways of Gullah and Geechee peoples, as noted earlier in the text of this report) are used to protect resources such as productive agricultural land, ground and surface water, riverfront land, wildlife habitat, historic sites, or scenic views. The easement is either voluntarily sold or donated by the landowner, and constitutes a legally binding agreement that prohibits certain types of development (residential or commercial) from taking place on the land. Easements are used by landowners ("grantors") to authorize a qualified conservation organization or public agency ("grantee") to monitor and enforce the restrictions set forth in the agreement. Conservation

easements are flexible documents tailored to each property and the needs of individual landowners. They may cover an entire parcel or portions of a property. Conservation easements can be an effective complement to government acquisition programs and the regulation of uses to protect environmentally sensitive land.

Every state in the nation has laws pertaining to conservation easements. The National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws adopted the Uniform Conservation Easement Act in 1981. The Act was designed to serve as a model for state legislation to allow qualified public agencies and private conservation organizations to accept, acquire, and hold less- than- fee- simple interests in land for the purposes of conservation and preservation. Different land trusts and government entities have different requirements that must be satisfied. A general description of valid conservation purposes – and one that must be satisfied to be eligible for tax benefits — is provided by the Internal Revenue Code Section 170(h) (4)(A).

Many conservation easements involve the participation of a land trust. These nonprofit organizations have been established for the specific purpose of protecting land. The IRS recognizes them as publicly- supported charitable organizations. More than 1,100 land trusts in the United States protect over four million acres of farms, wetlands, wildlife habitat, urban gardens and parks, forests, watersheds, coastlines, river corridors, aquifer recharge areas, and trails.

A land trust is considered a qualified easement holder, and land trusts are good sources of information for private landowners that wish to explore the possibility of a conservation easement for their land. Though local, state and federal government agencies may purchase and accept donations of conservation easements, land trusts play the most critical role in working with landowners to protect conservation lands. Many landowners are more comfortable donating land to a private, nonprofit organization than to a unit of government, especially if the land trust is locally based. Land trusts often can step in to negotiate easements and raise funds for their purchase more quickly than a public agency. For further information on conservation easements, contact the following agencies:

National

Trust for Public Land
116 New Montgomery Street, 4th Floor
San Francisco, CA 94105
415.495.4014
http://www.tpl.org

Land Trust Alliance
1331 H Street NW, Suite 400
Washington, DC 20005- 4734
202.638.4725

USDA Natural Resources Conservation Service
P.O. Box 2890
Washington, DC 20013
202.720.7246
http://www.nrcs.usda.gov

South Carolina

Beaufort County Open Land Trust
P.O. Box 75
Beaufort, SC 29901- 0075
Phone: 843.521.2175

Edisto Island Open Land Trust
P.O. Box 1
Edisto Island, SC 29438- 0001
Phone: 843.869.9004

Hilton Head Island Land Trust
18 Wild Laurel Lane
Hilton Head Island, SC 29926- 2649
Phone: 843.689.2595

Kiawah Island Natural Habitat Conservancy
23 Beachwalker Drive
Kiawah Island, SC 29455- 5652
Phone: 843.768.2029

Lowcountry Open Land Trust
485 East Bay Street
Charleston, SC 29403- 6336
Phone: 843.577.6510
FAX: 843.577.0501

The Nature Conservancy
South Carolina Field Office
P.O. Box 5475
Columbia, SC 29250
Phone: 803.254.9049

Lord Berkeley Conservation Trust
223 N Live Oak Drive, A- 3
Moncks Corner, SC 29461- 3707
Phone: 843.719.4725
FAX: 843.719.4207

Georgia

Camden County Land Trust
308 Mush Bluff Trail
St. Mary's, Georgia 31558
Phone: 912.925.3159
FAX: 912.927.9766

Coastal Georgia Land Trust
428 Bull Street, Suite 210
Savannah, Georgia 31401
Phone: 912.231.0507
http://www.cglt.org

Sapelo Island Cultural and Revitalization Society (SICARS)
P.O. Box 6
Sapelo Island, Georgia 31327
Phone: 912.485.2197
FAX: 912.485.2263

St. Simons Land Trust
P.O. Box 24615
1624 Frederica Road, Suite 6
St. Simons Island, Georgia 31522
Phone: 912.638.9109
http://www.sslt.org

The Trust for Public Land
Georgia Office
1447 Peachtree Street, Suite 601
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
Phone: 404.873.7306

The Nature Conservancy
Georgia Field Office
1330 West Peachtree Street, Suite 410
Atlanta, Georgia 30309- 2904
Phone: 404.873.6946

North Carolina

The Nature Conservancy
North Carolina Field Office
One University Place, Suite 290
4705 University Drive
Durham, North Carolina 27707
919.403.8558

North Carolina Coastal Land Trust
3806- B Park Avenue
Wilmington, North Carolina 28403
910.790.4524

Florida

The Nature Conservancy
Florida Field Office
222 South Westmonte Drive, Suite 300
Altamonte Springs, Florida 32714

North Florida Land Trust
4400 Marsh Landing Boulevard, Suite 4
Ponte Vedra Beach, Florida 32082

Certified Local Government Programs

Jointly administered by NPS in partnership with SHPOs, the Certified Local Government Program (CLG) is a local, State, and federal partnership that promotes historic preservation and development at the grassroots level. The CLG Program integrates local governments with the national historic preservation program through activities that strengthen decision- making regarding historic places at the local level. Local planning office staffs often play key roles in CLG projects, giving historic preservation a better chance of being integrated into local land- use policy.

The primary goals of the CLG Program are:

- to develop and maintain local historic preservation programs that will influence the zoning and permitting decisions critical to preserving historic properties; and
- to ensure the broadest possible participation of local governments in the national historic preservation program while maintaining preservation standards established by the Secretary of the Interior.

Local governments can significantly strengthen their local historic preservation efforts by achieving CLG status. Both the NPS and State governments, through their SHPOs, provide valuable technical assistance and matching grants to communities whose local governments are endeavoring to keep for future generations what is significant from their community's past.

Using grants awarded by SHPOs, a CLG may produce historic theme or context studies, cultural resource inventories, assessments of properties to determine their eligibility for local and National Register of Historic Places designation, building reuse and feasibility studies, design guidelines and

conservation ordinances, and publications to educate the public about the benefits of historic preservation. For further information, contact:

Certified Local Government Program
Heritage Preservation Services
National Park Service
1849 C Street, NW, North Carolina- 330
Washington, DC 20240
202.343.9575

State Historic Preservation Offices

North Carolina
State Historic Preservation Office
4617 Mail Service Center
Raleigh, North Carolina 27699- 4617
919.733.4763
http://www.hpo.dcr.state.nc.us

South Carolina
State Historic Preservation Office
8301 Parklane Road
Columbia, South Carolina 29223
803.896.6100
http://www.state.sc.us/scdah/histrcpl.htm

Georgia
State Historic Preservation Office
Department of Natural Resources
156 Trinity Avenue, SW, Suite 101
Atlanta, Georgia 30303- 3600
404.656.2840
http://www.dnr.state.ga.us/dnr/histpres

Florida
State Historic Preservation Office
Bureau of Historic Preservation
500 South Bronough Street
Tallahassee, Florida 32399- 0250
850.245.6333
http://www.flheritage.com

Archaeological Resources

Departments of Archaeology at universities and colleges throughout the study area.

National Park Service
U. S. Department of the Interior
Southeast Archeological Center
2035 E. Paul Dirac Drive
Johnson Building, Suite 120
Tallahassee, Florida 32310
850.580.3011
http://www.cr.nps.gov/seac

Historic Landscape Initiative

The Historic Landscape Initiative is an NPS program that promotes responsible preservation practices to protect the nation's designed landscapes, like parks and gardens, as well as vernacular historic landscapes, such as farms and industrial sites.

In partnership with federal and state agencies, professional organizations, and colleges and universities, the Historic Landscape Initiative develops and disseminates guidelines for significant historic landscape preservation; produces innovative tools to raise the awareness of the general public; organizes and conducts training symposia and workshops; and provides technical assistance for significant properties and districts. The information provided by the Initiative has influenced project work at local, regional, national, and even international levels.

For some cultural landscapes, especially those that are best considered ethnographic or heritage landscapes, these Guidelines may not apply. However, if people working with these properties decide

that community coherence may be affected by physical place and space – or if there is potential for loss of landscape character whose significance is rooted in the community's activities and processes (or other aspects of its history)- - this guide may be of service. An ethnographic landscape is a landscape containing a variety of natural and cultural resources that associated people define as heritage resources. Examples are contemporary settlements, sacred religious sites, and massive geological structures. Small plant communities, animals, subsistence and ceremonial grounds are often components. Gullah/Geechee lands and communities meet these criteria.

The Historic Landscape Initiative develops preservation planning tools that respect and reveal the relationship between Americans and their land. This initiative provides essential guidance to accomplish sound preservation practice on a variety of landscapes, from parks and gardens to rural villages and agricultural landscapes. Together, the publications, workshops, technical assistance, and national policy direction provided by the Historic Landscape Initiative make up a critical base of information widely used by a diverse audience that includes professional planners, landscape architects, architects, and historians, as well as historic property managers, administrators, homeowners, academics, and students. It is estimated that information generated by the Initiative has reached over 700,000 individuals nationwide. For further information, contact:

Historic Landscape Initiative
Heritage Preservation Services
National Park Service
1201 Eye St., NW
Washington, DC 20005
202.354.2257
FAX: 202.371.1791
http://www.cr.nps.gov/hps/hli/hliterm.htm
http://www.cr.nps.gov/hps/hli/introguid.htm

6 References

References Cited

Armstrong, Thomas. "From Task Labor to Free Labor: The Transition along Georgia's Rice Coast, 1820- 1880." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 64 (Winter 1980): 432- 447.

Ascher, Robert and Charles Fairbanks. "Excavation of a Slave Cabin: Georgia, USA, 1834- 1865." *Historical Archeology* 5 (1971): 3- 17.

Beaufort County Planning Department. "Cultural Protection Overlay (CPO) District." Electronic doc. 1. <http://livepublish.municode.com/16/lpext.dll?f=templates&fn=main- hit- j.htm&2.0>

Beaufort County Planning Department. "Family Compounds." Electronic doc. 2. <http://livepublish.municode.com/16/lpext.dll?f=templates&fn=main- j.htm&vid=10400>

Behre, Robert. "Park Service Gets Lesson in Gullah Language." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (May 13, 2000): B1.

- - - . "Climbing 'Jacob's Ladder': Restoration Effort in Works at Old Hebron Presbyterian Church." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (October 3, 2004): A1.

Billingsley, Andrew, Lawrence N. Jones, and C. Eric Lincoln (Introduction). *Mighty Like a River: The Black Church and Social Reform*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Blassingame, John W. *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South*. New York: Oxford University Press, [2nd ed.] 1979.

Blount, Benjamin G. "African- Americans in the Coastal Zone of Georgia." In *Endangered Peoples of North America: Struggles to Survive and Thrive*, Tom Greaves, ed. (Endangered Peoples of the World Series) Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Boswell, Victor. "Our Vegetable Travelers." *National Geographic* 96 (August 1949): 193- 211.

Brausch, Walter M. *Br'er Rabbit, Uncle Remus, and the Cornfield Journalist: The Tale of Joel Chandler Harris*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2000.

Buckman, Michelle. "Jonathan Green's Gullah Inspiration." *South Carolina Magazine* (May/June 2003): 42- 44.

Buckmaster, Henrietta. *Let My People Go*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, [1941] 1993.

Carawan, Guy and Candie. *Ain't You Got a Right to the Tree of Life?: The People of John's Island, South Carolina, Their Faces, Their Words, and Their Songs*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, [rev. ed.] 1989.

- - - . "Singing and Shouting in Moving Star Hall." *Black Music Research Journal* 15:1 (Spring 1995): 1- 15.

Carney, Judith Ann. *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.

- - - . "From Hands to Tutors: African Expertise in the South Carolina Rice Economy." *Agricultural History* 67:3 (Summer 1993): 1- 30.

Carney, Judith Ann, and Richard Dwight Porcher. "Geographies of the Past: Rice, Slaves, and Technological Transfer in South Carolina." *Southeastern Geographer* 33:2 (November 1993):127-147.

Carpenter, A. "The History of Rice in Africa." In I. Buddenhagen and J. Perseley, eds. *Rice in Africa*. London: Academic Press, 1997, 3- 10.

Chase, Judith Wragg. "American Heritage from Ante- Bellum Black Craftsmen." *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 42: (1978): 135- 158.

Chesnut, Mary Boykin Miller, *et al*. *Diary from Dixie*. New York: Random House, 1997.

Clarke, John Henrik. "Introduction." In Tom Feelings. *The Middle Passage: White Ships, Black Cargo*. New York: Dial Books, 1995.

Chaplin, Joyce E. "Tidal Rice Cultivation and the Problem of Slavery in South Carolina and Georgia." *William and Mary Quarterly* [3rd series] 49 (January 1991): 31- 39.

Cleveland, Henry. *Alexander H. Stephens, in Public and Private: With Letters and Speeches, before, during, and since the War*. Philadelphia: 1886, 717- 729.

Clifton, James M. "The Rice Driver: His Role in Slave Management." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 82:4 (October 1981).

Clinton, Catherine. *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.

- - - . *Tara Revisited: Women, War, and the Plantation Legend*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1995.

Close, Stacey K. *Elderly Slaves of the Plantation South*. New York: Garland Publishing, [rev. ed.] 1997.

Clowse, Converse D. *Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina, 1670- 1730*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1971.

Cody, Cheryll Ann. "Cycles of Work and of Childbearing: Seasonality in Women's Lives on Low-Country Plantations." In David Barry Gasper and Darlene Clark Hine, *More than Chattel*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Conroy, Pat. *The Water Is Wide*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1972.

Creel, Margaret Washington. *A Peculiar People: Slave Religion and Community Culture among the Gullahs*. New York: New York University Press, 1988.

Crook, Ray. "Gullah and the Task System." *Anthropology of Work Review* 22:3 (2001).

Crook, Ray, Cornelia Walker Bailey, *et al*. *Sapelo Voices: Historical Anthropology and the Oral Traditions of Gullah- Geechee Communities of Sapelo Island, Georgia*. Carrollton, GA: State University of West Georgia Press, 2003.

Crum, Mason. *Gullah: Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., [1940] 1969.

Curtin, Philip D. "Epidemiology and the Slave Trade." *Political Science Quarterly* 83 (1968): 195- 218.

Cyriaque, Jeanne. "Exploring the History of African Americans on Sapelo Island." *Reflections* 1:2 (February 2001): 1- 3, Atlanta: Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources.

Davis, Jingle. "Coastal Culture Book Is on Justice's Docket." *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution* (February 15, 2001): C1.

Degler, Carl N. "Slavery and the Genesis of American Race Prejudice." *Contemporary Studies in Society and History*. 2 (1959): 49- 66.

DeLoach, Jennie McMillan. "Slavery Days in Georgia – First Negroes Who Came to the State Were Brought by the Asciento Company, Jointly Owned by Queen Ann of England and King Phillip V of Spain." [Atlanta] *Constitution Magazine* (August 2, 1931): 7, 20.

Derby, Doris D. "Black Women Basket Makers: A Study of Domestic Economy in Charleston County, South Carolina." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana- Champaign, 1980.

Dias, James K. "Gullah/Geechee Special Resource Study: Analysis of Community Meeting Transcripts." Unpublished report prepared for National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, Atlanta, GA.

Dobyns, Henry F. *Their Number Became Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1983.

Edgar, Walter. *South Carolina, a History*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1998.

Emerson, Frederick V. "Geographical Influences in American Slavery." *Geographical Society Bulletin* 63 (1911): 108- 9.

Fairbanks, Charles H. "The Kingsley Slave Cabins in Duval County Florida, 1968." In Stanley South, ed. *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers*, Vol. 7. Columbia, SC: Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1974, 62- 93.

Farley, M. Foster. "The South Carolina Negro in the American Revolution, 1775- 1783." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 79:2 (April 1978): 75- 86.

Faulkenberry, Lisa V., John M. Cogeshall, Kenneth Backman, and Sheila Backman. "A Culture of Servitude." *Human Organization: Journal of the Society for Applied Anthropology* 59:1 (Spring 2000): 86- 95.

Ferguson, Leland. *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650- 1800*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.

Fett, Sharla M. *Working Cures: Healing, Health, and Power on Southern Slave Plantations*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Fine, Elizabeth C. "Cultural Cross Roads: Stepping." *American Legacy* 9:2 (2003):19- 22.

Flusche, Michael. "Joel Chandler Harris and the Folklore of Slavery." *Journal of American Studies* 9 (December 1975): 347- 363.

Forbes, Patrick E. *Six Months' Service in the African Blockade*. London: Dawsons [1849] 1969. Quoted in Basil Davidson. *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation- State*. Three Rivers, MI: Three Rivers Press, 1993.

Fox, Ruth. *Food Wonders of the World*. Battle Creek, MI: Kellogg Corporation, 1964.

Franklin, John Hope, and Loren Schweninger. *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation*. New York: Oxford, 2000.

Frazier, Herb. "Basketweaving Traced to Ancient African Craft." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (4 September 1972).

- - - . "Genetic Links of Two Coasts Studies." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (March 16, 1997): A16.

- - - . "Park Service Gets a Lesson in Gullah Language." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (May 3, 2000): A1.

Gantt, Jesse Edward, Jr., and Veronica Davis Gerald. *The Ultimate Gullah Cookbook*. Beaufort, SC: Sands Publishing Co., 2003.

Geraty, Virginia Mixson. *Gullah fuh Oonuh: A Guide to the Gullah Language*. Orangeburg, South Carolina: Sandlapper Publishing Co, Inc., 1998.

Gershwin, George, Aldridge Grainger, and Ira Gershwin. *Porgy and Bess*. Miami, FL: Warner Brothers Publications, 1994.

Gibbs, Tyson. *African Americans at Snee Farm Plantation, Mount Pleasant*. Final Report for P5440990154. Atlanta, GA: National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, 2002.

Glanton, Dahleen. "Small Island of Gullah Culture Tries to Stay Afloat." *Chicago Tribune*: June 4, 2001, n.p.

Global Garifuna Network, "Garifuna Culture Proclaimed as 'Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity.'" Electronic document. <http://www.garinet.com/cgi/bin/gknews_ssi.cgi?ACTION=VIEW_ONE_NEWS&ITEM=32>

Good, Paul. *The American Serfs*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1969.

Goodson, Martia Graham. "Medical- Botanical Contributions of African Slave Women to American Medicine." *Western Journal of Black Studies* 11 (1987), 198- 203.

Goodwine, Marquetta L. Presentation at "Gwine Bak: Gullah/Geechee Living Ways." Conference, St. Helena Island, SC, July 5- 7, 2002. - - - Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition. Electronic document <http://users.aol.com/queenmut/GullGeeCo.html#background>

- - - . *The Legacy of Ibo Landing: Gullah Roots of African American Culture*. Atlanta: Clarity Press, 1998.

- - - . "Yeddy Wi: Gullah/Geechee Living Ways." (Written transcript of video taped presentation to the First International Conference on the Right to Self- determination & the United Nations), Geneva, Switzerland, 2000.

Gray, Lewis Cecil. *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*. Fairfield, NJ: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, [1933] 1973.

Grime, William E. *Ethno- Botany of the Black Americans*. Algonac, MI: Reference Publications, 1976.

Hall, Captain Basil. *Travels in North America 1827- 1828*. Edinburgh, Scotland: Cadell and Co., 1829.

Hall, Robert A., Jr. *Pidgin and Creole Languages*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966.

Haller, John S. "The Negro and the Southern Physician: A Study of Medical and Racial Attitudes, 1800- 1860." *Medical History* 16 (1972): 263- 75.

Hargis, Peggy G., and Patrick M. Horan. "The 'Low- Country Advantage' for African- Americans in Georgia, 1880- 1930." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 28:1 (Summer 1997): 27- 46.

Hargrove, Melissa D. "Marketing Gullah: Identity, Cultural Politics, and Tourism." M.S. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1997.

- - - . "Culture for Sale: Marketing Gullah Identity in the South Carolina Sea Islands." *Southern Anthropologist* 29:1(Fall 2002).

- - - . "Overview and Synthesis of Scholarly Literature." Unpublished manuscript prepared for Department of Planning and Compliance, Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2000.

Harmon, Michael A., and Rodney J. Snedeker. "The Archaeological Record of Tar and Pitch Production in Coastal South Carolina." In Linda F. Stine, Martha Zierden, Lesley M. Drucker, and Christopher Judge, eds. *Carolina's Historical Landscapes: Archaeological Perspectives*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1997.

Harris, Joel Chandler. *Uncle Remus: His Songs and His Sayings*. Cary, NC: Cherokee Publishing Co., [reprint] 1995.

Harris, J. William. *Deep South: Delta, Piedmont, and Sea Island Society in the Age of Segregation*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

Hart, Zachary H., Angela C. Halfacre, and Marianne K. Burke. "Community Participation in Preservation of Lowcountry South Carolina Sweetgrass (*Muhlenbergia filipes*)." *Economic Botany* 58:2 (2004): 161- 171.

Haywood, C. Robert. "Mercantilism and South Carolina Agriculture." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 60:1 (January 1959):15- 27.

Heflin, Frank. "Closed Gates Trouble Outsiders. Common- Interest Housing Developments Ban Beach Access in South Carolina." *The Progressive* 57 (October 1993): 32- 3.

Hess, Karen. *The Carolina Rice Kitchen, The African Connection*. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1992.

Heyward, DuBose and Dorothy. *Porgy*. Oxford, MS: University of Mississippi Press, reprint ed. 2001.

Hicks, Bryan. "Short on Sweetgrass: Efforts Made to Increase Growth and Access as Supply Dwindles." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (September 6, 2004): A1.

Higginson, Thomas Wentworth. *Army Life in a Black Regiment*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., [1869] 2003.

Hine, Darlene Clark, and Kathleen Thompson. *A Shining Thread of Hope: The History of Black Women in America*. New York: Broadway Books- Random House, 1998.

Hitchcock, Susan L. "Sweetgrass Basketry and the Changing South Carolina Landscape." Georgia Landscape, School of Environmental Design, University of Georgia (1995), 23- 26.

Hjerpe, Karen. "Cultural Heritage Revisited." Ethnographic Study of St. John, USVI, Final Report: Histories and Identities. Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2000.

Hofbauer, Lisa. "A Sweet Tradition." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier*, 6 July 1997a: B01.

- - - . "Marker Validates History of Sweetgrass Weaving." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier*, (November 23, 1997b): B3.

"Holding the Fort: Fort Mose Possibly First Settlement of Free Blacks in America." *Scientific American* 257 (August 1987): 18- 19.

Hopkins, Tometro. "Variation in the Use of the Auxiliary Verb *Da* in Contemporary Gullah." In Michael Montgomery, ed. *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1994, 60- 86.

Huntley, Dan. "Escaping Progress: Sandy Island Will Stay Unspoiled." *Charlotte Observer* (August 2, 1997): A1.

"In His Own Words: Justice Clarence Thomas." *New York Times*, (19 Dec 2000): n. p. <http://www.nytimes.com/2000/12/14/politics/14TWOR.html?ex=1065585600&en=4aef54af5349bd6b=5070>

Jacobs, Andrew. "In Historic Black Hamlet, Wal- Mart Finds Resistance." *New York Times* (March 6, 2004): A8.

Jacquith, Priscilla, *et al. Bo Rabbit Smart for True: Folktales from the Gullah*. New York: Philomel Books- Putnam Publishing Group, 1981.

Johnson, Guion Griffis. *A Social History of the Sea Islands, with Special Reference to St. Helena Island, South Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930.

Joyner, Charles W. "'Believer I Know': The Emergence of African American Christianity." In Paul E. Johnson and Vincent Harding. *African American Christianity: Essays in History*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994.

- - - *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985.

- - - . *Shared Traditions: Southern History and Folk Culture, 1799- 1860*. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1999.

Kemble, Frances Anne. *Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation in 1838- 1839*. Catherine Clinton, ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Kiser, Clyde Vernon. *Sea Island to City: A Study of St. Helena Islanders in Harlem and Other Urban Centers*. New York: Antheneum [1931] 1969.

Kly, Yosef N. *In Pursuit of the Right to Self- determination: Collected Papers & Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Right to Self- Determination*. Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press, 2001.

- - - . *The 1503 Petition for Reparations for African Americans* (delivered to the UN in 1994a without response) <http://www.afre- ngo.com/beta/petition.htm>

- - - , ed. *African- American's Guide to Minority Rights, Self- Determination and Reparations*. Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press, 1994b.

Knox, Kevin and Julie Sheldon Huffaker. *Coffee Basics: A Quick and Easy Guide*. New York: John Wiley, 1996.

Landers, Jane G. *Black Society in Spanish Florida*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

The Language You Cry In: The Story of a Mende Song. Alvaro Toepke and Angel Serrano producer/directors; Vertamae Grosvenor, narrator. California Newsreel Distr., 1998.

Lee, Alyssa Stewart. "People and Places of Gullah Geechee Culture: Demographic Trends (1850- 2000) in the Southeastern Coastal Counties of the United States." Unpublished manuscript prepared for Low Country Gullah Special Resource Study, National Park Service, Department of Planning and Compliance, Southeast Regional Office, 2002.

Lemann, Nicholas. *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How it Changed America*. New York: Vintage Press, 1992.

Levine, Lawrence W. *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro- American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Lindsey, Nick. *And I'm Glad: An Oral History of Edisto Island* [SC]. Charleston, SC: Tempus Publishing, Inc., 2000.

Linton, Ralph, and A. Irving Hollowell. "Nativistic Movements." *American Anthropologist* (New Series) 45:2 (1943): 230- 240.

Littlefield, Daniel C. "Charleston and Internal Slave Redistribution." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 87:2 (April 1986): 93- 105.

- - - . *Rice and the Making of South Carolina: An Introductory Essay*. Columbia, South Carolina: SC Department of Archives and History, 1995.

- - - . *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1991.

Loewen, James W. "Lies Across the South." *Southern Exposure* 28:1 (Spring and Summer 2000): 33- 48.

"The Long Look." n.d., miscellaneous correspondence, vol. 17, Penn School Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC. Quoted by Margaret Washington in "Community Regulation and Cultural Specialization in Gullah Folk Religion." In Paul E. Johnson, ed. *African American Folk Religion*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994.

Lopez, Steve. "Confederate Currency: The Color of Money." *Time* (30 April 2001).

MacMahon, Darcie and Kathleen Deagan. "Legacy of Fort Mose." *Archaeology* 49 (September/October 1996): 54- 8.

May, Philip. "Zephaniah Kingsley, Non- Conformist, 1765- 1843." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 23 (October 1945): 145- 59.

McNeill, William. *Plagues and Peoples*. New York: Anchor, 1977.

Miller, Edward A. *Gullah Statesman: Robert Smalls from Slavery to Congress, 1839- 1915*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995.

Milling, Chapman A., ed. *Colonial South Carolina: Two Contemporary Descriptions*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, [republication of James Glen's *Description of South Carolina*. London, 1761] 1951.

Milloy, Courtland. "Good Questions, Bad Answers from Thomas." *Washington Post* (December 17, 2000).

Morgan, Phillip D. "The Ownership of Property by Slaves in the Mid- Nineteenth- Century Low Country." *Journal of Southern History* 49 (August 1983): 399- 420.

- - - . "Review of *The Language You Cry In*." California Newsreel website. <http://www.newsreel.org/films/langyou.htm>, 1998.

National Register Information System for Beaufort County, SC. http://www.nr.nps.gov/iwisapi/explorer.dll?IWS_SCHEMA=NRIS1&IWS_LOGIN=1&IWS_REPORT=100000066

National Register Information System for McIntosh County, GA. http://www.nr.nps.gov/iwisapi/explorer.dll?IWS_SCHEMA=NRIS1&IWS_LOGIN=1&IWS_REPORT=100000066

National Trust for Historic Preservation, 11 Most Endangered List, 2004. http://www.nationaltrust.org/11Most/2004/gullah- geechee.html

Newton, John. *The Life and Spirituality of John Newton: An Authentic Narrative*. (Introduction by Bruce D. Hindmarsh). Vancouver, BC: Regent College Publishing, [1841] 1998.

Nichols, Elaine, ed. *The Last Miles of the Way: African- American Homegoing Traditions, 1890- Present*. Columbia, SC: South Carolina State Museum, 1989.

Official Records of the War of the Rebellion. U.S. Government. 4:3, 1161.

Olsen, Margaret M. *Sapelo Island: Georgia's Coastal Treasure*. Georgia Department of Natural Resources and National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, n.d.

Otto, John Solomon and Augustus Marion Burns, III. "Black Folks and Poor Buckras: Archaeological Evidence of Slave and Overseer Living Conditions on an Antebellum Plantation." *Journal of Black Studies* 14: 2 (December 1983): 185- 200.

Palmer, Colin. "The Cruelest Commerce." *National Geographic*. Washington, DC: National Geographic Society, Sept. 1992.

Paredes, J. Anthony. "The Emergence of Contemporary Eastern Creek Indian Identity." In Thomas Fitzgerald, ed. *Social and Cultural Identity: Problems of Persistence and Change*. Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings, Number 8. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1974, 63- 80.

Parker, Jim. "Evolving Habitat." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (July 31, 2004): 4G.

Parks, Fayth M. "The Role of African- American Folk Beliefs in the Modern Therapeutic Process." *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice* 10:4 (Winter 2003): 456- 67.

Parrish, Lydia. *Slaves Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1992.

Parsons, Elsie Worthington Clews, ed. *Folk- Lore of the Sea Islands, South Carolina*. New York: American Folklore Society, 1923.

Peterkin, Julia Mood. *Scarlet Sister Mary*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, reprint 1998.

Pinsky, Mark. "Hilton Head Report: Sea Island Plantations Revisited." *Southern Exposure* 10 (May-June 1982): 33.

- - - . "South Carolina – The New Plantations." *Economist* 16 (October 1993).

Pollitzer, William. *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1999.

- - - . "The Negroes of Charleston [SC]: A Study of Hemoglobin Types, Serology, and Morphology." *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 60 (1958).

Price, Richard, ed. *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, [3rd ed.] 1996.

Price, Richard and Sally Price. *Maroon Arts: Cultural Vitality in the African Diaspora*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1999.

Quarles, Benjamin. *The Negro in the American Revolution*. New York: W. W. Norton, [1961] 1973.

Quick, David. "Marker to Recognize Basketmakers." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (20 November 1997): P1.

Rath, Richard Culler. "Drums and Power: Ways of Creolizing Music in Coastal South Carolina and Georgia, 1730- 1790." In David Buisseret and Steven Reinhardt, eds. *Creolization in the Americas.* College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 2000.

Rawley, James A. *The Transatlantic Slave Trade*. New York: W. W. Norton, Co., 1981.

Rehder, John B. *Delta Sugar: Louisiana's Vanishing Plantation Landscape (Creating the North American Landscape)*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

Richissin, Todd. "Carrying a Song Back Home." [Raleigh, NC] *News and Observer* (12 May 1997): 1A, 10A.

Rodney, Walter. *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545- 1800*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1981.

Rogers, George C., Jr. *History of Georgetown County, South Carolina*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1970.

Rollins, Richard, ed. *Black Southerners in Gray: Essays on Afro- Americans in Confederate Armies*. Redondo Beach, CA: Rank and File Publications, 1997.

Rosenbaum, Art. *Shout Because You're Free: The African American Ring Shout Tradition in Coastal Georgia*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1998.

Ross, Joe. "Hags out of Their Skins." *Journal of American Folklore* 93:368 (1980): 183- 186.

St. Augustine Expedition of 1740: A Report to the South Carolina General Assembly Reprinted from the Colonial Records of South Carolina, with an Introduction by John Tate Lanning. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1954.

Saunders, William C. "Sea Islands: Then and Now." *Journal of Black Studies* 10: 4 (June 1980): 481- 92.

Schwalm, Leslie A. *A Hard Fight for We: Women's Transition from Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1997.

Segars, J. H. and Charles Kelly Barrow. *Black Southerners in Confederate Armies: A Collection of Historical Accounts*. Atlanta, GA: Southern Lion Books, 2001.

Sherman, William Tecumseh and Charles Royster, ed. *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman*. New York: Library of America, [1875] 1990.

Simpson, Robert. "The Shout and Shouting in Slave Religion in the United States." *Southern Quarterly* 23:3 (Spring 1985): 40- 46.

Smith, Julia Floyd. *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida*. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1973.

Stearns, Charles. *The Black Man of the South.* New York, 1872.

Stephens, Alexander H. "Cornerstone Address, March 21, 1861." In Frank Moore, ed. *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events with Documents, Narratives, Illustrative Incidents, Poetry, etc.*, v. 1, New York: O.P. Putnam, 1862, 44- 46.

Spirituals of the Carolina Low Country. Charleston, SC: Society for the Preservation of Spirituals, 2004.

Teague, Michael and Zelide Cowan. "*Nil Disprandum*." *American Heritage* 20:2 (February 1969): 20- 25.

This Far by Faith: African American Spiritual Journeys. Co- production of Blackside Inc. and The Faith Project, in association with the Independent Television Service; presented on PBS by WGBH and ITVS, 2003.

Thomas, June Sheralyn Manning. "The Impact of Corporate Tourism on Gullah Blacks: Notes on Issues of Employment." *Phylon* 41:1 (Spring 1980), 1- 11.

Thompson, Robert Farris. *The Four Moments of the Sun: Kongo Art in Two Worlds*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1981.

Tibbetts, John H. "Coastal Growth Hits Home." *Coastal Heritage* 16:2 (Fall 2001): 1- 12. SC Sea Grant Consortium, Charleston, SC.

- - - . "Living Soul of Gullah." *Coastal Heritage* 14: 4 (Spring 2000): 1- 11. SC Sea Grant Consortium, Charleston, SC. <http://www.scseagrant.org/pdf_files/ch_spring_2000.pdf>

- - - . "Riches to Ruin: Pharaohs of the New World." *Coastal Heritage* 14:2 (Fall 1999): 1- 16. SC Sea Grant Consortium, Charleston, SC. <http://www.scseagrant.org/pdf_files/ch_fall_99.pdf>

Tindall, George B. *South Carolina Negroes, 1877- 1900*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1966.

Trinkley, Michael, ed. *Archaeological and Historical Examinations of Three Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Plantations on the Waccamaw Neck*. Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 1992.

- - - . *Scanlonville, Charleston County, South Carolina: The Community and the Cemetery*. Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 2001.

Turner, Lorenzo Dow. *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, [1949] 2002.

Twining, Mary A. and Keith E. Baird, ed. *Sea Island Roots: African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1991.

UNESCO. "UNESCO to Protect Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity," Electronic document <http://www.unesco.org/bpi/eng/unescopress/ 2000/00- 48e.shtml>

Uya, Okon Edet. *From Slavery to Public Service: Robert Smalls, 1839- 1915.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Vari, Jeff. "Snowden Community Seeing Light at End of Sewer Tunnel." [Mt. Pleasant, SC] *Moultrie News* (March 3, 2004): 1.

"Virginia Mixson Geraty." Editorial [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (November 30, 2004): A10.

Vlach, John Michael. "Graveyards and Afro American Art." *Southern Exposure* 5 (1977): 161- 165.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. *Culture and Personality*. New York: Random House, [2nd ed.] 1970.

Wallace, David D. "Indigo Culture in the South." In Julian A. C. Chandler, ed. *The South in the Building of the Nation* (vol. 5). Richmond, 1909- 1913, 178- 83.

Waring, Joseph Ioor, MD. *A History of Medicine in South Carolina 1670- 1825*. Columbia, SC: R. L. Bryan Co., 1964.

Washington, Margaret. "Community Regulation and Cultural Specialization in Gullah Folk Religion." In Paul E. Johnson, ed. *African American Christianity: Essays in History*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994.

Wax, Darold D. "The Great Risk We Run: The Aftermath of the Slave Rebellion at Stono, South Carolina. *Journal of Negro History* 67 (1982): 136- 147.

- - - . "New Negroes Are Always in Demand: The Slave Trade in Eighteenth Century Georgia." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 68 (1984) 193- 220.

"Welcome to the home of Sapelo Island Cultural and Revitalization Society (SICARS)." Electronic document. <http://www.sapeloislandgeorgia.org/index.html>

Werlich, David P. *Admiral of the Amazon: John Randolph Tucker, His Confederate Colleagues and Peru*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1990.

Wermiel, Stephen J. "Clarence Thomas after ten Years: Some Reflections." *American University Journal of Gender, Social Policy & the Law* 10:2 (2002): 315- 25.

Wexler, Mark. "Sweet Tradition: African Americans' Tradition of Basket Weaving from Sweetgrass." *National Wildlife* 31 (1993): 38- 41.

Williams, Edwin L. "Negro Slavery in Florida." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 27 (October 1949): 93- 110 and 28 (January 1950): 180- 204.

Williamson, Joel. *After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction, 1861- 1877*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1965.

Wise, Stephen R. *Gate of Hell: Campaign for Charleston Harbor, 1863*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1994.

Wolf, Eric R. "Perilous Ideas: Race, Culture, People." *Current Anthropology* 35 (1994): 1- 12.

Wolf, Kurt J. "Laura M. Towne and the Freed People of South Carolina." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 98:4 (October 1997) 375- 405.

Wood, Peter H. *Black Majority, Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion*. New York: W. W. Norton, Inc., 1974a.

- - - . "'It Was a Negro Taught Them': A New Look at Labor in Early South Carolina." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 9 (1974b): 159- 179.

Wood, Virginia Steele. *Live Oaking: Southern Timber for Tall Ships*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1981.

Works Progress Administration (WPA), Georgia Writers Project, Savannah Unit. *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies among the Georgia Coastal Negroes*. (Introduction by Charles Joyner). Athens: GA: Brown Thrasher, [1940] 1986.

Additional References and Suggested Reading

Abbott, Martin. "Freedom's Cry: Negroes and Their Meetings in South Carolina, 1865- 1869." *Phylon Quarterly* 20:3 (1959): 263- 72.

Abedon, Emily. "Georgia Singers Preserve Sea Island Culture." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (June 3, 1998): A5.

Abrahams, Roger D. *Singing the Master: The Emergence of African- American Culture in the Plantation South*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1992.

An Account of the Late Intended Insurrection among a Portion of the Blacks of this City. Charleston, SC: Corporation of Charleston, 1822

Adams, Eric. "Religion and Freedom: Artifacts Indicate That African Culture Persisted Even in Slavery." *African- American Archaeology* 11 (Summer 1994): 1- 2.

Adams, Natalie P. "Early African- American Domestic Architecture from Berkeley County, South Carolina." M.S. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1990.

- - - . "Elite Ideology and African- American Resistance: Architectural Resistance at South Carolina Slave Settlements." Paper presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology Meetings, Kingston, Jamaica, 1992.

Adams, Natalie P., Michael Trinkley, Debi Hacker, *et al*. "In the Shadow of the Big House: Domestic Slaves at Stoney/Baynard Plantation, Hilton Head Island, South Carolina." report prepared for Friends of Stoney Baynard Plantation and the Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island, SC. Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 1995.

Adams, William Hampton. "Health and Medical Care on Antebellum Southern Plantations." *Plantation Society in the Americas* 2 (1989): 259- 78.

Adams, William H., and Sarah Jane Boling. "Status and Ceramics for Planters and Slaves on Three Georgia Coastal Plantations." *Historical Archaeology* 23:1(1989): 69- 96.

Addo, Linda D. "A Historical Analysis of the Impact of Selected Teachers on Education for Blacks in Coastal South Carolina, 1862- 1970." Ed.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1988.

Affleck, Richard M. "Power and Space Settlement Pattern Change at Middleburg Plantation, Berkeley County, South Carolina." M.S. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1990.

African- American National Register Sites & Historical Markers in South Carolina. Columbia, SC: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 2002.

Aina, Olaiya, Meta Van Sickle, and Mary Blake. "A Case Study of South Carolina Sea Island Language: What Happens When a Creole Language Doesn't Mix with Standard School Language?" *Journal of Interdisciplinary Education* 5:1 (Summer 2002): 195.

Alanen, Arnold R., and Robert Z. Melnick, eds. *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

Albanese, Anthony Gerald. "The Plantation as a School: The Sea Islands of Georgia and South Carolina, A Test Case, 1800- 1860." Ed.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1970.

Allen, Ray. "An American Folk Opera? Triangulating Folkness, Blackness, and Americaness in Gershwin and Heyward's 'Porgy and Bess.'" *Journal of American Folklore* 117 (Summer 2004): 243- 61.

Allen, William Francis, *et al*., eds. *Slave Songs of the United States*. Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, [1867]1995.

Alleyne, Warren and Henry Fraser. *The Barbados- Carolina Connection*. London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1988.

Anderson, David G. "The Archaeology of Tenancy in the Southeast: A View from the South Carolina Low Country." *South Carolina Antiquities* 14 (1982): 72- 86.

Anderson, Frank, Jr. "Gullah Christianity: An Analysis of the Ethical Dimensions of Gullah Culture and Their Implications for the Practical Theology of Contemporary African American Churches." Ph.D. dissertation, Mid- America Baptist Theological Seminary, 1994.

Anderson, James D. "Aunt Jemima in Dialectics: Genovese on Slave Culture." *Journal of African American History* 87:1 (Winter 2002): 26- 42.

Anderson, Mary Crow, ed. *Two Scholarly Friends*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1993.

Anderson, Ralph V. and Robert E. Gallman. "Slaves as Fixed Capital: Slave Labor and Economic Development." *Journal of American History* 44 (1977): 24- 46.

Andrew, James O. "The Southern Slave Population." *Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review* 31 (1831): 315- 22.

Andrews, William L., David A. Davis, and Tampathia Evans, eds. *North Carolina Slave Narratives: The Lives of Moses Roper, Lunsford Lane, Moses Grandy, and Thomas H. Jones*. (The John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture). Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Anthony, Ronald W. "Cultural Diversity at Mid to Late 18th Century Lowcountry Plantation Slave Settlements." M.A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1989.

Antsey, Roger. *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760- 1810*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1975.

Anziano, Satina. "Lillie: Copula Usage Study of a Mesolectal Gullah Speaker from the Federal Writers Project." M.A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1998.

Anzilotti, Cara. "Autonomy and the Female Planter in Colonial South Carolina." *Journal of Southern History* 63:1 (1997): 239- 68.

Aptheker, Herbert. *American Negro Slave Revolts*. New York: International Publishers, [5th ed.] 1993.

- - - . "The Negro in the Union Navy." *Journal of Negro History* 32:2 (April 1947): 169- 200.

"Archaeological Survey of Parker Island, Charleston County, South Carolina." Report on file, Brockington and Associates, Atlanta, GA.

Arnett, Paul, and William Arnett, eds. *Souls Grown Deep: African American Vernacular Art of the South: The Tree Gave the Dove a Leaf*. New York: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, 2000.

Arnett, Paul, William Arnett, and Lowery Sims. *Souls Grown Deep: African American Vernacular Art of the South*, Vol. 2. New York: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, 2001.

Ashe, Jeanne Moutoussamy. *Daufuskie Island: A Photographic Essay*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1982.

Ashley, Dottie. "'Hush Dat Gullah' Speaks Volumes About Culture." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (October 3, 1995): B4.

Asim, Jabari. "Carrie Mae Weems Makes Provocative Statements about Race and Gender in her Photographs. Her Work Explores the Space Where Experience and Imagination Cross Paths to Make Art." *St. Louis Post- Dispatch* (April 18, 1993): n.p.

Auslander, Mark. "'Return to Sender': Confronting Lynching and Our Haunted Landscapes." *Southern Changes* 24:1- 2 (Spring- Summer 2002): 4- 7.

Austen, Ralph A. "Social and Historical Analysis of African Trickster Tales: Some Preliminary Reflections." *Plantation Society* 2 (1982): 135- 148.

Austin, Allan D. *African Muslims in Antebellum America: Transatlantic Stories and Spiritual Struggles*. New York: Routledge Publications, 1997.

Babson, David W. "The Archaeology of Racism and Ethnicity on Southern Plantations." *Historical Archaeology* 24: 4 (Winter 1990): 20- 28.

- - - . "The Tanner Road Settlement: The Archaeology of Racism on Limerick Plantation." M. A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1987.

Babson, Jennifer. "Divers Search for Slave Ship." *Miami Times* (August 29, 2004): B1.

Bacon, A. M. "Folklore Ethnology: Conjuring and Conjure Doctors." *Southern Workman* 24 (1895): 193- 194 and 209- 211.

Baer, Hans A. "Black Spiritual Churches: A Neglected Socio- Religious Institution. *Phylon* 65 (September 1981): 207- 23.

- - - . "Toward a Systematic Typology of Black Folk Healers." *Phylon* 66 (December 1982): 327- 43.

Bagwell, James E. Rice *Gold: James Hamilton Couper and Plantation Life on the Georgia Coast*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2000.

Bailey, Beryl. "Toward a New Perspective in Negro English Dialectology." *American Speech* 40 (1965): 171- 7.

Bailey, Cornelia Walker. *God, Dr. Buzzard, and the Bolito Man: A Saltwater Geechee Talks about Life on Sapelo Island*. New York: Doubleday, 2000.

- - - . "Still Gullah: A Sea Island Sister Struggles to Preserve the Old Ways." *Essence* 28:10 (February 1998): 134- 137.

Bailey, Margaret. "Students Examine Gullah: 30 Visit Island to Learn about Disappearing Language." [Augusta, GA] *Augusta Chronicle* (October 7, 2003): B2.

Baird, Keith E. "Guy B. Johnson Revisited: Another Look at Gullah." *Journal of Black Studies* 10:4 (1980): 425- 436.

Baldwin, Agnes Leland. *Plantations of the Low Country: South Carolina, 1697- 1865*. Greensboro, NC: Legacy Publications, 1985.

Ball, Edward. "The Life of Angola Amy of Coming Tee and Kensington Plantations, South Carolina." *Journal of the African American History and Genealogical Society* 15:1 (1996): 1- 5.

- - - . *Peninsula of Lies: A True Story of Mysterious Birth and Taboo Love*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004.

- - - . *Slaves in the Family*. New York: Random House, 1998.

- - - . *The Sweet Hell Inside: A Family History*. New York: William Morrow, 2001.

Ballanta, Nicholas G. J. *Saint Helena Island Spirituals*. New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 1925.

Baptist, Edward E. "'Cuffy,' 'Fancy Maids,' and 'One- Eyed Men': Rape, Commodification, and the Domestic Slave Trade in the United States." *American Historical Review* 106 (December 2001): 1619- 50.

- - - . "The Migration of Planters to Antebellum Florida: Kinship and Power." *Journal of Southern History* 62:3 (August 1996):527- 54.

Barbatsis, Gretchen, ed. *The Color of Money: Images of Slavery in Confederate and Southern States Currency*. West Columbia, SC: The Olive Press, 2002.

Barrett, John G. *Sherman's March through the Carolinas*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956.

Barile, Kerri S. "Race, the National Register, and Cultural Resource Management: Creating an Historic Context for Postbellum Sites." *Historical Archaeology* 38:1 (Spring 2004).

- - - . "Testing the Oral History at Middleburg Plantation, Berkeley County, South Carolina." *African-American Archeology* 26 (Early Winter 1999).

Barrow, Charles Kelley, *et al. The Forgotten Confederates: A Collection of Historical Accounts about Black Southerners in Gray*. Atlanta, GA: Southern Heritage Press, 1995.

Barry, John M. *Natural Vegetation of South Carolina*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1980.

Bartelme, Tony. "Families Evicted from Heirs' Property: Deputies Enforce Court's Directive after Relative's Lawsuit Leads to Sale Order." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (September 28, 2001.):B1.

- - - . "Father Dreads Family's Eviction in Heirs' Property Dispute." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (September 27, 2001): A1.

- - - . "Heirs Property Tangle Leads to Loss of Land." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (December 24, 2000): A1.

- - - . "Residents on Heirs Property Face Legal Risks." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (October 8, 2001): B1.

- - - . "Robert Smalls Sailed Away to Freedom." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (February 11, 1998): B1.

Bascom, William R. "Acculturation among the Gullah Negroes." *American Anthropologist*, New Series 43:1 (1941): 43- 50.

- - - . "Gullah Folk Beliefs Concerning Childbirth." Paper given at the American Folklore Society, Andover, MA, December 1941.

- - - . "Gullah Superstitions Persist." *El Palacio* 49:2 (February 1942): 48.

Bascom, William R., and Melville J. Herskovits, eds. *Continuity and Change in African Cultures*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, [1959] 1962.

Bass, Robert D. "Negro Songs from the PeeDee Country." *Journal of American Folklore* 44:2 (1931) 418- 436.

Bassett, John Spencer. *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina*. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science Series 17: 7 & 8. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1899.

Bassett, Victor H. "Plantation Medicine." *Journal of the Medical Association of Georgia* 20 (March 1940): 112- 22.

Bauer, Raymond, and Alice H Bauer. "Day to Day Resistance to Slavery." *Journal of Negro History* 27 (October 1942): 388- 419.

Baugh, John. *Out of the Mouths of Slaves: African American Language and Educational Malpractice*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1999.

Baumhofer, Hermino Munz. "Economic Changes in St. Helena's Parish, 1860- 70." *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 50:3 (January 1949).

Beam, Scott P. "Environmental Dependency: The Bridge between Natural History and Cultural History Interpretation." *Legacy* 4:6 (1993): 24- 25.

Becker, Erin. "The Glories of Gullah: Events Celebrate Rich, Distinctive Lowcountry Language and Culture." [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (February 2, 2002).

- - - . "Living History: Historic Battle Comes to Life Once Again Through Lectures, Tours, and Other Activities." [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (September 22, 2002).

Becker, Robert. "South Carolina's Rural Life: Can It Be Saved?" Coastal Heritage 6: 6 (1992), n.p.

Begley, Paul R. *African American Genealogical Research*. Columbia, SC: SC Dept. of Archives and History, [rev. ed.] 1997.

Behre, Robert. "Black Churches on U. S. Trust's Endangered List." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (July 12, 1996): B3.

- - - . "Black History on Map." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (November 8, 1999): B1.

- - - . "Conferees Hope to Clear Away Plantation Myths." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (March 20, 2000): C1.

- - - . "Georgia Group Not Afraid to Shout!" [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (June 6, 1998): A9.

- - - . "History Traced in Remains of Buildings at Pinckney Site." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (October 21, 2002): B1.

- - - . "Mr. Pinckney Slept Here: Dig Seals Historic Hunch." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (April 3, 1999): A1.

- - - . "Plantation Home Tibwin Rescued from Neglect." [Charleston. SC] *Post and Courier* (November 12, 2002): 1B.

- - - . "Sweetgrass Turns Sour." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (July 26, 2004): n.p.

Bell, Karen. B. "'The Ogeechee Troubles': Federal Land Restoration and the 'Lived Realities' of Temporary Proprietors, 1865- 1868." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 85 (2001): 473- 79.

Bell, Malcolm, Jr. *Major Butler's Legacy: Five Generations of a Slaveholding Family*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1987.

Bellows, Barbara Lawrence. "Tempering the Wind: The Southern Response to Urban Poverty, 1850-1865 (Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia)." Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1983.

Benberry, Cuesta. "The Threads of African- American Quilters are Woven into History." *American Visions* 8:6 (1994): 14- 18.

Benmaman, Virginia Doubchan. "An Investigation of Reading Comprehension Ability in Black Fourth and Fifth Grade Students Who Are Reading Below Grade Level Utilizing Materials Written in Gullah and Standard English." Ed.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1975.

Bennett, John. *Doctor to the Dead*: *Grotesque Legends and Folk Tales of Old Charleston*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, [1946] 1995.

- - - . "Gullah: A Negro Patois." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 8:4 (1908): 333- 47 and 9:1 (1909): 39- 52.

Bennett, Lerone, Jr. "Chronicles of Black Courage: Robert Smalls Sailed Confederate Ship out of Charleston Harbor." *Ebony* 57:1 (November 2001): 158- 62.

Beoku- Betts, Josephine. "'She Make Funny Flat Cake She Call Saraka': Gullah Women and Food Practices under Slavery." In Larry E Hudson, Jr., ed. *Working Toward Freedom: Slave Society and Domestic Economy in the American South*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1994, 211- 31.

- - - . "We Got Our Way of Cooking Things." *Gender and Society* 9:5 (1995): 535- 55.

- - - . "When Black Is Not Enough: Doing Field Research Among Gullah." *National Women's Studies Association Journal* 6 (1994): 413- 33.

Berkeley, Edmund and Dorothy Smith Berkeley. *The Life and Travels of John Bartram from Lake Ontario to the River St. John*. Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University Press, 1982.

Berkin, Carol. *First Generations: Women in Colonial America*. New York: Hill & Wang Publishers, 1997.

Berlin, Ira. "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African- American Society in Mainland North America." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 53 (April 1996): 251- 88.

- - - . *Generations of Captivity: A History of African- American Slaves*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2003.

- - - . *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.

- - - . *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1974.

Berlin, Ira, *et al.,* eds. *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861- 1867*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

- - - . *Free at Last: A Documentary History of Slavery, Freedom, and the Civil War*. New York: The New Press, 1992.

Berlin, Ira, Barbara J. Fields, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland. "The Moment of Freedom." *Southern Exposure* 10 (September/October 1982): 60- 64.

Berlin, Ira, Francine C. Cary, Steven F. Miller, and Leslie S. Rowland, "Family and Freedom: Black Families in the American Civil War." *History Today* 37 (January 1987): 8- 15.

Berlin, Ira, Steven F. Miller, and Leslie S. Rowland. "Afro- American Families in the Transition from Slavery to Freedom." In *Radical History Review* 42 (1988): 89- 121.

- - - . "Emancipated Citizens." *Constitution* 6 (Fall 1994): 78- 87.

- - - . "Missing: A Freedman Seeks His Family." *American Visions* 3 (February 1988): 8- 9.

Berlin, Ira, and Philip D. Morgan, eds. *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas*. Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1993.

- - - . *The Slaves' Economy: Independent Production by Slaves in the Americas*. Portland, OR: Frank Cass, [1991] 1995.

Berlin, Ira, and Leslie S. Rowland. "The Underground Railroad: Travels above Ground." *Potomac Review* 24 (Fall 1999): 33- 36.

Berlin, Jacqueline. "Feeling the Squeeze on St. Simons: Development Is New Threat to Old Villages." *Brunswick News* (February 3, 2001): 2A

- - - . "St. Simons Island Neighborhoods Rich with History, Memories." *Brunswick News* (February 3, 2001): 2A.

Berry, Harrison. *Slavery and Abolitionism, as Viewed by a Georgia Slave, by Harrison Berry, Born 1816, the Property of W. S. Price, Covington, GA*. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, [1861]1970.

Bigham, Shauna, and Robert May. "The Times O' All Times: Masters, Slaves, and Christmas in the Old South." *Journal of the New Republic* 18 (1998).

Billington, Ray Allen, and Brenda Stevenson, eds. *The Journal of Charlotte Forten: A Free Negro in the Slave Era*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1981.

Biondi, Marlene. "The Wisdom of the Sweetgrass Basket Makers." *Southern Pride* (July 1997). Located at <http://www.southernpride.com/1997/july/sweetgrass/index.htm>

Birnie, C. W. "Education of the Negro in Charleston, South Carolina, Prior to the Civil War." *Journal of Negro History* 12 (January 1927): 13- 21.

Bishir, Catherine W. "Black Builders in Antebellum North Carolina." *North Carolina Historical Review* 61:4 (October 1984): 423- 61.

Black, Blanton Emanuel. "The Rise and Decline of Plantation Agriculture in Coastal Georgia." M.S. thesis, University of Chicago, 1937.

Blackburn, George M. and Sherman L. Richards. "A Demographic History of Slavery: Georgetown County, South Carolina, 1850." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 76:3 (1975): 215- 224.

- - - . "The Mother- Headed Family among Free Negroes in Charleston, South Carolina, 1850- 1860." *Phylon* 65 (March 1981): 11- 25.

Blackerby, H. C. *Blacks in Blue and Gray: Afro- American Service in the Civil War*. Tuscaloosa, AL: Portals Press, 1979.

Blanck, Emily Vanessa. "Revolutionizing Slavery: The Legal Culture of Slavery in Revolutionary Massachusetts and South Carolina." Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 2003.

Blanton, Joshua E. "'I Sho Ben Lub Dat Buckra.'" *Southern Workman* 37 (1908): 242- 246.

Blassingame, John W. "Using the Testimony of Ex- Slaves: Approaches and Problems." *Journal of Southern History* 41 (November 1975): 473- 92.

Bleser, Carol K. "Southern Planter Wives and Slavery." In David R Chesnutt and Clyde N. Wilson, eds. *The Meaning of South Carolina History: Essays in Honor of George C Rogers, Jr.* Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1993.

Bleser, Carol K., ed. *Secret and Sacred: The Diaries of James Henry Hammond, a Southern Slaveholder*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Bleser, Carol K. Rothrock. *The Promised Land: The History of the South Carolina Land Commission 1869- 1890*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1969.

Blight, David W. *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2002.

Blockson, Charles L. *Black Genealogy: How to Discover Your Own Family's Roots and Trace Your Ancestors back Through an Eventful Past, Even to a Specific African Kingdom*. Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press, 1977.

- - - . "Nowhere to Lay Down Weary Head." *National Geographic* 72 (December 1987): 734- 43.

Blount, Benjamin. "Marginalization of African Americans." *Urban Anthropology* 29:3 (2000).

- - - . ed. "Population Characteristics of the South Atlantic Bight: Demographic Change on the Coasts of South Carolina, Georgia, and Northeast Florida 1850- 1990." Paper produced under the auspices of the Cultural Resource Stewardship, Southeast Region, National Park Service and the Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation, Feb. 2000.

Blum, Elizabeth D. "Power, Danger, and Control: Slave Women's Perceptions of Wilderness in the Nineteenth Century." *Women's Studies* 31:2 (2002): 247- 65.

Blythe, Robert W., Emily Kleine, and Steven H. Moffson. *Charles Pinckney National Historic Site Historic Resource Study*. Atlanta, GA: Cultural Resources Stewardship, Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2000.

Boffield, Rodney. "North Carolina Black Maritime Culture." *North Carolina Folklore Journal* 27:2 (1979): 61- 66.

Boles, John B., ed. *Masters and Slaves in the House of the Lord: Race and Religion in the American South, 1740- 1870*. Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1988.

Bolster, W. Jeffrey. *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, [reprint] 1998.

Bolton, H. Carrington. "Decoration of Graves of Negroes in South Carolina." *Journal of American Folklore* 4 (1891): 214- 17.

Boney, F.N. "Slaves as Guinea Pigs: Georgia and Alabama Episodes of Medical Experimentation." *Alabama Review* (January 1983): 45- 51.

Bonner, James C. *A History of Georgia Agriculture, 1732- 1860*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1980.

Boothe, Heather. "Tools for Learning about the Past to Protect the Future: Archeology in the Classroom." *Legacy*: 11:1 (2000): 10- 12, 37.

Bost, Dolores. "Using Gullah in Public Life: The Life and Work of a Pastor in the Sea Islands (South Carolina)." Ed.D. Dissertation, Columbia University Teachers College, 2001.

Bowes, Frederick Patten. *The Culture of Early Charleston* [revision of 1941 Ph.D. dissertation]. Chapel Hill, NC: University of NC Press, 1942.

Bradley, Frances W. "Gullah Proverbs." *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 1:1 (1937): 99- 101.

Bradley, Mark L. "'This Monstrous Proposition': North Carolina and the Confederate Debate on Arming Slaves." *North Carolina Historical Review* 80 (April 2003): 153- 87.

Bradshaw, John M. "An Investigation of the Slave- Breeding Practices in the Ante- bellum South." M.A. thesis, California State University San Bernardino, 1983.

Bradshaw, Timothy E. Jr. *Battery Wagner: The Siege, the Men Who Fought, and the Casualties*. Columbia, SC: Palmetto Historical Works, 1993.

Bragg, John. "A Cantometric Analysis of Folk Music in a Sea Island Community." *North Carolina Folklore Journal* 26:3 (1978): 157- 163.

Branch, Muriel Miller. *The Water Brought Us: The Story of the Gullah Speaking People*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Brauner, David. "Doris Ulmann: 'God's Work.'" *Jerusalem Post* (August 12, 1999): n.p.

Breed, Allen G. "Descendants of Georgia Slaves Cling to Island Home: Tourists Drawn to See Old Ways, Hear Stories of Bygone Days." *Chicago Tribune* (May 19, 1999): A8.

- - - . "Sea Islanders Dispute Land Claim." [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (August 4, 2002).

Brewer, J. Mason. *Worser Days and Better Times: The Folklore of the North Carolina Negro*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965.

Brewster, Lawrence Fay. "The Summer Migrations and Resorts of South Carolina Lowcountry Planters." Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1942.

Broadbent, Stephanie. "Glimpsing History, Looking Forward: New Tour Will Focus on Gullah Culture While Raising Money to Preserve Landmarks." *Savannah Morning News* (May 9, 2000): n.p.

Brock, Wendell. "Spoleto's Changing World: Reflecting a Rich Diversity, Charleston Festival Embraces African- American Culture, Audiences for the First Time; Some Say It's Long Overdue." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (April 19, 1998): LO1.

Brockington, Paul E., Jr. "A Cultural Resource Survey at Snee Farm, 38CH917, 1987." Report on file at Brockington Associates, Atlanta, Georgia.

Brockington, Paul E. Jr., Linda F. Stone, and Connie M. Huddleston. *Searching for the Slave Village at Snee Farm Plantation: The 1987 Archaeological Investigations*. Atlanta: Brockington and Associates, 1991.

Brooke, James. "Africans See Their Culture Live in United States." *New York Times* (October 25, 1987): P5N.

Brooks, Robert Preston, ed. "Letters of James Hamilton Couper to His Wife, 1833- 35." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 14 (1930): 150- 73.

Brown, Ann. "Savannah: Sophisticated South." *Black Enterprise* (January 1, 2000).

Brown, Jessica, Nora Mitchell, and Fausto Sarmiento. "Landscape Stewardship: New Directions in Conservation of Nature and Culture." *The George Wright Forum* 17:1 (2000): 12- 70.

Brown, John. *Slave Life in Georgia: A Narrative of the Life, Sufferings, and Escape of John Brown, Fugitive Slave*. F. N. Boney, ed. Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, [reprint] 1972.

Brown, Kathleen. *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches and Anxious Patriarchs*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Brown, Kenneth L. "Ethnographic Analogy, Archaeology, and the African Diaspora: Perspectives from a Tenant Community." *Historical Archaeology* 38:1 (Spring 2004): 79- 89.

Brown, Linda Meggett. "The Color of Money: Artist Re- creates Scenes Found on Confederate Money." *Black Issues in Higher Education* (March 29, 2001).

Brown, Thomas J. and Kitty Green. *Lessons Learned from the Gullah Experience: Powerful Forces in Educating African- American Youth*. Columbia, MD: Brown and Associates, 1998.

Bryan, Jonathan. *Journal of a Visit to the Georgia Islands of St. Catherines, Green, Ossabaw, Sapelo, St. Simons, Jekyll, and Cumberland: With Comments on the Florida Islands of Amelia, Talbot, and St. George, in 1753*. Mary R. Bullard and Virginia Steele Wood, eds. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1996.

Bryan, Leon Stone, Jr. "Slavery on a PeeDee River Rice Plantation, 1825- 1865." M. A. thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1963.

Buchanan, P., B. Herman, O. Rideout, V. E. Tolson, and M. Wenger. "Architectural Investigations at Snee Farm." Report prepared for Friends of Snee Farm, 1991.

Bullard, Mary Ricketson. *Black Liberation on Cumberland Island in 1815*. South Dartmouth MA: M. R. Bullard, 1983

- - - . *Cumberland Island: A History*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2003.

- - - . *Robert Stafford of Cumberland Island: Growth of a Planter*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1995.

Burch, Audra D. S. "A Culture at Risk: The Low- Profile Gullah Community, Descended from African Slaves, Is Fighting for the Preservation of Its Ways." *Miami Herald* (November 30, 2003): A1.

- - - . "SC Natives Take Steps to Preserve Gullah Way." [Myrtle Beach, SC] *Sun News* (December 8, 2003): C1.

- - - . "Threatened by Change, Gullah Fighting to Preserve Their Culture." *Miami Herald* (December 7, 2003): n.p.

Burger, Ann. "Okra: Lowcountry's Love- or- Hate Veggie." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (July 1, 1998): P1.

Burgi, Robbi. "Fort Mose: Fortress of Freedom." *Florida History & the Arts*. 4: 2 (Winter 2001).

Burn, Billie. *An Island Named Daufuskie*. Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Co., 1991.

- - - . *Stirrin' the Pots on Daufuskie*. Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Co., 1999.

Burns, Elizabeth Jacoby. "The Industrial Education Myth: Character Building at Penn School, 1900-1948." Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1974.

Burns, Holly. "A Living Art: Basketmaker Henrietta Snype Weaves Centuries of Culture and Generations of Skill into her Work." *Charleston Magazine* (October 2004): 84- 89.

Burnside, Madeleine. *Spirits of the Passage: The Transatlantic Slave Trade in the Seventeenth Century*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997.

Burris, Roddie. "SC Tracks Underground Railroad through Runaway Slave Lore." [Columbia, SC] *State* (January 13, 2002): n.p.

Burritt, Chris. "Daufuskie Island Sings the Sloppy Jalopy Blues: Getting Street Legal a Whole heap of Trouble." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (April 2, 1995): A3.

Burt, Philip. "Gullah- Geechee Traditions: Preserving the Past." *Savannah Magazine* 13:3 (2002): 36-40.

Burton, Michael L. and Douglas R. White. "Sexual Division of Labor in Agriculture." *American Anthropologist* 86 series 2 (Summer 1984): 568- 83.

Butler, Jon. *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983.

Bynum, Russ. "Savannah Cashes in on Boom in Black Tourism." *Savannah Morning News* (June 8, 2001): n.p.

- - - . "Slave Descendants' Quest: Save Their Dying Culture." *Miami Herald* (March 14, 2001): E5.

Byrne, William A. "The Burden and Heat of the Day: Slavery and Servitude in Savannah, 1733- 1865." Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1979.

- - - . "The Hiring of Woodson: Slave Carpenter of Savannah." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 77 (Summer 1993): 245- 63.

- - - . "Slavery in Savannah, Georgia." Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1974.

Camp, Stephanie M. H. "'I Could Not Stay There': Enslaved Women, Truancy and the Geography of Everyday Forms of Resistance in the Antebellum Plantation South." *Slavery and Abolition* 23 (December 2002): 1- 20.

- - - . "The Pleasures of Resistance: Enslaved Women and Body Politics in the Plantation South, 1830-1861." *Journal of Southern History* 68 (August 2002).

Campbell, Edward D. C., Jr. *Before Freedom Came: African- American Life in the Antebellum South*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1991.

Campbell, Emory S. *Gullah Cultural Legacies: A Synopsis of Gullah Traditions, Customary Beliefs, Art Forms and Speech on Hilton Head Island and Vicinal Sea Islands in South Carolina and Georgia*. Hilton Head, SC: Gullah Heritage Consulting Services, 2002.

Campbell, John. "Work, Pregnancy and Infant Mortality among Southern Slaves." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 14 (Spring 1984): 793- 812.

Campbell, Stanley. *The Slave Catchers: Enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, 1850- 1860*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1972.

Cane River National Heritage Area Management Plan. Denver, CO: NPS Denver Service Center, 2002.

Canipe, Jeremy T. "Black Wilmington: Free African Americans on the Lower Cape Fear, 1760- 1860." M.A. thesis, Wake Forest University, 1997.

Carbone, John S. *The Civil War in Coastal North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Office of Archives and History, 2003.

Carey, Anthony Gene. *Parties, Slavery and the Union in Antebellum Georgia*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1997.

Carillo, Karen Juanita. "An African- American Burial Ground Surfaces in Charleston, SC." *New York Amsterdam News* (January 31, 2001): n.p.

Carll- White, M. Allison. "'Great Neatness of Finish': Slave Carpenters in South Carolina's Charleston District, 1760- 1800." *Southern Studies* 26:2 (1987): 89- 100.

- - - . "The Role of Black Artisans in the Building Trades and the Decorative Arts in South Carolina's Charleston District, 1760- 1800." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tennessee, 1996.

- - - . "South Carolina's Forgotten Craftsmen." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 86 (January 1985):32- 38.

Carney, Judith A. "The African Antecedents of Uncle Ben in U.S. Rice History." *Journal of Historical Geography* 29:1 (2003): 1- 21.

- - - . "The African Origins of Carolina Rice Culture." *Ecumene* 7:2 (2000): 125- 49.

- - - . "Indigenous Soil and Water Management in Sene- gambian Rice Farming Systems." *Agriculture and Human Values* 8 (1991): 37- 48.

- - - . "Landscapes of Technology Transfer: Rice Cultivation and African Continuities." *Technology and Culture* 37: 1 (January 1996): 5- 35.

- - - . "Rice Milling, Gender and Slave Labor in Colonial South Carolina." *Past and Present* 153 (November 1996): 108- 34.

- - - . "The Role of African Rice and Slaves in the History of Rice Cultivation in the Americas." *Human Ecology* 26 (December 1998): 525- 45.

- - - . "The Social History of Gambian Rice Production: An Analysis of Food Security Strategies." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1986.

Carpenter, James G. "The Rice Plantation Lands of Georgetown County, South Carolina: A Historical Geographic Study." M.S. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1973.

Carter, Harold A. *The Prayer Tradition of Black People*. Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1976.

Cash, Wilbur J. *The Mind of the South*. New York: Vintage Books, [1941]1991.

Cassidy, Frederic G. "*The Place of Gullah*." *American Speech* 55:1 (Spring 1980): 3- 16.

- - - . "Some Similarities between Gullah and Caribbean Creoles." In Michael Montgomery and Guy Bailey, eds. *Language Varieties in the South: Perspectives in Black and White*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1986, 30- 37.

- - - . "Sources of the African Element of Gullah." In Lawrence Carrington, ed. *Studies in Caribbean Language*. Papers from the Third Biennial Conference of the SCL. St. Augustine, FL: SCL, 1983.

Castel, Albert. "'Captain, We Will Meet You on the Other Shore': The Story of Some Black Union Soldiers from Georgia as Told by a White Union Officer from Michigan." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 87 (Summer 2003): 275- 96.

Cate, Margaret Davis. *Early Days of Coastal Georgia*. St. Simons Island, GA: Fort Frederica Association, 1955.

Ceceleski, David S. “The Shores of Freedom: The Maritime Underground Railroad in North Carolina, 1800- 1860.” *North Carolina Historical Review* 71 (April 1994): 174- 206.

- - - . *The Waterman’s Song: Slavery and Freedom in Maritime North Carolina*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

Cecil- Fronsman, Bill. *Common Whites: Class and Culture in Antebellum North Carolina*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1992.

“Celebrating a Grand Idea.” *Cincinnati Post* (June 15, 2002).

Chandler, Genevieve Willcox. “Sandy Island Across the Waccamaw: Before and After.” In Clarke A. Wilcox, ed. *Musings of a Hermit, with Historical Sketches of the Waccamaw Neck*. Charleston, SC: self published, [2nd ed.] 1967.

Chaplin, Joyce E. *An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation in the Lower South, 1730- 1815*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

- - - . “Tidal Rice Cultivation and the Problem of Slavery in South Carolina and Georgia, 1760- 1815. *William and Mary Quarterly* [3rd series] 49 (June 1992): 29- 61.

Chase, Judith Wragg. “American Heritage from Ante- bellum Black Craftsmen.” *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 42 (1978): 140- 41.

Cheesier, Ron. “The Gullah Bible: A Link between Past and Future.” *American Visions* (June 1988): 32- 36.

Chesnutt, David Rogers. “South Carolina’s Expansion into Colonial Georgia, 1720- 1765. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Georgia, 1993.

- - - . “South Carolina’s Penetration of Georgia in the 1760’s: Henry Laurens as a Case Study.” *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 73:4 (October 1972): 194- 208.

Chibbaro, Anthony. *South Carolina’s Lowcountry*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing Co., 1999.

Childs, St. Julien Ravenel. “Kitchen Physick, Medical and Surgical Care of Slaves on an Eighteenth Century Rice Plantation.” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 20 (1939): 549- 54.

- - - . *Malaria and Colonization in the Carolina Lowcountry, 1526- 1696*. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series 58:1) Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1940.

Chireau, Yvonne P. *Black Magic: Religion and the African American Conjuring Tradition*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003.

- - - . “Conjure and Christianity in the Nineteenth Century: Religious Elements in African American Magic.” *Religion and American Culture* 7:2 (Summer 1997): 225- 46.

Christensen, Abigail M. H. “Spirituals and Shouts of Southern Negroes.” *Journal of American Folklore* 7 (1894): 154- 155.

Cihlar, Christopher Andrew. “Resort Development: The Challenge of Benefiting the Original Community.” Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 2003.

Cimbala, Paul A. “The Freedmen’s Bureau, the Freedmen, and Sherman’s Grant in Reconstruction Georgia, 1865- 1867.” *Journal of Southern History* 55:4 (November 1989): 399- 420.

- - - . “The Terms of Freedom: The Freedman’s Bureau and Reconstruction in Georgia, 1865- 1870.” Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1983.

- - - . *Under the Guardianship of the Nation: The Freemen’s Bureau and the Reconstruction of Georgia*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2003.

Clark, Carol. "Southern Sanctuary: Off the Georgia Coast, Tiny Sapelo Island Is an Isolated Refuge of Marine Life, Wild Tidal Marshes and a Unique Culture That Is Struggling to Keep Its African Traditions Alive." *Los Angeles Times* (May 26, 2002): L1.

Clark, H. Sol. "A Geechee Returns Home: Early Memoirs of a Savannah Attorney." *Journal of Southern Legal History* 1:2 (Fall/Winter 1991): 445- 454.

Clark, Jane. "Blacksmith, 86, Keeps the Embers Glowing." *USA Today* (May 14, 1999).

Clark, Septima. *Ready from Within: Septima Clark and the Civil Rights Movement*. Atlanta, GA: Wild Trees Press: 1986.

Clark, Truman R. "History Gives Lie to Myth of Black Confederate Soldiers." *The Houston Chronicle*. August 29, 1999, n.p.

Clarke, Erskine. *Our Southern Zion: A History of Calvinism in the South Carolina Low Country, 1690-1990*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1996.

- - - . *Wrestlin' Jacob: A Portrait of Religion in Antebellum Georgia and the Carolina Lowcountry*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, reprint 2000.

Clifton, James M. "The Antebellum Rice Planter As Revealed in the Letterbook of Charles Manigault, 1846- 1848." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 74 (July- Oct 1973): 308.

- - - . "Golden Grains of White: Rice Planting on the Lower Cape Fear." *North Carolina Historical Review* 50:4 (1973): 365- 93.

- - - . "A Half- Century of a Georgia Rice Plantation." *North Carolina Historical Review* 47 (October 1970): 392- 395.

- - - , ed. *Life and Labor on Argyle Island: Letters and Documents of a Savannah River Rice Plantation, 1822- 1867*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, [reprint ed.] 1982.

- - - . "The Rice Driver: His Role in Slave Management." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 82:3 (October 1981): 333- 355.

- - - . "The Rice Industry in Colonial America." *Agricultural History* 55 (1981): 266- 283.

Clinton, Catherine. "Bloody Terrain: Freedwomen, Sexuality and Violence during Reconstruction." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 76 (Summer 1992).

Close, Stacey K. *Elderly Slaves of the Plantation South*. New York: Garland, [rev. ed.] 1996.

Clowse, Converse D. "Shipowning and Shipbuilding in Colonial South Carolina: An Overview." *American Neptune* 44 (1984): 221- 224.

Clyburn, James E. "Preserve Eroding Gullah/Geechee Cultural Treasures." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (August 9, 2004): 9A.

"Coastal County in Search of Historic Black Cemeteries." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (September 19, 1999): M2.

Cobb, Jimmy Gene. "A Study of White Protestants' Attitudes toward Negroes in Charleston, South Carolina, 1790- 1845." Ph.D. dissertation, Baylor University, 1976.

Coclanis, Peter. "Bitter Harvest: The South Carolina Lowcountry in Historical Perspective." *Journal of Economic History* 45:2 (June 1985): 252- 59.

- - - . "Distant Thunder: The Creation of a World Market in Rice and the Transformations It Wrought." *American Historical Review* 98 (October 1993): 1050- 78.

- - - . "Economy and Society in the Early Modern South: Charleston and the Evolution of the South Carolina Low Country." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1984.

- - - . *The Shadow of a Dream: Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country, 1670- 1920*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Coclanis, Peter A., and J. C. Marlow. "Inland Rice Production in the South Atlantic States: A Picture in Black and White. *Agricultural History* 72:1 (1998):197- 211.

Cody, Cheryll Ann. "Naming, Kinship, and Estate Dispersal: Notes on Slave Family Life on a South Carolina Plantation, 1786 to 1833." *William and Mary Quarterly* (3rd series) 39:1 (1982): 192- 211.

- - - . "Sale and Separation: Four Crises for Enslaved Women on the Ball Plantations, 1764- 1854." In Larry E. Hudson, Jr., ed. *Working toward Freedom: Slave Society and Domestic Economy in the American South*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1994, 119- 42.

- - - . "Slave Demography and Family Formation: A Community Study of the Ball Family Plantations, 1720- 1896." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1982.

- - - . "There Was No 'Absalom' on the Ball Plantations: Slave Naming Practices in the South Carolina Low Country, 1720- 1865." *American Historical Review* 92:3 (June 1987): 563- 96.

Cohen, David and Jack P. Greene, eds. *Neither Slave nor Free: The Freedmen of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.

Cohen, Hennig. "Burial of the Drowned Among the Gullah Negroes." *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 22: 93- 97.

- - - . "Slave Names in Colonial South Carolina." *American Speech* 27:2 (May 1952): 102- 107.

Colburn, David R., and Jane L. Landers, eds. *The African American Heritage of Florida*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1995.

Colchin, Peter. *American Slavery: 1619- 1877*. New York: Hill and Wang Publishers, 1993.

Collier, John, Jr., and Malcolm Collier. *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Resource Method*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, rev. ed. [1967] 1992.

Collins, Lisa Gale. "Visualizing Culture: Art and the Sea Islands." *International Review of African American Art* 19:1 (2003): 52- 9.

"Common Myths about Heirs Property." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (September 28, 2002): A15.

Conley, Dorothy L. "Origin of the Negro Spirituals." *Negro History Bulletin* 25 (May 1962): 179.

Connor, Cynthia. "'Sleep on and Take Your Rest': Black Mortuary Behavior on the East Branch of the Cooper River, South Carolina." M.A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1989.

Conroy, Pat. *The Water is Wide*. New York: Old New York Bookshop Press, 1990.

Cook, Elizabeth W. "Group Wants Cemetery Honored: Original Islanders, a Sullivan's Island Organization of Current and Former Black Residents Would Like to Erect a Monument or Set up Passive Park in an Old Black Cemetery." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (February, 17 2000): EC1.

Cook, Mary Ann. "Shout Tradition Lives in Exhibit at Avery Center." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (May 18, 1995): P1.

Cooke, Michael A. "Sickle Cell Anemia as a Community and Public Health Issue: South Carolina, 1971- 1981." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 94:3 (July 1993): 193- 209.

Coon, David L. "The Development of Market Agriculture in South Carolina." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1972.

Copage, Eric V. "African- American Sites Look Back and Forward." *New York Times* (February 17, 2000): G12.

Copenhaver, J. R. "Culture of Indigo in the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia." *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry* 22:4 (1930): 894- 900.

Cornelius, Janet Duitsman. "God's Schoolmasters: Southern Evangelists to the Slaves, 1830- 1860." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana- Champaign, 1976.

- - - . "Shout Because You're Free: The African American Ring Shout Tradition in Coastal Georgia." *Journal of Southern History* 66 (November 1, 2000): n.p.

- - - . *Slave Missions and the Black Church in the Antebellum South*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1999.

- - - . "'We Slipped and Learned to Read': Slave Accounts of the Literacy Process, 1830- 1865." *Phylon* 44:3 (1960): 171- 86.

- - - . *When I Can Read My Title Clear: Literacy, Slavery, and Religion in the Antebellum South*. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.

Cottman, Michael H. *The Wreck of the Henrietta Marie: An African American Spiritual Journal to Uncover a Sunken Ship's Past*. New York: Harmony Books, 1999.

Cotton, Sarah Mitchell. "Bodies of Knowledge: The Influence of Slaves on the Antebellum Medical Community." M.A. thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1997.

Coulter, Ellis M. *Wormsloe: Two Centuries of a Georgia Plantation*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1955.

Countryman, Edward. *How Did American Slavery Begin: Readings (Historians at Work)*. Bedford, MA: St. Martin's, 1999.

Cox, Jack F., compiler. *The 1850 Census of Georgia Slave Owners*. Baltimore, MD: Clearfield, 1999.

Craft, Mary- Kathryn. "Author Teaches Gullah Culture." [Myrtle Beach, SC] *Sun News* (October 18, 2000): C2.

- - - . "Discover Gullah Cooking." [Myrtle Beach, SC] *Sun News* (June 11, 2003): E1.

Creel, Margaret Washington. "Antebellum Religion among the Gullahs: A Study of Slave Conversion and Religious Culture in the South Carolina Sea Islands." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California Davis, 1980.

Crews, Walter. "Negro Craftsmen Ply an Ancient Art by the Side of a Bustling Highway." [Charleston, SC] *Evening Post* (June 27, 1954): n.p.

Crook, Ray. "The Sapelo Gullah Project." *Reflections* 1:2 (February 2001): 4- 5. Atlanta: Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources.

Crow, Jeffrey J. *The Black Experience in Revolutionary North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: Division of Archives and History, 1996.

- - - . "Slave Rebelliousness and Social Conflict in North Carolina, 1775- 1802." *William and Mary Quarterly* 37:1 (January 1980): 79- 102.

Crow, Jeffrey J., Paul D. Escott, and Flora J. Hatley. *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Commerce and Department of Cultural Resources, [1992] 2002.

Crowley, John E. "The Importance of Kinship: Testamentary Evidence from South Carolina." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 16:4 (Spring 1986): 559- 577.

Culpepper, Linda Parramore. "Black Charlestonians in the Mountains: African American Community Building in Post- Civil War Flat Rock, North Carolina." *Journal of Appalachian Studies* 8 (Fall 2002): 362- 81.

Cunningham, Bernateen W. “Attitudes of School Personnel in Charleston, South Carolina, Toward the Gullah Dialect.” M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1989.

Cunningham, Irma Aloyce Ewing. “A Syntactic Analysis of Sea Island Creole (Gullah).” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1970.

Curry, Andrew. “The Gullahs’ Last Stand? The Last of Georgia’s Isolated Slave Islands is Threatened by Modernity.” *U.S. News and World Report* (June 18, 2001): 40.

Curtin, Philip D., ed. *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, [reprint] 1997.

- - - . *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.

- - - . *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade*. Milwaukee, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975.

- - - . “Epidemiology and the Slave Trade.” *Political Science Quarterly* 83 (1968): 190- 216.

- - - . *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex*: *Essays in Atlantic History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Curtis, Judy. “Artists of Gullah.” *Living in South Carolina* (Berkeley Electric Cooperative) 53:5 (May 2000): 12- 13.

Dabbs, Edith M. *Face of an Island*. Columbia, SC: R. L. Bryan Co., 1970.

- - - . *Sea Island Diary: A History of St. Helena Island*. Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Co., 1993.

Dabney, Charles W. “Penn School on St. Helena Island.” *Southern Workman* 60:278 (April 1931): 25.

Daise, Ronald. *Reminiscences of Sea Island Heritage: Legacy of Freedmen on St. Helena Island*. Orangeburg, South Carolina: Sandlapper Publishing, Inc., 1986.

Danielson, Michael N. *Profits and Politics in Paradise*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995.

Darby, James C. “On Planting and Managing a Rice Crop.” *Southern Agriculturist* (June 1829):247- 54.

Dargan, William T. “Congregational Singing Traditions in South Carolina.” *Black Music Research Journal* 15:1 (Spring 1995): 29- 73.

David, Hilda Black. “The African- American Women of Edisto Island, South Carolina.” Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1990.

- - - . “Constructing a New World: Charleston's Artisans and the Transformation of the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1700- 1800.” M.A. thesis, Johns Hopkins, 2001.

David, Marc Charlton. “The Penn School of St. Helena: Breaking the Shackles of Illiteracy on the Sea Islands of South Carolina, 1862- 1922. Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1999.

Davidson, Basil. *Africa in History*. New York: Simon and Schuster, [rev. ed.] 1995.

- - - . *The African Genius: An Introduction to African Social and Cultural History*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., [reissue] 1989.

- - - . *The African Slave Trade: Precolonial History, 1450- 1850* (originally published as *Black Mother: The Years of the African Slave Trade*). Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1961.

- - - . *African Slave Trade Revised and Expanded*. Boston: Back Bay Books, [rev. ed.] 1988.

- - - . *The Black Man’s Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation- State*. Three Rivers, MI: Three Rivers Press, 1993.

Davis, Angela Y. "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Slave Community." *The Black Scholar* 3 (December 1971): 3- 15.

Davis, David Brion. *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution 1770- 1823*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Davis, Esther S. *Memories of Mulberry*. Camden, SC: self published, 1975.

Davis, Gerald L. "Afro- American Coil Basketry in Charleston County, South Carolina: Affective Characteristics of an Artistic Craft in a Social Context." In Don Yoder, ed. *American Folklife*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1976.

Davis, Harold E. *The Fledgling Province: Social and Cultural Life in Colonial Georgia, 1773- 1776*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1976.

Davis, Jingle. "Access to State's Coast Getting Easier at Sapelo." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (December 18, 1994): D3.

- - - . "Black Owners Hold Tight to Land." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (December 20, 2001):A1.

- - - . "Coastal Groups Organize to Preserve Pristine Areas. 'Central Park' Needed? Islanders Move to Support Green and Historic Zoning." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (February 25, 2001): F3.

- - - . "DNR Plan for Sapelo Emphasizes Natural Approach. Meeting Center, Lodge Ruled out in Latest Proposal." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (December 9, 1989): C5.

- - - . "Georgia Coastal Town Fights to Ban Wal- Mart." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (October 17, 2002): F5.

- - - . "Gullah Sings a Lilting Song: Isolation in Rural Communities on Georgia's Coast: Isolation Helped Preserve a Language and Way of Life for Generations – But Now They're Melting into the Mainstream." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (November 10, 1996): G8.

- - - . "The Haven of Hog Hammock." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (June 25, 1995): C1.

- - - . "On Cultural Survival of the Gullah." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (November 10, 1996): G1.

- - - . "Preserving Culture of Coast's Gullah- Geechee People Studied." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (December 10, 2003): B1.

- - - . "Revisions Urged in Island Plan: Draft Guidelines for Sapelo Favor Hunting, Environmentalists Say, But: There's Still Time for Public Input and Changes." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (November 28, 1997): G2.

- - - . "Saving of Gullah Culture Gets Look." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (October 15, 2002): B1.

- - - . "Saving the Soul of a Culture: A Three- year Study by the National Park Service Aims to Preserve the History, Heritage of the Gullah- Geechee People." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (February 4, 2001): M1.

- - - . "State Sets Hearings on Sapelo Land Rules: Plan Drawn to Protect Gullah Community." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (August 24, 1995): D6.

- - - . "To Preserve and Protect: A Classic Tabby Home in Coastal Georgia Could Soon House a Project Teaching Young Artisans Restoration Skills." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (April 30, 1995): C1.

Davis, John Martin, Jr. "Bankless in Beaufort: A Reexamination of the 1873 Failure of the Freedman's Savings Branch at Beaufort, South Carolina." *SC Historical Magazine* 104 (January 2003): 25- 55.

Davis, Mella. "African Trickster Tales in Diaspora: Resistance in the Creole- Speaking South Carolina Sea Islands and Guadeloupe." Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1998.

Dawson, Victoria. “Cast in Bondage: Copper Neck Tags Evoke the Experience of American Slaves Hired Out as Part- time Laborers.” *Smithsonian* (February 2003). Available online at <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian/issues03/feb03/object.html>

Day, Gregory. “Afro- Carolinian Art, Towards the History of a Southern Expressive Tradition.” *Contemporary Art/Southeast*. 1:5 (1978) 10- 21.

Day, Kay Young. “Kinship in a Changing Economy.” In Robert L. Hall, ed. *Holding on to the Land and the Lord: Kinship, Ritual, Land Tenure, and Social Policy in the Rural South*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1982.

Day, Virginia Kay. “My Family Is Me: Women's Kin Networks and Social Power in a Black Sea Island Community.” Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1986.

“Daycleaning: Bringing a Spiritual Perspective to Daily Life.” *Christian Science Monitor* (April 24, 2000): n.p.

Deagan, Kathleen A. and Darcie A. MacMahon. *Fort Mose: Colonial America’s Black Fortress of Freedom*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1995.

Dean, William. “Humanities School Weaves Lowcountry Crafts to African Roots.” [Beaufort, SC] *Carolina Morning News* (August 31, 2000): n.p.

Deas- Moore, Vennie. “Home Remedies, Herb Doctors, and Granny Midwives.” *The World and I*. 2:1 (January 1987): 474- 485.

- - - . “Mrs. Agnes: An Oral History Interview with 100- Year- Old African- American Woman.” *1990 National Interpreters Workshop* (1990): 118- 119.

Debolt, Margaret Wayt. *Savannah: A Historical Portrait*. Gloucester Point, VA: Hallmark Publishers, [1976] 2001.

DeCamp. David. “Toward a Generative Analysis of a Post- Creole Speech Continuum.” In Dell Hymes, ed. *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

Dennis, Samuel Frederick, Jr. “Seeing the Lowcountry Landscape: ‘Race,’ Gender, and Nature in Lowcountry South Carolina and Georgia, 1750- 2000.” Ph. D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 2000.

Derby, Doris Adelaide. “Afro- American Baskets.” *World Heritage Museum Notes* 3 (1976).

- - - . “Black Women Basket Makers: A Study of Domestic Economy in Charleston, South Carolina.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois Urbana- Champaign, 1980.

Derks, Scott. “Dat Not Be My Echo.” *South Carolina Wildlife* (July- August 1979): 44- 50.

Dessens, Nathalie. *Myths of the Plantation Society: Slavery in the American South and West Indies*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2003.

Dethloff, Henry C. “The Colonial Rice Trade.” *Agricultural History* 56 (1982): 231- 43.

- - - . A *History of the American Rice Industry, 1685- 1985*. College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 1988.

“Development Threatens Sweetgrass.” [Myrtle Beach, SC] *Myrtle Beach Sun- Times* (September 7, 2004).

Devera, Dora. “Tales Preserve Gullah Culture.” [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (April 3, 1997): P1.

Devlin, George Alfred. “South Carolina and Black Migrations, 1865- 1930.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1984.

Devereaux, Anthony Q. *The Rice Princes: A Rice Epoch Revisited*. Columbia, SC: The State Printing Co, 1973.

"Development Overtakes Island's Black Culture: Daufuskie Island, SC, Residents React to Developers." *New York Times* (April 4, 1994): B11.

Dewig, Rob. "Building a Better Bateau." *Savannah Morning News* (August 24, 1999): n.p.

- - - . "Finding the Key to Daufuskie." *Savannah Morning News* (August 31, 1999): n.p.

- - - . "Gullah Documentary in the Works." *Savannah Morning News* (October 5, 2002): A1.

Diawara, Manthia. "Slavery and the Content of History." *Black Renaissance/Renaissance Noire* 2:1 (Fall/Winter 1998): 5- 6.

Dilliard, J. L. "The Evidence for Pidgin/Creolization in Early American English." In David Buisseret and Steven Reinhardt, eds. *Creolization in the Americas*. College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 2000.

Dilliard, Philip D. "The Confederate Debate Over Arming Slaves: Views from Macon and Augusta Newspapers." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 79 (Spring 1995): 117- 146.

Dilsaver, Larry M. *Cumberland Island National Seashore: A History of Conservation Conflict*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2004.

Diouf, Sylviane Anna, ed. *Fighting the Slave Trade: West African Strategies*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2003.

- - - . *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas*. New York: New York University Press, 1998.

Doar, David. *Rice and Rice Planting in the South Carolina Low Country*. Charleston, SC: Charleston Museum, 1936.

Donnan, Elizabeth. *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, 4 vols. Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1935.

- - - . "The Slave Trade into South Carolina before the Revolution." *American Historical Review* 33 (October- July 1927- 28): 804- 28.

Douglas, Tyees. "Cainhoy Residents Hear about Heirs Property Through Preservation Project." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (October 17, 2002): B1.

- - - . "PBS Films a Gullah 'Porgy.'" [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (August 20, 1995): D1.

Douthat, Strat. "Descendants of Slaves Struggle to Pay Taxes, Keep Land: Development Shoves Aside SC's Sea Island Residents." *Los Angeles Times* (January 4, 1987): 22A.

Dozier, Richard K. "A Historical Survey: Black Architects and Craftsmen." *Black World* 23 (1974): 4- 15.

Drago, Edmund L., ed. *Broke by the War: Letters of a Slave Trader*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.

- - - . "Georgia's First Black Voter Registrars during Reconstruction." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 78:4 (Winter 1994): 760- 93.

- - - . "How Sherman's March through Georgia Affected the Slaves." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 57:3 (Fall 1973):361- 75.

Drago, Edmund, and Ralph Melnick. "The Old Slave Mart Museum, Charleston, South Carolina: Rediscovering the Past." *Civil War History* 27 (June 1981): 138- 50.

Dreyer, Henry Manning, Jr. "Aspects of the Gullah Dialect in Southeastern Regional Literature." M. A. thesis, West Georgia College, 1993.

Drucker, Lesley M. "Archeological Investigations at Brookgreen Gardens: The Oaks and Laurel Hill Plantations." Paper presented to the Sixth Annual Conference on South Carolina Archeology, University of South Carolina, 1980.

- - - . "Socioeconomic Patterning at an Undocumented Late 18th Century Lowcountry Site: Spiers Landing, South Carolina, 1780- 1830." *Historical Archaeology* 15:2 (1981): 58- 68.

DuBois, W. E. B. *Black Folk, Then and Now*. New York: Kraus- Thomson Organization, 1990.

Dufault, Robert J., Mary Jackson, and Stephen K. Salvo. "Sweetgrass: History, Basketry, and Constraints to Industry Growth." J. Janick and J. E. Simon, eds. *New Crops*. New York: Wiley and Sons, 1993.

Duncan, John Donald. "Servitude and Slavery in Colonial South Carolina, 1670- 1776." Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1972.

Duncan, S. Heather. "Tied to the Land: African- influenced Culture Fighting to Stay Alive on the Coast." [Macon, GA] *Macon Telegraph* (September 22, 2003): n.p.

Dundes, Alan. "Jumping the Broom': On the Origin and Meaning of an African American Wedding Custom." *Journal of American Folklore* 109:433 (1996): 324- 329.

Dunn, Richard S. "The English Sugar Islands and the Founding of South Carolina." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* (April 1971): 81- 93.

Durden, Robert. *The Gray and the Black: The Confederate Debate on Emancipation*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1972.

Dusinberre, William. *Them Dark Days: Slavery in the American Rice Swamps*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2000.

Dzurica, Georgia. "Freedom's Walls: First African Baptist Church in Savannah." *House & Garden* 68:5 (May 1999): 92.

Eaddy, Mary Ann. "Slave Housing on the Rice Plantations, Georgetown County, South Carolina." M.A. thesis, George Washington University, Washington, D.C., 1985.

Easterby, James Harold, contributor. "Shipbuilding on St. Helena Island in 1816: the Diary of Ebenzer Coffin." *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*. 47 (1948): 117- 120.

- - - , ed. *The South Carolina Rice Plantation as Revealed in the Papers of F. W. Allston*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945.

- - - . South Carolina Through New England Eyes: Almira Coffin's Visit to the Low Country in 1851." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 45 (1944): 127- 36.

Eberly, Charlene. "'Across the Colour Wall': Gullah Linguistic and Literary Representations in DuBose Heyward's *Porgy*." M.A. thesis, Florida International University, 2004.

Eckert, Fred J. "Discovery Island: 'I Came to South Carolina on a Sad Note, But after Visiting Here, I'm Returning Rejoiced.'" *St. Louis Post Dispatch* (February 16, 1997): n.p.

- - - . "Guardians of Gullah Tradition." *The Washington Times* (May 24, 1998), n.p.

Edelson, S. Max. "Planting the Lowcountry: Agricultural Enterprise and Economic Experience in the Lower South, 1695- 1785 (Plantations, Indigo, Rice)" Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1998.

