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978-1-107-02409-0 - African-Atlantic Cultures and the South Carolina Lowcountry

Ras Michael Brown

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## I

## Place, Culture, and Power

As part of an effort to revitalize the Pooshee plantation in St. John's Berkeley parish during the early decades of the nineteenth century, Dr. Henry Ravenel endeavored to have a wall built to enclose and raise the water around a limestone spring. This spring was no ordinary pool of water, however. Like many other limestone springs in the area, it had a deep opening and on occasion expelled considerable amounts of water. Because of this, people had taken to calling it a fountain following the terminology of the time. Within and around this fountain resided a water spirit known as a "cymbee." The presence of the cymbee prompted a local elder of African and Native descent to confront Ravenel about the construction of the wall, which the elder contended would offend the spirit, thus causing the cymbee to leave and the spring to disappear. Despite the elder's protestations, Ravenel built his wall, and the fountain and its cymbee remained features of the plantation for a few more generations. The elder's warning, however, came true almost a century later as the springs, Pooshee, and many other plantations vanished under the floodwaters created by the damming of the Cooper River.<sup>1</sup>

The Pooshee cymbee survived the Ravenel crisis, which came as no surprise, as it had already endured droughts, wars, and the endemic violence of enslavement experienced by the sons and daughters of Africa who knew and venerated the spirit. The Pooshee cymbee was not alone;

<sup>1</sup> Edmund Ruffin, *Agriculture, Geology, and Society in Antebellum South Carolina: The Private Diary of Edmund Ruffin, 1843*, ed. William M. Mathew (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 164–7; and Walter B. Edgar, *History of the Santee Cooper, 1934–1984* (Columbia, SC: R. L. Bryan Co., 1984), 164–7.

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throughout the parishes of upper St. John's Berkeley and St. Stephen's, the waters of several limestone springs on plantations housed cymbees. These cymbees, too, had remained in their abodes and in the lives of African-descended people well into the twentieth century. These remarkable residents of the springs were the Lowcountry manifestations of Kongo nature spirits known as the simbi, entities once central to Kongo perceptions of the spiritual landscape. The simbi served as guardians of the natural environment and of the people who lived in their domains and functioned as the chief intermediaries between the physical "land of the living" and the spiritual "land of the dead."<sup>2</sup>

The simbi represented much more, as well. They were markers of beginnings and of the deep past. They exemplified the original inhabitants of a territory, and the relationships these spirits had with people imparted a status of primacy to anchor communities of the living in a country. Where people recognized the existence of the simbi, they were simultaneously making certain claims about their own relationship to their surroundings.<sup>3</sup> In short, the living declared that they belonged to the land and that the land belonged to them. For captive Africans displaced from their home societies and familiar environments, such a statement served to ground them in novel settings in ways absolutely necessary to reestablishing connections between the land of the living and the land of the dead, bring children into this new world, grow food for their families, resist the ravages of disease, struggle with the countless assaults on their humanity inherent in the experiences of captivity and enslavement, contest the claims to power by oppressors, live, and die.

In fortifying the bonds between people and the land in both its physical and spiritual aspects, the simbi played an essential role in the

<sup>2</sup> Bound Volume of Research Notes (pp. 62B, 112B), John Bennett Papers, SCHS. For an introduction to the simbi in Kongo, see Wyatt MacGaffey, *Religion and Society: The BaKongo of Lower Zaire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 63–5, 74–82, 85–8, 99–102; and Luc de Heusch, *Le Roi de Kongo et les Monstres Sacrés, Mythes et Rites Bantous. III* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000), 161–4, 191–7, 214–22.

