To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation by Timothy Edward Baumann entitled "'Because That's Where My Roots Are': Searching for Patterns of African-American Ethnicity in Arrow Rock, Missouri." I have examined the final paper copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Anthropology.

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"BECAUSE THAT'S WHERE MY ROOTS ARE":

SEARCHING FOR PATTERNS OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN ETHNICITY IN ARROW ROCK, MISSOURI

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctorate of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Timothy E. Baumann
December 2001

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ABSTRACT

This archaeological study investigates a postbellum African-American community in Arrow Rock, Missouri. Archaeological excavations have been conducted each summer between 1996 through 2001, and have attempted to explore the entire African-American community including multiple households, an African Methodist Episcopal Church, a school house, a speakeasy, an emancipation day picnic field, a restaurant/bar, and a Masonic lodge, called the Brown Lodge No. 22 of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons. This dissertation focuses on the 1996 and 1997 field seasons at the Brown Lodge/Caldwell Pottery site (23SA451), which has five major historic components: an Euro-American homestead (1836-1854), an Euro-American stoneware factory (1855-1870s), three African-American residences (1880s-1950s), an African-American restaurant/bar (1880s-1950s), and the Brown Lodge (1881-1931). The main theoretical force behind this dissertation is to identify material correlates of African-American ethnic identity. In an attempt to view the formation and transformation of ethnicity through material culture, a multi-hypothesis approach was used, which attempts to outline the functional possibilities of an object or material pattern from the traditional or manufacturer's intended use to alternative uses caused by various social levels including ethnicity.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Arrow Rock, founded in 1829, is located in west-central Missouri on the western bluffs of the Missouri River in Saline County (Figure 1-1). During the antebellum period, Arrow Rock was a major Missouri River port and a starting point on the Santa Fe Trail in Missouri's plantation district with an 1860 population of approximately 1000 citizens (Van Ravenswaay 1959:218; Hamilton 1972; Fisher et al. 1988). Famous historical figures associated with Arrow Rock include George Caleb Bingham, the 19th century Missouri painter, Dr. John Sappington, who popularized quinine, and three Missouri state governors. Today, the town of Arrow Rock has only a population of 70 people. Despite its small population, Arrow Rock has been transformed in the 20th century into a major state historic site.

Arrow Rock was a pioneer in the preservation of Missouri's heritage. In 1923, the first state owned historic building to be restored and opened to the public for tourism was Arrow Rock's Huston Tavern, a general store, tavern, and hotel established in 1834. In the 1930s, the Work Projects Administration helped to create the Arrow Rock State Historic Site, a state park encompassing today over 100 acres and including the Huston Tavern, the home of George Caleb Bingham and other historic buildings, a campsite, hiking trails, and a 1991 interpretive center dedicated to central Missouri's history. In 1959, a non-profit group called The Friends of Arrow Rock, Inc. was organized to work

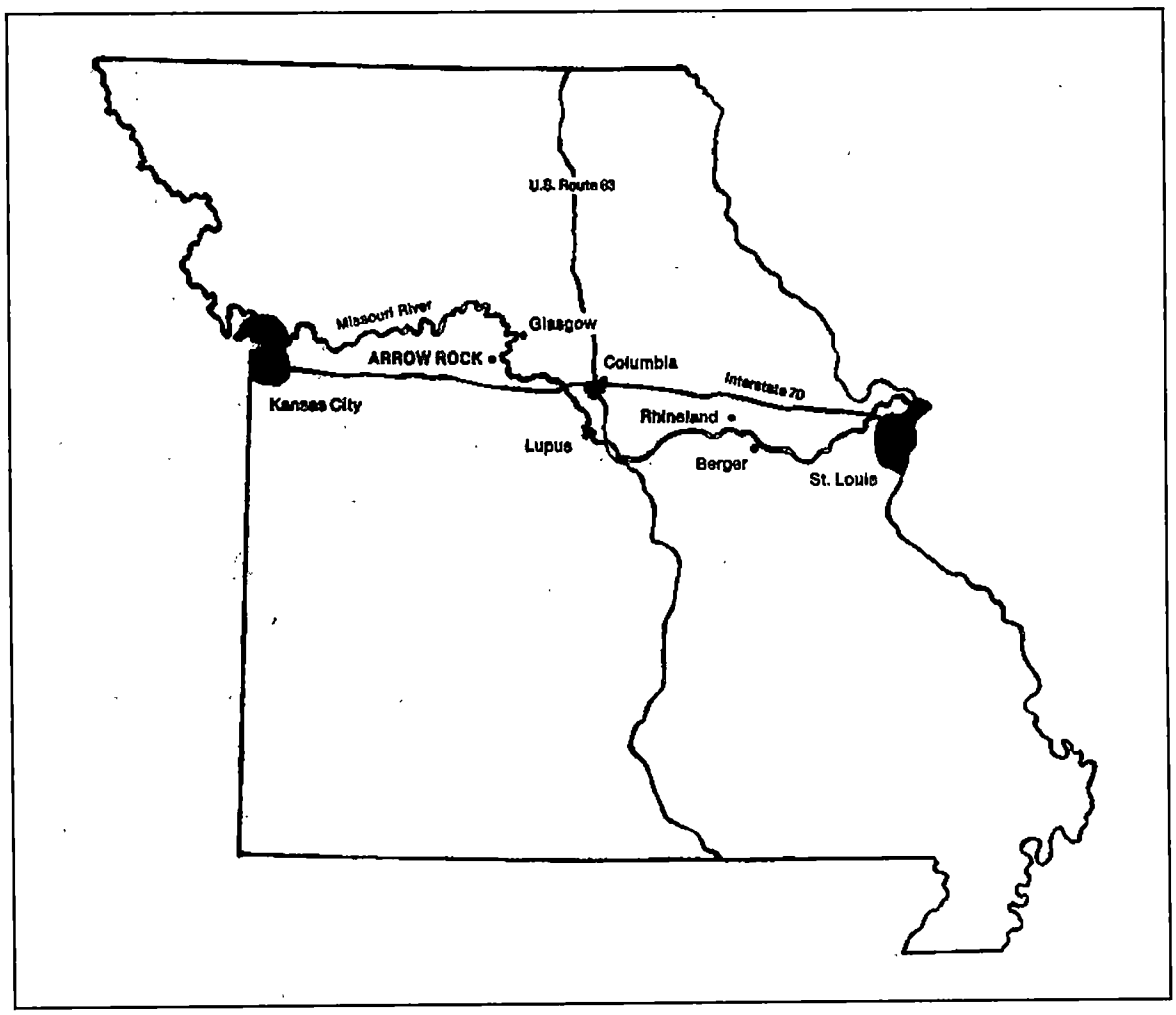


Figure 1-1: Location Map of Arrow Rock, Missouri

Source: M.J. Prouse (editor), 1981, *Arrow Rock: 20th-Century Frontier Town.* School of Journalism, University of Missouri-Columbia, Columbia, Missouri.

with the Arrow Rock State Historic Site to preserve and interpret the structures and history of Arrow Rock. This friends group has been responsible for saving many of the buildings outside of the park boundaries including the Sites Gunsmith Shop, the Christian Church, the Brown Chapel and others. Celebrating the town's heritage, the Arrow Rock State Historic Site and the Friends of Arrow Rock also co-sponsor several festivals and living history programs throughout the year. State and national recognition of Arrow Rock's heritage was accomplished in 1964 as the town was made a National Landmark Site and in 1979 the town was placed on the National Register of Historic Places. Both of these nominations are a tribute to the townspeople of Arrow Rock and its' historic significance in Missouri and national history.

Despite the historic consciousness of Arrow Rock's citizens, they have been negligent in telling their whole story, particularly that of their African-American heritage. Throughout much of Arrow Rock's history, African-Americans have constituted between one-fourth and one-half of the town's population. Beginning in 1996, the Friends of Arrow Rock and the Arrow Rock State Historic Site started an African-American heritage program to correct this bias and to tell a more complete story of the past.

In 1996, the Friends of Arrow Rock received a Missouri Humanities Council grant funding an 18-month African-American history project entitled "The World We Have Lost: The African-American Community in Arrow Rock from 1870-1950." Historian Gary Kremer of William Woods University was hired to direct this history project to document how African-Americans struggled to establish their own lives and community in post-Civil War Arrow Rock. Research was conducted to gather primary records including census data, newspapers, deed and probate records, photographs, and

oral histories. Overall, historical documents were organized into four broad categories and became the focus of four public meetings on "Education," "Religion," "Family and Community Life," and "Fraternal Lodges" (Kremer and Hoaglin 1997). In the Spring of 1998, information compiled through the Missouri Humanities Council grant resulted in a temporary exhibit at the Missouri State Museum in Jefferson City entitled "Arrow Rock's African-American History: Giving Voice to an Unheard Past." This temporary exhibit has since been transformed into a traveling exhibit, which can be borrowed for educational purposes by schools, libraries, and museums.

In addition to being the starting point of Missouri's historic preservation movement, Arrow Rock also promoted some of the first historical archaeological research in this state. Previous archaeological research in Arrow Rock included work at George Caleb Bingham's home, the Sites Gunsmith Shop, the first public schoolhouse, and the old courthouse (Rucker 1963; Bray 1967; Lubensky et al. 1980; Holland and Pulliam 1987, 1990). All of these projects, however, focused on Arrow Rock's Euro-American heritage.

With the success of previous archaeological projects in Arrow Rock, the Friends of Arrow Rock contacted the Missouri Archaeological Society and requested their assistance in the African-American heritage program by operating an archaeological field school in the summer of 1996. I was then contacted by the Missouri Archaeological Society to direct these excavations to explore Arrow Rock's postbellum African-American community, which have been ongoing each summer since 1996 (Baumann 1997b-d, 1998a-c, 1998f, 1999a-c, 1999e, 2000a, 2000c; Baumann and Krause 1997, 1998; Baumann and Ashmore 2001). Between the summers of 1996 and 1998 the Missouri Archaeological Society and the University of Tennessee-Knoxville operated this African-American archaeology

program with partial funding in 1997 by a Missouri Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Program grant and in 1998 by a University of Tennessee research grant. In the summers of 1999, 2000, and 2001, the University of Missouri-St. Louis sponsored three additional archaeological field schools continuing this research project. The 2000 field season was partially funded by the Missouri State Coordinating Board of Higher Education through an Eisenhower Professional Development grant, which funded a dig program for middle school teachers to incorporate archaeology curriculum into their classrooms.

Overall, the Arrow Rock African-American archaeology project has presented a unique situation where the public works together with professional archaeologists and historians to explore Arrow Rock's heritage. The primary goal of this archaeology project has been to document the entire postbellum African-American community archaeologically. Excavations thus far have explored multiple households, an African Methodist Episcopal Church, a school house, a speakeasy, an emancipation day picnic field, a restaurant/bar, and a Masonic lodge, called the Brown Lodge No. 22 of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons.

In 1996, 1997, and 1998, the excavations first concentrated on the Brown Lodge located on city Lot #106 of Block #30 at the northwest corner of Morgan and Sixth streets. Overall, Block #30 has five major historic components: an Euro-American homestead (1836-1854), an Euro-American stoneware factory (1855-1870s), three African-American residences (1880s-1950s), an African-American restaurant/bar (1880s-1950s), and the Brown Lodge (1881-1931). Block #30, which encompasses one square acre, has been officially recorded with the Archaeological Survey of Missouri as the Brown Lodge/Caldwell Pottery Site (23SA451) (Figure 1-2). Today, only the Brown Lodge

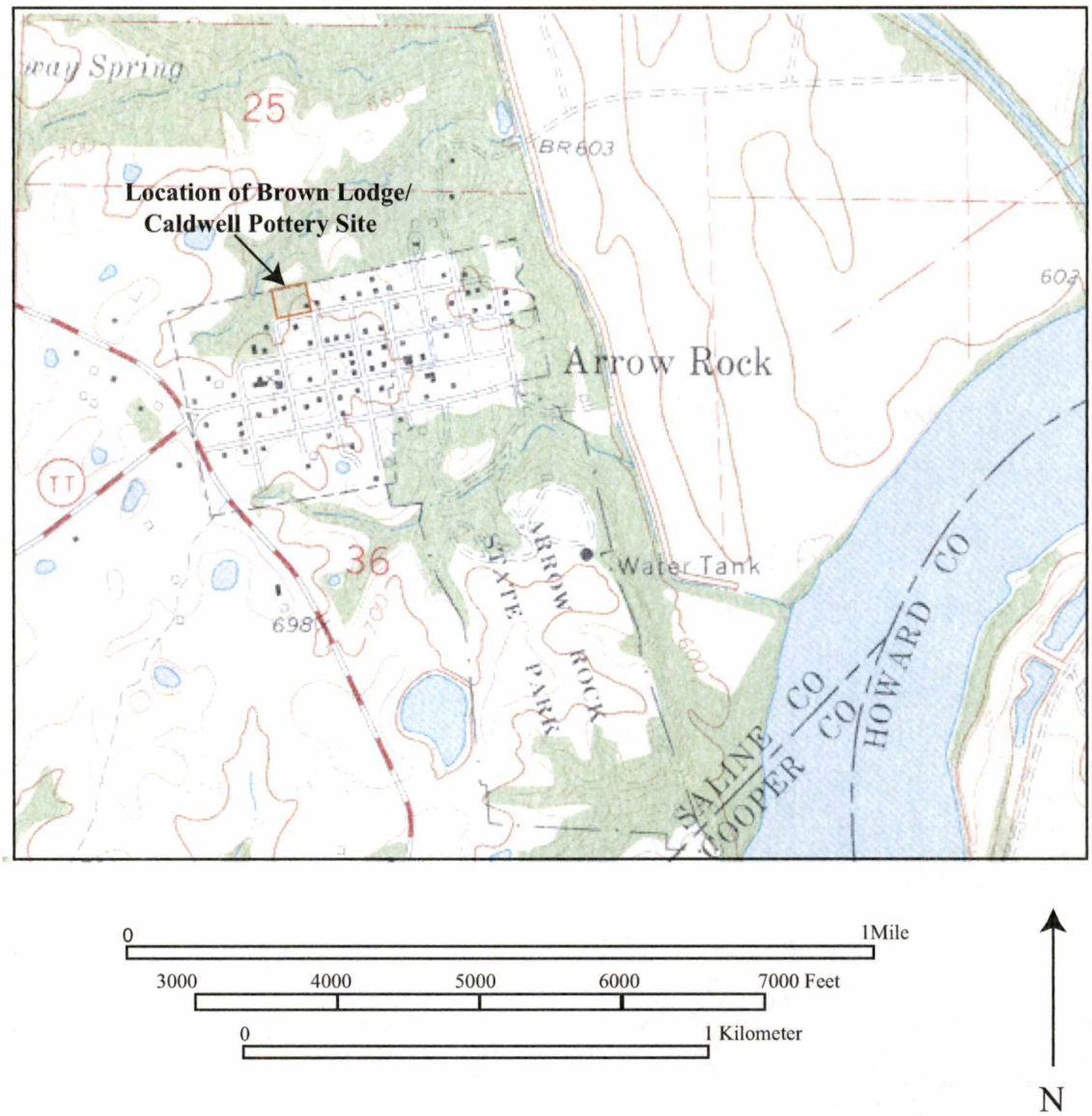


Figure 1-2: Location of the Brown Lodge/ Caldwell Pottery Site (23SA451) in Arrow Rock, Missouri.

Arrow Rock, MO. 7.5' Quadrangle
(Township 50 North, Range 19 West, Section 36)

remains standing on Block #30 (Figure 1-3). The lodge is a two-story frame structure that had a Masonic hall on the second floor and an African-American restaurant and bar on the first. The Friends of Arrow Rock are currently restoring the Brown Lodge as an interpretive center for African-American heritage. This restoration project is funded by the State of Missouri's Neighborhood Assistance Program, which offers state income tax credits for donations.

My dissertation focuses on the 1996 and 1997 field seasons at the Brown Lodge/Caldwell Pottery (23SA451). This body of work is divided into 12 additional chapters beyond the Introduction that include an environmental setting in Chapter II, a general history of Arrow Rock from the War of 1812 to the present in Chapter III, a section on Arrow Rock's African-American heritage in Chapter IV, a detailed history of Arrow Rock's Block #30 in Chapter V, an overview of previous archaeology in Arrow Rock in Chapter VI, an overview of African-American archaeology nationally and within Missouri in Chapter VII, a theoretical study of African-American ethnicity and its' material representations in Chapter VIII, a research design covering project goals and objects as well as field and lab methodology in Chapter IX, excavation results from the 1996 and 1997 field seasons in Chapter X, a detailed material culture analysis in Chapter XI, a search for ethnic identity in material patterns in Chapter XII, and the conclusion in Chapter XIII.

The main theoretical force behind my dissertation is to identify material correlates of African-American ethnic identity in Arrow Rock during the Jim Crow Era. Ethnic studies have been a primary research strategy in African-American archaeology since its' birth, but most of these studies have been criticized for being oversimplified and static.



Figure 1-3: Brown Lodge No. 22 of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons (est. 1881) (photo taken in 1996)

Most African-American ethnic studies have focused on identifying ethnic markers looking for direct correlations between Africa and the New World, but most stop there in their interpretations. Material objects are just physical representations of a person or group's identity. What needs to be studied is the underlying social processes that form and transform ethnicity.

Ethnicity is just one level of social stratification that also includes class, gender, race, and age. In an attempt to view this underlying process and the changing nature of social stratification, I suggest the use of a multi-hypothesis approach that outlines the functional possibilities of an object or material pattern from the traditional or manufacturer's intended use to alternative uses caused by various social levels including ethnicity. This multi-hypothesis approach is grounded in Sian Jones' (1997) practice theory and Leland Ferguson's (1992) definition of creolization. Jones argued that identifying material representations of ethnicity must be viewed in a "socio-historical perspective" within the contexts of time and place. It is only through this socio-historical or diachronic perspective that archaeologists will recognize the production, reproduction, and transformation of ethnicity as well as its relationship to the *habitus* of an individual or a shared *habitus* of a group.

Ferguson's study of ethnicity applies a linguistic model of creolization, in which artifacts replace language and these objects formulate a cultural grammar (Ferguson 1992). Overall, Ferguson (1992:150) defined creolization as the unequal exchange of ideas, technology, religious beliefs, and material cultural between two or more cultures over time. Creolization recognizes the "free-will, imagination, and creativity of non-

Europeans" in cultural contact and exchange and the development of "new cultures from diverse elements" (Ferguson 1992).

A long term goal of my research has been to assist the town of Arrow Rock and its' descendant community to fully embrace and interpret its' rich heritage. This is particularly true of its' African-American past, but could also be said about its' women's history. Until recently, African-Americans have been ignored historically in Arrow Rock. With the start of the Black Heritage Program in 1996, the voices of past and present African-American citizens are again being heard on the streets of Arrow Rock. Despite having only one African-American citizen today, Arrow Rock has rejuvenated its African-American Homecoming and Juneteenth celebrations during which descendants of the once thriving black community return to Arrow Rock to remember and celebrate their past. One of these descendents is Theresa Habernal, whose father, William Van Buren, operated a restaurant and bar on the Brown Lodge's first floor during the 1940s and 1950s. In 1997, she was interviewed by Gary Kremer and was asked why she keeps coming back to Arrow Rock and she simply stated "Because that's where my roots are!" (Habernal 1997). I hope that this dissertation will help these roots to blossom again in Arrow Rock and that the information documented here will be vital in the celebration and teaching of the past to present, so that these voices will never be silenced again.

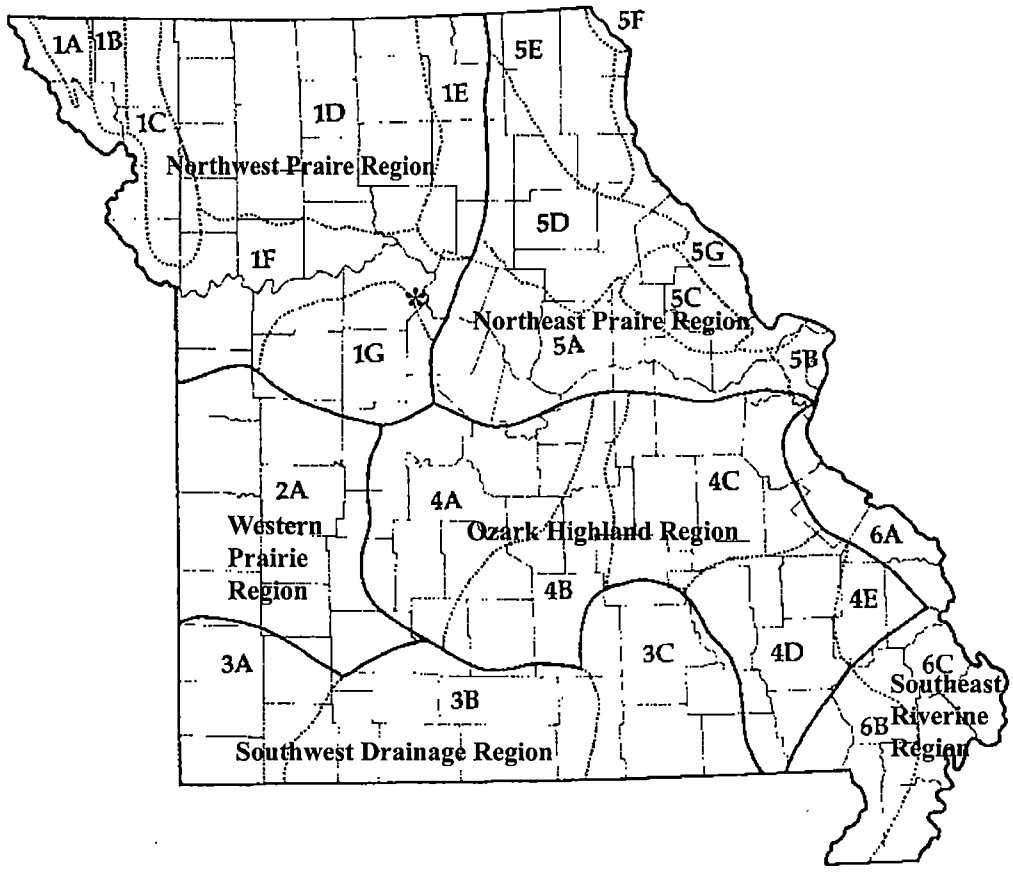
CHAPTER II

ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

The environmental setting of Arrow Rock, Missouri was integral to its historic settlement, economic growth, and current population decline. This chapter will discuss the natural setting of Arrow Rock within Saline County and Missouri including the physical environment, climate and precipitation, and soils. Overall, the environmental setting is important to any archaeological study. It can determine settlement patterns or where industries will prosper. It is also important to note any changes in the environment over time. Climatically, Missouri's prehistoric period exhibited the greatest change in temperature and precipitation. Historically, Missouri's natural environment has been greatly altered through cultural activities such as forest clearing, strip mining, and the construction of reservoirs. Thus, the environment has played an important role in Missouri's settlement and industrialization, both prehistorically and historically. This chapter will outline the environmental setting for Missouri concentrating on the town of Arrow Rock and Saline County.

Physical Environment

Recognizing Missouri's archaeological resources, Chapman (1975:1-3) has divided Missouri's natural setting into archaeological-physiographic regions, which include the Northeast Prairie, the Northwest Prairie, the Ozark Highland, the Southeast Riverine, the Southwest Drainage, and the Western Prairie (Figure 2-1). Chapman's archaeological-physiographic regions are the primary categories used to define



* Arrow Rock
1A: Tarkio
1B: Nodaway
1C: Platte
1D: Grand
1E: Chariton
1F: Lower Missouri Valley
1G: Lamine
2A: Upper Osage
3A: Neosho
3B: White
3C: Current-Eleven Point
4A: Lower Osage
4B: Gasconade
4C: Meramec
4D: Upper Black-St. Francis
4E: Castor-Whitewater
5A: Lower Missouri Valley II
5B: Greater St. Louis
5C: Cuivre
5D: Salt
5E: Wyaconda-Fabius
5F: Des Moines
5G: Mississippi Valley North
6A: Mississippi Valley Central
6B: St. Francis Riverine
6C: Bootheel Riverine

Figure 2- 1: Archaeological-Physiographic Regions and Localities of Missouri

Source: C. Chapman, 1975, *The Archaeology of Missouri, I.* University of Missouri Press, Columbia, Missouri, p. 4, Figure 1-3.

archaeological sites in Missouri. These regions were created based on both physiographic characteristics and cultural factors including geographical location, climate, topography, geology, biotic resources, human settlement, and culture complexity. Using Chapman's divisions, Arrow Rock is located in the Northwest Prairie region, which includes "all the drainage of the Nishnabotna, Tarkio, Nodaway, Platte, Fishing, Chariton, and North Grand rivers and the drainage of the Missouri River from Lincoln, Nebraska to Topeka, Kansas, and east including the drainage of the Lamine River to the narrowing of the valley near Boonville, Missouri" (Chapman 1975:17). Overall, the Northwest Prairie region differs little environmentally from the Northeast Prairie region and they are normally combined as a single region as the Northern Plains (Collier 1959), the Old Plains (Branson 1944:355), or as the Glaciated Prairie or Dissected Till Plains (Steyermark 1963). Chapman divides these regions based on their location and cultural developments, but he also mentions differences in soil associations and a dominance of an oak-history forest over the bottomland hardwoods in the Northeast Prairie region.

Chapman (1975) subdivides the archaeological-physiographic regions further into localities based on major drainage systems (Figure 2-1). Using the waterways as subdivisions, Chapman recognizes the importance of these drainages in both prehistoric and historic settlement of Missouri. Overall, Missouri's water resources are abundant with the Missouri and Mississippi rivers and their tributaries. These waterways were the driving forces for settlement and industrialization because of their rich alluvial soils and easy access to river transportation.

Based on Chapman's subdivisions, Arrow Rock and Saline County are located within the Lower Missouri Valley I locality of the Northwest Prairie region. The Lower Missouri Valley I locality is a subdivision of the Northwest Prairie region and encompasses the western half of the Missouri River Valley between Boonville and Kansas City, Missouri. Overall, water resources in Saline County include more than 175 miles of perennial streams as well as abundant natural springs and sinkholes (Baker 1993:79). Saline County's northern and eastern boundaries are outlined by the Missouri River with Arrow Rock located in the southeastern section atop the Missouri River bluff line. Arrow Rock's location was ideal for establishing a town because of its' good access to river traffic, a natural spring called the Big Spring, and eventually a trailhead for the Santa Fe Trail.

Charles Van Ravenswaay (1959:204) described Saline County's presettlement environment as follows:

> "Before settlement changed the face of the country, the river bottom contained groves of giant trees interspersed with open meadows. Forests crowded many of the Bluffs, extending west from the river about a mile beyond which was rolling prairie, that beginning of the great plains of the West, colorful with bloom and waving grasses from spring until frost. Often in the late autumn, when the grass was dry, these prairies were set aflame, either by accident, or intentionally by the Indians to improve their hunting. Deer, buffalo, elk, bear, and beaver were abundant in the region until the early 19th century."

Overall, Missouri's animal resources are abundant and vary slightly from biome to biome. Recent floral and faunal resources of Saline County have been outlined by Baker (1993:79-81). Current floral resources include cultivated crops of corn, wheat, oats, and barley; grasses of fescue, bromegrass, clover, and alfalfa; wild herbaceous plants of bluestem, golden rod, beggarweed, sunflowers, and ragweed; hardwood trees and woody

understory of oak, poplar, cherry, sweetgum, apple, hawthorn, dogwood, hickory; fruit producing shrubs of Russian olive, autumn olive, blackberry, blueberry, and crabapple; coniferous trees of pine, spruce, fir, cedar, juniper; and wetland plants of smartweed, wild millet, wildrice, cut grass, cattail, rushes, sedges, and reeds. Historically, cultivated crops in Saline County have also included hemp and tobacco. In 1860, Missouri was the number one producer of hemp in the United States (Hurt 1992).

Modern faunal resources include moderate counts of deer and turkey and high numbers of squirrel, but low levels of quail and rabbit (Baker 1993). Historically, Saline County terrestrial animals have also included raccoon, opossum, beaver, wolf, coyote, fox, black bear, prairie chicken, and a variety of waterfowl. The Missouri and Blackwater rivers and the Salt Fork Creek have good aquatic species including buffalo, bluegill, crappie, large mouth bass, and flathead and channel catfish. Carp was introduced in the late 19th century and quickly populated Missouri's major rivers and streams.

Missouri's mineral resources are related to its geological history that includes three of the four major geological eras; Cenozoic, Mesozoic, and Paleozoic (Figure 2-2). The oldest landforms exist in the Ozark's St. Francis Mountains of Iron, Reynolds, and Madison counties, and contain iron and lead mineral resources. Lead deposits are also present in southwestern Missouri. Other natural resources include coal, oil, natural gas, and salt springs. Coal deposits are located in the North Plains and Western Plains regions. Oil and natural gas are limited to the western edge of the state and are not substantial resources. Salt springs are located sporadically across Missouri in most physiographic regions. Salt brine from these springs was processed into salt by prehistoric Native Americans and early

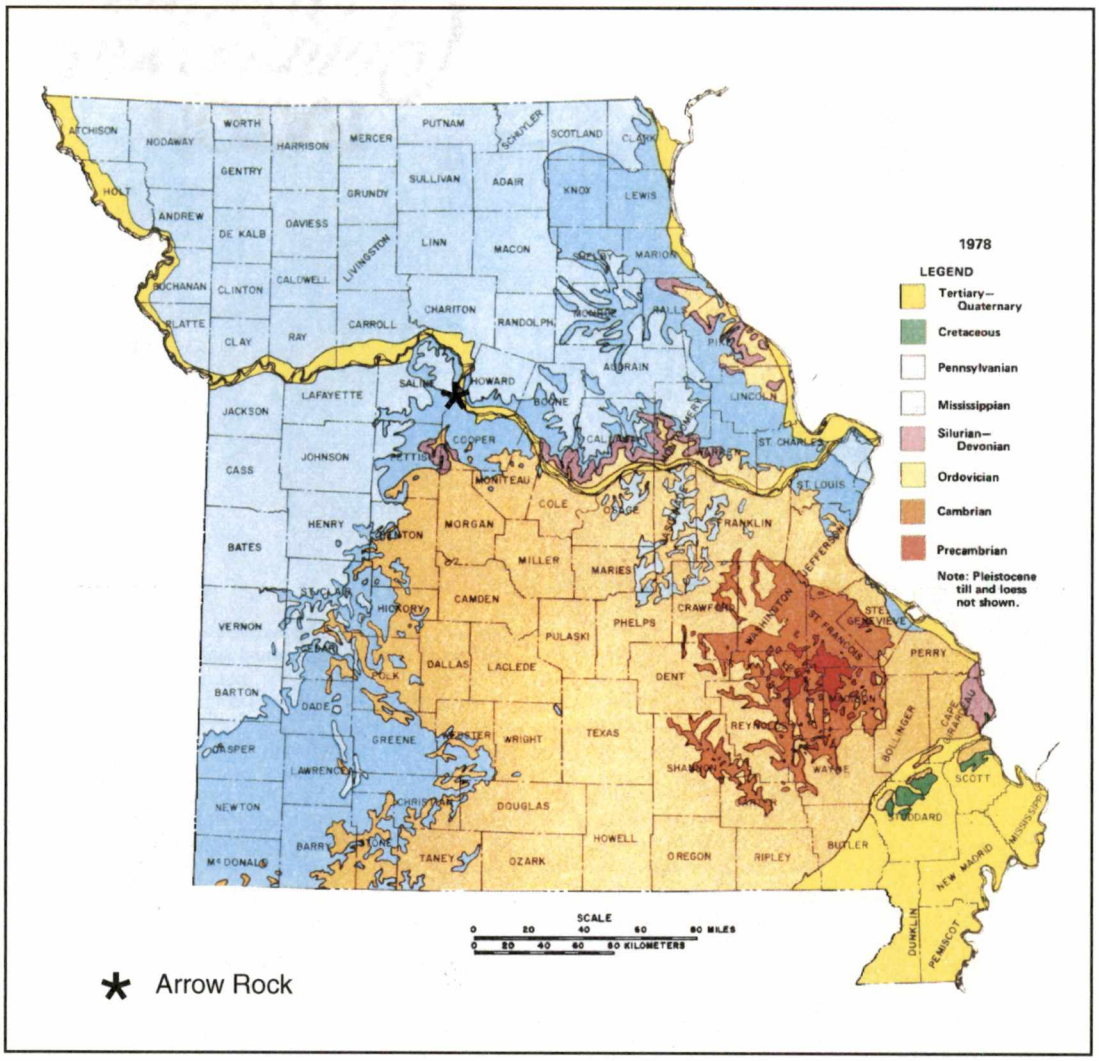


Figure 2-2: Geologic Regions of Missouri

Source: M. D. Rafferty, 1982, *Historical Atlas of Missouri*, Figure 18

Euro-Americans settlers to preserve foods (e.g. meat and fish). The famous Boone's Lick salt works (Figure 2-3) was located across the Missouri River from Arrow Rock in Howard County between 1804-1879 (Bray 1990). Chert resources are also abundant across the state and were used by prehistoric Native American groups for stone tools. The abundance of natural chert in Saline County is a likely origin of Arrow Rock's name.

Climate and Precipitation

Missouri's climate is Midcontinental with variable temperature, precipitation, and humidity that shape weather conditions. Overall, the range of temperatures, precipitation, and humidity vary most widely between Missouri's Northern Plains and the Southeastern Lowlands. Low winter temperatures range between 28 degrees Fahrenheit in the Southeastern Lowlands to 16 degrees Fahrenheit in northern Missouri. The summer extreme temperatures can reach above 100 degrees Fahrenheit. The average frost-free period varies from 178 days in the north to 220 days in the extreme southeast (Collier 1955). The mean annual precipitation ranges from 34 inches in the extreme northwestern corner to 47 inches in the southeast (Chapman 1975). Saline County averages 36.13 inches of precipitation a year with temperatures ranging from –13 to 104 degrees Fahrenheit (Baker 1993:132). The coldest month is January with an average daily temperature of 28.1 degrees (38.1 high, 18 low). The warmest month is July with a daily average of 79.5 degrees (91.1 high, 67.8 low). The wettest month is May with 4.37 inches of moisture. The driest month is January with 1.31 inches of moisture. The heaviest snowfall occurs in February with 4.1 inches of snow.

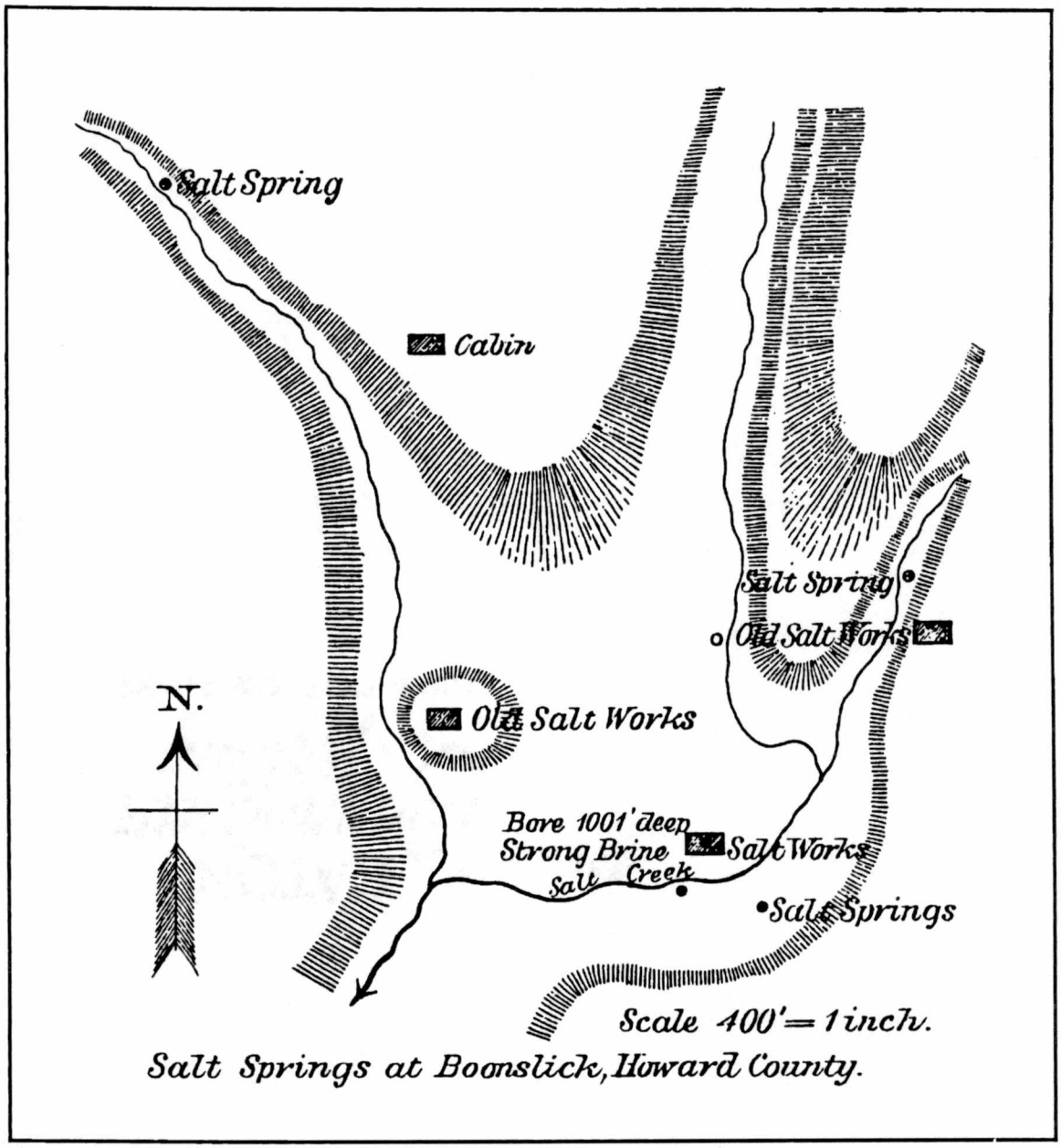


Figure 2-3: Historic Map of Boone's Lick, ca. 1874

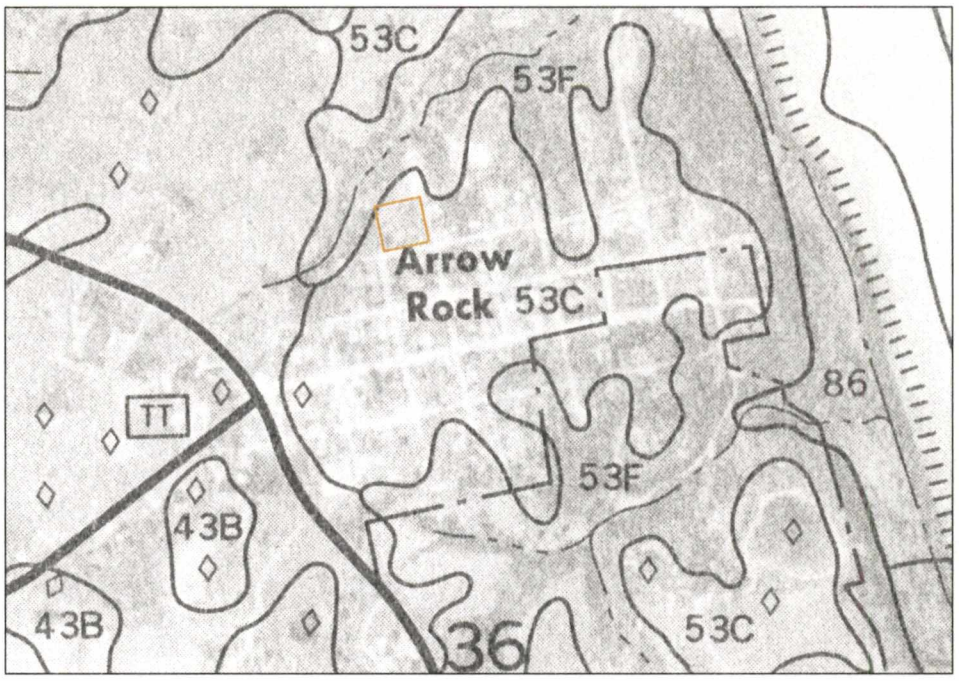
Source: G.C. Broadhead, 1874, Howard County Mineral Springs, In *Report of the Geological Survey of the State of Missouri including field work of 1873-1874.* Bureau of Geology and Mines, pp. 196-197.

Soils

The Northern Plains were formed by glaciation, which resulted in level to rolling plains and a north to south pattern of stream drainage. These soils are some of the most fertile in the state and are derived from windblown sediments, glacial tills, and alluvial soils.

Based on the United States Soil Conservation Service (Figures 2-4), the town of Arrow Rock sits atop a Menfro silt loam (53C or 53F) with three to nine or 14 to 35 percent slope within the Knox-Menfro-Sibley Association (Baker 1993). The Menfro soil series consists of "deep, well drained, moderately permeable soils on uplands formed in loess" (Baker 1993:105-106). Saline County consists of 490,938 acres of land. Of this acreage, Menfro soils consist of 17, 885 acres or 3.6%.

The Menfro silt loam (53C) is described as a "deep, gently sloping to moderately sloping, well drained soil located on the tops of ridges in the uplands" (Baker 1993:47). This soil formation is naturally five to 100 acres in size with sinkholes common. The humus lens (surface layer) consists of a brown (10YR4/3) silt loam with a depth of about five inches. In some areas the surface layer may also contain a very dark grayish brown soil. The A Horizon (subsurface) is a yellowish brown silt loam approximately six inches thick. The B Horizon (subsoil) is a dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) silt loam in the upper part approximately eight to 39 inches in depth and a brown (10YR 4/2) silt clay loam in the lower part loam with a depth of 39 to 60 inches. Menfro silt loam (53C) has a medium natural fertility and is suitable for cultivation. Many areas of this soil are also suitable for building, but sinkholes can cause collapse and dumping in them can contaminate the drinking water.



KEY

Location of Brown Lodge/ Caldwell Pottery Site.

43B: Macksburg silt loam, 1 to 4 percent slopes.
53C: Menfro silt loam, 3 to 9 percent slopes.
53F: Menfro silt loam, 14 to 35 percent slopes.
86: Waldron silty clay.

N 200'

Figure 2-4: Soil Map of Arrow Rock, Missouri

Source: J. Baker, 1993, *Soil Survey of Saline County, Missouri.* U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, Sheet Number 39.

Menfro silt loam (53F) is described as a deep, moderately steep to steep, well-drained soil on dissected side slopes in the uplands ranging in size from 10 to more than 100 acres (Baker 1993:51). The humus or surface layer is a brown silt loam about seven inches in depth. In some areas, the surface layer can be a silty clay loam. The A horizon (subsurface) is a yellowish brown silt loam approximately six inches thick. The B horizon (subsoil) is about 30 inches thick consisting of an upper part that is a dark yellowish brown silty clay loam, and a lower part that is a dark brown silty clay loam. The substratum is a dark brown silt loam to a depth of 60 inches. The natural fertility of Menfro silt loam (53F) is medium, but most areas are covered in forest because of the 14 to 35 percent slope common with this soil.

Summary

The town of Arrow Rock in Saline County, Missouri is located in the Northern Plains region. Saline County's environment consists of rolling prairies with oak-hickory forests along the stream valleys (Figure 2-5). Arrow Rock sits atop a Menfro soil 53C or 53F that was formed by windblown loess. Local climate is Midcontinental with temperatures ranging from –13 to 104 degrees Fahrenheit with a yearly average of 36.6 inches of precipitation. Floral and faunal resources are abundant, but have been modified by historic cultivation and settlement of natural habitats. Water resources for subsistence and transportation are good with the Missouri River bordering the northern edge of Saline County.

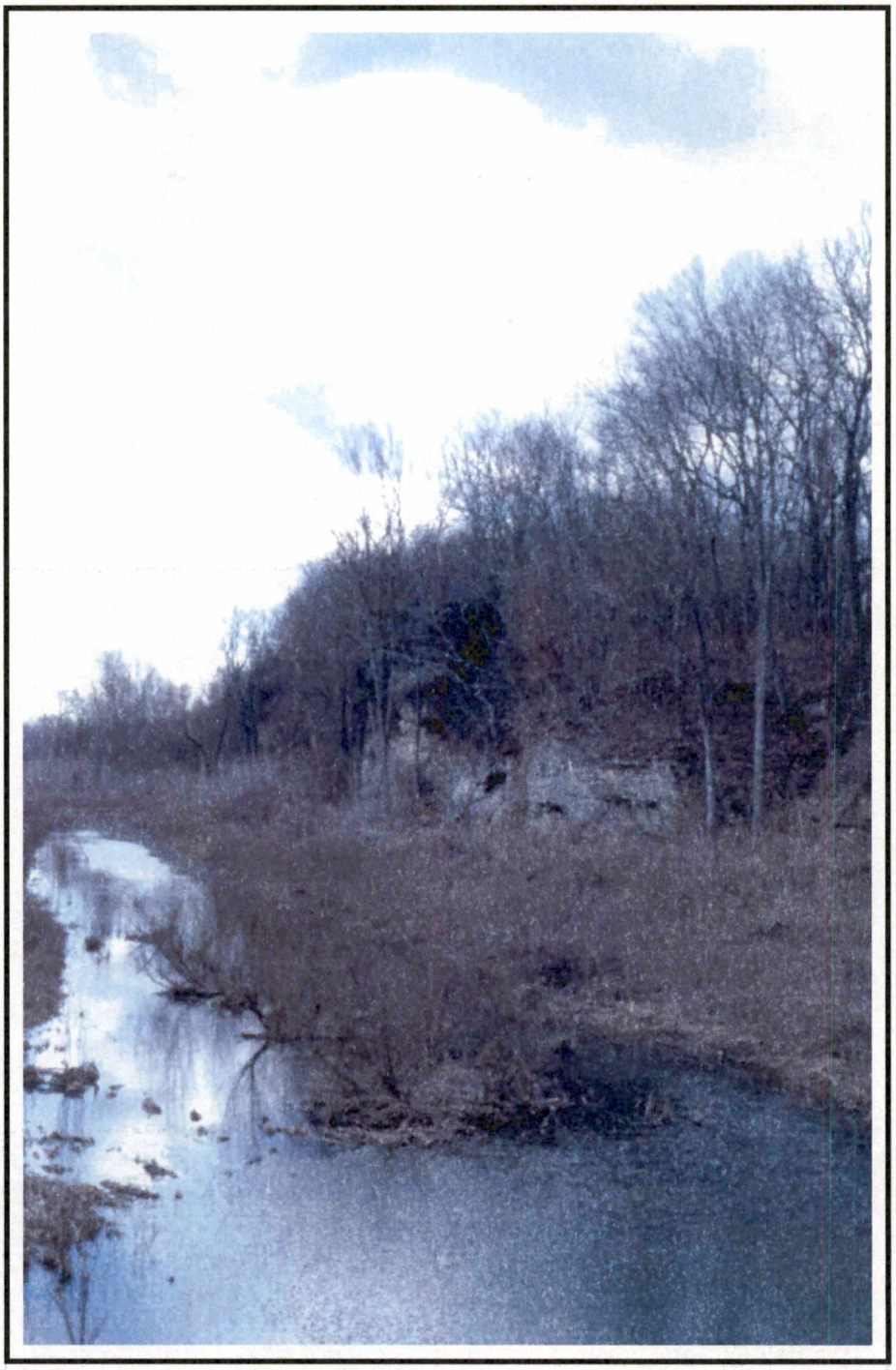


Figure 2-5: The Missouri River Bluff at Arrow Rock, Missouri

CHAPTER III

SIBLEY'S FORT TO NATIONAL LANDMARK

Frontier Period

During the 18th century, Missouri was first controlled by the French and later by the Spanish. The population of central Missouri was sparse with only Native American groups and French fur traders and trappers traversing the Missouri River Valley. The location of Arrow Rock was first documented by French cartographers as early as 1723 when mapping the Missouri River, labeling it as *Pierre a Flech* or Arrow Rock (Hamilton 1972:3). The name Arrow Rock has been linked to three origins (Van Ravenswaay 1959; Hamilton 1972; Prouse 1981). First, the bluff line along the Missouri River resembled an arrow and travelers used this landmark while traversing the river. Second, a large chert source is available in the bluff line that was used by prehistoric Native American groups to make stone tools. Last, a 19th century myth suggested the name came from a Native American archery contest. Gerard Fowke (1910:93) describes this myth as follows:

> A number of young warriors assembled on a sand bar opposite the cliff to test their power with the bow by ascertaining who could send an arrow farthest out into the stream, the victor to wed the chief's daughter. One of them shot clear across the river, his arrow lodging in a crevice high above the water; and so the cliff was thenceforward known as "The arrow rock."

On June 9, 1804, the Lewis and Clark expedition passed the location of the later town of Arrow Rock. And four years later on August 31, 1808, William Clark, then the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in St. Louis and the Brigadier General of the Territorial

Militia, camped with his troops across the river from Arrow Rock on their way to establish Fort Osage in present day Jackson County. "Clark described in his diary the excellent rocky landing on the west bank, and the little valley beside it which provided easy route to the top of the bluff, on which he formed a camp for breakfast, and where he had his men fire, clean, and reload their guns. On his return trip, Clark recorded in his diary on September 18, 1808 that this location would be an excellent one for a fort, and 'a handsome spot for a town'" (Greg 1937).

The War of 1812 between the Americans and British resulted in increased Native American hostilities on the frontier, which in turn caused the abandonment of Fort Osage. With no frontier fortification and trade center, William Clark ordered George C. Sibley to establish an Indian factory or blockhouse and trading post in the location of Arrow Rock to replace Fort Osage in the fall of 1813 (Figure 3-1). "This Indian factory was constructed of large cottonwood logs, two stories high, 30 feet long and 20 feet wide, roofed with oak slabs, and armed with one swivel gun and three blunderbusses. Adjoining the blockhouse was a row of double long houses, similar in materials and construction to the blockhouse. Sibley lived and worked here with his servant, an interpreter Antoine Burda, and five hired employees" (Van Ravenswaay 1959:204). Sibley's Fort was short lived and abandoned in 1814 like Fort Osage, due to increased hostilities on the frontier. Yet, before it was abandoned, Sibley's Fort was the location of a meeting between Sibley and the tribal leaders of the Great and Little Osage Indians in November of 1813 "to council them and pay them their annuities from the government" (Van Ravenswaay 1959:205).

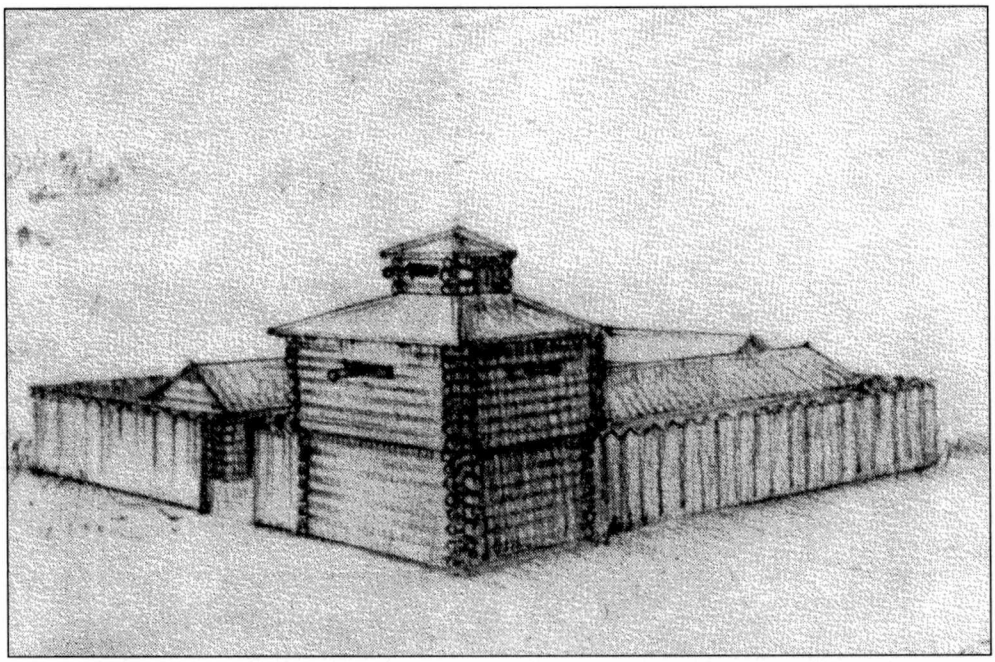


Figure 3-1: Sibley's Fort, 1813-1814

Source: C. van Ravenswaay, 1959, Arrow Rock, Missouri, *The Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society* 15(3):203-223. (Drawn by Dr. Kate L. Gregg)

American settlement of central Missouri was slowed by the War of 1812, but by the war's end this area was becoming one of the most heavily populated areas of Missouri. Settlement of this region was accomplished by horseback, wagon train, and steamboat. The earliest routes were Indian trials used by Native Americans and later the French to traverse the frontier. The Boonslick Trail was the most famous running from St. Charles, Missouri following the Missouri River west to the center of the state. This trail was named after Daniel Boone's sons Nathan and Daniel M. Boone who started a salt works across the Missouri River from Arrow Rock in Howard County. This salt works was in operation sporadically by different owners between 1804 and 1879 and was documented and partially excavated by archaeologist Robert Bray in 1961 and 1986 (Bray 1990).

Consequently, central Missouri counties have been labeled as the "Boonslick Region." The Boonslick Region was settled primarily by Upper South immigrants from the Kentucky Bluegrass region, the Tennessee Nashville Basin, and the Tidewater and Piedmont areas of Virginia and the Carolinas (Foley 1989:238). Between 1810 and 1820, the Territory of Missouri's population tripled in size from 20,845 to 66,076 (Houck 1908). With this population increase Saline County was created in 1820 and the Missouri Territory was granted statehood in 1821.

To facilitate these new immigrants, a ferry was established in 1811 crossing the Missouri River from Howard County to Saline County. Van Ravenswaay (1959:206) states that "the first ferry was likely operated by Judiah Ormon, who was a licensed ferryman on April 17, 1817." This same year, John Ferrell opened a tavern on the east bank of the ferry landing in Howard County and within a year owned and operated both

the ferry and tavern. "His ferry consisted of two dugout canoes, on which rests a platform, with a slight railing to prevent cattle from falling off" (Van Ravenswaay 1959:206). After crossing the river, a natural spring, locally called the "Big Spring," was encountered approximately ¼ mile from the river and provided water for thirsty travelers and their livestock (Hamilton 1972: 15).

This ferry soon became the main crossing of the Missouri River and the starting point of the Santa Fe Trail in 1821. On September 1, 1821, William Becknell and four Howard County residents left Franklin, Missouri and crossed the Missouri River at the Arrow Rock ferry and headed west to establish the first successful overland route to Santa Fe (Van Ravenswaay 1959:207). By 1830, the Santa Fe Trail developed into a major trade route strengthening Missouri's economic growth. This trail not only led travelers to Santa Fe, but also guided them to other western states like California for the 1849 gold rush or to the great Northwest across the Oregon trail. Because of its economic and logistical position, the Arrow Rock ferry crossing became an ideal location to start a new town.

The Founding of Arrow Rock, Missouri

In a public meeting held on May 23, 1829, a county commission was organized comprised of Benjamin and Joseph Huston, Peyton Nowlin, Rudolph Hawpe, and Joseph Patterson "to select a town site, acquire the necessary land, lay out a town, sell lots, and manage affairs until the population should reach 'twelve respectable housekeepers who shall have some apparent interest in the welfare and prosperity of the town', at which time town trustees would be elected" (Van Ravenswaay 1959:207-208). On June 10, 1829, a

tract of 50 acres was donated by Burton and Nancy Lawless and John and Mary Bingham to establish this new town in the same location that in 1808 William Clark had stated to a be "a handsome spot for a town" (Greg 1937). The town was laid out using a grid pattern of one acre blocks and parallel streets (Figures 3-2, 3-3). Starting on the south side of town, streets running east to west were Clay, Van Buren, Main, High, and Morgan. Starting from the river, streets running north to south were Water followed by First through Tenth streets. "A public square was reserved in the half block north of the Tavern, fronting on High Street, between Third and Fourth streets" (Van Ravenswaay 1959:208). The town was originally called Philadelphia or New Philadelphia, but it was officially changed to Arrow Rock on February 8, 1833 by the Missouri Legislature.

Mercantile stores, craft shops, doctor's offices, liveries, restaurants, and hotels soon appeared in this town to serve and supply its' citizens and passing travelers. "The village became a bustling community from whence wagon trains took off for Santa Fe, where steamboats stopped on their way west or to unload their cargoes for building materials for the homes being built through central Missouri, the furniture to furnish them, and the latest styles in clothing for the builders, all sent from the nearest metropolis, St. Louis" (Hamilton 1972:3). Between 1839 and 1840, Arrow Rock also served as the Saline County seat. A refurbished courthouse building now stands in Arrow Rock to commemorate this fact.

Two Arrow Rock businessmen who prospered from the Santa Fe Trail are Joseph Huston and John P. Sites. In 1833, Joseph Huston, one of Arrow Rock's founders, purchased town block 17 to develop a grocery, hotel, and restaurant, called the Huston Tavern, to serve the townspeople and westward travelers (Figure 3-4). The Huston

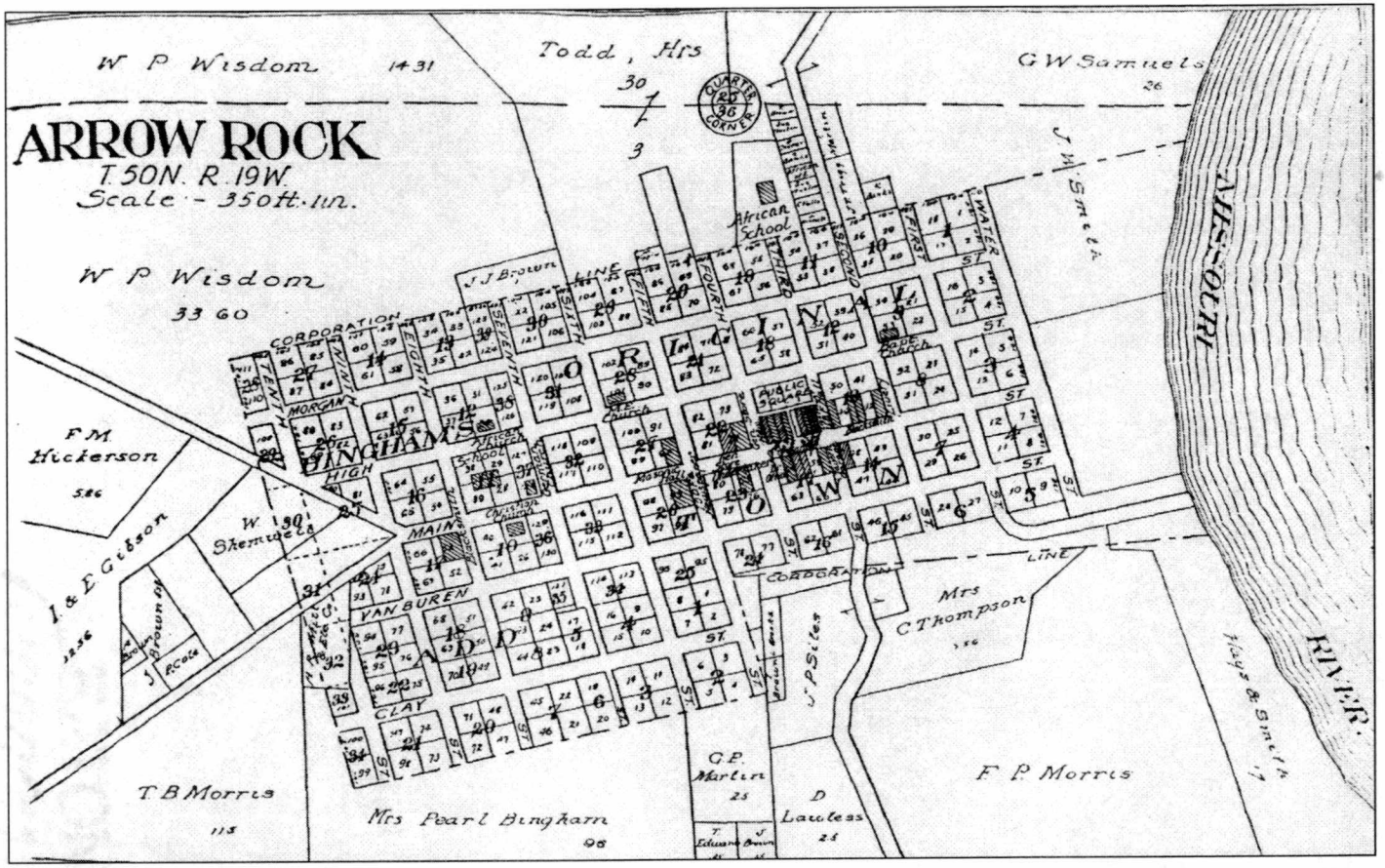


Figure 3-2: 1916 Map of Arrow Rock, Missouri

Source: George A. Ogle & Co., 1916, *Standard Atlas of Saline County, Missouri.*

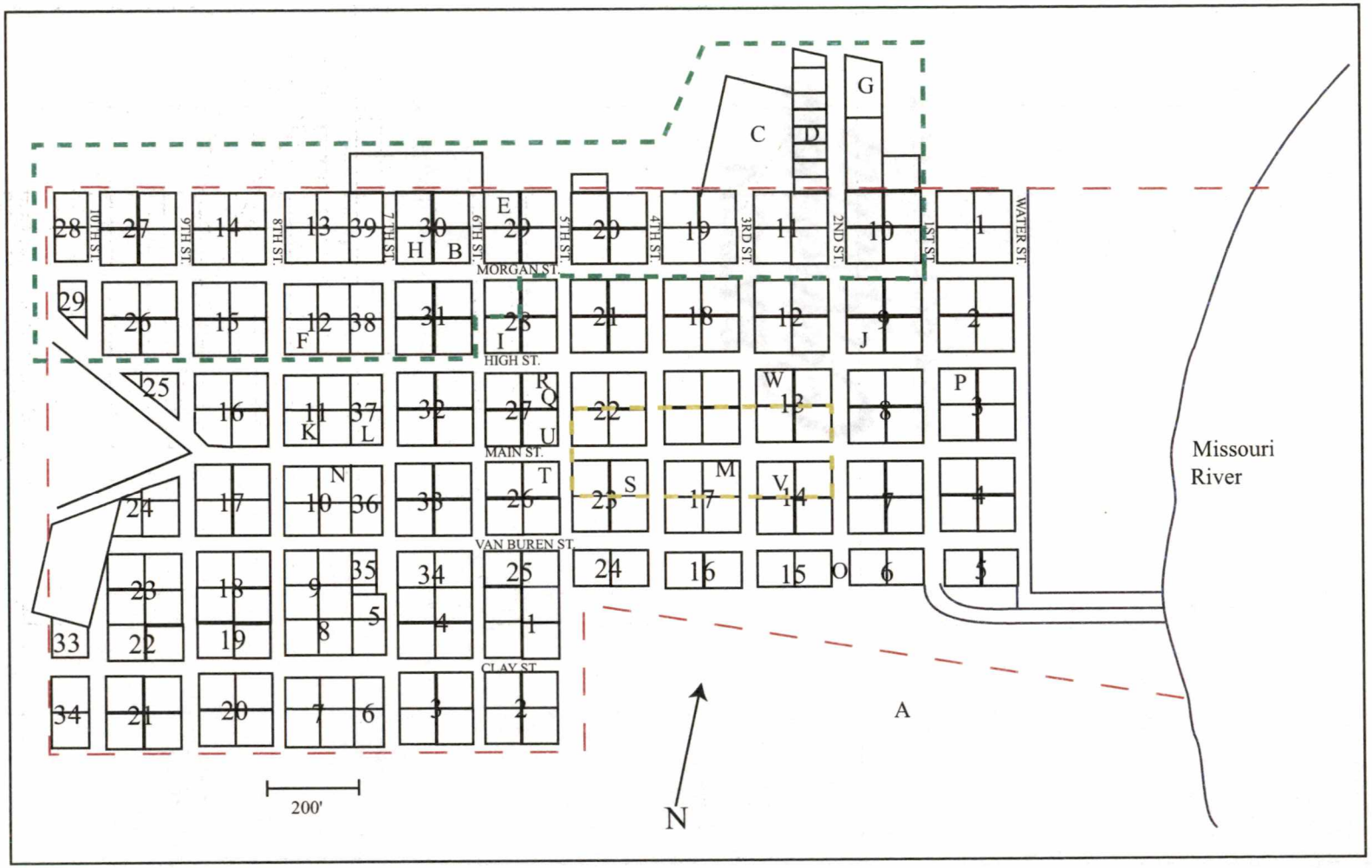


Figure 3-3: Location Map of Historic Sites in Arrow Rock, Missouri

Key for Figure 3-3

- - - African American Community
- - - Business District

A: Big Spring
B: Brown Lodge (ca. 1881) *
C: African American School (ca. 1949) *
D: African Methodist Episcopal Church (ca. 1877) *
E: Lincoln Lodge (ca. 1896) *
F: Brown Chapel Freewill Baptist Church (est. 1870) *
G: Whitsey's Tavern *
H: Odd Fellows Lodge (ca. 1890) *
I: Methodist Episcopal Church (ca. 1849)
J: First Baptist Church/ Lyceum Theater (ca. 1872)
K: Public School (ca. 1892)
L: Presbyterian Church (ca. 1857)
M: Huston Tavern (ca. 1834) *
N: Christian Church (ca. 1872)
O: City Jail (ca. 1871)
P: Bingham House (ca. 1837)
Q: Sites Gunsmith Shop (ca. 1850)
R: Sites House (ca. 1839)
S: Courthouse (ca. 1835)
T: Odd Fellows Lodge (ca. 1868)
U: Masons Lodge (ca. 1868)
V: Seminary (est. 1843)
W: Hall House (ca. 1846)

* Sites Linked to African American Heritage



Figure 3-4: Huston Tavern, ca. 1834

Tavern is still in operation today serving tourists instead of frontier settlers.

John P. Sites, born in Virginia in 1821, moved to Boonville, Missouri in 1834 where he learned the gunsmithing trade from his father. In 1844, he moved to Arrow Rock where he started his own gunsmith shop manufacturing and repairing guns and supplying ammunition for local people and those heading west (Figure 3-5) (Hamilton 1972:44). Other notable historical figures in Arrow Rock include Dr. John Sappington, who popularized the use of quinine to cure fevers and malaria, and George Caleb Bingham, a famous frontier artist. Arrow Rock is also notable for producing three state governors, Claiborne Fox Jackson, Meredith M. Marmaduke and his son John S. Marmaduke.

By the 1850s, the Boonslick Region became the main plantation district of Missouri. This region was populated primarily by Upper South immigrants adapting their southern cultural patterns of farming, architecture, and slavery to this region. The Upper South culture was characterized by a diversified and balanced farming system of crops and livestock (Newton 1974:152). "The production of tobacco and hemp with slave labor, along with a more diversified group of food crops, differentiates the Upper South from the North, which had no slaves and had wheat rather than corn as its principal grain. The Upper South is differentiated from the lower south by the ratio of nonfood cash crops to food crops and the number of slaves present" (Mason 1984:30). Because of these immigrant's Southern origins, the Boonslick Region and surrounding counties have also been called the "Little Dixie" region (Figure 3-6) (Marshall 1981; Hurt 1992). Little Dixie counties have varied from scholar to scholar based on their defining criteria (e.g. percentage of black population, hemp and tobacco production, and immigrant origins). R. Douglas



Figure 3-5: Sites Gunsmith Shop, ca. 1850

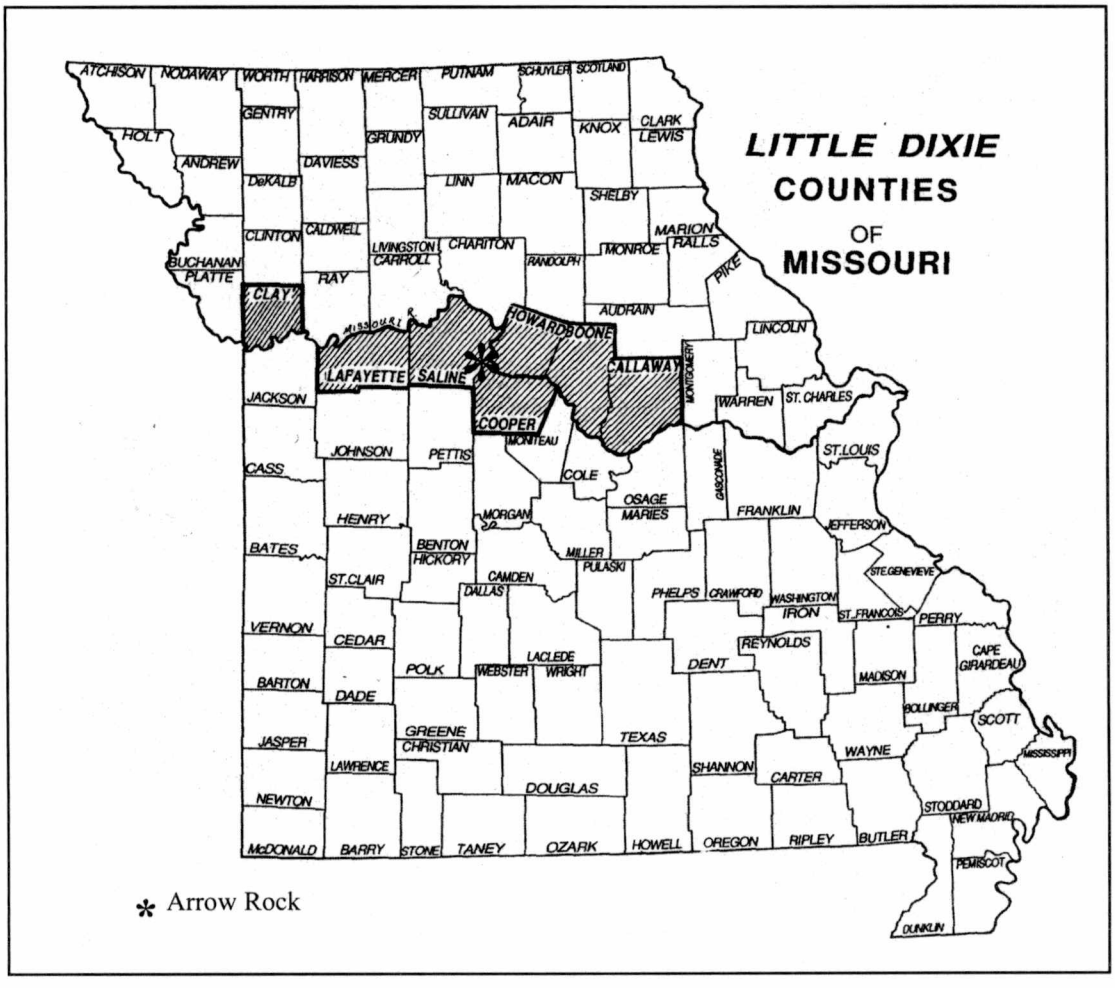


Figure 3-6: Little Dixie Counties of Missouri

Source: R.D. Hurt, 1992, *Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie*, University of Missouri Press, Columbia, p. *x*.

Hurt (1992) selected the core Little Dixie counties of Boone, Callaway, Clay, Cooper, Howard, Lafayette, and Saline counties, which he also called the "Black Belt," based on their high percentage of enslaved African-Americans. These counties had a slave population of at least 24% in 1850, and each ranked among the top ten slave counties in the 1860 population census.

Arrow Rock became a center of commerce for the local plantations to purchase supplies and ship their farm products. "In the spring of 1858, Arrow Rock had the air of a boom town, with a group of warehouses on the levee, and Main Street lined with stores. Drays, carts, and wagons are constantly traversing the streets between the steamboat landing and the business portion of the town, carrying hemp and other products of the farm for shipment, and returning with lumber, groceries, and other products for the country, or to be stored in the up town warehouses" (Weekly Democrat 1858). At the outbreak of the Civil War, Arrow Rock was a thriving town with over 1000 residents and more than 20 stores and offices open for business (Van Ravenswaay 1959:218; Prouse 1981:12).