Edelstein, Stuart J. *The Sickled Cell: From Myths to Molecules*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986.

Edgar, Heather Joy Hecht. "Biological Distance and the African American Dentition." Ph. D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 2002.

Edgar, Walter. "Beyond the Tumult and the Shouting: Black and White in South Carolina in the 1990's." In Jan Nordby Gretlund, ed. *The Southern State of Mind*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1999, 95- 106.

Edwards, Paul, ed. *Equiano's Travels: His Autobiography, The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, the African*. Edinburgh, Scotland: Heineman, 1967.

Egemony, Uche N. "First: A History of First African Baptist Church, the Oldest Continuous Black Baptist Church in North America." Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 2003.

Egerton, Douglas R. "'Fly across the River': The Easter Slave Conspiracy of 1802." *North Carolina Historical Review* 68 (April 1991): 87- 110.

Elliott, William. "On Cultivation of Sea Island Cotton." *Southern Agriculturist* 1:2 (April, 1828):154.

Elmore, Charles J. *General David Hunter's Proclamation: The Quest for African- American Freedom Before and During the Civil War*. Port Washington, NY: Eastern National, 2002.

Elkins, Stanley M. *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press [3rd rev. ed.], 1976.

Eltis, David. *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Eltis, David, David Richardson, Stephen Behrendt, and Herbert S Klein. *The Trans- Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD- ROM*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Emerson, Matthew C. "Afro- American Archaeology: Identifying Black Mortuary Customs in the American South." Honors thesis, Brown University, 1979.

Emert, Phyllis Raybin. *Colonial Triangular Trade: An Economy Based on Human Misery*. Carlisle, MA: Discovery Enterprises, Ltd., 1996.

Emory, Thomas. *The Confederacy as a Revolutionary Experience*. (see Chapter 4, "Black Confederates: Slavery and Wartime." Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1971, 119- 132.

Epps, Edwin Carlyle. "Pat Conroy and the Daufuskie Island School." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1993.

Epstein, Dena J. *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1977.

- - - . "Slave Music in the United States before 1860: A Survey of Sources." *Journal of the Music Librarians Association* 20: 1 and 2 (1963): 127- 45; 377- 90.

Ehrenhard, John E., and Mary R. Bullard. *Stafford Plantation, Cumberland Island National Seashore, Georgia: Archeological Investigations of a Slave Cabin*. Tallahassee, FL.: Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1981.

Errante, James R. "The Significance of Waterscapes in the Context of South Carolina's Tidal Rice Growing Plantations. In Kathy Bolen, Kathy Forbes, and Ruth Trocolli, eds. *Critical Approaches to Archaeology and Anthropology, Annual Papers of the University of South Carolina Anthropology Students Association*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1989.

Escott, Paul D. "The Context of Freedom: Georgia's Slaves during the Civil War" *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 58:1 (Spring 1974): 79- 104.

Espenshade, Chris. "Excavations at the Eigelberger Plantation, Daufuskie Island, South Carolina." *African- American Archaeologist* 15 (Fall 1995).

- - - . "Some Thoughts on Spalling on South Carolina Colonoware." *African- American Archaeology* 23 (Winter 1999).

Estes- Hicks, Onita. "The Way We Were: Precious Memories of the Black Segregated South." *African American Review* 27 (Spring 1993): 9- 18.

Exploring a Common Past: Researching and Interpreting the Underground Railroad. Washington, DC: Park History Program, National Park Service, [2nd ed.] 1998.

Fairbanks, Charles H. "The Plantation Archaeology of the Southeastern Coast." 18:1 (1984): 1- 14.

Farrell, Edmund J. "Oral Histories as Living Literature." Presented at Nation Council of Teachers of English. Cincinnati, OH. ERIC, ED196013.

Fasold, Ralph. "The Relationship between Black and White Speech in the South." *American Speech* 56 (1981): 163- 189.

Faulkenberry, Lisa. "A Culture of Servitude: Economic and Social Impacts of Tourism in the South Carolina Sea Islands." M.A. thesis, Clemson University, 1997.

Fauset, Arthur H. "Folklore from St. Helena, South Carolina." *Journal of American Folklore* 38 (1925): 217- 38.

Faust, Drew Gilpin. "Culture, Conflict, and Community: The Meaning of Power on an Ante- Bellum Plantation." *Journal of Social History* 14:1 (Fall 1980): 83- 98.

Feelings, Tom. *The Middle Passage: White Ships, Black Cargo*. New York: Dial Books, 1995.

Fenn, Elizabeth A. "Honoring the Ancestor: Kongo- American Graves in the American South." *Southern Exposure* 28 (1985): 42- 57.

Ferguson, Leland. "Afro- American Slavery and the 'Invisible' Archeological Record of South Carolina." *Papers of the Conference on Historical Sites Archeology* 14:13- 19. Columbia, SC, 1982.

Ferguson, Leland, and David Babson. "Survey of Plantation Sites along the East Branch of the Cooper River: A Model for Predicting Archaeological Site Location." Manuscript on file, Dept. of Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC, 1986.

Ferguson, Sally Ann H. "Christian Violence and the Slave Narratives." *American Literature* 68 (June 1996): 197- 320.

Ferguson, T. Reed. *The John Couper Family at Cannon's Poin*t. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1994.

Ferrell, Adam. "Man Wants Land to Convey Island's History." *Post and Courier* (April 1, 2004): B1.

Fett, Sharla M. "Body and Soul: African- American Healing in Antebellum Southern Plantation Communities, 1800- 1860." Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1995.

Fickling, Susan M. "The Christianization of the Negro in South Carolina, 1830- 1860." M.A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1923.

Fields, Dorothy Jenkins. "Miami Must Preserve and Pass on Culture." *Miami Times* (December 16, 2003): n.p.

Finley, Cheryl. "The Door of No Return." *Common- Place* 1:4 (July 2001): http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/cp/vol- 01/no- 04/finley/

Fischer, Kirsten. *Sex, Race, and Resistance in Colonial North Carolina*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Fitchett, E. Horace. "The Free Negro in Charleston, South Carolina." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1950.

- - - . "The Traditions of the Free Negro in Charleston, South Carolina." *Journal of Negro History* 25 (1940): 139- 152.

Flanders, Ralph B. "The Free Negro in Antebellum Georgia." *North Carolina Historical Review* 9 (July 1932): 260- 74.

- - - . *Plantation Slavery in Georgia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933.

Fleetwood, William C. *Tidecraft: An Introductory Look at the Boats of Lower South Carolina, Georgia, and Northern Florida, 1650- 1950*. Savannah, GA: Coastal Heritage Society, 1982.

Flusche, Michael. "Joel Chandler Harris and the Folklore of Slavery." *Journal of American Studies* 9 (December 1975): 347- 363.

Fogel, Robert William. *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., reprint ed. 1994.

Fogel, Robert William, and L. Engerman. *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., [reissue edition] 1995.

"Folklore and Ethnology: Hags and Their Ways." *Southern Workman* 23:2 (February 1894): 26- 7.

"Folklore from St. Helena, South Carolina." *Journal of American Folklore* 39:148 (1925): 217- 38.

Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863- 1877*. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith Publishers, Inc., 2001.

- - - . *Who Owns History? Rethinking the Past in a Changing World*. New York: Hill and Wang Publishers, 2003.

Forbes, Ella. "African Resistance to Enslavement: The Nature and Evidentiary Record." *Journal of Black Studies* 23:1 (September 1992): 39- 59.

Ford, Omar. "Beaufort Part of Tubman Study." [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (March 8, 2003).

- - - . "Display Captures Elements of Gullah Culture." [Beaufort, SC] *Beaufort Gazette* (December 28, 2003): n.p.

- - - . "Government Officials Look to Protect Gullah- Geechee Culture." [Beaufort, SC] *Beaufort Gazette* (May 27, 2004): n.p.

- - - . "Gullah People Hope to Preserve Culture." [Beaufort, SC] *Beaufort Gazette* (October 3, 2004): A1.

- - - . "National Park Study Available for Public Review." [Beaufort, SC] *Beaufort Gazette* (December 17, 2003): n.p.

- - - . "Penn Center Seeks Rejuvenated Image." [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (June 17, 2003).

- - - . "Preserving Culture Gets OK in House." [Beaufort, SC] *Beaufort Gazette* (September 30, 2004): n.p.

- - - . "Report on Gullah Culture Brings Mixed Reviews." [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (October 26, 2002).

Ford, Timothy. "South Carolina Travel Diary, 1785- 1786." *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 13 (1912): 132- 204.

Foskett, Ken. "Trials of Life: Racism Was One Challenge; Another Was Meeting his Grandfather's Expectations." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (July 2, 2001): A1.

Fox- Genovese, Elizabeth. "Strategies and Forms of Resistance: Focus on Slave Women of the United States." In Darlene Clark Hine, ed. *Black Women in American History* (vol. 4) New York: Carlson Publishing, 1990, 409- 431.

- - - . *Within the Plantation Household, Black & White Women of the South*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Franklin, John Hope. "Introduction." In *The Rich Heritage of African Americans in North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Commerce and Department of Cultural Resources, 2001, 2- 3.

- - - . *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790- 1860*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1943.

- - - . Negro Episcopalians in Ante Bellum North Carolina." *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 13 (1944): 216- 34.

- - - . "Slaves Virtually Free in Ante- bellum North Carolina." *Journal of Negro History* 28 (January 1943): 284- 310.

Franklin, John Hope, and Alfred A. Moss, Jr. *From Slavery to Freedom*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, [8th ed.] 2000.

Franklin, John Hope, and Loren Sscweninger. "Fleeing Death, Seeking Life." *American Visions* 14 (August 1999): n.p.

- - - . *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation*.New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Franklin, Maria. "'Power to the People': Sociopolitics and the Archaeology of Black Americans." *Historical Archaeology* 31:3 (1997): 36- 50.

Franklin, V. P. *Self- Determination: A Cultural History of the Faith of the Fathers*. Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill, 1984.

Fraser, Walter J. *Charleston! Charleston!: The History of a Southern City*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1990.

Frazier, Eric. "She Who Guards Gullah: A Fading Culture's Controversial Keeper." [Charlotte, NC] *Charlotte Observer* (September 12, 2004): 1E.

- - - . "Community Pays Respects to Three African Ancestors." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (December 31, 1999): A1.

- - - . "Linguists Fear the End May Be Near for Gullah." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (March 6, 1995): A1.

Frazier, Herb. "Genetic Links of Two Coasts Studies." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (March 16, 1997): A16.

- - - . "Group Seeks to Restore Fort Tied to Local Slavery: Thousands Shipped from Bunce Island." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (June 5, 1998): B1.

- - - . "'Gullah Cousin' Kindles Kinship." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (November 9, 1995): P2.

- - - . "Gullah Heritage Bill Gets House OK: $10 Million Would Help Preserve Culture." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (September 29, 2004): A1.

- - - . "Journey for a Song: Music Links Georgians to Africa." *Post and Courier* [Charleston, SC] (March 16, 1997): A1.

- - - . "Riverside Became a Refuge Amid Segregation: Black Owned Businesses that Thrived around Beaches Gradually Died after Integration." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (August 12, 2001): A1.

- - - . "St. Augustine Fort's History Twined with Colonial Slaves." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (July 6, 1999): A6.

- - - . "Scholars Differ on Gullah Origin." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (February 2, 1997): P2.

- - - . “Sisters in Song: Musical Roots Run Under an Ocean to Bind Two Women with Oral History.” *Chicago Tribune* (May 9, 1997): A1.

- - - . “Song Stays Nearly Same Through Ages.” [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (March 16, 1997): A16.

- - - . “A Struggle for Sweetgrass.” [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (September 13, 1999), n.p.

- - - . “Time Blurs Family Ties to Ancient Homeland.” [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (August 7, 1995): A11.

- - - . “Transatlantic Link Bonds Lowcountry and Africa.” [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (August 7, 1995): A11.

Fredrickson, George M. *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro- American Character and Destiny, 1817- 1914*. New York, Harper and Row, 1971.

- - - . “Masters and Mudsills: The Role of Race in the Planter Ideology of South Carolina.” *South Atlantic Urban Studies* 2 (Spring 1978):34- 48.

Freehling, William W. “James Henley Thornwell’s Mysterious Antislavery Movement.” *Journal of Southern History* 57 (August 1991): 383- 406.

- - - . *Prelude to the Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina, 1816- 1836*. New York: Harper Collins, 1968.

Freehling, William W. and Craig M. Simpson, eds. *Secession Debated: Georgia’s Showdown in 1860*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

French, Austa Malinda. *Slavery in South Carolina and the Ex- slaves: Or, the Port Royal Mission*. New York: Negro Universities Press reprint [1862], 1969.

Frey, Sylvia R. “‘Bitter Fruit from the Sweet Stem of Liberty’: Georgia Slavery and the American Revolution.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, New York, NY, 1985.

- - - . *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Frey, Sylvia R., and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

“From the Distant Past: A Slave Ship Speaks.” *Miami Times* (February 27, 1997): n.p.

Fry, Gladys- Marie. *Stitched from the Soul: Slave Quilts from the Antebellum South*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, [2nd ed.] 2002.

Furtwangler, Carol. “Sea Islanders Keepers of African Tradition.” [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (June 4, 1998): D22.

- - - . “Shouters: Audience Left Wanting More.” [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (June 7, 1998): A17.

Gailliard, Kenneth A. “Gullah Culture Study Hits Strand.” [Myrtle Beach, SC] *Sun News* (May 18, 2000): C2.

Galardi, Patricia Ann. “A Comparison of Gullah Family Attitudes towards Education for Participants and Nonparticipants: The Effect of the Early Childhood At- Risk Family Initiative.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 2002.

Gallay, Alan. The *Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670- 1717*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.

- - - . "The Great Sellout: George Whitefield on Slavery." In Winfred B Moor, Jr. and Joseph F. Tripp, eds. *Looking South: Chapters in the Story of an American Region*. New York: Greenwood, 1989, 17-30.

Gallman, Robert E. "Slavery and Southern Economic Growth." *Southern Economic Journal* 45:4 (April 1979): 1007- 22.

Galvin, Mary L. "Decoctions for Carolinians: The Creation of a Creole Medicine Chest in Colonial South Carolina." In David Buisseret and Steven Reinhardt, eds. *Creolization in the Americas*. College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 2000.

Gannett, William C. "The Freedmen at Port Royal." *North American Review* 101:19 (1865).

Garland, Charles and Herbert S. Klein. "The Allotment of Space for African Slaves aboard Eighteenth Century British Slave Ships." *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd series 42:2 (April 1985): 238- 48.

Gartland, Michael. "Music History Made at Scanlonville Site." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (September 4, 2003): C9.

Genovese, Eugene D. "Black Plantation Preachers in the Slave South." *Southern Studies* 2 (Fall/Winter 1991): 203- 9.

- - - . *From Rebellion to Revolution: African American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1979.

Georgia Historical Society. *Savannah's River Plantations*. Mt. Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing Co., 1998.

- - - . "Georgia Slaveholder Looks at Africa." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 51:2 (1967): 186- 93.

- - - . *Roll, Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1974.

- - - . "The Significance of the Slave Plantation for Southern Economic Development." *Journal of Southern History* 28 (November 1962): 422- 37.

- - - . *'Slavery Ordained of God': The Southern Slaveholders' View of Biblical History and Modern Politics*. Gettysburg, PA. Gettysburg College Press, 1985.

- - - . *The Southern Front: History and Politics in the Cultural War*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1995.

Geraty, Virginia M. "The Gullah Language." *Charleston Magazine* 3:4 (1989): 12- 13.

- - - . *A Teacher's Guide to the Gullah Language, 2001*. Charleston, SC: V.M. Geraty, 2001.

Geraty, Virginia M. and Dan T. Ouzts. "Gullah Language and Dolch 22." *Florida Reading Quarterly Links To Literacy* 24 (1988): 16- 18.

Gertjegerdes- Myricks, Petra. "Lest We Forget: Basket Weaving an African/American Tradition." [Columbus, GA] *Columbus Times* (September 5, 2000): n.p.

Gessell, Elizabeth Anne. "Nowhere but Heaven: Savannah, Georgia during the Era of the First Great Migration." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California Berkeley, 2003.

Gettleman, Jeffrey. "Fighting Against the Tide: Two Very Different Women Battle to Preserve the Sea Islands, Primeval Southern Marshes Rich in History." *Los Angeles Times* (November 27, 2001): E1.

Gibbons, Letitia L. "A Statistical Analysis of Factors Affecting the Morbidity Rate of Sickle Cell Anemia." M.S. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1986.

Gibbs, Tyson, *et al.* "An Anthropological Examination of Slave Nutritional Adequacy." *Medical Anthropology* 4 (Spring 1980): 175- 262.

Gibe, James G. "Necessary but Insufficient: Plantation Archaeology Reports and Community Action." *Historical Archaeology* 31:3 (1997):51- 64.

Gibson, H. E. "African Legacy: Folk Medicine among the Gullahs." *Negro Digest* 40:1 (1962): 77- 80

Gillespie, Michele. *Free Labor in an Unfree World: White Artisans in Slaveholding Georgia, 1789- 1860*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2000.

Ginn, Doris O. "Out of Africa: The Sociolinguistic Partnership of Gullah with American Englishes in U.S. Classrooms and Communities." Paper presented at the National Council of Teachers of English Conference on English Education, San Francisco, CA, 2003.

Glanton, Dahleen. "Gullah Culture in Danger of Fading Away." *Chicago Tribune* (June 8, 2001): A1.

- - - . "Small Island of Gullah Culture Tries to Stay Afloat." *Chicago Tribune* (June 4, 2001): A1.

Glatthaar, Joseph. *The March to the Sea and Beyond: Sherman's Troops in the Savannah and Carolinas Campaigns*. New York: New York University Press, 1985.

Glen, Isabella C. *Life on St. Helena Island*. New York: Carlton Press, 1980.

Glennie, Alexander. *Sermons Preached on Plantations to Congregations of Negroes*. Charleston, SC: A. E. Miller, 1844.

God's Gonna Trouble the Water – Leaving Slavery Behind: Music and Other Sources of Strength of the Gullah Culture. South Carolina Educational Television Network, Columbia, SC, n.d.

Goines, Leonard. "The Music of Georgia and Carolina Sea Islands." *Allegro* 74:1 (1974): 5- 16.

Gold, Matea. "South Carolina: A Lush Dip in the Sea Islands." *Los Angeles Times* (May 23, 2004): L13.

Goldsmith, Peter David. "Afro- American Denominationalism: Ideology and Class Consciousness in a Coastal Georgia Community." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1982.

- - - . *When I Rise Cryin' Holy: African American Denominationism on the Georgia Coast*. New York: AMS Press, 1989.

Goldstein, David. "Thomas Says His Silence Is an Asset." *Miami Herald* (December 14, 2000): A25.

Goldstein, Kenneth. *A Guide for Field Workers in Folklore*. Hatboro, NC: Folklore Association, 1964.

Gomez, Michael A. *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

- - - . "Muslims in Early America." *Journal of Southern History* 60 (November 1994): 671- 710.

Goodheart, Adam. "Facing the Slave Past: Historic Sites Grapple with America's Greatest Shame." *Preservation* 53:5 (September/October 2001): 36- 43.

Goodman, Rhonda Christina. "Denmark Vesey and the Slave Insurrection Trial Narratives: The African- American Social Landscape of Antebellum Charleston, South Carolina." M.A. thesis, University of Delaware Wintherthur, 2000.

Goodson, Martia G. "Medical- Botanical Contributions of African Slave Women to American Medicine." *Western Journal of Black Studies* 11 (1987): 198- 203.

Gordan, Linda. "Black and White Visions of Welfare: Women's Welfare Activism, 1890- 1945." *Journal of American History* 78 (September 1991).

Gordon, Asa H. *The Georgia Negro: A History*. Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Co., [1933] 1972.

- - - . *Sketches of Negro Life and History in South Carolina*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, [2nd ed.] 1971.

Gordon, Robert W. "Negro 'Shouts' from Georgia." In Alan Dundes, ed. *Mother Wit from the Laughing Barrel*. Jackson, Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 1990.

Gorn, Elliott J. "Black Spirits: The Ghostlore of Afro- American Slaves." *American Quarterly* 36:4 (Autumn 1984): 549- 565.

Gorrell, Gena K. *North Star to Freedom*. New York: Delacorte Books for Young Readers, 1997

Graham, Denishia. "Going Back Home: Hebron Church was Built by Freed Slaves Using Lumber from an 1868 Shipwreck." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (May 55, 2003): A1.

- - - . "Historic Church Focus of Gullah Gala." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (April 22, 2004): B3.

- - - . "Passion and Faith Energize Woman Trying to Revive Lowcountry Tradition." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (November 14, 2003).

- - - . "Visitors Explore John's Island Connection to Their Native Africa." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (August 1, 2002): C1.

- - - . "Volunteers Continue Efforts to Restore Historic Cemetery." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (February 28, 2002): C1.

Graham, Glennon. "From Slavery to Serfdom: Rural Black Agriculturists in South Carolina, 1865-1900." Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1982.

Granger, Mary, ed. *Savannah River Plantations*. Savannah Writer's Project. Savannah, GA: Georgia Historical Society, 1947.

Grant, Carolyn. "Love of Daufuskie Island, Teaching Animated her Life." [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (July 15, 2002).

Grant, Donald L. *The Way It Was in the South: The Black Experience*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2001.

Gray, Lewis Cecil. "Economic Efficiency and Competitive Advantage of Slavery under the Plantation System." *Agricultural History* 4 (April 1930): 31- 47.

Graydon, Nell S. *Tales of Edisto*. Orangeburg, SC: Sandlapper Publishing, 1955.

Green, Ernest David. "Origins of American Policing: Slave Patrols in South Carolina from Colonial Times to 1865." Ph.D. dissertation, Howard University, 1998.

Green, Harold Dean, Jr. "St. Helena Island Ethnobotanical Collection and Conservation Project." M.S. thesis, University of Georgia, 1997.

Green, Jonathan. *Gullah Images: The Art of Jonathan Green*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1996.

Greenberg, Kenneth S. *Honor and Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellions, the Proslavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting, and Gambling in the Old South*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Greene, Harlan. "'The Little Shining Word': From Porgo to Porgy." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 87 (January 1986): 75- 81.

Greene, Harlan, *et al*. *Slave Badges and the Slave- Hire System in Charleston, South Carolina, 1783- 1865*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2004.

Greene, Jack P. "Colonial South Carolina and the Caribbean Connection." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 88 (December 1987):192- 210.

- - - . "'Slavery or Independence': Some Reflections on the Relationship among Liberty, Black Bondage, and Equality in Revolutionary South Carolina." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 80:3 (July 1979): 193- 214.

Greene, Melissa Fay. *Praying for Sheetrock: A Work of Nonfiction*. New York: Ballentine- Random House [reprint], 1992.

Greenfield, Eloise. *How They Got Over: African Americans and the Call of the Sea*. New York: Harper Collins, 2003.

Gregorie, Anne King. *Christ Church 1706- 1959, A Plantation Parish of the South Carolina Establishment*. Charleston: The Dalcho Historical Society, 1961.

Gregorson, John. "Swing Low: Collards, Grits and Hand- Pulled Pork Are Becoming the Stuff of Haute Cuisine in the Deep South. Is Yankee Country Next?" *Food Processing* (March 1, 2004): n.p.

Gresham, Charles A., and Donald D. Hook. "Rice Fields of South Carolina: A Resource Inventory and Management Policy Evaluation." *Coastal Zone Management Journal* 9 (1982): 183- 203.

Grime, William, ed. *Botany of the Black Americans*. St. Clair Shores, MI: Scholarly Press, Inc., 1976.

Grimm, Fred. "Culture vs. Condos: Sea Island Gullahs Are Making Way for Monied Whites." *Miami Herald* (June 27, 1988): D1.

Griswold, Francis. *A Sea Island Lady*. Beaufort, SC: Beaufort Book Co., 1939.

Gritzner, Janet Bigbee "Tabby in the Colonial Southeast: The Culture History of an American Building Material." Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1978.

Grogan, Gregg. "Frankie and Doug Quimby Sing Songs of Slavery to Keep Alive the Lore of their Forebears." *People Weekly* (October 12, 1987).

Groover, Mark D. "Creolization and the Archaeology of Multiethnic Households in the American South." *Historical Archaeology* 34:3 (Fall 2000).

Grovsner, Verta Mae. "What Does South Carolina Lowcountry Mean to Me? Home!" [Washington, DC] *Washington Star* (April 1971): n.p.

Gudmestad, Robert H. A *Troublesome Commerce: The Transformation of the Interstate Slave Trade*. Baton Rouge, LA: University of Louisiana Press, 2003.

"Gullah Language May Be in Jeopardy." *Black Issues in Higher Education* 12 (April 20, 1995): 47.

"Gullah: On the Question of Afro- American Language." *Anthropological Linguistics* 20:9 (1978): 422- 27.

"The Gullah Tradition." *Essence* 28:10 (February 1998): 127- 130.

Gundaker, Grey. "Tradition and Innovation in African- American Yards." *African Arts* 26:2 (April 1993): 58- 71, 94.

Gutman, Herbert. *Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750- 1925*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1976.

Guthrie, Patricia. *Catching Sense: African American Communities on a South Carolina Sea Island*. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey, 1996.

Hackenburg, Robert A. "Closing the Gap between Anthropology and Public Policy: The Route through Cultural Heritage Development." *Human Organization* 61:3 (Fall 2002): 288- 98.

Hadden, Sally E. *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Hadler, Jeffrey. "Remus Orthography: The History of the Representation of the African- American Voice." *Journal of Folklore Research* 35 (1998): 99- 123.

Haglund, Noah. "Encouraging Words Close Annual Gullah Economic Summit." [Beaufort, SC] *Beaufort Gazette* (February 29, 2004).

Haines, Brenda J. “Are Islanders Better off than in 1926?” [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (May 15, 2004).

Hair, P.E.H. “Sierra Leone Idioms in the Gullah Dialect of American English.” *Sierra Leone Language Review* 4 (1965) 79- 84.

Haley, Alex. “Sea Islanders, Strong- willed Survivors, Face Their Uncertain Future Together. Smithsonian 13 (1982): 88- 96.

Halfacre, Angela C., Jeremy D. Browning, and Brian P. Ballard. “Environmental Decision- Making and Community Involvement: The Case of Sandy Island, South Carolina.” Southeastern Geographer 41:1 (May 2001): 136- 52.

Hall, John A. “‘A Rigour of Confinement Which Violates Humanity’: Jail Conditions in South Carolina During the 1790s.” *Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South* 24 (Fall 1985): 284- 94.

Haller, Charlotte A. “‘And Made Us to Be a Kingdom’: Race, Antislavery, and Black Evangelicals in North Carolina’s Early Republic.” *North Carolina Historical Review* 80:2 (April 2003): 125- 152.

Haller, John S., Jr. “The Negro and the Southern Physician: A Study of Medical and Racial Attitudes 1800- 1860.” *Medical History* 16 (1972): 239- 44.

Hamby, Erin Brooke. “The Roots of Healing: Archaeological and historical Investigations of African-American Herbal Medicine.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tennessee, 2004.

Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac. “The Freedmen’s Bureau in North Carolina.” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 8 (1909): 52- 61.

Hamilton, Kendra. “Telling the Untold Story: Plans for Three New African American Museums Are Under Way, Signaling a Growing Interest in Black History, Culture. But is it Too Much of a Good Thing?” *Black Issues in Higher Education* (February 12, 2004).

Hamilton, Kendra Yvette. “‘The Almost Purple Blackness of Unadulterated Congo Blood’: High Art and Popular Culture Sightings/Sitings of the Gullah.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1998.

Hamilton, Virginia. *The People Could Fly: American Black Folktales*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985.

Hancock, Ian F. “Gullah and Barbadian: Origins and Relationships.” *American Speech* 55:1 (Spring 1980): 17- 35.

Handlin, Oscar, and Mary Flug Handlin. “Origins of the Southern Labor System.” *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd series 7 (1950):199- 222.

Hansen, Chadwick. “Jenny’s Toe Revisited: White Responses to Afro- American Shaking Dances.” *American Music* 5: 1 (Spring 1987): 1- 19.

Hansen, Joyce. *Bury Me Not in a Land of Slaves: African- Americans in the Time of Reconstruction*. New York: Franklin Watts- Grolier Publishing, 2000.

Hansen, Joyce, Gary McGowan, and James Ransome. *Freedom Roads: Searching for the Underground Railroad*. New York: Cricket Books, 2003.

Hardin, Jason. “Ambitious Project Aims to Protect Cemeteries.” [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (November 25, 2001): B1.

- - - . “Defining Downtown’s Black ‘Exodus.’” [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (April 15, 2001): A1.

- - - . “Virginia Geraty, Gullah Preservationist, Dies at 89.” [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (November 30, 2004): B1.

Hargrove, Melissa D. “Marketing Gullah: Identity, Cultural Politics, and Tourism.” M.S. thesis, University of Tennessee, 2000.

Haring, Lee. “A Characteristic African Folktale Pattern.” *African Folklore*, Richard Dorson, ed. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1972.

Harper, C. W. “Black Aristocrats: Domestic Servants on the Antebellum Plantation. *Phylon* 46:2 (June 1985): 123- 35.

Harris, J. William. *Deep Souths: Delta, Piedmont, and Sea Island Society in the Age of Segregation*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

- - - . *Society and Culture in the Slave South*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Harris, Jessica B. “Cultural Crossroads: Black and Unknown Hands.” *American Legacy* 7:1 (Spring 2001): 14- 16.

- - - . *Iron Pots and Wooden Spoons*: *Africa’s Gifts to New World Cooking*. New York: Atheneum, 1989.

- - - . *The Welcome Table: African American Heritage Cooking*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995.

Harris, Robert L., Jr. “Charleston’s Free Afro- American Elite: The Brown Fellowship Society and the Humane Brotherhood.” *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 82:4 (October 1981): 289- 310.

Harris, Ron. “The Gullahs: An Upside- Down World, Development Displaces Native Islanders.” *Los Angeles Times* (August 28, 1988): A1.

Harris, Yvonne Bailey. “The History of the Penn School under its Founders at St. Helena Island, Frogmore, South Carolina, 1682- 1908.” Ph.D. dissertation, American University, 1979.

Hart, Edward B. “Gullah Spirituals in Prayer Meetings on Johns Island, South Carolina.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1993.

Hart, Emma Frances Katherine. “Constructing a New World: Charleston's Artisans and the Transformation of the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1700- 1800. M.A. thesis, Emory University, 2001.

Haskell, Ann Sullivan. “The Representation of Gullah- Influenced Dialect in Twentieth Century South Carolina Prose, 1922- 30.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1964.

Hastings, Michael. “Island Bounty: Woman Who Grew Up on Daufuskie Island Writes about the Culture’s Traditional Food.” *Winston Salem Journal* (April 9, 2003): E1.

Hawkins, John. “Magical Medical Practice in South Carolina.” *Popular Science* 70 (1907): 165- 174.

Hawley, Thomas Earl Jr. “The Slave Tradition of Singing among the Gullah of Johns Island, South Carolina.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland- Baltimore County, 1993.

Hayes, James P. *James and Related Sea Islands*. Charleston, SC: Walker, Evans, & Cogswell Co., 1978.

Haywood, C. Robert. “Mercantilism and South Carolina Agriculture.” *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 60:1 (January 1959): 15- 27.

Heard, George Alexander. “St. Simon’s Island during the War Between the States.” *Georgia Historic Quarterly* 22:3 (September 1938): 249- 272.

Helsey, Alexia Jones. *South Carolina’s African- American Confederate Pensioners, 1923- 1925*. Columbia, SC: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1998.

Helsley, Alexia Jones, and Patrick McCawley. *The Many Faces of Slavery*. Columbia, SC: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1999.

Helwig, Adelaide B. “The Early History of Barbados and Her Influence upon the Development of South Carolina.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of California,- Berkeley, 1931.

Hemmingway, Theodore. “Beneath the Yoke of Bondage: A History of Black Folks in South Carolina.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1976.

Hendrick, Bill. "African- American DNA Roots Project: A Genetic Map to Past." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (December 14, 2003): NS9. <http://www.bumc.bu.edu/rootsproject>

Hendricks, Dave. "Damage at Cemetery Upsets Family." [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (May 11, 2002).

- - - . "Residents to Help with Cemetery Upkeep." [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (May 14, 2002).

Hendrix, Steve. "Sweet Georgia Coast: The Millionaires Are Gone from the Barrier Islands. But They Left a Rich Legacy Behind." *Washington Post* (May 19, 2002).

Hennesy, Melinda Meek. "Racial Violence during Reconstruction: The 1876 Riots in Charleston and Cainhoy." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 86:2 (April 1985): 100- 112.

Henry, Howell M. *The Police Control of the Slave in South Carolina*. New York: Negro Universities Press, [1914] 1968.

Herman, Bernard L., and Carter L. Hudgins. "Slave and Servant Housing in Charleston, 1770- 1820." *Historical Archaeology* 33:3 (Fall 1999): 88- 101.

Herron, Leonora, and Alice M. Bacon. "Conjuring and Conjure Doctors." *Southern Workman* 24:1 (1895): 118- 24.

Hersh, Allison. "Glimpses of Gullah: Artist Captures in Brilliant Colors the Rich History of Every Day Life in Savannah's African- American Neighborhoods." *Savannah Morning News* (September 3, 2000): 1E, 5E.

- - - . "Lowcountry Sanctuary." *Savannah Morning News* (June 30, 2002): *Coastal Living*.

Herskovits, Melville Jean. *The Myth of the Negro Past*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press [1941], 1990.

Hewitt, Gary Livingston. "Expansion and Improvement: Land, People and Politics in South Carolina and Georgia, 1690- 1745." Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1996.

Heyer, Kathryn Wilson. "Rootwork: Psychological Aspects of Malign Magical and Illness Beliefs in a South Carolina Sea Island Community." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1982.

Heyward, Duncan Clinch. *Seed from Madagascar*. Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Co., [1937] 1972.

Hicks, Kyra E. *Black Threads: An African American Quilting Sourcebook*. New York: McFarland & Co., 2003.

Higginbotham, A. Leon. "The Ancestry of Inferiority (1619- 1662)." In *Shades of Freedom: Racial Politics and Presumptions of the American Legal Process* (Oxford World's Classics, vol. 2), A. Leon Higgenbotham. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Higgins, W. Robert. "Charles Town Merchants and Factors Dealing in the External Negro Trade." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 65:4 (October 1964): 205- 217.

- - - . "The Geographical Origins of Negro Slaves in Colonial South Carolina." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 70 (1971): 34- 47.

Hill, John Hampden. Papers, 1875- 1880, Brunswick, New Hanover, and Pender Counties, North Carolina. Southern Historical Collection, Manuscripts Department, Academic Affairs Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC.

Hill, Pascoe G. *Fifty Days on Board a Slave Vessel in the Mozambique Channel, April and May 1843*. Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press, [1848] 1993.

Hill, Walter Byron. "Family, Life, and Work Culture: Black Charleston, South Carolina, 1880- 1910." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1989.

Hilliard, Sam Bowers. “Antebellum Tidewater Rice Culture in South Carolina and Georgia.” In James R. Gibson, ed. *European Settlement and Development in North America: Essays on Geographical Change in Honor and Memory of Andrew Hill Clark*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978. 91- 115.

- - - . *Hog Meat and Hoe Cake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840- 1860*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972.

- - - . “The Tidewater Rice Plantation: An Ingenious Adaptation to Nature.” *Geoscience and Man*. 12 (1975): 57- 66.

Hine, Darlene Clark. “Female Slave Resistance: The Economics of Sex.” *Western Journal of Black Studies* 3:2 (1979): 123- 27.

- - - . “Lifting the Veil, Shattering the Silence: Black Women’s History in Slavery and Freedom.” In Darlene Clark Hine, ed. *The State of Afro- American History: Past, Present, and Future*. Baton Rouge, LA: University of Louisiana Press, 1986.

- - - . “Race and the Inner Lives of Southern Black Women: Thoughts on the Culture of Dissemblance.” In Virginia Bernhard, *et al*., eds. *Southern Women: Histories and Identities*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1992.

Hine, William C. “Black Politicians in Reconstruction Charleston, South Carolina: A Collective Study.” *Journal of Southern History* 49:4 (November 1983): 555- 84.

- - - . “The 1867 Charleston Streetcar Sit- Ins: A Case of Successful Black Protest.” *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 77:2 (April 1976), 110- 114.

Hirsch, Diane Sullivan. “A Lie for True: Ethnolinguistic Origins of Gullah/Geechee.” Ph.D. dissertation, Union Institute and University, 2003.

Historic Resources of the Lowcountry. Yemassee, SC: Lowcountry Council of Governments, 1979. “The History of Slavery in Florida.” *Miami Times* (March 2, 2004), n.p.

Hjerpe, Karen. “St. John's Legacy for Cultural Preservation.” Draft report summary for Special Ethnographic Study for Virgin Islands National Park. Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2002.

Hodes, Martha. “The Sexualization of Reconstruction Politics: White Women and Black Men in the South after the Civil War.” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 3 (1993): 59- 74.

Hodges, Graham Russell. *Slavery, Freedom, and Culture among Early American Workers*. Armonk, NJ: M. E. Sharpe, 1999.

Hodges, Graham, and Freddie L Parker, eds. *Running for Freedom: Slave Runaways in North Carolina 1775- 1840*. New York: Garland Press, 1993.

Hoefer, Heather. “Church Upholds Gullah Tradition.” [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (January 1, 2001).

Hoffman, Charles, and Tess Hoffman. “The Limits of Paternalism: Driver- Master Relations on a Bryan County Plantation.” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 67 (Fall 1983): 321- 35.

Hoffman, Edwin D. “From Slavery to Self- Reliance: The Record of Achievement of the Freedmen of the Sea Island Region.” *Journal of Negro History* 41:1 (January 1956): 8- 42.

Hoffman, Paul E. “Legend, Religious Idealism, and Colonies: The Point of Santa Elena in History, 1552- 1566” [South Carolina/Georgia Coast]. *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 84 (April 1983): 59- 71.

Hogg, Peter. *Slavery: The Afro- American Experience*. London: The British Library, 1979.

Hoit- Thetford, Elizabeth, “An Educational History of the Gullahs of Coastal South Carolina from 1700- 1900.” Ph.D. dissertation, East Tennessee State University, 1993.

Holbach, Julia. “As I Remember It.” [Mt. Pleasant, SC] *The East Cooper Pilot* (June 1, 1977): 1, 3.

Holder, Allen. “Beyond the Books: Visit to Charleston Reveals More in- depth History.” *Kansas City Star* (November 22, 2003): n.p.

Holleman, Joey. “The Battle of SC 41.” [Columbia, SC] *The State* (28 September 2003): M7.

- - - . “Gullah Study Could Lead to Cultural Centers in SC” [Columbia, SC] *The State* (October 15, 2002): 1 A.

- - - . “This is Hallow Groun’.” [Columbia, SC] *The State* (28 September 2003): M1.

- - - . “Road Widening Plan May Widen an Old Wound for Gullah Families.” [Columbia, SC] *The State* (October 6, 2003): n.p.

- - - . “The Soul of Gullah.” [Columbia, SC] *The State* (28 September 2003): M6.

- - - . “Speaking Gullah: A ‘Branch of Africa’s Tree.’” [Columbia, SC] *The State* (October 6, 2003).

Holloway, Joseph E., ed. *Africanisms in American Culture: Blacks in the Diaspora*. Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1990.

- - - . “Time in the African Diaspora: The Gullah Experience.” In Joseph K. Adjaye, ed. *Time in the Black Experience* (Chapter 11). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994.

Holloway, Joseph E., and Winifred K. Vass, III. *The African Heritage of American English*. Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, [reprint] 1997.

Holm, John. “The Atlantic Creoles and the Language of the Ex- slave Recordings.” In Guy Bailey, Natalie Maynor, and Patricia Cukor- Avila, eds. *The Emergence of Black English: Text and Commentary*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1991.

Holt, Sharon Ann. “Making Freedom Pay: Freedpeople Working for Themselves: North Carolina, 1865- 1900.” *Journal of Southern History* 60:2 (May 1994): 229- 262.

- - - . “On the Relationship between Gullah and Bahamian.” *American Speech* 58:4 (Winter 1983): 303- 318.

Holman, Harriet R., ed. “Charleston in the Summer of 1841: The Letters of Harriet Horry Rutledge.” *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 46 (1945): 1- 14.

Holmgren, Virginia C. *Hilton Head: A Sea Island Chronicle*. Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1986.

Holt, Thomas. *Black Over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1977.

Hopkins, Tometro. “Issues in the Study of Afro- creoles: Afro- Cuban and Gullah.” Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1992.

Hornsby, Angela. “Cast Down But Not Out: Black Manhood and Racial Uplift in North Carolina, 1900- 1930.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 2003.

- - - . “Mistresses and Slaves: Plantation Women in South Carolina, 1830- 80.” *Journal of Negro History* 86 (2001): n.p.

Horton, Amy. “Hanging on to Harrington: Residents, Owners Fighting the Loss of Their Community.” *Brunswick News* (March 23, 2004): C1- 2.

- - - . “History, Ambiance Fades on St. Simons.” *Brunswick News* (March 23, 2004): 1C.

Horton, James Oliver. “Freedom’s Yoke: Gender Conventions among Antebellum Free Blacks.” *Feminist Studies* 12:1 (Spring 1986): 51- 76.

- - - . “Presenting Slavery: The Perils of Telling America’s Racial Story.” *Public Historian* 21:4 (Fall 1999): 19- 38.

Hoskins, Charles Lwanga. *Out of Yamacraw and Beyond: Discovering Black Savannah*. Savannah, GA: The Gullah Press, 2002.

House, Albert V. Jr. “Deterioration of a Georgia Rice Plantation during Four Years of Civil War.” *Journal of Southern History* 9:1 (February 1943): 98- 113.

- - - . ed. *Planter Management and Capitalism in Ante- Bellum Georgia: The Journal of Hugh Fraser Grant, Rice Grower*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954.

“How Slaves Found God: A Theologian’s Research Provides Colorful Insights into the Faith of a People in Bondage.” *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (January 7, 1995): E6.

Howard, Rosanne. “Gullah People’s History Studied.” [Myrtle Beach, SC] *Sun News* (September 26, 1998): C1.

Howe, DeWolfe M. A. “The Song of Charleston.” *Atlantic Monthly* 146 (1930):108- 111.

Huckaby, Lolita. “Park Service Plans for Gullah Preservation.” [Beaufort, SC] *Carolina Morning News* (October 26, 2002): n.p.

Hucks, J. Jenkins. *Plantation Negro Sayings on the Coast of South Carolina in Their Own Vernacular*. Georgetown, SC: Charles W. Rouse, 1899. (pamphlet)

Hudson, Larry E. *To Have and to Hold: Slave Work and Family Life in Antebellum South Carolina*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1997.

Hufford, David J. “A New Approach to the ‘Old Hag’: The Nightmare Tradition Reexamined.” In Wayland D. Hand, ed. *American Folk Medicine*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976.

Huggins, Nathan Irvin. *Black Odyssey: The African American Ordeal in Slavery*. New York: Vintage Books, [reprint] 1990.

Hughson, Shirley C. *The Carolina Pirates and Colonial Commerce, 1670- 1740*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1894.

Hunter, Frances L. “Slave Society on the Southern Plantation.” *Journal of Negro History* 7 (January 1922): 1- 10.

Hunter, Stephanie. “‘Resurrection Man’ Dug Way into History.” [Augusta, GA] *Augusta Chronicle* (June 21, 1998).

Hunter, Tera W. *To ‘Joy My Freedom’: Southern Black Women’s Lives and Labors after the Civil War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Huntley, Dan. “Escaping Progress: Sandy Island Will Stay Unspoiled.” [Charlotte, NC] *The Charlotte Observer* (August 2, 1997): 1A.

- - - . “Park Help for Gullah May Avert Disaster.” [Charlotte, NC] *The Charlotte Observer* (September 19, 2004): 1Y.

- - - . “A Vanishing Culture in the Lowcountry.” [Charlotte, NC] *The Charlotte Observer* (May 26, 2004): 1Y.

- - - . “Weaver Keeps a Sweetgrass Tradition: In her Hands Centuries- Old Skill from Africa Thrives.” *The Charlotte Observer* (March 17, 2002): Y1.

Hurmence, Belinda, ed. *My Folks Don’t Want Me to Talk About Slavery: Twenty- one Oral Histories of Former North Carolina Slaves*. Winston- Salem, North Carolina: John F. Blair Publisher, 1984.

Hurston, Zora Neale. *Mules and Men*. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., [1935] 1990.

- - - . “The Negro in Florida, 1528- 1940.” Federal Writers’ Program in Florida, n.d.

- - - . *Their Eyes Were Watching God*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press [1937], 1978.

Hyatt, Harry Middleton. *Hoodoo—Conjuration—Witchcraft—Rootwork*. vols. 1 & 2. Hannibal, MO: Western Publishers, 1970.

“‘I’d Like to See What’s Down There’: Archaeology and Oral History at Drayton Hall.” Coastal Carolina University and National Trust for Historic Preservation (Video 82), 1995.

Ingersoll, Ernest. “Decoration of Negro Graves.” *Journal of American Folklore* 5 (1892): 68- 69.

Inscoe, John C. “Carolina Slave Names: An Index to Acculturation.” *Journal of Southern History* 49 (November 1983): 527- 53.

- - - . “Generation and Gender as Reflected in Carolina Slave Naming Practices: A Challenge to the Gutman Thesis.” *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 94:4 (October 1993): 252- 63.

Irele, Abiola. *The African Experience in Literature and Ideology*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990.

Jackoway, Elizabeth. *Yankee Missionaries in the South: The Penn School Experiment*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1980.

Jackson, Antoinette. “Africans at Snee Farm Plantation: Informing Representations of Plantation Life at a National Historic Site.” In Michael V. Angrosino, series ed. *Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings*, No. 36. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2003.

Jackson, Bruce, ed. *The Negro and His Folklore in Nineteenth Century Periodicals*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1967.

- - - . “The Other Kind of Doctor: Conjure and Magic in Black American Folk Medicine” in Wayland D. Hand, ed. *American Folk Medicine: A Symposium*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. 258- 72.

Jackson, Gordon. “Stafford Name a Link to the Past: Descendents of Slaves Meet at Homesites of Ancestors.” [Jacksonville, FL] *The Times Union* (April, 24 2004): n.p.

Jackson, John Andres. *The Experience of a Slave in South Carolina*. London: Passmore & Alabaster, 1862.

Jackson, Juanita, Sabra Slaughter and J. Herman Blake. “The Sea Islands as a Cultural Resource.” *The Black Scholar* 5:6 (March 1974): 32- 39.

Jackson, Luther Porter. “Educational Efforts of the Freedmen’s Bureau and Freedmen’s Aid Societies in South Carolina, 1862- 1870.” *Journal of Negro History* 8:1 (1923): 1- 40.

- - - . “Religious Instruction of Negroes, 1830- 1860, with Specific References to South Carolina.” *Journal of Negro History* 15 (1930): 72- 114.

Jackson, Patricia Ann Jones. “The Status of Gullah: An Investigation of Convergent Processes.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1978.

Jackson- Opoku, Sandra. “Black Charleston.” *Essence* 16 (May 1985): 20.

Jacobson, Louis. “Civil Rights: Enhancing Southern Hospitality with Truth.” *National Journal* (May 12, 2001): n.p.

Jahn, Daniel. “Slaves’ Descendants Fight to Preserve African Heritage in US.” *Agence France Presse* (June 8, 2003): n.p.

Jakubiak, David. “Campbell’s Journey a Legacy of Caring, Determination.” [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (February 3, 2002).

Jalon, Allan M. "The Burden of Rice: A UCLA Professor Confronts Conventional Perceptions of Slaves' Technological and Agricultural Contributions to America." *Los Angeles Times* (August 20, 2001): E1.

January, Alan F. "The South Carolina Association: An Agency for Race Control in Antebellum Charleston." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 78:3 (July 1977): 191- 201.

Jelatis, Virginia Gail. "Tangled Up in Blue: Indigo Culture and Economy in South Carolina, 1747-1800." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1999.

Jenkins, Wilbert Lee. "Chaos, Conflict and Control: The Responses of Newly Freed Slaves in Charleston South Carolina to Emancipation and Reconstruction." Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina Greensboro, 1991.

Jennings, Thelma. "'Us Colored Women Had to Go Through A Plenty': Sexual Exploitation of African- American Slave Women." *Journal of Women's History* 1:3 (Winter 1990): 44- 74.

Jervey, Susan Ravenel. *Two Diaries from Middle St. John's, Berkeley, South Carolina, February- May 1865*. Pinopolis, SC: self- published by St. John's Hunting Club, 1921.

Johnson, Alonzo, and Paul Jersild, eds. *"Ain't Gonna Lay my 'Ligion Down": African American Religion in the South*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1996.

John, Beverly M. "Culture and Social Change: The Values and Behaviors of African- American People in the South Carolina Lowcountry and Georgia Coastal Region in the Antebellum and Postbellum Periods." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California Berkeley, 1991.

Johnson, Charles and Patricia Smith, *et al*. *Africans in America: America's Journey through Slavery*. New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1998.

Johnson, Daniel M., and Rex R. Campbell. *Black Migration in America: A Social Demographic History*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1981.

Johnson, Guion Griffis. *Antebellum North Carolina: A Social History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937.

- - - . "The Gullah Dialect Revisited: A Note on Linguistic Acculturation." *Journal of Black Studies* 10:4 (June 1980): 417- 24.

- - - . "The Ideology of White Supremacy, 1876- 1910." In Fletcher Green, ed. *Essays in Southern History*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1949.

- - - . *A Social History of the Sea Islands with Special References to St. Helena Island, South Carolina*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1930.

Johnson, Guy Benton. "The Gullah Dialect Revisited: A Note on Linguistic Acculturation." *Journal of Black Studies* 10:4 (June 1980): 417- 24.

- - - . *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island, South Carolina*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1930.

- - - . Personal and family papers. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC.

Johnson, Michael P. "Denmark Vesey and His Co- Conspirators." *William and Mary Quarterly* 58:4 (October 2001): 915- 975.

- - - . Planters and Patriarchy: Charleston 1800- 1860. *Journal of Southern History* 46:1 (February 1980): 45- 72.

- - - . "Runaway Slaves and the Slave Communities in South Carolina, 1799 to 1830." *William and Mary Quarterly* (3rd series) 38:3 (July 1981): 418- 41.

- - - . "Smothered Slave Infants: Were Slave Mothers at Fault?" *Journal of Southern History* 47 (November 1981): 493- 520.

Johnson, Michael P. and James L Roark. *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1986.

- - - . eds. "'A Middle Ground': Free Mulattoes and the Friendly Moralist Society of Antebellum Charleston." *Southern Studies* 21:3 (Fall 1982): 246- 65.

- - - . *No Chariot Let Down: Charleston's Free People of Color on the Eve of the Civil War*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000

Johnson, Paul E., ed. *African American Christianity: Essays in History*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994.

Johnson, Rheta Grimsley. "Hog Hammock Folks Belong on Hero List." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (December 21, 1999): C1.

- - - . "I Fell in Love with the Idea that Working People Could Somehow Manage to Hold onto Paradise." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (August 20, 2000):M1.

- - - . "It Was the Kind of Day that Restores your Faith in Humanity." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (January 7, 2001):M1.

- - - . "My First Trip to Sapelo Island: Hog Hammock Clings to Shifting Sands." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (March 14, 1999):C1.

Johnson, Walter. "Time and Revolution in African America: Temporality and the History of Atlantic Slavery." *Black Renaissance/Renaissance Noire* 3:2 (Summer 2001).

Johnson, Whittington B. "Andrew C. Marshall: A Black Religious Leader of Antebellum Savannah." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 69:2 (1985): 173- 192.

- - - . "Free Blacks in Antebellum Savannah: An Economic Profile." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 64 (Winter 1980): 418- 29.

Jones, Alice Eley. "West African Spiritualism in North Carolina's Buildings and Crafts." *North Carolina Folklore Journal* 47:2 (Midwinter 2000): n.p.

Jones, Bessie. *For the Ancestors: Autobiographical Memories*. John Stewart, ed. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1983.

Jones, Bessie and Bess Lomax Hawes. *Step it Down: Games, Plays, Songs & Stories from the Afro-American Heritage*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1972.

Jones, Charles Colcock. *The Seige of Savannah in December 1864 and the Confederate Operations in Georgia and the Third Military District of South Carolina during General Sherman's March from Atlanta to the Sea*. Albany, NY: J. Munsell, 1874.

- - - . *Suggestions on the Religious Instruction of Negroes in the Southern States*. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1847. Quoted in Robert S. Starobin. *Blacks in Bondage: Letters of American Slaves* New York: New View Points, 1974, 42.

Jones, Charles Colcock, Jr. *Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast Told in the Vernacular*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, [1888] 2000.

Jones, Edward P. *The Known World*. New York: Amistad Press- Harper Collins, 2003.

Jones, J. Ralph. "Portraits of Georgia Slaves." *Georgia Review* 21 (Spring 1967).

Jones, Jacqueline. *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present*. New York: Basic Books, 1985.

Jones, Katharine. *Port Royal Under Six Flags*. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs- Merrill Co., 1960.

Jones, Lewis P. *South Carolina, A Synoptic History for Laymen*. Lexington, South Carolina: Sandlapper Store, 1971.

Jones, Mark, John Wertheimer *et al.* "Pinkney and Sarah Ross: The Legal Journey of an Ex- Slave and His White Wife on the Carolina Borderlands during Reconstruction." *SC Historical Magazine* 103 (October 2002): 325- 50.

Jones, Norrece T., Jr. *Born a Child of Freedom, Yet a Slave: Mechanisms of Control and Strategies of Resistance in Antebellum South Carolina*. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1990.

- - - . "Control Mechanisms in South Carolina Slave Society, 1800- 1865." Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1981.

Jones, Steven L. "The African- American Tradition in Vernacular Architecture." In Theresa A. Singleton. *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*. New York: Academic Press, 1985.

Jones- Jackson, Patricia A. "Alive: African Tradition on the Sea Islands." *Negro Historical Bulletin* 46:3 (Fall 1977): 95- 96.

- - - . "The Audience in Gullah and Igbo: A Comparison of Oral Traditions." *College Language Association Journal* 27 (December 1983): 197- 209.

- - - . "Contemporary Gullah Speech: Some Persistent Linguistic Features." *Journal of Black Studies* 13:3 (1983): 289- 303.

- - - . "Gullah: On the Question of Afro- American Language." *Anthropological Linguistics* 20 (December 1978): 422- 427.

- - - . "Let the Church Say 'Amen': The Language of Religious Rituals in Coastal South Carolina." In Michael Montgomery, ed. *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language & Culture*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1994.

- - - . "Old- time Talk, We Still de Talkem Here!" *National Geographic* 172 (December 1987): 744.

- - - . "On Decreolization and Language Death in Gullah." *Language in Society* 13 (Fall 1984): 351- 362.

- - - . "Oral Tradition of Prayer in Gullah." *Journal of Religious Thought* 39 (Spring/Summer 1982): 21- 33.

- - - . "The Status of Gullah: An Investigation of Convergent Processes." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1978.

- - - . *When Roots Die: Endangered Traditions on the Sea Islands*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1987.

Jordan, Ervin L., Jr. *Black Confederates and Afro- Yankees in Civil War Virginia*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1995.

Jordan, Francis Harold. "Across the Bridge: Penn School and Penn Center." Ed.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1991.

Joseph, J. Walter. "Liberty: An Archaeological Examination of Social Identity within the Plantation Culture of the Lowcountry of Georgia." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1993.

- - - . "Patterns and Process in the Plantation Archaeology of the Lowcountry of Georgia and South Carolina." *Historical Archaeology* 23:1 (1989): 55- 68.

- - - . "Resistance and Compliance: CRM and the Archaeology of the African Diaspora." *Historical Archaeology* 38:1 (Spring 2004), n.p.

Joseph, J. W., and Martha Zierdon, eds. *Another's Country: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on Cultural Interactions in the Southern Colonies*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2002.

Joyce, Dee Dee. "The Charleston Landscape on the Eve of the Civil War: Race, Class, and Ethnic Relations in Ward Five." In Linda F. Stine, *et al. Carolina's Historical Landscapes: Archaeological Prospectives*. Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1997.

Joyner, Brian. *African Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting Africanisms*. Washington, DC: NPS, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2003

Joyner, Charles W. "The Creolization of Slave Folklife: All Saints Parish, South Carolina, as a Test Case." [Canada] *Historical Reflections* 6:2 (1979): 435- 53.

- - - . "'If You Ain't Got Education': Slave Language and Slave Thought in Antebellum Charleston." In Michael O'Brien and David Moltke- Hansen, eds. *Intellectual Life in Antebellum Charleston*, 255- 278. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986.

- - - . "Oral History as a Communicative Event: A Folkloristic Perspective." *Oral History Review* (1979): 47- 52.

- - - . *Remember Me: Slave Life in Coastal Georgia, 1750- 1860*. Atlanta: Georgia Humanities Council, 1989.

- - - . "Slave Folklife on the Waccamaw Neck: Antebellum Black Culture in the South Carolina Lowcountry." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1977.

- - - . "The Trickster and the Fool: Folktales and Identity among Southern Plantation Slaves." *Plantation Society* 2 (1982): 149- 156.

Joyner, Stephanie L. "Slave Housing Patterns within the Plantation Landscape of Coastal Georgia." M.S. thesis, University of Florida, 2003.

Kane, Sharyn, and Richard Keeton. *In Those Days: African- American Life near the Savannah River*. Atlanta: National Park Service, Southeast Region, 1994.

Kantrowitz, Stephen. *Ben Tillman and the Reconstruction of White Supremacy*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Kaplan, Bruce. "Gullah: The Unique Culture of America's Sea Islands, the African- American Language that Gave Us Uncle Remus, Struggles to Survive." *Utne Reader* (January- February 1990): 23.

Kaplan, Janice L. "West African Gullah Traditions Kept Alive on the Sea Islands." *Los Angeles Times* (July 21, 1991): A30.

- - - . "Culture Shock: Sea Islands' African Heritage Strong Despite Encroachment of Development." *Chicago Tribune* (August 11, 1991): A8.

Katz, William Loren. *Breaking the Chains: African American Slave Resistance*. New York: Athenaeum, 1990.

Kay, Marvin L., and Lorin Lee Carey. "Slave Runaways in Colonial North Carolina." *North Carolina Historical Review* 63 (January 1986): 1- 39.

- - - . *Slavery in North Carolina, 1748- 1775*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

- - - . "'They Are Indeed the Constant Plague of Their Tyrants': Slave Defense of a Moral Economy in Colonial North Carolina, 1748- 1772." In Gad Heuman, ed. *Out of the House of Bondage: Runaways, Resistance, and Marronage in Africa and the New World*. London: Frank Cass, 1986.

Keber, Martha L. *Seas of Gold, Seas of Cotton: Christophe Poulain DuBignon of Jekyll Island*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2002.

Keel, Bennie C. "Research Proposal for Archaeological Investigations of a Mid- 18th Century Structure at Charles Pinckney National Historic Site." Tallahassee, FL: National Park Service, Southeast Archaeological Center, 1998.

Kellison, Kimberly R. "Toward Humanitarian Ends? Protestants and Slave Reform in South Carolina, 1830- 1865." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 103:3 (July 2002): 210- 225.

Kelso, William Martin. "Captain Jones' Wormslow: A Historical, Archaeological, and Architectural Study of an Eighteenth Century Plantation Site Near Savannah, Georgia." Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1971.

Kennedy, Cynthia M. "Braided Relations, Entwined Lives: Charleston, South Carolina Women at Work and Leisure, and the Social Relations of the Slave Society, 1780- 1860." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland/College Park, 1999.

Kennedy, David J. "Residential Associations as State Actors: Regulating the Impact of Gated Communities on Nonmembers." *Yale Law Journal* 105:3 (December 1995): 761- 793.

Kennedy, Lionel H. and Thomas Parker. *An Official Report of the Trials of Sundry Negroes Charged with an Attempt to Raise an Insurrection in the State of South Carolina, Preceded by an Introduction and Narrative, and in an Appendix, a Report of the Trials of Four White Persons, on Indictments for Attempting to Excite the Slaves to Insurrection*. (Prepared at the request of the Court) Charleston, SC: J. R. Schenk, 1822.

Kenney, Patricia L. "LaVilla, Florida, 1886- 1887: Reconstruction Dreams and the Formation of a Black Community." In David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers, eds. *The African American Heritage of Florida*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1995, 185- 206.

Kern- Foxworth, Marilyn. *Uncle Ben, Aunt Jemima, and Rastus*: *Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994.

Killion, Ronald G. and Charles T. Walker. *A Treasure of Georgia Folklore*. Atlanta, GA: Cherokee Publishing Co., 1972.

- - - , eds. *Slavery Time When I Was Chillun Down on Marster's Plantation.* Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, 1973.

King, Wilma. "'Suffer with Them till Death': Slave Women and Their Children in Nineteenth Century America." In David Barry Gasper and Darlene Clark Hine *More than Chattel*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Kinlaw- Ross, Eleanor. *Dat Gullah and Other Geechie Traditions*. Atlanta, GA: Crick Edge Productions, 1996.

- - - . *Gullah Voices: From Slave Ships to Sea Island Plantations, Living African Culture and Language Preserved.* Audio tapes with companion volume. Crick Edge Productions, 1999.

Kiple, Kenneth F. and Virginia H. Kiple. "Black Tongue and Black Men: Pellagra and Slavery in the Antebellum South." *Journal of Southern History* 43 (August 1977): 411- 28.

- - - . "Slave Child Mortality: Some Nutritional Answers to a Perennial Puzzle." *Journal of Social History* 10 (July 1977): 284- 309.

Klein, Herbert S. *The Middle Passage: Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Klein, Herbert S. *et al*. "Transoceanic Mortality: The Slave Trade in Comparative Perspective." *William and Mary Quarterly* 58:1 (January 2001): 93- 118.

Klein, Thomas B. "Divergent Processes in Gullah/Geechee: Evidence from Sound Structure." Paper presented at Language Variety in the South: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives, University of Alabama, April 2004.

Klingberg, Frank Joseph. *Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina: A Study in Americanization*. (Perspectives in American History 31). London: Porcupine Press, [1941] 1975.

Knight, Frederick Clarence. "Seeds of Change: West African Workers and the Making of the British Americas, 1650- 1850." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California Riverside, 2000.

Koger, Larry. *Black Slaveowners: Free Black Slave Masters in South Carolina, 1790- 1860*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, [1985] 1995.

Korn, Bertram Wallace. "Jews and Negro Slavery in the Old South, 1789- 1865." In Leonard Dinnerstein and Mary Dale Palsson, eds. *Jews in the South*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1973.

Kovacik, Charles, and John Winberry. *South Carolina: The Making of a Landscape*. Boulder, CO: University of Colorado Press, 1987.

Krapp, George Phillip. "The English of the American Negro." *American Mercury* 2 (June 1924): 190- 195.

Krebs, Laurie. *A Day in the Life of a Colonial Indigo Planter*. New York: PowerKids Press, 2003.

Kreidler, Jan Christine Enney. "Julia Mood Peterkin: Expending Trickster Energy in Gullah Tales." Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, 2004.

Kretzmar, William A., Jr. "Mapping Southern English." *American Speech* 78:2 (Summer 2003): 130- 49.

Krio, Leone. "Componentiality and the Origin of Gullah in Sea and Land: Cultural and Biological Adaptations in the Southern Coastal Plain." In James L. Peacock and James C. Sabella, eds. *Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings 21*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988.

Kropf, Schuyler. "Turner Donates St. Helena's Island Land Back to Community." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (August 16, 2002): A1.

Kuyk, Betty M. "Seeking Family Relationships." Negro History Bulletin 42:3 (July- September 1979):60.

Lachicotte, Alberta Morel. *Georgetown Rice Plantations*. Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Co., [1955] 1989.

Lamuniere, Michelle Chesbro. "'Roll, Jordan, Roll': The Gullah Photographs of Doris Ulmann (African Americans). M.A. thesis, University of Oregon, 1994.

Lander, Ernest. "Ante- bellum Rice Milling in South Carolina." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 52 (July 1951): 125- 32.

Landers, Jane G. *Against the Odds: Free Blacks in the Slave Societies of the Americas* (Studies in Slave and Post- Slave Societies and Cultures). Portland, OR: Frank Cass Publishers, 1996.

- - - . "*Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose*: A Free Black Town in Spanish Colonial Florida." *American Historical Review* 95 (February 1990): 9- 30.

- - - . "Spanish Sanctuary: Fugitives in Florida, 1687- 1790." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 63:2 (January 1983): 296- 313.

- - - . "Traditions of African American Freedom in Spanish Colonial Florida." In David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers, eds. *The African American Heritage of Florida*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1995.

Landers, Jane G, ed. *Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida*. Gainesville, FL. University Press of Florida, 2000.

Lane, Levin. Papers, 1802- 1858. Southern Historical Collection, Manuscripts Department, Academic Affairs Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC.

Lane, Mills, ed. *Neither More nor Less than Men: Slavery in Georgia*. Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, 1993.

Lanehart, Sonja L., ed. *Sociocultural and Historical Contexts of African American English* (Varieties of English around the World, General Series 27). Philadelphia: John Benjamin Publishing Co., 2001.

"Langdon, Young, and Meares Family Papers, 1771- 1877, New Hanover County, North Carolina." Southern Historical Collection, Manuscripts Department, Academic Affairs Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC.

Lange, Frederick W. and Jerome Handler, "The Ethnohistorical Approach to Slavery." In Theresa A. Singleton. The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life. New York: Academic Press, 1985.

Langley, Harold D. "The Negro in the Navy and the Merchant Service, 1798- 1860." *Journal of Negro History* 52 (October 1967): 270- 87.

Larson, Scott M. "Supreme Court Rules against Sandfly Churches on Wal- Mart Development." *Savannah Morning News* (July 13, 2004): A1.

Lathan, Algerna Windley. "A Profile of Runaway Slaves in Virginia and South Carolina from 1730 through 1787." In Graham Hodges, ed. *Studies in African American History and Culture*. New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1995.

Lavely, Marcia Marvin. "A Study of American Literature Which Incorporates the Use of the Gullah Dialect (Sea Islands)." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Mississippi, 1991.

Lawler, William Stewart. "The Power of Performance and the Performance of Power: A Master/Mistress Trope for Black Cultural Difference in the African Diaspora." Ph.D. Dissertation: university of Kansan, 2001.

Lawrence, A. W. *Fortified Trade- Posts: The English in West Africa*. London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1969.

Lawrence, James B. "Religious Education of the Negro in the Colony of Georgia." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 14 (March 1930): 46- 47.

Lawson, Dennis T. *No Heir to Take Its Place: The Story of Rice in Georgetown County, South Carolina*. Georgetown, SC: The Rice Museum, 1972.

Lawton, Samuel M. "The Religious Life of Coastal and Sea Island Negroes." Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College, 1939.

Learning, Hugo Prosper. *Hidden Americans: Maroons of Virginia and the Carolinas*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1995.

Lefebvre, Claire. "The Interplay of Relexification and Leveling in Creole Genesis and Development." *Linguistics* (March 2001).

Legare, J. D. "Account of an Agricultural Excursion Made into the South of Georgia in the Winter of 1832." *Southern Agriculturist* (April- June 1832).

Leigh, Jack. *Oystering: A Way of Life*. Charleston, SC: Carolina Art Association, 1983.

Lerner, Gerda. *The Grimke Sisters from South Carolina: Rebels against Slavery*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1967.

Leslie, Ian. "Turner Drops Lands End Damages Claim." [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (July 26, 2002).

Leslie, Kent Anderson. *Woman of Color, Daughter of Privilege: Amanda America Dickson, 1849- 1893*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1995.

Lesser, Charles H. *South Carolina Begins: The Records of a Proprietary Colony, 1663- 1721*. Columbia, SC: SC Dept. of Archives and History, 1995.

- - - . *Relic of the Lost Cause: The Story of South Carolina's Ordinance of Secession*. Columbia, SC: SC Dept. of Archives and History [rev. ed.], 1996.

Levine, Lawrence W. *The Unpredictable Past: Explorations in American Cultural History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Lewicki, Tadeusz. *West African Food in the Middle Ages*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

Lewis, Kenneth E. *Hampton Place: A South Carolina Rice Plantation*. (Research Manuscript Series 151). Publications of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1979.

- - - . "Plantation Layout and Function in the South Carolina Low Country." In Theresa Singleton, ed. *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*. Orlando, FL: Academic Press, 1985.

Lewis, Kenneth E., and Helen Haskell. *Hampton II: Further Archaeological Investigations at a Santee River Plantation*. (Research Manuscript Series 161), Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1980.

- - - . *The Middleton Place Privy: A Study of Discard Behavior and the Archaeological Record*. Research Manuscript Series 174. Publications of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1981.

Lewis, James Oliver. "Presenting Slavery: The Perils of Telling America's Racial Story." *Legacy* 11:2 (2000): 10- 19.

Lewis, Laura. "Power of Gullah." [Myrtle Beach, SC] *Sun News* (January 21, 2001): E1.

- - - . "Secrets Woven Over Time." [Myrtle Beach, SC] *Sun News* (March 3, 2001): E1.

Lewis, Morey Sandlis. "Learning and Working for Ourselves: Education and Economic Development among the Georgia Freedmen, 1864- 1920." M.A. thesis, Michigan State University, 2002.

Li, Ning. "An Interactive Computer- Based Interpretation Center." *Proceedings of the 1989 National Interpreters Workshop, St. Paul, Minnesota* (1989): 79- 83.

Liebens, Johan. "Map and Database Construction for an Historic Cemetery: Methods and Applications." *Historical Archaeology* 37:4 (Winter 2003).

Lincoln, C. Eric and Lawrence H. Mamiya (Contributor). *The Black Church in the African American Experience*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990.

Linder, Suzanne C. *Historic Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE Basin, 1860*. Columbia, SC: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1995.

Linder, Suzanne C., and Marta Leslie Thacker. *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of Georgetown County and the Santee River*. Columbia, SC: SC Department of Archives and History for the Historic Ricefields Association, 2001.

Lindsay, Nick, ed. *And I'm Glad: An Oral History of Edisto Island*. Charleston, SC: Tempus Publishing, Inc., 2000.

- - - , ed. *An Oral History of Edisto Island: The Life and Times of Bubberson Brown*. Goshen, IN: Pinchpenny Press, 1977.

- - - , ed. *An Oral History of Edisto Island: Sam Gadsden Tells the Story*. Goshen, IN: Pinchpenny Press, 1977,

- - - . "Stories from Edisto Island." *Southern Exposure* 10:3 (May- June 1983): 27- 32.

Lingo, Karen. "Sing Hallelujah." *Southern Living* 32 (July 1997): 44- 5.

Linker, Kate. "Went Looking for Africa: Carrie Mae Weems, Artist." *Artforum International* (February 1993): n.p.

Little, Thomas J. "The South Carolina Slave Laws Reconsidered, 1670- 1700." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 94:2 (April 1993): 86- 101.

Littlefield, Daniel C. "Abundance of Negroes of that Nation: The Significance of African Ethnicity in Colonial South Carolina." In David R. Chesnutt and Clyde N. Wilson, eds. *The Meaning of South Carolina History: Essays in Honor of George C Rogers, Jr*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.

- - - . "Charleston and Internal Slave Redistribution." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 87:2 (April 1986): 93- 105.

- - - . "Continuity and Change in Slave Culture: South Carolina and the West Indies." *Southern Studies* 26:3 (1987): 202- 216.

- - - . "Plantations, Paternalism, and Profitability: Factors Affecting African Demography in the Old British Empire." *Journal of Southern History* 46 (May 1981): 167- 82.

- - - . "Planter Preferences: A Study of Slavery and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina." Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1977.

- - - . "The Slave Trade to South Carolina: A Profile." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 101:2 (2000): 110- 141.

Litwack, Leon F. *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery*. New York: Vintage Books, 1980.

- - - . *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998.

Livingstone, F. B. "Anthropological Implications of Sickle Cell Gene Distribution in West Africa." *American Anthropologist* 60:4 (1958): 533- 62.

Lloyd, Christopher. *The Navy and the Slave Trade: The Suppression of the African Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century*. Portland, OR: Frank Cass Publishers, 1968.

"Local Gullah Culture Gets New Sign of Respect: Use National Trust Designation for Specific Improvements." [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (June 1, 2004).

Lockley, Timothy James. *Lines in the Sand: Race and Class in Lowcountry Georgia, 1750- 1860*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2001.

Lofton, John M. *Denmark Vesey's Revolt: The Slave Plot that Lit a Fuse to Fort Sumter*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, reprint ed., 1983.

- - - . *Insurrection in South Carolina: The Turbulent World of Denmark Vesey*. Yellow Springs, OH: Antioch Press, 1964.

Louden, Mark L. "African- Americans and Minority Language Maintenance in the United States." *Journal of Negro History* 85:4 (September 2000): 223- 40.

Lovejoy, Paul E., ed. *Africans in Bondage: Studies in Slavery and the Slave Trade: Essays in Honor of Philip D. Curtin*. Madison, WI:

Lovell, Caroline Couper. *The Golden Isles of Georgia*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Co., 1932.

Lowe, Richard B., and Randolph B. Campbell. "The Slave Breeding Hypothesis: A Demographic Comment on the 'Buying' and 'Selling' States." *Journal of Southern History* 42 (August 1976): 401- 12.

Lucas, J. "But Porgy Is Getting Awfully Close." *Carleton Miscellaney* 14 (Spring- Summer 1974): 67- 72.

Lumsden, C. "Gullah and its Identity: A Community at the Crossroads of Communication." Ph. D. dissertation, North Carolina State University, 2000.

Lyons, Mary E. *Catching the Fire: Philip Simmons, Blacksmith*. Boston, MA: Houghton- Mifflin, 1997.

Maccarry, Bert and Noel. "How Storytellers Contribute to a Better Understanding of Cultural Diversities." *Legacy* 2:2 (1991) 6- 7.

Mack, Linda D. “A Comparative Analysis of Linguistic Stress Patterns in Gullah (Sea Island Creole) and English Speakers.” M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1984.

Mackall, Lloyd. “Center Director Promotes Gullah.” [Myrtle Beach, SC] *Sun News* (February 26, 2004): A1.

Mackle, Elliott. “Penn Center a Magnet for Coastal Culture.” *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (October 30, 1996): B6.

MacCleod, Duncan J. *Slavery, Race, and the American Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

MacMahon, Darcie and Kathleen Deagan. “Legacy of Fort Mose: A Florida Marsh Yields the Remnants of Colonial America’s First Free Black Settlement.” *Archaeology* 49:5 (1996).

Makoni, Sinfred, *et al*, eds. *Black Linguistics: Language, Society, and Politics in Africa and the Americas*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Mallory, Maria. “Is the ‘Mecca of Africanism’ Not Long for this World? Gullah People of St. Helena Island.” *Business Week* (August 15, 1994): 22- 23.

Manley, Howard. “An Island’s Vanishing Culture.” *Newsweek* 117 (January 14, 1991): 27.

Mannix, Daniel P., and Malcolm Cowley. *Black Cargoes: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1518-1865*. New York: Viking Press, 1969.

Manring, Maurice M. “Aunt Jemima Explained: The Old South, the Absent Mistress, and the Slave in a Box.” *Southern Cultures* 2 (Fall 1995): 19- 44.

Marble, Laura. “Event Honors Mitchellville.” [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (February 3, 2002).

- - - . “Older Homes Disappearing: Pre- 1950s Dwellings Becoming Scarce.” [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (May 27, 2002).

- - - . “Old Stores Were Centers of Commerce and Community.” [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (May 28, 2002).

- - - . “Practice Still Part of Faith.” [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (May 21, 2001).

- - - . “Professors Finish Studying Gullah Culture.” [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (July 2, 2002).

- - - . “Project Analyzes ‘DNA Roots.’” [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (July 15, 2001).

- - - . “The Real Brer Rabbit Revealed.” [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (March 4, 2001).

- - - . “Restored Schoolhouse a Testament to Times Gone By.” [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (May 29, 2002).

Marotti, Frank, Jr. “Negotiating Freedom in St. Johns County, Florida, 1812- 1862.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawaii, 2003.

Marr, Don H., Jr. “Slave Trading and Slave Traders in North Carolina.” M.A. thesis, East Carolina University, 1995.

Marscher, Bill and Fran. *The Great Sea Island Storm of 1893*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, [reprint] 2004.

Marsh, J. B. T. *The Story of the Jubilee Singers with Their Songs*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1880.

Martinez, Carlos A. “Culture Sequence on the Central Georgia Coast, 1000 B.C.- 1650 A.D.” M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1975.

Mason, Julian. "The Etymology of 'Buckaroo.'" *American Speech* 35:1 (February 1960): 51- 55.

Massey, Gregory D. *John Laurens and the American Revolution*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2000.

Mathews, John M. "Black Newspapermen and the Black Community in Georgia, 1890- 1930." Georgia Historical Quarterly 63:3 (Fall 1983): 356- 81.

Matthews, Christy S. "Where Do We Go from Here? Researching and Interpreting the African-American Experience." *Historical Archaeology* 31:3 (1997): 107- 113.

Matthews, Donald Henry. *Honoring the Ancestors: An African Cultural Interpretation of Black Religion and Literature*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Matthews, H. F. "Root Work: A Description of an Ethnomedical System in the American South." *Southern Medical Journal* 80:7 (1987): 885- 91.

Matthews, Marty D. "Charles Pinckney: A Forgotten Founder." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of South Carolina, 2001.

Matthews, T.D., F.W. Stapor, Jr., C. R. Richter, *et al.*, eds. "Ecological Characterization of the Sea Island Coastal Region of South Carolina and Georgia." In *Physical Features of the Characterization Area*. Washington, DC: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Office of Biological Services, 1980.

May, Lee. "Juke Joints: Souls in Need Still Find Some Solace in Blues- Cranking, Good- Time Places." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (April 10, 1994): M2.

Maze, Jonathan. "'Haves' Meet 'Have- nots' on Daniel Island." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (November 11, 2004): A1.

Mbuya, Judith. "Group Takes Ambassadors Beyond Beltway: Africa Seeks Grass- Roots Ties to U. S. Blacks." *The Washington Times* (June 12, 1997): n.p.

McClelland, Linda F., J. Timothy Keller, Genevieve Keller, and Robert Melnick. *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*. (Bulletin 30) Washington, DC: National Register of Historic Places, 1990.

McCray, Jack. "Camp Meeting Promises Uplifting Experience. [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (June 5, 1998): A15.

- - - . "Play Pulls from Gullah Culture." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (May 28, 1999): A12.

McCurry, Stephanie. *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, & the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

- - - . "The Two Faces of Republicanism: Gender and Proslavery Politics in Antebellum South Carolina." *Journal of American History* 78 (March 1992): 1248- 56.

McCusker, John J. and Russell R. Menard. *The Economy of British America, 1607- 1789*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

McDowell, Elsa. "In Search of Sweetgrass for Basketmakers." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (December 10, 2000), n.p.

- - - . "Janie Hunter Leaves Legacy for Generations." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (June 17, 1997): B1.

- - - . "Moving Graves More Palatable to Families." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (April 26, 2001): B1.

McFarlane, Suzanne S. "The Ethnoarcheology of a Slave Community: The Couper Plantation Site." M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1975.

McFeely, William S. *Sapelo's People: A Long Walk into Freedom*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1994.

McGuire, Mary Jennie. "Getting Their Hands on the Land: The Revolution in St. Helena Parish, 1861-1900." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1985.

McIver, Patrona Royall. *History of Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina*. Mt. Pleasant, SC: Christ Church Parish Preservation Society, Inc., [1960] 1995.

McKee, Larry. "The Earth Is Their Witness." *The Sciences* (March/April, 1995): 35- 41.

McKinley, Shepherd W. "The Origins of 'King' Phosphate in the New South: Workers, Managers, and Entrepeneurs in South Carolina's Phosphate and Fertilizer Industries, 1865- 1884." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Delaware, 2003.

McKinney, Harold. "Negro Music." *Negro History Bulletin* 27:5 (February 1964): 120- 127.

McKinney, W. A. "Gullah: A Study in Black." M.A. thesis, Southwest Texas State University, 1941.

McLaurin, Melton A. "Commemorating Wilmington's Racial Violence of 1898: From Individual to Collective Memory." *Southern Cultures* 6 (Winter 2000): 35- 57.

McLean, David Costen, Jr. "Maternal and Paternal Population Genetic Affinities of Gullah- Speaking African- Americans." Ph.D. dissertation, Medical University of South Carolina, 2003.

- - - . "Three Novel mtDNA Restriction Site Polymorphisms Allow Exploration of Population Affinities of African Americans. *Human Biology* 75:2 (April 2003): 147- 161.

McMillan, Richard. "Savannah's Coastal Slave Trade: A Quantitative Analysis of Ship Manifests, 1840- 1850." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 78:2 (1994): 83- 106.

McMillen, Sally. "'No Uncommon Disease': Neonatal Tetanus, Slave Infants, and the Southern Medical Profession." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 46 (1991): 291- 314.

McMillin, James A. *The Final Victims: Foreign Slave Trade to North America, 1783- 1810 (The Carolina Lowcountry and the Atlantic World)*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2004.

McPherson, James M. *The Negro's Civil War: How American Blacks Felt and Acted during the War for the Union*. New York: Ballentine Books [1965], 1991.

McTyeire, H. N., C. F. Sturgis, and A. T. Holmes. *Servants: Three Premium Essays*. Charleston, SC: Southern Baptist Publication Society, 1851. [reprint edition, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971.]

Meaders, Daniel E. "South Carolina Fugitives as Viewed Through Local Colonial Newspapers with Emphasis on Runaway Notices, 1732- 1801." *Journal of Negro History* 60:2 (April 1975): 284- 319.

Mednick, L. and M. Orans. "The Sickle Cell Gene: Migration vs Selection." *American Anthropologist* 58 (1956): 293- 395.

Meggett, Linda L. "Basket Weavers Caught in a Bind." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (August 9, 1998): EC Zone, B1.

- - - . "Church Members Denied Access to Families' Graves." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (June 24, 1996): A1.

Meier, August, and Elliot Rudwick. *From Plantation to Ghetto*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1976.

Meggett, Linda L. "Culture Pays Price of Development." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (February 28, 1999): Zone 14.

- - - . "Polishing the 'Pearl': Atlantic Beach Gaining New Interest." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (September 7, 1997): A1.

Memminger, Christopher Gustavus, chrm. *Report of the Special Committee Appointed by the Protestant Episcopal Convention at its Session in 1858, to Report on the Duty of Clergymen in Relation to the Marriage of Slaves*. Charleston, SC: Walker, Evans, and Cogswell, 1859.

Menard, Russell R. "The Africanization of the Lowcountry Labor Force, 1670- 1730." In Winthrop D. Jordan and Sheila R Skemp, eds. *Race and Family in the Colonial South*. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1987, 81- 108.

- - - . "Slave Demography in the Lowcountry, 1670- 1740: From Frontier Society to Plantation Regime." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 96:3 (Oct 1995): 280- 303.

Menchacha, Ron. "Heirs Property Owners Find Allies in Effort to Keep Land." {Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (September 28, 2002): A1.

Meredith, Mamie. "Negro Patois and its Humor." *American Speech* 6 (1931): 317- 21.

Merrens, H. Roy. "A View of Coastal South Carolina in 1778: The Journal of Ebenezer Hazard." *South Carolina Historical Magazine*. 73:4 (October 1972): 177- 193.

Merrens, H. Roy, and George D. Terry. "Dying in Paradise: Malaria, Mortality, and the Perceptual Environment in Colonial South Carolina." *Journal of Southern History* 50:4 (1984): 533- 50.

Meyer, Michael J. "Intrasite Spatial Patterning on a Colonial Site in the South Carolina Low Country: The Archeology of Charles Pinckney's Snee Farm." M.S. thesis, Florida State University, 1998.

Michie, James L. *Richmond Hill Plantation, 1810- 1868: The Discovery of Antebellum Life on a Waccamaw Rice Plantation*. Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Co., 1990.

Mille, Katherine Wyly. "A Historical Analysis of Tense- Mood- Aspect in Gullah Creole: A Case of Stable Variation." Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1990.

Miller, Edward A. Jr. *Gullah Statesman: Robert Smalls from Slavery to Congress, 1939- 1915*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995.

Miller, Jeff. "Sweetgrass Sown So Tradition Might Live." [Columbia, SC] *The State* (June 6, 1993): A1.

Miller, Randall M. "The Man in the Middle: The Black Slave Driver." *American Heritage* 30 (1979):40- 49.

Miller, William L. "A Note on the Importance of the Interstate Slave Trade of the Ante Bellum South." *Journal of Political Economy* 63 (April 1965): 181- 87.

Minis, Wevonneda. "Avery Helped Create Leaders." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (July 1, 2004): D1.

- - - . "Emory Campbell: Keeping Penn Alive Requires All His Time." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (February 18, 1995): C1.

- - - . "Preserving the Gullah Culture: Heritage Centers May Open along the Coast of the Carolinas and Georgia." [Charleston, SC] *The Post and Courier* (February 15, 2004): E 1- 2.

- - - . "Storytelling: An Ancient Balm for the Soul." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (October 14, 1996): B6.

- - - . Surrounded by Rapid Development, Snowden Residents Contemplate Annexation into the Town of Mt. Pleasant." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (January 25, 1998): D1.

Mintz, Sidney and Richard Price. *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro- American Past: A Caribbean Perspective*. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Occasional Paper 2, 1976.

- - - . *The Birth of African- American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective*. Boston: Beacon Press [reprint], 1992.

Mitchell, Allen. *Wadmalaw Island: Leaving Traditional Roots Behind*. Roslyn, PA: Boar Hog Tree Press, 1996.

Mitchell, Elisha. "On the Medicinal Properties of the Black Root." *Charleston Medical Journal and Review* 5 (1850): 458.

Mitchell, Faith. *Hoodoo Medicine: Gullah Herbal Remedies*. Columbia, SC: Summerhouse Press, 1999.

Mitchell, Patricia B. *Soul on Rice: African Influences on American Cooking*. Chatham, VA: self-published by author, 1993.

Moerman, Daniel Ellis. "Extended Family and Popular Medicine on St. Helena, South Carolina: Adaptation to Marginality." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1974.

Mohr, Clarence L. "Harrison Berry [1816- 1882]: A Black Pamphleteer in Georgia during Slavery and Freedom." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (Summer 1983): 189- 205.

- - - . "Maintaining Slavery in Wartime Georgia." In James Miller, ed. *The Complete History of Slavery*. San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press, 2001.

- - - . *On the Threshold of Freedom: Masters and Slaves in Civil War Georgia*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, [reprint ed.] 2001.

Mohr, Nancy L. "Treasures on an Island: Preserving the Traditions of South Carolina's Gullah Culture Has Long Been the Mission of Penn School." *American Visions* 4 (October 1989): 29- 31.

Montgomery, Michael. "The Auxiliary Verb *Da* in Contemporary Gullah." In Michael Montgomery, ed. *The Crucible of Carolina: The Development of Gullah Language and Culture*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1994.

- - - . "'He Bes Took Up with a Yankee Girl and Moved Up There to New York:' The Verb Bes in the Carolinas and Its History." *American Speech* 74:3 (Fall 1999): 240- 282.

Montgomery, William E. *Under their own Vine and Fig Tree: The African American Church in the South, 1865- 1900*. Baton Rouge, LA: University of Louisiana Press, 1993.

Moody, Jocelyn K. "Ripping Away the Veil of Slavery: Literacy, Communal Love, and Self- Esteem in Three Slave Women's Narratives." *BALF* 24 (Winter 1990): n.p.

Moore, Janie Gilliard. "Africanisms among Blacks of the Sea Islands." *Journal of Black Studies* 10:4 (June 1980): 467- 80.

Moore, Jennifer. "Prep Students Learn about Gullah Culture." [Beaufort, SC] *Carolina Morning News* (April 16, 2003): n.p.

Moore, Sue Mullins. "The Antebellum Barrier Island Plantation: In Search of an Archaeological Pattern." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1981.

Moran, Mary H. "Meeting the Boat: Afro- American Identity on a South Carolina Sea Island." M.A. thesis, Brown University, 1981.

Moresi, Michele Gates. "Presenting Race and Slavery at Historic Sites." *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 1:2 (Summer 2004): 92- 4.

Morgan, Chad. "Progressive Slaveholders: Planters, Intellectuals, and Georgia's Antebellum Economic Development." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 86:3 (Fall 2002): 398- 422.

Morgan, D. T. "George Whitefield and the Great Awakening in the Carolinas and Georgia, 1739- 40." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 54 (Winter 1970): 517- 539.

Morgan, Edmund S. "Slavery and Freedom: The American Paradox." *Journal of American History* 59 (1972- 73):5- 29.

- - - . "Black Society in the Lowcountry, 1760- 1810." In Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, eds. *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1983.

Morgan, Jennifer Lyle. "Laboring Women: Enslaved Women, Reproduction, and Slavery in Barbados and South Carolina, 1650- 1750." Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1995.

- - - . "This is 'Mines': Slavery and Reproduction in Colonial Barbados and South Carolina." In Jack P. Greene, Rosemary Brana- Shute, and Randy J. Sparks, eds. Money, Trade, and Power: The Evolution of Colonial South Carolina's Plantation Society." Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2001.

Morgan, Kenneth. "The Organization of the Colonial American Rice Trade." *William and Mary Quarterly* (3rd series) 52:3 (July 1995): 433- 452.

- - - . "Slave Sales in Colonial Charleston." *English Historical Review* 113:453 (September 1998): 905- 27.

Morgan, Pat. "A Study of Tide Lands and Impoundments within a Three River Delta System: South Edisto, Ashepoo, and Cumbahee Rivers of South Carolina." M.A. thesis, University of Georgia, 1974.

Morgan, Philip D. "Black Life in Eighteenth- Century Charleston." *Perspectives in American History* 1 (1964): 187- 232.

- - - . "Colonial South Carolina Runaways: Their Significance for Slave Culture." *Slavery and Abolition* 6:3 (1985): 57- 78.

- - - . "Conspiracy Scares." *William and Mary Quarterly* 59:1 (January 2002): 159- 66.

- - - ."The Cultural Implications of the Atlantic Slave Trade: African Regional Origins, American Destinations and New World Developments." *Slavery and Abolition* 18:1 (April 1997): 122- 45.

- - - . *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth- Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

- - - . "Task and Gang Systems: The Organization of Labor on New World Plantations." In Stephen Innes, ed. *Work and Labor in Early America*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

- - - . "The Ownership of Property by Slaves in the Mid- Nineteenth- Century Low Country." *Journal of Southern History* 49 (August 1983): 399- 420.

- - - . "Three Planters and Their Slaves: Perspectives on Slavery in Virginia, South Carolina and Jamaica, 1750- 1790." In Winthrop D. Jordan and Sheila L. Skemp, eds. *Race and Family in the Colonial South*. Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 1987, 37- 79.

- - - . "Work and Culture: The Task System and the World of Low Country Blacks, 1770- 1880." *William and Mary Quarterly* (3rd series) 39:4 (October 1982): 563- 599.

Morgan, Philip D., and George Terry. "Slavery in Microcosm: A Conspiracy Scare in Colonial South Carolina." *Southern Studies* 21:2 (Summer 1982):121- 145.

Morton, Julia F. *Folk Remedies of the Low Country*. Miami, FL: E. A Seemann Publishers, 1974.

Morris, Christopher. "The Articulation of Two Worlds: The Master- Slave Relationship Reconsidered." *Journal of American History* 85 (December 1998): 982- 1007.

Morris, Frank. "Emory Campbell Pens Gullah Abstract." [Beaufort, SC] *Carolina Morning News* (November 25, 2002): n.p.

Morse, Suzanne W., and Monica Gillespie. *Solutions for America, What's Already Out There: A Sourcebook of Ideas from Successful Community Programs*. Richmond, VA: Pew Partnership for Civic Change and the University of Richmond, 2002.

"Mortuary Customs and Beliefs of South Carolina Negroes." *Journal of American Folklore* 9 (1894): 318- 19.

Mufwene, Salikoko S. *African- American English: Structure, History, and Usage*. New York: Routledge, 1998

- - - . "The Ecology of Gullah's Survival." *American Speech* 72 (Spring 1997): 69- 83.

- - - . *The Ecology of Language Evolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

- - - . "Equivocal Structures in Some Gullah Complex Sentences." *American Speech* 64 (1989): 304- 326.

- - - . "From Genetic Creolistics to Historical Dialectology: Ecological and Population Genetics Perspectives." *American Speech* 75:3 (Fall 2000): 262- 265.

- - - . "Gullah's Development: Myths and Sociohistorical Evidence." In Cynthia Bernstein, Robin Sabino, and Tom Nunally, eds. *Language Variety in the South Revisited.* Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1997, 113- 122.

- - - . "Investigating Gullah: Difficulties in Assuring 'Authenticity.'" In Wayne Glowka and Donald Lance, eds. *Language Variation in North American English: Research and Teaching*. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1993, 178- 193.

- - - . "Is Gullah Decreolizing? A Comparison of a Speech Sample of the 1930's with a Speech Sample of the 1980s." In Guy Bailey, Patricia Cukor- Avila, and Natalie Maynor, Eds. *The Emergence of Black English.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1991, 213- 30.

- - - . "The Linguistic Significance of African Proper Names in Gullah." *New West Indian Guide* 59 (1985):146- 66.

- - - . "Misinterpreting 'Linguistic Continuity' Charitably." In Michael Montgomery, ed. *The Crucible of Carolina: The Development of Gullah Language and Culture*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994, 38- 59.

- - - . "Number Delineation in Gullah." *American Speech* 61 (1986): 33- 60.

- - - . "On Decreolization: The Case of Gullah." In Marcyliena Morgan, ed. *Language and the Social Construction of Identity in Creole Situations*. 63- 99. Los Angeles: UCLA Center for African-American Studies, 1994.

- - - . "On the Infinitive in Gullah." In Walter Edwards and Donald Winford, eds. *Verb Phrase Patterns in Black English and Creole*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1991, 203- 16.

- - - . "On the Status of Auxiliary Verbs in Gullah." *American Speech* 69 (1994): 58- 70.

- - - . "Restrictive Relativization in Gullah." *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 1 (1986):1- 31.

- - - . "Scope of Negation and Focus in Gullah." In Francis Byrne and Donald Winford, eds. *Focus and Grammatical Relations in Creole Languages* Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1993, 95- 116.

- - - . "Some Reasons Why Gullah Is Not Dying Yet." *English World- Wide* 12 (1991): 215- 43.

- - - , ed. *Africanisms in Afro- American Language Varieties.* (Papers from the International Round Table of the same title hosted by the editor at the University of Georgia in 1988) Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1993.

Mufwene, Salikoko and Charles Gilman. "How African Is Gullah and Why?" American Speech 62 (1987): 120- 39.

Mufwene, Salikoko S., John Rickford, Guy Baile, and John Baugh, eds. *African- American English: Structure, History, and Usage*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

Mullane, Deirdre, ed. *Crossing the Danger Water: Three Hundred Years of African- American Writing*. New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1993.

Mullen, Harryette Romell. "African Signs and Spirit Writing." *Callaloo* 19:3 (Summer 1996): 670- 689.

Mullin, Michael. *Africa in America: Slave Acculturation and Resistance in the American South and the British Caribbean, 1736- 1831*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992.

Murdoch, Richard K. "The Return of Runaway Slaves, 1790- 1794." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 38:2 (1959): 96- 113.

Murphy, Harry. "Gullah Dialect Preserved on Daufuskie Island: Civilization Threatens Isolation." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (30 June 1968): 1A, 14A.

Myers, Robert Mason, ed. *The Children of Pride: A True Story of Georgia and the Civil War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972.

National Register, History and Education, National Park Service. *Exploring a Common Past: Researching and Interpreting the Underground Railroad*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998.

National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service. *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. (National Register Bulletin) Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, [rev. ed.] 1997.

National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service. *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*. (National Register Bulletin) Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, [rev. ed.] 1997.

Nas, Peter J. M. "Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Culture: Reflections on the UNESCO World Heritage List." *Current Anthropology* 43:1 (February 2002): 139- 148.

Nash, Jonell. "The Gullah Tradition: From the Field to the Pot, Geechees Stir in Spirit: People of African Descent on the Coastal Islands off South Carolina and Georgia." *Essence* (February 1998).

Nask, R. C. "South Carolina and the Atlantic Economy in the late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." *Economic History Review* 45:4 (1992): 677- 702.