<sup>3</sup> This interpretation of the simbi derives from the analysis of nature spirits in Bantu-speaking societies in J. M. Schoffeleers, "Introduction," in *Guardians of the Land: Essays on Central African Territorial Cults*, ed. J. M. Schoffeleers (Gwelo, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press, 1978), 1–46; Jan Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests: Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 56, 95, 98, 146, 148–9; David Lee Schoenbrun, *A Green Place, A Good Place: Agrarian Change, Gender, and Social Identity in the Great Lakes Region to the 15th Century* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1998), 199–206; and Kairn A. Klieman, "The Pygmies Were Our Compass": *Bantu and Batwa in the History of West Central Africa, Early Times to c. 1900 C.E.* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2003), 74–89, 145–7, 149–53.

formation and maintenance of communities of the living. Although it may seem that the simbi as nature spirits belonged to a realm removed from the activities and concerns of human society, they were always profoundly interested in those who inhabited their domains. They often initiated relationships with the living by communicating through dreams or by “seizing” those who ventured near their abodes. They commanded storms, floods, and droughts to remind people of their obligations to the simbi and bestowed blessings for proper veneration. Additionally, the simbi punished or rewarded based on adherence to their codes for behavior. Those who violated these laws typically instigated familial discord and social disorder, which elicited additional trouble from the simbi. In all of these ways, the simbi could help build communities of the living or take away the support needed to preserve them.

The simbi, then, tell us about the people who knew them and interacted with them as indispensable aspects of daily life. As such, the simbi are fundamental to the story of how African newcomers and their Lowcountry-born descendants conceived of their relationships with the natural environment and the meanings they attached to the spiritual landscape. This story about the formation and elaboration of the environmental and spiritual cultures of African-descended people in the South Carolina Lowcountry includes many other elements that on the surface do not appear related to the affinities between the simbi and communities of the living. Yet even the most mundane pursuits, such as planting, fishing, and hunting, entailed engagement with the spiritual forces inherent in the natural world. African newcomers from diverse backgrounds understood this, and those from Kongo knew this required contact with the simbi. People of African descent also accepted that the physical landscape had sacred dimensions that had to be engaged for both the spiritual development of individuals and the well-being of communities. This notion, too, was embraced by many of the African societies from which the captives who landed in the Lowcountry originated. People from Kongo and West-Central Africa in general expected that this process involved the simbi or similar nature spirits known by different names. It was for these reasons that people remembered and respected the Lowcountry simbi long after the African newcomers arrived on the shores of South Carolina and became part of the soil in this new land. It is for these reasons, too, that the simbi remain essential to any reconstruction of the histories of the environmental and spiritual cultures of African-descended communities in the Lowcountry.

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Indeed, the simbi comprised a vital component of the cultural dialogue in the long transition from the polycultural world formed by diverse Africans and their descendants during the height of the Atlantic trade to a single community largely unified in terms of culture and identity in the nineteenth century. This process transpired over several generations, and the simbi remained relevant and acquired new meanings during this shift, so that they transformed from a specific legacy of Kongo people to become a shared element of Black Lowcountry culture into the twentieth century. Similar to other aspects of Black Lowcountry culture that grew from older African contexts, the simbi represented both a link to the ancestral cultures of African-descended people and a means to bring people together to forge new communities of the living. Further, the simbi ensured that these new communities would be nourished through strong roots in the landscape of the Lowcountry.<sup>4</sup>

## THE SIMBI AND THE LOWCOUNTRY AS A CULTURAL PLACE

The simbi in their various manifestations played evolving roles in the spiritual culture of African-descended people throughout the Lowcountry, yet their stronghold remained the springs found near the headwaters of the western branch of the Cooper River in upper St. John's Berkeley parish and into adjacent areas of St. Stephen's parish, a section known as the limestone region.<sup>5</sup> No absolute rule or overriding principle in the Kongo background of the simbi dictated that they had to inhabit these springs, although simbi in many parts of Kongo appeared frequently in pools as well as in rivers, waterfalls, stones, forests, and mountains. The

<sup>4</sup> The sense of cultural dialogue referenced here derives from J. Lorand Matory, "The 'New World' Surrounds an Ocean: Theorizing the Live Dialogue between African and African American Cultures," in *Afro-Atlantic Dialogues: Anthropology in the Diaspora*, ed. Kevin A. Yelvington (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research, 2006), 151–92. Connections between African cultural antecedents and community formation in the U.S. South and the Lowcountry are explored in Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Margaret Washington Creel, *"A Peculiar People": Slave Religion and Community-Culture among the Gullahs* (New York: New York University Press, 1988); and Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformations of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

