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BN: How did it feel to you when the first time that you were there?

LF: The first time I was at Hobcaw, it just seemed like another piece of the Lowcountry to me. I was pretty familiar with the Lowcountry so I knew the kind of forest that I expected to see. I knew the kind of marshlands. I had seen big houses in a lot of different places. We were taken to a large house and matching style house. I knew that Bernard Baruch had built this house. It seemed like another place in the Lowcountry. I was familiar with the archaeology and with a history of the Lowcountry. I knew that this was a place that likely held a great archaeological record and that it was being preserved. I was pleased because I knew that this was a spot that was preserved even though at the time there was no archaeology taking place there, I thought that there would likely be archaeological research down there in the future.

BN: I was going to ask you this later but since you had mentioned that, would you talk a little bit about Michie and his work.

LF: Jim Michie was at coastal Carolina. He had a variety of archaeological interest ranging from the earliest people to come to South Carolina through historical archaeology. Because it was at Coastal Carolina and because there were a lot of suggestions that the colony, the Spanish Ayllón colony of 1526 was in the vicinity of Winyah Bay that was archaeological research topic of particular interest. Hobcaw looked like it was a location that would likely be a choice spot for the Spanish settlement if indeed they did settle around Winyah Bay.

Michie went there to see if he could find evidence of Spanish occupation. He put in I think 17 transects walking along these lengthy transects through the forest in Hobcaw taking sample excavations, small sample excavations as he went. He didn't find any evidence of Spanish occupation, but he found evidence of a lot of Native American, prehistoric Native American occupation, historic occupation by African-Americans and by plantation owners and overseers and so forth. While he didn't find what he was looking for, he didn't do the first archaeological reconnaissance and testing on Hobcaw plantation and his research forms a basis for the archaeological work that's taking place now.

BN: He wasn't allowed to excavate or do any digging right around the house, correct?

LF: No. It's unfortunate for him because the location of the house was on the high ground near deep water of the bay, a choice place to put a settlement. He would have liked to have excavated there, but at the time, he was not allowed to excavate within the two acre, I think, roughly two acre yard of the Hobcaw house. That area was uninvestigated. It was not investigated until Dr. Karen Smith recently began to do some testing there. She's found some interesting things.

BN: So how has she built on the foundation of what Jim Michie began?

LF: Well, of course, one of the most important things is that she's been able to go inside the yard at the Hobcaw House and do testing within the yard. But beyond that, she has had an assistant, Heathley Johnson, who has gone through Michie's entire collection with a different interest than Michie's. Michie's focus was primarily on looking for evidence of the Spanish occupation but when Heathley did his re-examination and re-archiving, all of the material that Michie found, he was interested in the whole period of human occupation on Hobcaw. He identified all of the materials that were identifiable as he went along and

discovered that there was a range of material ranging from little bit more than 11,000 years ago all the way through the recent twenty-first century.

It seems like there is extremely long record of human occupation at Hobcaw and, speaking as an anthropologist, I would say when we look at Hobcaw, we see the whole range of people. In looking at that whole range of people, we recognize that a majority of people who have ever lived in the area between the waters have been Native American and African-American and that our view of Hobcaw is skewed by the plethora of recent data that we have and the impressive nature of the Hobcaw house itself.

Let me say that house, the living descendent who we can talk to and get information from and the written historical record is a key into what was going on at Hobcaw. There's a lot of information there, but knowing that and focusing on it tends to take away from the larger view of all the people who were there for example. We have a good bit of information on Friendfield Village. There are houses that are still standing and people who remember living there and that information is wonderful. But beyond that, there were villages like Friendfield scattered all over Hobcaw Barony with people who live there for perhaps a century before Friendfield was built.

All of those people in addition to all of the 11,000 years of Native Americans, make up the human population of the history of Hobcaw. So when we look at the place anthropologically, we can say that most everyone who ever built anything at Hobcaw was either Native American or African-American. Most everyone who cooked the meals at Hobcaw was Native American and African-American, the people who have hunted there, who have gathered food, who have fished, it is indeed a Native American and an African-American place. It is also a place significant to the history of the 20th century and the 21st century but that is a part, simply a part of this great long human history at Hobcaw.

BN: That's so important, thank you for saying that.