Neely, Caroline Elizabeth. "'Dat's one chile of mine you ain't never gonna sell': Gynecological Resistance within the Plantation Community." M.A. thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 2000.

Neilson, Peter. *Life and Adventures of Zamba, an African Negro King; And his Experience of Slavery in South Carolina*, *Written by Himself*. London: Smith Elder, 1847.

Nelson, Timothy Jon. "Every Time I Feel the Spirit: Religious Experience and Religious Ritual in an African American Congregation." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1997.

"New Developer for Daufuskie: International Paper Realty Corporation." *Audubon* 87 (March 1985): 17- 8.

Newby, Idus A. *Black Carolinians: A History of Blacks in South Carolina from 1895- 1968*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1973.

Newton, James E. and Ronald L.Lewis. *The Other Slaves: Mechanics, Artisans, and Craftsmen*. Boston, MA: G. K. Hall, 1978.

Newton, John and Dennis R. Hillman. *Out of the Depths*. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 2003.

Newton, Reginald A. "Health Care of Georgia Plantations, 1830- 1865." M.A. thesis, Atlanta University, 1998.

Nichols, Elaine, ed. *Last Miles of the Way: African- American Homecoming Traditions, 1890- Present*. Columbia, SC: South Carolina State Museum, 1989.

Nichols, Jeff. "Turning Points Have Shaped City's History." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (April 20, 1997): D1.

Nichols, Patricia Causey. "Linguistic Change in Gullah: Sex, Age, and Mobility." Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1976.

Nixon, Nell Marie. "Gullah and Backwoods Dialect in Selected Works by William Gilmore Simms." Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1971.

Nordan, David. "Sapelo Island: Where the Future is Yesterday." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (April 23, 1987): 1B, 4B.

Normand, Kerry S. "By Industry and Thrift: Landownership among the Freed People of St. Helena Parish, South Carolina, 1863- 1870. " Ph.D. dissertation, Amherst College, 1994.

Oakes, James. *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders*. New York: W. W. Norton Co., [1982]1998.

Ogden, Robert C., ed. *From Servitude to Service: Being the Old South Lectures on the History and Work of Southern Institutions for the Education of the Negro*. Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1905.

Ogunleye, Tolagbe. "The Self- Emancipated Africans of Florida: Pan- African Nationalists in the 'New World.'" *Journal of Black Studies* 27:1 (September 1996): 24- 38.

Ohlandt, K. F. "Where the Sweetgrass Grows: The Restoration of a Maritime Wet Grassland, Incorporating Harvesting of *Muhlenburgia filipes*." M.S. thesis, University of Georgia, 1992

Oldendorf, Sandra Brenneman. "Highlander Folk School and the South Carolina Sea Island Schools: Implications for the Social Studies." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1987.

Oldfield, John. "On the Beat: Black Policemen in Charleston, 1869- 1921." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 102:2 (April 2001): 153- 168.

Olmstead, Frederick Law. *The Cotton Kingdom: A Traveler's Observation on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States, 1863- 1861*. New York: DeCapo Press, [reprint] 1996.

- - - . *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States, with Remarks on Their Economy*. New York, [1860] 1968.

Oltman, Adele. "Sacred Mission, Worldly Ambition: A Social History of Black Baptists in Savannah, Georgia, 1918- 1939." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1998.

Olwell, Robert Anthony. "Authority and Resistance: Social Order in a Colonial Slave Society, the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1739- 1782." Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1991.

- - - . "'Domestick Enemies': Slavery and Political Independence in South Carolina May 1775- March 1776." *Journal of Southern History* 55:1 (February 1989): 21- 48.

- - - . *Masters, Slaves, & Subjects: The Culture of Power in the South Carolina Low Country, 1740- 1790*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Olwell, Russell B. "New Views of Slavery: Using Recent Historical Work to Promote Critical Thinking about the 'Peculiar Institution.'" *History Teacher* 34:4 (August 2001): 459- 69.

Opala, Joseph A. *The Gullah: Rice, Slavery, and the Sierra Leone- American Connection*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, 2000.

O'Neal, Catherine. "Old Culture Still Thrives on Sea Islands." *Miami Herald* (March 24, 2001): E1.

O'Neill, Stephen. "In the Shadow of Slavery: The Civil Rights Years in Charleston." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1994.

Orr, Noelle. "Basket Maker has small Business." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (July 18, 2002): EC Zone, D1.

- - - . "Black Culture Recalled in Music and Games." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (January 25, 2001): EC Zone, D1.

- - - . "Mt. Pleasant Cemetery Named Endangered Site." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (April 25, 2002): EC Zone, D1.

Osburn, Margaret. "Along the Side of the Road: Crafting Sea Grass Baskets." *American Visions* 3 (April 1988): 16- 21.

Oszuscik, Philippe. "African Americans in the American South." In Allen G. Noble, ed. *To Build in a New Land: Ethnic Landscapes in North America*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Ottenburg, Simon. "Leadership and Change in a Coastal Georgia Negro Community." *Phylon Quarterly* 20:1 (1959): 7- 18.

Otto, John Solomon. "Artifacts and Status Differences: A Comparison of Ceramic Differences from Planter, Overseer, and Slave Sites on an Antebellum Plantation." In Stanley South, ed. *Research Strategies in Historical Archaeology*. New York: Academic Press, 1977.

- - - . "Black Folks and Poor Buckras: Archeological Evidence of Slave and Overseer Living Conditions on an Antebellum Plantation." *Journal of Black Studies* 14:2 (December 1983): 185- 200.

- - - . *Cannon's Point Plantation, 1794- 1860: Living Conditions and Status Patterns in the Old South*. (Studies in Historical Archaeology). Burlington, MA: Academic Press, 1997.

- - - . "Livestock- Raising in Early South Carolina, 1670- 1700: Prelude to the Rice Plantation Economy." *Agricultural History* 61:4 (Fall 1987):13- 24.

- - - . "A New Look at Slavery." *Natural History* 88:1 (January 1979): 8- 30.

- - - . "The Origins of Cattle Ranching in Colonial South Carolina, 1670- 1715." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 87:2 (April 1986):117- 124.

- - - . "Status Differences and the Archaeological Record: A Comparison of Planter, Overseer, and Slave Sites from Cannon's Point Plantation (1794- 1861), St. Simons Island, Georgia." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1976.

"Our Opinions: Turner's Land Surrender? Priceless." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (August 19, 2002): A9.

Outland, Robert B., III. "Slavery, Work, and the Geography of the North Carolina Naval Stores Industry, 1835- 1860." *Journal of Southern History* 62:1 (February 1996): 27- 56.

Ownby, Ted and Charles Joyner. *Black and White: Cultural Interaction in the Antebellum South* (Chancellor's Symposium). Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1993.

Owens, Leslie. *This Species of Property: Slave Life and Custom in the Old South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Padgett, James A. "The Status of Slaves in Colonial North Carolina." *Journal of Negro History* 14 (July 1929): 300- 27.

Paradis, James M. *Strike the Blow for Freedom: The 6th United States Colored Infantry in the Civil War*. Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishing Co., 1998.

Pargman, Sheri. "Gullah 'duh' and Periphrastic 'do' in English Dialects: Another Look at the Evidence." *American Speech* 79:1 (Spring 2004): 3- 32.

Parker, Freddie L., ed. *Stealing a Little Freedom: Advertisements for Slave Runaways in North Carolina, 1771- 1840*. New York: Garland, 1994.

Parker, William N. "Slavery and Southern Economic Development: An Hypothesis and Some Evidence." *Agricultural History* 44:1 (January 1970): 115- 125.

Parkhurst, Jessie W. "The Role of the Black Mammy in the Plantation Household." *Journal of Negro History* 23:3 (July 1938): 349- 69.

Parks, Fayth M. “The Role of African American Folk Beliefs in the Modern Therapeutic Process.” *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice* 10:4 (2003): 456- 67.

Parra, E. J., R. A. Kittles, and G. Argyropoulos. “The Ancestral Proportions and Admixture Dynamics in Geographically Defined African Americans Living in South Carolina.” *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 114:1 (January 2001): 18- 29.

Parrish, Lydia. *Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, [1942] 1992.

Patterson, Jennifer. “Slavery Revisited: Using Economic Reasoning to Teach about the Past and Future.” *Social Studies* (January 2002).

Pearson, Edward A., ed. *Designs against Charleston: The Trial Record of the Denmark Vesey Slave Conspiracy of 1822*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

- - - . “From Stono to Vesey: Slavery, Resistance and Ideology in South Carolina, 1739- 1822.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin- Madison, 1992.

- - - . Trials and Errors: Denmark Vesey and his Historians.” *William and Mary Quarterly* (series 3) 59:1 (January 2002): 137- 42.

Pearson, Elizabeth W., ed. *Letters From Port Royal 1862- 1868*. New York: Arno Press, [reprint] 1969.

Peasant, Julian Smith, Jr. “The Arts of the African Methodist Episcopal Church as Viewed in the Architecture, Music and Liturgy of the Nineteenth Century.” Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio University, 1992.

Pease, William H. “Three Years among the Freedmen: William C. Gannett and the Port Royal Experiment.” *Journal of Negro History* 42:2 (April 1957): 98- 117.

Peniston, Gregory S. “The Slave Builder- Artisan.” *Western Journal of Black Studies* 2:4 (1978): 284- 95.

“Penn Center Honors Folk Artist Sam Doyle.” [Beaufort, SC] *Carolina Morning News* (April 11, 2003).

Penningroth, Dylan. “Slavery, Freedom, and Social Claims to Property among African Americans in Liberty County, Georgia, 1850- 1888.” *Journal of American History* 84:2 (September 1997): 405- 35.

Perdue, Robert Eugene. *The Negro in Savannah, 1865- 1900*. New York: Exposition Press, 1973.

Perdue, Robert E., Jr. “‘African’ Baskets in South Carolina.” *Economic Botany*. 22:3 (July- September 1968): 289- 292.

Perrin, Pat, ed. *Slavery: Researching American History*. Carlisle, MA: Discovery Enterprises, Ltd., 2000.

Perry, James A. “African Roots of African- American Culture.” *The Black Collegian* (October 1998).

Perry, Phyllis Alesia. “African Legacy: Gullah Festival Is a Celebration of Culture.” *Health Quest: The Publication of Black Wellness* (May 31, 1995): n.p.

Peterkin, Julia, and Doris Ulman. Roll, Jordan, Roll. New York: Robert O. Ballou, 1933.

Peters, Erskine. “The Poetics of the Afro- American Spiritual.” *BALF* 23 (Fall 1990): 559- 578.

Peterson, Bo. “Caught Up in the Spirit of Camp Meeting.” [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (June 4, 1999): A7.

- - - . “Great- grandmother’s Tales to Live on with Help of Grant.” [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (April 10, 1998): B5.

Petrilli, Susan and Augusto Ponzio. “Telling Stories in the Era of Global Communication: Black Writing—Oraliture.” *Research in African Literatures* 32:1 (Spring 2001): 98- 109.

Phelts, Marsha Dean. *An American Beach for African Americans*. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1997.

Phillips, Noelle. "Cultivating History: Foundation Prepares to Open Old Rice Plantation in Liberty County." *Savannah Morning News* (June 7, 1998): n.p.

- - - . "Liberty County Celebrates Geechee Heritage." *Savannah Morning News* (August 28, 1998): n.p.

Phillips, Ulrich Bonnell. *American Negro Slavery: A Survey of the Supply, Employment, and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Regime*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1966.

- - - . "The Decadence of the Plantation System." *American Academy of Political Science Annals* 35 (January 1910): 37- 43.

- - - . "The Slave Labor Problem in the Charleston District." In Eugene D. Genovese, ed. *Plantation, Town and Country: Essays on the Local History of American Slave Society*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1968. 7- 28.

Piechocinski, Elizabeth. *Once Upon an Island: The Barrier and Marsh Islands of Chatham County Georgia*. Savannah, GA: Oglethorpe Press, 2003.

Pierce, Edward L. "The Freedmen at Port Royal." *Atlantic Monthly* 12 (September 1863): 295- 8.

Piersen, William D. "White Cannibals, Black Martyrs: Fear, Depression, and Religious Faith as Causes of Suicide among New Slaves." *Journal of Negro History* 62:2 (April 1977): 147- 59.

Pierson, Gerald J. "The Nature of Resistance in South Carolina's Works Progress Administration Ex-slave Narratives." M.A. thesis, University of Toledo, 1990.

Pietak, L.M., C. Espenshade, J. Holland, and L. Kennedy. *Slave Lifeways on Spring Island: Data Recovery Excavations at 38BU5, Beaufort County, South Carolina*. Report prepared for Spring Island Company by TRC Garrow Associates, Inc., Atlanta, GA.

Pinckney, Roger. *Blue Roots: African- American Folk Magic of the Gullah People*. St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 2000.

- - - . "Burying Miss Louise." *Orion* 23:1 (2004): 32- 5.

Pittard, Hannah. "SCAD's Relationship with Daufuskie Island Grows Stronger." [Savannah College of Art and Design, Savannah, GA] *The Campus Chronicle* 3:23 (May 9, 2003):1.

Pitts, Walter. "'If You Caint Get the Boat, Take a Log': Cultural Reinterpretation of the Afro- Baptist Ritual." *American Ethnologist* 16:2 (May 1989): 279- 93.

- - - . "Like a Tree Planted by the Water: The Musical Cycle in African- American Baptist Ritual." *Journal of American Folklore* 104 (1991): 318- 41.

Plair, Sally. *Something to Shout About: Reflections on the Gullah Spiritual*. Charleston, SC: John J. Furlong & Sons, Inc., 1972.

"Plantation Cabins: The Tabby House." *Colonial Homes* 9:2 (March/April 1982): 62- 68.

The Plantation Landscape. Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 1998.

Poe, Janita. "Land Dispute Pits Turner vs. Gullah." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (July 17, 2002):A1.

- - - . "'No Plans to Develop Land,' Turner Says. Gullah Kin Claim Acreage near Hilton Head." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (July 18, 2002): A9.

- - - . "Turner Steps Aside for Gullah Community: Claim Waived on 68 Acres in Ownership Dispute." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (August 16, 2002): A20.

Poliakoff, Eli A. "Charleston's Longshoremen: Organized Labor in the Anti- Union Palmetto State." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 103:3 (July 2002): 247- 264.

Pollitzer, William S. "The Relationship of the Gullah- Speaking People of Coastal South Carolina and Georgia to Their African Ancestors." *Historical Methods* 26:1 (1993): 53- 68.

Poole, Jason. "On Borrowed Ground: Free African- American Life in Charleston, South Carolina 1810- 61." *Essays in History* 36 (1994): 1- 33. Corcoran Department of History, University of Virginia. Available at http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/journals/EH/EH36/poole1.html

Pope- Hennessy, James. *Sins of Our Fathers: A Study of the Atlantic Slave Traders, 1441- 1807*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968.

Porcher, Francis Peyre. "Report on the Indigenous Medical Plants of South Carolina." *Transactions of the American Medical Association* 2 (1849): 833.

- - - . *Resources of the Southern Fields and Forests, Medical, Economical and Agricultural: Being Also a Medical Botany of the Southern States: With Practical Information on the Useful Properties of the Trees, Plants, and Shrubs*. Charleston, SC: Walker, Evans and Cogswell Printers, 1869.

Porcher, Richard D. "Rice Culture in South Carolina: A Brief History, The Role of the Huguenots, and Preservation of Its Legacy." *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina* 92 (1987): 11- 22.

Porcher, Richard Dwight and Douglas Alan Rayner. *A Guide to the Wildflowers of South Carolina*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2001.

Porter, Arlie. "The Buzz on Mosquito Beach." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (August 25, 2003): A1.

Porter, Jeanne L. ''Opposition Is Necessary, But not Sufficient' for Sea Island Preservation: Toward a Dialogical Understanding of Leadership and Community Leadership Development." Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio University, 1995.

Postell, William D. *The Health of Slaves on Southern Plantations*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University, 1951.

Potter, Elisabeth Walton and Beth M Boland. *Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places*. National Register Bulletin 41. Washington: National Park Service, 1992.

Potter, Leah Yale. "Carolina Freedom, Carolina Slavery: Antebellum Historians Portray the American Revolution in the Lowcountry." M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1998.

Powell, Mary Pinckney. *Over Home: The Heritage of the Pinckneys of Pinckney Colony, Bluffton, South Carolina*. Columbia, SC: R. L. Bryan Co., 1982.

Powell, Steward. "An Island in the Sun Enters the Modern Age: Resort Development on Daufuskie Island, SC." *U.S. News & World Report* 101 (July 21, 1986): 16- 17.

Power, J. Tracy. *I Will Not Be Silent and I will Be Heard: Martin Luther King, Jr., the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Penn Center, 1964- 1967* (Topics in African American History 2). Columbia, SC: SC Dept. of Archives and History, 1993.

Powers, Bernard E., Jr. "Black Charleston: A Social History 1822- 1885." Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1982.

- - - . *Black Charlestonians: A Social History, 1822- 1885*. Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 1994.

- - - . "A Founding Father and Gullah Culture," *National Parks* 72 (November/December 1998):731- 43.

- - - "Community Evolution and Race Relations in Reconstruction Charleston, South Carolina." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 95 (January 1994): 27- 46.

"Praiseworthy: Regional Effort Restores an Edifice of Hope on Daufuskie Island." [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (December 2, 2002).

Prather, H. Leon. *We Have Taken a City: Wilmington's Racial Massacre and Coup of 1898*. Teaneck, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1984.

Price, Richard. *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, [3rd ed.] 1996.

Pringle, Elizabeth Waties Allston. *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*. Boston, MA: Christopher Press, [1922] 1940.

- - - . *A Woman Rice Planter*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, [1914] 1992.

Printon, Stacey Elizabeth. "Exploring Cultural Landscapes: African Influences in the Design of the South Carolina Lowcountry Rice Plantation Landscape." M.A. thesis, Michigan State University, 2000.

"Project to Protect Slave Heirs' Property Reaches 5,000 People." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (September 5, 2003): B1.

Pruneau, Leigh Ann. "All the Time in Work Time: Gender and the Task System on Antebellum Lowcountry Rice Plantations." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona, 1997.

Puckett, Susan. "Soul Food Revival: Grits, Greens and Sweet Potato Pie Have Tantalized a Savvy, Diverse Market North of the Mason- Dixon, but will Old Stereotypes Keep Them Out of the Mainstream?" *Restaurants and Institutions* (February 1997).

Puckette, Newbell Niles. *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1926.

Purcell, Katharine Chapman. "Reflections from the Well: Julia Mood Peterkin and the Gullah Community." Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1997.

Quarles, Benjamin. "The Abduction of the 'Planter.'" Civil War History 4:1 (1958): 5- 10.

- - - .*Black Mosaic: Essays in Afro- American History and Historiography*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988.

- - - . *The Negro in the Making of America*. New York: Collier Macmillan, 1987.

Quick, David. "Gullah Options to Be Unveiled." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (October 13, 2002): A1.

- - - . "Gullah- Geechee Future Draws Array of Opinions." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (October 16, 2002): A1.

- - - . "Gullah/Geechee Preservation Plans Drafted." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (October 15, 2002): B3.

- - - . "Residents' Group Sues to Protect Old Cemetery at Remley's Point." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (November 14, 2001): B1.

- - - . "Sullivan's Island Old- timer Hopes to Mark Black Graveyard." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (July 15, 2002): B1.

Rabinowitz, Howard N., ed. *Southern Black Leaders of the Reconstruction Era*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1982.

Raboteau, Albert J. "African- Americans, Exodus, and the American Israel." Paul E. Johnson, ed. *African- American Christianity: Essays in History*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994.

- - - . *A Fire in the Bones: Reflections on African- American Religious History*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1996.

- - - . *Slave Religion: The Invisible Institution in the Antebellum South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Rada, Jeff. "Gullah Tours of Charleston." *Southern Living* 30 (February 1995):21.

Radford, John Price. "The Charleston Planters in 1860." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 77:4 (October 1976): 227- 35.

- - - . . "Culture, Economy, and Urban Structure in Charleston, South Carolina, 1860- 1880." Ph.D. dissertation, Clark University, 1974.

- - - . "Race, Residence, and Ideology: Charleston, South Carolina, in the Mid- Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Historic Geography* 2:4 (1976): 329- 46.

Ramey, Daina L. "'A Place of Our Own': Labor, Family, and Community among Female Slaves in Piedmont and Tidewater Georgia, 1820- 1860." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1998.

- - - . "'She Do a Heap of Work': Female Slave Labor on Glynn County Rice and Cotton Plantations." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 82:4 (Winter 1998): 707- 734.

Randall, Zoe. "Ha'nt Blue Shudders and Haunted Savannah Spirits." *Savannah Magazine* 9 (September- October 1999): 35- 37.

Rauschenberg, Bradford L. "Brick and Tile Manufacturing in the South Carolina Low Country, 1750- 1800." *Journal of Southern Decorative Arts* 17:2 (1991): 103- 13.

Ravenel, William Henry. "Recollections of Southern Plantation Life." *Yale Review* 26 (June 1936): 768- 75.

Raymond, Charles A. "The Religious Life of the Negro Slave." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 27 (October 1863): n.p.

Reed, Erin. "Grand Strand Gullah Sites Hope to Reach Historic Status." [Myrtle Beach, SC] *Sun News* (December 31, 2002): C1.

Reeves, Dick. "Gullah: Some Say the Carolina Low- Country Patois Is Disappearing." *Sandlapper*. 3 (May, 1970) 8- 11.

Reid, Tim. "Forgotten Voters on the Island of Lost Dreams." [London] *The Times* (February 2, 2004): Overseas News, 12.

Reilly, April. "Artist Jonathan Green: His Paintings Show the Innate Glamour of Black Life." *Los Angeles Sentinel* (July 21, 1994): n.p.

Reitz, Elizabeth, Tyson Gibbs, and Ted A. Rathbun. "Evidence for Subsistence on Coastal Plantations." In Theresa Singleton, ed. *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*. Orlando, FL: Academic Press, 1985.

Reynolds, Edward. *Stand the Storm: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, Publisher, 1985.

Ricards, Sherman L. and George M Blackburn. "A Demographic History of Slavery: Georgetown County, South Carolina, 1850. *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 76:4 (October 1975): 215- 24.

The Rich Heritage of African Americans in North Carolina. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Commerce and Department of Cultural Resources, 1999.

Richardson, David. "The British Slave Trade to Colonial South Carolina." *Slavery and Abolition* 12:3 (1991): 125- 172.

Rickford, John Russell. “Ethnicity as a Sociolinguistic Barrier.” *American Speech* 60 (1985):90- 125.

- - - . “Number Delineation in Gullah: A Response to Mufwene.” *American Speech* 65 (1990): 148- 164.

- - - . *Spoken Soul: The Story of Black English*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2000.

- - - . “Suite for Ebony and Phonics: Reflections on the Richness and Utility of the African American English Dialect.” *Discover* (December 1997).

Rickford, John and Angela. “Cut Eye and Suck Teeth: African Words and Gestures in New World Guise.” *Journal of American Folklore* 89 (1976): 294- 309.

Riddle, Lyn. “Islanders Crack the Books to Save Their Past: Slaves First Became Citizens on St. Helena. Residents Are Learning How to Guard Heritage, Ward off Developers. *Los Angeles Times* (November 25, 1993): A5.

- - - . “A Powerful Lesson.” *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (January 1, 1995): M1.

Riddle, Wesley Allen. “The Origins of Black Sharecropping.” *Mississippi Quarterly* (December 1995): n.p.

Ripley, C. Peter, ed. *Witness for Freedom: African- American Voices on Race, Slavery, and Emancipation*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Ritterhouse, Jennifer. “Reading, Intimacy, and the Role of Uncle Remus in White Southern Social Memory.” *Journal of Southern History* 69 (August 2003): 585- 622.

Rivers, Larry Eugene. *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000.

- - - .“A Troublesome Property: Master- Slave Relations in Florida, 1821- 1865.” In David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers, eds. *The African American Heritage of Florida*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1995.

Roark, James L. *Masters without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1977.

Robbins, Gerald. “Rossa B. Cooley and Penn School: Social Dynamo in a Negro Rural Subculture, 1901- 1930.” *Journal of Negro Education* 33:1 (Winter 1964): 43- 51.

Robertson, Claire. “Africa into the Americas? Slavery and Women, the Family, and the Gender Division of Labor.” In David Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine, eds. *More than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas.* Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1996.

Robertson, David. *Denmark Vesey: The Buried History of America’s Largest Slave Rebellion and the Man Who Led It*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999.

Robertson, Tatsha. “Charleston, South Carolina: A Path through Gullah Country Where So Many African Slaves Arrived, Descendants Still Preserve their History.” *Boston Globe* (December 1, 2002):M1.

Robeson, Elizabeth. “The Ambiguity of Julia Peterkin.” *Journal of Southern History* 61 (1995): 766- 70.

Robinson, Carline S., and William R. Dortch. *The Blacks in These Sea Islands: Then and Now*. New York: Vantage Press, 1985.

Robinson, Sallie Ann. *Gullah Home Cooking the Daufuskie Island Way*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of NC Press, 2003.

Rodney, Walter. “African Slavery and Other Forms of Social Oppression on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Context of the Atlantic Slave- Trade.” *Journal of African History* 8:3 (1966): 436.

- - - . “Upper Guinea and the Significance of the Origins of Africans Enslaved in the New World. *Journal of Negro History* 54:4 (October 1969): 327- 45.

Roediger, David R. "And Die in Dixie: Funerals, Death, and Heaven in the Slave Community, 1700- 1865." *Massachusetts Review* 22 (Spring 1981): 163- 183.

Rogers, George C., Jr. *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys*. Columbia, SC: Reprint Co. [1969], 1980.

- - - ."The Georgetown Rice Planters on the Eve of the Civil War." *South Carolina History Illustrated* 1 (1970): 25- 33.

Rogers, Nick. "Going Global: Singleton- Prather Brings Gullah Culture to Illinois." [Springfield, IL] *State Journal- Register* (April 15, 2004): Entertainment Section, 13.

Rogers, Nikki Lynn. "The Affinity of South Carolina's 'Gullah' African Americans: Biological Tests of Cultural and Historical Hypothesis." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 2000.

Rose, Willie Lee Nichols and C. Vann Woodward "Introduction." In Willie L. Rose. *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1999.

Rosebrock, Abby. "Strongly Woven." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (August 12, 2003): C3.

Rosenfield, Jeff. "The Forgotten Hurricane." *Weatherwise* 51:5 (1998): 34- 9.

Rosengarten, Dale. "Lowcountry Basketry: Folk Arts in the Marketplace." *Southern Folklore* 49 (1985): 240.

- - - . "Social Origins of the African- American Lowcountry Basket." Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1997.

- - - . "Spirits of Our Ancestors: Basket Traditions in the Carolinas." In George D. Terry and Lynn Robertson Myers, eds. *Carolina Folklore: The Cradle of a Southern Tradition*. Columbia: McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina, 1985, 10- 21.

Rosengarten, Theodore. *Tombee: Portrait of a Cotton Planter with the Plantation Journal of Thomas B. Chaplin (1822- 1890)*. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1986.

Rosser, Howard Taylor. *Slave Holding in North Carolina: An Economic View*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1926.

Rout, Leslie B., Jr. *The African Experience in Spanish America, 1502 to the Present*. London: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1976.

Rowe, G. C. "The Negroes of the Sea Islands." *Southern Workman* 29 (1900):709- 715.

Rowland, Lawrence S., *et al. The History of Beaufort County, South Carolina, Volume I, 1514- 1861*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1996.

Royle, Stephen A. "The Attitudes and Aspirations on St. Helena in the Face of Continued Economic Dependency." *Geographical Journal* 158:1 (March 1992): 31- 39.

Rozin, Skip and Salvatore Catalano. "Time Catches Up with a Special Island" (Daufuskie Island, SC). *Audubon*, September 1981.

Rucker, Walter. "Conjure, Magic, and Power: The Influence of Afro- Atlantic Religious Practices on Slave Resistance and Rebellion." *Journal of Black Studies* 32:1 (2001): 84- 103.

- - - . "Denmark Vesey: The Buried History of America's Largest Slave Rebellion and the Man Who Led It." *Journal of Negro History* 86:2 (2001): 132- 48.

Ruffins, Paul. "The Peculiar Institution: New Trends and Controversies in Researching and Teaching Slavery." *Black Issues in Higher Education* (May 24, 2001).

Russell, Robert R. "The Effects of Slavery upon Nonslaveholders in the Ante Bellum South." *Agricultural History* 15:2 (April 1941): 112- 26.

Russell, Thomas D. “Articles Sell Best Singly: The Disruption of Slave Families at Court Sales.” *Utah Law Review* (1996): 1161- 1208.

- - - . “A New Image of the Slave Auction: An Empirical Look at the Role of Law in Slave Sales and a Conceptual Reevaluation of Slave Property.” *Cardozo Law Review* 17 (1996): 1241- 82.

- - - . “Sale Day in Antebellum South Carolina: Slavery, Law, Economy, and Court- Supervised Sales.” Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1993.

- - - . “South Carolina’s Largest Slave Auctioneering Firm.” *Chicago- Kent Law Review* 68 (1993): 1241- 82.

Rutledge, Archibald. *Home by the River*. Orangeburg, South Carolina: Sandlapper Publishing, Inc., [reprint] 1974.

Rymer, Russ. *American Beach: A Saga of Race, Wealth, and Memory*. New York: Harper Collins, 1998.

Sack, Kevin. “Union Is Losing Battle with an Island Resort: Daufuskie Island Club Dismisses Recently Unionized Employees.” *New York Times* (February 24, 1997): A10.

Salley, Alexander S. “The Introduction of Rice into South Carolina.” *Bulletin of the Historical Commission of South Carolina* 6. Columbia, SC: The State Co., 1919.

Salter, Paul. “Changing Agricultural Patterns on the South Carolina Sea Islands.” *Journal of Geography*. 67: 4 (1968): 223- 228.

- - - . “Changing Economic Patterns of the South Carolina Sea Islands.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1965.

Santos, Nancy. “A Gullah Tale: The Old Ones of the Gullah/Geechee Community Struggle to Hol’ Fas’ to their Rich Heritage.” [Charleston, SC] *City Paper* (December 1, 2004): 22- 5.

Saunders, William C. “Sea Islands: Then and Now.” *Journal of Black Studies*. 10:1 (June 1980): 481- 92.

Sayre, Phillip. “Three Centuries of South Carolina Tradition Woven into Baskets: Sweetgrass Baskets Made in Mt. Pleasant.” *New York Times* (September 2, 1997): A15.

Savage, Beth L. *African American Historic Places*. Washington, DC: The Preservation Press, 1994.

Saville, Julie. *The Work of Reconstruction: From Slave to Wage Laborer in South Carolina 1860- 1870*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Scarborough, Ruth. *The Opposition to Slavery in Georgia Prior to 1860*. New York: Negro University Press- Greenwood Publishing [1933], 1968.

Schafer, Daniel L. *Anna Madgigene Jai Kingsley: African Princess, Florida Slave, Plantation Slaveowner*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2003.

- - - . “Freedom Was as Close as the River: African Americans and the Civil War in Northeast Florida.” In David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers, eds. *The African American Heritage of Florida*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1995, 157- 84.

- - - . “Shades of Freedom: Anna Kingsley in Senegal, Florida, and Haiti.” *Slavery and Abolition* 17:1 (1996): 130- 154.

Schmidt, Elisabeth Whitman. “Black Patriots: Unsung Heroes of the Revolution.” *American Spirit: Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* (Jan/Feb 2003):16- 19.

“School in Beaufort Keeping ‘Gullah’ Alive.” *Savannah Morning News/Press* (27 February 1977): 1B, 5B.

Schultz, Constance. “Eliza Lucas Pinckney.” In G. J. Barket- Benfield and Catherine Clinton, eds. *Portraits of American Women*. New York: St Martin’s Press, 1991.

- - - , ed. *The History of South Carolina Slide Collection*. Orangeburg, SC: Sandlapper Publishing Co., Inc., 1989.

Schuyler, Robert L. "Historic and Historical Sites Archaeology as Anthropology: Basic Definitions and Relationships." *Historical Archaeology* 4 (1970): 83- 89.

Schwalm, Leslie A. "The Meaning of Freedom: African- American Women and Their Transition from Slavery to Freedom in Lowcountry South Carolina." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin- Madison, 1991.

- - - . "'Sweet Dreams of Freedom': Freedwomen's Reconstruction of Life and Labor in Lowcountry South Carolina." *Journal of Women's History* 9:1 (1997): 9- 17.

Schwartz, Marie Jenkins. *Born in Bondage: Growing Up Enslaved in the Antebellum South*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Schweninger, Loren. *Black Property Owners in the South, 1790- 1915*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990.

"Scientists Explore Site of First Free U.S. Blacks: Fort Mose." *Jet* 71 (February 16, 1987): 25.

Scott, Peter. "Disappearing Cemeteries: Burial Grounds Erased by 'Growth.'" *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (October 11, 1999): BM1.

Seabrook, Charles. "Gullah- Geechee Heritage in Peril, Group Says." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (May 25, 2004): A1.

- - - . "John's Island: A Returning Native Finds the Place of His Youth Has Given Way to Progress." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (September 12, 1985): M18.

Seabrook, Whitemarsh B. *Memoir of the Origin, Cultivation, and Uses of Cotton . . . with Special Reference to the Sea- Island Cotton Plant*. Charleston: Miller and Browne, 1824.

Segal, Jon. "Activists Circulate Property Tax Petition." [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (October 25, 2000).

Sharp, Sharon A. "Folk Medicine Practices: Women as Keepers and Carriers of Knowledge." *Women's Studies International Forum* 9 (1986):243- 49.

Sharrer, G. Terry. "The Indigo Bonanza in South Carolina, 1740- 1790." *Technology and Culture* 12:3 (July 1971): 447- 55.

- - - . "Indigo in Carolina. 1671- 1796." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 72:1 (January 1972): 94- 103.

Shaw, Stephanie J. "Using the WPS Ex- Slave Narratives to Study the Impact of the Great Depression." *Journal of Southern History* 69:3 (August 2003): 623- 58.

Sherrill, Cassandra. "A Touch of West Africa: School for Sea Islanders Has Played many Roles." *Winston Salem Journal* (October 1, 2004): E 3.

Sherrod, Pamela. "The Keeper of the Gate: South Carolina Blacksmith Philip Simmons Ensures a Future of a Craft and a Past." *Chicago Tribune* (September 6, 1998): A1.

Shick, Tom W. "Healing and Race in the South Carolina Low Country." In Paul E Lovejoy, ed. *Africans in Bondage: Studies in Slavery and the Slave Trade*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986, 107- 24.

Shlasko, Ellen. "Carolina Gold: Economic and Social Change on a South Carolina Rice Plantation." Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1997.

Shofner, Jerrell H. and William Warren Rogers. "Sea Island Cotton in Antebellum Florida." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 40 (April 1962): 373- 80.

Shuffleton, Frank. *A Mixed Race: Ethnicity in Early America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Shuler, C. Osborne. "Values of Comprehensive Study of South Carolina Folk Remedies with Modern Science." Senior thesis, University of South Carolina, 1973.

Shuter, Marty. "The Gullah Gift: Jonathan Green Is Preserving the Disappearing Culture of his Youth." *Savannah News- Press* (April 23, 1995): G1, G6.

Sickels- Taves, Lauren B. and Michael S. Sheehan. *The Lost Art of Tabby Redefined: Preserving Oglethorpe's Architectural History*. West Olympia, WA: Minute Man Press, 1999.

- - - . "More with Less: Implications of Tabby Use by Slaves in Coastal Georgia." 61st Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, New Orleans, LA, April 11, 1996.

Sides, Sudie Duncan. "Southern Women and Slavery." *History Today* (January 1970): 54- 60 and (February 1970): 124- 130.

- - - . "Women and Slaves: An Interpretation Based on the Writings of Southern Women," Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1969.

Siebert, Ericka Martin. "African American Archaeological Sites & the National Register of Historic Places: Creating a Public Memory." *African American Archaeology* 27 (Late Winter 2000).

Siegrist, Mark Andrew. "Diction and Dialect Performance Practice in the American Negro Spiritual and Slave Songs." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas Austin, 1996.

"Sierra Leonean 'Slave Descendant' Discovered in USA." *All Africa News* (November 9, 2004).

Sikes, Lewright. "Medical Care for Slaves: A Preview of the Welfare State." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 52 (1968): 405- 13.

Simms, L. Moody, Jr. "A Note of Sidney Lanier's Attitude toward the Negro and Toward Populism." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 52 (September 1968): 305- 307.

Simms, Rupe. "Slave Christianity: A Critical Feature of Black Studies History." *Western Journal of Black Studies* (Spring 1998): 49- 56.

Simpson, Robert. "The Shout and Shouting in Slave Religion in the United States." *Southern Quarterly* 23:3 (Spring 1958): 34- 40.

Simpson, Tiwanna M. "'She Has her Country Marks Very Conspicuous in the Face': African Culture and Community in Early Georgia." Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 2002.

Sinclair, Bryan Thomas. "'O'er de crossin': The Syncretic Concept of Heaven and the Afterlife among the Gullah Slaves." M. A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1995.

Singleton, Theresa Ann. "The African American Legacy beneath our Feet." In Beth L. Savage, ed. *African American Historic Places*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1995.

- - - . *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*. New York: Academic Press, 1985.

- - - . "The Archaeology of Afro- American Slavery in Coastal Georgia: A Regional Perception of Slave Household and Community Patterns." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida, 1980.

- - - . "The Slave Tag: An Artifact of Urban Slavery." *South Carolina Antiquities* 16 (1981): 41- 68.

Sinha, Manisha. *The Counterrevolution of Slavery: Politics and Ideology in Antebellum South Carolina*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Sirmans, Eugene. "The Legal Status of the Slave in South Carolina, 1670- 1740." *Journal of Southern History* 28 (September of 1962): 462- 473.

Sitterson, J. Carlyle. "Ante- Bellum Sugar Culture in the South Atlantic States." *Journal of Southern History* 3:2 (1937): 175- 87.

- - - . "The William J. Minor Plantations: A Study in Antebellum Absentee Ownership." *Journal of Southern History* 9 (1943): 59- 74.

Slaughter, Sabra Conway. "'The Old Ones Die and the Young Ones Leaving': The Effects of Modernization on the Community of Daufuskie Island, South Carolina." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1985.

Slaughter, Thomas P. *The Natures of John and William Bartram*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996.

Sledge, Mailande Cheney. "The Representation of the Gullah Dialect in Francis Griswold's 'A Sea Island Lady' (South Carolina)." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alabama, 1985.

Smiles, Robin V. "A Responsibility to Tell." *Black Issues in Higher Education* (February 12, 2004).

Smith, C. Wayne and J. Tom Cothren, eds. *Cotton: Origin, History, Technology, and Production*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1999.

Smith, Franklin O. "A Cross- Generational Study of the Parental Discipline Practices and Beliefs of Gullah Blacks of the Carolina Sea Islands." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1973.

Smith, Glenn. "As Old Cemeteries Disappear, So Does the History Behind Them." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (October 10, 2004): A1.

- - - . "Fighting to Restore a Final Resting Place: Upset Relatives, Property Owner Want Cemetery Preserved." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (September 17, 2004): A1.

Smith, H. A. M. "The Baronies of South Carolina: Hobcaw." *South Carolina Gazette*, 16 June 1777.

Smith, Jennifer Carol Lund. "'Thinspace 'Twill Take Some to Study When I Get Over': Varieties of African American Education in Reconstruction Georgia." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Georgia, 1997.

Smith, John P. "Cultural Preservation of the Sea Island Gullah: A Black Social Movement in the Post-Civil Rights Era." *Rural Sociology* 56:2 (Summer 1991): 284- 98.

Smith, Julia Floyd. "Cotton and the Factorage System in Antebellum Florida." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 40:1 (July 1970): 36- 48.

- - - . "Slave Trading in Antebellum Florida." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 42 (January 1972): 252- 61.

- - - . *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida: 1821- 1860*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1973.

- - - . *Slavery and Rice Culture in Low Country Georgia, 1760- 1860*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1985.

Smith, Laureen Elizabeth. "Audience, Performance, and Meaning in the Gullah Sea Islands." Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, 1999.

Smith, Mark M. *Debating Slavery: Economy and Society in the Antebellun South*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

- - - . *Listening to Nineteenth- Century America*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

- - - . *Mastered by the Clock: Time, Slavery, and Freedom in the American South*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

- - - , ed. *The Old South, Blackwell Readers in American Social and Cultural History Series*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2000.

- - - . “Remembering Mary, Shaping Revolt: Reconsidering the Stono Rebellion.” *Journal of Southern History* 67:3 (August 2001): 513- 34.

Smith, Shelly Elizabeth. “The Plantations of Colonial South Carolina: Transmission and Transformation in Provincial Culture.” Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1999.

Smith, Stephen D. *Whom We Would Never More See: History and Archaeology Recover the Lives and Deaths of African American Civil War Soldiers on Folly Island, South Carolina* (Topics in African American History 3). Columbia, SC: SC Department of Archives and History, 1993.

Smith, William H. “Low- Country Black English.” *American Speech* 54:1 (Spring 1979): 64- 67.

Smothers, Ronald. “Proposal for Bridge Intrudes on Island Life: Sandy Island.” *New York Times* (May 6, 1995):6.

Smythe, Augustine T., Robert W. Gordon, Katherine C. Hutson, *et al. The Carolina Low Country*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1932.

Sobel, Mechal. *Trabelin’ On: The Slave Journey to an Afro- Baptist Faith*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press [reprint], 1988.

Sohler, Elizabeth. “The Influence of Gullah Culture on the Opera *Porgy and Bess*.” M.A. thesis, University of Kentucky, 1998.

Solow, Barbara. “The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A New Census.” *William and Mary Quarterly* 58:1 (Jan 2001): 9- 16.

“Song Links Woman to her African Homeland.” *Philadelphia Tribune* (March 7, 1997): n.p.

South Carolina Educational Television. *Family across the Sea*. Tim Carrier, dir., 1991.

Souther, Rita, Hazel Fuller, and Elisabeth Whitman Schmidt. *African American and American Indian Patriots of the Revolutionary War*. Washington, DC: National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, 2001.

Spaeth, Sigmund, ed. *Music and Dance in the Southeastern States*. New York: Alectra Press Inc., 1952.

Spalding, Phinizy. “South Carolina and Georgia: The Early Days.” *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 69:2 (April 1968): 83- 96.

Spalding, Thomas. “Brief Notes on the Cultivation of Cotton, Rice, Sugar Cane and the Grape Vine.” *Southern Agriculturist* (February 1828): 60- 73.

Spieler, Gerhard. “Reviewing Robert Smalls and the S. C. Militia.” [Beaufort, SC] *Beaufort Gazette* (March 7, 2004): n.p.

Spirituals of the Carolina Low Country. Charleston, SC: Society for the Preservation of Spirituals, 2004.

Spruill, Julia Cherry. *Women’s Life and Work in the Southern Colonies*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1972.

Stafford, Frances J. “Illegal Importations: Enforcement of the Slave Trade Laws along the Florida Coast, 1810- 1828.” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 46:1 (1967): 121- 133.

Stampp, Kenneth M. *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante- Bellum South*. New York: Vintage Books, [re- issue] 1989.

Standenroess, P. J. “Victims of the African Slave Trade, a Document.” *Journal of Negro History* 41:2 (1956): 148- 151.

Stanley, Amy Dru. *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age of Slave Emancipation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Starks, George Leroy, Jr. "Black Music in the Sea Islands of South Carolina: Its Cultural Context, Continuity and Change." Ph.D. dissertation, Wesleyan University, 1973.

- - - . "Salt and Pepper in Your Shoe: Afro- American Song Tradition on the South Carolina Sea Islands." In Irene V. Jackson, ed. *More Than Dancing: Essays on Afro- American Music and Musicians*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985.

- - - . "Singing 'Bout a Good Time': Sea Island Religious Music." *Journal of Black Studies* 10:3 (1980) 437- 44.

Starobin, Robert S. *Denmark Vesey: The Slave Conspiracy of 1882*. Engelwood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall, 1970.

- - - . "Denmark Vesey's Slave Conspiracy of 1822: A Study in Rebellion and Repression." In John Bracey, August Meier, Elliott Rudwick, eds. *American Slavery: The Question of Resistance*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1971, 142- 58.

- - - . *Industrial Slavery in the Old South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Starobin, Robert S. and Ira Berlin, eds. *Blacks in Bondage: Letters of American Slaves*. Princeton, NJ: First Markus Wiener Publishers, 1994.

Statom, Thomas. "Servitude and Slavery in Colonial Georgia." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alabama, 1978.

Stavinsky, Leonard Price. "Industrialism in Ante Bellum Charleston." *Journal of Negro History* 36:3 (July 1951): 302- 22.

- - - . "The Negro Artisan in the South Atlantic States, 1800- 1860: A Study of Status and Opportunity with Special Reference to Charleston." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1958.

Steckel, Richard H. "A Dreadful Childhood: The Excess Mortality of American Slaves." *Social Science History* 10:4 (Winter 1986): 427- 465.

- - - . "Miscegenation and the American Slave Schedules." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 11:2 (Autumn 1980): 251- 63.

- - - . "Slave Mortality." *Social Science History* 3 (1979): 90- 106.

Steel, Edward M. J. "Flush Times in Brunswick, Georgia, in the 1830s." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 39 (September 1955: 231- 38.

Steffen, Charles. "In Search of the Good Overseer: The Failure of the Agricultural Reform Movement in Lowcountry South Carolina, 1821–1834." *Journal of Southern History* 63:4 (November 1997).

Steiner, Roland. "Observations on the Practice of Conjuring in Georgia." *Journal of American Folklore* 14 (1901): 177- 81.

- - - . "'Seeking Jesus': A religious Rite of Negroes in Georgia." *Journal of American Folklore* 14:54 (1901): 172.

Stephens, Lester D. *Science, Race, and Religion in the American South: John Bachman and the Charleston Circle of Naturalists 1815- 1895*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Stepto, Michael, ed. *Our Song, Our Toil: The Story of American Slavery As Told by Slaves*. New York: Millbrook Press (Simon and Schuster), 1994.

Sterling, Dorothy. *Captain of the Planter: The Story of Robert Smalls*. New York: Random House Children's Publisher, 1960.

- - - . *We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1984.

Stevens, S.G. "The Origin of Sea Island Cotton." *Agricultural History* 50 (April 1976): 391- 99.

Stevenson, Sarah Anne and Dave Stockum. "Blues Music and Its Influence on Integration." *English Language and Usage* 20 (November 1999).

Stewart, Mart Allen. "Land Use and Landscapes: Environment and Social Change in Coastal Georgia, 1680- 1880." Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1988.

- - - . *What Nature Suffers to Groe: Life, Labor, and Landscape on the Georgia Coast, 1860- 1920*. Wormsloe Foundation Publications, Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, [reprint], 2003.

Stine, Linda F. Martha Zierden, Lesley M. Drucker, and Christopher Judge, eds. *Carolina's Historical Landscapes: Archaeological Perspectives*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1997.

Stoddard, Albert H. *Animal Tales Told in the Gullah Dialect*. Folklore of the United States Series, Archive of Folk Song Recordings (Three volumes on three disks, Serial Numbers: AAFS L44, AAFS L45, AAFS L46) Washington, DC: The Library of Congress Division of Music Recording Laboratory, 1949.

- - - . "Origin, Dialect, Beliefs, and Characteristics of the Negroes of the South Carolina and Georgia Coasts." *Georgia Historical Quarterly*. 28:1 (1944) 186- 195.

Stone, James. "Black Leadership in the Old South: The Slave Drivers of the Rice Kingdom." Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1976.

Stoney, P. K. "The Incidence of the Sickle Cell Trait in the Negroes from the Sea Island Area of South Carolina. *Southern Medical Journal* 43:1 (1950): 48- 53.

Story, Rosalyn A. "Porgy and Bess at Sixty: Hope Clark, the First African American to Direct Gershwin's Masterpiece Casts the Work in a New Light for Houston Grand Opera." *Opera News* 59 (1995): 12- 18.

Stowe, Stephen M. *Intimacy and Power in the Old South: Ritual in the Lives of the Planters*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

- - - . "Obstetrics and the Work of Doctoring in the Mid- Nineteenth Century American South." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 64 (1990):540- 66.

Stowell, David W., Gary R. Mormino, and Eugene D. Genovese. *Balancing Evils Judiciously: The Proslavery Writings of Zephaniah Kingsley*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000.

Straight, Susan. *I Been in Sorrow's Kitchen and Licked out All the Pots*. New York: Doubleday, 1992.

Strangstad, Lynette. *Preservation of Historic Burial Grounds*. National Trust for Historic Preservation Information Series 76. Washington: National Park Service, 1993.

"The Strength of Arms: Black Labor, White Rice." Durham, NC: North Carolina State Public Video, 1987.

Strickland, John Scott. "'No More Mud Work': The Struggle for the Control of Labor and Production in Low Country South Carolina, 1863- 1880." In Walter J. Fraser, Jr. and Winfred B. Moore, Jr., eds. *The Southern Enigma: Essays on Race, Class, and Folk Culture*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983. 43- 62.

- - - . "Traditional Culture and Moral Economy: Social and Economic Change in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1865- 1910." In Steven Hahn and Jonathon Prude, eds. *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1985, 141- 78.

Strudwick Family Papers, 1701- 1826, New Hanover and Orange Counties, North Carolina. Collection housed in Southern Historical Collection, Manuscripts Department, Academic Affairs Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC.

Stuckey, Sterling. *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and Foundations of Black America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

- - - . "Through the Prism of Folklore: The Black Ethos of Slavery." *Massachusetts Review* 9:3 (Summer 1968): 417- 37.

Stumpf, Stuart O., "Implications of King George's War for the Charleston Mercantile Community." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 77 (July 1976): 131- 132.

Sullivan, Buddy, ed. *All Under Bank: Roswell King, Jr. and Plantation Management in Tidewater Georgia, 1819- 1854*. Darien, GA: Darien Printing and Graphics, 2003.

- - - . *Darien and McIntosh County*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing Co., 2000.

- - - . *The Darien Journal of John Girardeau Legare, Ricegrower, 1877- 1932*. Self published, 1977.

- - - . *Early Days on the Georgia Tidewater: The Story of McIntosh County and Sapelo*. Darien, GA: McIntosh County Board of Commissioners, 1990.

- - - . *Georgia: A State History*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2003.

- - - . *Sapelo Island*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2002.

- - - . *Tabby: A Historical Perspective of an Antebellum Building Material in McIntosh County, Georgia*. Darien, GA: self published, 1998.

Sully, Susan. "Dream Weaver: Artist, Teacher, and Activist Mary Jackson Has Helped Revitalize South Carolina's Sweetgrass Basketmaking Tradition." *Southern Accents* (September/October 2002): 102- 6.

Summer- Smith. "Interpretation of Slavery in Southern Historic House Museums." M.A. thesis, Baylor University, 2003.

Sumpter, Althea. "Navigating the Gullah Coast Using Multimedia Technology." Ph.D. dissertation, Clark Atlanta University, 1999.

Sutch, R. "The Care and Feeding of Slaves." In P. A. David, *et al.,* eds. *Reckoning with Slavery: A Critical Study of the Quantitative History of American Negro Slaves*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Sutherland, Donald E. "A Special Kind of Problem: The Response of Household Slaves and Their Masters to Freedom." *Southern Studies* 80 (Summer 1981).

Suttles, William C., Jr. "African Religious Survivals as Factors in American Slave Revolts." *Journal of Negro History* 56 (1971): 97- 104.

Swados, Felice. "Negro Health on the Ante Bellum Plantations." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 10 (1941): 460- 72.

Swan, Dale Evans. "The Structure and Profitability of the Antebellum Rice Industry, 1859." Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1972.

Sweat, Edward Forrest. "The Free Negro in Antebellum Georgia." Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1957.

Sweig, Donald M. "Reassessing the Human Dimension of the Interstate Slave Trade." *Prologue* 12 (Spring 1980): 5- 21.

Swinton, William, Jr. "Developing Strategies for Political Involvement at Friendship African Methodist Episcopal Church." D. Min. dissertation, Drew University, 1994.

Swope, Brad. "Let the Mainlands Hear the Word: Coastal Carolina Educators Work to Preserve Gullah Culture." *Teaching Tolerance* (Spring 2004): 69- 72.

Szwed, John F. "Africa Lies Just Off Georgia." *Africa Report* 15:7 (1970): 29- 31.

Tadman, Michael. "The Hidden History of Slave Trading in Antebellum South Carolina: John Springs III and Other 'Gentlemen Dealing in Slaves.'" *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 97 (January 1996): 6- 29.

- - - . *Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989.

Takaki, Ronald T. "The Movement to Reopen the African Slave Trade in South Carolina." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 66:1 (January 1965):38- 54.

- - - . *A Proslavery Crusade: The Agitation to Reopen the African Slave Trade*. New York: Free Press, 1971.

Tanner, Laura E. "Self- Conscious Representation in the Slave Narrative." *BALF* 21 (Winter 1987): 415- 424.

Taylor, Alrutheus Ambush. *The Negro in South Carolina during the Reconstruction*. St. Paul, MN: Reprint Services Corporation, [1924] 1991.

Taylor, Mark and Dan T. Ouzts. "Gullah: A Study of Language." *Reading Improvement* 39:2 (Summer 2002): 55- 68.

Taylor, Mark T. "Seiners and Tongers: North Carolina Fisheries in the Old and New South." *North Carolina Historical Review* 69 (January 1992): 4- 10.

Taylor, Marsha Natalie. "'Shoutin'': The Dance of the Black Church." Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1997.

Taylor, Rosser Howard. *Antebellum South Carolina: A Social and Cultural History*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1942.

- - - . "Feeding Slaves." *Journal of Negro History* 9 (1924): 139- 43.

- - - . "Slave Conspiracies in North Carolina." *North Carolina Historical Review* 5 (January 1928): 20- 34.

Taylor, Susie King. *A Black Woman's Civil War Memoirs: Reminiscences of My Life in Camp with the 33rd United States Colored Troops, Late 1st S. C. Volunteers*. New York: Arno Press reprint ed. [1902], 1968.

Taylor, Teresa. "The African Connection: Africans Shaped Southern Cooking with Foods, Skills." [Charleston, SC] *Post and Courier* (June 5, 1998): A15.

Teasdale, Annette. "Robert Smalls: Gullah Greatness Personified." [Beaufort, SC] *Beaufort Gazette* (March 1, 2004).

"Ted Turner Drops Suit Donates Land." *Los Angeles Times* (August 16, 2002): A30.

Thayer, Theodore, ed. "Nathaniel Pendleton's 'Short Account of the Sea Coast of Georgia in Respect to Agriculture, Ship Building, Navigation, and the Timber Trade.'" *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 57:1 (March 1957): 70- 81.

Thomas, Emory M. "The South and the Sea: Some Thoughts on the Southern Maritime Tradition." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 68 (Summer 1983): 159- 67.

Thomas, Hugh. *Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440- 1870*. New York: Touchstone- Simon and Schuster, 1997.

Thomas, John Polk Jr. "The Barbadians in Early South Carolina." *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 31:1 (April 1930): 75- 92.

Thomas, Jim. "Using Computer Graphics in Interpretation: New Uses for Those Old Photographs." *Legacy* 6:1 (1995): 32- 33.

Thomas, June Sheralyn Manning. “Blacks on the South Carolina Sea Islands: Planning for Tourist and Land Development.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1977.

Thomas, Russell D. “Slave Auctions on the Courthouse Steps: Court Sales of Slaves in Antebellum South Carolina.” In Paul Finkelman, ed. *Slavery and the Law*. Madison, WI: Madison House, 1999, 329- 64

Thomas, Velma Maia. *Freedom’s Children: The Passage from Emancipation to the Great Migration*. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 2000.

- - - . *Lest We Forget: The Passage from Africa to Slavery and Emancipation*. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc. 1997.

- - - . *No Man Can Hinder Me: The Journey from Slavery to Emancipation Through Song*. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc, 1998.

Thomas- Watkins, June Esther. “Strategies of Social Control in an Isolated Community: The Case of the Gullah of St. Helena’s Island, South Carolina.” Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, 1993.

- - - . “Cannibals, Witches, and Slave Traders in the Atlantic World.” *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd series 60:2 (April 2002).

Thornwell, J. H. *The Rights and Duties of Masters: A Sermon Preached at the Dedication of a Church Erected in Charleston, S. C., for the Benefit and Instruction of the Colored Population.* Charleston, SC: Steam- Power Press, 1850.

Thornton, John K. *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400- 1800*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

- - - . “African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion.” *American Historical Review* 96 (October 1991): 1101- 13.

Thrasher, Paula Crouch. “Celebrating Gullah Heritage: Distinctive Lowcountry Cooking, Crafts and Music Highlight February Festival.” *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, 19 Jan 2003, K 14. <http://www.gullahcelebration.com>

- - - . “Comyah to Gullah: SC Island Culture Embraces History Rooted in West Africa.” *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (May 21, 2004): A2.

- - - . “The Rich Rhythms of Southern Culture.” *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (May 16, 2004): K14.

Thrower, Sarah Selina. “The Spiritual of the Gullah Negro in South Carolina.” MM thesis, Cincinnati College Conservatory of Music, 1954.

Thurber, Cheryl. “Development of the Mammy Image and Mythology.” In Virginia Bernhard, *et al*., eds. *Southern Women: Histories and Identities*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1992.

Thurmond, Michael. *Freedom: Georgia's Antislavery Heritage 1733- 1865*. Atlanta, GA: Longstreet Press, 2003.

Tibbets, John H. “Africa- on- the- South- Carolina- Coast: An African- influenced Language and Culture Fights for its Life.” *Utne Reader*: 107:3 (2001): 30.

- - - . “The Bird Chase.” *Coastal Heritage* 15:4 (Spring 2001): 1- 12.

- - - . “Early Europeans in America: Hurricanes Steer the Course of History.” *Coastal Heritage* 13:1 (Summer 1998): 1- 16.

- - - . “Gullah’s Radiant Light.” *Coastal Heritage* 19:3 (Winter 2004- 05): 1- 12.

- - - . “Rise and Fall and Rise: South Carolina’s Maritime History.” *Coastal Heritage* 17:2 (Winter 2004- 05): 1- 12.

- - - . “Would You Notice if South Carolina’s Commercial Fishermen Disappeared?” *Coastal Heritage* 15:3 (Winter 2000): 1- 12.

Tindall, George Brown. “Beyond the Mainstream: The Ethnic Southerners.” *Journal of Southern History* 40 (1974): 3- 18.

- - - . “The Campaign for the Disfranchisement of Negroes in South Carolina.” *Journal of Southern History* 15:2 (May 1949): 212- 234.

- - - . *South Carolina Negroes: 1877- 1900*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1952.

Toohey, Marty. “Community Forges Ahead to Preserve its Island Legacy.” [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (July 11, 2004).

- - - . “Culture Weaves Past into Present, Future: Time Leaves its Mark on Islanders.” [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (July 11, 2004).

- - - . “Good Thing Ends: Driessens Close Family Business.” [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (May 2, 2004).

- - - . “Gullah’s Story Worth Telling.” [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (July 12, 2004).

Tournier, Nan. “Sea Island Black Quilters.” In Laurel Horton and Lynn Robertson Myers, eds. *Social Fabric: South Carolina's Traditional Quilts*. Columbia: McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina, 1984, 41- 46.

Towne, Laura H. “Pioneer Work on the Sea Islands.” *Southern Workman* 30 (1902).

Townsend, Jan, John H. Sprinkle, Jr., and John Knoerl. *Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Historical Archaeological Sites and Districts*. National Register Bulletin 36. Washington: National Park Service, 1993.

Trinkley, Michael, ed. *Archaeological and Historical Examinations of Three Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Rice Plantations on the Waccamaw Neck*. Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 1993.

- - - . “Tabby Structures on Spring Island.” In *The Second Phase of Archaeological Survey on Spring Island, Beaufort County, South Carolina: Investigations on an Isolated Sea Island*. Research Series 20, Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 1990.

- - - . *An Archaeological Reconnaissance of Hobcaw Plantation, Charleston County, South Carolina* (Research Series/Chicora Foundation, 10). Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 1998.

- - - . *Archaeological Studies Associated with the Nineteenth- Century Owens Thomas Carriage House, Savannah, Georgia*. Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 1993.

- - - . *Indian and Freedmen Occupation at the Fish Haul Site, Beaufort County, S.C.* Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 1986.

Trinkley, Michael, *et al*. *Archaeological and Historical Investigations of Jehossee Island, Charleston County, South Carolina*. Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 2002.

- - - . *Archaeology at an Eighteenth Century Slave Settlement in Goose Creek, South Carolina*. (Research Series/Chicora Foundation, 57). Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 2003.

- - - . *Excavations at a Portion of the Secessionville Archaeological Site (38Ch1456), James Island, Charleston County, South Carolina* (Research Series/Chicora Foundation 52). Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 1998.

- - - . *Liberty Hall* [Berkeley County, SC]. Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 2003.

- - - . *The Plantation Landscape: Slaves and Freedmen at Seabrook Plantation, Hilton Head Island, S.C.* (Research Series/Chicora Foundation, 34). Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 1998.

Trinkley, Michael, and Debi Hacker. *Archaeological Investigations of Indians and Slaves at the Moses Whitesides Plantations, Christ Church Parish, Charleston County, South Carolina* (Research Series/Chicora Foundation, 60). Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 1998.

- - - . *An Investigation of the St. Queuntens Plantation House, Beaufort County, South Carolina*. Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 1998.

- - - . *Roupelmond* [Beaufort County, SC]. Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 1999.

Trinkley, Michael, and Sarah Fick. *Rice Cultivation, Processing, and Marketing in the Eighteenth Century*. (Liberty Hall Research Series 62). Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 2003. Available on the Internet at <http://www.chicora.org/Rice%20Context.pdf>

Trott, Wendy Carmen. "An Afrocentric Analysis of the Transition and Transformation of African Medicine (Root Medicine) as Spiritual Practice among Gullah People of Lowcountry South Carolina." Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, 2003.

Trotter, Joe, Earl Lewis, and Tera Hunter, eds. *The African American Urban Experience: Perspectives from the Colonial Period to the Present*. New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2004.

Troxleer, Carole Watterson. "The Migration of Carolina and Georgia Loyalists to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick." Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1974.

Tupper, Virginia G. "Plantation Echoes." *Etude* 55 (1937):153- 54.

Turnage, Sheila. "Stealing a Ship to Freedom." *American Legacy Magazine of African- American History and Culture* 8:1 (2002): 10- 3, 75- 6.

"Turner, Gullah Descendants Settle Dispute: Media Mogul Gives 68 Acres to Group." [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (August 16, 2002).

Turner, Lorenzo D. "African Survivals in the New World with Emphasis on the Arts." In *Africa as Seen by American Negroes*. Paris: Presence Africaine, 1958, 101- 118.

- - - . "Linguistic Research and African Survivals." *American Council of Learned Societies*. vol. 32 (1941) 68- 89.

- - - ."Notes on Sounds & Vocabulary of Gullah." *Publications of the American Dialect Society*. 3 (1945):13- 28.

- - - . "Problems Confronting the Investigator of Gullah." *Publications of the American Dialect Society* 9 (November 1947): 48- 49.

Tuten, James Henry. "Time and Cultural Changes and Continuities among the Rice Plantations of the Low Country, 1860- 1930." Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 2003.

Twining, Mary A. "An Examination of African Retention in the Folk Culture of the South Carolina and Georgia Sea Islands." Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1977.

- - - . "Black American Quilts: An Artist Craft." *Jamaica Journal* 16:7 (1983): 66- 77.

- - - . "Harvesting and Heritage: A Comparison of Afro- American and African Basketry." *Southern Folklore Quarterly*. 42:1 (1978): 159- 174.

- - - . "Heaven Bound or the Devil Play: A Note on Dichotomous Predicates." *College Language Association Journal* 19:3 (March 1976): 347- 351.

- - - . "'I'm Going to Sing and Shout While I have the Chance': Music, Movement, and Dance on the Sea Islands." *Black Music Research Journal* 15:1 (Spring 1995): 1- 15.

- - - . "Movement and Dance on the Sea Islands." *Journal of Black Studies* 15:3 (1985): 463- 79.

- - - . “Sea Island Basketry: Reaffirmations of West Africa.” In David C. Driskell, ed. *The First National African- American Crafts Conference: Selected Writings*. Memphis, TN: Shelby State Community College, 1980, 35- 39.

- - - . “Sources in the Folklore and Folklife of the Sea Islands.” *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 39 (1975): 135- 50.

Twining, Mary A., and Keith E. Baird. “Introduction to Sea Island Folklife.” *Journal of Black Studies* 10 (June 1980) 387- 416.

- - - . “The Significance of Sea Island Culture.” *Journal of Black Studies* 10: (4): 379- 386.

Twining, Mary A., and William Saunders. “One of These Days: The Function of Two Singers in the Sea Island Community.” *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 3 (1970) 65- 75.

“Updated Guides Focus on Rich Heritage of Blacks.” *Seattle- Intelligencer* (February 15, 1996): n.p.

“USC Looks to Preserve Southern Black Music Forms.” *Black Issues in Higher Education* 19:19 (November 7, 2002): 23.

Valdiviez, Forrest. “Daily Life a Cultural Blend.” [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (February 16, 2004).

Van Deburg, William L. *The Slave Drivers: Black Agricultural Labor Supervisors in the Antebellum South*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979.

Van Sertima, Iran. “My Gullah Brother and I: Exploration into a Community’s Language and Myth through Its Oral Tradition.” In Deborah Sears Harrison and Tom Trabasso, eds. *Black English: A Seminar*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1976, 123- 46.

Van Sickle, Meta, Olaiya Aina and Mary Blake. “A Case Study of the Sociopolitical Dilemmas of Gullah- Speaking Students: Educational Policy and Practices.” *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 15:1 (2002): 75- 88.

Vansina, Jan. *Oral Tradition as History*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

Vanstory, Burnette. *Georgia’s Land of the Golden Isles*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1956.

Van Voorhies, Christine. *Grave Intentions: A Comprehensive Guide to Preserving Historic Cemeteries in Georgia*. LaGrange, GA: Historic Chattahoochee Commission, 2003.

Vari, Jeff. “Gullah Culture Designated on Most Endangered List.” [Mt. Pleasant, SC] *Moultrie News* (June 2, 2004): 1.

- - - . “Phillips Community Has Storied Past and Hopes for Quiet Future.” [Mt. Pleasant, SC] *Moultrie News* (February 11, 2004): 1.

Vaughn, Steve. “Making Jesus Black: The Historiographical Debate on the Roots of African-American Christianity.” *Journal of Negro History* 82:1 (Winter 1997): 25- 41.

- - - . “Interactive Series Focuses on Gullah.” [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (August 25, 2003).

- - - . “Islander Shares Stories of Gullah Life.” [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (November 14, 2002).

Vaz, Valerie “Georgia on my Mind: A Visit to Historic Sapelo Island Provides Roots Rejuvenation.” *Essence* (March 1993): n.p.

Verdelle, A. J., Karen Sutton, David Blight, Alex Bontemps, Shane White, and Graham White. “Representing Slavery: A Roundtable Discussion.” *Common- Place* 1:4 (July 2001) : <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/cp/vol- 01/no- 04/slavery/>

Verel, Patrick. “Gullah Cooking Steeped in Rich Island Heritage.” [Augusta, GA] *Augusta Chronicle* (January 20, 2004): D1.

Verney, Kevin J. “Trespassers in the Land of their Birth: Blacks and Land Ownership in South Carolina and Mississippi during the Civil War and Reconstruction, 1861- 1877. *Slavery and Abolition* (May 1983): 64- 78.

Vernon, Amelia Wallace. *African Americans at Mars Bluff Plantation*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993.

Ver Steeg, Clarence L. *The Formative Years: 1607- 1763*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1964.

- - - . *Origins of a Southern Mosaic*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, [1975] 1984.

Vest, Jay Hansford C. “From Bobtail to Brer Rabbit: Native American Influences on Uncle Remus.” *American Indian Quarterly* (January 2000).

Veverka, John. “Marketing Basics for Interpretive Sites and Attractions: It’s All about Visitors.” *Legacy* 12:2 (2001): 34- 37.

Vincent, Susan Hart. *Charles Pinckney National Historic Site Cultural Landscape Report*. Atlanta, GA: National Park Service, 1998.

“Visitors from Africa Feel at Home on St. Helena.” [Hilton Head Island, SC] *Island Packet* (February 22, 2004).

Vlach, John Michael. *The Afro- American Tradition in Decorative Arts*. Cleveland, OH: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1978.

- - - . “Arrival and Survival: The Maintenance of an Afro- American Tradition of Folk Art and Craft.” In Ian M. G. Quimby and Scott T. Swank, eds. *Perspectives on American Folk Art*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1980, 177- 217.

- - - . *Back of the Big House: The Cultural Landscape of the Plantation*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

- - - . *By the Work of Their Hands: Studies in African American Folklife*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1991.

- - - . *Charleston Blacksmith: The Work of Philip Simmons*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1981.

- - - . “The Craftsman and the Communal Image: Philip Simmons, Charleston Blacksmith.” *Family Heritage*. 2: 2 (1979): 14- 19.

- - - . Graveyards and Afro- American Art. *Southern Exposure* 5:1 (1977): 161- 165.

- - - . “Not Mansions . . . But Good Enough: Slave Quarters as Bi- cultural Expression.”In Ted Ownby, ed. *Black and White Cultural Integration in the Antebellum South*. Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 1993.

- - - . “The Shotgun House: An African Architectural Legacy.” *Pioneer America* 8 (July 1976): 57- 78.

- - - . "Tracing the 'hidden heritage' of Afro- American Architecture." *Preservation News*. February, 1987.

- - - . “Sources of the Shotgun House: African and Caribbean Antecedents to Afro- American Architecture.”

Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1975.

Voeks, Robert. “African Medicine and Magic in the Americas.” *Geographical Review* 83 (1993): 66- 78.

Vogel, Peggy MacLeod. “Biculturalism and Identity in Contemporary Gullah Families.” Ph.D. dissertation, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 2000.

“Voices of the Gullah Culture: The Hallelujah Singers.” Columbia, SC: SC- ETV, 1993.

Vorenberg, Michael. *Final Freedom: The Civil War, the Abolition of Slavery, and the Thirteenth Amendment*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Wade, Richard C. "The Vesey Plot: A Reconsideration." *Journal of Southern History* 30 (May 1964): 143- 61.

- - - . "Lorenzo Dow Turner: Pioneer African- American Linguist." *Black Scholar* 21:4 (Fall 1991): 10- 24.

Wagner, Mark. "The Introduction and Early Use of African Plants in the New World." *Tennessee Anthropologist* 6:2 (1981): 112- 123.

Wagnon, Mark. "Tourism Opportunities in Our Own Backyard" South Carolina Heritage Corridor Part III. *Palmetto Farm Credit Leader* (Autumn 2002): 4- 9.

Wahlman, Maude Southwell. *Signs and Symbols: African Images in African American Quilts*. Atlanta, GA: Tinwood Books, [2nd ed.] 2001.

Walker, Clarence E. *A Rock in a Weary Land: The African Methodist Episcopal Church during the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1982.

Walker, Lois A., and Susan R. Silverman. *Documented History of Gullah Jack Pritchard and the Denmark Vesey Slave Insurrection of 1822*. (Studies in American History Series). New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000.

Wallenstein, Peter. *From Slave South to New South: Public Policy in Nineteenth- Century Georgia*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1987.

Walters, Wendy W. "'One of Dese Mornings, Bright and Fair, Take My Wings and Cleave De Air': The Legend of the Flying Africans and Diasporic Consciousness." *Melus 22* (Fall 1997): 3- 29.

Wardi, Anissa J. "Inscriptions in the Dust: A Gathering of Old Men and Beloved as Ancestral Requiems." *African American Review* (March 2002): n.p.

Waring, Joseph I. "Colonial Medicine in Georgia and South Carolina." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 59 (Supplement 1975): 141- 59.

Waring, Mary A. "Mortuary Customs and Beliefs of South Carolina Negroes." *Journal of American Folklore*, 7 (1894): 318- 319.

- - - . "Negro Superstitions from South Carolina." *Journal of American Folklore* 8 (1895): 251- 252.

Washington, Delo E. "Education of Freedmen and the Role of Self- Help in a Sea Island Setting, 1862- 1982" *Agricultural History* 58 (July 1984): 442- 55.

Waterhouse, Richard. "Economic Growth and Changing Patterns of Wealth Distribution in Colonial Lowcountry South Carolina." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 89 (1988): 203- 217.

- - - . "England, the Caribbean, and the Founding of South Carolina," *Journal of American Studies* 9 (December 1975): 259- 281.

Waters, Andrew, ed. *On Jordan's Stormy Banks: Personal Accounts of Slavery in Georgia*. Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, Publisher, 2000.

Watson, Alan D. "Impulse toward Independence: Resistance and Rebellion among North Carolina Slaves, 1750- 1775." *Journal of Negro History* 63:4 (October 1978): 317- 28.

Watson, Larry Darnell. "The Quest for Order: Enforcing Slave Codes in Revolutionary South Carolina, 1760- 1800. Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1980.

Watson, Laura Smart. "Negro Folk- Lore of the Carolina Coast." M.A. thesis, Stetson University, 1937.

Watters, Fannie C. *Plantation Memories of the Cape Fear Country*. Asheville, NC: Stephens Press, 1961.

Wax, Darold D. "Negro Resistance to the Early American Slave Trade." *Journal of Negro History* 51 (January 1966): 1- 15.

- - - . "'New Negroes Are Always in Demand': The Slave Trade in Eighteenth Century Georgia." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 68:2 (1984): 192- 220.

- - - . "Preferences for Slaves in Colonial America." *Journal of Negro History* 58:4 (1973): 371- 401.

Wayne, Lucy Bowles. "Burning Brick: A Study of a Lowcountry Industry." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1992.

Weatherford, Carole Boston. "Water Torture." *North American Review* (November 2001).

Weatherford, W. D. *The Negro from Africa to America*. New York: Negro Universities Press, [reprint] 1969.

Webb, Ann Margaret. "Incorporating African Americans into the Public Identity of the South via Museum Exhibits." Ph.D. dissertation, UNC- Wilmington, 1997.

Webber, Thomas L. *Deep like the Rivers: Education in the Slave Quarter Communities, 1831- 1865*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1978.

Weiner, Marli Frances. *Mistresses and Slaves: Plantation Women in South Carolina, 1830- 80*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1997.

- - - ."Plantation Mistresses and Female Slaves: Gender, Race, and South Carolina Women, 1830- 1880." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1986.

Weldon, Michele. "Saga of Sea Island Women Continues." *Chicago Tribune* (November 23, 1997): A3.

Weldon, Tracey L. "Reflections on the Ebonics Controversy." *American Speech* 75:3 (Fall 2000): 339- 343.

- - - . "Revisiting the Creolist Hypothesis: Copula Variability in Gullah and Southern Rural AAVE." *American Speech* 78:2 (Summer 2003): 171- 191.

Wells, John Henderson. *The Slave Ship Wanderer*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1968.

Wells- Bowie, Laverne. *Bin- yuh, Come- yuh*. Washington, DC: NPS/NPF, 2001.

Wesley, C. H. *Negro Labor in the United States 1850- 1925: A Study in American Economic History*. (Chapter 4: The Negro and the Civil War). New York: Russell & Russell, 1927.

West, Emily. *Chains of Love: Slave Couples in Antebellum South Carolina*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004.

- - - . "The Debate on the Strength of Slave Families: South Carolina and the Importance of Cross- Plantation Marriages." *Journal of American Studies* 33:2 (1999): 221- 41.

- - - . "Masters and Marriages, Profits and Paternalism: Slave Owners' Perspectives on Cross- Plantation Unions in Antebellum South Carolina." *Slavery and Abolition* 21:1 (2000): 56- 72.

- - - . "Surviving Separation: Cross- Plantation Marriages and the Slave Trade in Antebellum South Carolina." *Journal of Family History* 24 (Summer 1999): 212- 31.

Westlake, Leslie. "The Guardians of Gullah: A Festival, a Culture, a Gift too Great to Lose." *South Carolina Smiles* (2002): 88- 9.

Westmacott, Richard. *African- American Gardens and Yards in the Rural South*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992.

Westwood, Howard C. "Sherman Marched and Proclaimed Land for the Landless." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 85:1 (January 1984): 33- 50.

Wexler, Mark. “Sweet Tradition: African Americans’ Tradition of Basket Weaving from Sweetgrass.” *National Wildlife* 31 (April/May 1993): 38- 41.

Whaley, Marcellus S. *The Old Types Pass, Gullah Sketches of the Carolina Sea Islands*. Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1925.

Whaley, Thomas E. “The Slave Tradition of Singing among the Gullah of Johns Island, South Carolina.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1993.

Wheaton, T.R., Jr., Amy Friedlander, and Patrick H. Garrow. *Yaughan and Curriboo Plantations: Studies in Afro- American Archaeology*. Report prepared for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Charleston District by Soil Systems, Inc., Marietta, Georgia, 1983.

When Rice Was King. South Carolina Educational Television Network, Columbia, SC, n.d.

Whitten, David O. “The Medical Care of Slaves on South Carolina Rice Plantations,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1963.

White, Deborah Gray. *Ar’n’t I a Woman: Female Slaves in the Plantation South*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1985.

White, John. “Veiled Testimony: Negro Spirituals and the Slave Experience.” *Journal of American Studies* 17 (August 1983): 251- 263.

Whitten, David. “American Rice Cultivation, 1680- 1980: A Tercentenary Critique.” *Southern Studies* 21 (1982): 5- 26.

Whitten, Norman E. “Contemporary Patterns of Malign Occultism among Negroes of North Carolina.” *American Folklore* 75:2 (1962): 311- 25.

Wikramanayake, Marina. *A World in Shadow: The Free Black in Antebellum South Carolina*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1973.

Wilkie, Laurie A. “Considering the Future of African American Archaeology.” *Historical Archaeology* 38:1 (Spring 2004).

- - - . “Magic and Empowerment on the Plantation: An Archaeological Consideration of African-American World View.” *Southeastern Archaeology* 14:2 (Winter 1995).

Wilkins, Thomas Hart. “An Economic Interpretation of the Founding of the Colony of Georgia.” M.A. thesis, University of Georgia, 2002.

Will, Thomas E. “Weddings on Contested Grounds: Slave Marriage in the Antebellum South.” *The Historian* 62 (1999).

Williams, Darnell. “An Investigation of Possible Gullah Survivals in Speech and Cultural Patterns of Black Mississippians.” Ph. D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1973.

Williams, Eric. *Capitalism and Slavery*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1944.

Williams, Heather Andrea. “‘Clothing Themselves in Intelligence’: The Freedpeople, Schooling, and Northern Teachers, 1861- 1871.” *Journal of African American History* 87:4 (Fall 2002): 372- 89.

Williams, John G. *De Ole Plantation*. Charleston: Walker, Evans & Cogswell, 1895.

- - - . “Marriage on the Combahee.” [Charleston, SC] *Sunday News* (December 16, 1894).

- - - . “Is Gullah a Corruption of Angola?” [Charleston, SC] *Saturday News* (February 10, 1895).

- - - . “A Study in Gullah English.” [Charleston, SC] *Sunday News* (February 10, 1895).

Williams, Juan. *This Far by Faith: Stories from the African American Religious Experience*. New York: Amistad Press, 2004.

Williams, Paige. "Gullah: A Vanishing Culture." [Charlotte, NC] *Charlotte Observer* (February 7, 1993): A1.

Williamson, Joel. *After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1969.

Wilms, Douglas C. "The Development of Rice Culture in 18th Century Georgia." *Southeastern Geographer* 12 (May 1972): 45- 57.

Wilson, Gold R. *"The Religion of the American Negro Slave: His Attitude toward Life and Death." Journal of Negro History* 8:1 (January 1923): 41- 71.

Wilson, Henrietta S., ed. *Coastal Development: Past, Present, and Future. Proceedings of a South Carolina Sea Grant Consortium Conference*. Charleston, SC: Sea Grant Consortium, 1982.

Windley, Lathan Algerna. *A Profile of Runaway Slaves in Virginia and South Carolina from 1730 through 1787*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1995.

Wolfe, Michael Charles. "The Abundant Life Prevails: Religious Traditions of Saint Helena Island." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1997.

Wolff, Hans, Morris F. Goodman, and Ian F. Hancock. "English Derived Atlantic Creoles: A Comparison." *African Language Review* 8 (1969).

Wolfram, Walt. "African Americans by the Sea." *The Mullet Wrapper* 5(2): 6- 7.

- - - . "The Relationship of White Southern Speech to Vernacular Black English." In Walter Edwards and Donald Winford, eds. *Verb Phrase Patterns in Black English and Creole*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1991.

- - - ."Language Change in Conservative Dialects: The Case of Past Tense Be in Southern Enclave Communities." *American Speech* 78:2 (Summer 2003): 209- 228.

- - - . "Language Variation in the American South: An Introduction." *American Speech* 78:2 (Summer 2003): 123- 129.

- - - . "Re- examining the Development of African American English: Evidence from Isolated Communities." *Language* 79:2 (June 2003): 282- 316.

Wolfram, Walt. Erik R. Thomas, and Elaine W. Green. "The Regional Context of Earlier African-American Speech: Evidence for Reconstructing the Development of AAVE." *Language in Society* 29 (2000).

Wood, Betty C. *Slavery in Colonial Georgia*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1984.

- - - . "Some Aspects of Female Slave Resistance to Chattel Slavery in Low Country Georgia." *Georgia Historical Journal* 30:3 (1987).

- - - . "'Taking Care of Business' in Colonial South Carolina: Republicanism and the Slave Society." In Jeffrey J. Crow and Larry E. Tise, eds. *The Southern Experience in the American Revolution*, 268-93. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1978.

- - - . *The Origins of American Slavery: Freedom and Bondage in the English Colonies*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1997.

- - - . "'Until You Are Dead, Dead, Dead': The Judicial Treatment of Slaves in Eighteenth- Century Georgia." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Georgia Association of Historians, Milledgeville, GA, April 1987.

- - - . *Women's Work, Men's Work: The Informal Slave Economies of Lowcountry Georgia*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1995.

Wood, Betty C., and Thomas Stephens. "The Introduction of Black Slavery in Georgia. *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 58 (Spring 1974): 24- 40."

Wood, Bradford J. "'A Constant Attendance on God's Altar': Death, Disease and the Anglican Church in Colonial South Carolina, 1706- 1750." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 100:3 (July 1999): 204- 220.

- - - . "The Formation of a Region in Colonial North Carolina: The Lower Cape Fear." Ph.D. Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 2000.

- - - . "Politics and Authority in Colonial North Carolina: A Regional Perspective." *North Carolina Historical Review* 81:1 (January 2004): 1- 37.

Wood, Peter H. "The Changing Population of the American Colonial South: An Overview by Race and Region." In Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, eds. *Powhatan's Mantle*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

- - - . "'I Did the Best I Could for My Day': The Study of Early Black History during the Second Reconstruction, 1960- 1976." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 35 (1978): 150- 225.

- - - . "Impatient Oppression: Black Freedom Struggles on the Eve of White Independence." *Southern Exposure* 12:6 (1984).

- - - . "'It Was a Negro Taught Them': A New Look at African Labor in Early South Carolina." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 9, 10 (July and October 1974).

- - - . "Jesus Christ Has Got Thee at Last." *Center for the Study of Southern Culture and Religion Bulletin* 3:3 (November 1979): 2- 5.

- - - . "More Like a Negro Country: Demographic Patterns in Colonial South Carolina, 1700- 1749." In Stanley L. Engerman and Eugene D. Genovese, eds. *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975.

- - - . Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975.

- - - . "People's Medicine in the Early South." *Southern Exposure* 6 (1978): 50- 53.

- - - . "Strange New Land: Africans in Colonial America, 1516- 1776." In *The Young Oxford History of African Americans, v 2*. New York: Oxford University Press Children's Books, 1996.

- - - . "Whetting, Setting, and Laying Timbers: Black Builders in the Early South." *Southern Exposure* 8 (Spring 1980): 3- 8.

Woodfork, Joshua C. "Teaching Slavery: Overcoming Artificial Barriers to Past, Present." *Black Issues in Higher Education* (May 24, 2001).

Woodman, Harold D. "The Profitability of Slavery: A Historical Perennial." *Journal of Southern History* 29:3 (August 1963): 303- 325.

- - - , ed. *Slavery and the Southern Economy: Sources and Readings*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966.

Woodson, Carter G. *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written during the Crisis, 1800- 1860*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1969.

- - - . *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*. New York: Arno Press, 1968.

- - - . *The History of the Negro Church*. Washington, DC: Associated Publishers, 1921.

Woodward, C. Vann. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

- - - , ed. *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986.

Woofter, Thomas J. Jr. *Black Yeomanry: Life on St. Helena Island*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1930.

Work, Monroe. “Some Geechee Folklore.” *Southern Workman* 35:4 (1905): 633- 35.

Wren, J. Thomas. “A Two- Fold Character: The Slave as Person and Property.” *Southern Studies* 24 (Winter 1985): 417- 31.

Wright, Donald R. *African Americans in the Colonial Era: From African Origins through the American Revolution*. New York: Harlan Davidson, 1990.

Wright, J. Leitch Jr. “Blacks in British East Florida.” *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Bicentennial Issue 54 (April 1776): 425- 42.

Wright- Hughes, Roberta. *An Annotated Bibliography: Books of the South Carolina and Georgia Sea Islands*. Penn Center of the Sea Islands Michigan Support Group. Southfield, MI: Charro Book Co., 1993.

Wright- Hughes, Roberta and Wilbur B. Hughes. *Lay Down Body: Living History in African- American Cemeteries*. Detroit, MI: Visible Ink Press, 1996.

Wyatt- Brown, Bertram. “The Mask of Obedience: Male Slave Psychology in the Old South.” *American Historical Review* 93:5 (December 1988): 1228- 52.

Yates, Sandra Grady and LaVerne Davis Whitted. “Black- owned Land Still Target of Southern Whites: Has the Land Inherited from Rev. Grady Been Stolen by Unscrupulous Means?” [Wilmington, NC] *Wilmington Journal* (February 13, 2004).

Yetman, Norman R. “The Background of the Slave Narrative Collection.” *American Quarterly* 19:3 (Fall 1967): 534- 53.

- - - , ed. *Voices from Slavery*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Young, Jason Randolf. “Rituals of Resistance: The Making of an African- Atlantic Religious Complex in Kongo and Along the Sea Islands of the Slave South.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of California Riverside, 2002.

Young, Jeffrey Robert. *Domesticating Slavery: The Master Class in Georgia and South Carolina, 1670- 1837*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

- - - . “Ideology and Death on a Savannah River Rice Plantation, 1833- 1867: Paternalism amidst ‘a Good Supply of Disease and Pain.’” *Journal of Southern History* 59 (November 1993): 673- 706.

Young, Kate Porter. “Notes on Sisterhood, Kinship, and Marriage in an African- American Sea Island Community.” Working Paper 6. Memphis, TN: Center for Research on Women, 1992.

Zachary, Steve. “Each One Teach One: A Model for Heritage Protection and Ecotourism.” *Legacy* 11:3 (2000): 24- 28.

Zembola, Zamba. *The Life and Adventures of Zamba, an African Negro King, and His Experience of Slavery in South Carolina, Written by Himself*. London, 1847.

Zielenbach, Alison. “Property Owners in Sandfly Practice Good Neighborliness.” *Savannah Morning News* (October 5, 2004): A1

Zierden, Martha A. *Aiken- Rhett House: Archaeological Research*. Archeological Contributions 31, Charleston Museum. Report prepared for Historic Charleston Foundation, 2003.

Zierden, Martha A., L M. Drucker, and J. Calhoun. *Home Upriver: Rural Life on Daniels Island, Berkeley County, South Carolina*. Report prepared for the South Carolina Department of Highways and Public Transportation by Charleston Museum, Charleston, SC, 1986.

Zurel, Richard L. “Archeology, History, and Human Ecology: Applied Anthropology for Public Use Areas.” *Southeastern Archaeological Conference Bulletin* 18 (1975): 123- 131

7 Low Country Gullah SRS Information

Acknowledgements

Gullah/Geechee SRS team members wish to thank the many Gullah/Geechee people we encountered along the way who welcomed us into their communities to share their histories and a part of their lives with us. The team particularly appreciates the patience, tolerance, and good humor which allowed it to build relationships based on mutual respect and concern about the preservation of Gullah/Geechee history and culture.

Cornelia Bailey
Ma Vynee Betsch
Walter Brown
Emory Campbell
Anice G. Carr
Joyce Coakley
Carolyn Dowse
Denise Fields
Elijah Ford
Veronica D. Gerald
Marquetta L. Goodwine
Jonathan Green
Pat Gunn
Richard Habersham
Edward Lee
Jeannette Lee
John Littles
Griffin Lotson
Vera Manigault
Ernestine and Wilson Moran
Amy Roberts
Shirley Roberts
Vermelle and Andrew Rodrigues
Alada Shinault- Small
Marcella E. Smalls
Karen Smith
Charles C. “Ce Ce” Williams
And many, many more.

Interns

Kareema Hunter, Georgia State University
Alyssa Stewart Lee, Georgia Institute of Technology
Jonna Hausser Weaver, State University of West Georgia

Content Reviewers

Many thanks to all of you—both in Gullah/Geechee communities and in academic institutions—who took the time to review this document at various stages along the way. Thank you for your comments, your corrections, and your continued support.

NPS Editorial Reviewers

John Beck
Bob Blythe
Rick Hatcher
Frank Miele
Barbara Tagger
Jay Womack

Photographs

A very special thank you to the following persons and organizations who generously shared pertinent photographs for publication in this document (see photo credits). All other photography is by Cynthia H. Porcher, lead researcher.

Jeanne Cyriaque, Georgia DNR
Bob Frigo, SCAD
Diedre Laird, SC Desk, *Charlotte Observer*
Carlin Timmons, NPS Interpretive Ranger
Jonna Hausser Weaver, NPS Intern
Charleston Museum
Granger Collection, New York, NY
Duke University Digital Photo Archive
Jonathan Green Studios
McIntosh County Shouters
Penn Center
South Carolina Department of Archives and History
South Caroliniana Library
University of Virginia Digital Photo Collection
Avery Research Center for African American History and Culture
South Carolina Educational Television Commission

College of Charleston students who coded transcripts

Quantasha Clark
Jason Ellerbe
Tametria Gadson
Monique Palmer
Latoya Hannah

Partners

United States Forest Service
South Carolina Department of Parks, Recreation, Tourism
Georgia Department of Natural Resources

Key to Cover Photographs



NPS Gullah/Geechee Special Resource Study Team

Michael A. Allen
Education Specialist
Fort Sumter National Monument
Charles Pinckney National Historic Site
1214 Middle St.
Sullivan's Island, SC 29482
843.883.3123, ext. 36
Michael_Allen@nps.gov

John Barrett
Planner, SRS Team Leader
National Park Service, Southeast Region
Atlanta, GA 30303

Stuart Johnson
Superintendent
Stones River National Battlefield
Murfreesboro, TN 37129

Mark Kinzer
Environmental Compliance Specialist
National Park Service, Southeast Region
Atlanta, GA 30303

J. Anthony Paredes
Chief, Ethnography & Indian Affairs
National Park Service, Southeast Region
Atlanta, GA 30303

Cynthia H. Porcher
Principal Researcher
1214 Middle St.
Sullivan's Island, SC 29482
843.881.5516, ext. 12
Cynthia_Porcher@partner.nps.gov

Richard Sussman
Chief, Planning & Compliance Division
National Park Service, Southeast Region
Atlanta, GA 30303

John N. Tucker
Superintendent
Fort Sumter National Monument
Charles Pinckney National Historic Site
1214 Middle St.
Sullivan's Island, SC 29482
843.883.3132, ext. 14
John_Tucker@nps.gov

Low Country Gullah Culture
Special Resource Study and Final Environmental Impact Statement

Appendices

Appendix A: Authorization for Low Country Gullah Culture Special Resource Study A1

Appendix B: Fieldwork Itinerary, Community Contacts, and Activities B1

Appendix C: Comments from Community Forums (Fall 2002) C1

Appendix D: *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage* by William S. Pollitzer..... D1

Appendix E: The *Gullah of South Carolina: A Bbliography of Materials on the Gullah People* by Roslyn Saunders E1

Appendix F: *Overview and Synthesis of Scholarly Literature* by Melissa D. Hargrove..... F1

Appendix A: Authorization for Low Country Gullah Culture Special Resource Study

To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to conduct studies of specific areas for potential inclusion in the National Park System and for other purposes.

H.R. 3423, Interior Appropriations, incorporated by cross- reference in Conference Report H. Rep. 106- 479; became Public Law No. 106- 113, 11/29/1999.

SEC. 326.

(a) **SHORT TITLE -** This section may be cited as the `National Park Service Studies Act of 1999.'

(b) **AUTHORIZATION OF STUDIES -**

(1) **IN GENERAL -** The Secretary of the Interior (`the Secretary') shall conduct studies of the geographical areas and historic and cultural themes described in subsection (b)(3) to determine the appropriateness of including such areas or themes in the National Park System.

(2) **CRITERIA -** In conducting the studies authorized by this Act, the Secretary shall use the criteria for the study of areas for potential inclusion in the National Park System in accordance with section 8 of Public Law 91- 383, as amended by section 303 of the National Parks Omnibus Management Act (Public Law 105- 391; 112 Stat. 3501).

(3) **STUDY AREAS -** The Secretary shall conduct studies of the following:

(A) Anderson Cottage, Washington, District of Columbia.
(B) Bioluminescent Bay, Puerto Rico.
(C) Civil Rights Sites, multi- State.
(D) Crossroads of the American Revolution, Central New Jersey.
(E) Fort Hunter Liggett, California.
(F) Fort King, Florida.
(G) Gaviota Coast Seashore, California.
(H) Kate Mullany House, New York.
(I) Loess Hills, Iowa.
(J) Low Country Gullah Culture, multi- state.
(K) Nan Madol, State of Ponape, Federated States of Micronesia (upon the request of the Government of the Federated States of Micronesia).
(L) Walden Pond and Woods, Massachusetts.
(M) World War II Sites, Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas.
(N) World War II Sites, Republic of Palau (upon the request of the Government of the Republic of Palau).

(c) **REPORTS -** The Secretary shall submit to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate and the Committee on Resources of the House of Representatives a report on the findings, conclusions, and recommendations of each study under subsection (b) within three fiscal years following the date on which funds are first made available for each study.

Appendix B Fieldwork Itinerary, Community Contacts, and Activities

Introduction

The following is an abbreviated inventory and description of the field research conducted as part of the Gullah/Geechee SRS. This record follows Many of the design features as a Rapid Ethnographic Assessment (REAP), which is driven by a need for information in advance of actions that may affect a group or community's resources and thus its traditions. The assessment, which helps satisfy the requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act, serves the need to consider the views of various stakeholders. A REAP can yield new ways to manage places deemed important by group members, as well as information they wish to share with the public − knowledge of sacred sites and the like must remain confidential. The assessment is brief and narrow in scope; field methods include focus groups, interviews during site walks, and mapping.

The number of visits, the depth of community involvement, the extended length of time in the field, and the detailed information obtained through this study extend well beyond an ordinary REAP. There was repeated contact with community hosts and numerous visits to each community in order to build trusting relationships. For the sake of brevity, the following communities/areas will be considered here:

- St. Simons Island, Georgia
- Freedmen's Communities in or near Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina

The following cities, towns, and communities were also visited during the course of this study, which included more than 200 days in the field.

Florida
American Beach
Fernandina Beach
Fort George Island
Jacksonville
St. Augustine

Georgia
Brunswick
Cumberland Island
Darien
Eulonia
Fort Stewart
Harris Neck
Harrington
Hinesville
Jewtown
Meridian
Midway
Richmond Hill
Sandfly
Savannah
St. Mary's
St. Simons Island
South End
Thunderbolt
Townsend
Tybee Island

North Carolina
Wilmington

South Carolina
Atlantic Beach
Awendaw
Beaufort
Charleston
Daufuskie Island
Edisto Island
Georgetown
Hilton Head Island
Hollywood
Huger
James Island
Johns Island
Little River
McClellanville
Mt. Pleasant
Pawley's Island
Phillips
Ridgeland
St. Helena Island
Sandy Island
Scanlonville
Six Mile
Seven Mile
Sullivan's Island
Ten Mile
Wadmalaw Island

St. Simons Island, Georgia

Note: *Trips to St. Simons Island often included trips to other sites in the area such Darien, Sapelo Island, Harris Neck, Brunswick. For the sake of brevity, these notes will be limited to St. Simons Island visits. All field trips included photographic documentation of sites in the area.*

June 8, 2000
Community Host: Lighthouse Museum
Fieldworkers: Gullah/Geechee Special Resource Team, Vera Manigault
Sites Visited: Harrington School, Lighthouse Museum
Events attended: Community Meeting re SRS

September 19, 2000
Community Host: First African Baptist Church
Fieldworkers: Michael Allen, Cynthia Porcher, Vera Manigault
Events Attended: Community meeting to answer questions about project and generate interest. The audience was very interested in the project and began to discuss forming their own local organization for preservation of Gullah/Geechee culture. From this meeting the St. Simons African American Coalition (SSAAC) was born.
Events Attended: About 30 people gathered to discuss the project and what they might be able to do for themselves. Many goals expressed.