<sup>5</sup> Henry William Ravenel, "Limestone Fountains of Berkeley District," undated essay, Henry William Ravenel Papers, SCL; and Edmund Ravenel, "The Limestone Springs of St. John's, Berkeley, and their probable Availability for increasing the quantity of Fresh Water in Cooper River," *Proceedings of the Elliott Society of Science and Art, or Charleston, South Carolina* 2 (October 1860): 28–31.

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features and spaces that could be occupied by the simbi were many. The springs of the limestone region, however, were special as natural landmarks and spiritual sites. The confluence of both meant that the springs served as the home of the simbi from some time early in the settlement of the Lowcountry to well into the twentieth century. For this reason alone, the limestone region was a place like no other in the Lowcountry and, indeed, in mainland North America.<sup>6</sup>

At the same time that the presence of the simbi made this small part of the Lowcountry unique, it revealed the Lowcountry to be an extension of the far-flung Bantu-Atlantic spiritual landscape rooted in West-Central Africa with branches that extended throughout the diaspora, including Brazil, Cuba, Dutch Guiana (Suriname), and Saint-Domingue (Haiti). This historical geography illustrates that each simbi represented a specific manifestation of an individual spirit in a particular place, while the simbi as a kind of spirit existed everywhere. Moreover, the ubiquity of the simbi indicates that captive West-Central Africans expected to find these spirits on the western shores of the Atlantic, and they did. The fact that Kongo captives taken to the Lowcountry, like their compatriots in other lands, found the simbi there lends credence to the understanding that the shared spiritual cultures of Africans from particular regions could find meaningful expression in different locations despite divergences in the unique combinations of economic, political, and demographic variables that shaped the histories of various American societies.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Notions of place and environment in this book derive much from Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1974); Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977); Mart A. Stewart, "What Nature Suffers to Groe": *Life, Labor, and Landscape on the Georgia Coast, 1680-1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 5-12; Ute Luig and Achim von Oppen, "Landscape in Africa: Process and Vision," *Paideuma* 43 (1997): 7-45; Sandra E. Greene, *Sacred Sites and the Colonial Encounter: A History of Meaning and Memory in Ghana* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002); Charles Mather, "Shrines and the Domestication of Landscape," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 59, 1 (2003): 23-45; and Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004).

<sup>7</sup> For the simbi in the diaspora, see (Brazil) John M. Janzen, *Lemba, 1650-1930: A Drum of Affliction in Africa and the New World* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1982), 273-7; Ornato J. Sil, *Introdução de Muzenza nos Cultos Bantos* (Rio de Janeiro: Pallas Editora, 1998), 110; and Nei Lopes, *Novo Dicionário Banto do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Pallas, 2003), 505, 553; (Cuba) Lydia Cabrera, *Reglas de Congo: Palo Monte Mayombe* (Miami: Peninsular Print, 1979), 128; Jorge Castellanos and Isabel Castellanos, *Cultura Afrocaribana 3: Las Religiones y las Lenguas* (Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1992), 137; (Haiti) Melville J. Herskovits, *Life in a Haitian Valley* (New York: Knopf, 1937), 151-2; Alfred Metraux, *Voodoo in Haiti*, trans. Hugo Charteris (New York: Schocken Books, 1972 [1959]), 267, 310-12; and Wyatt MacGaffey, "Twins, Simbi Spirits, and Lwas in

