

Message for America

Gullah Perspectives on Postmodern American Culture

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Quotes

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There’s an important story to be told of a unique lifestyle facing possible extinction--the *Gullah* way of life. Gullahs are descendants of enslaved Africans indigenous to the Sea Islands and coastal regions of South Carolina, Georgia, and northern Florida. A rural population that uses the natural environment for subsistence, the esthetic character of Gullah culture is being altered by economic development in the Sea Islands.

Gullahs are rural, traditional populations who use their natural environment for subsistence, recreation, worship, and spiritual activities. There is little question the esthetic and cultural character of Gullah life has been altered by economic development in the Sea Islands. Gated communities have limited the freedom of Gullahs to roam traditional hunting grounds, fish in salt-water rivulets, and visit sacred burial grounds. Coastal development has adversely affected local waters that no longer produce ample supplies of shrimp, crab, and fish.

Ethnocentric thinking, prejudicial attitudes, and discriminatory practices by the Anglo community are perceived as factors in the continued subjugation and socio-economic inequality experienced by members of the Gullah community. Perceptions include a collective belief that “ethnocentric thinking” by the dominant group has led to the persistence of negative stereotypes about Gullah culture and language.

Gullahs believe forms of discrimination have negatively affected “quality of life” issues in their communities. Yet, in spite of these perceptions, the Gullah community maintains a collective belief in the powers of “love” and “respect” as a foundation for human interaction and the resolution of social inequality. Gullahs patiently wait for the dominant group to acknowledge their rights for full equity—the right of equitable access to justice, freedom, and opportunity guaranteed by the *American Creed*. Gullahs understand the Anglo attempts to “Americanize” Gullahs. Perhaps, it’s time for members of every mainland racial and ethnic distinction to understand the need to “Gullanize” Americans.

Study findings reflect the impact of economic development on traditional island lifestyles and provide readers an interesting dialogue of the functional and dysfunctional aspects of rapid social changes. An overwhelming number of respondents commented that a study of the planned structural changes in their neighborhood was a good idea. People commented that a study of resident attitudes would greatly serve the community, for things develop quickly in the county once money becomes available. Focus group participants reinforced the notion that people in the community should participate in future studies of resident attitudes toward planned change.

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Gullah “spiritual life” operates as a central ethos and foundation for the culture. Guided by spiritual beliefs and personal values not easily discounted, Gullah/Geechee people have a deep sense of spiritual connection to *Almighty God*. Gullah religious beliefs provide a philosophy of life whereby the *Great Creator* directs a *Divine Order* of things in the universe. A member of the “Wisdom Circle Council of Elders” clarifies the central role of God stating, “God comes first--we can’t breathe without our God. Faith in God gets the Gullah by on a daily basis. Goin’ to church is like goin’ to an ole’ dug well and drawin’ up a cold cup of water. When you drink it down on a hot August day; well, then you get yourself a good feeling.”¹

Church membership is largely Baptist, or Methodist. The expression within these churches is not the same as in mainland churches of the same denomination. A fair portion of religious belief and practice remains grounded in the African worldview.² One major departure from typical Christian philosophy is a duality of presence involving *soul* and *spirit*. For the Gullah, one’s *soul* leaves the body and returns to God at death, but the *spirit* stays on earth still involved in the daily affairs of its living descendants.³

Gullahs believe ancestors visit with families, walk the streets and roads, guide individuals, and council people through spiritual means. The comments of several members of the “Wisdom Circle Council of Elders” illustrate the Gullah belief in the duality of *soul* and *spirit*. “The souls of the old dead black folks are the spiritual anchors of the Gullah community,” said one elder. “Our ancestors are the roots--we are the branches! We know their struggles. They left us the struggle and now we gotta’ pass it on to the chillun’.” Gullahs show some concern that development may be affecting ancestral visits. One Gullah real estate stated, “My grand mama says all this development has done affected the ancestors. She says they ain’t walkin’ the streets like they used to.”⁴

Funerals are elaborate and mourners decorate graves with prized possessions of the newly deceased. The dressing of graves reflects a significant dimension of one very important concept--family members who have passed “are still with us now.” Yvonne Wilson suggests,

“Cemeteries are very important to the Gullah. We can’t believe people pave over them, actually build condos over graves. I know a place that has three condominiums over graves of Gullahs. They keep sellin’ those condos because the people in them graves sure enough don’t let anyone sleep at night.”⁵