February 15, 2001
Community Host: Community meeting at Emanuel AME Church
Fieldworker: Cynthia Porcher
Events attended: Porcher made presentation on listing eligibility for National Trust for Historic Preservation. Spoke briefly about project.

July 17, 2001
Community Hosts: Amy Roberts, Karen Brown
Fieldworkers: Cynthia Porcher, Allyssa Lee, Jonna Hauser
Tours taken: Automobile tour of the 5 remaining African American neighborhoods on the island
Sites visited: Harrington School, Retreat Cemetery, Union Cemetery, First African Baptist Church, Savannah Ditch, Ibo Landing, Wing family home.
Events attended: Daycare programs for both elders and children at First African Baptist Church

July 18, 2001
Community Hosts: Amy Roberts, Karen Brown
Fieldworkers: Porcher, Lee, Hauser
Tours taken: Automobile tour of former African- American Neighborhoods
Sites visited: Union Cemetery, Hamilton Plantation Slave Cabins at Gascoigne Bluff, St. Ignatius Episcopal Church, 1950s- era daycare center on Demere Rd. in South End, Retreat Plantation slave cabin (now a gift shop), King family cemetery and Retreat Plantation ruins at Sea Island Golf Club (King family cemetery is surrounded by golf course), Emanuel Baptist Church, Willis Proctor's Store, barber shop, other abandoned African American businesses, site of Edgewood School.
Events attended: Vacation Bible School programs at Emanuel Baptist Church (Fieldworkers were invited to introduce themselves and tell congregation about the project.) There were about 100 people of all ages in attendance.

October 20, 2001
Community Hosts: St. Simons African- American Heritage Coalition (SSAAHC), Amy Roberts, Shirley Roberts, Karen Brown
Fieldworker: Cynthia Porcher
Events Attended: First Anniversary Celebration SSAAHC, First African Baptist Church (2 hours)
Casual Conversations: 12

October 21, 2001
Community Host: Amy Roberts
Fieldworkers: Cynthia Porcher, Vera Manigault
Tours taken: Met Amy Roberts early Sunday morning for tour of Harrington School site and to view effects of sewer coming to the neighborhood. Also visited baptismal sites (3 hours)
Other pertinent information: Porcher photographed schoolhouse extensively from many angles, also photographed the coming of sewer to neighborhood. All photographs made available to community for their preservation work.

April 10, 2002
Community Hosts: SSAAHC
Fieldworker: Cynthia Porcher
Events attended: General Meeting of SSAAHC – Porcher gave update on progress of study and made suggestions for community fundraising projects. At this meeting Porcher presented the preliminary alternatives to the group. Also attended meeting at First African Baptist Church to discuss preliminary alternatives and get input from community.
Other pertinent information: Porcher showed Power Point presentation of sites in and around St. Simons Island. Gave copy of presentation to SSAAHC.

June 12, 2002
Community Hosts: Emanuel Baptist Church, SSAAHC, Amy Roberts, Shirley Roberts
Fieldworkers: Cynthia Porcher and Jeannette Lee
Events Attended: Porcher showed Power Point presentation at a community meeting at the church (2 hours)
Tours: Porcher took Jeannette Lee to see important sites on the island and took more photographs (3 hours)

August 17- 18, 2002
Community Hosts: Georgia Sea Island Festival sponsored by SSAAHC to promote Gullah/Geechee culture and promote heritage tourism
Fieldworkers: Cynthia Porcher (Jeanne Cyriaque of GA DNR also present)
Formal Interviews: 4 females mid 50s basket makers, 1 male mid 40s photographer, 1 female about 40 producer of indigo dye, McIntosh County Shouters
Casual Conversations: 18
Events attended: Festival, native food preparation for sale, dancing (9 hours over 2 days)

October 21, 2002
Community Hosts: Emanuel Baptist Church, SSAAHC
Fieldworkers: Cynthia Porcher, Richard Sussman, John Barrett, Tony Paredes, Michael Allen, Vera Manigault
Events Attended: Community forum presentation of alternatives. Approximately 60 people attended this meeting. They came from Darien, Brunswick, Sapelo, Harris Neck, etc.

Freedmen's Communities near Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina

Note: *These communities are neighborhoods and/or extended family compounds. Many of the residents are kin to one another; many can trace their ancestry to those who started the community. Some of the communities are also connected to one another by family ties.*

September 10, 2001, Phillips Community
Community Hosts: Phillips Neighborhood Association, Goodwill AME Church
Fieldworkers: Porcher, Adrienne Otto of Mt. Pleasant Docents also attended meeting
Events attended: Meeting of Phillips Neighborhood Association to discuss their options for saving the neighborhood from a road widening project. (2 hours)
Formal Interviews: Richard Habersham
Casual Conversations: 10
Other pertinent information: Porcher discussed methods of putting together documentation for Historic Neighborhood status. Group had already gathered maps and genealogical information and seemed ready and eager for its fight. Porcher agreed to meet with R Habersham to tour and photograph neighborhood and to make photographs available for use of Neighborhood Association

October 3, 2001, Phillips Community
Community Host: Richard Habersham, president of Phillips Neighborhood Association
Fieldworker: Porcher
Tours Taken: Automobile and walking tour of Phillips Community (3 to 4 hours)
Sites visited: Site of neighborhood schoolhouse, Parker Island Bridge, home of Elijah Ford, home of Rev. Henry Parker, tour of wooded site where praise house once stood
Formal Interviews: 1 male elder farmer and preacher, 1 male elder retired but making baskets, female elder retired who is mother of a U.S. Army General. All interviews lasted 20- 30 minutes.
Casual Conversations: 6
Other pertinent information: Porcher photographed important sites in community and interviewees

October 4, 2001, Phillips Community
Community Host: Richard Habersham
Fieldworker: Porcher
Tours Taken: Continued automobile and walking tour of the neighborhood (3 hours)
Sites visited: Brick wells, hand water pump, homes of several elders in the community, John Rutledge tomb
Other pertinent information: Porcher continued photographic inventory of community

October 17, 2001, Phillips Community
Community Host: Richard Habersham
Fieldworker: Porcher
Tours Taken: Auto and walking tour of former Phillips cemetery in Riverside Country Club. (3 hours)
Sites visited: Parker Island (now Riverside Country Club). Located cemetery with Confederate graves, noted that many gravestones were missing, Parker Island side of bridge from Phillips where base of bridge has been bulldozed
Other pertinent information: Porcher continued photographic inventory of community. Some photographs will be used by neighborhood association to document contamination of Horlbeck Creek by golf course run- off.

November 12, 2001, Phillips Community
Community Host: Phillips Neighborhood Association
Fieldworkers: Porcher, Alta Mae Marvin of SC Heritage Corridor also attended meeting
Events Attended: Meeting of Phillips Neighborhood Association, discussed possibility of agri-tourism and other heritage tourism options. (2 hours)
Casual conversations: 12

February 21, 2002, Six Mile and Hamlin Communities
Community Host: Jeannette Lee
Fieldworker: Porcher
Formal Interviews: 1 elder female basket maker, her daughter who also makes baskets
Casual conversations: 4
Tours Taken: Automobile and foot tour, approximately 3 hours
Other pertinent information: Porcher photographed Six Mile and Hamlin communities including cemetery on site of Hamlin plantation which contains both Hamlin family graves and slave graves

April 19, 2002, Six Mile, Ten Mile, Phillips Communities
Community Host: Goodwill AME Church, Sweetgrass Makers Association
Fieldworker: Porcher
Casual Conversations: 16
Formal Interview: Elder woman, basket maker
Other pertinent information: Porcher showed Power Point presentation and moderated discussion of project

May 2, 2002, Ten Mile Community
Community Host: Vera Manigault
Fieldworker: Porcher
Tours Taken: 2 hour automobile tour area of area
Formal Interviews: woman, mid 50s, retired welder now basket maker
Other pertinent information: photographed neighborhood
Sites: churches, houses, site of former praise house, school

June 7, 2002, Scanlonville Community
Community Host: Ed Lee
Formal Interview: Male, approx. 40, architect, active in neighborhood association
Tour: Automobile and foot tour of neighbor hood (2 hours)
Other pertinent information: Porcher photographed sites in neighborhood; Ed Lee provided copy of archeological report prepared by Chicora Foundation in attempt to qualify for Historic Neighborhood status. (Group was unsuccessful).
Sites: Churches, vernacular homes, upscale gated communities, site of Riverside Beach (now public boat landing), location of former juke joint called White's Paradise, cemetery

Appendix C Comments from Community Forums (Fall 2002)

(These figures are based on written comments from the second round of meetings and do not include letters, telephone calls and email messages received by members of the team. Responses were written on large easel pads and have been transcribed verbatim. For that reason, there are some incomplete thoughts and misspelled words.)

Alternative A
- 17 positive (25.3%)
- 5 negative (7.5%)
- 4 neutral (neither positive nor negative) (6%)

Alternative B
- 2 positive (3%)
- 3 negative (4.4%)
- 6 neutral (9%)

Alternative C
- 8 positive (12%)
- 3 negative (4.4%)
- 10 neutral (15.4%)

Combination A + B
- 4 positive (6%)

Combination A+ C
- 1 positive (1.5%)

Combination A+B+C
- 4 positive (6%)

TOTAL = 101.5% (Discrepancy due to rounding off figures)
(Note that respondents were not given the option of combination comments, but did so of their own accord. Combination comments (e. g., A+B) may have been higher had that option been made available.)

St. Simons Island, GA

Alternative A
1. I believe that one positive aspect of this proposal is that existing lands would be used.
2. Having the 3rd site in McIntosh County would be in tying in important Gullah Heritage sites in this area. (The Moran family, Sapelo Island, Plantations (Butler Island and Hofwyl- Broadfield, Historic African- American Communities (Jewtown, Harrington), Historic Sites (slave cabins, remains of slave hospital, Neptune Park), and the traditions that have been preserved (net-making, basket weaving, and storytelling) that are currently at risk of being lost forever.
3. Would this alternative include grants to acquire and preserve local sites such as the Harrington School? The school is very important to the community.
4. Plan A could bring jobs for local Geechee people. It would work good with C and B.

Alternative B
1. I would be very concerned that sites which have not traditionally been inclusive would be willing to change their interpretation, *i.e.* rice plantations.
2. I would like to know how the Gullah/Geechee people feel about these proposals.

Alternative C

1. Most flexible, able to include structures such as Harrington Schoolhouse
2. How will we ensure that the "heritage area" will become self- sufficient? (I would hate for the program to get off the ground with start- up funding, and then not have money to ensure this program's longevity.

Charleston, SC

Alternative A

1. Affirmative effort to assist the preservation of heirs' property (financial and educational resources)
2. Emphasis on creating new beaurocracy makes this the least attractive alternative, but many specific elements of Alternative A are desirable. Personally, I prefer a mix of the 3 alternatives with emphasis on grassroots initiative of a heritage area.
3. Not only the aforementioned crafts were performed but the multitude of skills it takes to build a nation as blacksmithing, building technology, medical and midwifery to name a few. Where are the institutions that taught the Gullah as such? Or did they come from Africa knowing how to build and maintain the culture since those are only a few elders left doing the crafts and so forth. These institutions need to be established in the Gullah Geechee connection. – Elder Halim, Gullah Geechee Nation
4. A needed complement to A & B, if either is selected would be to make sure info is available for students and non- students on the process to move into various employment positions, i.e. park manager, archeologist, naturalist, internships, scholarships, curator, conservation, etc.
5. "Living" interpretive centers would be important to expose/present Gully storytellers, craftspeople, musicians, etc. from within the grassroots community. The support of these "griots" as living historians would make the centers embody the very people who preserve the Gullah Culture in their own way – in this way, an institutional connection – complete with resources (e. g. human and fiscal) would serve as an economic development and cultural model for the region.

Alternative B

1. Is there a site further north of McClellanville that could be considered? Either in the Grand Strand or Little River or even Wilmington since it's still fuzzy to many that the G/G community begins in southern NC.
2. This alternative includes sites that are not traditionally associated with the Gullah Geechee story.
3. Geographically Gullah culture may be said to extend from Cape Hatteras, NC south to St Augustine, FL. Efforts should include Florida Gullah communities and sites. I favor a mix of the 3 alternatives presented, with emphasis on Alternative C and the establishment of a National Heritage Area.
4. I like the idea of using established facilities: B, but also think renovations need to occur on such historical facilities as in A and perhaps having those "link up" to create a broader range with each having a special addition to the G/G Culture.
5. The aspect of storytelling should include the Gullah wars from 1739- 1848 along the Black Border. – Elder Halim Gullah Bemi, Gullah Geechee nation
6. The first principle of community- building is to solve problems and create solutions for maximum impact. In the same way rice is "hard" to grow in the city of Charleston (environmental issues), so too is it difficult to reach large numbers of interested visitors/tourists/groups in rural areas. Cities are hubs – major concern/rethink. Should identify the 4th most visited city in the US with over 2 million visitors as a site. Compare these numbers to arriving visitors elsewhere (Rantowles, Awendaw, etc) Where do we "site" for greatest impact. Fish in a full pond.
7. B and A make a good choice together.

Alternative C

1. A grassroots endeavor could lead to a viable and productive 501- C3. For those wanting minimal federal involvement, this could work.
2. Make sure local community get involved in helping promote and preserve the culture by using local artist and organization. Empowering the people through the Culture.
3. Requirements for state legislation may be onerous, particularly for a grassroots coalition.
4. What would be the process for a start- up foundation/organization to receive assistance from the NPS or the State?
5. Alternative C involves the group's responsibility to interpret its own existence. The preferred Alternative C can be melded with elements of Alternatives A and B.
6. A national Gullah/Geechee corridor is extremely important because that area was the economic foundation of the states that will make up the corridor. These states until after the Civil War had an agricultural economy. Open land cattle raising, rice and indigo were the basis of that agricultural economy. The knowledge and the people responsible for the success of that economy were enslaved Africans, and the seed rice that that introduced the rice culture was the seed from Africa, unlike the myths created by A. S. Salley, Jr. and Duncan Haywood. It was not the alleged "seed from Madagascar." That knowledge was what made South Carolina the second wealthiest colony prior to the Revolutionary War.
7. How does the plan address the URBAN Gullah/Geechee experience? The planter/plantation model overlooks and makes it hard to include the experiences of Gullah/Geechee people who ere urban – sellers of vegetables and fish, cooks, housekeepers, nurses, craftsmen, blacksmiths, drivers, gardeners, stablemen, sail makers. How do Robert Smalls and Mary (the Pringle cook at 27 King St) fit into this model?
   How is this diversification, transition, and modification of Gullah Culture addressed?
   How do cities – like the one this forum is in – help organize and preserve this legacy of culture?
8. Could A and C work together? A could help anchor C.

Georgetown, SC

Alternative A

Atlantic Beach (pop. 400, rural, low income) historic black- owned and operated resort town. First Missionary Baptist Church – Gullah music
Gullah speech patterns, food
Fishing economy in 1930's
Tourist Attractions during segregation
- - Sherry A Suttles, President Atlantic Beach Historical Society 843.272.7444

Alternative B

No Comments

Alternative C

No Comments

Savannah, GA

Alternative A

1. This plan seems to meet the needs of all involved. – L R Morris
2. Seems to have the greatest public benefit. – John Jameson
3. Centers are well spaced and see to offer a diverse experience at sites. Please look (still) at local interpretive efforts in an attempt to complement stories, etc.

4. Consider adding exhibit of industry with living history or other interpretive styles. If people knew what it entailed (painful process of picking), they could develop a personal connection to the people, lifestyle, and hardships.
5. The idea of letting well- qualified individuals from the Gullah/Geechee community [get involved?] is a great idea. Involvement of the Gullah community will allow everyone to make an impact.
6. Gullah Geechee people are not in a position to determine the direction, definition, etc. of their culture under Alternative A. The NPS will have a larger role in dictating the preservation of our culture. We deal with academics who misrepresent our culture on a daily basis (see Dale Rosengarten "sea grass baskets" comments as one example of misrepresentation of the culture. - - A Jamal Toure, Council of Elders, Gullah/Geechee Nation
7. I like the idea of multiple partners and parks interpreting the cultural [*sic*] in their area. Each group of people are particular to the area they live in. Will give a complete picture/focus of the entire Gullah/Geechee cultural [sic].
8. Cultural site preservation efforts (private and state) should be somehow considered into [*sic*]

Alternative B

1. Alternative B is the second best choice in this process. Alternative B allows some room for Gullah Geechee people to have a say in their story and culture. Alternative A is sorely lacking in this respect. This Alternative B provides us with a means to be the caretakers of the culture.
2. Alternative C is the best plan for the Gullah Geechee people to tell their story and preserve their culture. –A Jamal Toure, Council of Elders, Gullah/Geechee Nation.

Alternative C

1. Alternative C is the best plan with regards to Gullah/Geechee people determining and defining their history and culture. We will play a significant role in the preservation of our culture. We will not be on the outside. – A Jamal Toure, Council of Elders, Gullah/Geechee Nation
2. Consider First African Baptist as a potential partner for Alternative C
3. If "African Americans" is on paper, then in person at site should be a person who as lived it and can speak Ogeechee.
4. Alternative C seems more in line with a culturally- specific community such as the Gullah-Geechee Nation

St. Helena Island, SC

Alternative A

1. Georgetown County is an important part of the Gullah/Geechee Culture, yet it has not been considered in any of those alternatives. Don't, I repeat, don't forget Georgetown County and its Gullah/Geechee Community and people. There are partners available. Hobcaw Barony has an enslaved African Village and a rice field.
2. This is a living culture, spread over three states. To put centers in certain areas does not assist Gullah People in preserving and benefiting from their own culture. We are not museum pieces.
3. This alternative seems fine, however, my concern lies with the ownership of cultural assets – be it the interpretation of the history itself or the physical assets such as buildings, etc.
4. I believe this Alternative A is good because of its potential to utilize local experts who will tell and demonstrate the "true story." The fear I have is that NPS will flex its muscle and try to control and direct the entire program.
5. This plan A supports the concept of clusters among Gullah communities which makes the effort of preservation more manageable.
6. Plan A is the best of all alternatives. It allows total involvement of existing organizations and will allow operation for at least 100 years and allow the artifacts to come back to Penn for research and the education of the young generations.
7. Penn Center is a great resource and needs National Park Service Funding.

8. Put Atlantic Beach on the map, please!
9. Alternative A appears to offer a future for expression of our culture and creativity through perpetuity, putting this special study on par with Mt Rushmore and Grand Canyon.
10. Alternative A of all the potentials appears to be the best of all presented. It is all inclusive of the areas; it will not require land purchase, it allows operation of the facility in perpetuity in all the locations. It allows involvement of the community, the existing organizations, and the National Park Service.
11. I think all 3 are good.

Alternative B

1. This alternative does not enhance the culture, but gives the incentive to others to tell a story of people they have not recognized before.
2. This would give to those who have ignored the culture the ability to control a culture that they have tried to destroy. The best way to preserve and enhance our culture is to leave it to Gullah's to interpret and preserve.
3. The parks [in Alternative B] may not reach as many people as the cultural sites [Alternative A], and the sites in Alternative C.
4. Atlantic Beach needs to be on the map.
5. Need grants on the local level for 501 C- 3's community- based organizations

Alternative C

1. Gullah Festival of SC, Inc should be in the list of potential partners, PO Box 83, Beaufort, SC 20901.
2. Sandy Island and Little River
3. Don't include Chambers of Commerce
4. Include Atlantic Beach – only remaining black- owned and erected incorporated town. Beach resort created in 1930's to house maids from Myrtle Beach. Later medical professionals and entrepreneurs bought in. Since integration and 2 hurricanes (Hazel '54 and Hugo '89), town is deteriorating rapidly. Musical giants like Ray Charles, Marvin Gaye, Chubby Checker stayed/played here. Tourists from AV to FL came. Now draws 400,000 from as far away as NYC for Memorial Day Weekend Bike Fest, BUT they stay in Myrtle Beach, North Myrtle Beach, etc. while our town is dying. We need your help drawing attention, funding Visitor Center, oral history, motel preservation, acquisition, etc. – Mary A Suttle, Pres. Atlantic Beach Historical Society
5. I am not particularly interested in the Park Service creating interpretive centers where the Gullah Culture is involved, however, if it must happen, I would prefer Alternative C.
   Gullah is a living, breathing culture, not made for museums. We as a people need assistance holding on to our land. The land is tied to the culture. If we lose our land, we lose our culture. Give people the chance to preserve their own culture. –E A Santagati
6. There was a comment that the proposed heritage corridor was too large or unwieldy. That will not be the case if local people in each micro- area of the proposed corridor are made an integral part of the future planning. If that is done, there will be cohesion among the various groups, which will ensure the success of the corridor.
7. Plan C – Best option to chain together existing cultural places without artificial form of Plan A. Each place gets to define own special aspects. Can be developed to support those special things of each community without changing the character of the site.
8. Need grants for local community projects.

Jacksonville, FL

There were no written comments from this meeting. Only 2 people other than the project team attended the meeting.

Letters and Email Messages

The team received supportive letters from a number of potential partners throughout the study area (i.e. state and county governments, non- profit organizations, federal agencies, preservation organizations). There was also a lengthy document from Marquetta L. Goodwine, founder of the Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition (GGSIC). Goodwine expressed opposition to all alternatives, but found Alternative C to be least objectionable. She also indicated that she wished to speak at any congressional hearings that may be held with regard to the alternatives. About 12 members of the GGSIC sent form letter responses indicating their agreement with Goodwine's comments and her right to speak.

Appendix D: *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage* by William S. Pollitzer

Note: *The late Dr. William S. Pollitzer, at the request of the Gullah/Geechee Special Resource Study Team, prepared a synopsis of his book. The text to follow, included in this report with permission of University of Georgia Press, provides the reader with an overview of Pollitzer's work. This portion of the report may not be duplicated without written permission from the University of Georgia Press.*

Preface

I was born in Charleston, South Carolina, where my grandfather had been a cotton factor and my aunts continued to live. After my father, a pediatrician, had moved to the Up Country, it was always a joy to return to the Low Country and this unique, historic city. But I knew little of the "darker side" of life there, the black folks. Much later, my studies in anthropology and genetics at Columbia University raised questions about the people called the "Gullah Negroes," who had lived for almost three centuries along the coast of South Carolina and Georgia. Where did they come from, how closely were they related to their ancestors, and how had they developed their unique speech and culture?

My visits to Salvador in Bahia, Brazil, for lectures and research revealed the rich heritage of those of African descent, mixed with Indians and whites, who had kept alive the language and practices from specific areas of Africa. This stimulated me to learn more about the origins, history, and distinctive characteristics of the Gullah people who had been isolated in the Tidewater region. My inquiry revealed their African heritage, the relative proportion of different ethnic groups there, and their influence on genetics, health, language, social structure, and many arts and crafts. Plants and parasites from Africa also came with the slave trade to the Low Country, with profound effects.

This report is based upon my book, *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage*, University of Georgia Press, 1999, which also contains more tables and maps, as well as figures, pictures, a chronology, citations, notes, and bibliography. In brief, it illustrates why the Tidewater region, from Georgetown, S. C., through Georgia and into Florida, is worthy of special designation, and the culture of African Americans who live there worthy of preservation, protection, and interpretation to the public.

William S. Pollitzer
October, 2001

Chapter 1 Flesh and Blood

"His name's not really Sunday. We just call him that 'cause he's born on Sunday."

So said the black men to this author about the driver of the truck as we drove over Hilton Head Island one summer day in 1954. This typical African naming practice had survived among the Gullah people on this sea island near Savannah off the coast of Georgia. The men pointed sadly to the soil and beach where they and their ancestors had farmed and fished for generations. Whites were then beginning to buy up their land, soon to be covered by golf courses and condominiums. The retention of the old had met the challenge of the new. Although the marsh and dikes of the old rice plantations still persist, the Carolina coast is vastly different today from what it was a century ago. Changes in the last half- century especially threaten the Gullah people and their way of life. As Emory Campbell, Director of Penn Center on St. Helena Island expressed it: "We are the endangered species."

The homeland of the Gullah stretches 250 miles along the Tidewater from Georgetown in South Carolina, through Georgia and into Florida, where the people developed in relative isolation. Not only their distinctive speech and many cultural traits indicate their close affinity to African ancestors, but also biologically the sea island blacks, a mixture of many strains, are chiefly African, with some white and Native American genes.

Faces and Genes from Africa.

Physical anthropologists once divided mankind into distinct races; today they recognize gradients or clines in all biological traits instead. Single- gene traits like blood factors prove to be a better measure of migration and admixture of populations than do measures of morphology.

In the 1920s Herskovits measured twenty- six physical features of adult black males, most of them in Howard University and Harlem, and found them intermediate between Africans and Europeans. Eighty percent of them reported mixed ancestry, usually with whites, but 30 percent with Indians. Similarly, an analysis of thirty- six features of male crania, made in 1974, suggested that American blacks are three- fourths African and one- fourth European in ancestry. This contrasts sharply with the Gullah people.

Among inherited blood types, Group B is twice as common in Africans as in Europeans. Whites are 85 percent *Rh* positive, blacks are 92 percent. Most populations below the Sahara average 60 percent of the *Rho* subtype found in only 2 percent of whites. Absence of the Duffy blood factor (*Fy*) in blacks, common in other people, is responsible for their immunity to vivax malaria.

The frequency of these and other genetic markers, such as red blood cell factors *M, S, Jk*, and *K*, and certain inherited proteins in blood plasma, show, as the physical traits did, that African Americans in northern cities have about one- fourth white ancestry. Compare this with admixture based on inherited blood factors of 479 women and 57 men observed by this author in the clinics of the Medical College in Charleston in the 1950s. One- third were born in the city of Charleston, over two- thirds in Charleston County, and 95 percent in the coastal tier of counties. Of their parents, 60 percent were natives of the county and 85 percent were from the coastal strip; in half the cases father, mother, and subject came from the same location. The people studied were thus undoubtedly descendants of those brought to the region centuries before, although some migration among them was present even then. Only about 6 percent of their genes came from non- African ancestry, far less than that elsewhere in the country.

Apolipoproteins are inherited proteins attached to fat molecules in blood plasma. Many genetically controlled variants of them, identified by size, density, and electric charge, have been identified. Like blood types, the genes for them vary in frequency in different populations, some present only in whites and others only in blacks. Analysis of apolipoproteins of Nigerians and African Americans

show significantly more white admixture in blacks of Pittsburgh than in blacks of four coastal Carolina counties − Charleston, Berkeley, Dorchester, and Colleton. The genes found only in whites are rarer in Carolina than in Pittsburgh; most of those found only in blacks are more frequent in Carolina. White admixture of blacks of coastal South Carolina and Georgia, determined from blood factors, contrasts sharply with that of African Americans in cities of the north and west.

Physical features are in agreement with the findings from genetics: measurement of skin pigment, stature, sitting height, nose width, face width, lip thickness, and prognathism show that the black coastal Carolinians more closely resemble sub- Saharan Africans than other African Americans do. The sea island blacks thus contrast greatly with those studied by Herskovits. In both morphology and inherited blood factors the Gullah are closer to western Africa and further removed from whites than are other African Americans.

That Sick as Hell Anemia

Abnormal hemoglobins in the coastal blacks tell an even more striking story of their African kinship. In a youngster with sickle cell anemia, jagged red blood cells course through capillaries causing severe pain and early death. No wonder it is known in Charleston as that "sick as hell anemia." Caused by abnormal genes inherited from both parents (SS), it contrasts with normal hemoglobin (AA) and with the benign trait in carriers (AS), who inherit an abnormal gene from only one parent. Hemoglobin C follows the same genetic laws and similar processes but causes a milder disease. The hemoglobin molecule, responsible for carrying oxygen to the tissues, consists of home surrounded by alpha and beta globing chains. Both sickle cell and hemoglobin C disease result from abnormal beta chains. In contrast, thalassemia is an inherited disease that results from a decrease of production of normal hemoglobin chains; of two varieties, that affecting beta globin chains causes a more serious illness than that affecting alpha chains.

Sickle cell hemoglobin occurs in a wide belt through equatorial Africa. The trait (AS) varies from 12 percent in Senegambia through 15 percent in Ghana to more than 20 percent in Nigeria and Central Africa. Hemoglobin C trait (AC) reaches a high of 13 percent in Ghana and neighboring Benin, falls off sharply in adjacent regions, and is virtually absent in Central Africa. Beta thalassemia trait is about 8 percent in Liberia and rarer in other areas. The sickle cell trait is present in about 8 percent of African Americans, Hemoglobin C trait in 2 percent, and beta thalassemia in less than one percent.

Over half a century ago Paul Switzer, then an intern at the Roper Hospital in Charleston, found 14 percent sickle cell trait in red blood cells of sea island blacks. Many subsequent surveys found an even higher incidence in Charleston County, similar to that in Africa and twice as high as in African Americans generally. Three percent Hemoglobin C and one percent beta thalassemia demonstrate the role of West Africa in the ancestry of the Gullah people.

In the presence of deadly *falciparum* malaria, those with such abnormal hemoglobins are protected from the parasite causing it. Carriers, with one normal and one abnormal gene (AS), live longer than both those with the anemia (SS) and those with normal hemoglobin (AA); when they reproduce they keep the sickle cell gene in the population. The importance of this selective advantage of abnormal hemoglobin is dramatically illustrated by the history of blacks in the Low Country from 1684 into the 1940s.

Variations along the Coast

Abnormal hemoglobins reflect differences among populations of coastal blacks. Those of Georgia counties average 9 percent sickle cell trait, with a high of 14 percent on Sapelo Island. Those of South Carolina counties have 12 percent, but Charleston County averages 15 percent, far greater than elsewhere in the United States. This probably reflects both their relatively unmixed African ancestry and the selective pressure from malaria that maintained the high frequency of this genetic trait. Gene

frequencies of abnormal hemoglobins of Charleston blacks are similar to those of many African countries and much greater than those of other African Americans. However, variations in frequency of inherited blood factors do occur among the counties of the South Carolina and Georgia Low Country and even within Charleston County.

The Charleston Heart Study, begun in the 1960s, determined many medical and biological variables, including skin color, ABO and *Rho* blood types, and hemoglobin variants, among people of the county, subdivided by race and by residence in city, suburbs, and rural areas. The findings are important for the African origins and later distribution of people on the coast.

The rural men and women are darker than the city dwellers. Although this could be influenced by their greater exposure to sunlight, the higher frequency of *Rho* and *Hb. AS* suggests less white admixture, as expected from their history. The people on the sea islands southwest of the city are darkest of all and have 69 percent *Rho*, 20 percent Group B, 24 percent *Hb. AS*, and one percent *Hb. AC*, all suggestive of close African affinity.

Biological variables should be helpful in the search for origins of the sea island people, but physical features are too blended, genetic markers too intermediate, and data from Africa too sparse to connect them directly with some specific region of that continent. Similar blood types and Hb. S frequencies are found in many areas from Senegal to Angola; Hb. C frequency, however, does suggest a genetic contribution from the area around Ghana. If many inhabitants of the Sea Islands south of Charleston came from African regions where people had dark skin color, high Rho, modest Group B, high sickle cell trait, and some Hb. C, and remained relatively isolated and unmixed, it could account for the traits observed. Nigeria, which has been linked with Wadmalaw Island by language and customs, is one possibility. Only further surveys of genetic markers and historical research on both sides of the Atlantic could solve this mystery.

New techniques of molecular biology hold out hope for unraveling the genetic history of the Gullah. Four haplotypes, or clusters of genes, are known for sickle cell hemoglobin in African populations: Senegal, Benin, Cameroon, and Bantu (or CAR for Central African Republic), named for the region where first found and most abundant. Among southeastern American blacks the Benin type is most common (56 percent), followed by Bantu (19 percent) and Senegal (15 percent). For comparing the coastal Carolina population with African ancestors such haplotype frequencies, not yet fully known, would be enormously valuable.

A survey of black families on James Island just outside the city of Charleston confirmed earlier findings, except that the people were found to be slightly more admixed with whites. That study also gave new insights into the inheritance of thalassemia and provided data on the structure and genetics of the teeth of the Gullah people that further reflect their African heritage.

Teeth Make an Impression

Teeth fascinate anthropologists. With highly heritable variations in shape and size, and preservation long after other traces of the body have disintegrated, teeth are useful in describing populations living and dead. Fine details of structure also reveal information on diet and health.

As part of a large study of the genetic basis of adult dentition, Menegaz- Bock measured teeth in 391 people in seventy- six black families on James Island. The pattern of their dentition differs from that of Seminole Indians and other Native American populations, but resembles that of Africans and other African Americans. The teeth of blacks, both in Africa and in America, are larger than those of whites. In length (mesio- distal dimension) the front teeth, incisors and canines, are smaller, but the back teeth, premolars and molars, are larger. In width (bucco- lingual dimension) the reverse is true; the front teeth are thicker but the back ones are thinner than in whites.

The data from Africa, unfortunately mostly from areas outside the slave trade region, reveal teeth somewhat smaller than those of the sea islanders. One crude measure of size is the sum of the length of the teeth. At 119 mm. the Gullah teeth are exceeded in overall size only by those of one group of Bantu; they are bigger than the dentition of other Africans and African Americans. Tooth width shows a similar sequence. In their pattern, the Gullah teeth are similar to those of five other American black populations analyzed, but larger; some features of their molars and premolars show their resemblance to Africans.

Size alone does not tell the whole story. One notable and highly heritable feature, common in Asiatics and American Indians, present in some Africans, but rare in whites, is a scooped out or shovel shape to the back of the incisors. Its average depth in the central incisors of Seminole Indians is 1.00 mm; in the blacks on James Island it is 0.63 mm. a finding consistent with their African ancestry with some white and Indian admixture.

Thus, morphology, red cell blood types, plasma proteins, hemoglobin variants, and dentition of the sea island blacks present a consistent picture of a predominantly African people with minimal white and Indian admixture, and with indications of genetic contributions from the western bulge of the continent. To solve the puzzle of the formation of the Gullah people on the coast of Carolina and Georgia, and to give them pride in their heritage, it is necessary to turn back to Africa and the rich diversity of its geography, people, history, culture, and language.

Chapter 2 Exodus: The In-Human Trade

"You've come home!"

With that friendly welcome the natives of Sierra Leone greeted the visitors from the Carolina Sea Islands, who soon joyously recognized speech, basketry, songs, musical instruments, and the manner of tossing fishing nets so familiar to them. But when this Gullah delegation visited Bance Island off the shore, where ocean- going ships had loaded their slave ancestors, their voices fell silent and their faces showed grief. Buildings still stand along the African coast as grim reminders of the transoceanic slave trade.

To appreciate the magnitude and variation of that mass forced migration to the New World, it is necessary to understand the incredible size of Africa that Europeans called the Dark Continent. The United States could fit into it three times. In topography, climate, vegetation and people, Africa is a picture of diversity, with a tropical zone embraced by two temperate ones. Below the Sahara desert lies the Sudan of grassland and woodland; further south the Guinea Coast and the Congo River basin form the tropical rainforest. These West and Central African regions were the homeland of the ancestors of the Gullah people who differed in physique, language, and culture.

In the savannah of the western Sudan herding is combined with agriculture, manufacturing is highly specialized, markets and trade flourish, musical instruments are varied, Islam is influential, and linguistic chaos abounds. On the Guinea Coast, agriculture is intensive, crops from Malaysia and America fueled a population explosion, markets and craft guilds are well developed, art reached its zenith; and languages are varied. The Congo culture area, following the expansion of the Bantu into Central Africa, is supported by shifting agriculture, bark cloth, ceremonial drums, religion stressing death, sculpture, and the paramount importance of kinship. Here, and in some of the Guinea Coast, dense and hostile vegetation separates villages; disease has had its greatest impact in this unhealthy and forbidding environment.

More than 750 languages of Africa, classified by Greenberg, make a Babel of tongues, but a knowledge of the areas where they are spoken is necessary for appreciation of the Gullah language. Prominent along the western coast are Wolof, Susu, Temne, Mende, Kpelle, and Vai; further interior are Malinke

and Bambara; and Fulani is spread over West Africa. Along the Guinea Coast are Twi, Ga, Fante (Fanti), Ewe, Fon, Yoruba, Igbo (Ibo), Ibibio, Bini and Efik. Twi and the related Fante are called Akan languages. In the large Bantu group of Central Africa are Kongo, Kikongo, Bobangi, Luba (Tshiluba), Kimbundu, and Umbundu. The vocabulary and grammar of these languages influenced the development of Gullah.

Of some 12 million Africans shipped from Africa to the New World from the fifteenth into the nineteenth century, about 11 million arrived, a grim reminder of the death rate in the "Middle Passage." While the majority went to Latin America, almost 2 million went to the British islands in the Caribbean, especially Jamaica and Barbados. Eight coastal regions are recognized in the eighteenth century English slave trade. The first, Senegambia, includes Senegal and Gambia of today. A second, from the Casamance in the north to Cape Mount in the south, labeled Sierra Leone, includes not only that nation but also modern Guinea and Guinea- Bissau plus small parts of Senegal and Liberia. The third, the Windward Coast, stretching from Cape Mount to Assini at the western edge of Ghana, includes Liberia and the Ivory Coast, but the usage of the term varied over time. To the eighteenth-century British it meant anything westward of the Gold Coast.

The coast of Liberia, originally the Malagueta or Pepper Coast from malagueta pepper, was also known as the Grain Coast or Rice Coast. The fourth region is the Gold Coast, roughly the same as Ghana of today. Further east, beyond the Volta River, lies the fifth region, the Bight of Benin, or the Slave Coast of present- day Togo and Benin and part of Nigeria. The Bight of Biafra, including the Niger Delta plus the mouths of the Cross River and Duala River to the east in Cameroon, is the sixth region of the slave trade, bounded by the Benin River to the west and Cape Lopez in Gabon to the south. Angola in its broadest sense, including not only that nation but also Zaire, Congo- Brazzaville, part of Gabon to the north, and part of Namibia to the south, comprises a seventh region also called Central Africa. The eighth region is the southern coast, reaching up to Mozambique on the east coast of Africa and including the island of Madagascar across from it, from which few slaves probably came.

The Traffic to Charleston

Records from 200 years ago written in the careful script of the day recreate the busy times at the port of Charleston which had grown from its modest beginnings in 1670 to one of the most active ports in North America by the time of the Revolution. *The Book of Manifests* from 1784 through 1787, in the *Records of the States*, lists not only the date, entry number, ship, captain, and port of origin for vessels in the harbor, but also the merchandise, the merchant buying the goods, and the duty. Here and there listed among the other imports is the human cargo, small shipments from Bermuda or St. Thomas or other states in the newly created United States, as well as larger shipments of slaves from Angola or Gambia or the Gold Coast. Often just "Africa" appears in neat Gothic script, obscuring the specific homeland of those taken across the sea.

One can visualize the scene in the crowded harbor from the wide variety of vessels and their names: The Schooner *Grecian Lady*, the Sloop *May*, the Brigantine *Neptune*, the Ship *Fortitude*, the Cutter *Ferril*, the Bark *Molly*, and the Snow *Jean Baptista*. The names of the ships engaged in the slave trade often belie their doleful mission: *Happy Couple*, *Charming Polly*, *Delight*, *Olive- Branch*, *Relief*, *Hope*, *Providence*, *Content,* and *Friendship*. The best known names in the city of Charleston are often listed as the recipients of the slaves, such as Nathaniel Russell, whose home is a major tourist attraction today.

From the earliest days of the settlement of Carolina, black bondsmen accompanied their masters, usually from the West Indies. At least sixty- five of them entered Charles Town in its very first decade, and more soon followed. For those early years the exact count and source are difficult to determine; most ships from Barbados and neighboring islands had a few on board, their African provenience unknown.

As early as 1674 the Proprietors instructed one Andrew Percival who controlled a plantation south of the Ashley River to begin a trade with the Spaniards for "Negroes." Trade was laid open by an act of 1698, and by the end of the century direct commerce between Africa and Carolina was underway. Significantly in that same year an act encouraged white servants, because the great number of blacks imported was perceived as endangering the safety of the colony- - a note of caution heard again in succeeding years.

From the founding of Charles Town the importation grew astronomically. The total for 1706 was only 24, for 1707, 22, but by 1724 it was 604; it rose sharply in the 1740s with demands for labor for rice and indigo cultivation, and peaked in the nineteenth century.

Planters and dealers alike recognized different attributes in slaves from the various regions of Africa and expressed decided preferences. The many letters of Henry Laurens, engaged in the trade for decades in the eighteenth century until the American Revolution, reflect these perceptions and preferences.

The order of choice among South Carolina planters appears to have been Gold Coast, Gambia, Windward Coast, and Angola; Ibo from Calabar or Bonny in the Bight of Biafra were considered worst. The reasons were chiefly size, strength, or health, although temperament also counted. Real or imagined traits of behavior sometimes reinforced preferences based upon physique; alleged attributes might influence a dealer or a buyer as much as actual ones.

Coramantees from the Gold Coast were described as having extraordinary strength and symmetry, distinguished appearance, and proud bearing. They were blacker, taller, and handsomer than their fellow slaves, vigorous, muscular, hardy, and agile, intelligent, fierce, stubborn, unwilling to forgive a wrong, but loyal if their devotion were captured. Gambians were similarly tall, strong, and very dark. Senegalese were considered most intelligent and esteemed for domestic service. Mandingoes were gentle in demeanor, but sinking under fatigue. Whydahs and Pawpaws were said to be lusty, industrious, cheerful, submissive, even tempered, complacent, and obedient. Those from Congo and Angola were slender and slight, mild and honest, stupid, docile, comely, and inclined to run away. The Eboes (Ibos) were called jaundiced, sickly, unattractive, superstitious, lazy, despondent, and prone to suicide.

The profits from some voyages of the slave trade into the port at Charles Town must have been enormous to offset the losses caused by the various hazards, including disease, wars, storms, pirates, and mutinies. Graphic accounts of mutinies especially illustrate the ethnocentric viewpoint of white men and belie the conventional picture of docile black ones.

> To be SOLD Wednesday the 24th Instant September, a Parcel of choice Negroes, imported in the *Happy Couple* - - - Hill Master directly from the Coast of Guiney, by Jos. Wragg and Comp. N.B. Extraordinary Encouragement will be given for present Pay, and Payment this Crop."

This advertisement, accompanied by a small black figure, appeared in the *South Carolina Gazette*, Number 85, for September 6- 13, 1735. Hundreds of such ads printed in the Charleston newspapers from 1733- 1807, provide one excellent source of data on the number and provenience of slaves imported into Carolina.

The British Naval Office, responsible for the loading and unloading of vessels in the ports of the colonies in the eighteenth century, is another valuable source of information. Stationed at Charles Town, Georgetown and Port Royal, their record, in the elegant penmanship of the day, provides a unique insight into the commerce to and from the increasingly important colony of South Carolina. While many ships brought a few blacks from the West Indies, the record shows increasing shipments from "Africa" in large numbers.

The Records of the Public Treasurers of South Carolina list the duty on blacks imported from 1735-1774 plus the captain of the ship, the agency or importer, the source of the shipment, and the number of slaves; and the manifests in the Records of the States contains similar information from 1784- 1787.

No one source is complete, but through the use of all of them, with attention to dates, ships, captains, and origins, a fairly accurate picture can be constructed of the number of enslaved persons legally transported from eight coastal regions of Africa to Charles Town in three time periods. Early is from 1716- 1744, Middle from 1749- 1787, and Final from 1804- 1807.

In the Early Period Angola contributed half of the 22,117 slaves imported, or three- fourths of those of known African origin. The numbers from Senegambia and from the Bight of Biafra are small, and those from other areas are negligible. In the Middle Period, however, when 63,210 people were imported into Charles Town from Africa, Senegambia was responsible for one- third of the slave trade of known origin. The Windward Coast made a substantial contribution at this time followed closely by Angola and then the Gold Coast. While the total trade tripled in this second half of the eighteenth century, the actual number from Angola decreased. The people from Senegambia increased ten fold as rice and indigo cultivation began to flourish in Carolina. The number from the Gold Coast, although half that from Senegambia, saw a thirteen- fold increase over the Early Period.

In the four feverish years of the Final Period, the total number of Africans imported - - 29,461 - - far exceeded all those brought in the twenty- eight years of the Early Period, and is almost half the amount in the thirty- nine years of the Middle Period. Angola accounted for over half of the trade, followed by the Windward Coast and then by the Gold Coast, with lesser contributions from other regions.

By summing the data of the three time periods, a picture of the total African slave trade to South Carolina alone appears (see “Map 5”). When 23,000, 20 percent of the total, who cannot be assigned to a particular coastal region are omitted, some 39 percent came from Angola which includes Congo, 20 percent from Senegambia, 17 percent from the Windward Coast, and 13 percent from the Gold Coast. The contribution from Sierra Leone is only 6 percent and that from the two Bights and from Madagascar and Mozambique even less. It is of interest to see if this distribution of people imported, 60 percent from West Africa and 40 percent from Central Africa, is reflected in the speech and behavior of the sea islanders.

Role of the West Indies

One third of the known slave trade between the Caribbean islands and Charles Town took place in the Early Period, two thirds in the flourishing Middle Period, and virtually none in the Final Period. Barbados sent the greatest number, followed by St. Kitts, Antigua, Jamaica, and a dozen other Caribbean islands.

Slaves brought from the British West Indies are important for their impact on the Sea Islands because of their ethnic origins. Although these migrants were already somewhat adapted to the dominant whites by "seasoning" for a few years in the islands, they nonetheless retained the language and customs of their African homeland. Of two million Africans brought to the British Caribbean, Jamaica and Barbados received the bulk; in the eighteenth century they re- exported one- fourth to the mainland. The ethnic composition of Africans imported into Jamaica and Barbados from 1662- 1713 shows emphasis upon the role of the Gold Coast and Benin; as the century progressed, Biafra had a greater share of the trade. Of the known British slave trade from 1700 through 1807, the Bight of Biafra contributed 37 percent and the Gold Coast 13 percent, together just half of the total.

While direct importations from the Gold Coast are surprisingly modest in light of the known preference for these people in Carolina, they were thus greatly supplemented by those who came via the West Indies. To an even greater degree bondsmen from the Bights of Benin and Biafra, rare in the

direct trade, contributed indirectly via the Caribbean islands. The preponderance of the Bantu-speaking people from Congo and Angola in the Early Period, reinforced by vast numbers in later time, accounts for their influence in Carolina. But Senegambians, preferred by planters and dealers, came in sufficient numbers, especially in the Middle Period, 1749- 1787, to have a lasting effect. People from the Windward Coast also contributed appreciably in that Period as well as in the Final Period from 1804- 1807.

The ban on the slave trade to Georgia, imposed with its settlement in 1732, was lifted in 1750, but far fewer Africans entered that colony than neighboring South Carolina. Until 1766 imports to Georgia were from the West Indies and other colonies, especially South Carolina. Of an estimated 6,539 from 1755 to 1798, 2,038, one- third, came from the Caribbean. Of 3,680 from a known region of Africa, 43 percent came from Gambia and 44 percent from Sierra Leone or the Windward Coast.

There is much evidence that slaves were smuggled into Georgia illegally, especially from Congo and Angola, but also Ibos from the Bight of Biafra. At the time of Charles Lyell's visit to Georgia in the 1840s, one- fourth of the black population were said to have come directly from Africa. Even in 1858 the ship Wanderer landed 400 Africans from the Congo, mostly boys between 13 and 18, on Jekyll Island. Many of them and their descendants remained in the area, but 120 were shipped up the Savannah River to Augusta, Georgia. Some, interviewed in 1908, displayed their filed teeth and their houses built of straw, and recalled the crops grown and the slavery and polygamy practiced in Africa. African Americans on the Georgia coast in the 1930s recalled people brought from Africa with "Golla" in their names.

Slaves also entered Georgia by a semi- legal route, for Florida remained under the Spanish until ceded to the United States in 1819, and became a state only in 1845. It was thus possible for Africans, transported legally into Spanish Florida, to be brought over the border well after the slave trade officially ended in 1808. Memories of Africa, including recollections of the Moslem religion, survived in Georgia into the twentieth century. African retentions may have been strongest on the Georgia coast because of later reinforcements both directly and indirectly via Florida.

The slave trade brought not only people, but also parasites: deadly malignant tertian (falciparum) malaria, yellow fever, smallpox, and a host of worms. Blacks are relatively immune to the more common benign tertian (vivax) malaria. The mosquito- ridden Low Country allowed them to survive and work while whites fled to higher ground from May to October. Their isolation on the Sea Islands permitted development of their unique culture. But blacks suffered from white man’s illnesses, and some still do. Respiratory ailments, like pneumonia, hit them hardest, and whooping cough, diphtheria, and measles also took a deadly toll. Nutritional deficiencies compounded their health problems.

Members of a homogeneous group who came to an area first and in large numbers had an opportunity to establish their common speech and culture; those who followed in the same area, especially if they came in modest numbers over time, were compelled to adjust to the earlier ethnic group, as well as to whites. Although planters recognized different tribes, they blended them to make a homogeneous work force and obscure these distinctions.

Africans who arrived in Carolina and Georgia brought with them attributes of biology, culture, and language that reflected their homeland. What was retained into modern times was dependent not only on the genes, physique, customs, and speech of the areas of Africa from which they came, but also upon the numbers from different tribes, their time of arrival, whom they encountered along the way, and those they met on American shores. Moreover, the prevalence, strength, and utility of different attributes affected their survival. Beliefs, practices, skills, crafts, and speech of the Gullah, like the human body, are more than retention of those traits in Africa, but rather an adaptation over time that led through creolization to a distinctive society on the Sea Islands.

The black population grew astronomically. By 1740 it was almost 40,000 while the white population was 20,000, a ratio of two to one, fed both by natural increase and the ever- growing slave trade. By the 1770s half of the black population lived on big plantations where they vastly outnumbered whites, further promoting their isolation. In 1790, South Carolina's 107,094 slaves were 43 percent of its population, but Beaufort and Charleston Districts had 76 percent and some parishes reached 90 percent, as large plantations grew. From that year to the Civil War, the slave population of the state almost quadrupled to 402,400. The increase in the number of Africans, their concentration in rural area, the severity of slave codes, and the social alienation from whites produced an isolation and bond of brotherhood among the Gullah people. Yet miscegenation did occur, proven by history and by the census data on mulattoes.

The rise of "free persons of color," usually mulattoes, made an important contribution to Low Country society. In 1790 there were 1,801; by 1820 they had quadrupled to 6,826, most within the city of Charleston. They made a distinctive minority, talented craftsmen essential to the business of the community.

The Civil War brought change to the Sea Islands. After federal forces took over Beaufort and the neighboring islands, white planters fled and slaves came under the military. Newly emancipated blacks expressed an intense desire to remain in places of their former servitude; many purchased land to which they became emotionally and economically attached. Missionaries and teachers who flocked to the area to help, also reported to a wider world the music, folklore, customs, arts, crafts, beliefs, and language of the Gullah. Their efforts at education proved successful, helped to preserve their culture, and left a continuing legacy. The sea island people continued their isolation and way of life well into the twentieth century.

For all of its tragedy, the slave trade did bring with it benefits: useful plants and healing herbs that fed the economy and aided health.

Chapter 3 Trans Plants and the Economy

"Thank Him who placed us here beneath so kind a sky."
- Henry Timrod, *Ethnogenesis*, 1861.

Charleston's eminent nineteenth century poet said it well, but for those who were forced to toil in all kinds of weather, in summer's humid heat or winter's rainy cold, the sky was not always so kind. The story of agriculture and economics in coastal South Carolina is the story of black labor. Exploration of crops grown and their origin provides one further clue to the source of specific people from Africa, where they went in Carolina, and why. It also dramatically illustrates the adaptation of their work patterns to a different environment, a re- creation of something new that arose in America from the interaction of African and English culture, called creolization, a term borrowed from linguistics. Already acclimated to the heat, humidity, and luxuriant vegetation of subtropical Carolina, blacks were better equipped than whites to face the rigors of the frontier. They used their talents well in fields and streams; one man with gun and net could bring in as much food as five families could eat.

From earliest days one natural product was available in abundance to convert into profits, the forest itself. Wood was used for the construction of houses, the building of ships, and the making of barrel staves. The needs of the British navy were also fulfilled in naval stores derived from the plentiful pine trees: tar, pitch, resin, and turpentine. Blacks in these operations utilized what they had learned in their homeland. With the clearing of the forests more land was available for another major industry, cattle raising. The mild climate, combined with abundant foliage, caused the multiplication of the animals at a remarkable rate. Soon the leather from cowhides supplemented the skins from deer and other wild animals as valuable exports from the young colony.

Here especially the skills of blacks proved vital to the economy, for they were employed in the herding of live stock. Many Africans, especially the Fulani from Gambia, had had experience in tending cattle in their homeland. The term "cow- boy" first came to be used in coastal Carolina at the beginning of the eighteenth century for one who tends cows, just as "house- boy" was used for one who keeps the house. The Africans taught the Englishmen open grazing in contrast to their custom of raising small herds confined to small pastures, although Spanish to the south also influenced the practices of the Carolina settlers.

People from specific areas of Africa were preferred for particular occupations, often on the basis of their native skills. Thus, Wolofs and other Senegambians were favored as house servants, along with Yoruba and Dahomeans. Bambara and Malinke from the western bulge and Pawpaws and Coramantees from the Gold Coast area were sought as artisans. Senegambians, thought to have Arabic admixture, were valued as blacksmiths, skilled in the working of both metal and wood. Mande people worked as rowers, transporting supplies and crops along the waterways of Carolina as they had done for ages along the rivers of Senegal and Gambia. These coastal West Africans also imported the art of netcasting which became an established tradition in the tidal shallows of Carolina, and the women served as cooks, maids, and nurses in the white man's home. The Bantu- speaking Angolans, along with the Ibo and related people of Calabar, were more often employed as field hands. Three crops that thrived in the sandy soil of the Low Country required ever more African laborers and enriched their white masters.

Riches from Rice

The crop that became the crown jewel in the crown colony of South Carolina and dominated its economy into the mid- nineteenth century is a legendary pearly white grain barely a quarter of an inch long – rice.

When Captain John Thurber brought seed to Dr. Henry Woodward on a ship from Madagascar about 1685, Carolina Gold Rice, a new grain adaptable to wet cultivation, began. By 1700 more rice was produced in the colony than there were ships to transport it. Later, Carolina White Rice, introduced by Robert Rowan, was even more popular. The days of its greatest economic importance in Charleston's foreign trade lay before the Revolution, but it continued to be an important export crop down to the Civil War. "Charleston's colonial merchants grew as fat on rice profits as the swarms of bobolinks, known as rice birds, fattened themselves during the annual visits to the South Carolina rice fields on the eve of the fall harvest," according to Thomas Tobias.

In 1850, 257 plantations along ten rivers of the state produced an astounding 159,930,613 pounds or nearly 80,000 tons of rice. At its peak 150,000 acres of swamp and tidal marshes were under cultivation. In 1860, nine of the fourteen slaveholders in the United States owning more than 500 slaves were rice planters.

In the early years of the colony, rice was grown on inland swamps, a hazardous procedure because the valuable crop could be lost by either too much water or too little. Then planters learned to utilize the timbered swamps that bordered fresh- water tidal rivers such as the Waccamaw, Pee Dee, Santee, Cooper, Edisto, and Combahee, where tides were utilized in the cultivation of the grain. During the first half of the eighteenth century, three to four acres of rice per hand were produced by the older method; after tidal culture became the norm one man could handle up to seven acres.

Duncan Clinch Heyward, who grew rice himself along the Combahee River just as his great grandfather had done, wrote of the cultivation of the grain in *Seed from Madagascar*. He speculated that the manner of cultivation came from China, based on pictures he had seen of rice production there: the plowing of the fields with black water buffalo, the sowing of seed broadcast on the water, and the transplanting of rice by hand in the fields.

Ironically these very Chinese techniques were not those used in Carolina. David Doar, the last of four generations to plant rice along the Santee, marveled at the intricacies of the elaborate irrigation system necessary for the production of the crop - - from the white man's traditional point of view.

"As one views this vast hydraulic work, he is amazed to learn that all of this was accomplished in the face of seemingly insuperable difficulties by every- day planters who had as tools only the axe, the spade, and the hoe, in the hands of intractable Negro [*sic*] men and women, but lately brought from the jungles of Africa."

Yet rice growing in coastal Carolina is a dramatic case of African influence in America only recently appreciated. Many slaves, especially those from Senegal and the coast to the south of it, evidently knew more about planting this important food crop than their masters did. Blacks from those regions were deliberately brought to Carolina because of their experience and skill in these techniques. West Africans were actually selling rice to traders by the fifteenth century; Portuguese noted its cultivation in Senegambia by 1453 and purchased it by 1480. The grain was sold to slave traders in the seventeenth century, and was well known in the eighteenth.

As early as 1700 ships from Carolina were in the Gambia River where rice was grown along the river banks. Many advertisements in the Charles Town newspaper attest to the demand for slaves from rice- growing regions of Africa, and the "Rice Coast," a portion of the Windward Coast roughly equal to Liberia, is mentioned repeatedly. The *South Carolina Gazette* for May 30, 1785, advertised 152 slaves from Gambia to be sold on June 7: "The Negroes from this part of the coast of Africa are well acquainted with the cultivation of rice and are naturally industrious." An ad of August 25 of that same year for slaves from the Windward and Gold Coasts stresses the point that they are accustomed to the planting of both rice and corn.

Hardly by chance 61 percent of the slaves brought into Charleston between 1749 and 1787 were from rich rice- growing areas of Africa: Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and the Windward Coast. (See Table “6.”) As many of these people had been slaves in their native land, they were often prepared both in attitude and in training for rice cultivation along the Carolina coast. "Carolinians may well have gone to Gambia as students and brought back Africans as teachers."

The history of rice binds together Asia, Africa, and America. *Oryza glaberrima*, with erect, compact flower clusters and red grains, was grown as early as 1500 B. C. along the Casamance River in Senegambia and the inland delta where the Niger River flows northeast toward Timbuktu. Much later, when the more adaptable Asian species, *O. sativa*, with leaning clusters and white grains and greater yield, was introduced into the western Sudan, it tended to replace the earlier species as well as hybridize with it, and variants of it are widely grown throughout western Africa even today.

Such tribes as the Bambara, Fula, Malinke, and Songhai had long experience in growing this rich grain along the Niger River, while others, such as the Serer, Mende, Temne, Kissi, Papel, and Baga utilized their own special techniques of rice production from Senegal to the Ivory Coast. From Cape Verde to Sierra Leone the extraordinary topography, numerous silt- laden rivers, high tides that periodically covered the terrain, and mangrove roots that hold the alluvium produce the richest soil in West Africa, ideally suited for rice production. Knowledge of terrains and tides, sluice gates and soil types, rivers and rice, the slaves from West Africa brought to the fields of South Carolina. April brought the sowing when slaves dropped the rice seed into trenches and covered them by the foot. Then sluice gates, opened at high tide, flooded the fields until the seeds sprouted. After draining and hoeing, came the "long water" that submerged the fields for three weeks to destroy insects and grass, followed by another three weeks of the excruciating work of hoeing. Toward mid July the harvest flood began when heavy heads of ripening rice were supported by water. September brought final draining, harvesting with rice hooks, drying, tying in sheaves, stacking, and the difficult task of flailing off the heads of the grain, then winnowing to separate the grain from the chaff by fanning in the wind.

When a New World slave plants rice by pressing a hole with his heel and covering the seeds with his foot, his motion is just like that found in parts of West Africa. When blacks sow rice with a gourd or hoe in unison to work songs, the cultivation and the singing too are echoes of traits learned long ago from African ancestors. The term "trunk" for a sluice gate is from West African usage, where a hollow log plugged at one end acts as a valve. Even the mortar and pestle so efficient for removing husks from rice grains are derived from similar instruments of their homeland. Finally, when threshed grain is fanned in the wind, those wide, flat winnowing baskets used are like the ones known for centuries in Africa. In rice production blacks adapted their basic skills and work patterns to a different labor system, a process of cultural creolization. Although the task system treated them as individuals, the strong helped the weak as they worked in groups, much as they had done in their homeland.

To the Charlestonian it is not a meal without rice. In a ritual practiced in Sierra Leone and in the Sea Islands, one first picks out any dirt or dark grains, and then washes the rice vigorously between the hands. The method of cooking it in South Carolina, described as early as 1756 by Eliza Lucas Pinckney, producing separate fluffy grains, is derived from Africa in contrast to the way in China. An imaginative use of spices by slave cooks was also in part inherited from Africa, and influenced whites.

Many blacks who live today where rice once held sway are descended from those who prepared the soil and grew and cooked the glistening grain beside the rolling tides of their West African homeland ages before.

A Dyeing Art: Indigo

The development of the dye indigo in South Carolina is, quite literally, a colorful story. Color, intimately woven into the fabric of our lives, has always fascinated mankind. Dyes predate history, add variety to clothes and homes, and signal social status, like the purple long known as the color of royalty.

Indigo, derived from a species of *Indigofera*, has been used for more than 4000 years. The shrubby legume, with pinnate leaves and dull reddish purple flowers, was known to the ancients of Asia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome. While *I. tinctoria*, the best known species, a native of India, has been found in Senegal, *I. arrecta* is the more common variety indigenous to Africa.

Before European contact indigo was known to the Kanuri dyers of the Cameroun who carried it from Bornu to the region of Lake Chad. Fulani were also responsible for its spread in West Africa. An official at Cape Coast Castle on the Gold Coast reported in 1766 that, "There is a Sort of Indigo grows wild here that the Natives make use of and is of a very lasting dye."

Lieutenant- Colonel George Lucas, stationed in Antigua, brought his sick wife to Charles Town for her health in 1738. When he returned to the West Indies, he put his 16- year- old daughter Eliza in charge of his plantation on the Wappoo, a salt creek connecting the Ashley with the Stono River. Eliza was an unusually bright, energetic, strong- minded, young lady who began immediately experimenting with crops that would grow best in the sandy, fertile soil of coastal Carolina. Arising at five each morning, she found time not only for agriculture but also for extensive reading, music, needlework, and writing, including those letters that record her work and thoughts.

By July, 1739, she mentioned in a letter to her father "the pains I had taken to bring Indigo, Ginger, Cotton, and Lucerne (an alfalfa) and Casada (cassava?) to perfection, and had greater hopes from the Indigo – if I could have the seed earlier the next year from the West India's – than any of ye rest of ye things I had tryd."

The actual process of making dye from the leaves of the plants is tricky and requires patient work. The leaves must be soaked in water until they ferment, froth, and give up their coloring matter, a process that can take several days, when the head man or "Indigo Maker" must watch day and night. The

liquid is then drained off into a second vat clear of leaves where it is beaten with paddles until it begins to thicken. After it is led into a third vat and allowed to settle, the sediment is formed into lumps or cakes and dried. Dissatisfied with the product turned out by a white overseer, Eliza soon found where the fault lay and reported greater success when Governor Lucas sent her a black man from one of the French islands.

Eliza devoted virtually the whole crop of indigo of 1744 to making seed which she gave to planters. By 1747 enough indigo was produced to export it for sale to England. Aided by a bounty paid by the British to exclude the competing French, planters could double their capital every three to four years.

Indigo flourished as one major staple of the colony for some thirty years. Combined with walnut, it was the chief plant for dyeing cloth. Just before the American Revolution the annual export was an incredible 1,107,660 pounds. The loss of the British bounty after the Revolution, the cheaper labor in the Indies, and the easier cultivation of cotton led to its demise by the end of the century. While there is no proof that Africans were deliberately imported for their knowledge of indigo, many were clearly experienced in the production and use of the dye in their homeland.

How rice and indigo culture complemented each other and compounded the labor of the black worker is indicated by this comment by Governor Glen in 1761. "But I cannot leave this subject without observing how conveniently and profitable, as to the charge of Labour, both Indigo and Rice may be managed by the same Persons, for the Labour attending Indigo being over in the Summer Months, those who were employed in it may afterwards manufacture Rice in the ensuing Part of the Year, when it becomes most laborious; and after doing all this, they will have some Time to spare for sawing Lumber and making Hogsheads, and other Staves to supply the Sugar Colonies."

The productivity of the colony and the richness and diversity of its goods is illustrated by the dozen most lucrative commodities exported from the Port of Charles Town from November, 1747, to November, 1748 (see table “12”). Only the skin of the ubiquitous deer could compete with rice and indigo in worth. Many other items of field and forest were also exported, including "Pease," Oranges, Butter, a little silk, and even cotton that would in time dominate the economy of the whole South.

Magic Thread: Cotton

That ball of shiny white fiber that supplies three- fourths of the clothing of the world has been known for millennia. The domestication of Old World tree cotton (*Gossypium arboreum*) probably began in East Africa before 2500 B. C. Shrub cotton (*G. herbaceum*) was first cultivated in West Africa; textiles made from it were woven there by the end of the first millennium A. D. Kano in Nigeria has been a cotton market since the ninth century, and cotton cloth was brought from the Guinea coast to England in the sixteenth century.

Of the two best known commercial species of modern times, Upland cotton (G. *hirsutum*), first domesticated in Mesoamerica, has short, coarse fibers that cling to its green seeds so that hand separation is impractical. Sea- island cotton (*G. barbadense*), first cultivated in South America, has long, thin, lustrous, silky fibers, readily separated from its black seeds, that make the finest fabrics. Both species, disseminated by the Spanish into Spain and by the Portuguese into Africa, soon replaced Old World cotton. The sea islands of Carolina and Georgia, with 280 frost- free days a year, has the ideal sandy soil, temperature, rainfall, and labor necessary for the growth of long- staple cotton, so much in demand.

Just exactly when and how an annual long- staple cotton, able to grow on long summer days, came to the Sea Islands is open to debate. In the most appealing account, Frank Levett in Georgia received bags of cotton seeds from Pernambuco, Brazil, in 1786. Desiring the bags more than the seeds, he dumped them out on a dunghill, found plants growing there the following spring, continued their cultivation, and was pleased to find instant popularity of the product in London. Yet Alexander Bisset

is said to have grown the first crop of long- staple cotton on a sea island of Georgia from seed from Bahama as early as 1778. The first attempt to grow the product in South Carolina was made on Burden's Island in 1788; the first successful crop was grown by William Elliott on Hilton Head in 1790.

Cotton cultivation was labor intensive, requiring back- breaking work year around. A visitor to Cannon's Point plantation on St. Simons Island, Georgia, in 1828 described the process. In January and February, workers had to manure the fields; in March, they planted the seed. After the clusters of plants sprouted, the slaves thinned them with hoes, and in the hot summer months they weeded the surviving plants six to eight times. After "topping" the cotton to limit the upward growth in August, slaves began picking the ripe bolls through October, often 100 pounds a day. Beginning in November and continuing into the next year, the seeds were removed from the lint by hand; after picking out trash, the laborers hand packed the cotton lint into bags.

The demand for sea- island cotton is illustrated by the record of its export from South Carolina in the last decade of the eighteenth century. In 1790, 9,840 pounds were sent forth from the newly created state; by 1801, the export rose to 8,301,907 pounds. It continued to be a powerful economic force for many years, reaching its height of production in 1819. As the value of indigo declined, sea- island cotton took its place alongside rice as a major crop for export. Into the twentieth century, cotton factors (including this writer's paternal grandfather and great grandfather) were busy shipping the valuable cargo to northern states and to England from the wharves of Charleston, Beaufort, and Savannah.

Despite its fine qualities, long- staple cotton declined in production as the short staple variety increased. Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1793 made the upland plant profitable almost anywhere. Sea- island required more labor, cost twice as much, and was more vulnerable to the ravages of the boll weevil. By the 1860s one hundred times as much upland as sea- island cotton was produced throughout the country.

"King Cotton" came to dominate the economy and the politics of the whole south as black labor picked white bolls from the Atlantic shore to the vast and rich soil of Texas. While there is no proof that native Africans were deliberately imported for their knowledge of cotton growing, both upland and sea- island species were grown in Africa during the slave trade. Economic pressure drove blacks of the Low Country to labor to produce plants their ancestors had known and enjoyed in their homeland.

Under the task system on the Sea Islands each slave was given a specific assignment, such as picking three acres of cotton a day. During the peak of a harvest season the "work day" could last into the night, but when the task was light one had free time in the afternoon to hunt, fish, or garden. This time off, rather than the work day alone, shaped and preserved the culture of the Gullah- speaking people.

While rice, indigo, and sea- island cotton were the big three of the economy of coastal South Carolina for more than a century, they do not exhaust the long list of crops cultivated by black labor, some of them imported from Africa. Ships were provisioned on both sides of the Atlantic; cultigens from each side, brought to the other, were often deliberately grown there. African plants enriched the soil of Carolina as bondsmen provided a botanical bond between two continents.

Trans Plants as Food

Africa is home to many life- sustaining crops, including nine cereals, half a dozen root crops, five oil- producing plants, a dozen forage crops, a dozen vegetables, three fruits and nuts, coffee, sesame, and the ancient and ubiquitous bottle gourd or calabash useful as a drinking cup, float for fishnet, or sound box for music. West Africa alone is the locus of origin of cereals such as Guinea millet, *fonio*, African rice, pearl millet, and sorghum (Guinea corn); cowpeas; okra; some species of yam; oil palm, and the akee apple, as well as some varieties of Old World cotton.

Valuable plants were also imported into Africa from other continents. When Spanish and Portuguese galleons sailed between the Old World and the New, they carried more than people and treasure; they engaged in the greatest transport of plants and animals the globe has ever known.

Among nineteen species from Central and South America transplanted to Africa, none is more important for feeding humanity and has a more colorful history than corn or maize (*Zea mays*). Known from Mexico by 5000 B. C., it extended from Canada to southern Argentina at the time of European contact with the Americas. As colonists learned from the Indians how to cultivate this major food crop, it became the bridge by which European civilization gained a foothold in the New World. Brought by the Portuguese and Dutch from Guiana and Brazil, it was known on the coast of West Africa perhaps as early as 1502 and clearly by 1525. Names for maize in local languages correlate with its entrance through trading centers like Port Harcourt in Nigeria. By the seventeenth century, it was an important foodstuff from Liberia to the Niger Delta, especially on the Gold Coast and Dahomey; established as a valuable crop in the Congo Basin and Angola; and significant for provisioning slave ships. Tobacco, peanuts, cacao, and beans, first grown in Latin America, also spread to Africa. Africans brought to South Carolina were thus familiar with cultivation of many useful crops.

Descriptions and illustrations of naturalists of the time, such as Catesby (1771), Barton (1798), and Elliott (1821), identify species known to African Americans. Of at least nineteen plants introduced by Africans into the Americas, most flourished in the West Indies, including some varieties of yams, the akee apple, the Angola or pigeon pea, broad beans, maroon cucumber, senna, bichy nut, and oil palm. At least six more were also brought into Carolina.

Best known from West Africa is that tasty mucilaginous vegetable, okra or gumbo (*Abelmoschus esculentus*). First domesticated in tropical Africa, it spread widely along the Guinea coast and into the Cameroons by the time of the slave trade and was brought to the Americas in the 1600s. Words for it are found in many African languages. Since "okra" is from *nkruman* in the language of the Gold Coast and "gumbo" is from *tshingombo* in Bantu languages, the popularity of this plant is evident. Benne seed, from a word in Bambara and Wolof, is also called sesame (*Sesamum indicum*). Probably first domesticated in East Africa, it was widespread on the continent at the time of the slave trade as a valuable source of oil. In 1730 Thomas Lowndes of South Carolina sent samples of oil made from "sesamum" to the Lords of the Treasury. Best known today on cookies or in candies, it was brought with blacks to Carolina where it was also used in soups and puddings.

The black- eyed or cow pea (*Vigna unguiculata*) is an import from West and Central Africa that found its way to the West Indies and the Low Country. First domesticated at the margin of the forest and savannah in tropical West Africa, its seeds are known from Kintampo in central Ghana as early as 1800 B. C. and at Zimbabwe in southeast Africa by 1000 A. D.; it flourishes especially in Ghana, Benin, and Nigeria today, and names for it are also found in many African languages. Introduced into the New World tropics by the Spanish no later than the seventeenth century to supply towns and missions, it was known in the southern United States by the early eighteenth century.

The circular route of the peanut (*Arachis hypogaea*) is unique. Taken from Brazil to Africa around 1500 by the Portuguese, it established a secondary center in the Congo; was cultivated in Senegambia in the 1560s, and was widespread in West Africa by 1600. Fed to slaves on ships to Virginia, peanuts spread to South Carolina. Eggplant (*Solanum melongena*) originally cultivated in India, was brought by Arabs into Spain and by Persians into Africa before the arrival of Europeans. Widespread from Senegal to Cameroun, it is known not only as a food but also as a medicine and as a symbol of fertility.

Watermelon (*Citrullus lanatus*), a native of the dry savannah of east and south Africa, was grown in the Nile valley by 2000 B. C. Brought by Spanish colonists to Florida in 1576, it was enthusiastically accepted by the Indians who passed seeds from tribe to tribe like smoke signals; by 1600 it was known

all the way to the Pueblos of the southwest. Abundant in the British colonies by 1650, it was grown in Carolina by 1671.

Guinea corn or sorghum, first domesticated in the Central Sudan and distributed to West Africa probably before 1000 B. C., was cultivated in South Carolina by blacks at one time, according to the eighteenth century botanist Catesby: "*Milium indicum*, bunched guinea corn...But little of this grain is propagated, and that chiefly by the Negroes, who make bread of it, and boil it in like manner of furmety. Its chief use is for feeding fowls, for which the smallness of the grain adapts it... *Panicum indicum*, spiked Indian corn, smaller grains than the precedent, used for feeding fowl. These two grains are rarely seen but in plantations of Negroes who brought it from Guinea, their native country."

The fate of yams, so important in a religious festival on the Guinea coast, is a special problem. Several species, including *Dioscorea alata*, the winged or bacara yam from Asia, as well as native African yams, were introduced into the West Indies through the provisioning of ships. But at least one kind, a white yam, *D. rotundata*, also grew on the mainland colony; Catesby reported that "Carolina is the farthest North I have seen them grow and more for curiosity than advantage ...few think them worth propagating."

Africans brought to South Carolina were thus familiar with the cultivation of at least fifteen crops, almost half of which had been domesticated in their homeland (see table "13"). To pinpoint one place of origin in Africa of plants imported with the slave trade into Charleston is virtually impossible, for they grew over too wide a territory. The evidence points to a major role of West Africa from Gambia through Nigeria, but does not exclude some influence from Central Africa as well. These plants also illustrate the role of the West Indies in connecting Africa to the Sea Islands.

More significant than any particular plants actually brought from Africa into the colony is the combination of the natives' familiarity with techniques of cultivation of similar vegetation in the Old World and the opportunity to try them on plants in the New. Yes, most of their labor was forced, directed toward producing for the master. But in the garden, permitted by the task system, and in exploration of field and forest, the experience and the innovation of African Americans made a contribution to horticulture and agriculture. Again, they adapted and modified Old World crops and techniques in a process of creolization, and spread valuable knowledge to whites as well. Nowhere did the heritage of Africa and the creativity of its people in their new environment show more than in their use of plants in treating their ailments.

Healing Herbs

Do you have a cold and cough with congestion and fever? Pick the annual herb "life everlasting," boil its leaves, stem, and yellow flowers, add another plant like pine tops or mullein or sea myrtle, to make one of the most popular cold remedies in South Carolina. Some say it will also relieve cramps, diseases of the bowels, and pulmonary complaints, and promote general well being. The dried plant is smoked for asthma, the leaves and flowers are chewed for quinsy, the crumbled leaves relieve toothache, and a bath of it eases foot pains. Some people today buy it in the City Market in Charleston and take it to friends in New York.

Life everlasting (*Gnaphalium polycephalum)* is only one of about 100 plants used by the citizens of the Low Country for centuries for healing aches and pains, the use of many of them derived from ancient traditions of the Old World. Left to themselves to cope with illness, blacks of Tidewater Carolina of necessity combined the lore of Africa with the plants of their new habitat, often drawing upon the craft of the Indians as well. The cures they devised were similar to medicines of white settlers of the times, but usually with this difference: the blacks, like the Native Americans, generally made decoctions from one, or at most two, living plants, while the whites relied more on a mixture of chemical substances derived from five or six plants. Yet there was cross fertilization; both blacks and

whites built upon the experience of the Indian. The popular use of wild black cherry for coughs by European Americans and blackberry for diarrhea among African Americans are well known examples of such borrowing.

The cause of illness was perceived by the blacks of the Sea Islands as natural, occult due to conjuring, or spiritual due to one's sins. The remedy must fit the cause, but it was not always easy to distinguish among them. The conjuror's hex could produce physical ailments and behavioral problems, while the wages of sin and the power of the devil could best be mitigated by the preacher. Fortunately the root doctor was the herbalist as well and assisted in alleviating both natural and occult disease. He knew what plant to gather, when and where, what part to use, and how to prepare the concoction. No wonder he wielded great influence among the sea islanders, for his powers generated dependency and fear. Many women also learned the art of collecting medicinal plants and preparing cures from them, and passed on their skill to their own daughters as well as to whites.

Most drugs were plant products, and the botanist was also pharmacist. As early as 1806 John Shecut published in *Charleston Flora Carolinaensis* with the "medical virtues" as well as full descriptions and illustrations of many species of the state. In 1847 Dr. Francis Peyre Porcher in his *Resources of the Southern Fields and Forests* recorded some 600 species of botanical resources available for healing in the South (1863), and in 1869 he enlarged his findings. Two recent botanists, Faith Mitchell and Julia Morton, drawing upon such early volumes as well as their own first-hand observations and interviews, produced books on the plant remedies still in use on the Sea Islands.

Several different herbs were employed to combat one illness and many different complaints were treated with the same plant. Tannin-rich astringents, like the leaves of sweet gum, myrtle and blackberry, were invaluable in treating the all-too-common profuse diarrhea and dysentery; bitterness was prized in searching for a cure for ever-present malaria. More than a dozen plants were used to treat colds, a dozen more for fever; a half dozen were applied to sores and as many again were taken as tonics, considered especially beneficial when whiskey was added. Galax was recommended for high blood pressure; sweet gum relieved stomach pains; kidney weed was a diuretic; and swamp grass made an excellent poultice.

As snakebite was common, several plants were recommended as an antidote including the leaves of American aloe and the root bark of the Angelica tree, both known to blacks as "rattlesnake master." In the 1700s a slave named Caesar was given his freedom and 100 pounds per annum for life by the General Assembly as a reward for discovering a cure for those who were bitten by a rattlesnake or who had swallowed poison. This knowledge was a two-edged sword, for blacks could use plant poison against their masters, and some did.

No plant was so popular as sassafras whose roots were used to make tea as a tonic. Whites adopted it for treating rheumatism and high blood pressure; blacks said that a tea from white sassafras roots would cure blindness. Early in American history it was exported to England for colic, venereal disease, and general pain. Combined with mare's milk, it was used as an eye wash.

Both male and female problems are said to be helped by herbs. Horse nettle (*Solanum carolinense*) has long had a great reputation as an aphrodisiac; both stinging nettle (*Cnidoscolus stimulosus*) and ironweed (*Sida rhombifolia*) give a man "courage," *i.e.*, sexual potency. Cotton root was the most widely used abortifacient among slave women, and many other parts of the plant were used as medicines.

A surprising number of food plants, especially fruits, also yielded products used to treat disease. Fig, peach, pomegranate, persimmon, along with basil, okra, and pumpkin, found their way into the pharmacological lore of the Sea Islands. No line can be drawn between folk medicine and the scientific medicine of the time; of fifty species listed by Mitchell, a dozen were in the *US*

Pharmacopeia or *National Formulary* or both from 1820 into the present century, including mint, blackberry, wild black cherry, elderberry, galax, jimson weed, pine tar, poker root, and sassafras.

Relating medicinal plants of South Carolina to those of Africa is difficult, as similar but not identical species are often found, and some were used by Indians long before the arrival of blacks. Medicine and religion are so intertwined that it is hard to draw a line between plants with a sound scientific basis for their action, and those that drive out an evil spirit. Of the vast number of herbs and shrubs long tried in Africa for healing, hundreds have a proven action, and some have found their way into western medicine.

By trial and error African natives learned which plants were useful for a wide range of ailments from cramps and coughs to wounds and worms. Medicine men applied emollients, purgatives, antihelmintics, diuretics, anodynes, sedatives, and narcotics; they also used a wide range of poisons for deadly arrow tips and for trial by ordeal. African willow (*Salix capensis*), a source of salicylic acid, is used throughout the continent to treat rheumatism. The scientific name of the tree musenna, *Albizia antihelmintica*, suggests its efficacy in treating tapeworms. Some plants are deliberately cultivated for their medicinal use, like sweet flag (*Acorus calamus*) as a topical ointment, the castor bean (*Ricinus communis*) as a purgative, and the chinaberry (*Melia azedarach*) as a vermifuge. Many are actually major exports like gum arabic (*Acacia* sp.) and aloes, the two most important drug plants in Africa.

The fig (*Ficus carica*) is a classic example of a plant used in Africa as both food and medicine. The fruit serves as a cathartic and a dressing for skin lesions, the leaves are used for indigestion, and the tannin-rich bark relieves diarrhea and expels worms. Some well-known spices also have medicinal properties, like Kola as a tonic, Guinea cloves for dysentery, Cayenne pepper as a carminative, and Grains of Paradise as a vermifuge.

Catalogues of medicinal plants of Africa, with focus on the Guinea Coast, along with their pharmacology, provide the basis of comparison with those of the Low Country. At least fourteen plants, said to have some healing properties, are in use in South Carolina and in West Africa. Although most of the items are employed to treat more than one condition, the same plant is often used in the same way on both sides of the Atlantic. Thus, wormseed and the chinaberry tree are taken as a vermifuge, especially against *Necator americanus* or hookworm. The crushed flowers of okra are applied to snakebites, and cotton is used for abortion or uterine contraction in the Old World and in the New. Nightshade, taken for fever in the Low Country and in Africa, has known antibacterial action. Jimson weed, used as a vermifuge, cold medicine, and salve in Carolina, is taken as a narcotic in West Africa; it spurs Fulani youth on to bold deeds of conquest and ordeal. Over a century ago Porcher recognized its narcotic and antispasmotic effects and reported "maniacs frequently restored to perfect saneness of mind, which they never afterward lost, by the continuous use of the extract."

Basil, taken for colds and other ailments, and pomegranate, used to stop diarrhea, in South Carolina, are best known as antihelmintics in West Africa; pumpkin, taken for dropsy as a diuretic, is also used to treat worms there. Porcher says of sedge: "In Guinea this is considered one of the remedies for worms;" but he mentions no application of the plant in his own state. The frequency of antihelmintics and vermifuges underscores the abundance of worms on both sides of the Atlantic, both culprit and cure the offspring of the slave trade.

More important than the same species in linking Africa to the Sea Islands is the similar way in which these plants are regarded in the art of healing, and the beliefs surrounding them. The traditional and ancient Doctrine of Signatures holds that nature provides a plant remedy for every disease and indicates an obvious sign for its use. The liver-shaped leaves of Hepatica should be valuable in treating disease of the liver; a plant with heart-shaped leaves should be useful in treating cardiac problems. Plants with big fruits aid fertilization, plants with latex increase milk production, and those whose stems have swollen joints and bend like a knee are good for sprained knees. In South Carolina

the spots on the leaves of the trumpet root (*Sarracenia minor*) are regarded as a sign that the plant is a good remedy for skin troubles.

Medicinal plants with common use on both sides of the Atlantic; along with that deep- seated and long- continued habit of picking certain herbs to make a concoction when accident and illness strike, make the connection between Africa and Carolina undeniable. The many ailments and the limited medical treatment available made such therapy a necessity. Modified in an ongoing process of adaptation, home remedies made from plants continued among the Gullah people because of both their practical and psychological value.

The continuity, re- creation, and adaptation of Africans to the Low Country are nowhere more vividly expressed than in their speech. The Gullah language reveals more about their specific origins than any trait considered thus far. The people must be heard in their own words for both the source of their speech and its creolization over time to be fully appreciated.

Chapter 4 The Gullah Language

"Uh yeddy um but uh ain sheum."

An outsider would be understandably bewildered if he heard a native of the Sea Islands say this- - and surprised to learn that it meant "I have heard of him but I haven't seen him." Many words and phrases equally obscure to the visitor have been the everyday speech of the black people of the region as long as anyone can remember. It is not all one- sided; a coastal black on hearing the English of the northern visitor said: "Dey use dem mout' so funny."

Isolated since the early eighteenth century, slaves and their descendants developed their own language marked as much by its rhythm, tempo, and stress as by its vocabulary and grammar. The uninflected verb shows no tense; the pronouns show no gender; and reduplication of words intensifies meaning and expresses magnitude and excitement. The word “Gullah” is probably derived from Angola, although some cite the Gola tribe of Liberia.

The earliest students considered it a survival of the simplified English in which white owners addressed their black servants, and almost nothing African remained. The discovery of the extent of the African heritage in Gullah had to await the work of a scholar of unique attributes - - training, knowledge, patience, and pigmentation.

Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect

Lorenzo Dow Turner was a black linguist whose skin color gave him entree to the Gullah speakers on the sea islands of South Carolina and Georgia. For several years, beginning in 1932, he lived among them, listening, recording, and writing their speech in the phonetic alphabet, and then comparing it with that of the people of West Africa, a study spanning fifteen years in all. In addition to his own knowledge, dictionaries, and grammars, he relied upon twenty- seven informants who knew together at least sixteen African languages.

The result of his labor, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (1949), changed thinking not only about the speech of that coastal people but also about the linguistic heritage of African Americans in general. He listed 3595 personal names with their similarities to terms in African languages, 251 other words used in conversation, and some 92 expressions heard only in stories, songs, and prayers. He described the syntax, morphological features, word formation, sounds, and intonations that characterize Gullah.

Finally Gullah texts were printed both in phonetics and in the English equivalent. White scholars had evidently failed to recognize African antecedents in Gullah partly because the vast majority of

Turner's words are personal names used only in the privacy of the family and partly because they knew little or nothing of African languages. (To avoid the complex symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet that Turner uses, a rough equivalent in the English alphabet is substituted in the subsequent discussion.)

To follow Turner's Africanisms it is necessary to turn back to the languages of Africa. Of thirty- two languages of West and Central Africa classified by Greenberg and by Guthrie (see table "15"), all except five are considered by Turner as influencing Gullah; at least seventeen are spoken by more than one million people today. All except Songhai in Mali, Djerma in Niger, and Hausa in northern Nigeria are in the great Niger- Congo group.

What's in a Name?

African languages come alive in the Sea Islands in names and naming practices. Most Gullah- speaking people have two kinds of given name; one used in school and among strangers is English, the other is the basket name or nickname, "nearly always a word of African origin... In many instances both the given- name and surname are African words." To the African the power to name is the power to control. Even when the Gullah name is English it follows African naming practices, like those of the Twi, Dahomeans, Mandingo, Yoruba, Ibo, tribes of northern Nigeria, and the Ovimbundu of Angola.

Almost universally in Africa a child has at least two given names, bestowed by an intriguing array of circumstances. Widespread is the practice of naming the baby for the day of the week; the month, or season of its birth, birth order, or one of a pair of twins. Conditions at birth such as feet foremost, head presentation, born of a prolonged pregnancy, or with the cord or caul about the neck, are well known sources of names among the Dahomeans especially. The first child born after twins, or after one with a caul, combines two concepts in one name.

In addition to individual names, the Mandingo, among others, stress clan names, the descendants of a real or mythical ancestor, such as a crocodile. Animals, plants, or places inspire a cognomen, especially among the Twi and tribes of northern Nigeria. Among several groups a new, second name is given upon a special occasion. Among the Mandingo, the mother gives each child at birth a temporary name determined by its sex and birth order, which a few days later can be replaced by another. This True Name often reflects an attribute of a relative, the name of a divinity, the day of the week, or a circumstance of birth, such as bili, meaning curvature, because the baby's body was bent double. Other special names may be added to this later in life. The Moslem Mandingo often use names from the Koran, a son of the Prophet or of a Caliph, or from the Bible, such as the Arabic for Abraham or Isaac.

The Yoruba frequently give an appellation at birth indicating the circumstances, such as along a wayside or during a festival or with extra digits. In addition the child is given a "christening" name, often with religious or emotional connotation, such as "Ogun (a god) consoles me with this," or "Joy enters our house." The first name given is often considered secret lest some supernatural power knowing it could harm the child. Among the Hausa this name is whispered into the ear of the new-born; only a second name is in daily use.

To read the Gullah personal names listed by Turner is a fascinating entree into the secret life of the sea island black people as well as a convincing argument for African affinity. For each of them are "West African words that are phonetically identical with or strikingly similar to them [with] several meanings the words have in a number of West African languages."

Examples from nineteen African languages in a dozen categories illustrate the colorful and creative usage of words in naming children. Time, date, or season is expressed in many of these Gullah names in the twentieth century as it was in the eighteenth. *Aba* (Fante) indicates a girl born on Thursday, *ajowa* (Ewe) one born on Monday. *Bimbi* (Fula) means early morning, *marece* (Hausa) the late

afternoon, and *klema* (Mandingo) the hot season. *Ali* (Mandingo) is a name given the fifth male child, and *ata* (Twi) is the male of twins. *Olugbodi* (Yoruba) is bestowed upon a child born with extra digits.

Appearance is reflected in many of these basket names. In Yoruba, *adu* refers to one who is very black, *arupe* to dwarf, and *pele* to tribal marks on the face. *Dafa* for fat literally means mouth full in Vai. The body is a common source of names along the coast. *Juso* (Mandinka) is similar to the word for liver; *sisi* (Twi), the lower part of the back; *kowa* (Mende), a large stomach; and *ebeni* (Kongo), the breast. Sex is reflected here as well. In Kongo, *lonzo* means inordinate sexual desire; *yonga,* to copulate; and *wilama*, to be pregnant.

Various diseases are represented in this lexicon. *Kurang* (Mandinka) means to be ill, *kungo* (Bambara) hysteria, *pitsi* (Ewe) leprosy, and *bombo* (Mende) smallpox. Perhaps such illnesses could be cured by *ingkishi* (Kongo), a charm or medicine, or by *wanga* (Umbundu), witchcraft.

As in Africa, animals and plants are represented. *Esa* (Umbundu) is corn and *jaba* (Bambara) onion; *begbe* (Mende) means a frog and *beyi* (Wolof) a goat. Many names reflect actions or feelings; *buri* (Mandinka) means to run; *keniya* (Kongo) to grin; *kambalala* (Kongo) to pass a hill along its base in order to avoid climbing. Emotion shines through the word *ayoka* (Yoruba), one who causes joy everywhere; a bond of affection appears in *fabere* (Mandingo), a generous father; and *sabinya* (Bobangi) is to forgive.

Most impressive are personal names that show an African connection through some place or thing unique to that continent. *Asante* (or *Ashanti*) in Twi means the country, people, and language of the Gold Coast, and *Ga* refers to a tribe of that region. Several cities of Africa are remembered as well: *Loanda* in Angola and *Wida* (Whydah) in Dahomey. *Nago* is the Fon name for the Yoruba language of southern Nigeria. Kings of Dahomey during the slave trade are recalled: Akaba ruled from 1680 to 1708, and Agbaja from 1708 to 1729. *Uzebu* (Bini) refers to the quarters of the chief at Benin City; Totela is the title of the kings of Kongo; and Muzumbu is a foreign minister in Angola. Islamic influence is present in several words: *Aluwa* (Wolof) is a tablet in wood on which one writes verses of the Koran; *Hadijata* (Mandingo) is the first wife of Mohammed. Various African legends enrich Gullah names: *Akiti* is a famous hunter in Mandinka folklore who, by conquering the elephant, became king of the bush. The secret societies characteristic of Sierra Leone link the two worlds: *Poro* for boys and *Sande* for girls (Mende).

Equally impressive bridges are the names of species of plants and animals found only in Africa. *Afo* (Yoruba) is the baobab tree; *akodu* (Ewe) is the banana. *Bambo* or crocodile is the totem of a Mandinka clan; *dile* (Mende) is a boa constrictor. *Boma* is a black python, and *pong*i (both Kongo), for chimpanzee, gave rise to the scientific name of another great ape, the orang.

In some cases a master recorded an African name as he understood it from his own European heritage; thus, *Keta*, a common name in Yoruba, Hausa, and Bambara, became Cato; the Mandingo name *Haga* became Hagar. As slave families grew and blacks chose their own names, the concept of kinship, so central to the African way of life, was reflected in their practices. Frequently a child was named for a grandparent. In Africa, while the relationship of a parent to a child might be a harsh one of superordinate to subordinate, their authority was checked by a gentle grandparent who maintained a more friendly familiarity.

That African names and naming practices still live on is shown by ninety- eight nicknames on Johns Island. Some thirty- one are related to a name found in Turner's list with an African equivalent, but a few are newly found Africanisms. Do- um, suggesting "do it," was earned for assiduous application to an endeavor and audacity in sexual adventures. Cunjie with very broad cheek bones may have come from the Hausa word for cheek. *Yaa* for a girl and *Yao* for a boy, meaning Thursday, keeps alive the Ewe practice for naming a baby for the day of the week on which it was born. Even an English-appearing name like Joe may be an abbreviation of *Cudjo*, a male born on Monday. Similarly, Phoebe

may really be *Fiba*, a girl born on Friday. Gussie may not be from Augustus but from the *Bambara gasi*, meaning misfortune; and Pompey is not necessarily the famed Roman general but the Mende name *kpambi,* meaning a line, course, or red handkerchief. A derogatory term, such as *Boogah*, meaning something frightful in Vai, or Nuttin, for nothing, seems strange until one recalls the African practice of giving an uncomplimentary name to the newborn so that the ancestors might not be jealous and take the child back.

Even an English nickname follows the African practice of noting appearance, personality, or relationship. Thus Blue or Shadda (Shadow) are assigned to those quite dark in skin color. One named Licky- too defeated an antagonist both in verbal and physical combat; Butcher is a big, aggressive man ready to slaughter one who offends him; and Prosper was conferred on one distinguished and successful member of the community. Kinship is cherished through nicknames today. Bubba is the equivalent of the English brother; Betsy Ben indicates that Ben is the son of Betsy; and Minna Bill is the nickname for Minna's grandson Bill. Yes, there is even Do- um Bubba, the younger brother of Do- um.

Counting African Connections

Identification of a word in an African language most similar to a word in Gullah permits an initial estimate of the linguistic influences on the sea island dialect. African languages with the number and frequency of all Gullah personal names that Turner found to resemble each of them is revealing (see table "16"). Yoruba is in first place in personal names, followed closely by Kongo; with Mende and Ewe; these four contribute half of the linguistic similarities of personal names. Added to Bambara, Twi, Vai, Hausa, Fon, Umbundu, Mandinka, and Kimbundu, the twelve account for 87 percent of all Gullah names. Grouped by regions, roughly 44 percent are from people clustered around the Bight of Benin and Gold Coast- - far more than represented by the direct slave import from this area, 26 percent from Congo and Angola, 16 percent from Senegambia, and 14 percent from Sierra Leone and Windward Coast.

But a similar sound does not prove a linguistic derivation; personal names could be fossilized forms remembered when their meaning is lost. The 251 words cited by Turner as used in conversation must also be examined for indications of African affinities. Many of these common words have entered everyday American speech. Benne seed candy or cookie is derived from the word for sesame in Wolof and in Bambara. *Bidibidi* for a small chicken in Kongo is no doubt the source of our word "biddy." Cooter is about as well known in many parts of the South as turtle or tortoise which it means in Bambara, Malinke, Efik and Tshiluba.

Buckra, long known on the coast for white man, means he who surrounds or governs in Ibo and in Efik. Da, often heard in the Carolina Low Country for an elderly black woman, is mother or eldest sister in Ewe and eldest daughter in Ibo. Gumbo is the well known name for a soup with okra in it; tshingombo in Tshiluba and Umbundu means okra. Goober from nguba in Kimbundu and pinder from mpinda in Kongo are widely recognized as other words for peanut. The yam or sweet potato of America has the same name in Mende and a similar one in other West African tongues.