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The recognition of the presence of the simbi in South Carolina locates the Lowcountry as a cultural place firmly within the African-Atlantic world and not an anomaly (as has been the case in North American-centered scholarship). Further, this reinforces the understanding that the fundamental character of African-based culture in the Lowcountry derived from the same sources as other African-Atlantic cultures; the minds and actions of African-descended people. While this does not constitute a particularly innovative observation, the centrality of the cultural knowledge and choices of people of African descent has often been treated as a factor secondary to a kind of geographical or environmental determinism in cultural processes. For many, including scholars, the Lowcountry and its sea islands have long represented a cultural preserve in which the customs of many generations past have been sustained without change, at least until the intrusion of the modern world and land developers began an unrelenting surge of personal dislocation and cultural destruction. Whereas the rest of African America increasingly assimilated into the larger American cultural setting during slavery and especially after emancipation, the land and water of the coastal plain created a barrier of islands, waterways, and swamps that separated the inhabitants from the same social and cultural forces that reshaped the lives of African-descended people everywhere else. The fidelity of an original cultural heritage derived from this isolation and made the sea islands a place where a “whole body of traditions, superstitions, language and mental background were [sic] handed down practically unchanged” among a people “untouched by a changing world.”<sup>8</sup>

Kongo and Haiti,” in *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*, ed. Linda M. Heywood (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 211–26. Demographic and cultural aspects of the Bantu (West-Central African) diaspora in the Atlantic world and the Lowcountry are addressed in Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy* (New York: Vintage, 1984), 101–59; Joseph E. Holloway and Winifred K. Vass, *The African Heritage of American English* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993); Heywood, *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations*; Maureen Warner-Lewis, *Central Africa in the Caribbean: Transcending Time, Transforming Cultures* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of West Indies Press, 2003); Betty Kuyk, *African Voices in the African American Heritage* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003); and Jason R. Young, *Rituals of Resistance: African Atlantic Religion in Kongo and the Lowcountry South in the Era of Slavery* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007). The significance of historical variables in explaining differences in the cultures of various African-descended populations has its origins in the work of Melville J. Herskovits, most notably his *Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990 [1941]), 33–53, 111–42.

<sup>8</sup> Cassles R. Tiedeman, “Low Country Gullah,” WPA-SCL. On the ubiquity of the term “isolation” in explanations of the sea islands culture, see Mason Crum, *Gullah: Negro*

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This characterization, as pervasive as it remains, misrepresents the cultural history of the Lowcountry and African America. Its greatest weakness derives from its reliance on a form of geographical or environmental determinism that ignores the ability of African-descended people to actively form and transmit their own cultures. We will return to this concern shortly. Most significant at this point is that the imagined geographical isolation of the South Carolina Lowcountry does not have a firm basis in the historical geography of the region. For people attuned to traveling over land in cars that need roads and bridges, the water presents barriers. The multitude of waterways and wetlands would appear as inhibitors to effective movement and interaction. People who have lived with and on the water have seen it differently, however. Many rivers and channels dissected the seaboard and made overland travel difficult, but in no way isolated Lowcountry communities. In assessing the economic value of this trait of the region one eighteenth-century commentator related, “The coast is also chequered with a variety of fine islands, around which the sea flows, and opens excellent channels, for the easy conveyance of produce to the market.”<sup>9</sup> Another keen observer from the early eighteenth century remarking on the coastal plain’s hydrography said that, “These inland Passages are of great Use to the Inhabitants, who without being exposed to the open Sea, travel with Safety in Boats and *Peeriagua’s*.”<sup>10</sup> The interlocking system of navigable waterways that connected barrier islands to marshlands and penetrated the mainland at numerous points along the

*Life in the Carolina Sea Islands* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940), ix, 116, 226; Lorenzo Dow Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), 5; Patricia Jones-Jackson, *When Roots Die: Endangered Traditions on the Sea Islands* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), xix, 133, 137, 147; Michael Montgomery, “Introduction,” in *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture*, ed. Michael Montgomery (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 4, 6; Joseph E. Holloway, “The Sacred World of the Gullahs,” in *Africanisms in American Culture*, ed. Joseph E. Holloway (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 187; William S. Pollitzer, *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005), 7, 34, 53, 62, 189; Margaret Washington, “Gullah Attitudes Toward Life and Death,” in Holloway, *Africanisms in American Culture*, 152; and J. Lorand Matory, “The Illusion of Isolation: The Gullah/Geechees and the Political Economy of African Culture in the Americas,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50, 4 (2008): 956–77.

