ENCLOSING THEIR IMMORTAL SOULS: A SURVEY OF TWO AFRICAN AMERICAN CEMETERIES IN GEORGETOWN, SOUTH CAROLINA

Christina Brooks

A cemetery survey was completed in July of 2009 at two African American cemeteries in coastal South Carolina. The objective of this research was to study above-ground artifacts and features in the cemeteries in an effort to better understand life and death for enslaved African and African American communities as evidenced through their mortuary practices. This paper seeks to explore the relationship among African American ideologies about death, cemetery landscape, and the symbolic nature of grave goods.

Introduction

Historic slave and African American cemeteries are commonplace features throughout the South Carolina coastal landscape. Coastal counties in South Carolina were unlike any other areas in the South in that slaves comprised the absolute majority of the population (Kovacik and Winberry 1987) (Figure 1). The early colonial economy of coastal South Carolina was largely rice production on large plantations (Kovacik and Winberry 1987). By 1730, 40,000 barrels (nearly 6 million pounds) of rice was being exported annually (Kovacik and Winberry 1987). In the latter half of the eighteenth century, Georgetown was the largest rice producing district in the colony (Kovacik and Winberry 1987). Due to the vast production of rice along coastal counties in South Carolina, particularly the Georgetown district, planters were eager to obtain slaves from traditional rice growing areas along the western coast of Africa (Wood 1975).

Many of these newly imported enslaved individuals from West Africa were immediately put to work in the rice fields upon arrival to America. Enslaved Africans on Hobcaw Barony plantations located along the Waccamaw River in Georgetown County, South Carolina, were no exception. Hobcaw Barony was made up of 14 individual rice plantations dependent on slave labor. In 1718 a colonial land grant was received for the acquisition of 12,000 acres (a barony) along the Waccamaw River (Linder 1995). Soon after the initial purchase of Hobcaw (meaning ''land between the waters''), an additional 1,970 acres of adjacent land was purchased (Linder 1995). The land sat vacant and fallow until around 1767, when tracts of land were individually divided, purchased, and finally settled into separate plantations, which included Alderley, Bellefield, and Marietta. Of the nearly 14,000 acres of land that made up Hobcaw Barony, nearly 3,000 acres of swamp land was converted into rice fields.

Enslaved Africans played an active role in Hobcaw's early history. According to reports, one plantation contained 128 slaves by 1790 (Linder 1995). By 1850, it is documented that nearly 1,200 enslaved Africans were working on two plantations alone (Alderley and Marietta) (Linder 1995). With the high number of enslaved Africans on just these few plantations, it is no wonder that enslaved African and African American cemeteries are hidden throughout the Hobcaw Barony landscape.

Why Cemetery Studies?

There are numerous interpretations of the African American experience based on archaeological excavations at plantations and freedman sites (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Babson 1990; Baker 1980; Fairbanks 1974, 1984; Ferguson 1992; Fountain 1995; Otto 1980; Russell 1997; Schuyler 1980; Young 1996). Individually, these types of excavations often do not offer a broad context for daily life. While plantation archaeology should not be ignored, other modes of archaeological information gathering on the African American experience should be included. It is evident that American slavery limited the ability of enslaved Africans to maintain their cultural identity through the Atlantic slave trade (Orser 1998). Burials, however, may be one area where enslaved Africans were afforded more ''freedoms'' and control. As a result, they are a unique resource with which to explore enslaved African and African American culture as defined by that population. Enslaved Africans and African Americans were often segregated in death as well as in life. This, too, provides an inimitable opportunity to examine the overall culture of enslaved Africans as well as the later freed African Americans.

Cemetery studies of any population offer tremendous insight into past lives, providing researchers across many disciplines a means to recognize change over time in ideologies about death. Moreover, by examining cemetery landscapes, in addition to the material culture found within cemeteries, mortuary beliefs and cultural practices may be observed and



Figure 1. Map of South Carolina showing the coastal counties where the enslaved African population was higher than the European American population, circa 1860.

compared (Conner 1989). Cemeteries are ever-changing landscapes, and archaeological analysis of African American cemeteries may indicate changes in prevalent belief patterns through time (Conner 1989).

Archaeological excavations of a cemetery could be perhaps one of the most effective methods of gaining insight into ideologies of the living and the dead. The relative lack of recent African American cemetery excavations limits the interpretations and inferences that could be drawn from such projects. Cemetery excavations are often seen as invasive or as disrespectful of the dead and are not usually an option for archaeologists unless they are participating in a cemetery relocation project. In these types of projects, time and budget constraints frequently limit overall research goals. Instead, researchers now turn to cemetery surveys to examine permanent features representing culture across designated time periods (e.g., Deetz 1978; Jamieson 1995; Rainville 1999; Foster and Eckert 2003; Trinkley and Hacker 2007). Quantifiable data can be gathered from these features, providing archaeologists unique insight into cultural beliefs and a better understanding of the population interred. Even without a full archaeological excavation, African American cemeteries are great repositories of cultural information (Foster and Eckert 2003). The intentionally placed above-ground material culture found throughout the cemetery as well as the overall cemetery landscape is essential to the interpretation and understanding of African American cultural systems as this material, recognized in its temporal, geographical and spatial context, defines beliefs about death and the community as a whole.