Could *shindu*, noise made by the feet in Gullah and in Kongo, have given rise to shindig? In Tshiluba *samba* means to jump about; in Bobangi *somba* means to dance the divination dance; and in still other Bantu languages its meaning is related to worship. Voodoo, the religious healing ritual well known in Haiti, with a counterpart of Hoodoo in Gullah, is from *vodoo*, a tutelary deity or demon in Ewe, and a good or bad spirit in Fon. The shout, a religious ring dance performed until exhaustion in some black churches, could be related to the Arabic word *shaut* which means to move around the Kaaba on the pilgrimage to Mecca until exhausted. Arabic, the heritage of Moslem slaves, was an influence in the tabby house along the coast, made of cement and oyster shells with brick often added, for *tabix* means cement, mortar, brick.

In the frequency of conversational words in Gullah, listed by Turner (table “16”), Kongo leads overwhelmingly with ninety- nine words, 25 percent of the total. Far behind, with only 8 percent each, are Mende and Vai from Sierra Leone and Liberia. Wolof with 6 percent, spoken by many interpreters in West Africa, was even more widespread as a second language than as a native tongue. Strikingly, Yoruba, so prominent in personal names, makes a negligible contribution to other words.

The ninety- two words that Turner heard only in stories, songs, and prayers are derived almost exclusively from Mende, 69 percent, and from Vai, 29 percent; only a single exclamation is attributed to Bambara or Mandinka. This overwhelming influence from the Sierra Leone- Windward Coast region is noteworthy. If all words, personal and otherwise, are combined, the greatest similarities of Gullah are to Kongo and Yoruba with 15 percent each (table “16”, last column). Mende, Ewe, Bambara, Twi, Vai, Hausa, Fon, Umbundu, Mandinka, and Kimbundu follow in that order, these dozen languages comprising 86 percent of the total. Since names make up 91 percent of the total vocabulary this similarity to their frequency is not surprising.

Language is made up of more than words. Turner discovered affinities of Gullah to African languages in sounds and intonations, syntax and morphology, and unusual word formations illustrated below. One striking syntactical feature of Gullah is the absence of the passive voice. Instead of "he was beaten," it is "they beat him." Examples of the same practice in several African languages suggest their relationship to the Sea Islands. Two or more verbs for one idea is a second trait common to Gullah and some African languages: "Dat mek dem to save de money." Gullah also has an unfamiliar way of comparing adjectives: "He tall pas me," i.e., "He is tall, surpasses me," replaces "He is taller than I am." Eliding adjective and verb into one is common in Gullah and African tongues: e.g., "He mean tid dat" for "He was mean to do that." "Day clean broad" for "broad daylight," placing an adjective after the noun it modifies, is an example of word order that makes Gullah colorful and distinctive. "A child bad" or "tree high" or "I not see him" are other illustrations with African counterparts.

"Two baskets, what do they come to?" can be heard any day on the streets of Charleston. Opening a sentence with a subject and repeating it with a pronoun is an attribute of Gullah and African syntax. So is the frequent repetition of words or phrases. "I heard the house cracking, you know at the back; heard the house cracking, cracking, and I listened; kept listening."

Morphological features refer to number, tense, case, and gender. The same form in singular and plural is typical, e.g., "five dog." Verbs likewise may take the same form in singular and plural, without inflections; thus, "he go" and "they go." "I go, I went, I shall go," may also be indicated with the same phrase. When the patient tells the doctor, "I bees sick," she connotes both that she is, and has been, sick. For nouns and pronouns, subjective, objective, and possessive are almost the same: "me" or "we" could be used for all three cases. Thus, "We do everything for we- self." Gender can be expressed by the addition of "woman" or "man" to a noun: a "woman child" for a girl, or a "man chicken" for a rooster. When Gullah and African expressions are written side by side in phonetics the similarities are striking.

A- beat- on- iron can be heard in coastal Carolina for mechanic, one example of unusual word formation. Others include sure dead for cemetery; to crack teet' for to speak; and big eye for covetous. Reduplicated forms abound: sure enough sure for very sure; dere dere for exactly there, and bang bang for a loud noise. Among common onomatopoietic expressions is “who who” for owl.

The sounds of Gullah are similar to those of West or Central African languages rather than English. To the trained ear the vowel sounds of Gullah are not identical to those of English, but closer to those in several African languages. Another Gullah trait borrowed from Old World ancestors is adding a vowel or dropping a final consonant to avoid a cluster of consonants; palmetto becomes palimetto.

No characteristic of Gullah speech appears so strange to the outsider as its intonation. Gullah is not a tonal language in which a different tone conveys a different meaning, but its patterns are reminiscent

of African languages that do. The difference in tone and inflection enabled slaves to use ambiguities of Gullah to conceal meanings from white masters but reveal them to their fellows. For example, the adjective bad, pronounced with a slow falling tone like baaad could be an expression of admiration for another slave who had successfully flouted Ole Maussa's rules.

Beyond words and grammar is the retention of whole proverbs from African languages, Hausa, Mandingo, Yoruba, Dahomean, Fante, and Bantu. "Chattering doesn't cook rice" among the Hausa becomes "Promisin' talk don' cook rice" in coastal Carolina. "Empty sack can't stand upright alone" is almost identical to a Mandingo expression. Dahomey "Crooked wood makes crooked ashes" is transformed in Gullah into "Onpossible to get straight wood from crooked timber."

The frequency of Turner's citations of twenty- three African languages for six attributes of sound and grammar of Gullah provides a clue to affinities, even though they are not precise or of equal value. The pattern that emerges bears only modest resemblance to that from vocabulary alone. High on the list are Ewe with 17 percent of the total, chiefly because of its contribution to phonetics, Yoruba with 14 percent, Ibo with 11 percent, and Twi with 8 percent. These four, which show affinities to half of the non- vocabulary features of Gullah, are followed by Efik and Fante. Notably, all six of these languages are spoken in the area from the Gold Coast through Nigeria, while Kongo and other speech of Central Africa play a minimal role in sounds or grammar. Surprisingly, Mende and Vai, which supply so much vocabulary to Gullah, are cited rarely for these other linguistic attributes. The texts in Turner, however, illustrate the relation of Gullah to both languages: Three Mende and two Vai songs, plus Mende expressions in three stories. In fourteen other tales African elements are said to be manifest in syntax, morphology, sounds, intonations, and word formation more than in vocabulary, but specific languages are not cited by Turner.

In summary, Ewe ranks high in its role in personal names, other words, grammar and sounds in Gullah. Yoruba, highest in personal names and high in syntax and sounds, contributes few other words to the sea island vocabulary. Kongo, highest in total vocabulary, appears to have less influence on the other features of language. Twi appears to be moderately influential in all linguistic features. Mende and Vai, with much input into vocabulary and entire stories, appear low in any grammatic or phonetic contribution to Gullah. Efik, high in similarity of intonation especially, makes only a negligible impression on names or other words along the Carolina- Georgia coast. Ibo, with so many tonal and syntactic similarities to Gullah, is negligible in its contribution to its vocabulary.

Any attempt to compare linguistic contributions of African coastal regions with their share of slave imports is fraught with many difficulties, linguistic, geographic, and historical, making conclusions tenuous. As critics point out, the same sounds may not convey the same meanings, and ritual terms in songs and prayers may not carry the same weight as other words. The relative input of total words from most regions bears little resemblance to its total direct slave importation. Words used only in conversation, however, yield a closer fit to importation data in almost every case with exact agreement of 39 percent for Angola.

Comparison of the influence of sounds and syntax with slave trade importations is on weak grounds. However, the contribution of the languages spoken by people around the Bights of Benin and Biafra is far greater than their combined contribution to the direct slave trade, while that of Senegambia, Sierra Leone, the Windward Coast, and Angola is far less.

Scholarship following Turner's pioneer work has brought to light a greater role of the Bantu languages in vocabulary, an explanation for the influence of the Gold Coast and the Bight of Benin on Gullah grammar, the relation of Gullah to other Atlantic Creole languages, and the process of creolization in their formation. The abundance of Angolans in the slave trade, their early arrival, their employment as field hands away from English, and the mutual intelligibility of Bantu languages probably contributed to the presence of Bantu words in Carolina and Georgia and later in American English.

Development of a Creole Language

To unravel the mystery of the source of Gullah, it is necessary to look beyond words, sounds, and syntax to history and the dynamics of language formation over time. Bilingualism arose along the West African coast with trading by the Portuguese as early as the mid fifteenth century and continued in succeeding centuries with the Dutch, French, and English. As far back as the late sixteenth century, English was spoken around

the Gambia River; in time families were established between English men and native women. The need for communication in business as well as in the home led to the rise of a Pidgin English, such as that among grummettoes, the Africans who looked after slaves awaiting shipment. Pidgin has no native speakers; a marginal language, reduced in structure and vocabulary, it arises to fulfill certain restricted needs of communication among people who have no common language. Such restructured English, with words borrowed from other languages like Portuguese, increased dramatically in the eighteenth century, and Pidgin became established in Nigeria and the Cameroons. Creole refers to a Pidgin language which has become the mother- tongue of a speech community as in several ex-colonial parts of the world. The structural and stylistic range of the pidginized language becomes comparable in formal and functional complexity to other languages. Creole has an expanded vocabulary, explicit grammar, and more fixed pronunciation than Pidgin.

With the slave trade, Creoles developed from new social and cultural contacts in the New World. Africans from varying geographic and linguistic origins underwent language change arising from their need to communicate first with each other and secondarily with Europeans. This ongoing process of creolization was influenced by the plurality of African languages, the absence of formal tutoring, the exclusion of most blacks from close contact with the dominant European language, and the development of their own ethnic identity.

Many native West African languages with common features left a substratum in Creole languages; the basic syntactic structure of the Niger- Congo ones was transmitted to and remained in New World African dialects. In addition, many West African languages have common phonology; for example, the syllable typically ends in a vowel. But fluctuations in speech of African Americans in the formative period of a dialect are due primarily to differences in the phonological systems of native languages of Africans in the contact situation. These influences on Gullah are reflected in Turner's analysis.

Gullah is a unique Creole language, richer in linguistic survivals than any inland black speech. The case for a single ancestor of all English- based Creoles is clearly established by a recent analysis of six critical linguistic features common to them all. The special place of Gullah among English Creoles is probably due to differences in the size of plantations, the ratio of Europeans to Africans, the frequency of contacts between them and English- speaking indentured servants, and the degree of continued homogeneous African language influence.

Two major theories were proposed to account for Gullah. Hancock sees the greater influence of a Krio ancestor from Sierra Leone; Cassidy sees the larger role of the Gold Coast and adjacent Nigeria, via Barbados, as well as Angola. The similarities of Gullah to Krio were long noted by linguists in tales, songs, stories, prayers, names, and ritual terms. Cultural links between that region and the coastal islands also support the argument: the banjo, rice growing techniques, quilts, and more. The large number of slaves from Sierra Leone and Senegambia is said to be responsible for the development of Gullah. Dramatic support for this view came when Joseph Momo, President of Sierra Leone, speaking on St. Helena in his native language, was understood by the sea islanders. Even more impressive is the 1997 visit of sea islanders to Sierra Leone where the natives recognized their speech and responded warmly when Mary Moran from Harris Neck, Georgia, sang the same Mende funeral song that her grandmother had sung for Turner sixty years earlier.

But the value of personal names and items in stories, songs, and prayers has been questioned by Cassidy. Kept in memory by tradition rather than active use, are such fossilized forms more likely to be late comers? Only the words in conversation and in texts, largely Nigerian, may be most significant for analysis. Even more important is the similarity Turner noted in the grammar of Gullah and that of languages of Southern Nigeria and the Gold Coast, for these, like the words in the texts, reflect the earlier layer, the underlying Pidgin. Linguistic and historic evidence indicate the transmission of Gold Coast speech, through Barbados especially, into Gullah and other Atlantic Creoles.

For understanding the roots of Gullah the two views are not as far apart as they appear. Probably arising on the Gold Coast in the 1630s, an English- based pidgin soon spread to other regions of Africa from Senegal to the Bight of Biafra. An expanded pidgin diffused to the New World as English and Dutch vessels delivered people from enclaves in Africa to all of the British possessions in the western hemisphere, where Barbados and Jamaica played a crucial role. Caribbean Creoles influenced Gullah from the beginning of the English settlement in South Carolina; linguistic streams from Africa and the West Indies continued to play upon the Sea Islands. Speech in each colony was shaped by African languages, variations in English dialects, the time of arrival of slaves, and the ratio of blacks to whites. African languages, modified, were kept alive in the West Indies and on the American mainland. Words and syntax from the Gold Coast and the Bight of Benin especially persisted in the New World and found their way both directly and indirectly to the shores of Carolina where they formed one early substratum of Gullah. The early influx and later importation of people from Angola brought many words from Bantu, but complexities of its grammar probably prevented its adoption in the Sea Islands. With the tide of other people from Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and on down the coast through the Bight of Biafra, came more words, and even whole stories. The basic lexicon, "deep structure" of grammar, and sounds of Creole were probably established in the early eighteenth century.

Then why did the natives of the Sea Islands understand the Krio of Sierra Leone, and why was the song of Mary Moran recognized there? Not because Gullah is derived directly and exclusively from that area but because their languages have a close common origin. Krio and Gullah are first cousins rather than mother and child. Language is dynamic; the child of history, it interacts continuously with its social setting. Gullah developed over time and also influenced the speech of others. Creole evolved in the Low Country from the need for communication, but it also helped the people to endure the harsh reality of slavery. More than any other attribute, it characterized and molded together the individuals of the sea island community forming an abiding bond of understanding among the slaves. An inflection in the voice, a change in tone, could convey to a fellow black a secret thought hidden from whites. Proverbs also conveyed subtleties and ambiguities that contributed to the survival of the people as they transmuted them into meaningful metaphors in their new environment. Songs, stories, and prayers, even with meanings obscure, kept alive dreams of a dimly remembered past. A basket name known only within the family could survive in the New World, providing a continuing link with the familiar gods, events, places, and traditions of the Old. Naming practices, like names themselves, live on to echo their heritage and often reinforce the uniquely African ties of kinship.

A similar process of continuity and change occurred in all aspects of culture and society. Just as Gullah and Krio are cousins, so the culture of the sea islanders and their African ancestors are related through a common heritage rather than as direct descendants. Subsequent chapters describe particular cultural traits that link the Low Country to Africa, search for their connections to specific regions of that continent, and explore their transformation over time. Consider first how the bonds of kinship, so dear to the African, were re- created and transformed on the Sea Islands.

"How many children you got?"
"Five," replied the woman on James Island, surrounded by children on the porch and others in the yard.
"Come on, you've got more than that."
"Oh, you mean in all."
-- Conversation with author, June, 1957.
For research on inherited blood factors in the 1950s, an accurate pedigree was essential, but digging out relationships of individuals was complex and uncertain.

Blood is Thicker Than Water

Family throughout the Sea Islands has been the important but flexible social unit. The extended family of consanguineous relationships rather than the nuclear family of a single conjugal relationship prevails. Pedigrees reaching over several generations reveal an extensive network of kinship of people on one island. Divorce is rare, and marriage relatively stable, but it may be common- law, recognized in the community, rather than formal and legally sanctioned. In this setting illegitimacy is a meaningless term. A girl in her teens may have a baby—without marriage and without stigma. The child is usually given the surname of the girl's mother, cared for by her and other family members, and just as welcomed as a child born in wedlock who takes the father's surname.

Adoption further complicates family relationships; there is no objection to "giving" a child away to close relatives, who are glad to keep the child and bring it up as one of their own. A woman without children is socially handicapped. In these families of coastal Carolina, as in those of so many African Americans, the woman is the central and most stable member of the household. Elderly females or "mammies" function as matriarchs who teach children proprieties and family lore. The web of kinship documented for Johns Island, involving obligatory mutual responsibilities and the sharing of labor and resources, forms a cohesive force in the community and a strong weapon for survival. The extended family rises to the occasion with food and funds for weddings and funerals. Kinship, along with religion, provides social order, ethical direction, economic succor and emotional security. Where one belongs in the web of kinship is generally maintained by oral tradition; a young person's knowledge of his lineage can spell the difference between a warm and a chilly reception.

Kinship plays a role in the ownership of land. Cooperative organizations evolved among blacks in the Sea Islands after emancipation, following kinship lines as relatives purchased land near each other. To what extent are these social patterns an African heritage? Although slavery was said to have destroyed the nuclear family and social organization of American blacks, Herskovits found much evidence of African roots for family structure along with other elements of culture, and more recent observers concur. Throughout Africa polygyny prevails. A child shares his mother only with full brothers and sisters; he shares his father with the children of other women. The attachments between a mother and her child are in the main closer than those between father and children, and upbringing, discipline, and supervision are much more the responsibility of the mother than of the father. The belief that one is more closely related to mother than to father is explained among the Gullah as it is in West Africa: the person is fed on mother's milk. Matriarchy as practiced in the Low Country probably had roots in kinship patterns of African society, but was molded by modern economic pressures into a new pattern that fulfilled the unique needs of the people.

The extended family also has antecedents in Africa with parallels between its functions in the Old World and the New. The extended family on the sea islands of Carolina bears a remarkable resemblance to that among African people in their homeland and in the Caribbean, Central America, South America and elsewhere in North America. Similarly, adoption of children as a means of enlarging a family is widespread in Africa, and no stigma is attached to the man who "gives" a child to

his sister or other relative. A segment of a lineage serves as a core of an extended family, and newlyweds do not establish a new residence but usually join the household of the husband. The politeness and deference to elders noted in the Gullah people can also be observed in Africa. Such practices, of great value to the people, were retained but modified in their new setting. The removal of slaves from the plantation of their birth by sale to a distant master was less likely on the Sea Islands than elsewhere in the south, so the network of kinship dear to the African provided practical and moral support for adults and transmission of culture to children, in the face of the dehumanizing effect of slavery. In recent years young people from the islands, successful in the North, have returned to their parents' homes with new customs and values. Along with tourism, urbanization, industrial development, land sales, education, and civil rights, they are changing old ways. Yet some features of the past, like ties of kinship, matriarchy, and polygyny, deeply rooted in the traditions of Africa, still survive, not as continuity with Africa but rather a synthesis of old and new in a process of social creolization.

No practice is more meaningful in the life of the sea island people, better illustrates how the different streams of influence flow together, and better reflects the synthesis of an ancient heritage with the culture imposed by the masters than religion.

> God and Man: Religion
> God is the bread of Life
> God will feed you when you get hungry

The Rev. Renty Pinckney starts out slowly and softly in his sermon in the New Jerusalem AME Church on Wadmalaw Island. In sympathetic rhythm the audience shout out their response.

> Oh yes! I know he will. All right! Yeah! Amen!
> Look on the mountain
> Beside the hill of Galilee My Lord!
> Watch his disciple
> Riding on the sea Yeah. Uh huh!
> Tossing by the wind and rain Yeah. Come up
> Going over the sea of temptation Uh hum
> Brother, I don't know
> But I begin to think
> In this Christian life Yes
> Sometime you gone be toss Yes, yeah
> By the wind of life Yes, my Lord!
> The wind gonna blow you
> From one side to the other Yes!

In such point- counterpoint with his listeners the Rev. Pinckney proceeds, growing more eloquent, weaving into his sermon allusions to Moses, the wilderness, the consuming fire, and many other graphic passages from the Bible, and ending up with his opening figure of speech.

The minister's creativity is revealed by his ability to join scattered allusions into a cohesive whole. Well versed in the Bible, he uses the rhetorical skills needed to construct, in sermons and prayers, those long and flowing phrases worthy of Cicero. The call- and- response style with its appealing rhythm which arouses and excites the parishioners is the tradition in the sea island churches. Vital to the religious service is music. Voices singing in a joyous manner and the sound of clapping hands fill the church. Swinging, swaying, shaking bodies soon add even more enthusiastic expression to the fervor of song.

To know how much of the religious beliefs and practices of the Gullah are derived from Christianity, how much from the traditional religions of Africa, and how they interact, one must trace the history of the Protestant churches in the area and explore the major tenets and rituals of the people of Africa.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), the right arm of the Anglican Church founded in 1701, sought to bring the Christian faith to the heathen, Indians and blacks, slave and free, but they were largely ineffective. George Whitefield, a controversial Anglican clergyman of twenty- five, laid the groundwork for Methodism on his first visit to Savannah in 1740. Methodist leaders organized white missions to slaves, stressed that Christianity, properly interpreted, could be a safeguard against rebellion, and created a warm and inspiring service of song and prayer. Low Country blacks had strong preferences for evangelicals whose new style of preaching was attractive because its shouting, swaying, and ecstasy reinforced the slaves' traditional patterns of spirituality.

As the once "dissenting" Baptists increased their numbers among the Low Country planters, blacks were in time admitted into balconies of their churches. By the 1830s "black societies" became the nucleus of the socio- religious community, and by the 1840s the Baptist persuasion clearly dominated the life of the Gullah. It had the greatest appeal for the sea island people because of its less formal worship, democratic and autonomous organization with a minimum of white supervision, appeal to the underprivileged, toleration of emotional expression, and emphasis upon baptism by total immersion – for a reason soon to be seen.

Blacks identified with the suffering Jesus, with His crucifixion and resurrection. The picture of the Children of Israel delivered by Moses, of Daniel in the Lion's Den, of David slaying Goliath were powerful images that gave blacks hope of freedom from bondage. Christianity gave an Old World ideology a New World perception as the Gullah people converted it to their African world view. To the African sense of pride and community, love of home and family, Christianity added cohesion needed to develop a homogeneous people. The “Praise House” was an ideal culture medium for transmitting not only Christianity but what had been retained from Africa. To appreciate this heritage one must explore West African Traditional Religion.

In the Beginning God.

Like most religions, those of Africa begin with God and his creation. In West African traditional religions God is seen, as in the Judeo- Christian heritage, as one- - creator, ruler of the universe, and judge, omnipotent, omniscient, immortal, holy, and compassionate. The idea of creation and sinful man, similar to that in Genesis, is found among the Mende, Akan, Edo, and many other African people. But the native African also believes in other divinities seen as God's intermediaries; worship, rituals and sacrifices designed to invoke them; spirits and ancestors; divination, magic, and witchcraft intended to influence people and events.

The supreme religious experience is possession by the god; a person merges his identity in that of the god and loses control of his conscious faculties, against a background of singing, dancing, and drumming. He begins by clapping his hands, nodding his head, and patting his feet to the rhythms of the drums. His motions become more emphatic; his head is thrown from side to side and his arms thresh about him. He dashes to the center of a cleared space, and gives way to the call of the god, running, rolling, falling, jumping, spinning, talking in tongues, and prophesying. His frenzy continues unabated until he falls in a faint.

The roots of the religious services among the Gullah- speaking people of the Sea Islands, with fervent singing, dancing and praying, like one possessed, culminating in the ring shout, now become clear. Spirit possession was reinterpreted in Christian terms. Even the style of preaching with its moving call- and- response can also be observed in Nigeria today.

In Africa priests are respected leaders in the service of a particular deity, often functioning in his worship at a shrine in a sacred locality. Worship of the divinity may take many forms: invocations, libations, offerings, prayers, and songs; sacrifice sought to propitiate a god or ward off a pending disaster.

Prominent in West African religion is the medicine man, with his special knowledge of herbs and healing, for faith and health are intertwined; the diviner, who learns the signs of the unknown, conveys mysteries, settles disputes, and gives guidance in daily affairs. They too have their counterparts along the coast of Carolina. Readily, the black folks in the New World continued the joyous religious celebrations, similar to the Yam Festival of West Africa, often marking seasons of the year, the planting or harvesting of crops. The concept of the body, soul, and spirit of man in African religion is fundamental to an understanding of his nature and destiny. Whether Yoruba, Ashanti, or Bantu, such a tripartite concept is deeply imbedded in the folk culture of the sea islanders. The body is buried, the soul goes home to the Kingdom of God, but the spirit is still on earth.

> "Everybody got two kinds ob speerit. One is der hebben- goin' speerit...Den dere is der trabblin' speerit...De hebben- goin' speerit don't gib you no trouble, but de trabblin' speerit, 'e be de one dat gib you worriment. E come back to de t'ings 'e like. E try fur come right back in de same house."

The major events in the life cycle of the individual, from birth through puberty, marriage, and death, are often marked by rituals that reflect the deepest beliefs of a people. To the BaKongo the stages of life are symbolized in the Four Moments of the Sun. Its rising represents birth or the beginning; its ascendancy, maturity and responsibility; its setting, death and transformation; and midnight, existence in the other world and eventual rebirth.

At puberty, boys and girls are separated from others and indoctrinated through secret societies in the knowledge needed for adult life under the direction of leaders or spiritual parents, called zo, who hide their identity behind masks. Enforcing conformity to mores, such societies flourished in many West and Central African lands, from the Windward Coast through the Ibo and Ibibio to the Leopard Societies of the Congo. Best known and most elaborate are Poro for boys and Sande for girls among the Mende of Sierra Leone.

These ceremonies introduce young people to society and to the divinities whom they may call upon to guide their lives. These rites reinforce tradition and camaraderie. Most important, this death of childhood and birth of the adult is symbolized in both sexes by wearing new clothes and by ritual washing, total immersion in a river or stream. A Sande initiate wears a white head tie and covers her face with white clay. After completing initiation one has "crossed the water. “ The water spirits are among the most powerful of the supernatural world, and many of their priests undoubtedly found their way to America bringing their lore and practices with them.

The bond between the Baptist faith of the Gullah people and their ancestors is evident. The period of transition between the desire to become a Christian and acceptance by the elders was called "seekin'," for the probationer was seeking Jesus. A female seeker wore a white cloth or string around her head and often covered herself with ashes. Independent of the instruction of Christian missionaries, and often to their dismay, the "seeker" would "travel" or "go into de wilderness" and have visions which he or she related to a spiritual teacher or guide. After this and a declaration of faith to the Praise House members, a further examination determined if one was ready for baptism.

On St. Helena in 1863, when 140 were baptized on a Sunday morning, the candidates arrived “dressed for the water.” The pastor immersed the candidates in the water; each emerged to put on shiny new clothes brought for the purpose. Only then were they full members of the community as well as the church. Outwardly a Christian service, the pageantry and meaning were echoes from the centuries-old practices of the Windward Coast, the Gulf of Guinea, and the Congo. The staff built like a cross

that the deacon drove down to the bottom of the river expressed more than the crucifixion; it was also the symbol of the enormous authority of the religious leader, especially among the BaKongo. Moreover, the cross itself stood for the Four Moments of the Sun that mirrors the life cycle of the individual; the horizontal or Kalunga line from west to east, like water, divides this world of the living from the next. In the world below, or *mpende*, the dead may lose the impurities acquired in this life, and reenter this world at dawn as grandchildren, immortal spirits, or natural forms like rocks or streams. Spiritual parents kept alive the African elements in the "invisible institution" of black religion which, begun in the 1700s, continued to thrive beneath the cloak of Christianity along the coast of Carolina and Georgia.

Since death is a transition from this world to another, the funeral is the climax of life among African people; elaborate rites insure their rightful place in the afterworld and their good will toward the living. Since the hereafter is generally viewed as a carbon copy of earthly life, articles of clothing or trinkets may be placed in the coffin, along with money to enable the dead to cross the river of no return – like the coin to give the helmsman who rows across the River Styx.

It is virtually impossible to identify religious belief or practices of the Sea Islands with any particular African ethnic group, as so many were involved, and changes have taken place on both sides of the Atlantic. More important than identifying groups is the historical sequence. The early cultural dominance of Congo- Angola people in the Low Country was followed by the influence of those of Upper Guinea from Senegambia through the Windward Coast who already found there a creolized black culture. Slaves entrenched in a system of rice production reinforced an Old World heritage. The Middle Period of the slave trade also saw the influx of more Africans from the Gold Coast area. The BaKongo influence served as incubator for many cultural patterns, and superceded Akan- Ashanti impact, but did not smother the Upper Guinea contribution. Each major group left its presence whose longevity depended not only on its number but on its adaptability.

The picture that emerges of religion on the Sea Islands parallels that of language. Customs like the puberty rites of secret societies derive from the Windward Coast; the religious ecstasy of one possessed by the god owes more to the traditions of the Guinea Coast. But the Bantu from Central Africa had an early and lasting effect, especially on deeply held beliefs related to death, burial, and the nature of the soul.

The syncretism of Christianity and African religion is understandable. As the African felt that the god of a conquering tribe must be more powerful, and adopted him while retaining his own, so blacks in America accepted the God or Jesus of those who enslaved them while keeping their belief in other gods. The Christian concept of salvation and the hope of heaven were readily grasped by those whose earthly lives knew labor and the lash. The elders who brought to these shores knowledge of diverse divinities and ancient practices taught them to their children; the deacons of the churches of today are their moral descendants. The strength and flexibility of some African spiritual customs facilitated their merger with Christianity. But the folk religion that evolved in the slave quarters along the Sea Islands in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was more than a survival, and more than a blend; it was a creolization. The Gullah people adapted African beliefs to their own concept of Christianity in a dynamic and creative synthesis that helped them build a community of strength and solidarity that withstood the hardships of life. Religious faith raised up the slave, gave him hope and moral superiority, and contradicted the dehumanizing experience of slavery.

Syncretism is dramatically illustrated by Maum Hester of South Carolina in the 1920s who believed that each day that passed carried with it deeds and thoughts performed by each person. The sun carried the record to the center of the earth, where the moon and stars, the signs and seasons, all rested until their time to appear. The "Lawd Jedus" presided over the entrance to this region. Her chief concern was that the record which the sun bore to the Lawd Jedus each night might prove acceptable to Him.

Each morning she went through a ritual. When she saw the sun she repeated three times the formula: "Do Lawd Jedus, is I please you dis day?" Each time, she walked around the room in a circle with a peculiar posture, step, and rapt expression characteristic of the ring shout. After the third question her emotional state bordered on hysteria. "But the t'ird time, de sun he 'gin move, I see he shoutin.' Den I happy, by I know den I done please de Lawd Jedus dat day."

Only the figure of Jesus is Christian; all else is BaKongo. No sharp line can be drawn between religion, magic, and healing, especially in Africa and the Sea Islands. The Divine Healer dispenses health, and various incantations may be used to induce the divinities to cure illness. The powerful influence of magic along the Georgia coast illustrates this principle and its African antecedents.

Magic and Mystery

> I dohn know who done it, but all ub a sudden muh leg begin tuh swell an swell. I call a regluh doctuh, but he didn seem tuh do no good; so tree weeks ago I went tuh a root man. He gimme sumpm tuh take an sumpm tuh put in muh bed. In a few days knots come out all obuh muh leg an wuhrums staht tuh crawl out. Only one knot lef. I guess I soon be well.

Martha Major from Yamacraw near Savannah was explaining to the visitors from the Georgia Writers' Project how she had been conjured and the root doctor had relieved her misery. Their book, *Drums and Shadows*, filled with such examples of the practices of sea islanders of the 1930s in their own words, along with African counterparts, did for beliefs what Turner did for language.

Many informants were reluctant to talk of conjuring, so strong was the fear of such magic among the descendants of African slaves. The long history and powerful influence of conjuring is illustrated by an ad in a Savannah newspaper of 1788 for a runaway slave. He was "called Doctor Hercules from his remarkable conjurations of pigs' feet, rattlesnakes' teeth, and from the feet and legs of several sick people, many of whom still believe him in reality to have performed miracles."

While anything may be used to "fix" a person, from roots and powder to hair and nail- clippings, most effective is graveyard dirt, preferably from the grave of one who has been murdered. Serpents, feared in Dahomey and among the Ibibio and other people of southern Nigeria, frequently play a prominent role in conjuring. One Gullah woman said of another, "She wuk a root on me so strong dat she put a big snake in muh bed, and uh could feel tings moobin all tru muh body. I could feel duh snake runnin all tru me."

Root doctors take their name from the various roots and herbs used in healing, for their magic is not all harmful. George Little, who said he had been born with a special knowledge of healing, listed a dozen roots in his pharmacopeia. A self- professed root doctor and fortune teller, James Washington, explained that he could tell the future because he was born with a double caul. He said that some magic can guard you from harm, but evil magic can put you down sick; hair is the most powerful thing an enemy can get hold of because it is so close to the brain. The root doctor thus revealed several beliefs with well known African antecedents. The special power of those born with a caul is recognized in Dahomey; the importance of the diviner or fortune- teller is known to the Ashanti; the place of hair in magic is widespread among many Africans from the Ewe to the Mpongwe; and the role of conjure and charms is universal.

Dr. Ramsay Mallette, former Professor of Psychiatry at the Medical University of South Carolina in Charleston, trained his residents to perform similar magic to reverse the hex laid upon the patient whose fear of death is paralyzing. His video tape of this healing procedure, complete with the instruments of conjure that produced recovery, is a gripping demonstration of the power of belief.

From birth to death, superstitions govern the life of these natives of coastal Georgia. As among the Ibo, being born with teeth is usually considered extremely unlucky. Charms are worn by most people to ward off evil spirits. If that silver dime surrounding the woman's ankle turns black, it is a sure sign that she has been conjured.

A witch or hag, well known in Africa, is the disembodied spirit of an old woman. Leaving her body during sleep, she rides another person, sometimes causing illness, and various charms must be worn to ward off this evil influence. A witch leaves her skin behind when entering one's home. Witches are more feared than ghosts, especially when they get a grudge against someone. The most dramatic thing witches do is fly away. All of these beliefs have their African counterparts.

At the funeral on the Georgia coast, awesome practices prevent the return of the ghost. At the "settin' up" or wake, bread and coffee are usually served to the mourners, as among the Ibo and many Sudanese groups; each of them pours some on the ground for the spirit of the deceased, as done among the Efik, the Ashanti, the Dahomeans, and other West African people.

"Den at duh time fuh buryin, duh drum would beat an all would lay flat on duh groun on dey faces befo duh body wuz placed in duh grave. Den all would rise and dance roun duh grave. Wen duh body wuz buried, duh drum would give signal wen all wuz tuh rise aw fall aw tuh dance aw sing." Such customs are reminiscent of those of the Mandingo and Ashanti. All must bid farewell to the corpse, either speaking a few words or touching it, as done on the Gold Coast. The service isn't over until each one has thrown a handful of dirt in the grave, a custom known in Nigeria and among Bantu nomads of Bechuana.

Adorning the grave is well known to the Georgia blacks, and woe to one who steals anything from it, even a broken mirror, for bad luck will follow him. Departed spirits or ghosts inhabit the world of the living, often taking the form of animals or dwarfs. The rebirth of the spirit as an animal is reported among the Yoruba, and the backward- facing dwarf is commonplace among people of the Gold Coast. In the bestiary of the sea islands are boo- hags, boo- daddies, drolls, conjure- horses, and plat- eye, a hideous and greatly feared one- eyed ghost who takes various shapes and forms when one places the head of a murdered man in a hole with treasure. An original blend of African tradition, self- reliance, and Christianity is illustrated by the defense against plat- eye of a former slave, Maum Addie,. "So I totes my powder en sulfur en I carries mah stick in mah han en puts mah truss in Gawd."

The search for links of Georgia coastal blacks with African groups is on shifting sands, for most of these beliefs and practices are widespread and have changed over time on both continents. The most commonly cited ethnic group in *Drums and Shadows* is Ibo; a black on Sapelo, St. Simons, and St. Mary's told of grandparents or other ancestors of that group. "Ibo's Landing" on St. Simons is named for those freshly brought from Africa who, refusing to be enslaved, marched into the water and were drowned. Their self destruction supports the view of Henry Laurens that slaves from Calabar were liable to commit suicide.

The persistence of Moslem practices on the Georgia coast reported in the 1930s indicates late importation of people from northern Nigeria or the western Sudan. Katie Brown of Sapelo told of the regular ritual prayers of her great grandfather Belali Mohomet on his prayer rug. Slave driver to Thomas Spaulding, Belali had among his many daughters Magret, Bentoo, Chaalut, Medina, Yaruba, Fatima, and Hestuh. Magret's granddaughter Katie Brown recollected:

> "Magret an uh daughtuh Cotto use tuh say dat Belali an he wife Phoebe pray on duh bead. Dey wuz bery puhticluh bout duh time dey pray an dey bery regluh bout duh hour. Wen duh sun come up, wen it straight obuh head an wen it set, das duh time dey pray. Dey bow tuh duh sun an hab lill mat tuh kneel on. Duh beads is on a long string. Belali he pull bead an he say, 'Belambi, Hakabara, Mahamadu.' Phoebe she say, 'Ameen, Ameen.'"

While these are clearly Moslem practices, albeit truncated, the three times a day for prayer also coincide with the Moments of the Sun in the Cosmogram of the BaKongo. Like religious belief, magic prevailed in the new setting because it held such a firm grip upon the mind, helped one cope with the unknown, and provided some sense of protection in a threatening world. More than religion, however, it appealed to baser instincts of fear. More a secret practice than a social one it said, "My will be done," rather than "Thy will be done." One proverb expressed the hope of those struggling to survive in a hostile environment: "Black people rule sickness with magic but white people get sick and die." Inseparable from deeply held beliefs on the sea islands are the joyous sounds of music that also reflect the African connection.

Music Hath Charms

Guy Carawan said that he knew he was in heaven when the singing began at a Christmas Eve Watch in Moving Star Hall on Johns Island. Some woman with a thick, rich low alto started off in the corner and very soon was joined by some deep, resonant male "basers" from another corner. The falsetto wails and moans sailed in to float on high over the lead. By the time the whole group of about sixty worshippers had joined in, each freely improvising in his or her own way, the hall was rocking and swaying to an ecstatic "Savior Do Not Pass Me By."...Song followed song with different people taking turns leading off as the spirit moved them.

After a while different individuals began to pray and give personal testimony while everyone else hummed, wailed, moaned and answered fervently in response. That sound was the strangest and most beautiful of all. . . The total sound was beyond description. As the fervor mounted at the end of each prayer or testimony, the congregation would soar back into song, sparked by the testifier or by someone who felt a particular song at the moment. Carawan continued to capture in words the magic of hands clapping, heads and bodies swaying, and feet tapping in time with the singing, culminating in shouting and dancing. The whole building was rocking in rhythm. A near perfect sense of timing made it a group form of expression.

The world has come to appreciate the unique beauty of the spiritual, with its rich melody, appealing rhythm, and qualities of the human voice that seem to rise directly from the soul. W. E. B. DuBois wrote that "the Negro folk- song - - the rhythmic cry of the slave- - stands to- day not simply as the sole American music, but as the most beautiful expression of human experience born this side the seas."

The teachers and missionaries who flocked to St. Helena in the 186os were struck by the soulful singing of the blacks. The difficulty of capturing the character of these "negro ballads by mere musical notes and signs" was well recognized by Lucy McKim, who published the first songs of the Port Royal Contrabands. "The wild, sad strains tell, as the sufferers themselves never could, of crushed hopes, keen sorrow, and a dull daily misery which covered them as hopelessly as the fog from the rice- swamps. On the other hand, the words breathe a trusting faith in rest in the future- - in 'Canaan's air and happy land,' to which their eyes seem constantly turned."

Col. Thomas Higginson, who raised the first slave regiment mustered into Union service, interspersed similar sentiments between his published spirituals. In the song, "I Know Moon- Rise," he was especially moved upon hearing the words: "I'll lie in de grave and stretch out my arms." "Never, it seems to me, since man first lived and suffered, was his infinite longing for peace uttered more plaintively than in that line."

The Bible was a gold mine to the slave; he transmuted the Christian tradition into a fresh and vivid lyric poetry to express his concealed hope and his desire for freedom and justice. In the cryptic language of freedom, Cana'an also meant Canada, one terminal of the Underground Railroad, conductors were called Moses, and the chariot was a symbol of escape. "Live Humble" was an exhortation to be patient a little longer, and "Daniel" expressed faith in deliverance.

As the revival movement by the early 1800s brought south many hymns sung in camp meetings attended by blacks and whites, their singing styles influenced each other; and hymns were readily adopted by the slaves. Each line of a hymn read aloud as the audience repeated it; such "lining out," accorded well with call- and- response. Black religious songs, known in the 1820s, were composed by them by the 1840s; the spiritual was fully developed by 1856. Songs of blacks show that their rhythmical and structural elements came from Africa, although the product is native American. What impressed missionaries on St. Helena most was the Ring Shout, a dance of religious ecstasy, half pow-wow, half prayer- meeting, with chants and song, seen as barbaric by most whites who did not appreciate its meaning and origin. Work songs were also common on the Sea Islands, whether in rowing boats or thrashing rice sheaves. Each plantation had its own songs and took pride in singing them. Dance also characterized life on the sea islands, often reflecting work patterns, as in "New Rice an' Okra," when scuffing off the outside husks of rice. Rhythm and improvisation, that characterized dance and song, were a group activity and a part of everyday life.

Music fills the life of the African from birth to death, closely associated with the gods, magic, and healing. A wide variety of native instruments are played there, including drums and fiddles, and the bania, the forerunner of the banjo; but the human voice is the crowning instrument. Even on the slave ship; the memory of African music was kept alive, and in America black mothers passed on melodies to their children. The ring shout, songs, spirituals, and instruments of the Sea Islands can be traced to Africa. Sounds born there came to enrich American music.

Music from Africa was retained among the Gullah because it expressed feelings of joy or of grief, promoted physical and spiritual well- being, provided escape from drudgery, molded the young, and fostered a sense of community. Slaves speaking different tongues could communicate feelings in this universal language, and music at funerals united the living with the dead. Sacred songs, echoing religion, evolved from the syncretism of Christianity and African belief, and some also contained a veiled cry for freedom.

One other activity transmitted to the Sea Islands that kept alive memories and raised the morale of the people provides another opportunity to discover both African roots and adaptation in a new environment.

Thereby Hangs a Tale: Folklore

The story of the mock plea of Brother Rabbit who is thrown into the briar patch that he pretends to fear, familiar for more than a century to millions since childhood, is one of the well known animal tales of *Uncle Remus* by Joel Chandler Harris. But it is still alive in a modern story- telling session on Wadmalaw Island. The audience response makes it even more vibrant. When the speaker imitates the whining and whimpering of Ber Rabbit and adds the squinched eyes, wrinkled nose, gestures of face and hands, and bodily movements, his listeners go wild with laughter.

Many cantefables, or "singing tales," abound on the sea islands where they have educated and delighted the inhabitants for generations. The Tar Baby of well- nigh universal distribution is another favorite in coastal Carolina. Why the wide appeal of the short accounts of talking animals, mythical creatures, and heroes of extraordinary powers? Some serve as escape literature; some explain the origin of the cosmos and its creatures; others are instructive; and in some settings they may contain a hidden message. Tracing connections through folktales is virtually impossible. The same stories are spread over many lands; those collected are only a fraction of all known to a people, and they are filtered through alien listeners; two tales with the same theme are not identical in content or style; through improvisation the tale is transformed with each telling; and the setting, gestures, intonations, acting, and even audience response are just as important as the story itself.

Missionaries and travelers were aware of the rich vein of tales that natives of Africa told, intertwined with their history and mythology. Stories from Sierra Leone, told in dialect, usually at night around a

campfire, display the dramatic power of the storyteller and the musical quality of the chants accompanied by the clapping of hands. The trickster animal is widely known and loved; physically insignificant, seemingly helpless, and yet endowed with extraordinary mental acumen, his triumphs are an approved outlet for difficulties experienced by oppressed people. Tales of the small animal who outwits bigger ones are widespread throughout Africa, frequently the rabbit in Sierra Leone and Nnabe, the turtle, on the Slave Coast. “Anansi,” the spider, featured in tales of the Temne and Limba of Sierra Leone, is even better known in Ghana and the Gold Coast. Shrewd and designing, selfish, deceitful, and sometimes cruel, the spider appears in half of the folk tales of West Africa. This wily creature is well known in the West Indies too, where his scheming nature reflects the subtlety necessary for survival, and connects Africa, the Caribbean, and Carolina. In the sea islands, the name readily became "Aunt Nancy."

Soon after Northerners arrived on St. Helena, they became aware of the rich treasure of stories known to the people of the region. The most complete collection of sea island tales was made by the folklorist Elsie Clews Parsons. Her densely packed volume (1923) contains 178 tales, many of them with several variants, plus riddles, proverbs, toasts, verses, songs, folkways, and notions, told in dialect. Her ninety informants were primarily from St. Helena and Port Royal, with the remainder from the neighboring islands.

Here one finds animals well known to southerners- - dog, fox, wolf, rat, cat, bullfrog, alligator, turtle, squirrel, raccoon, partridge, rooster, crane, chicken, duck, and rattlesnake. But also mentioned are the tiger and imaginary people with magic powers unlike anything in the environment. Some tales point a moral, often the small and smart outwit the large and stupid; others explain an origin as in the Just So Stories. An African provenience is cited for too few tales to be meaningful, but Sierra Leone is most common in West Africa. Similarities of the sea island stories to those of the West Indies, especially the Bahamas, reflect the common origins of the people. The three Gullah stories containing Mende expressions recognized by Turner show imagination as well as further affinity to Sierra Leone:

The dean of folklore, William R. Bascom, collected several hundred tales, and grouped them into fourteen themes; some 267 tales are from Africa, sixty from South Carolina, and thirty from Georgia. The relative contribution from regions of West and Central Africa to the sea islands roughly resembles their slave importations, with two important exceptions: Nigeria contributes 25 percent while Angola yields only 18 percent. Of greater interest, themes most frequent in South Carolina and Georgia are also common in Ghana and Nigeria. Most often mentioned tribes in West Africa are Yoruba, Hausa, Ashanti, Mossi, and Temne. Some common ideology binds together the sea islands and West Africans.

With all the difficulties of defining particular tales, and their transformations over time to fit the new conditions of life on the sea islands, it is impossible to pinpoint their African origins; all regions contributed. As with grammar, the Guinea coast people probably gave more folklore than their direct slave import to Carolina, in part because of the passage of many people from this region through the West Indies.

More than one story, however, relates the Yoruba to Johns Island. In both areas the tortoise as trickster represents the little man getting through the difficulties of life with license to act outside the rules of society. Common to Yoruba and Johns Island are not only the well- known Tar Baby story but a striking explanation of an eclipse as the result of an argument between the sun and the moon.

Several folktales and the style of telling them are common to Wadmalaw Island and the Ibo of Nigeria. The closest parallel is in a classic morality tale in which the remains of a murdered person indict the one who committed the foul crime. In the Wadmalaw version the mother kills her daughter for stealing three pears, and buries her in a field where onions grow in the spring. The effort by Brother, Daddy and finally Mama herself to pull up the presumed onions produces this refrain from the victim:

Mama, Mama, Mama
Don't you pull me hair
You know you kill me
Bout the three li pear.

In the parallel Ibo version, an older son kills his younger brother for a flower; one of his bones later sings out:

Mama, Mama, Mama
The bone you are looking at
Is that of him who went
To the bush with his brother
His brother killed him
For the sake of his flower.

Folk tales from Sierra Leone, like songs and prayers, probably entered the Sea Islands with the rice cultivation in the eighteenth century, and blended with those from other regions. Folklore was retained along the coast as a heart- warming remembrance of the homeland, instruction for the young, and comic relief from daily drudgery. When folklore was told by a gifted raconteur to a responsive audience, a sustaining social bond was forged among the people. Whites would have no incentive to discourage this apparently harmless pastime that kept alive the African heritage. The trickster permitted a satirical picture of the society in which the slave lived; blacks learned the advantage of role playing and adapting to the value system of a clever animal like Ber Rabbit. Some subtle connecting links of Africa to the Sea Islands are expressed with body language rather than with speech.

Gestures and Motions

As the discussion of the two Gullah- speaking black men grows more heated, one of them crosses his arms before his chest to signal the end of the conversation. He is not arguing, but in this somewhat combative situation he is communicating that he definitely does not like what is being laid on him. This gesture, called *tuluwa lwa luumbu* among the Kongo, symbolizes self- encirclement in silence, more powerful than words.

How should such a stance be interpreted in the quest for African retentions? Like dance, a motion of head, body or limb, and the message it conveys, can be transported overseas and over time. While a spontaneous smile is a reflex that transmits a universal meaning, the most simple movement of the head to signal "yes" or "no" varies in meaning among mankind and thus reflects learned behavior. The many gestures of the latter variety that survive among African- derived people in the New World often appear to have Kongo origins.

The Gullah child, rebuked for wrong- doing by her mother, turns her head to one side to avert her gaze and purses her lips in denial and rejection. The Kongo gesture of *nunsa*, with head averted and lips pursed, is well known in Africa both among the living and in sculpture. The related *kebuka* pose of the conga drum player, with head turned to one side while concentrating on his music and shutting out all distractions, can beobserved on both sides of the Atlantic.

Arms akimbo and both hands on the hips, a pose called *pakalala* in Kongo, proclaims that one is ready to accept the challenge of the situation. Used especially among Low Country women, this combative posture expresses contempt. Some gestures of the Kongo, most clearly expressed in Haiti, have made their way into the United States. The pose of *pakalala*, called in Haiti *deu men sou kote*, combining challenge with grace and humor, is used by women while dancing with men.

Placing the left hand on the hip and thrusting the right hand forward, called *biika mambu* or *telama lwinbanganga* by the Kongo, is common in Haiti where it is known as *pose Kongo*. Holding both hands above the head with fingers wide apart, called *booka,* expresses crying out for help, weeping, or proclaiming. Such gestures are also reproduced in sculpture on stone or terra cotta of funeral columns of the BaKongo. Evidently Central Africa had an early and persistent influence on body language as on spoken language in coastal Carolina and the West Indies. Some gestures may come from other regions, but they have not as yet been so well identified. Certain group activities among the Gullah-speakers are derived from other peoples of West Africa.

Sixty years ago Bascom recognized the similarity of certain cooperative work patterns of the Gullah to African ones. On Sapelo Island and Hilton Head, elderly blacks recalled how groups of thirty to fifty people went hoeing side by side while singing in unison to make the work more pleasant and rapid. Such group activity closely resembles the *dokpwe* of Dahomey and the awe, or working bee, of the Yoruba; they also illustrate creolization that arose on the sea islands in an adaptation of labor to a new environment.

In other actions training is needed but inherent capacity may also be involved. Higginson reported:

> I have seen a woman with a brimming water- pail balanced on her head, or perhaps a cup, saucer and spoon, stop suddenly, turn around, stop to pick up the missile, rise again, fling it, light a pipe, and go through many evolutions with either hand or both, without spilling a drop.

Just such a complex sense of balance and motor coordination can be seen widely in Africa.

Not so much the substance itself but rather its usage expresses a cultural affinity and an adaptation. Blacks of coastal Carolina wrap each little strand of hair with white twine and wear a bandana or headkerchief much as their ancestors did in Africa. Hairstyling there is a great art form; a variety of intricate styles are known, such as braiding, wrapping hair to resemble sticks, threading strands to form crowns, and adding colored beads to hair strands. Material culture, no less than beliefs and customs, reflect an African heritage recreated with modifications in the New World. Many crafts of the Sea Islands proclaim this connection, and tangible evidence actually lies buried in the very soil of coastal Carolina and Georgia.

Chapter 6 What the Hand Wrought

"Dave belongs to Mr. Miles
Where the oven bakes and the pot biles"

This verse, imprinted on the side of a large jar made by a slave in the 1840s in South Carolina, illustrates originality, practicality, and African tradition. Whether working in clay or cloth, wood or iron, the African Americans of Carolina and Georgia reflect their Old World artistic heritage adapted to New World needs. Material culture provides further clues to specific links to Africa and their transformation on the Sea Islands.

African Art Reborn

The vibrant color and animation of the rock paintings made 3000 to 4000 B.C. at the Tassili Massif in the middle of the Sahara desert attest to the ability of the artist to capture the image of wildlife that flourished there in the past. Striking terra- cotta heads are known at Nok in present- day Nigeria from before 500 B.C. By the twelfth century A.D at Ife, southwest of Nok, bronze casting by the *cire- perdue* or lost- wax method produced remarkable naturalistic life- like figures. The world- renowned art of Benin, in wood carving and bronze casting, begun by 1280 A.D., flourished there from the fifteenth to

the eighteenth century. Masks associated with secret societies in the western bulge of Africa, stylized to represent animals, are noted for their skillful carving. In the making of boats and drums, masks and musical instruments, wooden stools and figurines to honor ancestors, statues and ceramics, the African displayed a feel for texture, a sense of beauty, and individuality, foreshadowing the hand work on the coast of Carolina. Color was used to enliven arts and crafts, to brighten the walls of a house, ornament a mask or headdress, dye textiles, and decorate pottery, often with symbolic meaning that went beyond esthetics. Everyone, man, woman, or child, learning the traditions of the tribe, took pride in skills required for the household arts, but items for the god or the king were produced by specially designated craftsmen.

With enslavement in the New World, the social fabric, the bonds of kinship, the artifacts made for king or god, and the rituals associated with them, were swept away from the African. Yet the ideas which motivate the creation of an object, along with the innate skill, endured. Many of the raw materials of tidewater Carolina were similar to those in Western and Central Africa, and it was advantageous to white masters to utilize the talents of black bondsmen.

From earliest days Charles Town needed craftsmen of many kinds; white artisans used both white and black apprentices who learned from each other. By the 1760s slave artisans were hired out by the day to clients, and some set up their own shops, paying a percentage of their earnings to their masters. Advertisements for runaway slaves in the eighteenth century attest to their many talents. In time the so- called "Bozal Negro" (or "salt man") fresh from Africa was apprenticed to one born in this country who acted as interpreter and trainer, utilizing skill the newcomer had in his homeland. A blacksmith who knew how to make spears or anklets or iron money in Africa could use the same techniques in making wrought iron gates or mule bits in America. Pride in craftsmanship, as well as talent, carried over into new occupations. Crafts came to be the special province of Free Persons of Color, often passed on from father to son for generations. On the large plantations of the Low Country, the sound of the saw of the carpenter and the anvil of the blacksmith rang out. Each plantation was efficiently run like a small town, supplying most of its own needs and finished products, often with the help of capable artisans. Crafts, such as basketry, sewing, weaving, and net making, were taught by adults to children as they were in Africa.

Thus, an interaction of European and African traditions arose in colonial South Carolina and Georgia that influenced the artifacts of slaves, as it did their language, beliefs, and practices. The style as much as the content revealed the African heritage; improvisation and changing needs helped to reshape the old into the new.

Tales from the Good Earth

If most of us dug into the ground where people had lived in past centuries, the fragments of pottery, bits of animal bones, pieces of metal, and assorted scraps uncovered would mean little. But to the trained archeologist the people and their culture come to life again from small things forgotten.

In antebellum plantation sites excavated, slave quarters are distinct from the master's house. A kitchen leaves different remains than a bedroom; thimbles and spools tell of sewing. In conjunction with the historical record, archaeology sheds light on the African American people and opens one more window in the search for connection to their homeland and transformation in America. African techniques are reflected in many items recovered from the soil of South Carolina from the earliest days of Charles Town into the nineteenth century. They were gradually transformed by European concepts into something new, and they also influenced the styles of the white masters.

Tahro, born in the Central Congo, transported in the slave ship Wanderer to Georgia in 1858, and later brought to Edgefield, South Carolina, constructed a one- room, seven by ten foot, rectangular dwelling with timber frame, lath walls held in place by twine netting, and straw- thatched roof. He said it was like the one he had built in Africa. Col. Higginson noted the African- style huts built by the

newly freed slaves on St. Helena in 1863. Tabby walls and palmetto fronds for roofing are still known in coastal Georgia as well as coastal Guinea, and thatched roofs could be found on the houses of the sea islands even into the twentieth century.

In tracing the story of dwellings in South Carolina, archaeology supplements history; sites excavated along the South Atlantic coast reflect an African heritage. Houses of slaves were more like African ones than those in any other place in the Southeast. Slave quarters of different periods show transition in their construction. The influence of Africa on white architecture is more subtle. When blacks first added a small porch to a cabin it reflected both utility and memory. The "piazza" of the typical Charleston house, which catches the breeze during the heat of the summer, had antecedents in the West Indies and developed slowly. Notably, side porches or piazzas did not become common in that city until refugees arrived from Haiti after 1790. Thus, directly and indirectly via the West Indies, the architectural ideas of Africa crept into South Carolina and Georgia, with a lasting influence on buildings of blacks and whites.

Yard and garden around the home also show African influence. In many societies, notably the Ibo, Idama, and Yoruba of Nigeria, immense value is placed on protecting the sacred soil. The paling fences enclosing small yards on old coastal plantations are strikingly similar to palm rib fences between the dwellings in southwestern Nigeria. The custom of sweeping the yard with a straw broom and using bottles to edge flowerbeds or walkways probably also owes its origin to West Africa, and has retained its utility in America.

Colono Ware

The African heritage and its transformation is dramatically illustrated by pottery found in the soil of Carolina. Archeologist Leland Ferguson found that hand- built, unglazed, clay pots from colonial sites, attributed to Native Americans and called "Colono- Indian," were also made by African Americans. Such pottery was far more frequent than all other types combined, more common in rural than urban settings, and abundant wherever slaves had lived. They made up 87 percent of ceramics at the slave quarters at Yaughan, near Georgetown, but only 16 percent at the planter's house at Drayton Hall, near Charleston. Evidently fired at a low temperature and unglazed, their shape, coarse, thick walls, loop handles, and round bottoms indicated their manufacture by blacks. "Wasters," or pieces fractured during firing, clumps of unfired clay, and even finger marks indicate that the vessels had been made by slaves for their own use.

Some pottery, christened "Colono Ware," bore striking similarity to some African forms. It predominated in the early eighteenth century and declined rapidly with the end of the slave trade in the nineteenth, as more glazed, European- style pottery appeared. Colono Ware died out about the same time that African- style buildings yielded to European- style ones on plantations, an example of cultural adaptation. Blacks in the West Indies made similar pottery, and still do today. Bowls for cooking and eating found at an eighteenth century slave site at Drax Hall, Jamaica, are called "jabba" after a Twi word meaning earthenware vessel or dish; a contemporary pot from Nevis near Barbados shows the same traits as those from Carolina.

Pottery- making has a long and impressive history in Africa. Appearing in a Nigerian rock shelter soon after 4000 B. C., it reached an outstanding technical level by the beginning of the first millennium A. D. It is also known from megalithic sites in Senegambia and Mali by the second half of that millennium, reaching a climax in the artistic creations in terra- cotta at Nok. Cooking jars and serving bowls are known from the Fulani to the Kongo- - and the potsherds left behind are similar to those found in colonial Carolina. Using the same techniques, the eighteenth- century black Carolinian potters transmitted the heritage of their ancestors. A surprising discovery associates people of Central Africa with some vessels.

Strange marks were centered on the bottom of a few Colono Ware bowls. A cross frequently occurred inside a ringed base, but never on cooking jars or pots of any clearly European ware. Most remarkable, of seventeen such pieces, thirteen were from underwater sites, five at Pimlico and eight at Mepkin Plantation, both along the Cooper River, although terrestrial sites are far more common. With its quadrants and circle, was this the famous Cosmogram of the BaKongo people that traces the cycle of life? As their *minkisi* or sacred medicine was prepared by the progenitor of their kingdom himself in an earthenware pot, what could be a better container for healing magic than a clay bowl? One can imagine an African slave, seeking a cure for a dying child, stealing away in the dead of night to the river bank and hurling the bowl with its magic symbol into the water, so that its message might travel to that other world, reverse an evil spell, and save a loved one. The beliefs of Central Africa literally sank deep into the soil of Carolina. Clay jugs with faces of bulging white eyes and large clenched teeth made by African Americans in the early 1860s near Edgefield in Aiken County suggest a grotesque ferocity. Did they convey the emotions of resentment, anger, or satire of these slaves closely akin to the sea islanders? Most of the Africans landed on Jekyll Island, Georgia, by the slave ship *Wanderer,* who ended up near Edgefield were Kikongo speakers.

Style and usage indicate an African inspiration for these Carolina ceramics as well as connections to the West Indies. The terra- cotta traditions at Nok and Ife still live among Africans who fashion clay figures today. Inspiration for the sculpture of the nineteenth- century black Carolinians probably had several sources, from Sierra Leone through Ghana to the Bantu of Central Africa. Half- remembered forms, available material, originality, and the opportunity to express in clay feelings of resistance or ridicule of masters combined with demand to produce aflorescence of unique sculpture, a further example of creolization.

Food for Thought

What we eat and how we eat it, products of culture, are reflected in the deposits left behind in the dust as archaeology again supplements history. Of some dozen sites on the coast of South Carolina and Georgia that have yielded secrets of the past life of African Americans, especially rich are those from Couper's plantation at Cannon's Point on St. Simons Island from 1794 through 1860. Archaeology of Barbados and Jamaica also provide important links between Africa, the West Indies, and the Low Country.

The careful analysis of animal remains from the slave quarters of Tidewater plantations shows that blacks supplemented their rations of corn, meal, rice, vegetables, and a little pork with whatever they could catch in the woods or the waterways, for the bones of wild animals and fish outnumber those of domestic animals two to one. Lead shot, gunflints, and fishhooks in slave cabins give further evidence of this dietary supplement. Remains in the earth show that the manner of partaking of food in the New World continued the habits of the Old. In West and Central Africa the starchy main dish of millet or rice or maize (after 1500) is usually boiled in a large jar; a vegetable relish with a little meat or fish added is cooked in a smaller one. The main dish is then served in a large bowl, the relish in smaller ones. Sitting upon the ground in a group, native Africans take a ball of the starchy main dish in their hands and dip it into the relish. That this custom is widespread in space and time is borne out by travelers' accounts from Mali in 1352, the Gambia River in 1623, Sierra Leone in 1803, and Angola in 1865, down to the present- day Mossi and the Dukkawa of Nigeria.

The communal African style of cooking, eating, and drinking, learned by children from their parents, survived in America. Such techniques may have furnished antecedents for the stewed hominy, potages, pileaus, and "Hoppin' John" that sea island slaves cooked in iron pots and served in ceramic bowls. The spade of the archeologist confirms the memory of ex- slaves of Tidewater Georgia in the late 1930s who recalled how the old folks fresh from Africa sat on the ground and ate with their fingers out of a bowl. African foodways also influenced whites. Many insist that okra soup doesn't taste right

unless it is cooked slowly in an earthenware vessel. A good black cook created more than a satisfying meal; she also perpetuated an African- derived culture.

Men of Iron

From the early years of the colony men of African origin labored as blacksmiths in the manufacture of iron goods. In the rural areas their skill was needed in the making of nails, hinges, screws, bolts, rakes, tubs, weights, and all other metal goods. In the town the ironmaster became a specialist in great demand as able black workers labored together developing their own craft traditions. Skill in the foundry was a two- edged sword - - literally; slave blacksmiths supplied the Denmark Vesey insurrection of 1822 with daggers, bayonets, pikes, and swords.

Charleston, like New Orleans, became famous for its delicate nineteenth century wrought iron work. Black and white craftsmen were employed in the production of such ornamental masterpieces as the gates of St. Philips Church, Hibernian Hall, and the famous Sword Gate. "Uncle Toby" Richardson, a top rank artist in iron, was the leader of five African American workmen who carried out his plans.

The tradition still lived in the twentieth century in Philip Simmons, a modern ornamental ironworker of Charleston who learned his trade from Peter Simmons (no kin), an ex- slave, who in turn learned from his father Guy Simmons. Philip's tremendous vision is the first step in the creative process; he trains his eyes and hands to reproduce the image in his mind, sketches it on paper, then draws it in chalk. Yet as the metal parts are forged, his mental picture is modified. The struggle in his mind to make his vision clear lends vitality to his creations, such as his repeated efforts to get the eye of the snake to look alive. Just as he recognizes that no two leaves in nature are identical, he produces individual leaves in the ironwork of a screen partition. As he works and views the product of his labor he says repeatedly:

"That's got it; that's the one; that's the one." It is tempting to derive specific forms in colonial ironwork from African ancestors. One eighteenth century wrought- iron statue found in slave quarters in Alexandria, Virginia, with linear body and limbs expressing the essence of the human form, bears a striking resemblance to the sculpture of the Bamana of Mali. The copper rice tester, plunged into the depth of a full barrel to determine its quality, is similar to the ceremonial Po spoon or rice scoop of Liberia handed down through generations as an honorific emblem of the chief's mother or wife. But the few links in the chain of metal work of the Gullah people and their African ancestors are nebulous and modified by time and necessity.The designs of the Carolina craftsmen are essentially Euro- American dictated by the needs and tastes of whites. The African heritage and ability, guided by improvisation, combined with them to create a unique symphony in iron.

Wood Carving

Cooper of Yamacraw near Savannah well deserved his nickname "Stick Daddy" for his carving of slender walking sticks with reptilian designs. Lifelike snakes, lizards, or alligators appear to crawl up these canes, made more realistic by low relief and a stain that distinguishes them from the background wood. William Rogers of Darien carved a heavy cane topped by a man's head with small, high- set ears, broad mouth, and eyes of blue beads held in by minute steel nailheads as short little arms and four- fingered hands clutch the sides of the bust. Below is a carefully executed alligator stretched vertically against the shaft, as though climbing on the man's trunk. Its limbs grasping the sides, a grid of incisions to replicate scales on its back, and beads for eyes, enhance the graphic yet stylized portrait of the animal.

Equally impressive is a wooden frog carved by Rogers which looks as if it is about to catch an insect. Its powerful shoulders lift the massive, rounded body above the base; eyes of beads, secured by minute brass nails for pupils, set in the triangular head, give a realistic feel to the sculpture. Craftsmen also made utilitarian objects, such as a wooden spoon with a sculpted head on the top.

Wood carving and bead- work are well known throughout Africa; natives mix a main medium such as wood with a minor one such as beads. The human and animal figures from the Georgia coast are reminiscent of the mixed media found in the statuary of the Songye and BaKongo of Central Africa and tribes of the Cameroons and Nigeria. Although similar decorated canes come from Holland and from American Indians, the abundance and arrangement of reptiles in carvings from coastal Georgia strongly suggest their likely connection to the ceremonial staffs sculptured throughout Africa. Among the BaKongo, lusumu, special sharp- pointed staffs with idiographic symbols in low relief, combine the function of a walking stick and a stylus. As *suma* means to dig with a pointed stick or to discover, the double meaning is revealed as elders dig with a stick to bring to light hidden issues of the past.

The human figure carved on the Georgia coast is treated in a manner similar to that found all over Africa. Polished surfaces, symmetrical postures, geometrical incisions, and serpentine flutings proclaim the trans- Atlantic continuity. One Savannah- made cane that displays a mask form with long spiraling horns and eyes set on sharp raking angles is strongly reminiscent of an Ogoni mask from Nigeria. The face on another is similar to the Poro masks of the Dan people of Liberia and the Ivory Coast. Painting in only one color and carefully smoothed and luminous surfaces are typical of finishing on both sides of the Atlantic.

Beyond all of the content and art style is the mystique behind the wooden figures. Like the snakes that coil around the walking sticks, magic and religion coil around every facet of life of the sea islanders; canes with entwined serpents are called "conjure sticks." Since magic and healing are also interwoven here as in Africa, reptiles may well be employed to ward off the harm of evil spirits, illness, and death. Societies along the Congo River believe that enemies appear in the form of crocodiles and snakes; traditional African American healers cure their patients by presenting them with the cause of their illness in tangible reptilian form. Allen Parker near Savannah, both a sculptor and a conjuror, illustrated this synthesis of art and magic.

The inspiration, skill, style, and symbolism underlying the wood figures of the Tidewater are evidently derived from West and Central Africa. The techniques and many of the forms owe much to the western bulge of the continent, but the deepest meaning stems largely from the Congo- Angola region.

One black wood carver said that the inspiration for his work came as a personal vision. This mystical element, improvisation, and sensitivity for texture combined to produce artistic wooden sculpture on both sides of the Atlantic; practical demands shaped this sculpture in the New World.

Boats and Fishing

The myriad waterways that wind around the sea islands made travel by boat a necessity from the earliest days of settlement, and the teeming fish provided sustenance as well. Blacks have served on these waters as guides, oarsmen, and fishermen for three centuries.

The dugout canoe, usually attributed to the Indians, was also shaped by Europeans and by Africans. The Native Americans used a single log, dug or burned out the center, and left it blunt at both ends; the Euro- Americans modified it, pointing one or both ends. Such double- ended dugouts are also well known in Africa from Senegal to Angola where skilled seamen have used them for ages.

The Carib Indians of the West Indies made a multiple log boat from several hewn pieces of wood. The French word "pirogue" for this Carib vessel became the piragua, periagua, or pettiauger familiar on the Carolina coast. Made from giant cypress trees, it was described at least as early as 1709 by John Lawson. Sometimes in both Africa and America a sail was added. The bateau or batoe, a flat-bottomed boat with a square stern made of boards that curve upward at the ends and sides to make a bow, may have evolved from the dugout on the sea islands where it was common into the twentieth

century. From earliest days blacks not only navigated these boats but also built them, calling upon skills taught in their homeland as well as techniques of Indians and Europeans.

Many Africans, near the coast or lakes, were also experienced fishermen; they readily transferred their talents to the catching of seafood on the Carolina shores where "Fishing Negroes" emerged early in the eighteenth century. Some of them even followed the West African practice of damming a stream, adding a toxin to the waters, and then catching the fish, stunned but nonetheless edible.

Men of the Gold Coast and the Carolina coast are equally adept at the ancient art of catching shrimp or fish with a net. In one clever technique, fishermen of the sea islands rap on the side of a boat or on a drum with increasing rhythm, attracting porpoises who circle the boat and scare fish into their nets. Natives of West Africa off Cape Mirik use a similar acoustic signal, slapping the water to get porpoises to herd mullet into their nets. Significantly, on the Sea Islands in the winter, when men knit new nets and repair old ones, they use a needle of palmetto wood, much as they do in Nigeria.

Quilts as Cryptic Chronicles

Necessity is the mother of invention. Textiles, initially imported into the colony of Carolina, were soon made from local materials. Although silk cultivation was attempted as early as 1699, and wool and flax were woven, cotton would become the major fabric for clothing and for the household. On the plantations skillful slaves became adept at spinning and weaving, embroidering, knitting and dressmaking, using the materials and techniques presented by the white masters. Yet the African heritage was expressed nowhere more clearly than in quilts, all the more surprising since these padded bed covers came to America from chilly England and Holland, known there since the Middle Ages. However, winters in Carolina could be cold, so the need for warmth, the presence of fabric, and the nimble fingers of Africans made bedfellows - - literally.

Created from any available scraps of cloth of assorted shapes, sizes, and colors, quilts represent the ultimate in the blend of economy, practicality, and esthetics; the very placement of the scraps of varied design and color have a dramatic effect. Most characteristic of the Sea Islands is the "strip quilt," pieced work in which the rectangular bits of cloth are first sewn into a long strip. The back is cut from lightweight material; batting is placed between the layers as the quilt is stretched on wooden frames. The colors in a quilt convey a deeper meaning than meets the eye, connected to the beliefs and values of the sea island people, as they are in Africa. Red indicates danger, conflict, passion; blue repels bad spirits; white suggests innocence and purity.

Symbolism in design is equally significant. The cross in quilts in the Americas and the Caribbean is not necessarily a Christian symbol. In one quilt made on Johns Island a cross with large, pink arms, contrasting with a dark blue off- center middle section, was seen by residents there as representing danger, evil, and bad feelings. Crosses, reminiscent of the Four Moments of the Sun, could well have found their way into coastal Carolina from Congo and Angola; slave quilters of the past found ways to disguise an African cosmology in their patterns. In contrast to the centrality and symmetry of the squared off designs of European American quilts, the patterns of the African American ones are more undulating or curvilinear. A staggered strip formation conveys spontaneity; what appears random expresses a freedom of improvisation. The symphony woven into cloth is comparable to the syncopation woven into music. On a more subtle and unconscious level undulating lines correspond to that oblique or indirect manner in personal contacts and modes of speech often found in African American interactions. The illustrations in the book by Fry aptly named *Stitched from the Soul* show that slaves could sew regular, conventional patterns as well as spontaneous ones.

In the Sea Islands quilts communicate affection and celebrate family history – a marriage, birth, or departure for school. When one accompanies a departing family member, it is a reminder of the powerful ties of kinship. "Members of a family can identify the patches and can tell whose clothing, drapes, or household cloths they were before they did final duty in the quilt tops...The quilts are

cryptic chronicles, readable only by those who are initiated into the lexicon and context of the familial documents involved. They are an historical record, a primary source, coming directly out of the life of the family – only understood by them and possibly treasured all the more because of it."

Putting together a quilt is more than a craft. A quilting bee is a traditional social event with food and drink, gossip and song, that brings together families and neighbors and strengthens the feeling of communality. In the past, quilting also provided an outlet for the slaves, establishing a kind of emotional stability and independence, a means of gaining perspective and control.

The link with Africa becomes apparent when the philosophy as well as the fabrics of that continent are examined. With natural fibers so abundant, cotton, wool, and silk were woven in the great kingdoms of the Western Sudan in the Middle Ages. Not only the looms and the colors in the cloth are similar, but also the role of the family in creating the product and improvisation as the guiding spirit in design.

Quilts of the Sea Islands show striking resemblance in their patterns to the fabrics of West Africa, especially those of Ghana and Benin, where men weave cloth into long narrow strips, cut into usable lengths and edge- sewn together. The appliquéd figures in the distinctive cloths of the Fon of Benin (formerly Dahomey) represent events in the history of the people, the African analog to the cryptic chronicle stitched into the quilts of the sea islanders. In the Congo, cloth woven in the past from raffia, a form of palm, became a major export, along with ivory, hides, and slaves, in trade with the Portuguese. Undoubtedly the influence of these ethnic groups survived in the Gullah- speaking people. Just as in folklore, proverbs, intonations in speech, and face vessels, quilts provided slaves with an opportunity to express subtle meanings hidden from their white rulers. Originality against a backdrop of design was molded to practical needs in the textiles created by the sea island people.

Row Upon Row

Nowhere is the re- creation of the skill, the technique, and even the material of an African craft shown more vividly than in the weaving of baskets on the coast of Carolina. Several ladies, like Mary Jane Manigault, weave and sell baskets to tourists along Highway 17 in Mt. Pleasant across the Cooper River from Charleston. Fingers first bend a bundle of grasses into a knot, then coil a thin and flexible binder around it to make a tight bundle. Row upon row, with patience and precision, she twists the grass bundle into an ever widening clockwise circle, turning later coils slightly upward to build the bowl.

The most commonly used foundation today is sweetgrass (*Muhlenbergia filipes*), a long- stemmed plant that grows beside the marshes of coastal Carolina. For variety of color the dark brown needles of the long- leafed pine (*Pinus palustris*) alternate with this golden yellow grass. Binding the coils together in a rhythmic spiral are strips of leaves of palm (*Sabal palmetto*). The tool for punching the hole for the binder, now usually the handle of a filed down spoon, is called a "bone," for it once was an animal bone. What a variety of articles they produce in so many shapes and sizes - - round baskets and oval baskets, sewing baskets, market baskets and clothes baskets, fruit baskets with handles, baskets with lids, and elaborate vases for flowers; open work hampers and cake trays; hats and mats; and baskets with filigrees and secondary coils and endless innovations. The weaving of baskets, like the making of quilts, is often a family affair and a social event. Women generally make them, young boys help, men gather the materials, and some weave too. Oldsters teach youngsters, thus preserving a family tradition.

When rice dominated the economy, baskets were common. Mentioned in a will in 1730, they may have been in use as early as the seventeenth century. Essential for processing the grain was the "fanner," a circular, shallow, dish- like basket nearly two feet across. When the threshed and pounded grain from the fanner is thrown up into the air, the wind blows away the chaff. Like the deeper storage basket of the times, it was generally made of black rush, bound with white oak or saw palmetto.

Baskets were used in those days for harvesting and winnowing corn, for benne seed and sorghum seed, for carrying corn and peas and other produce, for sewing, and even for collecting money in church.

The value of basket- making is proven by the record of the times. The *Charleston Gazette and Advertiser* for February 15, 1791, announced the public auction of "A Negro Man, who is a good jobbin' carpenter and an excellent basket maker." Some slaves created baskets not only for their own plantation but for sale elsewhere; men no longer fit for heavier work could weave baskets. Indians also made baskets, but the style of weaving and their usage were different. Native Americans strapped a basket to the back by a rope across the forehead; sea islanders carried it on the head like their African ancestors. The art of basketry declined with the demise of rice cultivation, but northern teachers who came south trained young people at Penn School in the art and later African

African American women created today's thriving markets along Highway 17 and in Charleston. Across the Atlantic lies one source of this craft. Most of the plant fibers used, palm and grasses, grow widely in Africa; many baskets made there are much like those of the sea islands in the coiling technique, in the manner of stitching, and in their use, if not in their color accents. But coiled rice fanners are unique to Senegal and could be interchanged for those on the Sea Islands. While the concept of the early baskets likely came from Central Africa, the predominant influence probably entered the colony with rice cultivation from Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and the coast south of it, and diffused widely over the rice kingdom. Baskets, like boats, illustrate the complex interweave of African, European, and Native American traditions that enriched the life of the Gullah.

In Memoriam

Of all the artifacts of the Tidewater, those associated with the awesome mystery of death reveal the most profound and moving retention of the meaning of life. Broken bottles and other ornaments in an African American cemetery are expressions of religion and magic; anything from a pitcher or tumbler to a clock or lamp chimney is piled upon the earth. Closer inspection may reveal a small headstone marking an individual grave. In light of the meaning behind this clustered assortment, it seems a sacrilege to call them grave decorations, for they are an integral part of the belief system of the interred and those who buried them -- offerings to the deceased, yes, but much more. Like the ancient pharaohs, these dead must be given whatever they may need in the next world lest the spirit come back.

Antecedents for this funeral practice have a long history throughout West and Central Africa. Bosman observed earthenware images placed on top of the grave at Axim on the coast of modern Ghana in the early 1700s; the Ekoi of southeastern Nigeria buried devotees of the goddess Nimm under a stick framework with the belongings of the deceased suspended beneath. The Akan people of Ghana and the Ivory Coast honor their dead by placing on the grave pottery, wooden cooking vessels, and terra-cotta portraits. The deceased of the Yoruba today are often buried in the floor of the house and the site marked on an adjacent wall by an embedded china plate.

The most impressive use of objects on the grave comes from Central Africa. In 1884 Glave noted in the Congo that "natives mark the final resting place of their friends by ornamenting their graves with crockery, empty bottles, old cooking pots, etc., etc., all of which articles are rendered useless by being cracked or penetrated with holes." The image of death, the end of things within this world, is indicated by piercing the bottom of a porcelain mug to be placed on the grave. Whether in the Congo or in South Carolina, spiritual presence and surveillance can be summoned by placing on the surface of a tomb china figurines, pitchers, and mugs associated with the departed. To incise the lozenge-shaped Cosmogram, the horizontal line of the cross within a circle that divides the world of the living from that of the dead, upon the side of a terra- cotta grave marker cuts through the materiality of the objects treated and links them to their spiritual doubles, completing the circle of the sun within the kingdom of the dead.

Like the fountain which retains its form even as the drops of water change, Kongo art for the dead remains the same even as it incorporates new expressions in cloth, stone, or terra- cotta. Kongo tombs become ritual earthworks, conceptual doors to another universe, an intricate field of mediatory signs, materially simple but conceptually rich. The inverted bottles around a Kongo chief's grave make an enclosure or luumbu, transcending time and space, which shields the dead from outside forces and protects the living from the emanations of his power. Echoes of the concept of the tomb as a courtyard or enclosure are found in Carolina when shells mark the grave.

Shells have special meaning in the metaphysics of the Kongo people; they imply immortality through a pun, for *zinga* means both "spiral- form shell" and "to live long." In old days, they conceived of hiding the soul in shells; pressing them into the earth, they prayed: "When you leave for the sea, take me along, that I may live forever with you." Compare that with the words of a black woman from St. Simons Island, Georgia: "The shells stand for the sea. The sea brought us, the sea shall take us back. So the shells upon our graves stand for water, the means of glory and the land of demise." Moored like a transparent vessel through which the grasses of this Tidewater area penetrate, the circle of shells encloses a single broken axis of further shells and flowers. The inner axis is studded with signs of love (the flowers), stretching in a line to guide the spirit, with respect and honor, into the other world.

Those mirrors and other pieces of glass that glitter on top of the grave convey a similar symbolic meaning. Flashing mirrors and glass play a similar role on the graves of blacks in Africa and America. Taken from the dead man's house they hold the spirit at safe distance from the living. A lamp or fragment of a lamp chimney serves a symbolic purpose, for the Kongo lit bonfires on the grave to lead the souls of the departed into the next world.

The last objects used by the deceased are important because his last strength resides in them. To touch them is to receive powerful messages from the dead communicated in dreams; placing them on the grave grounds their awesome potentiality. As one resident of St. Helena explained, even the last drops of medicine remaining from a sick person should be allowed to drain into the earth above the grave to assure healing in the other world and avoid displacement of the spirit. A pipe for smoking or a water pipe also has a symbolic meaning. The stem of either one, found on graves on both sides of the Atlantic, serves to bridge two worlds, one through smoke and the other through water. In the land of the Kongo a tree planted on the grave is a symbol of immortality, for it continues to live even while its roots, moored to the earth, indicate the kingdom of the dead. In 1850 William Cullen Bryant, visiting South Carolina, noted that "a few trees, tailing with long moss, rise above hundreds of nameless graves" of blacks. Myriad examples exist today along the coast; a pine tree soaring from the middle of a grave equals the immortal spirit of the deceased. From a million graves rises a silent plea for understanding of a people, their burden, and their heritage.

The many currents that played upon the material culture of coastal South Carolina and Georgia for two centuries may never be distinguished. Examples cited here are indications, but certainly not proof, of any direct connection of any specific African region to the Low Country. Unless future research on both sides of the ocean uncovers comparable influences from the western bulge of the continent, it is a safe bet that the Congo- Angola area had an early, pervasive, profound, and lasting effect upon the artifacts of the Tidewater, as it did upon the lexicon and fundamental beliefs of its people.

The material culture of Africa was retained on the coast of Carolina and Georgia because this holdover of memories and talents was useful to blacks and whites alike. Objects with symbolic meaning and emotional impact for blacks, like the cross on quilts or grave- markers, beyond the comprehension of whites, gave added impetus to their survival. Like language and culture, artifacts were re- created in the Sea Islands from African sources, sometimes influenced by Native American crafts, and molded by the customs and economic needs of Europeans into something new and unique.

The events in the latter half of the twentieth century have brought further change to the sea islanders, often threatening their way of life.

Chapter 7 Revelations: From Darkness into Light

***Ain't you got a right to the tree of life?* - - Guy and Candie Carawan**

For generations the same peaceful way of life continued, filled with hard work but self- sufficiency and satisfaction. Fishermen flung their nets into creek and ocean to catch crabs, shrimp, and fish, and gathered oysters and clams. Farmers hoed the sandy soil to grow vegetables and cotton. Winter was the time for sewing clothes and quilts and mending nets. Evenings and weekends were ideal for the telling of folktales, for basket making, for song and dance, and for the expression of that religious faith and hope, which, like the Gullah speech itself, united the people and reflected their African heritage.

From Civil War to Civil Rights

After the upheaval of the Civil War and the changes of the Reconstruction era from 1865 through 1877, the Sea Islands experienced relative stability to the end of the century. Following the demise of rice and cotton cultivation, truck farming and tree farming arose in the area. Despite the migration of African Americans from the fields of the South to the cities of the North, beginning after World War I, the population of the Sea Islands remained rather stable and overwhelmingly black through the first half of the twentieth century. Even in the mid 1950s most natives remained on their local island. In a Charleston clinic where 19 out of 20 black patients interviewed by the author were born in the coastal tier of counties, 85 percent of their parents had also been born there, usually in the same small locality.

Yet the building of bridges and roads, beginning in the 1930s, led in time to commuting and erosion of the isolation that had produced a unique culture. Federal projects created more arable land, improved farming practices, and increased productivity, but pushed residents off the land and introduced a cash- based society. The shift from a barter to a money economy altered the culture and social structure of the Gullah people. More profound change followed the purchase of large tracts of land on Hilton Head Island for their timber in 1950. Entrepreneurs began to consolidate cheap land and "tax land" on the Sea Islands. Through family inheritance everyone had received a small portion of property; relatives who had moved to New York were offered a small cash settlement for their "heir rights." When tax values rose on waterfront property beyond the financial capacity of Gullah farmers, a "friendly corporation" would pay the tax, buy up the land, and force the natives to move. By 1980 whites outnumbered blacks on Hilton Head five to one. But as Beoku- Betts expressed it, "You can't move the culture and traditions from one area and plant it in another. You can't move Papa from here, sit him in the middle of Atlanta, and say, 'Make your cast net.'"

Between 1930 and 1980, even as the number of blacks on the Sea Islands increased, the percentage declined, especially after the 1950s and on the islands closest to the city. In 1930 on St. Helena, the most populous island, twenty- four out of every twenty- five people were black. But by 1980 with little change in the total number only three out of every five people there were black. Johns Island, further away from the city, tells a similar story; although its black population gradually increased, the percentage of the total fell from 87 to 43. On James Island, even though blacks more than doubled their number in that half century, their percentage of the total fell from 79 to 22 as so many white people settled in this area. By 1990, islands nearer Charleston were dramatically different in composition and appearance, although on Edisto and Wadmalaw and the area near McClellanville blacks still outnumbered whites more than two to one.

Where rice fields and shacks once dominated the low and level landscape, exclusive high- rise resorts are now surrounded by imposing walls. "No Trespassing" signs bar natives from the roads they once traveled. Developers threaten the fragile environment and the historic way of life of the black natives

who remain. Blacks who fed table scraps to their hogs or failed to remove junk from their yards have even been fined. The number of those weaving traditional baskets on the islands has declined as the needed sweetgrass has been killed by chemical pollutants, and those practicing folk medicine and speaking Gullah has decreased greatly in recent years.

Yet there is hope as natives have become more aware of their rights and opportunities, and new organizations seek to preserve their way of life. The South Carolina Coastal Conservation League and the Neighborhood Legal Assistance Program offer help on land use planning. The Sea Island Preservation Project, launched by Penn Center, trains residents to balance environmental protection and cultural preservation with responsible development. Saving a culture goes hand in hand with saving an ecology.

Political rights also go hand in hand with social and economic justice. During the twelve years of Reconstruction some blacks had achieved positions of prominence and power. But after Union troops left in 1877, white southerners regained control and established segregation of blacks by Jim Crow laws. Whereas the South Carolina Constitution of 1868 had given African Americans the largest political rights, the Constitution of 1895 was for the express purpose of taking them away. It effectively banned blacks from voting through literacy and property tests, and mandated separate schools. There were two sets of everything from churches and schools to restaurants and drinking fountains based on skin color throughout the state and the South.

Septima Clark, a black woman born in Charleston in 1898, was a major driving force in changing that. When she was fired as a school teacher in 1955 for belonging to the NAACP, she discovered Highlander School in Tennessee that was concerned with African Americans, and soon began training others in passive resistance to racial barricades. In 1957 she and Esau Jenkins began a citizenship education school on Johns Island to involve black people in the political process. With patience and persistence, despite threats and attempted bribes, they promoted literacy and voter registration, making blacks aware of their rights and potential power. The training of school teachers spread throughout the south, a spearhead of the civil rights movement. When the folksinger Guy Carawan came to Johns Island in 1959, he was immediately impressed with the cultural heritage of the sea islanders, especially their music. Spirituals, folk tales, and game songs performed by the Moving Star Hall Singers were spread over the country in person and by recordings. The song "Keep Your Hand on the Plow" evolved into "Keep Your Eyes on the Prize," a spiritual that became one of the great inspirational themes of the civil rights movement of the sixties. As the title of Carawan's book of pictures and quotations from the people of Johns Island expressed it, "*Ain't You Got a Right to the Tree of Life?*"

The Sea Island Comprehensive Health Care Corporation grew out of the Rural Mission and Progressive Club started by Esau Jenkins. Through clinics in the Sea Islands and those at the Medical University of South Carolina in Charleston, African Americans are enjoying better health care today, a major building stone in the quality of life. As more people survive the pestilences of the past that slaughtered so many in their prime, chronic diseases of maturer age take their deadly toll. Not long ago heart disease conjured up a picture of the hard- driving white male, but with changing lifestyles and an aging population, mortality from cardiovascular illness has risen dramatically, especially among blacks and females. The Charleston Heart Study, following 2,283 adults for thirty years, showed no significant difference in death rates between the races; among women only, blacks actually had a somewhat greater mortality and higher systolic blood pressure than whites.

The picture from Africa is revealing. Nigerian women have more “apple- shape” obesity, with big waists, than their African American counterparts, but without the elevated systolic blood pressure of U.S. blacks. Cardiovascular disease there has been rare- - until recently. With changing lifestyles, with greater stress and high fat diets, these diseases are on the increase. They are low in rural areas, where people retain tribal customs, and high in the city, where western ways are adopted. Perhaps

Americans can learn something from Africans. Ongoing research at the Medical University of South Carolina also sheds light on such ethnic diseases such as diabetes and osteoporosis. Greater awareness of life- threatening factors, wider education, better facilities, early intervention, better diet, improved lifestyles, and race relations that minimize stress can increase health and longevity for the sea island people and for all African Americans. Good health requires a sound mind as well as a sound body. Vital ingredients include independence, self esteem, and confidence, with hope for the future and pride in the heritage of the past.

The African Heritage

From countless villages they came, speaking dozens of tongues, from the banks of the Gambia River through the forests of the Congo. Usually young, chained and frightened, they were thrust into the hold of a crowded, stinking slave ship and brought four thousand miles to the shores of Carolina and Georgia, directly or through the West Indies. Over two hundred thousand in all came to labor in the fields, shops, and homes of an alien land. With them came skills and memories, beliefs and practices of their homeland. They learned to adapt to strange ways, preserve yet modify their speech and customs, and shape new materials to their own needs and those of the masters. Isolated on large plantations with little migration, most blacks on the sea islands retained their biological and cultural heritage. Rice, that dominated and characterized South Carolina from the late eighteenth to the mid nineteenth century, was one of many crops that illustrates America's debt to Africans, for slaves were imported for their experience in growing it, especially from Sierra Leone.

The Gullah language, marked by unique intonation and rhythm as well as syntax and lexicon from African languages and English, remains the most characteristic feature of the sea islanders. The African emphasis upon kinship persisted in the New World to provide social and economic strength and the Old World love of communal living. Religion, clothed in Christianity, retained ancient African gods, faith, and practices, to provide the strongest possible spiritual support. Baptism in the river united the initiate with ancestors and nature spirits of the past as well as the society of the present. The funeral must insure that no troubled ghost of the deceased returns to haunt the living. Both the joy and the sorrow of life were celebrated in music. Like their African forebears, the sea island people expressed rhythm in their singing and dancing, often tied to religious ecstasy as in the ring shout. The spiritual, born of the Biblical hope of freedom and salvation, brought out the finest timbre of the African voice and enriched American music. Folklore of the Sea Islands, re- created with gestures before a responsive audience, preserved African memories, relieved the monotony of slavery, and permitted a sly jab at white masters.

The African feel for texture, familiarity with natural materials, pride of workmanship, improvisation, and necessity combined in the Low Country to produce creative crafts: baskets, quilts, ceramics, wrought iron, wood, and boats. Nowhere is African belief better expressed than in those varied objects of broken glass and shells placed upon the grave that shield the deceased and return his spirit to his gods and forebears.

The cultural traits most retained, although modified, in the sea islands were faith and feelings which promoted survival and did not conflict with the demands of white masters; they were best expressed in the bonds of the extended family, in religion and magic, in music and folklore. The language and culture that developed in the Sea Islands were more than retention, more than a mixture, but a creative synthesis borne of memory, necessity, and improvisation in a new environment. With it all, the people preserved an indomitable spirit that was never crushed by labor or lash, by poverty or prejudice. The flame that flickered never died out and lives on today along the coast. Blacks also had a continuing effect on whites on the Sea Islands as they did throughout the South. Along with gene flow went the influence of African Americans on the speech and culture of European Americans. Throughout the years of slavery and beyond, through house servants especially, whites derived some African heritage as blacks derived a European one. White children, brought up by black mammies,

absorbed stories and songs from Africa along with cuisine, affection, discipline, manners, and a deference to elders. Health involves more than the body.

As essential as good genes, nourishing food, and freedom from microbes are, health also rests upon the human spirit. Belief is vital for healing. The wisdom of ancient Africa continues to play a significant role in the lives of the sea islanders. Their courage, grace, and dignity, molded through years of hardship and the vicissitudes of life, give the Gullah people strength.

The sea islanders of today are threatened by the ever- increasing pace of modern life with its economic demands. They are not a museum piece, relics of the past, but rather survivors of enslavement, bondage, discrimination, and white privilege, fellow human beings entitled to work out their own destiny. Hopefully the best of sea island life, language, customs, and values can be preserved, even as the people take advantage of new opportunities and move into mainstream America.

The Gullah people can cherish individual differences and take pride in a unique heritage beneath the umbrella of our common humanity. They will then have the best of both worlds- - and set an example for others. The sea islands will then become more than the "see islands" for tourists; the Tidewater will reach its flood tide; and the Low Country will become the High Country of the African American experience.

Appendix E: *The Gullah of South Carolina: A Bbliography of Materials on the Gullah People* by Roslyn Saunders

"heap see, but few know"
This bibliography is dedicated to the few who know.

Introduction

The histories and cultures of the Gullah people have fascinated non- Gullahs for more than two hundred years. An early reference to Gullah as a description of African Diaspora enslaved people in the colonies was used before 1800. The Gullahs have been studied, restudied, and studied again. Their language, stories, spiritual beliefs, foods, music, and life patterns have been analyzed, criticized, and romanticized. The Gullah people I spoke to in the compiling of this book were amazed at the identifiers used to tell them who they were, are, and will be in the future. They were less than impressed with "those in authority" claiming to understand them, be sympathetic toward them, help them understand their own culture, and dictate how Gullah should be preserved for future Gullah generations.

The Gullah people know their language and culture are unique and yet there are variations from location to location. Each rice and cotton plantation was an isolated island where African words, techniques in cultivation, crafts, and/or daily life had minor differences. The Gullah embrace these differences and do not claim nor do they want anyone else to label them as the same from one region to the next.

The Gullah know that rarely have the benefits gained from studying them returned to their community. They are a people who know where they came from, where they are today, and where their culture is evolving to. I'm not sure if the outside world knows as much as it thinks it knows about these people. The memories of enslavement, the "big gun shot" of the Civil War, the years of threats and intimidation experienced after the Civil War called Reconstruction, as well as today's resort development along the coast have had an impact on them. They see again the use of threats and intimidation to get their land and rearrange their culture to benefit non- Gullah people.

They have "circled their wagons" and are looking inward to preserve their culture and heritage. They are the Gullah stayed in the coastal communities and those who have returned from the cities with college and university degrees to reclaim their identity.

The Gullah have begun to document and tell their own story from their cultural point of view. The Gullah are no longer willing to tolerate being told who they are. They are their own future and they will determine how that future evolves.

Preparation of this bibliography was made possible by the National Park Service.

Acknowledgments

A book is a pestering experience, it is going back and forth to identify, research, document, and verify information. It is necessary to ask numerous questions. Librarians and library assistants are asked to provide their time, attention, knowledge, and assistance to one person who is trying to bring an idea into reality. I asked and was fortunate enough to have been graciously given time, attention, knowledge, and assistance.

I would like to thank James Carolina, Georgetown County Library and Dennis Adams, Beaufort County Library for their help above and beyond what was required of them.

Thank you to Jane Brown at the Waring Historical Library at the Medical University of South Carolina for researching diseases affecting Africans in America, Marquetta Goodwine and Jarcee of the Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition, the staff at the South Carolina Historical Society, the Library Society of Charleston, and Charleston County Library for their help in providing information and resources.

To Tony Paredes, thanks. Tony is, Dr. J. Anthony Paredes, Chief Ethnographer, Southeast Region, National Park Service, Project Director for the book. When Tony asked me to research and compile the information about Gullah people in South Carolina neither of us realized how much had been done. The project which was supposed to take less than six months took a year. It stopped, not because there wasn't more which could have been added to the book, but, because we had to put an ending time on the report.

To all those, not named but remembered, who gave supportive words of encouragement thank you.

How this work came together

The time period for the collection of information for the book is after the Civil War during the 1860s to present day. This timeframe was chosen by Tony Paredes because it represents the most prolific period of information written and collected about the Gullah people. However, there are references listed in the book to Gullah prior to the Civil War. This was done because some of the materials are foundations upon which research that came afterward was based.