LF: It's what we see, as an anthropologist, it's what we see when we go there is there's all this. As I look at Mills Atlas and I see that there are at least a dozen plantations on Mills Atlas and those plantations then didn't mean what we normally think of as plantation with a great big house and a quarter behind it. Plantation from the early eighteenth century and into the early nineteenth century simply meant a place where people were planting crops and growing crops. A lot of these plantations were locations, were remote locations where there was a group of people enslaved that were tilling land and growing crops and living.

Perhaps there was a house there with a white overseer or perhaps there were no European person at all. Perhaps there was an African-American director at these locations and so they are, those spots are scattered all over Friendfield and Michie found evidence of them and we have them on the early maps.

BN: Let's go even further back to - I mean further back from the eighteenth century, well into the eighteenth century, in the colonial period. Can you kind of paint a picture of, well, let's start with the Native Americans. What was it like for Native Americans on those coastal plantations, before plantations, those coastal Lowcountry areas when the whites arrived, and what kind of situation did the Native Americans find themselves in?

LF: Europeans first arrived on the coast of Carolina in the 16th century, so the settlement of Ayllón in 1526 would've been the first incursion of Spanish or explorers that is European explorers into the Carolina coast. From that point on, there was a dramatic change. Europeans brought a variety of things that were not so valuable to people that were native to the land. One of the things they brought was disease and another thing that they brought was power.

They brought power that could overwhelm often Native American people. They brought power that could demand tribute from them. Those kinds of things plus the diseases that were brought begin to change Native America right away. We can see that

contact as a period of divide. Before that, there was a relatively stable cultural pattern but it still was one that was based on tribute and archaeologists have done investigations along the southeastern coast and we now know that there were central locations where powerful chiefs lived and that smaller villages usually were attached to one of those central locations and that they paid tribute to those locations so that they were living by farming and hunting and then they paid tribute in a variety of ways to those locations.

Some of those locations are large ceremonial centers. There's one on the Santee River about halfway between the mouth of the Santee and Columbia that was likely one that had influence as distant as Hobcaw. Then Hobcaw was likely also, because it was on the periphery, the kind of a northern periphery of this region, it was probably also affected by Native American groups to the north of there. These chiefdoms - one on the Santee River drainage was the focus of De Soto's expedition in the 1540s.

The chieftain, well there was a chieftainess at this location. She already knew De Soto before he arrived. She knew the kinds of things Spanish did. She refused to meet with him when he came. One of the reasons she refused, I think, was because other Native Americans had been taken captive and had one during the Ayllón period had been taken to Spain and had returned to Native America and had told his stories, I'm sure, about with the Spanish were like, what they were doing, what it was like in Spain, and that Native Americans needed to be very careful in dealing with the Spanish because they were really powerful and in addition to being powerful, they were very brutal.

Interestingly, as De Soto came through the Southeast, he had enslaved people with him, and some of those escaped and went to live with Native Americans in the sixteenth century. So there were escaped slaves from the Spanish and escaped Spanish soldiers, deserting Spanish soldiers who stayed with Native Americans in the sixteenth century. So long before Europeans, or the English I should say, long before the English came to settle the coast of Carolina, the natives of Carolina new a lot about Europeans and they knew a lot of really pretty bad things about Europeans.

BN: We tend to think of slaves kind of monolithically as being African but of course the Native Americans were enslaved. You said that that started in the sixteenth century. To what extent was that still happening as Africans started to come in more? Did they replace Native Americans as slaves, or how did that work?

LF: When the English arrived in Charlestown and then began to spread from there, they came having already established slave plantations based on chattel slavery in the West Indies. A number of enslaved people came from the West Indies who had been slaves there, perhaps some of them who had grown up as slaves in the West Indies to Carolina. We think that now that a number of people also came from the region of the Congo pretty early into Carolina, so there were Africans coming from the West Indies, there were Africans coming from the coast of Africa.

Then in the early eighteenth century, Queen Anne's war was a war between the English and the Spanish. The English colonists in Charlestown made raids upon the Spanish. The Spanish had set up along in Florida, had made raids on the Spanish in Florida. The Spanish in Florida had set up all along their northern frontier missions to the Native Americans that were not only to bring Christianity to Native Americans but were also to serve as a buffer between themselves and the English colony that the Spanish believed had legally established itself in Charlestown.