This paper examines two African American cemeteries on the Hobcaw Barony site in Georgetown, South Carolina. It seeks to explore the relationship among African American ideologies about death, cemetery landscape, and the symbolic meanings of grave goods. A later phase of this research will examine cemeteries of enslaved Africans and their descendants, through the African diaspora, in Latin America, the Caribbean, Europe, and West Africa. The goal is to make cross-cultural comparisons of mortuary traditions by exploring extant cultural characteristics juxtaposed to mortuary behaviors identified as a result of creolized ideas. As work progresses, the process of creolization (e.g., Davidson 2004; Delle 2000; Groover 2000; Gundaker 2000; Mullins and Paynter 2000; Weik 2004; Wilkie 1997, 2000) will be explored alongside the reasons why particular mortuary behaviors may have been retained. For the purposes of this research, ''creolization'' refers to the influence from both Europeans and Native Americans on the beliefs and ideologies of enslaved Africans that transformed many values concerning death. Cemeteries created by enslaved Africans and African Americans are key sources of information that can provide evidence for a case of creolization as well as cultural preservation studies. Cemeteries are spatial, temporal, and visual expressions of death that may tell us a great deal about not only the people who created them but also those interred.

Methods

In July 2009 a cemetery survey was completed at two African American cemeteries in coastal South Carolina for the Belle Baruch Foundation under the auspices of a Harry M Lightsey Jr. Fellowship. The objective of this research was to study above-ground features in the Marietta/Bellefield and Alderley cemeteries on the Hobcaw Barony (Figure 2) in an effort to better understand life and death for enslaved African and African American communities as evidenced through their mortuary practices. Specifically, the examination of these cemeteries on the Hobcaw Barony site explored the association between the African cemetery landscape and grave good symbolism.

The Hobcaw Barony African American cemetery study gathered information from a combination of sources, including historical data and archaeological surface surveying. The surveys were designed to explore the cemeteries for gravestone variability, cemetery landscapes, funerary practices, and beliefs about death. The surface survey of both Alderley and Bellefield cemeteries recorded all artifacts and features found within the cemeteries and on individual burials, the orientation of the graves, the types of markers used, and the landscape of the cemeteries. The survey also included computer-based GIS mapping to analyze the cemeteries' layout and develop a database of all burials recorded in each cemetery.

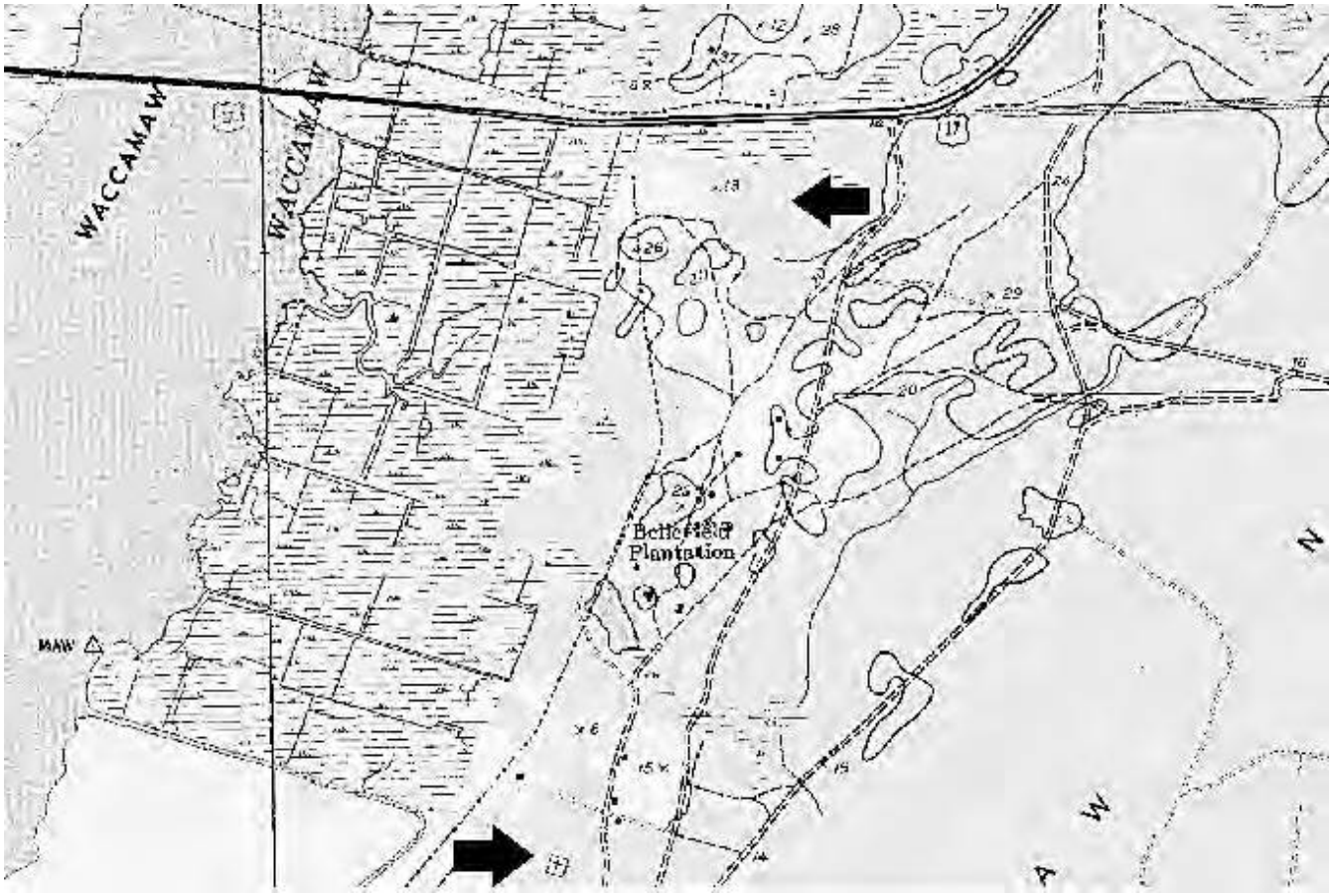


Figure 2. Topographic map of Bellefield Cemetery (top arrow) and Alderley Cemetery (bottom arrow). Arrows inserted by author. (USGS 7.5 Georgetown South, SC quadrangle.)