The Gullah sense of justice, equity, and social awareness is guided by religious beliefs. Nellie Holmes, a well respected care-giver living on St. Helena Island states, “Respect and love form a basis for social interaction in the Gullah community. Gullah/Geechee people respect and love everybody, but some people don’t want you to love ‘em. I just don’t know what we’re gonna’ do with them folk.” Gullahs literally believe love is a more powerful emotion than hate, as illustrated by Holmes’ later comment, “My parents taught me to love my enemies the most, for love is stronger than hate. You gotta’ have respect and love for all God’s chillun’.”⁶

The terms *neighbors* and *community* are nearly synonymous for Gullahs. The concept of extended kinship may include aunts, uncles, cousins, distant relatives, and even some people not necessarily related by blood. Gullahs incorporate into their daily routine the Biblical passage “love thy neighbor as thyself.” Nellie Holmes explains, “Gullahs believe in a moral responsibility to care for their neighbors. Gullah people respect others immensely and believe in the spirituality of the Golden Rule. We can’t breathe without our God. Faith in Almighty God gets the Gullah by on a daily basis.”⁷

Alonzo Johnson confirms the continuity between the spirituality of the enslaved Africans and that of their descendants in his study of the socio-religious functions of the “Pray’s House.” Pray’s Houses are small buildings established on plantations to serve as a religious meetinghouse for the enslaved population. Johnson spells the name ‘Pray’s House’ (rather than Praise House) after Samuel Lawton’s research in the 1930’s. The majority of locals interviewed by Lawton referred to these places as either Pray Houses (without the possessive *s*, or as the Pray-ers House), with an equal accent on the two syllables of the first word.⁸

The Pray’s House ‘*spirit*’ functions as an extension of African American churches and communities, often providing a distinctive socio-religious context wherein the folk beliefs and religious practices of African American Southerners could prosper.” The Pray’s House provides churches a separate facility for interacting with new candidates for membership; offers local communities a spiritual voice to curb potentially destructive behavior; offers people a place for strengthening faith and extending fellowship; and plays an important role in the socialization of youth by providing a forum for the child’s rites of passage to adulthood.⁹

Language has long been identified as an important foundation of Gullah culture. Gullah language remains an oral tradition, with the emphasis not placed on written text. Queen Quet, Chieftess of the Gullah/Geechee Nation, describes the importance of the language saying, “Gullah language represents our ‘breath of life.’ It resonates with the rhythms of the islands and forms a

connection with our African roots and ancestral traditions. The language is first (and foremost) African operating as a ‘code of the spirit,’ or a method by which cultural traditions are passed from one generation to another. Gullah language provides a sense of community and continuity with the past.”¹⁰

The Gullah/Geechee population may best be defined as a heterogeneous mixture of enslaved people taken from Angola, Senegal, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and the ‘Windward Coast’ of western Africa. Queen Quet argues, “It is important to note the enslaved ancestors of Gullah/Geechee people were bi-lingual, or often tri-lingual. Linguistic sources of Gullah sounds and grammar represent a diversity of African languages including Gola, Gidzi, Kisse, Ewe, Yoruba, Igbo, Twi, Efik, Fanti and Kongo. Vocabulary sources originate from Kongo, Yoruba, Mende, Ewe, and Bambara languages.”¹¹

Gullah language was born in the holding pens of Africa’s slave-coast and nurtured on the plantations of coastal Carolina. Gullah is a Creole language that combines elements of West African dialects with English pidgin bases characteristic of the languages spoken by 17th and 18th century colonists. The Eurocentric plantation owners required a means of communication with their enslaved Africans, a diverse population speaking many different languages. The grammar and rhythm of the language remains distinctly African with many aspects of the culture derived from African songs, stories, and proverbs.