Carolinians raided the Spanish missions in Florida, killed and captured many of the people, hundreds if not thousands of people, and brought them back to Carolina as slaves. That group of people - largely women and children because men are either killed or sent off to the West Indies - that group of people became part of the foundation of African America as they lived with enslaved Africans on plantations. And as Peter Wood, in his book *Black Majority* notes, by 1710 about a third of all the enslaved people in Carolina were Native Americans. There was a Native American foundation to African-American, the enslaved African-American population.

In the following years this began to change and people who were Native American were encouraged by plantation owners to separate themselves from those people who were enslaved and to return runaway slaves to them. In later times, there was a division, and people who identify themselves as Native American tried to separate themselves from slavery. The English colonists took advantage of that, and so they created a great division between African-Americans and Native Americans, but keeping in mind that the African-American population that was growing was indeed part Native American.

We know that Native American communities behind the backs of plantation owners often had intercourse with enslaved African Americans. It is a complicated, it was a very complicated situation. There was a process that of creolization that was going on, that people were exchanging ideas about life, about foodways, about living patterns, about social organization, about religion, about political kinds of things - that is, the political kinds of things - of how you deal with the power that was held by the people who were enslaving people and controlling people in the Southeast. It was quite a complicated situation in Carolina and on Hobcaw Barony. I'm sure that it didn't escape this. That was similar kind of situation.

BN: We can basically see Hobcaw as a kind of a lens through which to study all these things.

LF: Yes. Indeed. Hobcaw is a spot that has been preserved for research and since it has been preserved for research, it is a location for the investigation of the creolization of people in the Lowcountry and of the entire history of people in the Lowcountry from the very first people more than 11,000 years ago and till the present day.

Yes, Hobcaw is a valuable lens for looking at the history of people who have gone to coast. It is an area that is preserved for research and it has not been damaged because it was remote. It hasn't been damaged very much, so the archaeological record there is pretty well intact. That it has been preserved, that it has, as archaeologists would say,

archaeological integrity means that we have a location we can go to year after year after year to conduct research on the pattern of creolization or the process of creolization that was taking place between Native Americans, African Americans, Africans from different locations within Africa with one another and all of those people with European Americans. It is a perfect kind of laboratory for this sort of research.

BN: In your book, you cite Charles Joyner's analogy, I guess you would say, of creolization to language. What could you talk a little bit more about creolization for a general audience who might not know what that means and maybe talk about how Joyner what did he say was the … I wrote it down, artifacts were the words and or the lexicon and the usage was the grammar.

LF: Sure. I'm going to give you perhaps more than you want. I will start off in the beginning. Anthropologists, in the beginning, anthropologists use the term acculturation for when one group of people met another group of people. The exchange that took place, they termed acculturation. Over the period of the twentieth century, acculturation began to be referred to and be utilized in a way that did not take into account the integrity of non-European peoples and so acculturation came to mean how non-European people changed to be more like Europeans. So it lost its term of a total exchange between people. So that Europeans learned, European Americans learned Native American African ways and it became tied to an idea of a one-way process.

Creolization was brought in because the idea of creolized languages, which is when languages meet, they do indeed totally intersect with one another and people borrow both words and the way words all put together, and so that process was called creolization by linguists and then also anthropologists. Historians recognize that this was also the process by which people exchange cultural ideas, and that there were exchanges of bits of ideas, and that is like words or like a lexicon, and that there were exchanges of ways of putting those ideas together.

That was like grammar, like the rules by which things fit together. This could fit in any area of culture. It fit in language. It could fit in religion. It could fit in social organization, in politics. Charles Joyner also pointed out that it could fit material culture as well, so that people could use a European vessel which was made in Staffordshire in England but use it in an African way. That is, use it in its lexical pattern which was European but in its grammatical pattern in the set of rules, they could use it in a way that was non-European. That has now become the general term used by anthropologists and historians for the kind of cultural exchange that was going on in the Americas over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

BN: America's just entirely creolized-

LF: Creolized, right, we're all creolized, we are all creoles. We've all part of this exchange.

BN: I thought you wrote so movingly about the monumental task of the enslaved labor force in terms of creating the rice plantations. Would you just describe that for us?

LF: Sure.

BN: I know we're kind of taking a leap here but is that...