Cemeteries were explored using non-invasive techniques. The survey was conducted within what was thought to be the cemetery boundary for both cemeteries. Recording procedures for this project included mapping all burials and taking digital photographs of markers with a high-resolution digital camera. Markers were described by type, material, and special features. Marker inscriptions were also transcribed. Features and artifacts associated with each burial were recorded and photographed. Abiding by the belief of those interred and their families that items placed upon graves should never be removed (Vlach 1990), and according to the terms of the grant, artifacts were not removed from the cemetery but were measured and photographed on site. Each burial was assigned a unique control number that was used to tie together the written, photographic, and map records.

The survey was done with a handheld Global Positioning System (GPS) unit, while maps were generated with a Geographic Information System (GIS) program. These devices were suitable for the spatial parameters of these cemeteries, with an accuracy of approximately 2 m. Reference points were collected from four points within each cemetery using the handheld GPS device. It was placed directly on top of each marker at the highest point and a measurement was taken. Measurement was also taken of the lowest point of each burial depression. Artifacts and features associated with each burial were not recorded with the handheld GPS device to avoid clutter on the computer-based map but were documented and photographed. Each marker and burial depression was sketched onto a sheet of graph paper and was assigned a unique number. All of the collected data was stored in a geodatabase and is being developed in a Microsoft Access database.

Manual probing was also conducted to confirm the presence or absence of graves. Probing is one of the most reliable yet minimally invasive techniques for identifying unmarked graves. Once likely burials were identified through surface survey, probing was conducted at 1-m intervals to evaluate the presence of additional burials. Probes were pushed into the ground approximately one-third of a meter deep so as to not overly disturb potential burials.

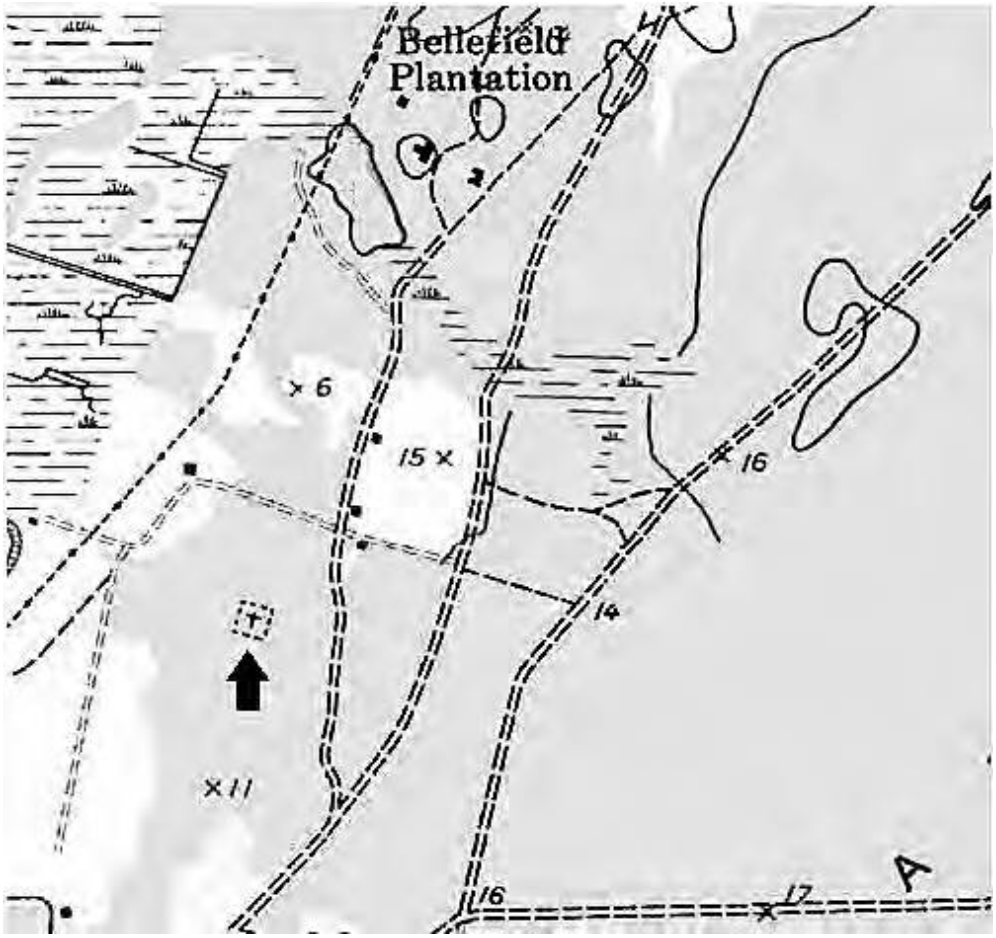


Figure 3. Topographic map of Bellefield Cemetery, circa 1989. Arrow inserted by author. (USGS 7.5 Georgetown South, SC quadrangle.)