Using the Post Civil War timeframe and South Carolina coastal region as my primary parameters I compiled information in as many formats as I could find and from as many sources as I could identify. Public libraries in South Carolina contain vast quantities of materials about the Gullah. The South Carolina state library, and Georgetown, Charleston, and Beaufort county libraries are invaluable resources. Public libraries outside of South Carolina include the Library of Congress and the New York Public Library Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture are also resources.

I researched repositories which have information about the Gullah. The repositories were good sources for personal papers of people who had personal contact with Gullah people. People who had grown up on plantations where they played with Gullah children and or people who had lived in households where their parents employed Gullah men and women in a variety of jobs. Many of these papers contain stories stated as told by and in Gullah traditions. Stories, plays, poetry, and music containing characters using the Gullah language appear in these papers. All of the material - structure, spelling, format, and creation - are written by non- Gullah people. Sites on the Internet can be accessed via the libraries, as well as keyword searches using - the word Gullah; South Carolina history, lowcountry, and or slavery; rice plantation; or South Carolina Sea Islands.

Books, personal and family papers, articles in periodicals, films, audio and video tapes of events important in the lives of the Gullah people, and the many doctoral and masters papers focusing on various components of the lives of Gullah people are identified.

This collection is not complete. It is a guide to what is out there and should be used as a starting point. I annotated as many of the books as I could locate. In each section at least some of the material is annotated. Many of the books were written years ago and are difficult to locate. I have included them because a researcher can, with time and patience, track down the books. Since the major categories contain books of related content those books not annotated are important because they are a part of the larger reference base.

How to use this bibliography

This book is a resource guide of major categories. It is a road map to books, resources, and places where information about the Gullah people can be found. As a resource it is set up on a major heading concept. For example crafts do not indicate which crafts and if the crafts were building related, or food gathering, or creation of products to be sold along the roadside. The researcher will be required to follow the same procedures used in searching any data base. Beginning with the general heading and moving step by step to the specific reference he or she is looking for.

In the books category I annotated as many of the books as I could. However, the cookbooks were not annotated because I felt they needed to be explored and discovered on their own. Some of the books could have been placed in several categories, such as Margaret Washington Creel's *A Peculiar People*. To lessen the need for multiple listings the category History & Culture was used. Books in this category include components such as early African Diaspora history, economics of enslavement, family, lifestyle, and music; South Carolina history and the interrelationship to African history; and books outside of the general categories listing other books.

Books

Included in books are a range of topics. I have not attempted to cross- reference any of the books. I choose to put them in the first major category listed in the Library of Congress publication and identification listing. The person using this guide will need to either have a working knowledge of what he or she is looking for or be diligent enough to locate several sources in the guide and use them as a starting point. The key word concept used in any research project will be very helpful in using the guide.

The categories contain from one to many books depending on the references found and if they met the guidelines for time and contribution to the knowledge base about the Gullah people.

There have been numerous books of fiction written about the Gullah. I choose not to include the majority to them because they were written about the people not by the people. The books were written in a time when romanticizing about the "happy slave/servant" was necessary to maintain the illusion of everyone being in their "appropriate" place.

The two books I did include, *Brown Jackets* and *Old Mitt Laughs Last* do contribute to the larger understanding and knowledge of the Gullah people living on the coastal islands and their role as they saw it in the larger world.

Anecdotes

Information given by members of a community whose individual and collective memories still include experiences of enslavement are more than likely to be what the person listening wants to be told. The community person sees the arrangement as a matter of survival and truth, whatever it is, is best left discussed within the privacy of the community.

Verdier, Eva L.
1932 "When Gun Shoot": some experiences while taking the census among the low country Negroes of South Carolina. Charleston, SC: No Publisher Listed
Verdier chronicled some of her observations and experiences as she went through the Negro community. She recorded information given her by community people.

Art

Art has always been attributed to the African. However, it was not art that represented western cultural concepts. It was primitive, dangerous, and savage and represented a people and mindset best controlled by those more civilized and more attuned to a higher order.

Jonathan Green has taken his culture and interpreted it to the larger world. He gives that world a larger picture of the Gullah of his community. Robert Thompson puts the African/African American art in a historical and cultural context. These people were who they were and had a strong basis in art as an interpretation of their place in the universe. They had, as did all people, a system of beliefs of how, when, why, and for what purpose the universe was created and arranged and where they fitted in that arrangement.

Green, Jonathan
1996 *Gullah Images: The Art of Jonathan Green*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press
Green brings to his work the Gullah culture he was born into and grew up with. The themes of his art represent the lives of the people on the islands and along the coast of South Carolina.

Thompson, Robert F.
1983 *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro- American Art and Philosophy*. New York, NY: Vintage Books
In this book Thompson sets the frame of reference for looking at African art and beliefs from their beginnings in western regions of Africa to their transmigration to the western hemisphere.

Biography

Robert Smalls began as a slave and became a larger than life historical figure. He was a visionary, statesman, educator, and leader. Smalls was probably not the only leader among a people emerging from enslavement; he was the one whose life was told in all its vastness.

Miller, Edward A.
1995 *Gullah Statesman: Robert Smalls from Slavery to Congress, 1839- 1915*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press
The story of Robert Smalls during and after the Civil War is told; from his commandeering a Confederate ship, "The Planter", and sailing it out of Charleston harbor to his election to the United States Congress.

Cook Books: Food

Foods are one of the most important parameters for defining a culture. It is also one of the least studied parameters for telling the history and interactions of and across cultural lines. The Africans who survived the Middle Passage came will little but their knowledge of where they came from and on occasion plants and seeds they had grown and eaten.

The planter's table set the standard. Each planter had his own cook - - enslaved African women who cooked for the planter, his family, friends, and guests - - in addition to other plantation cooks. The planter's table was so important he measured his standing within the community of planters by the array and elaborateness of the foods and the number of guests at the table. All others within the European/American community - - non- planters, merchants, businessmen, tradesmen, workers - copied as closely as they could the patterns of the planters in each region. The foods included items introduced from the Native people whose land this was and from the foods and traditions of western African peoples.

Southern cooking is the infusion of foods, traditions, and African women unknowingly creating a style that is today identified with the south and yet not credited to the people who brought it to life.

Burn, Billie
1991 *Stirrin' the Pots on Daufuskie*. Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Company

Carter, Danella
1995 *Down- home Wholesome: 300 Low- fat Recipes from a New Soul Kitchen*. New York, NY: Dutton

Geraty, Virginia M.
1992 *Bittle en' t'ing': Gullah Cooking with Maum Chrish*. Orangeburg, SC: Sandlapper Publishing

Hess, Karen
1992 *The Carolina Rice Kitchen: The African Connection*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina

Nesbit, Martha G.
1996 *Savannah Entertains*. Charleston, SC: Wyrick & Company

Rhett, Blanche
1976 *Two Hundred Years of Charleston Cooking*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press

Smart- Grovenor, Vertamae
1970 *Vibration Cooking*. New York, NY: Ballantine Books

Viola, Herman J. and Carolyn Margolis, ed.
1991 "Savoring Africa in the New World" in *Seeds of Change*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press

Crafts

Africans brought a myriad of skills and knowledge to the colonies in the western hemisphere. The recognition given to African contributions to the building of the plantations has been uneven. It has ranged from total denial to limited acknowledgment to some contribution within a European base of acceptance. The belief that all knowledge and cultural information traveled from Europeans to Africans is still very well rooted in the larger society and among some members of academia.

Chase, Judith W.
1971 *Afro- American Art and Craft*. New York: Van Nostrand
Chase presents a detailed accounting of skills of Africans in America and the history of those skills from their African roots.

Day, Greg
1977 *South Carolina Low Country Coil Baskets*. Charleston, SC: The Communication Center, South Carolina Arts Commission

Tobin, Jacqueline L. and Raymond Dobard
1999 *Hidden in Plain View: The Secret Story of Quilts & the Underground Railroad*. New York, NY: Bantam Books
"Hidden in Plain View" is based on a story told to Tobin by Mrs. Ozella Williams. It is one story on the Underground Railroad of how quilts were used to carry messages and information from and to people who were oral in tradition and forced to remain unlearned.

Fleetwood, William C.
1995 *Tidecrafts: The Boats of South Carolina, Georgia, and Northern Florida, 1550- 1950*. Tybee Island, GA: WBG Marine Press
Boats, boat- building, and the cultural influences that determined their construction are presented. Drawings, maps, and reproductions of advertisements are included in the book.

Rosengarten, Dale
1994 *Row Upon Row: Sea Grass Baskets of the South Carolina Lowcountry*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.
This exhibition catalog is from a traveling exhibit done on the history of sweet grass baskets made by African American men and women in the lowcountry. Extensive photographs illustrate the variety, beauty, and uniqueness of the American version of an African tradition.

Vlach, John *M.*
1990 The Afro- American Tradition in Decorative Arts. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press
An extensive and detailed historic account of the contributions of African Americans to the decorative arts in the United States is presented.

Dictionary

The Gullah language was a living language, as are all languages. It was not and has not remained an unchanging system of communication. The language varied slightly from plantation to plantation and from island region to island region. Gullah spoken in the cities of Brunswick, Charleston, Georgetown, Savannah, and Wilmington varied from the Gullah spoken on the surrounding plantations and among the various cities. Today the language still contains the variations which identify its origin and specific cultural ties.

Geraty, Virginia M.
1997 *Gullah fuh Oonuh: A Gullah English Dictionary*. Orangeburg, SC: Sandlapper Publishing Co.
A dictionary of the Gullah language as heard on Yonges Island, South Carolina. The dictionary gives the word, its pronunciation, a use in a Gullah sentence, and the sentence translated into English.

Education

For the Gullah people their education has been from the perspective of people other than themselves. That is beginning to change. And the change is causing much controversy. The Gullah are beginning to tell the world who they are.

Brown, Thomas J. and Kitty Green
1998 *Lessons Learned From the Gullah Experience: Powerful Forces in Educating African- American Youth*. Columbia, SC: Brown Publishing

South *Carolina Department of Education*
1994 African Americans and the Palmetto State. Columbia, SC: SC Department of Education
This social studies text done for middle schools begins in the Middle Passage and comes into the mid- 1990s focusing on the contributions of African Americans in South Carolina's history.

Fiction

In the original concept of the book fiction was not to be included because fiction was not thought of as relevant to a scholarly collection of materials about the Gullah. Much has been written about the Gullah as I stated earlier without their consent, input, or whether the information was factual to the actual lives of the Gullah.

I chose to include these two books because their stories were germane to the complexity of African American Gullah society in this country and the impact of that complexness on the members of the Gullah community.

Heyward, Janie S.
1923 *Brown Jackets*. Columbia, SC: The State Company

Puckette, Clara C.
n. d. *Old Mitt Laughs Last*. New York, NY: The Bobbs- Merrill Company

Herbals, Medicines, Healing Practices

The use of herbal practices has been used to define the primitive nature and inherent backwardness of the African American. African Americans were required to maintain their own health after the Civil War and into the twentieth century because medical treatment by European American doctors was limited at best and non- existent in most regions throughout the country for them.

Edelstein, Stuart J.
1986 *The Sickled Cell: From Myths to Molecules*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press

Fields, Mamie
1983 *Lemon Swamp and Other Places*. New York, NY: MacMillian Publishing

Lewis, Roger A.
1970 *Sickle States: Clinical Features in West Africans*. Accara, Ghana: Ghana Universities Press

Mitchell, Faith
1998 *Hoodoo Medicine: Gullah Herbal Remedies*. Summerhouse Press

Pinckney, Roger
1998 *Blue Roots: African American Folk Magic of the Gullah People*. Llewellyn Publications

History and Culture

African American history and culture throughout the sea islands is still being explored. The books listed below date from late Civil War period to the 1990s. The topics include slave songs and music, time as a component of existence, religion, the continuum from Africa to coastal South Carolina and if where and how Africans in South Carolina maintained their Africanisms, women and their roles, and the evolution of the culture of Gullah people.

Adjaye, Joseph K.
1994 *Time in the Black Experience*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press

Afrika, Llaila O.
1989 *The Gullah*. Beaufort, S. C.: The Author

Allen, William F. and Charles P. Ware and Lucy Garrison
n. d. *Slave Songs of the United States*. Bedford, MA: Applewood Books
First printed in 1867 as a collection of slave songs sung in the southeastern states and northern seaboard slave states.

American Bible Society
1994 *De Good Nyews Bout Jedus Christ Wa Luke Write*. New York: American Bible Society
The Gospel of Luke is told in Gullah. Beside the Gullah is the King James English text.

Ames, Mary
1992 *"She Came to the Island": A New England Woman's Diary in Dixie in 1865*. Edisto Beach, S. C.: Sea Side Services

Ashe, Jeanne M.
1982 *Daufuskie Island: A Photographic Essay*. Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press
Using photographs Ashe explores the people and places of Daufuskie Island. The book becomes more important because of the major changes that have and are occurring on what many have called the last of the unspoiled low country sea islands.

Ball, Charles
1969 *Slavery in the United States*. Miami, FL.: Mnemsyne Publishing

Billington, Ray A.
1981 *The Journal of Charlotte L. Forten*. New York: W. W. Norton
Forten's journal begins with her school days in Salem, Massachusetts. She was a free black from Philadelphia who was determined to make an impact on the world of slavery. She traveled to South Carolina to participate in an experiment - teaching newly- freed slaves to read and write.

Black, Gary
1974 *My Friend the Gullah: A Collection of Personal Experiences*. Columbia, S. C.: R. L. Bryan

Boyle, Christopher C. and James A. Fitch
N. D. *Georgetown County Slave Narratives*. Georgetown, S. C.: Rice Museum
These narratives compiled during the 1930s by writers for the Works Project Administration are from elderly freed men and women who had been enslaved. They speak of enslavement from the distance of time and memories.

Breen, Thomas H.
1976 *Shaping Southern Society: The Colonial Experience*. New York: Oxford University Press

Bresee, Clyde
1986 *Sea Island Yankee*. Chapel Hill, NC: Algonquin Books

Burn, Billie
1991 *An Island Named Daufuskie*. Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Company

Carawan, Guy and Candi Carawan
1989 *Ain't You Got a Right to the Tree of Life? The People of John's Island, South Carolina, Their Faces, Their Words and Their Songs*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press
The Carawans explore the people and their music. The importance of the music in the daily lives of the people and how and why these musical forms should be preserved.

Coclanis, Peter A.
1989 *Economic Life & Death in the South Carolina Low Country: 1670-1920*. New York: Oxford University Press

Conroy, Pat
1972 *The Water is Wide*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin

Cooley, Rossa
1926 *Homes of the Free*. New York: New Republic

1970 *An Adventure in Rural Education*. New York: Negro Universities Press

Cornelius, Janet D.
1991 *When I Can Read My Title Clear*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press
Cornelius provides an in- depth study of African American urge to educate themselves and their children. The importance enslaved and freed people placed on literacy and how they viewed knowing how to read and write impacted religious and political issues.

Creel, Margaret Washington
1988 *"A Peculiar People" Slave Religion and Community- Culture among the Gullahs*. New York: New York University Press
Creel's book begins in Africa where the roots of the Gullah cultures grew, intertwined, and crossed the water with the enslaved people. Creel goes on to bring together the different West African and Western European beliefs on the plantations in the Sea Islands. The struggles among differing philosophies, control and dominance of European over African in Christian beliefs, and the transformation of the religious convictions.

Crum, Mason
1940 *Gullah: Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press

1968 *Gullah: Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands*. New York: Negro Universities Press

Dabbs, Edith M.
1970 *Face of an Island*. Columbia, SC: R. L. Bryan
1983 *Sea Island Diary: A History of St. Helena Island*. Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Company

Frey, Sylvia R.
1991 *Water From The Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
In detailing Africanisms retained in the south Frey includes housing patterns, music, communal values, marriage forms, patterns of slave resistance, and linguistic derivations among the Gullah people.

Georgia Writers' Project
1940 *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press
"Drums and Shadows" documents Africanisms and Americanized Africanisms of people who lived along the Georgia coasts in the 1930s. As late as 1858 Africans were still being brought into coastal Georgia and sold. With these people came their languages, traditions, and customs that were passed along to their children and grandchildren. *Drums and Shadows* documents existing customs that survived.

Gomez, Michael A.
1998 "Societies and Stools." In *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South*. 88 - 113. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press
The alteration of African people, their cultures, histories, and customs occurred as they were forced through a transformation instituted by others. Gomez explores the myriad of African people who came to this country and the diversity they brought with them.

Goodwine, Marquetta L.
1995 *Gullah/Geechee: The Survival of Africa's Seed in the Winds of the Diaspora*. Brooklyn, NY: Kinship Publications
This is volume one of story of the Gullah people on St. Helena Island. The cultures and people who had been forced to come together on slave marches and in slave castles in west Africa and the society they formed on this sea island.

1997 *Gawd Dun Smile Pun We: Beaufort Isles*. Brooklyn, NY: Kinship Publications
Goodwine's second volume in a series chronicling the history and culture of the Gullah people of Beaufort and St. Helena Island area of South Carolina.

1999 *Frum Wi Soul Tuh de Soil Cotton, Rice, and Indigo*. Brooklyn, NY: Kinship Publications
The history of cotton, rice and indigo cultivation on the Sea Islands are told in this volume. These three cash crops were the reasons for immense numbers of enslaved Africans being brought to the coastal regions of South Carolina and Georgia. Goodwine's books tell the stories of these people, the enslaved Africans, and how, using their technology and skills brought forth abundant crops which in turn created great wealth for the planters who owned them.

Goodwine, Marquetta L. and Clarity Press Gullah Project, ed.
1998 *The Legacy of Ibo Landing: Gullah Roots of African American Culture*. Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press
A collection of fact and fiction essays: scholarly articles about art, history, folklore, foods, and lives of the Gullah/Geechee people and their traditions on the sea islands.

Graydon, Nell S.
1986 *Tales of Edisto*. Orangeburg, SC: Sandlapper Publishing

Hawks, Esther H.
1984 *A Woman Doctor's Civil War: Esther Hill Hawks' Diary*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina

Hayes, James P.
1978 *James and Related Sea Islands.* Charleston, SC: Walker, Evans and Cogswell Company

Holland, Rupert S.
1912 *Letters and Diary of Laura M. Towne*. New York: Negro Universities Press

Holloway, Joseph E.
1991 *Africanisms in American Culture*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press

1993 *The African Heritage of American English*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press

Holmes, Jean E.
1992 *Mornin' Star Risin'*. Boise, ID: Pacific Press

Holmgren, Virginia C.
1986, c1959 *Hilton Head: A Sea Island Chronicle*. Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press

Hudson, Larry E.
1994 *Working Toward Freedom: Slave Society and Domestic Economy in the American South.* Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press

Jacoway, Elizabeth
1980 *Yankee Missionaries in the South: The Penn School Experiment*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State Universit

Johnson, Guion G.
1969 *A Social History of the Sea Islands with Special Reference to St. Helena Island, South Carolina*. New York: Negro Universities Press

Johnson, Guy B.
1930 *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island, South Carolina*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press

Jones, Katharine M.
1960 *Port Royal Under Six Flags*. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs- Merrill

Jones- Jackson, Patricia
1987 *When Roots Die/Endangered Traditions on the Sea Islands*. Athens, GA: University of GA Press
Social history and organization are discussed through structure, economy, and demography. Jones-Jackson helps the reader to understand the spirit of the Gullah people living along the coast of South Carolina and Georgia. Their identification of who they are can be drawn from the language, stories, food, customs, and connections to the land.

Joyner, Charles
1984 *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press
Joyner uses a plantation in Georgetown County, South Carolina to tell the story of Gullah people on a rice plantation at the height of the rice culture. African rice growing technology, cultural ways, language, and customs give insight into a complex society functioning within a framework of enslavement and desperation.

Kinlaw- Ross, Eleanor
1996 *Dat Gullah and Other Geechie Traditions*. Atlanta, GA: Crick Edge Productions

Leland, Elizabeth
1992 *The Vanishing Coast*. Salem, NC: John F. Blair

Littlefield, Daniel C.
1981 *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University
Littlefield's book is an excellent beginning for those wanting to learn about the enslaved African people who were brought to South Carolina and Georgia. These people were captured and brought for their knowledge of rice growing and also for their skills and knowledge of carpentry, boat building, masonry, seafaring, animal husbandry, and the necessary knowledge to survival in this region.

Martin, Josephine W.
1977 *"Dear Sister"; Letters Written on Hilton Head Island, 1867*. Beaufort, SC: Beaufort Book Company

Nichols, Elaine, ed.
1989 The Last Miles of the Way: African American Homegoing Traditions 1890- Present. Columbia, SC: Dependable Printing Company
The Last Miles of the Way looks at the traditions of death and dying in the sea islands of South Carolina. Honoring the ancestors, mourning, burial practices, and the African concepts of time and eternity are discussed.

Opala, Joseph A.
1987 *The Gullah: Rice, Slavery and the Sierra Leone- American Connection*. Freetown, Sierra Leone: United States Information Service
Opala looks at the Gullah from their African connection. The Krio language spoken in Sierra Leone and the Gullah language along the coast of South Carolina are compared and connected.

Parrish, Lydia A.
1942 Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands. Hatboro, GA: Folklore Associates

Pearson, Elizabeth W., ed.
1969 *Letters From Port Royal 1862- 1868*. New York: Arno Press

Pollitzer, William S.
1999 *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press
The Gullah People is a comprehensive study. Pollitzer examined who these people are - their story, their origin, their creations, and their legacies. The history, culture, language, social customs and interchanges of this country were and are part of the Africanisms brought over by enslaved people.

Puckette, Clara C.
1978 *Edisto, A Sea Island Principality*. Cleveland, OH: Seaforth Publications

Robinson, Carline S. & William R. Dortch
1985 *The Blacks in These Sea Islands: Then and Now*. New York, NY: Vantage Press

Rose, Willie Lee
1964 *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment*. New York: Vintage Books
Rose looks at the events that occurred in the sea islands of South Carolina and north Georgia. About seven months into the Civil War according to Rose the Experiment began. Rose describes its purpose- to provide an organization which would work with the thousands of freed, escaping, and still enslaved African Americans leaving and still on plantations. She also looks at the diversity of cultures of these enslaved people on the various plantations and the African roots of the variations.

Simms, Lois A.
1992 *Profiles of African American Females in the Low Country of South Carolina*. Charleston, SC: College of Charleston

Sterling, Dorothy
1984 *We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.
Sterling discusses African American women and their roles, functions, and places before, during, and after the Civil War. References to South Carolina Gullah women, stories, sea island history and culture, and historic figures such as the Grimkes are documented.

Stuckey, Sterling
1987 *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America*. New York: Oxford University Press

Terry, George D. and Lynn R. Myers
1985 *Carolina Folk: the Cradle of a Southern Tradition*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina
An exhibition catalog of crafts- clay, baskets, metalwork, wood, quilts, and furniture in NC and SC.

Thornbough, Margaret
1972 *Black Reconstructionists*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

Tindall George B.
1952 *South Carolina Negroes 1877- 1900*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press
Tindall details the history of Negro South Carolinians during the period of extreme poverty, racism, lack of educational, political, and economic opportunities. A bleak picture of the conditions under which African Americans lived after the Civil War is described through narratives and direct quotes.

Trinkley, Michael, ed.
1986 *Indian and Freedmen Occupation at the Fish Haul Site, Beaufort County, SC.* Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation

Turner, Lorenzo D.
1949 *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press

Twining, Mary A. and Keith E. Baird
1990 *Sea Island Roots: African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia,* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
A collection of articles from Gullahs and non- Gullahs about folklife and folklore on the sea islands. Childbirth, baskets, growing up naming patterns, Christmas Watch and changing agricultural patterns are some of the life in a variety of ways presented.

Weatherford, W. D.
1969 *The Negro from Africa to America*. New York: Negro Universities Press

Whaley, Marcellus S.
1925 *The Old Types Pass; Gullah Sketches of the Carolina Sea Islands*. Boston, MA: The Christopher Publishing House

Wood, Peter H.
1974 *Black Majority; Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion*. New York: Random House
In chapter VI, "Gullah Speech: The Roots of Black English" Wood looks at the important of language and the development of a common language among Africans in America. He discusses African groups as "immigrants" and as having similarities to other groups of "immigrants" coming to this country.

Woofter, Thomas J.
1930 *Black Yeomanry: Life on St. Helena Island*. New York: Holt & Company

Wright, *Roberta H.*
1992 A Tribute to Charlotte Forten 1837- 1914. Detroit, MI: Charro Book Company

Language and Dialect

The depth to which African American language and speech patterns have and are being studied is astounding. Why?

Bailey, Guy, with Natalie Maynor and Patricia Cukor- Avila
1991 *The Emergence of Black English: Text and Commentary*. Philadelphia, PA: J. Benjamin Co.

Bernstein, Cynthia, with Thomas Nunnally and Robin Sabino, ed.
1997 Language Variety in the South Revisited. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press

Cassidy, Federic G.
1986 *Some Similarities Between Gullah and Caribbean Creoles in Language Variety in the South: Perspectives in Black and White*. ed. Michael Montgomery and Guy Bailey. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press

Cunningham, Irma A.
1992 *A Syntactic Analysis of Sea Island Creole*. Tuscaloosa. AL: University of Alabama Press

Dandy, Evelyn
1991 *Black Communications: Breaking Down the Barriers*. Chicago, IL: African American Images

Dillard, J. L.
1972 *Black English: Its History and Usage in the United States*. New York: Random House

Geraty, Virginia M.
n.d. *Gullah for You*. Charleston, SC: Publisher Unknown

Anonymous
n. d. *Gullah*. Milwaukee, WI: University of Wisconsin Press

Holloway Joseph E.
1993 *The African Heritage of American English*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press

Hopkins, Tometro
1994 "Variation in the Use of the Auxiliary Verb da in Contemporary Gullah" in *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language & Culture*. Michael Montgomery, ed. Pp. 60-86. University of Georgia Press

LePage, R. B. and Andre Tabouret- Keller
1985 *Acts of Identity: Creole- based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press

Montgomery, Michael, ed.
1994 *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press
The origins and development of the Gullah language and culture are examined through religion, basketry, names and naming traditions, and the Caribbean connection in the essays presented.

Morgan, Marcyliena H. ed.
1994 *Language and the Social Construction of Identify in Creole Situations*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California

Mufwene, Salikoko S., ed., with assistance of Nancy Condon
1993 *Africanisms in Afro- American Language Varieties*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press
A collection of papers by linguists discussing the inclusion and influences of African languages in African American language structure.

Nodal, Roberto
1972 *A Bibliography on the Creole Languages of the Caribbean, Including a Special Supplement on Gullah*. Milwaukee, WI: University of Wisconsin Press

Reeves, Harold S.
1963 *Gullah: A Breath of the Carolina Low Country*. Published by Author

Smith Reed
1926 *Gullah: Dedicated to the Memory of Ambrose E. Gonzales*. Columbia, SC: USC Press

Smitherman, Geneva
1986 *Talkin and Testifyin: The Language of Black America*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State Press
On pages 14- 15, and 172 Smitherman discusses the Gullah/Geechee "dialect" spoken along the Atlantic coast in Georgia and South Carolina and its African origin.

Turner, Lorenzo Dow
1945 Notes on the Sounds and Vocabulary of Gullah. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press

1949 Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press
The first major study of remnants of several African languages still being spoken in the islands off South Carolina by African Americans in the 1940's.

Wolfram, Walt and Nona H. Clarke. ed.
1971 *Black- White Speech Relationships*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics

Photography

Photographs are small stories held in a time capsule. The people of the sea islands are telling their stories through the photographs. Moments in their lives are seen in what they are doing. Their history and their culture is shared and preserved for the future.

Dabbs, Edith M.
1970 *Face of an Island*. Columbia, SC: R. L. Bryan

Daise, Ronald
1986 *Reminiscences of Sea Island Heritage*. Orangeburg, SC: Sandlapper Publishing
The story of the sea islands is told in photographs, poems, and short essays using St. Helena Island, South Carolina as the focus. The strong sense of community, of people, of place is seen in the images collected by Ronald Daise.

Ulman, Doris
1918 *Photographs by Doris Ulman: the Gullah people*. New York: New York Public Library/Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture

Plays

Plays can be interpretations of how non- Gullah romanticize a people and should be understood as looking at a people through filters. Plays by and about a specific group as in Wilkerson's book give a more representational sampling of that group and how they view their place in the universe.

Geraty, Virginia M.
1990 *Porgy. Gullah/Porgy: A Gullah Version from the original play by Dorothy Heyward and DuBose Heyward*. Charleston, SC: Wyrick

Wilkerson, Margaret B., ed.
1986 *9 Plays by Black Women*. New York: New American Library

Poetry

The inclusion of poetry about and by Gullah people is another medium for seeing either how the Gullah are seen by outsiders or how the Gullah see themselves. The structure of poetry as a story teller is not used often but it is very effective.

Colcock, Erroll H. and Patti L. Colcock
1942 *Dusky Land: Gullah Poems and Sketches of Coastal South Carolina*. Clinton, SC: Jacobs Press

Towne, Carlie
1996 *A Cultural Affair: Poetic Collections about Gullah Life in Charleston, SC.* Charleston, SC: Carlie Towne

Townsend, Saida
1975 *Sketches in Sepia: Gullah and Other Poems*. Mt. Pleasant, SC: Continenal Leasing Company

Spiritual Beliefs, Religion, Magic

African American spiritual, religious, and magical beliefs have long been the focus of extensive studies. African American belief systems have been used as identifying markers to connect them to the baseness of Africans, to define their extreme religious fervor, and to prove how they are still backward and in need to civilizing.

Carter, Harold
1976 *The Prayer Tradition of Black People*. Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press

Cornelius, Janet D.
1999 *Slave Missions and the Black Church in the Antebellum South*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press
Cornelius begins with the slave missions and the evolution into the black church. The processes and procedures of that evolution are detailed by Cornelius and the impacts and clashes traditional African beliefs had with European Christianity and the separation, sometimes by force, of enslaved Africans from European churches.

Creel, Margaret W.
1988 "*A Peculiar People", Slave Religion and Community- Culture Among the Gullahs*. New York, NY: New York University Press
Religion and religious customs, social life and customs, and African religious beliefs surviving within the cultural context of enslavement in the sea islands of South Carolina.

Sea Island Translation and Literacy Team: The Summer Institute of Linguistics and Wycliffe Bible Translators
1994 *De Good Nyews Bout Jedus Christ Wa Luke Write*. New York: American Bible Society
The Book of Luke is told in Gullah with English translations of the King James version in the margin.

Stories, Folklore, Folk Culture, Traditions

The importance of story- telling and the stories themselves are an important part of African American culture. Oral stories told and passed down give a range of impressions about whom and how the African American sees him and herself in the community and in the larger society. Many of the stories have been recorded by non- Gullah people and racial biases can be read into the interpretations. The

interpretations tell as much about the people recording the stories as about the people being recorded and their stories.

Abrahams, Roger D.
1985 *African American Folktales: Stories from Black Traditions in the New World*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books
Abrahams presents stories collected by storytellers and non- storytellers from Zora Neale Hurston to Joel Chandler Harris. The stories Abrahams has included range from the antebellum period to city life and include a range of how to and how not to act, function, think, and be in the larger world.

Christensen, Abigail M.
1971 *Afro- American Folk Lore: Told Round Cabin Fires on the Sea Islands*. Freeport, NY: The Black Heritage Library Collection

Dundes, Alan
1972 *Mother Wit from the Laughing Barrel; Readings in the Interpretation of Afro- American Folklore*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

Geraty, Virginia M.
1998 Gullah Night Before Christmas. Pelican Publishing Company

Gonzales, Ambrose E.
1922 *The Black Border: Gullah Stories of the Carolina Coast*. Columbia, SC: The State Company
Gonzales describes the cannibal savage who was given Christianity and a measure of civilization by European Americans. The "slovenly and careless speech" is interesting and rich, containing quaint and homely similes. About 40 Gullah stories are told, along with a glossary of Gullah terms, and 2 versions of the Tar Baby story.

1924 *With Aesop Along the Black Border*. Columbia, SC: The State Company

Graydon, Nell S.
1986 "The Negroes" in *Tales of Edisto*. Orangeburg, SC: Sandlapper Publishing Company
The chapter entitled "The Negroes" begins with a narrative on the history of the people of African ancestry of Edisto Island, South Carolina. According to tradition many of the enslaved people are descended from a king who was captured, enslaved, and brought to the island.

Hamilton, Virginia
1985 *The People Could Fly: American Black Folktales*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf
This collection of folktales includes animal stories of Bruh Fox, Bruh Deer, Bruh Lizard and Bruh Bear. Escape to freedom, tales of the supernatural, and fanciful tales are illustrated and told.

Harris, Joel Chandler
1883 *Nights With Uncle Remus: Myths and Legends of the Old Plantation*. New York:

Jackson, Bruce, ed.
1967 *The Negro and His Folklore in 19th Century Periodicals*. American Folklore Society, Biographical and Special Series. Austin: University of Texas Pres

Jaquith, Priscilla
1981 *Bo Rabbit Smart for True: Tall Tales From the Gullah*. New York: Philomel Books
The six Gullah tales in the book use Bo Rabbit, Cooter, Rattlesnake, Crane, and Alligator to teach the reader some of the lessons of life. Accompanying each segment is a drawing depicting the action of the text.

Jones, Bessie and Bess Lomax Hawes
1972 *Step it Down: Games, Plays, Songs & Stories from the Afro- American Heritage*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press
Jones and Hawes have put in print a collection of games, etc. Jones learned as a girl growing up in a rural community in Georgia. The games, songs, and plays represent, according to Hawes, some of the many songs in Jones' collection.

Johnson, Guy B.
1930 *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island, South Carolina*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press

Jones, Charles C.
1888 *Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast Told in the Vernacular*. Boston, MA: Riverside Press

Kinlaw- Ross, Eleanor
1996 *Dat Gullah and Other Geechie Traditions*. Atlanta, GA: Crick Edge Productions

Mitchell, Allen
1996 *Wadmalaw Island: Leaving Traditional Roots Behind*. Kearney, NE: Morris Publishing
This book is one man's account of the life and times on a Sea Island along the South Carolina coast. The lives of the residents are told in their words and from their views of living in communities where African ties *can still be seen.*

Parsons, Elsie C.
1923 Folk- lore of the Sea Islands, South Carolina. Cambridge, MA: American Folk Lore Society

Puckett, Newbell N.
1926 *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina

Stoney, *Samuel G. and Gertrude M. Shelby*
1930 Black Genesis: A Chronicle. New York: The Macmillan Company

Wright Hughes Roberta and Wilbur B. Hughes
1996 L*ay Down Body: Living History in African American Cemeteries*. Detroit, MI: Visible Ink Press
"Lay Down Body" is an expansive exploration of burial practices, stories, African, and Africanisms found throughout the United States in African American burial grounds and cemeteries. From the sea islands of South Carolina and Georgia the reader is taken north and west on a journey of learning and sharing. African American placement in history can be seen in past, present, and future cemeteries from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific Ocean.

Books for Children and Young People

These books were included because they will provide educators resources that can be used to supplement teaching materials about the Gullah people. When resource material is not readily available many times the history and culture of a people is not included in the classroom situation.

Banks, Sara H.
1997 *A Net to Catch Time*. New York, NY: A. A. Knopf

Branch, Muriel M.
1995 *The Water Brought Us: The Story of the Gullah- Speaking People*. New York: Cobblehill Books/Dutton

Clary, Willis
1996 *A Sweet, Sweet Basket*. Orangeburg, SC: Sandlapper Publishing

Daise, Ronald
1989 *De Gullah Storybook*. Beaufort, SC: G.O.G. Enterprises

1997 Little Muddy Waters: A Gullah Folktale. Beaufort, SC: G.O.G. Enterprises

Geraty, Virginia M.
1998 *Gullah Night Before Christmas*. Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing

Jaquith, *Priscilla*
1981 Bo Rabbit Smart For True: Folktales from the Gullah. New York: Philomel Books

Jones, Hettie
1996 *Spooky Tales From Gullah Gullah Island*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster

Krull, Kathleen
1995 *Bridges to Change: How Kids Live on a South Carolina Sea Island*. New York: Lodestar Books

Patrick, Denise L.
1996 *Case of the Missing Cookies*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster

Reed, Kelli M.
1996 *Happy Birthday Daddy*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster

San Souci, Robert D.
1992 *Sukey and the Mermaid*. New York, NY: Four Winds Press

Seabrooke, Brenda
1992 *The Bridges of Summer*. New York, NY: Cobblehill Books

Siegelson, Kim L.
1996 *The Terrible, Wonderful Tellin' at Hog Hammock*. New York, NY: Harper Collins

Stoddard, Albert H.
1995 *Gullah Animal Tales from Daufuskie Island, South Carolina*. Hilton Head Island, SC: Push Button Publishing

Doctoral Dissertations and Master's Theses

The doctoral dissertations and masters theses are listed in alphabetical order by last name of author. Topics range from the Gullah language to kinship patterns among women. As often as possible I tried to identify the college or university awarding the degree. I found references in the Charleston County Library, South Carolina Historical Society, College of Charleston Library, and Beaufort County Library.

Albanese, Anthony G.
1967 The Plantation as a School: The Sea- Islands of Georgia and South Carolina, A Test Case, 1800-1860. Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University

Anziano, Satina
1998 Lillie: Copula Usage Study of a Mesolectal Gullah Speaker From Federal Writers Project. Masters thesis, University of South Carolina

Butler, Alfloyd
1975 The Black's Contribution of Elements of African Religion to Christianity in America: A Case Study of the Great Awakening in South Carolina. Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University

Coclanis, Peter A.
1984 Economy and Society in the Early Modern South: Charleston and the Evolution of the South Carolina Low Country. Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University

Cunningham, Irma A.
1970 A Syntactic Analysis of the Sea Island Creole (Gullah). Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Dargan, Amanda
1978 Family Identity and the Social Use of Folklore: A South Carolina Family Tradition. Masters theses, Memorial University of Newfoundland

Davis, Mella
1998 African Trickster Tales in Diaspora: Resistance in the Creole- Speaking South Carolina Sea Islands and Guadeloupe. Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University

Day, Kay Young
1983 My Family Is Me: Women's Kin Networks and Social Power in a Black Sea Island Community. Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University

Derby, Doris A.
1980 Black Women Basket Makers: A Story of Domestic Economy in Charleston County, South Carolina. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Gadsden, Richard H.
1956 Characterization of the Human Hemoglobins. Ph.D. dissertation, Medical College of SC.

Gibbons, Letitia L.
1986 A Statistical Analysis of Factors Affecting the Morbidity Rate of Sickle Cell Anemia. Masters theses, Medical University of South Carolina

Gritzner, Janet B.
1978 Tabby in the Colonial Southeast: The Culture History of an American Building Material. Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University

Guthrie, Patricia
1977 Catching Sense: The Meaning of Plantation Membership Among Blacks on St. Helena Island, South Carolina. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Hart, Edward B.
1993 Gullah Spirituals in Prayer Meetings on Johns Island, South Carolina. Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina

Haskell, Ann S.
1964 The Representation of Gullah- Influenced Dialect in Twentieth Century South Carolina Prose, 1922- 1930. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania

Hawley, Thomas E.
1993 The Slave Tradition of Singing Among the Gullah of John's Island, South Carolina. University of Michigan

Hemingway, Theodore
1976 Beneath the Yoke of Bondage: A History of Black Folks in South Carolina, 1900-1940, Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina

Heyer, Kathryn W.
1982 Rootwork: Psychological Aspects of Malign Magical and Illness Beliefs in a South Carolina Sea Island Community. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut

Hoit-Thetford, Elizabeth
1987 An Educational History of the Gullahs of Coastal South Carolina From 1700-1900. Ph.D. dissertation, East Tennessee State University

Hopkins, Tometro
1992 Issues in the Study of Afro-Creoles: Afro-Cuban and Gullah. Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University

Jones Jackson, Patricia A.
1978 The Status of Gullah: An Investigation of Convergent Processes. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Jordan, Francis H.
1991 Across the Bridge: Penn School and Penn Center. Masters theses, University of Michigan

Joyner, Charles W.
1977 Slave Folklife on the Waccamaw Neck: Antebellum Black Culture in the South Carolina Lowcountry. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Lamuniere, Michelle C.
1994 Roll, Jordan, Roll: The Gullah Photographs of Doris Ulman. Masters theses, University of Oregon

Lawton, Samuel
1939 The Religious Life of Coastal and Sea Island Negroes. Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College

Mack, Linda D.
1984 A comparative Analysis of Linguistic Stress Patterns in Gullah (Sea Island Creole) and English Speakers. Masters theses, University of Florida

McGuire, Mary J.
1985 Getting Their Hands on the Land: The Revolution in St. Helena Parish, 1861-1900. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Mille, Katherine Wyly
1990 A Historical Analysis of Tense-Mood-Aspect in Gullah Creole: A Case of Stable Variation. Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina

Moerman, Daniel E.
1974 Extended Family and Popular Medicine on St. Helena, SC: Adaptation to Marginality. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia

Moran, Mary
1981 Meeting the Boat: Afro-American Identity on a South Carolina Sea Island. Masters theses, Brown University

Nichols, Patricia C.
1976 Linguistic Change in Gullah: Sex, Age, and Mobility. Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University

Nixon, Nell M.
1971 Gullah and Backwoods Dialect in Selected Works by William Gilmore Simms. Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina

Normand, Kerry S.
1994 By Industry and Thrift: Landownership Among the Freed People of St. Helena Parish, South Carolina, 1863- 1870. Masters theses, Hampshire College

O'Cain, Raymond K.
1972 A Social Dialect Survey of Charleston, SC. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago

Olendorf, Andra B.
1987 Highlander Folk School and the South Carolina Sea Islands Citizenship Schools: Implications for the Social Studies. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Purcell, Katherine C.
1997 Reflections From the Well: Julia Mood Peterkin and the Gullah Community. Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina

Safrit, Gary L.
1964 An Investigation of Folk- Medicine Practices in North and South Carolina. Bachelors theses, Lutheran Theological South Seminary

Salter, Paul
1968 Changing Agricultural Patterns on the South Carolina Sea Islands. Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina

Shriner, Dorothy Sellers
1971 Transect Studies of Salt Marsh Vegetation in Port Royal Sound and North Edisto River Estuaries. Masters' theses, University of South Carolina.

Shurbutt, Thomas R.
1979 Historical Archaeology of the Southeastern Atlantic Coast. Masters' theses, on file at Institute for Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina

Shuler, C. Osborne
1984 Values of Comprehensive Study of South Carolina Folk Remedies with Modern Science. Senior's theses, University of South Carolina

Slaughter, Sabra
1979 The Old Ones Dying and The Young Ones Leaving. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Sledge, Mailande C.
1985 The Representation of the Gullah Dialect in Francis Griswold's "A Sea Island Lady". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Smith, Franklin O.
1973 A Cross Generational Study of the Parental Discipline Practices and Beliefs of Gullah Blacks of the Carolina Sea Islands. Ed. D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts

Stark, George L.
1973 Black Music in the Sea Islands of South Carolina. Ph.D. dissertation, Wesleyan University

Stavisky, Leonard P.
1958 The Negro Artisan in the South Atlantic States, 1800- 1860: A Study of Status and Economic Opportunity with Special Reference to Charleston. Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University

Thomas, June M.
1977 Blacks on the South Carolina Sea Islands: Planning for Tourists and Land Development. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Thrower, Sarah S.
1954 The Spiritual of the Gullah Negro in South Carolina. Masters thesis, Cincinnati College of Music

Twining, Mary A.
1977 An Examination of African Retention in the Folk culture of the South Carolina and Georgia Sea Islands. Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University

Watson, Laura S.
1937 Negro Folk- Lore of the Carolina. Masters theses, Stetson University

Williams, Darnell
1973 An Investigation of Possible Gullah Survivals in the Speech and Cultural Patterns of Black Mississippians. Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University

Whaley, Thomas E.
1993 The Slave Tradition of Singing Among the Gullah of Johns Island, South Carolina. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland

Yates, Irene
1939 The Literary Utilization of Folklore in the Works of Contemporary South Carolina Writers. Masters thesis, University of Virginia

Library of Congress

American Life Histories: Manuscripts from the Federal Writers' Project
The life histories below are from Charleston, Murrells Inlet, Edisto Island, and Georgetown. The dates where given are 1936 and 1939. These histories along with others are accessible directly from the Library of Congress via the Internet.

Allan, Madaline told to Muriel A. Mann
1939 Mamie Brown, Librarian
Charleston, SC: Project # 1655
Madaline Allan used the name Mamie Brown in the interview. Ms. Allan was school teacher/librarian. In the interview she tells her life story.

Brown, George told to Chalmers S. Murray
1939 Fish, Hominy and Cotton
Edisto Island, SC: Project # 1655
George Brown was a farmer and day laborer. In the interview he used the name July Geddes. He described the social and cultural structure of daily life in his community.

Chandler, Genevieve W.
1936 Chillun Home
Murrell's Inlet, SC: Project # 1885- 1
A story told in Gullah describing the tasks done by children on plantations.

Chandler, Genevieve W.
1936 Red Fiah Dress told by Lillie Knox
Murrell's Inlet, SC: Project # 1885- 1
Lillie Knox discusses the wearing of a red dress to a funeral. The social implications of what happens when a person goes outside the boundaries of what was considered appropriate behavior are described.

Chandler, Genevieve W.
1936 Pickin Off Peanut told by Lillie Knox
Murrell's Inlet, SC: Project # 1885- 1
A conversation mainly in Gullah about the difficulties of married life.

Jemison, Ophelia told to Cassels R. Tiedeman
n. d. Ophelia Jemison
Charleston, SC: Project # 1655
Ophelia Jemison discusses her opinion of heaven and its relationship to this life.

Jemison, Ophelia told to Cassels R. Tiedeman
n. d. One of Ophelia's Reminiscences
Charleston, SC: Project # 1655
In this interview of the last conversation between Ophelia Jemison and her son, Jake, they discuss Jake's dog and his responsibility for taking care of the dog.

Jemison, Ophelia told to Cassels R. Tiedeman
n. d. "A Christmas Story"
Charleston, SC: Project # 1655
Ophelia Jemison retells her mother's stories about Christmas before slavery ended. The mother describes the smells of various foods cooking, the dancing, the singing, and the lighting of the log which burned for several days.

Jemison, Ophelia told to Cassels R. Tiedeman
n. d. Burning of Mt. Zion A. M. E. Church
Charleston, SC: Project # 1655
Ophelia Jemison is asked about the causes of the fire that burned the church. Her answer in Gullah speaks about coveting material items belonging to someone else and what happens when the devil gets someone to act on their evil thoughts and desires.

Jemison, Ophelia told to Cassels R. Tiedeman
n. d. Bad Spirits
Charleston, SC: Project # 1655
Ophelia Jemison is asked why spirits come back to worry people. Bad spirits come back to worry people they have associated with in life she states in the interview. Ophelia Jemison describes her own experiences with such spirits in the interview.

Jemison, Ophelia told to Cassels R. Tiedeman
n. d. Ophelia do spirits ever follow you?
Charleston, SC Project # 1655
According to Ophelia Jemison only good spirits follow her. Her descriptions in Gullah state how a person should interact with his or her idea of the Divine.

Joint, Martha told to Chalmers S. Murray
1939 Martha Joint, Occasional Servant
Edisto Island, SC
The narrative tells the life story of Martha Joint. The 75 year old woman talks about her growing up, the changes she has seen, storms both personal and natural, and her determination to go on working until she dies.

The Street
1939 The Occupants of the Slave Street at Arundel Plantation, Georgetown, SC
Six stories are told in this narrative. A preacher, 2 cooks, 2 farm hands, and a housewife. Their own names are listed. Fictitious names are used in the text. Arundel Plantation is also given another name, Barondel Plantation. The writer, Margaret Wilkinson, begins the "story" as she turns off the road from Georgetown and onto the road leading to the "street."

Newspaper Articles

Articles from newspapers are listed by last name of reporter. The articles cover stories and events including music, foods, history, culture, social issues, preservation of the culture and history, and life styles among the Gullah in the Charleston, Beaufort, South Carolina and Georgia coastal regions. The articles provide limited background information about the Gullah history and culture and can give the researcher another perspective on who these people were and are.

Abedon, Emily
1998 Georgia Singers Preserve Sea Island Culture. Charleston *Post and Courier*, June 3: A5
Frankie and Doug Quimby, the Georgia Sea Island Singers, are preserving Gullah history of coastal islands in their songs, games, and interactive audience participation performances

Agee, Jenny
1998 Group Works to Secure Gullah Culture's Place in Region's History. Coastal Observer, October 1: P1, P2

Ashley, Dottie
1995 Music Hall to Showcase Lowcountry Traditions. Charleston *Post and Courier*, March 12: D2
In 1995 the Lowcountry Legends Music Hall opened featuring Gullah and Sea Island stories and music.

Bartelme, Tony
1997 Sandstorm. *Charleston Post and Courier,* November 9: A1
A company wants to excavate sand in the middle of St. Helena Island and the community is banding together to resist the creation of a sizable hole, the trucks, and conditions created by this enterprise.

1998 Robert Smalls Sailed Away to Freedom. *Charleston Post and Courier*, February 11: B1
The timeline of the life, deeds, and accomplishments of Robert Smalls, beginning with his use of the Planter, a Confederate gunboat, to escape slavery.

Behre, Robert
1998 Georgia Group Not Afraid to Shout!. Charleston *Post and Courier*, June 6: A9
The McIntosh County Shouters are carrying on the tradition of the "shout", an African American cultural component, dating back more than 250 years.

Blackman, J. K.
1880 The Sea Islands of South Carolina 1865- 1880. Charleston *News & Courier*, April 22:

Brooke, James
1987 Africans See Their Culture Live in United States South. *New York Times*, October 25: P5N, P5L

Burger, Ann
1998 Lowcountry's Love- or- Hate Veggie. *Charleston Post and Courier*, July 15: D1
Okra, brought to this country by enslaved Africans, is a vegetable the eater either loves or hates.

Cook, Mary Ann
1995 Shout Tradition Lives in Exhibit at Avery Center. *Charleston Post and Courier*, May 18: P1
An exhibition at the Avery Center tells the history of the Shout in coastal South Carolina and Georgia African American communities.

Crews, Walter
1954 Negro Craftsmen Ply an Ancient Art by the Side of a Bustling Highway. *Charleston Evening Pos*t, June 27:

Devera, Dora
1997 Tales Preserve Gullah Culture. Charleston *Post and Courier*, April 3: P1
Jametrice Glisson continues the African American storytelling tradition at Cypress Gardens. Glisson collects Gullah stories and uses them to educate, entertain, and preserve the culture.

Dewig, Rob
2000 Digging for the Gullah's Roots. *Carolina Morning News*, January 14: P1

Douglas, Tyees
1995 PBS Films a Gullah 'Porgy'. Charleston *Post and Courier*, August 20: D1
"Porgy: A Gullah Version" featuring Charleston actor and director Michael Nesbitt is filmed at the Garden Theater by the Public Broadcasting System.

1999 Storytellers Share 'Different Things'. Charleston *Post and Courier*, May 13: P1
Don Harrell and Tutu Harrell, his Nigerian born wife, are OrisiRisi African Folklore. The Harrells incorporate Ibo, Yoruba, and Hausa language and culture into their African and African American music, dance, stories, and presentation.

Frazier, Eric
1995 Experts Dispute Accuracy of Gullah Version of Luke. *Charleston Post and Courier*, January 8: C7
The controversy surrounding the translation of the Gospel according to St. Luke has Gullah people and non Gullah European Americans disagreeing on the accuracy of the translation.

Frazier, Herb
1995 Sierra Leone Terrorized. Charleston *Post and Courier*, January 31: A1
The war in Sierra Leone is causing massive destruction in the country.

1995 Sierra Leone's Election in Doubt. Charleston *Post and Courier*, February 17: A1
Sierra Leone's civil war threatens political elections.

1995 Linguists Fear the End May be Near for Gullah. Charleston *Post and Courier*, March 6: A1
The preservation of the Gullah language will be decided by the Gullah people and their passing on the language to their children and grandchildren within the sea island cultural heritage.

1995 Time Blurs Family Ties to Ancient Homeland. Charleston *Post and Courier*, August 7: A11
The lives of 2 women - 1 in Sierra Leone and 1 in Charleston, South Carolina - both basket sellers, are compared by Herb Frazier.

1995 Transatlantic Link Bonds Lowcountry and Africa. Charleston *Post and Courier,* August 7: A11
Mary Moran's grandmother taught Mary's mother a song when she was a small child. The song was passed to Mary. Enslaved Mende women brought the song to this country to the rice plantations of Georgia and South Carolina. The song is a funeral song.

1995 'Gullah Cousin' Kindles Kinship. *Charleston Post and Courier*, November 9: P2
Upon winning the Ethel Payne Fellowship Herb Frazier travels to Sierra Leone to research the connections between the west African country and South Carolina.

1997 Genetic Links of Two Coasts Studies. Charleston *Post and Courier*, March 16: A16
A foundation grant awarded to the Medical University of South Carolina to study the genetic composition of South Carolina and Sierra Leone confirmed the connections between the two groups of African Diaspora people.

1997 Journey for a Song. Charleston *Post and Courier*, March 16: A1
Mary Moran and the song taught her by her mother complete the circle returning to the village in Sierra Leone where the song is still sung. The reception Mrs. Moran and her family received was of family coming home again.

1997 Song Stays Nearly Same Through Ages. Charleston *Post and Courier*, March 16: A16
The Mende funeral song has several variations, but the basic theme sung in Georgia and Sierra Leone is the same song passed down from mother to daughter.

1997 Park Service Wants to Spread Word About Gullah History. Charleston *Post and Courier,* August 30: B3
The National Park Service is reviewing its role in the preservation of the history and culture of the Gullah people at several sites around Charleston, South Carolina.

1998 Local Site to be Centerpiece of National Exhibit on Gullah. Charleston *Post and Courier,* March 11: B01
The Charles Pinckney Historic Site, owned by the National Park Service, is a major component of the Gullah story.

1998 Lowcountry Works on Sierra Leone Ties. Charleston *Post and Courier,* July 14: B6
Penn Center was the site for the Gullah Connection Workshop and the Friends of Sierra Leone meeting.

1999 African Link in National Geographic Spotlight. Charleston *Post and Courier*, February 18: B1
Mary Moran spoke to the National Geographic Society telling the story of the Mende funeral song she learned as a child from her mother in coastal Georgia.

1999 Lobby for Sierra Leone Peace Formed. Charleston *Post and Courier*, March 21: B1
An alliance met a Penn Center to lobby the United States Congress to provide funds to stop the war in Sierra Leone.

1999 Gullahs, Seminoles Share History. *The Sun News*, Reprint: August 30: C3

Frazier, Herbert L.
1972 Basketweaving Traced to Ancient African Craft. Charleston *News and Courier*, September 4:

Furtwangler, Carol
1998 Sea Islanders Keepers of African Tradition. Charleston *Post and Courier*, June 4: D22
The Georgia Sea Island Singers share Gullah history and culture at Spoleto USA celebrating African influence in music and dance.

1998, Shouters; Audience Left Wanting More. Charleston *Post and Courier,* June 7: A17
The McIntosh County Shouters educate and entertain audiences at Spoleto USA 1998 Festival "Echoes of Africa".

Furtwangler, William
1998 Sea Island Group Offers Welcome Look at South Carolina Work. Charleston *Post and Courier*, June 6: A11. In an "Echoes of Africa" performance the Hallelujah Singers from Beaufort, South Carolina present Gullah songs and stories.

Greene, Karen
1975 Gullah Studied as Language. Charleston *News and Courier*, September 28: E4

Grovsner, Verta Mae
1971 What Does South Carolina Lowcountry Mean to Me? Home! *Washington Star*, Washington, D. C., April.

Hofbauer, Lisa
1997 A Sweet Tradition. Charleston *Post and Courier,* July 6: B01
The Sweetgrass Basket Festival began in Jeannette Lee's front yard. The festival honors the traditions of crafts from Boone Hall plantation where Lee's mother and grandmother lived.

1997 Marker validates History of Sweetgrass Weaving. Charleston *Post and Courier*, November 23: B3
The dedication of a marker honoring the sweetgrass basket makers on Highway 17 in Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina was celebrated. The United States Ambassador to Sierra Leone, community and political leaders, the public, and sweetgrass basket makers attended the ceremony.

Howard, Roseanne
1998 Gullah People's History Studied. *The Sun News*, September 26: C1, C10

Jones, Patricia
1995 Gullah Culture Lives in Music Hall. Charleston *Post and Courier*, March 16: P1
Lowcountry Gullah culture, folklore, ghost stories, and spirituals need to be preserved according to Clay Rice of Lowcountry Legends Music Hall.

Kahn, Cynthia
1998 Jewish Group Learns About African Culture. Charleston *Post and Courier*, May 28: P1
Gullah and Jewish cultures were shared by students and adults at Courtenay middle School.

1998 Teens Learn Respect for Others' History. Charleston *Post and Courier*, July 16: P1
Teens from African American and Jewish American communities of Charleston and Washington learn about each other's cultures and the need to address racism, anti- Semitism, and all forms of intolerance.

Killingbeck, Rochelle
1995 New Jersey Group Getting Primer on Gullah. Charleston *Post and Courier*, August 10: A17
The Afriqua Study Group of East Orange, New Jersey visit Charleston to learn about the Gullah culture. The group of adults and youth travel the globe learning about Africa Diaspora history.

Leland, Jack
1949 Basket Weaving African Art Survival? Charleston *News and Courier*, March 27:

1971 Two Local Basket Wavers Demonstrate Art in Canada. Charleston *News and Courier*, July 21:

Lewis, Carol
1983 Low Country Dialect Survives Centuries. *The Sun News*, February 13: C1

Lione, Louise
1986 The Basket Wavers of Charleston. *Charlotte Observer*, June 22:

Locklair, Ernie
1974 Ancient Art on Display. Charleston *News and Courier*, July 21:

Locklair, Margaret
1977 New Program Markets State Handcrafts. *Charleston News and Courier*, May 1:

1977 Handcraft Guild. Charleston Evening Post, May 6:

Lofton, Sally
1962 A Primitive Art Thrives. Charleston *News and Courier,* August 12:

May, Lee
1981 Practice of Voodoo on Increase and Some Scientists Not Scoffing. *Dallas Times Herald*, August 23: A17

McCray, Jack
1998 Camp Meeting Promises Uplifting Experience. Charleston *Post and Courier*, June 5: A15
Alphonso Brown and the Mt. Zion Spiritual Singers perform the Camp Meeting yearly, a celebration of African American spirituals.

McDowell, Elsa
1984 Mary Foreman Jackson Waves Works of Art. Charleston *Post and Courier*, December 9:

1997 Janie Hunter Leaves Legacy for Generations. Charleston *Post and Courier*, June 17: B1
The legacy of Janie Hunter was the Gullah heritage she passed to her children and the generations who come after them. The music and stories she knew and lived were honored by the National Endowment for the Arts, Smithonian, Association of Black Storytellers, and others.

McMillan, George
1986 An Island of Gullah Culture (St. Helena, South Carolina). *New York Times*, February 2: PXX20N, PXX20L

Minis, Wevonneda
1995 Solo Art Show Stars Lowcountry Native. Charleston *Post and Courier*, April 9: B1
A traveling exhibition portraying Gullah life through the experiences of Jonathan Green can be seen in Charleston at the Gibes Museum.

1995 Emory Campbell: Keeping Penn Alive Requires All His Time. Charleston *Post and Courier,* February 18: C1
Emory Campbell is dedicated to Penn Center and the preservation of the history and culture of the Sea Islands.

1997 Rediscovery. Charleston *Post and Courier,* March 2: G1
The move to St. Helena Island and the effects on the island and the 3 people - Arianne King- Comer, Jan Spencer, and Darryl Murphy.

1997 Quilter Finds New Approach to Old Craft. Charleston *Post and Courier*, April 24: C1
Marlene O'Bryant Seabrook is an African American quilter. Her themes include a Gullah series - Philip Simmons, Jonathan Green, Blessed are the Children, and Porgy and Bess.

1998 Folkways in the South: A Lowcountry Primer. Charleston *Post and Courier*, May 24: D1
The unique identifiers that are Charleston are to be learned by visitors. The Charleston accent, Spanish moss (not Spanish and not moss), Palmetto bugs not cockroaches, no- see- ums, sweetened iced tea, okra - fried or in gumbo, and catfish.

1998 Embrace the Music. Charleston Post and Courier, June 5: A13
The Hallelujah Singers perform Gullah songs at the Cathedral of St. Luke and St. Paul for Spoleto Festival USA.

1998 Gullah Culture Preserved in Mixture of Fact, Lore. Charleston *Post and Courier*, August 30: G7
The Legacy of Ibo Landing: Gullah Roots of African- American Culture gives the reader an introduction to sea island history and culture. Edited by Marquetta Goodwine, founder of the Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition, the title honors a group a enslaved Africans who walked into the sea on St. Simons Island, Georgia rather than live as slaves.

Neely, Erik
1999 Gullah History Comes to Life. Charleston *Post and Courier*, February 28: B1
Marquetta Goodwine and Mary Simmons Boyd of St. Helena Island, South Carolina perform at the Black History Month celebration at Charles Pinckney National Historic Site in Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina.

Nichols, Jeff
1997 Turning Points Have Shaped City's History. Charleston *Post and Courier,* April 20: D1
The Denmark Vesey insurrection of 1822 although not successful still had a profound effect on Charleston and the unfolding of history up to the Civil War.

Petersen, Bo
1998 African- American Artists Shine at School Exhibit. *Charleston Post and Courier,* February 18: B4
Students and staff at Harleyville- Ridgeville High School present an exhibition of art focusing on African American themes as part of the Black History Month celebration.

Quick, David
1997 Marker to Recognize Basketmakers. Charleston *Post and Courier*, November 20: P1
The marker honoring the sweetgrass basket makers of Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina will be dedicated. In addition the women who first began selling baskets on Highway 17 will be recognized.

Rindge, Brenda
1995 'Gullah Gullah Island' has Local Connection. Charleston *Post and Courier*, December 3: F2
Ronald and Natalie Daise of St. Helena Island are the creators of 'Gullah Gullah Island". The show focuses on children and is based on the Daises theatrical performances about the African American Gullah culture.

Sanchez, Jonathan
1997 Play Shows Island Life, Rural Days. Charleston *Post and Courier*, October 2: P4
MOJA and The Community Foundation present "Look Where He Brought Me From" a play in Gullah at the Aiken- Rhett House performed by Sea Islanders.

Shumake, Janice
1995 Festival Events Will Share Culture of the Sea Islands. Charleston *Post and Courier*, September 14: P1
The history and culture of the Sea Islands will be performed, told, sung, and eaten at arts and crafts Sea Island Cultural Arts Festival of Charleston County.

1998 Island Tour Blends Tea and Gullah Play. Charleston *Post and Courier*, April 30: P1
The Wadmalaw Gullah Theater and the Charleston Tea Plantation present the Gullah play "Look Where He Brought Me From".

Staff Reports
1995 University of Charleston to Honor Scholar of Gullah. Charleston *Post and Courier*, May 13: A21
The University of Charleston honors Virginia Mixson Geraty for her work to preserve the Gullah language.

1995 Grapevine. Charleston *Post and Courier*, July 31: C1
Charleston, South Carolina is high on the list of places to visit for African Americans looking for historical representations of their history and culture.

1995 Gullah Version of 'Porgy' Filmed in a Joint Venture. Charleston *Post and Courier*, August 20: D5
DuBose Heyward's play "Porgy" is to be filmed by South Carolina Educational Television, The Cabbage Row Company, and the ETV Endowment of South Carolina.

1997 Family Buries Honored Storyteller Janie Hunter. Charleston *Post and Courier*, June 20: B2
Janie Bligen Hunter, a nationally known Gullah storyteller, was honored by the National Endowment for the Arts, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Association of Black Story Tellers.

1997 A Taste of Charleston. Charleston *Post and Courier*, October 8: D1
The Greater Charleston Restaurant Association sponsors the Taste of Charleston with a selection of foods including Gullah specials such shrimp and grits, Gullah rice and okra gumbo.

1998 Haut Gap Middle Celebrates Gullah. Charleston *Post and Courier*, May 12: D5
A theatrical production of Gullah life is told in "Sea Breezes".

1999 Plantation to Honor Black History. Charleston *Post and Courier*, February 11: D3
Hampton Plantation State Park and the Committee for African American History Observances will present "The African American Experience at Hampton Plantation" for Black History Month.

Stockton, Robert
1970 Teachers To Learn Studying English as Second Language. Charleston *News and Courier*, June 1: A10

Thompson, Bill
1997 Biography Searches Julia Peterkin's Life. Charleston *Post and Courier*, September 6: D1
Julia Peterkin as a southern writer who did not follow the norm is seen in her use of African American plantation slaves in fiction of their lives she penned.

Thompson, Woody
1999 A Touch of Gullah. *Georgetown Times*, July 21: P1

Toner, Robin
1987 Bible is being Translated into a Southern Coastal Tongue Born of Slavery. *New York Times*, March 1: P18, P24

Van Drake, Stephen
1999 Gone and Forgotten. Coastal Observer, July 29: Second Front P1

West, Otto D.
1994 Gullah Ways Find Forum at Coastal. *The Sun News*, February 17: C2

Williams, Barbara S.
1972 Johns Island Cooperative Puts Quilting Skills to Use. Charleston *News and Courier*, December

Williams, Charles
1998 Affluence, Genealogical Interest Fuel Influx of Black Tourists. Charleston *Post and Courier*, April 13: D8
African Americans are coming to Charleston to learn the history of enslaved African people and their contributions to the building of the Charleston, the south, and this nation.

Williams, Paige
1993 Gullah Lost. *The Sun News*, February 21: C1, C11

Periodicals and Journals

Periodicals contain a variety of articles about the culture of the Gullah people. I identified as many publications as I could find and followed leads from bibliographies of authors whose articles I read and listed. I have included articles from the Civil War period, Reconstruction, the 1900s, to the most recent dates available. The periodicals give the most comprehensive cultural data about the Gullah people.

Adler, Thomas
1972 The Physical Development of the Banjo. New York *Folklore Quarterly*

Anderson, David G.
1982 The Archaeology of Tenancy in the Southeast: A View from the South Carolina Low Country. *South Carolina Antiquities* 14: 71- 86

Anonymous
1948 Note on Gullah. *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 50: 56- 57
First printed in 1794 in the South Carolina Gazette, the article presents proof of what was considered the inability of Africans to enunciate certain English speech sounds.

Anthony, Carl
1976a The Big House and the Slave Quarter. Landscape 20: 3: 8- 19

1976b The Big House and the Slave Quarter. Landscape 21: 1: 9- 15

Author Unknown
1937 Sea Grass Basket Weavers: Coastal Negroes Produced Artistic Effects in Useful Articles. *Coastal Topics*, Charleston, South Carolina April

Author Unknown
1970 The Basket Weavers of Charleston. *Southern Living* 22- 26

Author Unknown
1992 Senator Hollings Sparks Fund Drive for Historic Penn Center Site in South Carolina. *Jet* 82: 23: 29
The fund raising efforts of Senator Fritz Hollings to aid Penn Center.

Author Unknown
1993 The New Plantations: South Carolina. *The Economist* 329: 7833: A33
Penn School on St. Helena Island, South Carolina has created the Penn School for Preservation. Working with community groups, environmentalists, and cultural preservationists Penn School is helping African American property owners learn how to protect their land, heritage, and culture.

Babson, David W.
1990 The Archaeology of Racism and Ethnicity on Southern Plantations.
Historical Archaeology 24: 4: 20- 28

Bacon, A. M.
1895 Folklore Ethnology: Conjuring and Conjure Doctors. *Southern Workman* 24: 193- 194, 209- 211
Although not Gullah specific this article describes the various spells and remedies used in southern African American communities.

Baird, Keith E.
1980 Guy B. Johnson Revisited: Another Look at Gullah *Journal of Black Studies* 10: 4: 425- 436
Baird speaks of the need to move beyond Guy B. Johnson's views stated in 1930 and reaffirmed in 1967. Baird focuses on linguistic hybridization - - the combination of African languages and English - - as the formation of Gullah.

Baird, Keith E. and Mary A. Twining
1994 Names and Naming in the Sea Islands in *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language & Culture*. Michael Montgomery, ed. pp. 23- 37. University of Georgia Press

Baker, Philip
1990 Off Target? *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 5: 107- 119

Barnwell, Joseph E.
1893 Transactions of the Sea- Island Relief Committee for the Suffers by the Cyclone of 1893. Charleston Yearbook : 293- 296

Bascomb, William R.
1951 Acculturation Among Gullah Negroes. *American Anthropologist* 48: 43- 50
Bascom declares that West African cultural traits among African Americans living along the coastal regions of South Carolina and Georgia are harder to trace to specific West African language and culture groups than African diasporic people living in the Caribbean, Central, and South America.

1941 Gullah Folk Beliefs Concerning Childbirth. Andover, Massachusetts Paper at American Folklore Society

1944 Gullah Superstitions Persist. *El Palacio* 44: 48

Bascomb, William
1981 African Folktales in America. *Research in African Literatures* 12: 203- 213

Bass, Robert D.
1931 Negro Songs From the Peedee Country. *Journal of American Folklore* 44: 418- 436

Bayne, Bijan C.
1997 Gullah Festivities. *American Visions* 12: 45
An overview is given of the Gullah Festival held yearly in Beaufort, SC. Historic information about the Gullah people and the town of Beaufort is also included.

Benjamin, S.
1878 The Sea Islands. *Harpers' Magazine* 57: 839- 861

Bennett, John
1943 Folktales of Old Charleston. *Yale Review* 32: 721- 740

1908 Gullah: A Negro Patois. *South Atlantic Quarterly* 7: 332- 347: 8: 39- 52
Bennett compares what he terms the three dialects spoken by Negroes - French Creole of Louisiana; the "Negro Usage" spoken in Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, western South Carolina, and upper Georgia; and Gullah of the Sea Islands.

Bennett, Irma L.
1940 Basket Making in the Low Country. Works Project Administration Federal Writers' Project, South Carolina. Charleston County School Stories

Beoku- Betts, Josephine A.
1995 We Got Our Way of Cooking Things: Women, Food, and Preservation of Cultural Identity Among the Gullah. *Gender and Society* 9: (5): 535- 555
Gullah women, food, culture, community, nature, and passing on the traditions are the components of this study. Through food in its cultural context and especially rice Gullah women of the Sea Islands are preserving traditions.

Berry, Brewton
1935 Silver Spoon. Story 65- 78
Reminiscences of an old Negro man told in the form of a short story.

Billington, Ray Allen
1950 A Social Experiment: The Port Royal Journal of Charlotte L. Forten, 1862- 1863. *Journal of Negro History* 35: 223- 264

Blockson, Charles L. and Karen Kasmauski
1987 Sea Change in the Sea Islands: "Nowhere to Lay Down Weary Head". *National Geographic* 172: (6): 734- 763
The culture of the Gullah people of the Sea Islands from Cumberland Island on the Georgia/Florida border to Pawley's Island along the northern shore of South Carolina is being altered by development, raising taxes, and major changes.

Blok, T. P.
1959 Annotations to Mr. [Lorenzo] Turner's "Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect". *Lingua* 8: 306- 321

Bolton, H. Carrington
1891 Decoration of Negro Graves in South Carolina. *Journal of American Folklore* 4: 2- 4
Bolton states that the Negroes in decorating the graves of family and friends are "following the customs of their savage ancestors". The burial customs in this paper are inland South Carolina but are similar to customs of Gullah people on the low country.

Borowsky, Anton
1961 Two Low Country Tales. *North Carolina Folklore* 9: 46- 48

Boretzky, Norbert
1993 The Concept of Rule, Rule Borrowing, and Substrate Influence in Creole Languages in Africanisms in Afro- American language Varieties. Salikoko S. Mufwene, ed. Pp. 74- 92. Athens: University of Georgia Press

Bradley, Frances W.
1937 Gullah Proverbs. *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 1: 99- 101
The sources for Bradley's Gullah Proverbs are Reed Smith's Gullah and the Charleston Museum Quarterly.

1937 Southern Carolina Proverbs. *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 1: 57- 101

1948- 1951 A Word- list from South Carolina. *American Dialect Society* 9- 16: 10- 73

Bragg, John
1978 A Cantometric Analysis of Folk Music in a Sea Island Community. *North Carolina Folklore* 26: 157- 163

Brewer, J. Mason, ed.
1945 Humorous Folk Tales of the South Carolina Negro. *South Carolina Folklife Guild*

Brown, Charles
1977 Charleston, South Carolina Communications Center. *Southern Exposure* 5: 196- 198

Brown, Kenneth L.
The Impact of the Labor System on the Evolution of African- American Culture. Department of Anthropology, University of Houston, Houston, Texas

Carawan, G.
1960 Spiritual Singing in the South Carolina Sea Islands. Caravan 19- 20: 20- 25

1964 The Living Folk Heritage of the Sea Islands. *Sing Out!* 14: 29- 32
The folk culture of Johns Island, SC is showcased through festivals on the island in 1965. African American history and customs in music and song and their preservation is stressed by Carawan.

Campbell, Emory
1984 Cultural Activities in the Sea Islands in Highlander Reports, *Newsletter of the Highlander Folk Center* 11

Carter, H.
1978 Kongo Survivals in U. S. Gullah: An Examination of Turner's Material. Paper presented at the Second Biennial Conference of the Society of Caribbean Linguistics. University of the West Indies, July 17- 20

Cassidy, Frederick G.
1994 Gullah and the Caribbean Connection in *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language & Culture* . Michael Montgomery, ed. Pp. 16- 22. Athens: University of Georgia Press

1986 Some Similarities Between Gullah and Caribbean Creoles in Language Variety in the South: Perspectives in Black and White. Michael Montgomery and Guy Bailey, eds. Pp. 30- 37. University: University of Alabama Press

1983 Sources of the African Element in Gullah in Studies in Caribbean Language. Lawrence Carrington, ed. Pp. 75- 81. St. Augustine, Trinidad: Society for Caribbean Linguistics

1980 The Place of Gullah. *American Speech* 55: 3- 16
Cassidy presents points he wants to reconsider from a paper written by Ian Hancock, "A Provisional Comparison of the English- Derived Atlantic Creoles". When and where did the English pidgin develop and where in the development is Gullah.

Chandler, Genevieve
1977 1930's Federal Writers' Project: Collecting Gullah Folklore. *Southern Exposure* 5: 2- 3, 219- 221

Charleston County School District
1975 The Ethnic History of South Carolina. Charleston: Charleston County School District

Chase, Judith Wragg
1978 American Heritage From Ante- Bellum Black Craftsmen. *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 42: 135- 158
Chase refutes the notion that Africans in America brought only their physical strength. She details the various crafts, skills, guilds, and the place these contributions occupy in American culture from enslaved and free people, Gullah and non- Gullah.

Christensen, Abigail M. H.
1894 Spirituals and Shouts of Southern Negroes. *Journal of American Folklore* 7: 154- 155
Christensen describes shouts or "religious dances" which she said were survivals of dances used in fetish or idol worship in Africa.

Clark, Verney R.
1974 Preserved Africanisms in the New World. Afro- World Religious Research Series 3: 1- 62

Cline, R. I.
1930 The Tar- Baby Story. *American Literature* 2: 72- 78

Coclanis, Peter A. and J. C. Marlow
1998 Inland Rice Production in the South Atlantic States: A Picture in Black and White. *Agricultural History* 72: 197. The focus is on rice production in inland counties from North Carolina to Florida after the Civil War into the 20th century.

Cohen, Henning
1951 Going to See the Window. *Journal of American Folklore* 44: 223

1952 A Negro 'Folk Game' in Colonial South Carolina. *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 16: 183- 185

1957 Caroline Gilman and the Negro Boatman's Songs. *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 21: 116- 117
Cohen gives resources for locating early songs of boatmen. He has examples from Gilman's Recollections of a Southern Matron in which she has recorded words for the songs.

1958 Burial of the Drowned Among the Gullah Negroes. *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 22: 93- 97
Cohen describes how the drowned, snake- bitten, and burned were buried in African societies and the relocation of those customs to the Sea Islands.

Cole, Bernadette
1997 The Language You Cry In'. West Africa 29 April - 4 May:
Cole tells the story of Mary Moran, a Gullah woman from Georgia, and her trip back to her roots in a village in Sierra Leone.

Combes, John D.
1972 Ethnography, Archaeology, and Burial Practices Among Coastal South Carolina Blacks. The Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina The Conference on Historical Site Archaeology Papers 7: 52- 61
Combes discusses the importance of recognizing African American burial patterns and burial grounds. What may appear to be dump sites may require additional investigation to make sure that what appears to be junk is not in reality an old burial ground.

Cooley, Rossa B.
1908 Aunt Jane and Her People: The Real Negroes of the Sea Islands. *Outlook* 90: 424- 432

Copenhaver, J. R.
1930 Culture of Indigo in the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia. *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry* 22: 894- 900

Crawford, Dorothy
1950 Gullah Logic. *South Carolina Magazine* 13

Creel, Margaret Washington
1990 Gullah Attitudes Toward Life and Death. In *AFRICANISMS in American Culture*, Joseph Holloway, ed. Pp. 69- 97. Indiana University Press
Creel provides a comprehensive look at where Gullah views originated among West African coastal peoples and the merging of those views into the culture found along the sea islands of South Carolina and Georgia.

Cunningham, Irma A.
1988 Some Innovative Linguistic and Procedural Notions, Relative to Sea Island Creole, in *General: Some Aspects of the Sea Island Creole Verbal Auxiliary in Particular in Methods in Dialectology*. Alan R. Thomas, ed. Pp. 46- 54. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters

1992 A Syntactic Analysis of Sea Island Creole. *American Dialect Society* 75. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press

Davis, Gerald L.
1976 African American Coil Basketry in Charleston County, South Carolina: Affective Characteristics of an Artistic Craft in a Social Context. In *American Folklife*. Don Yoder, ed. Pp. 151- 184. Austin: University of Texas Press

Davis, Henry C.
1914 Negro Folk Lore in South Carolina. *Journal of American Folklore* 27: 241- 254
Davis presents a collection of superstitions, stories, and songs from Negro folk traditions. Davis recognizes the difficulties of separating black lore from white lore and tracing Negro folk traditions back to their African origins.

Day, Gregory
1977 South Carolina Low Country Coil Baskets. The Communication Center, South Carolina Arts Commission Columbia, SC

1978 Afro Carolinian Art: Toward the History of a Southern Expressive Tradition. *Contemporary Art/Southwest* 1: (5): 10- 21

Deas- Moore, Vennie
1987 Home Remedies, Herb Doctors, and Granny Midwives. *The World & I* 2: 1: 474- 485
Deas- Moore is part of the culture from which she speaks. Her knowledge of plants and medical treatments of African Americans from enslavement to present day is based on ancestor knowledge passed down through the women in her family.

Dett, Robert N.
1925 St. Helena Island Spiritual. *Southern Workman* 54: 527

DeWolf, Karol K.
1986 Low Country Baskets. *Country Home* 8: 5: 67- 73

Dixon, Melvin
1974 The Teller as Folk Trickster in Chestnut's The Conjure Woman. *CLA Journal* 18: 2: 186- 197
The Conjure Woman written in 1899 by Charles Chestnut was his first novel. It evolved from a collection of short stories first printed in the Atlantic Monthly magazine. Dixon examines Chestnut's use of the trickster, the audience at that time (mainly white), and Chestnut himself as another participant in the story.

Dozier, Richard K.
1974 A Historical Survey: Black Architects and Craftsmen. *Black World* 23: 4- 15

1976 Black Architecture. New York Amsterdam News

Eastman, Jean
1971 Colloquial Names of South Carolina Plants. *Names in South Carolina* 8: 19- 24

Epstein, Dena J.
1963 Slave Music in the United States Before 1860: A Survey of Sources (Part 2). *The Quarterly Journal of the Music Librarians Association* 20: 377- 390
The songs of men as they ferried people and cargo between the sea islands and the mainland are more than the songs of "happy" slaves. Epstein has amassed documents and letters referring to the songs and the singers.

Fauset, Arthur H.
1925 Folklore from St. Helena, South Carolina. *Journal of American Folklore* 38: 217- 238
This collection of animal tales, Uncle Tom stories, morals, and songs offers an interesting gamut of folklore from St. Helena.

1927 "Negro Folk Tales from the South." *Journal of American Folklore* 40: 213- 303

Fenn, Elizabeth A.
1985 "Honoring the Ancestor: Kongo- American Graves in the American South." *Southern Exposure* 28: 42- 57
"Honoring the Ancestor" provides information on burial practices throughout the southern United States, including South Carolina. Religious beliefs in burial customs from the Bakongo people of Gabon to Angola are seen in burial grounds in the south.

Fitchett, E. Horace
1936 " Superstitions in South Carolina." *Crisis* 43: 360- 371
Fitchett states that the creation of folksongs, myths, legends, and superstitions are due to the status given to the larger world by societies which have/had "a minimum of contacts with ideas and mechanical devices".

1940 "The Traditions of the Free Negro in Charleston, SC." *Journal of Negro History* 25: 139- 152

Foote, Henry Wilder
1904 "The Penn School on St. Helena Island." Reprint from *Southern Workman*. Hampton, Hampton Institute Press

Forten, Charlotte
1941 [1864] "Life on the Sea Islands." *Atlantic Monthly* 13: 666- 676
Forten describes her experiences as a teacher, a northerner, and a free black woman on the Sea Islands. She gives a detailed picture of the people and their customs.

Foster, H.
1983 "African Patterns in the Afro American Family." *Journal of Black Studies* 14: 201- 232
Foster begins with a detailed discussion of the structure of the African family and patterns of descent, filiation, and marriage coming to colonies with enslaved peoples. African family patterns and their survival can be seen during and after enslavement.

Gellert, Lawrence
1934 "Negro Songs of Protest: North and South Carolina, and Georgia." *Negro Anthology*

Geraty, Virginia
1989 " The Gullah Language." *Charleston Magazine* 3- 4: 12- 13

Gibson, H. E.
1962 "African Legacy: Folk Medicine Among the Gullahs." *Negro Digest* 40: (10): 77- 80
Folk remedies were part of the traditions on the sea islands around Beaufort, South Carolina. By the mid- 1960s the islanders had begun to seek health care from the doctors available. Many islanders combined both forms of health care.

Goines, Leonard
1974 " The Music of Georgia and Carolina Sea Islands." *Allegro* 74: 5

Hair, P. E. H.
1965 "Sierra Leone Idioms in the Gullah Dialect of American English." *Sierra Leone Language Review* 4: 79- 84
Hair questions components of Lorenzo D.Turner's 1940's work of the Gullah language. Hair states that Turner's list of 4,000 Gullah words is overstated and that 3,500 of the 4,000 are personal names.

Haley, Alex
1982 "Sea Islanders, Strong- Willed Survivors, Face Their Uncertain Future Together." *Smithsonian* 13: 88- 96
Alex Haley visited Daufuskie Island, recording his experiences, with his friend Herman Blake. Blake, a sociologist and Provost of Oakes College, University of California at Santa Cruz, had been working with the people of Daufuskie Island for several years.

Hall, Stephanie A.
1986 South Carolina Field Recordings in the Archive of Folk Culture. Library of Congress Folk Archive finding aid No. 4. Washington: Library of Congress

Hancock, Ian F.
1977 *Further Observations on Afro- Seminole Creole*. Society of Caribbean Linguistics 7

1980 *Gullah and Barbadian: Origins and Relationships*. *American Speech* 55: (1): 17- 35
According to Hancock, Gullah evolved from an earlier Guinea Coast Creole English. This form of communication began along the Upper Guinea coast in the Senegambia littoral.

1980 *The Texas Seminoles and Their Language*. Austin: University of Texas African and Afro American Studies and Research Center Monograph Series 2: 1

Harris, Joel Chandler
1894 "The Sea Island hurricanes, the Destruction." *Scribner's Magazine* 15

Haskell, Marion A.
1899 "Negro Spirituals." *Century Magazine* 36

Hawkins, John
1896 "An Old Mauma's Folklore." *Journal of American Folklore* 9: 129- 131
Old Mauma is Hawkins' Maum' Sue. Hawkins gives examples of remedies he grew up with, the traditions of the low country Negroes, and how they helped shape his life.

Hawkins, John
1907 "Magical Medical Practice in South Carolina." *Popular Science Monthly* 70: 165- 174

Herron, Leonora and Alice M. Bacon
1895 "Conjuring and Conjure Doctors." *Southern Workman* 24: 118

Hibbard, A.
1926 "Aesop in Negro Dialect." *American Speech* 2: 495

Higgins, W. Robert
1971 "The Geographical Origins of Negro Slaves in Colonial South Carolina." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 70: 42- 43

Higginson, Thomas W.
1867 "Negro Spirituals." *Atlantic Monthly* 19: 685- 694
Higginson states he is a student of the Scottish ballad and had heard the music called "Negro Spirituals" for many years. Higginson compiled songs he heard in the camps around Beaufort from escaping enslaved men and women from South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

Hitchcock, Susan
1995 "Sea Grass Basketry and the Changing South Carolina Landscape." Georgia Landscape School of Environmental Design University of Georgia, Fall Issue
Hitchcock states that the impact of alteration on behalf of change is as important to the landscape designers as it is to the historians and preservationists. Along Highway 17 in Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina the history of Gullah people is being destroyed, she states, by rapid and not well thought out development.

Hollings, Marie F.
1979 *Descriptive Inventory of the City of Charleston Division of Archives and Records*. Charleston: City of Charleston

Holm, John
1983 "On the Relationship of Gullah and Bahamian." *American Speech* 58: 303- 318

Holloway, Joseph
1994 "Time in the African Diaspora: The Gullah Experience." In *Time in the Black Experience*, Joseph K. Adjaye, ed. Pp. 199- 20
Holloway provides a description of African time concepts and their relocation to the plantations on the sea islands. The Gullah and time can be shown to be related to the African ancestors and their oral traditions.

Howe, Mark A.
1930 "The Song of Charleston." *Atlantic Monthly* 146: 108- 111

Hubbell, Jay B.
1954 "Negro Boatman's Song." *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 18: 244- 245
Three examples of songs sung by African American boatsmen are given. The themes vary from a rebuke to honoring a lady to inspiring the oarsmen to pull harder as they row.

Hutchison, Janet
1993 "Better Homes and Gullah." *Agricultural History* 67: 102
In the 1920s the Better Homes in America organization began a series of contest for the best house designs across America. The African American community of St. Helena Island, SC participated in the contests winning throughout the 1920s in the categories for African American designs.

Jackson, Bruce
1976 "The Other Kind of Doctor: Conjure and Magic in Black American Folk Medicine in American Folk Medicine: A Symposium." Wayland D. Hand, ed. Pp. 258- 272. Berkeley: University of California Press
This essay compiles examples of uses of folk medicines and some of the studies of African and African American folk traditions.

Jackson, Juanita, Sabra Slaughter and J. Herman Blake
1974 "The Sea Islands as a Cultural Resource." *Black Scholar* 32- 39
Several issues are addressed in this article: a contemporary study of the Sea Islands done by African American scholars sensitive to the culture; survival patterns, present- day Gullah culture, social and psychological concepts surrounding growing up in an African American majority region and the historical consciousness of blacks and whites in the same regions sharing the same plantation last name.

Johnson, Guy B.
1949 "A Review of Africanisms in Gullah Dialect by Lorenzo Dow Turner." *Social Forces* 28: 458- 59

1967 "Gullah Dialect Revisited: 30 Years Later." American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC

1980 "The Gullah Dialect Revisited: A Note on Linguistic Acculturation." *Journal of Black Studies* 10: (4): 417- 424

Jones- Jackson, Patricia A.
1977 Alive: African Tradition on the Sea Islands. *Negro Historical Bulletin* 46: (3): 95- 96, 106
Four distinct and interconnected components of Sea Island Gullah culture and structure are explored - the extended family, religious beliefs, burial customs, and group interactions.

1978 Gullah: On the Question of Afro- American Language. *Anthropological Linguistics* 20: (9): 422- 427
Gullah as a language not a dialect is discussed. Its development and perpetuation on the sea islands can be traced to factors such as its beginnings in West Africa.

1981 The Oral Tradition of Prayer in Gullah. *Journal of Religious Thought* 39: 21- 33

1983 Contemporary Gullah Speech; Some Persistent Linguistic Features. *Journal of Black Studies* 13: (3): 289- 303
Jones- Jackson looks at Gullah spoken in the today of 1983 when the article was written examining three features that set Gullah apart from other forms of African American English spoken in the United States.

1983 The Audience in Gullah and Igbo: A Comparison of Oral Traditions. *College Language Association Journal* 27: (2): 197- 209
Jones- Jackson compares and analyzes the similarities between Sea Island storytellers and storytellers among the Igbo, Yoruba, and Ibebia peoples of Western Africa.

1984 On Decreolization and Language Death in Gullah. *Language in Society* 13: 351- 362
Jones- Jackson explores the decreolization process and compares Gullah speakers who have frequent contact with standard English and Gullah speakers on remote predominantly African American sea islands.

1994 Let the Church Say "Amen": The Language of Religious Rituals in Coastal South Carolina in *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language & Culture*. Michael Montgomery, ed. Pp. 115- 132. Athens: University of Georgia Press

Kaplan, Bruce
1990 Gullah: The Unique Culture of America's Sea Islands: the African American Language that gave us Uncle Remus Struggles to Survive. *Utne Reader* January- February: 37: 23
Gullah culture is threatened by outside development. The people, the traditions, the folklore may all be lost by the next century.

Kirkland, Edwin C.
1942 South Carolina Folk Tales Compiled by Federal Writers' Project. *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 6: 181- 182

Kloe, Donald R.
1974 Buddy Quow: An Anonymous Poem in Gullah- Jamaican Dialect Written Circa 1800. *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 38: (2): 81- 90

Krio, Leone
1975 Creole Features in the Afro- Seminole Speech of Brackettville, Texas. Society for Caribbean Linguistics Occasional Paper 3

1980a Gullah and Barbadian: Oritgins and Relations. *American Speech* 55: 7- 35

1986b Texas Gullah: The Creole English of the Brackettville Afro- Seminoles in *Perspectives On American English*. J. L. Dillard, ed. Pp. 305- 333. The Hague: Mouton

1988 Componentiality and the Origin of Gullah in Sea and Land: Cultural and Biological Adaptations in the Southern Coastal Plain. James L. Peacock and James C. Sabella, eds. Pp. 13- 24. Athens: University of Georgia Press

Livingstone, F. B.
1958 Anthropological Implications of Sickle Cell Gene Distribution In West Africans. *American Anthropologist* 60: 533- 562
Livingstone details sickle cell disease in West Africans, however, he doesn't provide any information about the disease in the various countries he lists - Greece, India, Turkey, Sicily, Algeria, Yemen, Palestine, Kuwait, or Tunisia - nor does he offer data addressing the relationship of sickle cell in Africa to other countries.

Lumpkin, Ben G.
1976 The Fox and the Goose: Tale Type 62 from South Carolina. *North Carolina Folklore* 18: 90- 94

Mallory, Maria
1994 Is the Mecca of Africanism Not Long for this World? (Gullah People of St. Helena Island). *Business Week*, August 15: 3385: 22B
Mallory reports that St. Helena Island is under intense pressure from developers. The future of the Gullah heritage and culture might not last into the next century.

McDavid, Raven I., Jr.
1951 Africanisms in the Eastern United States. *Modern Language Association*

McDavid, Raven I.
1955 The Positions of the Charleston Dialect. *American Dialect Society* 23: 35- 50

McKim, James M.
1862 Negro Songs. *Dwight's Journal of Music* 29: 148- 149

McKim, Lucy
1862 Songs of Port Royal Contrabands. *Dwight's Journal of Music* 22: 255

McLaughlin, Wayman B.
1963 Symbolism & Mysticism in the Spirituals. *Phylon* 24

Mednick, L. and M. Orans
1956 The Sickle Cell Gene: Migration vs. Selection. *American Anthropologist* 58: 293- 395
Mednick and Orans examine the occurrence of sickle cell in Italy, Greece, India, and other non-African countries. They contend that sickle cell outside the African Diaspora does not support investigations prior to 1945 that sickle cell was strictly an African trait and a racial diagnostic.

Meredith, Mamie
1931 Negro Patois and Its Humor. *American Speech* 6: 317- 321

Mohr, Nancy L.
1989 Treasures on an Island: Preserving the Traditions of South Carolina's Gullah Culture has Long Been the Mission of the Penn School. *American Visions* 4: 5: 29
The history of Penn School is told in this article. From its creation during the Civil War to the involvement in the Civil Rights movement to 1989 present day community involvements.

Montgomery, Michael
1994 Lorenzo Dow Turner's Early Work on Gullah in *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language & Culture*. Michael Montgomery, ed. Pp. 158- 174. Athens: University of Georgia Press

Moore, Janice G.
1980 Africanisms Among Blacks of the Sea Islands. *Journal of Black Studies* 10: 467- 480
Moore investigates her heritage and culture on Yonges Island, South Carolina. She compares the folk life and customs she finds with African traditions.

Moore, LeRoy
1971 The Spiritual: Soul of Black Religion. *American Quarterly* 23

Morgan, Philip D.
1982 Work and Culture: The Task System and the World of Lowcountry Blacks, 1700 to 1880. *William and Mary Quarterly* 39: 563- 599
Morgan looks at the evolution of the task system and the domestic economy the system allowed slaves to develop in their "free" time. The task system may have been used first on coffee and pimiento plantations in the Caribbean.

1983 The Ownership of Property by Slaves in the Mid- Nineteenth- Century Low Country. *Journal of Southern History* 49: 399- 420
The structure of the task system on low country plantations in South Carolina and Georgia gave rise to a system of property ownership among slaves - an economy - owned, run, and controlled by slaves, within the larger economy - owned, run, and controlled by the planter.

Morris, J. A.
1947 Gullah in the Stories and Novels of William G. Simms. *American Speech* 22: 46- 53
According to Morris, Simms used a character speaking Gullah in a short story almost 100 years before Ambrose Gonzales. He, Simms had no models to follow in his portrayal of Gullah people. Morris says Gonzales produced a glossary of Gullah words and Reed Smith's laws and analogies produced a framework for the Gullah language.

Author Unknown
1894 Mortuary Customs and Beliefs of South Carolina Negroes. *Journal of American Folklore* 9: 318- 319

Moser, Ada M.
1939 Farm Family Diets in the Lower Coastal Plain of SC. South Carolina Agricultural Experimental Station Bulletin No. 319

Mufwene, Salikoko
1985 The Linguistic Significance of African Proper Names in Gullah. *New West Indian Guide* 59:146- 66

1986 Restrictive Relativization in Gullah. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 1:1- 31
This paper analyzes in technical detail the relative pronouns and relative clauses in the Gullah language. Comparisons are identified in other dialects, African languages, English pidgins, and Creoles.

1986 Number Delimitation in Gullah. *American Speech* 61: 33- 60. Mufwene introduces data indicating that in Gullah number delimitation is not controlled by the same rules as those found in English.

1989 Equivocal Structures in Some Gullah Complex Sentences. *American Speech* 64: 304- 326
The subordinate clause used in some Gullah sentences and how that clause is used is the focus of this paper. Mufwene examines clauses beginning with fe or se.

1992 Africanisms in Gullah: *A Re- examination of the Issues in Old English and New: Studies in Language and Linguistics in Honor of Frederic G. Cassidy*. Joan Hall, Nick Doane, and Dick Ringler eds. Pp. 156- 182. New York: Garland

1994 On the Status of Auxiliary Verbs in Gullah. *American Speech* 69: (1): 58
Mufwene asks 2 questions: does the notion of "auxiliary verb apply to Gullah? and is the class of Avs coextensive with that of tense, mood, and aspect markers? These 2 questions prompt the asking of a 3rd question: what is the criterion for an item to be considered an auxiliary verb in Gullah?

1997 The Ecology of Gullah's Survival. *American Speech* 72: 69
The survival of the Gullah language according to Mufwene may depend on ecological and economic factors. With less than half a million Gullah speakers the pressures of the changing landscape endangers the future of the sea islands customs and culture.

Mufwene, Salikoko and Charles Gilman
1987 How African is Gullah and Why? *American Speech* 62:120- 139
Mufwene investigates 2 questions attempting to place Gullah in relationship to Creoles and Atlantic pidgins: (1) why are pidgins and creoles different from the languages to which they are lexically related, and (2) why are they similar to each other

Myers, Betty
1976 Gullah Basketry. *Craft Horizons* 36: 31
Myers expresses concern about the future of the sweetgrass baskets, the livelihood of the women who still sew them, and the lost of an African cultural connection still in existence.