LF: That's fine, that's fine. As an archaeologist, I am over-awed by the amount of work that African Americans did in the South Carolina Lowcountry. If you walk out into the forest, you see evidence of earthworks, drainage ditches, of built roads, tar kilns, of all kinds of earth excavations and earthen constructions that were done during the plantation era, so in any piece of land that we walk through in the Lowcountry, we can see evidence of this kind of things.

The work that we can see in the forest almost anywhere is minimal, is almost, I'm tempted to say microscopic compared to the work that was done in creating the rice fields and the banks and the mechanisms that work the rice fields in the Lowcountry. To give you an example, we did archaeological research on the East Branch of the Cooper River. The East Branch of the Cooper River was suitable for rice agriculture, but in the beginning it was all wooded.

The low marshy area was all wooded, and so they began by damming up small streams away from the rivers, and one below the other so there was a stair-step series of dams and ponds and farming rice in those. In the beginning people had to clear all of those forests and then build dams and then plant those fields with rice. And so the planters could use those, but they were relatively small.

Then later, there was the idea of, well there's freshwater marsh where the water is moved by the tides, and so if we clear this marsh and enclose it with embankments, and the embankments are like 15 to 20 feet wide at the base or wider, and maybe 8 feet to 10 feet tall, and put those banks around sections, then we can control the flow of water in those and use the tidal movement of water to flood and then drain the rice fields. And so we noted that there were rice fields all along the branch, East Branch of the Cooper River where we worked.

There was an undergraduate student, Kerry Smith, who was interested in these rice banks, and so she decided that she would - Kerry Joseph - she would decide or she decided that she would measure all of the rice banks on the East Branch of the Cooper River. We have about 13 miles of the East Branch and we had mapped all of the rice banks, and by the way you can also see these satellite imagery. We mapped all of those and she measured every one. She discovered that within that short distance, there were 55 miles of rice banks that were constructed during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. What the rice banks and rice fields that were on the East branch of the Cooper River were perhaps 5% of all of the rice fields that were built in the Lowcountry of South Carolina and Georgia. The amount of earth moved, the amount of construction is staggering.

BN: What would the circumstances have been? It's not as though they were out there with backhoes.

LF: No they didn't build their rice banks with backhoes. The circumstances were exceedingly demanding. Folks were working in the marsh with all of the negative things that come from being in the marsh, ranging from mosquitoes to cottonmouth, water moccasins as well as alligators. They were digging in this area with hose and with shovels and loading the earth into baskets and moving it. In some locations, they could probably use draft animals. But in many of these spots, the soil was so murky, so muddy and so marshy, that they couldn't use draft animals, that it all had to be done by hand. The work was exceedingly difficult, grueling and under very extreme circumstances. I'm sure that a lot of people lost their lives simply by being forced to do this work.

BN: Do you know … I don't know if there's any consensus on this or not but whether the idea of using tidal rivers for rice cultivation whether that came from Africa?

LF: We know that rice was grown in West Africa. We know that people in West Africa used flowing water, whether it be tidal water or whether it be water coming from creeks and streams flowing into the marsh. Some of the ideas that were used in the rice fields in the banks and sluices in Carolina were familiar to some of the people who were coming from West Africa. On the other hand, there was also in Western Europe, a lot of engineering of embankments especially in the low countries of Northwestern Europe.

There was a lot of experience with building embankments, and so I would say that the idea of using flowing water, whether it be from streams and creeks or whether it is freshwater marsh for rice, was something that was familiar to Europeans from their explorations and the construction of the banks would not have been unfamiliar to either Africans or many Africans or many Europeans.

BN: These were isolated communities to certain extent because of geography. How did that isolation helped these people to maintain a cultural identity if it did. If it did, how do we see that in the material remains?.

LF: Simply by the nature of demography in South Carolina coast. African Americans were the majority of people and the majority of them were isolated in one way or another from European Americans, and Peter Wood's book, *Black Majority,* illustrates this clearly - that throughout most of the eighteenth century, the majority of people were African-American and they were living in an environment that was pretty hostile, and so people who weren't made to work in this area and not made to do the kind of work that was being done, often the worst times of the year didn't live there. As far as enslaved workers go throughout the southeastern United States, those in the coast of Carolina were really rather isolated, but importantly they weren't isolated from one another.