Results

Bellefield/ Marietta Cemetery (Friendfield Cemetery)

Officially identified as Bellefield Plantation on a plat of 1798, the property of 870 acres originally contained a main house at the head of the avenue with two rows of slave houses, running perpendicular to the house along the avenue (Linder 1995). Bellefield was purchased by Thomas Young in 1794 after the death of Robert Heriot, the original purchaser, in 1790. In 1804, after the death of Young, the Bellefield house, slaves, and graves were inherited by William Alston through the marriage to Young's widow, Mary. Bellefield Plantation remained in the possession of the Alstons until it was purchased by Bernard Baruch in 1906.

Marietta Plantation was a 1,066-acre tract of land bought by Peter Secare in 1767. Marietta was later acquired by William Alston about 1847, after having been bought and sold several times over the century. By 1850, Alston owned five plantations (including Bellefield) with a total of 84 slaves, producing 1.8 million pounds of rice in that year alone. Marietta remained in the possession of the Alstons until it was purchased by Eliza Donaldson in 1889 and later by Bernard Baruch in 1905.

Land for African American cemeteries was often provided in marginal areas that were not ideal for cultivating. Such areas were often among thick patches of trees and heavy underbrush. Often referred to as Friendfield Cemetery, the Bellefield/ Marietta cemetery is no exception. It is located along the southern border of the Bellefield Plantation and sits close to its southern neighbor, Marietta Plantation. The Bellefield/ Marietta cemetery is approximately 159 m west of Bellefield Road (Figure 3), located in a heavily wooded area that has been cleared within the perimeter of the cemetery. The cemetery is approximately 400 m from the swampy waters that surround the edges of what used to be rice fields. It is bounded by an earthen embankment along the eastern border of the cemetery.

At present, the Bellefield cemetery is enclosed with a wire fence and contains both burial depressions and individually marked graves. Oral accounts suggest that the cemetery has been in use since enslaved Africans first occupied the area. Numerous unmarked graves



Figure 4. Photo of a saw palmetto plant marker and a wooden post marker in Bellefield Cemetery.

offer no assistance in determining who is actually buried in the cemetery or how long ago they may have been interred. Eighty-three burials were identified in the cemetery. There was no extensive investigation outside of the fenced perimeters, but two burial depressions were visible outside of the fence along the eastern border and they were included in the survey. Burials were all positioned in a general east-to-west direction but were not aligned in uniform rows.

Graves were marked with various types of markers (Figure 4). Of the 28 marked graves, 12 burials were marked with stones, seven were marked with temporary mortuary metal name plates, six were marked with uninscribed wooden posts, and three were marked with plants (this count does not include foot stones). No burials were marked with field stones.

Overall, the Bellefield cemetery is bare of cultural markers and full of vegetation. While we may never know the actual appearance of the cemetery while in use, it appears that no attempt was ever made to create an artificial landscape, mimicking the park-like setting of traditional European style cemeteries. A more ''natural'' original setting for the landscape is suggested by the mature trees within the cemetery, the patches of sandy soil that are incapable of nurturing a grassy lawn, and the sporadic layout of burials. Few grave markers are present in the cemetery. Of those, inscribed stone markers are the exception and not the norm. Twenty-eight out of the 83 burials (33.7%) contained grave markers, and 55 burials (66.3%) were unmarked burial depressions. It is difficult to determine if the lack of markers is the result of socioeconomic status of the population or reflects cultural patterns of the racial group interred. Ruth Little (1984), a historian who analyzed African American cemeteries in North Carolina, suggests that marker type and lack of commercial markers directly correlate to the socioeconomic status of the African American family.

It appears that many African American families who buried their loved ones in the Bellefield cemetery could not afford elaborate stone markers, often erecting small simple stone tablet markers. Socioeconomic status may not be the primary factor affecting the appearance of the cemetery, however. Based on the artifacts and features identified in Bellefield, transitioning their loved ones between the world of the living and the dead seemed to be more important than creating memorials of the deceased for this population. Cultural



Figure 5. Photo of glassware and bleached welk shell located in Bellefield Cemetery.

Table 1. Artifacts Identified in Bellefield Cemetery.

	Glass					Ceramics			
	Green	Clear	Blue	Purple	Brown	White	Brown	Tin	Other/ Unidentified
Jar	2	9	–	–	–	1	–	0	0
Cup	2	6	1	1	–	1	–	2	0
Vase	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	0	0
Pitcher	–	–	–	4	1	2	–	0	0
Bowl	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	0	1
Total	4	16	1	5	1	5	1	2	1

features such as the planting of yucca and saw palmetto plants and the placing of shells and glassware on graves, as well as the inclusion of personal items belonging to the deceased (Little 1984; Conner 1989), indicate that cultural influences were just as significant in the determination of the cemetery landscape, as was the ability to afford to venerate loved ones.

Whole bleached conch and whelk shells, porcelain and tin containers, and glassware were all identified on many of the graves in the Bellefield cemetery (Figure 5). According to some West African traditions, these artifacts may be a representation of water and serve as an intermediary between the living and the dead (Fennell 2007; Vlach 1990). Bolton (1891) and Puckett (1926) suggest that another West African tradition, utlilized largely by the Bakongo tradition, is the breaking of glassware and ceramics prior to placing them on a grave. They both suggest that artifacts are broken as a means to ''render them useless by being cracked'' (Bolton 1891). Puckett also suggested that glassware is placed on graves to ''keep evil spirits away.'' Vlach (1990) suggests that smashed glassware and ceramics have little to do with protecting an artifact from thieves by breaking it, as suggested by Bolton (1891), and more to do with cultural ideologies. He hypothesizes that in order to break the chain of death in the family loved ones broke objects prior to placing them on the grave (Vlach 1990). It is not clear if many of the glass and ceramic artifacts were broken prior to being placed on the grave or were broken due to postdepositional transformations. Others have argued that broken artifacts is not an African tradition but a practice developed by enslaved Africans who attempted to break the bond of slavery for their loved ones by symbolically breaking artifacts and placing them on their graves (Vlach 1990). Glass made up most