Gullah language was originally perceived by mainlanders as a form of broken English. Gullah/Geechee people were forbidden to use the language in public settings, with the implication being Gullah language was, in fact, not a language. Lorenzo Dow Turner, an African American scholar who conducted fifteen years of research on the language, challenged existing Anglo-centric perspectives and established Gullah as a legitimate language. Turner’s research changed the way people thought about Gullah language and about the general linguistic heritage of African-Americans. Turner’s publication Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect (1949) discredited earlier racist and denigrating works on the language.¹²

Gullah/Geechees, who have often had to defend the mere use of their language, reflect a deep appreciation and fondness for the old ways of talking.¹³ One key informant said, “We lead a double life. We have the language of Gullah and the language of English. For years we were told that our language is broken. A generation of people were told, ‘you’ll never get through life talking like that.’ So, anybody living in town would say, ‘I’m not Gullah; I’m not from the islands.’” Another key informant reported, “During the days of slavery, we got whipped for speaking Gullah. When we went to school, we got disciplined for speaking Gullah. As adults,

we were made fun of for speaking Gullah. Now you come and study us because we speak Gullah. What's a Gullah to think?" Johnnie P. Mitchell argues, "Gullah language is unique, nothing like it survives in other places. Our language is the only lasting 'Creole' in North America."¹⁴

Gullah youth, though not necessarily conversant in the language, show a curious interest in this unique form of communication. Queen Quet makes this case saying, "A lot of young people are taking a new interest in the Gullah language. It is important for young people to have pride in their language and culture. To get away from Gullah language is to get away from our African roots...the language is a connection to our past, to our ancestral heritage. De Wey Wi Speak, Duh De Wey Wi Lib! (The way we speak is the way we live)!"¹⁵ Emory Campbell states the importance of language to Gullah youth saying, "Our culture must be passed along to younger generations...Gullah language is an oral history of our culture and the younger generation must never lose touch with the language. Ignorance of the language and culture is the greatest threat to our existence."¹⁶

The celebration of food represents an essential component of Gullah culture. To the Gullah, food is not merely for human sustenance, but a bridge for celebration and family interaction. The elaborate preparation, presentation, and consummation of meals reflect a form of communication expressing love and appreciation for family members. Gullah food was present during focus group interviews causing many comments of interest. One interviewee states, "Gullah is food, oh yes! You gotta' celebrate when you eat. You just don't eat food...you celebrate food." Another interviewee chimed in with this statement, "Food provides a healing, a medicine for the soul. We don't eat with our eyes like the mainlanders. If a tomato tastes good, then, it is good – no matter what it looks like."¹⁷

The names of Gullah dishes have special significance and offer various nuances to the Gullah person. Gullah favorites include Lowcountry seafood boil, shrimp and rice, crab, collard greens, lima beans, okra (gumbo), hoppin' john, red rice, pullet (chicken), turtle egg stew (now against the law), stew fish, bread pudding, sweet potato pone, sweet bread (cake), venison, raccoon, and conch.¹⁸ Johnnie P. Mitchell illustrates the communal nature of Gullah food stating, "Gullah food is for sharing - it shows our caring nature as a people. I'm always able to feed another person in my home. I'll cook something more just in case a stranger drops in."¹⁹

Gullah/Geechee people understand the value of patience and take the necessary time required for producing a food. Gullah people are famous for the quality of their hand made baskets, casting nets, fishing boats, and other material items required for food production in the Sea Islands. Gullah/Geechee people insist that energy flows from Almighty God through the hands of each human. Men usually made larger baskets for vegetables and staples, while women made smaller baskets for domestic needs. True to the Gullah tradition of living in harmony with the land, baskets were crafted from indigenous materials--bull rushes, long pine needles, palmetto leaves, and sweet grass.

Gullah social norms reflect a positive philosophical approach to the celebration of living. Gullah/Geechee people firmly believe in God, and the belief that there's "a little bit of God is in all of us." Gullah values revolve around issues of religion, family, kinship, and humanitarianism. Their positive philosophical attitude seems to serve as a tool of power for resisting depression, bitterness, and malice toward others. One elder stated, "Gullah people respect God first; then, we're able to respect others. We stop respectin' if people give us a reason. Otherwise, we just keep respectin.'" "You gotta' love everybody – that's what the Lord says. Some people don't want you to love 'em. I don't know what we're gonna' do with them folk."²¹

Gullah/Geechee people respect, accept, and appreciate other people, for they believe in the spiritual guidelines associated with the "Golden Rule." Social norms tend to revolve around a value system directly related to the 'spiritual beliefs' of Gullahs. Creel has investigated the various elements of Gullah spiritual life from the earliest years of bondage and concluded Gullah religious beliefs represent a syncretic creation (folk religion) based on a blending of African spirituality with the Christian acculturation and indoctrination experienced in the New World.²²