The Missouri River steamboats transported thousands of tons of hemp, bushels of corn, and pounds of tobacco down river to St. Louis. "Arrow Rock and Miami were the principal shipping points for Saline County and much business was transacted at these river ports in the line of shipping produce and receiving merchandise" (Hamilton 1972:22). A wharf was constructed in Arrow Rock by 1829 with stores and warehouses along the Missouri River. The earliest wharf structures were built by Pearson, Marmaduke, and Sappington who constructed a brick store and frame warehouse (Van Ravenswaay 1959:208). "In 1858, the Arrow Rock town board was charging $2

wharfage for each steamboat and $1 for all flatboats loaded with lumber or wood that landed at the wharf" (Hamilton 1972:22). Access to the wharf from Arrow Rock was through the small stream valley immediately south of town. To create a better access to the boat landing, the town council decided to cut through the bluff at the end of Main Street down to the river. Once constructed, plans called for a steam engine to hoist shipments and passengers up this steep cut from the river to the town. This ambitious construction, locally called to this day as "Godsey's Diggings," was conducted sporadically between 1840 and 1857 (Hamilton 1972:28). Despite the years of work, this project was not completed due to the difficulty of the task and the beginning of the Civil War. Today, all that remains of this ill-fated adventure is a large ravine overgrown with trees and bushes.

In the mid-19th century, Missouri's railway system began to replace the steamboat for shipping merchandise and passengers. In the fall of 1860, there were plans to extend a railroad line to Arrow Rock from Louisiana, Missouri and then to connect with the Pacific Railroad to the southeast (Van Ravenswaay 1959:219). With the start of the Civil War, these plans were put on hold and never completed. The postbellum economic and population decline of Arrow Rock was partially caused by the lack of a railroad line to the town.

The Civil War in Arrow Rock

Because of its Upper South origins and its' location in Missouri's largest plantation district Arrow Rock was a pro-Southern town. At a meeting held in 1860 it was stated that "the Democratic party is the only political organization that is able to save

the Constitution and the Union...and do battle against the Black Republican Party..." (Van Ravenswaay 1959:219). During the Civil War, Arrow Rock was never a site of a major battle, but both Union and Confederate forces occupied this town resulting in numerous skirmishes. The worst was documented by Van Ravenswaay (1959:221) who stated that on July 19, 1864, about 150 of Quantrill's guerrillas stormed into town and attacked and set fire to a brick building occupied by 25 local Union soldiers and looted neighboring stores. At the end of the Civil War, the local plantation economy had to shift from slavery to non-slave labor resulting in a shift from cash crops to more grain crops and livestock production. The Civil War severely affected Arrow Rock's economy and stopped the town's growth.

The Late 19th and Early 20th Century

After the Civil War, Arrow Rock began to decline both in its' population and as a center of commerce and trade in Saline County. This gradual decline was caused by the lack of a railroad line and a major highway through the town, by two major fires in 1873 and 1901 that destroyed most of the business district, and by the Army Corps of Engineers who shifted the Missouri River channel from the Arrow Rock bluff line in the 1920s.

In 1868, the Saline County Progress reported on Arrow Rock's prosperity stating:

> To describe our town, I can say we have over one hundred dwelling houses, nine of which are built of brick, fourteen stores, eleven of which are brick – ten dry good and grocery stores, two drug stores, one boot and variety store, one jewelry store, one Odd Fellows' Hall, two churches, two schools (one African), one sash and blind factory, three blacksmith shops, two wagon maker shops, one boot and shoe shop, one bakery, one cooper shop, one dentist, four physicians, one dress-making and millinery establishment, one express office, one furniture store, one

> gunsmith shop, two hotels, one insurance office, one livery stable, one lumber yard, two saddlery shops, one paint shop, one steam saw mill, two flowering mills, one carding machine, one woolen factory, one shingle and steam plaining mill, one billiard hall, one bank, one broker and exchange dealer, one art gallery, one stage and post office, and one large brick yard.
>
> Several buildings will be erected here in the spring, amongst which will be a large Masonic Hall to be built of brick, one Odd Fellows' Hall, a large male and female seminary to be built of brick. Each of the three buildings will be quite an ornament to our town. Wood, Huston & Co. will also build another large warehouse of brick, which will be one of the largest and best in this upper country. We have a calaboose or jail, which, however, is almost always tenantless, probably because we are blessed with neither editors or lawyers.
>
> Our sidewalks are well paved, and our main street is macademized, a thing no other town in our county can boast of. Our corporation laws are rigidly enforced, and law and order prevails. Takings all things into consideration, Arrow Rock is one of the most quiet, orderly and well regulated towns on the Missouri river. (Saline County Progress 1868)

By 1873, Arrow Rock's population declined to about 600 people with about 20 business firms and two steam flour mills in operation (St. Louis Daily Globe 1873). An 1870s drawing of Arrow Rock's Main Street highlights some of these businesses (Missouri Publishing Company 1876) (Figure 3-7).

On December 28, 1873 a fire broke out in John Gilpin's saloon at Fourth and Main streets (Van Ravenswaay 1959:222). The fire spread quickly destroying a row of frame shops and homes along Fourth Street and partially on Main Street. Four days later, three other fires were started in town, which led to the suspicion of arson. Three men, named John Sweeney, Clark Coiner, and Reuben Elder, were suspected for starting these blazes and all three were lynched.

A second fire destroyed the rest of Arrow Rock's business district on July 11, 1901. The fire started in J. W. Wheeler's Drug Store on Main Street. The fire spread quickly destroying the drug store and the entire business district on the north side of Main

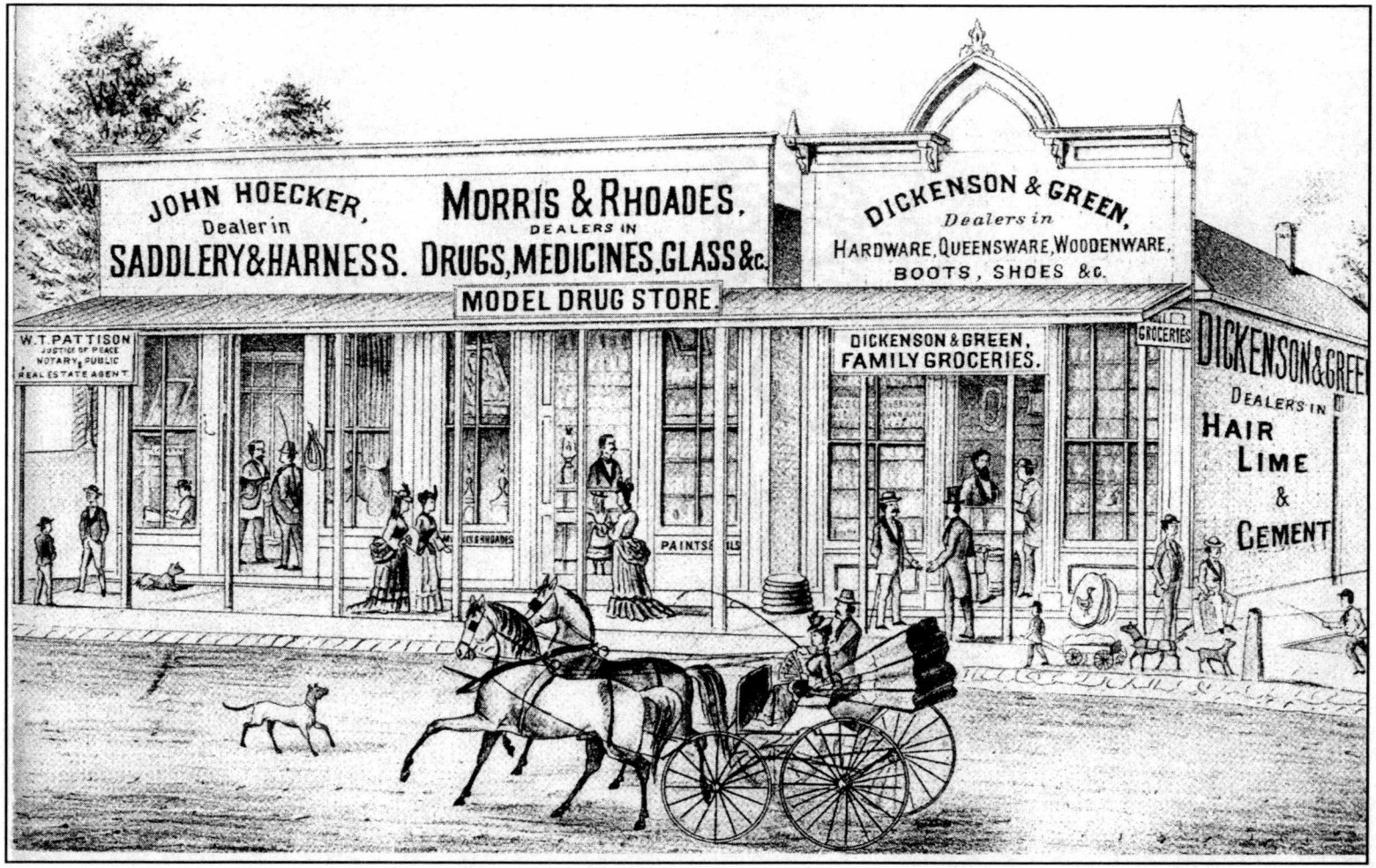


Figure 3-7: 1876 Drawing of Arrow Rock, Missouri's Business District

Source: Missouri Publishing Co., 1876, *Atlas Map of Saline County, Missouri.*

Street. Luckily, most of these structures were made of brick, which saved these buildings from complete destruction and allowed them to be rebuilt.

With no highway or railroad through town, Arrow Rock still relied on the river for transportation and shipping, but this was also changing. By the early 20th century, only an occasional steamboat would stop. Despite this decline in steamboat travel, a boat yard was still in operation by Gustav Moehle and his sons along the Arrow Rock wharf between 1890 and 1909 (Hamilton 1972:15). Moehle and his sons built steamboats and ferry boats for shipping and excursion trips. After 116 years, the Arrow Rock ferry stopped running between Howard County and Arrow Rock in 1927 (Hamilton 1972:14). Daniel and Earl Kuhn operated the last ferry appropriately called the "Santa Fe." The final dagger in Arrow Rock's heart as a river town was in the 1920s, when the Army Corps of Engineers changed the course of the Missouri River away from the town for flood control purposes. Thus ended Arrow Rock's river town status. With the decline in population and economy Arrow Rock looked to be on its deathbed.

Despite the postbellum decline in Arrow Rock's status as an economic and population center in Saline County, Arrow Rock developed into a strong African-American community. A more detailed history of this African-American community will be discussed in Chapter IV. After the abolishment of slavery, newly freed slaves did one of four things 1) continued to work for their former masters, 2) left Missouri to states like Kansas, 3) started their own towns like Pennytown in Saline County, 4) moved into towns and cities to find work and community support with other African-Americans. The latter defines Arrow Rock's black community, which lived on the north side of town along High, Morgan, and Second streets and included homes, two churches, a school

house, fraternal organizations, and businesses. By 1910, 44% of the town's population of 336 were African-American (U. S. Census Bureau 1910).

Even with this influx of African-Americans, Arrow Rock was a stagnant community. The Great Depression caused young adults to move to larger cities, like St. Louis or Kansas City, to find jobs. With the youth moving out and the older generation slowly dying off, Arrow Rock was turning into a ghost town. By 1950, there were only 170 people in a town that once held over 1000 citizens a hundred years earlier. If it were not for the historic preservation efforts of its townspeople, Arrow Rock would likely not exist today.

Historic Preservation

Arrow Rock was and is a pioneer in the preservation of Missouri's heritage. In 1912, the Daughters of the American Revolution in association with the National Old Trails Road Association purchased a room in the Huston Tavern and furnished it with period furniture and historical objects "as a means of teaching Missouri history to the passerby" (Van Ravenswaay 1959:223). In the early 1920s, the DAR then attempted to restore the entire Huston Tavern resulting in the tavern's purchase in 1923 by the state of Missouri. The Huston Tavern became the first state owned historic building to be restored and opened to the public. The DAR was named by the state as guardians of the tavern. The restoration was completed in 1926 and the Arrow Rock State Historic Site was created. The original park included nearly 34 acres concentrated on the south side of Arrow Rock comprising the Huston Tavern, the Big Spring, the Academy building, a stone jail, and the surrounding natural environment. During the 1930s, the WPA assisted

in developing this new park for recreational use and helped restore and add the George Caleb Bingham house in 1934 as part of the park's historic resources. Since this time, additional historic properties have been added to the state park through the assistance of The Friends of Arrow Rock, Inc.

In 1959, the Friends of Arrow Rock, Inc., a local historic preservation society, was created to preserve the history and structures of Arrow Rock. This new group concentrated on purchasing and restoring historic structures including the Old Courthouse, the Christian Church Chapel, the IOOF Lodge Hall, the Sites gunsmith shop and home, two business buildings on Main Street, and the Brown Chapel. The Friends of Arrow Rock are currently restoring the Brown Lodge (ca. 1881), which had an African-American Masonic Hall on the second floor and a restaurant and bar on the first. Assisting in this restoration, the Missouri Archaeological Society, the University of Tennessee at Knoxville, and the University of Missouri-St. Louis have conducted six archaeological field schools during the summers of 1996-2001. This dissertation details the excavations of the 1996 and 1997 field seasons. This is not the first time that the Friends of Arrow Rock have sought out the expertise of archeologists in a restoration project. In 1967, archaeologist Robert Bray of the University of Missouri at Columbia conducted excavations on the interior of the Sites gunsmith shop (Bray 1967).

The Friends of Arrow Rock have also helped to create the Pioneer Doctor's Museum, the Sappington Museum, the Loom House, the Arrow Rock Craft Club and the Lyceum Theatre. The Arrow Rock Craft Club was created in 1960 and is located in the Euro-American Masonic Lodge (ca. 1868) at Fourth and Main streets. The Craft Center sells needlework, quilting, baked goods and preserves, and other handmade and

homegrown items (Fisher et al. 1988:15). The Craft Club's purpose is "to promote interest in arts, crafts and hobbies, and to develop and utilize in all feasible ways the skill, knowledge, experience and good will of its members to the advantage of themselves and their community" (Hamilton 1972:57). Members of the club receive 90% of the sale price of their products with 10% used to operate the store.

In 1961, the Lyceum Theatre was created to provide professional theatrical plays throughout the tourist season. The theatre is housed in the renovated First Baptist Church (ca. 1872) at the corner of High and Second streets. The Lyceum employs 25 to 30 actors and crew from across the country providing six to eight different plays a season. Each play is operated with the assistance of local volunteers as ushers and in ticket sales. In a town of less than 100 people, the Lyceum relies heavily upon tourists as patrons, which it averages over 30,000 in seasonal attendance.

On November 8th, 1964, the majority of Arrow Rock was recognized as a National Historic Landmark Site. And in 1979, the town was placed on the National Register of Historic Places (Harper and Forry 1979). Both of these nominations are a tribute to the townspeople of Arrow Rock and its' historic significance in Missouri and national history, particularly as a starting point on the Santa Fe Trail.

In 1984, the Friends of Arrow Rock added a new level to their historic preservation efforts by starting a children's education program. The education program, originally funded by a Missouri Humanities Grant, attempts to explain Arrow Rock's heritage through tours and folk craft projects guided by docents and craftpersons wearing period clothing. They continue this education program today averaging 2,000 children during a six week period between April and May and 1,500 children for the Children's

Craft Festival in September. The Friends also give tours to over 1,800 general tourists throughout the year.

In 1989, the Missouri Department of Parks and Recreation made a large financial commitment to Arrow Rock's heritage by funding the construction of a new one million dollar visitor center and museum. The grand opening occurred on September 27, 1991 establishing Arrow Rock, Missouri as a historically significant site that will be visited by thousands of tourists for generations to come.

Today in Arrow Rock, Missouri

Still applicable today, Charles Van Ravenswaay's (1959:203) description of Arrow Rock in 1959 stated:

> "The Village of Arrow Rock on the Missouri River is today almost a ghost town. Time and change have long since passed it by, but its old white frame and red brick buildings, its historic Tavern, and even brooding and crumbling stores, are reminders of the years when the town's Main Street was part of the Santa Fe Trail, and a remarkable group of [people] living in and near the village helped to shape state and national history. The town's economic decline and its isolation from railroads, and major highways have preserved it from the intrusion of the twentieth century. Not a gas station, a ranch house, or a movie theater, exists in the town. It remains, for all its air of decay and shambling charm, a museum piece of Missouri's frontier years, expressed in the idiom of the middle-South from which most of its early settlers came. There is no other town in the state so well preserved, or which expresses so well this particular part of our history, and which presents such an opportunity for a large scale preservationist project."

Today, Arrow Rock has redefined itself from a thriving antebellum river town supplying nearby plantations and westward travelers on the Santa Fe Trail into a state and national historic treasure preserving its structures and archaeological remains and using its historic status to teach tourists and school groups about the past. The prognosis for

Arrow Rock's historical and economic survival into the 21st century is excellent. The town's heritage continues to be under the watchful eyes of the Arrow Rock State Historic Site, the Friends of Arrow Rock, and the Daughters of the American Revolution to preserve the past for the future. The most recent historic preservation work has been to address an unheard past, Arrow Rock's African-American heritage.

CHAPTER IV

ARROW ROCK'S AFRICAN-AMERICAN HERITAGE

African-Americans in Arrow Rock and in central Missouri have a long and significant history, that until recently has gone unnoticed (Grenz 1979; Kremer and Morrow 1990; Hurt 1992; Kremer and Holland 1993; Mitchell 1997; Kremer and Hoaglin 1997). The lack of African-American research has been caused by a bias towards white, male, and upper class history, which focused on the celebratory aspects of the past. Past historic preservation movements in Arrow Rock have been guilty of this bias focusing on famous and wealthy individuals or events in the town's history including the Santa Fe Trail, George Caleb Bingham, the famous 19th century artist, and Dr. John Sappington, who popularized quinine to cure malaria. Since the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, social scientists have shifted to more research on social history that highlights the working class, minority groups, women, and children. This research shift to social history has opened the door to completely new research questions that previously had been ignored. Over the past six years, the Friends of Arrow Rock and the Arrow Rock State Historic Site have attempted to correct some of these biases by telling a more complete story of Arrow Rock's past, in particular its' African-American heritage.

Antebellum Period

Arrow Rock was founded in 1829 in Saline County located in west central Missouri within the historic plantation district known as the "Little Dixie" region

(Marshall 1981; Hurt 1992). The "Little Dixie" region was settled after the Louisiana Purchase primarily by Upper South immigrants from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and the Carolinas. These immigrants established a diverse agricultural system that used enslaved African-Americans to produce cash crops of tobacco and hemp. The Little Dixie region, which included the counties of Boone, Callaway, Clay, Cooper, Howard, Lafayette, and Saline, had a slave population of at least 24% in 1850, and each county ranked among the top ten slave counties in the 1860 population census (Table 4-1) (Figure 4-1).

The Upper South migration transformed Missouri into a United States Territory in 1812 and then a "slave" state in 1821. Missouri's admission as a "slave" state was not easy because the United States Congress was divided equally between free and slave state representatives. The solution was the Missouri Compromise in 1821, which admitted Missouri as a slave state and Maine as a free state maintaining the balance. The compromise also established that slavery would be permitted only below the 36° 30' parallel

Table 4-1: Saline County's African-American Population, 1810-1860

YEAR	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
Saline Co.	NA	NA	2,873	5,258	8,843	14,699
% Enslaved	NA	NA	25%	31%	31%	33%
% Free Black	NA	NA	1%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%
Missouri	20,845	66,076	140,445	383,702	682,044	1,063,489
% Enslaved	14%	15%	18%	15%	12%	11%
% Free Black	3%	1%	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	0.3%

(Source: United States Census Bureau 1830, 1840, 1850a, 1850b, 1860a, 1860b; Houck 1908; Trexler 1914; Kremer and Holland 1993)

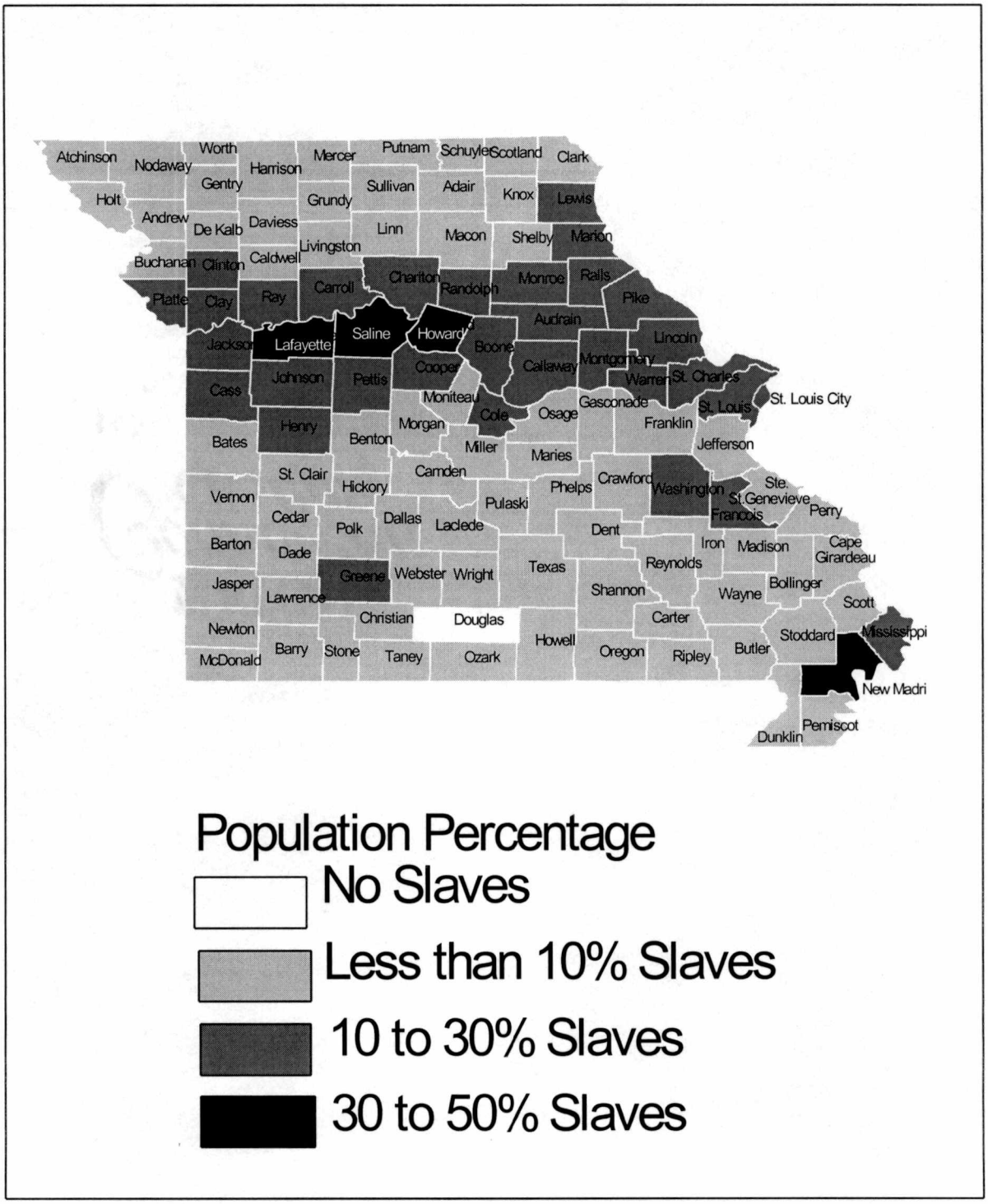


Figure 4-1: Missouri's Slave Population in 1860

or the Mason - Dixon line. Hereafter, Missouri was a peninsula of slavery surrounded by a sea of free territory (Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas) (Trexler 1914:173).

In 1860, there were 114,509 enslaved African-Americans representing 10% of Missouri's population (U.S. Census 1860a, 1860b). Despite the large number of slaves, the percentage of African-Americans in Missouri peaked in 1830 with 18.3% of the population. The decline in population percentage from 1830 to 1860 was caused by a decrease of Upper South immigrants and the increase of settlers from northern free states and new European immigrants, particularly from Germany and Ireland. The new European immigrants began to compete for employment with slavery and the German settlers became strong anti-slavery supporters.

During the antebellum period, Missouri had very few large slaveholding plantations. Over half of Missouri's slaveholders owned 1 to 3 slaves and the state averaged only 4 to 5 slaves per owner throughout the antebellum period (Trexler 1914; Hurt 1992; Kremer and Holland 1993). The Missouri master's slave average was much smaller than that of the Deep South of 12.7 slaves per slaveholder and in the Upper South of 7.7 slaves per slaveholder (Hurt 1992:219). The Little Dixie region had a higher slave average of 6.1 per slaveowner than the rest of Missouri, but the Little Dixie average also fell short of the Upper South average (Hurt 1992:219).

Enslaved African-Americans in Arrow Rock and Saline County were divided between rural and urban labor. Most slaves in Saline County were primarily unskilled laborers working in agriculture pursuits, which included clearing forests, splitting rails, hoeing corn, drying tobacco, and breaking hemp. In 1840, slave populations in Arrow Rock Township consisted of at least 400 or 33% of the township population. Twenty years later,

slave populations in Arrow Rock Township included 40% of the residents. Urban slaves at this time in Arrow Rock numbered approximately 100 individuals (Kremer and Hoaglin 1997). Arrow Rock's enslaved African-American population worked more often in skilled labor as blacksmiths or brick masons, but also labored as non-skilled workers in domestic service, industry, and dockwork. Recorded examples of slave labor in Arrow Rock include general laborers, who constructed the famous limestone gutters in the 1850s that still line Main Street today, domestic servants and cooks at the Huston Tavern, and industrial laborers in the Caldwell pottery factory.

Many slaves, particularly in urban centers, were also utilized by non-slave owning individuals through a hiring out system. Excess slaves were hired out by their masters for periods of a week to a year in a variety of jobs (e.g. mines, hemp and tobacco industries, print shops, steamboats, and other industries). Depending on the length of hiring, the renter was required to provide the slaves with housing, food, medical care, and clothing, but this was not always the case. An example in Missouri of the hiring out practice can be seen at the Maramec Iron Works near St. James, Missouri, which hired slaves from Little Dixie plantations during the winter months (Green 1979). In Arrow Rock, it is likely that some urban slaves were hired out to neighboring plantations when needed.

Slaveowners attempted to control slaves in Arrow Rock and Saline County through various legal and social edicts. On December 23, 1847, the Arrow Rock Board of Trustees formed a patrol "...to guard the town and prevent the unlawful meeting of Negroes, and see that no Negro is out from home after ten o'clock at night without a pass, and if so found shall receive not exceeding ten lashes..." (after Prouse 1981:164). Despite these behavioral codes for Saline County's enslaved community, many Euro-Americans believed that slaves

were still too free and insubordinate. Euro-American views of unlawful behavior by slaves were sent into a panic in 1859, when over a period of a month four enslaved African-American men were arrested for the crimes of murder, attempted murder, and two for attempted rape. All victims of these crimes were Euro-Americans. As the result of a mob action, three were killed in Marshall with two being lynching and one burnt to death. The fourth was lynched in Arrow Rock. The reaction to these crimes and the resulting mob action were heavily discussed in the Marshall Weekly Democrat (1859a, 1859b). One published letter from the editor stated that:

> The people of Saline County will so continue to act until the Legislature shall do their duty, revise the criminal code, make the penalty adequate to the crime – satisfy the public opinion. Let the law harmonise [sic] with it. The law that is not based upon public opinion is but a rope of sand. An enlightened public opinion is the voice of God, and when brought into action it has a power and energy that cannot be resisted...These are the remedies I suggest. I have no fears of the action of the people on the 19th being made a precedent for the abuse of illegal power. An enlightened people will ever discriminate in the use of illegal power. If we are advancing in civilization, as I believe we are, the use of this power will become less frequent; the law will be clothed with the sanctity of justice. If we are retrogarding [sic], if we are going backwards, the abuse of unlawful power will cure itself; the strong arm of military power will do its work.
> People may call it mob law...Well, it was mob law when the laboring men of Boston disguised themselves as Indians and threw the tea overboard. I know no reason why we should not have a little mob law in the State of Missouri, and County of Saline, when the *occasion imperiously and a necessity* demands it. (Weekly Democrat 1859a)

As disturbing as the lynchings were, what is more disturbing was the underlying rationalizing by the Euro-American citizens as to why slaves participated in criminal behavior. A second letter published in the Weekly Democrat commented on why enslaved African-Americans were becoming increasingly insubordinate stated:

> ...public sentiment among the slaves, that they are too valuable to be hung; with the further fact known to all our citizens, that our negroes have entirely too many privileges, wear better clothes than their masters, and always have money in their

> pockets, and the conclusion is irresistible, that nothing short of a desperate remedy, just such as was administered, at all meets the case...(Weekly Democrat 1859b)

Historian R. Douglas Hurt (1992:269) suggested that Missouri had a "more liberal manumission policy" than most slave states resulting in an increase of free blacks from 77 in 1800 to 3,572 in 1860 (U.S. Census Bureau 1960a, 1860b; Hurt 1992; Kremer and Holland 1993:15). In 1850, 50 manumissions were granted out of 87,422 slaves or one out of 1,748 and in 1860, 89 out of 114,931 slaves or one out of 1,291 were freed (Hurt 1992:269). Most Missouri manumissions occurred in the urban center of St. Louis and very few occurred in rural areas like Arrow Rock and Saline County. Of the 3,572 free blacks recorded in 1860, 2,139 were in St. Louis City and County (U.S. Census 1960a, 1860b). Many of these free blacks were former French slaves or their descendants, or were ex-slaves from other states, and only a small portion were from Missouri. Some St. Louis free blacks became very prosperous businesspersons and respected citizens worth several million dollars, who Cyprian Clamorgan called the "Colored Aristocracy" in 1858 (Christensen 1974). In Saline County, free African-American populations were sparse with only 1% or less of the total population between 1830 and 1860 (Table 4-1). It is unknown if any free African-Americans lived in Arrow Rock because such data were not recorded separately on the U.S. census until 1880. The small number of free African-Americans in Saline County can be attributed to the views of many Euro-Americans in this region. In 1859, one view was expressed in the Marshall Weekly Democrat, which stated: "Every abolitionist ought to be driven out of the country; every free negro should be sold into slavery or go out of the State; no more emancipation, without sending them off" (Weekly Democrat 1859a).

Overall, urban areas like St. Louis were the location where most free African-Americans lived. According to historian Ira Berlin (1974:174-181), free African-Americans were the most urban caste of the South. In 1860, better than a third of the southern free black population lived in cities or towns, while barely 15% of the whites and about 5% of the slaves lived in urban centers (Berlin 1974). Many freed African-Americans struggled to survive, working at jobs often no better than those performed by slaves as domestic servants, porters, roustabouts, barbers, and nannies.

Civil War and Reconstruction Period

In April of 1861, the Civil War began with eleven southern states seceding from the Union and forming the Confederate States of America. Missouri was divided between the two sides voting to stay in the Union, but wishing to keep slavery. Missouri's division was caused by its' Upper South immigration origins. In 1860, Missouri's population totaled 1.2 million and 431,391 of these persons were born in the Upper South or southern slavery states (Kremer and Holland 1993:75). Because of Missouri's border status, men fought on both sides in the war, which included 109,000 in the Union and 30,000 in the Confederate forces (Kremer and Holland 1993:76). Throughout the Civil War, Missouri was controlled by the Union, but in rural settlements like Arrow Rock and Saline County, Confederate troops and southern sympathizers often controlled these areas.

Six months after the war began, Union General John Fremont declared marshal law in Missouri and issued a proclamation freeing all Missouri slaves. Fremont's proclamation, which was soon after nullified by Abraham Lincoln, encouraged slaves to leave their masters and seek freedom. Many slaves migrated to urban areas of Jefferson City,

Columbia, St. Louis, and Kansas City to escape enslavement and find protection with Union forces. Others moved out of the state into Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois. Estimations of Missouri's black population indicated that of the 114,931 slaves in 1860 only 73,811 remained in 1863, and only 22,000 by 1864 (Grenz 1979:25). Missouri slaveowners tried to protect their economic investments by moving slaves to Arkansas and Texas, but this was a futile effort.

On July 31, 1863, President Lincoln ordered that all available able-bodied blacks between the ages of 20 and 45 be allowed to enlist into the armed forces. By the end of the war, African-American soldiers contributed 10% of the total Union forces or approximately 186,000 (Blassingame 1964). Missouri's black troop recruitment was slow at first, due to conservative rural forces, but by 1863 and 1864, the First and Second Regiments of Missouri Colored Infantry were formed. By the Civil War's end, seven Missouri Black Regiments were created with 8,344 recruits (Blassingame 1964:338). Missouri's African-American forces amounted to only 12% of the total Missouri Union forces, but many Missouri slaves ran away at the war's beginning and joined black Union forces in the First and Second Kansas Volunteers as well as the First Iowa Regiment of African Descent. The First Kansas Colored Regiment was the first African-American force in combat at the Battle of Island Mound on October 28 – 29, 1862 near Butler, Missouri (Hargrove 1988:58). During the war, Missouri's black men and women also served as Union informants as well as cooks, nurses, and servants for both sides.

Missouri's slaves were freed on January 11, 1865 by a state referendum, which was eleven months prior to the ratification of the 13th Amendment and the abolishment of slavery. During the war, many slaves left their masters with some moving out of the state.

The 1870 Missouri census indicates only a slight decline in the African-American population from 118,503 in 1860 to 118,071.

The Reconstruction period was a time of rebuilding a war torn country. Even though they were free, the lives of African-Americans changed very little. Some freed slaves moved to urban areas to find employment, but most continued working in rural areas for former slaveholders. In Missouri the elimination of slavery had its greatest impact on the agriculture system, in particular the production of labor intensive crops (hemp and tobacco). After the war, many large estates were divided and reduced in the absence of cash crops. Yet Missouri planters and farmers, who used a diverse "Upper South" system, were able to redefine their status and wealth by shifting from cash crops to increased livestock and food crop production.

Overall, Missouri's agricultural labor switched from slavery to farm laborers, tenant farming, and sharecropping. In general, black families continued as agricultural laborers by renting or working the land of former slaveowners, often for nothing more than room and board. Many African-American families continued living in antebellum slave quarters. A barter system was established which furnished black farmers with implements and necessities as an advance on contract wages or in return for a portion of their harvest as sharecroppers (Naglich 1993). A small number of black families were able to acquire a few acres, on which they conducted subsistence farming and on occasion raised commercial crops. By 1870, two-thirds of African-American males employed in the state were still working as farm laborers and were virtually propertyless (Kremer and Holland 1993).

Postbellum Period

The late 19th century and early 20th century is marked by a massive northern migration and urbanization of the American black population. By 1880 the Reconstruction period's economic growth had become stagnant, causing southern black farm laborers to emigrate to northern cities looking for better paying factory jobs. Many of Missouri's urban blacks also left the state for northeastern cities where they could earn higher wages in factories, foundries, and shipyards. Missouri's rural blacks, hearing of better economic and social opportunities in the cities, moved into urban areas like St. Louis and Kansas City (Figure 4-2).

Historians Gary Kremer and Antonio Holland (1993:114) stated that between the years 1880 and 1910, "Missouri's black population grew by only 8% from 145,350 to 157,452. By contrast, the white population grew by 55%, from 2,022,826 to 3,134,932" (Table 4-2). Due to black urbanization, St. Louis' African-American population in 1880 totaled 22,256, which made it the third largest urban black concentration in the nation (Primm 1981:332). By 1890, 47% of Missouri's black population lived in cities, by 1900 the figure increased to 55%, and by 1920, nearly 67% lived in cities, which was almost three times the national average (Kremer and Holland 1993:107-108).

By the early 20th century, most Missouri African-Americans lived in segregated urban housing and worked as general laborers. Rural blacks continued to work as farm laborers. Even though overcrowded, the urban black community thrived culturally with its own education, churches, hospitals, and social organizations for support.

Post-Civil War African-Americans in Missouri struggled to obtain equal citizenship, which included such things as property ownership, fair treatment in the legal system, the

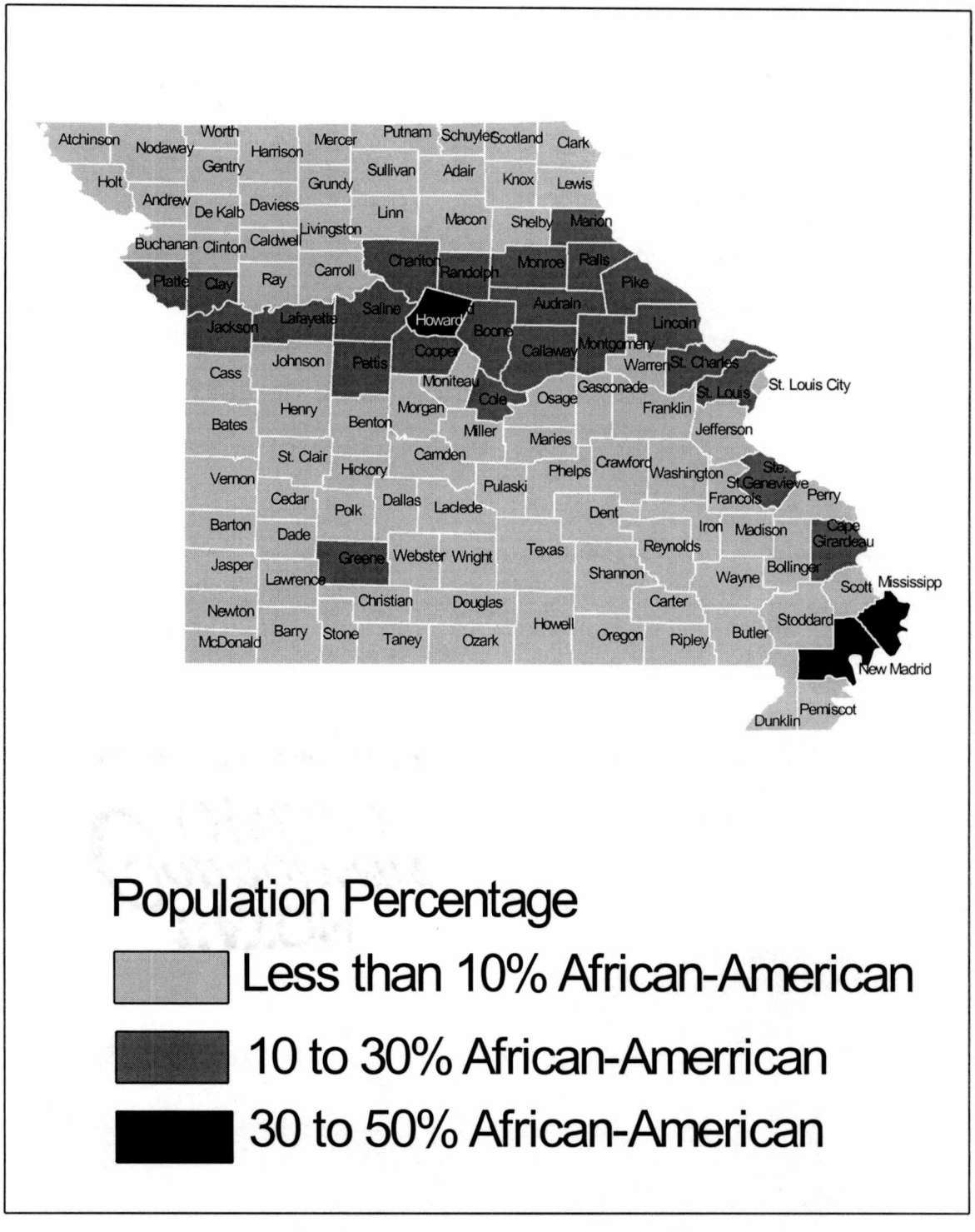


Figure 4-2: Missouri's African-American Population in 1880

Table 4-2: Arrow Rock's African-American Population, 1870-1950

Year	Arrow Rock	% Black	Saline Co.	% Black	Missouri	% Black
1870	NA	NA	21,672	17.3%	1,721,295	6.9%
1880	304	25%	29,911	16.5%	2,168,176	6.7%
1890	350	NA	33,762	15.1%	2,678,642	5.6%
1900	358	32%	33,703	14.1%	3,106,077	5.2%
1910	336	44%	29,448	12.8%	2,293,335	4.8%
1920	286	40%	28,826	10.8%	3,404,055	5.2%
1930	304	NA	30,598	8.8%	3,629,367	6.2%
1940	247	NA	29,416	7.9%	3,784,664	6.5%
1950	170	NA	26,694	6.0%	3,954,653	7.5%

(United States Census Bureau 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950)

right to vote, equal education, and consumer choice to patronize any business they desired. In search of equal citizenship, former slaves in Missouri did one of four things. First, many former slaves left Missouri because it was a "slave" state and moved to Illinois, Iowa, or Kansas. The latter was the utopia destination in 1879 as African-Americans called "Exodusters" attempted to migrate from plantations in the Upper and Deep South to find a better life and hoping for the mythical "forty acres and a mule" (Grenz 1978). One example in Kansas was the freedmen town called Happy Hallow, which was founded during and after the Civil War immediately north of Kansas City, Kansas by former slaves, many of whom were from Missouri (Schmits 1991). For example, William Meyer, a 50 year-old African-American laborer from Missouri, moved to Happy Hallow with his wife and two children after the Civil War (Schmits 1991).

The second option was that former slaves continued to work for their former masters as day laborers, sharecroppers, or tenants. These African-Americans often lived in the same

residences and conducted the same work that they did as slaves. This option was likely the most common for former slaves, but may not have been the most desirable. Many African-Americans continued to work for their former masters because of the lack of finances to buy their own farm or to move to another state or urban area. Another reason that many remained working for former masters was that it was their home place. It was the place where they grew up and where their extended family lived. An example of the latter reason may be seen in the Wildhorse Creek drainage in St. Louis County (Harl et al. 1990). A number of slaves from the Tyler and Coleman plantations joined Union forces during the Civil War, but after the war they returned to live in the same area, many working for the same plantation families.

The third option was that a number of African-Americans created their own communities separate from Euro-American control. An example in Saline County is the town of Pennytown, which was founded in 1871 by Joseph Penny, a former slave from Tennessee (Kremer and Morrow 1990; Kremer and Holland 1993). Pennytown served as an economic and social center for African-Americans with a church, businesses, fraternal organizations, and small farms. Despite their spatial separation from white communities, many of Pennytown's inhabitants worked as day laborers on neighboring white farms or as domestic servants for families in Marshall, the county seat of Saline County.

The final option was that many African-Americans moved into extant urban areas like St. Louis, Kansas City, Springfield, or Columbia after the Civil War. Black families who moved into these existing communities were marginalized or segregated from the Euro-American residents both spatially and socially. Despite this segregation, African-Americans flourished in the urban environment creating their own unified communities with

their own churches, schools, businesses, and fraternal organizations. The development of these African-American communities did not occur overnight, but required years of struggling against the legacy of slavery.

Arrow Rock's postbellum African-American community falls under this final post-Civil War option of moving into an extant urban area. Arrow Rock was not the size of St. Louis, but it did provide greater freedom and economic opportunities than living on a plantation. In 1880, which is the first year that Arrow Rock is listed separately in the U. S. Census, it had a population of 304 citizens with 25% being of African origin (Table 4-2). By 1910, African-Americans numbered 148 constituting 44% of the town's population.

The greatest example of African-American independence may be seen in the struggle for property ownership (Kremer and Hoaglin 1997). In the 1880 census, 77 African-Americans lived in Arrow Rock, residing in 24 separate households with 14 or 58% of these households headed by Euro-Americans. Thus, African-Americans continued to live in a state of "quasi slavery" as "live in" help. In this situation, African-Americans were told where they could sleep, when to get up, were on call most of the day, and as a result often had stressful relationships with their spouse and children (Clark-Lewis 1994). By 1900, Arrow Rock's population increased to 358 people, with 113 or 32% being of African origin, who lived in 27 households. All 27 households in which blacks lived were headed by African-Americans and 13 of the 27 were owned by the black residents.

African-Americans in Arrow Rock were marginalized on the north side of town along High, Morgan, and Second streets. Based upon deed records, the first land purchased

by African-American families was in the 1870s and located on north Second Street (Figure 4-3). The northern most block of Second Street was outside the official city limits and thus it appears that the Euro-American community sold land to African-Americans farthest away from the town's core. It was not until the 1880s that African-Americans were recorded buying land inside the city limits along High and Morgan streets. Within this social landscape, the African-Americans were both inside and outside the community of Arrow Rock. They were inside the community in that they were needed in the labor force as domestic servants and day laborers, but they were outside the community in that they were first offered land outside the city limits and farthest away from the town's center.

Another example of this in/out relationship can be seen in Euro-American houses of Arrow Rock where African-Americans were domestic servants living in a back bedroom or above the kitchen. These servants were in one sense a part of the household in that they did the cooking and cleaning, but were not a part of the family as they were not welcome to eat the meals they prepared at the table with the rest of the household.

Between 1880 and 1920, the most common job listings for African-Americans within Arrow Rock's city limits were farm and day laborers for men and domestic servants and laundresses for women (Tables 4-3, 4-4). An example of African-American labor was seen in a 1916 advertisement from the Arrow Rock Statesman, which stated "Cleaning, Pressing, and Repairing neatly done. Ladies work a specialty. At Colored Methodist Parsonage" (Arrow Rock Statesman 1916). The servant and laundress roles were rarest among men. Overall, African-American men had a greater variety of job opportunities than women with 19 different job listings for men and only five for women. Unique job listings for African-American men included a barber, minister, sexton, restaurant keeper, teacher,

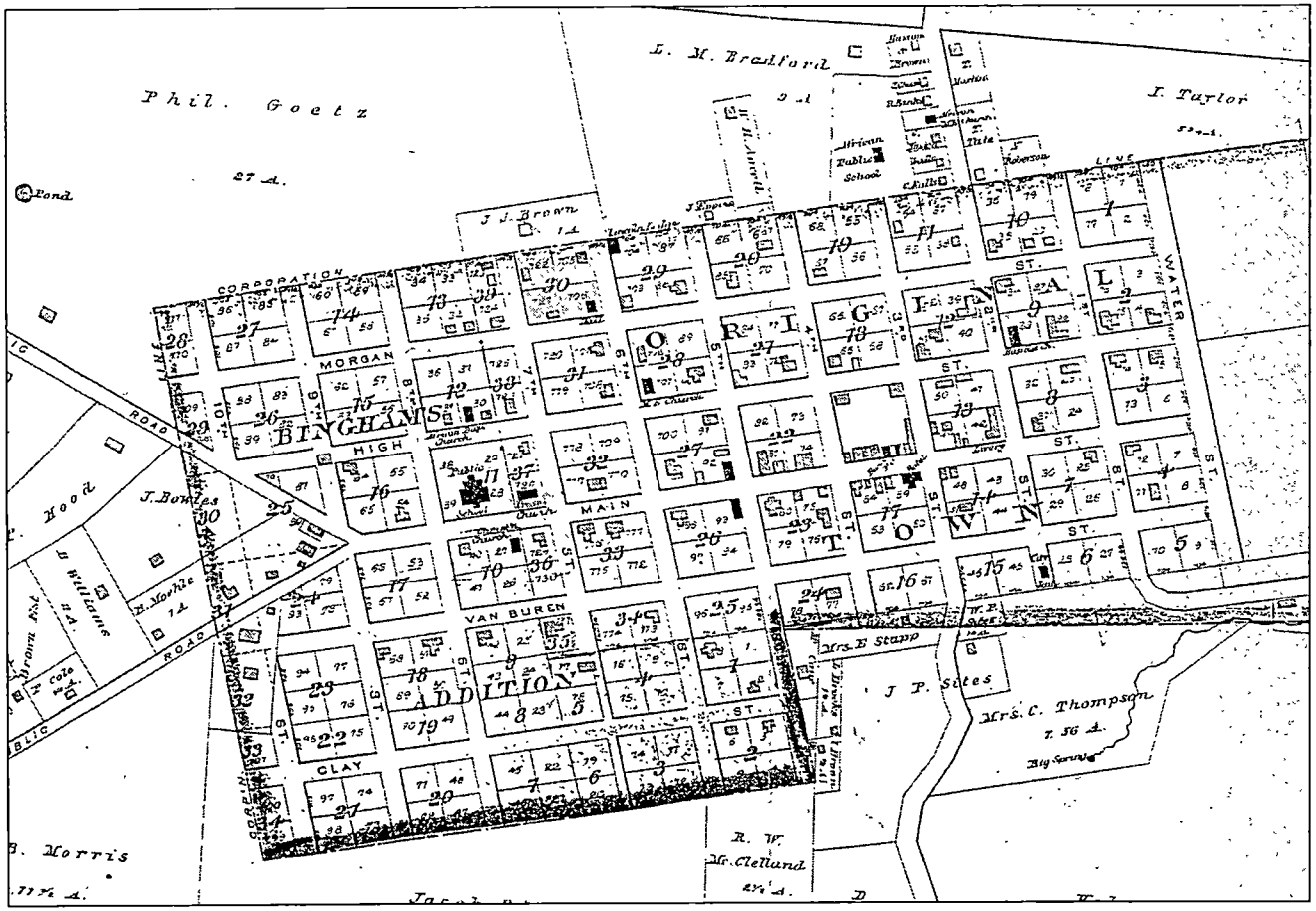


Figure 4-3: 1896 Map of Arrow Rock, Missouri

Source: Northwest Publishing Co., 1896, *Plat Book of Saline County, Missouri.*

Table 4-3: African-American Female Occupations in Arrow Rock, 1880-1920

Occupation	1880	1900	1910	1920	Total
None	5	17	20	23	65
Domestic Servant	8	5	8	1	22
Laundress		4	8	2	14
Keeping House	10				10
Cook	3		1	5	9
Panderer	1				1
Teacher				1	1

(Source: U.S. Census Bureau 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920)

janitor, plasterer, and salesman. For women, the most unique occupation was as a teacher. Overall, the largest employer of African-Americans after the Civil War was the Huston Tavern. "During the 1940s and 1950s, 'The Old Tavern' employed approximately twenty blacks at any one time" (Figure 4-4) (Kremer and Hoaglin 1997:5). African-Americans worked as "waiters and waitresses, houseboys, people to do all the work" (Pearson 1997). The irony of the number of African-American employees at the Huston Tavern is that they were not allowed to patronize the restaurant until the 1950s.

Religion played a major role in Arrow Rock's African-American community as a center of spiritual and social activities. The first religious ceremony after the Civil War was "either a Baptist or Methodist service held in a brush arbor, probably in the bottoms near the river" (Kremer and Hoaglin 1997). The first religious structure was the Brown Chapel Freewill Baptist Church, which was constructed by 1870 and located immediately north of Block #30 and just outside the city limits. Tradition suggests that John Brown was the first minister and thus the church was named after him. Brown is listed on the 1870 census as a

Table 4-4: African-American Male Occupations in Arrow Rock, 1880-1920

Occupation	1880	1900	1910	1920	Total
Farm Laborer		8	10	24	42
Day Laborer	6	6	22	3	37
None	2	4	3		9
Farmer		5.5	0.5		6
Barber	1			1	2
Farm/Odd Jobs			2		2
Restaurant Keeper	1		1		2
Servant	1	1			2
Teacher		1	1		2
Truck Farmer				2	2
Teamster	1		0.5		1.5
Hostler	1				1
Janitor				1	1
Laborer (garage)				1	1
Laundress		1			1
Minister				1	1
Plasterer				1	1
Salesman			1		1
Sexton			1		1
Coaching		0.5			0.5

(Source: U.S. Census Bureau 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920)

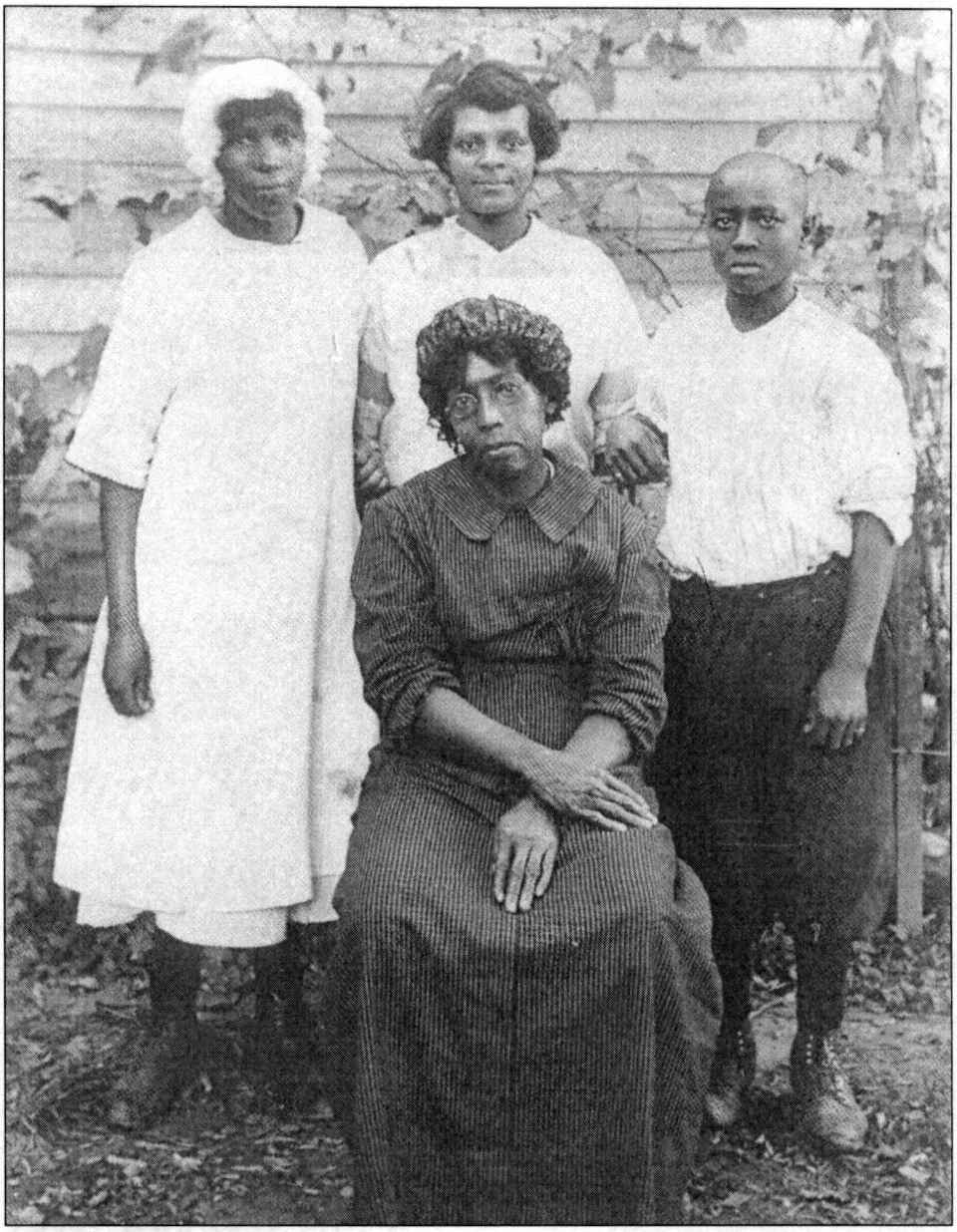


Figure 4-4: Huston Tavern Employees in 1916

(Courtesy of the Arrow Rock State Historic Site,
Missouri Department of Natural Resources).

25 year old preacher, who was born in Missouri (U. S. Census Bureau 1870). In 1882, the Brown Chapel was moved to its' current location on Block #12 of Bingham's Addition on High Street. The Brown Chapel remained active until the early 1980s with the last minister being Reverend Raymond Todd, who followed his father, Reverend William C. Todd, the minister during the early to mid 20th century. Rev. William Todd was remembered by Fielding Draffen as "a legend in Saline County and the surrounding counties.... he was a 'fire and brimstone' preacher" (Kremer and Hoaglin 1997). In 1998, the Brown Chapel was restored and is now operated by the Friends of Arrow Rock as a historic site interpreting African-American history (Figure 4-5). A homecoming festival for descendants of the African-American community is now held at the Brown Chapel each year.

African Methodist Episcopal services were also started by 1870 and held in brush arbors, which "according to Dennis Banks were constructed of sticks and covered with willow branches" in the river bottoms (Kremer and Hoaglin 1997). Henry Brown was recorded on the 1870 census as the first Methodist Episcopal preacher. The first A. M. E. church was said to be constructed of logs immediately north of the Euro-American First Baptist church at High and Second streets, but burned down in the 1870s (Friends of Arrow Rock n.d.). In 1877, a second A.M.E. Church was constructed on north Second Street and outside the official city limits. The church's original trustees were Nelson Robinson, James Tyre, Newton Hill, Robert Falls, Stephen Stewart, Lee Gorman, and Thomas Brown (Kremer and Hoaglin 1997). This second church also burned down as was reported in the November 30th, 1917 issue of the Arrow Rock Statesman, which stated:

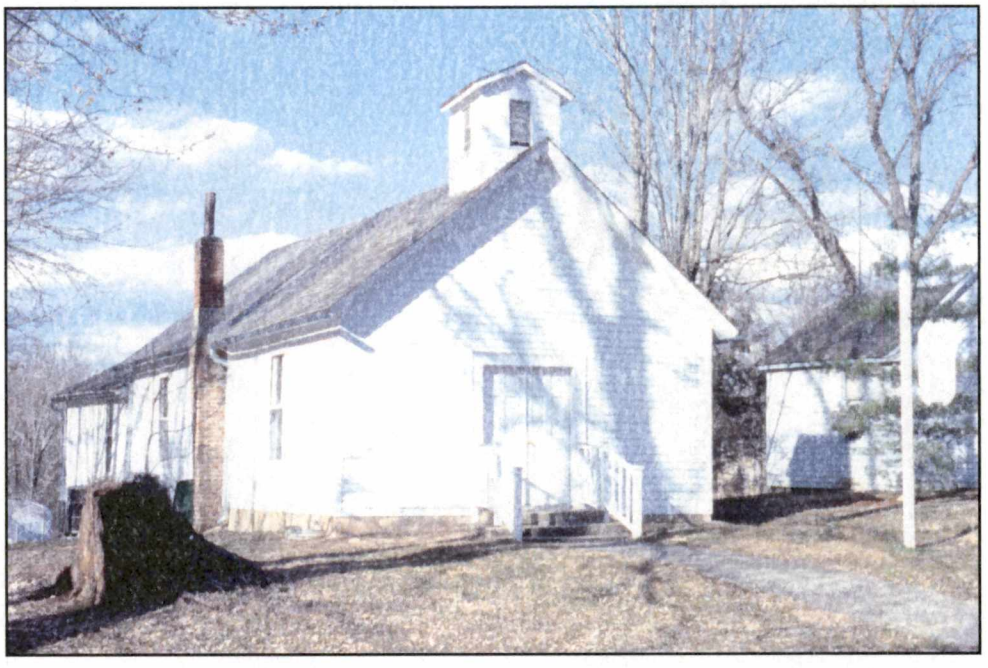


Figure 4-5: Brown Chapel Freewill Baptist Church (est. 1870)

> On last Sunday morning the colored Methodist church and parsonage burned down. The fire started in the parsonage at about 7:30 and is supposed to have caught from a defective flue. The church and parsonage were located close together and in a few minutes both buildings were a mass of flames. There was no insurance on the buildings and nothing was saved except the seats in the church.

In the May 3rd, 1918 issue of the Arrow Rock Statesman, it was reported that an "old undertaking building" was being moved on the A. M. E. Church lot where it was to be modified into a church. The A. M. E. Church remained active through the 1920s, but sometime after the depression it was disbanded.

Education became the stepping stone to black independence and was one of the first things created after emancipation. The first black schools were associated with churches, but soon after state-funded black public schools were established. James Milton Turner, a former slave from St. Louis, is credited with starting 32 new black schools and building seven new schools, which included grade schools, high schools, and Lincoln University, Missouri's first black college (Kremer 1991). The Freedmens Bureau and the American Missionary Association also assisted in opening Missouri black schools. The schools themselves were often old white schools or abandoned buildings, which had limited resources to operate a productive school.

In Arrow Rock, the first black school was founded by 1869 and was held in the Brown Chapel Freewill Baptist Church (Kremer and Hoaglin 1997). Arrow Rock's first African-American school was opened after a visit by James Milton Turner on November 9, 1869. Turner came to Arrow Rock because of the local school board's failure to build a school for the black children. The school board supervisor, Mr. Wilhelm stated that he had not received the money to build the school, but he did offer funds to operate a school in the Brown Chapel Freewill Baptist, which was under construction at the time. In the 1870

census there were 65 African-American children attending school in Arrow Rock Township. The first school building for African-Americans was not constructed until 1892. According to the August 5, 1892, edition of the Arrow Rock Enterprise, the first school for the Euro-Americans was torn down and the materials were recycled for a new black school at the north end of Third Street, which was also outside the official city limits.

Another major trend in late 19th century African-American communities was the development of fraternal organizations, such as the Masons and the Odd Fellows. These fraternal organizations provided not only a haven for social and ritual activities, but they also provided a place for African-Americans to govern themselves outside of white control. Arrow Rock had four African-American fraternities that included: 1) Brown Lodge No. 22 of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, 2) Grand United Order of Odd Fellows of America, Lodge No. 3201, 3) Sherman Lodge No. 17 of Lincoln Sons and Daughters of Freedom, No. 60, and 4) C. R. Smith Lodge No. 170 of the United Brothers of Friendship.

The Brown Lodge was established in 1877 as the first African-American fraternity in Arrow Rock. A Masonic lodge hall was built in 1881 at the corner of Morgan and Sixth streets and is a major focal point in this archaeological study. Its' history will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter V.

African-American Freemasons trace their origins to Prince Hall, an 18th century free African-American who was born in Barbados of a mixed marriage between an Englishman and a free woman of African and French descent (Mackey 1917; Davis 1946; Cass 1957; Williamson 1957; Crawford 1971; Muraskin 1975; Mather and Nichols 1995). After serving in the Revolutionary War, Hall established the first all-black Masonic lodge in 1787 in Boston, Massachusetts. Hall was refused a charter from the

Euro-American lodges in Boston, thus he was forced by racism to obtain a lodge charter from the Great Lodge in England. Historian William Muraskin (1975) suggested that by tracing African-American Masonic origins to Prince Hall, the fraternity "has erased from the mind of the black Mason his actual descent from slaves . . ." and "become a member of the most important and idealistic institution that the world has ever seen!" (after Kremer and Hoaglin 1997).

Fraternal organizations like the Freemasons also served as a cornerstone of the African-American community's social structure. Robin Kelley (1994:38) wrote that "Grass-roots institutions such as mutual benefit associations, fraternal organizations, and religious groups not only helped families with basic survival needs, but created and sustained bonds of fellowship, mutual support networks, and a collectivist ethos...Fraternal and mutual benefit societies, in particular, provided funds and other resources to members in need and to the poor generally, including death benefits (mainly to cover burial costs) and assistance for families whose members became seriously ill or lost their job" (after Kremer and Hoaglin 1997). The Freemasons also operated as a moral steward of the community. The Mason's by-laws established a code of conduct. Un-Masonic conduct included "profanity, gambling, drunkenness, and patronizing or operating bars" (Kremer and Hoaglin 1997). Violators of these offenses were placed on probation for the first offense and suspended for the second.

The Odd Fellows lodge in Arrow Rock formed in 1890 and originally met in a house on Lot 121, but moved in 1899 to a new building at the corner of Main and Third streets (Kremer and Hoaglin 1997). Peter Ogden, a black ship steward, is credited with starting the first Odd Fellows lodge for African-Americans in New York City in 1843. The Arrow

Rock Odd Fellows lodge also had a women's auxiliary group known as the Household of Ruth as well as a children's corps of both boys and girls.

The Lincoln Lodge was created in Arrow Rock in 1896 on Block #29 at the northern edge of Sixth Street and on the same block as the Brown Lodge (Kremer and Hoaglin 1997). They met twice a month usually on the second and fourth Mondays of the month. Dennis Banks was the long-time secretary of the Lincoln Lodge for which he kept a detailed ledger dating back to 1906.

The Lincoln Lodge rented its meeting hall to the United Brothers of Friendship, which was established in 1911 (Kremer and Hoaglin 1997). The United Brothers of Friendship can trace their origins to Louisville, Kentucky in 1861. The secretary in 1920 was Dennis Banks. A women's auxiliary group was also created in Arrow Rock called the Edwards Lodge No. 17 of the Sisters of the Mysterious Ten. The membership included 29 members with Mrs. Minnie Parker as Worthy Princess and Mrs. Eva Taylor as Worthy Secretary. A juvenile corps also was established in Arrow Rock called the "Pride of Arrow Rock No. 75," which had 28 members of equal numbers of boys and girls.

Social activities and racial relations in Arrow Rock were directly affected by the legacy of slavery, namely racism. In the simplest sense, African-Americans were limited in their social activities to birthday parties and weddings as well as African-American businesses like Whitsy's tavern, a speakeasy on north Second Street or Van Buren's Tavern on the first floor of the Brown Lodge; religious centers like the Brown Chapel; or fraternal lodges like the Brown Lodge. Due to Jim Crow laws, African-Americans were not welcome at Euro-American social activities or events unless they were working there

as a servant or cook. In contrast, Euro-Americans freely attended and patronized African-American gatherings and businesses.

Early 20th Century Period

By the early 20th century, most Missouri African-Americans lived in segregated urban housing and worked as general laborers. Most rural blacks continued to work as farm laborers. Even though overcrowded, the urban black community thrived culturally with its' own educational institutions, churches, hospitals, and social organizations for support. Arrow Rock falls into a category of both urban and rural. It was a small town, but located in a rural county. Thus, the African-American community was not as overcrowded as neighborhoods in St. Louis, but they had fewer job opportunities with most still working as day laborers or in domestic services (e.g. cook, laundress).

As World War I began, the quality of life for most African-Americans continued to stagnate; however, Missouri's African-American population numbers and percentage grew steadily (Table 4-2). Most of Missouri's African-Americans continued to live in segregated, overcrowded, urban neighborhoods with poor sanitation and little support from federal, state, or city agencies. Blacks had to rely upon themselves and their communities to survive white oppression. In Arrow Rock, the African-American community was thriving with two churches, a school, fraternal organizations, a number of businesses as well as a population consisting of 44% of the town's citizens by 1910.

During World War I, 9,219 of the African-American enlisted soldiers were from Missouri (Kremer and Holland 1993:141). Arrow Rock blacks who served in WWI included: Esau Banks (Private, Company E, 317 Ammo Train), Chris Brown (Private,

145 Labor BN OMC), Lewis E. Hodges (Private, 805 Pioneer Infantry), Ulysses Tyrus (Private U.S. Army), and Joseph A. Parker (Private First Class). In general, these African-American soldiers fought because of three reasons. First, they wanted to win the war for their country. Second, they hoped that upon their return they would receive respect and the full rights of citizenship. Last, many African-American soldiers were unwilling draftees and resented the fact that they were defending the rights of European nations, but their own country would not protect theirs.

The start of World War I was a blessing for some African-Americans. The decrease in immigration, increase in U.S. industry, and the reduction of white laborers opened the door for African-American workers. The result was an increased migration of southern blacks to northern cities for jobs in shipyards, automobile factories, meatpacking, mining, and railroads. In 1910, 552,845 African-Americans worked as industrial laborers, but in 1920 this number increased to 960,039 (Kremer and Holland 1993:143). When compared to the 1880 population, the distribution of Missouri's African-American population in 1930 (Figure 4-6) clearly highlights an urban migration into Missouri's large cities of St. Louis and Kansas City.

The lack of a railroad and a shift in the Missouri River resulted in little economic growth for Arrow Rock in the early 20th century. The outcome was a decline in Arrow Rock's population by the 1920s including both white and black residents. Many left for larger cities like Columbia, Sedalia, or Kansas City and still others left the state for northern industrial jobs. One example was Edward Lester Taylor, who was interviewed and photographed for the 1981 book *Arrow Rock: 20th-Century Frontier Town* (Prouse 1981). Mr. Taylor was born in 1913 from mixed parentage in Arrow Rock. The 1920 U.S. Census

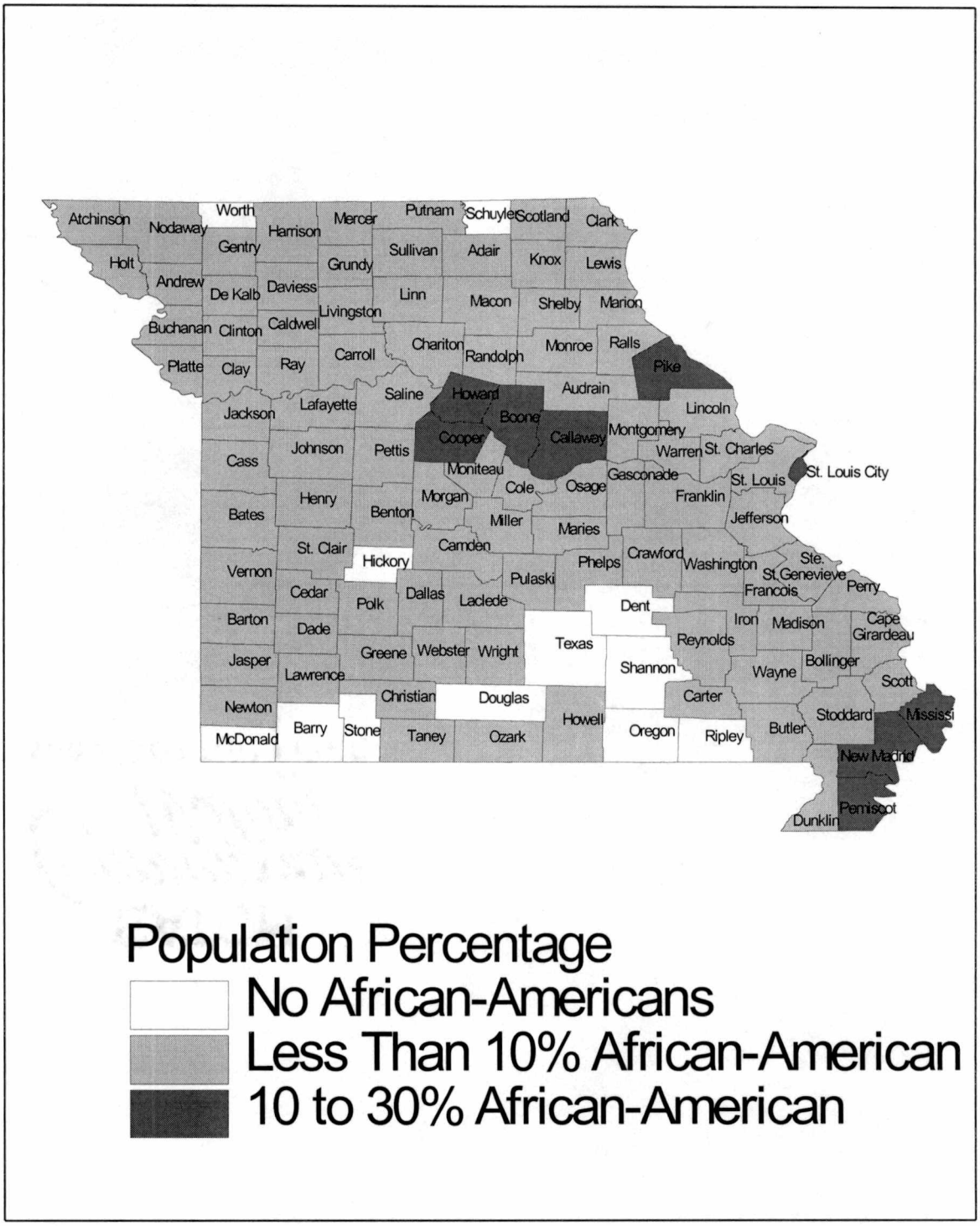


Figure 4-6: Missouri's African-American Population in 1930

records E. L. Taylor as a six-year-old mulatto who lived with his mother, Elizabeth Taylor, a 29-year-old widowed mulatto, and a boarder named Aquilla Johnson, a 26 year old mulatto, on High Street near Brown Chapel. Ms. Johnson was the schoolteacher for the African-American Public School from 1917-1924. Mr. Taylor moved from Arrow Rock to find work in St. Louis as a young adult. He returned to Arrow Rock in 1974 to retire after nearly 50 years in St. Louis. Soon after being photographed and interviewed, Mr. Taylor died on September 30, 1980 with his funeral in Brown Chapel and burial in Arrow Rock's African-American cemetery.