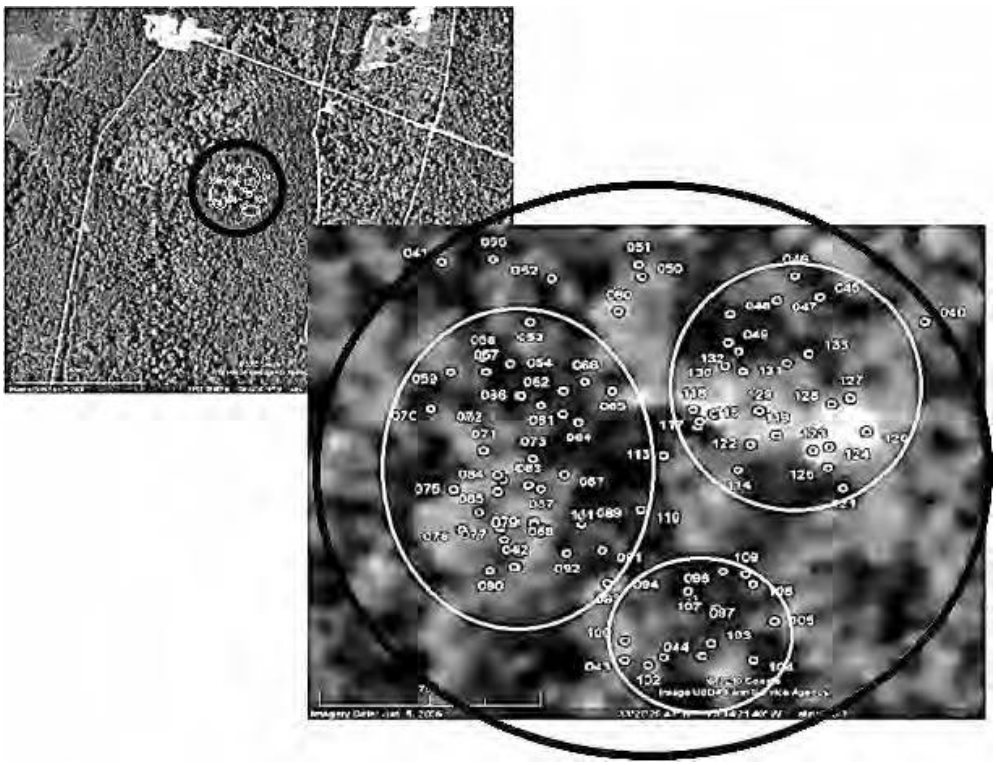


Figure 6. Aerial map of burials in Bellefield Cemetery.

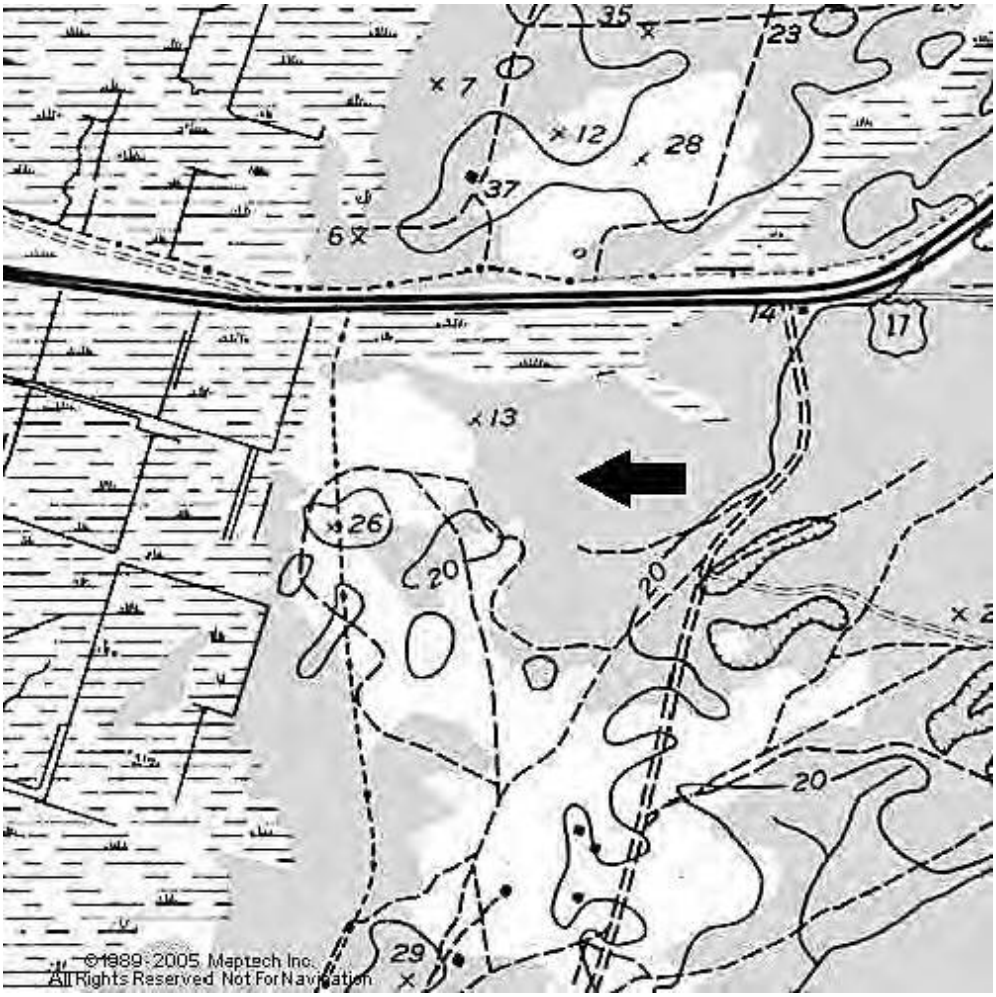


Figure 7. Topographic map of Alderley Cemetery, circa 1989. Arrow included by author. (USGS 7.5 Georgetown South, SC quadrangle.)