While they were isolated often from white plantation owners and from white overseers, they were nearby other villages, and so there were I think more than a dozen villages in the early nineteenth century on Hobcaw alone. These were locations where people were living and getting to know one another and visiting back and forth, making friends back and forth between the two areas, forming liaisons, establishing marriages, whether recognized by the owners or not, bearing children and so forth. Also because they held a skill and because that was such a difficult environment, they, in many cases directed a lot of the work that they were to do. So keeping in mind that they were living under the force of power, of ultimately military power, that they had to do these things, they still had some freedom, and this is outlined well in the descriptions of the task system. They had some freedom to direct how they did their work and when they did it. They often had time to themselves.

Now this time to themselves was often an advantage to the people who owned them or who claimed ownership of them, because they used that time to gather wild food, to

hunt wild food and so forth, and the through archaeological excavation, we find evidence of the foodways. We find bones, we find seeds, we find evidence of pollen, of things that they were utilizing - wild foods or things that they were growing on their own. With this we put together an idea of their subsistence, how they were living. In addition, we find the outlines of structures. We find their houses. We can determine the size of the houses or we can determine the orientation of the houses, the relationship of one to the other.

We find artifacts that were produced by people who were living in these villages and compare those artifacts to the artifacts of people living in other villages and establish connections so that things that are similar are we assume, indicate that people had some kind of relationship with another area. So putting all of these kinds of things together - and historical archaeologists in one sense are a variety of things. Archaeologist yes, but also historians, geographers. When they utilize living informants they are doing oral history, and so forth. So the research into the lifeways of these folks were, I think we can say, the most remote and the most independent of any early African-Americans in southeastern North America. We can put together more knowledge about the process of creolization that created these communities and about their overall history.

BN: I know that the thinking has really changed in terms of isolation and now we know that they weren't isolated from each other. That's such an important idea. Just to get back a minute to Native Americans, do you have any knowledge of the King's Highway and how that was or was not the trade route for Native Americans in that area?

LF: No.

BN: In a word.

LF: I could say something about routes but I can't say anything about it relative to King's Highway.

BN: The King’s Highway is kind of a big question mark. It’s how much is true or …

LF: Yeah. I don’t know. I could say something about the location of the ferry. I can say something about the connections inland, but as far as whether the King's Highway was following an old Native American route, I don’t know. In earlier prehistory we think more of context being between drainages so that, like people between the Santee and the Pee Dee River drainage would move up and down between that drainage, so that the drainage is sort of a barrier. So then you would say, well maybe between the Pee Dee and the Cape Fear, people would be moving up and down rather than along and across as the King's Highway goes. But there may be folks now who know more about the pattern of movement, especially in this historic period.

BN: What do you know about the ferry that was there?

LF: Ferries, the location of historic ferries are interesting to archaeologists because they are likely at the easiest places to cross bodies of water. And so if they were appealing such as Fraser's Point was to people during the historic period to have a ferry location there, then they were likely appealing to people going back into deep history that have a connection for crossing the body of water at that point. We know from Jim Michie’s work that there’s an extensive, not only historic site at Fraser’s Point but there’s an extensive Native American site, prehistoric site there. So likely it was set therefore similar reasons because it was a place where you could connect and a place where you could spread out and exploit the marsh and the England area from a location near Frazier's point. Archaeologically, I think that it will be a clear site of interest as research continues at Hobcaw.

BN: Yeah, that’s probably a really rich …

LF: I think so.

BN: Do you think … Cheryl Sievers of the Waccamaw Indian people. I don't know but she came with her son to the dig at Hobcaw House.

LF: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Karen told me.

BN: Is that important, do you think?

LF: Yes. It's certainly important for the people of the current Waccamaw Nation. It's really important to archaeologists to have those folks involved because they form a direct connection to the people who lived historically between the waters and on what has become called Hobcaw plantation. We're pleased that they are interested in this archaeological site and the story that would be recovered there, and we're pleased as archaeologists if we can offer them things that they deem valuable, and so it is an important exchange. Of course as an archaeologist, I would say it's valuable for anyone to take interest in an archaeological site, but here it is particularly interesting for people who have connections to the land, as the Waccamaw do, to have an interest in what's going on. I think that archaeologists are very pleased to have them become interested, that they become involved to have a dialogue with them, to have a discussion about the things that are significant to them and to their history. And so, yes I think it's quite valuable that the Waccamaw people have taken an interest in the historical and archaeological research that's going on at Hobcaw.