Nash, Jonell
1998 The Gullah Tradition: From the Field to the Pot, Geechees Stir in Spirit. *Essence* 28 : 127
For the Gullah/Geechee people of the Sea Islands food is another measure of who they are. This collection of historical data mixed with recipes and photographs tells how to prepare various dishes indigenous to the islands.

Neuffer, Claude H.
1955 Some Edisto Island Names. *Names in South Carolina* 2: 2: 14

1965 The Bottle Alley Song. *Southern Folklore Quarterly* Fall: 234- 238

Author Unknown
1948 Note on Gullah. *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 49: 56- 57

Odum, Howard W.
1908 Religious Folk- Songs of the Southern Negroes. *American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education* 3: 265- 365

1911 Folk Song and Folk Poetry as Found in the Secular Songs of the Southern Negroes. *Journal of American Folklore* 24: 255- 294

Olson, Tod
1995 Freedom's Wages. *Scholastic Update* 128: 18
Newly freed slaves tell about real- life conditions for them and their families. The experiences are brutal, racist, poverty- based, and mirror the conditions they had been freed from.

Opala, Joseph
1986 The 'Gullah' Connection. *West Africa* 19 May: 1046- 1048
Opala discusses in a series of interview questions the history and connections between planters of South Carolina, the enslavement and transportation to South Carolina of rice farmers of Sierra Leone; what became of the enslaved people, their cultural heritage on the plantations, and where they are today.

1987 The Gullah: Rice, Slavery, and the Sierra Leone- American Connection. Unites States Information Service
"The Gullah" article was written in 1987 and reflects the knowledge at that time about the Gullah and the people of Sierra Leone. Opala provides a connection between the Gullah people of South Carolina and Georgia and the Mende, Vai, and Fula people of Sierra Leone and Guinea regions. He takes the Gullah to Florida and the Seminoles and to Oklahoma bringing the people and their history into present (1987) day.

1990 The Gullahs Come Home West Africa 25 December - 7 January: 2143- 2144
A small group of South Carolina and Georgia Gullah go "home" to Sierra Leone in this .

1990 Double Homecoming. *West Africa* 22- 28 January: 97
Opala relates the trip back to Sierra Leone for 2 Oklahoma Seminole men whose ancestors had escaped the rice plantations of South Carolina and Georgia and fled to Florida. The Seminoles were going home at the invitation of the President of Sierra Leone.

n. d. Momoh Visits the Gullah. *West Africa*
Opala travels with president Momoh on his visit to South Carolina and the re- establishing of connections with the Gullah relatives.

Orser, Charles E.
1984 The Last Ten Years of Plantation Archaeology in the Southeastern United States. *Southeastern Archaeologist* 3: 1- 12

Parler, Mary C.
1951 The Forty- Mile Jumper. *Journal of American Folklore* 54: 422- 423

Parrish, Lydia
1935 Plantation Songs of Our Old Negro Slaves, with Scores. *Country Life* 69: 50- 54, 62- 64, 75- 76

Parsons, Elsie Clews
1923 Folklore of the Sea Islands, South Carolina. *American Folklore Society* 16: 211- 213

Peek, Philip
1978 Afro American Material Culture and the Afro American Craftsman. *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 42: 109- 132

Pendleton, Louis
1890 Notes on Negro Folklore and Witchcraft in the South. Journal of American Folklore 3: 301- 17
Penn National, Industrial, and Agricultural School. 1910- 1951. Annual Reports. South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia

Perdue, R. E.
1968 African Baskets in South Carolina. *Economic Botany* 22: 289- 292
Perdue stresses that sweetgrass basket making is a craft not to be defined as art. He states that this form of basket making appears to come from Africa and was brought here by slaves.

Pierce, E. L.
1863 The Freedom at Port Royal. *Atlantic Monthly* 12: 291- 315

Pollard, Velma
1985 Cultural Connections in Paule Marshall's Praise Song for the Widow. *World Literature Written in English* 25: 285- 98

Pollitzer, William S.
1931 The Negroes of Charleston: A Study of Hemoglobin, Types, Serology, and Morphology. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 16: 241- 263

_____, 1972 The Physical Anthropology and Genetics of Marginal People of the Southeastern United States. *American Anthropologist* 74: 719- 734

_____, 1993 The Relationship of the Gullah- Speaking People of Coastal South Carolina and Georgia to Their African Ancestors. *Historical Methods* 26: 53- 68

Popkin, Z. F.
1931 Heaven Bound: An Authentic Negro Folk Drama out of Old Savannah. *Theatre Guild Magazine*, August 1: 14- 17

Pound, Louise
1929 South Carolina Ballads. *Journal of American Folklore* 42: 76

Powers, Bernard E.
1998 A Founding Father and Gullah Culture. *National Parks* 72: 26
Powers gives the reader a strong and information- filled article about life on one South Carolina low country plantation in Mt. Pleasant, SC owned by Charles Pinckney, a signer of the American Constitution.

Prevetti, C. A.
1998 Gullah: Songs of Hope, Faith and Freedom. *School Library Journal* 44: 86

Reeves, Dick
1970 Gullah. *Sandlapper* 5: 8- 11

Rhame, J. M.
1933 Flaming Youth: A Story in Gullah Dialect. *American Speech* 8: 39- 43

Rice, Elizabeth G.
1901 A Yankee Teacher in the South. An Experience in the Early Days of Reconstruction. *Century Magazine* 5: 151- 154

Rickford, John R.
1990 Number Delimitation in Gullah: A Response to Mufwene. *American Speech* 65: 148- 63
Rickford summarizes his paper and Salikoko Mufwene's 1986 paper on number delimitation.

Roberts, Nancy
1979 Gullah Baskets. *Americana* 7:1: 38- 41

Rosenfeld, Jeff
1993 The Forgotten Hurricane. *Weatherwise* 46: 4: 13
The history of the 1893 hurricane and its effects from Charleston to Hilton Head is chronicled.

Rosengarten, Dale
1985 Field Notes and Interviews, Low Country Basket Project. McKissick Museum, Columbia, SC

1994 Spirits of Our Ancestors: Basket Traditions in the Carolinas in *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language & Culture*. Michael Montgomery, ed. Pp. 133- 157. Athens: University of Georgia Press

Rosengarten, Theodore
1987 The Reckless Advance of the Modern World: A Review of 'When Roots Die' by Patricia Jones-Jackson. *Natural History* 9: 66- 71

Ross, Joe
1982 The Light on Land's End Road: A Modern Local Legend. TFBS 48: 19- 27

Rowe, G. C.
1900 The Negroes of the Sea Islands. *Southern Workman* 29: 709- 715

Salter, P.
1968 Changing Agricultural Patterns on the Sea Islands. *Journal of Geography* 67: 223- 228

Saunders, William C.
1980 Sea Islands: Then and Now. *Journal of Black Studies* 10: 481- 492
This very personal account of life in the Sea Islands in the 1930s and 1940s by Mr. Saunders, a native Sea Islander, shares some of the culture and traditions which he feels are quickly being lost.

Scroggins, Elizabeth McRae
1971 Gullah Baskets. ETV Guide, Columbia, South Carolina, April 1

Seabrook, E. B.
1866 The Sea Islands of South Carolina. *Galaxy Magazine*

Sengova, Joko
1994 Recollections of African Language Patterns in an American Speech Variety: An Assessment of Mende Influences in Lorenzo Dow Turner's Gullah Data in *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language & Culture*. Michael Montgomery, ed. Pp. 175- 200. Athens: University of Georgia Press

Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States. South Carolina Narratives, Volume 14. Washington: Library of Congress

Smiley, P.
1919 Folklore from Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. *Journal of American Folklore* 32: 363- 370

Smith, John P.
1991 Cultural Preservation of the Sea Island Gullah: A Black Social Movement in the Post- Civil Rights Era. Rural Sociology 56: (2): 284
During the 1970s development threatened to eliminate the Gullah culture. Educated and professional Gullah natives are returning and developing a social preservation movement whose purpose is to empower and retain the culture and the land.

Smith, Reed
1926 Gullah. Bulletin of the University of South Carolina, November 190. U SC Press
Smith looks at the Gullah people, their history, language, customs, folklore, and impact by northerners after the Civil War. He includes many examples of spoken Gullah and cites references done by earlier persons documenting the language.

1916 Word List From South Carolina. *Dialect Notes* 4: 344

Snipe, Tracy D.
1998 Coming Full Circle: A Cultural Renaissance on the Sea Islands. *The Avery Review* 1: 1

Starks, George L.
1980 Singing 'Bout a Good Time': Sea island Religious Music. *Journal of Black Studies* 10: 437- 444
Sacred music plays a very important role in the life of Sea Island people. The connection began during the days of enslaved people when songs evolved from incidents of whippings and other occasions.

1985 Salt and Pepper in Your Shoe: Afro American Song Traditions on the Sea Islands in *More Than Dancing: Essays on Afro American Music and Musicians*. Irene V. Jackson, ed. Westport: Greenwood Press

Stewart, John
1998 Review of Catching Sense: African American Communities on a South Carolina Sea Island by Patricia Guthrie. *African American Review* 32: 343
Stewart reviews "Catching Sense: African American Communities on a South Carolina Sea Island by Patricia Guthrie. What 'catching sense" means and if the process is still going on.

Stewart, Sadie
1919 Seven Folktales from the Sea Islands, South Carolina. *Journal of American Folklore* 32: 394-
This small collection of tales focuses on the "deception will be punished" theme which runs through many African/African American stories.

Stewart, Tom and Jolo Sengova
n. d. On the Origins of "Gullah" and "Geechee" MS

Stoddard, A. H.
1944 Origin, Dialect, Beliefs, and Characteristics of the Negroes of the South Carolina and Georgia Coasts. *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 28: 186- 195
Stoddard provides an explanation for the development of the "Gulla" language, the merging of African beliefs into Christian concepts, and the persona presented to the larger world by Negroes of coastal South Carolina and Georgia.

Stoney, P. K.
1950 The Incidence of the Sickle Cell Trait in the Negroes from the Sea Island Area of South Carolina. *Southern Medical Journal* 43: 48

Suttles, W. C.
1965 A Hymn of Freedom- South Carolina in 1913. *Journal of Negro History* 50:

Swadesh, Morris M.
1951 Review of Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect by Lorenzo Dow Turner. Word 7: 82- 84

Szwed, J. F.
1970 Africa Lies Just Off Georgia. *Africa Report* 15: (4): 29- 31
Szwed declares that the enslaved Africans mainly from Senegambian and Congo- Angolan regions were able to maintain much of their heritage and that heritage and culture evolved into a form of "Pan- African cultural pattern" that has survived till today.

n. d. The Gullah: A Heritage Remembered. *Topic* 18: 9- 11

Talley, Thomas W.
1942 The Origin of Negro Traditions. *Phylon* 3: 371- 376

Taylor, Alrutheus A.
1924 The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction. Association for the Study of Negro Life and History

Thomas, June M.
1980 The Impact of Corporate Tourism on Gullah Blacks: Notes on Issues of Employment. *Phylon* 41: (1): 1- 11

Thomas, J. P.
1930 The Barbadians in Early South Carolina. *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 31: 75- 92

Thompson, Robert F.
1969 African Influence on the Art of the U.S. Black Studies in the University: A Symposium. Yale University Press 127, 130- 154

Thornton, John
1993 Central African Names and African- American Naming Patterns. *William and Mary Quarterly* 50: 727
Naming patterns of Central Africa were evident in South Carolina among Africans brought to the low country.

Tobin, Jacqueline
1994 Sweetgrass Basketry: A Cultural Tradition Struggling for Survival. *Piecework* 68- 73

Tournier, Nan
1984 Sea Island Black Quilters. In Social Fabric: South Carolina's Traditional Quilts. McKissick Museum. University of South Carolina

Towne, Laura
1901 Pioneer Work on the Sea Islands. *Southern Workman* 30
Towne wrote the article on the founding of Penn School shortly before her death. In 1862 when the school began she discusses how it was a learning process for the teachers and the newly freed enslaved people.

Tupper, V. G.
1937 Plantation Echoes: A Negro Folk Music Drama, as Given each Year in Charleston, South Carolina. *Etude* 55: 153

Turner, Lorenzo D.
1941 Linguistic Research and African Survivals. American Council of Learned Societies 32: 68- 89

1941 Linguistic Research and African Survivals. American Council of Learned Societies 32

1945 Notes on the Sounds and Vocabulary of Gullah. Publication of the American Dialect Society 74-84

1948 Problems Confronting the Investigator of Gullah. American Dialect Society, Greensboro 74- 84

1958 African Survivals in the New World with Emphasis on the Arts in Africa as Seen by American Negroes. *Presence Africaine*

Twining, Mary A.
1967 Review of Carawan's Ain't You Got A Right to the Tree Of Life. *Ethnomusicology* 2- 3: 421- 422

1973 Field Notes on Reactions to 'Ain't You Got a Right to the Tree of Life'. *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 10: 213- 216

1974 Sources in the Folklore and Folklife of the Sea Islands. *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 39: 135- 150
Twining states that there is a need to develop a comprehensive collection of Sea Island resources for students interested in studying the history and culture of the islands. She states that some of what is available is biased, some material is beyond the reach of students, and other material is dated.

1975 African/Afro American Artistic Community. Journal of African Studies: 569- 578
Twining examines present- day historical data on African cultural components in light of the controversy between E. Franklin Frazier and Melville J. Herskovits.

1978 Harvesting and Heritage: A Comparison of Afro American and African Basketry. *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 42: 257- 270.
Twining's article compares African and African American baskets, discusses the early history of basket selling in the Mt. Pleasant region during the early 20th century, and the architecture of the sheds built and used by the women.

1980 Damas and Two Sea Island Poets: A Brief Comparison in Light of the Philosophy of Negritude. *Journal of Black Studies* 10: 449- 460
Twining looks at Negritude within the context of several poems.

1980 Sea Island Basketry: Reaffirmations of West Africa in The First National African American Crafts Conference: Select Writings. Shelby State Community College 35- 39

1985 Movement and Dance on the Sea Island *Journal of Black Studies* 15: 463- 479
According to Twining movement includes games, dance, songs, religious sermons, and speech patterns in storytelling. For Sea Islanders movement is more - it is the person responding to the storyteller, in the relationship between the preacher and the congregation, as well as between the dancer and the audience watching.

Twining, Mary A. and Keith E. Baird
1980 The Significance of Sea Island Culture. *Journal of Black Studies* 10: (4): 379- 386
The blending of African and European cultures on the sea islands and the resultant folkways, language, folklife, and customs are unique in this country. Research needs to determine African connections so that cultural origination points are identified.

1980 Introduction to Sea Island Folklife. *Journal of Black Studies* 10: 387- 416
Twining and Baird present an overview of the sea islands - their history, location, economics, language, religion, and different people create a region which is found nowhere else in the United States.

Twining, Mary A. and William Saunders
1970 One of These Days: The Function of Two Singers in the Sea Island Community. *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 3: 65- 71

Van Sertima, Ivan
1976 My Gullah Brother and I: Explorations into a Community's Language and Myth through its Oral Tradition in Black English, A Seminar. Deborah S. Harrison and Tom Trabasso eds. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates

Vlach, John M.
1977 Graveyards and Afro American Art. *Southern Exposure* 5: 161- 165
Vlach provides a cultural and historical framework to explain the African burial practices still being observed among African Americans including the importance of providing the deceased with a proper funeral, the wake or sitting up custom, and the placing on the grave of items used by and of importance to the deceased person.

1980 Arrival and Survival: The Maintenance of an Afro- American Tradition of Folk Art and Craft. In *Perspectives on American Folk* Art, Ian M. Quimby and Scott T. Swank, eds. Pp. 177- 217. New York, New York: W. W. Norton & Company

Wade- Lewis, Margaret
1991 Lorenzo Dow Turner: Pioneer African- American Linguist. *The Black Scholar* 21: 10
A detailed account of the development of "Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect" and its 17 year history collecting material, interviewing Africans in Europe, interviewing Gullah African Americans, and living and working in Africa, Brazil, and England.

Wailoo, Keith
1991 "A Disease SUI GENERIS": The Origins of Sickle Cell Anemia and the Emergence of Modern Clinical Research, 1904- 1924. *Bulletin Historical Medicine* 65: 185- 208
Wailoo details the early history of the identification of sickle cell anemia as a specific disorder. By 1924 the disease had been characterized to be among "Negroes" or "mulattos".

Waring, Mary A.
1894 Mortuary Customs and Beliefs of South Carolina Negroes. *Journal of American Folklore* 7: 318- 319
Described as "grotesque" Waring gives examples of South Carolina Negro burial customs. She provides anecdotes to support her belief that Africans and African Americans are afraid of dead people and this is reflected in their burial customs.

1895 Superstitions from South Carolina. *Journal of American Folklore* 8: 251- 252

Watts, Jill M.
1986 We Do Not Live for Ourselves Only; Seminole Black Perceptions and the Second Seminole War. *UCLA Historical Journal* 7: 5-

Weber, Meryl
1978 Gullah Baskets. *Arts and Activities* 84:4

Weintraub, Boris
1984 Just An Incredible Country We Live In. *Arts Review* 2: 1: 14- 18

Wexler, Mark
1993 Sweet Tradition: African Americans' Tradition of Basket Weaving from Sweetgrass. *National Wildlife* 31: 38- 41
Developers and homeowners building near and over what had been marsh are closing off and eliminating the sweetgrass which is used in basket making forcing the basket makers to go farther away to get the necessary grass.

Whitten, Norman E.
1962 Contemporary Patterns of Malign Occultism Among Negroes of North Carolina. *Journal of American Folklore* 75: 311- 325
Whitten focuses on North Carolina; he also includes research by Melville Herskovits, African sources of occultism among African Americans, and direct references to South Carolina and the use of the occult in South Carolina.

Winkoop, A. P.
1970 The Crafting of Sea Island Baskets. Contemporary Corner of the *National Antiques Review* 28- 31

Woltse, H. M.
1901 In the Field of Southern Folklore: Snake Superstitions. *Journal of American Folklore* 14: 205- 206

Work, Monroe
1905 Some Geechee Folklore. *Southern Workman* 35: 633- 635
These examples of folk beliefs include proverbs, animal beliefs, plant superstitions, and miscellaneous beliefs.

1905 Geechee and Other Proverbs. *Journal of American Folklore* 32: 441- 442, n.d.
Basket Making in the Low Country. Works Project Administration Federal Writers' Project, Charleston, South Carolina. South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina

Yates, Irene
1946 Conjures and Cures in the Novels of Julia Peterkin. *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 10: 137- 149

1947 A Collection of Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings from South Carolina Literature. *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 11: 187- 199

Yates, Norris
1951 Four Plantation Songs Noted by William Cullen Bryant. *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 15: 251- 253

Zinsser, W.
1967 The Tree of Life. *Look* 6: 18- 19.

Repositories

The major portion of information about the Gullah people in South Carolina can be found in the libraries, societies, and collections listed below. The information about the Gullah people of St. Helena Island and Penn Center is located at the University of North Carolina not at Penn Center. Avery Research Center houses information about the urban Gullah culture of Charleston.

In addition to papers, books, manuscripts, and audio/visual materials there are collections of artifacts such as baskets, quilts, and other items created by Gullah people. These items are kept as parts of collections of folk traditions representing South Carolina, Africans in America, and testaments to the creativity people existing in extreme circumstances of enslavement created.

Avery Research Center for African American History & Culture, College of Charleston - Charleston, SC

- Books
- Videos
- Audio Tapes
- Manuscripts
- Photographs
- Newspaper Clippings

Beaufort County Library - Beaufort, SC
- Books
- Periodical Sources
- Pamphlets, Brochures, and Booklets
- Unpublished Materials
- Newspaper and Magazine Articles
- Interviews
- Music
- Audio Tapes
- Phonograph Recordings
- Videos
- Films
- Film, 16 mm Format
- Filmstrip with Sound
- Microfilm/Newspapers of the Region

Charleston County Library - Charleston, SC
- Books
- Manuscripts
- Documents
- Ph.D. Dissertations and Masters' Theses
- Personal Papers

Charleston Library Society - Charleston, SC
- Books
- Documents

College of Charleston Library - Charleston, SC
- Books
- Documents
- Major Collections of Charleston African Americans
- Photographs of Antebellum and Postbellum Periods

Georgetown County Library - Georgetown, SC
- Morgan- Trenholm Photography Collection
- Books
- Maps
- Documents

Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition - St. Helena Island, SC
- Books
- Documents
- Newspaper Articles
- Artifacts of Gullah Culture

Library of Congress - Washington, DC
- Works Project Administration Recordings done in 1930s of freed enslaved men and women

McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina - Columbia, SC
- The Folk Arts Center, a bibliographic file of folk life and arts, is located within the Museum.

Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library - New York, NY
Books
Manuscripts
Articles

Parris Island Museum, Marine Corps Recruit Depot - Parris Island, SC
Photographs
Manuscripts
Museum exhibits
Owns the site and archaeological collections from Santa Elena, Charlesfort, and San Felipe

Penn Center, St. Helena Island, South Carolina
South Carolina Department of Archives & History - Columbia, SC
Information on plantation data
Census Information

South Carolina Historical Society - Charleston, SC
Family Papers
Bennett, John
1875- 1967
The research notes contain information on black folklore, music, superstitions, Gullah, and slavery in South Carolina. Scrapbooks of musical transcriptions of black spirituals and street cries are also in the collection.
Colcock, Erroll H.
1970 De patch- wu'k quilt
The unpublished fictional tale of plantation life in South Carolina before, during, and after the Civil War. The story is written in Gullah and narrated by an African American woman.
Gadsden Family
1703- ca. 1955 Gadsden family papers
The papers (ca. 1920- 1950) of Jeanne Gadsden include a Gullah story about Brer Wolf and Brer Rabbit.
Heyward, Jane DuBose 1882- 1939
In the Heyward papers are poetry written in the Gullah dialect and Gullah stories. Jane DuBose Heyward gave public readings in Gullah as a "dialect recitalist" and she was the mother of Dubose Heyward who wrote the novel "Porgy".
McTeer, Mary n.d. Sukie Sue's Limit
The photocopy of a manuscript story by McTeer written in Gullah probably in the early 20th century.
Murray, Chalmers S. 1905- 1970
The manuscript of a novel *Here Come Joe Mungin* about African- Americans (Gullahs) on the South Carolina Sea Islands. Additional novels about the Gullah people, sea island life, and other subjects are included. Gullah folklore recorded for a W.P.A. project are in the papers.
Ravenel Family 1746- 1941 Ravenel family papers
Rose P. Ravenel's (ca. 1890- 1940) Gullah stories about Brer Rabbit and Brer Wolf with anecdotes about African Americans are in the Ravenel papers.
Screven, Jane
Gullah tales and stories
Gullah Singing
Music recorded in 1974 on 5 audio cassette tapes from several Lowcountry churches of Gullah devotional music

South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina - Columbia, SC

An extensive collection of documents relating to African Americans included in books, manuscripts, guides, maps, newspapers, photographs, dissertations and masters' theses, genealogical collection of the South Carolina State Library, family papers, oral histories

Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill, NC

Personal and Family Papers

Johnson, Guy B. Papers

Writings by students at Rosenwald, Penn, and Mulberry Hill schools. Field notes and research materials collected in 1928 during a stay on St. Helena Island: versions of folk tales, songs, riddles, superstitions, and spirituals are included.

Penn School Papers

Volumes 1- 4

Waring Historical Library, Medical University of South Carolina - Charleston, SC

Early documentation of sickle cell anemia

Medical treatment of Africans in America pre- and- post slavery

Internet Sites

The list of Internet sites is extensive. It is extremely important to use sites that are connected to libraries, repositories, universities, colleges, governmental agencies, and reputable connectors. There is much information about African Americans and the Gullah that is racist, inflammatory, derogatory, and historically inaccurate.

Appendix F: *Overview and Synthesis of Scholarly Literature* by Melissa D. Hargrove

Preface

Anyone who has recently visited the Sea Islands will realize there is not a minute to spare. There are strip malls where basket stands have stood for half a century or more, which once nourished and sustained the community of Mt. Pleasant. Hilton Head Island is unrecognizable as the agricultural homeland of Gullah people for centuries prior to its devastation. Johns Island has become the red carpet rolled across for tourists on their trek to the gated communities of Kiawah and Seabrook. Gullah residents of Daufuskie Island can hardly even be counted as a community, since their displacement to the periphery of their island home to make way for golf courses and tourism. St. Helena Island, which has held on for dear life under the constant threat of encroachment, is constantly battling construction permits and development schemes that threaten to strip them of their homes, their heritage, and their cultural legacy. With every hotel that is built and every road that is widened we lose a piece of the history and heritage of the Gullah people. As scholars, activists, government agencies, and inhabitants, we must begin to take steps toward the preservation of this cultural legacy before it is too late.

Chapter 1 Introduction to the Sea Islands: History, People, and Current Predicaments

The Sea Islands are a site of intrigue and wonderment. The landscapes are picturesque, with moss covered live oaks draping the ground in every direction, and seascapes nothing less than breathtaking. But what is truly amazing is the story of the people who were brought to these islands in chains, first from the West Indies and later from Africa. These enslaved souls, and those who have descended from them, are referred to as the Gullah and Geechee of the South Carolina and Georgia Sea Islands. Their history reads like a tragedy, while their strength and courage inspire all who have been fortunate enough to interact with them.

The Gullah and Geechee have been objects of academic study for more than a century. Scholars from a variety of academic disciplines have studied every aspect of Gullah culture at different times and using different techniques, but there are overarching themes to the body of literature. Language, religion, verbal arts and folklore, land, health and medicine, arts and crafts, leadership patterns, Gullah worldview and cultural values, and development and change will be utilized as topical categories. Operating from such a framework, it is my sincerest goal to illustrate the significant themes of Gullah scholarship historically and contemporarily.

Much of the historical literature will only be used within this overview when necessary for placing complementary research within a broader contextual framework. Historic documentation is necessary, however, more relevant to the issue at hand is research that has required extensive fieldwork within the various Sea Island communities and interaction with those who live and breathe this culture.

Introduction

The Sea Islands are a string of islands that, geographically, extend from Georgetown, South Carolina to Cumberland Island, Georgia. The adjoining mainland for thirty miles inland is also recognized as part of the Gullah/ Geechee area. The broader discourse of Gullah studies often cites Florida as included within the culture areas; however, there is no significant scholarly data that represent Gullah people occupying Florida Sea Islands.[1] This gap should be considered within any future studies aimed at a comprehensive approach to Sea Island research. As a cultural area, the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia have served as home to the Gullah and Geechee. Geechee is recognized as the term used to refer to Georgia Gullah populations, but the blanket term Gullah can be used to designate all communities descended from Africans who have historically inhabited these Sea Islands.

The South Carolina Sea Islands include the following: Bull Island, Sullivan's Island, Yonge's Island, James Island, Johns Island, Kiawah Island, Seabrook Island, Wadmalaw Island, Edisto Island, Lady's Island, St. Helena Island, Hunting Island, Fripp Island, Parris Island, Hilton Head Island, and Daufuskie Island. The Georgia Sea Islands, also known as the Golden Isles, consist of: Tybee Island, Skidaway Island, Ossabaw Island, St. Catherine's Island, Sapelo Island, St. Simons Island, Jekyll Island, and Cumberland Island. It should be noted that among all those listed here, Wadmalaw Island[2] and St. Helena Island of South Carolina, as well as Sapelo Island of Georgia, can still declare the existence of a recognizable, cohesive, and viable Gullah/Geechee community (Hargrove 2000).

These islands can be classified as low- lying; this area is often referred to as the "Lowcountry," separated from the mainland by small inlets, tidal creeks, and grass- covered marshlands. The islands possess a warm marine environment rich with various types of tropical and subtropical vegetation (Salter 1968). Beneficial to these islands is their extremely long growing season: from 250 to 300 days a year (Salter 1968). The sandy- loam soil of the Sea Islands is well suited to many types of agricultural production, which made them ideal for the plantation economies of rice, indigo and cotton, all of which fed the need for enslaved labor. West Africans seemed the best choice for such a labor force, due to their superior knowledge of rice and indigo cultivation (Schwalm 1997). Those captive

Africans, which we now know as the Gullah, forged a common culture out of their shared misery and will to survive and surmount obstacles.

It is indeed the entire chain of Sea Islands that became home to hundreds of thousands of enslaved Africans, but the islands of South Carolina are believed to have retained the most sizeable population directly descended from enslaved Africans (Creel 1988). Many scholars maintain that the Sea Islands of South Carolina are the most authentic source of African culture history in North America, due to the overwhelming existence of "Africanisms" (Turner 1949; Guthrie 1996; Pollitzer 1999). Extensive study of the existing literature suggests more research has been conducted in South Carolina Sea Island communities than in Georgia Sea Island communities.

Among the earliest English settlers to the Sea Islands were several families from Barbados, already familiar with the system of plantation slavery and the utilization of African labor (Johnson 1930; Schwalm 1997). These first West Indian planters brought close to a thousand laborers with them (Creel 1988). Early settlers who came from England in search of an area to settle landed at St. Helena, but moved on to Charles Town upon hearing of the better soil conditions there (Johnson 1930). Charles Town became the major docking point for incoming African captives who were sold in the slave market, which now serves as a tourist attraction in present- day Charleston, South Carolina. It was not until 1700 that the first birth of a Euro American child was reported (Johnson 1930). This event has come to signify the beginning of the colonization of the Sea Islands.

Within the literature there are ongoing controversies concerning the origins of enslaved Africans who we now recognize as Gullah and Geechee. The most comprehensive study, to date, appears in the recently published work of William S. Pollitzer, The Gullah People and Their African Heritage (1999). As a scholar who has devoted a lifetime of study to Gullah research, Pollitzer reviewed a wealth of data concerning the documented origins of South Carolina's African population. The results can be broken down as follows: 39 percent came from Angola (which includes the Congo), 20 percent from Senegambia, 17 percent from the Windward Coast, 6 percent from Sierra Leone, and 13 percent from the Gold Coast (Pollitzer 1999). However, 23,033 (20 percent of the total number of slaves legally imported into South Carolina) were omitted from these calculations because their specific regional origins were not recorded.

These Africans formed communities out of their shared enslavement. What developed is a syncretic, creolized culture which was constructed out of a remodeling of various cultural traits brought across the sea from many different parts of West Africa (Mintz and Price 1992), with subsequent influences from European and indigenous sources. This process happened throughout the African Diaspora in locations where slavery became the principle economic strategy for colonial expansion (Mintz and Price 1992). Therefore, there are evident and well established linguistic,[3] cultural, and religious connections between the Caribbean and the Gullah and Geechee people of North America.

Establishing the connection between the Caribbean and Gullah/Geechee culture area is an important endeavor, which will "highlight its differences from the rest of the American South" (Montgomery 1994a, 8) as well as expound on "the diversity of Lowcountry culture" (ibid, 14). One of the significant aspects of the Gullah/Geechee- Caribbean connections is the demography of the first Carolina colonies. The first enslaved Africans to work the soil of South Carolina were transplanted there from Barbados and Jamaica (Cassidy 1994). Cassidy, speaking from a linguistic standpoint, suggests that the striking similarities among the Creole languages of the Caribbean and the Sea Islands cannot be accidental (1994, see also Hopkins 1992). Culturally, the Caribbean and the Sea Islands share a number of connections. For example, Beckwith (1924) uncovered the links between them through trickster tales, best illustrated by the presence of Anansi stories in the Caribbean and South Carolina (which ultimately connects both areas, culturally, to West Africa). The folklore collection of Parsons (1923) also reveals similarities between the Caribbean (particularly the Bahamas) and the Gullah area.

Religious connections between the Caribbean area and the Gullah/Geechee area are most easily understood in terms of syncretism. Syncretism, defined as the blending of differing systems of belief, is appropriate in terms of establishing a connection between religious belief and practice in these particular Diasporas. Gullah spiritual beliefs represent the syncretism of Christianity and African religion (Butler 1975; Creel 1988; Hart 1993; Pollitzer 1999). Gullah religion will be further discussed in subsequent chapters; however, it is important to reveal its similarities to syncretic religions of the Caribbean area, such as Voodoo of Haiti (also spelled Vodou and Vodun) and Santeria of Cuba (Jones- Jackson 1994).[4] Voodoo represents a blending of the African beliefs systems, brought to Haiti by enslaved Africans, and the Roman Catholic beliefs of their captors. Santeria was created in Cuba by the earliest Yoruba slaves as it was blended with the Catholic belief system of the Spanish. African religions were amenable to this process of syncretism in several ways. The idea of one God (or higher power) was comparable to African belief systems (Jones- Jackson 1994). Also, the worship of saints in Catholicism had distinct parallels with Orisha worship in Yoruba culture. Spirit possession, documented within Gullah culture ("falling out" Twining 1977), Voodoo, and Santeria is yet another connection between the Gullah and Caribbean syncretic belief systems.

An entire volume could be written on the cultural connections between the Caribbean and the Gullah/Geechee area; however, the scholarly literature documenting such connections lacks synthesis, and should be of consideration in the future. What can be definitely established is the shared experiences of enslaved Africans (Mintz and Price 1992) both in the Caribbean and the Sea Islands. These groups shaped a creolized culture out of traits from Africa, interactions with Europeans, Indigenous peoples, and residents of the established slave populations they joined in the New World. Cultural connections, religious connections, and linguistic connections between the Caribbean and the Gullah/ Geechee community establish the need for increased research in the area referred to as "Africanisms."

Africanisms[5]

Africanisms can be best understood as cultural elements (including linguistic elements) that signify an African origin. There are many such "Africanisms" within the various elements of Gullah culture, including songs, folklore, games, language, musical instruments, basketry, crafts, woodworking, initiation ceremonies, and herbal plant usage for healing purposes. Those who came from the Guinea Coast are credited with contributions in the areas of grammar, magic, secret societies, possession and trance, quilting, ceramics, and skilled metallurgy (Pollitzer 1999). The Central African captives brought many Bantu words and names, as well as values of kinship and their deep religious beliefs concerning death and the afterlife (Creel 1990; Pollitzer 1999). As Pollitzer illustrates through many years of study, "no one sea island can be connected to a specific region in Africa" (1999, 198). What can be alleged with relative certainty, however, is that Gullah culture is an amalgamation of many different cultural elements from West and Central Africa.

Etymology[6] **of "Gullah" and "Geechee"**

There are two dominant hypothetical accounts on the etymology of the word "Gullah." The exact origins, however, as well as the precise historical development of the language, remain unknown (Wood 1975). Most often mentioned within the literature is the belief that it is a shortened version of "Angola," derived from the heavy importation of slaves from that region during South Carolina's early colonial period (Jones- Jackson 1987; Creel 1988; Pollitzer 1999). Another possibility is a derivation of "Gola," sometimes spelled Goulah, which refers to a large group of Africans from Liberia who were heavily imported into the Sea Islands at the height of rice and indigo cultivation (Wood 1975; Creel 1988). Less scholarly work has been conducted on the origin of "Geechee," however a number of scholars suggest the term is derived from the Ogeechee River area of Georgia (Sengova 1994).

Transitions: From Slavery to Freedom

It was November of 1861 when the guns of "big shoot" rang out through Port Royal Sound. "Big Shoot," the term used by Sea Islanders to designate the Civil War, brought change and, subsequently,

freedom to the Sea Islands. As Union armies invaded the areas inland of the island plantations, the white owners fled leaving everything just as it was in the hopes of soon returning. Those who had a chance informed the overseers of the situation, assuring them they would return; those without time left their slaves behind with no warning of what was to come. Upon contact with the slave populations, Union troops discovered they had not been informed of the War. The military enlisted the help of the federal government to take responsibility for these "contraband of war" (as they were at that time designated) who were running out of food and options (Rose 1964; Dabbs 1983;[7] Pollitzer 1999).

Many members of President Lincoln's cabinet became nervous about the situation in the Sea Islands. This was to be one of the largest cotton crops ever, and it had to be taken in. To accomplish the harvest, the US government had to formulate a plan for the supervision of the enslaved work force. Appropriate to the era, the intellectual elite of the North came to their aid. The project was a collaborative effort between philanthropists from New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, who came to be known as the "Port Royal Relief Committee." With funding from the U.S. Treasury, the committee assembled a group of missionaries and sailed them off to the rescue of the desperate, abandoned islanders (Rose 1964).[8]

The volunteers enlisted to help with the federally sponsored Port Royal Experiment, as it has come to be known, were put in charge of one plantation each. They were presented with several duties: management of the slaves as they harvested the crops, distribution of relief supplies, teaching, preaching, and preparing them for citizenship (Dabbs 1983). The objective of the Port Royal Experiment was to uplift- - in every possible sense- - those released from slavery by the war (Dabbs 1983).

In 1862, President Lincoln gave the order that abandoned lands in and around St. Helena be set- aside for the freed population (30 miles inland from the sea). On January 1, 1863, President Lincoln's official Emancipation Proclamation was read aloud to the former slaves of St. Helena Island. Soon after came the actual land sales to the freedmen.[9] Much of the land was sold to missionaries or speculators, but some tracts were sold to the slaves who had worked that particular plantation. The land was partitioned off into plots ranging from ten to twenty acres and sold for $1.25 an acre. Owning land was one of the greatest status symbols ever gained for the freedmen, and many who purchased it demanded that it be on the same land as their home plantation. Most often they even chose to keep the original name (Rose 1964). Other advantageous orders followed the land sales. Special Field Order 15 was issued by Union Army General William Tecumseh Sherman on January 15, 1865:

> At Beaufort, Hilton Head, Savannah, Fernandina, St. Augustine, and Jacksonville, the blacks may remain in their chosen or accustomed vocations, but on the islands and in the settlements hereafter to be established, no white person whatever, unless military officers and soldiers, detailed for duty, will be permitted to reside; and the sole and exclusive management of affairs will be left to the freed people themselves, subject only to the United States military authority and the acts of Congress (adapted from Goodwine 1998b:165).

Further Change: From Self- Sufficiency to Resort Development

Between 1864 and the early 1950s Sea Islanders lived in relative isolation as self- sufficient farmers, while also utilizing nearby waterways to supplement their diet. In the 1950s, however, their isolation ended as connector bridges began being built to the various Sea Islands. This was the first step in the demise of Sea Island communities and the situation worsens with each coming year. One need look no further than Hilton Head Island, which only 50 years ago was home to an African- American farming community. Land is constantly taken out of production and converted to resort development for the industry of tourism. Present day Hilton Head is populated by affluent Euro Americans, residing in communities named after successful plantations of the slavery era. What were once self-

sufficient Gullah communities are now the sites of golf courses, resorts, gated retirement communities, and vacation rentals. The development of these communities has transformed the residents into an "endangered species."[10] Their lifeways and cultural traditions are disappearing at an alarming rate. Jobs are scarce and often limited to low wage jobs associated with the tourism industry, and the future projections of increased tourism and development offer no relief.

It is within this tumultuous context that the need arises for a synthetic overview of the existing literature concerning this living, breathing culture. In the coming years, involvement from policy makers, governmental bodies, and community organizations and activists will be crucial to either the destruction or preservation of this irreplaceable link to the African American past.

Chapter 2 Gullah Language

"The spoken word is the life and heart of Gullah culture" (Twining 1977, 80).

The dialect used by Sea Islanders of South Carolina and Georgia, often referred to as Sea Island Creole, was established as a legitimate language system by Lorenzo Dow Turner.[11] Turner was an African American scholar who conducted fifteen years of research among Sea Island residents with the objective of recording their language, folklore, and songs. The ultimate goal for Turner was to uncover the links between Gullah speech and the African languages they most closely resemble in the methods used to form words. In doing so he would also discredit much of the earlier work on Gullah language, such as A.E. Gonzales (1922), J. Bennett (1908), R. Smith (1926), and Guy B. Johnson (1930), who represented misinterpretations of Gullah speech in ways that are denigrating and racist. He established this in his publication Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect (1949). The invaluable data contained within this study continue to be used as the primary reference guide for the linguistic study of Gullah language, and the exploration of the phonetic, syntactic, and morphological elements of Gullah that represent a definitive link to African language systems. It is important to note that Gullah language is distinct, and should not, therefore, be assigned to a general category of Black dialect (Jones- Jackson 1983).[12]

Turner's contributions to the study of Gullah language are immeasurable. His research consisted of field research in both Africa and the Sea Islands, resulting in twenty- seven informants from various parts of Africa and more than fifty from various Gullah communities in South Carolina and Georgia. Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect (1949) includes a phonetic alphabet, West African words found within Gullah speech from a variety of African language groups,[13] syntactic features, morphological features, and Gullah texts transcribed in phonetic notation. All features within this collection illustrate the undeniable contributions of African languages to that which we refer to as Gullah.

The linguistic study of Gullah represents the largest component within both published and unpublished material concerning Gullah culture. The areas of investigation can be delineated into four distinct categories: linguistic origins and composition as a Creole language system, distinctive linguistic features of Gullah speech, dynamics of language usage and decreolization, and the role of language within Gullah culture. A complete understanding of the linguistic study of Gullah requires an advanced understanding of linguistic terminology. In light of the fact that many do not possess such knowledge, I have included, as endnotes, definitions of relevant terminology when necessary.

Linguistic Origins and Composition as a Creole Language System

The linguistic roots of the Gullah language system have been debated for over half a century. Lorenzo Dow Turner's work suggests Gullah language resulted from a merging of English and West African languages of Yoruba, Igbo, Efik, and Twi (among others). Ian Hancock asserts a strong linguistic relationship between the Krio language of Sierra Leone and Gullah (1994), as well as highlighting the similarities between the Guinea Coast Creole English system and linguistic features of Gullah speech.

One example is the grammatical morphemes[14] such as bin, de, go, and don. Cassidy (1994) suggests that Gullah language is rooted in the Caribbean, while Mufwene asserts a "continuity" model based on suggested connections between Gullah language and the Kwa, Kru, and Mende languages of West Africa (1994). Mende speakers were among the dominant group taken from Sierra Leone, due to their extensive knowledge of rice cultivation (Sengova 1994).[15] The Mende language appears to be the largest contributor of words and expressions to Gullah language (Hair 1965; Hancock 1971). Within all the debates on the origins of Gullah language is the assumption that the similarities between West African language systems and Gullah represent a solid connection; thereby establishing the African substratum. Unfortunately, however, at this juncture there is no definitive data that are accepted by all scholars concerning the origins of Gullah language.

African Substratum of English

Words that found their way into the Gullah language from Africa are numerous, and often recognized in English also. In an attempt to assess the possible linguistic, and therefore cultural, borrowing that may have occurred between Gullah and Whites, Wade- Lewis (1988) suggests the English language may also contain evidence of an African substratum.

Ex: Animal names: zebra, gorilla
Plant names and food items: goober, okra, yam, banana
Musical terms: samba, mambo, banjo, bongo
Religious terms: booger, mojo, voodoo, zombie
Action verbs: boogie, dig, juke, tote

In her analysis of the phonological, syntactical, morphological and semantic aspects of Niger-Kordofanian languages[16] in the New World, Wade- Lewis concludes that the Gullah people maintained linguistic continuity, as well as influencing the English language (1988).[17]

Creole Status of the Gullah Language System

When speaker of different languages come into contact with one another they must establish a strategy of communication. This often results in a pidgin[18] language. Once the pidgin becomes the first language of a particular group, it becomes a Creole. What has been established without question is the status of Gullah as a legitimate Creole[19] language system. Cunningham (1970)[20] was among the first to establish Gullah as a legitimate Creole through analysis of the syntactic system.[21] She compared the lexical[22] and grammatical[23] features of Gullah with established Creoles, such as that of Jamaica and Sierra Leone Krio. Both Cunningham (1970) and Hancock (1971) have illustrated similarities between Gullah and the Krio of Sierra Leone, referred to as "the West African cousin of Gullah" by Sengova (1994, 2000).

Evidence of the Creole status of Gullah can be seen in the existence of African- derived words used by Gullah speakers that are unintelligible to inland Blacks (Jones- Jackson 1983) (e.g. dayclean "dawn", det rain "downpour", pinto "coffin" as documented by Montgomery 1994b) as well as the existence of West African language patterns using a single pronoun to refer to all genders, [referred to within the literature as a "genderless pronominal system of pronoun use"] (Jones- Jackson 1978). Other unique facets of Gullah language include: the absence of past tense use of –ed morphemes [e.g. The weather look bad.], absence of the pronoun "it" and substitution of "we" for "us" [e.g. He come this close to we.], and the absence of possessive pronouns [e.g. She can cook she own.] (Jones- Jackson 1983).

Gullah and the Creole Continuum

The most prominent debate within studies of Gullah language is the status of Gullah, with reference to the Creole continuum. The concept was introduced in the 1970s and is best understood as "a continuous range of variation, found in particular in many Creole- speaking communities, between the basilect (the speech variety with the most Creole features), and the acrolect (the speech variety with the least Creole features, thus most similar to Standard language). Speech varieties that have an equal mixture of both are referred to as mesolect, thus being between the acrolect and the basilect.[24]

As a Creole language moves along the continuum between basilect and acrolect, it is presumed that the Creole is undergoing a process of "decreolization" (a process of assimilation from Creole to standard language). The damage done by such an ideology will become clear upon closer investigation of specific research.

Satina Anziano (1998) conducted an investigation to test the hypothesis of Gullah decreolization using data from the South Carolina Federal Writers Project. The subject, "Lilly Knox" was interviewed between 1936 and 1938 and is taken to represent a mesolect Gullah speaker. The speech of Lilly Knox, 36- year- old Gullah woman, is compared to more recent linguistic data collected from current Gullah speakers, Creole, and AAVE (African American Vernacular English) data, presenting copula[25] usage as the point of comparison. The data selected for study consisted of each instance of the forms of be: am, is, are, was, were, been. Statistical analysis was performed using the SAS (statistical analysis system) program. Comparisons with AAVE indicate a comparable trend toward decreasing copula usage in the present tense more than in the past, and the disfavoring of plural copula. The absence of copula usage within the transcripts of Lillie Knox suggests that it is earlier on the continuum of mesolect designation (lower mesolect speaker). Based on the results of the study, Anziano makes an argument for the value of material from the FWP for further linguistic analysis. Anziano further concludes that such results indicate Gullah is now entering the process of decreolization in much the same manner AAVE did at an earlier period in history.

In direct opposition, Tometro Hopkins (1992)[26] suggests that Gullah language is not following a developmental sequence of decreolization. This study focuses on the use of auxiliary verbs da and bin. Hopkins discusses the development of Gullah language within the context of competing past and present theoretical paradigms concerning the origins, dynamics, and future of Gullah language. Upon comparing Gullah with alternative Creole verbal systems, such as Guyanese Creole English, Hopkins suggests Gullah language is changing, but not in the direction of being replaced by Standard English. Through the conversations used to conduct linguistic analysis Hopkins conveys much about Gullah culture in the realm of social structure, religion, family, and changes brought by development. Much of the same argument appears in a more recent publication based on the same fieldwork data (Hopkins 1994).

In 1990 an alternative hypothesis was proposed. Katherine W. Mille, suggesting that the Creole Continuum (CC) positions Gullah language as moving toward English, proposes that the CC may be too simple and linear to adequately represent what is going on within the Gullah language. Furthermore, she suggests that the two languages are involved in a stable relationship which allows for some overlap between the two; highly dependent on social context. The overall project is to isolate, describe, and quantify those syntactic or morphological features that mark tense mood aspect (TMA) in the verb phrases of Gullah represented by Ambrose Gonzales[27] (even though his work is controversial and labeled racist and demeaning), and compare them with features serving the same function in recent samples of Gullah speech gathered by Jones- Jackson (1978) and Mufwene (n.d.). Tense, mood, and aspect in Gullah are generally distinctive and thus are easy to identify, study, and compare, which is why they are chosen as objects of study within this research.

In terms of the debate over the decreolization of Gullah, Mille breaks new ground. The results suggest no directional change in Gullah over time, no indication that Gullah is converging with English during the time line specified for this study (last 130 years), and therefore no real evidence that Gullah is undergoing decreolization. Mille suggests the results establish Gullah as a stable Creole language system (1990).

Mille is not alone in her belief that Gullah language is alive and well. Salikoko S. Mufwene, a scholar who writes extensively on Creole language systems, disputes the theory that Gullah language is dying out, further suggesting that Gullah has been under no more pressure to change than any other nonstandard variety of English in North America. He cites group identity, geographical and social

isolation, and the ability to code switch[28] successfully, as important factors that have aided in the preservation of Gullah language. In response to the idea that stigmatization will erode Gullah, Mufwene suggests that is only the case if the community's sense of identity has been eroded (Mufwene 1997).

The real threat to Gullah language survival, Mufwene asserts, is the overall reduction of speakers due to development and land loss. As newcomers enter the coastal communities of Georgia and South Carolina the limited economic opportunities within the tourism industry drive the youth to larger cities. It is in such places that the real pressure of assimilation threatens to alter Gullah language. This is in direct contrast to the notion that increased tourism will bring about increased interactions between Gullah speakers and Standard English speakers. To support his hypothesis, Mufwene reminds us that those who settle and vacation in these areas spend the majority of their time at the beaches, and not in contact with the local Gullah community. Therefore, this research suggests there is no evidence of an immediate threat of language loss or decreolization directly resulting from increased development and tourism within Sea Island communities. It is, however, the economic constraints of tourism and development that lead to overall loss of Gullah speakers in these areas.

Gullah Linguistics: Various Points of Interest

There are a variety of studies concerning Gullah language that do not intersect neatly with any mentioned thus far. Linda D. Mack (1984)[29] conducted a comparative analysis of linguistic stress patterns, which attempted to compare the phonological contrast system of Gullah with that of English; more specifically, on an acoustical/temporal analysis of the linguistic stress patterns of Gullah and English speakers. Linguistic stress refers to enhancing some elements of speech so that they become more prominent and noticeable. Subjects who participated in the linguistic study were divided into three categories: Gullah speakers, English speaking Black adults, and Code switchers. Speaking fundamental frequency (SFF) was used as the test variable. The study results indicate that English and Gullah differ most in the area of duration, with fundamental frequency also being a good indicator for linguistic stress patterns, with Gullah speakers exhibiting a lower speaking fundamental frequency than English speakers. Mack's work also includes (in Appendix) a Gullah Feature Index, General American English Index, and a Guide to Code Switching Proficiency (1984).

Language does not operate in a vacuum. It is influenced by many factors within a community of speakers. In 1976, Patricia C. Nichols conducted research within Georgetown, South Carolina, to assess the ways in which age, sex, and mobility affect linguistic change. The data consist of twelve recorded adult conversations and the subsequent analysis of grammatical features undergoing change, such as preposition and pronoun usage. Factors suggested as having an impact are job aspirations that require Standard English speaking ability, varying degrees of connection to island life, and age. This study proposes that Gullah language is undergoing change toward Standard English within the specified speech community, citing various factors of direct impact.

Language as Culture

Language and culture go hand in hand. There are countless cultural elements within Gullah culture that exhibit the importance of language to cultural preservation. Within religious ceremony, sometimes what is said is not as important as how it is said. In a sermon recorded in 1980 on Wadmalaw Island, South Carolina, Patricia Jones-Jackson illustrates the importance of linguistic features within the process of "evocation of the spirit" (115)[30] during a Gullah church service. Throughout the sermon, the minister sprinkles bits of Creole syntax with Standard English. This strategy reinforces to the congregation, both educated and uneducated, that he is indeed part of their shared speech community. The following excerpt illustrates the use of Creole within the sermon:

> *Going over the Sea of Temptation*
> Brother I don't know
> But I begin to think

In this Christian life
Sometime you gone be toss*
By the wind of life.

All the power in he hand*
Got power for we*
When we get hungry
He's able to feed us (Jones- Jackson 1994).
**denotes examples of Creole syntax use*

Gullah Language and Education

Several studies have been conducted concerning the status of Gullah language and possible implications for the education of Gullah children.[31] Virginia D. Benmaman (1975) conducted research among fourth and fifth grade Gullah children on Johns and James Island, South Carolina, to assess their level of linguistic acculturation. Her findings indicated that children prefer materials written in Standard English to material written in their own language. Students responded to seeing the Gullah language in written form with discomfort and ridicule, with many referring to it as "bad language." Upon administering comprehension tests in both, research results produced no significant differences between scores for either Standard English or passages written in Gullah. Benmaman suggests that Gullah children (of the 1970s) had a conditioned preference for Standard English, due to a lack of respect shown by teachers and school staff regarding the legitimacy of the Gullah language system. She also suggests there has been a strong attempt to reject and eradicate Gullah speech throughout schools in Sea Island areas.

More recently there was a similar study conducted by Bernateen W. Cunningham (1989) Attitudes of School Personnel in Charleston, South Carolina Toward the Gullah Dialect. The research was aimed at assessing the attitudes of speech- language pathologists and teachers in the public school systems of Johns and James Island toward children whose language is Gullah. Questionnaires were administered[32] and the results were statistically interpreted. Overwhelmingly, the data suggest that school personnel respond negatively to children's use of Gullah language, prompting Cunningham to suggest there is a definite need for educational and cultural training of teachers working with Gullah-speaking children (1989), in an attempt to foster recognition of the unique linguistic features of this viable language.

Contemporary Gullah research corroborates the need for culturally sensitive teacher training. Within Melissa Hargrove's work (2000)[33] informants and field collaborators discussed the persistent stereotype and stigma attached to Gullah language. The elder generations, many of which were "educated straight out of their culture" (Hargrove 2000), were punished for speaking Gullah as children and young adults. It was made clear that the only way to get a decent job or be respected was to rid yourself of that "bastard English, broken English…bad talk" (Hargrove 2000, 102). Marquetta L. Goodwine, founder of the Gullah/ Geechee Sea Island Coalition, supports this idea:

> This condemnation and pity of Gullah- speaking Sea Islanders had an overwhelming and almost devastating impact. These people were taught that "ef oona tak likka disyah, den ting backwad" and if you wanted to "make something of yourself" then you needed to "correct" the way you spoke (meaning to take on Standard English) (Goodwine 1998d, 9).

Only presently are some communities and school systems coming together to encourage children to learn to "code switch" gracefully between Gullah and English, but it will be many years before the results of such shifts become evident and widespread.

Conclusion

One of the premiere linguistic specialists on Gullah language was Patricia Jones Jackson,[34] author of When Roots Die: Endangered Traditions on the Sea Islands (1987). After extensive years of research on Wadmalaw Island and within various Sea Island communities, she made a profound prediction: the language will remain intact as long as the communities remain intact. In making suggestions, nearly all scholars studying Gullah language realize the need for speakers of Gullah to be educated on the origins of their language. This would go a long way toward encouraging Sea Islanders to take pride in their African heritage. Educators in these areas must be made aware of this important task. It is estimated that the Gullah language is spoken by less than half a million descendants of Africans living in coastal South Carolina and Georgia (Mufwene 1997). Language preservation should be a top priority for all scholars involved with Gullah and Geechee communities, as well as for the growing number of activists leading grassroots movements within them.

Chapter 3 Religion and Ceremony

Religion and religious ceremony have been among the primary research interests within Gullah/ Geechee studies, and with good reason. Religion has played a central role in community life, organization, leadership, and survival within the various Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia and continues to be the most powerful force in Gullah communities (Jones- Jackson 1994). Gullah religious belief and practice can be compared to the broader belief systems of African Americans as they pertain to the doctrine of Christianity and worship of God, however, a fair portion of Gullah religiosity remains grounded in African cosmology and worldview. There are many components to this body of research: spiritual beliefs and practices, music and song associated with religion, African cultural retention within Sea Island religiosity, and the role of the church within the community. What is striking about the research concerning religious aspects of Gullah life is how little some aspects have changed over time.

Folk Religion

What might it have been like to witness the evolution of religious ideology within these early slave communities spread along the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia? Much of the research conducted gives us a sketch into the lives of these earliest Africans, and chronicles the ways in which Gullah and Geechee religion came to be what we find today. Afloyd Butler represents this curiosity in his unpublished dissertation, The Blacks Contribution of Elements of African Religion to Christianity in America: A Case Study of the Great Awakening in South Carolina (1975).[35] Butler suggests the African American Christianity we witness presently is a direct result of strong African elements being kept alive within an evolving religious system. Such elements were harbored within what is referred to as "the invisible institution" in which enslaved Africans conserved part of their religious heritage by syncretizing certain elements within a Christian framework (Butler 1975; Raboteau 1978). Such characteristics include shouting, dancing, spirit possession, and foot stomping, which can be witnessed in many of the present day church services of Sea Islands communities.

The most comprehensive and highly recognized study of religion in the Sea Islands was conducted by Margaret Washington Creel, resulting in *A Peculiar People: Slave Religion and Community- Culture Among the Gullahs* (1988). The historical time line of this investigation begins in West Africa with the possible antecedents of Sea Island religion. Creel investigates the various elements of Gullah spiritual life, including social cohesion, group identity, cultural resistance, and adaptability. Using missionary reports, diaries, church minutes, and recorded Gullah spirituals from the St. Helena Island community, Creel established a rough sketch of the origins of slave religion during their earliest years of bondage. Gullah religious beliefs represent a syncretic creation (often referred to as a folk religion) made from the blending of African spirituality and worldview with the Christian acculturation and indoctrination experienced in the New World (Creel 1988).

Church and Community

The importance of the church within Gullah and Geechee community life cannot be over emphasized. The church as community center began with the concept of the Praise House, of which there are several still standing within various Sea Island communities. Praise Houses were located on each plantation and served as a religious meetinghouse for that particular plantation's enslaved population. As time progressed, these small one- room dwellings became the locus of social planning and action, motivation, and community cohesion (Lawton 1939).[36] The Praise House became the official site for legal and social matters, as well as conflict resolution (Guthrie 1977), therefore becoming the judicial, religious, and social center of the community. Patricia Guthrie conducted research within the St. Helena Island community and concluded that Praise Houses were still being used, on occasion, for similar purposes. She suggests that children were only granted membership to particular community Praise Houses once they had completed the social process of "catching sense" (1977).[37] No other scholar has identified this particular concept.[38] It is accurate, however, that the social system of St. Helena Island (as well as other Sea Island communities) is structured by membership in particular Churches and previous plantation boundaries (Guthrie 1996).

Religion as Music and Song

At the heart of Gullah religious beliefs and practices are the songs. The importance of song within these communities began before their arrival in the New World. Enslaved Africans brought with them an African tradition of "call and response" worship, song, and religious dance (Hart 1993), which accounts for the noticeable African rhythms of Sea Island spirituals (Thrower 1953).[39] As they were introduced to Christian hymns through their interactions with plantation owners and missionaries, the early Sea Island populations created the "Negro spiritual," best understood as an adaptation of traditional Christian hymns. Many of the beliefs of Christianity were incorporated into the Gullah spiritual worldview. [40] These songs became a form of self and group expression, as a way to communicate the oppressions and hardships of slavery, as well as a mental release (Thrower 1953). They also represented the spiritual devotion of slave communities to their new spiritual guide, in such songs as Gwine t'res from all my labuh and Somebody een yuh, it mus' be jedus.[41]

Religious songs are still an important component of Sea Island worship, but are commonly referred to as "Gullah spirituals." [42] These songs represent the Negro spiritual of the slavery era as it has adapted and evolved over time. Gullah spirituals are normally sung in unison and without music, accompanied by rhythmic foot stomping, clapping, and tambourine strikes (Hart 1993).[43] Gullah spirituals are unique in that the scales are much more pentatonic than Euro American hymns. They also differ from traditional Negro spirituals in their lack of musical accompaniment. Even with the noticeable changes between the spirituals of enslaved peoples and present day Gullah and Geechee people, the spiritual and its performance represent cultural ties to African tradition and African tribal rituals (Hart 1993).

Extensive research has been devoted to the legacy of the Negro spiritual and its place in twenty first century Sea Island society. Thomas Hawley, Jr. conducted six years of research on Johns Island in the company of an elderly singing group, the "Senior Lites." Members of this group are carrying on an oral tradition that was passed to them from ancestors who were alive during the period of slavery or shortly after (Hawley 1993), but it is in danger of loss. Informants reveal that clapping and shouting are being replaced by drumming, organs are replacing a cappella singing, and meetinghouses are losing their distinct role as spiritual and community centers. What is preserved within this research is important information concerning who passed these spirituals on to those within this singing group, what role the spirituals play in their religious lives, and perceived threats to this religious tradition. Specific factors analyzed within this dissertation include: role of lead singer, type of spiritual, tempo, duration, type of hand clapping, tonal center, number of pitches used, embellishments, word content, name and age of singers, and religious affiliation. Transcribed interviews with all the singers are included in the Appendix, as well as the lyrics and musical scores to two recorded performances of the "Senior Lites."

No discussion of the importance of song within Gullah culture is complete without Guy and Candie Carawan's Ain't You got a right to the tree of life? The People of Johns Island, South Carolina- Their Faces, Their Words, and Their Songs, first published in 1966 (1989). This book is the product of a project initiated by the Highlander Institute, which includes songs and stories of relevance to the residents of Johns Island during the early 1960s. The collection was gathered over a four- year period in which the married Carawan team lived within the River Road Gullah community. The latest edition (1989) includes an introduction by Charles Joyner aimed at the abrupt changes in this area between the first publishing (1966) and 1989. Just as with other Sea Islands, development and tourism have certainly taken their toll on this Gullah community.

Ain't you got a right to the tree of life? contains the lyrics of many important Gullah songs, including We shall overcome, Shoo Turkey Shoo,[44] Jack and Mary and the Devil, Ask the Watchman How Long, Keep your eyes on the prize, and others. Within this book the songs and stories tell of an island that has endured many hardships. It also contributes to our knowledge of Gullah storytelling, Gullah religion, migration to New York, race relations on the island, and the organization of the first citizenship education school by Septima Clark and Esau Jenkins (1966, 1989). The residents of Johns Island made notable contributions to the Civil Rights movement with their strategies for training teachers and organizing at the grassroots level. The words and songs within this collection record an important part of Gullah history straight from the mouths of those who lived it.[45]

Much of the research conducted concerning songs of Gullah culture has been an attempt at "salvage" collection. Among the earliest collections was Slave Songs of the United States collected and compiled by William Francis Allen, Charles Pickard Ware, and Lucy McKim Garrison. The compilation of 136 slave songs, collected on St. Helena Island (among other locations throughout the U.S.) was released in 1867, and reprinted in 1965. From the collection of songs we can reinforce our current assumptions about the unique linguistic patterns of Gullah speech. Allen et al. make note of the omission of auxiliary verbs, the lack of distinction of gender, case, number, tense, or voice, as well as the use of past tense verbs in the present auxiliary (1965). Among the songs collected are rowing songs, spiritual songs, songs associated with the "shout" and songs which represent the daily routines and hardships of Sea Islanders during the 1860s. This collection, when viewed for its historical significance, illustrates the strength and perseverance of song in the lives of the Gullah. Songs have given them hope and happiness, while preserving their rich heritage in word and melody.

Just as continuity is reflected in Gullah songs, we can also see the effects of time and change. George L. Starks[46] offers a glimpse into the world of music within the context of Gullah culture as he examines the role of music within community life. His research was conducted on James, Johns, Yonges, Edisto, St. Helena, and Daufuskie Island between 1972 and 1973. Starks suggests that the religious services he witnessed are not much different that those conducted in these same areas some 90 years ago (1973), with particular songs to accompany certain activities and particularly religious and holiday events. Stark's work is evidence of the integral role of dancing, hand clapping, and movement in the delivery of music and song both historically and within the recent history of Sea Island religious activity. Also, some baptisms are still conducted at the river. Stark's findings propose that Gullah songs, as well as music, represent both continuity and change, and the traditional importance of music lives on in the Sea Islands.

Traditions of Religious Practice: "Ring Shout" and "Call and Response"

There are two traditional practices associated with Sea Island religious services that inadvertently appear in any detailed study: the "ring shout" and "call and response." The ring shout has a long history within Gullah culture. This shuffling, circular dance is accompanied by chanting and hand clapping, and has been associated with the singing of Negro spirituals and Gullah spirituals since slavery (Allen et al. 1965). During Praise House meetings, each new verse of a spiritual was introduced by the song leader to which the chorus responded (call and response), just as it is done in present day churches. The Minister interacts with the audience in a way that illustrates the symbiotic relationship

between minister and congregation. The transcript of a sermon from Wadmalaw Island, June 1980 illustrates the minister's calculated use of language in an attempt to elicit response and involvement from his congregation (Jones- Jackson 1994). By sprinkling Creole syntax throughout the sermon, the minister touches both the educated and uneducated parishioners, establishing that he is part of their speech community. This not only creates personal bonds between the two, but also preserves the long held tradition of "call and response" within religious practice of Sea Island communities.

Role of Church in Community Life

The importance of religion in the lives of Gullah and Geechee people allocates extensive power to the church within the activities of the community. Recent research conducted within the St. Helena Island community illustrates the past and present role of the church within community life (Watkins 1993).[47] Until quite recently the residents of St. Helena Island depended on their religious leaders to maintain social order through a system referred to as "just law." The system originated from the Praise House religious courts used to mediate and settle disputes in a process referred to as "Ward Deacon Process" (Watkins 1993). Minor infractions, such as domestic disturbances and theft, were handled through church law as recently as the mid 1980s. For example, if a community member was accused of getting drunk and creating a disturbance he or she would appear before the church council, thus making him responsible to both his church community and the wider social community. When the church leaders felt he had received the necessary counseling from the Bible, he would be forgiven and allowed to rejoin the church community for services (prior to that decision the person was forced to sit on the back row of the church as a tactic of ostracism). Many residents of St. Helena Island suggested this type of system worked because islanders are very community oriented and very spiritual; the system incorporated two very important cultural aspects into a strategy for social control. Older members of the community suggest the old way was better than "white mans law" (referred to as unjust law), because it promoted social cohesion and minimized criminal activity while being linked to the important concepts of extended family and religion (Watkins 1993).

The maintenance of social control by church leaders has long been a practice of Sea Island communities (Johnson 1996). Research conducted in 1950 in Shrimp Creek Georgia (15 miles south of Savannah) provided similar findings. Deacons of Shrimp Creek were reportedly responsible for handling marital and social conflicts (Ottenberg 1991). Church leaders were chosen by the congregations to serve for life, thereby creating bonds that would last and creating alliances across social boundaries.

Seekin' the Lord: African American Conversion Ritual

The process referred to as "seekin' the lord" has been widely documented in countless studies of Gullah religious practice (Starks 1973; Creel 1988; Pollitzer 1999). This process in one in which a person undergoes a particular ritualistic process in order to be "ushered into the inner circle of the socioreligious worldview of their community" (A. Johnson 1996, 16). The period of time between a professed desire to become Christian and acceptance by the elders was called "seekin" because the seeker was looking for Jesus (Pollitzer 1999). The process became a rite of passage within the Praise Houses of Sea Island slave communities, symbolizing public affirmation of their acceptance of the Lord into their hearts and lives. During the seekin' process it is customary to fast, as well as to wait for a vision from God (A. Johnson 1996). The act of seekin' provided a moral compass by which members of a community were held mutually accountable to one another to live by the laws of God. The folk religious practice of seekin' was the physical manifestation of this spiritual quest. The seeker would go into the woods and wait for a vision, which he or she would then relate to an elder. Next the person would be accepted by the Praise House members and readied for baptism (Pollitzer 1999).

Conclusion

The abundance of research conducted within various Sea Islands concerning Gullah religion is beyond the scope of a mere chapter. What is recognizable from this brief overview is the importance of religion within the lives of the Sea Islanders, as well as the abundance of religious practices, beliefs,

and rituals signifying continuity with an African past. As long as such connections exist, Gullah culture will signify the important role of religion and spirituality from slavery to the present, as well as the adaptive nature of those early African communities who blended African beliefs with Christianity into the syncretic religion being practiced today.

Chapter 4 Verbal Arts and Folklore

Traditional folklore, rooted as it is in the real hungers, needs, and struggles of man, is a means of preserving the community's memorable experiences; of protesting- - humorously, bitterly, or militantly- - the hard life imposed by nature or by the inhumanity of some men towards other men; of making educational comments about manners and morals, the trivial and the transcendental in man's groping for a life of meaning and dignity (Joyner 1971, 2).

For more than one hundred years, African American folklore has been an object of scholarly study. Folklore refers to the traditional beliefs, myths, tales, and practices of a people transmitted orally from generation to generation. Historically, folklore has been collected from missionaries, academics, ministers, and abolitionists, resulting in large collections from various African American populations throughout North America. Gullah folklore, best described as folk knowledge, offers insight into many historical aspects of Gullah life (e.g. tales as education, love, origin myths, tales as hidden messages, socialization, religion (Pollitzer 1999)). Current and future research aimed at folklore collection and documentation of tales still being told offer intriguing possibilities for the study of cultural continuity and change in the Sea Island area.

Slave Narratives of the Federal Writers' Project
The majority of scholarly literature pertaining to folklore simply records the tales, songs, and language with no elaboration of the social context within which the folklore was collected. Hundreds of slave narratives were collected in the 1930s as part of the Federal Writers' Project[48] of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/snhtml/snhome.html.

The narratives document hundreds of interviews conducted in South Carolina and Georgia of particular relevance to any study of Gullah culture. Much of what was recorded among the Geechee of Georgia appears in the publication, Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes (1940). Drums and Shadows is an attempt "to present the customs and beliefs of what is left of a generation closely linked to its native African origin" (1940). Residents of various communities were interviewed by agents of the WPA, including Old Fort, Tin City, Yamacraw, Frogtown and Currytown, Springfield, Brownville, Tatemville, White Bluff, Pin Point, Sandfly, Grimball's Point, Wilmington Island, Sunbury, Harris Neck, Pine Barren near Eulonia, Possum Point, Darien, Sapelo Island, St. Simons Island, and St. Mary's. The collection of folklore and stories are transcribed in Gullah, as much as possible, in order to preserve the rich linguistic heritage. The topics of folklore within this collection include conjure, work, daily routines, religion, traditional arts and crafts, superstition, music, recipes, food ways, death and burial customs, songs, baptisms, graves, fishing, subsistence, architecture, agriculture, industrialization, memories of plantation life, and family stories passed down through the years. The original material is archived at the Library of Congress.

This type of collection represents the overall worldview of the Geechee people inhabiting these islands at a particular moment in time. The Appendix is essential reading, as it draws correlations between this and other research in ways that establish concrete connections between Sea Island culture and various cultures throughout the African Diaspora, as well as West African culture. Close to 150 informants were interviewed for the Drums and Shadows project. The collection also contains excellent photographs of many informants, as well as tools, musical instruments, carvings, and baskets (1940).

Folklore Experts: Charles Joyner and Mary Arnold Twining

Among the most prominent scholars who have conducted folklore studies in South Carolina and Georgia are Charles Joyner and Mary Twining. Joyner's dissertation Slave Folklife on the Waccamaw Neck: Antebellum Black Culture in the South Carolina Lowcountry (1977) is concerned with Afro-American folklife on the rice plantations of Waccamaw Neck during the final decades of slavery. Joyner extends the usability of the term "folklife" to include all aspects of life among the African Americans of the slave community under study. Joyner's work is painstakingly compartmentalized into six chapters: historical overview of the Lowcountry and the Gullah people, work patterns during slavery, use of "off time," Gullah linguistics, animal and human trickster tales, and material culture.

Joyner gathered data from published and unpublished sources: family papers, plantation records, wills, estate inventories, vestry records of the church, minutes of the planters' agricultural society, memoirs, planters writings, writings from visitors, newspapers, and genealogies from the Waccamaw Neck planter class. He also made comparisons between the planter class data and the historical data concerning slavery in the Americas, in order to get a balanced look at life in the Lower Waccamaw Neck region of South Carolina. Folktales selected for study illustrate connections with the African heritage of Gullah people. Within his dissertation there is also a wealth of information concerning life during slavery, including data on food allowances, clothing, architecture, and African influenced crafts. The dissertation was later published as Down By the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community (1984).

Mary Twining also conducted research concerning Sea Island folklore and folklife in the communities of Johns, James, Wadmalaw, Yonges, and Edisto Islands in South Carolina, as well as St. Simon Island, Georgia. Her dissertation, An Examination of African Retentions In the Folk Culture of the South Carolina and Georgia Sea Islands (1977), sought to point out the distinctive African survivals in the Sea Islands region. Twining realized the value of folklore, suggesting, "folk stories demonstrate the values in the community" (117). Within the various Sea Island communities the values were numerous. She presented the Sea Islands as "a homogeneous, traditional community that provides a living laboratory for folklorists and other students of human cultural behavior" (1977, 3). The extensive folklore collection of Twining's work is broad in scope, including specific folktales, games and plays, songs, interviews, recorded stories, animal stories, biographical sketches of informants, religious services and prayers, and riddles collected from Johns, James, Wadmalaw, Yonges, and Edisto Islands in South Carolina and St. Simon Island in Georgia.

Twining recorded not only the written forms of folklore and folklife, but also included the expressive behavior of verbal arts, such as storytelling, oral religious lore, and singing songs, as well as the movement and dance associated with important folklife ceremonies. Twining discusses the role of folk craft within everyday life (e.g. baskets, quilts, nets, brooms) as well as the social implications of Gullah songs and stories: " hope for a better world, better treatment and better times pervade the songs and prayers" (Twining 1977, 85). A persistent theme of flying home (or escaping home) to Africa appears in songs and stories. Within the animal stories, Twining recognizes the rage, hostility, and frustration earlier generations of Gullah were faced with in their dealings with Euro Americans. Folklore is not simply the tales of a backward people; it is a powerful representation of history as viewed through the holders of indigenous folk knowledge.

What is easily recognizable through Twining's representation of Gullah folklore and folklife are the connections to a West African heritage. African societal features appear in such activities as games and music, as well as community relationships and child rearing. While playing games and other activities, older children help care for the younger generation of children, much the way their African ancestors did. Members of Gullah communities cast nets the same way West Africans do, and many of the food preparation customs have been passed from generation to generation. Twining's dissertation contains numerous recorded songs, prayers, and games from various Sea Island communities; among them are

Sally Waters (or Walker), Mary Mack, Boba- needle, Whoa, mule, can't get the saddle on, to mention a few.

Adding to our knowledge of the persistence of Africanisms in the Sea Islands, Twining, along with Keith E. Baird, co- edited Sea Island Roots: African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia (1991). The volume contains articles concerning the many African cultural retentions present within Gullah culture. Within that volume Twining discusses the art and tradition of "basket names." The article "Names and Naming in the Sea Islands" was first presented as a paper at the Ninth Annual Symposium on Language and Culture in South Carolina at the University of South Carolina, April 1985. It also appears in a more recent edited volume, The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture (1994) edited by Michael Montgomery.[49]

Basket Names Within Sea Island Culture

It was Lorenzo D. Turner (1949) who first uncovered the African retention we refer to as basket names. The names of Sea Islanders gathered by Turner have been established as originating in countries from Senegal to Angola, while also indicating the early Gullah communities contained speakers of many different languages. Basket names are associated with people; however, it is also important to seek place names which offer evidence of African linguistic retentions. For example, Turner included names for coastal rivers and islands in South Carolina which are presently recognized as place names:

Okatee[50]	okati (Umbunda, Angola)	Middle, interior
Peedee[51]	mpidi (Kongo, Angola)	a species of viper
Wassaw[52]	wasaw (Twi, Gold Coast)	name of district, tribe, dialect

(Above adapted from Turner 1949, 307)

The aforementioned paper by Twining (Names and Naming In the Sea Islands) sought to investigate the persistence of this practice some forty years after Turner recorded the practice of basket names. The findings suggest that such practices still exist (names gathered form Johns Island) and the names are (1) related to specific characteristics of the bearer, or (2) related to some incident or situation in which the named individual was involved. The article contains many examples of names obtained during research within the Johns Island region.

The traditional use of basket names has important social functions within Gullah communities. For example, names form interrelationships between family and community, as well as within the larger network of kinship. Basket names also represent an inner core of cultural integrity, which has shown itself to be remarkably resistant to outside influences (Twining and Baird 1991). It is clear than many of the African cultural retentions have served a function over the decades of their existence, whether it be community cohesion, subtle resistance, or the transmission of cultural knowledge from one generation to the next.

Folklore as Resistance: Trickster Tales

In a recent dissertation by Mella Davis, African Trickster Tales in Diaspora: Resistance in the Creole-Speaking South Carolina Sea Islands and Guadeloupe (1998), the continuation of African oral tradition within Sea Island communities is investigated. Davis examines the "trickster tale" and the hidden political discourse within it, criticizing earlier studies of African trickster tales for the apparent lack of depth concerning sociocultural meaning.[53] Davis illustrates how stories must be supported by community structure; "without a living, speaking, relating body of people, the stories cannot thrive" (16). Davis conducted a portion of her research as an official affiliate of the Penn Center on St. Helena Island, which allowed her greater access to the community's elderly. She was also able to interview several children who had been involved with a program sponsored by the Penn Center, which encouraged young children to record the folktales of their grandparents. Many still remembered them.

Fieldwork was conducted on various Sea Islands by interviewing professional and native storytellers and community leaders. Davis conducted field research on St. Helena, Wassaw, Daufuskie, and Johns Island of South Carolina, as well as Sapelo Island, GA and within the Dale community of South Carolina from May to July of 1994.[54] The community of elders in Dale (10 to 15 miles Inland) shares an identity and spends time together, fostering the preservation of storytelling, trickster tales, and religious stories. The broader analysis of this dissertation compares trickster tales and folktales gathered from the Sea Islands to those of Guadeloupe. Davis suggests that the endurance of such tales as Br'er Rabbit, The Signifying Monkey, and John have persisted because they offered coping mechanisms for African American communities faced with similar circumstances, such as the Sea Islands and Guadeloupe.

Along with trickster tales, there were other mechanisms of resistance practiced within Gullah communities. Janie Hunter, a well known Gullah storyteller, informed Davis that Gullah language allowed slaves to conceal their private lives, thereby undermining the control of Euro Americans (1998, 71). Hunter referred to this language strategy as "cat language," meaning to run the words together so Euro Americans couldn't understand them. Many scholars have suggested this strategy is also rooted in African oral tradition. Unfortunately, as Davis reports, extreme population loss within Sea Island communities has contributed to a loss of oral history, folktales, and storytelling.

In order to legitimize the study of folklore, Davis suggests the brilliance of Zora Neale Hurston as the point of departure for investigating African American folklore: enabling storytelling to be presented as both performance and a tool of communication within the community. Hurston, an official collector for the Federal Writers' Project in Georgia, presented African American culture as performance in everyday life, not merely as stories told for entertainment.[55]

Early Folklore Collections: Synthesis and Critique

Many contemporary scholars of Gullah cite Elsie Clews Parsons for her collection, *Folk- Lore of the Sea Islands* (1923), which illuminates the similarities between West African folk tales and customs and those documented in Sea Island folklore. Parson's work is important in that she divulges her difficulties in obtaining cooperation due to the barriers between white researcher and African American informants. Within this collection we find over two hundred folktales collected during the month of February, 1919, from Gullah residents originating from Dataw, Edisto, Lady's, Parris, Coosaw, Hilton Head, Daufuskie, and St. Helena Island. Her data were obtained from ninety such informants. There are also riddles, proverbs, songs, and games included. Parsons pays only brief attention to folk beliefs in the concluding chapter "Folk Ways and Notions." Here she touches on Gullah ideas about births and babies, initiation to the church, dating and marriage, economy, weather signs and star- lore, dreams, sickness, black magic and curing, and death, burial, and mourning (1923).

It is important to note, however, that others criticize her work as limited and narrow. Twining (1977) and Hargrove (2000) suggest that Parson's work is limited by the lack of details concerning the social position of her informants (e.g. occupation, age, marital status, residence, etc.), and lack of elaboration concerning the methodology of her data collection. She also fails to include the context of how the stories were collected and gives no substantive data concerning her interaction with informants (e.g. where the interviews took place, how much time was spent with informants, interactions aside from interviews, etc.). Also criticized by contemporary scholars is *The Black Border: Gullah Stories of the Carolina Coast*, compiled by Ambrose Gonzales (1922). An excerpt from his introduction, concerning the language of the Gullah, serves well to illustrate the underlying theme of most early folklore collections concerning Gullah communities:

Slovenly and careless of speech, these Gullahs seized upon the peasant English used by some of the early settlers and by the white servants of the wealthier Colonists, wrapped their clumsy tongues about it as well as they could, and, enriched with certain expressive African words, it issued through their flat noses and thick lips as so workable a form of speech that is was gradually adopted by the

other slaves and became in time the accepted Negro speech of the lower districts of South Carolina and Georgia (10).

Gonzales uses a wide range of insulting and derogatory words to describe the subjects of his collection, thereby devaluing the rich cultural heritage he sought to collect, record, and publish.

William Bascom: Dean of Folklore

Folktales are of tremendous importance to the study of Gullah culture. They offer particular insight into slavery, language, worldview, morals, religion, health and medicine, tradition and customs, and social practice. Folklore has been gathered throughout the Sea Islands of Georgia and Florida. One of the most respected early collectors of folklore within the Sea Islands was William Bascom, referred to as the "dean of folklore" by William Pollitzer (1999, 161). Bascom conducted fieldwork on St. Helena, Hilton Head, Daufuskie, Tybee, Sapelo, St. Simons, Wilmington, Skidaway, Ossabaw, and St. Catherine Island, interviewing 114 informants during the summer of 1939. His findings were summarized in a paper, "Gullah Folk Beliefs Concerning Childbirth" read at the annual meeting of the American Folklore Society at Andover Massachusetts on December 29, 1941. The article appears in Twining and Baird's volume *Sea Island Roots: African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia* (1991). Much of what Bascom collected is still cited by contemporary folklorists.

Informants revealed several beliefs to Bascom concerning how and when a child is born and what that signifies about the child and the future. For example, a child born in a caul[56] signifies luck and wisdom. Such a child will be gifted with the ability to see "ghosses" and "ha'nts" (Bascom 1991). When such a child is born, the caul is dried and used to drive away ghosts. Another belief concerns breech babies, referred to as a "foot foremost child." A child born in this way is destined to be lucky, and will desire to travel. The shape of an infant's head is also significant in Gullah folklore. According to Bascom's field data a child born with a "square head" means the child is smart, while a "short, flat head" signifies a hard worker. It is also thought to bring good luck when a child is born with lots of hair on its head.

Folk beliefs were also collected concerning the widespread practice of midwifery (often referred to as Granny women). Midwives or Grannys were very important people within Sea Island communities. Several residents of St. Helena Island, whose interviews are discussed in Hargrove (2000), recounted the births of their children as being delivered by these "granny women" (Hargrove 2000). Midwives are believed to be able to tell the sex of an unborn child. Bascom's informants suggested that if a midwife were still able to bear children herself she would sometimes take on the pains of childbirth from the woman she was attending (1941). There are also recollections, within the broader collections of folklore, of the act of putting an axe or knife underneath the mattress to cut the pains of childbirth (Parsons 1923). Bascom also collected information about herbal remedies used to cut the pain of childbirth, suggesting tansy (Tanacetum vulgare) as one of the most widely used. Within the collection there are tales of the processing of the umbilical chord, suggesting it was wrapped in newspaper, with the afterbirth, and burned or buried (Bascom 1941). We also learn that weaning was accomplished by rubbing turpentine or pepper on the breast.

Animal Stories

Animal stories have been a part of Gullah storytelling for as long as anyone can remember (Carawan 1989). Janie Hunter, one of the best known "keepers of the culture," reminds us that animal stories were more than just entertainment for children. They were filled with wit and logic meant to teach children important life lessons:

> When we was small, we didn't 'low to go no place, but we have all we fun at home. On weekend when we do all work what told to us and after we finish work at night, we sit down and we all sing different old song, and parents teach us different game and riddles. We go and cut the wood and wrap up the house with green oak and muckle wood, then we all stays by the fire chimbley and listen to stories" (Carawan 1989, 96).

Tales such as "The Rabbit and the Partridge"[57] instill skepticism and caution in children, as well as being quite entertaining.

It is important that folklore not be cast as a remnant of the past. Jones- Jackson recorded a session of storytelling on Wadmalaw Island which illustrates the social aspects of storytelling (1987). The story "Mock Plea of Brother Rabbit" requires the audience to take an active role in the story, voicing the whimpers and whining of Ber Rabbit. The interaction between storyteller and audience makes it much more fun and entertaining, while the story itself illustrates how the Rabbit outsmarts the farmer. These same types of interactions have been taking place for hundreds of years in the Sea Islands of Georgia and South Carolina. Storytelling remains an important part of Sea Island life, serving as a means of passing family and community histories down to future generations of Gullah and Geechee descendants (Bah, personal communication, 2001), as well as creating and maintaining cultural cohesion.

Conclusion
It would be possible to devote an entire book to the study of Gullah and Geechee folklore; the present goal is to offer insight into the range of folklore collected within the Sea Islands with particular attention paid to material frequently cited and recognized by other Gullah scholars. Works chosen for inclusion are presented in a respectful manner, which values folklore as more than ideas of simple folk. Folklore is more than storytelling, although the art of storytelling[58] continues to be an important skill within Gullah communities. Even religious sermons can be viewed within the context of verbal art (Jones- Jackson 1994) and the power of speech within religious ritual. Folklore, and the broader value of verbal art, is one of our best clues for study and increased understanding of the past, particularly in areas where much cultural information was contained in an oral tradition, as was the case in the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia.

Chapter 5 Land, Slavery, Autonomy, and Conflict

"For Gullahs, the land is an extension of themselves" (Goodwine 1998c, 184).

Throughout the history of Gullah and Geechee people, land has played a central role in their everyday lives. All aspects of Gullah and Geechee culture are tied to the land, and it serves as a psychological reminder of their connection with the ancestors and their communal plantation life (Bah, personal communication 2001). In their uses of medicinal plants and herbal remedies, their knowledge of the natural environment is essential. Religious sermons of the past and present emphasize strong cultural ties to the land. The land has supplied these populations with nourishment for their bodies, as well as self- sufficiency, since the days of emancipation; and land ownership after emancipation induced autonomy and pride. The use of land and their ties to it, unfortunately, have been forced to change over the years; however, where possible the Gullah and Geechee people of South Carolina and Georgia remain tied to their land in many ways.

Plantation Agriculture
In order to put land into context one must first consider why South Carolina and Georgia were chosen as sites for plantation agriculture. In the beginning, slavery was transplanted to Charles Town from Barbados and Jamaica in the Caribbean. As agricultural land became scarce on the Caribbean islands, the English planter class found Charles Town, South Carolina, to be an optimal spot for continued sugar cultivation. Within a very short time it occurred to them that the land of the Lowcountry was better suited for another kind of crop cultivation: rice. Coastal areas of the Lowcountry are geographically marked by fresh- water rivers that experience the rise and fall of fresh water tides, making such locations self- irrigating, and therefore ideal for rice cultivation.

A shift from sugar to rice cultivation required several things: first, the planters knew very little about rice cultivation, therefore it was essential to begin hand- selecting Africans who had prior experience and knowledge of rice cultivation. Second, rice cultivation requires work in swampy areas, which were abundant throughout the area, but such areas are conducive to malaria (Cassidy 1994). These two factors had great implications for those who we now recognize as Gullah and Geechee[59] people. Planters began selecting Africans from specific areas, such as present day Liberia and Sierra Leone for their extensive knowledge and biological immunity to malaria (Wood 1975; Holloway 1990; Cassidy 1994).

The relationship between slavery and rice cultivation has been addressed by a variety of scholars (Salter 1968;[60] Wood 1975; Littlefield 1981; Goodwine 1999.) However, the most recent contribution, Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas (Carney 2001) expands the discussion in ways not previously possible. This study reveals the ways in which indigenous knowledge of rice cultivation and agricultural innovation was brought to the Sea Islands in the minds of enslaved Africans. Furthermore, Carney's in- depth methodology of cross- comparative research between the Sea Islands and West Africa traces the diffusion of water control, winnowing practices, rice milling techniques, cooking techniques, and seed selection to the plantations of South Carolina and Georgia (2001). On the eve of the American Revolution, South Carolina rice plantations were producing sixty million pounds of rice annually for the global market (Carney 2001). This study reveals how African knowledge of rice cultivation established the basis for the Carolina economy (140).

Along with their expertise in rice cultivation, enslaved Africans brought other advantageous technologies.[61] Fanner baskets, for example, played an integral role in the continuation of basketry, due to its utilitarian purpose (Chase 1971). Once the rice was loosened from the husks it was put in these fanner baskets, from which the rice was tossed into the air, falling back to the basket while the chaff blew away. The process of "fanning the rice" was continued until the rice was perfectly clean. Prior to Carney's Black Rice (2001) many scholars suggested enslaved Africans "learned" the technique of fanning rice (Chase 1971). However, in light of her data, the knowledge of all things having to do with rice cultivation and processing can be established as indigenous knowledge brought from Africa and handed down from generation to generation (Carney 2001). Carney supports Dale Rosengarten's assertion of a cultural connection between South Carolina "fanner" baskets, and Senegambian winnowing baskets (Rosengarten 1994; Carney 2001).

Rice, Cotton, and Indigo: Building Blocks of the South Carolina Economy

> The historical relationship between agriculture and economics in the Sea Islands rests on the backs of enslaved Africans (Pollitzer 1999). By taking full advantage of free labor, Sea Island planters were among the richest in North America. Rice cultivation began as soon as the first English colonies were settled, and by 1700 there was more rice being produced that there were ships to transport it (Pollitzer 1999). The need for labor fueled the Transatlantic Slave Trade, while the slave trade fueled the various plantation economies. By 1860, South Carolina was home to as many as 257 rice plantations, which produced nearly 80,000 tons of rice per year. Of the fourteen planters in the country that owned 500 or more slaves, nine were rice planters (Joyner 1984).

Indigo was the next economic fire to be fueled by slave labor, beginning in the latter half of the eighteenth century. It all started with a teenage girl in Antigua. Eliza Lucas, the daughter of a Lieutenant- Colonel stationed in Antigua, began experimenting with seeds on her father's plantation. Cultivating quality indigo was her top priority, and through trial and error she succeeded in cultivated a flourishing seed crop by 1744 (Pollitzer 1999). She shared the seeds with Carolina planters through established trade routes, and by 1747 enough indigo was being produced in Carolina to export to

England (ibid). Indigo flourished as one of the major staples for around thirty years. As the value began to decline in the early 1800s,[62] Sea Island cotton moved in to take its place alongside rice as the major export crop of the Sea Island region (ibid).

The precise time at which cotton came to the Sea Islands is up for debate; however the first successful crop was reported on Hilton Head Island in 1790 (Seabrook 1844). Within a decade cotton cultivation had replaced indigo as the region's premiere staple crop (Johnson 1930). Sea Island cotton reached the height of production in 1819, with exports reaching nearly nine million pounds (Rosengarten 1986). Cotton continued to be grown in the Sea Islands until the early 1900s, when it was badly damaged due to boll weevil infestation, but never at the capacity seen in the 1800s. The combination of rice, cotton, and indigo fed the need for African labor throughout the Sea Islands during 190 years of legal slavery.

The Task System: Unique Characteristics of Sea Island Slavery

Sea Island plantations operated on a task system, vastly different from the gang system widely used throughout the South. The task system is based on an allotted amount of work for each field hand, usually broken down into acreage to be worked per day (Joyner 1977; Pollitzer 1999). As pointed out by G.G. Johnson (1930), from research done on St. Helena Island, the "task" came to signify a quarter of an acre, laid out 105 by 105 feet. A typical allotment for a plowman "was usually four tasks, or an acre a day" (83). Also unique to Sea Island slavery was the opportunity for marriage, health provisions, and even literacy on some plantations (McGuire 1985). The unique nature of the task system, which offered "off time" also fostered the retention of African cultural patterns (Joyner 1977). The current discussion of the task system should not be taken to indicate slavery was more humane in these areas; simply there were opportunities available for Sea Island slaves not typically offered to others in bondage. An excerpt from the South Carolina Federal Writers' Project (1936- 1938) illustrates the daily routine of slaves working under the task system: (Volume XIV South Carolina Narratives p. 271- 276/ Library of Congress)

> Ebery slabe hab tas' (task) to do. Sometime one task (quarter acre), sometime two tas' and sometime t'ree. You haf for wuk 'til tas' t'ru (through). W'en cotton done mek, you hab odder tas'. Haffa cut cord ob mash (marsh) grass maybe. Tas' ob mash been eight feet long and four feet high. Den sometime you haffa roll cord ob mud in cowpen. 'Ooman haffa rake leaf from wood into cowpen (this was used for fertilizer). W'en you knock off wuk, you kin wuk on your land. Maybe you might hab two or t'ree tas' ob land 'round your cabin what Maussa gib you for plant. You kin hab chicken, maybe hawg. You kin sell aig (egg) and chicken to store and Maussa will buy your hawg. In dat way slabe kin hab money for buy t'ing lak fish and w'atebber he want. We don't git much fish in slabery 'cause we nebber hab boat. But sometime you kin t'row out net en ketch shrimp. You kin also ketch 'possum and raccoon wid your dawg (Project #- 1655, Sam Polite, age 93, Born on Fripp Plantation, St. Helena Island, Beaufort County).

Land Acquisition and Self- Sufficiency in Isolation

The Civil War, and subsequent emancipation of enslaved Africans, created a class of landed freedmen in the Sea Islands of South Carolina. Special Field Order 15, issued by Sherman in 1864, set aside all abandoned land from Charleston to Florida for the exclusive use and ownership of the freedmen and women of island communities. The Federal Government participated in cooperative land buys in order to sell land to Sea Islanders. It was the only place in the country where the offer of "forty acres and a mule" became partially recognized. The acres were sold at $1.25 per acre. This obligation was often fulfilled by two to three day's work per week for three years as a sharecropper or tenant farmer (Day 1982).[63] This action, referred to as "a multifaceted experiment in democracy" (McGuire 1985, 2)[64] encouraged self- sufficiency and created autonomous, self- governing, communities is such places as St. Helena Island and Hilton Head. Overwhelmingly, freedmen chose to remain on their "home

place," the plantation they had worked as slaves (Normand 1994). In the minds of freedmen and women the ownership of this land was directly tied to their liberty and freedom.[65]

By 1870, Census data suggests the majority of St. Helena residents owned parcels of land, thus making it possible to avoid the hardships of sharecropping and tenant farming (Normand 1994).[66] Within Beaufort County, which offered freed slaves the greatest opportunities for land acquisition, 98% of heads of household were Black, while at least 70% owned their own farms (ibid). At the time of Salter's dissertation work (late 1950s) Hilton Head Island was reported as having 350 small Negro land holdings, between 2 and 50 acres (Salter 1968).

From the beginning of land ownership the use and allocation of this valuable resource has been mediated by the family unit (Moerman 1974), which has remained the most important social unit of Gullah and Geechee culture. Typically, extended families are spread across a family social unit, referred to as a compound. Sea Islanders conceptualize land very differently than most; it is viewed "not as a commodity that is sold, but a right that is transferred to kin as needed" (Day 1982, 16). Land is not sold, but is passed on to all children through a previously unwritten contract known as "heir's land" (Day 1982; Jones- Jackson 1987). Under "heir's land," or "heir's property" land was rarely sold. The entire parcel is owned "in common" by all the family members, therefore no one person has sole rights over it. Only when relatives did not have sufficient land to pass to all children was this rule amended, and the charge to extended family was $1.00, simply to fulfill legal tenants of the state (Guthrie 1996). The problem with such a system, however, is the ways in which real estate developers have capitalized on the absence of a formal written will, in a practice referred to as "partitioning." ("Legal Maneuvers Used to Strip Families of Land: Blacks especially vulnerable to procedure called partitioning," Charleston Gazette, Sunday December 9, 2001 (http://sundaygazettemail.com/section/news/us+&+world/200112095). Sea Islanders have recently began amending this type of ownership in an attempt to hold on to ancestral property. Special courses are being offered by grassroots organizations and Sea Island churches, assisting Sea Islanders with writing wills in the proper fashion and offering to loan them money to pay property taxes (Hargrove 2000).

From Emancipation until quite recently Sea Island communities remained largely self- sufficient, utilizing their agricultural and fishing skills to meet their needs. Many islands remained isolated, with no connector bridges, until the middle of the twentieth century. Even electricity arrived late, coming to the more remote islands only as recently as the 1960s (Jones- Jackson 1987). This century of isolation, beginning with emancipation, brought about many changes in land use patterns. Sea Island freedmen who became landowners proceeded to cultivate the crop already in production, such as rice and cotton, until the boll weevil infestation of the 1920s. This event terminated cotton production for most farmers, aside from the few who converted to the short- staple variety (Salter 1968). Those who could no longer earn a living from cotton entered into truck farming, which remains a viable economic option for the present day farmers of several Sea Island communities, including Johns, Wadmalaw, Edisto, St. Helena, and Lady's Island (Salter 1991). The leading value crops for truck farming continue to be tomato and cucumbers. St. Helena Island is dominated by tomato truck farming, and utilizes migrant farm labor from Mexico during harvest season (Hargrove 2000).