Gullah leadership spoke frequently about the value of respect with regard to family, friends, and neighbors. One key informant stated, "We gotta' have our family around. That makes us fulfilled. That gives you upliftment. Without family – what have you got?" Another said, "You have to respect your elders. That's what makes you civilized. Him that don't respect his elders is worse than an infidel." A third comment illustrates Gullah feelings for family, "I feel sorry for folk that can't feel their family. If they don't know where they come from, they sure don't know where they're goin'." A final comment addresses the value of respecting neighbors in the community, "When I was little...we shared everything. Neighbors shared. If somebody had a watermelon in the community, then every family got some. If a family had some venison in the community, then every family got some. We're not a selfish bunch. We understand loving, giving, and sharing. That is who we are!"²³

The Gullahs exhibit strong moral character and a positive approach to everyday life. Johnnie P. Mitchell states, "My culture lifts me up! When I feel low, I think of where we've been--then, I feel like goin' on. You know love overpowers all! Love is more powerful than hate – our people strive only for peace and harmony. I have never been taught to hate--only to love! Tune in to the Almighty Spirit; then you can be in tune with everything else!"²⁴

Gullah/Geechee people represent a traditional, rural population with extensive economic and emotional ties to their homelands. The introduction of bridges connecting the islands with the mainland led to land development initiatives that were increasingly directed toward Gullah-owned properties. A thriving coastal economy has brought an ever-increasing scale of interaction with outsiders from the mainland. Land development, combined with the influences of assimilation, presents a series of potential threats to the traditional Gullah way of life.²⁵

Economic development has piled tax burdens on local Gullahs who often cannot meet the rising costs of living. Yvonne Wilson reports, “Of the approximately five thousand total acres once owned by Gullahs on Daufuskie Island, only about two hundred fifty acres are now Gullah owned properties. As the assessed values of Gullah properties continue to escalate, it’s difficult for traditional families on the islands to pay their property taxes. Land speculators often pay the escalated taxes and secure the land for further economic development. Unable to afford the rising taxes that come with resort development, Gullahs sell their land and move away from the islands.”²⁷

Gullah/Geechee people recognize the functional aspects of economic development. Gullahs acknowledge the fact that economic development provides jobs and employment opportunities for islanders. There exists a positive attitude among Gullahs that jobs offer the necessary resources for maintaining one’s legal deed to property, and the ownership of land is viewed as an essential element for retaining kinship ties and extended family units. Employment opportunities mean Gullahs do not have to sell their land below market value, or lose their properties through auctions.²⁸

Cynthia Porcher reports, “The results of this study provide a foundation for advising and assisting communities in the preservation of historic properties. Heritage tourism brings millions of dollars into local economies and may lead to economic gains for Gullahs.”²⁹

Local festivals and cultural programs are currently sponsored by organizations interested in preserving Gullah language and cultural heritage. Charles Young reports, “The Annual Native Islander Gullah Celebration creates economic opportunities for minority business owners and stimulates heritage tourism on Hilton Head Island. Celebration programming includes demonstrations of sweet grass sewing, cuisine, fish net weaving, storytelling, music, dance, and cultural workshops designed to share the history of Gullah culture with visitors to the island.”³⁰

Political activism is becoming a more common strategy for preserving Gullah culture and language. Gullah communities on St. Helena Island are actively planning strategies to avoid the unwanted impacts of assimilation. At a community meeting held on June 18, 2001, the moderator began by saying, “We are here tonight to discuss the preservation of our culture. We know many other islands have been over-developed. Gullah/Geechee notions of development do not include building strip malls, attracting fast food chains, or expanding highways to facilitate growth. We must develop strategies for the protection of our culture, for ourselves and for the future of our children.”³¹

As the meeting proceeded, residents of St. Helena Island presented notions of economic growth more congruent with traditional lifestyles on the island. Gullah preferences for community development did not include building strip malls, fast food chains, or expanding highways to facilitate anticipated growth. On the contrary, Gullah preferences stressed the importance of conversation between neighbors, kinship and family relations, community values, and traditional lifestyles (see below). The agenda of this community meeting represents a living testimony that Gullah/Geechee leadership is committed to principles of traditional living and the preservation of culture.