BN: Let me see. I kind of touched on, did you want to ask a question (to Patrick Hayes, cameraman)?

PH: I did. Going back to idea of transportation and trade on the drainage systems reminded me about the two objects when we were with Keith and Karen. They found the piece of chert, and the story that tells about trade or the movement of that chert from place to place but this is not something found in the area and then another, I don't even know how to put this to you as a question but they found Tom's Creek pottery, collections of Tom's Creek Pottery there too. What does that tell us about the settlement in that area?

LF: Yes, the archaeological artifacts that have been recovered there at Hobcaw are exciting and exciting to me in a way that is perhaps unfortunately unique to anthropologists and to archaeologists. We found an adze that's approximately 11,000 years old. An adze is like a hatchet but the blade is turned 90° in the way a normal hatchet would be, and it's used for digging things out, like digging out a dugout canoe. We found that and we found other artifacts like a Morrow Mountain point that was used as a perhaps a spear point, but could also be used as a knife, and other pieces of stone material that aren't common on the coast. And so these - both the material of the adze and the material of the Morrow Mountain point - would come from inland and probably as far inland as what geologists called the fault line - that's the area near Columbia and Camden where the hard rock of the Piedmont meets the softer soil of the Lowcountry.

There would have been movement up and down the drainages and probably trading up and down the drainages, not only of these kinds of stones but probably of people, so that young people would likely have found marriage partners in areas that were dispersed from where they lived. Their parents had lived in the upcountry or in the coast and so forth, so there were these exchanges back and forth.

One of the most interesting things for me can be told from the Morrow Mountain point that Dr. Smith found in the Hobcaw yard. This was found I think about 40 cm below the surface of the ground, so there had been a lot of accumulation of soils since this was buried there, and we know by its form and discovering similar forms in many, many other locations that this point is about 6 to 7,000 years old. Now, one thing about Morrow

Mountain points is that, not only is it about that old, that this style, and it is a particular shape, this style lasts for about 1,000 years.

So we're looking at a time when culture didn't change for a thousand years. That is, when people were born, they grew up in a village, in a culture where things had always been the way they were. They anticipated that things would always be the way they were. Of course there were things like natural things, floods, hurricanes and so forth, but separate from those, the evidence suggests that the way they lived had not changed in anyone's lifetime and would never, the anticipation would be that it would never ever change in anyone's lifetime.

What we see through time is that this kind of cultural pattern remains for a very long period of time, probably about 8 or 10,000 years ago or an 8 or 10,000 year span. Then, about 1,000 years ago, things began to change more rapidly. This is well before Europeans arrived, but things began to change more rapidly, but still not great change. And so then this is a little hard for us to understand, because we anticipate the new models of cars coming out immediately before 2017 arrives. We anticipate that the programming on television is going to change. We anticipate the styles of clothes are going to be different, and we know that they had been different in the past.

We now live in a period where everything is changing all the time. When we look at it, what we recognize is that this notion of humans living in a period of change is extremely new, that there has been an exponential increase in the rate of change of human culture especially over the last century. That rate of change is faster and faster and faster, so that we learn more about who we are and how we came to be by studying this history and understanding that this pattern of change that we have now is totally different from what we - our bodies and our emotions and all of our being - has evolved to be, that it has evolved for things to remain primarily the same.

We're living in a period when things are rapidly changing, and so we can look at - take Hobcaw - and we can look at this, we can do the reverse and look back through these periods of change. One of the things archaeologists see is that as the British merchants and

British industrialists begun to create things in the late eighteenth century, there's an explosion of new styles. This occurs especially in pottery.

If we go back to the early eighteenth century, there are only three or four common kinds of European ceramics and we find those on Hobcaw, so we know that there's some of this earliest eighteenth century English ceramics on Hobcaw. By the end of the eighteenth century, there are probably at least a dozen different kinds, and there are archaeologist who specialize in identifying all of these. That's the beginning of the creation of merchandising, of the rapid role of capitalism and so forth. It shows up clearly in the archaeological record and in the archaeological record of African Americans who were getting these items broken, used, given, whatever from people who were European American who were buying them from Europe. I would give you my whole course here.

BN: Wow, that's so interesting. Well, I know we don't want to keep you all day.