In 1929, the stock market crashed sending the United States into the Great Depression. The Depression was a time of great unemployment for Americans, but it affected African-Americans the hardest (Wolters 1970). "Blacks were the last to be hired and the first to be fired" (Kremer and Holland 1993:151). Traditional black jobs of porters, elevator operators, ditch diggers, and domestics were being taken by whites leaving the blacks with few job opportunities. The lack of jobs resulted in increased tensions between whites and blacks. Segregation did allow some black businesspersons to become successful by courting a black clientele. An example in Missouri was Annie Turnbo Pope Malone, who started a beauty products company and college in St. Louis called the Poro Beauty College (Kremer and Holland 1993:153). An example in Arrow Rock was Whitsy's Tavern, a speakeasy operated during the early 20th century on north Second Street that served primarily an African-American clientele. Yet, the disadvantages of segregation outweighed the good, as blacks were not allowed better health care, housing, education, and transportation available to whites. Blacks were still second class citizens.

President Franklin Roosevelt established the New Deal programs to combat the Great Depression. In 1933, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that more than 12 million workers were unemployed (Wolters 1970:83). Federal programs of the PWA, CCC, WPA, NYA, and the Social Security Act of 1935 helped unemployed and elderly Americans. These programs were again racially biased, as whites were often favored for jobs and federal support over blacks. When blacks were employed they often worked in menial jobs for less pay than whites. The PWA-WPA did help many blacks obtain jobs and constructed numerous schools, recreation centers, hospitals, and thousands of low-cost rental apartments for African-Americans. In Missouri, African-American CCC companies were active at Washington State and Mark Twain State parks constructing buildings and stonework still visible today.

According to the 1930 census, the urban black worker was especially hit by unemployment. In most cities, African-Americans were unemployed from 30 to 60% greater than whites (Wolters 1970:91). Federal relief cases for urban African-Americans were almost three times as high as those for whites. In St. Louis, blacks accounted for only 11% of the total population, but were responsible for 60% of the relief cases (Wolters 1970:91). Response to help the black community came mostly from within, as fraternal organizations and churches organized to help those less fortunate.

In December 1941, the United States entered World War II. Again, just like World War I, WWII offered the African-American community an opportunity to find jobs and earn respect in military service. More than three million blacks registered and one million served in WWII (Kremer and Holland 1993:159). Black leaders of this period pushed for equality in the armed forces opening all four military branches to

African-Americans. Despite this change, many African-Americans continued to encounter racism in the service by individuals and the military overall. One example of military racism was recorded in a letter from African-American soldiers, who describe themselves as "Negro Slaves" of Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri (McGuire 1993:106-108). They claimed in their letter that African-Americans were segregated into their own unit with white officers and that regardless of their military training or educational background, these black soldiers were repeatedly denied any promotion beyond a corporal. Promotions to a higher rank were only given to white soldiers. Of the African-American's from Arrow Rock that served in WWII none was above a corporal in rank, which included: Ferdinand Harvey (Missouri, Tec 5, 452 AAA AW BN CAC), Robert Huff (Private U. S. Army), Ray Parker (Missouri AS UNSR), James M. Parker (Kansas Private First Class U.S. Army), and Louis E. Parker (Private U. S. Army).

During the war, blacks again flooded urban centers looking for jobs. In Arrow Rock, this led to an increased departure of its African-American population. An executive order by President Roosevelt in 1941, which prohibited racial discrimination in the hiring of workers in defense industries and in the federal government, resulted in expanded job opportunities for blacks and an intensification in urban migration. The black migration again increased racial tensions in urban areas. After the war, racial conflicts became even greater as the job market was flooded with newly returned soldiers. Blacks found employment as unskilled laborers, in domestic jobs, or menial tasks. Segregation and discrimination were still prominent after WWII. Quality or quantity of public facilities and housing were not available to the African-American community. The NAACP and the Urban League helped to break down the racial barriers

through civil rights court rulings providing greater opportunities in housing and public facilities.

After WWII, the 1950 U.S. Census of Missouri's population recorded 2,954,653 white residents and 297,000 black citizens totaling 3,954653 persons (U.S. Census 1950). Blacks constituted 7.5% of Missouri's population, but more than 75% of the black population lived in the St. Louis or Kansas City areas (Kremer and Holland 1993:160-161). Most African-Americans returning from WWII found employment as unskilled labor. Kremer and Holland (1993:161) also stated that the St. Louis black unemployment rate was more than two-thirds greater than whites at 15%, and that the average black income was only 58% of white income.

Arrow Rock's African-American Community Today

In the publication *Arrow Rock: 20th-Century Frontier Town*, only 13 African-Americans were recorded as living in Arrow Rock and all but one still resided "on or around Morgan Street," the historically black neighborhood. (Prouse 1981). Most of these African-American residents were elderly descendants of the once thriving black community. According to the 1990 census, 70 people remained in Arrow Rock, but only one of whom was African-American. Despite the lack of a vibrant African-American community in Arrow Rock today, black descendants still own land in town and many have helped initiate an annual homecoming festival and Juneteenth celebration to commemorate Arrow Rock's African-American heritage. I am proud to say that archaeological research has assisted in recognizing African-American contributions to Arrow Rock's diverse heritage.

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF BLOCK #30

The focus of my research has been on Arrow Rock's Block #30 located on the north side of Morgan Street between Sixth and Seventh streets (Figure 4-3). Block #30 can be divided into three major historical periods; an antebellum Euro-American homestead, a mid-19th century stoneware pottery industry, and a postbellum African-American neighborhood.

McGuffin Family, 1836 - 1854

Block #30 was first sold on April 20, 1836 by the Commissioners of the Town of Arrow Rock to Charles McGuffin for $31. McGuffin was listed on the 1840 census as a 35 year old Euro-American living with his wife Amanda, who was 23 years old, and their daughter Ann, who was three years old. Charles and Amanda were both born in Virginia. Amanda was the daughter of Joseph Huston, who was a one of founding fathers of Arrow Rock and who established the Huston Tavern on Main Street. At this time, the McGuffins also owned an enslaved African-American female between the ages of 20 and 30. In 1850, the McGuffin household included Charles, aged 45, his wife Amanda aged 33, and four children named Ann (13), John (5), William (2), and Edgar (3/12) (U. S. Census Bureau 1850a). At this time, Charles' occupation was listed as a brick mason and the family's property was valued at $400. On September 1, 1854, Charles and Amanda McGuffin executed four promissory notes in the sum of $794 against their property on

Block #30. The property as this time was described as having a building, which was likely the McGuffin home. In this same year Charles died and was buried in the Arrow Rock cemetery. In 1855, the McGuffins defaulted on their loan and the mortgagees sold the McGuffin property to Newton G. Caldwell at an auction on March 10, 1855 for the sum of $598.

Arrow Rock Pottery, 1855 - 1880

The Arrow Rock pottery factory was started by Newton G. Caldwell on Block #30 in 1855 and was in operation until 1870 (Fisher 1995; Parsons 1996). Caldwell, who came from a potter family, emigrated from Kentucky with his father to Callaway County, Missouri where he worked in the family pottery before establishing the Arrow Rock factory. In addition to Caldwell, there were others working on the pottery lot, but their role in the pottery production is unclear. The 1859 and 1861 Tax Book of Saline County lists a slave among the assets of the Caldwell pottery worth $500 (Fisher 1995; Parsons 1996). The 1860 industrial census for Saline County indicates that Caldwell invested $4000, had 200 cords of wood worth $500, the pottery factory was horse powered, and he had five employees, who produced 35,000 gallons of stoneware with a value of $2,800 (U. S. Census Bureau 1860c). In 1863, the pottery was sold to William Price and Co. for $1,000 (Fisher 1995; Parsons 1996). At this time, Newton Caldwell returned to Callaway County to assist in operating his father's pottery factory. William Price was listed on the 1860 Census as a physician. He owned the Arrow Rock pottery until his death in 1865, when it was transferred to his heirs. In 1869, William B. Sappington, the brother-in-law of Price, obtained outright ownership of Block #30. The pottery factory went out of business by

1870 or shortly thereafter. Stoneware declined in use after the Civil War with the invention of the Mason jar and metal containers, which replaced stoneware's primary function in food storage and preservation. This factor may have been a primary reason for the Arrow Rock pottery's demise.

African-American Neighborhood, 1881 – 1950s

In 1881, William Sappington divided Block #30 into four lots and sold them to a developing postbellum African-American community (Figure 5-1). Overall, Block #30 can provide a social history of Arrow Rock's late 19th and 20th century African-American community through 1) the domestic lives of three households; 2) a black owned business of a restaurant and bar; and 3) the community support and social life of two fraternal lodges. African-Americans first moved on Block #30 during the 1880s as they purchased quarter sections of this block and constructed three residences and the Brown Lodge on four lots numbering 105, 106, 121, and 122.

Lot 106 – The Brown Lodge

On March 2, 1881, William B. Sappington sold the first 30 feet east and 105 feet north of lot 106 for $30 to the trustees of the Brown Lodge No. 22 of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons to construct a Masonic lodge (Figures 1-3, 5-2). The Brown Lodge along with the other fraternal halls and the black churches were centers of Arrow Rock's African-American community. "The Brown Lodge was the place where black males congregated to participate in Masonic rituals, to make decisions relating to the relief and

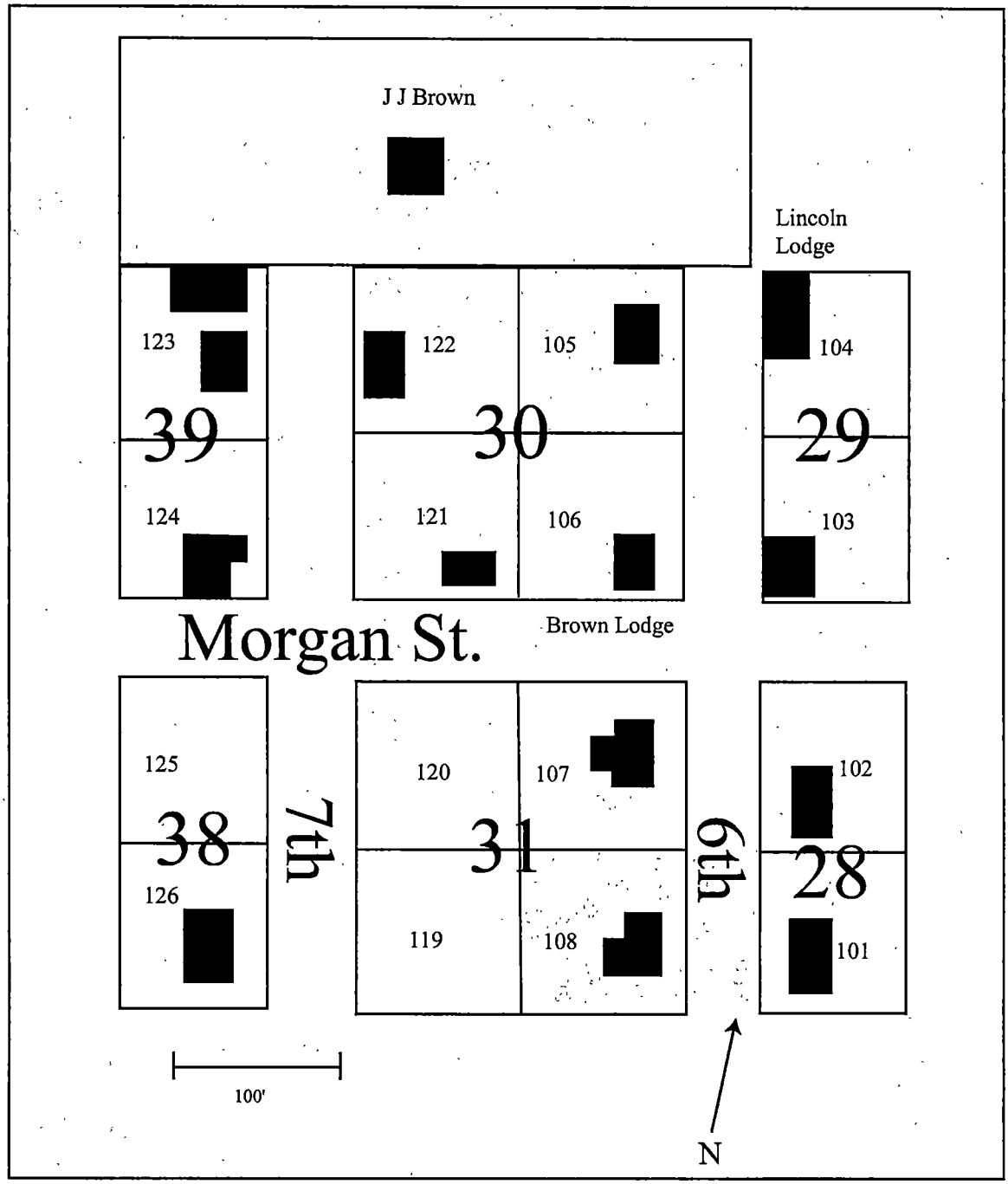


Figure 5-1: Block 30 in Arrow Rock, Missouri

(Adapted from 1896 map, Northwest Publishing Co., *Plat Book of Saline County, Missouri*).



Figure 5-2: Brown Lodge No. 22 of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons

(Front view, Photo taken in 1996)

burial funds, to discuss and decide allegations of un-Masonic conduct, and to socialize away from the scrutiny of whites" (Kremer and Hoaglin 1997:25).

The Brown Lodge's enrollment from the early 1880s included most adult black males numbering approximately 27 members. In 1890 the leader or "Worshipful Master," was Harrison Green, a leading African-American in Arrow Rock as one of the first black teachers in town and later as a minister (Kremer and Hoaglin 1997). The Masons also had a women's organization called the Mt. Herman chapter of the Heroines of Jericho, which was formed by 1890 and had 19 members in 1900 (Kremer and Hoaglin 1997). The membership began to decline in the 1920s and was formally disbanded in 1931. Prior to the lodge's demise, the lodge building and the property upon which it stood was sold to Franklin Bush in 1925, an African-American plasterer who lived on the adjacent lot. The lodge property remained in the hands of the Bush heirs until it was obtained by Crawford L. and Norma Jean Humbard in 1976 through a quit claim. In 1982, Ted and Virginia Fisher obtained lot 106 and then donated it to the Friends of Arrow Rock, the local historical society in 1996.

The original use of the Brown Lodge's first floor is not clear, but it may have served as a restaurant, store, or other public service. After the 1920s, written records and oral history state that the first floor was used as a restaurant and bar. Only the last two businessmen, Jim Edwards and William "Creaker" Van Buren, have been documented from the 1940s and 1950s (Figure 5-3). Proof of Van Buren's business is a liquor license from 1949 for Van Buren's Tavern. Oral interviews with Thelma Conway, Van Buren's wife, who worked as a waitress in this establishment, stated that food was also



Figure 5-3: William Van Buren

(Courtesy of the Friends of Arrow Rock, Inc.)

served in the lodge including "hamburgers, hotdogs, rabbit, fish, and chicken" (Conway 1997)

Prior to World War II, the Brown Lodge was also the location of the annual "Emancipation Day Picnic" that was held in Saline County and in other Missouri counties on August 4th of each year. Kenneth Van Arsdale, a former black resident of Arrow Rock, remembers blacks from all around the county gathering at the lodge for August 4th picnics that featured goat roasts (Van Arsdale 1997). Fielding Draffen, who grew up in Saline County during the 1930s, remembers Emancipation Day during his youth as follows: "When I was a kid... the 4th of August was sacred to black people. By the threat of death you didn't even go to work on that day. You celebrated on that day... people would talk about coming up... It was considered a day [on which] you kind of reflected on what your ancestors came through and [you] just kind of enjoyed the day" (Draffen 1997).

The Brown Lodge is the only structure still standing on Block #30. The lodge is a two-story frame structure made with cut nails and limestone pier foundations measuring approximately 26' x 18' in size. A later front porch was added to the lodge's façade constructed with a cement foundation and wire nails. At one time, the lodge also had a rear two-story addition, now razed, which included a kitchen on the first floor for the restaurant and bar and an external stairwell and entrance to the second story Masonic hall. The local historical society, the Friends of Arrow Rock, is currently restoring the Brown Lodge to be transformed into a museum for African-American history.

In sum, the Brown Lodge served not only as a Masonic hall, but also served as a restaurant, bar, the location for the "Emancipation Picnic," and likely other community

functions. The Brown Lodge was truly a cornerstone to the African-American community.

On April 13, 1882, William B. Sappington sold the remaining property of Lot 106 to Jane Hubbard [Hubbird] for $60. Little is known about Jane Hubbard because she was not listed on the 1880 or the 1900 census in Arrow Rock or Arrow Rock Township. On October 8, 1885, Jane Hubbard sold Lot 106 minus the Brown lodge to John Tyre for $46. Tyre then sold this property to William Breadlowe on January 2, 1886 for $46. Sometime between 1886 and 1890, John Tyre obtained ownership again of the western two-thirds of Lot 106, because on July 4, 1890, John and Sally Tyre sold this land to Mary Breedlove again for $46. Then on September 21, 1903, Charles and Mary Tindle (formerly Breedlove) sold this property to Franklin Bush for $60. At this same time, Franklin and Susie Bush purchased the adjacent lot numbered 121. Based upon the low value of this property, it is doubtful that any structure on Lot 106 other than the Brown Lodge was ever built after Hubbard's original purchase in 1882.

Lot 121

On January 3, 1883, William B. Sappington sold Lot 121 of Block #30 to Joseph Armstead [Olmstead] for $50. Lot 121 is located at the corner of Morgan and Seventh streets, and immediately west of Lot 106 (Figures 5-1, 5-4). In the 1880 census, Armstead is recorded as an African-American "day laborer," who lived with his wife Clarah and four children named Richmond, Willie, Robert, and Maria ranging in age from ten years to two months. On January 16, 1889, Armstead borrowed $200 against this property, but could not pay the loan and his property was foreclosed on and the land sold to Charles McGilton for



Figure 5-4: Lot 121 on Block 30 in Arrow Rock, Missouri

(View facing south, Photo taken in 1997).

$125. McGilton then sold the land to the trustees of the Arrow Rock Lodge No. 3201 of the United Order of Odd Fellows of America. The Odd Fellows used the Armstead house for a meeting hall until 1899 when they moved to a new lodge building on the corner of Third and Main streets. In 1903, African-Americans Franklin and Susie Bush then bought Lot 121. Franklin Bush was first recorded on the 1880 census as six years old and the oldest child of Zach and Emilla Bush. Zach Bush was listed in 1880 as a "day laborer" and he was also one of the founding members of the Brown Lodge. Franklin Bush does not appear in Arrow Rock Township on the 1900 census, although his father Zach lived in the village of Arrow Rock in that year, a 55 year old widower with three daughters living in his household. In 1910, Franklin and Susie Bush resided on Block #30 with the black school teacher, Albert A. Bell, who boarded with them. At this time, Franklin was working as a "laborer, odd jobs." His wife Susie was listed with no occupation. In the 1920 census, Franklin and Susie Bush were still living on Morgan Street and still with a boarder, but at this time it was a farm laborer named Samuel Brown. In 1920, Bush's occupation was listed as "plasterer." The Bushes had no children when Franklin Bush died in 1931 at the age of 57. Susie Bush continued to live on Lot 121 until her death in 1940. After this time, oral history suggests that the Bush residence and Lot 121 remained empty, but they continued to be owned by the Bush family into the 1970s. In 1982, Ted and Virginia Fisher obtained Lot 121 and they continue to own it today.

Lot 122

On June 5, 1883, Lot 122 on Block #30 was sold by William Sappington to Bettie Brown for $60.00. Bettie Brown and her husband Bentley lived on this property well

into the 20th century. The 1910 census lists Bentley Brown as 63 years old, and "laborer, odd jobs." His wife Bettie was 65 years old. They had been married for 35 years and the marriage had produced two children, one of whom was living. Betty's occupation was listed as a "laundress, washing." The couple owned their home with no mortgage. In 1923, the Browns deeded their property to their daughter, Missouri Davis, who, in turn, passed her rights to the property to her daughter Ethel Davis Porter. Lot 122 remained in ownership of the Brown's heirs until the late 1970s, when it was obtained through a quit claim by Crawford and Norma Humbard. In 1982, Lot 122 was obtained by Robert and Anna Mae Hodge.

Lot 105

On March 11, 1887, Block 30, Lot 105, was sold by William B. Sappington to Caroline Poindexter. In the 1870 census, Caroline Poindexter was possibly listed as a 17-year-old mulatto female. She was living in Arrow Rock Township in a household with Robert Brooks, Richard Ripley, John Owen, and Latisha Brooks, all of whom were young and single African-Americans between the ages of 25 and 14. Caroline Poindexter was not listed in Arrow Rock Township in 1880 or 1900. An 1896 map of Arrow Rock indicated that Poindexter constructed a house on this lot, but deed records are unclear when she moved from this lot. By the early 20th century Franklin and Susie Bush obtained ownership of lot 105. In 1976, a quit claim was placed by Crawford and Norma Humbard to determine a clear title to the land, but no evidence could be found as to how the land was transferred to the Bushes. In 1982, Lot 122 was obtained by Robert and Anna Mae Hodge.

Summary

Block #30 in the town of Arrow Rock, Missouri has three major historical periods. The first period is associated with the McGuffin family that emigrated from Virginia and settled in Arrow Rock in 1836. They purchased Block #30 in 1836, constructed a home, and raised four children. After Charles McGuffin died in 1854, the McGuffins defaulted on a loan and lost Block #30. In 1855, the mortgagees then sold the property to Newton Caldwell starting the second historical period of Block #30. Caldwell immigrated to Missouri with his parents from the Bluegrass Region of Kentucky and first settled in Callaway County, Missouri. Caldwell was trained in the craft of stoneware pottery production by his father, who operated a pottery factory in Callaway County. Caldwell established his own pottery factory on Block #30 in 1855. Caldwell operated the Arrow Rock factory until 1863, when he moved back to Callaway County. The pottery factory was then sold to Dr. William Price, who continued to operate this stoneware industry as a business venture until his death in 1865. After this time, William Sappington, Price's brother-in-law, owned the business until it closed in the 1870s. The final historical period began in 1881, as Sappington divided Block #30 into four lots numbered 105, 106, 121, and 122 and sold them to the developing African-American community. African-Americans occupied Block #30 by constructing a Masonic hall, called the Brown Lodge and three residences. The lodge also had a restaurant and bar on the first floor, which was in business until the 1950s and the house on lot 121 was also used for a short period by the African-American Odd Fellows. After the Depression, African-Americans began to leave Arrow Rock to find employment in larger cities. The result was that as the African-American community dwindled in size

and as older members became deceased these house sites and the lodge on Block #30 were abandoned and left to rot in place. Current historic preservation movements are attempting to tell the story of Block #30, in particular its' African-American history.

CHAPTER VI

PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN ARROW ROCK

Over the last 77 years, Arrow Rock has not only been a leader in the preservation of Missouri's standing structures, but the town has also promoted some of the first historical archaeological excavations in the state. Archaeology has played a major role in the preservation and restoration of Arrow Rock. The majority of archaeological work has been conducted by the University of Missouri-Columbia and sponsored by the Arrow Rock State Historic Site and/or by the Friends of Arrow Rock. This section will discuss this previous archaeology (Figure 6-1).

Until now, historical archaeological sites recorded within the Arrow Rock city boundaries have not been given official archaeological site numbers. The Missouri Department of Natural Resources' Division of State Parks suggests that urban sites like Arrow Rock are a single site and should not be subdivided into separate site numbers for each residence or city block. Thus, the Arrow Rock State Historic Site has not regularly applied a numbering system, but instead relies on the common names for most of the following sites.

Bingham House Site (23SA190)

The first archaeological excavations in Arrow Rock were conducted in 1963 at the Bingham House Site by the University of Missouri-Columbia (UMC) to assist in a Missouri State Park restoration project (Rucker 1963). The Bingham House Site was the



Figure 6-1: Previous Archaeological Investigations in Arrow Rock, Missouri

home of the famous Missouri artist George Caleb Bingham between 1837 and 1845 (Figure 6-2). This house was recognized as a National Landmark site in 1964 and is now owned and operated by the Arrow Rock State Historic Site as a historic house museum. In the 1930s, the Works Progress Administration conducted an initial restoration of the Bingham home, which included the demolition of a later frame ell addition. The 1963 project by University of Missouri-Columbia attempted to determine the house's original layout and identify any inaccuracies in the 1930s restoration. Five avenues of research were conducted to determine the Bingham House's architectural history, which included historic documentation, oral history, photographs, the extant structure, and archaeological data.

Archaeological excavations were conducted for one week to locate and define a razed ell demolished during the 1930s restoration project (Rucker 1963:13-17). Excavations were concentrated immediately south of the standing home opening a 43' x 16' block area uncovering three foundation corners and associated builder's trenches of the razed ell. Foundation remnants in the builder's trench include small, unmortared limestone rock. The original limestone foundation of the ell was removed by the 1930s restoration effort and was likely reused at this site or at other projects in the Arrow Rock State Historic Site. The fourth corner (southeastern) was not excavated.

A cellar was identified within the limestone foundation with a maximum depth of 6.9' below the surface. The original cellar floor was dirt and "was composed of a number of 'varve-like' layers of water sorted soil" (Rucker 1963:15). The cellar was filled with primarily early 20th century artifacts, which are discussed below.



Figure 6-2: George Caleb Bingham Home in Arrow Rock, Missouri

Excavation trenches were also placed between the block excavation and the extant Bingham home to help identify how the ell foundation connected to the home. "The trench parallel to the south wall of the brick house and west of the back porch failed to uncover any traces of [how] the ell foundation [connected to the house]...However, this trench did reveal remains of the foundation of a large two-story porch, which ran across the south side of the brick portion of the house" (Rucker 1963:15).

A small trench was also excavated along the interior west foundation wall to find a possible chimney foundation (Rucker 1963:12). Excavations were inconclusive due to the heavy disturbance from the 1930s restoration that included a new cement foundation to strengthen the limestone foundation and to support a new floor.

Other features recorded within the block excavation included a cistern, a drainpipe, a stone walkway, a stone pier, and a stone and brick concentration of unknown function. The cistern was found immediately south of the ell foundation and was constructed of concrete poured over brick with a corbelled dome. The brick was laid with its long axis pointed toward the center of the cistern. Excavations revealed a total cistern depth of 19.6'.

A drainpipe and associated builder's trench was also recorded starting at the cistern and terminating in a concrete drain box adjacent to the southwest corner of the ell foundation. The tile was thought to have been "a fairly modern type" and manufactured in Kansas City, Missouri. A ceramic sherd at the base of the builder's trench was dated at ca. 1900 based on a maker's mark associated with the Sevres China Company of East Liverpool, Ohio (Rucker 1963).

A stone walkway was recorded leading from the cistern to approximately eight feet from the ell foundation. This gap may have been the location of a rear porch, which was possibly documented by a stone pier. The walkway was "composed of large, sharp, chert flakes, except for the extreme northern end, which is made of bricks" (Rucker 1963:19). Below the walkway a small ash lens was recorded with numerous nails including a single wire nail. The wire nail suggests a post-1880 construction.

Thousands of artifacts were collected from these excavations, but most dated to the early 20th century and the last occupation of this house. Due to the volume of artifacts, a detailed artifact analysis was not conducted. Rucker's (1963:20-21) report only highlights a small number of artifacts that may date to the Bingham occupation during the mid-19th century. Overall, the cellar fill suggested that it was left open after the ell demolition and was used as a dump. Artifacts from this fill included "automobile parts, mason jars, nails, broken window glass, fragments of china, earthenware, and porcelain, etc" (Rucker 1963:20). Rucker (1963:12-13) also concluded that the majority of window glass collected from the ell excavation was the same "thin, bluish glass" found in the 27 original window panes still present in the standing Bingham home.

In conclusion, Rucker (1963:22-25) suggested three hypothesis for the ell. First, since no foundation was found connecting the ell to the main house, the ell may have originally been a detached kitchen and/or a slave quarter that was later attached. Second, Rucker suggested that the original ell may have been two rooms deep, but a full basement was only constructed under one room. Thus, a substantial foundation was only constructed with the cellar and under one room. Last, Rucker suggested that the original frame ell was only one room deep adjacent to the main house. Due to the small size of

this room and being only a story tall, a substantial foundation was not needed. After reviewing the archaeological data, historic documentation, photographs, and oral history, Rucker believed that the third hypothesis was most likely. As for the cistern, Rucker suggested that it may have been original and should be restored, but the drainpipe and walkway were not.

Based on these recommendations, the Bingham House has been restored and furnished with materials associated with George Caleb Bingham's ownership and is operated as a historic house museum by the Arrow Rock State Historic Site.

No official site number was initially given to the Bingham home, but in 1964, while placing a historic marker at the corner of High and Water streets, a prehistoric projectile point was collected and was given a site number of 23SA190, which may now also include the Bingham House site.

John Sites Gunsmith Shop Site

In March 1967, Robert Bray (1967) of the University of Missouri-Columbia directed excavations at the John Sites Gunsmith Shop site to assist in a restoration project by the Friends of Arrow Rock (Figure 3-5). Between 1846 and 1902, the John Sites Gunsmith Shop smithed, repaired, and sold firearms to local townspeople, farmers, and western travelers along the Santa Fe Trail. Excavations were concentrated on the interior of this structure and revealed an original earthen floor (Figure 6-3). Only a few artifacts were recovered trampled into this floor. Atop the earthen floor, Bray recorded portions of nine floor joists based on soil stains, deteriorating wood, and cut nails, which once supported a later wooden floor. The joists ran north to south with an occasional

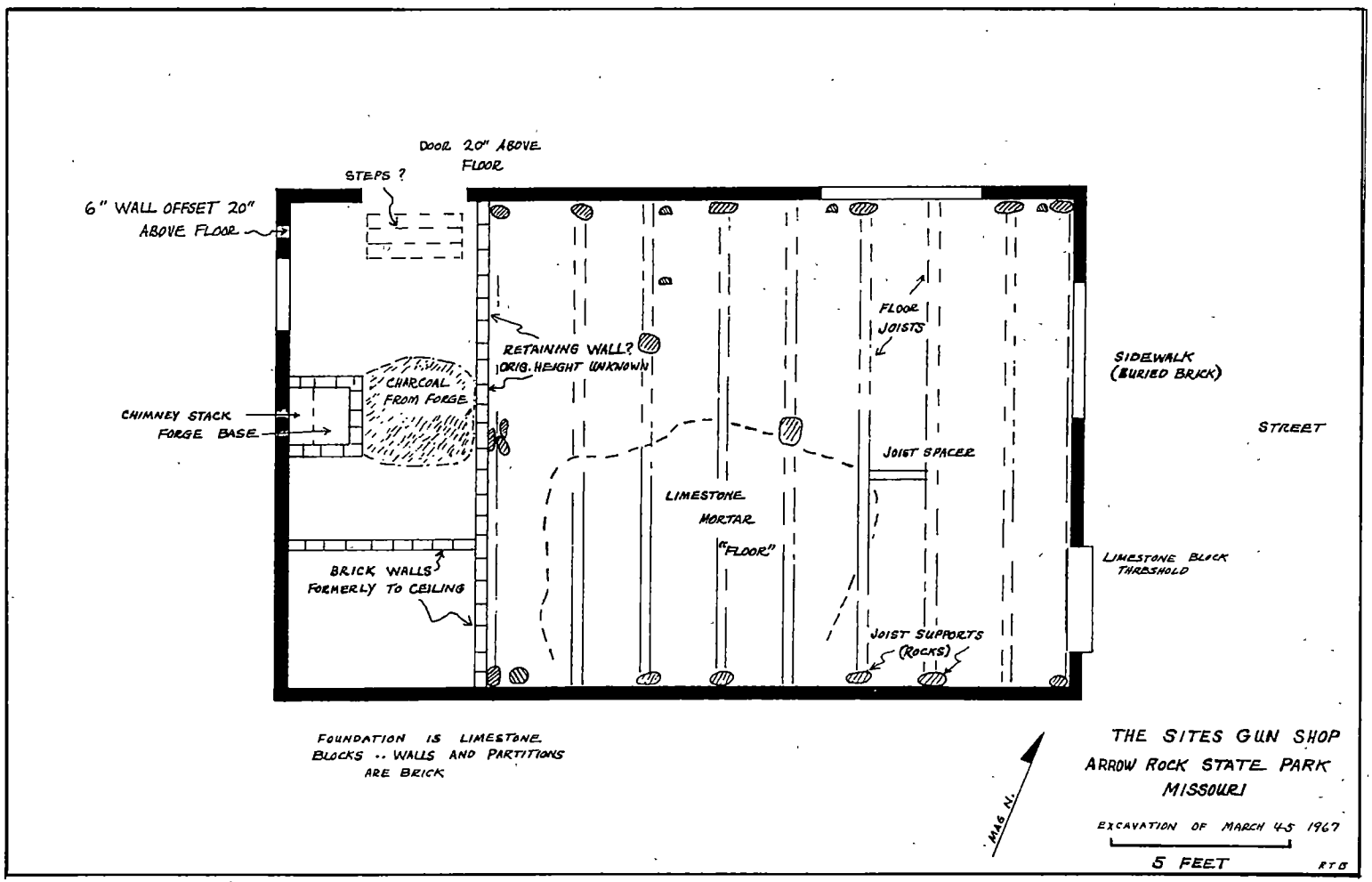


Figure 6-3: Excavations at the Sites Gunsmith Shop in 1967

Source: R. Bray, 1967, *Archaeological Investigation at the Sites Gun Shop (1846-1902).* Unpublished manuscript on file at the Friends of Arrow Rock Inc., Arrow Rock, Missouri.

limestone rock at each end. In the early 20th century, this building was used as an automobile garage. To accommodate an automobile, the wooden floor was ripped up and a concrete one was poured and later four to six inches of rock were spread across this floor. This was the condition of the shop at the time of the investigation in 1967. Excavations in the rear of the shop revealed brick walls, a forge base, and a large concentration of charcoal. Due to the heat of a forge, Bray suggested that this rear portion retained its earthen floor and was never covered by a wooden one.

Artifacts associated with the gun shop included "pinfire shotgun shells, rifle butt plate, whetstone, iron tongs, files, auger, hatchet, padlock, table knife, lead pieces, glass bottles, lead shot, lamp chimney fragments, hacksaw blade, and perhaps some iron" (Bray 1967:7). Other objects collected included window glass, doorknob and spindle, and hinges.

Based upon Bray's recommendation and the archaeological data collected, the John Sites Gunsmith shop has been restored and is operated as a historic gun shop museum by the Friends of Arrow Rock.

First Public School Site (23SA509)

In 1977 and 1980, Robert Bray conducted two University of Missouri-Columbia archaeological field schools to find Arrow Rock's first public school (Lubensky et al. 1980; Lubensky 1981). According to deed records, the first public school was constructed sometime in the 1840s on Lot 96 of Block 25 at the southeastern corner of Van Buren and Sixth streets (Figure 6-4). The school was used by Arrow Rock's Euro-American population until 1892. At this time, a new brick schoolhouse was constructed

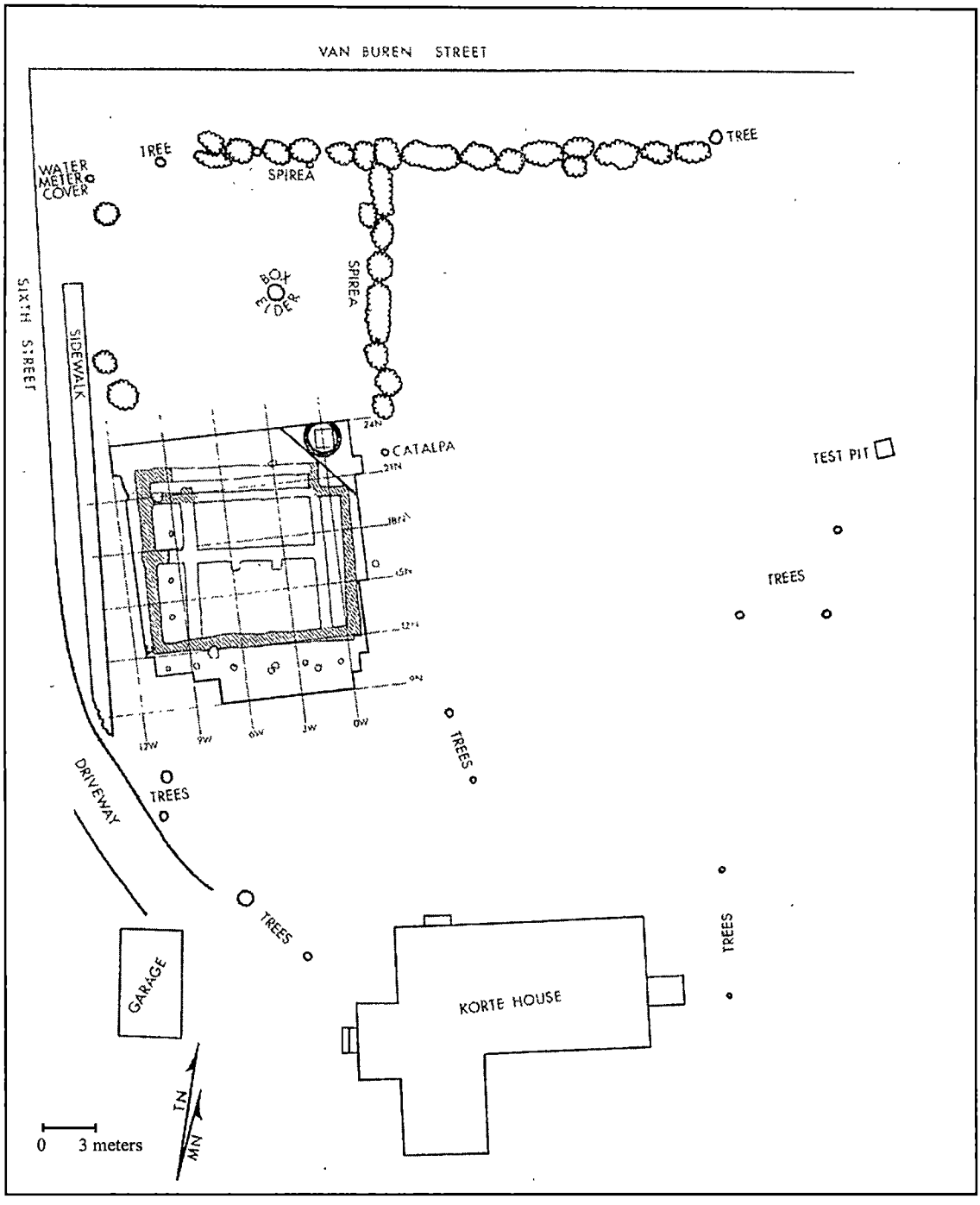


Figure 6-4: Excavations at the First Public School on Block 25, Lot 96

Source: E. Lubensky et al., 1980, *Archaeological Investigations of First Public School at Arrow Rock, Missouri.* University of Missouri-Columbia, p. 21, Figure 7

on Main Street. The old school house was torn down and the salvageable materials were used to build a new African-American school across town (Arrow Rock Enterprise 1892). After this time, Lot 96 remained empty until the University of Missouri-Columbia excavations.

The 1977 excavations were limited to one week uncovering a portion of a limestone foundation and a few artifacts related to school activities including writing slate, pieces of a metal desk frame, and a porcelain doll's leg. Unfortunately, these artifacts have been misplaced since their recovery. The second field school was conducted over eight weeks during the summer of 1980 to clearly identify the material remains of the first public schoolhouse. The 1980 objectives were: "1) to uncover the remaining portion of the excavated limestone foundation, 2) to gather evidence bearing on the type of structure that existed on the site, 3) to identify the location of windows and doors, and 4) to locate and interpret any other related features helpful to the overall interpretation of the site" (Lubensky et al. 1980:20). The ultimate goal was to enable the Arrow Rock State Historic Site to incorporate the archaeological data into the overall interpretive program emphasizing the original log school building (Lubensky et al. 1980:20-21). To meet these objectives, a metal detector survey, soil corer testing, and 14 complete and portions of 11 additional 3 x 3-meter excavation units were conducted. The metal detector survey identified and mapped metallic materials across Lot 96. The soil corer testing was conducted in an attempt to locate the schoolhouse privies, but was unsuccessful. The majority of information came from the excavations units, which were shovel scraped in 10cm levels. Initial excavations did not include any screening and

artifacts were only collected in grab samples. Later testing did include screening to better recover material evidence of the school.

The results of the 1977 and 1980 field seasons recorded two superimposed school buildings and related features as well as abundant artifactual data. Archaeological evidence suggested that the original school was a saddlebag log building with a limestone foundation constructed prior to 1846. A small five foot addition was then added to the west wall of the building in 1846, which has been interpreted as a possible porch. Sometime after 1865, the original log school was torn down and replaced with a brick schoolhouse. This second school building was constructed with a limestone foundation incorporating a portion of the original foundation. As stated above, the second school building was torn down and replaced in 1892 by a new brick school on Main Street. Additional features related to the school building included a circular brick cistern lined with cement and a metal post, which has been interpreted as a possible flag pole or playground equipment.

Artifacts collected from these investigations included those related to school activities, but also constituted a large amount of domestic materials. School related artifacts included: ink bottles, metal desk frames, pen nibs, slate fragments, graphite pencils, toys, and personal objects. Lubensky et al. (1980:41) stated that the domestic materials recovered from this site were higher than expected for a schoolhouse suggesting that the school building may have also been used as a domicile or for other community functions.

At the completion of the 1980 excavations, Lubensky et al. (1980:125-128) recommended to the Arrow Rock State Historic Site that 1) the intact foundations be

preserved, 2) an outdoor interpretive panel and booklet on the school house be made available for tourists, and 3) the information gathered from these excavations should be incorporated into the larger histories of Arrow Rock and the public school system. Today, this site is still owned and preserved by the Arrow Rock State Historic Site, but no signage has been created to mark its' historic location and the information gathered has only marginally been incorporated into the town's historical interpretation.

Old Courthouse Area

In 1986, the Missouri Department of Natural Resources appropriated a grant to the American Archaeology Division of the University of Missouri-Columbia to conduct archaeological investigations near the Old Courthouse site in Arrow Rock (Holland and Pulliam 1987, 1990). Testing concentrated on three areas north, south, and east of the standing courthouse on Block 23 (Figure 6-5). The north area included the eastern half of Lot 75 on Block 23 located at the southwestern corner of Main and Fourth streets. The south area encompassed the south half of Lot 76 in Block 23 located at the northwest corner of Van Buren and Fourth streets. The east area consisted of the southwest quarter of Lot 63 in Block 17 located at the northeast corner of Van Buren and Fourth streets.

The highest priority was placed on the south area to record a 19th century stable at this location. Holland and Pulliam (1990:68) stated that their objectives were to locate the "structural remains of the stable in order to determine building size, orientation, and layout as well as information on building materials, activity areas within and surrounding the structure, and the time of occupation." A secondary importance was placed on the north and east areas due to time and money concerns. The east area was not expected to

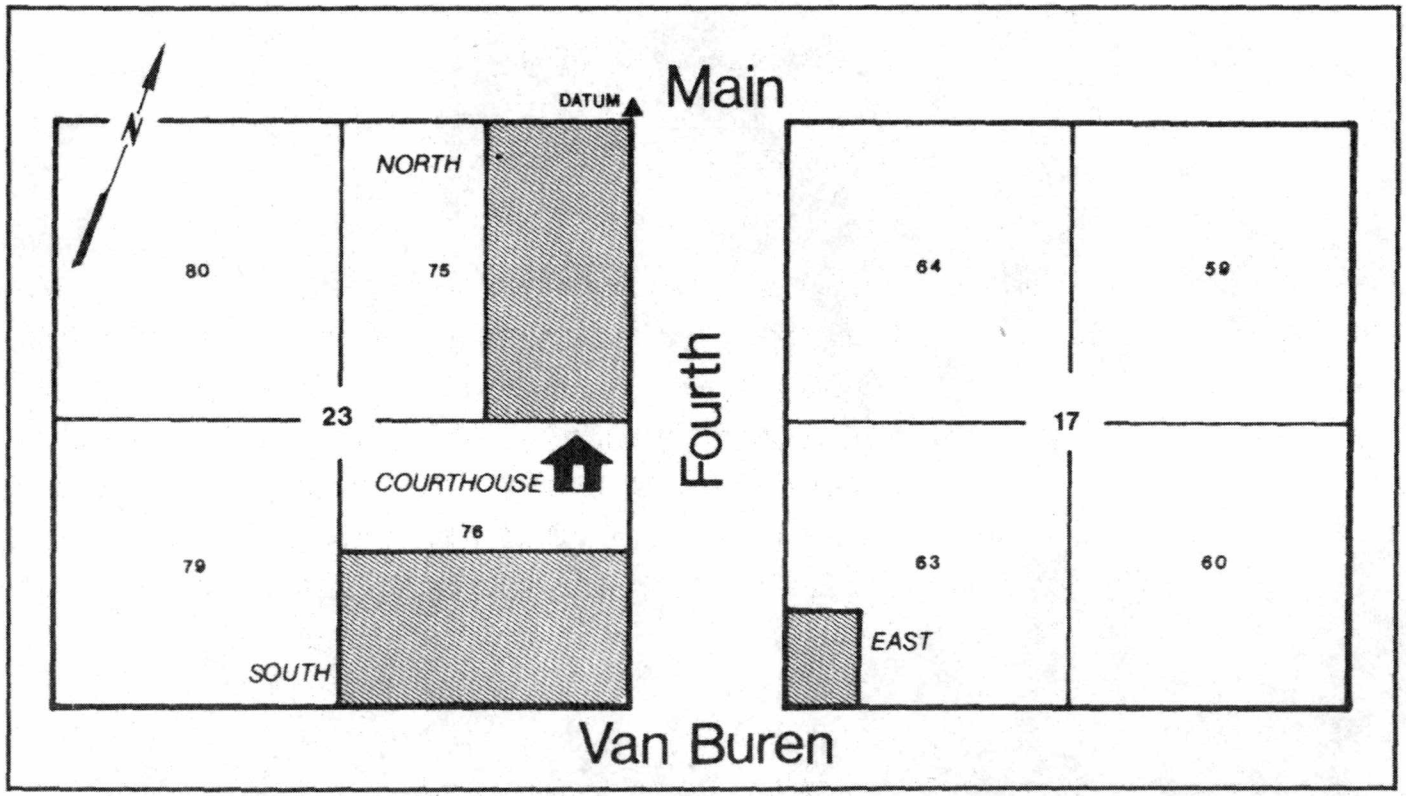


Figure 6-5: 1987 Courthouse Project Areas

Source: T. Holland and C. Pullium, 1987, Archaeological Investigations at the Area Directly North of the Old Courthouse in Arrow Rock, Missouri. *The Missouri Archaeologist* 48: 79, Figure 2.1.

record any significant cultural resources, but a new public restroom was planned for this lot and testing was needed to confirm that no archaeological deposits would be impacted. Unlike the east area, the north area was not planned for any immediate construction activity, but cultural resources were expected in this area based on historic maps that show buildings on this lot.

Archaeological work in these three areas included one or more of the following: a proton-magnetometer survey, probing, shovel testing, trenching, and unit excavation. The proton-magnetometer survey recorded magnetic anomalies below the ground surface. A solid probe survey was then conducted to flag subsurface foundation and features across these areas. Information gathered from these surveys and shovel testing was used to determine unit excavation. The south area, which was the primary focus of these excavations to locate a 19th century stable, as well as the east area, were found to be nearly devoid of any significant cultural resources. Thus, the majority of archaeological work concentrated on the north area. A total of 16 1 x 2 m and 1 x 1 m units was placed in the north area opening a total of 23 square meters. All test units were dug as single levels and only one of the unit's fill was screened. These excavations uncovered the remains of a limestone foundation measuring approximately 8 x 9 meters in size (Figure 6-6). Most of this foundation had been robbed or salvaged and was only identifiable by small and undesirable pieces of stone. Limestone steps leading to a cellar/basement and a concentration of brick from a fireplace/chimney were also recorded along the building's south wall.

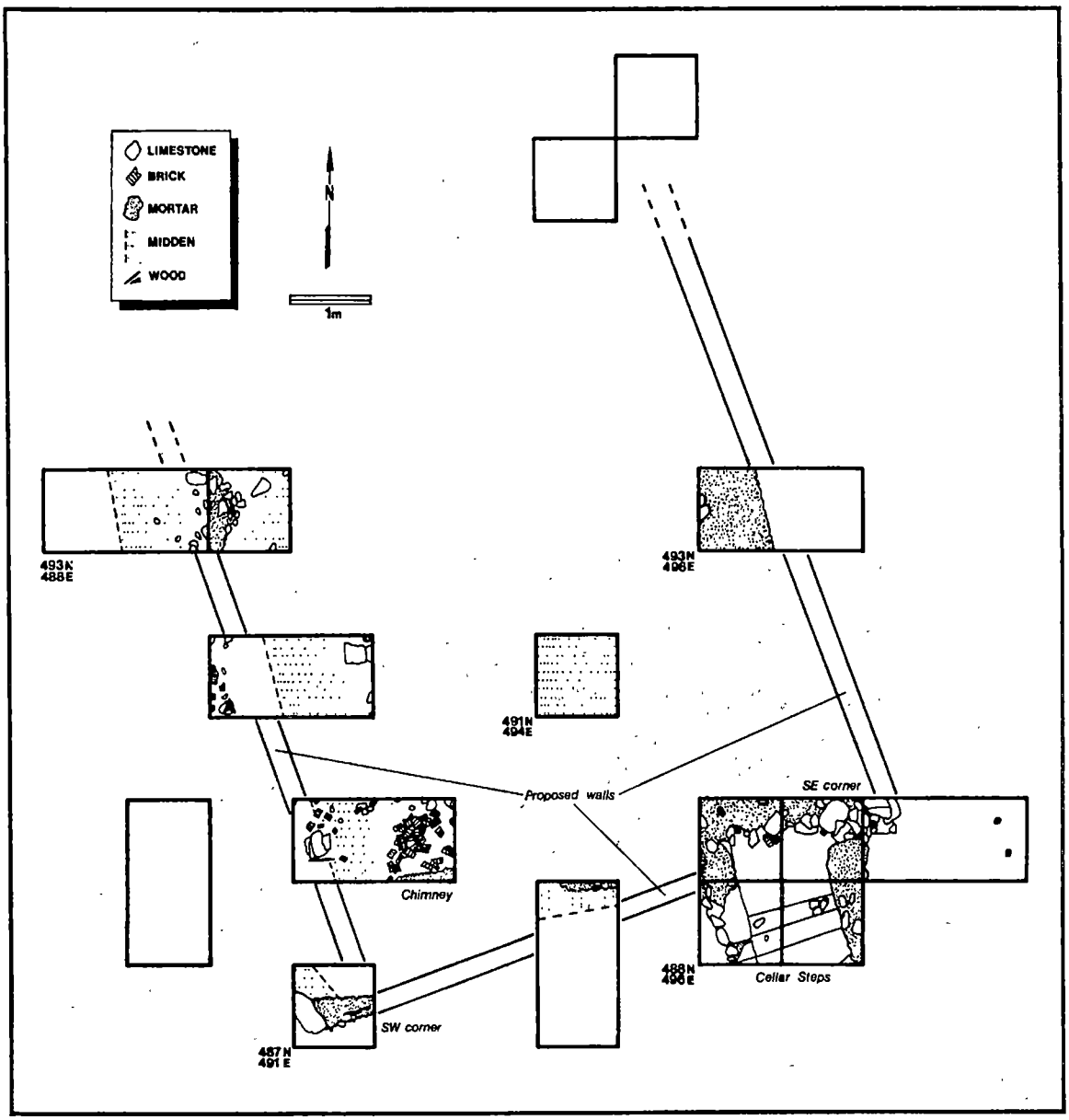


Figure 6-6: North Area Excavations in 1987 on Block 23, Lot 75 in Arrow Rock, Missouri

Source: T. Holland and C. Pullium, 1987, Archaeological Investigations at the Area Directly North of the Old Courthouse in Arrow Rock, Missouri. *The Missouri Archaeologist* 48:79, Figure 2.3.

A total of 5940 artifacts was collected, which included nails (30%), window glass (19%), container glass (17%), ceramics (16%), metal (7%), faunal remains (7%), artifacts related to clothing manufacture/repair (2%), brick (<2%), and miscellaneous objects (e.g. toys, personal objects, coins) (<1%) (Holland and Pulliam 1990:73-78). The ceramic assemblage was used to determine a general date range between 1830 to the early 1900s. The faunal remains consisted of primarily domestic animals: pigs, cows/oxen, sheep/lamb, and chickens/turkeys including 352 mammal-bone fragments (86%), 53 bird fragments (13%), and 4 fish elements (1 %) (Holland and Pulliam 1990:74). Artifacts of sewing manufacture and repair included 88 buttons and "21 other items of straight pins, needles, thimbles, scissors, and an iron" (Holland and Pulliam 1990:78).

Overall, Holland and Pulliam (1990:82) have interpreted this structure as a one to two story frame structure dating between 1830 and the early 1900s, which had a basement or cellar and a rear chimney/fireplace. They suggested that the building functioned as a general store and not a family dwelling because of its location on Main Street, foundation size, and because of the wide range of artifact types and styles (e.g. ceramics), which they also suggested is normally not expected from a domestic household (Holland and Pulliam 1990:83). Additional archival work could provide needed information to prove or disprove a "general store" interpretation. Since these excavations, the Old Courthouse lots have not been impacted by any construction activity by the Arrow Rock State Historic Site and remain relatively undisturbed.

Cavil Tract Site

In the fall of 1989, construction began on the Arrow Rock State Historic Site's new visitor center, which included the removal of a 20th century home on Lot 77 of Block 24 at the southwest corner of Van Buren and Fourth streets (Grantham 1991). This house was located directly across from the south project area studied in 1986 by the University of Missouri-Columbia (Holland and Pulliam 1987, 1990). Deed records document three major occupation periods on Lot 77. Between 1855 – 1881, this property was used as a store in conjunction with a livery stable on Lot 76. After 1881, this property was used as a residence by William Edison until 1922. The last occupants were an African-American family headed by Lucien Cavil, who lived at this address until Mr. Cavil's death in 1958.

As the house was dismantled, an earlier limestone foundation was identified below the razed 20th century home. Larry Grantham, an archaeologist for the Missouri Department of Natural Resources' Division of State Parks, mapped this older foundation and additional surface features. The plans for the visitor center were slightly modified to avoid disturbing the earlier foundation so that it could be used in an outdoor exhibit. The altered plans were still going to disturb two additional surface features 1) a concrete and limestone concentration and 2) a large depression. Further evaluation of the construction material was that it was modern and not considered culturally significant. The large depression was tested with two 1 x 1 m units uncovering a cistern. The units were excavated in 10-centimeter levels to a depth of 60 centimeters. Materials collected were of a 20th century origin and related to Lucien Cavil's death in 1958 and his wife moving out of the home. A cross section of the cistern was then cut recording that the cistern was 8' 9" in diameter and was constructed of a thin layer of mortar directly on dirt walls.

"Only large materials were saved, identified, and then field discarded" back into the cistern (Grantham 1991:4).

Early in 1990, additional excavation plans were also made to expose more of the foundation. Grantham excavated two test units one on the interior and one on the exterior, but further excavations exposing the foundation were delayed until the next year.

In the summer and fall of 1991, Larry Grantham continued these excavations planning to entirely excavate the interior and a row of 1 x 1 meter units outside the foundation. These units were dug in 10-centimeter levels and screened with a ¼ inch mesh. A total of 49 square meters was excavated. Overall, excavations revealed multiple brick and limestone foundations associated with the three major occupations mentioned above. The first building was a store of ½ brick and ½ log and constructed between 1847 and 1850 with a north – south long axis. The store was constructed with a limestone foundation under the brick section. The log half was identified by "the presence of chimney wings" and chinking mortar that had been whitewashed (Grantham 1991:23). An eastern porch was also identified by a limestone landing with two possible doorways. A north façade also had a stone landing and was identified as the main store entrance. The second building episode occurred after 1881, when William Edison purchased this property for $175 dollars and before 1896, when a historic map identifies a different structure orientation. Grantham suggested that the earlier structure was torn down and portions of the original limestone were reincorporated into a frame structure that had an east-west long axis. The final building episode was after 1922 and is associated with the Lucien Cavil family. Grantham suggested that the Cavil family tore down the Edison home in the 1920s and rebuilt a new home using primarily recycled

materials. Of the 28 features only six were associated with the African-American household. These features included limestone piers and two indeterminate pits.

Of the artifacts collected, the majority consisted of architectural remains (70-80%) and most dated to the 19th century. Stone, brick, and mortar were washed, weighed, and discarded. Only the 20th century artifacts collected from the cistern and a porcelain doll have been directly associated with the Cavil occupation. Grantham states that the porcelain doll is typical of those from the late 19th century and prior to the Cavil occupation in 1922, but its arms and face are painted black possibly suggesting that it was owned by an African-American child in the Cavil family. Due to the intact archaeological remains uncovered on Lot 77, the Arrow Rock State Historic Site modified its construction plan for the visitor's center preserving this site and leaving a limestone and brick foundation visible on the surface for visitor interpretation.

Additional Archaeological Projects

Between 1906 and 1907, the Archaeological Institute of America funded explorations by archaeologist Gerard Fowke to document prehistoric Native American life along the Missouri, Gasconade, and Osage rivers in central Missouri (Fowke 1910). One small focus of this research study was in Arrow Rock, Missouri (Fowke 1910:92-93). Following the journals of Lewis and Clarke, Fowke attempted to discover if Arrow Rock's name was associated with an aboriginal quarry site. Fowke found no evidence of a prehistoric chert quarry. Instead, Fowke observed that "a vast quantity of chert...has weathered out of the parent rock..." and could easily be gathered from the surface without any quarrying effort (Fowke 1910:93).

In 1970, the Missouri State Park Board requested Robert Bray of the University of Missouri-Columbia to conduct an archaeological survey of new property additions to the Arrow Rock State Historic Site (Bray 1970). The survey resulted in the identification of four archaeological sites. Three of these were prehistoric sites including a campsite, an earthen mound, and a chert quarry. The historic site was identified as a small historic quarry, which may have been one of the original quarries for building construction in Arrow Rock (Bray 1970:1). Bray recommended to avoid construction on all four of these sites, but also suggested that the two quarries could be used along a nature trail as "points of interest" through the park. These sites were not given official site numbers.

In April of 1977, Robert Bray was requested by the Arrow Rock State Historic Site to monitor the construction of a road for the new campground (Bray 1977). Archaeological methods included earth moving machinery stripping the plowzone of a 1200' long and 60' right of way. Bray identified three new sites (23SA224 – 226). Site 23SA224 was recorded as a prehistoric campsite, but no cultural features were identified and all artifacts were found within the plowzone. Site 23SA225 was also recorded as a prehistoric campsite with a heavier artifact concentration extending below the plowzone. Site 23SA226 was documented as a historic road trace possibly a portion of the Santa Fe Trail. Evidence of a road trace was identified by two trenches that cross-sectioned this possible road identifying a mixed stratigraphy caused by draft animals and/or automobiles. Bray recommended that sites 23SA225 and 226 were potentially significant and should be avoided or further testing done in the future.

Summary

A variety of archaeological sites have been recorded and tested in Arrow Rock, Missouri. Most of this archaeological work has concentrated on the "white" or "famous" aspects of the town's heritage and only one of these sites, the Cavil Tract, addressed the town's African-American heritage. This dissertation research attempts a more complete and diverse perspective of the past by archaeologically exploring Arrow Rock's African-American community. The next chapter will outline previous African-American archaeological research in the United States concentrating on the state of Missouri.

CHAPTER VII

AFRICAN-AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY

African-American archaeology has been defined by Theresa Singleton and Mark Bograd (1995:1) as "the study of material culture to describe and interpret the diverse experiences of African-Americans and the social processes that affected their lives." The development of African-American archaeology as a serious subfield of historical archaeology has only occurred in the last 30 years. The first African-American archaeological research began with plantation and slavery studies in the Deep South and the Caribbean. Today, African-American research has expanded across the United States and beyond the "big house" to include urban slavery, post-emancipation settlements, western frontier experiences, industrial sites, turn-of-the-century tenant farmers, and others. "Even though African-American archaeology has extended beyond the plantation, plantation archaeology continues to set the direction for much of African-American research" (Singleton and Bograd 1995:15).

The development of African-American archaeology from plantation and slavery studies into a major subdiscipline of historical archaeology has been highlighted by numerous scholars (Schuyler 1980; Fairbanks 1984; Orser 1984, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c; Posnansky 1984; Singleton 1985, 1988, 1990, 1991, 1995, 1999; Ferguson 1992; Singleton and Bograd 1995; McKee 1998). The following is a brief summary of these scholars' developmental frameworks for African-American archaeology.

Origins

The origins of African-American archaeology are linked to the development of historical archaeology in the early 20th century. The origins of historical archaeology are found in the beginnings of historic preservation movements. During this early period, historical archaeology concentrated on the famous and wealthy aspects of the past and was primarily used as a "handmaiden to history," filling in the gaps of time that the written records or oral testimony could not verify (Noel Hume 1964). Examples include the work at Jamestown, Mount Vernon, and Williamsburg where historical archaeology was used to fill the gaps of unwritten history or to help restore razed or deteriorating structures (Johnson 1953; Thane 1967; Noel Hume 1997; Leepson 2001). An example of this initial research was the work at George Washington's Mount Vernon (Johnson 1953; Thane 1967). In 1909, the Mount Vernon Ladies Society was created to preserve, restore, and interpret the life of George Washington at Mount Vernon. Mount Vernon was not only the country home of the first U.S. President, but it was a large plantation operated with enslaved African-American labor. Thus, the initial preservation work at Mount Vernon may not have addressed the enslaved African-Americans that worked on this farm, but it did lay the foundation for African-American oriented research questions, which addressed the master and slave relationship more recently.

Emergence

Historical archaeology was formally recognized as an archaeological discipline in the 1960s with the creation of the Conference for Historic Sites (est. 1960) and the Society for Historical Archaeology (est. 1965). At this same time, historical research

began to change its' research focus from celebratory history to a more diverse agenda covering the disenfranchised past. This change has been attributed to three factors: 1) the 1960s Civil Rights movement, 2) the passing of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, and 3) the 1976 Bicentennial celebration (Ferguson 1992; Singleton and Bograd 1995). The Civil Rights movement in the United States not only transformed the social and legal system offering greater access to equal citizenship for African-Americans, but it also transformed social science research from celebratory history focusing on white, male, elite history to social history that addresses the lives of everyday people. New research questions addressed social history covering women, the working class, minority groups, and children.

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 was established to protect and document threatened historical sites. This act created the National Register of Historic Places, a federal list of historically significant sites designated by four criteria: 1) sites that represent broad lines of social history, 2) sites associated with a famous individual or event in local, state, or national history, 3) sites that are representative of an architectural style and/or linked to an influential architect, and 4) sites that have the potential to inform about significant events or people in American history.

This act also broke down the personal bias of the archaeologist, who selected which sites or cultures were significant and which should be studied. After this time, archaeologists were required to document and assess the historical significance of all sites that are threatened by federally funded or permitted projects. For example, archaeologists conducting a survey of a new interstate highway were required to document all the sites in the right-of-way no matter their age or cultural affiliation. Prior

to this act, African-American sites were ignored and African-Americans were only marginally mentioned as an afterthought or a secondary component of a Euro-American site. The result of this federal act was that many African-American sites were recorded and studied that were previous ignored and destroyed without documentation.

The 1976 United States Bicentennial celebration sparked a renewed nationalist pride at the end of the Vietnam War. This national celebration resulted in the development of new local historic preservation groups and the recognition of additional historic sites. Within historically African-American neighborhoods, this led to the preservation and interpretation of important events, people, and sites that were previously neglected.

Birth

The birth of African-American archaeology has been linked to the work of Charles Fairbanks at the University of Florida (Fairbanks 1972, 1976, 1984; Fairbanks and Moore 1980). Fairbanks may not have been the first archaeologist to conduct research on African-American sites, but his research is credited with promoting sustained archaeological studies of African-American heritage. In 1967, the Florida State Park Service hired Fairbanks to excavate partially standing slave quarters at the Kingsley Plantation. His excavation objectives were to document the slaves' everyday lives and to identify African retentions in the New World. After this time, Fairbanks and the University of Florida became the center of African-American studies in archaeology, which Fairbanks called "plantation archeology." Fairbanks went on to become the mentor of some of the more influential archaeologists in African-American archaeology

including John Otto (1975, 1977, 1980, 1984) and Theresa Singleton (1980, 1985, 1991, 1995, 1999).

Research Strategies

Archaeological strategies for studying African-Americans have developed along two lines: 1) the study of everyday life, and 2) social stratification studies. The study of everyday life has included simple questions of subsistence (Rietz et al. 1985), housing (Otto 1975, 1977, 1980, 1984), material possessions (Kelso 1886a, 1986b), and health (Gibbs et al. 1980; Rathbun 1987). Archaeology's most significant contribution has been to clarify the quality of diet and health of enslaved African-Americans. Planter's diaries often outline food rations given to their slaves, such as salted pork and molasses. Some historians have used these records to argue that enslaved African-American's diet and health were extremely poor, lacking an adequate caloric and vitamin intake and resulting in severe health problems (Fogel and Engerman 1989). Archaeological excavations of slave quarters have shown that a slave's diet was not limited to the planter's rations, but included more diversified foods including both wild and domestic plants and animals gathered or hunted in nearby fields, forests, and waters or grown or raised in adjacent gardens or animal pens (Singleton 1991:171-173). Despite the more diverse diet, bioarchaeologists have found disease and malnutrition as well as labor stresses of arthritis and breaks continued to be very common among enslaved African-Americans (Gibbs et al. 1980; Rathbun 1987).

Social stratification studies have addressed issues of class (Otto 1975, 1977, 1980, 1984), creolization/acculturation (Wheaton et al. 1983; Wheaton and Garrow 1985;

Ferguson 1992), ethnicity (Otto 1984; Ferguson 1992; Stine et al. 1996), gender (Yentsch 1994), power and resistance (Orser 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1989, 1991; McGuire and Paynter 1991), and race and racism (Babson 1988, 1990; Mullins 1999). For example, archaeologist John Otto (1984) compared the material record from planter, overseer, and slave homes on the Cannon's Point Plantation in Georgia and was able to determine distinct status and ethnic differences in housing, subsistence, and ceramics between these households. Overall, ethnic studies have been the primary focus of social stratification studies in African-American archaeology. Ethnicity is also the focus of my dissertation, and will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter VIII.

Future Research Strategies

Future research in African-American archaeology needs to address gender issues, the social development of ethnicity, increased public involvement, particularly with descendant groups, and expansion into new research areas like Missouri, where little is known archaeologically. A recent thematic volume of *Historical Archaeology* 31(3) highlighted case study examples of public participation in African-American archaeology (McDavid and Babson 1997). Within this volume, excavation of the African Burial Ground in New York outlines the extremes of public participation in archaeology (LaRoche and Blakey 1997). The African Burial Ground was a 17th century cemetery for enslaved African-Americans in Manhattan, New York. The construction of a new federal building in the early 1990s required the excavation of over 400 individuals from this cemetery. The public, particularly the descendant community, was not contacted about this cemetery, and its' disturbance by the construction until the project was well under

way. The African-America community was outraged that they were not informed during the planning process and they used political and social leverage to eventually take control of the project. Ultimately, the descendant community gained ownership of their local history by deciding how and by whom the human remains would be excavated, analyzed, and interpreted. Future African-American studies in archaeology must recognize the concerns and sensitivities of the living. Archaeologists must be willing to listen and establish collaborative partnerships with the descendant community.

A Missouri Perspective

In Missouri, African-American archaeology is still in the beginning stages of development (Baumann 1994, 1995, 1996a, 1998d, 1998e, 1999d, 2000b, 2001; Thomas 1998). Missouri's African-American archaeology has been initiated by: 1) projects geared toward preservation and restoration of historic sites, 2) cultural resource management projects, 3) archaeological field schools, and 4) independent research.

Additional archaeological projects have had the potential to record Missouri's African-American heritage but have failed to do so. Examples include the Fort Zumwalt State Historic Site in St. Charles County, Missouri (Waselkov 1979), the Cannon Reservoir Project in northeast Missouri (O'Brien 1984), and the Saline Creek Valley Project south of Ste. Genevieve (Trimble et al. 1991). All three of these projects are respected Missouri studies in historical archaeology and each mentions an enslaved African-American presence in the historic context, but they ignore the potential to record African-American lifeways in the material remains.

Preservation and Restoration

Missouri's federal, state, and county parks have promoted African-American archaeology for the identification and restoration of historic resources (Beaubien 1953; Heldman 1961, 1962; Coombs 1961a, 1961b; Bray 1961, 1962; Browman 1972, 1974, 1979, 1982, 1984; Weymouth 1976; Garrison, Bray, and Denman 1976; McIntosh 1979; Benn 1982; Grantham 1986, 1991; Schmits 1989; Yelton and Bray 1994, 1997)

The most recent example occurred in 1995, as archaeologist James Price directed a joint archaeological project between the National Park Service and the University of Missouri-Columbia to assist in the restoration of Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site (23SL857) in St. Louis County, Missouri (Figure 7-1) (Price and Hastings 1998). This site, originally called White Haven, consists of an early to mid 19th century farmstead, "where Ulysses S. Grant met his wife, Julia Dent, worked as a farmer, found refuge during his military career, and intended to retire after his presidency" (National Park Service n.d.). The Dent family, who operated a moderate antebellum plantation with enslaved African-American labor, originally settled this homestead. Ulysses S. Grant slowly gained ownership of the property after marrying Julia Dent in 1848 and eventually owned the entire 1,100 acre estate by 1870.

The National Park Service established this site as a National Landmark site in 1986 and as a historic park in 1990. Since this time, the National Park Service has attempted to assess, stabilize, restore, and interpret White Haven as it looked in the 1870s during Grant's presidency. Included in these restoration efforts has been the work of archaeologists, first in 1991 by Vergil Noble of the National Park Service and in 1995 by James Price (Noble 1997; Price and Hastings 1998). The role archaeology plays in



Figure 7-1: Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site

restoration projects is threefold: to record and assess the age and function of the standing and razed structures on a site, to document and identify associated artifacts with the architectural features, and to assist in the public interpretation of the activities that occurred and the people that occupied the site.

Besides the Dent and Grant families, archaeological research has also concentrated on the lives of African-Americans who lived and worked as slaves at White Haven. Census records document in 1850 that 18 enslaved African-Americans resided at White Haven as domestic servants and field hands providing the majority of the labor. Julia Dent Grant's autobiography *The Personal Memoirs of Julia Dent Grant* reflects on the roles and relationships she had with White Haven's enslaved African-Americans (Grant 1975). As a young child, Julia was partially raised by two African-American nurses named Kitty and Rose and her playmates were often the enslaved African-American children. Another slave mentioned by Mrs. Grant is Mary Robinson, a cook at White Haven, who made "loaves of beautiful snowy cake, plates full of delicious Maryland biscuits, exquisite custard and puddings, and omelets, gumbo soup, and fritters."