of the artifacts identified in the cemetery. Thirty-seven of the 46 artifacts identified in the Bellefield cemetery were made of glass (Table 1).

The placing of shells on graves has been traced to both West African traditions (Morrow 2002) and South American traditions (Donnan and McClelland 1979) and is seen throughout the Bellefield cemetery. Shells are thought to ''enclose the immortal soul'' (Plumley and Cullen 2004), due to their circular shape, and to assist in the transport to the afterlife. Another belief is that the coil shape of the shell may represent the rising and setting of the sun and the daily passage the sun makes from the world of the living to the world of the dead (Morrow 2002). Thirty-four whole shells were counted on burials in the Bellefield cemetery, and all 34 were bleached. Bleached shells are significant because they continue with the idea of a white watery world for the dead. Placing bleached shells on graves helps in the transition to the afterlife (Morrow 2002). However, it is unclear if the shells in the cemetery were bleached prior to placing them on the grave or if bleaching occurred during the weathering process.

Burials in the Bellefield cemetery indicate a strong belief in the care and maintenance of the soul after death and not so much about material remembrances left behind for loved ones. It is not surprising that West African patterns such as the BaKongo tradition is reflected in the cemetery since many slaves imported to the South Carolina coast came from both the Gold Coasts and Windward Coasts of West Africa. It is unclear if the orientation of the graves in an east-to-west position represents European Christian customs, or, as suggested by Morrow (2002:1), expresses the BaKongo tradition of facing the grave toward the east as a ''general and unconscious idea of a sacred space as bounded and oriented.''

Information was also gathered from inscriptions of well-preserved markers and historical documents, including census records, death certificates, and written oral accounts. Historical documents were used to

identify individuals in burials whose markers where weathered and unreadable or absent altogether. Based on these data, possible family groups were identified. The cemetery appears to have three main clusters of burials (Figure 6) that may represent family groups within the cemetery since there does not appear to be any obstructions, natural or cultural, that would hinder burial anywhere within the cemetery.

The simple landscape of the cemetery, full of trees and vegetation, is believed to be intentional. In BaKongo traditions, trees are thought to provide a map to guide spirits to their final destination (Morrow 2002). Considering this ideology and the effects of differential preservation, it is easy to understand why the cemetery offers a landscape thick with vegetation and few burial markers. Some markers, such as wooden posts, temporary mortuary metal plates, and plants, do not preserve well and are often no longer part of the cemetery. This loss has caused dramatic changes to the original appearance of the cemetery.

Alderley Cemetery

Alderley Plantation was acquired by Benjamin Huger Jr. in 1802. Sometime prior to 1848, Alderley Plantation was sold to Joshua John Ward (Linder 1995). In addition to purchasing Alderley Plantation, Ward also purchased Oryzanthia, thereby making his land total more than 1,800 acres. In 1850 Joshua Ward owned 1,092 slaves on six plantations (Linder 1995). The Alderley cemetery is approximately 193 m wide and is located in a large wooded area in the northeast section of the plantation (Figure 7). It is bounded by a 22-m-long dirt mound or berm along the southeast border that presumably corresponds with the length of the cemetery. A swamp that was once used as rice fields lies along the northwest border of the cemetery.

The Alderley cemetery is greatly overgrown and at first glance appears to be nothing more than a forested area. The locale provides little to no indication of a cemetery. Upon closer inspection, burial depressions became more apparent and several headstones emerged into view. Detailed surveying could not take place in the cemetery without greatly disturbing the integrity of the site and violating the terms of the grant. A pedestrian survey and visual inspection thus was conducted. Thirty-nine burials were identified, but it is probable that many more remain. Ten identified burials contained grave markers. Of these burials, six contained stone markers, two contained temporary mortuary metal name plates, and two contained engraved plaque markers (Figure 8). The remaining burial loci consisted of only depressions.

Based on the location of the identified markers and depressions, the Alderley cemetery has never had a well-planned layout of the area. The burials are located in unorganized clusters and are often buried in erratically oriented patterns. Three marked burials face west. Another three marked burials face east. Two marked burials face north-east and two face north. A similar nonstandard pattern exists for burial depressions. They display both east-west as well as north-south orientations.



Figure 8. Markers located in Alderley Cemetery.

Similar to the Bellefield cemetery, bleached shells accompanied burials. Three whole bleached conch and whelk shells were identified. Only one glass artifact, a pitcher, was found in the Alderley cemetery (Figure 9).

Information was obtained from inscriptions of well-preserved markers and historical documents. Similar to the Bellefield cemetery, information gathered from markers and historical documents as well as the layout of the cemetery identify possible family groups. There appears to be three main clusters of burials within Alderley (Figure 10), and these likely represent family groups. For example, cluster B and cluster C contain markers with the same surname. This pattern does not rule out the burial of other, related family members



Figure 9. Glass pitcher found in Alderley Cemetery.

throughout the cemetery. For example, some individuals sharing the same surname were not interred directly beside each other but were placed in the larger general area as their relatives.