Community Meeting Agenda (6-18-01)

- control of fast food restaurants with drive-thru windows
- control of highway expansion
- control of high-rise, or multi-story buildings
- control of strip malls, or shopping centers
- buildings with porches that allow neighbors to visit and talk with one another
- ‘family’ and ‘mom and pop’ type grocery stores and small businesses
- ‘farm markets’ and ‘vegetable stands’ owned and operated by local farmers
- a ‘walking’ path through the community to encourage personal interaction
- a ‘bulletin board’ at the bus stop announcing community news and events

The Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition was founded in 1996 by Marquetta L. Goodwine as a grass roots umbrella group primarily working for the preservation of Gullah culture and language. Based at Hunnuh Home on St. Helena Island, this organization engages its members in social activism as a method of mitigating many of the adverse effects of rapid economic development in the Sea Islands of South Carolina. The Coalition is currently engaged in a dispute with the South Carolina Department of Transportation regarding a proposal to widen Highway 21, the main highway running through St. Helena Island. Highway expansion is perceived by the group’s members as a precursor for land development initiatives. An extensive website and list serve keeps members informed of similar activities that threaten the existence Gullah culture throughout coastal South Carolina and the Sea Islands.

Gullah/Geechee people declared their right to self-determination during a public ceremony on Sullivan's Island July 4, 2001. The "Wisdom Circle Council of Elders" ratified the First Constitution of the Gullah/Geechee Nation. "Queen Quet," spokesperson and first elected Queen Mother of her people, stated at the ceremony, "Gullah/Geechee people are claiming the right to genuine social dignity; the right to preserve and protect Gullah culture and language; the right to develop in spirit with Gullah principles and aspirations; and for the right to proclaim our existence to the international community. Our culture is a dynamic phenomenon that resonates within the living soul of Gullah people. We must protect our culture by establishing appropriate institutions of law and by exercising our human rights."³²

The Avery Research Center for African American History and Culture published a report suggesting the number one priority of the Gullah community was educating the youth to take pride in their cultural heritage. Emory Campbell, Executive Emeritus of the Penn Center, Inc., argues, "The greatest threat to our culture is ignorance. The strongest asset of our community is the tenacity of Gullah adults to educate their youth."

"Queen Quet," in her address to the United Nations on April 1, 1999 stated, "We wish to have Gullah children proudly continue our crafts, spiritual expressions, and especially our language. Gullah language is a living, breathing, oral tradition--it's our *'breath of life.'* The language is African by definition and operates as a *'code of the spirit,'* a method by which cultural traditions are passed from generation to generation. Gullah language provides a sense of continuity with the past for *De Wey Wi Speak, Duh De Wey Wi Lib!* (The way we speak is the way we live!)"³³

Gullah adults remind younger generations that the past, present, and future are inter-related as part of a *Divine Order*. Gullah/Geechee people believe the foundation of their culture is a spiritual awareness expressed by one's sense of personal commitment to *Almighty God*. Gullah adults believe the best way to preserve their culture is by passing the torch of responsibility to their youth. In the *Divine Order* of things--it shall be done!

Notes

1. Focus Group Interviews arranged by *The Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition* for June 8, 9, 15, 16, and 23, 2001.

2. See Hargrove, M. "Overview and Synthesis of Scholarly Literature," in *Appendix E, Low Country Gullah Culture Special Resource Study Report: Draft for Public Review*. Washington, D. C.: National Park Service U.S. Dept. of the Interior for a concise discussion of the spiritual beliefs, practices, music and song associated with religion. Hargrove reports that the literature indicates religious aspects of Gullah life have changed very little over time. (p. 309).
3. Interviews with Queen Quet, Chieftess of the Gullah/Geechee Nation, 6-12-01 and 7-6-02 on St. Helena Island, South Carolina; and with Nellie Holmes 6-12-01 on St. Helena Island, South Carolina; and with Yvonne Wilson 6-21-01 on Daufauskie Island, South Carolina; and with Johnnie P. Mitchell 7-1-04 on Hilton Head Island, South Carolina.
4. Focus Group Interviews arranged by *The Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition* for June 8, 9, 15, 16, and 23, 2001.
5. Interview with Yvonne Wilson 5-21-01 at her home on Daufauski Island, South Carolina.
6. Interview with Nellie Holmes 6-12-01 on St. Helena Island, South Carolina.
7. Interview with Nellie Holmes 6-12-01 on St. Helena Island, South Carolina.
8. Johnson, A. (1996). "Prays 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.
9. Johnson, A. (1996). "Prays 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.
10. Interviews with Queen Quet, Chieftess of the Gullah/Geechee Nation, 6-12- 01 and 7-6-02 on St. Helena Island, South Carolina.
11. Interviews with Queen Quet, Chieftess of the Gullah/Geechee Nation, 6-12- 01 and 7-6-02 on St. Helena Island, South Carolina.
12. See Hargrove, M. "Overview and Synthesis of Scholarly Literature," in *Appendix E, Low Country Gullah Culture Special Resource Study Report: Draft for Public Review*. Washington, D. C.: National Park Service.
13. Focus Group Interviews arranged by *The Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition* for June 8, 9, 15, 16, and 23, 2001.