The 1995 excavations attempted to address the African-American presence at this site by conducting excavations in and around the main house, the summer kitchen, and the basement winter kitchen. Archaeological evidence relating to African-American lifeways was best recorded in the winter kitchen, where enslaved African-American cooks lived and worked to prepare meals for the Dent family and themselves. One of these cooks was likely Mary Robinson.

This basement kitchen was constructed in 1838 below a west wing addition to the main house with an exterior entrance on the west gable end. On the interior, this kitchen included two fireplaces, a wooden floor, and a passage leading to the main house. The activities conducted in this kitchen are represented best by the artifacts that fell between the kitchen floorboards or that were purposely hidden below the floor for personal or possibly religious reasons.

Fortunately for archaeologists, artifact preservation was good as the enslaved African-American occupation of this winter kitchen was sealed by first a gravel deposit within the first two decades after the Civil War and later in the early 20th century by a cement floor. The gravel and later cement floor protected the artifacts associated with slavery from most disturbances and later construction. The 1995 excavations removed the later cement and gravel floors exposing the original floor deposits, which they tenaciously excavated using a gridded square system and screening the soil for artifacts.

Preliminary analysis by James Price and Mary Jane Hastings (1998) on the 1995 excavation materials from the winter kitchen recorded a broad range relating to food preparation (e.g. animal and plant remains, ceramics); clothing manufacturing, repair, and recycling (e.g. thimbles and straight pins); personal items (e.g. hat stick pin, locket, ring); and toys (e.g. marbles). Of these objects, most related to female or possibly children's activities and none can be directly associated with a male slave or a male activity except maybe marbles. Of the materials found below the winter kitchen floor, Price and Hastings (1998) have highlighted two artifact concentrations associated with the African-American cultural traditions. First, a "cache of large refined earthenware sherds" was found below this floor. This deposit appears to have been intentionally placed under the

floorboards when the kitchen was in use. These ceramics may have been accidentally broken and hidden below the floor from the master's view, but Price and Hastings suggest that these broken ceramics were purposely broken and placed under the floor as a ritual to keep spirits from coming back from the dead. A similar African-American practice has been identified on gravesites in southern states.

Second, a cached bundle of artifacts also was uncovered along a wall of the winter kitchen (Figure 7-2). This bundle consisted of "a large mammal knuckle bone, an English bone-handled two-tined fork, a broken steel blade from an English tableknife, a basal portion of a prehistoric chert projectile point, a prehistoric chert core with edge use, a prehistoric scraper, two large clear glass chest knobs, a clear glass compote stem, a thimble, a bowl from a brass spoon, a bowl from an iron spoon, five buttons, a child's playing marble, a coil of brass wire, a smooth river pebble, an oval brass doorknob on an iron stem, a green transfer-printed teapot or sugarbowl lid, and a scythe whetstone" (Price and Hastings 1998). This bundle of artifacts could be interpreted as a dumping episode or as child's play, but archaeologist Mark Leone of the University of Maryland-College Park has recorded similar bundles at 17 different slave quarters in Virginia, and at the Slayton and Charles Carroll house sites in Annapolis, Maryland (Adams 1993; Little 1997). Leone has interpreted these caches as a form of "white magic" that could bring good luck, protection, or cure illness. This bundled cache was placed near the south corner and immediately adjacent to the exterior entrance. Placed next to the doorway, this cache may have prevented evil spirits, hexes by the living, or the Dent family from entering the kitchen and thus protected the enslaved African-Americans within from



Figure 7-2: Artifact Cache from below the Winter Kitchen Floor at the Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site, St. Louis, Missouri (Photo Courtesy of James Price and the National Park Service)

harm. Similarly, doorways and windows of some African-American houses in the South are often outlined in blue paint, which was supposed to keep evil spirits from entering a house or place of work. One interpretation explaining this practice has been that the color blue resembles the sky, which is where heaven is and thus evil spirits are afraid of this color. Of the long list of objects, Price and Hastings highlight the clear glass knobs. The clear glass knobs may have been adaptively used to replace glass or quartz crystals. As mentioned earlier, crystals were often worn as charms and possessed strong powers to protect an individual from harm.

Additional objects of interest below the kitchen floor included a complete writing slate and pencils. Missouri law prohibited slaves from learning to read and write, so finding these objects may indicate that the slaves were teaching themselves and hiding the writing materials below the floorboards between lessons.

In sum, archaeological work at White Haven has given us the best view into enslaved African-American life in Missouri. In the near future, the National Park Service is planning to incorporate these findings in exhibits and educational programs at the Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site.

Cultural Resource Management

Since the Historic Preservation Act of 1966, the majority of Missouri's African-American archaeological research has been a product of culture resource management projects (Flanders et al. 1981; Harris 1981; Nixon et al. 1984; Price et al. 1985; Harris and Purrington 1986; Harl et al. 1990; Harl and Naglich 1992; Naglich 1995; Fulmer et al. 1995; Harl et al. 1996; Ward 1996; McCarthy and Ward 1997a, 1997b; Lopinot 1998;

Latham 1998). One of the better CRM projects was conducted in 1989 by the University of Missouri-St. Louis, who directed an archaeological survey of the Wildhorse Creek drainage in southwestern St. Louis County covering nearly 2,000 acres (Figure 7-3) (Harl et al. 1990). The Wildhorse Creek drainage, which includes portions of Dr. Edmund A. Babler Memorial State Park and the city of Wildwood, Missouri, was first settled historically in the 1790s. Settlers in this region included new European immigrants from Germany and Prussia and immigrants from the American South. The latter were accompanied by a sizable number of enslaved African-Americans, who worked primarily as domestic servants and farm laborers on medium to large sized plantations. These plantations produced diversified crops and livestock with hemp being the main cash crop. After the Civil War, African-Americans on these farms did one of three things; they moved into urban areas, moved out of the state, or many continued working on these plantations as day laborers or sharecroppers with some eventually saving enough money to buy their own farms.

The 1989 archaeological survey of the Wildhorse Creek Basin documented numerous historical period sites, many with African-American components including antebellum plantations represented by planter's homes, outbuildings, cemeteries, and slave quarters, or postbellum freedmen sites of sharecroppers/farmers, a church/school, and industries (Harl et al. 1990). Some of the more historically significant and interesting sites include the Coleman and Tyler plantations, and the African Baptist Church and cemetery.

The Coleman and Tyler families emigrated from Virginia in the 1830s to the Wildhorse Creek Basin establishing two large plantations (Harl et al. 1990:62-65). The Robert Coleman family arrived in St. Louis County in 1837, purchasing a large tract of land between the Missouri River and Wildhorse Creek and establishing a large plantation with 54

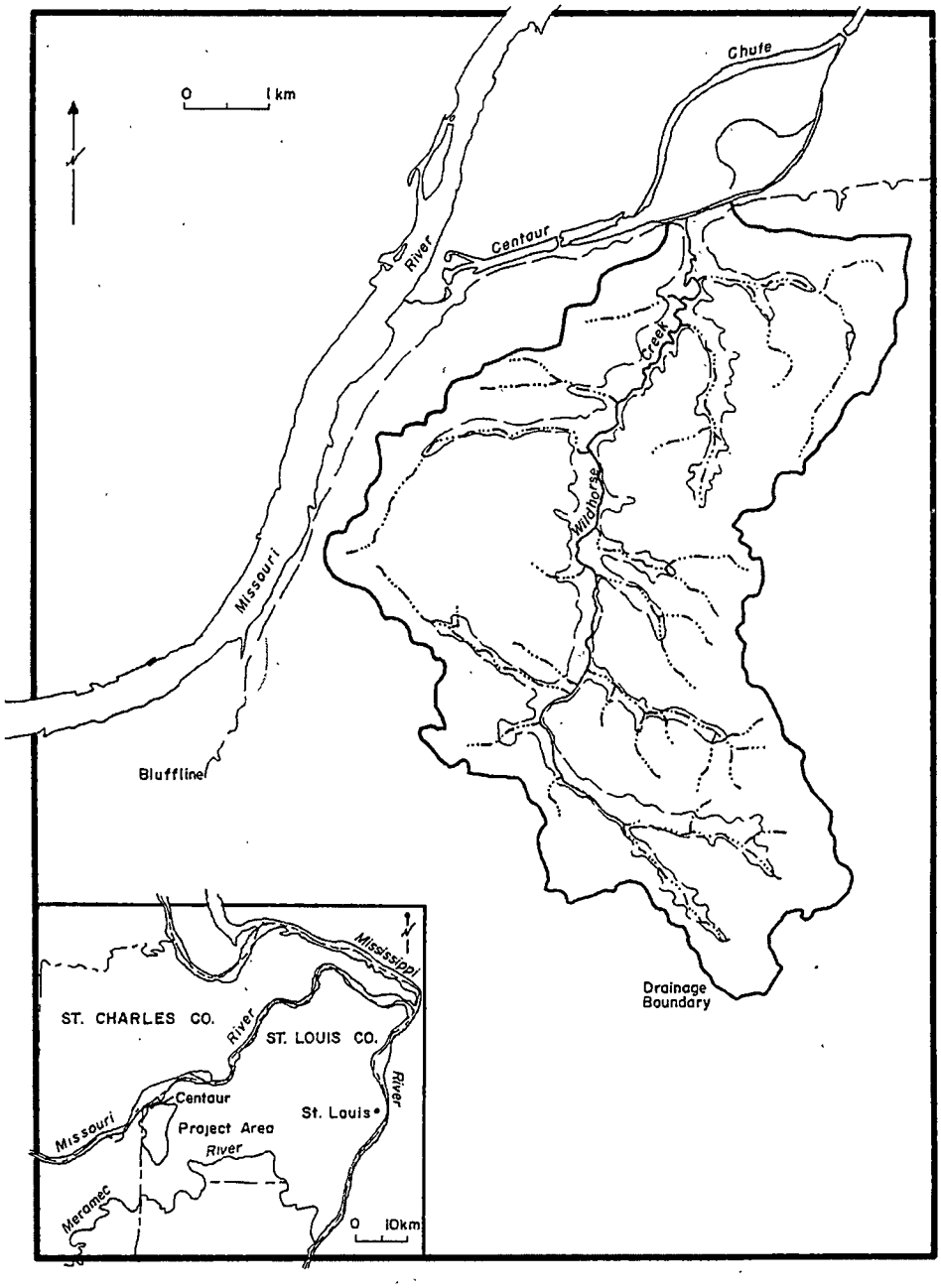


Figure 7-3: Wildhorse Creek Drainage System in St. Louis County, Missouri

Source: J. Harl et al., 1990, *Phase I Reconnaissance Level Survey of Prehistoric and Historic Cultural Resources in the Wildhorse Creek Drainage Basin in South St. Louis County, Missouri.* University of Missouri-St. Louis, p. 3, Map 1.

enslaved African-Americans. After Robert's death in the 1840s, this property was divided between his two sons William and Robert. In the 1850 U. S. Agricultural Census, William's plantation consisted of 400 acres worth $6,000, which produced wheat, corn, oats, and hemp, with the latter being the most important (Harl et al. 1990:63). The labor on this plantation was provided by 23 enslaved African-Americans. A similar plantation was operated by Robert Coleman, William's brother, with 36 enslaved African-Americans in 1850, which included, by 1860, 440 acres worth $13,000 (Harl et al. 1990:63).

The 1989 archaeological survey of the Coleman plantations located the original family plantation founded in 1837 (Harl et al. 1990). The planter house is still standing on a bluff top overlooking Wildhorse Creek and the Missouri River Valley. Additional buildings (e.g. privies, smokehouse, barns, slave quarters) are no longer standing at this site and can only be recorded archaeologically. The location of the slave quarters was possibly identified by a concentration of artifacts at the base of a ridge and down slope of the standing planter home. Additional archaeological excavations are needed to confirm the location of these and other buildings on this former plantation.

The Tyler family immigrated to St. Louis County in 1837 and settled directly across Wildhorse Creek from the Coleman plantation (Harl et al. 1990:89-92). The Tyler plantation included 1024 acres in 1840, raising large herds of sheep and swine as well as wheat, corn, and hemp (Harl et al. 1990:89). Again, the majority of the labor for this farm was provided by enslaved African-Americans numbering 52 in 1840 and 42 in 1850 (Harl et al. 1990:89). Little information is recorded of the African-Americans who lived and worked on these plantations.

Archaeological evidence of the Tyler plantation included a few fragments of limestone foundation and brick on the surface representing the planter's home as well as a limestone lined depression that may represent a well or cistern (Harl et al. 1990:89). The location of additional buildings, like the slave houses, was not recorded, but may still be below the ground surface immediately southwest of the planter's house.

The Tyler and Coleman families may be best represented by a joint family cemetery located immediately southeast of the Tyler home site (Harl et al. 1990:90-92). This cemetery contains the founding family members, but does not include the enslaved African-Americans. Where they were buried is still a mystery, but some may have been buried in the African Baptist Church and cemetery, which is discussed below.

The site of the African Baptist Church and cemetery was also recorded during the 1989 Wildhorse Creek archaeological survey (Figure 7-4) (Harl et al. 1990:103-107). The church was identified by its foundation constructed of limestone blocks covered by a course of concrete measuring eleven by seven and one half meters in size. This church was founded as early as 1869 by former slaves in the Wildhorse Creek Basin, but not originally at this site location. The church foundation present was constructed sometime between 1878 and 1909. An 1909 atlas of this area has a building standing at this site and labeled as "A. F. Church and School", which suggests that this church building was also used as an earlier, if not the first, black school in this area (Northwest Publishing Company 1909:14).

A cemetery was recorded immediately behind this church with at least 26 individual graves. "Twelve were marked with formal headstones, eight were marked by

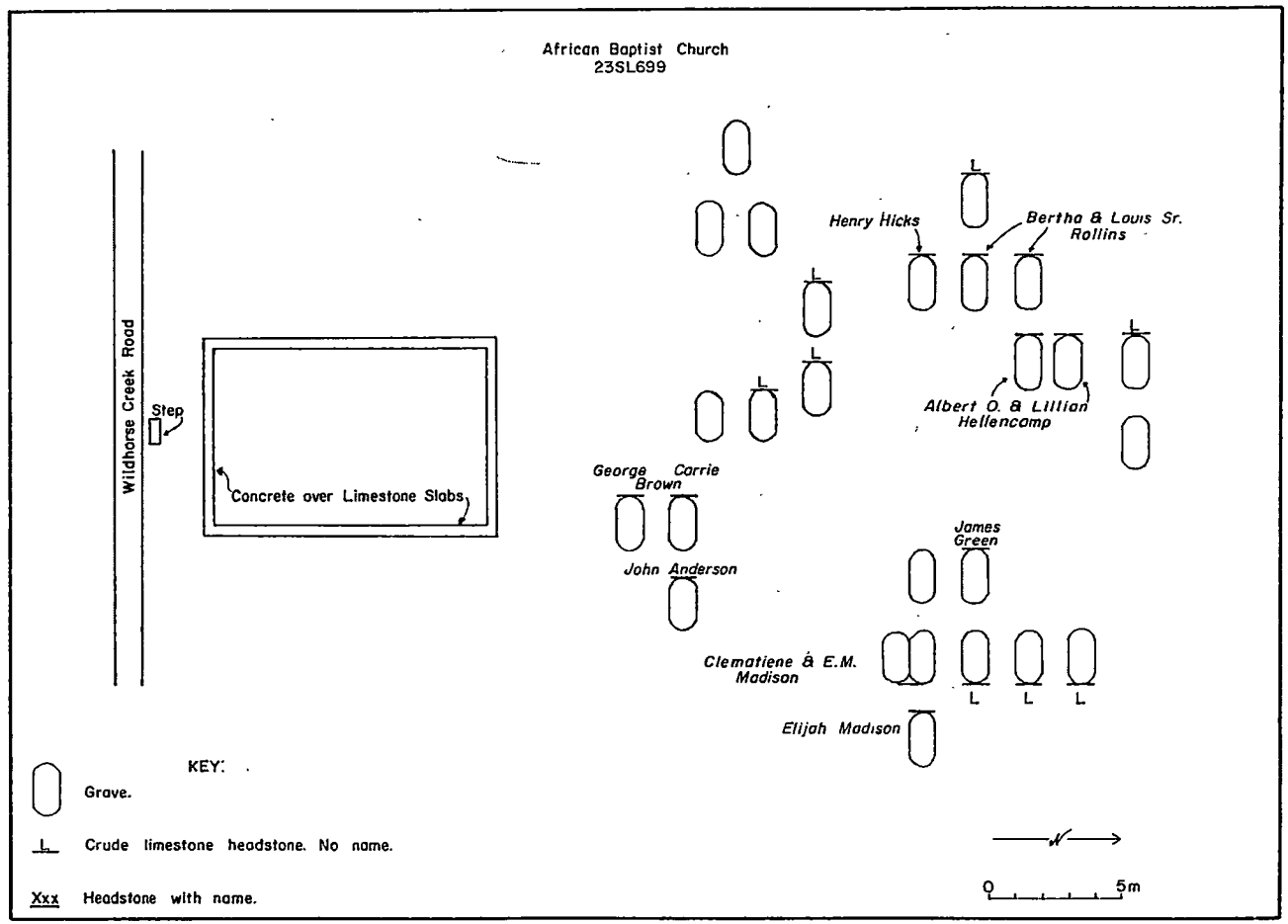


Figure 7-4: African Baptist Church, 23SL699

Source: J. Harl et al., 1990, *Phase I Reconnaissance Level Survey of Prehistoric and Historic Cultural Resources in the Wildhorse Creek Drainage Basin in South St. Louis County, Missouri.* University of Missouri-St. Louis, p. 105, Fig. 24.

rough limestone slabs, and six graves are indicated only by shallow depressions" (Harl et al. 1990:104). Of the 12 legible headstones, seven are worth mentioning in greater detail.

Three Civil War veterans were buried in this cemetery including Elijah Madison, Louis Rollins, Sr., and Henry Hicks. All three of these veterans served in the 68th U.S. Colored Infantry, which was organized in March of 1864 and stationed in Memphis, Tennessee. "As part of a brigade of African-American infantry, the 68th participated in General A. J. Smith's expedition to Northern Mississippi in the summer of 1864 and took part in the Battle of Tupelo, Mississippi, on July 14 and 15, 1864" (Harl et al. 1990:104). The 68th was then stationed in Florida, Alabama, and then Texas before they were disbanded in 1866.

Elijah Madison was a Corporal in Company F of the 68th Colored Infantry. Prior to the Civil War, Madison was likely a slave on the Coleman or Tyler plantations in the Wildhorse Creek Basin. Madison was born in Missouri in 1841 to parents who were born in Virginia. After returning from service, Madison married in 1868 and had 14 children with his wife Elizabeth. "The 1870 U.S. Census and 1869 tax records indicate that Madison owned no land, but lived in the upper reaches of the Wildhorse Creek Valley suggesting that he was farming as a renter or sharecropper" (Harl et al. 1990:104) Louis Rollins, Sr. of the 68th Infantry was also born in Missouri in 1847 to parents from Virginia. He married in 1870 and had four children with his wife Bertha. Similarly to Madison, Rollins is recorded as a farmer who either rented or sharecropped the land he farmed. Henry Hicks was the brother-in-law of Rollins and like Madison and Rollins was born into slavery in 1846 to parents from Virginia. Hicks is recorded in 1900 as a farm laborer living alone and later in 1910 as living with Rollins (Harl et al. 1990:106).

Others buried in this cemetery were James Green, John Anderson, and George and Carrie Brown. James Green may have been the son of David Green, whose homestead was recorded in 1989 and partially excavated during a field school in 1990, which is discussed below. John Anderson was born in 1832 in Virginia and may have been a former slave of either the Tyler or Coleman plantations. After the Civil War, Anderson married his wife Julia and together they had nine children. The 1870 U.S. Census records Anderson as a farm laborer, who owned no land and had $400 dollars in personal property (Harl et al. 1990:106). In 1900, he is again recorded as a farm laborer, but he is now the owner of a mortgaged home. Husband and wife, George and Carrie Brown were both born in Missouri of parents from Virginia. They both may have been slaves on either the Coleman or Tyler plantations. They were married prior to 1879 and had five children. "By 1893, they purchased 40 to 51 acres along the right bank of the Wildhorse Creek south of Centaur, on land that had once been part of the Tyler estate" (Harl et al. 1990:106).

Archaeological Field Schools

A number of archeological field schools have been conducted over the past ten years addressing Missouri's African-American heritage including my own research in Arrow Rock (Fuller 1992; Harl and Naglich 1994; Rautman 1998). A field school example occurred in 1989, as the East Central Community College in Union, Missouri, conducted an archeological field school at the David Green site (23SL674), a postbellum African-American farmstead (Harl and Naglich 1994). The David Green site was first identified during the 1989 archaeological survey of the Wildhorse Creek Basin mentioned above.

Initial findings documented several structures dating to the early 20th century including: a coarse concrete house foundation, the remains of a concrete lined cistern, a standing frame storage shed, a frame and wire animal pen, and a storage shed or privy represented by a row of limestone slabs. Archival evidence records this site as the home and farm of David Green, who was born in Virginia in 1835 and was likely a former slave of the Tyler or Coleman plantations. An 1878 atlas map indicates that Green owned six acres and a home at this site, which was once apart of the Tyler plantation holdings (Pitzman 1878:35). "Green's hold on the small tract perhaps was tenuous for the 1880 U.S. census indicates that he owned no land and worked as a sharecropper on a plot consisting of 20 tilled acres and 20 acres of woods" (Harl et al. 1990:67). The agricultural census for this same year records that he raised corn, wheat, chickens, pigs, and dairy cattle. Green eventually gained ownership of the original six acres as indicated by an 1896 county directory, but left it by 1900 to live with the Coleman family until his death (Harl et. al. 1990:67).

Green died by 1909 as indicated by a period atlas map that shows that his six acres were divided into two and four acres and owned by brothers James and Robert Green, respectively (Northwest Publishing Company 1909:14). There is no information that records if James and Robert were David Green's sons, nephews or even related at all, but census records document that their parents were also born in Virginia. Both James and Robert Green worked and lived on these six acres as farmers until about 1920. By this time, this property was acquired by the Ferguson family, who were of Euro-American ancestry. The Fergusons lived at this house site until the 1960s, when vandals burned the house (Harl et al. 1990).

The 1989 East Central Community College archaeological field school at the David Green site was conducted to "provide insights into what Mr. Green's life was like after being freed from slavery" (Harl and Naglich 1994). Five excavation units were placed within and immediately outside a 20th century cement foundation visible on the surface. Unfortunately, the majority of artifacts collected from these excavations were associated with the Ferguson family, but a few cultural remains were directly associated with the David Green occupation, including a possible post mold and a privy or root cellar. The post mold was interpreted as a wooden beam that once supported a house wall or floor joist of the David Green house. Artifacts collected from this post mold included two cut nails and charred wood. The cut nails date the post mold prior to 1890 when cut nails were replaced by wire nails and the charred wood may suggest that the Green house was burned down prior to the construction of the Ferguson home.

The privy or root cellar was recorded as a shallow, oval pit that was partially disturbed by tree roots and the later construction of a storage shed during the Ferguson occupation. Artifacts collected from this cultural feature included three cut nails, four glass bottle fragments, and single glass tumbler sherd. The cut nails again date this cultural feature prior to 1890, but the tumbler glass may suggest an even earlier date. The glass tumbler fragment had a pontil mark on its base, indicating that this drinking glass was hand blown and held by a pontil rod. The use of a pontil rod dates prior to 1857, which may suggest that David Green occupied this site before 1870 and possibly even before the Civil War as a slave or this bottle could have been an heirloom piece.

A small amount of plant remains was also collected from both the post mold and privy/root cellar including seeds of grape, ragweed, knotweed, and pokeweed as well as

hickory nutshell, and a grass monocot stem. The ragweed, knotweed and pokeweed seeds are wild plants that may suggest that the Green house site was abandoned for a number of years before the Ferguson family occupation. The grape seeds and nutshell may represent food raised or gathered by David Green, but some of these plant remains could also have been used in herbal medicines such as teas, poultices, or salves.

In sum, the excavations at the David Green site document that artifacts and architectural features related to the David Green occupation are still present at this site. Additional testing is still needed to answer questions concerning the quality of life (e.g. subsistence, housing, personal possessions) and more complex questions of ethnicity, consumerism, and socioeconomic status of the David Green household after slavery.

Independent Research

Independent research has included work primarily by graduate students as class projects, conference papers, thesis, or dissertations (Herrmann 1994, 1999; Overshiner 1997, Baumann 1996a, 1997a). Gina Overshiner examined 19 African-American burials disturbed by the Missouri River floods of 1993 in Callaway County, Missouri for her masters thesis at the University of Missouri-Columbia (Overshiner 1997). The skeletons were disturbed from the Cedar Church cemetery (1851-1876). Of the 19 skeletons, 15 are complete, 4 are partial; consisting of 17 subadults and two adults. Pathological analysis of the Shiloh sample suggests that these individuals experienced acute diseases, high child mortality, hard physical labor, localized infections, trauma, poor dental hygiene, but had a diet that met all basic nutritional requirements and was high in carbohydrates. Similarly, Overshiner concluded from mortuary census records that African-Americans had a higher

child and infant morality rate and a lower life expectancy than contemporary Euro-Americans. The mortality schedule information also indicates an African-American population that experienced high levels of infectious disease that killed people quickly, but there is little evidence of chronic disease or nutritional deficiencies.

In 1996, I conducted archaeological work at the Hicklin Hearthstone, an antebellum plantation settled in the 1820s by James Hicklin and located approximately 1 1/2 miles east of Lexington, Missouri (Baumann 1996a, 1997a). James Hicklin operated a diversified plantation growing multiple food crops and livestock using over 30 enslaved African-Americans. In 1988, the Hicklin Hearthstone was placed on the National Register of Historic Places for its historic significance and architectural structures (Denny 1988). Extant antebellum buildings on the property include a brick I house with a brick ell addition, a six pen brick slave quarters, and a black driver's house (Figures 7-5, 7-6). The Hicklin Hearthstone property also contains the family cemetery, an early 20th century school house, and a section of the Santa Fe Trail. Archaeological testing consisted of gridded posthole tests placed at 15' intervals around and inside the six pen slave quarters and the black driver's house. A total of 65 posthole tests was conducted recording a light artifact density and heavily disturbed soils. Few artifacts were collected around and within the slave quarters and black driver's house and of the artifacts that were collected most post-dated the Civil War. A light postbellum midden was identified on the west and northwest side of the black driver's house beyond a pig pen disturbance. The heavy disturbance was caused by the continual use of these structures into the 20th century. Only a small portion of the property was tested. Intact archaeological remains may still exist on the property.



Figure 7-5: Black Driver's House at the Hicklin Hearthstone Site, 23LF131

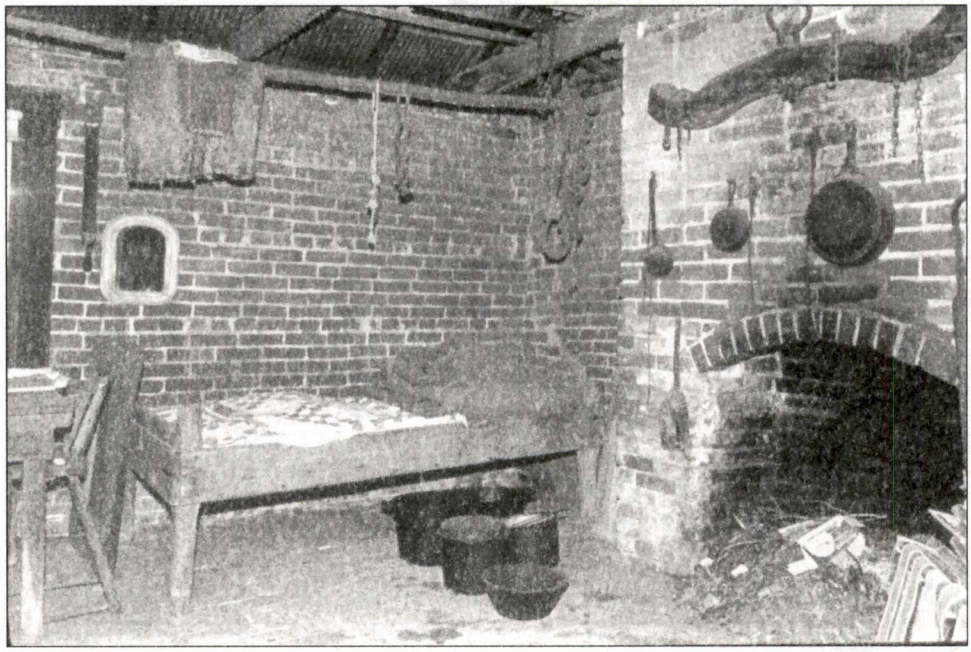


Figure 7-6: Slave quarter interior with original table, chair, and bed at the Hicklin Hearthstone Site, 23LF131

(Photo by James Denny, 1988, Courtesy of the Missori Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Program, Jefferson City, Missouri)

Summary

African-American archaeology is a relatively new field in historical archaeology. Its' origins have been linked to historic preservation movements in the early 20th century on sites like Monticello and Mount Vernon. Its' birth has been linked to work of Charles Fairbanks at the University of Florida, whose excavations at the Kingsley Plantation in Florida promoted sustained research studies on African-American heritage. Its' emergence as a research discipline in archaeology was caused by three factors: 1) the Civil Rights movement, 2) the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, and 3) the 1976 Bicentennial celebration. The first archaeological research on African-American heritage focused on enslavement in the Deep South and Caribbean plantations. More recent research has expanded beyond the plantation to include sites outside the South and to urban, industrial, and post-Civil War contexts. Research strategies have attempted to address questions concerning everyday life and social stratification studies. Within the latter, ethnic studies have been the driving force underlying African-American archaeology, but other social inequalities of class, race, and gender have also played major roles in this field.

African-American archaeology in Missouri is still in the beginning stages of development. Previous African-American archaeology in Missouri has been limited to restoration and preservation projects, cultural resource management investigations, archaeological field schools, and independent research. These previous studies have been descriptive in nature and most lack an anthropological focus on African-American lifeways and processes. Many other archaeological projects have had the potential to record Missouri's African-American heritage, but have not done so. Future African-American archaeology in Missouri has great potential as sites from every Missouri

temporal period, region, and African-American site type needs to be investigated and interpreted. Initial archeological work needs to record site locations through reconnaissance level surveys in high probability areas. Once sites have been recorded, then research-oriented excavations can begin. Research findings can then be compared with those from previous work in other states and regions.

CHAPTER VIII

AFRICAN-AMERICAN ETHNICITY

This chapter will address the various anthropological approaches to the formation of ethnic groups, in particular African-American ethnicity, and how ethnic patterns can be identified in material culture studies.

Defining Ethnicity

Defining African-American ethnicity has been a major objective in African Diaspora research (Thompson 1983, 1993; Vlach 1978, 1991; Holloway 1990). But what is an ethnic group or ethnicity itself? Ethnicity has been best defined within cultural anthropology, but it has been a debated topic and there is no single definition or theory of how these groups are formed (Eriksen 1993; Hutchinson and Smith 1996b; Jenkins 1997; Jones 1997).

According to John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith (1996a:4-5), the term *ethnicity* is a relatively new term first appearing in the *Oxford English Dictionary* in 1953, but its' English origins are connected to the term *ethnic*, which has been in use since the Middle Ages. The true origins of *ethnic* have been traced back to Greece and the term *ethnos*, which was used in reference to band, tribe, race, a people, or swarm. In more recent colonial and immigrant history, the term ethnic falls under the dichotomy of "Us" and "Them." The "Us," the majority, are viewed as non-ethnics and the "Them," new immigrants or minorities, as ethnic. The reality is that both the majority and minority

groups can be classified under ethnic categories. Variations of the term ethnic have developed, including ethnic identity, ethnic origin, ethnocentrism, and ethnicism (Hutchinson and Smith 1996a:4-5). Ethnic identity or origin refers to an individual's ancestral heritage. Ethnocentrism is a belief that your cultural community or ancestry is better than all others resulting is a dislike or hatred of any material, behavioral, or physical characteristics different than your own. Ethnicism is defined as a "movement of protest and resistance on behalf of [ethnics] against oppressive and exploitative outsiders" (Hutchinson and Smith 1996a:5)

Overall, an ethnic group or ethnicity has been defined in numerous ways. Hutchinson and Smith (1996a:6) define an ethnic group or community as "a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of common culture, a link with a homeland, and a sense of solidarity among at least some of its members." Hutchinson and Smith's (1996a:6-7) definition of an ethnic group consists of six main features that include:

1) a common *proper name*, to identify and express the 'essence' of the community;
2) a myth of *common ancestry*, a myth rather than fact, a myth that includes the idea of common origin in time and place and that gives an *ethnie* a sense of fictive kinship, what Horowitz terms a 'super-family' (Horowitz 1985);
3) shared *historical memories*, or better, shared memories of a common past or pasts, including heroes, events, and their commemoration;
4) one or more *elements of common culture*, which need not be specified but normally include religion, customs, and language;
5) a *link* with a *homeland*, not necessarily its' physical occupation by the *ethnie*, only its symbolic attachment to the ancestral land, as with diaspora peoples; and
6) a *sense of solidarity* on the part of at least some sections of the *ethnic*'s population (Smith 1986)

Similarly Richard Jenkins (1997:40) outlined a "basic social constructionist model of ethnicity" that includes four elements:

1) ethnicity emphasizes cultural *differentiation* (although identity is always a dialectic between similarity and difference);
2) ethnicity is *cultural* – based in shared meanings – but it is produced and reproduced in *social* interaction;
3) ethnicity is to some extent *variable* and *manipulable*, not definitively fixed or unchanging; and
4) ethnicity as a social identity is both *collective* and *individual*, externalized and internalized.

In a broader context, Gerald Berreman (1972; 1981) defines ethnicity as one level of social stratification or social inequality that also includes race, class, kinship, age, estate, caste, and gender. Social inequality is a complex and interwoven stratification system that effects every individual in all cultures. Berreman (1981:4) has outlined four phenomena through which social inequality is expressed "1) a behavioral phenomenon, in a sense that people *act* on their evaluations; 2) an interactional phenomenon in that these actions occur largely in the context of interpersonal relations; 3) a material phenomenon in that their actions entail differential access to goods, services, and opportunities; and 4) an existential phenomenon in that people experience their statuses and respond to them cognitively and affectively."

In order to conduct cross-cultural analysis of social inequality, Berreman (1981:31) developed a typological framework for social stratification (Figure 8-1). Berreman's chart highlights the complex and interwoven nature of social stratification. In general, this chart outlines an increase of social complexity from top to bottom and from left to right. Second, social stratification can be intrinsic or extrinsic in nature. This means that some social differences are birth-ascribed or assigned by society (e.g. race), while others are achieved (e.g. class), and still others can be both intrinsic and extrinsic like ethnicity. Third, all societies have some form of social stratification. The simplest

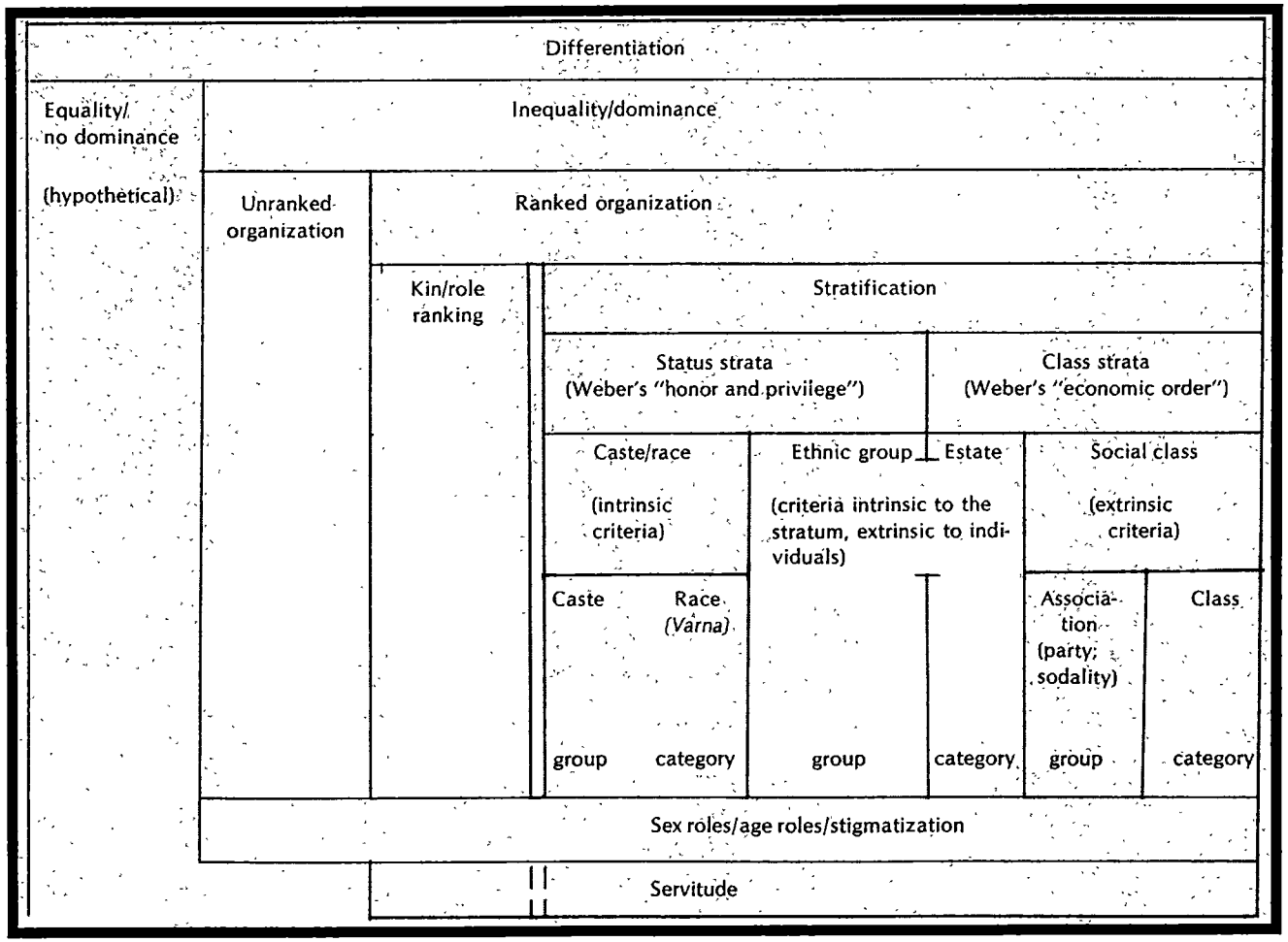


Figure 8-1: Typology for a Comparative Study of Social Inequality

Source: G. Berreman, 1981, Social Inequality: Across-Cultural Approach. In *Social Inequality: Comparative and Developmental Approaches*, edited by G.Berreman, Academic Press, New York, p. 31.

and most common are sex, age, and stigmatization, which underlie all cultures. Finally, Berreman's typology is not developed as a pigeonholing device. Instead, it was designed as a research tool to more visually understand the complexities of social stratification so that cross-cultural comparisons could be made.

Within Berreman's (1972:489) model, "'an ethnic group consists of people who conceive of themselves as being alike by virtue of common ancestry, real or fictitious, and are so regarded by others,' 'or it comprises a distinct category of the population in a larger society whose culture is usually different from its own [and whose] members... are, or feel themselves, or are thought to be bound together by common ties of race or nationality or culture'" (after Shibutani and Kwan 1965; Morris 1968). In this same model, ethnicity is linked in a dichotic relationship with race. Ethnicity is differentiated from race in that racial stratification is associated with birth-ascribed status based on physical and cultural characteristics defined by outside groups. Ethnicity is also ascribed at birth, but the ethnic group normally defines its cultural characteristics themselves. Thus, racial categorizations, which are defined by the outsider, are normally laced with inaccuracies and stereotypes, while ethnic classification is normally more accurate of a cultural group because it is defined by themselves. Yet, ethnic classifications can also be defined and used by outside groups to stereotype an ethnic community, which is often oversimplified and can view ethnicity as a static cultural process. Ethnicity is differentiated from class in that "social class membership and ranking...is based on attributes regarded as *extrinsic* to the people who comprise the class....such as amount of income, occupation, education, consumption patterns, and 'life-style'" (Berreman 1981:15). Thus, an individual's class is not predetermined at birth. An individual's

accomplishments during their life can help an individual to rise or fall in social status within the community.

In sum, all levels of social stratification are not independent of each other, but instead are interwoven. For example, an African-American women's social class, despite her accomplishments, can be limited or suppressed by her ethnicity, race, and gender by both the "outside" community or even within her own racial or ethnic group. Two additional components that can affect this interwoven relationship are time and place. To infer that an individual's social stratification is unaffected by the era of their existence or their physical location on the landscape is unrealistic. Thus, how a person or group is socially defined or created in one part of the world, country, or region may have nothing in common with another similarly classified group in another location or time. A question still remains, "What is the underlying process(es) that forms an ethnic group or ethnicity?"

The work of Sian Jones (1997) *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* contains one of the better summaries of anthropological theories concerning ethnicity and its application to archaeology. Overall, Jones (1997:xiii) outlined three major terms of ethnic: ethnicity, ethnic identity, and ethnic group. Ethnicity is defined as "all those social and psychological phenomena associated with a culturally constructed group identity." Group identity is defined as "that aspect of a person's self-conceptualization which results from identification with a broader group in opposition to others on the basis of perceived cultural differentiation and/or common descent." An ethnic group is classified as "any group of people who set themselves apart

and/or are set apart by others with whom they interact or co-exist on the basis of their perceptions of cultural differentiation and/or common ancestry."

Within her work, Jones (1997) summarized and critiqued the two major theoretical paradigms of ethnicity; "primordialists" and "instrumentals" and concluded with suggesting an alternative approach that combines portions of both in "practice theory." Primordialists believe that ethnicity is a natural phenomenon with its foundations in family and kinship ties (Shils 1957; Geertz 1963). Ethnicity is developed out of nepotism and reproductive fitness narrowing down the social concept into biological terms. A more recent model by Isaacs (1974) developed "a concept of primordial ties as a means of explaining the power and persistence of ethnic identity which he called 'basic group identity'" (Jones 1997:65-66). Isaacs' basic group identity is linked to ethnic identity, which is assigned at birth and was argued to be more fundamental and natural than other social links. An added component of Isaac's model is a psychological theory that addresses conflict between intertribal or ethnic groups. This latter concept is often tied to nationalist movements in modern societies, which Jenkins (1997:146) suggested is an ideology of ethnic identification.

A major critique of the primordialist's origins of ethnicity has been that it represents a very static and naturalistic viewpoint (Eller and Coughlan 1993). It does not take into account culture process and other social factors that manipulate or formulate ethnic communities. Sian Jones (1998: 68-72) summarizes four major critiques of primordialists theory, which include:

1) Primordial approaches are either too general or too obscure to possess a great deal of explanatory power: 'the intangible aspects of the primordial approach constitute at best *ex post facto* argument. In searching for the givens of social

existence, the primordial approach explains everything and nothing' (Stack 1986:2).

2) Primordial approaches suggest that ethnic identity is a determining and immutable dimension of an individual's self-identity because the primordial attachments that underlie ethnicity are involuntary and coercive (Scott 1990:151)....However, such an approach cannot explain the fluid nature of ethnic boundaries; the situational quality of ethnic identity at the level of individual; or the fact that the importance of ethnicity itself varies significantly in different social contexts and between different individuals.
3) Primordial explanations suggest that ethnic groups are formulated in a social and political vacuum.
4) Primordialist approaches also fail to consider the historically situated and culturally constructed nature of the very concepts that are central to their argument – most notably 'ethnic group' and 'nation'.

In contrast, instrumentalists believe that "ethnicity is socially constructed and people have the ability to cut and mix from a variety of ethnic heritages and cultures to form their own individual or group identities" (Hutchinson and Smith 1996a:9). Instrumentalist theory has been characterized as being concerned "with the role of ethnicity in the mediation of social relations and the negotiation of access to resources, primarily economic and political resources" (Jones 1997:72; after Bentley 1987:25). Jones (1974:75) argues that instrumentalists fall into two categories: "those who focus on the socio-structural and cultural dimensions of ethnicity and adopt a more objectivist approach; and those who focus on the interpersonal and behavioral aspects of ethnicity and take a more subjectivist stance."

The origins of the instrumentalist movement has been tied to the work of Fredrik Barth (1969) and Abner Cohen (1974). Barth views ethnic identity as an "individualistic strategy" in which individuals move from one identity to another to "advance their personal economic and political interests, or to minimize their losses" (Jones 1997:74). Following Barth, ethnic identity was formed within boundary maintenance and

interaction between individuals. Depending on each social interaction, a person's ethnic identity can be perceived or presented in various ways. Overall, interaction between individuals does not lead to an assimilation or homogenization of culture. Instead cultural diversity and ethnic identity are still maintained, but in a non-static form. Cultural traits and even individuals can cross over ethnic boundaries, which in turn can transform an ethnic group over time.

In contrast to Barth, Cohen (1969, 1974) "placed [a] greater emphasis on the ethnic group as a *collectively* organized strategy for the protection of economic and political interests" (after Jones 1997:74). Ethnic groups share common interests and in pursuit of these interests they develop "basic organizational functions: distinctiveness or boundaries, communication; authority structure; decision making procedure; ideology; and socialization" (Cohen 1974:xvi-xvii). Overall, Jones (1997:74) suggested that both Barth and Cohen "focus on the organizational features of ethnicity, and ethnicity is regarded as constituting the shared beliefs and practices that provide a group with the boundary maintenance and organizational dimensions necessary to maintain, and compete for, socioeconomic resources."

Jones (1997:76-79) outlines five major critiques of instrumentalist theory that included the following:

1) Many instrumentalist approaches fall into a reductionist mode of explanation whereby ethnicity is defined in terms of the observed regularities of ethnic behavior in a particular situation (Bentley 1987).
2) The reduction of ethnicity to economic and political relationships frequently results in the neglect of the cultural dimensions of ethnicity (Deshen 1974:281-4). This neglect is a consequence of the idea that ethnic categories provide an 'empty vessel' into which various aspects of culture may be poured.

3) The reductionist model of analysis in many instrumentalist studies also results in the neglect of psychological dimensions of ethnicity. Research has suggested that cultural ascriptions of ethnic identity may comprise an important aspect of an individual's sense of self, creating conflict for people whose social relations and cultural practices become removed from their sense of identity (see Bentley 1987; Keyes 1981; de Vos 1982).
4) The assumption, in many instrumentalist approaches, that human behavior is essentially rational and directed towards maximizing self-interest results in an oversimplification of the perception of interests by culturally situated agents, and disregards the dynamics of power in both intra-group and inter-group relations.
5) As a result of the tendency to define ethnicity as a politicized or mobilized group identity, and the neglect of the cultural and psychological dimensions of ethnicity, it is difficult to distinguish ethnic groups from other collective-interest groups (e.g. race, class) (Hechter 1986:19).

Based on the critiques of primordialist and instrumentalist theories of ethnicity, Jones (1997:87-92) argued that a new theory was needed to bridge the gap between ethnicity and culture. Jones (1997:90) states that "ethnicity is not a passive reflection of similarities and differences in the cultural practices and structural conditions in which people are socialized....nor is ethnicity...produced entirely in the process of social interaction, whereby epiphenomenal cultural symbols are consciously manipulated in the pursuit of economic and political interests." Instead, Jones argued that ethnicity is formed by conscious and subliminal recognition of the collective and individual forms of human agency.

Jones (1997:88) suggested that a true understanding of ethnicity can be viewed through "practice theory," which attempts to address "the relationship between objective conditions and subjective perceptions." Jones' definition of practice theory is grounded in Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice in which he developed the concept of *habitus*. Following Bourdieu (1977:79-93), Jones (1997:88) stated that "the *habitus* is made up of durable dispositions towards certain perceptions and practices (such as those relating to

sexual division of labour, morality, tastes, and so on), which become part of an individual's sense of self at an early age, and which can be transposed from one context to another." Under practice theory, ethnicity is not a static reflection of culture nor is produced entirely by social interaction and boundary maintenance. Instead, "the intersubjective construction of ethnic identity is grounded in the shared subliminal dispositions of the *habitus*, which shape, and are shaped by, objective commonalties of practice: '[a] shared *habitus* engenders feelings of identification among people similarly endowed. Those feelings are consciously appropriated and given form through existing symbolic resources'" (Jones 1997:90; after Bentley 1987:173). The *habitus* is multi-dimensional and can vary in different social situations. Ethnicity is viewed as being in a constant state of change and reproduction within these different social contexts. Individuals are viewed as "social agents act[ing] strategically in the pursuit of interests" (Jones 1997:90). Collectively, Jones argued that ethnicity is viewed as a "shared dispositions of habitus."

Overall, the underlying truth of ethnicity is that it is a product of self and group identity that is formed in extrinsic/intrinsic contexts and social interaction. Ethnicity is not the same as nor equal to culture. Ethnicity is the symbolic representations of an individual or a group, which is produced, reproduced, and transformed over time. Following Bourdieu, Jones (1997) argues for the use of "practice theory" which combines ideas of primordialist and instrumentalist approaches of ethnicity recognizing the complexity of ethnicity in its' interwovenness with other social categories and its' transformational nature within different social situations or contexts. The next question is "Can we identify these symbolic representations of ethnicity in material culture?

Material Correlates of Ethnicity

As stated above, ethnicity is just one interwoven level of social stratification with others including class, gender, race, and age. Within Berreman's (1981:4) four phenomenon of social stratification, the third is a "material phenomenon in that their actions entail differential access to goods, services, and opportunities." Yet, how can we pull apart this web of social stratification and identify material culture as a representation of ethnicity and disprove that it is not the result of another form of social inequality?

Obviously, this is a difficult task that some scholars suggest may not be possible (Trigger 1977, 1995; Buchignani 1987). For example, Barth (1969a:15) argued that the focus of the investigation of ethnicity should be 'the ethnic *boundary* that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that encloses it' (after Jenkins 1997:107). The "cultural stuff' is defined by Barth as cultural characteristics of language, religion, customs and laws, and material culture. Barth's argument suggests that material culture is irrelevant when recognizing an ethnic identity. On the contrary, anthropologists, since they began studying the "other", have attempted to outline cultural characteristics including material culture in describing an ethnic group, tribe, or race. "*All* material culture is active in the processes of social production, reproduction, and transformation" (Jones 1997:119).

Granted many of these classification systems are based on contemporary viewpoints and are not through a historical or emic perspective, but the material culture is still formed by and forms the groups we are trying to study. The goal should be to identify not only the material correlates of social stratification, but also their relationship to the underlying formation processes of which they are a product and the symbolic representation of a group or individual. The problem again is that material culture can be

the product of multiple levels of social stratification. A single object can be viewed or filtered through gender, race, ethnicity, and class with each potentially having a single interpretation of its symbolic meaning. Which analysis is right? In my opinion, they could all be correct interpretations as a person's life is not simply organized into discreet pockets of social categories, but depending on daily social interactions a person or group's identity is produced, reproduced, and transformed. The material culture is caught within these interactions and thus can take on a symbolic representation of an individual or group's social identity.

Within Jones' (1997:106-127) work, she outlined three archaeological views of ethnicity; 1) a cultural historical approach, 2) a normative model, and 3) a post-processual perspective. A cultural historical perspective of cultures delineates basic material characteristics to a specific group and chronology, but does not attempt to explain the underlying formation processes or the possible contemporary biases of interpreting the past in the present. Cultural groups are rarely the sum of the whole. Variation within a group and within each social interaction results in a greater social complexity. Some scholars believe that the cultural categorization of ethnic groups or archaeological phases or types is inaccurate and may not be appropriate at all. As stated by Clark (1978:36), "no group of cultural assemblages from a single culture ever contains, nor ever did contain, all of the cultural artefacts' as the ideal monothetic concept implies." Thus, a type of arrowhead or pottery style linked to a cultural group is not always found at every site. Cultural variation must be recognized across time and space.

Processual views of ethnicity can be viewed through Lewis Binford's (1962:219) three classes of artifacts "technomic," "socio-technic," and "ideo-technic" (after Jones 1997:110). Within this functional system, ethnicity is recognized in stylistic variation and is not related to the functional use of an object. Jones rightly points out that this is inaccurate and oversimplified. First, objects can overlap the three functional levels and the function of an object can also relate to ethnic patterns. Second, Jones (1997:113) suggested that processual archaeology "failed to address the relationship between normative variation in material culture and ethnicity." Stylistic variation was viewed as a "passive reflection of past ethnic groups" (Jones 1997:113).

Beyond stylistic variation, some functionalist arguments suggest that "functional or adaptive variation may become involved in the recognition and articulation of ethnic difference" (Jones 1997:116-117). Ethnicity may be imbedded within social interactions and normally defined functional behaviors and objects. Within this interpretation, functionalists view ethnicity as a secondary or underlying role to "subsistence and economics" (Jones 1997). For example, Chinese-American households during the Gold Rush Era in California exhibited different butchering techniques than their Euro-American counterparts (Langenwalter 1980). The difference in butchering methods can be interpreted as being caused by ethnicity.

In post-processual archaeology, Ian Hodder (1982:55) has "argued that ethnic identity may be expressed in mundane utilitarian items as well as in decorative items, and that such objects are not necessarily highly visible" (after Jones 1997:115). Hodder and others argue that stylistic variation may have developed during times of economic and political stress, where groups symbolically identify themselves through ethnic patterns in

material culture. Overall, the post-processual perspective argues that "ethnic groups are conceptualized as self–conscious identity groups constructed through the process of social and cultural comparison *vis-à-vis* others, rather than as a passive reflection of cultural tradition as in normative archaeology" (Jones 1997:115-116).

Jones (1997:116-127) argued that none of the above approaches addresses the underlying production, reproduction, and transformation of ethnic identity. Again, Jones suggested the use of Bourdieu's theory of practice and the concept of *habitus* to define ethnicity and its material representations. Jones (1997:122-123) stated that: "the extent to which ethnicity is embedded in pre-existing cultural realities, or a shared *habitus*, is highly variable and contingent upon the cultural transformations engendered by processes of interaction, and the nature of power relations between the interacting 'groups'." In archaeology, Jones suggested that in some cases there will be a "high degree of homology" between habitus and ethnic identity, but this may not be reflected in the material culture. Jones (1997:123-124) argued that:

> The praxis of ethnicity, and this what is most likely to be represented in the archaeological record, results in a set of transient, but often repeated, realizations of ethnic difference in particular contexts. These realizations of ethnicity are both structured and structuring, involving, in many instances, the production and consumption of distinctive styles of material culture. However, they are a product of the intersection of the perceptual and practical dispositions of social agents and the interests and oppositions engendered in particular social contexts rather than abstract categories of difference.....
>
> The multi-dimensional nature of ethnicity may result in a complex pattern of overlapping material-culture distributions relating to the repeated realization and transformation of ethnicity in different context, rather than a discrete monolithic cultural entity. Patterns in the production and consumption of material culture involved in the communication of the 'same' ethnic identity may vary qualitatively as well as quantitatively in different contexts. Furthermore, items of material culture that are widely distributed and used in a variety of social and historical contexts may be curated and consumed in different ways and become

> implicated in the generation and signification of a variety of expressions of ethnicity....
>
> Material culture is actively structured and structuring throughout its social life, and consequently its meaning is not fixed but constantly subject to reproduction and transformation. A particular material form may remain the same, but its meaning will alter in different contexts; it will be consumed in different ways, appropriated and incorporated into various symbolic structures according to historical tradition and social context.

Thus, Jones (1997) argued that the ability to recognize ethnic patterns in material culture would be difficult, but not impossible. Her approach or method is grounded in Bourdieu's theory of practice and his concept of *habitus,* but her application of this theory is done through "contextualized realizations of ethnicity" (Jones 1997:125). Jones argues that identifying material representations of ethnicity must be viewed in a "socio-historical perspective" within the contexts of time and place. It is only through this socio-historical or diachronic perspective that archaeologists will recognize the production, reproduction, and transformation of ethnicity as well as its relationship to the *habitus* of an individual or a shared *habitus* of a group. In sum, material patterns of ethnicity may or may not be visible in the archaeological record. If they do exist, then they must be viewed and interpreted through a historical and regional perspective because ethnic patterns and objects can change their meaning over time as well as from region to region of the same era. The reality is that ethnicity and ethnic patterns in the archaeological record may be identified, but they may not always represent the whole ethnic identity. And the patterns that may be found may not always be a result of ethnicity, but could be easily caused partially or in whole by other levels of social stratification.

The Genesis of African-American Ethnicity

The research history of African-American cultural origins has been debated and outlined over the last century (Puckett 1926; Woodson 1936; Du Bois 1939; Johnson 1940; Herkovits 1941; Turner 1949; Frazier 1963; Whitten and Szwed 1970; Wood 1974; Mintz and Price 1976; Levine 1977; Vlach 1978, 1991; Blassingame 1979; Vass 1979; Abrahams and Szwed 1983; Thompson 1983, 1993; Joyner 1984; Stuckey 1987; Creel 1988; Holloway 1990; Singleton 1998). Two earlier protagonists were Melville Herskovits (1941) and E. Franklin Frazier (1963). Herskovits, trained as a cultural anthropologist, believed that some African cultural traditions persisted in the New World and helped to form the foundation of African-American ethnicity. Frazier, on the other hand, suggested that African-American culture developed completely separate of African influences. Herskovits has been proven to be more accurate based on the tracing of cultural similarities and African continuities in the New World. The idea that slavery would cause a person or people to forget their cultural traditions is ridiculous. Despite having nothing more than the clothes on their backs, enslaved Africans retained their cultural identity through their memories and once transported to the New World their cultural self was used to adapt to a new environment and transform them into a new ethnic group. African origins within African-American ethnic patterns have been identified in foodways, language, religious systems, health care, music and dance, technology, and material culture (e.g. basketry, ironwork, pottery, architecture, burial practices, and others).

The major critique of African Diaspora studies has been that it oversimplifies the origins of African-American ethnicity and that it does not address a historical perspective

or transformation of ethnic communities. Herskovits falls under this criticism, as he attempts to define west-central Africa as a cultural area for comparative purposes. He argued that this cultural area has similar core beliefs, behavior, and material culture patterns. The reality is that west-central Africa is not a homogenous ethnic group, tribe or nation and nor is it static. Instead, it is a diverse cultural area made up of peoples that speak different languages, practice different religious beliefs, and whose lifeways are constantly changing at various rates. Addressing Africa's cultural complexity, how did African-American ethnicity develop in the New World? How did Africans interact and adapt to a new environment and to new cultures of European and Native American groups?

Anthropologists Sidney Mintz and Richard Price's (1976) work *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* offers an anthropological approach to the genesis of African-American ethnicity in the New World. Mintz and Price argue that the origins of African-American culture began in West Africa and quickly developed in the New World. As Africans were forced into slavery, they were separated from their family, friends, and their *ethnos*. Thus, in order to survive they had to quickly adapt by bonding with strangers in the slave dungeons in Africa or on slave ships during the Middle Passage. Many of these slaves spoke different languages, followed different religious practices, and others were mortal enemies. Despite these differences, they forged bonds through pidgin languages and common behavioral practices. After arriving in the New World, these enslaved Africans continued to rapidly develop into a new cultural community. The speed of this cultural transformation from African to African-American ethnicity was much quicker than that of European colonists

who were not enslaved and who settled the New World with those of the same cultural background. In comparison, European colonists were very homogeneous in their cultural traditions, while Africans were much more diverse in their cultural origins (Mintz and Price 1976:3).

In historical archaeology, the methods for exploring ethnicity have been argued recently (Kelly and Kelly 1980; McGuire 1982; Brown and Cooper 1990; Staski 1990; Orser 1994; Samford 1996; Jones 1997; Perry and Paynter 1999). Overall, Randall McGuire (1982:162) has outlined three types of ethnicity research in historical archaeology: "1) assimilation studies, 2) ethnic pride studies, which attempt to illuminate the neglected contribution of an ethnic group to history, and 3) studies that attempt to establish criteria for identifying specific ethnic groups." Ethnic studies in African-American archaeology have focused mainly on the latter defining "ethnic markers" or objects that can be linked to Africa or African-American culture. These ethnic markers have been defined archaeologically in three forms. First, African-American ethnicity has been linked to objects made in or indigenous to Africa, but found in the New World. For example, Jerome Handler and Frederick Lange (1978) uncovered an African clay pipe from Ghana in a Barbados slave cemetery. Second, African-American ethnicity can be expressed through objects made in the New World, which exhibit African styles, forms, or influence. An archaeological example was defined by Matthew Emerson (1994), who recorded 17th-century clay pipes in the Chesapeake Bay Region. These pipes were made in European forms, but contained West African-styled decorative motifs. African-American ethnicity has also been associated with non-African materials that were used in distinctive African ways. This third form of ethnicity is the most difficult to see

archaeologically. However, it is likely the most prevalent type of ethnicity that was expressed materially, represented by artifact patterns based on frequency ratios or spatial contexts. For example, the research of John Otto (1984) at Cannon's Point plantation compared the material remains of the planter, overseer, and slave households and suggested that African foodway traditions of gumbos and stews were recognizable in a higher ratio of European-made bowls to plates found in the slave quarters.

The main critique of African-American ethnicity studies in archaeology has been that it is too shallow or oversimplified (Babson 1990; Singleton 1990; Singleton 1995; Singleton and Bograd 1995). The shallow nature of defining African-American cultural patterns has been that little effort has been made to explain the underlying cultural process that causes some cultural patterns to be retained while others are forgotten or transformed (McGuire 1982; Singleton 1995; Singleton and Bograd 1995).

The work of archaeologist Theresa Singleton (1985, 1990, 1991, 1995, 1999) has been highly regarded in African-American studies. One of her more recent publications was in an edited volume by James Cusick (1998b) entitled *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Cultural Change, and Archaeology* in which she succinctly outlined the major research models of African-American culture in archaeology (Singleton 1998). Singleton (1998:172) stated that there are two schools of thought concerning African-American identity in archaeology: "1) the *separatist*, school, which interprets the African American experience as a separate national experience, and 2) the *integrationist* school, which interprets the African-American experience as a component of a single regional or national experience." The separatists in archaeology are those social scientists that look for "ethnic markers" identifying that African-Americans maintained a separate cultural

identity than Euro-Americans. Integrationists see the cultural contact between Africans and Europeans within an assimilation model where Africans are absorbed into the dominant European culture.

Within the theme of Cusick's (1998b) edited book on culture contact, Singleton (1998:172-174) argued that Africans and their contact with non-Africans in the New World has taken a back seat to European and Native American interaction. The African experience in the New World was unique in that most arrived as enslaved individuals. How did these enslaved Africans adapt to this new social and natural environment?

Singleton (1998) outlines three models that have attempted to address the African Diaspora experience and the formation of ethnic identity: 1) acculturation, 2) creolization, and 3) dominance and resistance. Acculturation was originally defined by Redfield et al. (1936:149) as "those phenomena, which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups." Today, the term acculturation has been linked to ethnocentric viewpoints of culture contact in which a dominant culture assimilates a minority group into the mainstream cultural patterns erasing the differences between these groups.

In archaeology, Singleton (1998:175) recognized John Otto's (1975, 1984) work on the Cannon's Point plantation as the first study to address an acculturation model between enslaved Africans and Euro-American planters and overseers. Otto (1975:375) delineated three factors contributing to the acculturation of Africans: 1) selection and simplification; 2) availability and substitution, and 3) differential acculturation (after Singleton 1998:175). Otto argued that if slaves reproduced their African traditions, then

it would be selective and simplified. Following the lead of Foster (1960), Otto suggested that the simplification of African traditions in the New World was caused by the gender and age bias of the slaves. In particular, Otto suggested that planters preferred young, male Africans to work on their plantations. Due to their young age, Otto argued that African traditions quickly become simplified. In contrast, if a diverse group of enslaved Africans in age and gender were present on plantations, then African traditions would have persisted longer. Otto also argued that the availability of European made objects (mass-produced) and the lack of African made objects would lead to a substitution of Euro-American objects in the enslaved African's material culture. Otto also recognized that preservation problems in the archaeological record might not tell the real cultural interaction between Africans and Europeans.

A second study using the acculturation model is seen in the archaeological findings at the Yaughan and Curriboo plantations in South Carolina (Wheaton et al. 1983; Friedlander 1985; Wheaton and Garrow 1985). Excavations at these plantations recorded the acculturation of enslaved Africans through the transition over time from African style houses made of wattle and daub to European architectural forms and colonoware ceramics, a low fired earthenware made by the enslaved based on African traditions, to European made ceramics, which were mass produced.

Singleton (1998:176) argues that "the problem inherent in applying acculturation models in this context is that such models fail to examine the agency or human action of the colonized, enslaved, or missionized. *Acculturation* assumes that the simple replacement of African-influenced items with European items was an indication of cultural change and a loss of cultural identity." Acculturation is viewed as a

unidirectional model with objects, technology, and ideology only coming from the top down. In reaction to this critique, more recent studies have attempted to recognize that enslaved Africans did not relinquish their cultural identity and human agency, but instead applied new cultural meanings to non-African objects (Brown and Cooper 1990; Ferguson 1992).

Creolization recognizes that cultural interaction is not a one way street as seen in acculturation, but is a two-way relationship with objects, technology, and ideas exchanged between two or more individuals or groups (Ferguson 1992). This interaction model is not normally an equal exchange, but it does recognize human agency as well as the transformation of a cultural identity to include borrowed ideas and objects. To date, the creolization model is the best approach to understanding the interaction of enslaved Africans and other cultural groups in the New World.

Shannon Lee Dawdy (2000a) recently edited a thematic volume of *Historical Archaeology* on creolization, in which she argued that "creolization, creole, and even creolizing" have become popular terms used in the social sciences of the 1990s. Based on this volume's articles, Dawdy (2000b:1) suggests that there is no single definition of creolization, but instead "it is variously defined as a form of cultural interaction, culture contact, acculturation, transculturation, ethnogenesis, identity negotiation, the result of intermarriage, or the blending and transplantation of different traditions in material culture." Overall, Dawdy (2000b:1) concluded that there are three basic definitions of creolization that include: 1) linguistics, 2) studies of self-identified creole peoples, and 3) racial terminology. Linguistically, creolization is defined as a "recombination of new elements within a conservative cultural grammer" (Dawdy 2000b:1). This definition is

often associated with creole or pidgin languages that combine elements of two or more languages. An example would be the Gullah language on St. Helena Island of South Carolina, which is a combination of African languages and English. The second definition is "synonymous with the adaptation and development of a distinct colonial culture that does not necessarily result from ethnic and racial mixing" (Dawdy 2000b:1). The final definition of creolization suggests "hybridity and syncretism" combining genetic and cultural traits. The reality is that most studies combine all three of these definitions.

The linguistic model of creolization has been applied most often in historical archaeology, where artifacts replace language and these objects formulate a cultural grammer (Deetz 1977; Deagan 1983; Ferguson 1992). Leland Ferguson (1992) has been the leading proponent of creolization and its' application in African-American archaeology. In his book *Uncommon Ground*, Ferguson (1992) analyzed the transformation from African to African-American ethnic identity through material culture. Ferguson (1992) suggested that creolization recognizes the "free-will, imagination, and creativity of non-Europeans" in cultural contact and exchange and the development of "new cultures from diverse elements."

In his research, Ferguson provides a window into the underlying process (creolization) that drove the development and transformation of a new ethnic identity. Ferguson analyzed colonoware pottery and architecture of enslaved Africans in South Carolina, Georgia, and the Chesapeake Bay area. Ferguson identified colonoware as a low fired earthenware that was made and found primarily on southern plantations in enslaved African contexts. The colonoware was created in the New World through an

African pottery tradition and ideology, but is often found creolized with European forms (e.g. teapot).

Architecture analysis compared and contrasted slave housing between South Carolina and the Chesapeake Bay area highlighting through a historical context the cultural transformations from African styled and sized homes to more European styled architecture. Despite the transition to more Euro-American material culture, enslaved Africans or African-Americans did not use or view these structures in the same way as Europeans or Euro-Americans. Enslaved Africans filtered their environment through their own identity and worldview. In this sense, objects can have multiple uses or meanings. In African-American culture, "reused and recontextualized objects like pins, buttons, shells, and mirrors that may remain what they were so they retain the potency that objects accrue through previous use – *and* what they have become as part of a new configuration such as a divination kit" like the one identified at the Levi Jordan plantation by Brown and Cooper (1990) (Gundaker 2000:132).

Theresa Singleton (1995:133) has been critical of Ferguson's creolization explanation because "it gives primacy to evidence supporting the continuity of an African heritage rather than its discontinuity and reconfiguration" and "evidence of both should enter into the analysis of creolization." Thus, Singleton argues that the study of ethnicity should examine and explain both the cultural traditions that persist and the ones that are forgotten or transformed. Following the same line of reasoning, Singleton (1998:178) argues that in African-American archeology, the creolization process of material objects and ideas has focused on how enslaved Africans creolized European traditions, but very little work has been done to document European creolization of African traditions.

Ferguson (1992) and Anne Yentsch (1994) have begun this discussion in the area of foodways, but more work is still needed in this area.

The research of archaeologists Sian Jones (1997) and Mark Groover (1998) provides a solution to Singleton's critique. As stated above, Jones argued the use of practice theory and its' concept of the *habitus* can be used to view the development, reproduction, and transformation of individual and group identity through a socio-historical or diachronic approach. Similarly, Groover stated that most ethnicity studies have been conducted through a synchronic approach, which interprets artifacts through a static temporal window and does not address the historical process of culture contact, exchange, and development over time. Groover argued, through his study of a German-American farmstead in Knox County, Tennessee, that we need to view ethnicity through a diachronic approach, which addresses the long-term change among ethnic groups. In sum, a contextualized approach that recognizes the socio-historical context of an individual or group can best interpret ethnic patterns in material culture.

The social interaction between Africans and Europeans in the New World was primarily a power relationship of dominance (master) and resistance (enslaved). Power relations have been best described in *The Archaeology of Inequality* edited by Randall McGuire and Robert Paynter (1991). In the introductory chapter, Paynter and McGuire (1991) discuss social inequality in a dominance and resistance relationship. Domination is the exercise of power through the control of resources including class, race, and gender relationships. Resistance can be viewed in two extremes: 1) open defiance, or 2) overt resistance. Open defiance is a conscious and sometimes violent decision to rebel against the dominant culture or class. For example, an armed slave revolt against their masters.

Overt resistance can be both conscious or subconscious reactions to the dominant including slowed work production, deliberate breaking of equipment, faked sickness, and even the retention of cultural traditions. It is in this interplay between the dominant with the resistance that the material culture is manipulated. This power relationship is not as simple as it seems. Instead, Paynter and McGuire suggest that there is a "heterogeneity of power and resistance," which means that each individual can be engulfed in multiple levels of social stratification. For example, the social role of an African-American female slave and mother can change within varying levels of dominance or resistance. With her children she can be the dominant social character, but with her white master she will be the resistor. Paynter and McGuire (1991) challenge archaeologists to record the heterogeneity of power and resistance in the material record. They believe that unlike ethnographers, who are often limited to public levels of dominance and resistance, archaeologists have the opportunity to view both public and private levels of social stratification in the material record over time.