Kelly Hogan (public humanities scholar): I was wondering if I could ask a quick question? So you mentioned how this process of creolization is present in the material culture like the colonoware, and I was wondering if you maybe knew if that process of creolization was present in burial practices with the grave, the grave goods on top of the grave, such as the pots and the bowls and the shells and maybe what kind of religious or ceremonial symbolism they may hold.

LF: Creolization involves - because it is the coming together of people - it likely involves all aspects of their lives. One of the areas where I should say that this shows up very well for archaeologists in things that don't decay away, in things that last. So things that are made of ceramics, things that are made of glass, less commonly, things that are made of metal and so forth, last a long time, and so we find those kinds of things.

Archaeologists have noted from the start period that African Americans tended to have specific kinds of burial patterns that show up in the archaeological record and in this

case it isn't necessarily the archaeological record of digging up burials and finding skeletal remains although that can be done, but it is simply on the surface of the graves. And so in a number of locations in Africa, people often took grave goods and placed them on graves, and those were to be used by the people who were deceased in the afterworld, and also to represent the respect that living people had for the people who had passed on, and as kind of a gift, a sacrifice to the ancestors. And as European items became commonly used, some of those items were used in this practice. For example within the Congo, iron was particularly important, things that were white were particularly important, things that shined were important and things that were located or were associated with water were important.

And so, as European items came into the hands of people who were engaged in this kind of burial practice, if they were European things made of iron, if there were European things that had certain shiny characteristics to them, things that were associated with the water, then they might be placed on the graves. This is a part of creolization. It's a part of these iron nails, maybe not African, or maybe they were made in Britain, but they are iron and iron is significant so iron is taken and put on the graves. That is the use of a European item but used in a particular West African set of rules or West Central African set of rules. So yes, creolization extended to a variety of things and it also extended to burial practice in Lowcountry. skill

BN: I know at Marietta Cemetery you see those beautiful kind of pieces of depression glass.

LF: I had a student who did a Master's thesis on the historic graves around Middleburg and she found all kinds of things placed on the grave. Money is commonly placed and so small coins, pennies, nickels, dimes, we found tools of the trade that people had like wrenches, screwdrivers and sewing stuff. Then one woman, we found a grave near Holly Hill where a fence had been put around the grave, and all of her possessions had been

placed inside of the fence. Everything that she owned was placed inside of this little fence that fenced in her grave. It's a practice that is still going on in the Lowcountry. We still see it.

BN: Does anybody have any other questions?

PH: I would like to your first question about first impressions of Hobcaw, do that again because it was so beautiful and it was so noisy at that time. The noise has really gone down since then. I just want to get another take of that if we could and how it struck you as an anthropologist and archaeologist but just personally too about the potential of what could be done there. That was I believe your first or second question.

LF: Sure, sure. Yes the first time I visited Hobcaw was with a folklore conference in the 1980s. I had anticipated what I would see. I was familiar with the Lowcountry and I had done a lot of work in the region. I knew that I would go to a place where the forest would be familiar, where the marsh would look similar to marshes that I knew. I also knew that it was a protected place. I went there with the anticipation that I was going to see location where there would be archaeological materials that had not been significantly disturbed. There had been no development, there had been no recreational development.

Hobcaw had been farmed, but it had been farmed with low technology farming and then had been left and grown up into forest and used as a hunting preserve. When I went there, I saw the things that I anticipated seeing, and that was exciting, because here was a spot that held a great archaeological potential. My being an archaeologist, I look around and I see these things, I see the crowned road, I see the work that was done there and so forth. I saw Friendfield Village and I recognized Friendfield is more than we see, because beneath the ground here are material remains from all the people who have ever lived at Friendfield. I anticipated that in addition to this village, there were probably many other villages, many older than Friendfield that were on the plantation.

Of course, we had an evening cocktail kind of event at the Hobcaw Barony House, at Bernard Baruch's house on Hobcaw. I went there and it was as I expected, a twentieth century mansion, and that was interesting, but it was only, to me as an anthropologist, a small part of what I saw at Hobcaw. And so this land between the waters is a critically valuable area that is now preserved for research of all kinds. Ecological research has been going on there for many, many years and now archaeological research is beginning there.

We will have not only the research into the environment but more intensive research into the relationship between that environment and the people who lived there, and a greater and richer story about all of the people who have lived at what is now called Hobcaw but what Native Americans called between the waters.

END OF INTERVIEW