14. Interview with Johnnie P. Mitchell, 6-12-03 on Hilton Head Island, SC.
15. Interviews with Queen Quet, Chieftess of the Gullah/Geechee Nation, 6-12- 01 and 7-6-02 on St. Helena Island, South Carolina.
16. Interview with Emory Campbell, July 2, 2001 on Hilton Head Island.
17. Focus Group Interviews arranged by *The Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition* for June 6, 11, 18, 25, and July 6, 2002.
18. Gueye, K. (2004). Lecture/Interview by Katherine Gueye for USCB-HH students at De Gullah Creations 6-23-04, Hilton Head Island, South Carolina. Ms. Gueye discussed her childhood experiences on Daufauski Island and her subsequent life as an adult living on the mainland in Savannah, Georgia.
19. Mitchell, J. P. (2003). Lecture/Interview by Johnnie Mitchell for USCB-HH students at De Gullah Creations 6-26-03, Hilton Head Island, South Carolina.
20. Hargrove, M. (2000). "*Marketing Gullah: Identity, Cultural Politics, and Tourism.*" Masters Thesis, University of Tennessee.
21. Focus Group Interviews arranged by *The Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition* for June 8, 9, 15, 16, and 23, 2001.
22. Creel, M. W. (1988). *A Peculiar People: Slave Religion and Community-Culture Among the Gullahs.* New York: New York University Press.
23. Focus Group Interviews arranged by *The Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition* for June 8, 9, 15, 16, and 23, 2001.
24. Mitchell, J. P. (2003). Lecture/Interview by Johnnie Mitchell for USCB-HH students at De Gullah Creations 6-26-03, Hilton Head Island, South Carolina.
25. Glanton, D. (2001). "Gullah Culture in Danger of Fading Away," in *Chicago Tribune*, June 8, 2001; Rowland, L., et. al. (1996). *The History of Beaufort County, South Carolina, Vol. 1.* Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press; and Siegal, R. and Wertheimer, L. (8-30-00). "How Rapid Resort Development Alters Life on the Sea Island of South Carolina," *All Things Considered (NPR)*, National Public Radio.
26. Wilson, H. (1982). "Coastal Development: Past, Present, and Future," Proceedings of the South Carolina Sea Grant Consortium Conference, Dec. 3, 1982 in Charleston, South Carolina.
27. Interview with Yvonne Wilson 5-21-01 at her home on Daufauski Island, South Carolina.

28. Porcher, C. (2003). *Low Country Gullah Culture Special Resource Study Report: Draft for Public Review*. National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior. (p. 4).
29. Porcher, C. (2001). *Exploring the Soul of Gullah Culture: A Progress Report*. National Park Service Gullah/Geechee Special Resource Study, Volume I, Number 1, Atlanta, Georgia: National Park Service. (p. 2).
30. Young, C. (2002). *The Native Islander Gullah Celebration*”, Hilton Head Island, South Carolina: Native Island Business and Community Affairs Association, Inc. (p. 1).
31. Community Meeting held at the elementary school located on St. Helena Island 6-18-01.
32. David M. Lucas filmed this celebration on Sullivan’s Island 7-4-01 as part of his “data collection series” for a paper on *Folkography*. Dr. Lucas has been developing an innovative method of data collection entitled *Folkography* as a way to teach undergraduates field research.
33. Queen Quet’s Keynote Address to the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland 4-1-99.