Agricultural Practices

Much of the early work conducted in the Sea Islands was concentrated on farming techniques and agricultural practices. T.J. Woofter conducted research on St. Helena Island as part of a cooperative project between the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina and the Social Science Research Council. The project began in the late 1920s as an effort to investigate the unique African American culture on St. Helena Island (which we now refer to as Gullah). Woofter's data are presented in *Black Yeomanry: Life on St. Helena Island* (1930). This book gives an in- depth look at the agricultural practices of St. Helena Island between 1850 and 1930, covering all aspects from composting to the construction of chicken houses. Guy B. Johnson's *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island*

(1930) and G. G. Johnson's *A Social History of the Sea Islands* (1930) represent the second and third components to this special study.

Forces of Change: Land Use and Land Loss
Other forces, aside from agriculture, have altered land use in more negative ways. Farmland is now the prime target of developers (Carawan 1989), and agricultural lands continue to be rapidly reduced by residential, commercial, and tourism development (Hargrove 2000), not to mention the land taken out of production on islands housing military bases. Statistics obtained from census data suggest an overwhelming amount of land being taken out of food production between 1987 and 1992. Farming acreage in Beaufort County dropped more than 17% between 1987 and 1992. Charleston County also shows a severe reduction in farmlands: nearly 23% during that same five- year period. That amounts to almost 20,000 acres being taken out of farming production within a five- year period. The question becomes, what is it being used for now?

Resort Development in the South Carolina Sea Islands
The present situation of Sea Island communities consists of dramatic changes. One need look no further than Hilton Head Island, which only 50 years ago was home to an African- American farming community. Connector bridges began being built to the islands during the 1950s and "everything change up now" (Ed Brown, resident of Wadmalaw Island, quoted in Jones- Jackson 1987). Land is constantly taken out of production and converted to resort development for the industry of tourism. Present day Hilton Head is populated wealthy Euro Americans, residing in communities named after successful plantations of the slavery era. The tremendous devastation to Sea Island communities will be further discussed in Chapter 9, "Development and Change: Gullah as an Endangered Species."

Chapter 6 Health and Medicine

Sea Islanders possess vast knowledge about the world around them, particularly as it pertains to maximizing health and wellness. Many folk remedies and beliefs concerning health and medicine suggest the earliest enslaved Africans brought diverse plant knowledge, which has been transplanted throughout the Gullah/ Geechee area (Pollitzer 1999). Several studies have been conducted which have added bits and pieces to our knowledge of Gullah folk medicine and perspectives on faith and healing (Joyner 1984; Bascom 1991; Pollitzer 1999[67]). In a general sense, many Sea Islanders recognize herbal remedies as an option, but a precious few have been able to master this physical world. These knowledgeable few are recognized as "root doctors" and/ or "herbalists," who occupy an esteemed position within their communities.[68] Many Sea Islanders readily turn to home remedies as their first line of defense against illness and overall physical and mental maintenance; but some turn to the root specialists who dot the Gullah/ Geechee landscape.

In general, within the wide range of medicinal herbs used by Sea Islanders, there appear to be several that were versatile in their application. Life everlasting (*Gnaphalium polycephalum*) has been used for centuries to relieve cramps, cure a cold, combat diseases of the bowels and pulmonary system, and relieve foot pain (Pollitzer 1999). Dog fennel (*Anthemis cotula L*) and mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*) are suggested as satisfactory for treating colds, stuffy noses, headaches and nervous conditions (Jones-Jackson 1987). Bark from a red oak tree (*Quercus falcata*) was also useful when boiled and drank as a tea; it is said to combat rheumatism (Parsons 1923) as well as dysentery (Joyner 1999).

Gullah Herbal Remedies: Hoodoo Medicine
In the early 1970s, Faith Mitchell[69] began conducted research on traditional folk beliefs and medicine within the Sea Islands, with special emphasis placed on St. Helena Island. Her findings were later published as *Hoodoo Medicine: Sea Island Herbal Remedies* (1978). This collection is extraordinary in several ways. Most important, it contains a directory of all the medicinal roots, herbs, and plants used on the Sea Islands of South Carolina. Its uniqueness, however, is attributed to the more than fifty

detailed drawings included for each botanical of interest. In addition to being an excellent resource concerning plant use, Mitchell sets the historical stage by including a discussion of medicinal plant practices during slavery and the existence of plantation slaves who operated as somewhat "official" medical personnel. These doctors, or "doctresses", were specialists in certain roots and herbs that grew in the Sea Islands; bearers of an oral tradition brought from Africa to America. The similarities of flora and fauna between West Africa and the Carolina coast allowed the plant knowledge to be transferred to their new environment.

Mitchell (1978) suggests there are three distinct types of black folk medicine practice: there are those who practice healing techniques using barks, berries, herbs, leaves and roots to combat natural illness (cold, influenza, and malaria during the plantation era). Second, there are those who deal strictly with spiritual illness, traditionally believed to be punishment for sin, through offerings of verbal blessings or laying on of hands (1978). And third, Mitchell suggests, there are those who specialize in occult illness, believed to be caused by an individual being hexed by "hoodoo" or conjure, cast by supernatural methods. Sea Island people often wear amulets to protect against hoodoo (Mitchell 1978). It is important to clarify that hoodoo is different than "voodoo." Voodoo is a blend of African mystic beliefs and Catholicism more common around New Orleans, whereas hoodoo is a common term used by antebellum blacks to describe methods of natural healing and magic (ibid).

Rootwork: Beliefs and Practices on St. Helena Island

Rootwork: Psychosocial Aspects of Malign Magical and Illness Beliefs in a South Carolina Sea Island Community (Heyer 1981)[70] is an investigation into the beliefs and practices of 'rootwork" within the community of St. Helena Island. Kathryn W. Heyer conducted one year of fieldwork on St. Helena Island between 1977 and 1978. Rootwork, as defined by Heyer, refers to a system of malign magical beliefs used to explain physical and psychological disturbances and to obtain relief by consulting a specialist or "rootworker" who removes the evil spell and thereby brings about a cure. The aim of the dissertation is to provide a detailed description of beliefs in rootwork, as well as the existence of related beliefs in spirits, hags[71], and ghosts, in relation to other aspects of the social and personal lives of the believers.

Heyer's work makes an important contribution to the existing knowledge of rootwork, herbal remedies, and folk medicine.[72] Many scholars suggest such practices are doomed to disappear over time; however Heyer's work documents recent practices in a viable Sea Island community. In an attempt to present an insider's (emic) view of island life and thought concerning health and traditional practices, Heyer interviewed ninety- four residents of St. Helena Island. Information in the dissertation was taken from forty of those informants. She also recorded two life histories, one of which appears in the Appendix (Heyer 1981) and fifty- five hours of taped interviews. It is a detailed look at one particular woman's life regarding the importance of rootwork and beliefs in malign magic.

Heyer documents the existence of four rootworkers in active practice on or near St. Helena Island, blatantly disputing the claim that rootwork is no longer a commonly held belief among the residents of St. Helena Island. One of the rootworkers was a Euro American man, who allegedly inherited his power from his grandmother. Heyer was able to apprentice with him, directly involved in the observation of practice in action. Within this study, Heyer documents the detailed accounts of rootwork being performed through recording fourteen actual case studies (1981).

Along with recording the practice of rootwork, Heyer contributes to our knowledge about the function of rootwork within this particular community, especially as it pertains to non- health related factors. Rootwork, as suggested by Heyer's informants, is an attempt to explain or control events in which scientific explanations and/or manipulations are believed to be ineffective or powerless. Herbal healing is the first line strategy for coping with most illness, and remedies are passed through the generations through oral history. This belief system also serves as a method of social control, working to discourage anti- social and unacceptable behavior (Heyer 1981). This collection records wart

talkers: people who talk warts away, and fire- talkers who are able to heal burns. At present, Heyer's work is very important; it has the potential to improving physician's knowledge and understanding of rootwork and Gullah belief systems concerning health and medicine, thereby fostering a greater understanding and respect for Gullah knowledge and culture.

Health and Medicine: Adapting to Change

Heyer was not the first to conduct research on St. Helena Island with an interest in health and indigenous knowledge. During the early 1970s Daniel E. Moerman resided in the community and conducted extensive ethnographic interviews concerning medicinal plant use and indigenous systems of popular medicine.[73] The research Moerman gathered later produced his dissertation, Extended Family and Popular Medicine on St. Helena Island, S.C: Adaptations to Marginality (1974). What differentiates his research findings from Heyer's later work (1981) is interpretation of the data. Moerman proposes that folk medical practices and belief systems persisted as an adaptive response to inadequate access to health care within Beaufort County at the time of the study (fee- for- services system).

Along with being an excellent resource for the study of health and medicine, Moerman situates his research within a historical and social context, including the population statistics for St. Helena, 4,500 residents, at the time of study (1971). Among those interviewed was the famous, well- respected Dr. York Bailey (the first Black doctor on St. Helena Island). He also gathered extensive genealogies (850 entries entered into a cross- referenced file to facilitate kinship connections) and life histories, in addition to conducting extensive interviews concerning medicinal plant use. Data obtained from interviews is synthesized into what the author refers to as "The St. Helena Popular Pharmacopeia" (168- 208); a detailed presentation of common name, genus and species, use, years of use, and indications for use. Appendix 1 and 2 contain two extensive life histories.

In the early 1970s many Sea Island communities, including St. Helena Island, were being economically and culturally marginalized due to a rapid switch from self- sufficiency to wage labor and a cash economy (Moerman 1974). Within the larger struggle to maintain control over their future, the residents of St. Helena were heavily reliant on one another, with Moerman's data on household composition illustrating the importance of family, extended family, and kinship within this dynamic Sea Island community. Within the context of health and medicine, Moerman includes a discussion of the social services offered, and accepted by, the residents of St. Helena. There is also an excellent discussion within the dissertation outlining the epidemiology of St. Helena Island from the early 1900s up to research period.

One of the major methodological problems with much of the existing data concerning Sea Island communities is misrepresentation. Fieldwork experiences are taken as representative of the whole of Gullah culture, although only witnessed for a small amount of time through the eyes and lives of a small percentage of the community (Moerman 1974). Moerman was not the first to suggest this methodological oversimplification, but he gives concrete reasons for his position. Citing the work by Guy Carawan, Moerman suggests *Ain't You Got a Right to the Tree of Life* is an inaccurate portrayal of the St. John community. This point cannot be over emphasized. Within many Sea Island communities, research of any kind is hard to negotiate (Heyer 1981; Hargrove 2000). Social scientists must work diligently in the future to combat the wrongs of the past in a collaborative and intellectually honest venture between researcher and knowledge holders. It is truly the only way we can continue to learn from the rich cultural heritage of Gullah/ Geechee people.

A Cautionary Note Concerning Future Research

Future research is essential in this area. Many scholars suggest the folk remedies and medicinal plant use patterns are in danger of loss due to encroachment, environmental devastation,[74] and culture change. Recent scholarly work, however, suggests these practices continue as a viable alternative to modern medicine for many ailments. What is not adequately elaborated, unfortunately, is the

personal and sacred nature of such beliefs from the perspective of Sea Island community members. Work pertaining to these folk traditions should be approached in collaboration with community leaders who have access to the elders and bearers of such knowledge. Moving toward a balance between indigenous and scholarly research will record these valued cultural treasures without furthering the rift between academics and Gullah people.

Chapter 7 Arts and Crafts: Syncretisms[75] and Innovations

There are several distinct research areas devoted to Gullah arts and crafts. The craft that has received the most scholarly attention is coiled sweetgrass basketry (Chase 1971; Derby 1980; Rosengarten 1986; Hargrove 2000). There is documentation of basket production by South Carolina slaves as early as 1690 (Vlach 1978). The tradition of sewing baskets was essential to the early years of plantation life due to the utilitarian nature of the craft (Chase 1971, Rosengarten[76] 1994). The agricultural technology of rice production in the Low Country was distinctly African (Rosengarten 1994), therefore the tools of the trade are similar. The “fanner” basket was of principal use during the processing of rice. Once the rice was loosened from the husks it was put in these fanner baskets, from which the rice was tossed into the air, falling back to the basket while the chaff blew away. The process of "fanning the rice" was continued until the rice was perfectly clean. This type of physical motion is a skill learned in Africa and passed on to subsequent generations (Chase 1971; Carney 2001). Baskets have been used for the same purpose in Africa for hundreds of years. Low Country baskets most resemble those of the Congo, Senegambia, and Angola (Twining 1977, Vlach 1978). Through the continuation of cultural arts, the enslaved of South Carolina found ways to preserve their African heritage.

Cultural Continuity: From Africa to the Sea Islands
Baskets are a traditional part of Gullah culture and signify a strong connection between West Africa and the Sea Islands of South Carolina.[77] Those who make baskets prefer to be called "sewers" because that is precisely how baskets are constructed (Rosengarten 1994). The enslaved Africans of South Carolina adapted their knowledge of the African environment to the Lowcountry environment, using black rush (*Juncus roemarianus*) and sweetgrass (*Muhlembergia filipes* and *M. capillaris*) bound with strips of Palmetto (*Sabal palmetto*) (Rosengarten 1994). Modern day baskets differ only slightly from their ancestral counterparts. Most basket sewers now incorporate long leaf pine needles (*Pinus palustris*) for decoration, as well as to make up for the scarcity of sweetgrass resulting from increased development in the Sea Island areas (Marquetta L. Goodwine, personal communication, 2002).

Baskets were a necessity item during the plantation era. The principal use was for processing rice, but they were utilized for a variety of daily activities. Early visitors to South Carolina report seeing Gullah babies being carried in large fanner baskets (Rosengarten 1994). They were also used to take produce, flowers, and herbs to market in Charleston. As Sea Island communities moved from plantation agriculture to subsistence farming, after Emancipation and the Civil War, farmers used baskets to gather crops as well as to transport them to market. Upon recognizing the importance and utility of this African craft, the administrators and teachers at Penn Normal School added it to the curriculum. The baskets were used at Penn during everyday activities, as well as sold through mail orders and craft shops in Charleston, Philadelphia, and Boston (Rosengarten 1994). The excess cash allowed Penn School to assist local farm families in paying land taxes.

The sewers in Mt. Pleasant got their first taste of wholesale marketing in 1916 through Charles W. Legerton, a Charleston merchant and civic leader (Rosengarten 1986). Legerton bought set quantities of baskets from Sam Coakley, who acted as a liaison between Legerton and the sewers of Mt. Pleasant. Legerton sold the baskets through his bookstore on King Street, and later through the Sea Grass Basket Company, started between 1916 and 1917 (ibid). In 1920 the company name was changed to Seagrassco. Legerton capitalized on the industry using print media to advertise Mt. Pleasant baskets until the late 1930s, when basket sewers began directly marketing their wares to tourists on Highway

17. This move would forever change the course of the basket industry in Mt. Pleasant, where one can presently find many stands along the roadsides. Contemporary research, conducted by Melissa Hargrove, cites several Mt. Pleasant basket women who still remember their mothers and grandmothers sewing baskets for Mr. Legerton (2000).

Development and Change: From Utilitarian Craft to Folk Art

The sweetgrass basket tradition of the South Carolina Sea Islands has undergone rapid change due to increased tourism, increased development, and generational differences in ideology. The community that has become famous for the production of sweetgrass basketry is Mt. Pleasant,[78] located just across the Cooper River from Charleston, South Carolina. Presently there are multiple basket stands along the roadsides of Highway 17, many of which have been there for several generations. The tradition of setting up basket stands along the roadsides began in the 1940s (Rosengarten 1986), as a way to take advantage of the increased tourism traffic coming from Charleston. What began as a utilitarian craft has become folk art, thereby creating a specialized economy for those with the skill (Derby 1980).[79] The designation of the baskets as "folk art" has required basket makers to incorporate new styles (Vlach 1978; Rosengarten 1994), while also increasing the price collectors and tourists are willing to pay.

Ethnographic Accounts of Mt. Pleasant Basket Sewers

The basket sewers of Mt. Pleasant have been the focus of two extensive ethnographies, conducted twenty years apart, which reveal the adaptive nature of the sweetgrass basket industry. Doris Derby conducted fieldwork in Mt. Pleasant in 1977 and 1978,[80] resulting in her dissertation, Black Women Basket Makers: A Study of Domestic Economy in Charleston County, South Carolina (1980). The crux of her research was aimed at determining the effects of increased tourism on the economic viability of basket women in the Mt. Pleasant area. Derby concluded that basket sewing has endured many adaptations over time. Basketry served a utilitarian purpose during plantation slavery, it has functioned as an economic development strategy for Mt. Pleasant women since World War I, and it had (at the time of her research) responded well to the stimulus of the tourism industry in and around Charleston (1980). Derby concluded that the basket industry was adaptive, suggesting it would ultimately endure; however a subsequent study indicates the battle had just begun.

Nearly twenty years later, beginning in 1988, Melissa D. Hargrove began ongoing ethnographic research to investigate the affects of tourism and development on Mt. Pleasant basket weavers, resulting in her master's thesis, Marketing Gullah: Identity, Cultural Politics, and Tourism (2000).[81] Hargrove suggests the basket industry is being negatively impacted by development, which literally paves over or digs up the valuable resources necessary for sewing baskets (Hargrove 2000). Materials for basket weaving are no longer available, forcing many weavers to buy their sweetgrass from Florida. More importantly, Hargrove suggests the South Carolina tourism industry is appropriating the craft of sweetgrass baskets for use in tourism literature, as a strategy for increasing tourism revenue (Hargrove 2000). Many basket makers remain scattered along Highway 17 while others have lost their stands to strip malls and gas stations.[82] With tourism in the area continuing to increase, Hargrove suggests officials of Charleston County should acknowledge their role in development agendas that further compromise the future of this legendary art form.

Gullah Artisans as Craftmen of the South

Sweetgrass basketry is not the only craft associated with Gullah culture. Leonard P. Stavisky (1958), through historical document research, revealed the enormous contributions early Gullah artisans made to the Charleston area. These types of contributions are often overlooked in the canonical literature concerning Gullah culture. It is estimated that as much as 80 to 90% of all crafts produced between 1800 and 1890 in and around Charleston were the craftsmanship of Gullah artisans (Stavisky 1958). Charleston became a training center for much of the South Atlantic region. Owners from all over sent their slaves to be trained in a variety of areas: ship carpentry, shoemaking, carpentry, sawing, farming, blacksmithing, wheat stocking, butchery, stone masonry, milling, ironworks, and coopering.

Stavisky suggests enslaved Africans were trained in these crafts as an attempt by slave owners to utilize their free labor in ways that would increase their productivity and marketability. Enslaved Africans who possessed certain skills could be hired out to neighboring plantations for wages. Also, skilled Gullah/ Geechee artisans were worth twice as much as field hands (Stavisky 1958).

These craftsmen and their contributions are also evident in rural areas. The sprawling plantation homes of the Charleston area were erected by slave labor, and trades learned as slaves were often passed down from generation to generation within slave families. Stavinsky reports children were apprenticed to the trades as early as four years old (1958). In these ways, as well as countless others, the Gullah artisans of the Charleston area greatly contributed to the overall economic might of the South. They should also be given due credit for the creation of an enduring legacy of Charleston's historic homes that continue to draw millions of tourists every year.

Quilting in the Sea Islands

Gullah quilting is yet another cultural trait that signifies connections between West Africa and the Sea Islands. Mary Twining (1991) suggests that quilting began out of economic necessity in the Sea Islands, and later came to signify an important role within the Gullah crafts tradition. Gullah quilts are recognized due to their distinct characteristic technique referred to as "strip formation." Rectangular bits of cloth, often scraps of fabric in an assortment of shapes, sizes, and colors, were pieced together to form the quilt top (Pollitzer 1999). They are sewn together in an uneven, curvilinear pattern easily distinguishable from European quilts. Quilt colors also hold special significance: red indicates danger, blue repels bad spirits, and white suggests innocence and purity (Twining 1991b).

Gullah quilts have come to signify important life events within the broader cultural framework.[83] Many can identify the patches on a quilt and determine the quilt's significance and meaning. Rites of passage such as marriage, births of children, young people leaving home to go to school, are often commemorated by the making or completion of a quilt which accompanies the departing family member to their new situation as a reminder of their ties back home (Twining 1991b). These family heirlooms are a valuable celebration of family history, as well as indicating the survival of African patterns (Pollitzer 1999). Gullah "strip quilts" bear striking resemblance to those of Ghana and Benin, where fabric is woven into long narrow strips, cut into usable lengths and sewn together at the edges (Vlach 1978).

Georgia Arts and Crafts

The majority of scholarly work on Gullah art and culture has been focused on South Carolina, however, there are cultural artifacts which can be directly linked to Gullah/Geechee people of Georgia[84] which symbolize their talents as crafters of beauty and art. Cultural material found in archaeological contexts along the Georgia coast include drums (made of hollowed logs with pegged heads) and carved wooden walking sticks depicting reptiles[85] (Vlach 1978). Finds such as this represent Gullah/ Geechee folk art of the Georgia coast, in such places as Yamacraw and Wilmington Island. Gullah/ Geechee artisans have exhibited boat building skills for centuries. The multiple- log canoe is believed to symbolize possible African antecedents of coastal life of West Africa (Vlach 1978). This suggestion is based on the fact that Gullah/ Geechee people remain skilled in navigating boats through shallow streams and marshes, casting nets for subsistence and economic support. In a myriad of ways the daily lives of Gullah/ Geechee people have been influenced by traditions deeply rooted in an African past. All crafts extensively covered within the literature, including sweetgrass baskets, boat building, drums, walking sticks, and quilts should be taken to represent a living symbol of cultural continuity and adaptability.

Chapter 8 Leadership Patterns, Organization, and Cooperation

Many scholars look upon the Sea Island communities as doomed to destruction, but they are far from it. They have lost countless acres of family land, suffered restricted access to traditional livelihoods, such as fishing and farming, and continue to struggle against the swelling tides of development and tourism; however, Gullah people have a strong constitution. Throughout their history Gullah/Geechee communities have proved time and time again that they are great organizers. From the Civil Rights Movement to modern day grassroots struggles, the Sea Islanders have reason to be proud of the accomplishments they have made and the contributions of their descendants.

Guy and Candie Carawan's *Aint You Got a Right to the Tree of Life?* (1989) chronicles the evolution of the citizenship schools on Johns Island and their role in the development of a citizenship and literacy movement. The contributions of Septima Clark and Esau Jenkins had an undeniable impact on the Civil Rights movement as well as Johns Island and surrounding Sea Island communities. Their efforts, in conjunction with the Highlander Folk School, raised literacy and increased the number of registered Black voters. Supported by cultural values and group cohesion the strides made on Johns Island were directly responsible for similar movements and achievements, such as the development of citizenship schools, on both Edisto and Wadmalaw Island (Carawan 1989).

Cooperative work has been a part of Gullah/ Geechee culture since its inception, and reminds us yet again of their African cultural retentions. During the 1930s William R. Bascom investigated the origin of cooperative Sea Island work patterns by conducting fieldwork in both the Sea Islands and West Africa.[86] Bascom found similarities between the Yoruba institution of cooperative work and that of Sea Island communities (1941). On Sapelo Island in Georgia, and Hilton Head Island in South Carolina, Bascom interviewed informants who recalled group work. The practice of working to a drumbeat in Africa was replaced with singing songs in unison in the Sea Islands (1941). Bascom points out that the practice of working together in Hilton Head was only preserved in memory, but informants suggested Sapelo Island was still a place where people would "jump right into the field and help you out" (Bascom 1941, 45). The proposed connection between Sea Island cooperative work and similar practices in West Africa is further corroborated by Dr. Alpha Bah, professor of African History at the College of Charleston: "The idea of cooperation to accomplish a piece of work, such as sewing seeds or harvesting, remains a common practice among most West Africans" (personal communication 2002). It is also common knowledge to any scholar who had conducted research within Sea Island communities.

In 1977, a dissertation was written by June Thomas which illustrates the strong ethic of organization and participation within Sea Island communities: Blacks on the South Carolina Sea Islands: Planning for Tourism and Land Development. This dissertation is a direct result of the author's involvement with the "Socio- Economic Impact Study: Resort Development and the Sea Islands," conducted by The Department of Urban and Metropolitan Studies, Michigan State University, in 1976. The study was aimed at assessing the effects of development on the local Black populations of the South Carolina Sea Islands, as well as making suggestions concerning future action and involvement concerning the proposed development of Kiawah Island.

Thomas, through her involvement with organizations and grassroots groups working against the development of Kiawah Island, came to realize that Sea Islanders have a history of community organization. Thomas studied past and ongoing organizations throughout the Sea Islands in order to propose an example for future action. Citing experiences from Johns Island (the organizational successes of Septima Clark and Esau Jenkins) as well as the Emergency Land Fund in Charleston (which is designed to assist locals with land tax in an effort to retain land rights), Thomas illustrates the historical precedence of community involvement and grassroots action within Sea Island communities.

To illustrate the effects of non- involvement and lack of planning, Thomas presents Hilton Head Island[87] as what is to come if Kiawah is rezoned and developed. At the time of Thomas' study, Black landowners in Hilton Head were few and far between. Informants recalled the days before development when they grew peas, beans, and cotton in the summer and made quilts and children's clothes in the winter, only minutes later to remind themselves that all that was gone. The only options for employment, at the time of this study as well as presently, are menial low wage jobs with the resort and hotel industry.

Thomas, in her final report made the following suggestions:

1. The development of a land issues center to educate Sea Islanders about land loss and titles.
2. The development of a business development center to identify people and resources as well as possible business areas.
3. Sea Islanders should maintain a high level of community involvement, by attending zoning hearings, running for office, and forming and supporting community organizations.

It is as if the residents of St. Helena Island read these suggestions and began acting upon them.

Policy Makers and Community Members Working Together

Recently community activists from St. Helena and Beaufort policy makers got together to initiate sound policies designed to halt future development of St. Helena Island. In 1997 the Beaufort County officials formulated what is referred to as the first draft of the Comprehensive plan, titled "Get a Grip on our Future." Among the many policy recommendations within this plan was the enhancement of "arts and humanities services for visitors in recognition of the importance of cultural heritage tourism to the County's economy" (BCCP[88] 1997:693). Also listed as an important factor was the hope that government officials, private sector businesses and the citizens could communicate with one another successfully and "speak with one voice" (547).

With Hilton Head Island serving as a reminder of what development can become, officials at all levels, joined by local activists, began cultivating development plans that would satisfy the residents of Sea Island communities while permitting controlled economic growth (Hargrove 2000).

In 1999, Beaufort City Council acted on aforementioned policy recommendations and adopted the Beaufort County Zoning and Development Standards Ordinance (BCZDSO).[89] According to the Ordinance, St. Helena "contributes toward the creation of an image of the County that is essential to the sense of place that residents and visitors alike share about the community." In light of this aspect, the Ordinance designated St. Helena as a "Cultural Protection Overlay District" (CPOD) designed to ensure the future of its unique position. The overall purpose of the plan is the effective long- term protection of cultural resources found on St. Helena, while protecting the Gullah community from encroaching development and displacement of residents (Hargrove 2000). The policy is concerned with four distinct aspects of development viewed as detrimental to Gullah preservation: gated communities, resorts, golf courses, and franchise businesses (BCZDSO 1999: APP C- 2). The new policy guidelines assert that these types of development are "incompatible with cultural protection and are therefore prohibited" (BCZDSO 1999: APP C- 2).

The particular success of this policy must be attributed to the countless Sea Island residents who worked with policy officials and governmental agencies to bring about positive change. Chief among the activists involved with this effort was Marquetta L. Goodwine, founder of the Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition.[90] Members of the Coalition work diligently to raise awareness about the current problems facing Sea Island communities. Goodwine plays an active role in the development and implementation of community activities, fundraising efforts, and educational workshops given throughout South Carolina and Georgia concerning ways to preserve her rich cultural heritage. This type of grassroots organization is essential for the survival of Gullah communities.

Sea Island Organizations of Preservation[91]

Currently throughout the Sea Islands there are a number of grassroots organizations which reflect the leadership and organizational skills of Gullah/Geechee communities (Goodwine 1998c). Non- profit research organizations, such as Penn School and Avery Research Center at the College of Charleston, will also be discussed within this category due to the types of preservation efforts being instigated at these sites. The organizations include, but are not limited to, Penn Center, Inc., The Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition, St. Helena Island Corners Area Community Preservation Committee, Penn School for Preservation, South Carolina Coastal Community Development Corporation (SCCCDC), The Gullah Consortium, Avery Research Center for African American History and Culture, Sapelo Island Cultural and Revitalization Society, and St. Simons African- American Heritage Coalition. It is important to note there are a handful of tireless individuals who maintain membership and/or roles within more than one of the following organizations. Also, the possibilities for positive change rise as grassroots groups become interconnected by their mutual agendas of education about, and preservation of, Gullah/ Geechee culture.

The Penn School, now referred to as the Penn Center Inc., is a historic site on the National Register of Historic Places located on St. Helena Island, South Carolina. The Center began as Penn Normal School, the first trade and agricultural school for Sea Island freedmen in 1862. Through the years the Penn Center has worked toward educating others about the rich cultural heritage of the Sea Island Gullah, as well as developing programs to benefit Sea Island communities (e.g. Land Use and Development Fund and the Program for Academic and Cultural Enrichment) (Goodwine 1998c). Presently it serves as a conference center, museum (primarily focused on the days of Penn as Penn Normal School), photo and literary archive, and library. Penn Center has been the site of the "Heritage Days Celebration" for nineteen consecutive years.

The Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition was founded in 1996 by Marquetta L. Goodwine as a grassroots umbrella group for the Sea Islands. The Coalition is comprised of individuals, institutions, and organizations dedicated to preserving Gullah history, culture, land, and language. The Coalition, based at Hunnuh Home on St. Helena Island, possesses the only known archive devoted to Gullah/Geechee culture. The facilities at Hunnuh Home (meaning our home and your home), serve as research cottages for those interested in conducting research within the Sea Islands. The Coalition also maintains an extensive website and list serve, keeping all members aware of the situation within the various Sea Island communities. Many researchers discussed in this synthesis have spent time at Hunnuh Home. Those interested in conducting research in the St. Helena Island/Greater Beaufort Area should contact the Coalition for assistance.

The St. Helena Island Corners Area Community Preservation Committee was commissioned by Beaufort County Council, as a citizens committee, to prepare the guidelines for the community preservation district (as recognized within the Beaufort County Zoning District Standards Ordinance (BCZDSO)). The Committee is chaired by Marquetta L. Goodwine, whose formal title is Queen Quet: Chieftess of the Gullah/ Geechee Nation. Members of this Committee work together to present zoning plans for St. Helena Island aimed at preventing further encroachment from development.

In 1992 the Penn Center launched the 'Sea Island Preservation Project' which sought to bring together community leaders and business owners to create economic strategies that would benefit the Sea Islands without destroying the land, traditions, and culture of the Sea Island Gullah. The goal of the project was the creation of a community vision and the formulation of a strategic plan for St. Helena Island. This brought about the establishment of the "Penn School for Preservation" in 1993, in which 37 community leaders and public officials got together on weekends for six months to discuss such issues as zoning, economic development, growth management, and community economic development. Several of the students of Penn School for Preservation have put the program to work in ways which presently benefit Sea Island communities.

The South Carolina Coastal Community Development Corporation (SCCCDC) is an independent non- profit corporation, directed by Lady's Island native Liz Santagati. In 1997 the SCCCDC was awarded a $1million grant to design and implement economic development activities for Lowcountry residents. This project also provided legal assistance and educational workshops to landowners in order to maintain family land ownership on St. Helena and surrounding islands. Most recent developments include a commercial kitchen/ food processing facility, creation of a small business incubator (designed to empower local residents through self- help business training), and an on- site marketing outlet for local food products and crafts. In 1997, Santagati was awarded the "Community Leadership Award" and recognized by the South Carolina Senate for a life of leadership, dedication, and hard work on behalf of her community.

The Gullah Consortium consists of a group of both Gullah and non- Gullah citizens from various professions, including (but not limited to) educators, activists, curators, government employees, and artists. The group was formed to insure that performances and/or programs relating to Gullah/ Geechee culture were being delivered in an accurate and respectful manner. Currently the group is developing a set of guidelines for performance and interpretation of Gullah culture. Steps like these will aid in the accuracy of information being disseminated about Gullah/ Geechee culture to interested outsiders.

Avery Research Center for African American History and Culture, located at the College of Charleston operates as both an academic and community resource. Along with the task of collecting and preserving materials related to African American history and culture, Avery sponsors public programs aimed at educating both academics and non- academics about the rich cultural heritage of African Americans. The Center serves as a museum, reservoir of historical and material archives concerning African American history and culture (with an extensive collection devoted to Sea Island culture), an educational facility, and community outreach.

Sapelo Island, Georgia remains isolated from the mainland, yet they too are fighting the battle of development and land loss. In retaliation, the small Geechee community known as "Hog Hammock" organized the Sapelo Island Cultural and Revitalization Society. Members of the society offer guided mule tours of the area and a local boarding facility for those who desire to stay a few days (Goodwine 1998c). One of the most active members of this community organization, Cornelia Bailey, recently released her memoir: God, Dr. Buzzard, and the Bolito Man: A Saltwater Geechee Talks About Life on Sapelo Island (2000).

The most recent addition to the list of organizations is the St. Simons African- American Heritage Coalition, which began in January of 2001. The Coalition, directed by native islander Amy Roberts, is comprised of community members determined not to become "another Daufuskie or Hilton Head" (e- mail communication, gullah- geechee@infobro.com, January 4, 2002). Their most recent campaign, "Don't ask- Won't sell," got the attention of the Atlanta Journal- Constitution for their exhibition of noteworthy community leadership and activism. The Coalition handed out signs to community members to place in their yards, as a testament of solidarity against the rising pressure of real estate developers on the island.

The grassroots mobilization that is taking place in the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia is a testament to the strong community bonds of Gullah/ Geechee people. Residents of various island communities are beginning to realize the common thread uniting them is the battle against further cultural, social, economic, and environmental devastation (Hargrove, forthcoming). Marquetta L. Goodwine, native of St. Helena Island, elaborated as follows:

> This type of organization is necessary in order for the Gullah community to have our own self- interest promoted as well as to have our culture preserved. We must tell our own stories and govern our own community as our foreparents did. We know that

'empty sak cyan stan upright lone.' Thus, the community must and is coming together to hold up all ends and to hold pun we culcha (Goodwine 1998c, 197).

Chapter 9 Gullah World View and Cultural Values

Gullah people are complex. They have many characteristics that illustrate the perseverance of African cultural traits[92] which have shaped their worldview and value system. For much of history, Gullah life was lived and governed in accordance with nature, seasons, climate, and the tide, but all that seems to be changing (Twining and Baird 1991). What remain, as the most important aspects of Gullah life, are religion, kinship and family, (both extended and fictive kinship), community, and culture. There are bits and pieces of Gullah worldview scattered across the literature but there is no comprehensive study of the principles that structure Gullah life. There is a desperate need for an in- depth project concerning continuities and change within the Gullah worldview.

Family Systems
Discussion and documentation of family systems and structure are embedded in many studies of Gullah culture, often introduced to illustrate the strong African retentions concerning attitudes toward family and children (Twining and Baird 1991). The extended family is the most important social unit within Gullah culture. Many aspects of life are shared within the larger kinship network, including child rearing, monetary and food resources, labor, and decision- making. Gullah families who have not yet lost their land to development and tourism still live in compounds, within which many generations live in close proximity to one another (Jones- Jackson 1987, Hargrove 2000). This style of organization, as well as the importance of family and kinship in the mediation of all aspects of life, bears striking similarity to West and Central African traditions (Pollitzer 1999).

Studies of family systems are also scattered throughout much of the more recent Gullah research (Day 1986; Jones- Jackson 1987; Demerson 1991; Twining and Baird 1991; Guthrie 1996), but a particular dissertation offers native insight into the traditional family patterns of the Gullah. Franklin O. Smith conducted research among fourteen family units[93] on James, Johns, Wadmalaw, Yonges (St. Paul's), and Edisto Islands. Within this research we learn that elder Sea Islanders take an active role as disciplinarians and child rearing often follows the teachings of the Bible, "aimed at keeping them in the stepping of the Lord" (1973). Smith also introduces the concept of "two for one" discipline; a system that gives all community members the right to discipline a child for misbehaving. They are punished once by the person who catches them, and then again for shedding bad light on the family (1973). The results of Smith's research lend support to claims of African retentions concerning family structure and child rearing (i.e. West African family systems are based on the extended family, as well as the larger community, taking a mutually responsible role in child rearing (Pollitzer 1999)).

Relationships
Within the African traditional worldview, it is believed that each and every member of society has a place (Creel 1990). Friendship is an integral part of Gullah culture. Bascom describes the affection between Sea Island friends as "legendary" (1941, 47) suggesting this trait is rooted in Yoruba culture. The position of a man's best friend in Yoruba (korikosum) is crucial; he is the person to which all secrets are entrusted, and with whom all decisions discussed. There are also folktales which indicate a man's best friend is more trustworthy than even his mother (Bascom 1941).

One of the most important relationships, within a Gullah worldview, is that which exists between human beings and the natural environment (Beoku- Betts 1995). Sea Islanders view their natural surroundings with respect and a sense of interconnectedness. Their relationship with the environment has always emphasized harmony and social exchange that is non- exploitative (Beoku-Betts 1995). In most cases, their values put the well- being of the whole community before the selfish nature of individualism. Goodwine suggests the abandoning of such principles may be a paramount

reason for the problems of our world- "when we begin to look at how everything affects everything else within the universe as our ancestors did, then we will be able to truly begin to start to work toward correcting some of the negative trends that we are faced with" (Goodwine 1998, 11).

Gullah Foodways: Daily Pot of Rice

Josephine A. Beoku- Betts offers the most comprehensive study of Gullah foodways (1995). Gullah food culture is based on rice (Turner 1949; Jones- Jackson 1987; Creel 1990) and continues to be strongly influenced by techniques of food preparation originating in West Africa (Beoku- Betts 1995; Carney 2001). Historically, rice was the staple food of Sea Island communities, and continues to be a central part of main meals. It has also been proposed that the term "Geechee" originates within rice culture, and was used in a stereotypical sense to refer to individuals of African descent who spoke fast or funny and ate lots of rice (Hopkins 1992, 42).

One Sea Islander's words serve to illustrate the importance of rice:

> Rice is security. If you have some rice, you'll never starve. It is a bellyful. You should never find a cupboard without it" (Beoku- Betts 1995).

Traditional foods include red rice, shrimp and rice, okra stew, and Hoppin' John (rice cooked with peas and smoked meat).[94] Gullah food is commonly seasoned with onions, salt, pepper, and fresh or smoked meats (Beoku- Betts 1995). The significance of rice within Gullah culture can be attested to by the existence of folklore surrounding the growing, harvesting, preparation, and eating of rice.

Those who prepare Gullah meals have a strong preference for fresh foods (Beoku- Betts 1995). Produce that is not grown by the family can often be purchased at nearby roadside stands and produce marts. During my fieldwork on St. Helena Island one of my acquaintances would always drop by and leave tomatoes, watermelon, and cucumbers on my doorstep. On weekends, in an effort to earn extra cash, some residents of St. Helena Island cook traditional Gullah food and sell it from various locations to tourists and locals alike (Hargrove 2000).

Gullah Views of Life and Death[95]

Within the Gullah worldview, life and death are viewed much differently than most would suspect. Life is meant to be lived, protected, and enriched to the fullest, but when death comes the fear experienced by many worldly beings is not part of the process. The Gullah view death as a journey into the spirit world, not as a break with life (Creel 1990), therefore the cemetery is not viewed as the final resting- place but as a door between two worlds. This explains many of the customs associated with death and funerals practiced within the Sea Islands. For example, if a mother dies and leaves behind a small child or a baby, it will be passed back and forth over the coffin to prevent "dead moder from hant de baby" (Creel 1990).

It is also believed that when a person dies they may not be able to rest if they are leaving behind something they desire. This explains why Gullah gravesites are often filled with material objects. Among some of the most common items found on graves are food, water, pots, broken pitchers, tobacco, and seashells (Creel 1990). Seashells, placed upon the grave, are of particular importance because they symbolize a very important concept within the Gullah worldview. It is believed that placing seashells on the grave represents the sea.[96] Within the BaKongo belief system this symbolism suggests "the sea brought us, the sea shall take us back" (Creel 1990, 90). Broken mirrors are also symbolic; they reflect the light that represents the spirit, holding it at a safe distance from the living (Pollitzer 1999).

Gullah Women: Activists and "Keepers o de Culcha"

Gullah women are, most often, the keepers of tradition and cultural knowledge. They pass on stories, crafts, foodways, and values to their children. The women of the Sea Islands are self- reliant matriarchs, who value autonomy, family and community. They engage in fund raising and community

activities aimed at preserving their rich cultural heritage. Beoku- Betts (1995) suggests that the collective activities performed by women promote a sense of shared tradition and identity, while also reinforcing the values of community- centered networks.

The enslaved African females of Sea Island plantations did all the same types of work that was expected of the men (Schwalm 1997). On antebellum rice plantations, fieldwork was slave women's work. The preparation of the fields, the planting, cultivation, harvesting, and processing of rice, and the maintenance of the elaborate plantation irrigation systems occupied the daily lives of most plantation women (Schwalm 1997:19).

It was not only in the fields in which these women made their importance known. The freed women of the South Carolina Sea Islands were deeply involved in the final destruction of the system of slavery (Schwalm 1997). Their dedication and involvement pushed the Union to accept emancipation as a war goal. They also openly confronted the institutionalized forms of power: the state, the Union, and the White power structure. The period of Reconstruction was one of defiance for the freed women of the South Carolina Sea Islands (Schwalm 1997). These women actively protested any compromise concerning the autonomy of their freedom with regard to the agricultural system. Gullah women protested even the presence of White planters and, in some cases resorted to physical violence. Therefore, the history of these women gives us clues as to the strong and autonomous nature of Sea Island women.

The current struggle for autonomy and self- determination builds on a history of female activism and leadership with Sea Islands communities. Contemporary Sea Island women are the daughters of many strong female ancestors, who are revered for their participation in the Civil Rights Movement and other events credited with the subsequent restructuring of social freedom for the African Americans of the southern United States. It was on St. Helena Island that Dr. Martin Luther King came to retreat from the rest of the world in order to relax with his family. Within this community, Dr. King found much support from registered female voters; ready to take action against racism to promote social equality. In all capacities, women of the Sea Islands are the foundation upon which culture has been built and sustained. Perhaps they will provide the necessary momentum for cultural, linguistic, and environmental preservation.

Chapter 10 Development and Change: Gullah as an Endangered Species

"***We have given up on trying to protect the shrimp and crab because we, the black native population of these islands, have become the new endangered species*" *(Emory Campbell 1984 in Rosengarten 1994).***

The Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia are under siege. Those Gullah and Geechee communities that remain intact are constantly under threat of development and change inflicted by outside interests. The island environments are beautiful and serene and the pace of life is always a breath of fresh air for any visitor from the hectic outside world. Ironically the very things that attract outsiders are the first things to be destroyed by an influx of newcomers who decide to make this paradise home. Much of the existing literature makes reference to the devastating effects of development and tourism (Nichols 1976; Slaughter 1979; Derby 1980; Day 1986; Rosengarten 1986; Jones- Jackson 1987; Carawan 1989; Demerson 1991; Twining and Baird 1991; Baird and Twining 1994; Guthrie 1996; Goodwine 1998; Joyner 1999; Pollitzer 1999) as it has increased at varied rates throughout a number of Sea Island communities. The literature focused on this phenomenon is growing rapidly as more and more scholars become aware of the situation, but much needs to be done within applied social science to put knowledge to use toward Gullah preservation.

Shrimp Creek, Georgia

As early as 1959, social scientists were beginning to document the changes within Gullah society resulting from increased contact with outsiders, particularly Euro Americans. Simon Ottenberg conducted research in the Shrimp Creek community, Georgia, in the summer of 1950.[97] What Ottenberg witnessed was an isolated, religious, traditional fishing community being transformed into a suburban area (Ottenberg 1991). During the 1950s this community was the epitome of Gullah community life and culture. They were self sufficient fishermen and shrimpers who owned their land and had strong bonds created by kinship, friendship, and church participation. They maintained insurance clubs and savings clubs, while church served to regulate the activities and social control within the community. On Tuesdays and Fridays they would travel to Savannah to sell their seafood in the streets. They also supplied seafood to neighboring communities. During the early 1950s, however, White outsiders began large- scale commercial fishing establishments in direct competition with Shrimp Creek residents. Many were forced to take up manual labor jobs in Savannah, and those who could not find a job migrated to New York, Philadelphia and other northern areas (Ottenberg 1991).

Development brought changes that were devastating to the residents of Shrimp Creek. Prior to increased contact, the residents had relied on their own knowledge of medicinal remedies for health; however, increased contact brought about a greater reliance on the medical professionals of the Savannah urban area. Shrimp Creek, along with the sharp decline in their fishing industry, also experienced the consolidation of their school systems, directly resulting in increased competition within the educational system as children began viewing education as a means of social and economic advancement (Ottenberg 1991).

One of the most common problems associated with changes such as these is the schism they create between young and old. As the elder generation struggles to maintain their lifeways, the youth see the "old ways" as backward, causing mass retreat away from home toward the values of mass culture (Beoku- Betts 1995; Goodwine 1998d; Smith 1999; Hargrove 2000). I have documented this phenomenon within my own research in St. Helena, as well as Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina. Overall, this creates profound and lasting effects on community cohesion and mobilization for positive change.

Edisto Island, South Carolina

Recent work conducted by Lauren E. Smith tells a similar story of the devastating consequences of development and encroachment. Smith conducted fieldwork within the Edisto Island community concerning performance events, such as preaching and storytelling, and the interaction between performer and audience. What she documents, however, is a community at risk of losing their cultural heritage (1999). Historically, Edisto was home to the Cusabo Indians (the Edistow tribe) until the plantation system took hold in 1724. The Civil War brought land ownership to Edisto Island's Gullah slaves, just as it did throughout the Sea Islands, and they remained there as self sufficient farmers for generations. However, as of the late 1990s, Smith describes the current community of Gullah residents as "poor and afraid of losing their cultural lifeways" (1999). Smith goes on to suggest that the future of Edisto is unsure, due to the out migration of Gullah youth and the influx of drugs.

Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina: Women and Development

The economic picture for Mt. Pleasant is cut from the same mold as those discussed thus far. The women of this community, however, have carved out an economic niche for themselves by sewing sweetgrass baskets for the tourism market (Derby 1980; Day 1982; Rosengarten 1994; Hargrove 2000). Kay Young Day's extensive research within the Mt. Pleasant community makes an important contribution to the literature concerning collective responses to development and change.[98] Many of the elderly women interviewed spoke of a time when they were economically independent. Some grew produce and sold it at roadside stands or in the Charleston market. But more recently population growths, in- migration of Whites, and changes in the service sector have negatively

affected the women of this community. In response to their economic marginalization women have created networks, through kinship and friendship, which give them greater control over their economic futures.

Day's work is focused on the ways in which women of the Mt. Pleasant community assist one another with child rearing, domestic tasks, and economic ventures, such as sweetgrass basketry. At the time of Day's research over 50% of the women of Mt. Pleasant produced baskets sold from makeshift wooden stands along highway 17 (Day 1982). By creating support networks for one another, these women have created an economic niche market aimed at tourists. This offers an alternative to the wage work brought about by development and tourism (Day 1986).

In addition to the basket industry, the women of Mt. Pleasant have another option. Day documented many cases of women migrating to New York City in search of employment (1982). New York City offers a broad range of job opportunities in the medical profession, most notably in hospitals. When a Mt. Pleasant woman establishes herself in New York, she will often recruit interested kin from home to move up North. This type of network, although it is essential to the economic future of these women, ultimately takes residents from their Sea Island communities. Recent research conducted in Mt. Pleasant suggests this may be one of the primary avenues by which family land is lost (Hargrove 2000). When residents are invested in their work and community in New York, it is hard to devote time, money, and energy to business back home. Developers have learned to take advantage of such predicaments, employing various strategies to acquire valuable family land. Therefore, the limited nature of wage work often associated with tourism and development, which is often cited as the primary reason for migrating to New York, has serious consequences for Native Sea Islanders.

Hilton Head Island, South Carolina: A "Culture of Servitude"[99]

Hilton Head Island serves as a constant reminder of the possibilities of immense development. Lisa V. Faulkenberry, in her recent dissertation (1997) and co- published journal article (2000), urges us to consider the multiple realities of development. Faulkenberry conducted two years of research in Beaufort County, interviewing residents of St. Helena Island, Beaufort, Hilton Head Island, and Daufuskie Island. Within her research paradigm she includes local fishermen and shrimpers, both African American and White residents, business owners, government officials, and retirees,[100] in an attempt to explore the economic and social impacts of tourism on the residents of South Carolina Sea Islands (1997). The results offer new perspectives and create new agendas for the study of Gullah in the twenty first century.

Taking an in- depth look at development, governmental involvement in tourism decision making, land ownership and use, property tax increases, and new businesses and job opportunities, Faulkenberry concludes that tourism threatens to destroy the self- sustainability of Sea Islanders through a process referred to as the "culture of servitude" (1997). The jobs available to Sea Island residents create and perpetuate economic dependence and social inequality, and are limited to minimum wage service jobs such as housekeepers, golf caddies, cooks, maids, maintenance workers, waiters, and waitresses (Joyner 1999). These types of "servitude" sustain a power differential between locals (Gullah, African American) and tourists (Euro American). Furthermore, increased tourism brings increased taxes, higher crime rates, geographic displacement, and family deterioration (Faulkenberry 1997; Faulkenberry et al. 2000).

Changes such as these have taken their toll on the everyday lives of Gullah communities. Farming has disappeared in many areas and property taxes are constantly on the increase. More importantly, there is a distinct nostalgia to the way people speak about their island homes prior to tourism (Faulkenberry 1997). Their homes have lost the small town cohesion built over the past few hundred years and they have nothing to show for it. They are not involved in the decision- making processes that directly affect their communities. They have no opportunities for ownership of tourist businesses (Faulkenberry 1997), only menial positions working in them. The psychological ramifications directly

affect family life, while often leading to social disintegration. In addition, Gullah cultural practices and traditions are being altered by insiders, outsiders, and the state in an attempt to seduce the tourism dollar (Hargrove 2000).

Commoditization of Culture: Gullah Culture for Sale

The most recent work concerning development and change within the Sea Islands of South Carolina concerns the appropriation of Gullah identity within the tourism industries of Mt. Pleasant and St. Helena Island (Hargrove 2000).[101] There are countless entrepreneurs coming to the Sea Islands to profit from the wholesale distribution of Gullah culture. Musical groups, restaurants, tours, and the tourism industry of South Carolina are marketing Gullah imagery and culture in an effort to capitalize on the increasing interest in this nostalgic lifeway (Hargrove 2000). Chief among the images being appropriated is the sweetgrass basket woman, who appears on everything. Postcards, calendars, travel guides, and a wide range of brochures are adorned with images of sweetgrass baskets, basket women, or both.[102] This type of cultural commoditization, or piracy of identity, should not go unnoticed by the administrators of South Carolina as one of the key contributors to rising tourism within the State.

Daufuskie Island: Internal Effects of Development

Development and tourism have devastated countless Gullah communities, but we often overlook the effects that are not readily visible and quantifiable in scientific terms. We can assess economic loss, land loss, and even cultural loss and acculturation to an extent, but it is extremely hard to investigate the psychological ramifications of these sweeping changes. Such an attempt was made, however, by a psychology doctoral student Sabra C. Slaughter. In 1979, his dissertation "The Old Ones Dying and The Young Ones Leaving:" The Effects of Modernization on the Community of Daufuskie Island, South Carolina Slaughter gives us a glimpse of the negative effects of such processes with regard to Daufuskie Island community cohesion and autonomy. Slaughter's interest in this community was sparked during the summers of 1973 and 1974 while working as a student volunteer and later a paid employee, in a program implemented by University of California at Santa Cruz. The aim of the program was to place students on Daufuskie to assist community members with transportation, public health, and educational needs (1979). She later returned as a researcher, collecting extensive oral history of some twenty- six residents of Daufuskie,[103] to assess the effects of modernization on this isolated, rural community.

Within the oral histories and interview data collected by Slaughter, a clear picture emerges of a community devastated by modernization and development. The educational system has been tremendously altered, resulting in bureaucratization and impersonalization, and loss of community control and decision making within the educational system (1979). Most of the decision making power, concerning educational policy, had been transferred to extracommunity government, leaving Daufuskie residents feeling hopelessly out of control of their lives and the lives of their children.

Aside from changes in the educational system, Slaughter goes on to reveal how a cultural tradition was erased in the development process. For many decades Daufuskie Island tourism included "picnic boat" tourism, comprised of local fishermen, shrimpers, and crabbers, transporting small groups of tourists to the island, as well as selling their goods to the tourists and Hilton Head residents. This was their livelihood, as well as a family tradition (1979); however, Hilton Head companies began offering boat tours to the island and displaced the enterprise. The end result was a loss of livelihood and loss of economic earnings. Changes such as these, as well as countless others, have the young residents leaving home in search of better economic opportunities, just as the old ones are dying out. Slaughter presents Daufuskie as a community in danger of loss of autonomy and social cohesion, as well as at risk of losing the very place they call home.

In retrospect, Slaughter's work seems almost prophetic. Daufuskie Island has been all but seized. It is hardly recognizable as a once self- sufficient Gullah community, with only a handful of people left in the midst of the golf courses, villas and condos (Goodwine 1998a). Residents can no longer visit their

descendents buried in Gullah graveyards due to restricted areas set off by gates and guards (Goodwine 1998c). Daufuskie Islanders recently won a lawsuit granting access to previous family burial areas, which seemed like a long awaited success. However, since they are not permitted to drive up to the graveyard, they must resort to carrying bodies long distances in order to continue traditional cultural practices (Marquetta L. Goodwine, personal communication 2002). The small remaining Gullah community appears imprisoned on an edge of the island, wondering how long it will be before developers find a way to get their hands on the small area that remains.

Conclusion
The cases summarized here can be taken as representative of the larger community of Sea Islands. They are all at risk of being destroyed by development and tourism, if they have escaped the wrath thus far. We must begin to look at our work as an opportunity to investigate these issues, as well as become involved in the struggles to stop this "destructionment" (Goodwine's perspective on the truth behind the development of the Sea Islands, 1998a). Governments, agencies, and activists must begin to work toward restricting access to development companies with grand plans of resorts and tourism taking the place of Gullah survival.

Conclusion

Social science is moving in the direction of action- oriented research. Research for the sake of research is no longer acceptable; therefore all future research within the Sea Islands should be approached with an agenda for contributing, in some way, to local communities.[104] We can no longer stand outside and observe communities with the intention of publication or prestige. It is imperative that research be conducted to preserve the oral histories, folktales, traditional herbal remedies, religious practices, and lifeways being destroyed by the current attack of development, but it must be managed in a collective effort with community leaders, activists, and organizations. We have much to learn from the real warriors, those who deal with these problems on a daily basis. They hold the keys to the future of Gullah as a viable lifeway and cultural tradition.

No amount of literary creativity could summarize suggestions for future Gullah research more eloquently than Charles Joyner does in his most recent publication:

> The old talk and the old tales, the old prayers and the old personal expressiveness are more than just quaint cultural artifacts. They have provided the islanders with a sense of continuity with generations gone before, a precious lifeline to courageous ancestors who survived slavery and endured generations of poverty. That heritage is a source of strength that has enabled them to cope with the hail and upheaval of life. As we drift further and further out upon the sea of modernization, that heritage may be as crucial to our sanity and survival as to theirs. The Sea Islanders and their folk culture have something precious to offer us if we do not destroy them first (Joyner 1999, 281).

With this in mind, scholars can contribute to a more equitable and collaborative effort with the remaining Sea Island communities of South Carolina and Georgia. They are, after all, the true "keepers o de culcha."

References Cited

Allen, Francis, Charles Pickard Ware, and Lucy McKim Garrison. *Slave Songs of the United States*. New York: Oak Publications, 1965.

Anziano, Satina. Lillie: Copula Usage Study of a Mesolectal Gullah Speaker From Federal Writers Project. Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1998.

Baird, Keith E. and Mary A. Twining. "Names and Naming in the Sea Islands." In *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture*, edited by Michael Montgomery, 23- 37. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994.

Bascom, William R. "Acculturation among the Gullah." *American Anthropologist* 43 (1941): 43- 50.

Bascom, William R. "Gullah Folk Beliefs Concerning Childbirth." In *Sea Island Roots: African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia*, edited by Mary A. Twining and Keith E. Baird, 27- 36. Trenton: Africa World Press, 1991.

Beckwith, Martha W. Jamaica Anansi Stories: Memoirs of the American Folk- lore Society, Vol. 17, 1924. Cited in William S. Pollitzer, *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage*. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1999).

Benmaman, Virginia Doubchan. "An Investigation of Reading Comprehension Ability of Black Fourth and Fifth Grade Students Who Are Reading Below Grade Level Utilizing Materials Written in Gullah and Standard English." Ed. D., University of South Carolina, 1975.

Bennett, John. "Gullah: A Negro Patois." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 7 (1908): 332- 47.

- - - . "Gullah: A Negro Patois." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 8 (1909): 39- 52.

Beoku- Betts, Josephine. "We Got Our Way of Cooking Things." *Gender and Society* 9 (1995): 535- 55.

Butler, Afloyd. "The Blacks Contribution of Elements of African Religion to Christianity in America: A Case Study of the Great Awakening in South Carolina." Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1975.

Carawan, Guy & Candie. *Ain't You Got a Right to the Tree of Life?: The People of Johns Island, South Carolina—Their Faces, Their Words, and Their Songs*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989.

Carney, Judith Ann. *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas*. Harvard University Press, 2001.

Cassidy, Frederic G. "Gullah and the Caribbean Connection." in *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture*, edited by Michael Montgomery, 16- 22. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994.

- - - . Some Similarities Between Gullah and Caribbean Creoles. in *Language Varieties in the South: Perspectives in Black and White*, ed. by Michael Montgomery and Guy Bailey, 30- 37. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1986.

Chase, Judith Wragg. *Afro- American Art and Craft*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1971.

Creel, Margaret Washington. *A Peculiar People: Slave Religion and Community- Culture Among the Gullahs*. New York: New York University Press, 1988.

- - - . "Gullah Attitudes Toward Life and Death." in *Africanisms in American Culture*, edited by Joseph E. Holloway, 69- 97. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990.

Cunningham, Bernateen. "Attitudes of School Personnel in Charleston, South Carolina Toward the Gullah Dialect." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tennessee, 1989.

Cunningham, Irma Aloyce Ewing. "A Syntactic Analysis of Sea Island Creole [Gullah]". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1970.

Dabbs, Edith. *Sea Island Diary: A History of St. Helena Island*. Spartanburg, S.C. Reprint Co., 1983.

Davis, Mella. "African Trickster Tales in Diaspora: Resistance in the Creole- Speaking South Carolina Sea Islands and Guadeloupe." Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1998.

Day, Kay Young. "Kinship in a Changing Economy: A View From the Sea Islands." In *Holding on to the Land and the Lord*, edited by Hall and Stack. Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings, No. 15. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1982.

Day, Virginia Kay. "My Family Is Me: Women's Kin Networks and Social Power in a Black Sea Island Community." Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1986.

Demerson, Bamidele Agbasegbe. "Family Life on Wadmalaw Island." In *Sea Island Roots: African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia*, edited by Mary A. Twining and Keith E. Baird, 57- 87. Trenton: Africa World Press, 1991.

Derby, Doris Adelaide. "Black Women Basket Makers: A Story of Domestic Economy in Charleston County, South Carolin*a*." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana- Champaign, 1980.

Faulkenberry, Lisa V. "A Culture of Servitude: Economic and Social Impacts of Tourism on the South Carolina Sea Islands." Masters thesis, Clemson University, 1997.

Faulkenberry, Lisa V., John M. Coggeshall, Kenneth Backman and Shelia Backman. "A Culture of Servitude: The Impact of Tourism and Development on South Carolina's Coast." *Human Organization* 59, no. 1 (2000): 86- 95.

Gonzales, Ambrose. The *Black Border: Gullah Stories of the Carolina Coast*. Columbia, S.C.: State Company, 1922.

Goodwine, Marquetta L. "Destructionment: Treddin' Een We Ancestas' Teahs." In *The Legacy of Ibo Landing: Gullah Roots of African American Culture*, edited by Marquetta L. Goodwine, 164- 74. Atlanta: Clarity Press Inc., 1998a.

Goodwine, Marquetta L. "Excavating Gullah Seeds: Guidelines for Conducting Research on the Gullah." in *The Legacy of Ibo Landing: Gullah Roots of African American Culture*, edited by Marquetta L. Goodwine, 198- 203. Atlanta: Clarity Press, Inc., 1998b.

Goodwine, Marquetta L. "Holdin' Pun We Culcha: Sites, Individuals and Organzations Preserving the Gullah and Geechee Heritage." In *The Legacy of Ibo Landing: Gullah Roots of African American Culture*, edited by Marquetta L. Goodwine. Atlanta: Clarity Press, Inc., 1998c.

Goodwine, Marquetta L. "Rebuilding the African American Community by Returning to Traditions." In The *Legacy of Ibo Landing: Gullah Roots of African American Culture*, edited by Marquetta L. Goodwine, 8- 13. Atlanta: Clarity Press, 1998d.

Goodwine, Marquetta L. *Gullah/Geechee: Africa's Seed in the Winds of the Diaspora,* Volume III. Frum Wi Soul Tuh De Soil: Cotton, Rice, and Indigo. New York: Kinship Publications, 1999.

Guthrie, Patricia. "Catching Sense: The Meaning of Plantation Membership Among Blacks on St. Helena Island, South Carolina." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1977.

Guthrie, Patricia. *Catching Sense: African American Community on a South Carolina Sea Island*. Westport, Connecticut: Bergin and Garvey, 1996.

Hair, P.E.H. "Sierra Leone Items in the Gullah Dialect of American English." *African Language Review* 4 (1965): 79- 84.

Hancock, Ian F. "Gullah and Barbadian: Origins and Relationships." *American Speech* 55 (1980): 17- 35.

- - - . "West Africa and the Atlantic Creoles." In *The English Language in West Africa*, edited by John J. Spencer. London: Longman, 1971.

Hancock, Ian F. "Componentiality and the Creole Matrix: The Southwest English Contribution." In *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture*, edited by Michael Montgomery, 95- 114. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994.

Hargrove, Melissa D. "Marketing Gullah: Identity, Cultural Politics, and Tourism." Masters thesis, University of Tennessee, 2000.

Hart, Edward Brantley. "Gullah Spirituals in Prayer Meetings on John's Island, South Carolina." Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1993.

Hawley, Thomas Earl Jr. "The Slave Tradition of Singing Among the Gullah of Johns Island, South Carolina." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1993.

Heyer, Kathryn Wilson. Rootwork: Psychosocial Aspects of Malign Magical and Illness Beliefs in a South Carolina Sea Island Community. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1981.

Holloway, Joseph E. "The Origins of African- American Culture." In *Africanisms in American Culture*, edited by Joseph E. Holloway, pp. 1- 18. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.

Hopkins, Tometro. "Issues in the Study of Afro- Creoles: Afro- Cuban and Gullah." Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1992.

Hopkins, Tometro. "Variation in the Use of the Auxiliary Verb Da in Contemporary Gullah." In *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture*, edited by Michael Montgomery, 60- 86. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994.

Johnson, Alonzo. "'Pray's House Spirit' The Institutional Structure and Spiritual Core of an African American Folk Tradition." In "*Ain't Gonna Lay My 'Ligion Down*" *African American Religion in the South*, edited by Alonzo Johnson and Paul Jersild, 8- 38. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996.

Johnson, Guion Griffis. *A Social History of the Sea Islands*. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1930.

Johnson, Guy B. *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island, South Carolina*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1930.

Jones- Jackson, Patricia Ann. “The Status of Gullah: An Investigation of Convergent Processes.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1978.

Jones- Jackson, Patricia. "Contemporary Gullah Speech: Some Persistent Linguistic Features." *Journal of Black Studies* 13 (3) (1983): 289- 303.

Jones- Jackson, Patricia. *When Roots Die: Endangered Traditions on the Sea Islands*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987.

Jones- Jackson, Patricia. "Let the Church Say "Amen": The Language of Religious Rituals in Coastal South Carolina." In *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture*, edited by Michael Montgomery, 115- 32. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994.

Joyner, Charles W. *Folk Song in South Carolina*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971.

Joyner, Charles. *Slave Folklife on the Waccamaw Neck: Antebellum Black Culture in the South Carolina Lowcountry*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1977.

Joyner, Charles. *Down by the Riverside: a South Carolina Slave Community*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984.

Joyner, Charles. *Shared Traditions: Southern History and Folk Culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

Lawton, Samuel. *The Religious Life of Coastal and Sea Island Negroes*. Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1939.

Littlefield, Daniel C. *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981.

Mack, Linda D. “A Comparative Analysis of Linguistic Stress Patterns in Gullah (Sea Island Creole) and English Speakers.” Masters thesis, University of Florida, 1984.

McGuire, Mary J. “Getting Their Hands on the Land: The Revolution in St. Helena Parish, 1861-1900.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1985.

McWhorter, John H. “Sisters under the Skin: A Case of Genetic Relationship between the Atlantic English- based Creoles.” *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 10 (1995): 289- 333.

Mille, Katherine Wyly. "A Historical Analysis of Tense- Mood- Aspect in Gullah Creole: A Case of Stable Variation." Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1990.

Mintz, Sidney W. and Richard Price. *The Birth of African- American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1992.

Mitchell, Faith. *Hoodoo Medicine: Sea Island Herbal Remedies*. Berkeley: Reed, Cannon, and Johnson Co., 1978.

Moerman, Daniel Ellis. “Extended Family and Popular Medicine on St. Helena Island, S.C: Adaptations to Marginality.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1974.

Montgomery, Michael. “Introduction.” In *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture*, edited by Michael Montgomery, 1- 15. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994a.

Montgomery, Michael. “Lorenzo Dow Turner’s Early Work on Gullah.” In *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture*, edited by Michael Montgomery, 158- 174. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994b.

Mufwene, Salikoko S. "The Ecology of Gullah's Survival." *American Speech* 72 (1) (1997): 69- 77.

- - - . “Gullah’s Development: Myths and Sociohistorical Evidence.” in *Language Variety in the South Revisited*, ed. by Cynthia Bernstein, Robin Sabino, and Tom Nunally, 113- 122. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

- - - . "Misinterpreting Linguistic Continuity Charitably." In *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture*, edited by Michael Montgomery, 38- 59. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994.

Nichols, Patricia Causey. “Linguistic Change in Gullah: Sex, Age, and Mobility.” Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1976.

Normand, Kerry S. “By Industry and Thrift: Landownership Among the Freedpeople of St. Helena Parish, South Carolina, 1863- 1870.” Masters thesis, Hampshire College, 1994.

Ottenberg, Simon. "Leadership Patterns in a Sea Island Community." In *Sea Island Roots: African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia*, edited by Mary A. Twining and Keith E. Baird, 141- 52. Trenton: Africa World Press, 1991.

Parsons, Elsie C. *Folk- Lore of the Sea Islands, South Carolina*. Cambridge: American Folk- lore Society, 1923.

Pollitzer, William. *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1999.

Raboteau, Albert J. *Slave Religion: The Invisible Institution in the Antebellum South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Rose, Willie Lee. *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment*. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1964.

Rosengarten, Dale. *Row Upon Row: Sea Grass Baskets of the South Carolina Lowcountry*. Columbia: McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina, 1986.

Rosengarten, Dale. "Spirits of Our Ancestors: Basket Traditions in the Carolinas." In *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture*, edited by Michael Montgomery, 133- 57. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994.

Rosengarten, Theodore. *Tombee, Portrait of a Cotton Planter with the Journal of Thomas B. Chaplin (1822- 1890)*. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1986.

Salter, Paul. “Changing Economic Patterns of the South Carolina Sea Islands.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1968.

Salter, Paul. “Changing Agricultural Patterns on the South Carolina Sea Islands.” In *Sea Island Roots: African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia*, edited by Mary Twining and Keith E. Baird, 19- 25. Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc., 1991.

Savannah Unit Georgia Writers' Project Work Projects Administration. *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies among The Georgia Coastal Negroes*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1940.

Schwalm, Leslie A. *A Hard Fight For We: Women's Transition From Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.

Seabrook, Whitemarsh B. *A Memoir on the Origin, Cultivation, and Uses of Cotton*. Charleston: Miller and Brown, 1844. Cited in William S. Pollitzer, *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage*. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1999.)

Sengova, Joko. "Recollections of African Language Patterns in an American Speech Variety: An Assessment of Mende Influences in Lorenzo Dow Turner's Gullah Data." in *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture*, edited by Michael Montgomery, 175- 200. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994.

Slaughter, Sabra Conway. "'The Old Ones Dying and the Young Ones Leaving:' The Effects of Modernization on the Community of Daufuskie Island, South Carolina." Ph.D. dissertation, UMI, 1979.

Smith, Franklin O. "A Cross Generational Study of the Parental Discipline Practices and Beliefs of Gullah Blacks of the Carolina Sea Islands." Ed.D., University of Massachusetts, 1973.

Smith, Lauren Elizabeth. "Audience, Performance, and Meaning in the Gullah Sea Islands." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbian School of Arts and Sciences of the George Washington University, 1999.

Smith, Reed. "Gullah." *Bulletin of the University of South Carolina*, No. 190. Columbia, S.C.: Bureau of Publication, 1926.

Starks, George Leroy Jr. "Black Music in the Sea Islands of South Carolina: Its Cultural Context- - Continuity and Change." Ph.D. dissertation, Wesleyan University, 1973.

Stavisky, Leonard P. "The Negro Artisan in the South Atlantic States, 1800- 1860: a Study of Status and Economic Opportunity With Special Reference to Charleston." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1958.

Thomas, June Sheralyn Manning. "Blacks on the South Carolina Sea Islands: Planning for Tourist and Land Development." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1977.

Thrower, Sarah Selina. "The Spiritual of the Gullah Negro in South Carolina." MA Music, College of Music of Cincinnatti, 1953.

Turner, Lorenzo Dow. *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1949.

Twining, Mary Arnold. "Baskets and Quilts: Women in Sea Island Arts and Crafts." In *Sea Island Roots: African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia*, edited by Mary A. Twining and Keith E. Baird, 129- 40. Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc., 1991b.

Twining, Mary Arnold. "An Examination of African Retentions in the Folk Culture of the South Carolina and Georgia Sea Islands." Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1977.

Twining, Mary Arnold and Keith E. Baird. "Sea Island Culture: Matrix of the African American Family." In *Sea Island Roots: African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia*, edited by Mary Twining and Keith E. Baird, 1- 18. Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc., 1991.

Vlach, John Michael. *The Afro- American Tradition in Decorative Arts*. Cleveland: the Cleveland Museum of Art, 1978.

Wade- Lewis, Margaret. “The African Substratum in American English.” Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1988.

- - - . “The Contribution of Lorenzo Dow Turner to African Linguistics Revisited.” Paper presented at Gullah: A Linguistic Legacy of Africans in America – A Conference on the 50th Anniversary of Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect, Washington, DC, 2000.

- - - . “Lorenzo Dow Turner: Pioneer African American Linguist.” *Black Scholar* 21:4 (1991): 10- 24.

Watkins, June T. “Strategies of Social Control in an Isolated Community: the Case of the Gullah of South Carolina's St. Helena Island.” Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, 1993.

Winford, Donald. “On the Origins of African- American Vernacular English: A Creolist Perspective. Part I: The Sociohistorical Background.” *Diachronica* 14 (1997)305- 344.

- - - . . “On the Origins of African- American Vernacular English: A Creolist Perspective. Part II: Linguistic Features.” Diachronica 15 (1998)99- 154.

Wolfram, Walt. “The Relationship of White Southern Speech to Vernacular Black English.” *Language* 50 (1974): 498- 527.

Wood, Peter. *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975.

- - - . “The Changing Population of the Colonial South: An Overview by Race and Region.” in *Powhatan’s Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast* ed. by Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, 35- 103. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

Woofter, T. J. *Black Yeomanry: Life on St. Helena Island*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1930.

Additional Sources

Bailey, Cornelia. God, Dr. Buzzard, and the Bolito Man: a saltwater Geechee talks about life on Sapelo Island. New York: Doubleday, 2000.

Coclanis, Peter A. "Economy and Society in the Early Modern South: Charleston and the Evolution of the South Carolina Low Country." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1984.

Cornelius, Janet Duitsman. ""When I Can Read My Title Clear": Literacy, Slavery, and Religion in the Antebellum South." Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.

Crum, Mason. Gullah, *Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1940.

Dabbs, Edith M. Face of an Island. New York: Grossman, 1971.

Dozier, Judy Massey. "Conjure Woman: Cultural Performances of African American Women Writers." Ph.D. dissertation, Loyola University Chicago, 2000.

Epps, Edwin C. "Pat Conroy and the Daufuskie Island School." Ed.D., University of South Carolina, 1993.

French, Jana L. "Fantastic Histories: A Dialogic Approach to a Narrative Hybrid." Ph.D. English, University of Wisconsin- Madison, 1996.

Gibbons, Letitia L. "A Statistical Analysis of Factors Affecting the Morbidity Rate of Sickle Cell Anemia." Masters thesis, University of South Carolina, 1986.

Goodwine, Marquetta L. Gullah/Geechee: Seeds in the Winds of the Diaspora, Volume II. Gawd Dun Smile Pun We: Beaufort Isles. New York: Kinship Publications, 1997.

Haskell, Ann Sullivan. "The Representation of Gullah- Influenced Dialect in Twentieth Century South Carolina Prose: 1922- 1930." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1964.

Hemmingway, Theodore. "Beneath the Yoke of Bondage: A History of Black Folks in South Carolina, 1900- 1940." Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1976.

Hoit- Thetford, Elizabeth. "An Educational History of the Gullahs of Coastal South Carolina From 1700 to 1900." Ed.D., East Tennessee State University, 1986.

Holloway, Joseph E. "Time in the African Diaspora: The Gullah Experience." Time in the Black Experience. Editor Joseph K. Adjaye, 199- 211. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994.

John, Beverly M. "Culture and Social Change: The Values and Behaviors of African- American People in the South Carolina Lowcountry and Georgia Coastal Region in the Antebellum and Postbellum Periods." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1991.

Johnson, Michael P. and James L. Roark eds. "No Chariot Let Down, Charleston's Free People of Color on the Eve of the Civil War." Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

Jordan, Francis Harold. "Across the Bridge: Penn School and Penn Center." Ed.D. University of South Carolina, 1991.

Lamuniere, Michelle C. "Roll, Jordan, Roll: The Gullah Photographs of Doris Ulmann." MA/ Art History, University of Oregon, 1994.

Lavely, Marcia Marvin. "A Study of American Literature Which Incorporates the Use of the Gullah Dialect." Ph. D. dissertation, The University of Mississippi, 1991.

Moore, Janice Gailliard. "Africanisms among Blacks of the Sea Islands." Journal of Black Studies 10 (1980): 467- 80.

Nixon, Nell Marie. "Gullah and Backwoods Dialect in Selected Works by William Gilmore Simms." Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1971.

Purcell, Katharine Chapman. "Reflections from the Well: Julia Mood Peterkin and the Gullah Community." Ph. D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1997.

Roberts, Peter A. "Flexibility and Creativity in Afro- American English." The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture. Editor Michael Montgomery, 87- 94. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994.

Saunders, W. C. "Sea Islands, Then and Now." *Journal of Black Studies* 10:1 (1980): 481- 92.

Shriner, Darothey Sellers. "Transect Studies of Salt Marsh Vegetation in Port Royal Sound and North Edisto River Estuaries, South Carolina." Masters thesis, University of South Carolina, 1971.

Sledge, Mailande Cheney. "The Representation of the Gullah Dialect in Francis Griswold's A Sea Island Lady." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alabama, 1985.

Thompson, H. Dean Jr. "Minerva Finds a Voice: the Early Career of Julia Peterkin." Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1987.

Twining, M. A. & W. C. Saunders. "One of These Days: the Function of Two Singers in the Sea Island Community." Studies in the Literary Imagination. Editor J.B. Burrison, 64- 71. Atlanta: Georgia State University, 1970.

Twining, Mary Arnold. "Harvesting and Heritage: A Comparison of Afro- American and African Basketry." Afro- American Folk Art and Crafts. W. Ferris, 259- 71. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1983.

Twining, Mary Arnold. "Movement and Dance on the Sea Islands." Journal of Black Studies 15, no. 4 (1985).

Williams, Darnell. "An Investigation of Possible Gullah Survivals in the Speech and Cultural Patterns of Black Mississippians." Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1973.

Endnotes

[1] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document suggests including Amelia Island, Florida in the Gullah/ Geechee culture area based on a recent book, *American Beach*; written by Russ Rymer and published in 1998. This book should be read and taken into consideration in future projects concerning Gullah/ Geechee people.

[2] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document suggested including Wadmalaw Island to the list of viable Gullah communities in South Carolina.

[3] Linguistic connections between Gullah and the Caribbean abound within the literature. For further clarification, see *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture*, edited by Michael Montgomery. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994.

[4] Jones- Jackson also discusses connections between Gullah religious ceremony, Jamaican pocomania and Brazilian macumba (1994).

[5] Lorenzo Dow Turner introduced term.

[6] Etymology is defined as "The origin and historical development of a linguistic form as shown by determining its basic elements, earliest known use, and changes in form and meaning, tracing its transmission from one language to another, identifying its cognates in other languages, and reconstructing its ancestral form where possible" *http://www.dictionary.com*.

[7] *Sea Island Diary: A History of St. Helena Island* (1983) represents a historical account of the Penn School and St. Helena Island, compiled primarily from diaries, letters, Penn School archives, and historic records.

[8] *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment (1964)* is an historic account of the design and implementation of the Port Royal Experiment within the Sea Islands of South Carolina.

[9] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document has suggested the land sales were to satisfy tax South Carolina owed to the Union.

[10] Emory Campbell, director of the Penn Center on St. Helena Island, referred to Sea Islanders as the real endangered species of the region.

[11] Lorenzo Dow Turner was the first to conduct a scientific investigation of Gullah language, often referred to as Sea Island Creole. Turner interviewed 21 Gullah speakers during his 1932 fieldwork. Twelve were residents of South Carolina Sea Islands (Johns, Wadmalaw, Edisto, and St. Helena) while nine were from Georgia (St. Simons, Sapelo, Harris Neck, and Brewer's Neck).

[12] Patricia Jones- Jackson conducted three years of fieldwork on Wadmalaw Island, South Carolina, in an attempt to determine the status of Gullah language. Her informants consisted of twenty- four native resident speakers.

[13] West African groups represented in the linguistic connection between the Sea Islands and West Africa include the Bambara, Bini, Bobangi ,Djerma, Efik, Ewe, Fante, Fon, Fula, Ga, Gbari, Hausa, Ibo, Ibibio, Kikongo, Kimbundu, Kpelle, Mende, Malinke, Nupe, Susu, Songhai, Twi, Tshiluba, Umbundu, Vai, Wolof, and Yoruba (Turner 1949).

[14] A morpheme is a grammatical unit that is irreducible into smaller units, being realized phonologically by a form that cannot be analyzed in smaller units without losing meaningfulness. Example: "unladylike" consists of three morphemes: 'un' (meaning not), 'lady' (acting as a female adult human), and 'like' (having the characteristics of). Another example, "dogs" has two morphemes: 'dog' (canine animal), and 's' (meaning plural tense of a noun).

[15] Sengova conducted linguistic research in Beaufort and St. Helena Island, South Carolina, during the Fall of 1987.

[16] Linguistic group representing areas from which a majority of African slaves were taken into bondage.

[17] Dissertation research involved no fieldwork, but offers an Appendix in which the various African language families and their geographic location are presented, as well as the linguistic origins of many words found within the Gullah language system.

[18] Pidgin language is a simplified form of speech that is usually a mixture of two or more languages, with rudimentary grammar and vocabulary. Such languages are used for communication between groups speaking different languages, and are not spoken as a first or native language.

[19] Creole, as used here, is defined as a language formed from contact between two other languages, which retains features of both.

[20] Cunningham conducted field research during April and May of 1969 on Johns, Edisto, and Yonges Islands, South Carolina. Primary informants consisted of four elderly native speakers, with little formal education, and three middle aged native informants (who assisted in translation, semantics, and syntactic constructions of Sea Island Creole). This dissertation is presented as the first to analyze the syntactic system of Sea Island Creole as a

language. Main idea is to legitimate the language of Sea Islanders as a Creole language through the analysis of the syntactic system (and the relationships between Sea Island Creole and other Creole languages).

[21] Syntactic systems are arrangements of words in sentences in their necessary relations, according to the established usage rules of a particular language (e.g. In English the relationship between noun and adjective is as follows: The white horse ran; however, in Spanish the grammatical system dictates the adjective follow the noun: El caballo blanco.).

[22] The adjective *lexical* is applied generally to the vocabulary of a language, especially to distinguish content words from function words.

[23] Grammatical system is defined as the formal definition of the syntactic structure of a language.

[24] William A. Stewart is credited with the development of basilect, acrolect, and mesolect terminology.

[25] Copula is defined as a verb that joins a subject to its complement. Example: The book *is* on the shelf. The farmers *are* plowing their fields.

[26] Hopkins conducted fieldwork on Edisto, Hilton Head, Daufuskie, Sapelo, Yonges, Johns, St. Helena, Sandy's, and St. Simon's Islands, as well as in Brunswick and Savannah, Georgia, and Charleston, South Carolina.

[27] Author of *The Black Border: Gullah Stories of the Carolina Coast* (1922).

[28] In the case of Gullah/ Geechee, code switching refers an individual's ability to move comfortably back and forth between Standard English and Gullah language.

[29] Subjects for language analysis were selected from Daufuskie Island, James Island, and Orangeburg, South Carolina, as well as from Gainesville and Ocala, Florida.

[30] Evoking the spirit refers to the process of using words to create an energy, from which God is actually evoked and is thought to become embodied in members of the congregation (Jones- Jackson 1994, 116).

[31] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document suggested the inclusion of a parallel study, conducted by Dr. Althea Sumpter of St. Helena Island. Within this work Sumpter "speaks of shame and ridicule heaped upon Sea Island young people as they were integrated into mainland schools" (Twining, personal communication, 2002).

[32] All tests administered to various employees within the school system are included in the appendices of the thesis. Eighty- three questionnaires were returned and analyzed.

[33] Hargrove conducted fieldwork within the communities of Mt. Pleasant and St. Helena Island, South Carolina between 1998 and 2000. During each summer, Hargrove interviewed thirteen informants, all of which were incorporated into her master's thesis *Marketing Gullah: Identity, Cultural Politics, and Tourism* (2000).

[34] Jones- Jackson spent a total of nine years researching Gullah and Geechee culture, as well as conducting comparative research in Nigeria, West Africa.

[35] There was no human subjects research conducted for this study. Data were obtained through historical documentation and research within many libraries: Union Theological Seminary, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, University of Virginia Library, S.C. Dept. of Archives and History, S.C. Historical Society, Furman Univ. Library, Missionary Library at Union Theological Seminary, New York Historical Society, and New York Public Library.

[36] Samuel Lawton conducted research on Laurel Springs plantation in Colleton County, Pocotaligo and Combeehee plantations in Beaufort County, and St. Helena, Lady's', Port Royal, Parris, and Coosaw Islands for dissertation in religious education. His overall focus was to gain a broader understanding of their religious lives.

[37] Guthrie conducted ethnographic research on St. Helena Island from July 1975 to July 1976 for dissertation. The results were later published as a book, *Catching Sense: African American Community on a South Carolina Sea Island* (1996).

[38] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document has suggested that the idea of "catching sense" could be linked to the idea of "seeking."

[39] Sarah Selina Thrower conducted research concerning the musical features of spirituals within South Carolina (limited details concerning research); several musical scores are included in her thesis.

[40] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document has suggested the concept of "one God" was long held in African religious and spiritual beliefs, thereby making it a familiar concept to incorporate into the Gullah worldview.

[41] Lyrics are recorded in Hart 1993.

[42] In 1999, The State of South Carolina officially declared "Spiritual" the State Music (personal communication Marquetta L. Goodwine, http://www.netstate.com/states/symb/sc_symb.htm).

[43] Edward Brantley Hart conducted research on Johns Island, South Carolina. The dissertation is a "first hand account" of the performance practices of the Gullah spiritual as it was performed at a traditional Gullah prayer

meeting. There were fourteen women and two men in attendance at this particular meeting, with a mean age of 72 years old.

[44] *Shoo Turkey Shoo* is a song associated with children and play (Carawan 1966, 1989).

[45] This is an excellent collection in the fact that the informants are named and their pictures appear. This validates the research, as well as serving as an oral history collection for generations to come.

[46] Starks gives no explicit number of informants, but his work suggests there were multiple informants from the elder generation.

[47] June T. Watkins conducted research on St. Helena Island during July of 1991, in an attempt to assess strategies of social control. Informants consisted of community members, including local ministers and deacons, who had participated in the just law system (between fifteen and twenty informants were interviewed for this dissertation).

[48] Several reviewers of an early draft of this document have suggested the Federal Writers Project represents an inaccurate portrayal of Gullah/ Geechee people, due to the following: the recorders on the project were EuroAmerican, the African Americans interviewed related the types of information they believed these recorders wanted to hear, and the interviewees were careful not to go beyond their perceived social roles.

[49] Six of the ten essays presented in this collection were based on presentations at the Ninth Annual Language and Culture in South Carolina Symposium, held at the University of South Carolina, Columbia, 1985.

[50] Okatie is an area located near Hilton Head Island, South Carolina.

[51] South Carolina Rivers.

[52] Georgia Sea Island.

[53] Davis suggests that the majority of scholarly work on African American folklore has been examined from the perspective of *folklore as entertainment*, thereby minimizing depth and content.

[54] Participant- observation was the methodology for research, as well as archival and library research.

[55] Zora Neale Hurston was an anthropologist who collected folklore for the WPA. After struggling against the grain as an African American female in academia, she wrote fiction stories about real placed she had conducted research. Hurston was among the first, if not the first, to attribute depth and character to the cultures of these isolated locations up and down the Southeastern Coast of the United States. Her work is only currently being appreciated for its value and scholarship.

[56] A part of the amnion, one of the membranes enveloping the fetus, which sometimes is around the head of a child at its birth.

[57] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document suggested "The Rabbit and the Partridge" story also illustrates features of island life, such as polygamy, which was still being practiced when she lived on Johns Island between 1966 and 1971 (Mary Twining, personal communication 2001).

[58] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document has suggested that publications written by Gullah and Geechee scholars be taken more seriously, particularly within the study of folklore. Reviewer suggests a recent publication, *God, Dr. Buzzard, and the Bolito Man: a Saltwater Geechee Talks about Life on Sapelo Island* (2000), as just one example of the importance of storytelling within Sea Island life. This book "makes a serious case for the importance of folklore and especially storytelling among the Gullah speaking people of South Carolina and Georgia (Alpha Bah, personal communication, 2001).

[59] The Sea Islands of Georgia were also sites of rice cultivation, but never on the grand scale that took place in the South Carolina Sea Islands. For a detailed study of rice cultivation throughout the Sea Islands see Goodwine 1999.

[60] Paul Salter conducted fieldwork throughout the South Carolina Sea Islands, during which he interviewed county agents, farmers, laborers, elder citizens, state and county officials, real estate developers, and resort owners in order to investigate the changing economic patterns of the island areas. His dissertation also contributes data concerning climate, vegetation, growing seasons, weather, and soil types, as well as cotton and rice production techniques.

[61] Carney establishes technology transfer (from West Africa to Sea Islands) of pestle and mortar use, tool types (such as the hoe), rice cooking techniques.

[62] The loss of British price supports for indigo after the Revolution aided in the demise of indigo cultivation and export (Pollitzer 1999).

[63] Kay Young Day began conducting research within the Mt. Pleasant community of South Carolina in 1971. Her dissertation is primarily concerned with the role of kinship and community within the changing economy of this Sea Island area.

[64] The data for this dissertation were collected from archival materials, family papers, Beaufort County public records, and diaries and memoirs from the Penn School Papers. It also contains the names of prominent planters in the Low Country region, as well as plantation names and numbers of slaves for specific plantations.

[65] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document suggested Sea Islanders had additional reasons for choosing to stay on the home plantation: "where our families are is where we are connected in mind, body, and soul" (Marquetta L. Goodwine, personal communication 2002).

[66] Normand utilized historic records to assess the impact of land ownership on the St. Helena Parish and the subsequent development of an economically dependent, as well as politically organized and mobilized, class of freedmen.

[67] Pollitzer cites Julia F. Morton (*Folk Remedies of the Low Country*, Miami: E.A.Seemann Publishers, 1974) and Faith Mitchell (1978) as primary sources.

[68] Folk healers are highly revered in Gullah/ Geechee communities for their expertise and knowledge, including healing the physically sick, protecting the body from harm, and the ability to change bad habits and undesirable behavior (Smith 1973).

[69] Faith Mitchell is a medical anthropologist and conducted her research in South Carolina and Georgia during the early 1970s.

[70] Heyer gives extensive account of the difficulty she had in establishing rapport with the residents of St. Helena Island. She suggests Sea Islanders are untrusting of outsiders. She lived within the community for six months before she obtained her first interview.

[71] Hag is believed to be someone close to dying, and is indicated by waking up with a feeling of pressure as if something is sitting on you (Heyer 1981).

[72] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document has suggested Heyer's work is inaccurate, due to her status as an outsider. Sea Island people are particularly suspecting of researchers (Hargrove 2000), especially when discussing folk remedies and belief systems.

[73] Author spent one year as a resident of St. Helena Island. He makes a point to call attention to the difficulties of conducting research as a white researcher within the community and cites particular difficulty in dealing with the Penn Center.

[74] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document has suggested that governmental bodies charged with protecting the health and general welfare of Sea Island communities need to examine the damage done by golf courses, tennis courts, and marinas (as well as the chemicals used to clean them).

[75] Syncretism refers to a process by which a group merges the cultural elements of two distinct cultures into one. Here it is used to discuss the syncretic elements of Gullah arts and crafts, as a blending of elements from West African cultures and their lives in the Sea Islands.

[76] Dale Rosengarten participated in the Lowcountry Basket Project of the 1980s, interviewing thirty- four basket makers from South Carolina. The data from this project, along with a basket collection, was organized into a traveling art exhibit between 1988 and 1990, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The exhibit catalog *Row Upon Row: Sea Grass Baskets of the South Carolina Lowcountry* was first published by McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina (1986) as part of their program to document and promote Southern Folk Arts. The catalog contains historical and ethnographic data gathered during the initial project. Rosengarten has published extensively on Gullah basketry.

[77] For the most recent elaboration on the cultural connections between South Carolina and West Africa (with regard to basketry) see Carney 2001.

[78] The vast majority of fieldwork conducted on basketry has taken place in the community of Mt. Pleasant.

[79] Doris Derby conducted ethnographic fieldwork for fifteen months in Mt. Pleasant in 1977 and 1978. Her results appear in her dissertation *Black Women Basket Makers: A Study of Domestic Economy in Charleston County, South Carolina* (1980). She collected life histories and extensive interviews with four principal informants, as well as genealogies.

[80] Doris Derby lived in Charleston County for fifteen months, beginning in 1977. She collected data through participant observation, collection of life histories and genealogies, informal questioning, formal questionnaires, library and archival research. Derby also held a teaching position at the College of Charleston while conducting research for her dissertation. Three females and one male basket makers served as key informants.

[81] Hargrove conducted extensive fieldwork in the Sea Island communities of Mt. Pleasant and St. Helena Island during the summer months of 1998 and 1999. She gathered data from thirteen informants (six of which were Mt. Pleasant basket weavers) during participant observation, interviews, and community involvement. She is currently conducting doctoral research based on similar issues of Gullah/ Geechee culture.

[82] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document has suggested that development is taking a toll on other traditional Charleston vendors as well. Reviewer states, "Fewer and fewer Gullah artisans and flower ladies can be found vending in Downtown Charleston because increasing commercialization of the area is driving them out. Also, the rent for spaces in the Charleston market continues to rise, making it unaffordable for many vendors."

[83] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document has suggested that the colors and patterns of Gullah quilts have been embellished by academics. Reviewer suggests quilts represent the fabrics that were available at the time. While reviewer recognizes certain colors were used to symbolize specific occasions in the life cycle, she suggests the complexity attached to this utilitarian craft is highly exaggerated.

[84] See also *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies among the Georgia Coastal Negroes*, 1940.

[85] Archaeological materials gathered from Yamacraw and Wilmington Island (Vlach 1978).

[86] Bascom conducted fieldwork in Nigeria in 1937 and 1938 and in Georgia and South Carolina in 1939.

[87] Recent scholarly research conducted on Hilton Head Island (Faulkenberry et al. 2000) concerning the economic conditions of Sea Island residents, will be discussed in Chapter 10: Development and Change: Gullah as an Endangered Species.

[88]The abbreviation used to represent the Beaufort County Comprehensive Plan of 1997.

[89] Recently, in a similar move, Charleston County began work on a parallel plan, The Unified Development Ordinance (UDO), to aid in the implementation of the Charleston County Comprehensive Plan.

[90] Marquetta L. Goodwine's official title is Queen Quet: Chieftess of the Gullah/ Geechee Nation.

[91] Information pertaining to Sea Island organizations is data obtained by Melissa D. Hargrove from various Sea Island informants. All data is part of her ongoing dissertation research concerning grassroots mobilization in the South Carolina and Georgia Sea Islands.

[92] Cultural traits that illustrate a connection between the Sea Islands and West Africa are referred to as "Africanisms."

[93] There were eighty- four informants involved in this study. The survey information appears in the Appendix.

[94] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document conveyed that the same combination is referred to as "okra soup" on Johns Island.

[95] One of the reviewers on an early draft of this document, who is also a Sea Island native, suggests that spiritual beliefs and practices (such as life and death) be recognized as sacred to Gullah/ Geechee people, therefore any and all future research within this area should be done under the direct guidance of community activists.

[96] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document has suggested "the location of cemeteries at water's edge enabled the spirits to 'cross de wata' easily; we were told this verbally by a Geechee man" (Alyssa Lee, personal communication 2001).

[97] Simon Ottenberg first published the findings of his research in *Phylon* 20 (1) in 1959. The article was slightly edited and included in the recent monograph *Sea Island Roots: African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia* (1991), edited by Mary A. Twining and Keith E. Baird.

[98] Day's research resulted in a book chapter "Kinship in a Changing Economy: A View From the Sea Islands" (1982) and her anthropology dissertation *My Family Is Me: Women's Kin Networks and Social Power in a Black Sea Island Community*, Rutgers University (1986). She resided in Mt. Pleasant for one and a half years and interviewed many community residents, ranging from children to community elders. She utilized a life history methodology, resulting in several life histories included in her dissertation.

[99] Faulkenberry introduces this term to the literature in an attempt to suggest the extremely limited nature of wage work available to Sea Islanders.

[100] Faulkenberry interviewed forty- five local residents.

[101] Melissa Hargrove conducted extensive fieldwork within the communities of Mt. Pleasant and St. Helena Island over a three- year period. She interviewed thirteen native Gullah residents concerning the current predicament and ramifications of development and tourism. Her thesis, *Marketing Gullah: Identity, Cultural Politics, and Tourism* (2000) contributes to our knowledge of the ways in which identity is being used to promote tourism within the Sea Islands of South Carolina.

[102] Most of the images used in this manner are allegedly taken without proper permission.

[103] Interview guide appears in full as Appendix B. The methodology employed by Slaughter provides an excellent tool for future research concerning community cohesion and native ideas about modernization and development. This dissertation also includes a chronological history of Daufuskie from colonial period to 1980; covering such topics as slavery, agriculture, economics, education, religious, and family systems.

[104] Goodwine 1998b offers "Guidelines for Conducting Research" within Gullah/Geechee communities.

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior



Planning and Compliance Division
Southeast Regional Office
100 Alabama Street, SW
Atlanta, GA 30303

www.nps.gov