Within this hegemonic approach, archaeologists have attempted to view "how dominant groups exert their power and how subordinate groups resist such power" (Singleton 1998:179). Examples in the archaeological record have included foodways (McKee 1999), housing (McKee 1992), and landscape studies (Orser 1988b; Epperson 1990, 1999). Dominance and resistance can be best viewed in Larry McKee's (1999:239) diagram of plantation food sources for enslaved African-Americans (Figure 8-2). This food supply model exhibits the complexity and varying levels of social control by the planter and the enslaved. Working from left to right, this model shows how the master's control over resources decreases and is transferred to the enslaved. From top to

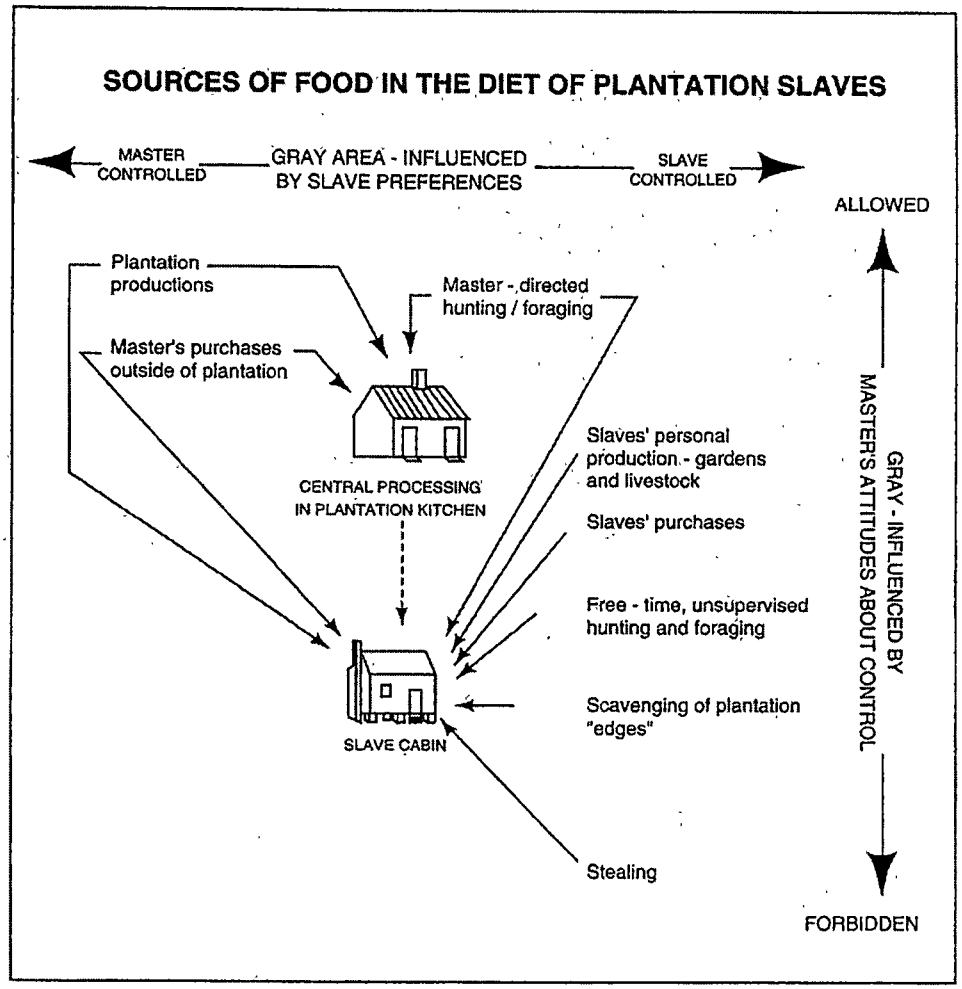


Figure 8-2: Sources of Food in the Diet of Plantation Slaves

Source: L. McKee, 1999, Food Supply and Plantation Social Order: An Archaeological Perspective. In *"I, Too, Am America": Archaeological Studies of African-American Life*, edited by T. Singleton, University Press of Virginia, p. 239, Figure 11.2.

bottom this food supply diagram outlines the degrees between allowed to forbidden forms of food acquisition. A master's control was at its peak when they purchased food from outside the plantation or provided resources from the plantation productions. These resources are then distributed through either a central kitchen or directly to each enslaved household. The height of slave resistance against the master's control over their food resources was stealing.

Overall, enslaved Africans resisted European dominance in both violent and non-violent forms. One form of non-violent resistance highlighted by Paynter and McGuire (1991) was the retention of cultural traditions. For example, the interaction between Euro-American masters and African slaves in the New World resulted in a clash of vastly different cultures. This social encounter results in the retention, extinction, and/or reconfiguration of cultural traditions or ethnic identity.

Conclusion

Artifact patterns may not always be associated with ethnicity. Ethnicity is only one level of social stratification or inequality (Berreman 1972, 1981). Other social factors can equally and simultaneously affect the material record including age, consumer choice, kinship, socioeconomic status, gender, and occupation. Most archaeologists have tried to simplify social inequality studies, for example, by thinking if you find a Chinese porcelain sherd, then the occupants of that site were wealthy. The reality is that social inequality is a complex and interwoven social process.

Addressing the difficulty of separating material correlates of social stratification, Diana DiPaolo Loren (2000:91) developed a social interaction diagram that viewed

creolization as a borderland between race, ethnicity, and gender that converge on the material culture (Figure 8-3). In this diagram, Loren's conclusions concerning which social level caused certain artifact patterns is left "open-ended, like the phenomena she is trying to describe" (Gundaker 2000:126). Loren suggested that any definitive conclusions as to the source of a pattern is not the correct methodology for studying ethnicity or any other social categorization. In order to weave through the web of social stratification in the material culture, archaeological studies must take a "socio-historical" and a multi-hypothesis approach.

Most studies in historical archaeology have interpreted material culture through traditional classification systems that often pigeonhole objects and patterns through a wealthy, Euro-American male perspective. The identity of women, children, and various ethnic, and class identities are not addressed. A socio-historical approach recognizes that cultural and social identity are not static and that they can vary in time and space with each interaction. Material culture is the voice through which this identity is seen in an archaeological context. The problem is that artifact patterns do not represent in total the human interactive experiences nor do they normally reflect a single social phenomena. Instead, material culture is caught in the web of social stratification. In order for archaeologists to recognize the functional use or symbolic meaning behind an artifact pattern, we must lay out multi-hypotheses starting from a traditional functional use to more complex interpretations of gender, class, race, and ethnicity. Thus, I am suggesting that when interpreting artifact patterns, archaeologists must recognize the complex social web that they are a product of, and through a multi-hypothesis approach a conclusion or conclusions can be made. By using this multi-hypothesis approach, archaeologists can

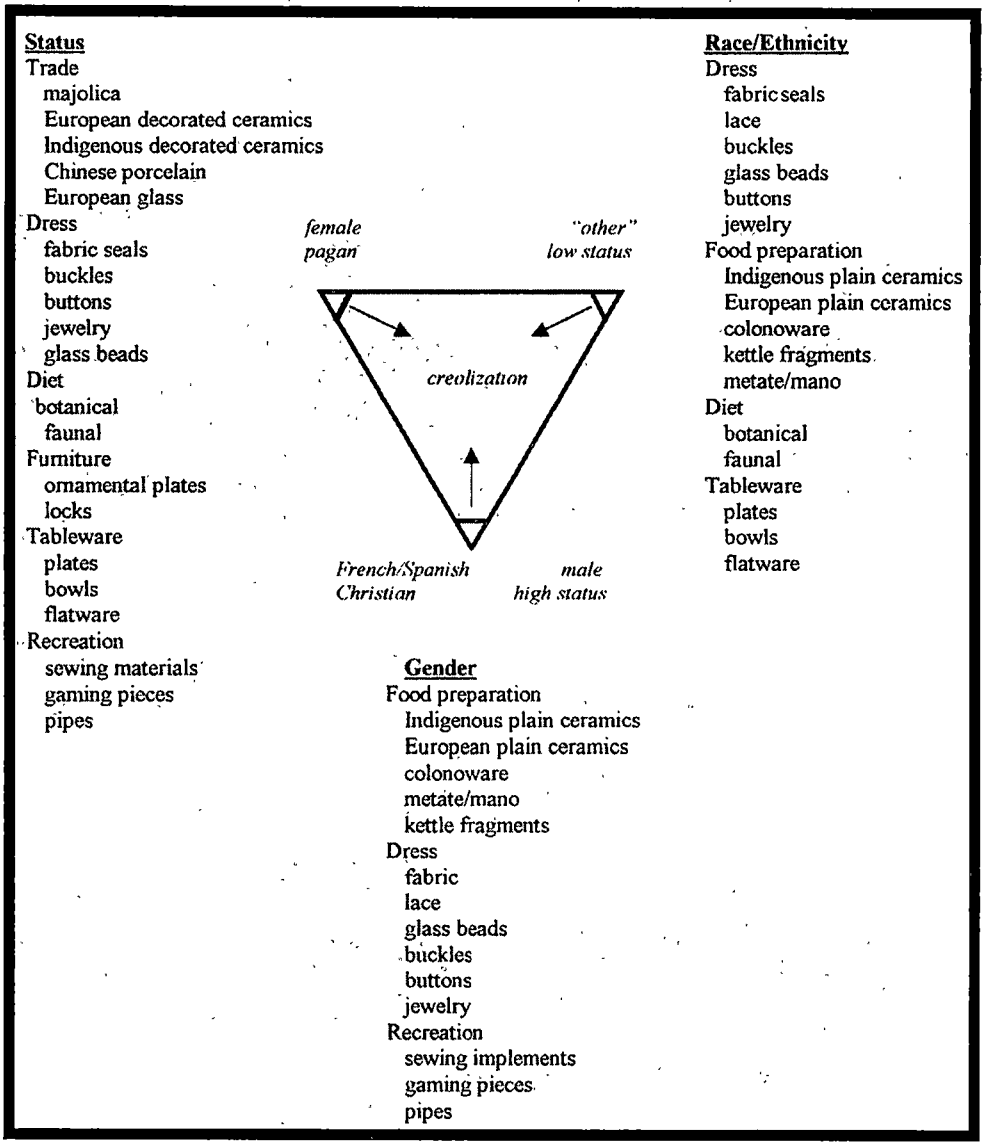


Figure 8-3: Outline of Colonial Identity Formation

Source: D. D. Loren, 2000, The Intersections of Colonial Policy and and Colonial Practice: Creolization on the Eighteenth Century Louisiana/ Texas Frontier. *Historical Archaeology* 34(3):91, Figure 2.

potentially outline the interaction of two or more cultures in a creolization model resulting in the development of a new ethnic group. By tracing and filtering the material culture through a socio-historical sieve and using a multi-hypothesis approach we can see the transformation of material culture beyond its traditional functional use(s) and modified to symbolically represent ethnic identity, gender, or class.

Ultimately, archaeologists need to contextualize their findings within the time, space, ethnic group, social class, and gender of the people that they are studying (Brown and Cooper 1990; Wilkie 1997). Through this contextualization we can better define the possible functional or symbolic interpretations of an artifact type or distribution and thus obtain a better understanding of past human behavior. Archaeologists need to overcome documentary and analytical biases and attempt to interpret African-American material culture from an "inside-out" perspective.

In sum, I am suggesting that archaeologists need to recognize the multi-functional nature of artifacts ranging from the traditional to the exotic by outlining the various potential uses or interpretations that objects may have. Outlining the various hypotheses will allow the reader to decide for themselves what an artifact(s) function may have been rather than a one-sided (traditional or exotic) interpretation proposed by the archaeologist. At the same time, by using this outline method, archaeologists may be able to recognize the transition from traditional to alternative material uses and identify the cultural behaviors causing these changes, which includes the formation, retention, and delineation of ethnicity and ethnic boundaries. In the final chapter, I will apply this approach to determine the possible ethnic patterns recovered from a postbellum African-American community in Arrow Rock, Missouri.

CHAPTER IX

RESEARCH DESIGN

Research Goals and Objectives

Archaeological research on Arrow Rock's African-American heritage has been a grass roots effort. This archaeological component is just one level of a multi-level program initiated by the Friends of Arrow Rock, the Arrow Rock State Historic Site, and the descendant community, and was collaboratively designed with the academic community. The overall goal of this multi-level project was to document and interpret Arrow Rock's African-American heritage during the Jim Crow Era of the late 19th and early 20th century. The objectives of this program include four levels:

1) to develop a collaborative project between the local historical society, the Missouri Department of Natural Resources, the descendant community, and the academic community (architects, historians, and archaeologists);
2) to correct the past biases of historic interpretation and preservation in Arrow Rock, which focused on celebratory and Euro-American aspects of the past;
3) to save, restore, and preserve African-American heritage sites, particularly the Brown Lodge No. 22 of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons and the Brown Chapel Freewill Baptist church; and
4) to collect, document, and interpret written, oral, and material culture relating to African-American life.

Archaeologically, the goal has not been to record just one family or structure, but instead to document the entire black community in Arrow Rock's postbellum era. Between 1996 and 2001, I directed six archaeological sessions in Arrow Rock to reach this goal. Excavations have included work on multiple households, a schoolhouse, an African Methodist Episcopal Church, a speakeasy, an Emancipation Day picnic field, a restaurant and bar, and a Masonic hall.

The primary focus of this research has been the Brown Lodge/Caldwell Pottery site (23SA451) located on Block #30 in Arrow Rock. My dissertation will concentrate on the materials collected from Block #30 during the 1996 and 1997 field seasons. In the 1880s, African-Americans purchased quarter lots of Block 30, numbered 105, 106, 121, and 122, constructing three houses and the Brown Lodge No. 22 of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons. Excavations relating to the African-American occupation have concentrated on the Brown Lodge on Lot 106 and the household on Lot 121. A detailed history of Block #30 is found in a preceding chapter.

My archaeological research strategies for studying African-American heritage have followed previous archaeological and theoretical studies outlined in Chapter VI: African-American Archaeology and Chapter VII: African-American Ethnicity. Based on these previous chapters my research focused on: 1) everyday lives of African-Americans, and 2) identifying African-American ethnicity. Everyday life research will address topics of foodways, architecture, and activities. Interpretation of Arrow Rock's African-American community will be partially made through comparisons with the written record, oral histories, and previous archaeological studies.

Ethnic studies will attempt to define the material correlates of ethnicity. Previous archaeological studies of African-American ethnicity have focused on defining ethnic patterns or markers. These ethnic studies have been criticized for being over simplified and not addressing the underlying social processes of ethnicity, a form of social stratification. I suggest that in order to identify these underlying social processes a multi-hypothesis approach must be used. This multi-hypothesis approach studies the material objects or patterns by tracing their use and meaning from their traditional functional uses to alternative uses or meanings filtered through, and transformed by ethnic identity. Due to the complex nature of social stratification, the certainty of linking an object or material pattern to ethnic identity will be difficult, if not impossible in some instances. Yet, it is suggested that this can be achieved if one recognizes that ethnicity is not static. This multi-hypothesis approach will allow one to recognize transformations of material culture from traditional uses and meanings to alternative ethnic patterns.

Methodology

The application of my research agendas requires a systematic methodology to collect and interpret the data. Archaeological methodology is represented in two research stages; fieldwork and laboratory procedures. Funding for this research was obtained through the Missouri Archaeological Society, the Friends of Arrow Rock, the Arrow Rock State Historic site, a 1997 Missouri Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Program grant, the University of Tennessee-Knoxville, and the University of Missouri-St. Louis.

Fieldwork

The 1996 and 1997 field methodology included both gridded posthole tests and 3 x 3 foot unit excavations. Measurements were taken using an engineering rule with tenths of feet. Feet were used instead of metric because the people who occupied this site used feet for building construction. The site's grid system was established using the standing Brown Lodge's wall orientation. The east wall of the lodge, which was used to determine Grid North, was 15 degrees west of Magnetic North. The first or main grid point (North 100, West 100) was placed five feet Grid South of the lodge's southeast corner. A PVC pipe was used to mark permanent datum points. An arbitrary 100' elevation was placed at North 100, West 181.

Each posthole test was excavated in .5 foot levels and each unit was excavated at .2 foot levels with each level screened with a ¼ inch mesh and bagged separately. If a natural soil change was encountered within the units prior to reaching a .2 foot arbitrary level, then a new arbitrary level was started at the top of the soil change. Artifacts collected during screening were placed in a double paper bag and identified with the proper provenience (site, unit, level, feature, date, and crew). Small, unique, or fragile objects (e.g. bone, shell, buttons) were placed in vials and then placed inside of the marked bags to prevent damage. A two-liter earth float sample also was taken from each unit level to sample smaller artifacts lost in ¼ inch dry screening as well as to collect archaeobotanical samples. The fine screen samples were placed in double plastic bags with the bag and an attached waterproof label marked with the proper provenience. At the end of each field day, the completed artifact and soil sample bags were collected and recorded in a Field Specimen log assigning a sequential number to each. Each bag's

Field Specimen number (FS#) is then used to track the artifacts through processing, analysis, and curation.

Laboratory Procedures

The 1996 and 1997 Missouri Archaeological Society and University of Tennessee-Knoxville field school collected 644 bags of artifacts. These artifacts were processed and analyzed in the Historical Archaeological Laboratory at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville with the aide of a graduate assistant, Thomas Stinson. The first step to proper laboratory analysis is to use systematic and meticulous field collection methods, which were discussed above.

The laboratory analysis consisted of six steps: 1) washing, 2) drying, 3) sorting, 4) labeling, 5) analysis, and 6) data entry. A Field Specimen log is used in the laboratory process to track the artifact's progress. A column exists on the F.S. log to check off the steps of washing, sorting, and analysis as they are completed. Initial washing, drying, and sorting were conducted during the 1996 and 1997 field school seasons. The Arrow Rock State Historic Site provided space for a field laboratory in Arrow Rock.

Washing was conducted using a 1/32 inch sieve, toothbrush, tub, trays, newspaper, post-its, and water. Artifacts from a single bag were placed in the sieve and soaked in a water filled tub. The sieve prevented the artifacts from being lost in the tub. A single artifact was removed at a time from the sieve and hand washed with a toothbrush. Delicate objects (e.g. bone, shell, overglazed decorated ceramics) were not washed in water, but were gently brushed for analysis purposes.

After an artifact was washed it was placed on a tray covered with newspaper. The original artifact bag and a post-it note labeled with the artifact bag's provenience were placed on the tray to maintain its archaeological integrity. Once artifacts from a single bag had been washed, the tray of wet artifacts was placed on a shelf to air dry.

The two-liter dirt samples were processed using a water floatation system that collects fine screen artifact samples divided into heavy and light fractions. Each float sample was processed separately. After a sample was processed, the heavy and light artifact fractions were placed on newspaper-covered trays to dry. Each tray was labeled with the proper provenience on a paper tag.

After drying, the artifacts were generally sorted into ten material categories: 1) ceramics, 2) coal/cinder, 3) construction, 4) curved glass, 5) faunal remains, 6) flat glass, 7) floral remains, 8) metal, 9) miscellaneous, and 10) nails. Each artifact category was bagged by provenience in a polyethylene bag. Each bag was labeled with the proper provenience along with the material category. The labeled bags were then placed in acid free boxes temporarily marked with the appropriate category. These artifacts remained in these boxes until final analysis and labeling.

Two additional material categories also were sorted; saltglazed stoneware and kiln furniture. These artifacts are associated with a pottery factory that operated on Block #30 between 1854 and 1870. These artifacts were separated out of the assemblage because they are not directly associated with Arrow Rock's African-American community.

This project concentrated on Arrow Rock's postbellum and 20th century African-American heritage because until recently, few archaeologists have seriously examined late 19th –20th century African-American sites. Because traditional historical archaeology

has focused on the colonial and antebellum periods, most artifact analysis strategies have been based on America's early European heritage. An example is Stanley South's (1977) ten functional categories to study patterns on 18th century sites. Obviously, an artifact classification system constructed for the colonial period will have application problems for sites dating to the 20th century.

Two more recent classification systems have been established by Charles Orser, Jr. (1988a) and Roderick Sprague (1981) for postbellum and 20th century sites. Of these two classification systems, Sprague's system was considered to be more applicable to the Brown Lodge/Caldwell Pottery site's artifact assemblage. Sprague's system (Appendix I) is a very detailed classification typology that can be used for most late 19th and 20th century sites (e.g. domestic, industrial, commercial, communal). Conversely, Orser's classification was constructed to analyze the material remains of domestic and agricultural components on postbellum plantations in South Carolina.

Artifact analysis was conducted using a general analysis form. This form has 34 categories that include:

FS#	=	Field specimen number
N	=	North datum reading
W	=	West datum reading
Transect	=	Systematic posthole line number
Test	=	Posthole test number
Unit	=	Number for each 3x 3 foot excavation square
Level	=	Number for excavation level in a unit or posthole test
Ft#	=	Cultural feature number
Loc.	=	General location information (e.g. surface collection)
Object	=	Artifact material (e.g. glass, metal)
Specific	=	Specific artifact type (e.g. flat glass or curved glass)
Part	=	Artifact part (e.g. neck, base, rim)
Color	=	Artifact color (normally refers to glass color)
Qty	=	Quantity of an artifact type
MNI	=	Minimum number of individuals (e.g. vessels, bottles)

Sz Rng	=	Size range of artifact size
Sz Mx	=	Maximum artifact size
Nail Sz	=	Nail size by pennyweight
Button Sz	=	Button size by line (based on button diameter)
Glass Thk	=	Glass thickness (mm)
Wght	=	Artifact weight (g)
Burnt?	=	Is the artifact burnt, yes or no?
Radius	=	Ceramic vessel diameter
% of Vessel	=	Percentage of vessel present
Int Dec	=	Interior decoration
Ext Dec	=	Exterior decoration
Incept	=	Inception date of artifact type
Term	=	Terminus date of artifact type
South	=	Stanley South's (1977) functional artifact categories
Sprague	=	Roderick Sprague's (1981) primary artifact categories
Function	=	Sprague's secondary artifact categories
Function 2	=	Sprague's tertiary artifact categories
Condition	=	Physical condition of artifact (e.g. rusted)
References	=	References used to identify or date an artifact
Description	=	General description of artifact

Analysis of the floral and faunal remains were conducted by specialists. Dr. Gary Crites, an ethnobotanist at the Frank H. McClung Museum, University of Tennessee-Knoxville, identified the floral remains. Sean Coughlin, a zooarchaeological doctoral student in the Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee-Knoxville, analyzed the faunal remains.

As artifacts were being processed some were labeled. Labeling was accomplished in two ways; drop tags, and India ink. The drop tag is an acid free paper tag with a cotton string tied to the object. The tag is labeled with the artifact's proper provenience. An India ink label is applied by first laying a coat of clear or white Acryloid B-72 lacquer in 25% acetone solution on the artifact. Then with an ink pen the provenience is marked with India ink. A final clear coat of Acryloid B-72 is then applied to seal the ink label. The drop tags and India ink labels are marked with their assigned Field Specimen number

over the site number (e.g. 1/23SA451). Not all artifacts will be labeled because of their small size, fragile nature, or analytical properties (e.g. flat glass).

A database was created in Microsoft Access to record the artifact assemblage. The database was constructed using the 34 categories from the general analysis form. This database provided a means for sorting by provenience and limited statistical analysis of the collection. For example, this database can easily determine the frequencies of functional categories, the age range of deposits and artifacts, and the spatial distribution of materials. Computerizing the artifact assemblage also will enable future researchers easy access to the collection.

The artifacts collected from the Brown Lodge/Caldwell Pottery site (23SA451) are being temporarily stored in the archaeology laboratory at the University of Missouri at St. Louis. Permanent storage of these artifacts is planned at the Arrow Rock State Historic Site in Arrow Rock, Missouri. The artifacts will be in labeled polyethylene bags and stored by artifact type in acid free boxes.

Summary

My dissertation research is just one cog in a wheel of a larger multi-level project to explore Arrow Rock, Missouri's African-American heritage. My role as the archaeologist in this on-going research program has been to help document and interpret not just one household or site, but the entire postbellum African-American community archaeologically. In attempting this, previous archaeological studies have been utilized to guide the research and methodology. Overall, this research has focused on the study of everyday life and identifying material patterns of ethnicity. The latter will be addressed

through a multi-hypothesis approach that attempts to show the transformation from the traditional functional use to alternative uses or meaning caused by the formation of ethnic identity over time.

CHAPTER X

EXCAVATION RESULTS AT THE BROWN LODGE/CALDWELL POTTERY SITE (23SA451)

This chapter will focus on the excavation results from the 1996 and 1997 field seasons on the Brown Lodge/Caldwell Pottery site (23SA451). In the following chapters, a more in-depth artifact analysis and interpretative conclusions will highlight materials from these excavation years.

The 1996 Field Season

The 1996 Missouri Archaeological Society field school's goal was to initiate testing that would identify primary and secondary cultural deposits on Arrow Rock lots 105 and 106 of Block #30. These excavations primarily focused on Lot 106 and the standing Brown Lodge (Figure 10-1). A total of 88 gridded posthole tests at 15 foot intervals was placed across the east half of Block 30. Materials associated with the mid-19th century pottery factory and the postbellum African-American occupation were found in virtually every posthole test. The largest quantity of artifacts associated with the African-American component was found in a trash midden near the center of Block #30. Midden artifacts collected included burned bone, porcelain, bottle glass, charcoal, and ash.

The 1996 field school also placed five 3 x 3 foot units around the Brown Lodge. Units 1, 2, 3, and 5 were placed outside doorways to collect artifacts from secondary

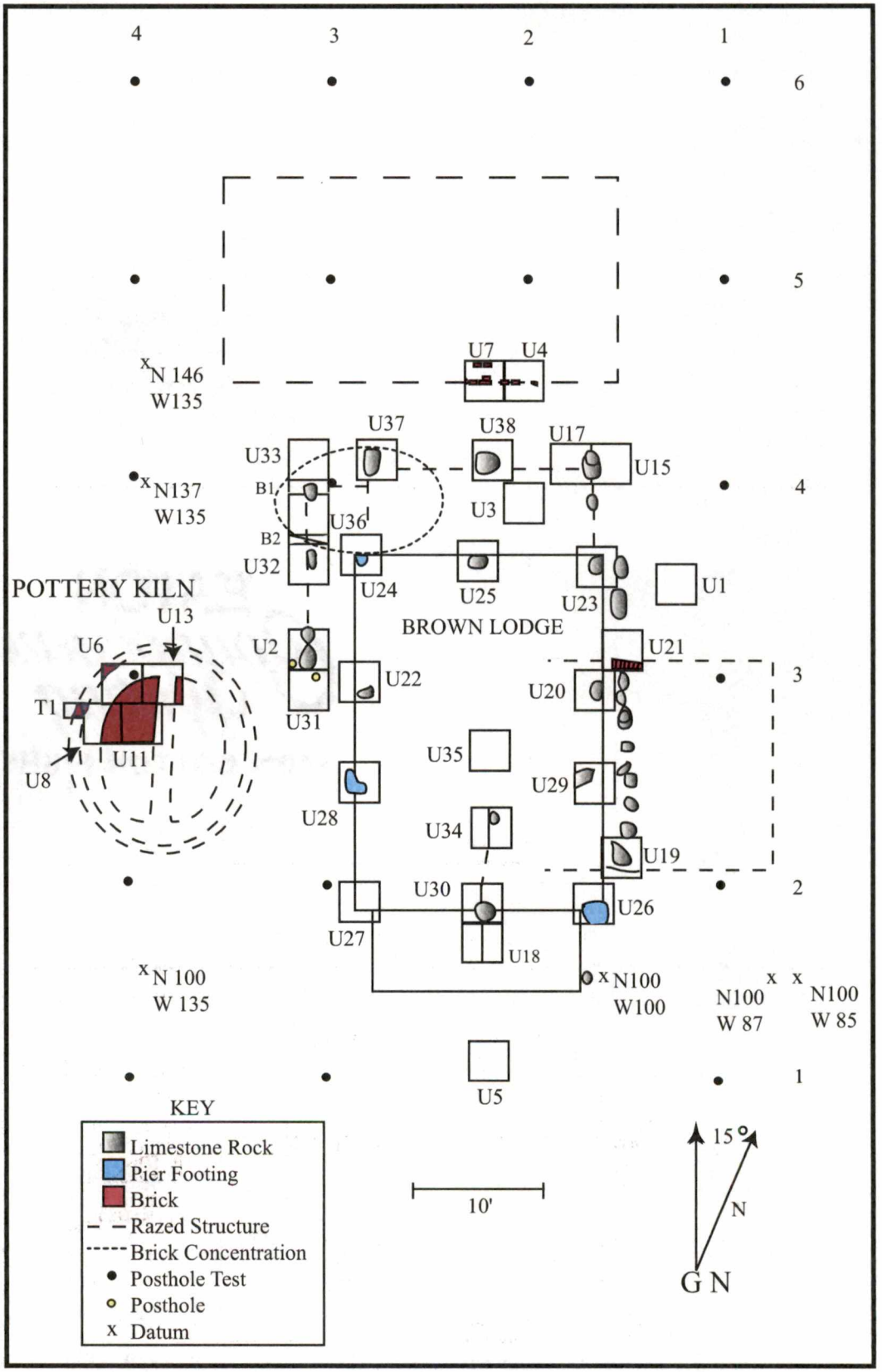


Figure 10-1: Archaeological Investigations on Lot 106 (1996-1999)

adjacent artifact middens on each side of the structure. Unit 4 was placed 12 feet behind the lodge in an attempt to recover artifacts from the second story balcony entrance to the Masonic hall. These five units recorded 12 possible cultural features and numerous artifacts associated with both the Brown Lodge and the pottery factory. The features associated with the African-American occupation included postholes, a plaster lens, and limestone piers.

Unit 1 was placed outside the eastern doorway of the Brown Lodge. This doorway was constructed with cut nails and is thought to be original to the lodge. Two cultural features associated with the lodge were recorded in Unit 1. Features 2 and 5 were two possible postholes that were aligned with the eastern doorway frame and likely represent a stairway. At the base of this unit, a high concentration of unfired potter's clay, associated with the 19th century pottery factory, was also recorded.

Unit 2 was placed outside the western doorway. Based on the use of wire nails, this doorway was not original to the lodge and may have been added after an external stairway and porch were removed in the 20th century. Three cultural features were recorded in this excavation unit. Feature 1 was a thin plaster lens found in the southeast corner of Unit 2 at .2′ below the surface. This plaster lens may represent the destruction level of the external stairway and/or the construction of the western doorway. Feature 3 represented two large limestone piers (Figure 10-2). These piers have been interpreted as the footers for the external stairway that led to the second story, rear balcony, and hall entrance. Feature 8 represented a large posthole just outside these limestone piers (Feature 3) (Figure 10-3). This posthole may also be associated with the exterior stairway.



Figure 10-2: Limstone Piers (Feature 3) in Unit 2



Figure 10-3: Posthole (Feature 8) in Unit 2

Unit 3 was placed on the Brown Lodge's north or rear side and immediately outside a rear door and below a razed porch or addition. At the time of excavation, the rear door was boarded up. This was likely closed at the same time that the rear porch and balcony were torn down and the western doorway was opened. A rich soil matrix and artifacts of large size and quantity suggest that we were excavating underneath this razed addition or porch. Artifacts collected from this unit exhibited the most significant material evidence concerning African-American activities in the lodge. Artifacts included stove parts, hinges, nails, whiskey bottles, shot glasses, buttons, window glass, an 1890 liberty nickel, and faunal remains.

Unit 4 was placed 12 feet north of the lodge in an attempt to recover artifacts swept or thrown from the second story balcony. A variety of artifacts was collected from this unit, but no specific type occurred in abundance nor was any artifact directly linked to the Masonic Hall on the second floor. A one course brick foundation was uncovered at the base of this unit and may have been associated with the pottery factory, but future research will be required to determine its function and size.

Unit 5 was placed approximately 4 feet south of the lodge's front porch. In general, formal and public areas are often swept and kept clean of artifacts and household debris. Since this was a lodge and restaurant/bar and not a private residence, we believed the lodge's front porch may have witnessed more activity or was used as a socializing area, therefore resulting in more refuse disposal. The excavation of Unit 5 proved just the opposite as very few artifacts were collected. Unit 5 did exhibit a sparse gravel lens .3′ - .6′ below the surface. This gravel lens may be the result of one of three activities: 1) construction of an early walkway to the lodge, 2) the deposition of loose gravel from

adjacent Morgan Street, or 3) the construction of the lodge's new front porch, which has a cement foundation. The latter may have also destroyed any intact evidence of front porch activity.

In summary, the 1996 archaeological field school was a success, excavating five units and 88 posthole tests that recorded 12 cultural features and a late 19th –early 20th century trash midden. Based on the success of the 1996 field school, a second field school was conducted in 1997.

The 1997 Field Season

The 1997 Missouri Archaeological Society and the University of Tennessee-Knoxville field school continued archaeological work started in the 1996 field school (Baumann 1997b, 1997c; Baumann and Krause 1997, 1998). The 1997 excavations were partially funded by a Missouri Department of Natural Resources' Historic Preservation Program grant. The second season's excavation objectives were to continue posthole testing in lots 121 and 122 on Block #30, place additional excavation units around the Brown Lodge to help in the interpretation and restoration of the Brown Lodge as an African-American heritage center, and begin unit excavations on Lot 121 to explore an African-American household. The 1997 field school excavated 12 3 x 3 foot units and 89 posthole tests recording eight additional cultural features and collecting 424 bags of artifacts.

The 1997 field school continued the posthole lines begun during the 1996 field season. The posthole tests included 14 transects south to north and 14 tests east to west. Some tests were not completed due to tree locations, slope, or architectural features. The

1997 posthole testing excavated tests 8 through 14 for each transect. Transect 1, tests 8-14 were not completed because of a severe slope and heavy brush along Morgan Street. A total of 89 posthole tests was completed during the 1997 season. These tests recorded possible cultural features and artifacts associated with both the African-American component and the pottery factory. Possible features (e.g. middens, foundations) were documented with a "temporary" feature number. These possible features were used to determine further areas to test with unit excavations. Nine "temporary" features were recorded (Table 10-1).

In sum, excavations and surface mapping recorded numerous features associated with both the pottery factory and the African-American occupation. Cultural features associated with the African-American occupation included structural features linked to both the Brown Lodge and a residence on Lot 121. Limestone piers and a midden were identified as the remains of a two story addition behind the Brown Lodge. Limestone piers, a cement sidewalk, a cistern, and two cellars were recorded and partially excavated on Lot 121.

Archaeological Remains of the Brown Lodge Lot

During the 1997 excavations, units 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, and 17 were placed on Lot 106 and around the Brown Lodge (Figure 10-1). Units 6, 8, 11, and 13 were excavated immediately west of the standing Brown Lodge to investigate a concentration of construction material (brick, mortar, and limestone) encountered in posthole testing during the 1996 field season. These units uncovered a mid-19th century pottery kiln associated with the Arrow Rock pottery factory, which was in operation on Block #30

Table 10-1: Temporary Feature Log from the 1997 Season

Fea.#	Posthole #	Description
F97-1	STP2-11	a concentration of limestone found in STP 2-11 at .5′ B.S. with a piece of kiln furniture within the rubble. This limestone concentration is associated with the razed Lot 121 house.
F97-2	STP 3-9	a large limestone pier found in STP 3-9 at .1′ B.S. and associated with the razed Lot 121 house.
F97-3	STP 4-10	a limestone foundation or pier found in STP 4-10 just below the surface. This feature is associated with the raised Lot 121 house.
F97-4	STP5-10	a possible cellar found in STP 5-10 between 1 and 3.5 feet B.S. This cellar was filled with cinders, bottle glass, nails, ceramics, batteries, and other artifacts, and is associated with the Lot 121 house.
F97-5	STP6-8	a heavy artifact concentration in STP 6-8 which may be associated with a cellar, privy, or midden behind the razed Lot 121 house. The test was stopped at 1.3′ B.S. by a nearly a whole ceramic plate. Artifacts collected included a medicine bottle, cut and wire nails, metal objects, ceramics, and corn cob fragments.
F97-6	STP6-10	a limestone rock found at .5 feet B.S. in STP 6-10 and associated with the razed Lot 121 house.
F97-7	Intuitive Test 1	a possible cistern or cellar found in Intuitive Test 1 (N174.5, W233.5) which was placed in a shallow depression behind the Lot 121 house. The test was excavated to a depth of three feet and included numerous artifacts including ceramics, nails, metal, cinders, and other materials. This test was placed at the midpoint between STP6-10 and STP7-11, and STP6-11 and STP7-10.
F97-8	STP11-13	a limestone rock encountered at .4′ B.S. in STP11-13, and may be associated with the Lot 122 house.
F97-9	STP13-14	a brick encountered at .95′ B.S. in STP13-14, and may be associated with the Lot 122 house.

between 1855 and the 1870s (Figure 10-4). The kiln, constructed of brick, was encountered at the base of level 3 approximately .6' below the surface. Most artifacts collected above the kiln were linked to the activities associated with the Brown Lodge.

Unit 7 was placed immediately west of Unit 4, which was excavated in 1996 and uncovered a possible brick foundation, Feature 12. Unit 7 uncovered additional and more intact sections of this brick foundation (Figures 10-5, 10-6). Artifacts associated with this foundation included unfired potter's clay, and posthole testing recorded a waster dump gap above and around this possible structure. This gap suggested that this structure was standing at the same time as the pottery factory was in operation. Using a solid probe, it was determined that the approximate dimensions of this razed building measured 15' (N-S) x 30' (E-W). Future testing needs should determine the true size, function, and age of this structure. Most artifacts collected within the first foot of Unit 7's excavation were linked to a secondary midden deposit associated with the Brown Lodge.

Units 15 and 17 were placed on the lodge's northeast corner to better define the structural remains of the razed two story addition and the trash midden below it (Figures 10-7, 10-8). One cultural feature was recorded in these units, Feature 21, a large limestone pier. Unit 15 was placed at the northeast corner of the Brown Lodge. It was situated with the western wall bisecting two stacked, large limestone rocks on the surface. These limestone rocks, recorded as Feature 21, have been interpreted as the northeast pier for a razed two story addition and porch of the Brown Lodge. The purpose of Unit 15 was to collect artifacts immediately outside the razed addition. Unit 3, excavated in the 1996 field season, recorded a rich artifact midden beneath the rear addition. In contrast, Unit 15 had a light to moderate artifact concentration.



Figure 10-4: Pottery Kiln (Feature 14) in Units 6, 8, 11, and 13

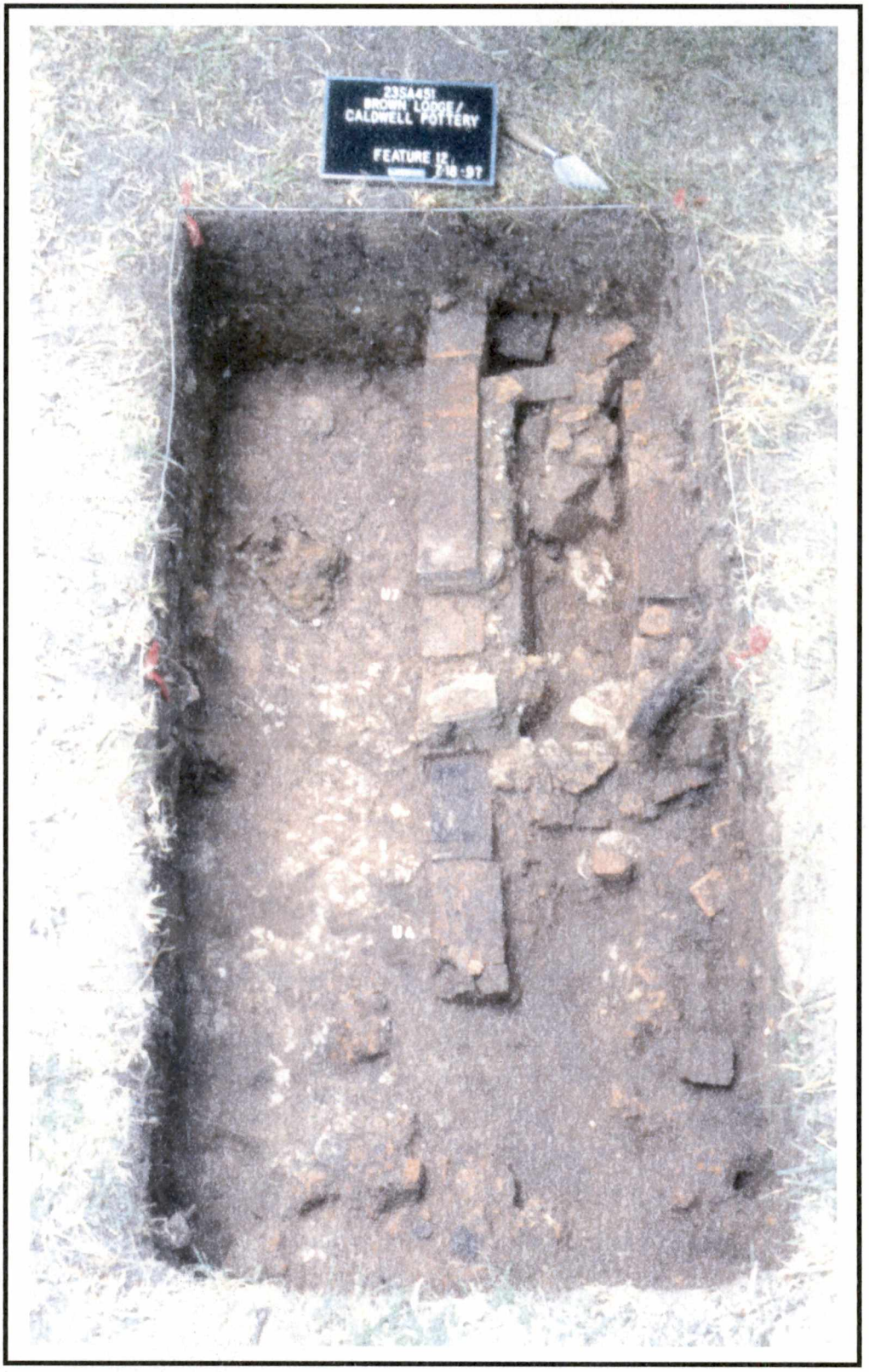


Figure 10-5: Brick Foundation (Feature 12) in Units 4 and 7

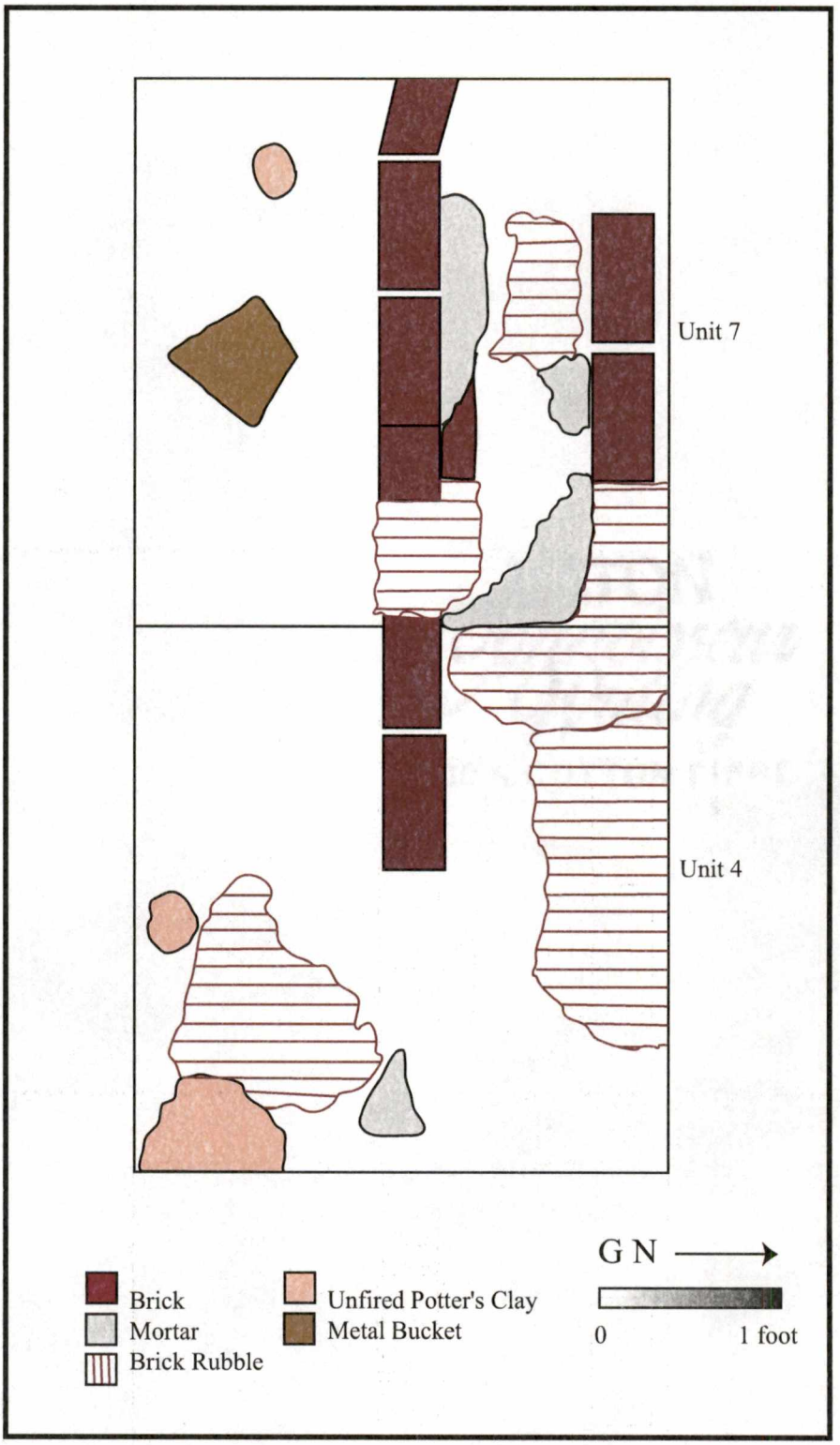


FIGURE 10-6: Planview of Units 4 and 7, Feature 12



Figure 10-7: Limestone Pier (Feature 21) in Units 15 and 17

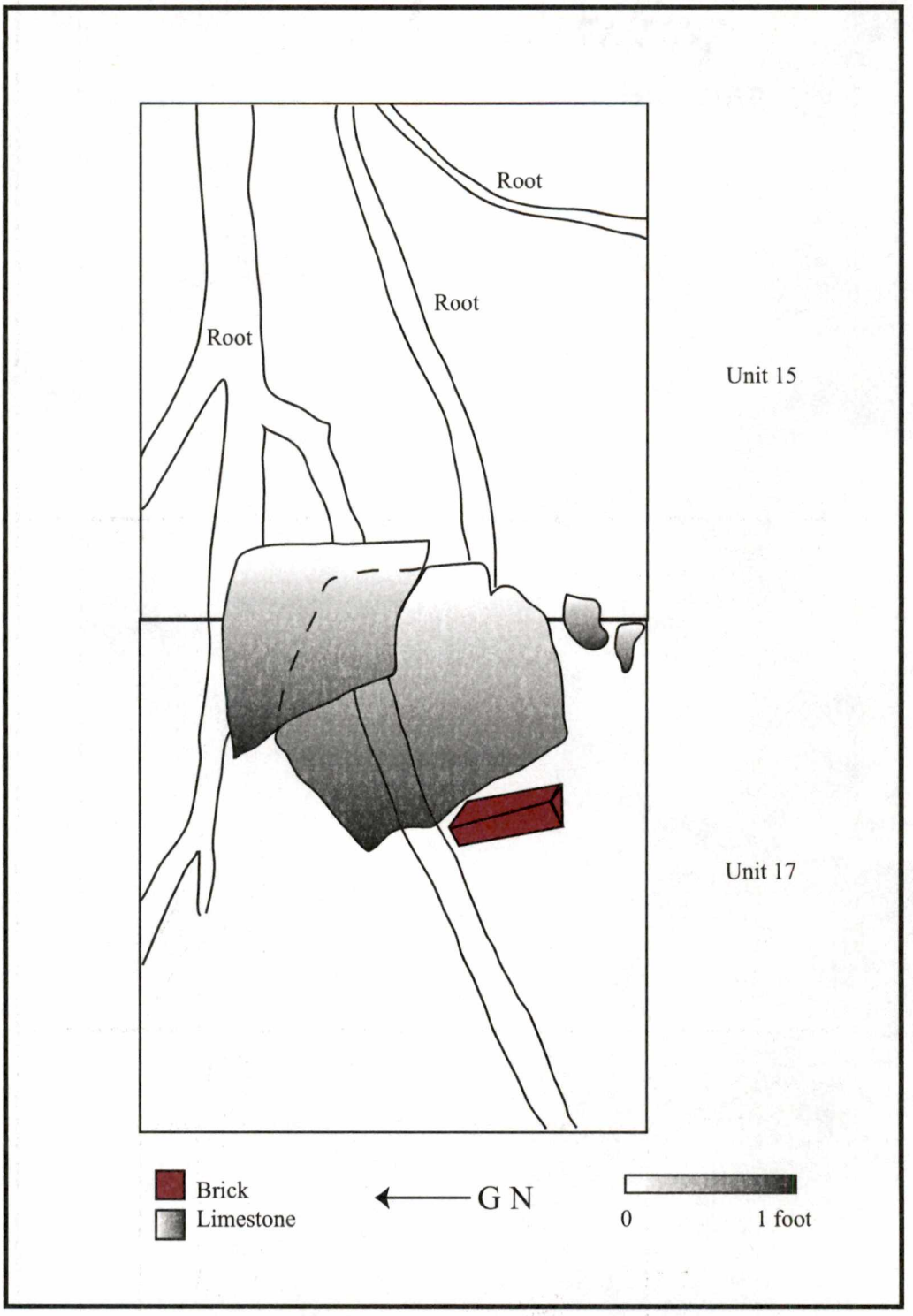


FIGURE 10-8: Planview of Units 15 and 17, Level 4, Feature 21

Unit 17 was placed immediately west of Unit 15 to further explore Feature 21, the large limestone pier associated with the razed two story addition. Unit 17 also collected more data from the midden below the razed addition. The soil matrix and artifacts collected were similar to those observed and found in Unit 3 in 1996. Artifacts collected from Unit 17 included: numerous buttons, wire nails, a key, pipe fragments, window glass, bottle glass, faunal remains, and construction material. Excavations were terminated in both units at .8 feet below the surface due to time constraints.

Summary of the Brown Lodge Excavations

Excavations in 1996 and 1997 around the Brown Lodge recorded a midden, postholes, and limestone piers. In Unit 1, a set of postholes was recorded outside the eastern doorway. The postholes align with the door frame and likely represent a stairway. In Unit 2, a limestone foundation and posthole were identified outside the western doorway. These two features have been identified with the razed rear addition and exterior stairway. The western doorway is not original and likely was opened after the addition was razed. In Unit 3, a thick midden was found below the razed addition that included animal bones, buttons, whiskey bottles, shot glasses, personal objects, stove parts, and broken tablewares. Units 15 and 17 were placed on the edge of the rear addition recording a portion of the midden and a large limestone pier. This limestone pier was identified as the northeast corner of the addition foundation.

Archaeological Remains on Lot 121

Historically, Lot 121 was occupied first by the African-American Armstead family, 1883-1891, who built a small house on this property. Between 1891 and 1899, the African-American Odd Fellows owned and used this building as a meeting hall. The last occupants of this property were African-Americans Franklin and Susie Bush, 1903-1941. A total of 49 posthole tests and five 3 x 3 foot units was excavated on Lot 121 (Figure 10-9). These excavations recorded numerous artifacts and structural features, most related to the Bush occupation. Cultural features recorded during excavations or on the surface included a cement and limestone foundation, two brick chimneys, two cellars, a cistern, and landscape modification.

Unit 9 was placed approximately three feet behind the rear doorway of the razed Lot 121 house. The rear door location was determined by surface architectural features and by probing foundation locations. A large 5 x 4 foot concrete (?) slab was encountered during probing and was interpreted as a stoop or small porch outside the rear door. This cement slab is aligned with the front cement sidewalk and the possible front door location. Unit 9 was excavated to a depth of .8 feet below surface, where sterile soil was encountered. Cultural Feature 15 was observed in Unit 9 (Figures 10-10, 10-11). Feature 15 was a shallow basin identified at the base of level 1 (.2' B.S.). This basin was square in shape and was identified by a dark grayish soil with a moderate concentration of artifacts. Artifacts collected from Feature 15 included porcelain, cut nails, bottle caps, cinder/coal, canning jar lids and liners, and stoneware. Preliminary interpretation suggests that Feature 15 was the result of a concentrated dumping activity or a filled depression where a limestone rock was removed. In general, Unit 9 contained a moderate

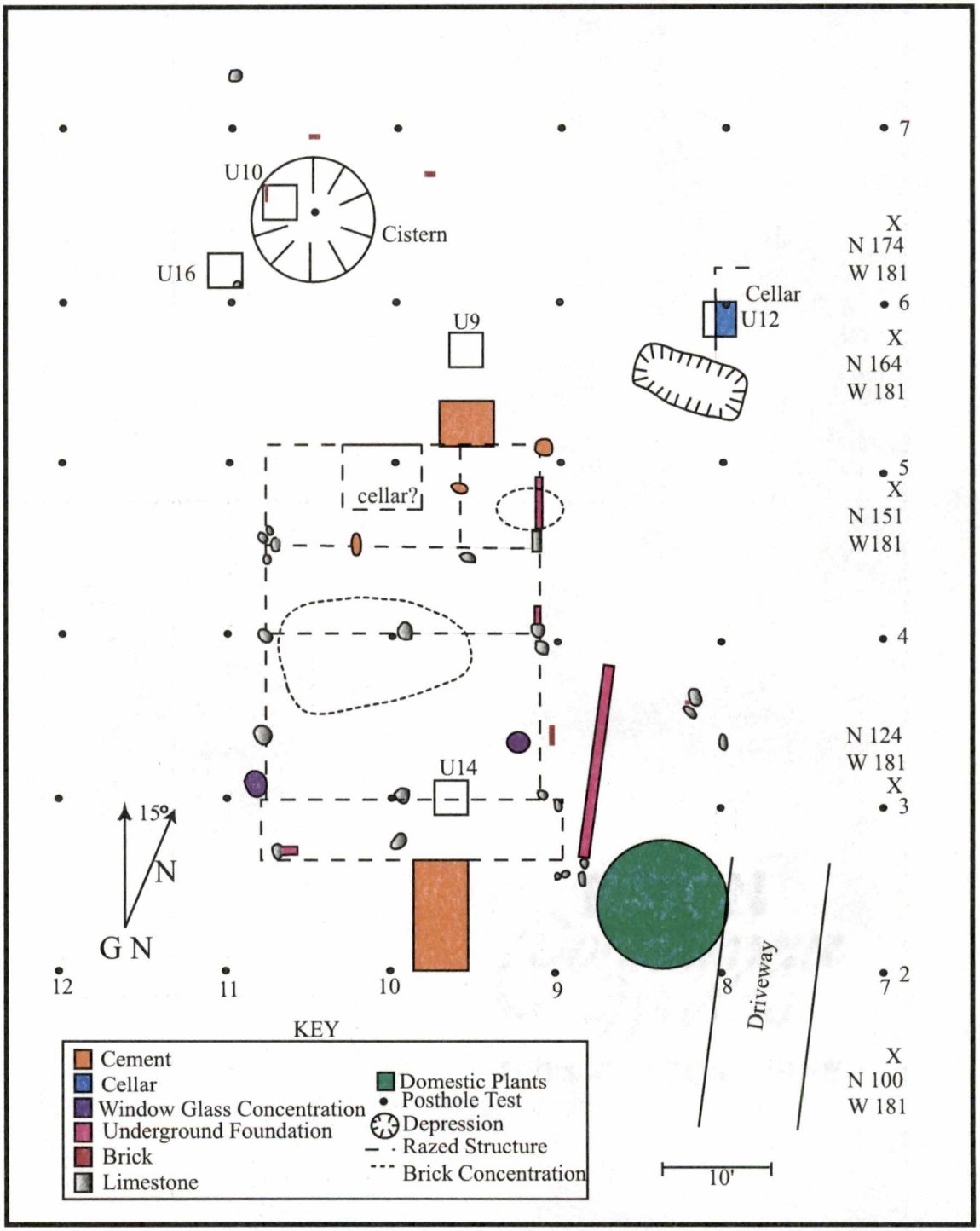


Figure 10-9: Archaeological Investigation on Lot 121



Figure 10-10: Unit 9, Level 1, Feature 15 (facing west)

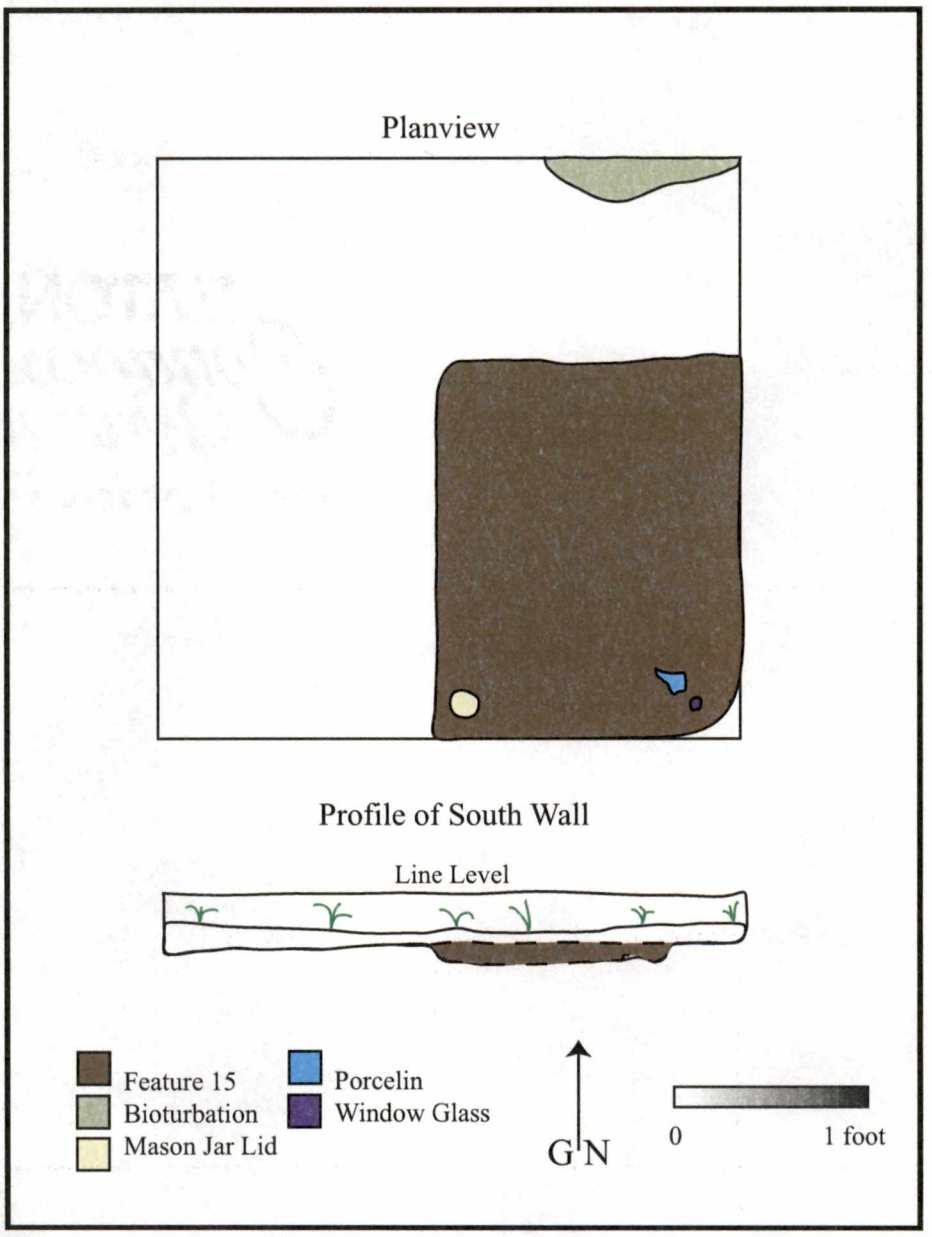


Figure 10-11: Planview and Profile of Unit 9, Level 1, Feature 15

and varied amount of artifacts dating to the late 19th to the early 20th century representing a dumping activity outside the rear doorway.

Unit 10 was placed on the edge of a large depression behind the Lot 121 house. The depression measured approximately ten feet in diameter and was first tested with an intuitive posthole test (Intuitive test #1, N174.5, W233.5) in its center. The posthole test revealed a moderate to heavy deposit of artifacts. The test was stopped at 3 feet below the surface because the posthole digger could not reach any further. Unit 10 was excavated to a depth of 2.9 feet below the surface and produced a variety of artifacts including: a blue glass bead, metal cans, tablewares, stoneware, tools, canning jars, bottles, nails (mostly wire) and other artifacts. At approximately 2 feet below the surface a concentration of whole bricks began to appear in the northwest corner. At the base of level 13 (2.7 feet below the surface), the brick concentration stretched from the northwest corner to halfway across the unit (Figures 10-12, 10-13). After removing the collapsed brick, an *in situ* brick wall was uncovered paralleling the western wall of Unit 10. Preliminary interpretation is that the brick wall and the large depression were a cistern located immediately behind the Lot 121 house and with fill artifacts dating to the Bush occupation in the early 20th century. The depression and the brick wall were recorded as Feature 16. Excavation was stopped at 2.9 feet below the surface due to excavation difficulty, safety concerns, and a lack of time. Using a soil core, Feature 16 extends at least three feet deeper than level 14 (2.9 feet below the surface).

The placement of Unit 12 was based upon "temporary" feature F97-5 recorded in STP 6-8. F97-5 was recorded as a heavy artifact concentration, which could have been associated with a cellar, privy, or midden. Unit 12 excavations recorded a possible cellar

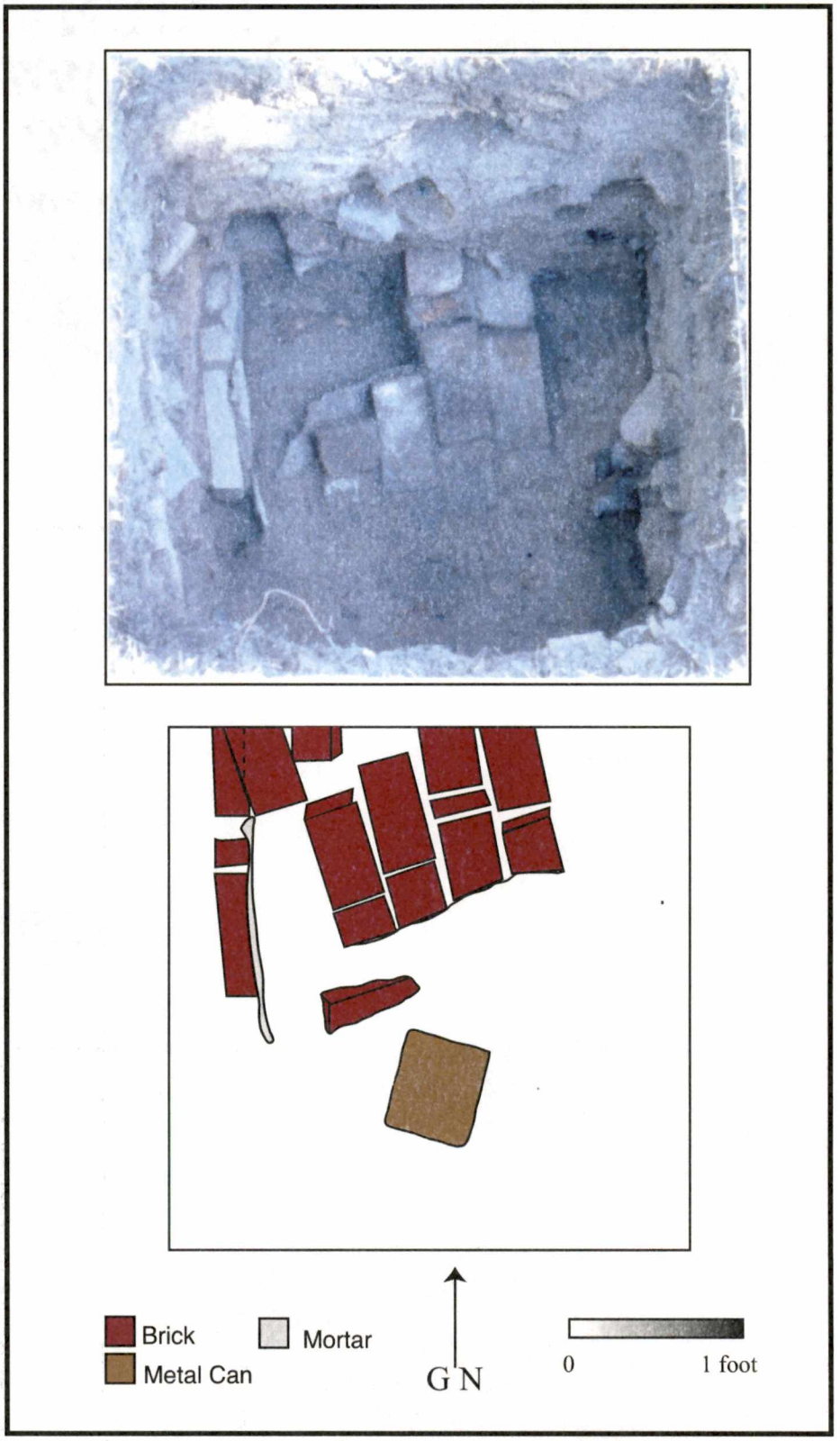


Figure 10-12: Planview of Unit 10, Level 13, Feature 16

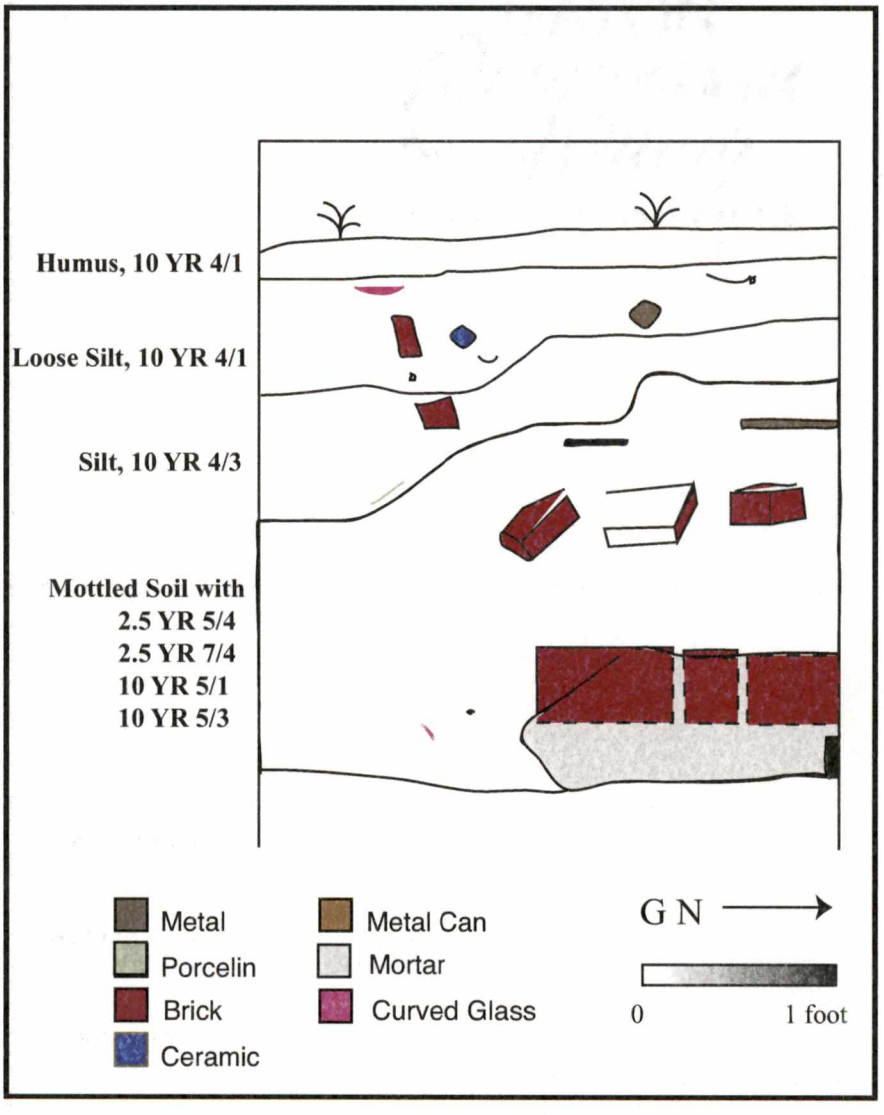


Figure 10-13: West Profile of Unit 10, Level 14, Feature 16

location (Feature 17) dating from the late 19th - early 20th century (Figures 10-14, 10-15, 10-16). Feature 17 was subdivided into Feature 17A, 17B, 17C, and 17. Feature 17A was a possible intrusive posthole identified at the base of level 1 (.2 feet below the surface) in the unit's northeast corner. At the base of level 4, a large pit feature was encountered that encompassed the eastern ¾ of the unit. A distinct linear feature edge was visible running north to south extending outside the unit. Based on a soil core, the pit extended approximately three feet north of the unit. Immediately south of Unit 12 was a shallow, rectangular surface depression, which may have been the cellar entrance. The top of Feature 17 was divided between 17B and 17C based upon a more compact, ashy soil to the north and a looser, ashy soil to the south. The difference was also based on two bricks and a limestone rock that outlined the feature boundaries. The ash lens included artifact concentrations of ceramics, bottles, buttons, an 1895 Liberty nickel, faunal and floral remains, and other artifacts. Most of these domestic artifacts were burnt suggesting they came from the kitchen stove of the Lot 121 house. At the base of the ash lens, the soil became homogeneous brown in color with fewer artifacts. Artifacts collected from this level were labeled as Feature 17. Excavation of Feature 17 was terminated at three feet below the surface due to excavation difficulty, safety concerns, and a lack of time. Using a soil core, it was determined that Feature 17 continues another foot below the excavated unit.