Conclusion

The field of archaeology is critical to our knowledge of the African American experience. While such research contributes significantly to an overall understanding of the African American community, it still cannot fully capture what it meant to live in these communities. The human side is often lost in these studies. For example, what befell Jack Jenkins, buried in the Bellefield cemetery, who died at only two and a half years old in 1946? Or Eliza Dart, buried in Alderley, who died at only 18 years of age? Capturing this personal aspect, through cemetery surveys coupled with extensive ethnohistorical studies, will offer even more of a complete picture of the life of African Americans.

Although cemeteries may not be thought of as traditional places to carry out archaeological research by non-archaeologists, to archaeologists they are ideal for reconstructing the African American past as they serve as examples of intentionally placed material culture meant to remain and to be observed. Cemeteries are more than pieces of land dedicated to the burial of dead, for they are open areas full of mortuary features waiting to be read and interpreted by archaeologists willing to take the time.

Further research will build upon this paper by exploring the process of creolization that transformed many beliefs concerning death in the African American community in cemetery contexts. This endeavor will take place alongside examining the reasons why particular mortuary behaviors may have been retained from African traditions (Brown and Cooper 1990). The use of symbolism will be explored by examining the landscape and material culture found within enslaved African and African American cemeteries. The use of symbolism in enslaved African and African American

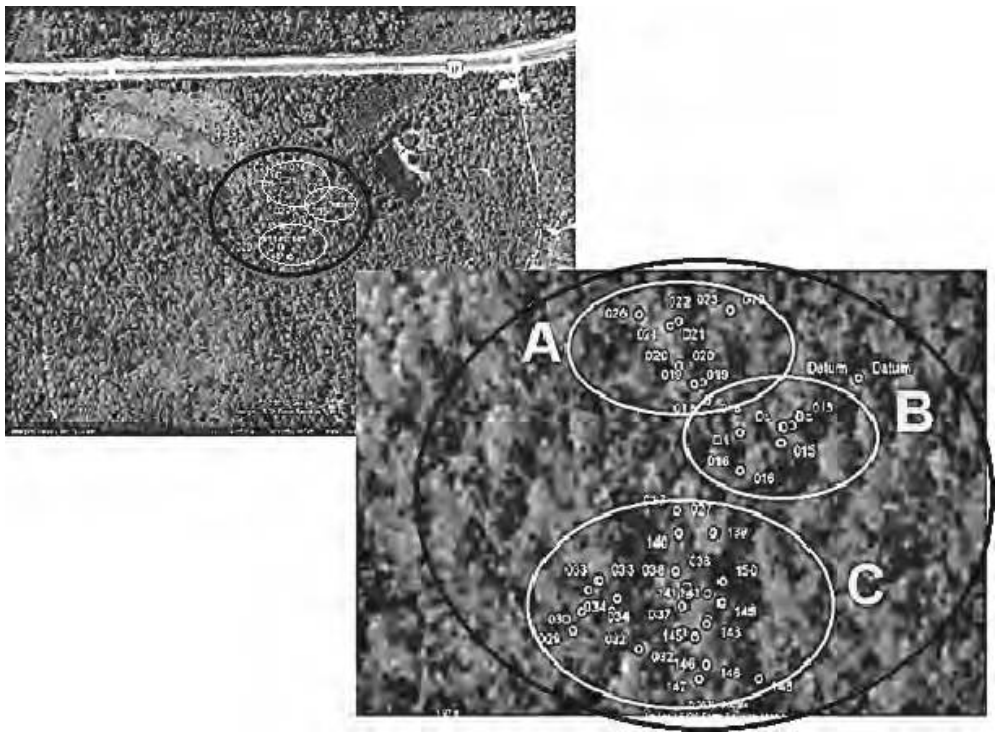


Figure 10. Aerial map of burials in Alderley Cemetery.

cemeteries, in both material culture and landscape, perhaps suggests resistance efforts from the living population and brings to the forefront the idea that cultural preservation was central to the group's ideology. Through the careful analysis and interpretation of landscape design and intentionally placed material culture, further research will seek to understand how and why enslaved Africans and African Americans created, maintained, resisted and preserved the culture of death over time.

These cultural repositories of America's past are disappearing at a rapid rate. Many African American cemeteries are being lost simply by being absent from state records. It is imperative that research continues and that these cemeteries are identified, documented, and recorded with the state.

Notes

Acknowledgments. This research was supported by the Harry M. Lightsey Jr. Fellowship under the Baruch Foundation. Thank you to George Chastain and Lee Brockington of Hobcaw Barony for their assistance. Thank you to Dr. Jon Marx, chair of the Sociology and Anthropology Department at Winthrop University.

References Cited

Ascher, Robert, and Charles Fairbanks
1971 Excavation of a Slave Cabin: Georgia, USA. *Historical Archaeology* 5:3–17.

Babson, David W.
1990 The Archaeology of Racism and Ethnicity on Southern Plantations. *Historical Archaeology* 24(4):20–28.

Baker, Vernon G.
1980 Archaeological Visibility of Afro-American Culture: An Example from Black Lucy's Garden, Andover, Massachusetts. In *Archaeological Perspectives on Ethnicity in America*, edited by Robert L. Schuyler, pp. 29–37. Baywood Press, Farmingdale, NY.