<sup>9</sup> Alexander Hewatt, *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia* (London: Alexander Donaldson, 1779) 1: 80.

<sup>10</sup> Mark Catesby, *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands* (London: Mark Catesby, 1743) 2: iii.

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coast provided one of the distinct features of the coastal plain's geography that facilitated rather than hindered the cohesion of Lowcountry society.<sup>11</sup>

Waterways provided the most efficient means of transporting people and goods, encouraging early European colonizers to build plantations on accessible locations by rivers. If anything, reliance on water transport united the entire seaboard into a single, cohesive realm. From the late seventeenth century through the mid-nineteenth century when the work of enslaved people in the forests and fields served the interests of enslavers, commerce, travel, and communication relied on the waterways that ran toward the sea and linked every manor to the busy Atlantic port of Charleston. No plantation could afford to be isolated since access to markets was of the utmost economic importance.<sup>12</sup>

Establishing plantations in this way eased movement and communication for enslaved people, as well. Plantation boatmen spent days on the water, various plantations, and in Charleston delivering messages and commodities to planters and markets while associating and trading with other enslaved people along the way. Enslaved people throughout the Lowcountry made or had access to boats for hunting and fishing or even to sell to plantation owners. This extensive mobility allowed enslaved people to maintain familial, ethnic, and commercial connections throughout the Lowcountry. These ties not only kept people on various plantations in contact but also linked Charleston to the countryside, particularly through market activities. This business carried on to the extent that white residents of the Lowcountry routinely grumbled about enslaved people's capacity to "keep canoes, and to breed and raise horses, neat cattle and hogs, and to traffic and barter in several parts of

<sup>11</sup> Charles F. Kovacik and John J. Winberry, *South Carolina: A Geography* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1987), 7–9, 18–29, 65–85, 87–91, 99–103.

<sup>12</sup> Rusty Fleetwood, *Tidecraft: The Boats of South Carolina, Georgia, and Northeastern Florida, 1550–1950* (Tybee Island, GA: WBG Marine Press, 1995); David Beard, "Good Wharves and Other Conveniences": An Archaeological Study of Riverine Adaptation in the South Carolina Lowcountry," in *Carolina's Historical Landscapes: Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Linda F. Stine, Martha Zierden, Lesley M. Drucker, and Christopher Judge (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 61–70; Jim Errante, "Waterscape Archaeology: Recognizing the Archaeological Significance of the Plantation Waterscape," in Stine, Zierden, Drucker, and Judge, *Carolina's Historical Landscapes*, 205–10; and Ras Michael Brown, "'Walk in the Feenda': West-Central Africans and the Forest in the South Carolina–Georgia Lowcountry," in Heywood, *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations*, 292–3. Colonists initially referred to their premier settlement as Charles Town and only later refined the name to Charleston. For the sake of consistency, I employ the later, enduring moniker Charleston.



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the Province, for the particular and peculiar benefit of such slaves.”<sup>13</sup> Further, enslaved people also traversed dense woods between the water and roads with such confidence that they often served as guides for less capable travelers.<sup>14</sup> These early endeavors to ply the waters and cross the land to maintain personal bonds and gain some wealth remained the norm after emancipation. Even for those on small and remote islands, the coastal routes of local steamships ensured regular connections between Charleston and Savannah, and from these ports links to the larger world beyond.<sup>15</sup>

The illusion of isolation has had the effect of rendering the relationship between African-descended people and their natural surroundings as passive, a claim that remains fundamentally contradictory to their history.<sup>16</sup> The engagement of Africans and their Carolina-born descendants with the landscape of the Lowcountry has been profound and continuous, changing as the world around them has changed. African-descended people during the days of slavery mastered the cultivation of rice, indigo, and long-staple cotton as each of these in turn emerged as the predominant means for enslavers to amass wealth. Later, becoming free people and landowners imbued the landscape with other dimensions of power. In the first half of the twentieth century, however, the boll weevil’s decimation of cotton, abuse of oyster beds by overharvesting and pollution, and flooding of homes and fields for a massive electrification project sent people in various directions, whether into neighboring communities, growing cities of the South, or up North in search of jobs and other opportunities. Unfortunately for many, as the twentieth century entered its second half, the loss of ownership and access to the land denied African-descended

<sup>13</sup> David J. McCord, ed., *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Columbia: A. S. Johnston, 1840), 7: 409.