Unit 14 was placed near the front of the Lot 121 house. Unit 14 excavations reached a depth of .8 feet below the surface and recorded two cultural features (features 18 and 19) (Figure 10-17). Features 18 and 19 were both shallow basins filled with loose, grayish brown soil containing a moderate concentration of artifacts. Both features

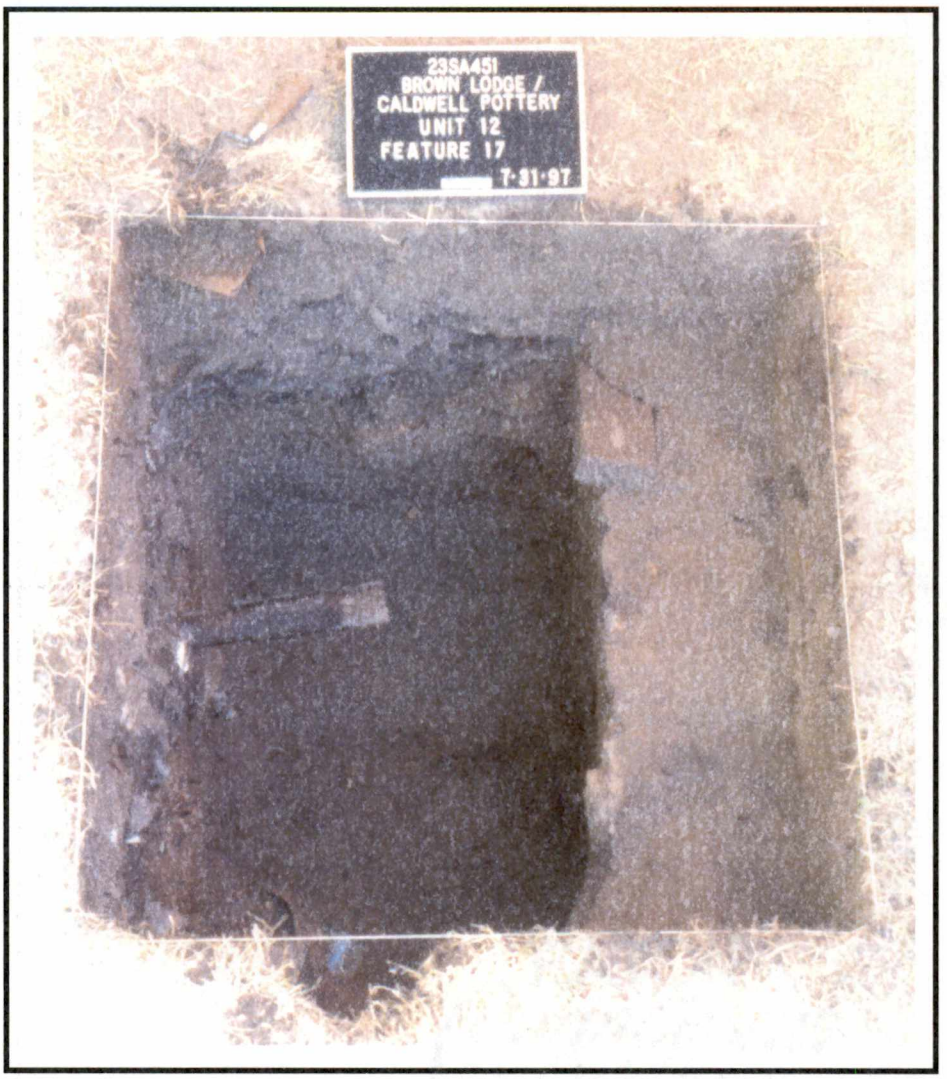


Figure 10-14: Root Cellar (Feature 17) inUnit 12 (facing south)

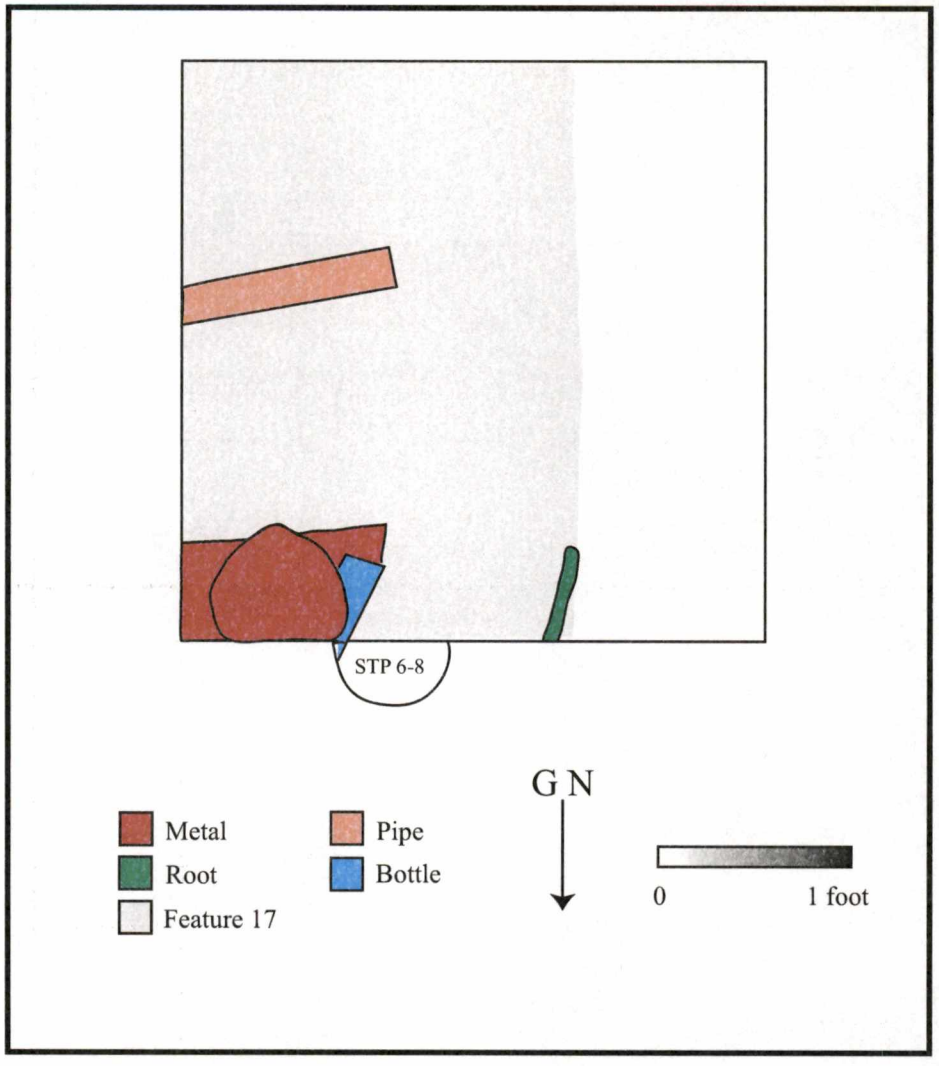


Figure 10-15: Planview of Unit 12, Feature 17

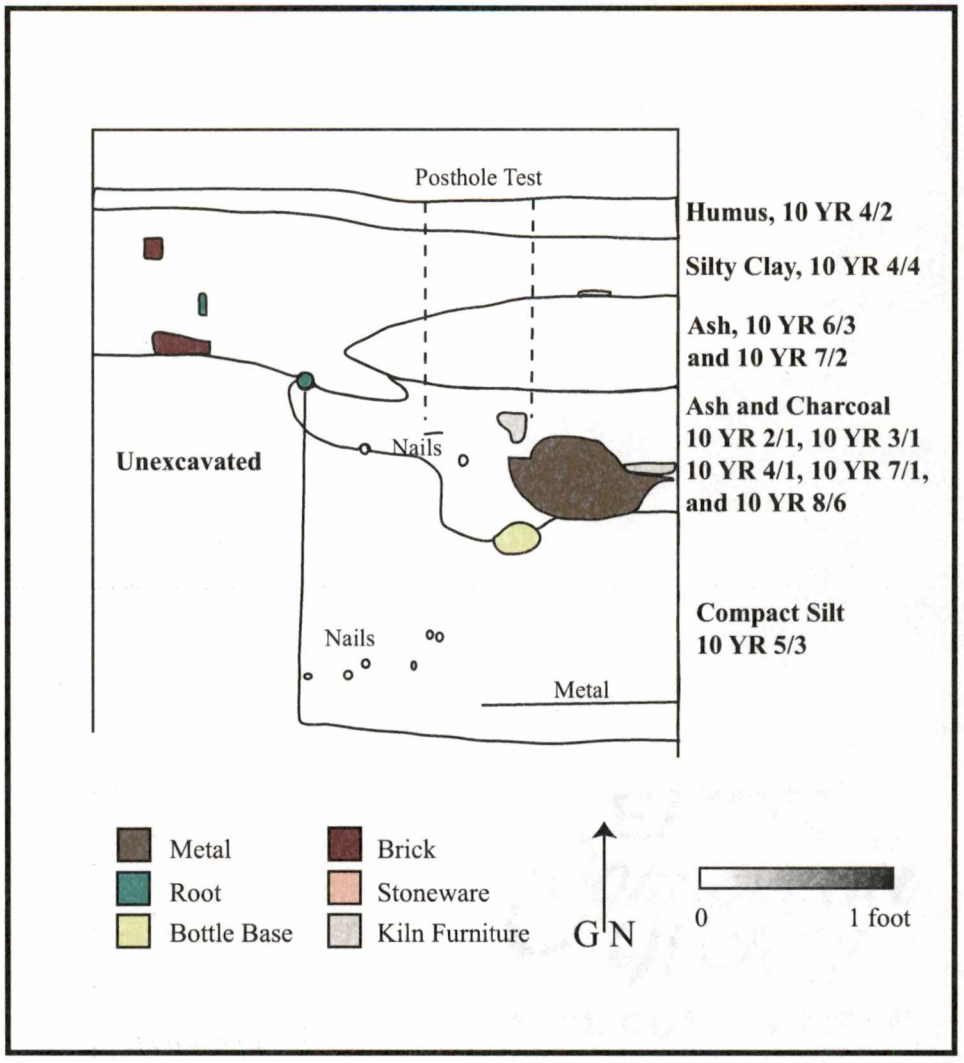


Figure 10-16: North Profile of Unit 12, Feature 17

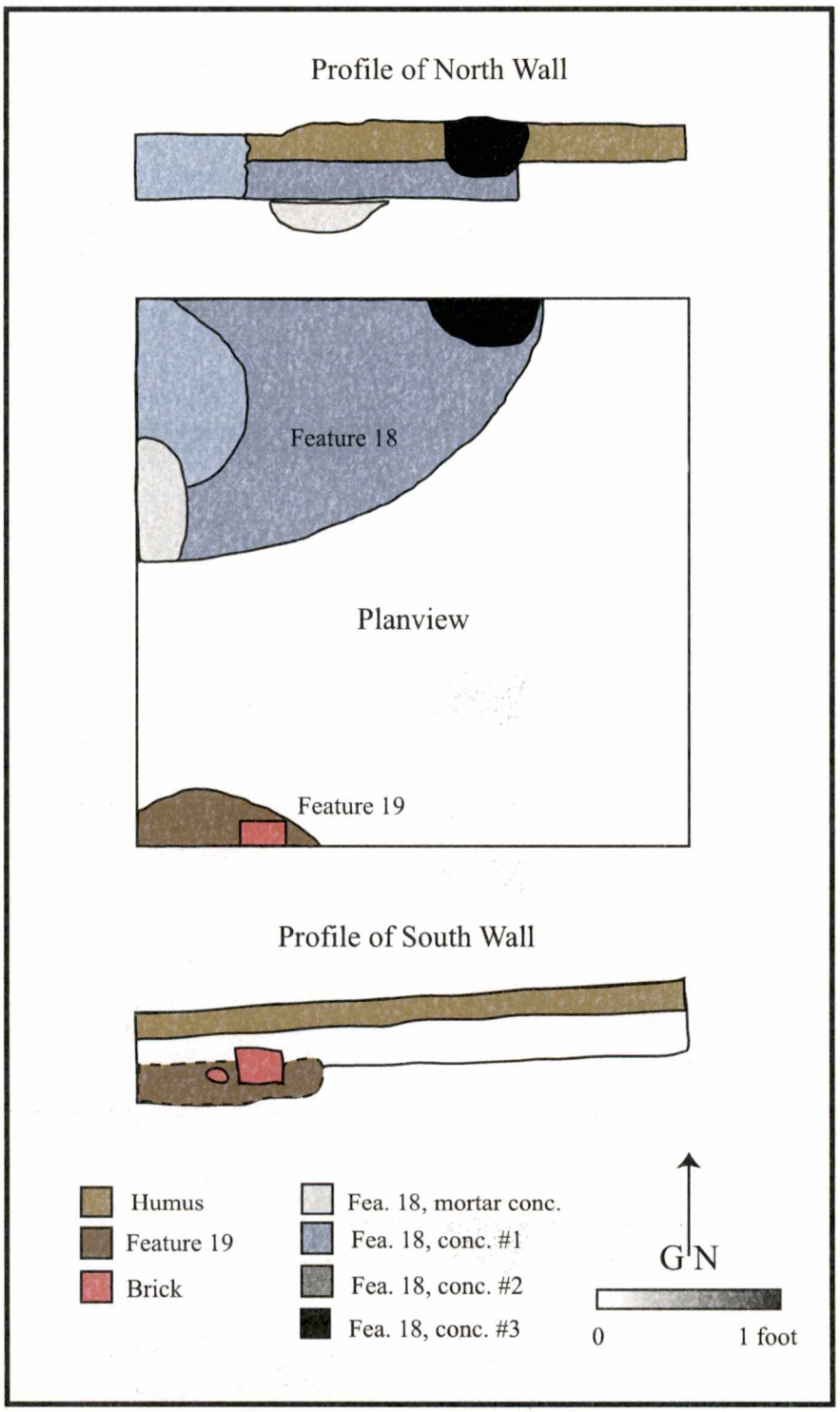


Figure 10-17: Planview and Profile of Unit 14, Level 2, Features 18 and 19

extend outside the unit and may be associated with a removed foundation pier or midden fill below the front porch. A 1914 penny was recovered from this unit.

Unit 16 was placed two feet south and two feet west of Unit 10 at the edge of the large depression (Feature 16) and over a possible limestone pier recorded on the surface as Feature 20 (Figure 10-18). Unit 16 was excavated to determine if the limestone pier was a structural feature associated with a possible outbuilding over the cistern (Feature 16) identified in Unit 10. Excavations were inconclusive identifying the limestone rock as a structural pier because it was only one course high and no associated builder's trench was found. Unit 16 was excavated to 1.4 feet below the surface. The soil stratigraphy exhibited three distinct strata. Stratum 1 (0-.4 feet below the surface) was a very grayish brown (10YR2/3) silty loam with a moderate amount of artifacts dating to the 20th century. Stratum 2 (.4-.9 feet below the surface) was a brown (10YR4/3) silty clay loam with a heavy concentration of kiln furniture and stoneware. Stratum 3 (.9-1.4 feet below the surface) was a dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) silty loam with a heavy concentration of nearly whole domestic artifacts (e.g. bottles, ceramic tablewares and utilitarian pieces, and tin cans). Stratum 1 is the current ground surface and recent deposition. Stratum 2 is a fill brought in to raise and level the ground surface behind the Lot 121 house. Stratum 3 is a buried A horizon that dates to approximately 1900. A preliminary interpretation is that the ground surface was raised at the same time as the cistern was constructed in Unit 10. Based on the artifacts in Stratum 3, this landscaping and construction occurred shortly after Franklin and Susie Bush purchased Lot 121 in 1903. Stratum 3 artifacts include bottle fragments, plates, window glass, metal cans, and a chandelier crystal and dated to the early 20th century.



Figure 10-18: Artifact concentration in Stratum 3 of Unit 16, also pictured is a possible limestone pier (Feature 20), which was pedestaled in Stratum 1

Summary of the Lot 121 Excavations

Archaeological evidence on Lot 121 was complicated by its history of being occupied by two African-American families and an Odd Fellows lodge. Based on historic documents, an 1896 map of Arrow Rock, and the archaeological record, it appears that the Armstead family first built a small rectangular house in 1883. This house was drawn on the historic map in 1896 and was standing and in use by the Odd Fellows lodge between 1891 and 1899. In 1903, when Franklin and Susie Bush purchased this property, they either razed or added onto the Armstead house. Archaeological evidence indicates instead of a small rectangular house with the long end running east to west, the Bushes lived in a rectangular house with the long axis from north to south and measuring 25' (E-W) x 35' (N-S). The Armstead house was built primarily with cut nails and likely had a limestone foundation. The later Bush home was constructed with wire nails and had both a limestone and cement foundation. The cement foundation was identified on the rear ¼ of the house structure suggesting that after the 1903 construction a later lean-to addition was also added. Based on two brick concentrations on the surface, the Bush house had two chimneys. One was a central chimney and the second was a small chimney in the cement addition. The small rear chimney was the likely location of the Bush kitchen. Shortly after the Bush family constructed this new house in 1903, they raised the rear yard area of Lot 121. The fill dirt was obtained from Block 30, likely on the western edge of Lot 121. This is suggested because the fill dirt in Unit 16 contained large quantities of kiln furniture and stoneware from the earlier Caldwell pottery factory further west on this block. The Bush family was likely responsible for the construction of the two cellars and the cistern, but further

investigations are still required to determine their age. One cellar was identified northeast of the Bush house on Lot 121. This cellar was recorded as Feature 17 and was filled with numerous artifacts relating to kitchen refuse. Structurally, this cellar was not lined with bricks or stone suggesting that an outbuilding (e.g. smokehouse, shed) stood above this feature. The second cellar was identified in a posthole test and is located in the southwest corner of the Bush house. Little structural evidence is known of this cellar because no unit excavation was done, but the posthole recorded numerous artifacts with a large amount of coal and cinders. The cistern (Feature 16) was located immediately southwest of the Bush house. The cistern was constructed with mortared machine made brick in a square or rectangular shape. This cistern was also filled with numerous artifacts, many relating to Franklin Bush's occupation of a plasterer and painter.

Conclusion

Overall, excavations in 1996 and 1997 on the Brown Lodge/Caldwell Pottery site (23SA451) completed 17 3'x 3' units and posthole tests documenting features and artifacts from both the mid-19th century pottery factory and the African-American neighborhood that developed on Block #30 after the Civil War. Excavations associated with the African-American component identified limestone and cement foundations, collapsed brick chimneys, two cellars, a cistern, postholes, and multiple middens. A more detailed analysis of the artifacts associated the Bush household and the Brown Lodge is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI

MATERIAL CULTURE ANALYSIS

The material culture analysis of the Brown Lodge/Caldwell Pottery site (23SA451) will concentrate on artifacts collected from the 1997 field season. A major objective of this chapter is to compare and contrast materials from Lot 106, site of the Brown Lodge and from Lot 121, a family residence. Both of these African-American sites were settled in the 1880s. The first step in this analysis will be to organize and interpret these artifacts through ten material categories as well as Roderick Sprague's (1981) classification system designed for late 19th and early 20th century sites (Appendix I). The majority of this analysis will compare the material remains between lots 106 and 121 in three broad analytical categories: 1) architecture, 2) foodways, and 3) fraternal, labor, and social activities. Under these categories, I will compare the written record, oral histories, and previous archaeological studies with the Block #30 data.

Artifact Classification Analysis

The artifacts collected during the 1997 field season were first divided into ten material categories including ceramics, coal/cinder, construction, curved glass, faunal, flat glass, floral, metal, nails, and miscellaneous. Stoneware and associated kiln furniture produced by the earlier mid-19th century pottery factory were not included in this analysis since they were not directly associated with the postbellum black community. Percentage calculations were made of the material categories by raw count and weight (Tables 11-1,

Table 11-1: Artifact Counts and Weights by Catagory from Lot 106

COUNTS	CERAMICS	COAL/CINDER	CONSTRUCTION	CURVED GLASS	FAUNAL	FLAT GLASS	FLORAL	METAL	MISC.	NAILS	TOTAL
UNIT 6	16	*	**	124	30	26	***	42	2	50	290
UNIT 7	15	*	**	279	58	118	***	129	3	163	765
UNIT 8	24	*	**	123	27	26	***	72	2	40	314
UNIT 11	21	*	3 **	91	19	34	***	23	3	37	231
UNIT 13	33	*	3 **	153	40	17	***	67	7	42	362
UNIT 15	60	*	727	414	175	136	17	124	32	445	2130
UNIT 17	12	*	354	181	55	167	***	70	63	234	1136
FEATURE 14	3	*	**	4	2	2	***	4	0	6	21
TOTAL	184	*	1087	1369	406	526	17	531	112	1017	5249
	4%	*	21%	26%	8%	10%	0.3%	10%	2%	19%	
WEIGHTS (g)	CERAMICS	COAL/CINDER	CONSTRUCTION	CURVED GLASS	FAUNAL	FLAT GLASS	FLORAL	METAL	MISC.	NAILS	TOTAL
UNIT 6	13.8	3.4	**	159.1	10.7	19.6	***	73.5	1.3	170.1	451.5
UNIT 7	28.8	244.2	**	366.3	15.3	127.8	***	1447.4	0.3	378.1	2608.2
UNIT 8	45.5	80.9	**	215.5	7.9	19.5	***	120.2	4.7	79.8	574
UNIT 11	49.7	22.3	.5 **	151.8	7.3	30.4	***	375.2	12.1	125.3	774.6
UNIT 13	147.3	1.2	7.3 **	200.7	5.4	119.14	***	106.7	0.8	95.8	684.34
UNIT 15	226.7	140.3	1210.1	545.4	76.1	176.7	1.97	1279.1	82.9	896.8	4636.07
UNIT 17	43.6	289.1	2434.1	582.9	15.8	1021.4	***	863.7	152.5	538.9	5942
FEATURE 14	8.3	0	**	3.1	56.6	1.1	***	5.9	0	15.1	90.1
TOTAL	563.7	781.4	3652	2224.8	195.1	1515.64	1.97	4271.7	254.6	2299.9	15760.81
	4%	5%	23%	14%	1%	10%	0.01%	27%	2%	15%	

* = Coal/Cinder were not counted

** = Construction artifacts were not completely analyzed in some units because of its association with the Caldwell pottery factory

*** = Floral remains were only sampled

11-2; Figures 11-1, 11-2, 11-3, 11-4). Artifacts from Lot 121, the Armstead/Bush household, had four times the number of artifacts and six and half times the weight of artifacts than those collected on Lot 106 around the Brown Lodge.

What caused these differences? There are a number of factors that could have contributed to this variation in artifact counts and weight. First, the number of people and length of occupation may have affected the number and mass of artifacts collected. Yet, the Bush household in the early 20th century from which most of the artifacts dated was a childless couple that occasionally had a boarder, as opposed to the Brown Lodge that had a large number of people congregating for Masonic meetings, to eat a meal in the restaurant, or to celebrate Emancipation Day.

Second, the site type of a domestic structure versus a public structure may have caused this material variation. A household will normally be occupied every day, while a public structure like a church, school, or in this case a Masonic hall and restaurant/bar will not be used continuously and thus fewer artifacts will be produced. Activities will also vary in frequency between private vs. public settings.

Finally, and most likely, the archaeological context from which these artifacts were collected may have affected the artifact counts and weight. Units excavated around the Brown Lodge in 1997 were primarily collected from open-air contexts. In contrast, most of the artifacts collected from Lot 121 were from closed contexts of two root cellars, a cistern, and a buried A horizon. These closed contexts allowed for a greater protection of the artifacts and thus they were larger in size and weight. The cellars and cistern were obvious trash dumping zones resulting in a higher frequency of deposition than in an

Table 11-2: Artifact Counts and Weights by Catagory from Lot 121

COUNTS	CERAMICS	COAL/CINDER	CONSTRUCTION	CURVED GLASS	FAUNAL	FLAT GLASS	FLORAL	METAL	MISC.	NAILS	TOTAL
SURFACE	8	*	0	11	0	0	0	4	1	0	24
STP	113	*	1898	648	103	65	61	473	27	268	3656
UNIT 9	48	*	174	106	85	30	**	95	23	229	790
UNIT 10	155	*	1217	670	575	103	91	516	140	780	4247
UNIT 12	31	*	132	102	259	10	**	74	19	170	797
UNIT 14	11	*	308	154	36	230	28	35	1	240	1043
UNIT 16	124	*	611	279	315	50	8	205	13	327	1932
FEATURE 15	15	*	22	9	8	0	**	18	3	30	105
FEATURE 17	164	*	1168	409	803	59	4620	617	107	1147	9094
FEATURE 18	2	*	70	3	1	0	**	11	0	62	149
FEATURE 19	0	*	1	1	0	1	2	1	0	7	13
TOTAL	671	*	5601	2392	2185	548	4810	2049	334	3260	21850
	5%	*	44%	19%	17%	4%	37%	16%	3%	25%	170%

WEIGHTS (g)	CERAMICS	COAL/CINDER	CONSTRUCTION	CURVED GLASS	FAUNAL	FLAT GLASS	FLORAL	METAL	MISC.	NAILS	TOTAL
SURFACE	514	0	0	2132.7	0	0	0	307.2	0.4	0	2954.3
STP	367.5	1945.9	4001.1	1149 8	41	116	4.07	2243	277.1	653.5	10798.97
UNIT 9	160.9	402.6	2057.2	181.9	21.3	24	**	517.6	20 4	441.7	3827.6
UNIT 10	2665.9	4781.5	10466	4010.5	218.8	195.3	3.94	9714.9	144.9	1317.4	33519.14
UNIT 12	127	366.9	666.4	145.1	51	8.4	**	1164.2	18.3	329 4	2876.7
UNIT 14	80	223.9	2898 6	400.5	11 4	521.8	4.83	198.3	4.6	631.1	4975.03
UNIT 16	1658.1	358.7	7205.3	1623	36.7	260.2	0.74	2992	13.1	792.4	14940.24
FEATURE 15	128.3	126 2	22	2.6	2.4	0	**	83.1	0 4	94 6	459.6
FEATURE 17	1927.2	1528.6	8560 8	2619.3	521.7	60.4	295.88	10167	137.6	2434.5	28252.98
FEATURE 18	2.3	0	220.9	12 2	0.8	0	**	33	0	176.2	445.4
FEATURE 19	0	97.2	21.2	3.8	0	1	0.11	5.1	0	14.4	142.81
TOTAL	7631.2	9831.5	36119.5	12281.4	905.1	1187.1	309.57	27425.4	616.8	6885.2	103192.77
	7%	10%	35%	12%	1%	1%	0.3%	27%	1%	7%	100%

* = Coal/Cinder were not counted

** = Floral remains were only sampled

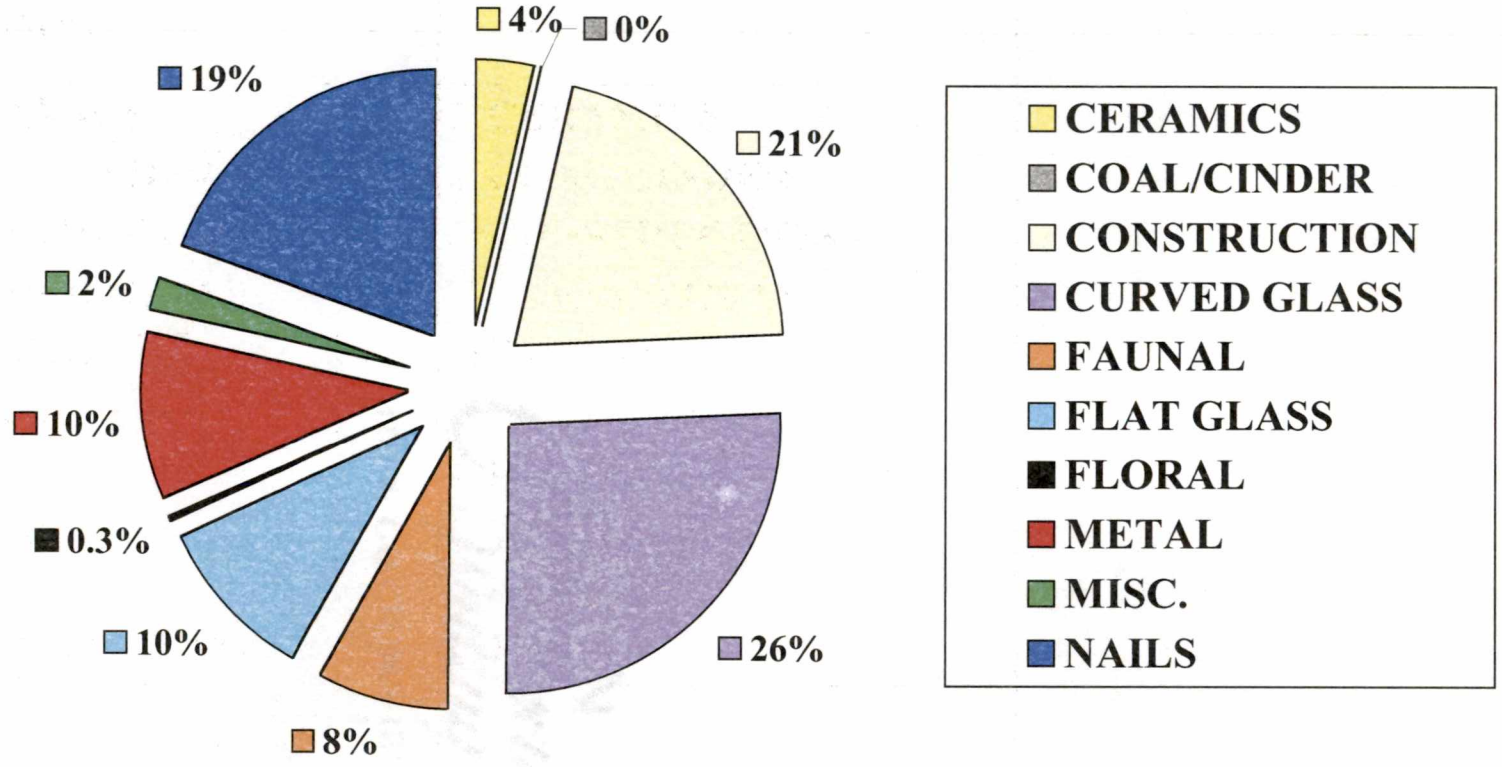


Figure 11-1: Artifact Percentages by Count for Lot 106

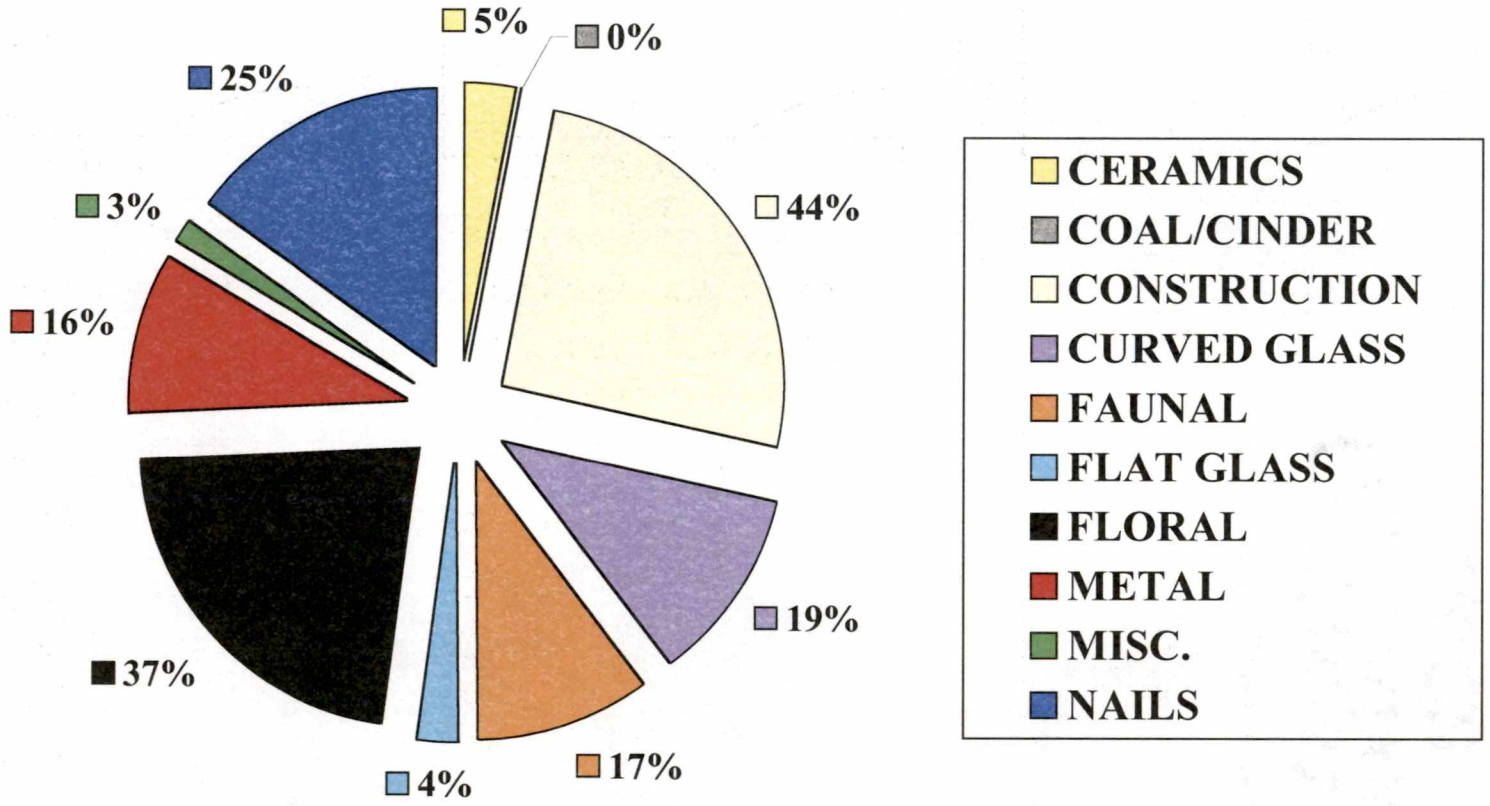


Figure 11-2: Artifact Percentages by Count for Lot 121

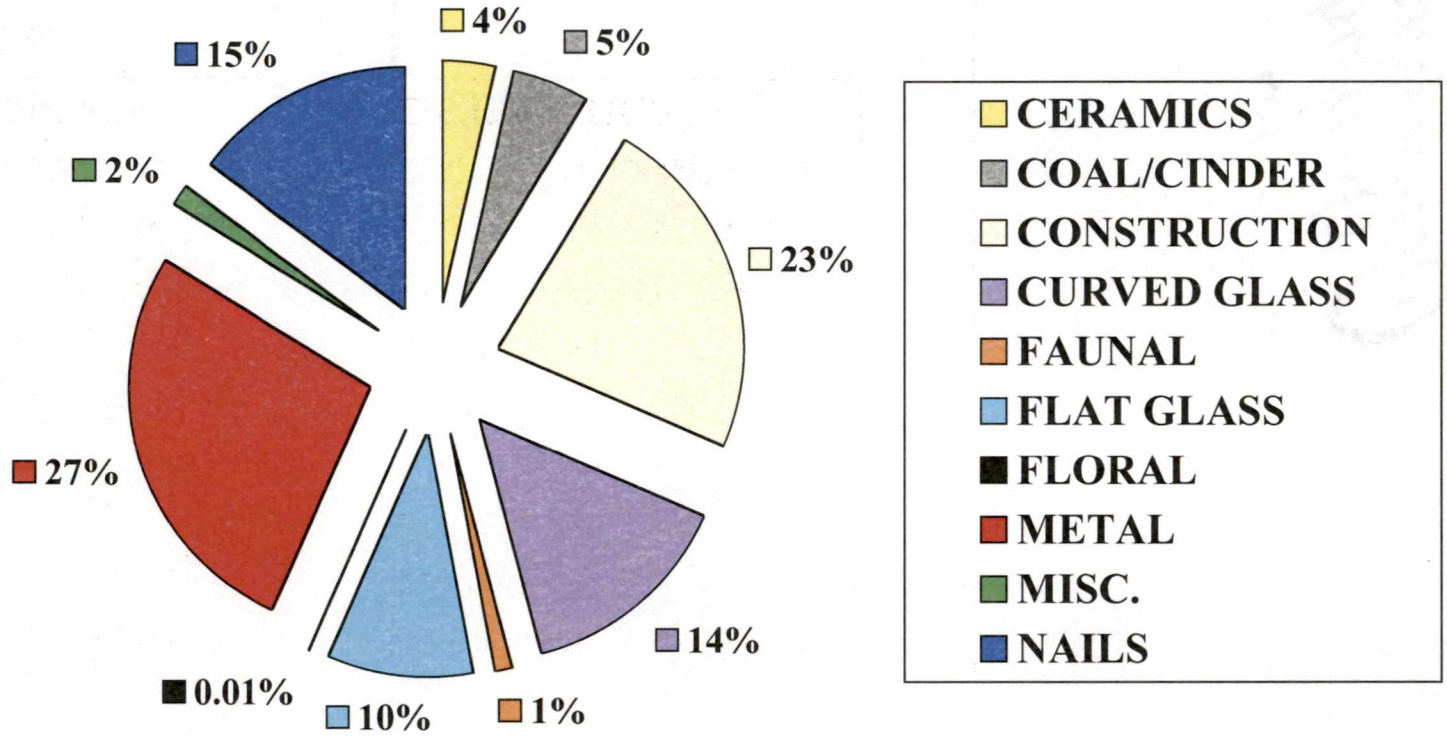


Figure 11-3: Artifact Percentages by Total Weight for Lot 106

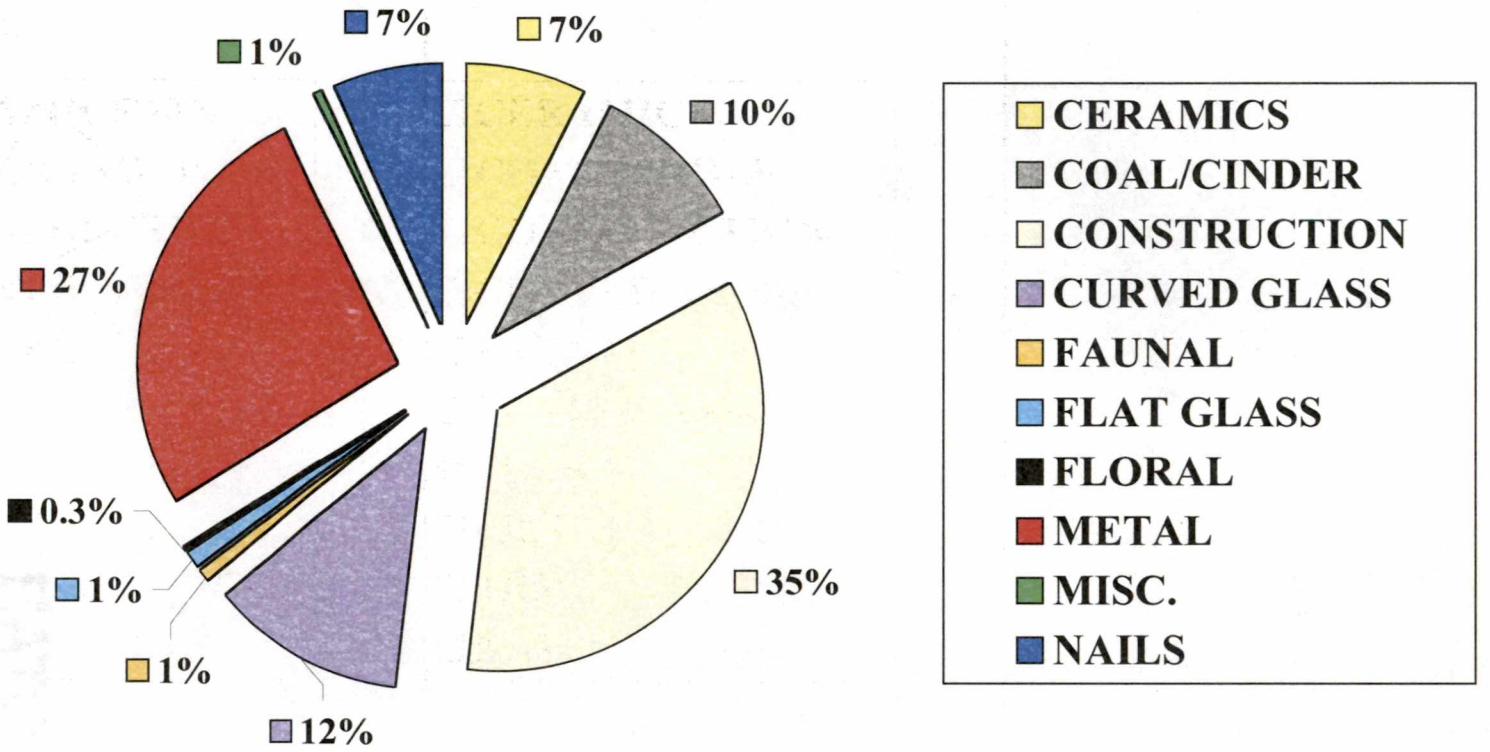


Figure 11-4: Artifact Percentages by Total Weight for Lot 121

open-air context. The highest artifact concentration on Lot 106 was under the razed addition, a semi-closed context and dumping area.

Within the ten categories by count and weight, the most dramatic difference between lots 106 and 121was in the amount of construction materials and floral remains collected. The variation in construction material can be attributed to the fact that the Brown Lodge is still standing versus the house on Lot 121, which was razed. Overall, Lot 121 had a greater number of artifacts by count and weight in all ten categories except in the weight of flat glass, but not by count. The flat glass weight difference may be the result of the Brown Lodge's longer life span resulting in a greater number of repairs and remodeling. The lodge was used until the 1950s, while Lot 121 was last occupied in 1941. Floral remains collected from units around the Brown Lodge included 17 specimens weighing 1.97 grams compared to 4,810 specimens weighing 309.57 grams from Lot 121. This variation, which will be discussed in greater detailed below, may reflect a difference in foodway patterns between a public and private structure.

Using Roderick Sprague's classification system (Appendix I) for late 19th and early 20th century sites, the artifacts were organized into eight primary categories including Architecture, Commerce/Industry, Domestic, Group Ritual, Group Services, Personal Items, Transportation, and Unknown (Figure 11-5). Within these categories, the major differences between the two lots were noticeable in Commerce/Industry and Domestic artifacts. Overall, 18% of Lot 106's assemblage was associated with commerce and industry, while only 4% was attributed to this category on Lot 121. The domestic artifacts from Lot 121 constituted 39% of the artifacts collected versus only 5% from the Brown Lodge. The difference between the percentage of commerce/industry

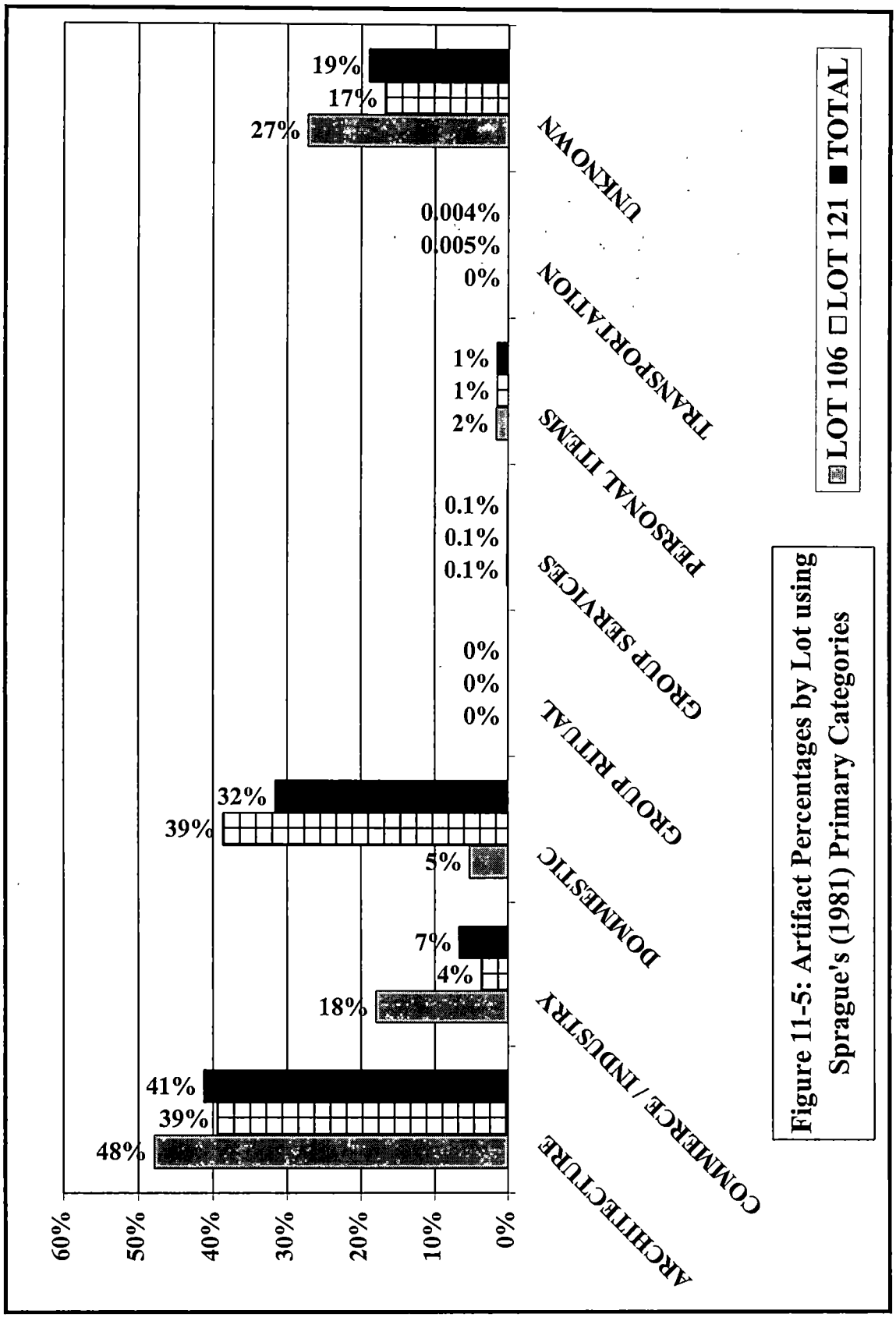


Figure 11-5: Artifact Percentages by Lot using Sprague's (1981) Primary Categories

and domestic artifacts from these two lots is not surprising considering the site types of a household on Lot 121 and a hall and restaurant on Lot 106.

What is surprising is the number of personal items found at these two sites was relatively equal consisting of 2% for the Brown Lodge and only 1% for Lot 121. A higher percentage from Lot 121 might be expected since it was private household, but this was not documented in the archaeological record. Another interesting phenomena was the lack of Group Ritual objects from the Brown Lodge, which was used as a meeting hall for Masonic rituals. Yet, the ritual nature of these activities may have also reduced the number of objects lost or thrown away that can be linked to these rituals. Such objects, as a Mason's apron, are not going to be discarded or lost, but instead will be cherished and passed down from generation to generation. This might explain the lack of ritual objects found on Lot 106. However, there is also the possibility that what appears to be technomic artifacts were actually ideo-technic objects used in rituals (e.g. plates).

In sum, Lot 121, the Armstead/Bush household, had four times the number of artifacts and six and half times the weight of artifacts collected than what was collected from around the Brown Lodge. Major differences between these material assemblages were the amounts of construction material and floral remains. The former can be attributed to the fact that the Brown Lodge on Lot 106 is still standing, while the house on Lot 121 has been razed. Addressing the floral remains, the Lot 121 house had over 200x the number of plant materials collected than found at the Brown Lodge. This was unexpected considering that the Brown Lodge was a restaurant and bar, which in turn suggests that the restaurant may have served mostly meat and beverages and very little

fruits and vegetables. Using Sprague's (1981) classification system, the expected difference between the Brown Lodge, a commercial/public structure, and the domestic residence on Lot 121 was documented. Yet there were very few differences in the remaining primary classifications, particularly of the personal objects on these two lots, which was unexpected.

In the remaining section of this chapter, I will discuss the archaeological findings between Lot 106 and Lot 121 by comparing the three broad categories of architecture, foodways, and fraternal, labor, and social activities. Comparisons to the historic record, private household patterns, and/or to previous research will be addressed when applicable.

Architecture

Long time residents of Arrow Rock, Virginia and Ted Fisher, saved the Brown Lodge from destruction in the 1980s, and in 1996 they donated the building to the Friends of Arrow Rock to restore and interpret this structure as part of the African-American heritage project. The Friends organization is currently restoring the Brown Lodge in hopes of utilizing the first floor as a formal museum dedicated to Arrow Rock's black heritage and restoring the second floor to its appearance as an 1890s Masonic Hall. The architectural restoration of this building was based on an evaluation by Victor Hood (1999) of Leatherwood, Inc., an architectural historian; Masonic texts; archaeological investigations; and recollections by the descendant community.

According to Albert Mackey's (1917:452) *An Encyclopedia of Freemasonry and Its Kindred Sciences*, Masons had general rules about how a lodge should be built (Figure11-6).

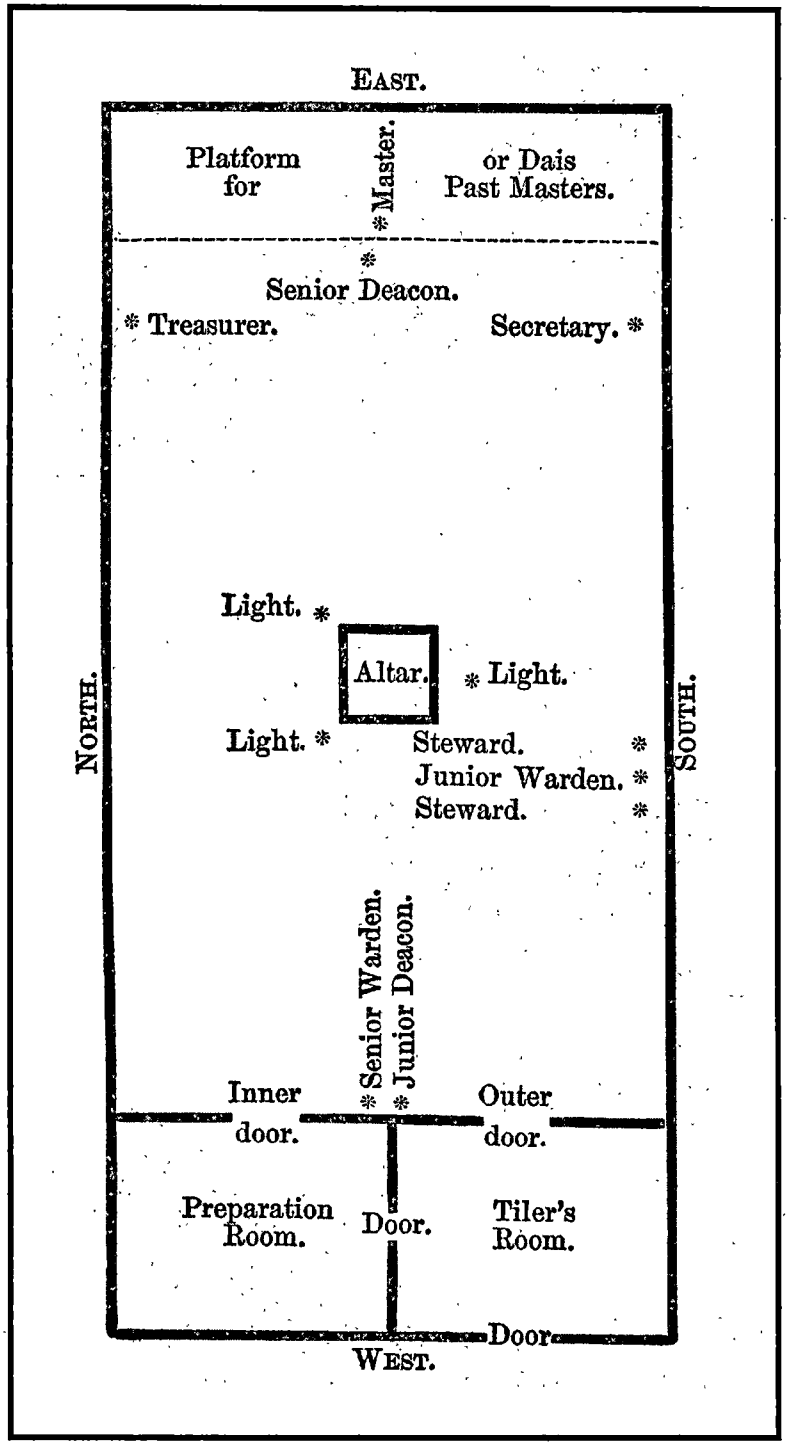


Figure 11-6: Standard Lodge Rooms and Hall Orientation

Source: A. Mackey, 1917, *An Encyclopedia of Freemasonry and Its Kindred Sciences*. The Masonic History Company, Chicago and New York, p. 452.

"The Masons on the Continent of Europe have prescribed form or ritual building, according to whose directions it is absolutely necessary that every hall for Masonic purposes shall be erected...These rules as generally observed in America, are as follows:

A Lodge room should always, if possible, be situated due East and West. This position is not absolutely necessary; and yet it is so far so as to demand that some sacrifices should be made, if possible, to obtain so desirable a position. It should also be isolated, where it is practicable, from all surrounding buildings, and should always be placed in an upper story. No Lodge should ever be held on the ground floor.

The form of a Lodge room should be that of a parallelogram or oblong square, at least one third larger from East to West than it is from North to South. The ceiling should be lofty, to give dignity to the appearance of the hall, as well as for the purposes of health, by compensating, in some degree, for the inconvenience of closed windows, which necessarily will deteriorate the quality of the air in a very short time in a low room...There should be two entrances to the room, which should be situated in the west and on each side of the Senior Warden's station. The one on his right hand is for the introduction of visitors, and members, and leading from the Tiler's room, is called the Tiler's, or the outer door; the other, on the left, leading from the preparation room, is known as the `inner door,' and sometimes called the `northwest door.' The situation of these two doors, as well as the rooms with which they are connected, which are essentially necessary in a well-constructed Lodge room."

Additional construction guidelines by Mackey (1917:314-315) state that:

"...the windows should be either in the roof , or very high from the floor. These windows ought to be all on one side – the south, if practical – and furnished with proper ventilation, that the bretheren be not incommoded, when pursuing their accustomed avocations, by the heat of the Lodge...It should be furnished with a pitched roof, open within and relieved with an ornamental framework of oak or painted as to represent that species of timber. It should be supported on corbels running along the cornice, on which should be engraven Masonic ornaments...The principal entrance to the Lodge room ought to face the east, because the east is a place of light both physical and moral; and therefore the brethren have access to the Lodge by that entrance, as a symbol of mental illumination. The approaches to the lodge must be angular, for a straight entrance is unmasonic and cannot be tolerated. The advance from the external avenue to the east ought to consist of three lines and two angles. The first line passes through a small room or closet for the accommodation of visitors. At the extremity of this apartment there ought to be another angular passage leading to the Tiler's room adjacent to the Lodge; and from thence, by another right angle you are admitted into the presence of the brethren with your face to the Light."

How was the Brown Lodge built? Did it conform to the general building codes of lodge halls? The Brown Lodge was constructed in 1881 as a gable front, two-story structure typical of the urban Greek Revival tradition (Hood 1999). The first floor of the lodge was used as a restaurant and bar after 1920 until the 1950s, but its function prior to this time is unknown. Before 1920, the first floor could have included a restaurant, a store, a school, and/or other public services. The second floor was used as the Masonic hall (1881-1931). The standing lodge measures approximately 26' x 18' in size and was constructed using a unique framing technique combining balloon and platform framing (Figure 11-7). The balloon framing exists on the first floor (sill to second story wall plate), which was constructed with a large number of cripple or sister studs suggesting old repairs or the use of salvage material with insufficient length (Hood 1999:9). The interior walls were constructed with plaster and lath and covered with wallpaper on both the first and second floors. Two wallpapering episodes were identified on the first floor, but only one on the second. Timbers used in the Brown Lodge were cut using both a sash saw and radial saw. The latter was invented in 1845, thus the earlier technology of vertical sawn boards must represent salvaging activities. A heating/cooking source for the lodge is evident by two square cut holes on the north elevation with one on the first and another on the second floor. These holes were likely used for stove pipes.

The exterior of the lodge was covered first by diagonal boarding, developed with platform framing and then covered with heart pine siding. Using Jay Edwards and Tom Wells' (1993) nail classification system, the majority of nails pulled from the lodge were Type 10 steel cut nails (diagonal boarding = 9d, siding = 7d, plaster laths = 3d) (Figure 11-8b, 11-8d, 11-8e). Exceptions were wire nails used in the 20th century remodeling



Figure 11-7: West Elevation of the Brown Lodge (photo taken in 1996)

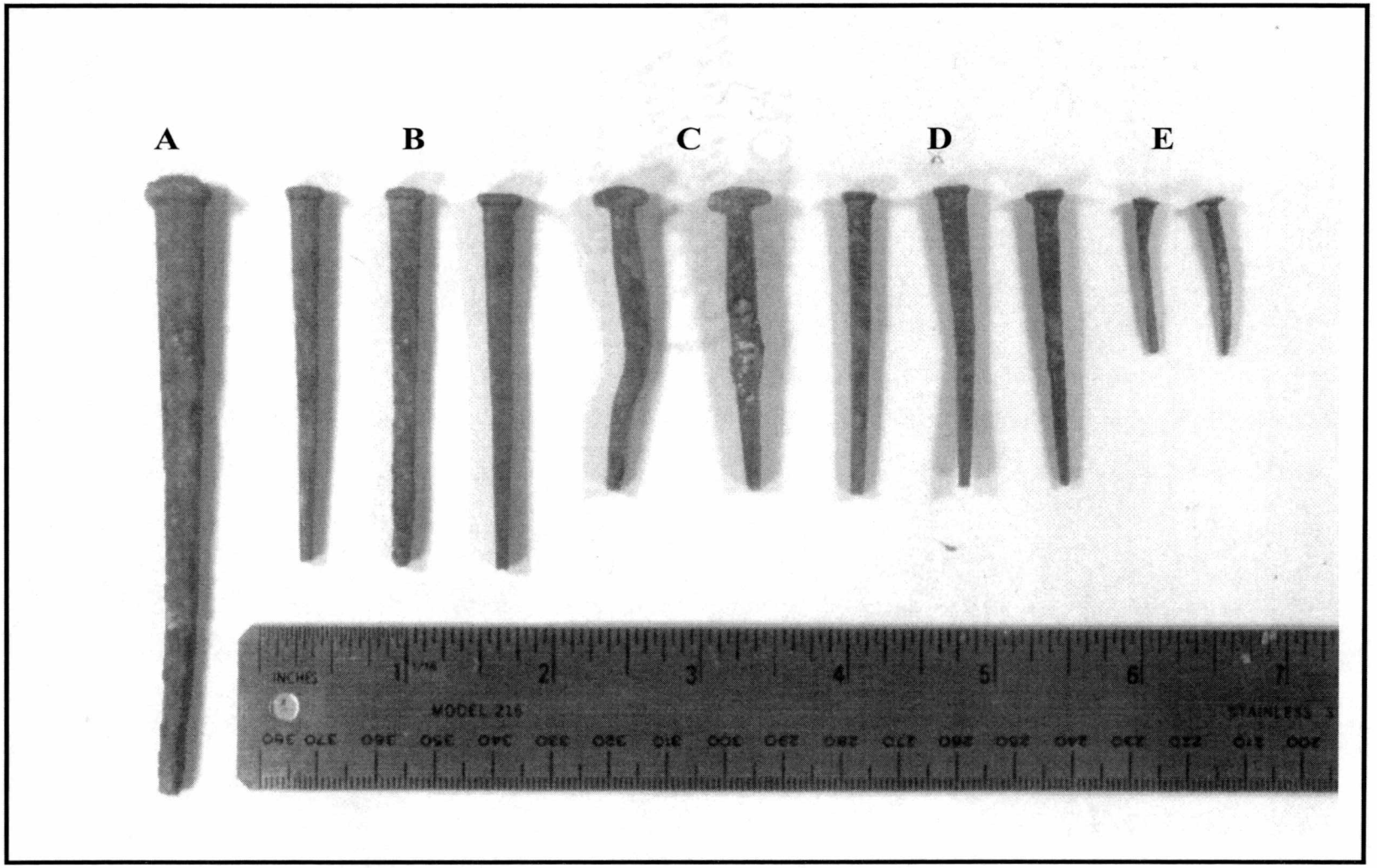


Figure 11-8: Nail Sample from the Brown Lodge

and possibly recycled cut nails used in the major joists and flooring. The major joist nails (30d) were wrought iron cut nails (Type 8g), which date between 1847 and 1885 (Figure 11-8a) (Edwards and Wells 1993:56). The flooring nails (6d) were wrought-iron cut nails that are strongly side pinched and are peaked-headed, which was formed by a mechanical header (Figure 11-8c). According to Edwards and Wells (1993:52), Type 4.1 was the only nail type recorded with these characteristics, which has been dated between 1792-1825. This early date does not conform to the age of the Brown Lodge nor even to the founding of Arrow Rock in 1829. One major characteristic that does not match the Type 4.1 characteristics was that the Brown Lodge sample had grains that were in-line versus cross-grained for Type 4.1. A secondary nail type is Type 9 that does have side-pinching and in-line grains, but does not have a peaked-head. This type was very rare in a Louisiana sample documented by Edwards and Wells (1993:57-58) and was based only on a single structure sample. Additional nail sampling may account for variations in nail head forms. Thus, the unique Brown Lodge flooring nails may be more closely related in age to the Type 9 nail, which was dated to 1847, but further research is still needed to determine its' age.

The south gable facade faces Morgan Street and has the main entrance with two windows on the first floor and two on the second (the only two for the Masonic hall). Both sets of windows are likely original, but they do not conform to over/under symmetry, which is typical of this style of building. The windows are a two over two sash configuration with the sashes molded and cut from linear mill run stock and using trunnels or pegs to secure the mortise and tenon joint (Hood 1999:8). The two over two-window style is typical of the late 19th century.

A later, cement porch was constructed over the front entrance in the early 20th century. Evidence of its' later date was noted by the use of wire nails and a poured cement porch with the name of "E. L. Taylor" inscribed in its' northeast corner. Edward L. Taylor was interviewed and photographed for the 1981 book *Arrow Rock: Twentieth-Century Frontier Town* (Prouse 1981). He was identified in this book as being born and raised in Arrow Rock, but he moved to St. Louis for work as a young adult. Thus, based on Taylor's signature in the cement porch, it must have been built after 1913, his birth, and likely in the 1920s or 1930s.

The east and west elevations each have two first floor windows, which seem to be original. Hood (1999) suggests that some of the side window sashes were salvaged and recycled. The older sashes were six over six windows and were constructed with "hand made styles and rails, through mortise and tenon work and true handmade trunnels," which predate the construction of the Brown Lodge (Figure 11-9) (Hood 1999:10).

The east elevation also had a side entrance near the northeast corner of the lodge. It was through this side entrance that the original stairway to the second floor Masonic hall began following the south wall. The second story still has a high-grade tongue and groove heart pine floor with most of the baseboard intact (Hood 1999). The second story doors, door trim, and window trim are not original and were remodeled in the 20th century. The roof joints are original, but the roof was covered in the 20th century with asphalt shingles, which have been replaced recently with a period shake roof.

Modified to conform to Masonic building codes, the interior stairway was replaced in the early 20th century by an external stairwell on the west elevation, leading to a two-story addition on the north elevation. Evidence of this external stairwell and rear

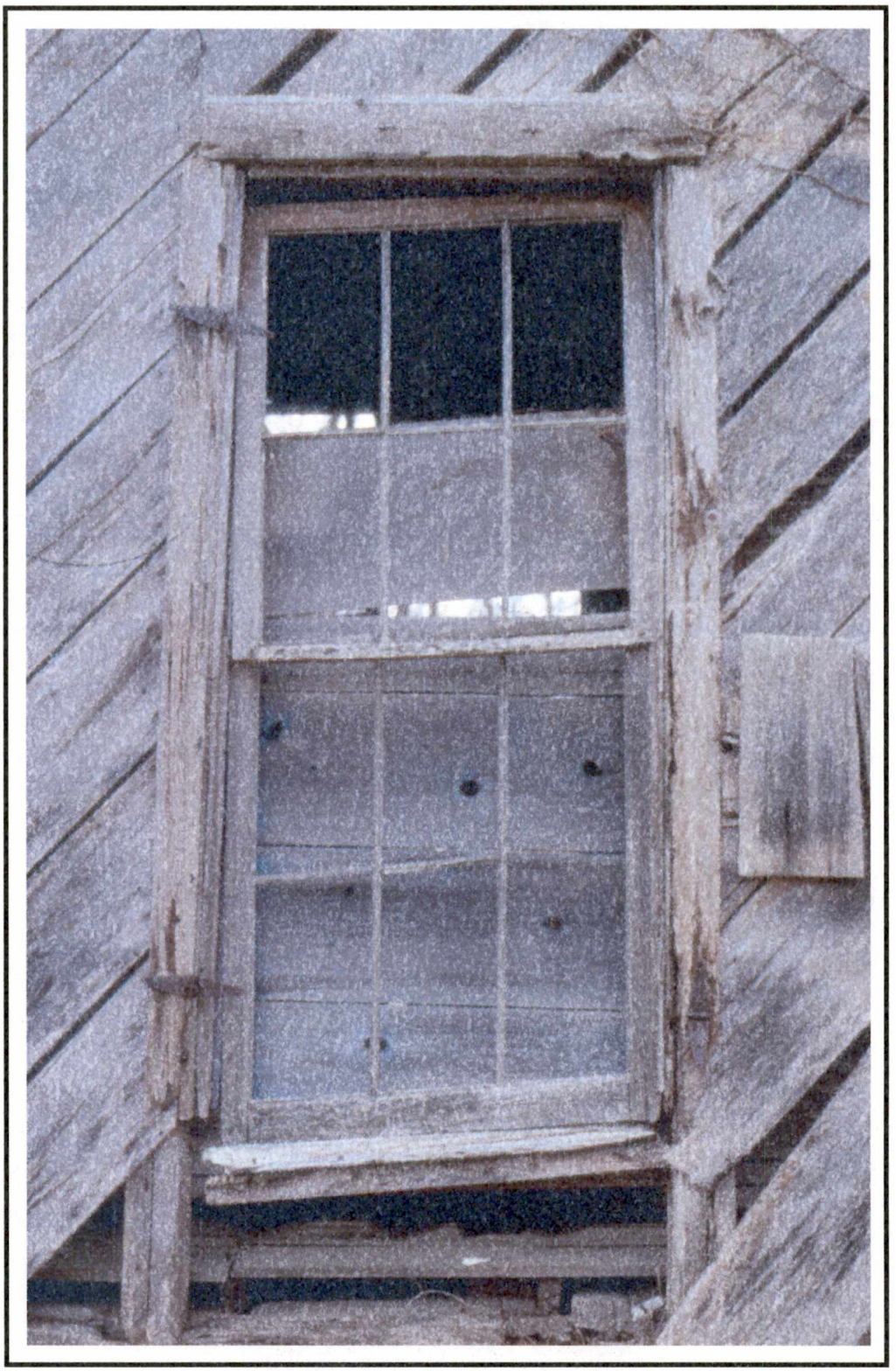


Figure 11-9: Window on East Side of the Brown Lodge

addition, which is now razed, includes three rear doorways on the north elevation and archeological remains of this construction (Figure 11-10). Originally, the north elevation had no openings, but with the 20th century addition a single entrance was opened on the first floor and two doorways were installed on the second floor. The first floor doorway led to the restaurant's kitchen and storage room. The two entrances to the second story were constructed with recycled materials and wire nails. The western door had been retrofitted and hung backwards with large gate hinges. The eastern doorway is a three-batten door. Both doorways have peepholes in them, which are likely associated with the Mason's secretive rituals. The resulting external stairwell and new rear entrances to the Lodge hall conformed perfectly to Masonic design. To enter the lodge would have required "three lines and two right angles" climbing up the stairs, turning right into the Tiler's room, and then turning right into the hall (Mackey 1917:315).

Archaeological excavations have documented multiple limestone piers outlining this razed addition. Three dry lain piers sat approximately eight feet from the south wall, aligning perfectly with the standing lodge and spaced on eight foot centers. A set of four limestone piers was also located four feet off the lodge's west side and extending five feet beyond the northwest corner of the extant lodge. These piers have been interpreted as supporting an external stairway that led to a second story balcony and to the second story hall entrance. With this new addition, the new lodge dimensions would have been approximately 36' x 18' or a 2 to 1 ratio, which conforms to the Masonic code that the length must be at least one third greater in size than its' width.

The extant Brown Lodge's limestone foundation was replaced in the early 1980s with railroad ties. In 1998, these ties were deteriorating enough that they needed to be



Figure 11-10: North Elevation of the Brown Lodge

replaced. The lodge was jacked up for the construction of ten new piers. Corresponding to the new pier construction, ten three by three foot units were excavated prior to and in the exact location as these new cement piers. The new piers and unit locations were placed at each corner of the lodge, a single pier centered on each gable end, and two piers spaced out evenly on each side. Eight of these units uncovered the remains of eight limestone piers. These piers have been interpreted as the remnants of the original lodge foundation that was partially removed by the 1980s railroad tie foundation. The piers were multi-course, dry lain limestone sitting on limestone rock footers and placed on eight to nine foot centers. The size and remnants of these piers and footers were dependent upon the natural topography of Block #30, which runs from the highest on the southwest corner to the lowest on the northeast corner. The most intact piers were those on the northeast corner. No evidence of a pier was found at the southwest corner; apparently, it was destroyed completely by the railroad tie foundation. Since the 1998 excavations, these original piers have been incorporated into the new limestone and cement piers. Despite the fact that the rear additional and external stairway conforms to Masonic codes, the Friends of Arrow Rock are not planning to rebuild this addition, but instead will restore the original interior stairway to the second floor. The two rear doors will be left intact to highlight the modifications in the 20th century to conform to Masonic rituals.

In sum, the Brown Lodge was built in 1881, generally following the Masonic codes of construction. The hall is located on the second floor with only two windows on the front facade, which allowed for secrecy. The building is an oblong square measuring originally 26' x 18' with a steep pitched roof and lofty ceiling within the hall. The original construction did not conform to Masonic building codes with an internal stairway

entrance to the second floor; thus in the early 20th century, a new external stairway and rear addition were built. This new entrance and addition were added to better follow the correct path of entry into the Lodge and for the creation of the Tiler's and Preparation rooms. Another characteristic that did not follow Masonic guidelines was the lodge's orientation. A lodge should be oriented with the long axis from east to west and the short axis from north to south. The front entrance should be on the east side so that it faced the sun. The Brown Lodge is oriented opposite these directions with the main entrance on the south side. Yet, the Masonic guidelines, mentioned above, did allow for alignment modifications based on property availability and city block orientation. Overall, much of the construction material used for the lodge was salvaged materials, including wood, window sashes, doors, and possibly nails. These recycled materials can likely be attributed to the economic struggle of Arrow Rock's African-Americans to build their own lives and community in post-Civil War Missouri.

Of the African-American buildings constructed on Block #30, the Brown Lodge is the only one still standing. This fact alone suggests that it was constructed with greater stability than the houses. African-American houses on Block #30 were likely single story structures built of wood frame with a central brick chimney. A standing example is still visible on Lot 120, Block #31 immediately across the street from Lot 121 (Figure 11-11). An alternative building method may have been log construction that was later covered with wood siding. An example of an African-American log cabin was found on the North Second Street site (23SA505) during the 1998 field season in Arrow Rock (Figure 11-12). At one time, North Second Street in Arrow Rock had six African-American households, an African Methodist Episcopal Church, and a speakeasy.



Figure 11-11: An Early 20th Century African-American Home on Block 31 in Arrow Rock, Missouri

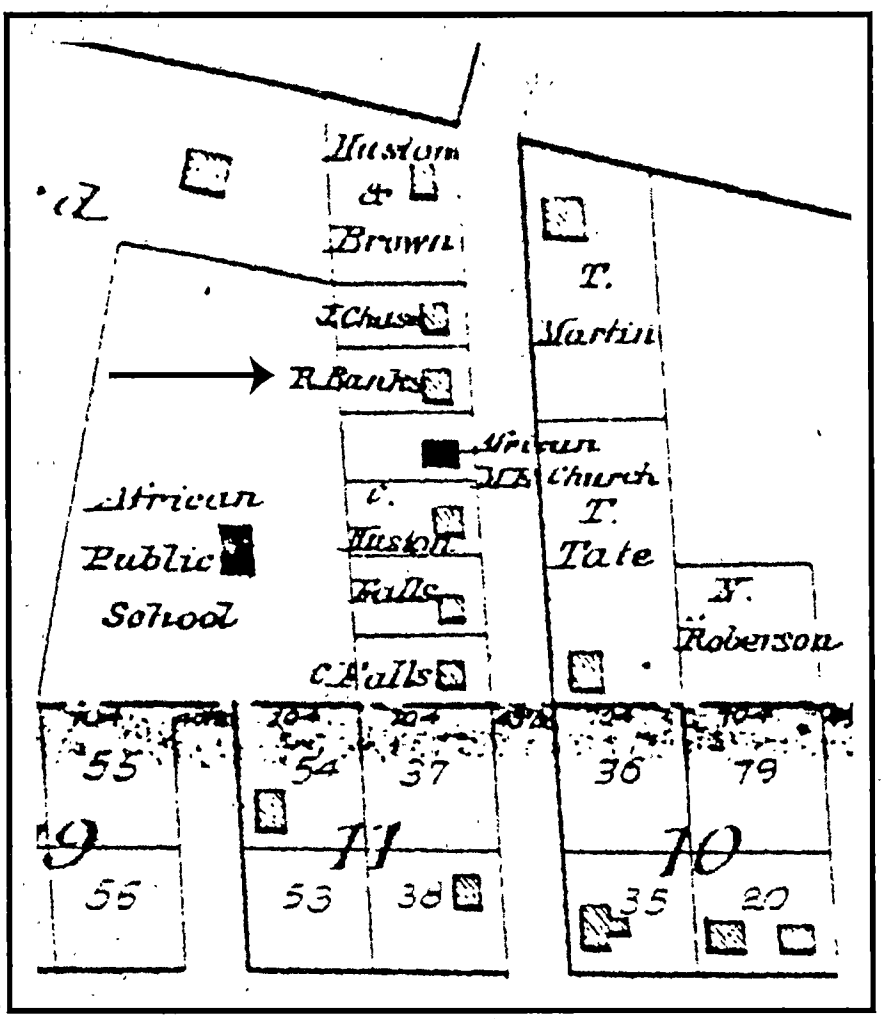


Figure 11-12: 1896 African-American Community along North Second Street in Arrow Rock, Missouri (Arrow points to log cabin)

Source: Northwest Publishing Co., 1896, *Plat Book of Saline County, Missouri.*

The log cabin on Second Street was first constructed in the 1870s by the Robert Banks family, the last occupant being his daughter Rosie Banks in the mid-20th century. Since its abandonment, the log cabin has collapsed, but it is still visible on the surface measuring approximately 18 x 18 feet with two brick end chimneys.