Bolton, Henry Carrington
1891 Decorations of Graves of Negroes in South Carolina. *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 4:214.

Brown, Kenneth, and Doreen Cooper
1990 Structural Continuity in an African-American Slave and Tenant Community. *Historical Archaeology* 24:7–19.

Conner, Cynthia
1989 Archaeological Analysis of African-American Mortuary Behavior. In *The Last Miles of the Way: African-American Homegoing Traditions 1890–Present*, edited by E. Nicols, pp. 51–55. South Carolina State Museum, Columbia.

Davidson, James
2004 Rituals Captured in Context and Time: Charm Use in North Dallas Freedman's Town (1869–1907), Dallas, Texas. *Historical Archaeology* 38:22–54.

Deetz, James
1978 Death's Head, Cherub, Urn and Willow. In *Historical Archaeology: A Guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions*, edited by R. L. Schuyler, pp. 83–89. Baywood, Farmingdale, NY.

Delle, James
2000 The Material and Cognitive Dimensions of Creolization in Nineteenth-Century Jamaica. *Historical Archaeology* 34:56–72.

Donnan, Christopher, and Donna McClelland
1979 Burial Theme in Moche Iconography. *Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology* 21. Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University, Washington, DC.

Fairbanks, Charles
1974 The Kingsley Slave Cabins in Duval County, Florida, 1968. *The Conference on Historic Sites Archaeology Papers, 1972* 7:62–93.
1984 The Plantation Archaeology of the Southeastern Coast. *Historical Archaeology* 18:1–14.

Fenn, Elizabeth A.
1989 Honoring the Ancestors: Kong-American Graves in the American South. In *The Last Miles of the Way: African-American Homegoing Traditions 1890–Present*, edited by E. Nicols, pp. 51–55. South Carolina State Museum, Columbia.

Fennell, Christopher
2007 *Crossroads and Cosmologies: Diasporas and Ethnogenesis in the New World*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Ferguson, Leland
1992 *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650–1800*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.

Foster, Gary, and Craig Eckert
2003 Up from the Grave: A Sociohistorical Reconstruction of an African American Community from Cemetery Data in the Rural Midwest. *Journal of Black Studies* 33:468–489.

Fountain, Daniel L.
1995 Historians and Historical Archaeology: Slave Sites. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 26(1):67–77.

Gundaker, Grey
2000 Discussion: Creolization, Complexity, and Time. *Historical Archaeology* 34:124–133.

Groover, Mark
2000 Creolization and the Archaeology of Multiethnic Households in the American South. *Historical Archaeology* 34:99–106.

Jamieson, Ross W.
1995 Material Culture and Social Death: African-American Burial Practices. *Historical Archaeology* 29:39–58.

Kovacik, Charles, and John Winberry
1987 *South Carolina: A Geography*. Westview Press, Boulder, CO.

Linder, Suzanne Cameron
1995 *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin, 1860*. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

Little, M. Ruth
1984 Afro-American Gravemarkers in North Carolina. *Markers* 6:102–134.

Morrow, Karen Ann
2002 Bakongo Afterlife and Cosmological Direction: Translation of African Culture into North Florida Cemeteries. *Athanor* 20:105–115. Florida State University, Tallahassee.

Mullins, Paul R., and Robert Paynter
2000 Representing Colonizers: An Archaeology of Creolization, Ethnogenesis, and Indigenous Material Culture among the Haida. *Historical Archaeology* 34:73–84.
Orser, C. E., Jr.
1998 The Archaeology of the African Diaspora. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27:63–82.
Otto, John Solomon
1980 Race and Class on Antebellum Plantations. In *Archaeological Perspectives on Ethnicity in America: Afro-American and Asian American Culture History*, edited by R. L. Schuyler, pp. 3–13. Baywood, Farmingdale, NY.
Plumley, Lisa, and Erin Cullen
2004 A London Town Burial: A Study in Past and Present Customs. *Maryland Archaeology* 40(2):9–18.
Puckett, Newbell Niles
1926 *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
Rainville, Lynn
1999 Hanover Deathscapes: Mortuary Variability in New Hampshire Cemeteries, A.D. 1770–1920. *Ethnohistory* 4: 541–597.
Russell, Aaron E.
1997 Material Culture and African-American Spirituality at the Hermitage. *Historical Archaeology* 31:63–80.
Schuyler, Robert
1980 Sandy Ground: Archaeology of a Nineteenth-Century Oystering Village. In *Archaeological Perspectives on Ethnicity in America*, edited by R. L. Schuyler, pp. 48–55. Baywood, Farmingdale, NY.
Trinkley, Michael, and Debi Hacker
2007 *A Small Sample of Burials at Randolph Cemetery: What Their Souls Tell Us About the Cemetery and African American Life in Columbia.* Chicora Research Contribution 461. Chicora Foundation, Columbia, SC.
Vlach, Michael
1990 *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts*. University of Georgia Press, Athens.
Weik, Terrence
2004 Archaeology of the African Diaspora in Latin America. *Historical Archaeology* 38:32–49.
Wilkie, Laura
1997 Secret and Sacred: Contextualizing the Artifacts of African-American Magic and Religion. *Historical Archaeology* 31:81–106.
2000 Culture Bought: Evidence of Creolization in the Consumer Goods of an Enslaved Bahamian Family. *Historical Archaeology* 34:10–26.
Wood, Peter H.
1975 *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina*. W. W. Norton, New York.
Young, Amy
1996 Archaeological Evidence of African-Style Ritual and Healing Practices in the Upland South. *Tennessee Anthropologist* 21(2):139–155.