<sup>14</sup> Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Norton, 1974), 117–19, 256–7; Philip D. Morgan and George D. Terry, “Slavery in Microcosm: A Conspiracy Scare in Colonial South Carolina,” *Southern Studies* 21, 2 (1982): 130–4; and Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 236–44.

<sup>15</sup> On the movement of islanders and other Lowcountry people in the late nineteenth century and afterward, see Clyde Kiser, *Sea Island to City: A Study of St. Helena Islanders in Harlem and Other Urban Centers* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932); Sam Gadsden, *An Oral History of Edisto Island: Sam Gadsden Tells the Story* (Goshen, IN: Pinchpenny Press, 1975); and William Brown, *An Oral History of Edisto Island: The Life and Times of Bubberson Brown* (Goshen, IN: Pinchpenny Press, 1977).

<sup>16</sup> The phrase “illusion of isolation” and its application to cultural processes come from Matory, “Illusion of Isolation.”

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people economic choices and divorced communities from a fundamental element of their cultural grounding.<sup>17</sup> Each of these shifts entailed the challenges of reconsidering livelihoods, relocating the places called home, and redefining how people lived with the land. Clearly, the role of the landscape in influencing the cultures of the islands and the rural mainland was not in isolating people from the outside world. Rather, the long, sustained relationship with the land and water of the Lowcountry provided a context in which knowledge imparted by African ancestors remained most relevant as successive generations recalled and reworked this knowledge to inform their understandings of the physical and spiritual meanings of the natural environment.

One of the best-known expressions of this relationship has been the burial of the dead with personal and symbolic items placed on graves. These sacred sites were found throughout South Carolina, not just the Lowcountry, and in other places in the American South.<sup>18</sup> For example, two key sources that documented grave decoration in the nineteenth

<sup>17</sup> For the era of enslavement, see Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981); Mart A. Stewart, "Rice, Water, and Power: Landscapes of Domination and Resistance in the Lowcountry, 1790–1880," *Environmental History Review* 15, 3 (1991): 47–64; Joyce E. Chaplin, *An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation & Modernity in the Lower South, 1730–1815* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Judith A. Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); and S. Max Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006). For the era after emancipation and into the twentieth century, see Guion Griffis Johnson, *A Social History of the Sea Islands, with Special Reference to St. Helena Island, South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930); T. J. Woofert, *Black Yeomanry: Life on St. Helena Island* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1930); Kiser, *Sea Island to City*; Paul Sanford Salter, "Changing Agricultural Patterns on South Carolina Sea Islands," *Journal of Geography* 67 (1968): 223–8; June Manning Thomas, "The Impact of Corporate Tourism on Gullah Blacks: Notes on Issues of Employment," *Phylon* 41, 1 (1980): 1–11; Lisa V. Faulkenberry, John H. Coggeshall, Kenneth Backman, and Sheila Backman, "A Culture of Servitude: The Impact of Tourism and Development on South Carolina's Coast," *Human Organization* 59, 1 (2000): 86–95; and National Park Service, *Low Country Gullah Culture: Special Resource Study and Final Environmental Impact Statement* (Atlanta, GA: National Park Service Southeast Regional Office, 2005), 81–93.

<sup>18</sup> Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit*, 132–42; Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 218–21; Robert Farris Thompson, *Face of the Gods: Art and Altars of the Africa and the African Americas* (New York: The Museum of African Art, 1993), 76–84; Gray Gundaker, "Introduction: Home Ground," in *Keep Your Head to the Sky: Interpreting African American Home Ground*, ed. Gray Gundaker (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998), 15–21; and Young, *Rituals of Resistance*, 162–6.