The African-American house on Lot 121 was first constructed by the Armstead family after 1883. Based on an 1896 historic map, the original house was a small rectangle with the long east-west axis facing Morgan Street. In 1903, when Franklin and Susie Bush purchased this property, they either razed or added onto the Armstead house. Archaeological evidence indicates instead of a small rectangular house with the long end running east to west, the Bushes lived in a rectangular house with the long axis from north to south and measuring 25' (E-W) x 35' (N-S). The Armstead house was built primarily with cut nails and likely had a limestone foundation. The later Bush home was constructed with wire nails and had both a limestone and cement foundation. The cement foundation was identified on the rear ¼ of the house structure suggesting that after the 1903 construction a lean-to addition was also added. Based on two brick concentrations on the surface, the Bush house had two chimneys. One was a central chimney similar to the one seen on Lot 120 and the second was a small chimney in the lean-to addition. The small chimney in the cement addition was the location of the Bush kitchen. Shortly after the Bush family purchased Lot 121, they raised the rear yard area of Lot 121. The fill dirt was obtained from Block 30, likely on the western edge of Lot 121. This is suggested by the buried A horizon that was documented below a fill stratum in Unit 16. The fill contained large quantities of kiln furniture and stoneware from the earlier Caldwell pottery factory on this block. The Bush family was also responsible for the filling and

possibly the construction of two cellars and one cistern. One cellar was identified northeast of the Bush house on Lot 121. This cellar was recorded as Feature 17 and was filled with numerous artifacts relating to kitchen refuse. Structurally, this cellar was not lined with bricks or stone suggesting that an outbuilding (e.g. smokehouse, shed) stood above this feature. The second cellar was identified in a posthole test and was located in the southwest corner of the Bush house. Little structural evidence is known of this cellar because no unit excavation was done, but the posthole test recorded numerous artifacts and a large amount of coal and cinders. The cistern (Feature 16) was located immediately southwest of the Bush house. The cistern was constructed with mortared machine made brick in a square or rectangular shape. This cistern was also filled with numerous artifacts, many relating to Franklin Bush's occupation as a painter and plasterer.

The fact, that of the four buildings on Block #30 only the lodge is still standing, alone suggests that it was constructed with a more substantial foundation and framing. Oral history and archaeological remains confirm this. The lodge's original limestone piers were larger and were multiple courses high, while the lot 121 house had pier foundations that were smaller and only one course high. Despite the lodge's more sturdy construction, only the house site had any evidence of storage represented by two cellars and its' own water supply represented by a cistern.

Foodways

Oral histories recorded from the Missouri Humanities Council grant documented foodway patterns at the Brown Lodge and in the African-American community in

general. Thelma Conway, the former wife of William Huston Van Buren, worked as a waitress in the Brown Lodge in the 1940s and 1950s. She states that during this time "hamburgers, hot dogs, rabbit, fish, and chicken" were served, as well as barbecued raccoon on some occasions (Conway 1997). George "Hawk" Parker (1997), who grew up near the Brown Lodge in the early 20th century, stated that the restaurant "served food and beer." Mary Rinne (1997), a Euro-American resident of Arrow Rock, stated that the first floor of the Brown Lodge was a "beer hall...beer parlor."

More detailed information was recorded in these oral histories about household foodways. Ruth Perry (1996) stated "we had a sow and...sometimes had sixteen pigs and we raised our own meat...We cured the hams and sausages...we fried them down... put them in quart jars...we didn't have the deep freeze in those days, but we had to fry all that stuff down... we'd put up beans and cabbages and can tomatoes...we raised our own potatoes...bury the potatoes in the winter time... put straw in there and [then] get out the potatoes for the week and leave the others in the hole."

The most detailed subsistence practices were described by Pearl Adams (1996) and Hortense Nichols (1996). When asked about what wild greens were gathered, Pearl Adams (1996) responded with "wild lettuce, dandelions, maridock, lambsquarter, and pokeweed.... worked good as long as you put [bacon] grease with it....Everyone ate the greens....they say it's just like medicine." In the same interview, they suggested that their main diet was "beans, cornbread," but fruit was also eaten, including "wild fruit, blackberries, blueberries, gooseberries...plums" as well as "[crab]apples." The latter was often buried in a hole and covered with straw. Pearl Adams (1996) stated that her family would "put straw down in there and put your stuff in there and then you put the dirt back

in." When asked about meat, they responded with "we didn't get too much beef... most of the time it was pork, chicken, turkeys, geese, and ducks" (Adams 1996; Nichols 1996). If there was a cow, it was normally a milk cow from which butter and cottage cheese were made as well as a drink called "clabber." Clabber was made from the "milk on the back of the old stove and you just clabbered it up...and then put a little sugar in it and drank it" (Adams 1996). In Charles Joyner's (1984:98-99) work *Down by the Riverside*, clabber was described as the "most common and most enjoyed dairy product" which was made from milk that is heated and let to stand for two hours after which it becomes a thick curd also known as "curds and whey." When asked what foods were bought in the store, Pearl Adams (1996) stated that they "mostly had to buy sugar and flour... salt and coffee."

Bootlegging has also been noted among the African-American community. The home made liquor was often called "chalk" (Adams 1996; Townsend 1997). Arvel Townsend (1997), a long time Euro-American resident in Arrow Rock, stated that chalk was made when "they would skim it off the corn stalks and later they would take what was left and add some sugar to it and let it ferment and serve it for $.25 a drink...regular whiskey cost about $.60 for a half pint."

Based on the above oral histories, the following foodway patterns were expected to be found in the archaeological record of the Brown Lodge: faunal and floral remains of both wild and domestic animals including pig, goat, fish, and rabbit; food preparation, consumption, and storage artifacts; as well as alcohol related items. Overall, the archaeological record generally confirmed the historic documents and oral testimonies. The one main exception was the lack of floral remains and a relatively low frequency of

ceramics from the Brown Lodge when compared to African-American residential sites in Arrow Rock.

Foodways have been documented through faunal and floral remains, kitchen utensils, ceramics, and glass objects. In order of frequency, the faunal counts from Lot 106 by taxonomic category were invertebrates (n=170, 19.2 g), mammals (n=154, 371.8 g), fish (n=80, 10.9 g), birds (n=49, 18.9g), and amphibians (n=4, 0.3 g) (Table 11-3, Figure 11-13) (Coughlin 1998). All but one of the invertebrates were represented by land/freshwater snail shells (Gastropoda) and are not associated with foodways, but instead were the result of snails congregating near structure foundations. The identifiable species of mammals were represented by pig (n=19, 137 g), the most common, followed by opossum (n=14, 12.4 g), rabbit (n=7, 6.4 g), cow (n=4, 65.2 g), squirrel (n=2, 0.9 g), old world rat (n=2, 0.6 g), indeterminate rodents (n=2, 0.3 g), woodchuck (n=1, 0.1 g), and mole (n=1, 0.1 g) (Figure 11-14). The smaller mammal remains of the opossum, rabbit, squirrel, rat, rodents, woodchuck, and mole are most likely associated with non-human scavenging as most have heavy gnawing activity and no visible cut marks, but some could have been a by-product of human activity (e.g. opossum, squirrel, rabbit, and woodchuck). Based on the oral history by Thelma Conway (1997), rabbit was served in the restaurant between 1940 and the 1950s and thus could have been from human consumption. Identifiable fish remains are represented by carp (n=22, 4.9 g) the most common, drum (n=3, 1.2 g), and catfish (n=1, 0.3 g) (Figure 11-15). The high occurrence of carp is not surprising considering the close proximity of the Missouri River, but the evidence of carp also correlates to the age of the Brown Lodge, which was built in 1881. Carp are not indigenous to North America, but instead are an Asian species

Table 11-3: Total Identified Fauna by Taxonomic Category

TAXONOMIC CATEGORY	NISP	%NISP	Weight (g)
Amphibians (n = 7)			
Anura *(indt. toad/frog)*	2	0.07%	0.1
Bufo sp. (indt. toad)	2	0.07%	0.2
Rana sp. (indt. frog)	3	0.10%	0.4
Total Amphibians	7	0.24%	0.7
Bird (n = 780)			
Indeterminate Bird	766	26.16%	30.9
Indeterminate Large Bird	2	0.07%	0.9
Indeterminate Small Bird	1	0.03%	0.1
Anas sp. (indt. duck)	6	0.20%	7.0
Gallus gallus (domestic chicken)	4	0.14%	10.6
Passeriformes (indt. song bird)	1	0.03%	0.1
Total Birds	780	26.64%	49.6
Fish (n = 106)			
Indeterminate Fish	76	2.60%	6.2
Aplodinotus grunniens (freshwater drum)	4	0.14%	1.6
Carpiodes sp. (Indt. sucker)	3	0.10%	0.3
Cyprinus carpio (carp)	21	0.72%	4.6
Cyprinus carpio (cf. to carp)	1	0.03%	0.3
Pylodictis olivaris (flathead catfish)	1	0.03%	0.3
Total Fish	106	3.62%	13.3
Invertebrates (n = 701)			
Bivalvia (indt. bivalave)	188	6.42%	23.7
Gatrapoda (indt. land/freshwater snail)	513	17.52%	26.6
Total Invertebrates	701	23.94%	50.3

Table 11-3 (Cont.)

TAXONOMIC CATEGORY	NISP	%NISP	Weight (g)
Mammal (n = 715)			
Indeterminate Mammal	417	14.24%	197.2
Indeterminate Large Mammal	3	0.10%	36.7
Indeterminate Med. - Lg. Mammal	112	3.83%	265.4
Indeterminate Medium Mammal	23	0.79%	54.8
Indeterminate Sm. - Med. Mammal	4	0.14%	1.1
Indeterminate Small Mammal	23	0.79%	4.7
Bos taurus (domestic cow)	7	0.24%	223.4
Didelphis marsupialis (opossum)	14	0.48%	12.4
Felis domesticus (domestic cat)	1	0.03%	1.2
Marmota monax (woodchuck)	1	0.03%	0.1
Rattus sp. (indt. old world rat)	2	0.07%	0.6
Rodentia (indt. rodent)	8	0.27%	1.0
Scalopus aquaticus (eastern mole)	1	0.03%	0.1
Sciurus sp. (indt. Squirrel)	3	0.10%	1.3
Sus scrofa (domestic pig)	80	2.73%	438.7
Sylvilagus floridanus (eastern cottontail)	16	0.55%	10.5
Total Mammal	715	24.42%	1249.2
Reptile (n = 1)			
Testudines (indt. Turtle)	1	0.03%	0.4
Total Reptiles	1	0.03%	0.4
Indeterminate (n = 618)			
Indt. Bird/Mammal	71	2.42%	14.7
Indt. to class	547	18.68%	30.3
Total Indeterminate	618	21.11%	45.0
TOTAL FAUNA	2928	100%	1408.5 g

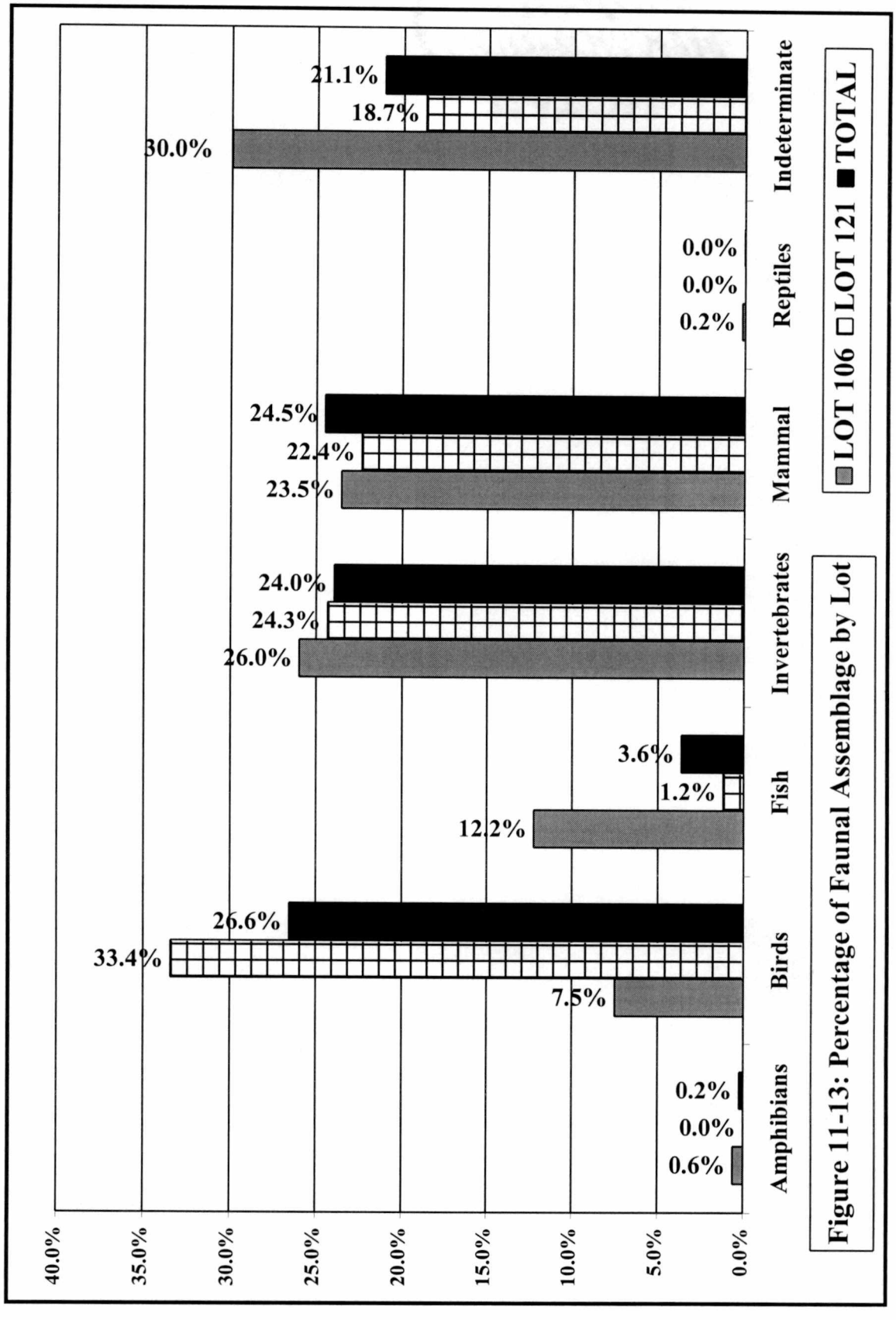


Figure 11-13: Percentage of Faunal Assemblage by Lot

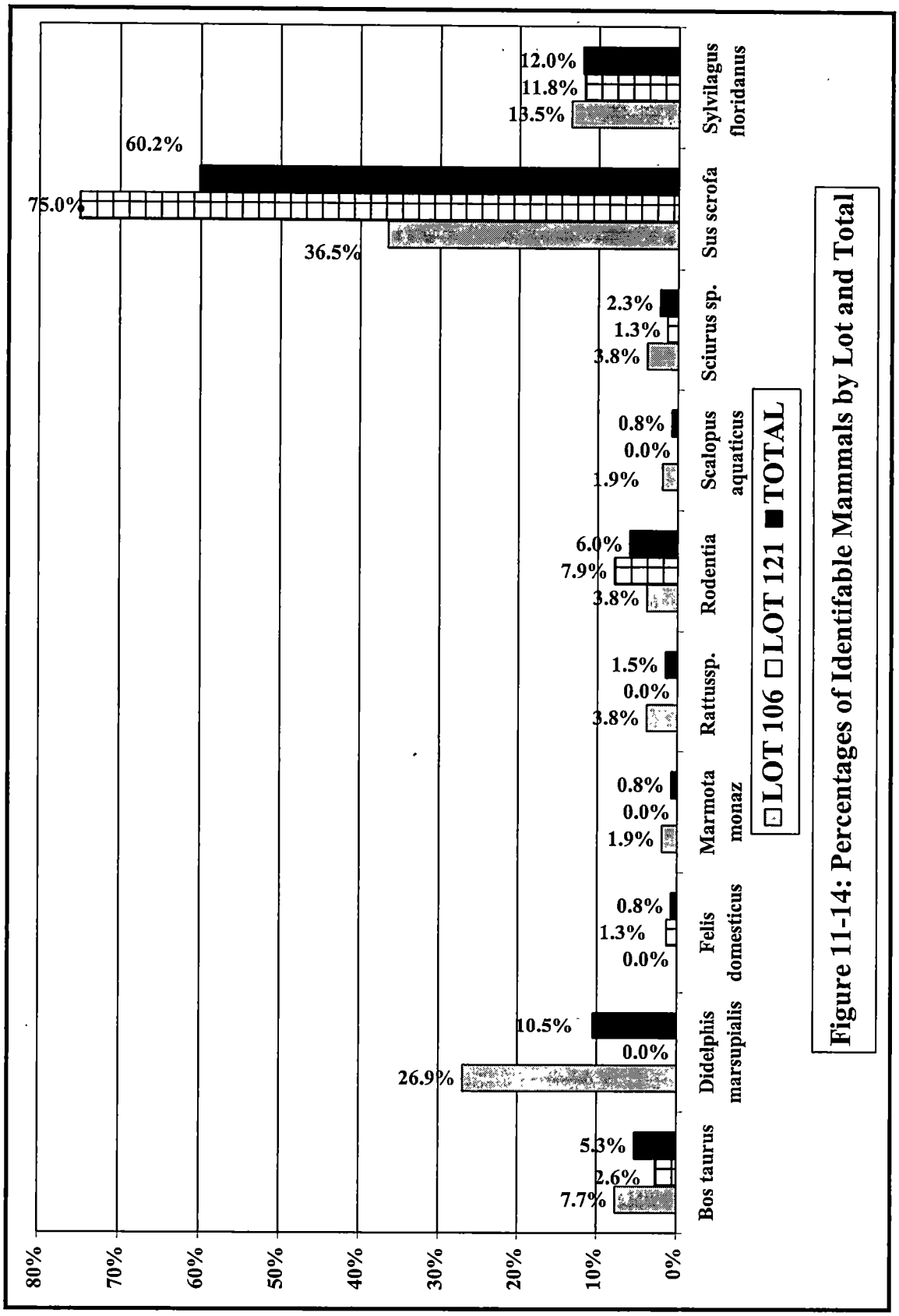


Figure 11-14: Percentages of Identifable Mammals by Lot and Total

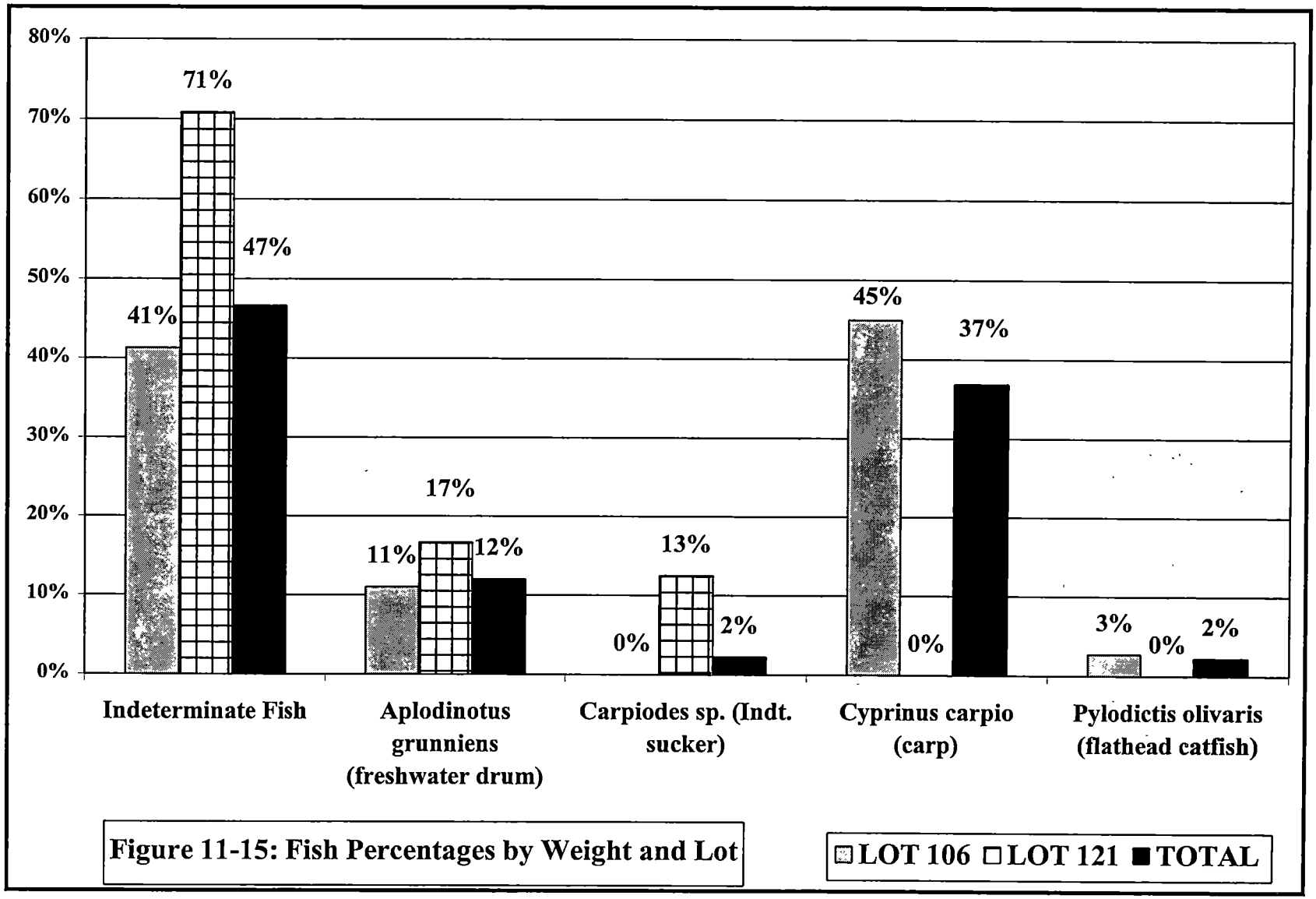


Figure 11-15: Fish Percentages by Weight and Lot

that was introduced to the United States in the late 19th century and quickly populated most major waterways. A single bird species was recorded - chicken (n=2, 9.8 g) with the remainder of bird bones being of an unknown species (n=47, 9.1 g). Overall, the faunal resources at the Brown Lodge represent both human consumption and non-human scavenging. The human consumption was represented by both wild and domestic species, including the most common by count of pig and carp, which correlates well with the oral testimonies mentioned above.

Comparing this faunal assemblage to other African-American communal structures suggests that the Brown Lodge utilized more wild and aquatic resources. The faunal remains from the African Meeting House in Boston included only domestic species of sheep/goat, cow and pig (Bower 1984:73). Faunal remains from the Spivey's Store in James City, North Carolina, indicated that all but one bone fragment was associated with either a domestic mammal or bird (Wheaton et al. 1990). The Wayman A.M.E. church site in Normal, Illinois had domestic species of chicken, turkey, cow, and pig (Cabak et al. 1995:64). The abundance of wild and aquatic resources from the Brown Lodge was likely caused by its rural location, the town's small population size, and its close proximity to the Missouri River. One interesting absence from the Brown Lodge's faunal remains was goat, as oral testimony by Kenneth Van Arsdale (1997) suggested that goat roasts were conducted at the August 4th, Emancipation Day picnics at the Brown Lodge.

Identifiable faunal remains from the Lot 121 household included in order of frequency birds (n=728, 29.7 g), invertebrates (n=530, 29.9 g), mammals (n=487, 828.1 g), and fish (n=26, 2.4 g) (Figure 11-13). Compared to the Lot 106 assemblage, Lot 121 has a greater percentage (33.4%) of bird remains than Lot 106 with only 7.5% of the faunal

remains, but Lot 121 a lower percentage of fish remains with only 1.2% of the assemblage versus 12.2% from the Brown Lodge. Identifiable birds species from Lot 121 included indeterminate duck (n=6, 7 g), domestic chicken (n=2, 0.8 g), and indeterminate song bird (n=1, 0.1 g). The remaining bird remains (n=719, 21.8 g) were unidentifiable as to species. Due to the small amount of identifiable bird bone, an accurate interpretation as to the importance of chicken, duck, or other edible bird species in the diet of Arrow Rock's African-American community cannot be made.

Invertebrates were represented by indeterminate land/freshwater snail shells (n=343, 6.4 g) and indeterminate bivalve (n=187, 23.5 g). Similarly to the Brown Lodge, the gastropods collected were not likely the product of human activity, but instead were a result of habitat preference by these snails to live around building foundations. The large number of bivalves suggests that they were associated with food consumption, but they could also be linked to tool use, non-human scavenging, or to human curiosity.

Lot 121 mammal remains in the order of frequency were recorded as domestic pig (n=57, 291.8 g), eastern cottontail (n=9, 4.1 g), indeterminate rodent (n=6, 0.7 g), domestic cow (n=2, 155.3 g), domestic cat (n=1, 1.2 g), and indeterminate squirrel (n=1, 0.4 g) (Figure 11-14). Compared to the Brown Lodge assemblage, the Lot 121 collection contained a higher percentage of pork by lot (75%) with Lot 106 having only 36.5% of its faunal remains represented by pig. Yet, on both lots, pig was the most common mammal eaten. Absent from the Lot 121 mammal bone assemblage was opossum, which represented 26.9% of the faunal remains from Lot 106. As stated above, opossum and other smaller mammals may not have been the result of human consumption, but may have been the result of non-human scavenging or natural death below the standing Brown Lodge.

Fish species from Lot 121 were identified as indeterminate sucker (n=3, 0.3 g), and freshwater drum (n=1, 0.4 g) (Figure 11-15). Noticeably missing from the Lot 121 bone collection was carp. In the Brown Lodge assemblage, carp is the most common fish species consumed, representing 85% of the total identifiable fish species. Overall, the majority of fish remains were unidentifiable to a species and thus any subsistence patterns between these two lots concerning carp must be further tested. Yet, this small sample does suggest a difference in edible fish as well as a possible variation in seasonality and fishing techniques used to catch carp, drum, and catfish. For example, carp were often speared or netted during the spring when they were spawning in shallow water whereas drum and catfish would normally be caught with a hook and line.

Despite the abundant faunal remains from Lot 106, no floral remains associated with food consumption or medicinal practices were documented (Crites 1998). The only documented floral remains from the Brown Lodge were burnt and unburned wood fragments (n=14, 1.88 g) and a small amount of ragweed (n=3, 0.09 g). The latter has been interpreted as the result of natural deposition. The wood fragments are likely associated with deteriorating structural fragments of the Brown Lodge and/or heating or cooking activities. The lack of edible plant remains was completely unexpected because the nature of the restaurant business would suggest not only the consumption of meat, but also vegetable consumption. Floral preservation was not a problem on Block #30 as a large amount of floral remains were collected from the Bush household immediately east of the Brown Lodge on Lot #121. Floral remains represented from the Bush residence included corn, the most common, black walnut, pecan, peach, two variants of plums, blackberry or raspberry, pokeweed, and giant ragweed (Figure 11-16) (Crites 1998). Plant resources from

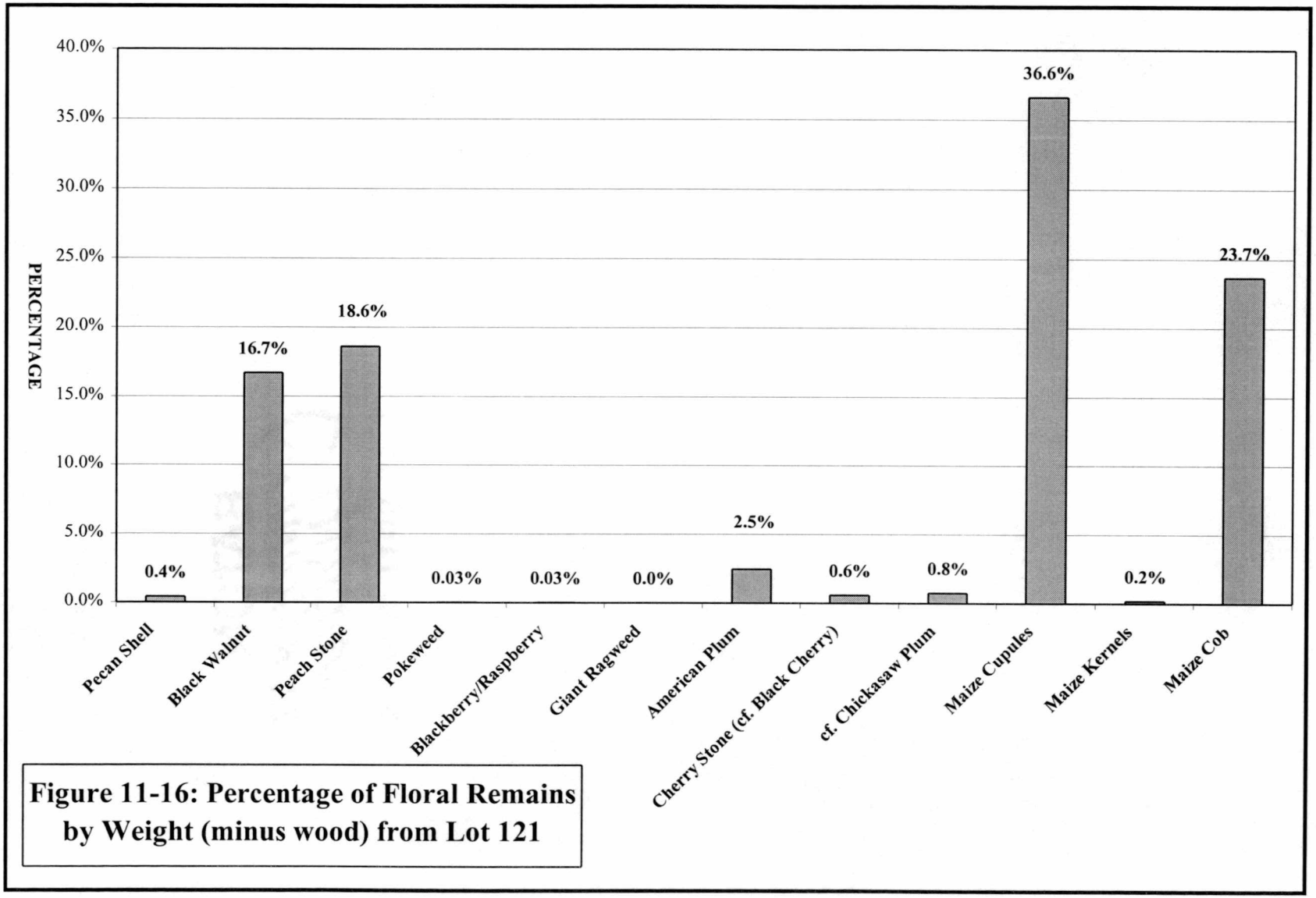


Figure 11-16: Percentage of Floral Remains by Weight (minus wood) from Lot 121

comparable public structures have not been collected or analyzed to a great extent. At the Spivey's Store site in James City, North Carolina, floral remains consisted primarily of grasses with very little domestic or edible plants (e.g. pokeweed, chinaberry) (Wheaton et al. 1990). Overall, the lack of good comparable data has been caused by the lack of floral studies in historical archaeology. Future studies should document these plant remains, not only for subsistence studies and cooking/heating, but also for evidence of medicinal practices (Groover and Baumann 1996). For example, oral evidence from Thelma Conway (1997) states "I don't remember going to a doctor when I was young...If you had a cold, they'd get that goose grease or castor oil." Other medicinal cures documented in Arrow Rock included sassafras tea, horsehoof tea, and polecat grease.

Another surprise was the lack of a large ceramic assemblage at the Brown Lodge when compared to the Bush household on Block #30 and to other communal structures. Despite the abundant faunal remains from the restaurant and the evidence of cooking (e.g. potato masher, stove parts), relatively few ceramics for food consumption, preparation, or storage were found around the lodge.

Archeological evidence from other black communal structures varied in ceramic assemblage. The Wayman A.M.E. Church and the African Meeting House had an abundant ceramic assemblage. The difference reflects the multi-functional uses of these communal structures. The Wayman A.M.E. church was used as a church, school, and parsonage. The ceramic assemblage consisted of serving and consumption dishes with few cooking or storage wares, suggesting that food was served at the church, but was not cooked there (Cabak et al. 1995:64). The African Meeting House in Boston was used for religious services, political and abolitionist meetings, lectures, recitals, an apartment, and the location

of the "African Jubilee," a celebration of the abolition of the slave trade (Bower and Rushing 1980; Bower 1984). The meeting house's ceramic assemblage also had a large number of serving wares from dinners and meetings held in the hall, but most were associated with an African-American caterer and his family who lived in the basement apartment (Bower and Rushing 1980; Bower 1984).

The ceramic assemblage from the Brown Lodge in order of frequency consisted of whiteware (n=81, 99.3 g), ironstone (n=46, 116.6 g), stoneware (n=21, 272.6 g), porcelain (n=16, 51.9 g), earthenware (n=10, 9.8 g), redware (n=5, 7 g), and yellowware (n=2, 0.8 g) (Figures 11-17, 11-18). Identifiable ceramic vessel forms included flatware (n=52, 47%), hollowware (n=35, 32%), cup (n=9, 8%), saucer (n=6, 5%), crock (n=6, 5%), plate (n=2, 2%), and bowl (n=1, 1%) (Figure 11-19). Compared to the Bush household ceramic assemblage, the Bush assemblage (n=530) had nearly three times the number of sherds. The percentages of stoneware and porcelain indicate significant differences in foodway patterns between Arrow Rock's black private and communal sites. The overall percentage of stoneware by weight for the Brown Lodge was 49% (272.6 g) of the total versus only 29 % (2985.6 g) of Bush total assemblage. The percentage of porcelain found at the Brown Lodge was only 9% (51.9 g) of the total versus 33% (3335.4 g) of the Bush household. This would obviously suggest a domestic pattern with a greater frequency of porcelain and a greater number of tablewares compared to those from the communal site of the Brown Lodge, which has fewer tablewares and a higher percentage of utilitarian wares (e.g. crocks, jugs, and mixing bowls). A chi-square test between porcelain and stoneware weights of Lot #106 and #121 was calculated and the results statistically argue a real difference (x^2 = 167.01, df=1, p<.01). This difference may have been caused by a subsistence pattern related

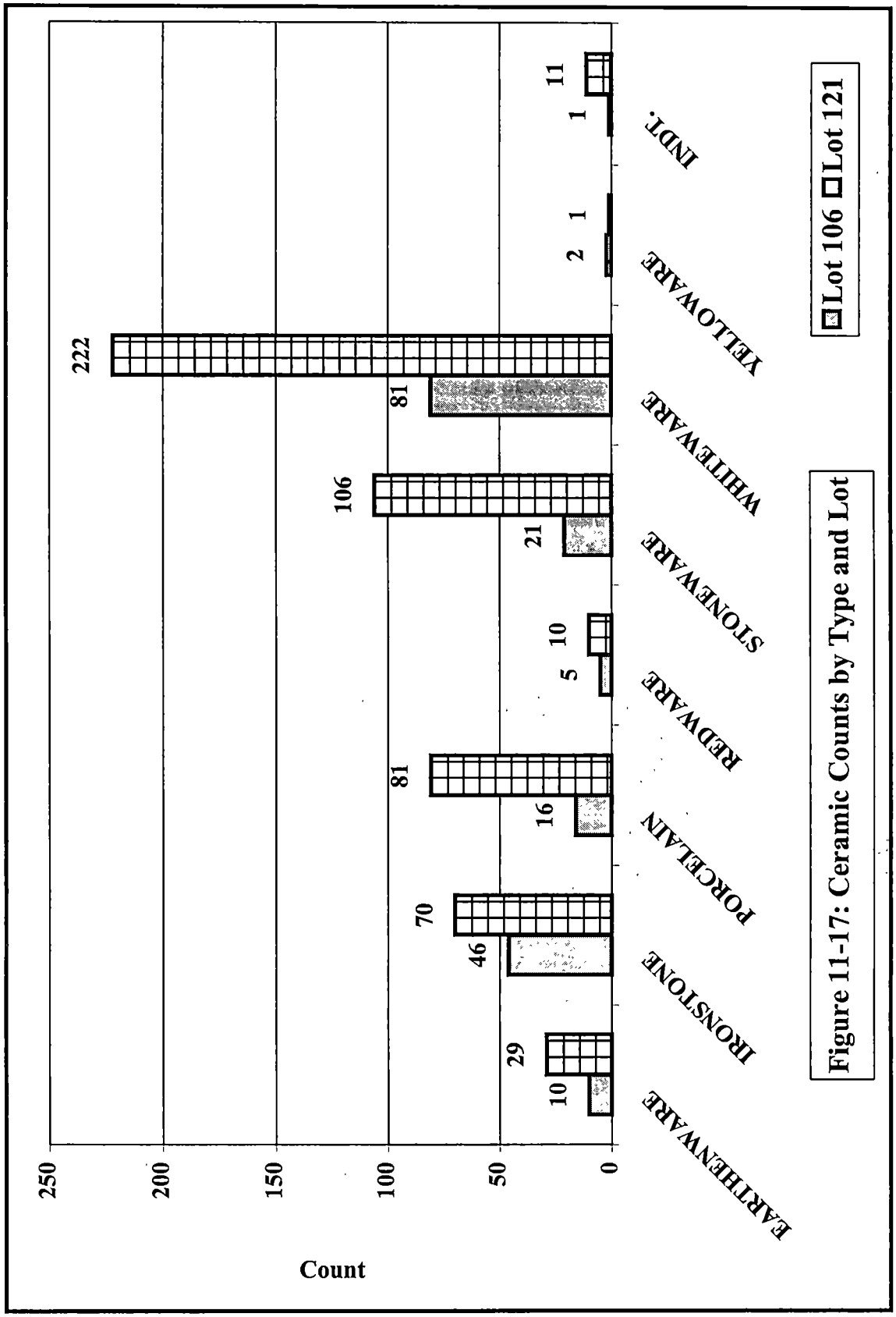


Figure 11-17: Ceramic Counts by Type and Lot

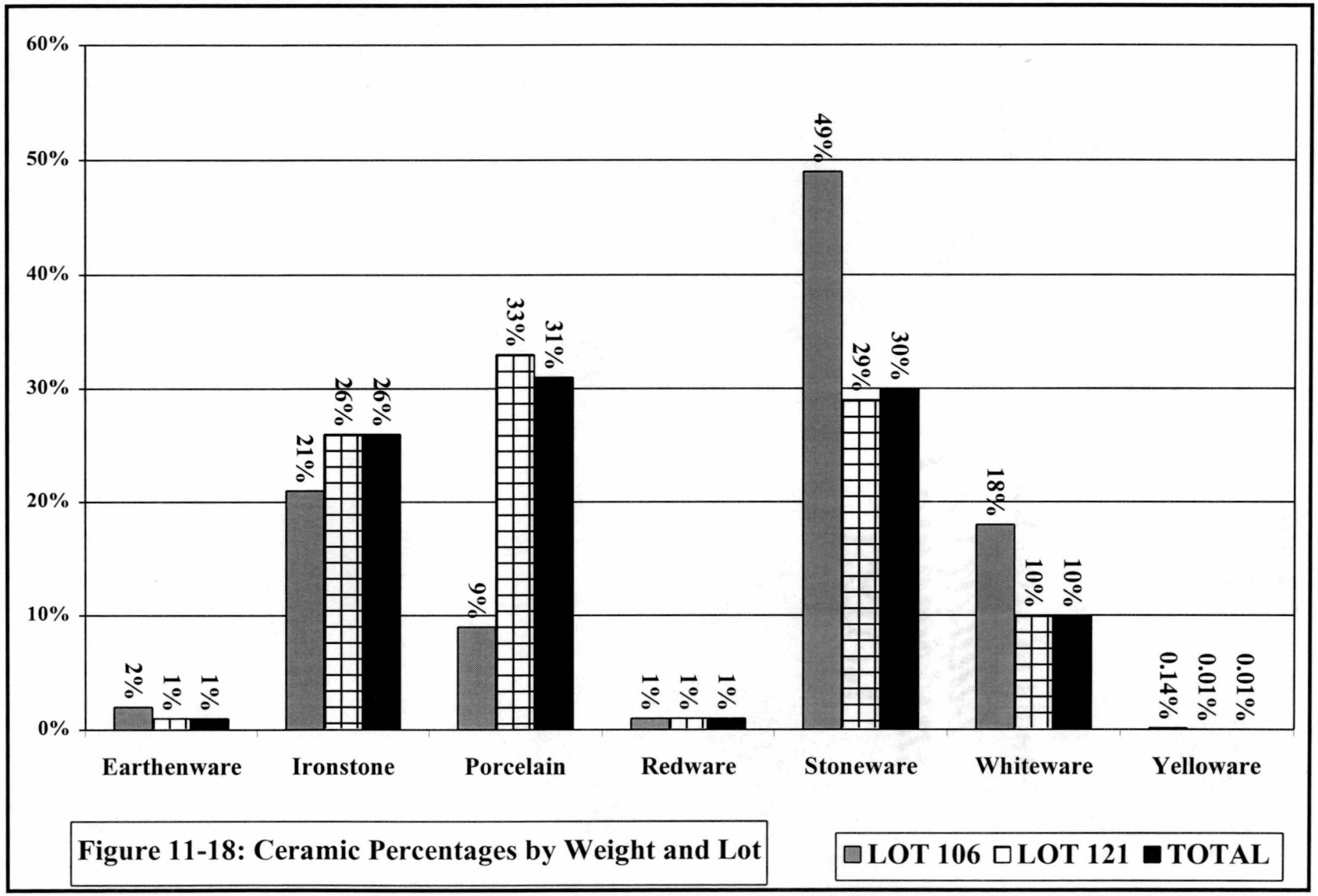


Figure 11-18: Ceramic Percentages by Weight and Lot

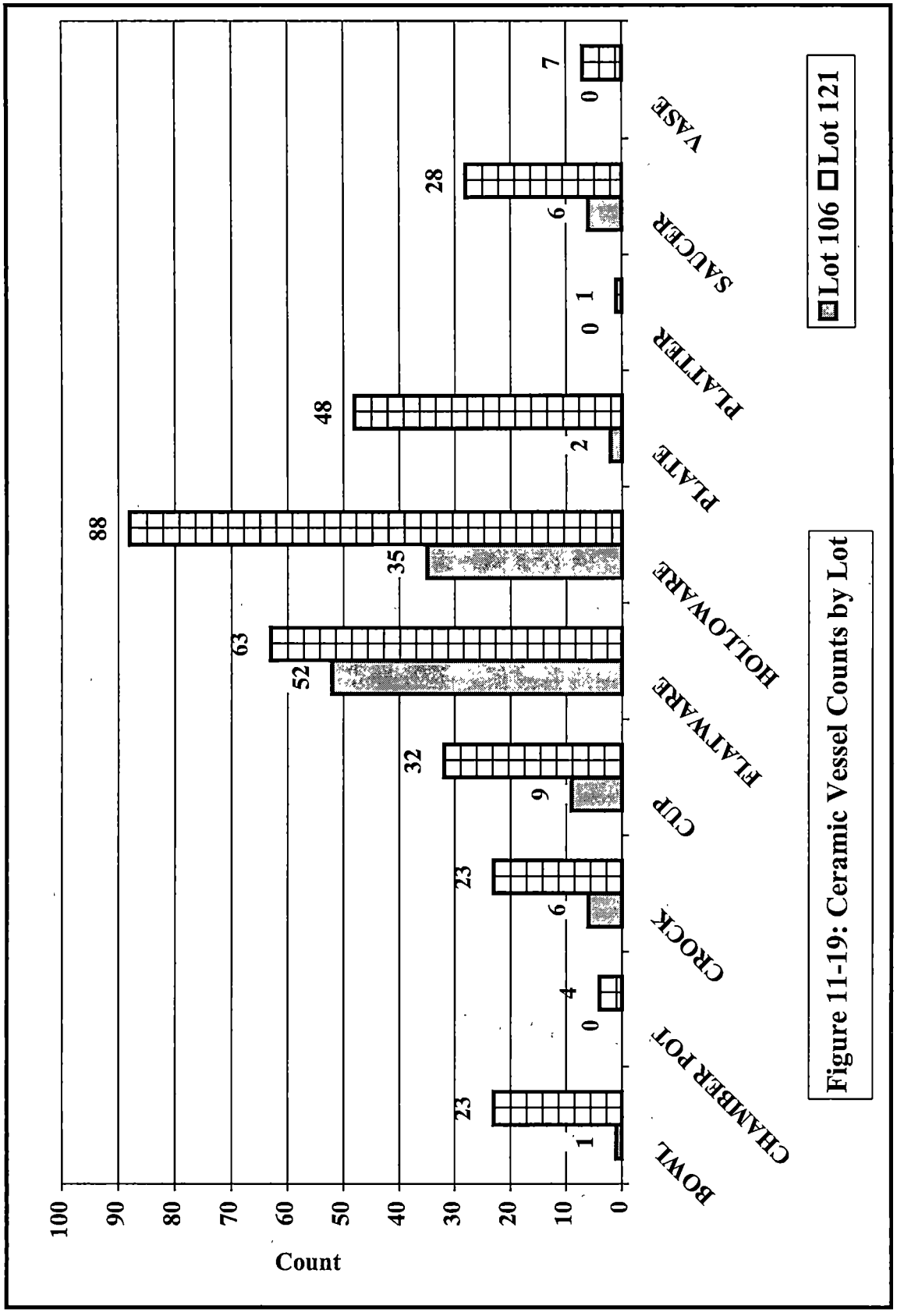


Figure 11-19: Ceramic Vessel Counts by Lot

to a higher frequency of alcohol consumption and possibly production, and fewer formal meals served at the Brown Lodge, when compared to the Lot 121 house. The remaining ceramic types of ironstone, whiteware, redware, yellowware, and earthenware constituted similar percentages. Overall, ceramic vessel forms represented at the Brown Lodge suggest a slight difference of hollowware (54%) versus flatware (46%) pieces than at the Bush household which had 56% hollowware and 44% flatware.

The biggest difference between the two lots has been the overall frequency of sherds. Based on the Bush household's ceramic counts (n=530), this private household was more active and thus utilized and disposed of more ceramic vessels than the Brown Lodge. This suggests that the Brown Lodge may not have been open daily for business, had a small volume of customers, was mostly a tavern rather than a restaurant, or alternative dishes for cooking and serving meals were used (e.g. tinware). During the 1998 field season, a possible wooden plate with visible cut marks was found underneath the lodge, suggesting that the latter hypothesis of using alternative tablewares may have something to do with the relatively small ceramic assemblage at the lodge.

Material evidence that the Brown Lodge was used more as a tavern than a restaurant is based on the abundant curved glass assemblage (Figures 11-20, 11-21). Alcohol related bottles and glassware included beer, whisky, and wine bottles, whiskey flasks, panel bottles, and shot glasses, constituting 21% of the total glass assemblage of the Brown Lodge. Non-alcohol related objects associated with foodways included canning jars, condiment bottles, containers, glassware, soda bottles, and tumblers, which represent 25% of the lodge assemblage. The remaining 54% were associated with non-foodways materials of lamp chimneys, light bulbs, and perfume bottles as well as indeterminate bottles and jars. In

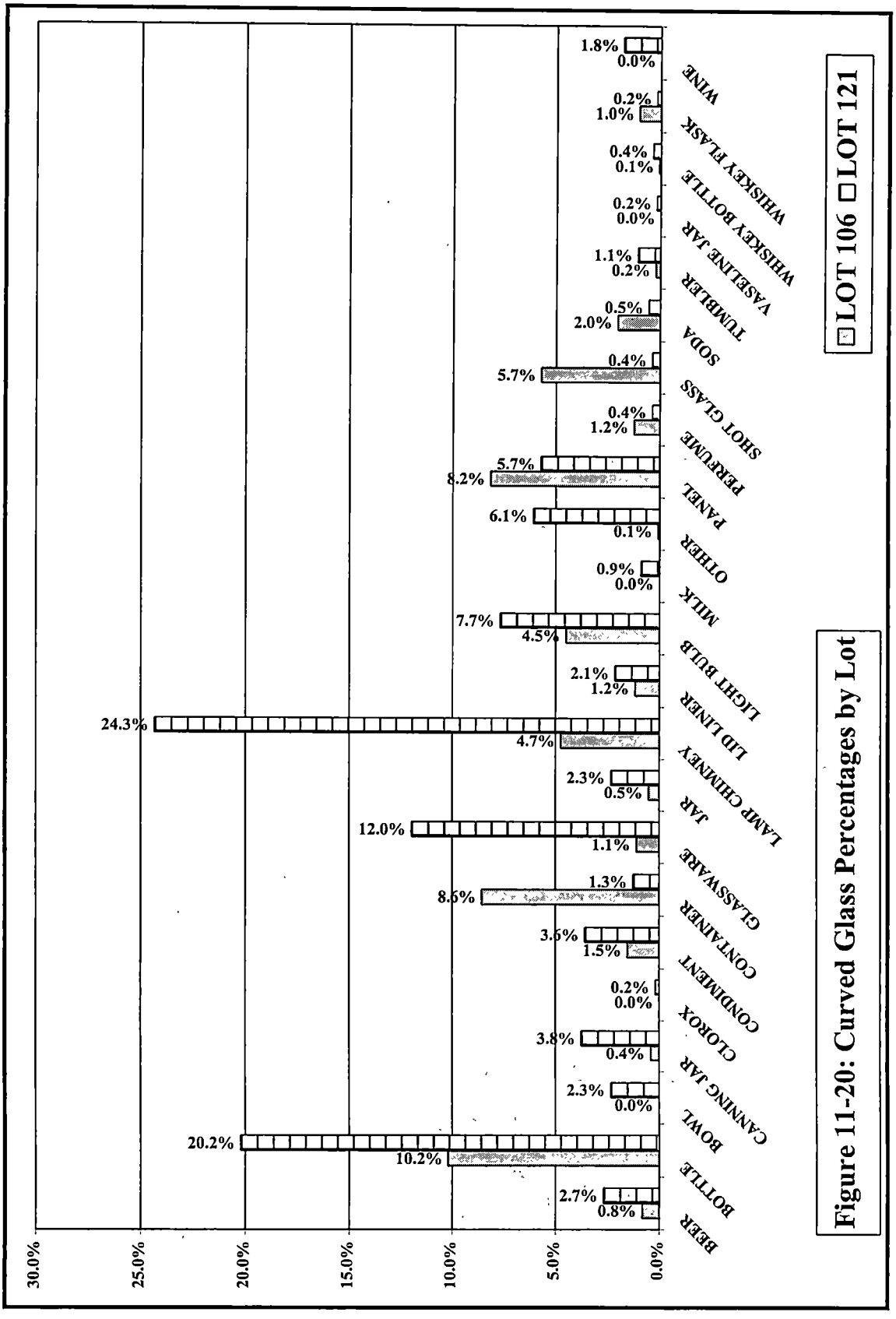


Figure 11-20: Curved Glass Percentages by Lot

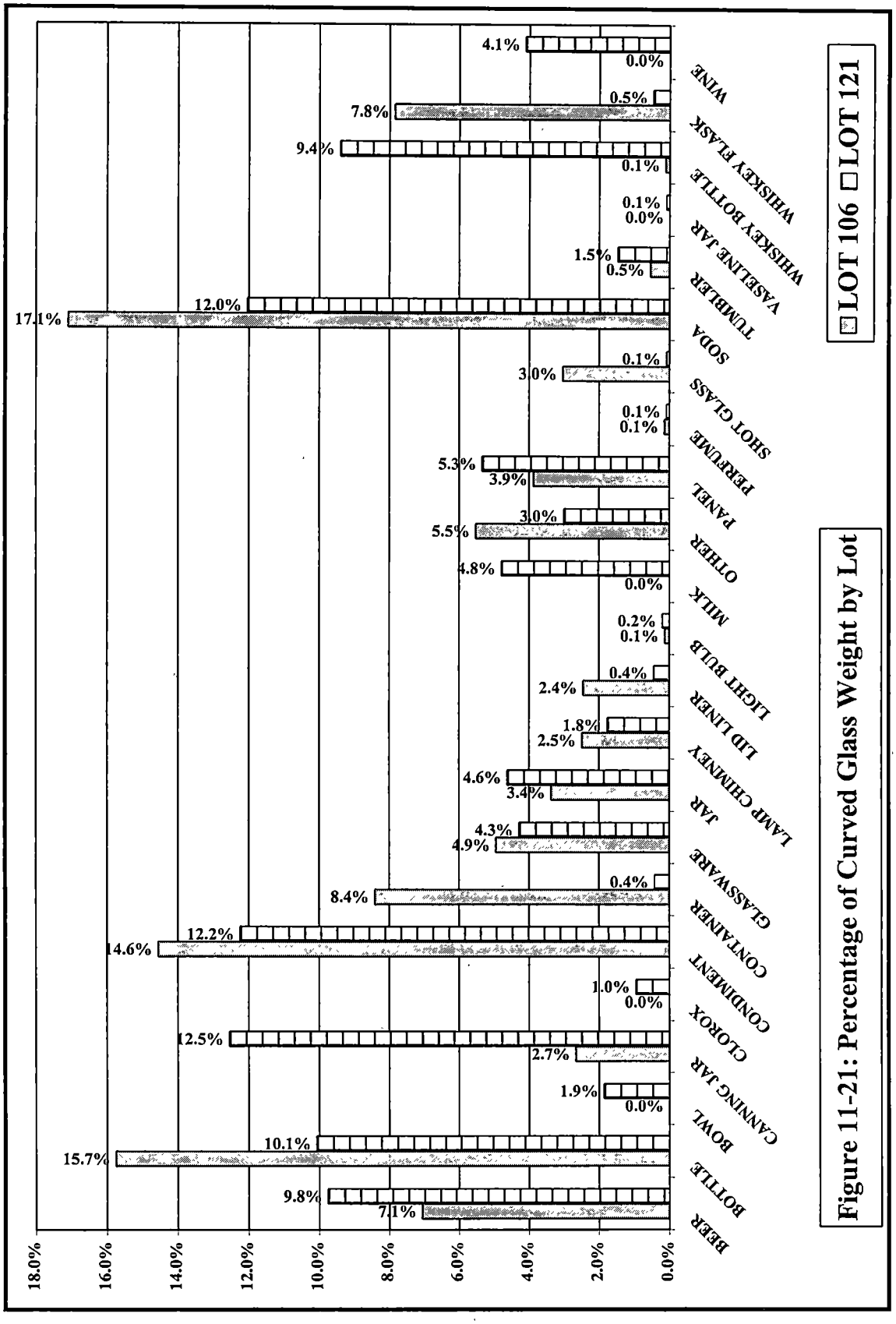


Figure 11-21: Percentage of Curved Glass Weight by Lot

comparison, the Bush household had 11% alcohol related glass objects, 26% non-alcohol related, and 63% non-foodways glass materials. Overall, the Bush household had a higher number of curved glass artifacts (n=1733) than the Brown Lodge assemblage (n=1369), but the difference in the volume of curved glass was not as dramatic as the ceramic assemblage counts. As expected, alcohol consumption was higher at the Brown Lodge than at the Bush household, but they had similar levels of non-alcohol objects and the lodge had less non-foodways artifacts than the private residence. Glass foodways objects that were absent from the Brown Lodge, but were present at the Bush residence included milk and wine bottles as well as non-food related objects associated with health care and cleaning products.

A comparable glass assemblage was collected at the Wayman A. M. E. Church, which contained curved glass objects associated with foodways that included glass tumblers, mugs, goblets, stemware, canning, food, and condiment jars (Cabak et al. 1995:64). The most unique aspect of the Wayman A.M.E. Church collection was the high frequency of personal artifacts (7% of total assemblage) of which 83% was from glass medicine bottles and health equipment. Based on this high percentage of health care related items, Cabak et al. (1995:65-72) suggested that the church not only served as a religious and social center, but also was a communal distribution center for medicine.

Of the bottles collected on Block #30, a portion is represented by panel bottles (Brown Lodge n=20, 40.1 g; Bush household n=32, 377.9 g). In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, panel bottles were used for unregulated patent medicine that was often high in alcohol content. As stated above by Thelma Conway (1997), she did not remember ever seeing a doctor as a child and thus had to rely on home remedies or possibly patent medicine for a cure. In comparison to the Wayman A. M. E. Church, it

does not appear that the Brown Lodge was a major center for health care, but may have played a minor role in this function. An alternative hypothesis may be related to alcohol consumption. Since these medicines often had high alcohol levels, they could have substituted for whiskey or beer during prohibition and/or the panel bottles themselves could have been recycled and used in the bootlegging business during this same time.

In sum, foodways represented at the Brown Lodge indicate that both wild and domestic animals were cooked and eaten, but no archaeological evidence of edible plant remains were found. No foodway patterns could be directly associated to Masonic activity or to the Emancipation Day picnics, with most of the food remains and related cooking, storage, and tablewares associated with the restaurant and bar on the first floor. When compared to the Bush household on Lot #121, the Brown Lodge has statistically significant differences in the use of stoneware and porcelain. Overall, the restaurant and tavern seems to have operated more as a bar than an eatery, due to the relatively small amount of ceramics and the high frequency of alcohol related artifacts.

Fraternal, Labor, and Social Activities

Fraternal Activities

Fraternal activities such as those conducted by the Masons were ritualistic in nature. These rituals had order and patterns tied to abstract meanings. Material objects such as furniture, aprons, and ceramics were a major part of these rituals, but were very similar to those associated with religious objects. Fraternal material objects would not have been discarded like left over dinner or a broken plate, but instead would be cherished and possibly curated from one generation to the next. The only instance that religious or fraternal ritual

objects might found in the archaeological record would be if they were accidentally lost or if they were placed in a burial context. Thus, the possibility of finding objects or patterns of materials that can be directly associated with Masonic conduct is limited. Most of the artifacts collected around the Brown Lodge have been linked to the social and labor activities on the Brown Lodge's first floor and the restaurant and bar.

Despite the unlikely evidence of finding a "Masonic" object, a single black plastic button may be linked to this fraternity (Figure 11-22). The black button has a raised design with a crescent moon and star encircled with a border. The crescent moon and star motif is one of the more common symbols found on Masonic objects (Hamilton 1994). Interpretation of this symbol was found in Albert Mackey's (1917:491) *An Encyclopedia of Freemasonry and Its Kindred Sciences*, which states:

> "The adoption of the moon in the Masonic system as a symbol is analogous to, but could hardly be derived from, the employment of the same symbol in the ancient religions. In Egypt, Osiris was the sun and Isis the moon; in Syria, Adonis was the sun, and Ashtoroth the moon; the Greeks adored her as Diana, and Hecate; in the mysteries of Ceres, while the hierophant or chief priest represented the Creator, and the torch bearer the sun, the... or officer nearest the altar represented the moon. In short, moon-worship was widely disseminated as sun-worship. Masons retain her image in their Rites, because the Lodge is a representation of the universe, where, as the sun rules over the day, the moon presides over the night; as the one regulates the year, so does the other the months, and as the former is the king of starry hosts of heaven, so is the latter their queen; but both deriving their heat, and light, and power from him, who, as the third and the greatest light, the master of heaven and earth, controls them both."

Based on this interpretation, this possible Masonic button may have been part of an apron or another uniform used in rituals at the Brown Lodge, and was likely lost upon entering or leaving the lodge itself. Additional Masonic patterns identified with the Brown Lodge include its architecture, which is highlighted above and conforms to the Masonic building code outlined by Albert Mackey (1917).

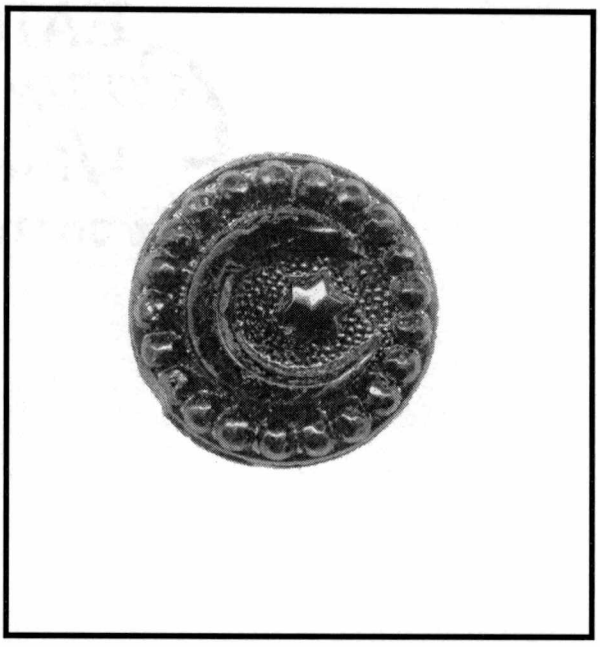


Figure 11-22: Black Plastic Button with a Possible Masonic Symbol of a Crescent Moon and a Star

Labor Activities

Labor activities are best represented on Lot 106 by a number of diverse buttons (n=97) collected from around the Brown Lodge (Figure 11-23). Over 60% of the button assemblage was found below the razed addition and outside the front doorway. The buttons were varied, representing coat, shirt, fraternal, and military types manufactured from metal, cloth, wood, bone, plastic, and porcelain material. A World War I general army service button was one of these collected, which may have belonged to one of the WWI veterans buried in Arrow Rock's African-American cemetery. This large button assemblage may be explained by patrons loosing buttons while removing their coats upon entering the establishment. The recovery of a thimble and safety pins also suggests the manufacture or repair of clothing. Similar button assemblages have been found in high frequencies in other African-American contexts. Specifically, Charles Cheek and Amy Friedlander (1990) excavated portions of an ethnically mixed neighborhood in Washington, D. C., in the 1980s. They were able to compare and contrast middle-class, Euro-American households with those of lower-class, black families and identified a significantly higher frequency of buttons in African-American contexts than on any other ethnic group site. Explanations for this button pattern have been associated with occupations of African-American women in the late 19th and early 20th century, who often worked as domestic servants, laundresses, and seamstresses (Cheek and Friedlander 1990; Samford 1994, 1996). An alternative, but related interpretation by Samford (1996:111) suggests that the higher number of buttons was associated with recycling of old clothing for quilting. If this recycling hypothesis is correct, then this salvaging effort again is evidence of the economic and social struggles during and after slavery for African-Americans in Arrow Rock. In sum, the majority of the Brown

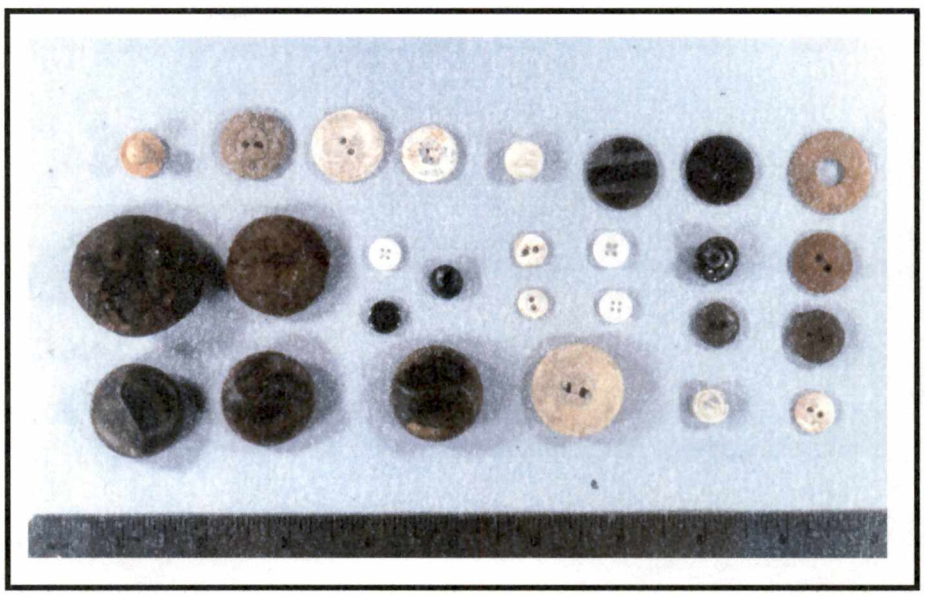


Figure 11-23: Assorted Button Assemblage from the Brown Lodge

Lodge's button assemblage was likely caused by a restaurant cook or another employee, who may have worked as a seamstress between meal preparation and cooking. Census data from Arrow Rock between 1880 and 1910 support this labor specialization among African-American females. In 1880, 57% of African-American women with occupations listed were identified as domestic servants or laundresses. In 1900 and 1910, this percentage increased to 100% and 94%, respectively.

Labor activities documented on Lot 121 are linked to the occupation of Franklin Bush as a day laborer and plasterer. A large number of paint cans and painter's keys were found in both the cistern and the external root cellar (Figure 11-24). Other tools found included a machete, pliers, and scissors, but no other major labor activities were evident.

Social Activities

The Brown Lodge was a center of social activities including formal Masonic meetings, eating meals or drinking with friends and family in the restaurant and bar, celebrating Emancipation Day on August 4th of each year, or other gatherings. An oral history with George Parker (1997) suggested that dancing was common in the restaurant and tavern, but this is just a small glimpse into the conversations and community spirit that thrived within the walls of the Brown Lodge.

Archaeological evidence was able to shed some greater light into these communal activities, particularly in the form of social games. The best representation of gaming was a homemade game board that was recycled from a child's school slate (Figure 11-25). Only a portion of the fragmented board has been recovered and was concentrated immediately outside the eastern, side doorway. This homemade game board was made

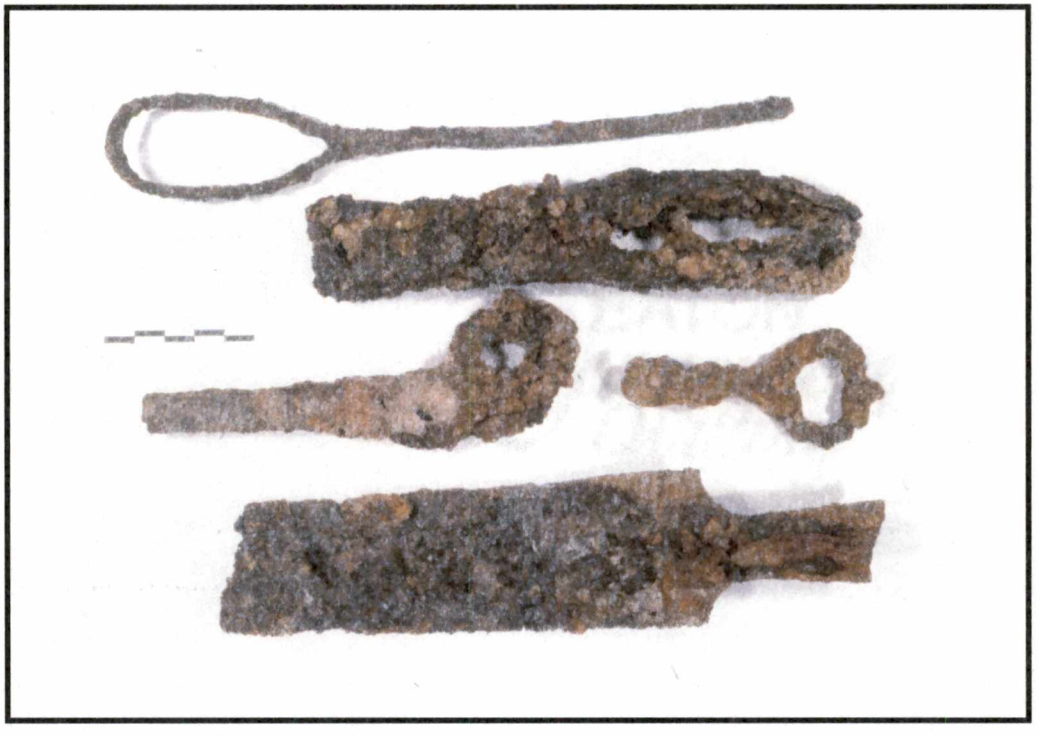


Figure 11-24: Metal Tools collected from Lot 121

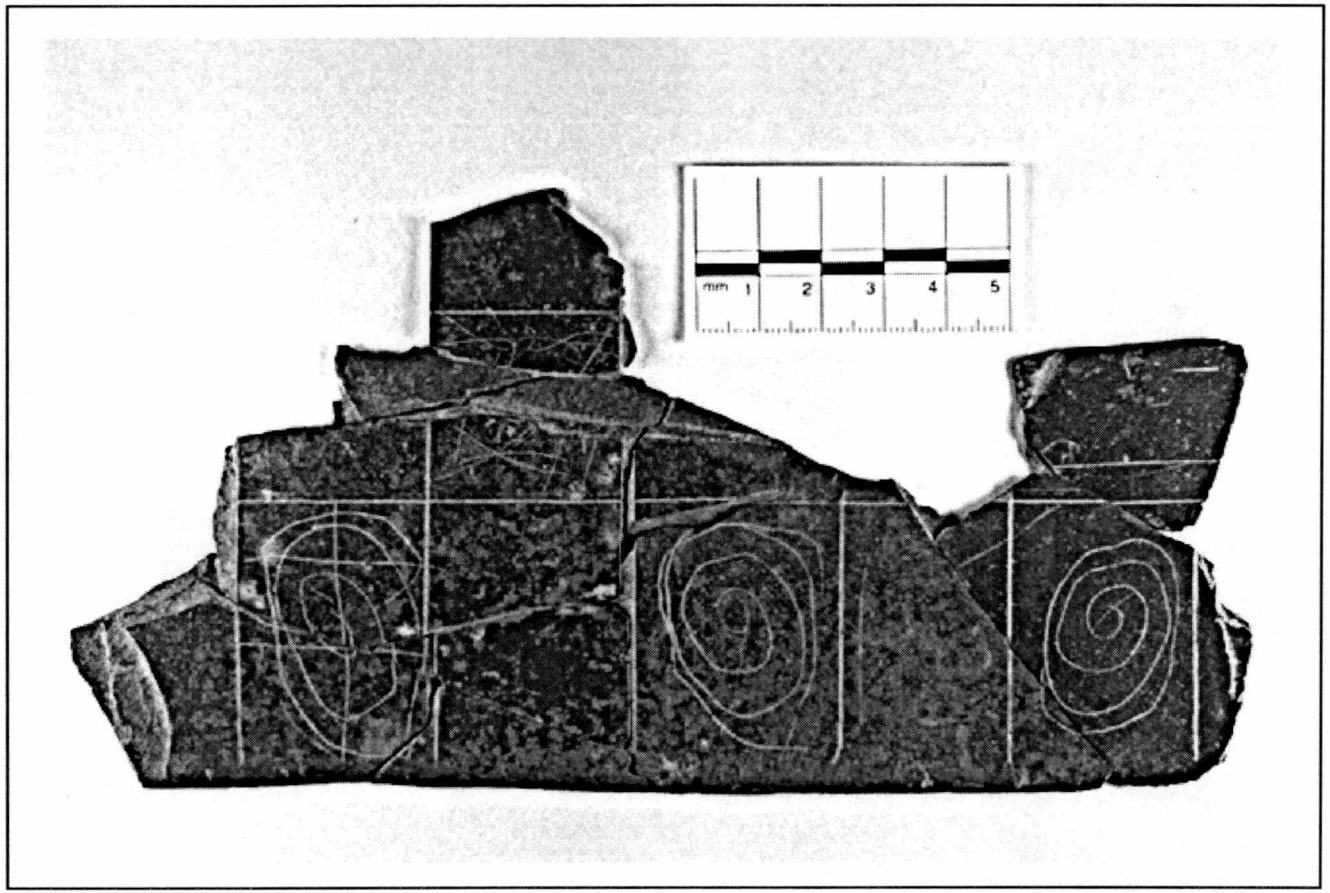


Figure 11-25: Homemade Gameboard on Slate Found Near Brown Lodge

with scratched lines outlining and shading every other square, similar to a checkerboard. The recovered portion seems to be the edge of the board and the shaded squares were incised with a counter clockwise spiral design. The next row of squares from the edge are irregularly shaded and are not in a spiral pattern. The spiral design may simply be an artist's design or it could be associated with how a game is played. For example, in checkers, if you reach your opponent's side of the board with a checker, then the checker becomes "kinged," allowing a piece to be recycled, which may be represented by the spiral design. Supporting this checkerboard interpretation is the oral testimony of long time Arrow Rock resident Arvel Townsend, who is the current checker champion in town and who challenges every tourist to play him on Main Street. Mr. Townsend (1998) remembers that the African-American men at the Brown Lodge "did play checkers, but they never beat him."

Additional gaming or play objects from the Brown Lodge include two marbles (Figure 11-26). One marble is made of glass and is translucent white in color. The second is an unglazed stoneware marble. Both marbles were found near the northeast corner of the Brown Lodge in the same general area as the slate game board. Eleven marbles were collected from lot 121 including five unglazed stoneware, two unglazed redware, two blue glazed earthenware, and two unglazed earthenware pieces. The quantity of marbles from Lot 121 is interesting in that Franklin and Susie Bush did not have any children, but the Armstead household on Lot 121 had four children, which could be the source of these objects. Yet, the Bushes did have a number of nieces and nephews that lived in Arrow Rock and we cannot forget the possibility that these marbles could have been used by the Euro-American McGuffin family, who had four children

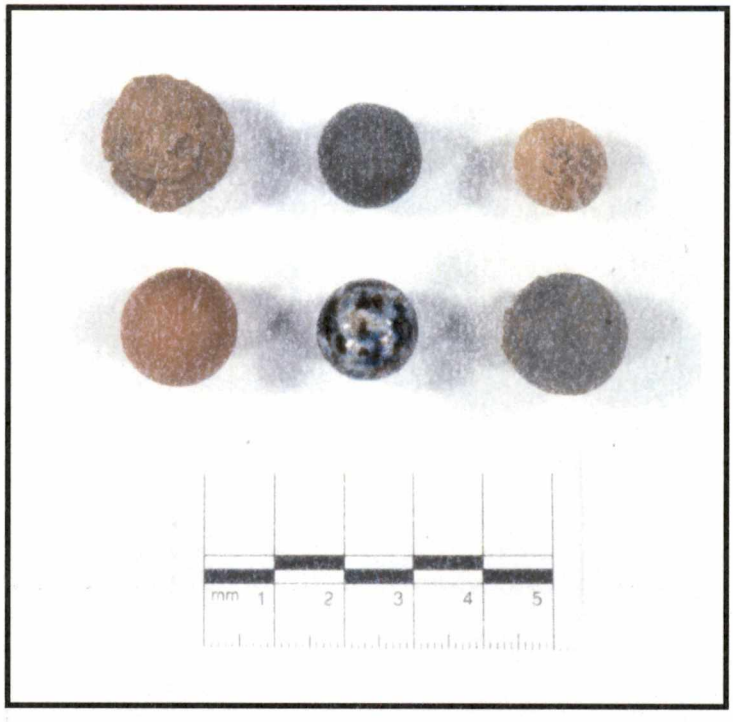


Figure 11-26: Assorted Marbles from Block 30

themselves, or that the stoneware marbles could have been made by the Caldwell pottery factory.

A single porcelain doll's leg was also found outside the Brown lodge. Similar objects have been found at other public structures. In particular, the following recreational objects were recovered from the Wayman A. M. E.: china dolls, toy tea sets, iron toy figurines, game parts, and marbles (Cabak et al. 1995:64). Five additional china doll parts were collected from Lot 121, which was to be expected from a domestic household. Similarly, two fragments of a child's tea set were also collected from Lot 121 in the same context as some of the doll parts.

Celebratory events like a birthday party or the Emancipation Day picnics on Block #30 would have included singing and dancing. Archaeologically these activities were not recorded from the Brown Lodge, but were documented on Lot 121, which included a single guitar pick and fourteen fragments of a vinyl record. These artifacts were collected from the external root cellar behind the Lot 121 household.

Overall, the recovery of a homemade checkerboard, marbles, doll parts, portions of a children's tea set, a guitar pick, and record fragments opens our eyes to the world of African-American social behaviors conducted on Block #30 either after dinner, during an Emancipation Day picnic, family celebrations, or just hanging out after school or work.

Summary

Comparisons between the Brown Lodge on Lot 106 and the Armstead/Bush household on Lot 121 household indicate that Lot 121 had four times the number artifacts and six and half times the weight of artifacts collected. Major differences between these

assemblages included the amount of construction material, floral remains, variations in porcelain and stoneware, and the consumption of alcohol. Architecturally, the Brown Lodge was constructed with a large amount of recycled materials, which may be explained by the economic struggle African-Americans had in post-Civil War Missouri. Despite the use of recycled materials, the lodge was constructed following the major Masonic building codes of the period. Only one artifact, a black plastic button with a half-crescent moon and star may be directly associated with the Masonic activity among the Brown Lodge assemblage. Social activities were recorded on both Lot 106 and Lot 121 including child and adult activities. Labor activities were best represented by the high frequency of buttons found at the Brown Lodge, which are likely associated with clothing manufacture or repair. On Lot 121, a moderate amount of metal tools and cans were documented in the partially excavated cistern and external cellar. The artifacts are linked to Franklin Bush's occupation listed on the 1910 and 1920 census as a day laborer and plasterer. Using Roderick Sprague's (1981) classification system, differences were marked between commercial and domestic site types in lots 106 and 121, but classification systems like these can be very problematic and limiting. In particular, these classification systems often pigeonhole objects into standard, Euro-American functions and do not allow for multi-functional nature of material culture nor the individual or group variation that controls its' use and meaning. In the following chapter, the multi-functional nature of material culture and how it may relate to ethnic identity will be addressed.

CHAPTER XII

SEARCHING FOR PATTERNS OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN ETHNICITY IN ARROW ROCK, MISSOURI

No matter what paradigm is followed, all archaeologists ask the same question: What is an artifact's function? As simple as this question seems, the multi-functional nature of material culture can make a single interpretation of an artifact's function problematic. For example, the traditional function of a teaspoon is for cooking or eating, but two spoons placed back to back and rhythmically tapped between your knee and hand can transform an ordinary spoon into a musical instrument. In living cultures, we can observe these functional transformations firsthand. In the archaeological record, the dynamic nature of artifacts is often obscured by disposal patterns and analytical classification systems that pigeonhole artifacts into standard or single-function categories. In addition, classification systems are normally based on a male, Euro-American cultural perspective, which can also mask the alternative uses of objects by people of different ethnicity, gender, or class. The potential for this bias is particularly prevalent within the archaeology of African-American contexts. To correct these possible biases on African-American sites, archaeologists have attempted to use a contextualized approach by viewing the material record from an African-American cultural perspective within time and space. In doing this, archaeologists have developed alternative interpretations of material culture that would have been missed or misinterpreted using a standard classification system. Yet, much of this research has been oversimplified identifying material correlates of African-American ethnicity, called "ethnic markers" or

"Africanisms" and does not address the underlying social process of why these artifact patterns exist.

In this chapter, a multi-hypothesis approach is used to search for patterns of African-American ethnicity on Block #30. The multi-hypothesis approach outlines various interpretive scenarios of an artifact's use(s) from the typical Euro-American or manufacturer's function(s) of an object to alternative possibilities based on the context of social stratification, time, and place. Applying a multi-hypothesis approach will potentially allow for a more accurate interpretation of the multi-functional uses of an artifact as well as possibly allow archeologists to see the transformation of material culture from traditional functions to alternative uses funneled through ethnic identity and/or other social levels. The multi-hypothesis approach takes into account that ethnic identity is not static. Instead, ethnicity is in a constant state of reformulating itself based upon each social encounter between both individuals and groups.

This multi-hypothesis approach is grounded in Sian Jones' (1997) practice theory and Leland Ferguson's (1992) definition of creolization. Following Sian Jones' (1997) work on the archaeology of ethnicity, she argued that the ability to recognize ethnic patterns in material culture would be difficult, but not impossible. Her approach or method is grounded in Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice and his concept of *habitus,* but her application of this theory was done through "contextualized realizations of ethnicity" (Jones 1997:125). Jones argued that identifying material representations of ethnicity must be viewed in a "socio-historical perspective" within the contexts of time and place. A socio-historical perspective addresses the social situation(s) and the historical context within which the archaeological record is created. It is only through

this socio-historical or diachronic perspective that archaeologists will recognize the production, reproduction, and transformation of ethnicity as well as its relationship to the *habitus* of an individual or a shared *habitus* of a group.

Ferguson applies a linguistic model of creolization, in which artifacts replace language and these objects formulate a cultural grammar (Ferguson 1992). Overall, Ferguson (1992:150) defines creolization as the unequal exchange of ideas, technology, religious beliefs, and material cultural between two or more cultures over time. Creolization recognizes the "free-will, imagination, and creativity of non-Europeans" in cultural contact and exchange and the development of "new cultures from diverse elements" (Ferguson 1992).

The remaining portion of this chapter will apply this multi-hypothesis approach through the material remains of a late 19th and early 20th century African-American community in Arrow Rock, Missouri. Several unique artifacts and patterns have been recovered during excavations in Block #30 including crystals, glass beads, a high frequency of buttons, a "gizzard" sherd, a galena nugget, a fossilized horn coral, a Chesebrough Vaseline jar, and a worked stoneware sherd. Can any of these artifacts be helpful in identifying the formation and transformation of African-American ethnicity?

Crystals

Two glass crystals or prisms were recovered on Block 30 (Figure 12-1). The first example is a large, clear crystal measuring approximately 3 x .50 inches in size. In cross section, this crystal is octagonal in shape and a wire is attached through a drilled hole for suspension. This crystal was recovered in a buried A horizon behind the Armstead/Bush

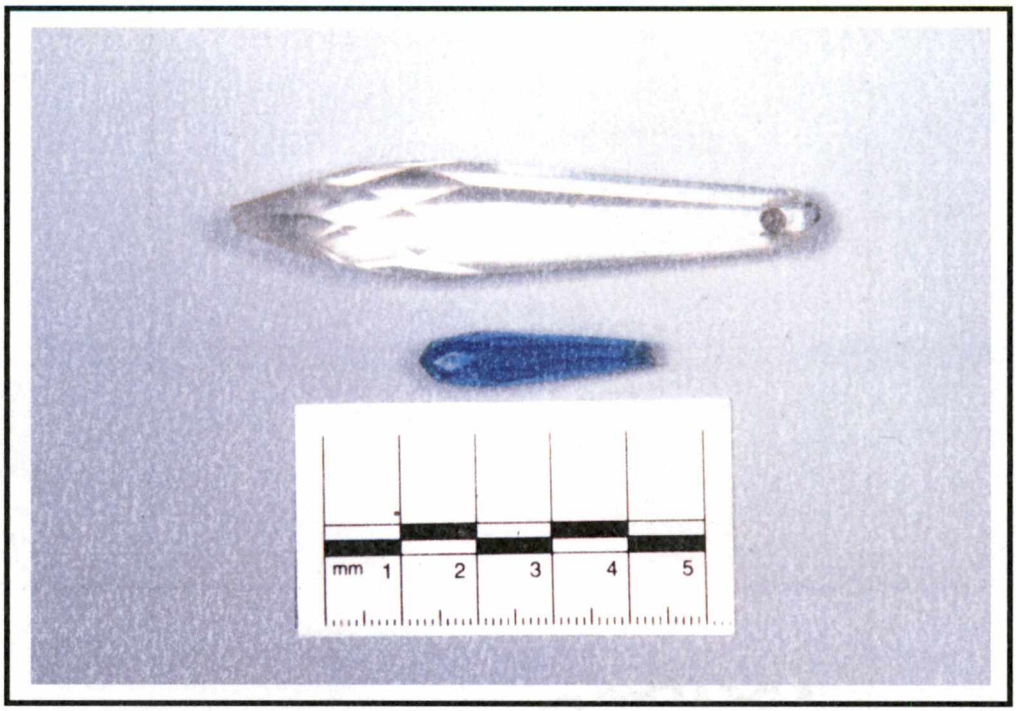


Figure 12-1: Glass Crystals from Block 30

residence on Lot 121. Based upon associated artifacts, this deposit dates to the Bush family occupation after 1900.

The second glass prism was a smaller, blue crystal measuring approximately 1.25 x .25 inches in size. This crystal is similar to the first example in that it is octagonal in cross section and has a drilled hole for suspension. This second crystal was recovered adjacent to a limestone pier identified as the Brown Lodge's northeast corner. Associated artifacts date this deposit to the late 19th – early 20th century.

The original use of these crystals was likely as chandelier crystals used with a ceiling or table lamp (Figure 12-2). Both crystals have been modified slightly with chipping and scratches, but only the clear crystal was purposely reworked. The top of the clear prism has been reduced exposing more of the wire, which was then curled into a loop. Why was this done? A simple interpretation might be that the original wire loop had broken and someone reworked the crystal and wire so that it could continue to be used with a lighting source.

A secondary hypothesis is based on similar quartz and glass crystals recovered on African-American sites throughout the Eastern United States, dating primarily to the slavery period (Samford 1996; Young 1995, 1996, 1997; Wilkie 1997). Based on African and African-American traditions, archaeologists have suggested that these crystals have been transformed into objects of adornment and spirituality. For example, a number of unusual objects including five glass chandelier crystals were recovered by archaeologist Amy Young (1995) from three slave quarters at the Locust Grove plantation in Kentucky. Archaeologists have interpreted these and other crystals as possible amulets or charms.

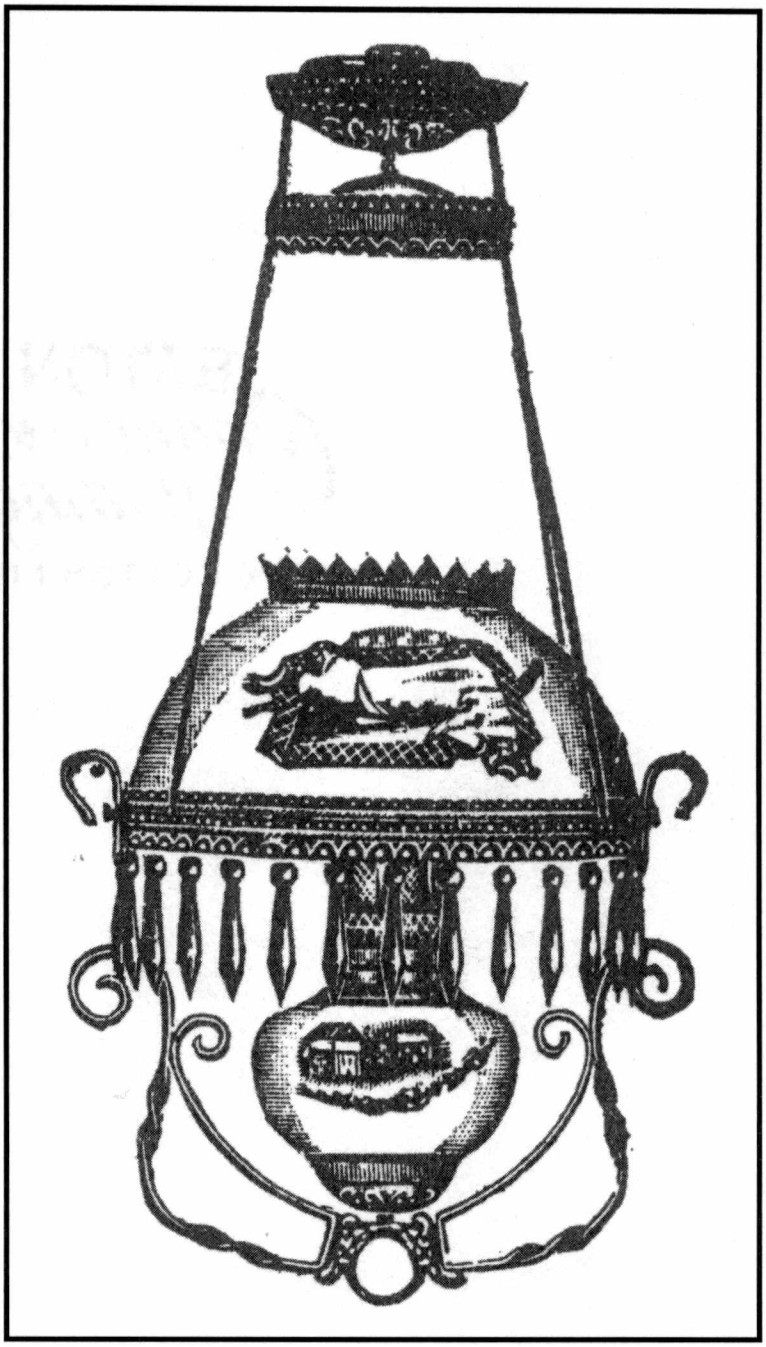


Figure 12-2: Lamp with Glass Crystals

Source: F. Israel (editor), 1968, *1897 Sears, Roebuck Catalogue*, Chelsea House Publishers, Philadelphia, p. 689.

The use of charms is based upon the West and Central African belief that people can be harmed and/or become sick through 1) natural illness, 2) a conjurer's curse or hex, or 3) evil spirits or ghosts entering the body (Orser 1994; Groover and Baumann 1996). Charms were used to "attract lovers and mates, to ward off evil, and to bring good luck and success" (Young 1996:147). These charms are "typically worn on the neck, finger, wrist, waist, or ankle, tied or sewn to garments, and carried in pockets or shoes or hats" (Stine et al. 1996:60). The translucent and reflective nature of the crystal could either repel evil spirits away, or the crystal could absorb the evil spirits, preventing them from entering the person. Other objects identified as possible charms at slave sites include cowrie shells, glass beads, pierced coins, and bone disks. Interestingly, in addition to the crystals, glass beads have also been recovered during excavations at Arrow Rock.

Beads

Four glass beads were recovered from excavations on Block 30 (Figure 12-3). Two were associated with the Brown Lodge and two with the Armstead/Bush residence on Lot 121. A red, square bead was recovered in the same location as the blue crystal at the northeast corner of the Brown Lodge. A second, light-blue bead was also recovered along the east side of the Lodge between the foundation and a possible limestone walkway. These beads measure approximately 3/8 and 1/8 inch in diameter, respectively.

The two glass beads recovered from the Armstead/Bush residence include a purplish-blue example and a yellow bead. The purplish-blue bead was recovered in the first level of a filled cistern located behind the Armstead/Bush dwelling. The yellow bead was recovered from the first level in Unit 16 located immediately southwest of the

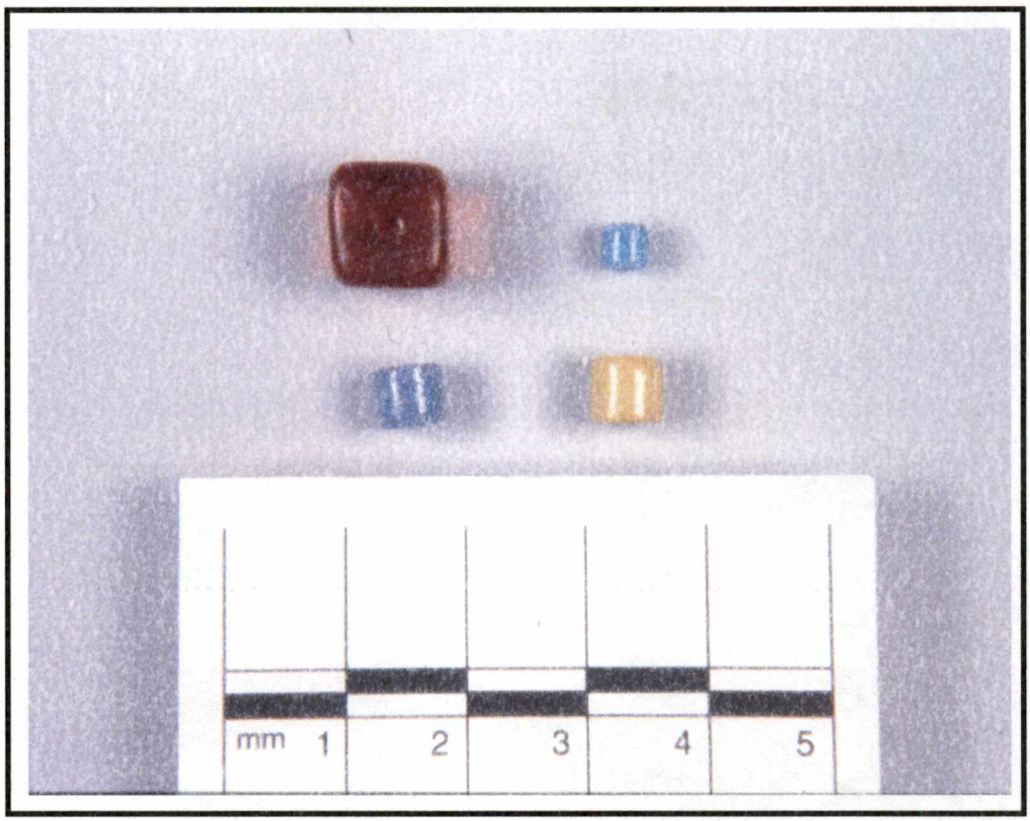


Figure 12-3: Glass Beads from Block 30

cistern and behind the Armstead/Bush household. Both of these beads have an approximate 3/16-inch diameter.

What were these beads used for? Beads are a common artifact associated with numerous cultural groups of various socioeconomic levels. In general, beads can function as personal adornment potentially "conveying social meaning of wealth, age grade, martial status, artistic attitudes, and political, religious, and cultural affiliations" as well as used for currency (Stine et al. 1996:53). When used for adornment, beads can be worn as necklaces, bracelets, anklets, hair beads, or attached to clothing.

As mentioned above, beads may also have an alternative or multifunctional interpretation related to African or African-American cultural traditions. Archaeologists and other social scientists have suggested that some beads have been transformed into charms or amulets to ward off evil spirits or to bring good luck. The color of the bead may also have had cultural meaning. Linda Stine et al. (1996) conducted a survey of African-American sites to determine if there was a bead color preference that may be linked to folk beliefs. The results of the study demonstrated that blue beads comprise the highest percentage of beads recovered from African-American sites in the South. For example, archaeological work conducted on slave quarters at the Blount Mansion site (Hamby 1999) and the Ramsey House site (Faulkner 2000) in Knoxville, Tennessee have documented a blue bead preference by enslaved African-Americans. Based on folklore, oral history, and archaeology, the color blue was used to protect individuals and households from evil spirits and bad luck. African Americans in the South, especially along coastal Georgia and South Carolina, sometimes painted their doorways and windows with blue trim to prevent evil spirits from entering a dwelling. Called "painting

the shadows" by one African-American informant, the blue trim on doors and window sills, representing God and heaven, served to ward away evil spirits and misfortune (Stine et al. 1996:64).

Interestingly, 50 % of the beads and crystals recovered from Block 30 were blue. The doorframe of the Banks log cabin on the North Second Street site (23SA505) in Arrow Rock was also painted blue. Does this mean that Arrow Rock's African-American community followed these traditions or did they just prefer the color blue for aesthetic reasons?

In 1998, an African-American woman, who grew up in the Little Dixie region of Missouri, visited Arrow Rock as a tourist and was told of the bead study mentioned above and the preference and possible underlying meaning of blue beads found on African-American sites. Her jaw dropped and she stated, "It all makes sense now! My grandmother gave every one of her grandchildren a blue bead, but I never knew why until now. She gave it to us to protect us. As a matter of fact, I still have that blue bead hanging from my mirror in my car." This short anecdote again shows that the origins as well as the underlying meaning of ethnic traditions can be transformed overtime and even forgotten. We will never know for sure if the beads found on Block #30 or the blue painted door frame on north Second Street mean protection and good luck or if they were simply used for adornment, but addressing these possibilities continually opens our eyes to the diverse cultural heritage of our past.

Buttons

In 1996 and 1997, seven 3-x-3 foot excavation units were placed immediately outside the Brown Lodge's windows and doorways to sample the deposits in secondary adjacent middens. Seventy-one buttons were recovered from these units (Figure 12-4). The buttons represent a broad range of different types, consisting of coat, shirt, fraternal, and military examples. The buttons were manufactured from metal, cloth, wood, bone, shell, plastic, and porcelain. Within the button assemblage, 43 or 61 % were from Unit 3. This unit was placed immediately behind the standing lodge in a thick midden below the former two-story rear addition. This addition had a kitchen and storage area on the first floor and a second story Masonic hall entrance.

What activities might explain the higher frequency of buttons in Unit 3? The initial interpretations of the button concentration in Unit 3 have followed four lines of thought. First, this large button assemblage may be explained by patrons losing buttons while entering the doorway or during their activities in the establishment. This explanation is supported by an additional 26 buttons collected from Unit 18 in 1998, which was placed immediately outside the Lodge's front door. Added to the total number of buttons, 69 or 71 % of the 97 buttons came from units 3 and 18.

A second interpretation is based on the recovery of a thimble and safety pins in the rear midden, which suggests clothing may have been manufactured or repaired in the kitchen and on the front porch (Figure 12-5). Previous archaeological research supports this explanation suggesting that African-American sites often produce a higher frequency of buttons than Euro-American sites (Cheek and Friedlander 1990; Samford 1994, 1996). The larger number of buttons on African-American sites could simply be associated with



Figure 12-4: Assorted Buttons from below the Brown Lodge's front porch

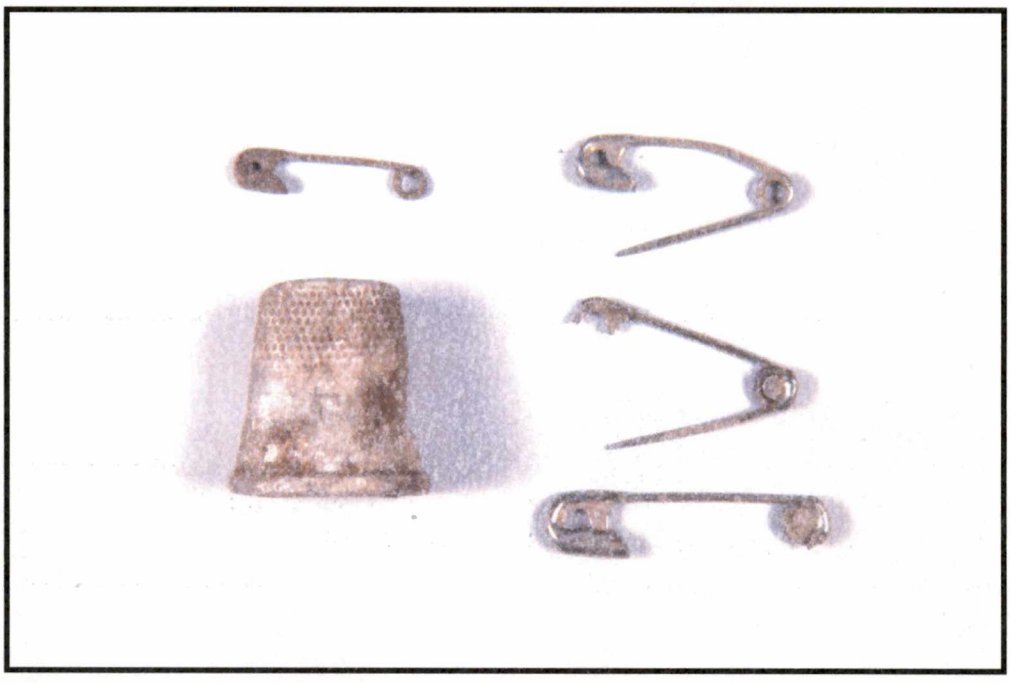


Figure 12-5: Thimble and Safety Pins from the Brown Lodge

sewing and mending clothing, or perhaps the recycling of old clothing for quilting (Samford 1996:111).

Third, buttons may have been transformed into objects used in African-American adornment and spirituality. Since buttons are predrilled, they could have been strung and used in place of cowrie shells and glass beads as jewelry or charms (Wilkie 1994, 1997). Buttons may also have been similarly used with household caches or minkisi. "In Bakongo religion, as in many other African religions, priests can control the power of God and spirit world through the use of medicines called minkisi," which "are made of various objects composed of clay crystal, and other minerals, and even sometimes animal and vegetable materials" (Amy Young 1996:145-146; after MacGaffey 1988, 1991; Ferguson 1992). Minkisi are often placed in clay pots, which can also serve as a shrine and/or dwelling place for the dead (Young 1996:146). For example, a set of five buttons was found among the cache of artifacts in the winter kitchen of the Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site in St. Louis where enslaved African-Americans lived and worked (Figure 7-2) (Price and Hastings 1998). The artifact cache was bound together with a wire and was placed below the wooden floor near the kitchen's entrance. The cache has been interpreted as a shrine for deceased household members or as a household charm intended to keep evil spirits from entering the kitchen (Price and Hastings 1998:19).

A fourth interpretation for button distribution on African-American sites suggests that these buttons have been used as gaming pieces in various board games. As a public building, the lodge was used for socializing, which likely included games. Evidence for this interpretation is the worked piece of slate (Figure 11-25). The original function of this slate was likely as a child's school slate or possibly from a slate roof, but since its original

use this slate has been modified into a possible gaming board for checkers or some other game. The buttons could have easily been used as checker pieces for this game board.

"Gizzard" Sherd

Found in the same context and possibly associated with this game board and buttons was a worn, triangular ceramic sherd, which archaeologists have called "gizzard ceramics" (Figure 12-6) (Wilkie 2000:192-193). Similar gizzard ceramics have been found in southern and Caribbean plantation sites (Klingelhofer 1987; Armstrong 1990; Patten 1992; Samford 1996, Martin et al. 1997; Wilkie 1995, 1997, 2000). Laura Wilkie's (2000:192) work at the Oakley Plantation in Louisiana suggests that these worn sherds "appear to have served as gizzard stones in chickens or turkeys...[and] are roughly the same size and tend to be triangular in shape." Wilkie (2000:192-193) proposed that these gizzard ceramics resulted from the lack of quality stone in this region as well as a byproduct of African-Americans frequently butchering these animals. Yet, Wilkie also notes that these gizzard ceramics were only found in African-American households at the Oakley Plantation and thus suggested an alternative use(s).

Wilkie and others have concluded that these triangular sherds may have been transformed into possible gaming pieces in the African game of Mancala or as objects used in divining through casting or in charm bags (Patten 1992; Samford 1996). Mancala is a generic name given to a class of board games played throughout the African continent, and also found in the New World via the slave trade in the Caribbean and on the east coast of South America. Gaming pieces used in this game often relied on what was available, including "seeds, beans, nuts, pebbles, stones, marbles, cowrie shells, or

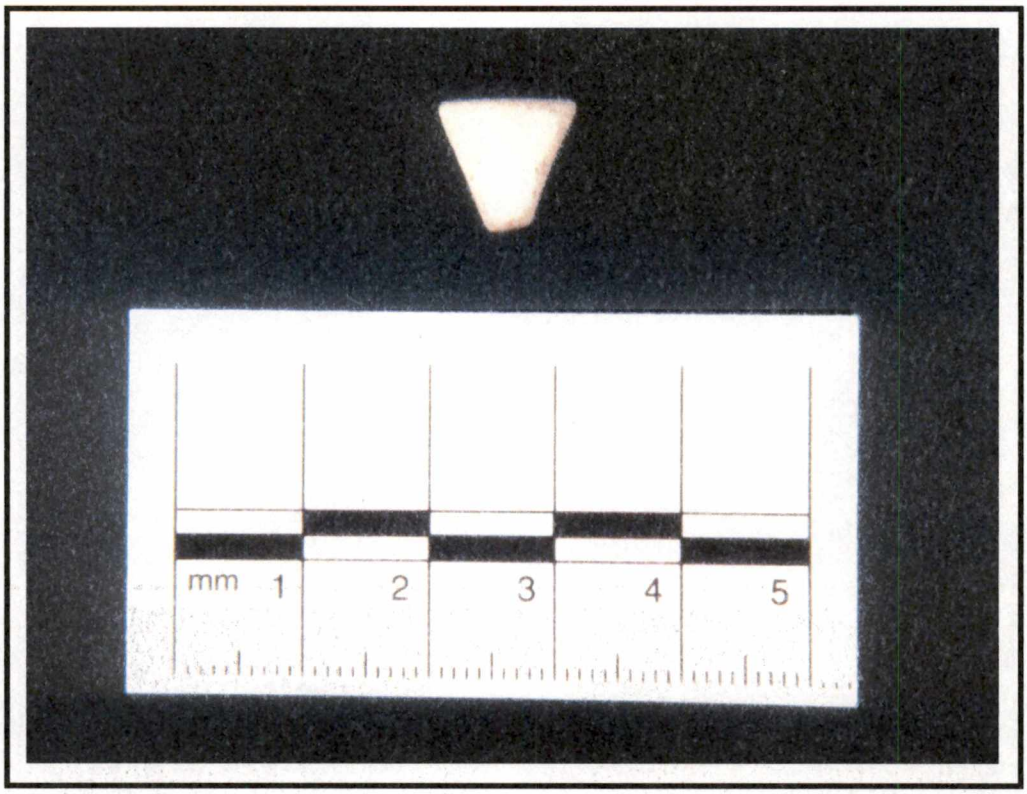


Figure 12-6: Gizzard Sherd from Lot 106

dried pieces of dung" (Russ 1984:9). It is doubtful that the slate game board mentioned above was used in the Mancala game. Yet, the recycling of the slate board suggests that the gizzard sherd as well as the button assemblage may have just as easily been used as gaming pieces in checkers or some other board game.

Galena Nugget

A nugget of galena or lead ore was collected from the northeast corner of the Brown Lodge in the same context as the buttons, the gizzard sherd, the blue crystal, and the homemade game board (Figure 12-7). Some of the largest galena deposits in the world are found in Missouri. The two largest Missouri deposits of galena are near Joplin in the southwest part of the state and in the St. Francois Mountains of the Missouri Ozarks. Galena is not found in large quantities in Saline County, but it is present. In general, galena is found "as a cavity filling in crushed limestone or chert, or as a replacement in limestone or dolomite, or in shale" (Keller 1961:59). A pure piece of galena contains 86.6% lead and 13.4% sulphur and in some cases a small amount of silver (Keller 1961).

Why was this piece of galena procured by the African-Americans? The first hypothesis is that it was a curiosity piece collected because of its shiny and blocky aesthetics as well as its uniqueness in Saline County. Alternatively, this galena nugget could have been used in metallurgy, a gaming piece for a board game, or even a rudimentary writing utensil.



Figure 12-7: Galena Nugget from Lot 106

A final use may again be tied to an African-American ethnic transformation into charms. According to Zora Neale Hurston (1990) a variety of objects was used in conjuring and charms including metallic objects made of silver and gold. Lead is a metal and often contains small amounts of silver. Similarly, a "lump of galena" was also found at the Nash site, at the Manassas National Battlefield Park in Virginia. The Nash homestead was occupied between the 1870s and the 1880s by Philip Nash, an African-American, and his family. The galena nugget was found along with six crystals, gizzard sherds, and a quartzite projectile point and has been linked to African-American folk beliefs and practices (Patten 1992). Was the Arrow Rock galena nugget simply a curiosity piece or did it have more complex meanings tied to ethnic identity?

Fossilized Horn Coral

A single fossilized horn coral was collected from the external root cellar (Feature 17) on Lot 121 (Figure 12-8). The age of the fossil dates to between 325 and 360 million years ago during the Mississippian Period of the Paleozoic Era and was likely collected from the nearby Burlington limestone bluffs along the Missouri River. This object was obviously not made by humans and may have occurred naturally on this site and was accidentally deposited in this cellar.

What other reasons may be attributed to finding this fossil in the Armstead/Bush cellar? A second hypothesis may be that the fossil was collected as a curiosity piece. For thousands of years humans have collected objects of all kinds including baseball cards, arrowheads, and antique furniture. This corral fossil could simply have been collected because of its uniqueness, age, and/or beauty.

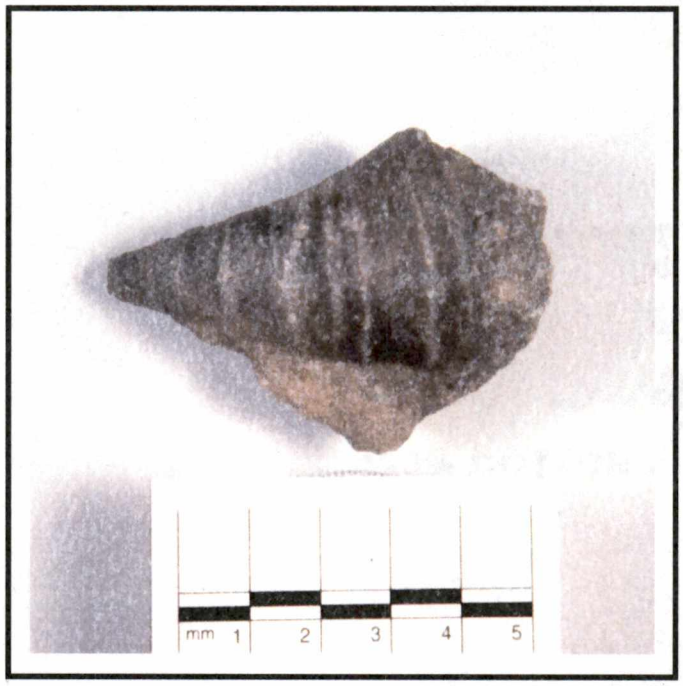


Figure 12-8: Fossilized Horn Coral from the external root cellar (Fea. 17) on Lot 121

A third hypothesis may be that it was collected because it symbolized a belief system concerning the afterlife. A number of scholars have outlined the importance of water in West African and African-American traditions and its connection to the afterlife and the deceased (Vlach 1978, 1991; Holloway 1990; Ferguson 1992). In particular, objects linked to water like sea shells have been found frequently on African and African-American graves (Vlach 1978, 1991; Holloway 1990). As documented by Joseph Holloway (1990:173), Andre Pierre, a priest in the national folk religion of Haiti, commented on the importance of shells stating:

> Shells symbolize the existence in the sea; the body is dead but the spirit continues on its way. The shell encloses elements of water, earth, and wind. It is a world in miniature. It symbolizes the animation of succeeding generations by the spirit of the ancestors. It indicates the island in the sea to which we all shall journey.

Another interpretation was relayed by Holloway (1990:174) from St. Simons Island, Georgia, where an informant stated: "The shells stand for the sea. The sea brought us, the sea shall take us back. So the shells upon our graves stand for water, the means of glory and the land of demise."

While the horn coral fossil found on Lot 121 may not be a sea shell, its shape and origin in an ancient sea may have taken on a special meaning replacing a sea shell. Similarly, a large elephant ear freshwater mussel shell was found at the 1870s Banks log cabin located within the North Second Street site (23SA505) in Arrow Rock. This shell may have been the byproduct of subsistence, curiosity collecting, a tool, or it, too, may have been ethnically transformed connecting water to the occupant's ancestral past.

Chesebrough Vaseline Jar

During the excavations on Block #30 and nearly every African-American site tested in Arrow Rock, "Chesebrough" Vaseline jars were encountered (Figures 12-9, 12-10). The advertised use of Vaseline in the late 19th and early 20th century was as a first aid jelly used for cuts, burns, and chapping. Thus, the first hypothesis based on its original function would be for medicinal purposes.

Alternatively, Laurie Wilkie (1996, 2000:174-5) suggested that Vaseline and many other medicinal products had alternative uses by the African-American community. Wilkie argued that Vaseline was also used by blacks as an impotence cure and hair gel. Following Wilkie's alternative uses of Vaseline, a second hypothesis would be related to hair straightening. In general, the act of hair straightening as well as skin lightening lotions were fashionable trends among African-Americans in the late 19th and early 20th century (Mullins 1999:59). For example, Mary and Adrian Praetzellis (1992:26-27) recovered 38 Vaseline jars, a Pretrol petroleum jelly vessel and an Armour's pomade or cream jar from an African-American barber assemblage in Sacramento, California. Similar interpretations have been made by Beverly Bastian (1999) at the site of Elmwood, an early 20th century, African-American town in the upper peninsula of Michigan, where she found a "McBrady's Hair Pomade" jar lid.

A third hypothesis of use argues that Vaseline and other medicinal products were transformed by consumer choice reflecting ethnic identity. Wilkie's (2000:176) study of health care on the Oakley Plantation in Louisiana between 1840 and 1950 suggested that medicines like Vaseline reflected both a family practice and ethnic choice. Similarly, David Gradwohl and Nancy Osborn (1984) excavated the town of Buxton, an early 20th

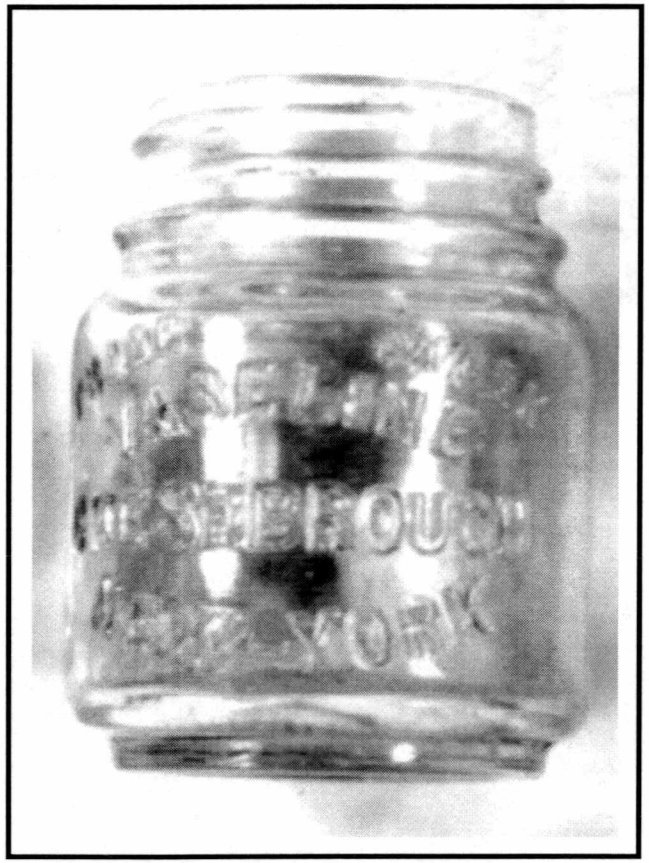


Figure 12-9: Vaseline Jar from Lot 121

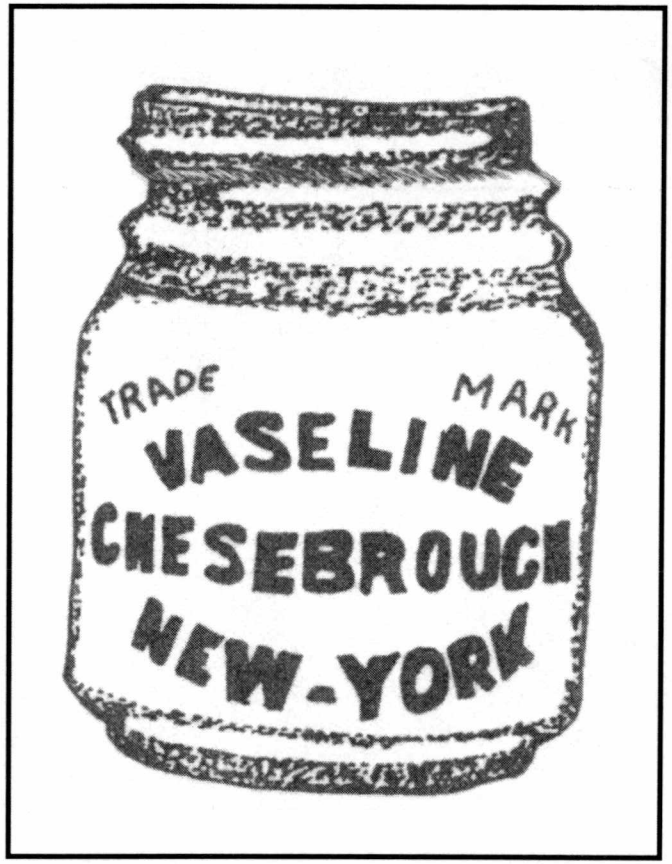


Figure 12-10: Vaseline Jar from Buxton, Iowa mining town

Source: D. Gradwohl and N. Osborn, 1984, *Buried Buxton.* Iowa State University Press, Ames, p. 139.

century coal mining town in Iowa that had a large black population. Gradwohl and Osborn concluded that African-American ethnicity in Buxton may correlate "with the large number of cold cream jars and containers for other skin conditioners and emollients."

Paul Mullins (1999:54-57) offers a final hypothesis arguing that African-Americans were "commodifying hair and skin" in the late 19th and early 20th century in reaction to a racialized consumer culture. Mullins argued that hair straightening and skin whiteners used by African-Americans racialized their bodies. Many African-Americans attempted to look more "white" in appearance in order to obtain equal citizenship in social situations, employment, business, and home ownership. Yet, a question still remains as to how this body modification affected African-American identity and belief systems. When Mullins asked this question in today's African-American community, most stated that they did not view hair modification as a reaction to "white consumer ideology," but instead hair care practices were linked to a fashion trend and to an ethnic identity.

So, what does this Vaseline jar from Arrow Rock indicate about the African-American community? Was it used for medicinal uses, hair straightening, a reaction to racialized consumerism to obtain equal citizenship, or a fashionable hair trend linked to ethnic identity?

Worked Stoneware

A single worked stoneware sherd was found at the Brown Lodge (Figure 12-11). This stoneware sherd was a byproduct of the Arrow Rock pottery factory, which



Figure 12-11: Worked Stoneware Sherd from Lot 106

occupied Block #30 between 1855 and the 1870s. During excavations a large quantity of waster material from the pottery industry was encountered including broken pottery and kiln furniture. This worked stoneware sherd was likely collected by the African-Americans in the late 19th or early 20th century and modified into a scraping tool. The technology used was a form of flintknapping. One possible use of this tool could have been a fish scaler, but its true function is unknown at this time.

Similarly, worked glass objects have been found at the Oakley Plantation in Louisiana (Wilkie 1996, 2000). Laurie Wilkie's (2000:153-155) description of the Oakley Plantation artifacts stated that "these tools were intentionally shaped and fashioned by someone who created them with a specific purpose in mind." One former employee of the Oakley Plantation remembered glass scrapers being used "to smooth ax and hoe handles in the 1930s," but these tools may have also been used in other ways (Wilkie 2000:154). Finding these recycled glass or in this case stoneware scrapers on African-American sites was likely caused by the socio-economic situation of plantation and other rural workers. Despite not having money to purchase new metal tools, African-Americans adapted to their situation and recycled glass bottle and stoneware fragments to be used like their metal counterparts.

Finding these worked sherds only in African-American contexts and not in Euro-American households may also suggest that these objects could be viewed as a form of ethnic identity. The original production of these tools may have been caused by economic status, but continued use of these objects over time may have transformed these glass tools into a material correlate of ethnicity.

Summary

Which hypothesis or interpretation of these objects or material patterns is correct? Are these the products of ethnic identity or not? The reality is that most of the time a spoon is just a spoon and it was never used for alternative uses or contains any underlying socio-technic or ideotechnic meanings. The archaeological record limits our ability to interpret a single hypothesis because we can not see the living culture transform these objects through alternative ethnic, class, race, gender, and age uses. The archaeological record hides and often smears these more complex interpretations, but they do exist.

Through a multi-hypothesis approach, outlining the various interpretational uses and meanings of material culture, we can see the potential underlying transformation processes of ethnicity as well as how it is interwoven with other levels of social stratification. In the end, the above hypotheses for each highlighted object may be correct at some point in time and place. Archaeologists must strive to contextualize these objects through a socio-historical sieve to determine the various levels of interpretation and ultimately arrive at a more accurate interpretation of the past.

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

Arrow Rock, Missouri, was once a thriving riverport on the Missouri River and a starting point on the Santa Fe Trail with a pre-Civil War population of approximately 1,000 residents. After the Civil War, Arrow Rock's importance in the local agricultural economy declined as the railroad bypassed the town and in the early 20th century, the United States Corps of Engineers moved the Missouri River channel from the Arrow Rock bluff line. Despite these factors, a thriving African-American community developed in Arrow Rock after the Civil War establishing their own school, churches, fraternal organizations, businesses, and homes. Yet, by the time the Great Depression hit Arrow Rock, this thriving black community began to decline along with the remainder of the town because of the lack of job opportunities in a small, rural community. Thus, as children grew up most moved to larger cities to find employment and the older generation was left behind and as they died so did the community.

Arrow Rock was on the path to becoming a ghost town if it were not for the initiative of the Daughters of the American Revolution, who in the 1910s started a small museum in the Huston Tavern to explain local history to the "passerby." In 1923, the state legislature purchased the Huston Tavern and transformed it into the first public structure for historic tourism in the state. In the 1930s, the Works Progress Administration helped start what is called today the Arrow Rock State Historic Site, a state park dedicated to interpreting central Missouri's diverse heritage. In 1959, the

Friends of Arrow Rock, a local historical society, was also founded to help preserve and educate tourists about the town's past. These historic preservation efforts were recognized in 1964 as the town was named as a National Landmark Site and in 1979 it was placed on the National Register of Historic Places.

Both the state park and the local historical society have utilized archaeology in their historic preservation and interpretation efforts, which have included some of the first historical archaeology conducted in Missouri. The late Robert Bray of the University of Missouri-Columbia can be credited for conducting most of this research including excavations at the Bingham House in 1963, the Sites gunsmith shop in 1967, and the first public school house in 1977 and 1980.

Today, Arrow Rock has a population of only 70 people, but the energy and vision of these few have given a voice to the thousands who have lived in this town before them. Overall, these preservation groups and projects have saved Arrow Rock from becoming a ghost town and have transformed it into a major tourism site for Missouri history.

Despite Arrow Rock's historic consciousness, one aspect of the town's heritage has been neglected, its' African-American heritage. Throughout much of Arrow Rock's history African-Americans have constituted between one-fourth to one-half of the town's population. As enslaved servants or as post-Civil War citizens of Arrow Rock, African-Americans were responsible for much of the labor force as domestic servants, farm laborers, dockworkers, brick masons, and others throughout Arrow Rock's past. But until recently the voices and lives of these people have been silenced by racism and were not being told as part of the town's rich history.

Beginning in 1996, the Friends of Arrow Rock and the Arrow Rock State Historic Site started an African-American heritage program to correct this bias and tell a more complete story of their past. My archaeological research has been just one cog of this larger grass roots project. Overall, my general goal has been to archaeologically document the entire postbellum African-American community. Archaeological testing has been conducted over six years between 1996 to 2001, and has included documentation of an African Methodist Episcopal church, a schoolhouse, a speakeasy, multiple households, a restaurant and bar, an Emancipation Day picnic field, and a Masonic hall called the Brown Lodge.

This dissertation has concentrated on the research conducted between 1996 and 1997 on the Brown Lodge/Caldwell Pottery Site (23SA451) on Block #30 in Arrow Rock, Missouri. Block #30's postbellum African-American heritage encompasses three households, two fraternal lodges, a restaurant and bar, as well as the setting for Emancipation Day celebrations. Only one structure is still standing on this block, the Brown Lodge, which is currently being restored by the Friends of Arrow Rock as an African-American heritage center.

In general, data analysis from Block #30 has attempted to: 1) compare and contrast materials form the African-American household on Lot 121 with those from the Brown Lodge, a public structure that had a Masonic hall on the second floor and a restaurant/bar on the first floor, and 2) identify material correlates of ethnic identity. Materials from the Lot 121 household and the Brown Lodge on Lot 106 exhibited significant differences in artifact patterns. Most of these differences can be linked to the site type of a household versus a

public building. Overall, Lot 121 had four times the number artifacts and six and half times the weight of artifacts collected when compared to the Brown Lodge on Lot 106.

A more detailed analysis of this material was conducted through three lines of investigation: 1) architecture, 2) foodways, and 3) activities (fraternal, social, and labor). Architecturally, the Brown Lodge is a unique building that had a Masonic hall on the second floor and a restaurant and bar on the first floor. It was originally constructed in 1881 with limestone piers and a combination of platform and balloon framing. A large portion of the wood framing, doors, windows, and some nails had been recycled from other buildings. Following Masonic building codes, the Brown Lodge was altered in the early 20th century to conform to Masonic standards. In particular, a two story addition and an external stairway were added. The second floor addition contained two new rooms and corresponding doorways that were used as a Tiler's and Preparation rooms. The original stairway to the second floor was on the interior of the lodge leading from the eastern doorway. The new external doorway was created because it was un-Masonic to enter the lodge in one linear movement. Instead, it was required to have three lines and two angles of movement before entering the lodge, which was embodied in the new stairway.

The domestic home on Lot 121 has been razed, but its' structural makeup was likely of frame with a central chimney and limestone piers. Later remodeling in the early 20th century by the Bush family added a rear addition and a second chimney. Two cellars and a cistern were also found on Lot 121. These features may have been constructed by the Armstead family in the 1880s, but were filled primarily with materials from the Bush household in the early 20th century. In contrast, the Brown Lodge never had a cellar or

cistern. Since the lodge is still standing, Lot 121 exhibited larger amounts of construction material than what was found on Lot 106.

Major foodway differences between the lodge and domestic assemblages included the amounts of floral remains, variations in porcelain and stoneware percentages, and alcohol consumption. Plant remains from the Brown Lodge were nearly absent. In contrast, the Lot 121 household had an abundance and variety of floral remains suggesting that the Armstead/Bush household had a greater diversity of vegetables and fruit in their diet than patrons of the Brown Lodge restaurant. Also of interest was that the Brown Lodge had a greater variability in meat and fish than that found at Lot 121. The conclusion is that the Brown Lodge may have been used more as a tavern that served a variety of meat, but very few edible plants.

The Brown Lodge's ceramic assemblage was also quite limited compared to Lot 121. A statistically significant difference in ceramic types was seen in the percentage of porcelain and stoneware found on these lots. Lot 121 had a greater proportion porcelain and a relatively small proportion of stoneware when compared to the Brown Lodge's ceramic assemblage. This suggested that the Lot 121 household had more formal meals served on porcelain and other ceramic wares that included a greater variety of vegetables and fruit.

As was expected, the Brown Lodge had a higher percentage of the curved glass assemblage, probably linked to alcohol consumption. The Brown Lodge had at least 21% of its bottle glass related to alcohol products. In contrast, the Armstead/Bush household on Lot 121 only had 11% of its glass assemblage associated with alcohol.

Activities documented from Block #30 included those associated with fraternal, social, and labor practices. Fraternal activities are best represented by the form and design of the Brown Lodge which followed Masonic building codes. Representation in the artifact assemblage is limited to a single object, a black plastic button with a half-crescent moon and a star. This symbol is very common in Masonic rituals and this button is the only object that may be linked to Masonic activity. Social activities on Block #30 were represented by board games, children's toys, and music related objects. Labor activities were represented by a high frequency of buttons from the Brown Lodge that may represent clothing manufacture or repair. On Lot 121, a large number of metal buckets and tools were found that were associated with the occupation of Franklin Bush, a day laborer and plasterer.

The search for material correlates of ethnic identity has been a primary research strategy in African-American archaeology since its inception, but the majority of these studies have been criticized for being oversimplified and static. Most African-American ethnic studies have focused on identifying cultural retentions from Africa in the New World through ethnic markers. Future research needs to study the underlying social processes that form and transform these ethnic traditions

In a living culture, we can observe the transformation of an object from its traditional use to alternative uses based on race, class, gender, age, or ethnicity. For example, a set of pots and pans to an adult are used for cooking, but to a child they are transformed into toy cymbals and drums. In the archaeological record when we find a rusty pot lid, we normally classify it into a standardized category ignoring and hiding other possible interpretations.

In another example of cultural transformation, if you are eating dinner from a plate made in China, does that make you Chinese? No, the object does not change the person, instead the person transforms the object through their world view. Similarly, you can not judge a book by its cover or in this case you can not completely understand an individual's cultural identity by the clothes they wear or the objects they use. For example, an illustration that accompanies African-American writer Daniel Webster Davis' poem "Signs" highlights this point perfectly (Figure 13-1) (after Gundaker 2000:127). In this illustration, a young African-American women is dressed in elaborate and elegant clothing of the early 20th century. From her appearance, most people upon seeing her would think that she is an educated, wealthy, and cultured individual, who falls within the mainstream of American culture. Yet, the clothes do not make the person. Instead, a person's actions and how material culture is used in these actions opens a window into an individual's cultural identity. In this illustration, her actions speak volumes as to her identity as she is marking an "X" in the dirt with her shoe as part of a folk belief that she was taught by her elders. Thus, in the analysis of the archaeological record, we must not interpret an artifact by its cover, but look closely at the context of these findings and their underlying social behaviors.

In an attempt to view these underlying processes, a multi-hypothesis approach was applied to the Arrow Rock data. This multi-hypothesis approach outlines the functional possibilities of an object or material pattern from the traditional or manufacturer's intended use to alternative uses caused by various social levels including ethnicity. The use of a multi-hypothesis approach was to demonstrate the formation and transformation of ethnic identity through material culture.



Figure 13-1: Illustration Accompanying Daniel Webster Davis's Poem "Sign" (ca. 1903) (after Gundaker 2000:127)

This multi-hypothesis approach is grounded in Sian Jones' (1997) practice theory and Leland Ferguson's (1992) definition of creolization. Jones argued that identifying material representations of ethnicity must be viewed in a "socio-historical perspective" within the contexts of time and place. It is only through this socio-historical or diachronic perspective that archaeologists will recognize the production, reproduction, and transformation of ethnicity as well as its relationship to the *habitus* of an individual or a shared *habitus* of a group.

Ferguson's study of ethnicity applies a linguistic model of creolization, in which artifacts replace language and these objects formulate a cultural grammar (Ferguson 1992). Creolization recognizes the "free-will, imagination, and creativity of non-Europeans" in cultural contact and exchange and the development of "new cultures from diverse elements" (Ferguson 1992).

A number of artifacts from Arrow Rock were analyzed using this multi-hypothesis approach. The best example may be a group of buttons found around the Brown Lodge. These buttons would normally be interpreted from accidental loss, but the frequency and concentration of the buttons found in the rear of the lodge suggest that clothing was manufactured and repaired at this site. Within a historic context, African-American women in the late 19th century were frequently hired as laundresses. Within the archaeological context, a thimble and safety pins were also found in the same location as these buttons supporting this labor activity interpretation. Yet, the relationship of these buttons to a homemade checkerboard may argue that these buttons could have also been used as checker pieces. Finally, filtering these buttons through a sieve of African-American ethnicity implies that they may have been used for adornment or even charms

to ward off evil spirits and to bring good luck. Following this interpretation path, these buttons were potentially transformed from a functional button that is lost, to labor activities of African-American women, to gaming activities, and to possible ethnic folk beliefs. How far down this functional path these buttons potentially traveled versus what they actually traveled may never be determined, but creating this outline of hypotheses does allow for a better understanding of how an object can be transformed by an individual or group.

Material culture is caught within the web of our social stratification in time and place. Deciding which artifact hypothesis is actually linked to African-American ethnicity is problematic in that all hypotheses have the potential of being correct. The real question is that did the people who used these objects or left these material patterns see them as a sign of ethnic identity or not. Making definitive conclusions concerning social stratification patterns is very difficult. To determine the most likely hypothesis of a material pattern, archaeologists must analyze the empirical data within a socio-historical context. Based upon each social interaction in time and place a person or group may alter themselves and thus the material cultural can potentially be altered as well. Another major problem is that a person's identity will never be completely represented in material culture. Some forms of identity do not transfer to material objects, while others that do may be lost to poor preservation or improper analysis methods.

In sum, a number of artifacts and artifact patterns were identified in Arrow Rock that may be linked to African-American ethnicity. These findings may be surprising to some archaeologists because the sites studied date to the late 19th and early 20th century and because of Missouri's distance from the cultural hearth of African-American

ethnicity in the Deep South. Many of these ethnic patterns, such as beads and crystals, have been frequently found in pre-Civil War slave contexts in the Deep South and Caribbean, but less frequently after slavery and outside these regions. These patterns are generally recognized more often on older sites with individuals that are fewer generations removed from their African roots. One reason that fewer African-American ethnic identity artifacts have been found in the Midwest is linked to the fewer archaeological studies conducted.

The question then is why would African-American ethnic patterns persist in the material culture of Arrow Rock? Outside of the Arrow Rock data, there is conflicting information from contemporaneous sites in the Midwest and Upper South on the persistence of African-American ethnicity in the material record. In Buxton, Iowa, an early 20th century coal mining town with a large black population, there were no definitive ethnic patterns except for a higher frequency of hair care products (Gradwohl and Osborn 1984). In contrast, excavations at the Cedar Grove site, a late 19th – early 20th century cemetery in Lafayette County, Arkansas, documented a number of objects buried with individuals that have been linked to African-American traditions including a pierced coin, glass beads, and a ceramic saucer (Rose 1985). Obviously, the larger number of objects related to ethnic identity at the Cedar Grove cemetery was the result of its' social and sacred context. In contrast, the fewer objects in Buxton may have been affected by the standardization of a company built town. In Missouri, an artifact cache collected from a slave context in the winter kitchen at the Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site argues that African-American traditions are archaeologically visible in this state. Additional material evidence includes 19th century objects of a wooden cane and a

minkisi vessel. The wooden cane was made by Henry Gudgell [Codgell] between 1863 and 1867 for his former master in Livingston County, Missouri (Figure 13-2). This cane is carved with zoomorphic and geometric designs similar to those found in West African societies including a lizard, a turtle, a snake, and human figures. In the 1860s, Lucinda Mary Boon, a former slave from Appleton, in Perry County, Missouri, covered a glass vase with clay and various objects creating a minkisi (Anonymous 1976).

The persistence of material correlates of ethnic identity in Arrow Rock may be represented by the following objects: beads, crystals, a gizzard sherd, a galena nugget, a high frequency of buttons and hair care products, a fossilized horn coral, and a worked stoneware sherd. If these objects do represent African-American ethnic identity, then why did these material patterns persist in Arrow Rock and not in places like Buxton, Iowa that were contemporaneous? There are three possibilities for this ethnic persistence.

First, Arrow Rock is a rural urban community that is over one hundred miles from larger metropolises like Kansas City and St. Louis. Because of its' rural location, there was likely a cultural time lag from the time new trends and inventions were developed in larger cities and the time that it arrived in Arrow Rock. Thus, cultural traditions are likely to persist for longer periods of time in Arrow Rock than in larger urban centers.

Second, Saline County and surrounding Little Dixie counties in Missouri had the highest population percentages of African-Americans prior to the Civil War. The higher number of African-Americans resulted in a greater retention of African-American ethnicity than in less populated areas. This argument is the same used for the persistence

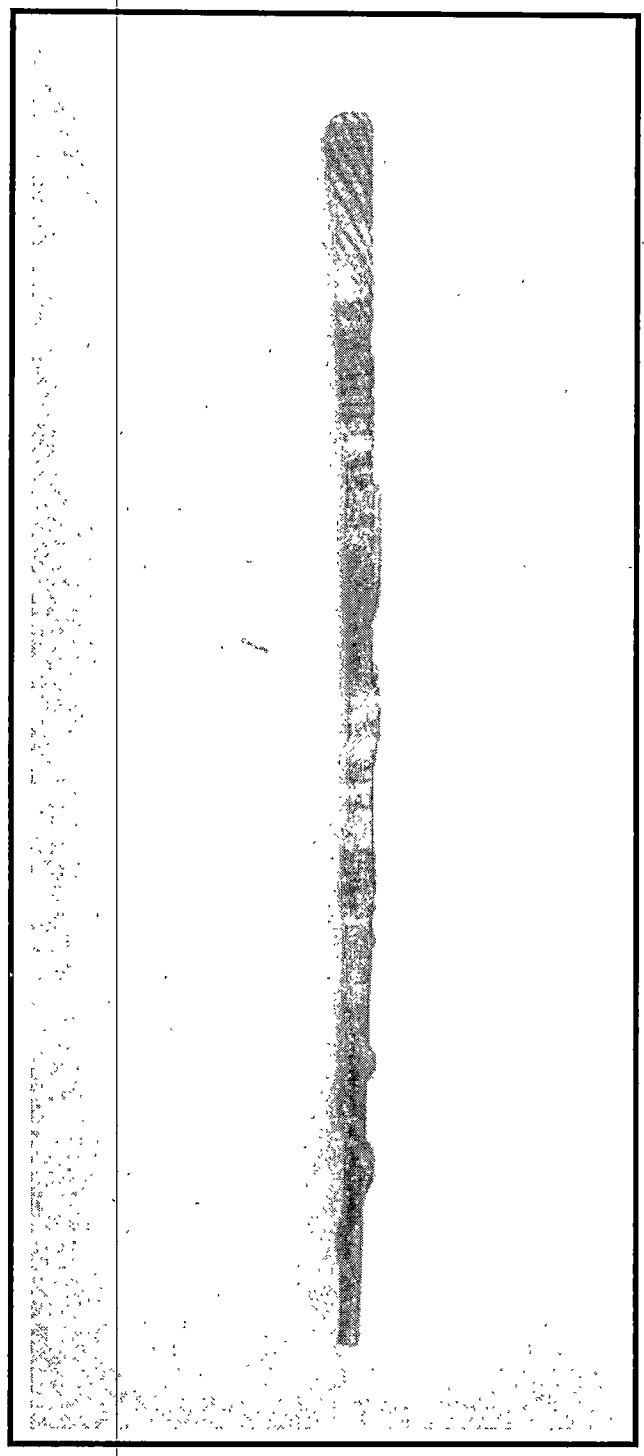


Figure 13-2: Carved Cane with Figural Relief, ca. 1863, by Henry Gudgell

(Photo Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery, Photographed by Joseph Szaszfai)

of African-American material culture traditions in South Carolina, which at one point had 10x the number people of African descent than of European origin.

Last, the retention of ethnic patterns in Arrow Rock was promoted by the formation of a strong African-American community after the Civil War. These African-Americans were bound together against the legacy of slavery to obtain equal citizenship in America. In doing so, they developed a socially segregated community with their own churches, school, fraternal organizations, businesses, and homes. By 1910, Arrow Rock's black population comprised 44% of its' citizens. It was because of this powerful cultural network that African-American ethnicity persisted and was thus more visible in the archaeological record.

In the end, information compiled in this dissertation will assist in the establishment of an African-American museum in the Brown Lodge, to revamp the Arrow Rock State Historic Site's exhibits to increase their interpretation of African-American heritage, and to amend the National Register of Historic Places listing of Arrow Rock to include its' African-American significance.

Overall, we are at the beginning of an exciting time in Missouri archaeology. Great strides have been made over the past ten years to address Missouri's disenfranchised past. Just as Arrow Rock, Missouri was the starting point of Missouri's historic preservation in the 1910s, and historical archaeology in the 1960s, this town is the first to establish an African-American heritage program that has combined both the private and public sectors of Missouri, in particular its' descendant community. It is through this research program that Arrow Rock's African-American history will never be silenced again. The voices of the past will live through our voices today.

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1860b *Slave Schedules of the 8th Census of the United States.*
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APPENDIX

APPENDIX I:

SPRAGUE'S (1981) FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATION FOR ARTIFACTS FROM 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY HISTORICAL SITES

I. Personal Items

- A. Clothing
- B. Footwear
- C. Adornment
- D. Body ritual and grooming
- E. Medical and health
- F. Birth control devices
- G. Indulgences
- H. Pastimes and recreation
- I. Ritual
- J. Pocket tools and accessories
- K. Infant care
- L. Luggage

II. Domestic Items

A. Furnishings
1. furniture
2. drapery, rugs, linen, and dry goods
3. decorative

B. Housewares and appliances
1. procurement*
2. storage*
3. food remains*
4. culinary
5. gustatory
6. portable illumination
7. portable waste disposal and sanitation
8. portable heating, cooling, and atmospheric conditioning
9. domestic ritual
10. household pastimes
11. home education, information, and business

C. Cleaning and maintenance
   1. cleaning
   2. household maintenance
   3. laundry
   4. sewing
   5. pest control
   6. yard maintenance and decoration
   7. pet maintenance
   8. domestic safety

III. Architecture

A. Structures
B. Construction
   1. materials
   2. hardware
C. Plumbing
   1. water supply
   2. sanitation
D. Fixed Illumination
E. Fixed Heating, cooling, and atmospheric conditioning
F. Conveyances
G. Private communications
H. Architectural safety
I. Landscaping

IV. Personal and Domestic Transportation

A. Vehicles
B. Maintenance
C. Ritual

V. Commerce and Industry

A. Agriculture and husbandry
B. Hunting
C. Fishing
D. Gathering
E. Trapping

F. Logging
G. Mining and quarrying
H. Construction
    1. architecture
    2. transportation
    3. utilities
I. Manufacturing
    1. handicraft
    2. industrial
        a. fabrication
        b. research and development
        c. retail merchandising
J. Commercial Services
    1. food, drink, and lodging
        a. procurement*
        b. storage*
        c. food remains*
        d. culinary*
        e. gustatory*
    2. grooming
    3. jurisprudence
    4. monetary
    5. repair and maintenance
    6. medical
        a. medical practitioners
        b. pharmaceutical
        c. prosthetic devices
        d. technical services
    7. animal care and treatment
    8. funerary services
    9. entertainment
        a. shows and theater
        b. commercial sports and games
        c. commercial music and dance
        d. commercial sex
K. Trade and Shipping*

VI. Group Services

A. Government administration
    1. political organization
    2. bureaucratic organization
    3. trappings of public office

B. Public safety
    1. fire
    2. police
    3. civil defense or militia
    4. military defense
C. Education
    1. schools
    2. libraries
    3. museums and galleries
    4. research facilities
D. Public forum and entertainment
    1. meeting house trappings
    2. parks and playground
    3. public art
E. Utilities
    1. communication system
    2. transportation system
    3. mail
    4. water supply
    5. sewage
    6. trash disposal
    7. power
F. Penal

VII. Group Ritual

A. Religious paraphernalia
B. Fraternal paraphernalia
C. Public monuments

VIII. Unknowns

A. Material (metal)
    1. shape
        a. probable identification
B. Material (glass)
    1. color
        a. probable identification

* = modified or new categories added for the Brown Lodge Site (23SA451)

VITA

Timothy E. Baumann was born in St. Charles, Missouri on March 8, 1969. He attended 12 years of Catholic school in St. Charles graduating from Duchesne High School in May, 1987. He entered The University of Missouri-Columbia in the fall of 1987 and received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Anthropology in May, 1991. After spending a year as a field archaeologist, he entered The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee in the fall of 1992 and received a Master of Science degree in Anthropology in May, 1995 with professional certificates in Museum Studies from the Milwaukee Public Museum and Public History from the Department of History. In August of 1995, he entered The University of Tennessee-Knoxville to achieve a doctorate in Anthropology, which he officially received in December 2001. He was employed as a Lecturer in Archaeology at The University of Missouri-St. Louis between the fall of 1998 and the summer of 2001. He currently holds the position of an Assistant Professor of Anthropology at this same institution.